

Tudor Life

THE
TUDOR
SOCIETY

The Tudor Society Magazine

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EVERY DAY PEOPLE

THE FIELD OF CLOTH
OF GOLD

RECEIVING HENRY VIII

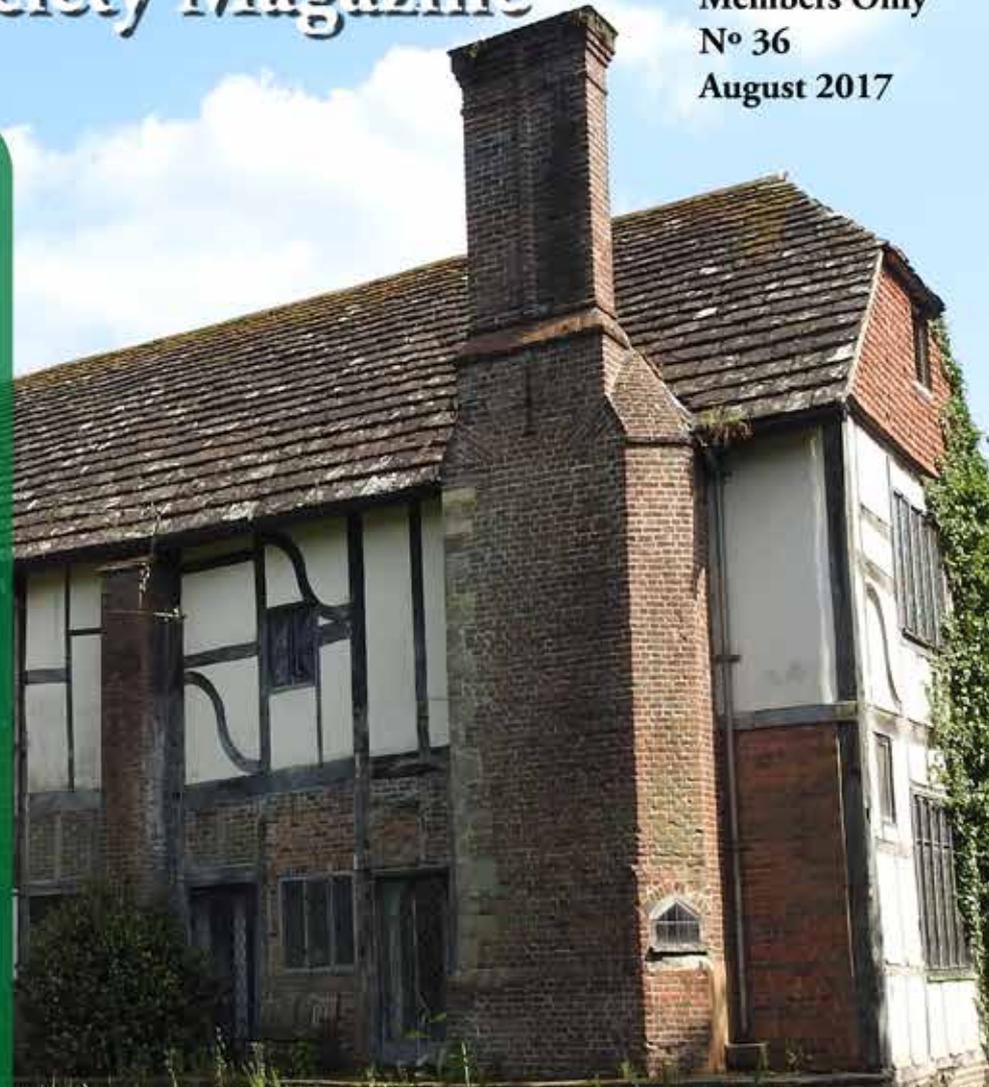
THE LIFE OF A
MIDWIFE

MYSTERY PLAYS OF
YORK

VILLAGE MUSIC

THE CHURCH IN
EVERYDAY LIFE

BOSWORTH
BATTLEFIELD



A STROLL AROUND HISTORIC CRAWLEY

with an exclusive article from IAN MULCAHY

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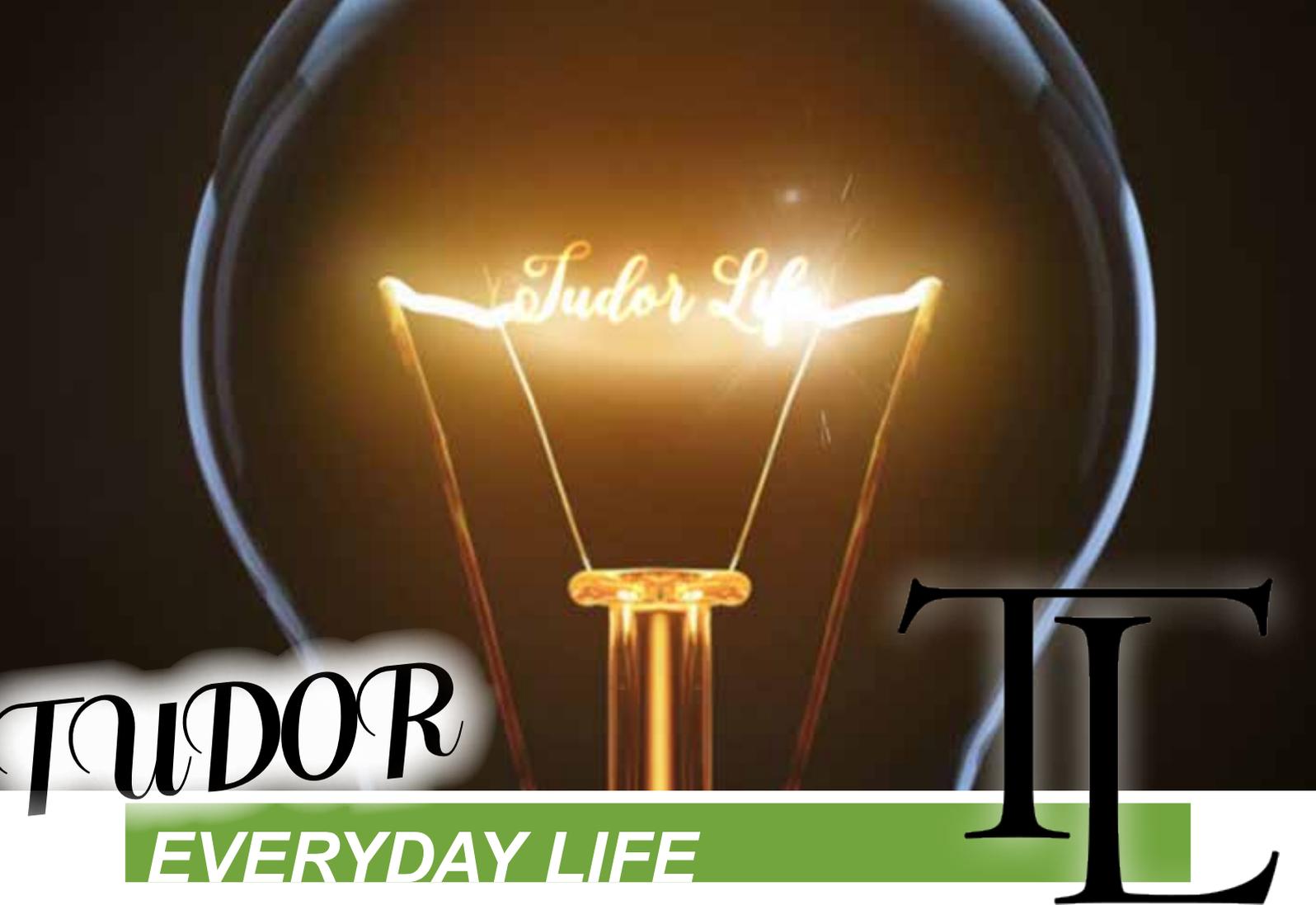


Emma Taylor works for costumes for television in her native Northern Ireland.



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In many ways, it's easy to explain our fascination with the lives of the Tudor royals and their nobles. Put simply, far more documentation about the 1% survives than the other 99%. Yet, as this issue shows, we are still able to celebrate all of Tudor society. Lauren Browne looks at the ceremonies held for the once-in-a-lifetime chance of welcoming a royal into a town, village or city where they seldom visited and Conor Byrne reminds us of the great outdoors spectacle of Henry VIII's conference with the King of France in 1520. The interaction between the classes was an important part of the political fabric of Tudor England. Meanwhile, the wider fascinating realm of everyday life is covered with articles on the lives of housewives and midwives, the fabulous York Mystery, and a personal tasty favourite - an article on venison.

GARETH RUSSELL

Tudor Life

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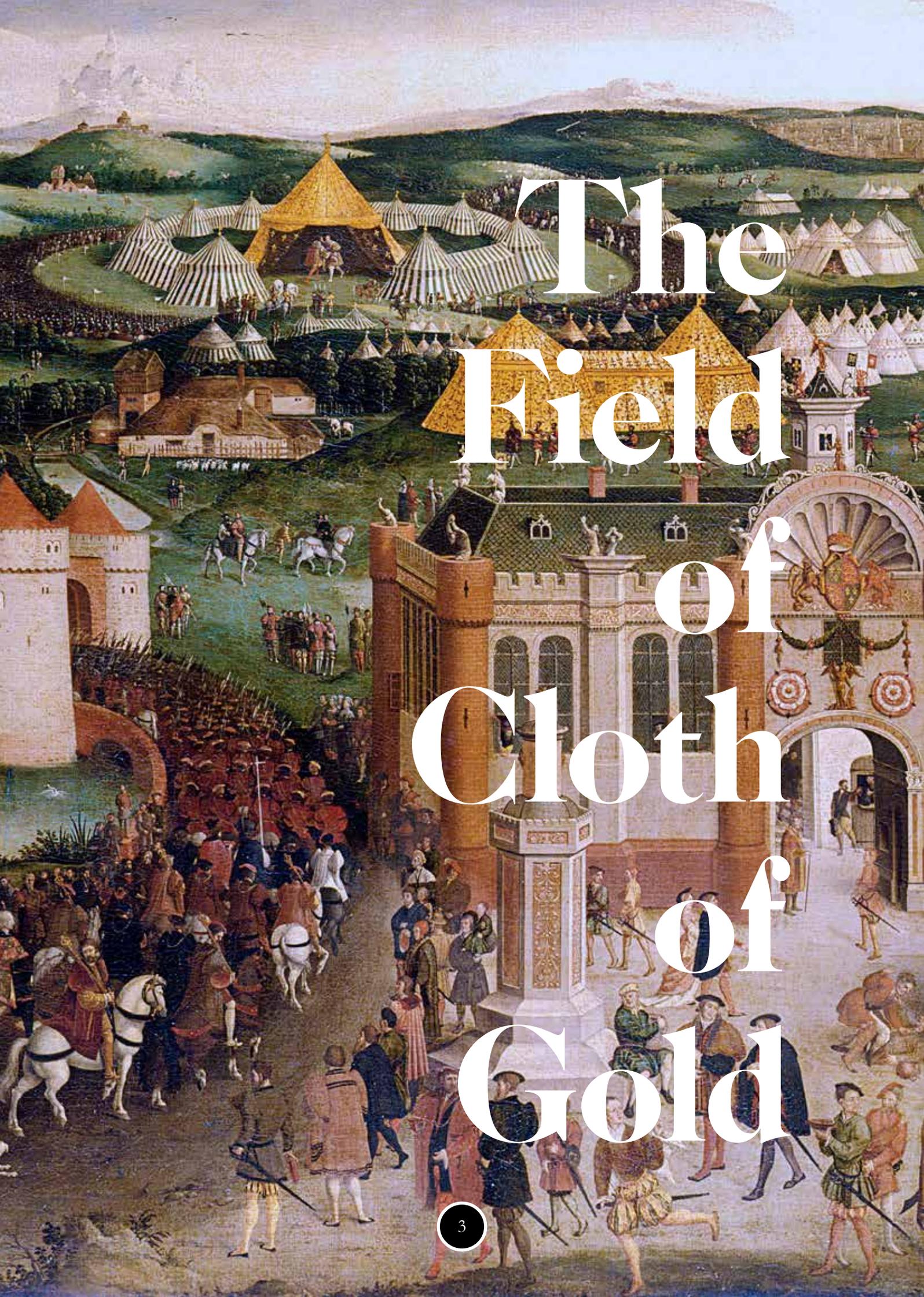
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The Field of Cloth of Gold



In 1520, a spectacular meeting between the reigning monarchs of England and France took place. Historian **Conor Byrne** looks at this iconic historical event.

The Field of the Cloth of Gold was, in the words of Sybil M. Jack, ‘a spectacular feat of organization’ that publicly demonstrated the goodwill between the traditional enemies of England and France. A summit was held between Ardres and Guines (the latter held in the English-owned territory of Calais) between 7 and 24 June 1520. The summit was explicitly aimed at showcasing the friendship and peace between the two countries, and consolidated the Anglo-French treaty of 1514 (which had included the marriage between Louis XII of France and Mary of England). In 1520, both Francois I of France and Henry VIII of England attended the summit in the company of their courts and their queens, Claude of France and Katherine of Aragon, respectively. In total, perhaps 6000 individuals accompanied the English king and queen to the summit, including officials, ministers, bishops, attendants, servants, and companions.

Cardinal Thomas Wolsey played a central role in organising the Field of the Cloth of Gold, a role that saw him ‘at his most magnificent, outshining most of the noblemen present as he provided feasts and managed protocol.’ (Jack) The summit featured jousts, banquets, tournaments, and plays. However, as

a diplomatic event, the summit was concerned with more than pleasure. Both Henry and Francois were concerned about the ambitions of their rival and fellow monarch, the Emperor Charles, and their ministers were accordingly instructed to consider ways of containing these ambitions. The two kings met on 7 June, and guns were fired from the castles of Guines and Ardres at 5pm that day. The two camps later assembled on their respective mounds on either side of the Val Doré valley, and a fanfare of instruments rang out before the two kings descended into the valley and charged towards each other. As they approached one another, they dismounted and embraced, before retiring to a tent nearby in the company of Wolsey and the seigneur de Bonnavet. Later, the two sides retired to their lodgings. Jousts took place two days later, and the following day Henry dined with Claude of France while Francois was entertained by Katherine of Aragon. Wrestling matches later took place, and the French king reportedly threw his English counterpart to the ground. Whether this potentially embarrassing incident actually took place is open to question. If it did happen, it was symbolic of the continuing tensions that lay beneath the surface of the outwardly cordial



“A spectacular feat of organisation”
English preparations for the journey to the Field (BBC)

summit. The Venetian ambassador reported that, despite their protestations of peace, Henry and Francois ‘hate each other cordially’. Others, including Polydore Vergil, disapproved of the summit because of the frequent displays of licentious and unchaste behaviour. Despite the existing tensions, however, the Field of the Cloth of Gold was ‘one of the most spectacular set-piece diplomatic events of the early sixteenth century,’ as noted by David Grummitt.

However, despite its claim to have achieved peace and goodwill between England and France, the summit failed to reconcile the warring kings, Francois and the Emperor Charles, while the newfound friendship between England and France proved to be transitory. Only weeks after the summit, Henry met with Charles at Gravelines and later at Calais. Despite the existing betrothal of Henry’s daughter, Mary, to the French dauphin, it was arranged that she would marry Charles, her senior by sixteen years. Although the emperor was desirous of declaring a joint Anglo-Imperial war on the French, Wolsey

dissuaded Henry from doing so. The following year, Wolsey travelled to the Continent in a bid to settle the differences between Francois and Charles. It was arranged that England would commit to declaring war with Charles against France in 1523. However, shifts in foreign relations meant that England declared war with France earlier than anticipated, on 29 May 1522. Charles visited England shortly afterwards, and treaties were arranged providing for further attacks on France, but Henry and Wolsey gradually lost interest in providing Charles with further support.

The Field of the Cloth of Gold can be read as symbolic of the traditionally tense relationship between England and France, two countries that were sometimes allies, sometimes enemies. The tensions that underlay the summit rose to the surface shortly afterwards, as embodied in England’s declaration of war on France in 1522, but Henry’s decision to annul his marriage to Katherine of Aragon created the possibility of securing peace with France via marriage to a French princess. Wolsey, at least,



Claude de Valois
Queen of France

appears to have harboured this hope once he had learned of the King's Great Matter. Henry's determination to marry Anne Boleyn, however, ensured that a French alliance could not formally be pursued, but the prospective bride's close relationship with France invited the aid and recognition of Francois. In 1532, twelve years after the Field of the Cloth of Gold, Henry once more departed for France to meet with his brother king and rival, Francois, but not in the company of his wife – Katherine – but in the company of his mistress, Anne. According to contemporary rumours, the

king underwent a secret marriage ceremony with Anne in November 1532, shortly after the meeting with Francois. Katherine was not the only queen absent from the Anglo-French summit in 1532: Francois' consort, Eleanor, refused to meet with Anne. As the Emperor's sister and Katherine of Aragon's niece, the French queen's refusal to participate was perhaps understandable. By that time, Wolsey – who had played such an important role in the organisation of the Field of the Cloth of Gold – was long disgraced and dead.

CONOR BYRNE

RIVALS AND MISTRESSES

ENGLAND'S MEDIEVAL QUEEN CONSORTS



**PART
ONE**
of a new
exclusive
series

AUGUST'S TUDOR SOCIETY GUEST SPEAKER

LAUREN BROWNE has a masters in History at Queen's University, Belfast and is now studying for her PhD. She has completed a dissertation on the reputation and importance of Queen Elizabeth of York in shaping the Tudor dynasty's perception of itself.



WELCOMING THE KING: CIVIC AMBITION, PRIDE AND AUTHORITY

BY LAUREN BROWNE

The Monarch's visit to a provincial town could prove to be an extravagant, costly and stressful event for those involved in the planning of the occasion. The recent scholarship surrounding royal entries has placed more emphasis on the civic officials' involvement in such spectacles, rather than the representation of monarchical authority. Neil Murphy emphasises that 'virtually every aspect of the ceremony was controlled and implemented by citizens of the town.' In York, especially, a predominantly mercantile 'civic oligarchy' controlled the reception of royal visitors, thus imposing their own aspiration, and those of York, on to the spectacle.

The visit was usually instigated from outside the city walls, and the king or one of his representatives would send word to the council that a visit was planned. For example, in 1483, the king's secretary told the civic

officials of York that Richard III would be visiting and that they were required to prepare an appropriate welcome for the king. In other cases, representatives of the town would be sent to ascertain whether a monarch would be visiting on the way to somewhere else, as was the case in 1486 when Nottingham's council voted to send a representative to determine whether Henry VII would visit on his progress to York. Once it was established that a visit was to take place, the town had to know as early as possible which direction the procession would be arriving from, so an appropriate welcome, sometimes involving pageants or other displays, could be arranged at the limits of the town.

When York's council began to prepare a reception for Henry VII's visit in 1486, the preparations were instructed by municipal memory. Although royal, ecclesiastical, and civic groups preserved their own records of previous entries, there is no evidence to suggest that the councillors consulted the royal records housed in York Minster when planning Henry VII's entry in 1486.

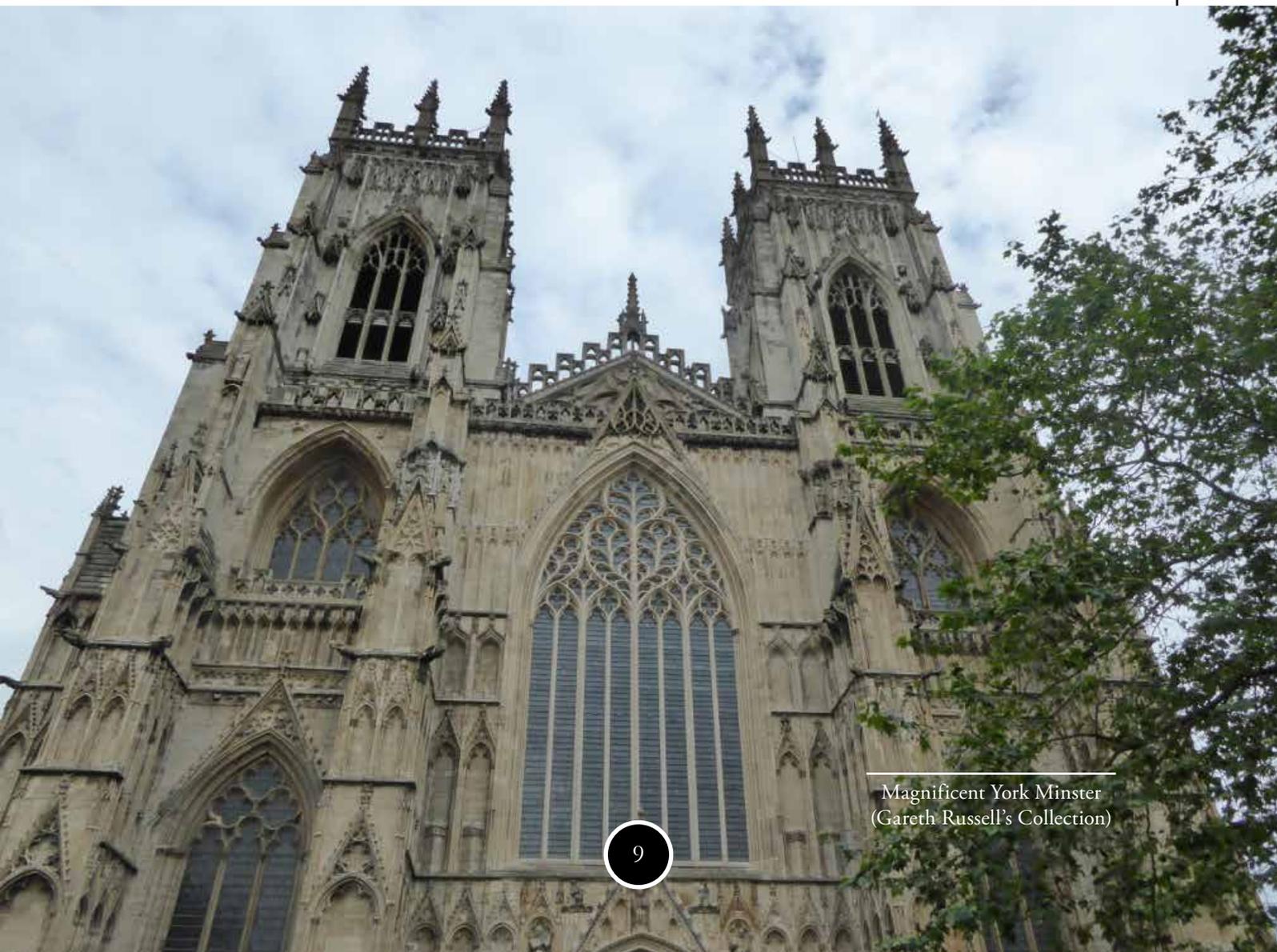
The first impression of a town's hospitality was the ceremony of greeting the

visitor and their escort into the town proper. The further from the town the monarch was met the greater the honour bestowed upon them. During Henry VII's first visit to York he was met further from the town than customary, no doubt a move which civic officials hope to show their loyalty to the new king. York was in a difficult position when Henry VII succeeded the throne, as it had been closely linked to Richard III both before and during his reign. Therefore, York had to show that it was loyal to Henry and made every effort to display this to the king to avoid retribution for its support of Richard III.

Sheriffs and aldermen went as far as Tadcaster, about eight miles from York, to form the first greeting party. The mayor and his attendants met them five miles from town, rather the customary two. When they reached the town, it was customary for the party to process through the streets. In York,

the procession route was carefully planned to include the areas where the majority of the council members lived. The royal entourage entered through Micklegate Bar, and proceeded through areas such as Pavement and Coney Street where the merchants' homes and stores were decorated with hanging tapestries and fine cloth. The route led directly to Ouse Bridge, the site of the main council chamber, and then turned left away from the symbols of royal authority in the town, the castle and the Franciscan Friary, and towards the mercantile centre of York, incorporating the ultimate symbol of civic authority; the Common Hall.

During the entries of both Richard III and Henry VII, the procession stopped outside the three most symbolically important structures in the town to witness pageants. They were performed at the main gate to the town, upon which traitors' heads were displayed, outside the council chamber, which



Magnificent York Minster
(Gareth Russell's Collection)

housed the common bell, and the outside the Common Hall, where larger civic assemblies were held. It is interesting to note that the importance of the three structures representing lay authority was emphasised by the halt of the procession and elaborate pageants, while the symbols of royal authority were not even on the procession route. Bells were also rung from buildings linked to civic administration, once more placing the emphasis on lay authority as

opposed to royal. The bells ringing in a unified greeting of the monarch also symbolised social cohesion. When Princess Margaret entered York through Micklegate Bar, in 1503, she apparently exclaimed 'How sweetly the bells of York do ring!'.

Much of the scholarship surrounding royal entries emphasises their links to the pageants associated with Corpus Christi, and some pageants were recycled for royal



Henry VII used town visits to stabilise his political position after Bosworth



Micklegate Bar, York
© Copyright N Chadwick

visitors. Richard III's entry procession into York followed the exact route taken during Corpus Christi, and although he missed the feast by three months, Richard timed his visit to coincide with the feast of the Decollation of John the Baptist. A symbol which the citizens would have understood to be analogous to the body of Christ. As with the procession conducted on Corpus Christi, it was organised in strict hierarchy and controls were placed on the types of clothes and colours worn. This was to outwardly indicate the social order of the procession. However, unlike the celebration of the fest, the procession did not include the guilds, which lined up along the sides of the streets instead.

Torches were used to illuminate specific buildings during the Corpus Christi processions, and were also implemented during the entry of Edward IV in 1478. One hundred torches were bought by the corporation to be used in fire pans which were wheeled alongside the procession. This meant that Edward IV was constantly bathed in light, as well as the most powerful civic figures

who had their place immediately beside the monarch. This once again reinforced the social order, as a visual emphasis of those who held the highest office and, in theory, those closest to monarchical authority.

The pageants themselves added to the extravagance of the entry, as well as the total sensory experience. From the late-fourteenth century, pageantry was adopted into royal entries as an integral part of the celebration. In the extant evidence of Henry VII's entrance into York in 1486, descriptions of the pageants to be included are written in the future tense, so we are unsure if they were performed exactly as planned. Henry VII was to be greeted by a structure depicting a celestial roof, under which was a desolate world which immediately sprung to life as the king neared it. Flowers were to bloom and then bow their heads to a red and white rose which were entwined in the middle of the structure. The roses were then to be crowned by an elaborately decorated crown which descended from the heavens above. The symbolism could not be more apparent, it emphasised the



Edward IV, the first king of the House of York

divine right of Henry's rule and the ending of the civil wars. Ebrauk, the legendary founder of York, was to step forward at this point and recite a poem which flattered Henry but also gently reminded him to be compassionate to the place which derived so much joy from his visit.

The second pageant was to include the six previous king Henrys seated on a royal throne with King Solomon, who would tell Henry VII that his companions on the throne had been looking forward to the seventh of their name and they had approved of what he had done since his succession. All seven of the figures were then to ask Henry VII to show York some of his 'bounteous Benevolence.' The third pageant was to depict king David atop a castle and accompanied by citizens dressed in green and white, the colours of

the House of Tudor. His speech would compare Henry VII favourably to Charlemagne, after which king David was to present Henry with a sword of victory and surrender the castle in a gesture of military submission. Then, as with the other pageants, David was to end the piece by reminding Henry VII that York had always been loyal to his family, and had even suffered for it in the past.

The final pageant was to feature the Virgin Mary descending directly from heaven on to the streets of York. She would tell Henry outright that Christ believed the city to be trustworthy and that she would always intercede on behalf of the king. The pageants that had been carefully planned for the, somewhat tense, visit of Henry VII, show on the one hand how the royal entry can be used to reinforce monarchical power. However, it's interesting to note that in every pageant, after they had suitably buttered up the king, he was asked to show favour to York and remember its loyalty to him. This shows that although they reinforced monarchical power, they also promoted civic aspirations by attempting to curry favour with the king. It was the hope of those who had arranged the entry that their pleas would make it harder for Henry to seek retribution on York both during and after his visit. Their hopes were met and Henry did not punish York for its links to Richard III, but he also didn't bestow any special favours to it, or grant any privileges during his visit.

Royal visits to towns came at a great expense, however this was often outweighed by the gifts, charters or privileges a town may receive in return for a spectacular welcome. The practice of royal patronage towards a city is especially detailed by historian Helen Carrel, who shows that though these instances 'while important, were sporadic: indeed, it would

undermine the notion of a spontaneous gift or 'special relationship' between a monarch and a town if such occasions were a regular or entirely predictable occurrence.' Although sporadic in nature, the notion of monarchical patronage towards a town which had performed a fitting welcome highlights, what Attreed calls 'the reciprocal nature of town relations with the royal government.' One method used by urban corporations to emphasise the monarch's personal links with the town was to claim to be the 'chamber' of either the king or a member of his immediate family, therefore implying a special relationship with a member of the royal family. For example: London was traditionally referred to as the King's chamber, although York also claimed this title from 1393 onwards. Coventry described itself as the prince's chamber in 1456, 1474 and 1498, and Bristol claimed to be the queen's chamber on a number of occasions. Carrel shows that by using this type of language, civic leaders could depict their hometowns as the private space of the royal personage. This language also implied that this 'special relationship' should influence the king in his official capacity, by encouraging him to show good lordship to the town's inhabitants.

It appears that the recent trend in re-examining the evidence surrounding royal

entries into cities and towns has provided a readjustment of the emphasis placed on the role of the monarch, which has been shifted to that of the lay authority. The civic leaders of a town had the majority of control over how the procession and pageants would be conducted. As we have seen in York, the procession promoted the structures of the town that were the symbols of civic authority, and ignored those representing royal power. The procession, like Corpus Christi, projected the aspirations of the civic leaders for civic unity, cohesion and lay authority. The pageants that were included in the entry firmly established the prestige and power of the royal visitor in a fantastic form of visual propaganda, but they could also be used to remind them of the town's position and to confer favour or pardon onto it. The patronage that could be gleaned from a successful and lavish entry highlights the reciprocal nature of town-crown relations. On the one hand, it shows the dependence of the towns upon king, who could grant the privileges of self-government. However, on a deeper level the spectacle could remind the monarch that he needed alliances with his urban subjects in order to keep the peace within cities and remain loyal to him in times of conflict.

Lauren Browne

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Kyra Kramer is the author of
“Henry VIII’s Health in a Nutshell” and
“Edward VI in a Nutshell”

Here she talks about
a vital everyday job which Tudor women
could do...

**MIDWIVES
WERE MORE
THAN MEDIEVAL
OBSTETRICIANS.**

THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF A MIDWIFE



Midwives were a center of the community, trusted and respected the way few women were, and the most common source of healthcare available to the masses. They were also the only married women who could testify in court, and the only layperson – let alone the only women! – authorized by the church to perform emergency baptisms. They delivered the babies of beggars and queens, and when the sad duty came to them, prepared mothers and infants for burial. They were the original wise women, and it was the 20th century before medical doctors could equal the success record of these supposedly ignorant women in preventing mother/neonatal mortality.

The main function of a midwife was, of course, assisting women to give birth, but she was also considered indispensable in helping women get pregnant and maintain a healthy gestation as well. During the Tudor era a pregnancy “had no better than a 50% chance of going to

term”¹, so a good midwife was essential to strengthen the odds of producing children. Every pregnancy was considered a fragile and tricky thing, requiring the expert knowledge of midwives, older women, and experienced mothers. Adding to the worry about pregnancy was the fact that women did not consider themselves to be truly pregnant until the fetus “quickened”, or reached the point at which the mother could first feel movement inside her². Quickening was crucial, because most people believed that the fetus did not receive a soul until the time when it could be felt moving³. This understanding of ensoulment didn’t change until the nineteenth century, when Pope Pius IX proclaimed that souls entered the embryo at conception⁴. Without a soul

1 Cressy, 1996:47

2 Cressy, 1997:45

3 Hull, 1996:105

4 Simon, 1998:2



the fetus was not really a ‘person’ to the Tudors; there was even doubt whether a fetus could be considered ‘alive’ prior to the quickening. Therefore, the midwife was tasked with keeping the homunculus safely within the womb until it quickened, and after that she was charged with trying to keep the baby alive long enough to be born.

A midwife would make sure the gravid woman knew the “rules” of a successful pregnancy. She would advise her patient to avoid loud noises, funerals, anything that would cause mourning or anxiety, hard physical work, and medical practices such as bloodletting, in order to protect the fetus from any “shocks to the mind

or body [which] might dislodge a child from the womb”⁵. She could also tell the expectant mother when sex was dangerous to the fetus, and when it was helpful. For example, pregnant women were advised to avoid sexual intercourse for the first four months of their known gestation, as well as during the sixth month and the eighth month, “for fear of shaking the child and bringing down her courses”⁶. In contrast, a woman was told she should have as much sex as possible with the father of her baby during the seventh and ninth month of pregnancy, so that the father could ‘fashion’ his child and “set his influence on it”⁷.

Midwives could also provide home remedies that were thought to help prevent miscarriage. One of the most common used physics was sage, which was considered the holy herb because “women with child, if they are likely to come before their time and are troubled with abortments, do eat thereof to their great good; for it closeth the matrix, and maketh them fruitful, it retaineth the child, and give it life”⁸. Midwives and fellow mothers could also provide charms, amulets, and religious relics to help retain a pregnancy. Although many herbal treatments have been discovered to be efficacious by modern biomedicine, any positive effects of wearing a blessed girdle or a coral necklace were, of course, psychosomatic.

With luck, and good nutrition, a woman carried her pregnancy to term, and now the midwife’s job began in earnest. It was up to her, with the grace of God, to keep mother and baby alive during this dangerous time. Contrary to current beliefs about foolish or ignorant old women lacking the skills to deliver babies ‘correctly’, midwives were *very* good at their jobs. They were also skilled in delivering even difficult birthing presentations, including the births of multiples, breech births, and dealing with

transverse fetuses. Historical records show that on average only one percent of women died from giving birth⁹. This is, of course, an astronomically high number of women when compared to the maternal mortality rate today, but considering the absolute minimum of tools the women had to work with their achievements are incredibly impressive. This is why midwives are often so justly praised by their contemporaries. In his encyclopedia, medieval scholar Bartholomaeus Anglicus wrote¹⁰:

“The midwife is a woman who has the skill to help a woman in labor, so that she will bear and bring forth her child with less woe and sorrow. And so the child should be born with less travail and woe, she anoints and applies balm to the mother’s womb and helps her and her and comforts her in that way.”

At the onset of labor, other female family members and friends, called “gossips”, came to assist the midwife and the expectant mother¹¹. The first thing the midwife would have the gossips do was help her secure the birthing chamber from any potential dangers, such as drafts, filth, or bad smells. Midwives were obsessed with cleanliness, and unlike the early modern doctors who were their counterparts, they knew to wash their hands before touching a patient. Obviously they didn’t know what “germs” were, but they did believe that dirt and/or foul odors brought sickness and thus the midwives were very clean in their habits. They treated the delivery room much like a dairy, in that it had to be extremely clean in order to for it to be successfully used for the purpose it was intended.

Ideally, the delivery room would have a fireplace, or at least be heated as much as possible with braziers, because warmth was thought to relax a woman’s muscles and ‘soften’ her bones so the baby could slip out

5 Cressy, 1996:46

6 Cressy, 1997:46

7 Cressy, 1996:46

8 Kitzinger, 2011

9 Cressy, 1997.

10 Stoertz, 1996:111

11 Cressy, 1997:57-58

easier. The mother would have been offered wine or possets to drink or delicacies to eat in order to strengthen her, if possible. The father was responsible for providing these tasty treats to the gossips and midwife, as well as the mother, and some 16th century men's diaries contain passages grumbling about the cost of birthing hospitality.

As the time came to deliver, the midwife and the gossips would help the laboring mother get out of bed to give birth, or at least rise up into a sitting position in the bed, because lying on one's back is an incredibly bad way to have a baby¹². It compresses the pelvis, making the birth harder and more risky for both mother and child. The idea of lying prone to give birth, which is called the dorsal lithotomy position, has no modern medical basis. Many scholars believe this position for childbirth was popularized by King Louis XIV, who ruled France from 1643 until his death in 1715. Legend has it that king Louis liked to see his mistresses give birth, and the emergence of the baby is better viewed if the mother is lying on her back¹³. Other scholars point out that the dorsal lithotomy position was recommended by Aristotle (even though other Greek physicians from antiquity rejected it) and that it was Francois Mauriceau, a French obstetrician in the latter half of the 17th century, who plagiarized Aristotle and probably brought the prone birthing position into vogue¹⁴.

Happily for the Tudors, the prone birthing position had yet to come into fashion the queen so women gave birth on a birthing chair or stool. Straw was customarily placed under the stool by the gossips in order to absorb the copious amount of liquids and goo that comes into the world with a new baby, which is why "the woman in the straw" was a popular euphemism for a birthing mother. Alternately, a woman could stand up in a kind of crouching squat and hold onto ropes

or sheets suspended from the roof beams while she pushed. This is a surprisingly good way to get a baby to come out, because it maximizes the pelvic opening and allows gravity to assist the baby down the birth canal.

Sometimes, in spite of all a skilled midwife could do, labor could go profoundly wrong and it became clear that the mother, infant, or both were probably not going to make it. It was imperative that the baby be baptized lest the infant wind up in Limbo, and it was for this reason that the Catholic Church deputized midwives to perform emergency baptisms¹⁵. If the midwife could baptize the baby as it emerged from the vagina, prior to confirmation of its intrauterine death or its subsequent demise post-parturition, the baptism "counted" and the child's soul would safely be winged to Heaven to await its parents in security and eternal bliss. This urgent desire to prevent an infant from being consigned to Limbo was so important that if the mother died during labor, the midwife was advised to perform a kind of crude caesarian-section and baptize the extracted baby¹⁶.

Once the baby was born, hopefully without complications to mother or child, the midwife was still crucial. It was her job to assist the baby in taking its first breath, and tying off the umbilical cord properly, traditionally leaving it four inches long¹⁷. The midwife was also the one to wash the baby clean, using warm water in poor households and milk or wine in more affluent ones. She would then slather the baby in oil or fat, to protect its tender skin, and wrap it in its first swaddling bands. This accomplished, she would return her attention to the mother to make sure the afterbirth was expelled in its entirety, so that no hemorrhaging would occur, massaging the belly or even using her hand to clean out the uterus if necessary. Early modern doctors usually weren't even aware

12 Thompson, 1999:55

13 Dundes, 1987

14 Dunn, 1991

15 Hanawalt, 1995:44

16 Hanawalt, 1995:44

17 Hanawalt, 1995:45

this was necessary, or felt authorized to touch another man's wife in such a way even if they knew, and which is why physician-attended births were more dangerous. It is thought that Queen Jane Seymour's fatal "natural laxe" was a hemorrhage caused by a retained piece of placentas that the royal doctors were clueless about looking for.¹⁸

Whenever they were not actively busy with obstetrical matters, midwives also served as generalized healers and specialists in women's health. One of those specialties, which many historians either ignore or overlook because a certain squeamishness regarding the topic, was assisting women in masturbation. Midwives were called upon to employ "titillation and friction of the genital area" until the woman had reached a "release" in order to help women "expel from the uterus the poisonous semen" that was thought to build up dangerously within them.¹⁹ Medical science of the time believed that women produced an analogous female semen, which mixed with men's semen to produce babies. If a woman went too long without releasing her "seed", the "retained semen could deteriorate in the womb and turn so noxious as to equal the strongest poison."²⁰ Peter Foreest's medical text, *De Mulierum Morbis*, gave the example of at time in May of 1546, when a widow – long used to intercourse and now deprived of it – fell into a coma that was clearly "a case of suffocation because of retained seed." A midwife was quickly summoned, "to come apply ointment to the patient's genitals, rubbing them inside with her finger ... For such titillation with the finger is commended by all physicians ... And thus [the patient] was against hope brought back to consciousness."²¹

Most of the time, women were supposed to take care of this potential problem themselves, and it was counted as a very minor sexual sin in confession.

Young women before marriage, widows, and nuns were all counseled to practice expelling their seed on their own, lest it lessen their health or even kill them. Widows could even use "instruments skillfully hollowed out and similar in form to the male penis in order to provoke voluntary pollution"²², but never-married women and nuns were cautioned against using any of these 'instruments' because it could "spoil virginity"²³. Even midwives were cautious in how they treated virginal patients, for fear of accidentally deflowering young women and nuns. Nonetheless, if a hymen were torn (by either a patient or the midwife) in the course of preventing 'uterine strangulation', it was understood to be no reflection of a woman's virtue. Health was too important to be ignored in favor of perfect intactness. Should a women's own efforts be insufficient, midwives were called to the rescue.

A final function of a midwife was to serve her community by providing needed evidence in courts of law. Married women were not allowed to testify in court, being considered property of their husbands, but a midwife was exempt from this restriction. The midwife was an expert witness, whose opinion was given great weight in the judge's final decision.²⁴ Midwives would testify as to whether a miscarriage was caused naturally or deliberately (although the fetus was not though alive or truly human until after the quickening, abortion was forbidden because to was believed to counter the will of God and prevent women from being properly punished for fornication). They would also determine if a baby's death had been natural, accidental, or infanticide (those cases are fortunately very rare)²⁵. They would give testimony on whether a woman was pregnant, had been pregnant, or showed signs of having been raped. Midwives were also employed by

18 Skidmore, 2011

19 Thompson, 1999:69

20 Thompson, 1999:68

21 Thompson, 1999:69

22 Thompson, 1999:69

23 Thompson, 1999:70

24 Tannenbaum, 2009:78

25 Crawford, 2004:95

the court to search women accused of witchcraft for ‘witch marks’. Witch marks would resemble large moles or teats, where the Devil would come to suckle on the witch. It was the midwife, a woman familiar with all the natural protuberances of a female body, who would search the accused for these marks, heedless of how intimately the marks might be hidden. In some cases, multiple midwives would examine the accused, and occasionally dispute one another in court regarding the results²⁶. In short, if a case had anything to do with the physical bodies of women and/or infants, a midwife was needed to give the evidence that male judges could not, by law and by propriety, ascertain for themselves.

The most common reason for midwives to give testimony was to swear as to the identity of an illegitimate child’s father²⁷. If an illegitimate child’s father was unknown, then the parish where the mother resided would be on the hook for providing for the mother and baby so they would not starve. Therefore, it was in the decided interest of the

court to discover the child’s father and make him provide for his offspring and its mother. It was firmly believed that women in the agony of labor pains could not lie, and therefore the midwife could ask a delivering mother who the baby’s father was and be certain of the paternity²⁸. The midwife was also encouraged by the courts to refuse to help any unmarried woman who would not disclose the father’s identity.²⁹ The judges, barred from births, had to rely completely on the word and efforts of the midwives. The midwife was, as a semi-officiant of the court who gave service to powerful people, a very esteemed woman in early modern England.

I think it is safe to say that between the varieties of births, gynecological care, medical assistance, and her sociopolitical duties for the courts, that a midwife would have seldom had a “typical day”. I can hardly say there was such a thing as an “everyday life” for this professional woman; she was much too busy with too many responsibilities!

Kyra Kramer

26 Holmes, 2001:149

27 Tannenbaum, 2009:79-80

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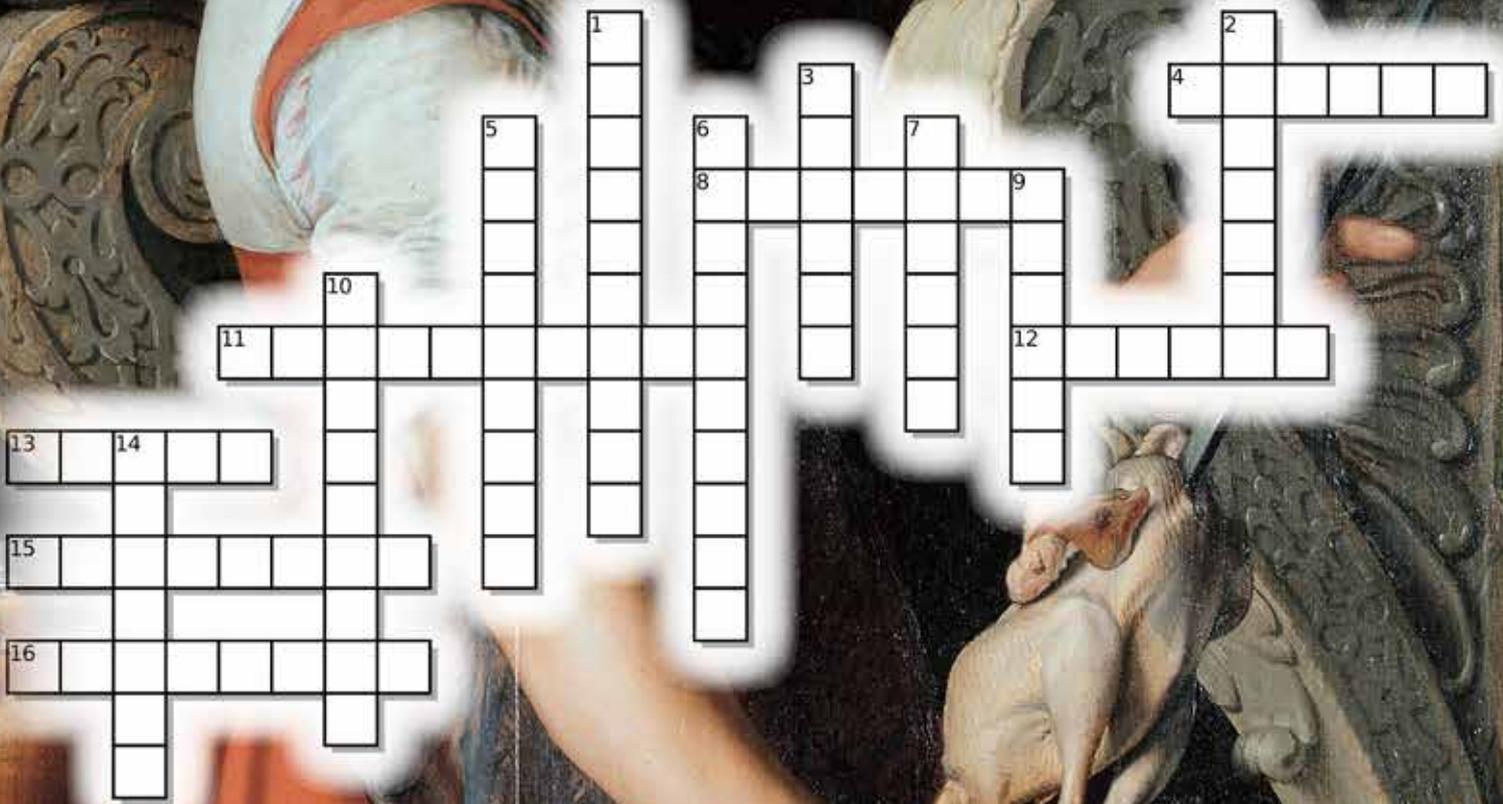
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28 Tannenbaum, 2009:80

29 Crawford, 2004:95

TUDOR OCCUPATIONS CROSSWORD PUZZLE



ACROSS

- 4 Joins the pages of a book together
- 8 Grows his own food to eat
- 11 Makes things out of iron
- 12 An illuminator of manuscripts
- 13 Makes things out of stone
- 15 Buys and sells goods
- 16 Someone who worked with beeswax and tallow.

DOWN

- 1 Makes shoes out of leather
- 2 Helps with childbirth
- 3 Makes cloth on a loom
- 5 Makes things out of gold
- 6 Someone who prepared and sold medicines
- 7 Shaves men's beards and trims hair
- 9 Makes clothes for other people
- 10 Makes things out of wood
- 14 Helps around the house of someone rich

IMAGE: The Cook by Pieter Aertsen, 1559

ANSWERS on page 27

THE MYSTERY PLAYS OF YORK

by Emma Taylor

The Feast of Corpus Christi, which we have just passed this year on June 15th, was once a day of national celebration of the Eucharist, and a hugely significant day in the Churches Calendar. Corpus Christi usually falls in late May or Early June, on the first Thursday after Trinity Sunday, which is 60 days after Easter.



THE FEAST is a joyous occasion, in which the Church emphasises the joy of the institution of the Eucharist; the celebration of the body of Christ in the bread and wine of Communion. Corpus Christi was first established by Pope Urban IV, in around 1264, and was universally accepted in 1317 only after the Papal Bull of Urban IV was included in a collection of laws known as the Clementines, by Pope John XXII. Many cultures around the world have different customs for the celebration of this Feast; in Catalonia, this Feast is celebrated with the tradition of the Dancing Egg, and in Castrillo de Murcia near the Spanish city of Castille, Corpus Christi is celebrated with a tradition known as *El Colacho*. This celebration entails a man dressed as a devil leaping over babies born in the past 12 months, and it is said to cleanse the babies of original sin and provide them with safe passage through life, and guard

them from evil spirits. These celebrations are as diverse as their local cultures, with each region celebrating Corpus Christi with their own flair, with Medieval England being no exception.

Mystery plays, or Miracle Plays were performed as part of the Corpus Christi Celebrations in Medieval England, and were central to the celebration of this Feast Day prior to Henry VIII's reformation of the English Church in the 16th Century. Their name comes from the use of the word 'mystery' used in its sense of miracle; although an often-quoted derivation comes from the Latin *Ministerium*, meaning craft, linking these plays to their producers. These producers, actors and financiers were often members of local Craft Guilds, who were honoured in their name. Mystery Plays focused on representation of biblical events, presenting biblical stories in a series of tableaux's, often accompanied by antiphonal song. They were usually performed over the

course of one or more days, and the extended series of dramatizations focused on the rise and fall of man, the execution of Jesus Christ, his resurrection and the final days as described in Revelations. In existence, there are four complete or nearly complete cycles of Mystery Plays, with the most complete and well known example being the York Cycle, which includes 48 pageants. Other examples of Mystery plays in existence include the Chester Mystery Plays, the N-Town Plays, and the Towneley/Wakefield Plays.

The Mystery Plays were, in the case of the York Cycle, the designation of the Craft Guilds, and it was commonplace for these craft guilds to take charge of a part of the Bible that was linked to their particular craft. For example, the Shipbuilders Guild was to take charge of the story of Noah, who of course, built an Ark by Gods instruction. It was the duty of the Pinners and the Painter to take charge of the crucifixion; as the Pinners were crafts-

men of nails, and the Painters craftsmen of red paint. The Bakers were to tackle the Last Supper, and the Butchers performed the Mortification and Burial of Christ. This was an annual event, and the crafts could be expected to take on the same performance year after year. They were expected to organised, finance and perform these events, and in the case of York, sometimes up to 56 different pageants were performed. However, the guild system was not the case for every town, as the N-Town Cycle (also called the Hegge Cycle and the Ludus Conventraie cycle) has no indication that guilds were designated to take part.

There is no record of the first date of the performance of the York Cycle, although the first mention of the plays arrives in history at 1376. Pageant wagons played host to the performances; these were movable wagons on which the plays were performed, and have been lauded as the predecessor to the proscenium arch theatre that is enjoyed by many a theatre-



The modern “el colacho” ceremony (Slate)

goer today. In York, the cycle of plays began at sunrise, around 4.30am in the morning, and began with the Creation, performed by the Barkers (or Tanners, as they are more commonly known now). The manner of presentation was different from town to town; in some cases, the crowd remained stationary and the actors and scenes rolled by on pageant wagons. In this style, the plays were usually performed somewhere large and open, such as marketplace in the centre of the town. In York, however, these plays were performed throughout the day at 12 different playing stations, designated by the city banners. The audience moved from one station to the next,

and the plays were performed repeatedly over the course of the day.

In terms of the construction and the scenery of the pageant, it seems that little to no expense was spared in ensuring that these pageants were truly spectacular. The scenery, by its nature, had to be kept relatively simple – for example, a small raised platform may indicate Heaven, and a single tree might be representative of the Garden of Eden. However, from the records of the Craft Guilds, we can see that the costumes must have been somewhat more elaborate than this, with one account stating: “Four pair of angels’ wings, 2 shillings and 8 pence.’ ‘For mending of hell



Some Mystery Plays endured their temporary survival under Protestantism by cutting scenes honouring the Holy Virgin Mary



The modern spectacular of the revived York Mystery Plays (YorkMix)

head, 6 pence.' God was sometimes present onstage, and this speaks to the corporeal nature of the religion of the time. Often, God was played by an actor with a gilded face, who spoke in long, complex verse; rather than a spiritual entity or a representation of the Holy Father. The purpose of these plays wasn't inherently didactic; these plays weren't performed to teach the common people of these stories, but rather to establish collective memory and to encourage devotion on this holy day. It has also been claimed that these plays helped to cultivate a sense of fear of Hell; some contemporary accounts of the play make mention of a 'hell mouth'; a theatrical device, resembling a mouth, in which sinners could be seen to be eaten and tortured by hellfire. It's easy to see, in this context,

how this fear of Hell could motivate the medieval citizen to behave per the doctrines of the church.

There was also a distinct lack of historical awareness, which meant that the plays were often set within the context of their times. Roman soldiers became feudal knights, and heathens are Saracens. Characters who are good swear by St. John and St Paul, as well as other medieval Christian saints. It's interesting to see this relocation of the context of these plays, and it is understandable when we consider that these plays were performed to all echelons of society; therefore, they had to be relatable and understandable to even the most uneducated of people. In the grand tradition of theatre before 1660, women were not al-

lowed to act onstage; instead, the female roles were played by men and younger boys.

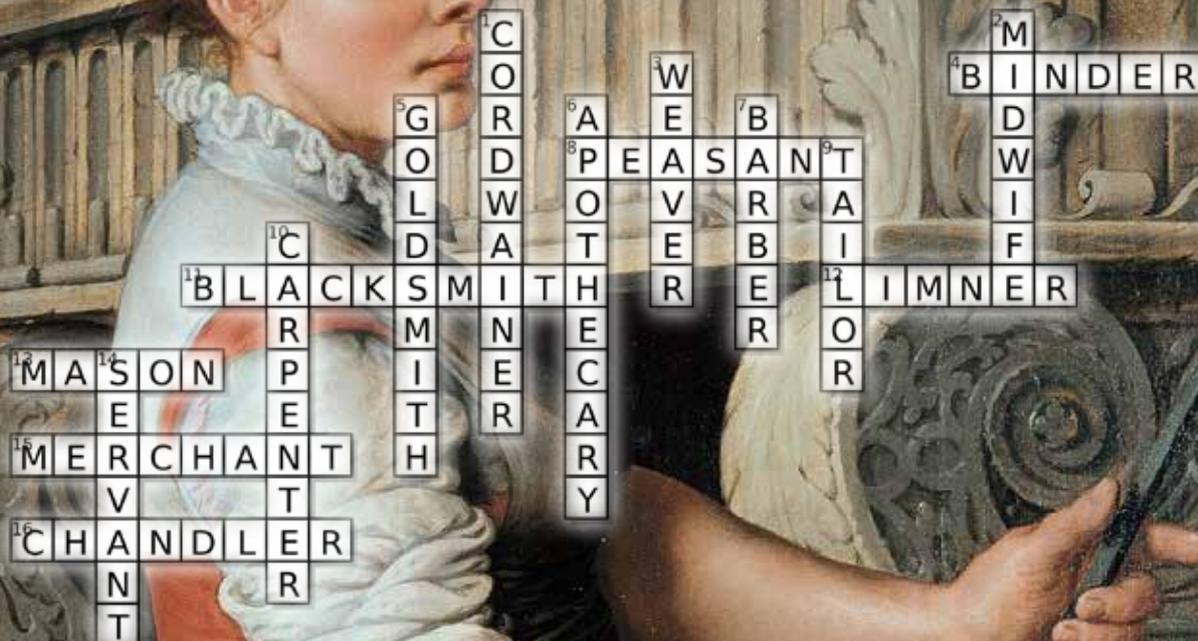
The plays did continue after the reformation for a time, even after Corpus Christi was abolished in 1548. The plays were made more palatable to the Reformation by cutting the scenes honouring the Virgin Mary, but these were eventually suppressed in 1569. The York Mystery Plays remained widely unknown and unperformed until 1909, when six plays were once again performed as a fundraiser for a local church in York. The plays were successfully revived in 1951, and were performed once every three years until 1988. The York Cycle has been performed as recently as 2016, and over the years many professional actors and actresses have taken part, including Judi Dench, Robson Green, and Ray Stevenson.

And while they lay unperformed for many years, they have, in recent years, aroused the interest of academics in both history and theatre, with many theatrical historians lauding them as one of the first examples of formally developed theatre.

The York Cycle is a truly fascinating glimpse into the religion, society, and dramatic heritage of this tumultuous period of history. And, while these plays lay forgotten for hundreds of years, their impact cannot be easily denied, as they are still captivating audiences hundreds of years later. A literary form which provided spiritual, religious and artistic nourishment for so many years surely holds some importance for us history fans today, and to learn about these traditions is an honour indeed.

EMMA TAYLOR

Quiz Answers





ORDINARY LIVES

HAVE SYMPATHY FOR THE TUDOR HOUSEWIFE, PART 3 SUMMER COOKERY



This month, with summer in mind, I thought it might be fun to look at some Tudor recipes with a seasonal theme. In the late medieval and Tudor periods, fresh food was available only at its appropriate time of year. Even meats had their cycles. Pork was best from young pigs and veal is the flesh of calves, so both were available in summer. Soft fruits and many flowers are at their peak in June and July, so here are a few ideas to whet your Tudor appetite on long summer days.

Whatever your status, high or low, almost every meal would include a pottage. This was simply a dish cooked in one pot, thickened with oats or dried pulses for a lowly family dinner, or – as in this case – with expensive ground almonds turned into a ‘milk’ by adding stock. This recipe for ‘Potage for a somer season’ comes from the anonymous *A noble boke of festes ryalle and Cokery*, printed in London by Richard Pynson

in 1500.

Take felettes of porke and of vele welle beten in a mortar rawe and in the betynge alaye thy fleshe with egges thanne take up the flesh in a fayre vessell and put therto powder of clowes powder of peper & salte colour it with saffron & meddle it well togyder. Thanne make therof smale vylottes and put therin in the panne with water boylynge on the fyre & whan they be well boyled put therin to a fayre vessel. Thanne take almonde mylke made with broth of fresshe beef & put it in to a fayre potte. Do therto clowes maces pruynes raysyns of corans & gynger mynced grete: than sette the potte on the fire & styre it well togyder & put the vylottes in the potte & lete therin have one boylle or two and salte it and serue it.

A transcription of this recipe on a website confused ‘vylottes’ with violets, even including the flowers in its

TONI MOUNT

modern list of ingredients. Vylottes were little balls of meat. Not realising this, the writer suggests serving the dish like slices of meatloaf, decorated with the flowers – not how it was intended at all. As with most Tudor recipes, no measures or cooking times are given. It's a matter of adding ingredients 'to taste' and cooking until it's 'done'. Here is my modern transcription:

Take raw fillet of pork and veal and grind in a mortar. Add beaten egg to bind. Put the mixture in a clean bowl and add powdered cloves, pepper and salt and colour it with saffron. Roll into little balls and drop into boiling water until meat is cooked, then set aside. Take almond milk made with beef stock* and add cloves, mace, chopped prunes and currants and minced ginger. Then set the stock on the heat and add the meat balls. Bring to the simmer, season with salt to taste and serve.

*Ruth Goodman advises pouring hot stock through ground almonds in a cloth. The cloth is then squeezed out to get all the almond oil into the broth. [*How to be a Tudor*, p.143.]

This is a luxurious dish because apart from the meat, eggs and, possibly the saffron, other ingredients are imported: pepper and ginger from India, cloves and mace from Indonesia, prunes from France, almonds from Spain and 'raisins of Corinth' (corrupted to 'currants') from Greece.

For a cheaper seasonal dish, Thomas Dawson in his *The Good Housewife's Jewel* of 1596 gives a recipe for 'A close tart of green pease' using fresh peas [p.76].

Take half a peck* of green peas, sheal [shell] them and seethe [boil] them, cast them into a colander and let the water go from them. Then put them into a tart whole. Season them with pepper, saffron and salt and a dish of sweet [unsalted] butter. Close and bake him almost one hour. Then draw him and put a little verjuice [sour crab apple juice: poor man's vinegar] and shake them and let them into the oven again, and so serve it.

*In England this imperial measurement equals 1 gallon and a bit more than that in the US but in Tudor times such measures weren't standardised anyway.

In the medieval period, a pie crust or 'coffin' wasn't meant to be eaten. It was a disposable casserole dish in

which the contents were thoroughly cooked, preserved and sealed, enabling the meat or whatever to keep for a week or more even without a fridge. Dawson's paste [pastry] recipe says use rye flour and to make the paste very thick 'else it will not hold'. Although Dawson doesn't mention it, medieval pastry was usually made with a lot of salt to help preserve the contents and stop the pastry going mouldy. Then like modern play dough, baking set it hard. Dawson instructs the lid be sealed to the base [with egg] and a hole made in the top. After two hours baking, vinegar [a preservative] is poured into the hole which is then sealed with raw pastry. Continue to bake the pie – the longer, the better it will keep, he says – then shake it and return it to the oven upside down to bake the bottom. After adding the vinegar, bake for at least two hours more, by which time the pastry case would be rock hard and inedible.

However, pastry was changing in the Elizabethan period. A recipe from *The Good Huswifes Handmaid for Cookerie in her Kitchin* of 1588 has a pastry recipe that was meant to be eaten.

To make paste. Take fine flour and yolks of eggs but not too many yolks or the paste will be dry and not pleasant in eating. Take butter and water and boil together but not too much butter or the paste will be so short you cannot raise it. This paste is good for all manner of coffins [raised pies].

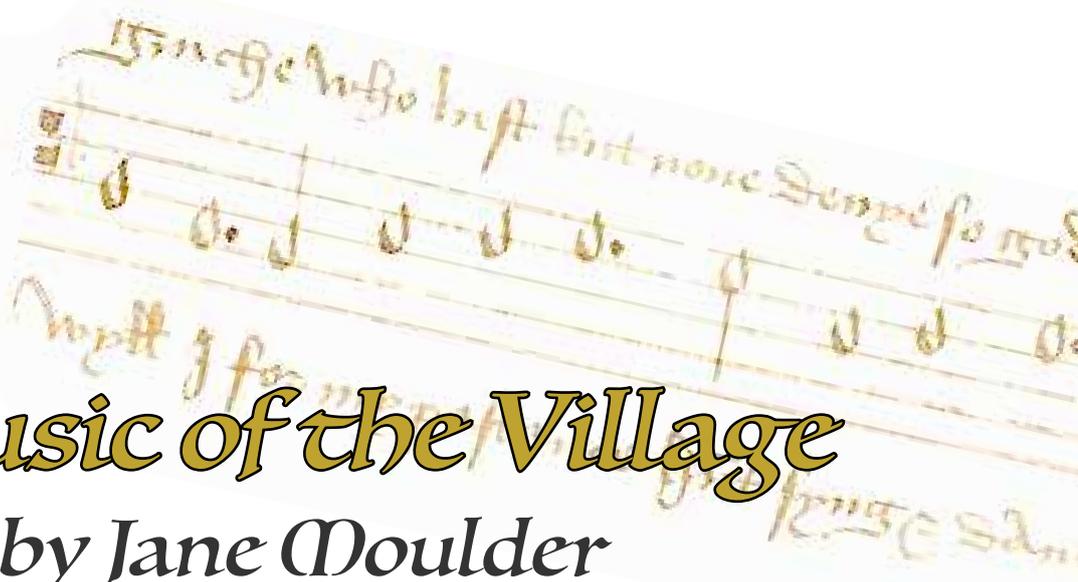
For a fine, seasonal dessert, this pastry would go well with Dawson's up-market strawberry open tart [p.77]:

Take strawberries and wash them in claret wine, thicken and temper them with rosewater and season them with cinnamon, sugar and ginger and spread it on the [ready-baked] tart. Adorn the sides with butter and cast on sugar and biscuits and serve them so.

The strawberries would be the small, sweet wild berries, available to everyone, but cinnamon came from Sri Lanka – or the Garden of Eden, according to the salesmen's pitch – and sugar came from cane plantations grown on Cyprus, Sicily or in North Africa. In Cyprus, the remains of a fifteenth-century sugar refinery still exist.

Enjoy your summer dishes but don't over feed your guests, for as Thomas Tusser tells us: 'Three dishes well dressed, and welcome withall, Both pleaseth thy friend and becommeth thine hall.'

TONI MOUNT



Music of the Village

by Jane Moulder



A painting by Pieter Breughel the Younger depicting St George's Kermis (equivalent of the English Wakes festival) c1600. Villagers are dancing around the maypole to the music of a piper. Drinking, merriment, brawling and other "everyday" activities are depicted.



WHEN writing for Tudor Life magazine, I normally focus on the music and dancing practices which took place in court or in wealthy households. There is a practical reason for this – there are more surviving records and accounts of life in court than there are for daily life in villages, thus enabling more research to take place. But even when concentrating on courtly practices, references to music are frustratingly basic and they are more likely to be simple financial accounts stating the monies paid to musicians rather than a comprehensive list of the music played, the instruments used or the order of dances. So finding out about how music was practiced in day to day village life is even more difficult and a modern day musicologist has to become an even better detective than normal.

However, help is at hand. Fortunately for us in the 21st century, early modern people were just as badly behaved and committed as many misdemeanours and offences as they do today. It is not unusual to find newspaper & tv reports on riotous nights out which have involved drinking, loud music and even fighting and so it was 500 years ago. Even without a press library to refer to, there are a number of sources which can be searched for discovering how the common person enjoyed themselves. Ecclesiastical and civic court records are, surprisingly, one of the primary sources for seeking out how music was played in the villages throughout England during the Tudor period. There are also, of course, many references to music making in the surviving literary cannon. For example, there are approximately 300 musical terms and over 2000 musical

references or puns on music in the works of Shakespeare. Shakespeare came from a small provincial market town and he had not been educated at university but it is clear though that he had a wide knowledge of musical ideas and terms. Shakespeare was writing for the general theatre audience comprising predominantly of common citizens and not just the educated elite. The fact that so many specific terms were used is an indication that his musical understanding was shared by many. With the rise of puritanism towards the end of the 16th century, there were a number of religious commentators who published their sermons and thoughts on the ‘sinful’ lives of everyday Elizabethans thus providing another invaluable source of reference material for the cultural historian.

A further way of finding out how early modern people viewed music and

dance is to study the art of the period. Whilst England did not have a tradition of genre art at this time, this was not the case on the continent and Flemish artists, in particular, were painting vivid descriptions of daily village life with many featuring music making and dancing.

In England there was a vibrant trade in printing and selling ballads with an estimated four million ballads being produced and sold during the 16th century. This figure alone shows what a popular pastime singing was and how ballads were very much “music of the people”. The lyrics of the songs not only give us pictures and stories of individual characters and their lives but they are also great fun to read and

give us a rare insight into everyday lives and events. Many of the ballads contain references to music and musicians. (For further information on Ballads, refer to Tudor Life July 2015)t

By putting all of these various source references together, one can begin to build up a clear picture of everyday music making and what emerges is that no feast, gathering or celebration was complete without music. Music was part of the normal backdrop to daily life and infiltrated every part of it. Music was credited with bringing people together as exemplified in a Midsummer Night’s Dream when Oberon and Titania are reconciled after their dispute. Oberon called for them to dance together and Titania encouraged all assembled to

A Mad Crue; Or, That shall be tryde.
To the tune of, *Pudding-Pye Doll.*



VValking of late through London Streets,
A crue of mad-fellows together meet,
Not one of them sober, if not hee,
Well, quoth the Madman, that shall be tryde.

From thence I travel'd, to see a new play,
Where an old Madman to gallant array,
Was pleasantly watching, like a young Widge,
Well, quoth the Madman, that shall be tryde.

Then to a Tobacco house, smoking both
Went I, and call'd for my Pipe and my Pot,
Which was strong, but howe'er well approv'd,
Well, quoth the Madman, that shall be tryde.

The Merchant of Cheaps, I founde another,
Where some a fine Cut-purse he managed me,
For heere's a layout, to my shame to rise,
Well, quoth the Madman, that shall be tryde.

Afterward to a Tavern, and take by mine Ynde,
Where as I found out an Ount of my Sinne,
Which was no laughing, though all were approv'd,
Well, quoth the Madman, that shall be tryde.

I met with a Collier, that sold all his Wares,
Who offer'd me money by halves by Wares,
Which was the best, the payment hee gave,
Well, quoth the Madman, that shall be tryde.

I founde in a close Watching Alley,
Where to a fine Cheater I sawe my selfe,
Who thought to be so nimble, that could not be tryde,
Well, quoth the Madman, that shall be tryde.

Where Stiles being pleasant, the Game I would see,
Where Whores of our City, all sitting clearely be,
For forty markes after my leave I there tryde,
Well, quoth the Madman, that shall be tryde.

I went to Pre-Corner, to looke for my Dinner,
Where dining with smoke, it made me much thinner,
Which being call'd to see, the Game I there tryde,
Well, quoth the Madman, that shall be tryde.

And then in Southwicks I bought me a Dogge,
Where of all the foure, not halfe a good Dogge,
Which was the Dogge, he left me his tryde,
Well, quoth the Madman, that shall be tryde.

A Quote of good Quittis I made me as then,
Where as five yards lace hee cut out of ten,
And foure of the others, as I had there tryde,
Well, quoth the Madman, that shall be tryde.

I met then a Collier, that sold me good Coales,
Where two of foure Waddes, ran out at the hole,
Yet maye then sell me foure, the Collier will tryde,
Well, quoth the Madman, that shall be tryde.

The second Part. To the same tune.



Great hope of good liquor, the Thames both contains,
Where of the old Politician both greatly complains,
Keat on the hot bottle, the Quaint will not be,
Well, quoth the Brewer, now that shall be tryde.

The Carrier that travels by night very late,
Which to a Mile both doubles the strength of his gate,
Without either money, or rest, he maye rise,
Well, quoth the Thief, now that shall be tryde.

A Trench of plaine beeing, under life of her stone,
The Merchant of Cheaps, hee thought hee had wonne,
The use of experience, hee will not abide,
Well, quoth the Merry-wench, that shall be tryde.

The good man, that leaveth a cumbersome life,
Thee hee maye be keepeth the fill of his wife,
And being thus laid, his neighbour will rise,
Well, quoth the Make-wife, now that shall be tryde.

The Good wife, that traffeth her fate into naught,
In a shoppe apparel, her husband both bought,
And with the like a Peasack, her husband by her side,
Well, quoth the Cockhold, now that shall be tryde.

Who that his garments will put on for good life,
And at the same time, like a Whore, will rise,
Whom hee will see, without any price,
Well, quoth the Begger, now that shall be tryde.

Who that a house and a charge will maintaine,
Yet will not for a little take any paine,
Whoe hee will see, without any price,
Well, quoth the Drunkard, now that shall be tryde.

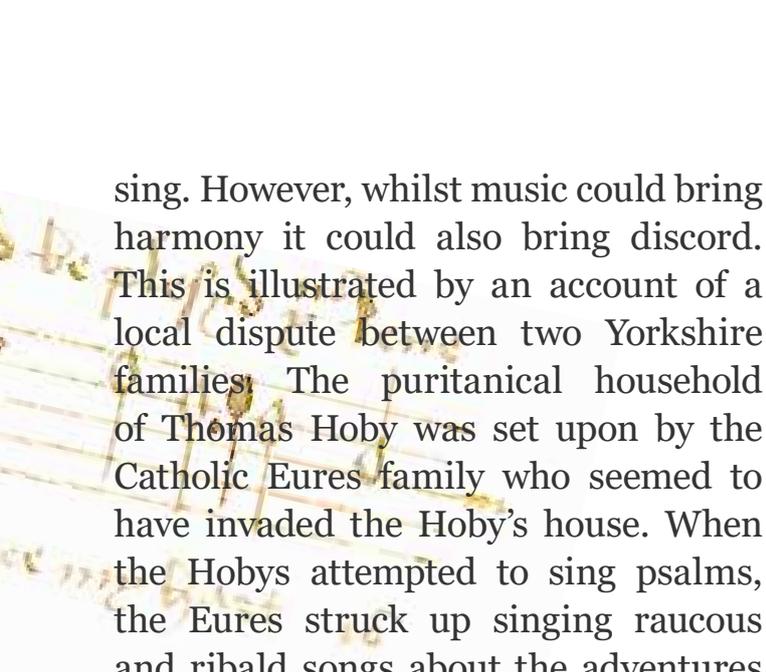
Who that by fasting still saves all her debts,
Whoe shee will see, for the sake of the fruits,
Whoe shee will see, without any price,
Well, quoth the Oyster-wench, that shall be tryde.

Who that each morning will call for his quart,
Whoe hee will see, for the sake of the heart,
Whoe hee will see, without any price,
Well, quoth the Taker-Farmer, that shall be tryde.

Whoe that my Witte will bluely regard,
Whoe hee will see, for the sake of the word,
Whoe hee will see, without any price,
Well, quoth the Ballad-singer, that shall be tryde.

London printed for Iohn Trundle.

An illustration accompanying a broadside ballad in the Pepys Collection in Cambridge. It shows two musicians entertaining a gathering at a gaming table in a public house.



sing. However, whilst music could bring harmony it could also bring discord. This is illustrated by an account of a local dispute between two Yorkshire families. The puritanical household of Thomas Hoby was set upon by the Catholic Eures family who seemed to have invaded the Hoby's house. When the Hobys attempted to sing psalms, the Eures struck up singing raucous and ribald songs about the adventures of King Arthur! Likewise a social gathering in Goodrich in Herefordshire which had originally been convened "*with mirth musique and danseing*" for the purpose of "*making peace and love betweene all neighbours*" actually resulted in a bitter dispute breaking out which could only be resolved by both parties going to court.

Legal sources, such as wills and probate records, can again give us valuable information and another piece in the jigsaw. It is assumed that the majority of common musicians of this period would have learnt music by ear and that general levels of musical literacy were either non-existent or very low. A Winchester man who died in 1577 only had goods worth a total of £6 9s 8d but in amongst that he had two violins, three shawms and "*such books as belongs to the said Instruments*". Nearly half of Thomas Smith's wealth of £13 11s 4d was contained in his collection of twelve musical instruments but he also had twelve pence worth of music books. If such lowly musicians were able to read music, then our assumption of

solely aural learning amongst everyday folk needs to be challenged. It is clear that these two probate documents alone show that it wasn't just the professional and apprenticed musicians that were able to read pricksong (music notation).

By studying the plethora of records, it seems that the everyday people were exposed to four main instruments; bagpipes, fiddles, drums and trumpets; with the first two providing the majority of recreational music and the latter being part of the soundscape of civic or military life. Whilst music may have been heard in church through the performance of sung psalms and devotional songs, the majority of music would have been heard in alehouses, on the village greens, market places and even in the fields. In 1586 the academic John Case wrote a treatise on music in which he devoted three pages to the musical habits of the everyday folk. He describes how "*manual labourers and Mechanicall artificers of all sorts, keepe such a chaunting and singing in their shoppes*" and how agricultural workers could not endure their tough work "*unlesse they quieted and even brought asleep their painfulness by whistling and singing*". He considered common people "*base and ignoble*" but despite this he recognised the music was essential to them "*by the instinct of their harmonicall soules*".

Case seems to have been almost a lone voice in stating the importance of music to the populace. In general, music for the common people was condemned

by the rising group of religious zealots who considered that it drew people away from the organised worship of church and sacred life. If a minstrel played on the village green then the weak would be taken away from church. In 1578, the preacher John Walsall proclaimed that *“every vaine fiddler and vagabound Piper in the country doth carrie away the unthankfull people, even upon the Lorde his holy Saboth dayes’*. It wasn’t just the fact that not only could debauched music be heard on the way to church but one group of Protestant psalm singers complained that they could not sing their praises in their own homes because of *“the noise of the Pipe and Taber, and Whootings in the Street, continually in our Ears”*.

Music was deemed to be a bad influence amongst common people as it endangered morals if subjected to too much of it. Music had the ability to debase and debauch and Puritanical preachers considered music and dancing a corrupting force. Philip Stubbes, the preacher and pamphleteer had plenty to warn people about in the 1580’s and he suggested that listening to music would transform an innocent woman into a whore. In the puritan mind, a fondness for dancing could indicate bad character, particularly in a woman. In 1578, Jane Man from Cheshire was described as *“infamie she daily confirmeth as I credibly heare by drinking, diceing, dauncinge, swearing and royotinge [rioting]: so contagious and troublesome a neighbour”*. But

however bad dancing was for a woman’s reputation, it was nothing as compared with how a member of the clergy was viewed having been caught dancing. Brought before a church court, a curate was accused of having *“haunteth alehouuses, hunteth, hawketh and now and then daunceth”*.

As music and dancing was considered to be so morally reprehensible, it followed that village musicians and wandering minstrels should have an equally unsavoury reputation. There’s no doubt that village musicians were generally perceived to be “rough” and had the potential to lead god-fearing citizens into bad ways. Certainly, judging from the court accounts, some of the musicians seem to have deserved their reputation! John Mace from Nottinghamshire was typical of this type and was described as being *“desperately dangerous, and of notorious ill conversation for barretting, drunkenness, nightwalkinge, and haunting alehouses and suspitious places, and lewd company continuallye.”*

Musicians were automatically assumed to be vagabonds unless they could prove otherwise. A musician’s lot was definitely not made any easier after 1572 when the Statute of Vagabonds was introduced by Elizabeth I. This statute, in effect, prevented anyone from leaving their home parish without a patron or magistrate’s permission and the new law, more or less, overnight put paid to the “wandering minstrel”.



A woodcut depicting a fiddler in the stocks. Not even this punishment can seem to stop his merrymaking and drinking! (Note that only one foot is in the stocks). Pepys Library, Cambridge. It is taken from “A statute for Swearers and Drunkards”.

The stated punishment for being found abroad without a licence was to be “*grievously whipped and burnt through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron*” for the first offence, judged a felon for the second and executed for the third. Whilst the Act specifically cited that the movements of “*jugglers, peddlers, tinkers and petty chapmen*” should be restricted, it seems, judging by the court records, that many musicians fell foul of these laws with fiddlers and pipers, in particular, being especially castigated. In many cases though, the offending minstrel was simply expelled from the town rather

than being charged with being a rogue but others were whipped before being sent on. It seems that the magistrates were happy to pass the problem on to the next town.^t

These draconian sounding punishments and restrictions only applied to those musicians travelling without a licence and there is plenty of evidence to suggest that the majority of musicians stayed within their parishes to provide music and keep their home community happy.

Music was played to entertain the villagers at church ales (an occasion where ale would be brewed and sold

by the church to raise money for the village and individual parishioner's needs). The church ales were described as consisting of *"drinking, fiddling, dancing and brawling all afternoon and the most part of the nyght"*. It was also said that a fiddler could smell out a feast or a Whitsun Ale from five miles away! There is certainly plenty of evidence to suggest that a Church Ale or Wakes festival, which should only have lasted for the day of the village church's patron saint, often lasted for a week or more due to the proliferation of beer, music, entertainment and dancing. There are accounts of canny musicians simply moving from village to village depending on the various celebrations in the knowledge that there would be people wanting music to be played and therefore good money (plus beer) could be earned.

As well as wakes and church ales, musicians would be required to entertain at rushbearings, bearbaitings and they were even hired to entertain workers in the fields and in front of miscreants in the stocks.

As today, music went hand in hand with drinking beer in alehouses and inns. Certainly, an alehouse keeper knew that music and dancing attracted and kept a good trade even when that was on the Sabbath. It should come as no surprise that there are various accounts of fights breaking out in alehouses following an evening's drinking, with music and dancing being singled out as a contributing factor to the poor behaviour. Thomas Hale was brought to the Assizes to *"answere his beinge an Aleseller his entertaining of pypers and singgers dansinge and*

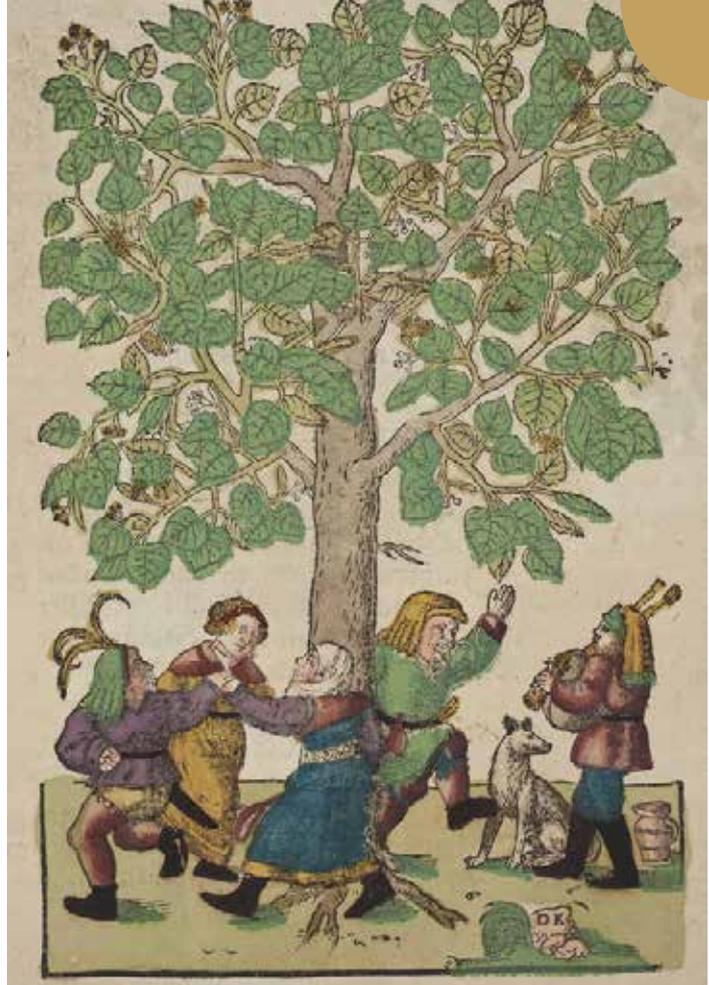


The Peasant Wedding
Pieter Breughel, 1567, Kunsthistorisches, Vienna.

fighting in his house in the night tyme upon the Saboth daye at a wake tyme”.

Throughout the Tudor period, no village wedding celebration would be complete without a piper to play for the entertainment. A bagpiper was also considered to bring good luck and fortune and a bride would tie a ribbon around the piper's drone as a talisman. Pieter Breughel's picture of the wedding feast gives a vivid flavour of a village celebration.

The life of an agricultural worker in Elizabethan England was undoubtedly a hard one with a long six day week being normal for common people. Sunday was reserved for rest and religion. However, early modern people were no different from us today in that a holiday also meant a day enjoying oneself – and that of course including music and dancing. It was the practice of paying bagpipers to play for villagers on the Sabbath that has enabled us to determine the widespread practice of piping and music making in late Tudor England. Being the Lord's day, it was considered an offence to play music on the Sabbath and therefore the many pipers found themselves in court for breaking the law. Both ecclesiastical and civic courts record numerous accounts of “*pyping on the Sabbath*” and either or both the musician and the patron had fines imposed upon them. The indications are that these penalties were simply taken in the musicians' stride and treated a bit like a business expense, showing that it was considered



Villagers dancing around a lime tree to the music of a piper. 1580 – illustration by David Kandel

a common event. Some villagers even used the pipers to test the local rector's authority by deliberately employing a musician to play on a Sunday. In the village of Mobberley in Cheshire, the villages paid the local piper to play both before and after evening prayer and also later in the evening, specifically requesting him to play outside of the rector's house and in the churchyard. There was even a case recorded of a piper playing in the back of the church, accompanied by people dancing, whilst the sermon was being delivered!

Dancing was a popular pastime at all levels of society. However there were double standards when it came to how dancing was viewed. In courtly circles the ability to dance well was a social necessity and the mark of being



Musicians playing for dancers, illustrated by Hans Sebald Beham

a courtier or a lady. Considerable sums of money were spent by aspiring gentlemen on learning how to dance and there was a demand for both personal tuition or for books and guidance on the art. But amongst the general populace, for the moralists at least, dancing was a sure route to depravity and disgrace. Various publications and sermons were published which spelt out the evils of dance, especially when practiced on a Sunday – the day, in fact, when it seems most dancing occurred. This juxtaposition of attitudes is due to the fact that, for the moralists at least, common people were an easy target for their indignation. The most common words used to describe commoners dancing were *filthy, lewd, stinking, wanton, shamelesse* and

lascivious. It was “*mix’d dancing*” that caused the consternation because if a boy and girl would ‘*mingle mangle*’ in dancing then “*spiritual whoredom*” was sure to follow. The general line of attack for the puritan moralist was that extra-marital sex was a natural progression from dancing. According to one commentator, nine out of every ten girls who went into the woods following the May Day dance returned home pregnant, but Philip Stubbes was less pessimistic, stating that it was only one in three! However, through assessing the actual birth records of the period, population levels did not rise significantly in January each year. However, no doubt that then, as now, dancing and socialising certainly led to relationships being formed. Despite the

opprobrium being heaped on dancing by the preachers, dancing seems to have remained a popular pastime and villagers' enthusiasm for dancing and breaking the law was undiminished. In one of the Cheshire records, there is an account that the dancing on the village green, opposite the church, went on for so long one Sunday that someone was sent to go and fetch the piper a stool so that he could sit down – and then continue playing long into the night.

Thomas Nashe, in his pamphlet *Have you to Saffron Walden*, printed in 1596, told his reader about village dances on the green. In doing so, he gave us an invaluable and unique record of the actual tunes used for dancing in that particular location:

“having preached and beat down three pulpits in inveighing against dancing, one Sunday evening, when his wench or friskin was footing it aloft on the green, with foot out and foot in, and as busy as might be at

Rogero, Basilino, Turkelony, All the Flowers of the Broom, Pepper is Black, Greensleeves, Peggie Ramsey, he came sneaking behind a tree and looked on, and though he was loath to be seen to countenance the sport, having laid God's word against it so dreadfully, yet to show his goodwill to it in heart, he sent her 18 pence in hugger-mugger to pay the fiddlers.”

For me, it is the exploration of the scant court records and accounts village musicians and dancers that brings me closer to the period than the many accounts of courtly musical life. They make it easy to see parallels with today's views and attitudes towards rest, fun and pastimes. I love music and dancing today (and also to having a few beers!) and it is reassuring that it has ever been thus. It is these insights into the lives of everyday people which brings history alive and makes it so much more relevant and important to us in the 21st century.

JANE MOULDER

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THE CHURCH AND ITS POSITION IN DAILY LIFE

Debra Bayani

In Medieval Britain and early Tudor times, the church was the most powerful force and dominated nearly everybody's daily life. Whether you were a peasant or a townsman, you believed in God, hell and heaven. Everyone was taught that one was only allowed to heaven if the church allowed you.

The church had absolute power over communities. Peasants worked for free on church lands. Their time could, of course, be better spent by working on their own land to produce food for their own families. But above that, they also had to pay a tenth of their income to the church as a tax. A failure to pay these taxes to the church would lead





St Mary's Priory Church, Abergavenny
Photo © Philip Halling - geograph.org.uk/p/1328360





to condemnation of one's soul and a trip to hell after death. People were too frightened not to pay these taxes, and this is the main reason why the church was so wealthy. The old English word "tithe" means tenth, and therefore these taxes were called tithes. This is also the origin of the name "tithe barn". A tithe barn was a type of barn used in much of northern Europe in the Middle Ages for storing rents and tithes. These tithe barns were situated near churches or on church lands and were places where in the middle ages tithes were paid. Tithes could be paid in either money or agricultural goods produced by peasant farmers. Most peasants had only a little money, and so they had to pay with livestock, seeds, wheat, etc. Churches received large amounts of goods that were stored in these huge tithe barns, but lots of goods went to waste because pests ate it or because it rotted away due to rat urine or bad weather.

There were other ways in which the church received money. People had to pay for baptisms, marriages, funerals, etc. The church told the people that if they were not buried in consecrated land that their soul would not go to heaven. Those who disagreed with the church's teaching were considered heretics and could be punished or even executed. The same went for those of other faiths.

Death was also at the centre of people's daily life. With the high rate of infant mortality, the constant presence of war, a lack of hygiene and good medication, death was always close at hand. As a result, people focused on avoiding sin, performing good works and supporting and obeying the teachings of the church.

DEBRA BAYANI

IAN MULCAHY GOES FOR A WANDER AROUND HISTORIC CRAWLEY

Crawley is a medium sized town in West Sussex, situated midway between London and Brighton and with a current population of around 110,000. It is best known for being a post war 'new town', that is, a town that saw rapid development following the end of World War 2 in order to accommodate families from London who were living in poor or damaged

housing. It is also home to Gatwick Airport, the second busiest single runway airport in the world.

To many people, that is Crawley and the story would end here, but what many don't realise is that the town has a long and rich history. Having been inhabited since the Stone Age, it was a major ironworking centre during the Roman Occupation and it is believed that



Worth Church



The Tree House

permanent settlement of the area commenced late in the 9th century. Indeed, the Saxon built St Nicholas Church, in Worth, has been dated to 871 (and was later gifted by William the Conqueror to his son, William de Warenne, whose coat of arms is still visible in the stained glass windows of the church). The Ifield area of the town also appears in the Domesday book.

By the 13th-Century, Crawley was starting to develop as a market town and, through the 14th-and 15th-centuries, a High Street started to take shape around the main London to Brighton coaching route as wealth began to be accumulated by those living and working in the area.

The town's new found prosperity, gained principally from ironworking and farming,

meant that families had become wealthy enough to start constructing substantial timber buildings, some of which survive to this day. *The Tree House*, a timber framed hall house at the northern end of the High Street, was the original Manor House of Crawley and is believed to be late 14th-century in origin. Most of its timbers are now hidden from view behind more modern brick walls and roof. It will soon be open to the public as it is currently being prepared as the new home of the Crawley Museum.

Just south of *The Tree House* is *The Old Punchbowl*, a 5 bay timber-framed Wealden hall-house built in the early 15th-Century. Originally a farmhouse it has since served time as subdivided labourers cottages, a tea room and a bank. It is currently a pub.



The Punchbowl

300 yards south of *The Old Punchbowl*, is *The Ancient Priors*, a mid 15th-century 4 bay timber-framed Wealden hall-house, but with parts hidden from everyday view that date back to the 14th-century. The Ancient Priors was originally built as a private house, most likely for the use of the priest from the nearby church. Later, it would be a pub and was then used by a variety of tradespeople. In the early 20th-century it was used as an antique shop before being allowed to fall into disrepair. Indeed, it became so dilapidated that in the 1930's demolition was considered, but thankfully the building was restored and has now been a restaurant, under various ownerships, for several decades. It's interesting to note that secret rooms, the purpose of which





The Ancient Priors

has never been confirmed, were discovered in the 19th-century.

Opposite *The Ancient Priors*, is *The George Hotel*, probably Crawley's most famous building. The oldest parts of the hotel are commonly said to date from 1450, but it is thought that the centre section, an open hall house, may be 60 or 70 years older. It is thought that the structure has always served as an inn and famous guests include Lord Nelson, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.

Other medieval period buildings in the High Street include number 39, a 16th-century timber framed hall house which was re-modelled and clad with bargeboards and tiles in the mid-1800's and now serves as an Estate Agents. Opposite number 39



The George Hotel

is 44-48 High Street, a four-bay timber-framed hall-house which was built in around 1600 and was converted into shops no later than the early 19th century. Originally, both street-facing elevations were jettied, but only the smaller north face remains so, the jetty of the eastern face now hidden behind shop fascias.

Unfortunately, many of the medieval buildings in the High Street were bulldozed during the construction of the new town in the early 1950's. With their true origins being hidden from view behind 18th & 19th-century cladding, they were destroyed by workmen before their true significance was realised.

Within the town boundaries, but away from the town centre, are many more



39 High Street



Ewhurst Place

surviving medieval buildings some of which are certainly worth a quick look at.

The finest of these, in the author's opinion, is hidden away in Ifield, a mile or so to the west of the town centre. At one time, there were six moated medieval timber framed houses in the area and the magnificent 15th-century *Ewhurst Place* is the only complete survivor. A much older structure once stood on the site and the current owner tells me that when the moat was dredged during a particularly dry summer in the mid-1980's, foundations believed to date to the 10th-century were discovered. Wooden posts from this previous structure are still visible when the water level is particularly low.



44-48 High Street



Ewhurst Place

Ewhurst Place also had an outer ditch. Whilst the main moat existed to protect the property and its occupants, the outer ditch was to protect the owner's livestock from predators such as wolves, which would have still been roaming the countryside when the house was constructed and certainly when the original older house existed on the site. A lot of the outer ditch still exists.

Martyrs Farm, to the north of the town centre and now in the neighbourhood of Langley Green, played a part in Britain's history when, upon the nation's return to Catholicism during the reign of Queen Mary, a local Protestant Martyr, Thomas Dugate, was burnt at the stake in nearby East Grinstead having been arrested for



Martyrs Farm



Hyders Hall



rejecting the Catholic faith at the farm that was named in his honour.

Hyders Hall, to the north of *Martyrs Farm* is another surviving moated house from the period, now only partially moated. *Hyders Hall* is now known as Gatwick Manor and is used as hotel and events venue. Originally built in the 15th century as 2 two bay open hall-house, it has been extended multiple times.

To the east of *Hyders Hall* is the beautiful *Rowleys Farm*, a large late 16th-century timber framed early smoke bay house. To the north, and within the boundaries of Gatwick airport, stand *Edgeworth House* and *Wing House*. *Edgeworth House* is a four bay hall house built in approximately 1520 which adjoins its younger sister,

Wing House, another four bay hall house built in the mid 16th-century. They stand in the grounds of a hotel chain and both seem to be currently unused.

To the north of the airport and surrounded by car parks, stands *Charlwood Park Farmhouse*, a 15th century open hall house which is jettied all round. The building is currently used as a pre-school. Another building used for the same purpose, is *Charlwood House*, a very early 17th-century timber framed house on the southern side of the runway. On the far north western edge of the towns boundary, directly under the flight path and half a mile or so from the end of the runway, stands Upper Prestwood Farm.



Edgeworth House



Rowleys Farm



This early 15th-century four bay open hall house remains relatively unchanged.

Heading back towards Ifield, on the way out of town just south of the Rusper Road stands the *Mill House*, a 16th century house originally inhabited by those working in the nearby water mill. The building became a pub in the 1970's, having seen off a demolition threat, but has now returned to private ownership. Also on the Rusper Road is *Turks Croft*, a three bay hall house from the late 15th century, with substantial 16th and 17th-century additions. A mile or so north of here, in Langley Lane, we have *The Old Forge*, a three bay open hall house built in approximately 1475. In 1674, a local Blacksmith who owned the house passed the land over to the Quakers



Wing House



Charlwood Park Farmhouse



Upper Prestwood



Charlwood House



Mill House



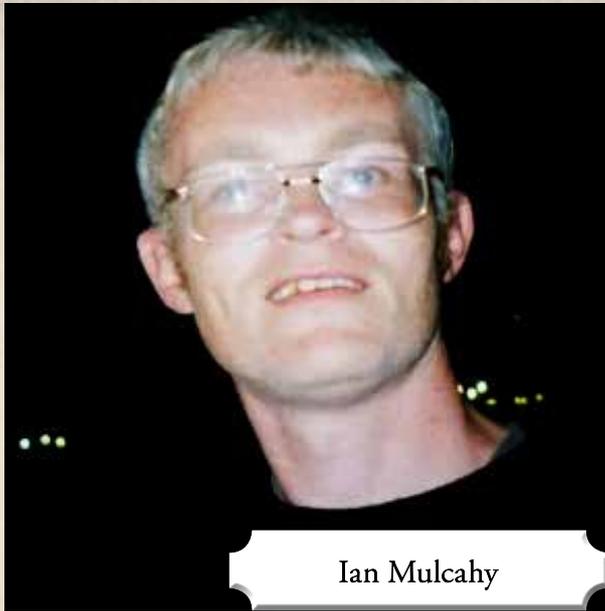
Turks Croft



Turks Croft

who built a meeting house adjoining the cottage. This is still in use and is one of the oldest purpose-built Quaker meeting houses in existence. A stones throw to the north is *Old Inn Cottage*, a two and a half bay open hall house built in approximately 1600. We can probably draw the conclusion that this property once served as an inn.

Heading out of the town centre on the Horsham Road is the 16th-century *Goffs Manor*, a 4 bay open hall house that was



Ian Mulcahy

originally a farmhouse, but is now used as a pub. The actor Peter Vaughan, of 'Porridge' fame, lived here until 1986. Further along the Horsham Road is *Little Buckswood Farm*, a late 15th-century farmhouse that, sadly, serves as nothing more

than a storage facility and display frame for the garden centre that now surrounds it.

Finally, to the north east of the town centre, stands the late 16th-century *Blackdog Cottage*. Formerly a farmhouse, it now forms part of the Northgate neighbourhood.

IAN MULCAHY



The Old Forge

Old Forge and Meetinghouse



The Old Inn Cottage





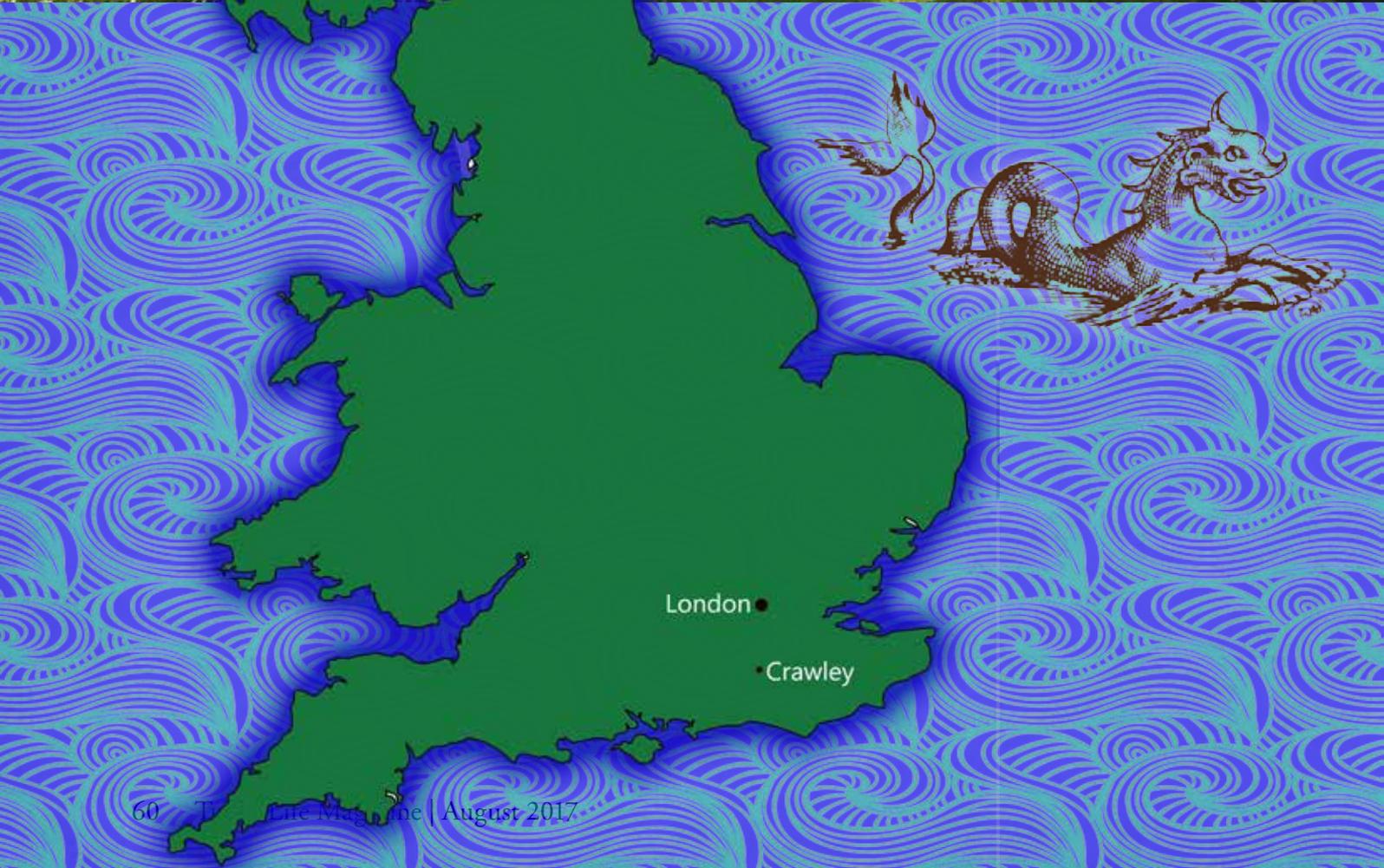
Goff's Manor



Little Buckswood Farm



Goff's Manor



THE TUDOR SOCIETY

MEMBERS' BULLETIN



Welcome to all our members, both new and old!

Happy 3rd Birthday to the Tudor Society - it's our **THIRD YEAR** of running what has grown into a massive and very exciting society. We're forever indebted to all our members, but a special thanks go out to the members who've been with us from the very start.

THANK YOU for your support.

We wanted to say that, due to your support of the society, we're able to help all of our guest speakers, experts, magazine contributors and website authors to do their research.

The Tudor Society really does make a difference to these people and I know they'd be the first to thank you too. Your subscriptions go to keeping **Tudor Life** magazine at its high standard, on the running and maintenance of the website, paying for articles, speakers and experts, paying our editor and organiser and on the million and one things that we have to do. Without you, we'd be nothing at all - **THANK YOU** for your past and future support.

Please get involved with the Tudor Society
WE RELY ON YOUR ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP

Charlie

**MARY I:
THE DAUGHTER
OF TIME**

by John Edwards

Monarchs
Books

Penguin Publishing has slowly been releasing new books in its Monarchs series, with one of the latest additions being *Mary I: The Daughter of Time* by John Edwards. The series involves historians writing small but engaging biographies on each English monarch, and now it is Mary I's turn. It is written by John Edwards and is bound to draw attention due to the lack of full-size biographies on her. This is the third Tudor book released so far (the others being Henry VIII and Edward VI) and Edwards' second biography on Mary, the first being a full-sized one for the Yale English Monarchs series. Where his previous biography can be quite daunting for the average reader, this latest edition is small and easy to read, but still engaging at the same time.

Edwards starts not by talking about Mary, but by talking about her parents and their lives and how their experiences contributed to their very different views on whether women could rule. This is useful context, and Edwards manages to keep it brief, moving on to Mary's birth swiftly after.

The book has a large section on her education and how her tutors may have influenced her. This is something that often isn't given the attention it deserves, with many focusing on her experiences once Anne Boleyn arrived on the scene. Edwards emphasises the importance of Mary's education, especially when Henry had to consider the fact that Mary might be his only legitimate heir and

therefore be queen one day. Edwards states how a girl's education differed from that of a boy, but in Mary's case her tutor had to deal with educating a potential queen regnant:

'they not only had to be protected from salacious literature, including the romances of chivalry, but, even if they were princesses, they should primarily be educated in domestic tasks and virtues, not the skills of the public square. Even so, writing in 1524, in the midst of a political situation in which Princess Mary was the king's only legitimate heir, despite what was being done to bolster the position of Henry Fitzroy, now Duke of Richmond, Vives was forced to face up to the possibility that Mary might indeed obtain the English crown.'

Edwards writes about one of Mary's tutors, Juan Luis Vives, who came from a Jewish family that had converted to Christianity just before he was born. Vives wrote on the education of girls and was one of the humanists who believed they should be educated in the same way boys were. He was close to Catherine of Aragon and Mary, dedicating books to them, and I am glad the author included this information as it gives us some idea of the influences in her life and what led her to become the determined queen she was.

The author makes clear that Mary I did not want Lady Jane Grey executed, as some have claimed, and did not believe her cousin had

a choice in becoming queen. Despite being pressured by Philip's ambassadors, she refused to execute Jane at first. It was only with Wyatt's rebellion, in which Jane could easily become a focal point, that she was forced to act against her:

'It was not until the leading rebels, including Wyatt, had been executed that Philip could contemplate coming to England. Two other casualties of the rebellion were Jane and Guildford Dudley, who had initially survived Mary's triumph but were now executed. Elizabeth, who almost certainly knew about the rebellion and would have become queen if it had been successful, escaped to fight another day.'

This shows a more sympathetic side of Mary, one who wanted to protect her family and believed her cousin an innocent puppet queen, yet could not allow possible rebels to use her for their own means. There is a similar pattern with Mary's treatment of Elizabeth, although she was a little more lenient with her heir apparent, especially once she knew she would not have a child to succeed her.

The only minor problem with Edwards' book is his outdated views on Lady Jane Grey, trivialising her reign and calling her *'the nine days wonder'*. For someone not writing a biography on Jane, he perhaps should not have dwelled on her life for as long as he has, even writing about her mother's cruelty towards her. This has long been questioned and has been dismissed by many historians due to the only pieces of evidence having been written years after the event. He does not challenge this theory, simply accepting it, however this is only a minor problem in a biography of Mary I, not Lady Jane Grey.

Edwards also mentions the views of Mary throughout history, specifically by other historians who have perpetuated the myth of 'Bloody Mary'. He explains how they have often compared her unfavourably to Elizabeth when in reality Mary had much more to deal with (being the first female monarch of England), and they were more alike than people think. He looks at the likes of Geoffrey Elton, a well-known Tudor



historian, who was very much a man of his time regarding his views about Mary:

'Until very recently it has been customary, among historians of the Tudors, to compare Mary unfavourably with Elizabeth, not only in their intellectual ability and the quality of the education which they received. A powerful statement of the prevailing view was given by a distinguished Tudor specialist, Sir Geoffrey Elton, who asserted that Mary was 'arrogant, assertive, bigoted, stubborn, suspicious and (not to put too fine a point on it) rather stupid.'

Mary I: The Daughter of Time is a worthy addition to the Penguin Monarchs series, tackling the controversial subject of Mary I and managing to put some of her actions into context without going too far and making her a saint. John Edwards discards the 'Bloody Mary' myth and presents a sympathetic account of her life in a small but interesting volume. It is a good starting point for anyone who wants to learn more about Mary's life and reign.

CHARLIE FENTON



A tale of three armies: The Bosworth Battlefield Heritage Centre

In 1974 Leicestershire County Council opened a visitor centre on Ambion Hill, near Market Bosworth, to commemorate the historic events of the 22nd August 1485, and the battle which led to the death of the last Plantagenet king and the birth of the Tudor monarchy.

An awful lot has happened since then, which has added to the story of this dramatic episode in British history.

The prominence of the 500th anniversary of the battle led to an increased effort to find out more about the events of the day and, most crucially, the actual location of the battlefield itself. Despite the fact that Ambion Hill had become the established location for the battlefield in the late eighteenth century, this new research raised serious questions about the veracity of this.

In 2005, realising that the Centre was almost certainly not on the battlefield itself, Leicestershire County Council successfully applied for a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund, to undertake a multi-disciplinary survey, to see if it was possible to find a lost 15th-century battlefield. The grant also funded a renovation of the Heritage Centre, allowing it to explore more of the battle, the Wars of the Roses and to highlight how we were unsure of many aspects of the story.

The survey team was led by Glenn Foard of the Battlefields Trust and included experts in soils, military tactics, place names, medieval field systems and archaeologists, as well as a dedicated team of metal detectorists, who would be crucial in locating any physical evidence of the battle.

After nearly five years of systematic survey, the Team - which, between them, had walked as far as Moscow - discovered a set of lead and lead composite cannon balls of varying calibre, spread out over a wide area of low lying, flat ground around a mile and a half south west of the Heritage Centre. This is where local researchers Peter Foss and Tim Parry had concluded, back in the late 1980s, that the battle had taken place, based on documentary and topographical research.

As well as the internationally important artillery evidence (now numbering 40 roundshot), a small scatter of other metal objects, likely to be associated with the battle, was found by the team of detectorists. The most iconic of these was a small, silver-gilt badge in the form of a boar. This was found immediately adjacent to an area of medieval marsh, as evidenced by datable peat deposits, suggesting that perhaps it was lost during the final struggle between Richard and Henry's bodyguards and the suddenly committed forces of Sir William Stanley.

The Bosworth Quest gallery is dedicated to how the battlefield was lost and found, and displays the objects found in the survey, including the round shot. Also displayed is a collection of objects previously associated with the battlefield; however all are poorly provenanced and several of them are more likely to be relics of a skirmish of the English Civil war, which took place 'on the very field where King Richard was slain'.

The rediscovered battlefield covers a large area - as one would expect of a battle with up to 20,000 participants - and the largely agricultural land is owned by many different, private, landowners. Access to the area is possible by the existing footpath network, but there is very little facility for parking. Our events programme includes several long guided walks across the battlefield, which also take in Dadlington, where the slain were buried, and Stoke Golding, where Henry Tudor was unofficially crowned after the battle.

The Heritage Centre remains on Ambion Hill, which is still perceived to be where at least part of Richard's army camped the night before the battle, and acts as a gateway to the battlefield



with its commanding views over the landscape. A revised external trail was installed to inform casual walkers of the story and a memorial sundial was erected to form a place to commemorate the fallen from all three armies. An early casualty of our rediscovery of the battlefield was the series of heraldic flags, dotted about the landscape, to show where the armies were previously thought to have started the battle from. This has been rationalised to just two war banners, those of Henry Tudor and Richard III, which stand side by side on Ambion Hill, next to the sundial. This embodies the Centre's strapline of 'Two King's, One Day', which enables us to tell a balanced story of the events of 1485.

As well as the hands-on exhibition, which puts Bosworth in its historical context and covers the aftermath and the significance of the Tudor Dynasty, the award-winning site has a gift shop (with a well-stocked book section), a tea room (set in a reconstructed medieval tithe barn), and a temporary exhibition space. Shorter guided walks are available every weekend and during the

school holidays and can be booked for group visits - as can exhibition entry and some of our living-history learning sessions, which are very popular with the many school groups who visit the site.

Of course, the rediscovery of the battlefield is not the only significant rediscovery of relevance, as the success of the Greyfriars Project in finding Richard III's burial place has also contributed to our understanding of Richard's final moments. It has finally settled the long-running debates about whether his body had been dug up and disposed of in the River Soar and, of course, just how much of the deformity referred to in later Tudor sources was actually propaganda. Our exhibition covers some of this, but we leave the King Richard III Visitor Centre in Leicester to tell the full, exciting story.

Perhaps slightly perversely, the rediscovery of King Richard's burial place and the huge interest this has raised in the Bosworth story, has inspired us to increase the presence of Henry Tudor in our gallery. We have commissioned a new painting of Henry's Battlefield Crowning from Graham Turner, who has captured both the relief and gratefulness, as well as physical tiredness, of the victors, with the body strewn battlefield in the background. The 'Aftermath' gallery, which Graham Turner's image introduces, also now features a large image of Henry VII's early coat of arms with the dragon, greyhound and crown and shield in the thorn bush, and sits opposite images of Richard's return to Leicester and subsequent swift burial. This section is followed by a 'Tudor rotunda', celebrating the diversity of the Tudor monarchs, but also making the important point that Bosworth led directly to the significant changes made to the country under the Tudors. This gallery now contains reconstructions of the Yeomen of the Guard uniforms worn under Henry VII and Henry VIII – their formation, again, a direct outcome of Henry's victory. We also explore in more depth some of the Tudor effect on England, including the display of some original objects, which illustrate the changes brought about by the Reformation.

Our final gallery reflects on the reigns and achievements of both Richard and Henry, and then compares their deaths and their later resting places. We then ask the visitors to vote for which they think was the better king...

The battle has been commemorated with an annual re-enactment event since the 1970s. As the quality and number of medieval reenactors has increased, so has the size of the event, which includes far more than just the re-fight of Bosworth. Due to the lack of facilities down on the battlefield itself, the re-enactment still takes place on Ambion Hill.

This year's event, the Bosworth Medieval Festival, is on the 19th and 20th August (9.30am – 5.30pm) and includes jousting displays, artillery displays, a large living-history camp, special interest stalls, a medieval market, authors' talks, a fashion show, medieval music and dancing, as well as the refighting of two battles! There are lots of things for families to get involved with too, including have-a-go archery and quintain jousting, circus skills school, story-telling and a children's fancy dress competition.

Visit www.bosworthbattlefield.com for more information and to buy tickets for the Festival and author talks within it.



DISCOUNT
AVAILABLE
ON ADVANCE TICKETS



19 & 20
9.30am

www.bosworthbattlefield.org.uk

Each year the Battle of Bosworth is remembered with a large scale re-enactment of the battle where Richard III fought for his crown and lost his life and Henry Tudor became King.

On the 22nd August 1485 Henry Tudor brought a small rebel army to face the much larger Royal army of King Richard III.

Writers of the time mention a marsh between the two armies. The Stanley's, whose loyalty to either side was as yet unknown, were positioned between the two armies, but to one side; probably to the South.

John de Vere, The Earl of Oxford was Henry's military commander and he led the main army around the marsh and attacked King Richard's right flank, commanded by the Duke of Norfolk. One writer describes heavy gunfire from the King's artillery forcing this manoeuvre by Oxford's men.

Eventually, the Earl of Oxford defeated Norfolk's army using a wedge formation attack and the Duke himself was killed, close to a windmill.

Meanwhile, the Yorkist Earl of Northumberland, standing with a sizeable army supporting Richard's left flank, did not move, possibly because of the marsh in front of him and the Stanley's on his flank.

With the battle not going his way, Richard saw Henry Tudor with only a small force of soldiers on the field. He rallied his mounted knights and led a mounted charge across the battlefield trying to kill Henry. At this point Sir William Stanley attacked, on Henry's side.

Richard was surrounded and lost his horse in the marsh. However, he fought on, vowing to win or die as the King of England.

King Richard was cut down "in the thickest press of his foes".

His crown was picked up and given to the Stanley's who unofficially crowned Henry Tudor as King Henry VII of England at Stoke Golding straight after the battle.

Richard was the last Plantagenet King of England and Henry was the first of the powerful Tudor Dynasty, which changed the face of England for ever.



uk **A great family day out!**

The Bosworth Medieval Festival
Saturday 19th & Sunday 20th August 2017

This is a great all day family event with so much to see and do

- 2 battle re-enactments – Tewkesbury & Bosworth
- jousting competition & skill on horseback demonstration
- medieval firepower display – cannons and hand guns
- a medieval market
- children's games – have a go archery & jousting & a fancy dress competition
- exhibitors – Henry VII & Pembroke, Richard III Society, Battlefields Trust and King Richard III Visitor Centre
- large living history encampment
- author talks & book signings – Elizabeth Chadwick, Philippa Langley, Clare Mulley, Leanda de Lisle and The Trial of Richard III: You Decide
- medieval photo booth
- live medieval music
- food stalls
- medieval fashion show
- Tom the Tale Teller
- children's crafts
- entry to the award-winning Exhibition
- FREE car parking
- Tickets for this event can be purchased online at https://www.gammapbookings.com/LCC_Bosworth/?subscribe in person from the Ticket Office at Bosworth Battlefield or by calling 01455 290429 (open 7 days a week from 10.00 am to 4.30 pm)

“The Captain”
Bosworth
Battlefield





HNSA

historicalnovelsocietyaustralasia

2017 MELBOURNE CONFERENCE

The Historical Novel Society Australasia (HNSA) 2017 conference will be held at Swinburne University, Melbourne, on 8th-10th September. This celebration of the historical fiction genre will showcase over 60 speakers discussing inspiration, writing craft, research, publishing pathways and personal histories. Featured speakers include:

- » Kerry Greenwood
- » Kate Forsyth
- » Sophie Masson
- » Deborah Challinor
- » Juliet Marillier
- » Arnold Zable
- » Robert Gott
- » Sulari Gentill
- » Anne Gracie
- » Lucy Treloar.

The opening night reception on Friday 8th September includes a round table discussing the conference theme 'Identity: Origins and Diaspora.'

In addition to the two stream weekend programme there are also ten skills based super sessions, manuscript assessments and an academic programme. The inaugural HNSA Short Story Contest boasts a \$500 prize. There is also a First Pages Pitch Contest.

Early bird registration is currently open with 15% discount on the weekend programme and opening reception. The discount will remain on offer until 30 June 2017 or until the allocation is exhausted.

Learn more about HNSA 2017 at the website. www.hnsa.org.au



ON VENISON

Image above: "Nature and Appearance of Deer", from "Livre du Roy Modus", 14th Century

Ask just about anyone what food they'd most associate with medieval cooking, and I'll give you good odds that venison will be one of the most popular answers. So I'll ask you to indulge me a moment and imagine if you will, Robin Hood (played by Errol Flynn – obviously!) and his Merry Men traipsing through Sherwood Forest having successfully poached a deer and looking forward to a feast of roasted venison.

Now under the strict medieval Forest Laws enacted by William the Conqueror, killing one of the king's deer was effectively equal to killing one of the king's citizens. So if Robin and Co happened to have a hankering for venison done over an open fire, they needed to be incredibly sneaky. Else, dying for a feed of venison might just take on a whole other meaning.

Prior to the arrival of William, the right to hunt in forests was not restricted to one particular social class. Rather, the right to collect from the forest was shared amongst the people as a whole. Anyone could go in and hunt or forage, as they needed. But all that changed with the arrival of the Normans.

The hunting of game, harvesting of acorns and seasonal berries (or indeed anything else that grew within a forest) was completely forbidden to anyone other than

royalty and their hangers-on. Even the cutting of wood or the collection of fallen timber carried stiff penalties. Anyone accused of poaching was liable to have his neck stretched, be castrated, or be hunted down by dogs. So not even the Sheriff of Nottingham could have legally hunted deer (or indeed any other forest animals), without some form of regal dispensation.

Printed in the late Fifteenth Century, Dame Juliana Berners' *The Boke of Saint Albans* provides modern medievalists with a unique glimpse into medieval forestry and hunting laws. Under these laws, only the monarch or his servants could hunt in any of the sixty-odd royal forests located in the English countryside. Forest animals such as Red, Fallow and Roe Deer preserved for the Royal Hunt. The peasantry could hunt deer, provided that it was on common ground, provided that such a right had not been restricted by a royal decree.

The Hunt was governed by specific seasons as laid out in *The Boke of Saint Albans*. Accordingly, Red and Fallow Deer Stags were best hunted between mid-Summer's Day and Holy Rood Day (24th of June to 14th of September), while Roebuck stags could be hunted between Easter and Michaelmas (29th September). Female Red and Fallow Deer could



be taken between Holy Rood Day and Candlemas (14th of September to 2nd of February), while Roebuck does could be taken between Michaelmas and Candlemas (29th September to 2nd February).

Outside of the royal forests, these seasons were customary rather than statutory. There seem to have been two primary motives for this; a closed season allowed does fawn undisturbed, whilst other seasons appeared to be considered as *optimal* hunting times when stags were fat and well nourished.

The Boke of Saint Albans also details the types of hunt relative to the target animals. Stags and does were usually hunted with aid of dogs and bows and arrows, in

what was termed 'Bow and Stable' hunting. This form of the hunt was termed appropriate for less active or infirm men, as it was a less strenuous.¹ However historical records show that Henry VIII (and his grandsires), Anne Boleyn and Elizabeth I all hunted in this manner. As the name suggests this type of hunt was conducted on horseback using a bow as the main weapon. Dogs also accompanied the hunt and would be used to drive the prey into an enclosed space where the huntsmen could kill the animal at close range.

Another form of the hunt was known as 'At Force' hunting. This was

1 Berners, *J op cit*

by far the most strenuous form of the medieval hunt and was undertaken by very fit and strong young men. Hunters would divide themselves up into groups and accompanied by dogs, would seek to drive the target animal (usually a wild boar) to the verge of exhaustion.² There is some speculation that this form of the hunt was also used to train young men for battle owing the considerable amount of weapons skill and horsemanship required.

That roast saddle of venison doesn't look that tempting now, does it! But seeing that we're all 'gently born' folk, I'll take the risk.

OK, having now established the pros and cons of hunting venison, how is it best cooked in keeping with all things modern medieval?

2 Berners, *J op cit*

The answers depend largely on the depth of one's purse and the cut one is able to purchase. Despite the fact that venison is commercially farmed, it can be quite expensive to buy. Alternatively, it is possible to hunt it on private land (with the farmer's permission of course), but few people seem to be prepared to do so. As an aside, if one is going to go out and hunt a beast, it is best to adopt the nose-to-tail approach in dealing with the carcass. I have done so myself, and while the entire process requires a great deal of patience, and can be quite bloody and messy during butchery side of things, the rewards outweigh any potential problems.

On the next pages, I have included some of my favourite traditional recipes for venison.

Enjoy!

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

Fresh wild red deer or roe deer venison¹ 13th Century French – La Viandier de Taillevent

Parboil it, lard it all over, add some mace and plenty of wine, cook it well, and eat it with Cameline. Or, put it in a pie, parboiled and larded, and eat it with Cameline.

Cameline sauce is given as a bread-based sauce, where the bread has been soaked in vinegar, sieved and combined with ginger and cassia, cloves and grains of paradise, gum mastic and thyme and 'long pepper' (optional). The resulting mix is then strained through cheesecloth to produce a hot and sour sauce.

1 Prescott, J. *op cit*, pg 13

Venyson Y-bake
(relatively dry venison pies)¹
15th Century English
Harleian MS 279

Take hoghes of Venyson, & parboyle hem in fayre Water an Salt; & whan þe Fleysche is fayre y-boylid, make fayre past, & cast þin Venyson þer-on: & caste a-boue an be-neþe, pouder Pepir, Gyngere, & Salt, & þan sette it on þe ouyn, & lat bake, & serue forth.

Take hocks of venison and parboil in salted water (reserving the resultant broth). Combine with spices and some of the reserved broth, seasoning well. Place into a prepared pie dish, and bake for approximately 30 to 40 minutes at 190 Celsius.

It is recommended in *Le Viandier de Taillevent* (12th Century French cookery) that a little mace or saffron may be added to the boiling liquid, along with a little wine.²

¹ Thomas, A. *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery-Books*, London, 1888

² Prescott, J. *Le Viandier de Taillevent*, pg 14
(<http://www.telusplanet.net/public/prescot/tj/data/viandier/viandier1.html>)

Baked Venyson¹
16th Century English
A Proper New Booke of Cookery

Take nothinge but Pepper and salte, but lette it have ynoughe, and if the Venyson be leane, Larde it through with baken.

In other words, venison and nothing but venison. Where the venison is very lean, it should be larded through with streaky bacon.

¹ Bow, W. *A Proper New Booke of Cookery*, 1575, pg 6v
(<http://www.medievalcooking.com/notes/pnboc1575.txt>)

Venyson Y-bake
(Venison pies with spices,
eggs and honey)¹

15th Century English
Harleian MS. 279 and 4016

Take hoghes of Venyson, & parboyle hem in fayre
Water an Salt; & whan þe Fleyssche is fayre y-boylid,
make fayre past, & cast þin Venyson þer-on: & caste
a-boue an be-nepe, poudere Pepir, Gyngere, & Salt, &
þan sette it on þe ouyn, & lat bake, & serue forth.

Take hocks of venison and parboil in salted
water (reserving the resultant broth). Combine with
spices and some of the reserved broth, seasoning
well. The mix should not be too thin or runny. Place
into a prepared pie dish and add a pastry lid. Pierce
the lid to allow the steam to escape, and bake for
approximately 45 to 50 minutes at 190 Celsius.

This recipe can also be made with pork or a
combination of pork and venison. This is especially
useful when catering for the masses with only enough
venison for the few. This recipe makes for the best
venison pasties (in my humble opinion).

¹ Thomas, A. *op cit*

Roste Venyson¹
16th Century English
A Proper New Booke of Cookery

Rosted Venison must have Veniger, suger, and
Cinnamom, and butter boyled upon a chafingdish
with coles, but the sauce may not be to tarte, and then
lay the Venison upon the sauce.

It is unclear whether this refers to a sauce to go
with the roast, or if it is both a mixture to baste the
meat in during the roasting process, as well as an
accompaniment.

¹ Bow, *ibid*

AUGUST'S ON THIS

Background image: Falconry at Bosworth Battlefield © 2012 Tim Ridgway

<p>1 August 1556</p> <p>Burning of Joan Waste, a blind woman, in Derby for heresy after she refused to recant her Protestant faith.</p>	<p>2 August 1595</p>  <p>The <i>Battle of Cornwall</i>. Spanish forces landed at Mount's Bay and the English militia fled, allowing the Spanish troops to move on and burn Penzance, Mousehole, Paul and Newlyn.</p>	<p>3 August 1548</p> <p>Birth of Sir Robert Houghton, judge, Treasurer (1599) and Sergeant-at-Law (1603), in Gunthorpe, Norfolk.</p>	<p>4 August 1557</p> <p>Burial of Anne of Cleves, fourth wife of Henry VIII, at Westminster Abbey.</p>
<p>9 August 1557</p> <p>Burial of the composer Nicholas Ludford in St Margaret's Church, Westminster. Ludford is known for his festal masses. He has been described as "one of the last unsung geniuses of Tudor polyphony" (David Skinner).</p>	<p>10 August 1520</p> <p>Birth of Madeleine de Valois, consort of James V of Scotland, at St Germain-en-Laye.</p>	<p>11 August 1556</p> <p>Death of Sir John Kingsmill, a man who had been close to Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Wriothesley.</p>	<p>12 August 1557</p> <p>Death of Sir John Pollard, judge, Speaker of the House of Commons. He was buried in London.</p>
<p>16 August 1549</p> <p>Death of Sir Christopher More, who had been appointed to the guard of honour prepared for Anne of Cleves</p>	<p>17 August 1545</p> <p>Death of Thomas Poynings, 1st Baron Poynings, of dysentery while serving Henry VIII in Boulogne.</p>	<p>18 August 1587</p> <p>The first European Christian was born in the New World. Virginia Dare was born in the Roanoke colony, in what is now North Carolina, just days after the arrival of the colonists on Roanoke Island.</p>	<p>19 August 1591</p> <p>Death of Welsh clergyman and Bible translator Thomas Huet at Ty Mawr, Llysdinam, Brecknockshire.</p>
<p>23 August 1553</p> <p>Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was made Lord Chancellor by Mary I.</p>	<p>24 August 1595</p> <p>Death of Thomas Digges, mathematician, astronomer, soldier and member of Parliament. Digges is known as the first man to expound the Copernican system in English, and one of the first to put forward the idea of an infinite universe with an infinite number of stars.</p>		 <p>Thomas Digges</p>
<p>29 August 1582</p> <p>Death of Sir Thomas Offley, Mayor of London. He was buried in the church of St Andrew Undershaft.</p>	<p>30 August 1534</p> <p>Death of Thomas Belchiam. The twenty-eight year old friar was starved to death at Newgate Prison.</p>	<p>31 August 1545</p> <p>A contagious disease, '<i>Bloody flux</i>', hit Portsmouth, killing many men serving on the ships there.</p>	

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

<p>5 August 1600</p> <p>Deaths of John Ruthven, 3rd Earl of Gowrie, and his brother, Alexander. The brothers were killed as they tried to kidnap James VI. They were posthumously found guilty of treason on 15th Nov 1600 and their already dead bodies hanged, drawn and quartered in Edinburgh.</p>	<p>6 August 1549 ✂</p> <p><i>Battle of Clyst Heath</i> during the <i>Prayer Book Rebellion</i>. The battle lasted all day, and the rebels were defeated.</p>	<p>7 August 1613</p> <p>Death of Sir Thomas Fleming, Solicitor-General to Elizabeth I and James I, at Stoneham Park.</p>	<p>8 August 1573</p> <p>Death of Simon Renard, Imperial Ambassador, in Madrid, Spain.</p>
<p>13 August 1579</p> <p>Executions of Roman Catholic martyrs Friar Conn O'Rourke and Patrick O'Healy, Bishop of Mayo.</p>	<p>14 August 1513</p> <p>William Parr, Marquis of Northampton and brother of Queen Catherine Parr, was born.</p>	<p>15 August 1594</p> <p>Burial of Thomas Kyd, playwright, at St Mary Colechurch. Kyd is known for his play "The Spanish Tragedy" (c1537)</p>	 <p>Simon Renard by Antonis Mor. 1560</p>
<p>20 August 1610</p> <p>Death of courtier Edmund Tilney, censor of plays and Master of the Revels.</p>	<p>21 August 1568</p> <p>Death of Humphrey Llwyd, from a fever. He is known for producing the first printed map of Wales.</p>	<p>22 August 1485</p> <p>Near Market Bosworth,  Richard III and Henry Tudor faced each other in a battle, Richard was killed.</p>	
<p>25 August 1559</p> <p>Death of Sir Thomas Cawarden, courtier and Master of Revels to Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary I.</p>	<p>26 August 1552</p> <p>Death of Sir Clement Smith, administrator, brother-in-law of Jane Seymour.</p>	<p>27 August 1549</p> <p><i>Battle of Dussindale</i> took place, ending <i>Kett's Rebellion</i> in Norfolk. Kett fled the battle scene but was captured the following day.</p>	
<p>28 August 1583</p> <p>Burial of William Latymer, Chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn and chaplain to Elizabeth I and author of the "<i>Cronickille of Anne Bulleyne</i>"</p>			

TUDOR FEAST DAYS

- 1 August – Lammas or "Loaf Mass"
- 1 August - The Feast of St Peter in Chains
- 15 August – Assumption of the Virgin
- 24 August – St Bartholomew's Day
- 29 August – Beheading of St John the Baptist

TudorLife

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TudorLife

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CATHERINE OF ARAGON

~IN THE~
TUDOR LIFE MAGAZINE

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