

Thomas Gromwell in fact and fiction in an exclusive article from DEREK WILSON

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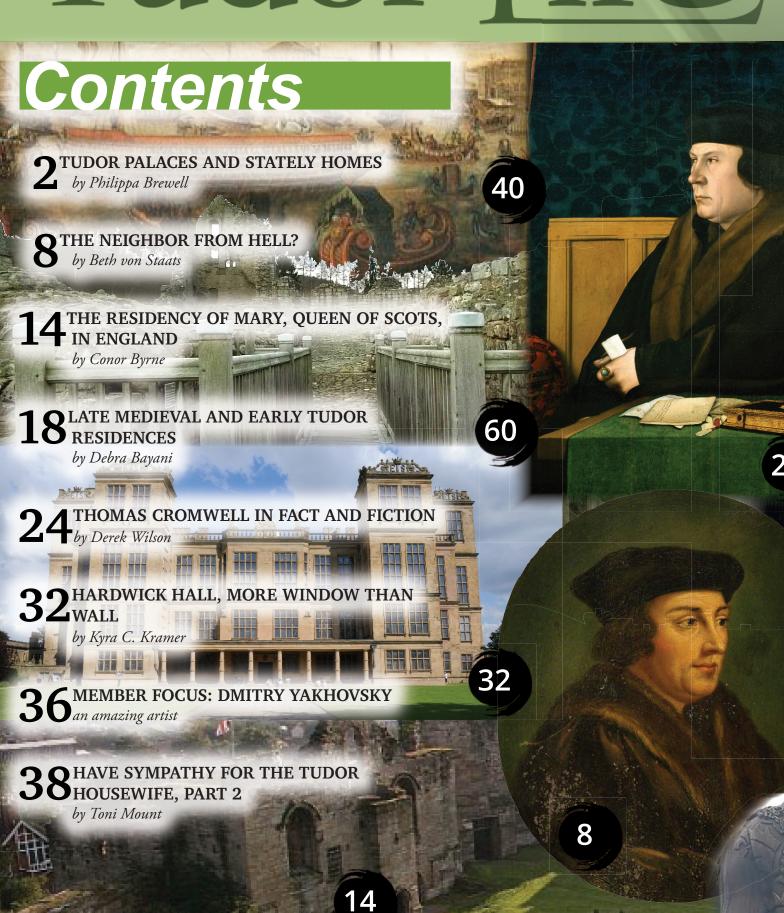
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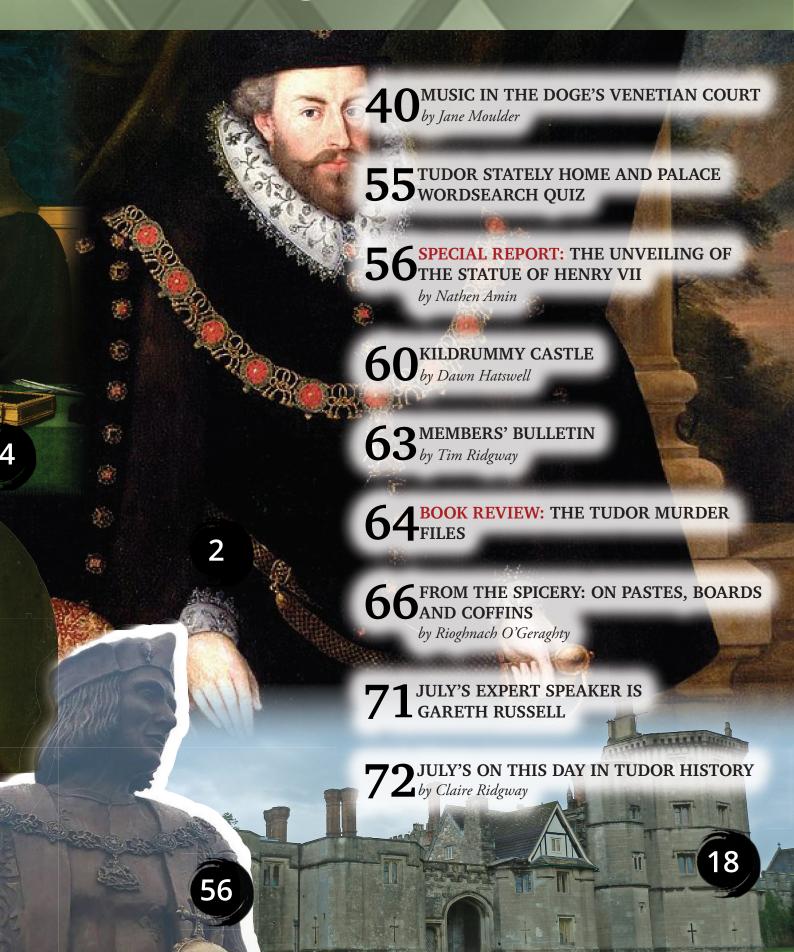
Hampton Court is by far the largest and most magnificent remnant of Tudor royal architecture, but the stately homes and mansions that sprang up in the same era birthed a uniquely British cultural obsession - the country house. These homes, despite belonging to a minuscule percentage of the population, employed many and enchanted even more. As the class system that had birthed and sustained them began to erode or evolve in the twentieth century, nostalgia-fuelled horror at their sunset produced works like "Brideshead Revisited", a heartfelt requiem for a vanishing way of life. Even more recently, the phenomenal success of the television series "Downton Abbey" owes much to collective fondness for the country house system. From the royal palaces to politicking neighbours from hell, so many of Britain's, and the Tudors', finest historical stories centre around castles and stately piles.

GARETH RUSSELL

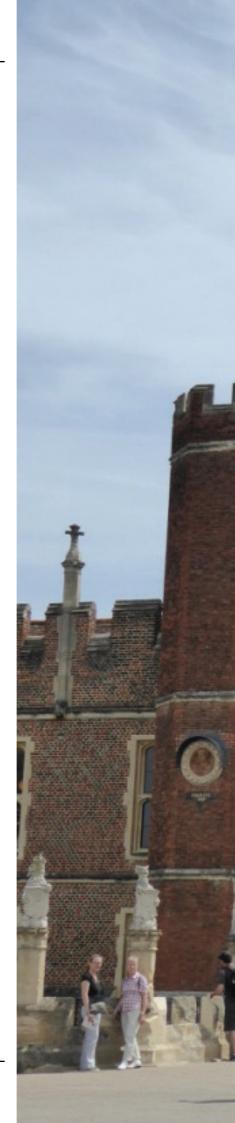
Tudor life



JULY



Tudor Palaces and Stately Homes





Philippa Brewell is a history travel writer. She has written for a number of publications including in-flight magazines for FlyBe and CityJet. She also writes history travel guides for British History Tours

N Tudor England, money, power and influence were everything to the nobles of the day. If you were rich, you wanted people to know it. If you weren't, you wanted people to think you were. Either way, architecture, as well as clothing and perhaps patronising the arts, was as good a way as any. Then, add in the fact that the monarch may decide to name you an honoured host en-route of their annual 'progress' around the Country, and you needed somewhere grand in both size and appearance.



There are a huge number of properties still surviving which link back to the Tudor period, many built before that time and providing us with a link back to medieval times and the Plantagenet rule. So I will focus here on those built during the Tudor period; those which were created with a Tudor frame of mind, in a country under Tudor rule and with contemporary architectural ideas.

We are all familiar with the Tudor black & white, timber framed, town houses filled with wattle and daub that we see in some of our old cities and towns. Stately homes and palaces, however, needed something grander and, in short, expensive! The stately homes of Tudor England were not just a place to live, entertain and accommodate a large household but were an outward display of the owner's wealth and, therefore, importance. Bricks, a relatively new and expensive building material and glass especially, were adopted in building homes of the wealthy. Take Hardwick Hall for example, a spectacular design which impressed its Tudor, and indeed modern, visitors with its vast expanse of glazed windows.

Now that defence was no longer a priority in designing residential buildings, larger windows could be incorporated for aesthetic purposes and to flood living spaces with natural light. The fact that glass was also expensive allowed the owner to demonstrated his wealth as well. Kirby Hall in Northamptonshire is a great example of a building designed in the hope of receiving Queen Elizabeth and also one which incorporated the latest ideas in architecture. Kirby was built between 1550 - 1575, initially by Sir Humphrey Stafford and completed by Elizabeth's Chancellor Sir Christopher Hatton (I). Around this time there was a revival of interest in ancient Greek and Roman design and the masonry here has been linked directly back to pattern books written by Italian architecture, Sebastiano Serlio, in 1537. Kirby Hall has a charm all of its own, having been left to quietly decline, never suffering any catastrophe, it has remained remarkably intact in places and is an outstanding example of a large, stone-built Elizabethan mansion. Sadly it never saw its purpose as a home fit for a Queen, unlike another place which enjoyed





the presence of Elizabeth on no fewer than four occasions, Kenilworth Castle.

I may be cheating on my original statement here though... Kenilworth Castle dates from way before the Tudor period, but bear with me because I have good reason. The expansion works at Kenilworth, carried out during the ownership of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, were extensive and directly for the benefit of his Queen, Elizabeth I. In 1571, Dudley began building private apartments for Elizabeth, in anticipation of another visit (she had already made two), which came in 1572. Robert Dudley wanted to marry Elizabeth and he needed to make a great show of his

worth. Again we see large windows and lots of glass which, as I have already mentioned was expensive, but also allowed fabulous views over the mere. English Heritage has recently installed stairs and platforms which take you up into the Queen's private rooms, including her bedroom, where you can now take in the view of the surrounding area from where Elizabeth would have stood. By the time of her final visit to Kenilworth in 1575, when she spent 19 days (the longest stay she ever made to a courtier's house) he had also created a magnificent garden, a must-have for any great house at this time. Records for the garden still exist and have allowed an accurate reconstruction of the

garden as Elizabeth would have seen it. Robert Dudley's attempt to win Elizabeth's heart and hand in marriage was ultimately fruitless but his love for her is still there for us to see today, set in bricks in the building he built for her.

Ostentatious displays of wealth were not all that was behind the design of every stately home or palace in England, however. Messages, both within and without the structure of a building tell us more about the owner. This is particularly true of buildings built by Catholic families during the reign of Elizabeth I.

From a safe distance of 400 years, we can confidently state that Elizabeth reigned for 45 years and is seen as the most competent of the Tudor monarchs, balancing religious faction and the accounts books of a broken England with skill and wit. From within the time period, it is doubtful it ever felt that safe. Despite Elizabeth not wishing to force her subjects to alter religion to Protestantism once again,

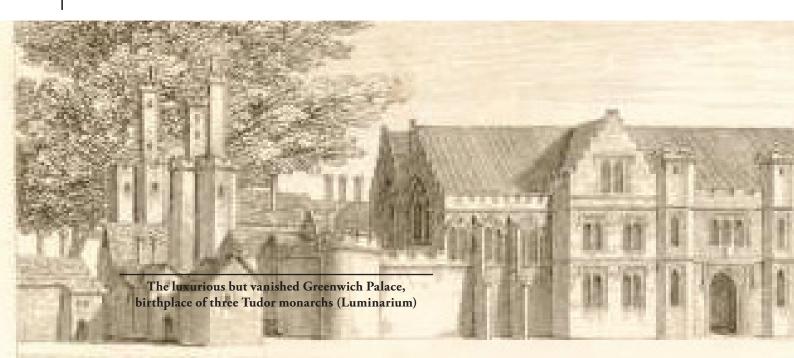
following the rule of her devoutly Catholic half-sister Mary I, she would be forced to take a harder line as Catholic plots against her became difficult and then impossible to ignore. She had once stated "I would not open windows into men's souls" however, her Council and security forces under Francis Walsingham, had no such qualms. The plots against Elizabeth were real and from within, as well as beyond, England's borders. The religious turmoil which had begun with her father's break from Rome in order to marry her mother, would create a dangerous undercurrent of religious and political turmoil which wound its way into the very fabric of English architecture at this time. The omnipresent 'Catholic threat' and the Elizabethan government's continued paranoia against all Catholics drove the Catholic religion, in the main part, underground. The restraints put on Catholics put them in an unenviable predicament; did they save their



mortal body or their immortal soul? At a time of deeply held religious beliefs, it was not possible for some people to simply renounce their faith in order to save their mortal body and this meant that they would need to find ways to continue to hear Mass, in secret. Mass required a Priest and, despite the penalty for harbouring a priest being extremely severe, wealthy Catholic families would protect them in their homes. Ingenious ways were found to hide all the necessary items for mass, including the priests themselves. This is when we begin to see priest holes appearing in the fabric of the homes of wealthy Catholic families, compartments of exceptionally clever design and engineering. Possibly the best example in England of a house with surviving priest holes is Harvington Hall in north Worcestershire. The house, now fully restored after being allowed to run into a derelict state, is one of the most beautiful moated Elizabethan Manor Houses in the country. The original Great Staircase, around which four ingenious priest holes were constructed by the master builder Nicholas Owen, was moved to Coughton Court in 1910. An exact replica has been built in its place. It can be difficult to fathom out where some of the priest holes are, such was their clever use of space, but my favourite is found by lifting two steps, within the top flight of five steps, to reveal a priest in prayer as he awaits discovery!

Finding clever ways of hiding your valuables (and your priest) within the very fabric of your home was not the only innovative feature of the Tudor period. On a recent trip to Greenwich, I discovered that Greenwich Palace, sadly no longer standing, was the first building in England to have running water! Under the ownership of Henry VII, who preferred Greenwich to nearby Eltham Palace, the palace had undergone major renovation and extension, becoming an important palace during the entire Tudor period, three Tudor Monarchs were born here; Henry VIII, Mary I and Elizabeth I. It was constructed with thin, red brick, an expensive building material. You could be forgiven for thinking that the, nearby, Greenwich Observatory is Tudor due to its use of the same brick type. It fact it is made of the very same bricks, reclaimed from the demolished Tudor palace.

Necessity may have driven the innovation for priest holes at Harvington Hall but pure passion for his beliefs poured into the buildings designed by Sir Thomas Tresham, well known for the messages of Catholic faith which were central in his designs. Tresham was a loyal subject to the protestant Queen Elizabeth I and was knighted by her at Kenilworth Castle in 1575. At the same time, she requested that he renounced his faith but he could not. He was given three chances but was ultimately imprisoned at Ely where he spent 12 years of his 15-year sentence before being allowed to return to his seat at Rushton Hall in 1593. Almost immediately he started plans for a Warrener's Lodge within its grounds, now know as Rushton Triangular Lodge. The



symbolism of the building and its decoration, both inside and out, created what Elizabethans called a 'device'; a coded expression of a set of beliefs and ideals. Tresham was friends with Nicholas Owen, responsible for building the priest hides at Harvington Hall. Owen spent two years at Rushton Hall during which time he constructed an escape tunnel for priests which led from the church of St Peter, under Rushton Hall and out to the Lodge. Tresham is also responsible for another curious building, Lyveden New Bield, near Oundle, Northamptonshire. Another expression of Tresham's faith, the building is set out in a distinctive cross-shaped plan, quite different to the 'E' and 'H' shapes favoured during this time. The stonework on the building refers clearly to his faith and includes emblems of the Passion, the death of Christ.

I can't talk about Tudor Palaces and grand houses without mentioning the iconic, Hampton Court Palace on the outskirts of London. Cardinal Wolsey's home, built on the River Thames for easy transport links to London, demonstrated wealth, power, ambition and prestige. Wolsey acquired the site in 1514 when he was second only in power and influence to the King. As Henry VIII's chief minister and a papal legate, Wolsey built to impress his power, wealth and also his learning and cultural sophistication on all

who visited. The multitude of chimney stacks rise visibly above the roof level so that they can be seen from the ground, an immediate indication to visitors that there were multiple fireplaces at the palace, this was a house that could afford luxury! Roundels with the carved heads of Roman Emperors were designed to demonstrate Wolsey's sophistication and classical learning. It appears even in his position of power he still felt the need to demonstrate it in every way possible, perhaps in an attempt to make people forget his humble beginnings as a Butcher's son. However, Wolsey overstepped the mark with the grandeur of Hampton Court Palace and was eventually forced to 'gift' the palace to an envious Henry VIII and it has remained the property of the Crown ever since. It is only by fortune that any of the Tudor Palace survives. Plans to update Hampton Court for William III and Mary II would have seen it completely replaced, had they have been completed. However, luckily for us, funds ran out and what is left today is half Tudor, half Baroque palace.

The Tudor elite wove their hopes, dreams, beliefs and even love into the very fabric of their palaces and stately homes and in doing so have given us, not just great places to go and visit but, a connection to them and a sense of who they were.

PHILIPPA BREWELL



Beth von Staats is the author of "Thomas Cranmer in a Nutshell".

She also runs the popular QueenAnneBoleyn.com website.

Here she talks about Thomas Cromwell's Austin Friars

THE NEIGHBOR FROM HELL..



HROUGH the brilliant fiction of twice Man Booker Prize honored Hilary Mantel in Wolf Hall and Bring Up The Bodies, not only has Thomas Cromwell made a stunning resurgence in both respect and popularity, but also the locales that he frequented, most notably his home alongside the Augustinian Friary, London. Located against the gates of the Priory at Austin Friars of Broad St., in 1522, Thomas Cromwell and his young family moved into two Throgmortan St. tenements leased from his pious Roman Catholic neighbors. Over the ensuing 10 years, Thomas Cromwell demolished the two tenements and built a "very large and spacious" home in their place, signing the then typical "99 year lease" with the Augustinians.

Although Thomas Cromwell's London home and ultimate mansion is now located at the current site of the hall of the Drapers' Company on Throgmortan St., back in the 1530's, an affluent neighborhood surrounded him, with other leased tenements home to wealthy Italian merchants, Ambassador Eustace Chapuys, and even Desiderius Erasmus, who eventually moved out without paying his rent. One can easily assume that when the Augustinian Friars originally "signed on the dotted line" with the young and ambitious cloth merchant that they met in the early 1520's, they had no idea how he would later impact their lives and those of his neighbors.

Austin Friars was founded long before the turbulent reign of King Henry VIII, most likely established by the Augustinians in 1260. Originally Austin Friars was constructed upon land once home to St. Olave's Parish, with a second church, St. Peter the Poor being incorporated into the friary grounds. Home to sixty friars, the Augustinian Friary of London was sited on over 5½ acres of land. With a church built in the middle of the property, several buildings were located behind to accommodate the friars and visiting religious scholars. The friars farmed an extensive gardening area, cultivating vegetables, fruit and medicinal herbs. In essence, Austin Friars was its own

independent religious community surrounded by the city of London.

Over the course of the next 300 years, the Augustinian Friary of London incrementally developed into one of the city's most highly regarded religious orders by the wealthy and powerful both as place of worship and burial site. Known for the Augustinians' outstanding educational endeavors, Austin Friars became highly regarded for religious education, preparing many boys of London's elite classes for advanced theology educations at Oxford, and later also Cambridge. Buried on the grounds of Austin Friars include several highranking members of the aristocracy, including men such as Richard FitzAlan, 10th Earl of Arundel and Surrey; John de Vere, 12th Earl of Oxford; Edward Stafford, 3rd Duke of Buckingham, and many of the highestranking knights killed at the Battle of Barnet, April 1471.

Once Thomas Cromwell was well established as an agent and privy counselor to King Henry VIII, he actively induced and subsequently suborned the Prior of Austin Friars, Father George Brown. From that point further, things began to take a tragic turn for the Augustinians. An agent of Cromwell, Prior Brown's Easter sermon at Austin Friars urged the congregation to pray for Queen Anne Boleyn, leading all listening to quietly leave in civil disobedience. Undaunted, Father Brown



continued his work on behalf of Cromwell's evangelical agenda. He was eventually rewarded by being chosen as one of the commissioners

appointed to inspect the friaries, monasteries and priories of England and Wales in the surge of "visitations" that quickly graduated to the

dissolution of all religious houses throughout the realm.

As Thomas Cromwell continued to rise in favor of King Henry VIII, becoming Chief Secretary, Vice-gerent, Lord Privy Seal, Knight of the Garter, Lord Chamberlain and ultimately 1st Earl of Essex, he desired a London mansion conveniently located near Greenwich Palace, Westminster and the Tower of London. Thus, his home at Austin Friars grew far beyond the original building constructed in order to meet his changing needs and status. Cromwell's mansion was in a constant state of expansion and improvement, providing him with not only a family home and elaborate locale for lavish entertaining of his powerful friends, lords and ladies of King Henry VIII's Court and presumably the king himself, but also a base for his business operations in accomplishing the king's bidding. His properties, expansive and elaborate in detail, were surrounded by lush gardens, fruit trees and walling to afford privacy.

In accomplishing his goal of building a luxurious city mansion, Thomas Cromwell became quite problematic, not only to his abutting Augustinian Friars, but to his neighbors, as well. The son of one of his neighbors, John Stowe, frustratingly shared the following:

"My father had a garden there and a (rented) house standing close to his south pale. This house they loosed from the ground and bore upon rollers into my father's garden, twenty two feet.

Ere my father heard thereof, no warning was given him, nor other answer, when he spoke to the surveyors of that work, but that their master, Sir Thomas, commanded them to do so."

Alas, the "every-man hero" of Hilary Mantel's **Wolf Hall** and **Bring Up The Bodies**, Thomas Cromwell, second in power at his apex only to King Henry VIII, became the "neighbor from hell", grabbing land from

all his neighbors and focusing his attention and eventual wrath towards the Augustinians of Austin Friars.

In 1534, an "anonymous informant", likely a bribed friar, "spilled the beans". There was trouble afoot at the Augustinian Friary of London. According to a poorly articulated correspondence, it was alleged that masses were being rushed and neglected while the friars were drinking in the beer house in "bad company". As the story was told, Cromwell's neighboring Roman Catholic friars, like "visitors" alleged of many throughout the realm, were violating all monastic rules, there being more sin "than hell among devils". To make matters all the worse, the "informant" professed the cloister and doors were unguarded, leaving "the Lombards dwelling with the gate to take their pleasure in conveying off the harlots." Heavens, me!

The egregious allegations were ultimately judged to be "founded". Consequently, the Augustinian Friary of London's reputation was ruined, leading to the ultimate and inevitable surrender of Austin Friars. In 1538, heavily in debt, the once magnificent London center of worship and religious education was turned over to the crown by Prior Thomas Hamond and his 12 remaining brothers.

Two years later, Thomas Cromwell also fell, executed after falsely condemned via an act of attainder for sacramental heresy. His elaborate mansion, once far more modest tenements rented to provide a loving home his wife Elizabeth, son Gregory and daughters Anne and Grace, along with their extended family, also reverted to the royal household. Three years later, Cromwell's grand city mansion was sold to and ultimately torn down by the Drapers' Company, who over 400 years later, still owns the property where it once stood as testament to the ultimate success of arguably England's most accomplished and powerful commoner.

BETH VON STAATS

The Residency of Mary, Queen of Scots in England

downfall of Mary, Queen of Scots in 1567-8 is wellknown. The scandalous murder of her second husband Henry, Lord Darnley was followed by her abduction and rape at the hands of James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, whom she subsequently married in an attempt to protect her honour. The troubled queen's problems escalated when she was faced with the confederacy of Morton, Argyll and others hostile to the Bothwell marriage, and the two sides mustered their armies in the expectation of conflict. On 15 June, the queen's army was defeated at Carberry Hill, and Mary was forced to surrender to the victorious confederates while her husband escaped abroad. The queen was eventually imprisoned at Lochleven and her army defeated at the battle of Langside, having been forced to abdicate in favour of her infant son James. With dwindling options, Mary made the fateful decision to flee to England in a bid to obtain her cousin Elizabeth I's support for her restoration to the throne of Scotland. She resided overnight at Workington Hall and was later housed at Carlisle Castle. Mary could not have known it, but her decision to seek her cousin's aid in England prevented her restoration to the Scottish throne and instead culminated in house arrest

lasting nearly nineteen years, ending only with her execution in 1587.

During her time in England, Mary resided in a number of houses in the north and midlands. Workington Hall, where she first stayed on her arrival in England, dates to the early fifteenthcentury and was built as a fortified tower house, and it was here that the Scottish queen wrote to Elizabeth concerning what Antonia Fraser refers to as her 'need for succour to regain her Scottish throne, and her trust in Elizabeth to provide it.' The following day, Mary departed for Cockermouth and later arrived at Carlisle. Situated near the ruins of Hadrian's Wall, Carlisle Castle had been constructed during the reign of William Rufus. Mary was housed in the Warden's Tower, which was demolished during the nineteenth-century. Francis Knollys, cousinby-marriage to Elizabeth I, and Henry Scrope were dispatched to Mary with letters from their queen. Knollys reported to Elizabeth that Mary possessed 'an eloquent tongue and a discreet head, and it seemeth by her doings she hath stout courage and liberal heart adjoined thereunto'. Mary entreated Knollys and Scrope to arrange an interview with Elizabeth, but Knollys had to inform her that the continuing scandal of Darnley's murder, in which Mary was implicated, meant that his queen could



not meet with her cousin until Mary was cleared of involvement in the events of February 1567.

Goodare comments that 'Mary's imprisonment was obviously illegal' and 'she was accused of no crime in England, and Elizabeth's jurisdiction over her was questionable.' Mary shared this view, and during her long captivity in England, she remained adamant that, as a sovereign queen, she was not Elizabeth's subject and was not bound to obey her laws. In the summer of 1568, Mary was relocated to Bolton Castle, a fourteenth-century castle located in Wensleydale, Yorkshire. The majority of her household resided with her, the rest taking lodgings in the vicinity. At this time, Elizabeth was desirous of restoring Mary to the Scottish throne. In the autumn, a hearing was established at York to inquire into the charges made by, and against, Mary and her half-brother, the earl of Moray. The earl attended the conference in person, while Mary remained confined at Bolton Castle. It was at this conference that Moray revealed the notorious Casket Letters, the contents of which have been viewed as forgeries by most modern historians. The conference later relocated to Westminster, but ended in anticlimax when Elizabeth declared that nothing had been sufficiently proven by either side against the other. In January 1569, Mary was moved to Tutbury Castle in Staffordshire and placed in the custody of George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, and his wife, Bess of Hardwick.

Mary was vocal in her antipathy to Tutbury, but her living conditions

her ambiguous status as an honoured royal guest rather than of a disgraced prisoner. Her domestic staff continued to attend her, and thirty carts were required to transport her belongings from house to house. Mary's chambers were furnished with fine tapestries and carpets and she was served thirty-two dishes on silver plates at meal times. She occasionally ventured outdoors, which was surely welcome given her love of hunting. However, Mary's overriding ambition remained her restoration to the throne of Scotland. She seems to have realised that an English husband could be of great assistance in her bid to regain regal power, and with this in mind negotiated to marry Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk. Norfolk was known to be Protestant, but the marriage was gradually associated with a Catholic restoration, both of a Catholic queen and of the Catholic religion. However, this alliance dissolved upon Elizabeth's discovery of it in the autumn of 1569. Upon hearing from the earl of Leicester that he would probably be imprisoned in the Tower, Norfolk panicked and fled to his residence at Kenninghall. Elizabeth ordered his immediate return to court, and the duke was incarcerated in the Tower in October. His imprisonment was swiftly followed by the Northern uprising involving the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland marching under the five wounds of Christ in a bid to restore Catholicism, with the suggestion of placing Mary on her cousin's throne. Mary and her household departed for Coventry, although the rebellion was swiftly defeated by Elizabeth's forces.





at Sheffield Castle. Mary's relations with her jailers were volatile. Although she enjoyed intermittent good relations with Bess, the countess later accused her husband of engaging in an adulterous relationship with Mary. Perhaps in a bid for revenge, Mary penned the so-called 'scarlet letter' to Elizabeth, in which she recounted damaging gossip concerning the queen spread by the countess that accused her of sexual immorality. There is no evidence that Elizabeth ever actually received this letter, but it sheds light on the household tensions during Mary's confinement. Later, however, Mary acquired new family relations when her brother-in-law Charles Stuart married Bess's

daughter Elizabeth Cavendish. Their daughter Arbella was born in 1575, and was viewed by the countess with hope as Elizabeth's successor, as the future queen of England. During her period of captivity, Mary's household largely resembled a royal court and she was treated as an anointed monarch, as embodied by her throne and cloth of estate. However, her health declined considerably, with recurrent vomiting and abdominal pains as well as arthritis.

During her captivity, Mary's name was floated in several marriage negotiations in a bid to reclaim the throne of Scotland, or as a means of placing her on the English throne. The Norfolk match ended in failure, and the duke was executed in 1572. Four years later, Philip II's brother Don Juan of Austria became governor of the Netherlands, a development that was considered would lead to his invasion of England and marriage to the Queen of Scots. Mary, however, does not appear to have regarded the proposal favourably, and Don Juan died two years later. By this point, Mary's desire was to become queen of England in her own right, rather than return to Scotland as its deposed monarch. In 1571, she was involved in the Ridolfi plot, which intended an uprising of English Catholics, the release of Mary from captivity and an invasion of England by the Spanish. Elizabeth would be dethroned and replaced with her cousin, who would marry Norfolk. The uncovering of the plot led to Norfolk's execution, and Mary herself was targeted by the English parliament, with urgent calls for her own execution.

England's increasingly poor relations with Spain during the 1580s meant that Mary grew increasingly hopeful of attaining Spanish support in her bid for freedom and accession to the English throne. In 1585, English armed intervention occurred in the Netherlands in response to the assassination of William of Orange the previous year and the declining resistance of the Dutch to the Spanish. Evidence indicates that, by early 1586, Philip II planned to invade England and force Elizabeth's removal from the throne. He intended for Mary to become queen of England, married to a husband of his choosing, and succeeded by his eldest daughter Isabella, rather than Mary's son James. In 1583, the Throckmorton

Plot was uncovered, a conspiracy that intended for the duc de Guise to invade England with Spanish support and place Mary on the throne. The Queen of Scots' closer association with Spain culminated in her decision in the spring of 1586 to bequeath

her kingdom and rights to Philip, in the event that her son refused to convert to

Catholicism.

By this point, Mary had been placed in the stricter custody of the diplomat Sir Amyas Paulet and resided at Chartley Castle. Paulet ensured that Mary's household was considerably reduced in size and the conditions of confinement were increasingly harsh, with no correspondence permitted except via the French ambassador. Chartley, Mary's attention was drawn to a channel of communication involving packets of coded letters hidden in beer barrels, but fatally for her, she was unaware that these had (Public Domain) been deliberately arranged by Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's spymaster, in a bid to entrap the Queen of Scots. In the summer of 1586, a plot developed around Anthony Babington, a young and handsome Catholic nobleman who was determined that Elizabeth would be assassinated and replaced as queen by Mary. In his letters to Mary, Babington wrote that he and six 'noble gentlemen' were willing to 'undertake the tragical execution' in order to ensure the restoration of Catholicism. In her response to Babington, Mary showed her concern for foreign aid in order for the plot to succeed. Her endorsement of the plot proved fatal. Babington and his associates were arrested and imprisoned in August 1586, and were savagely executed the following month. While out riding, Mary was arrested and briefly imprisoned at Tixall, before being moved to Fotheringhay Castle. At Tixall, the destitute queen was met with a group of beggars hoping for alms, to which she responded: 'Alas, good people, I have now

nothing to give you. For I am as much a beggar as you are yourselves.'

At Fotheringhay Castle, as Jane Dunn explains, 'the stage was set for the final act in the struggle between the two queens.' In October, Mary was

> defended herself ably and eloquently in response to the charges, in which she questioned the right of the

tried by Elizabeth's commissioners and

court to try her, a sovereign queen. Regardless, she was found guilty of having

'compassed and imagined within this realm of England, divers matters tending to the hurt, death and destruction of the royal person of our sovereign lady the Queen.' Mary, however, refused to accept the court's verdict that she was a traitor, and instead vocally proclaimed that she was dying as a martyr for the Catholic faith. On 8 February 1587, Mary's execution took place in the Great Hall of the castle. She

beseeched James Melville to testify to

her constancy in the faith and her affection for Scotland and France. Her refusal of Protestant ministrations on the scaffold merely confirmed her willingness to die as a Catholic martyr. After the execution, Mary's body was embalmed and buried at Peterborough Abbey in the summer of 1587. In 1612, during the reign of her son James I, Mary's body was exhumed and reinterred in Westminster Abbey in a chapel opposite the tomb of her cousin, rival and fellow queen Elizabeth I. Mary's final resting place featured a series of tombs of royal women who were the mothers of kings, and the aisle is dominated by Mary's monument, which proclaimed her as Henry VII's 'sole heir' in a celebration of her fertility, therefore achieving in death the recognition of Mary as 'sure and undoubted heiress to the crown of England' that she yearned to achieve in life.

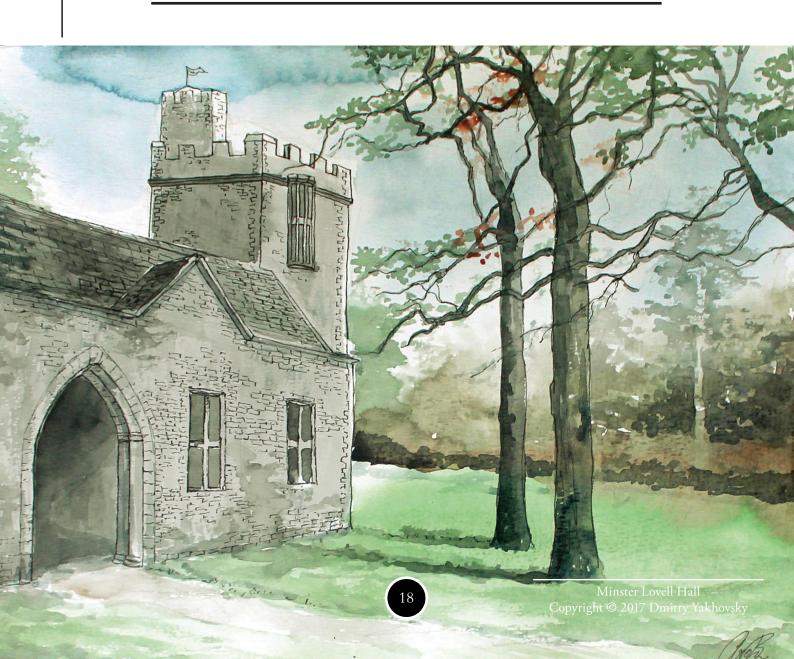
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ess of Hardwick"

CONOR BYRNE

LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY TUDOR RESIDENCES

Debra Bayani, historian and author of "Jasper Tudor", looks at the history of three iconic Tudor sites



Late medieval and early Tudor monarchs and noblemen were amongst the greatest royal builders of Great Britain. The fortified manor house had emerged during the 13th century, and these were made of brick and stone with a timber roof. By the 15th century, more space was devoted to comfort, with private rooms and the house itself often being arranged around a central courtyard with domestic buildings of several stories high. Windows

occupied a large proportion of the wall space and drawbridges were replaced by fixed bridges. Many of these manor houses were by now called castles or seen as stately homes. Several examples of these houses are Sudeley Castle, Thornbury Manor (from the early 16th Century called Thornbury Castle) and Minster Lovell Hall. All built or remodelled by the wealthiest noblemen of the 15th century and with a story to tell.

MINSTER LOVELL HALL HOME OF THE LOVELLS

Minster Lovell Hall is delightfully situated next to the River Windrush and forms a beautiful memorial to the wealthy Lovell family, whose principal residence it was. There has been a manor house at Minster Lovell since the 12th century but the ruins we see today are the remains of a majestic manor house dismantled during the 18th century and built by William Lovell (1397-1455) after he returned from the French wars, fighting for Henry V. He was also active for Henry VI in resisting Cade's Rebellion in 1451. His tomb and effigy can be found at St Kenelm's Church, Minster Lovell. His son John (d. 1468) was a Lancastrian as well and a servant of Henry VI. He was rewarded with the position of master forester of the neighbouring Royal Wychwood Forest. John's son Francis (1456-c.1487) was a teenager when his father died, and King Edward IV made him the ward of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick. He grew up with Prince Richard, Duke of Gloucester (future Richard III), at Middleham Castle and was married to Warwick's niece, Anne Fitzhugh in around 1466.

Francis served Richard as chamberlain but was also his closest friend and remained so for the rest of his life. Francis belonged to a notorious trio, famously known as The Cat

(William Catesby), The Rat (Richard Ratcliff) and Lovell the Dog, who were Richard's three favourites. He fought for Ricard III at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485 and afterwards escaped to Flanders to seek sanctuary at the court of Richard's sister Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy. Francis stayed loyal to his old friend, even after Richard's death. In early 1486, he returned to England and led a force together with Humphrey Stafford against Henry VII which nearly captured the king but eventually failed. His properties were forfeited, including Minster Lovell Hall. The next year, at the Battle of Stoke Field, he was, with the Earl of Lincoln, one of the Yorkist commanders against John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, for Henry VII. Henry VII was victorious, and amongst the Yorkist leaders, Francis was the only one who most likely survived but disappeared right after the battle. Different theories regarding his death appeared during the next centuries. It was speculated that he drowned while crossing the River Trent with his horse to escape Bosworth's battlefield. Another, more gruesome, ending emerged more than two centuries later when in 1708 a skeleton was found at Minster Lovell. According to William Cowper's statement

(clerk of the Parliament), written in 1737, Lovell's body was found in one of the cellars:

'On the 6 May 1728, the present Duke of Rutland related in my hearing that, about twenty years the before (viz. in 1708, upon occasion of new laying a chimney at Minster Lovell) there was discovered a large vault or room under-ground, in which was the entire skeleton of a man, as having been sitting at a table, which was before him, with a book, paper, pen,

etc. etc.; in another part of the room lay a cap; all much mouldered and decayed. Which the family and others judged to be this lord Lovell, hose exit hath hitherto been so uncertain.' (Taken from the G.E.C. The Complete Peerage VIII 1932 (p. 225)

The south-west tower of Minster Lovell Hall was built by Francis and remains to this day.

MINSTER LOVELL HALL BECOMES A TUDOR HOME:

In the first months of 1486, Henry VII had ordered his uncle Jasper Tudor to seize a number of estates belonging to Francis Lovell, including his favourite residence Mister Lovell Hall. On the 2nd March that year Jasper had apparently succeeded in this and was rewarded with a substantial amount of

properties, including Minster Lovell. It took several years, but it became one of his three favourite residences. Early in 1494, Jasper entertained his nephew King Henry VII there, eating ginger, oranges, conserved lemon and marmalade and Henry rewarded Jasper's tumbler on this occasion for his performance.

SUDELEY CASTLE HOME OF THE BOTELER FAMILY

It is with Ralph Boteler that the story of the present castle commences. Ralph Boteler served under Henry V and Henry VI in France, Normandy and England, during the French Wars, as Captain of Calais and was present at the 1st Battle of St. Albans in 1455. His services were recognised and he was made a Knight of the Garter, Baron Sudeley and in 1443 he was appointed Treasurer of the Exchequer and High Treasurer of England. Inundated with success, he set about building a castle at Sudeley that would reflect his new status. Yet, he was not allowed to enjoy his castle for long. When Edward IV

usurped the crown in 1461, most properties were confiscated, including Boteler's Sudeley Castle. He was forced to sell it to Edward IV. The Portmare Tower was built by Boteler and named after a French admiral who he had captured during the French Wars. The Dungeon Tower, the Tithe Barn and St. Mary's Church are what now remain of Boteler's buildings.



Sudeley Castle, ruined banqueting hall Photo by Debra Bayani

SUDELEY CASTLE AS RICHARD DUKE OF GLOUCESTER'S BASE

Edward IV granted the castle to his younger brother Richard. Richard used it as a base prior to the Battle of Tewkesbury and owned the estate until 1471 when he exchanged it for Richmond Castle. When Richard succeeded to the throne in 1483,

he became owner of the castle for a second time. It is believed that the banqueting hall with its splendid oriel windows and the adjoining rooms were all built during Richard's ownership, to replace Boteler's Inner Court.

A TUDOR CASTLE

In 1486, Henry VII granted the lordship and castle to his uncle, Jasper. Jasper and his new wife Katherine Woodville are recorded to have been residing at the castle. Due to Jasper's bad health in 1494, his service

of royal duties were no longer called upon and he spent most of the year there.



Thornbury Castle Photo by Debra Bayani

THORNBURY MANOR BUCKINGHAM'S MANOR

In the summer of 1483, Buckingham's manor at Thornbury was the centre of conspiracy with the purpose of replacing Richard III as king and perhaps also to free the Princes in the Tower. Involved were Bishop John Morton, Dowager Queen

Elizabeth Woodville, her brother Bishop Lionel Woodville, who was a guest at the manor, possibly Margaret Beaufort and Henry Stafford, 2nd Duke of Buckingham himself. Some months later, the duke was caught by Richard III's men and executed for treason.

THORNBURY AS A TUDOR MANOR

After her husband's execution for his rebellion against Richard III, Katherine Woodville lived a sober existence with her children. This all changed when Richard III was killed at the Battle of Bosworth, and Henry

Tudor became the new king and married her to his uncle, Jasper Tudor. Katherine's former home at Thornbury returned to her. It is recorded that Thornbury was Jasper's favourite residence and it was there that he spent the last year of his life. On 15 December 1495, Jasper drew up his last will and died here six days later. Jasper chose Keynsham Abbey as his final resting place, but St. Mary's Church in Thornbury was the place where his entrails were buried.

BUCKINGHAM'S CASTLE

In around 1511 Thornbury manor became Thornbury Castle when Edward Stafford, son of the late 2nd Duke of Buckingham, made Thornbury his home and created a magnificent residence. But the Dukes of Buckingham had no luck on their side. In 1521, accused of treason by his distant

cousin, Henry VIII, Edward was executed by beheading. Following the duke's execution, Thornbury was confiscated and became crown property. In 1535, Henry stayed here for ten days with his second wife, Queen Anne Boleyn.

DEBRA BAYANI





THOMAS CROMWELL IN FACT AND FICTION

by Derek Wilson



he last few years have seen an explosion of interest in Thomas Cromwell, secretary to Henry VIII and the king's principal agent in the work of religious reformation.

Several biographies have appeared and a major TV series has won numerous accolades. So, we really do know pretty well all we need to know about this major figure in English history – or do we?

Well, the straight answer is 'No'. Or perhaps it would be truer to say we know too much and too little. Let me try to unpack that riddle. In 1529 Cromwell entered royal service - at first surreptitiously but, within months, occupying a position centre stage in political life. For the next eleven years he was never out of the spotlight. Then, in the summer of 1540, he fell as suddenly as he had risen and ended his life beneath the executioner's axe. Eleven years. Eleven dramatic years. Eleven revolutionary years. Eleven years that changed the character of this nation. We know a great deal about those eleven years. But when Thomas Cromwell died he was about fiftyfive years old. That leaves forty-four years unaccounted for. And about those years we know very little. Now, if you have an acquaintance whose family you've never met, about whose upbringing, education, early influences, training, career path, ideals and beliefs you are ignorant in short if you know next to nothing of that person's life, can you really claim to 'know' him/her? So, despite all the words printed and spoken about Cromwell, we are no closer to discovering what made him tick.

Thomas Cromwell was an enigma to contemporaries. Of course, everyone in political and diplomatic circles eager for information about this obviously remarkable man who enjoyed the king's confidence. The Emperor Charles V demanded from his ambassador a detailed appraisal of the King of England's chief minister. Members of the royal council who now found themselves sidelined by this upstart resented his interference and wanted to know exactly who they were dealing with. But Cromwell was reticent in the extreme about his earlier life. Inevitably, gossip and rumour filled in the gaps. It was said that the minister's father was a Putney sheepshearer, or possibly a blacksmith, or possibly an innkeeper. Whoever he was, he was a bad lot and the son had run away to escape his brutality. In the 1530s it was widely known that Cromwell had close connections with the Italian business community in London. So the rumour went around that he had joined a trading house in Venice. Or, it might have been Florence.

This is the point at which the first fiction writer to be attracted by the Cromwell enigma began to add romantic embellishments to the story. Matteo Bandello was a writer of picaresque tales as well as being a part

time bishop and he fleshed out the account of Cromwell's early years. He wrote that Thomas had fought in the French army at the famous battle of Garigliano, near Naples, in 1503. This engagement turned out disastrously for the French. Abandoned in a foreign land Cromwell was next found starving and destitute on the streets of Florence. He was only rescued by the charity of Francisco Frescobaldi, head of a great Florentine bank, who set him on the road to a mercantile career. Bandello's tale was nicely rounded off with an incident that supposedly occurred some thirty years later. Cromwell, now the political numero uno in England came across Francesco in London when the Italian had fallen on hard times. Now he was able to repay the favour and set the banker back on his feet. It was a nice story but was there any truth in it? Well, in the 1530s Cromwell and Frescobaldi were certainly friends and business associates but, back in 1503, when Francesco was supposed to have rescued Cromwell from the Florentine gutter, he was only a boy of eight years old! I'm sorry if this moving to and fro from the early years of the century to the 1530s is a bit confusing but you can, I hope, see how people were trying to work backwards from what they knew of the mature Cromwell to try to work out his origins.

One more early biographical strand needs to be added to our meagre narrative. In the 1560s the Protestant martyrologist, John Foxe,

was working on his monumental Acts and Monuments of the Christian Religion, often referred to as Foxe's Book of Martyrs. He was the first writer to look back at Cromwell's career from a distance of a quarter of a century and set him in the context of the English Reformation. For him, Cromwell was the great 'captain and soldier of Christ', who had delivered England from Catholic error, got rid of the monasteries, sponsored the first English Bible and set the nation on its new, Protestant course. Foxe added other incidents to the story of Cromwell's maturing years. He was able to talk to people who had known him. But even Foxe was scrabbling about for information on the early period. What we do learn from Foxe is that Cromwell eventually moved on to Antwerp, though, even here, Foxe is scarcely a mine of information. He writes, '... being at Antwerp he was there retained of the English merchants to be their clerk or secretary, or in some such like condition placed, pertaining to their affairs'. So Cromwell had moved from the powerhouse of the southern Renaissance to the creative centre of the Northern Renaissance where his administrative skills and knowledge affairs of mercantile rendered him useful to the English trading community. This will have involved him in occasionally crossing the North Sea between Antwerp and the major English port engaged in trade with the

Low Countries which was the thriving Lincolnshire town of Boston.

Now, it happens that John Foxe's home town was Boston, and there was a story circulating there about how Cromwell came to the aid of the Boston town council. They had important business to negotiate with Pope Leo X. This would involve sending a delegation all the way to Rome which would have to wait weeks - perhaps months - for a favourable opportunity to approach his holiness. It so happened that Cromwell was in town on business. He had, by this stage, become an entrepreneur in his own right. Not only that, he had acquired a reputation as a whizz kid with a penchant for thinking outside the box. The town fathers of Boston decided they needed to look no further for an advocate, and entrusted Cromwell with the business. The envoys set off under Cromwell's leadership and eventually reached the papal court. Now came the tricky part - how to catch Leo's eye, or ear amidst the throng of other suitors. Cromwell knew a thing or two about Leo, who was a member of the Medici family and a familiar figure in Florence during Cromwell's years in the city. He knew the pope was a voluptuary who freely indulged his pleasures. Specifically, Cromwell was aware that the holy father had a connoisseur's ear for music and also a sweet tooth. He prepared his strategy accordingly. While he and his companions waited outside the pavilion where Leo was resting after a morning's hunting, they struck up

what Foxe described as a 'three-mansong'. Leo commanded the little choir to be brought before him. After making obeisance the Bostonians presented the pope with some jellied sweetmeats, which were at that time a rare delicacy. The pope was favourably impressed, listened to the Englishmen's petition and signed the requisite documents. It's a good story. But is it any more than that; any more reliable than Bandello's romanticising? Well, Foxe may well have had it at first hand from people who were there. Also, Vatican archives corroborate that the Boston petition was granted in 1518. So the tale has an authentic ring about it. It certainly demonstrates that inventiveness and cunning for which Cromwell was later famous – or notorious.

But what Foxe was really interested in was not amusing anecdotes but in demonstrating that Cromwell's whole life was

> 'nothing else but a continual care and travail how to advance and further the right knowledge of the gospel and reform the house of God'.

He declared that Cromwell's vocation to this holy task arose out of his reading of the New Testament by the leading Dutch scholar of the day, Desiderius Erasmus. This revolutionary document was a setting out of the Greek text with a fresh Latin translation. It first appeared in 1516 and was revised in 1519. Foxe declared that Cromwell not only read it on his journey to and from Rome, but that he committed

the whole book to memory. Whether that is literally true or not there can be no doubt from Cromwell's later commitment to Bible translation that Scripture had a profound influence on his life and the policies he pursued Thomas Cromwell was, office. according to Foxe, a follower of the New Learning, an evangelical, a man with a mission. And that just about concludes the existing evidence for the early life of Thomas Cromwell. Those are the fragments most biographers and historians have fitted together to describe the life of Cromwell before he appeared in the household of Cardinal Wolsey in the 1520s.

But more zealous research would have unearthed other significant details and delivered writers from reliance on some sources whose reliability is, at best, questionable. So let's go back again to the beginning and see if we can construct a more convincing portrait of the teenager who became someone who, on any reckoning, was one of the most brilliant men of his age and one of the most formative figures in shaping our history. Thomas was the only son of a Putney businessman who, according to local records, may have been an innkeeper, brewer, blacksmith, fuller or minor landowner – or any combination of any of these. As his father's heir, Thomas would have been expected to take on the family business. But other options were open to him. His elder sister, Catherine, was married to a local lawyer, Morgan Williams, who was one

of a 'flood' of Welshmen who moved close to the centre of national power in the wake of Henry Tudor's winning of the crown at the Battle of Bosworth. William obviously did extremely well for himself, for, in 1518, he was able to marry his son, Richard, to the daughter of no less a person than Thomas Murfyn, Lord Mayor of London. Via his in-laws, then, young Thomas had access to the City's mercantile elite. The energetic and ambitious teenager thus had wider horizons open to him than those of sleepy Putney. What more natural than that he should have grabbed the opportunity for foreign travel.

But do we need to buy into Bandello's romantic tale of military adventure? Nothing in Cromwell's later career gives any indication of a personal experience of soldiering. As we've already seen, the story of the destitute Englishman being rescued on the streets of Florence is suspect because his supposed saviour, Francesco Frescobaldi, was only a child at the time. Well, let's take another step back and think about the great banking house of Frescobaldi. The Florentine house was at the centre of a network that connected it to all the major trading cities of Europe - including London. Not only was the Frescobaldi agent in England a well-known figure in the capital, he was a money-lender and business dealer for King Henry VII. The likelihood that Cromwell knew Ludovico della Fava, the Frescobaldi London agent, before leaving home is very strong. Might it not be that young

Thomas's departure for Italy had more to do with training for a commercial career than with a lust for military adventure?

By the time that we're able to pick up reliable written source material, around discover that Cromwell 1520, entrepreneur was well-travelled a with business interests in London, Southampton and Boston. That's interesting because Southampton was the principal port for trade with the Mediterranean world, and as we have seen Boston, on the north-east coast, was an important staple connecting England with the Low Countries and the Baltic. So, by his mid-thirties, Cromwell was well-established in the 'triangular trade' of Florence, Antwerp and London. Thereafter, he began to appear on the political stage and we have a progressively clearer picture of his life.

So, we have narrowed the gap to some seventeen or so years (i.e. 1503-1520). But those years are vital to our understanding of his development. And that for three reasons:

- (1) They were the years of his early adulthood when he was forming his own opinions and beliefs.
- (2) He was doing this most of the time in the Florence of the High Renaissance when he was walking the same streets and frequenting the same taverns as Leonardo da Vinci, Niccolo Machiavelli, Michelangelo, Botticelli, Raphael, members of the powerful Medici clan and a host of other remarkable artists,

scholars, thinkers and politicians. This was the golden age of Florence when the cosmopolitan city was at the height of its prosperity and attracting visitors from all over Europe.

(3) Towards the end of these years, as Cromwell was travelling frequently along the arterial roads of Europe, he encountered the disturbing new ideas of Luther, Zwingli, Erasmus and other radical thinkers, whose challenges were sending tremors throughout Western Christendom. What was Cromwell doing in this vital segment of his life? Frustratingly, the historians can be no further help to us in chronicling these formative and exciting years.

This, I believe, is where the historical novelists can come in. We are free to use our imagination in those areas where the record is a blank. I will go so far as to say that these are the only areas where the novelist should put forward his/her speculative version of events. That's what I'm doing in the series of novels I am currently working on. If you'll forgive a bit of shameless self-promotion I can best explain what I mean by outlining the plot of my novel The First Horseman. In the pre-dawn of a November morning in 1536, Robert prominent Packington, a London merchant, was shot by an assassin as he was on his way to early mass. That is a fact. It really happened. It was, actually, the first recorded instance in England of anyone being murdered with a handgun. So, who killed Packington? Why? And what does this crime tell

us about the tensions gripping the capital and the nation in this year when the impact of the Reformation was first being felt? We don't know. The culprit was never caught. So, there's no documentary evidence to throw light on this sordid crime and its implications. Therefore, I could safely build story around an imaginary friends of Packington's, a fellow merchant by the name of Thomas Treviot, who is determined to get to the bottom of this appalling deed. Treviot belongs to that for want of a better term – middle class, which means that he can mingle with members of the royal court as well as the low life of the criminal underworld. I can create a picture of life as I think it must have been at this time. And I don't have to feature Henry VIII or his queen, Jane Seymour, or other major figures of the time. Therefore, I'm not tempted to rewrite the major personalities and events of history. I'm free to speculate as I build up my picture of Tudor life. However, if I were to make the king my main character, I would have to convey my impression of him. I would not be able to avoid selecting the facts that supported that impression or rejecting the facts that were inconvenient.

As an example of the latter we might consider a play written back in the 1960s by Robert Bolt which was subsequently turned into a very popular film called *A Man for All Seasons*. It told the story of Thomas More who resisted Henry VIII's demand to be acknowledged as Head of the Church in England and who paid for

this defiance with his life. It's the story of a man who died for conscience sake - which, of course, is perfectly true. But it's only part of the truth, because this man who asked for the freedom to follow his conscience was an intolerant, fierce, even violent, opponent of other men who wanted to follow their consciences. Turning More into a two-dimensional hero distorted him and distorted the clashing convictions of the age in which he lived. Bolt's interpretation of Thomas More has become the standard image, largely accepted by most people interested in 16th C history. And for 50 years historians have been trying to set the record straight. For the historian what matters is the facts. For the fiction writer what matters is the story. That's why I'm always careful to remember which cap I'm wearing. If I'm writing non-fiction I go about the task very differently from how I tackle a novel. For instance, as I said, I don't write fiction about major historical figures. If I did, the temptation would always be there to form my own impression of my characters and to select and relate the facts to support that impression. My stories are written about totally made-up men and women. And yet perversely perhaps – I think that they can - and, I hope, they do - convey truth. I aim to impart a feel of the age I'm writing about. I want the reader to be able to say at the end of the book, 'I know those things didn't happen but I'm sure they could have done.'

L.P. Hartley famously wrote, 'The past is a different country; they do thing differently there.' The inhabitants of that strange land are not the same as us. Oh, they have the same vices and virtues, desires and ambitions, needs and wants but that does not make them the same as us. They are shaped by their environment, the prevailing conventions and mental attitudes of their society. So how can a novelist present them to modern readers in ways that will be understood and evoke sympathy. The recent TV series based on Hilary Mantel's books offered us what was, essentially, a 21st C politique in a Tudor gown. We saw the kind of intrigues and personal rivalries playing themselves out in the claustrophobic royal court just as they might be played out in the boardroom of a modern multi-national company. This was a Tudor statesman interpreted for a secular age. But the 16th C was not a secular age. And Cromwell was not a secular, detached bureaucrat simply pursuing his own ambition. He was a man of religious conviction. Ultimately he was brought down by accusations of heresy. In the TV Cromwell series there was no trace of that continual care for the Gospel and the purification of the Church of which Foxe wrote. That Cromwell was not a man with a holy mission.

Next year Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch will publish a major, fulllength, scholarly biography of Thomas Cromwell. We await it eagerly. It will, I'm aspects of this great man's career. I also a Thomas Cromwell prequel. A story, know, from my correspondence with tracing the life of a young self-made Professor MacCulloch, that he shares Tudor man who came from the back my frustration about the lack of information on Cromwell's early life. He will offer us a more detailed picture of power, would be fascinating and of the pre-1520 years but there will it would not run the risk of distorting still be gaps which, as a conscientious history because there is no known historian, he will not fill with history to distort. And if it was well imaginative speculation.

rescue. Despite what I've said about not fictionalising the lives of prominent

sure, set the record straight on several historical figures, I would love to read streets of nowhere to the point where he was about to cross the threshold done it could actually help us grasp Perhaps this is where the fiction more firmly the truth about life in writer can legitimately come to our Renaissance and Reformation Europe and England.

DEREK WILSON



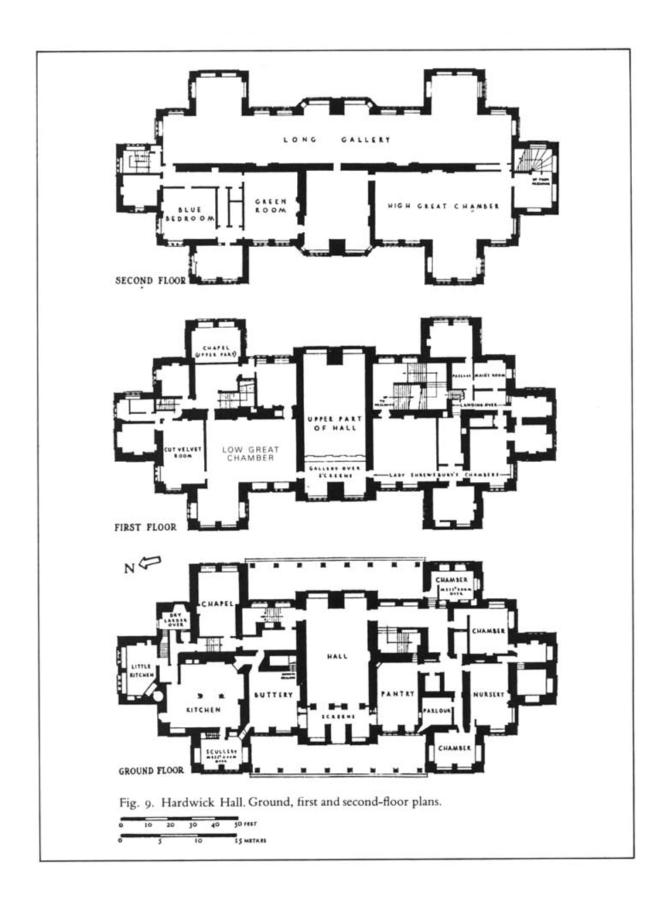


HARDWICK HALL, MORE WINDOW THAN WALL

Hardwick Hall, (or to be precise, NEW Hardwick Hall) was built in the last decade of the 16th century by Bess of Hardwick, Countess of Shrewsbury, one of the richest women in England, and it is one of the preeminent examples of Elizabethan architecture in England. To make sure no one doubted whose home it was, the initials ES (for Elizabeth of Shrewsbury) can be found throughout the exterior and interior of the Hall, most noticeably in the 18 monograms made by the huge decorative stonework displayed on three sides of each of the Hall's six vertical turrets.

Built when a castle had become more of a stately home than a fortress, the Hall was designed for pleasure and livability. It was also one of the first buildings to have lavish amounts of natural light, leading to the small rhyme 'Hardwick Hall, more window than wall'. Another version of the saying is 'Hardwick Hall, more glass than wall'. It is unknown which verse was the first to be used.

The architect, Robert Smythson, designed the decidedly symmetrical in Renaissance style, and beautifully adapted the Italian fashion to sit naturally in the Derbyshire countryside. Smythson also had to figure out how to keep the house warm without sacrificing the magnificent widows that made up much of the exterior frontage. He did this building the chimneys into the internal walls of the structure, as opposed to the exterior walls. During the earlier part of the Tudor Era, chimneys were "new" technology and often added onto a preexisting home or built on the outside



of a new home, and were usually ornate to draw attention to their presence and expense. Hardwick Hall, in contrast, put more emphasis on windows than fancy brickwork on chimneys, which were becoming almost commonplace by the latter half of the century.

Hardwick Hall also used the novel approach of creating a great hall that spread out in front of the viewer when the front doors opened, rather than running lengthways along the middle of the building. The Great Hall extends upward into the first floor, forming an overwhelming picture of grandeur. Other than the Great Hall and Chapel, the ground floor was for more pedestrian uses; the kitchens, nurseries, pantry, and buttery are all on this floor. There are staircases which lead to the first floor, where Bess would have had her principle living rooms, including her bedroom and the Low Great Chamber, but at the end of the Great Hall is a wide, slightly terraced stone staircase that curves gently at the top and leads directly to the state rooms of the second floor.

The state rooms on the top floor were reserved for truly impressive visitors, such as royalty, and would have been seldom used by the mistress of the house. If Queen Elizabeth I had visited Hardwick Hall, she would have been entertained in the High Great Chamber, which is still decorated with priceless tapestries. The tapestries, which depict the adventures of Ulysses during the Odyssey, fit the High Great Chamber so well that some art historians think the room was probably built to show off the exquisite hangings. At the top of the walls above the tapestries is a brightly painted magnificent plaster frieze of Diana the Huntress. Diana, also known as Cynthia, with her symbolism of virginity and the moon, was a synonym for Queen Elizabeth and an obvious ploy to flatter the potential royal guest. The roebucks in the frieze were Bess's personal emblems and were intended to remind the queen of the countess's loyalty to her.

Beyond the High Great Chamber were more private rooms, starting with the Withdrawing Chamber and then the Best Bed Chamber. The queen would have then retired for the night to sleep in the appropriately majestic bed of the Best Bed Chamber (which is now the Green Velvet Room). Next to the Best Bed Chamber was the Pearl Bed Chamber (now the Blue Bedroom), which would have been a suitable place for the queen's ladies in waiting to spend the night.

The state rooms of the top floor haven't been altered very much in the centuries since Queen Elizabeth's reign, and this happily means that its Long Gallery remains one of the most aweinspiring galleries in England. Today it displays several painting, but from the beginning it housed spectacular artwork and portraits from the 16th century and some even older. An inventory from 1601 (original now kept in the Warburg Library) listed the paintings:

In the Gallenie: Thirtene peeces of deep Tapesthe hanginges of the stone of Gedion every peece being nynytene foote deep...'

'The Pictures of Quene Elizabeth, Edward the second, Edward the third, Rychard the third, Henry the fourth, Henry the fyft, Henry the sixt, Edward the fourth, Richard the third, Henry the seaventh, Henry the Eight, Edward the sixt, Quene Marie, Quene Elizabethes picture in a less table, The King of Fraunce, Henry King of Scottes, James King of Scottes, The picture of Our Ladle the Virgin Marie, Queen Anne, Henry the third King of Fraunce in a little table, The Duke of Bullen, Philip King of Spayne, Twoo twynns, Queene Katherin, the Erie of Southampton, Mathewe, Erie of Lenox, Charles, Erie of Lenox, George, Erie of Shrouesbury, My Ladle, Lord Bacon, The Marquess of Winchester, the Ladle Arabella, Mr Henry Cavendishe, The Lord Straunge, The Lord Cromwell, Mrs Ann Cavendish, The Duke of Sommerset, Sir Thomas Wyet, The storie of Joseph, a looking glass set with mother of peanie and silver, a table of Iverie carved and guilt with little pictures in it of the natyvitie the picture of hell.'

Although Hardwick Hall was fit for a queen, there was one monarch who never visited there; Mary Queen of Scots. Bess and her fourth husband, the Earl of Shrewsbury, were the de facto jailors of Mary Queen of Scots during her extended stay as Queen Elizabeth's "guest" in England. The Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury lodged with Mary in various residences Tutbury, Chatsworth Wingfield, and Sheffield considerable expense) from February 1569 until January 1585. New Hardwick Hall wasn't built until after Bess became a widow for the final time in 1590. There is a bed at Hardwick that is purported to be the one used by Queen Mary during her stay with the Shrewsbury household,



but in reality it was created in the 18th and 19th century.

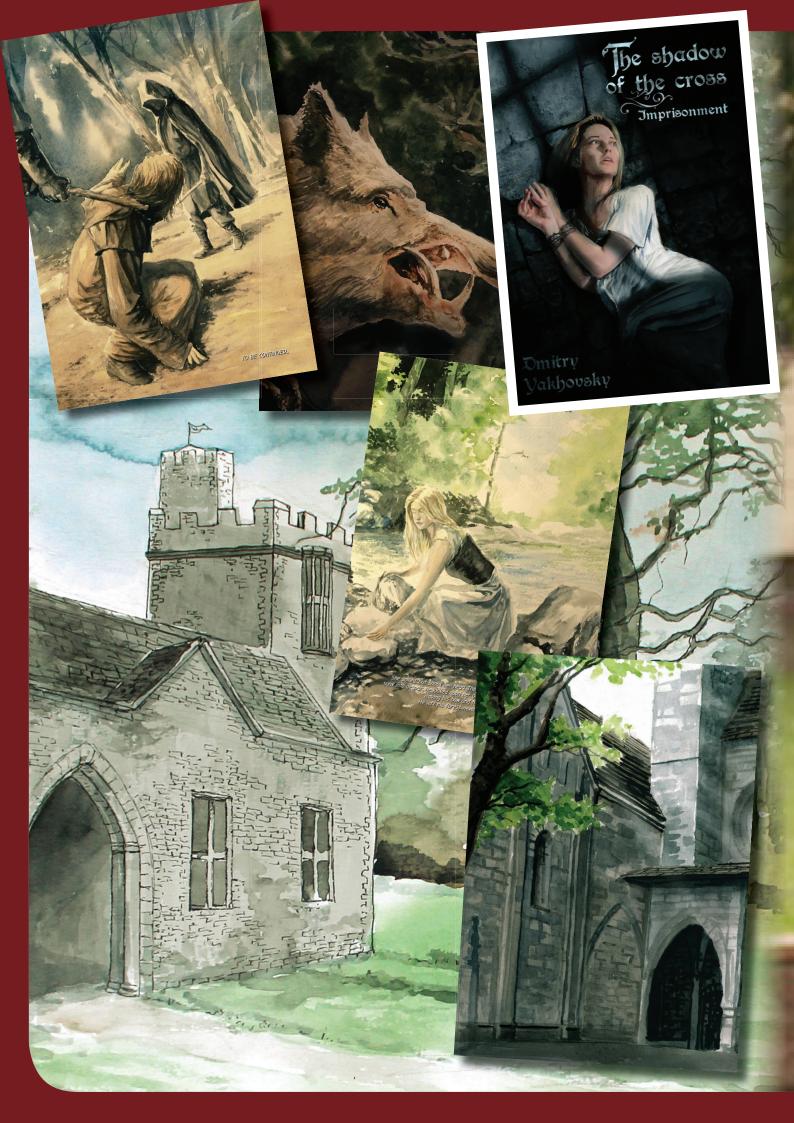
In spite of the fact Mary Queen of Scots was never in Hardwick Hall, there is a valuable presence of that sovereign within the building in the form of embroideries that she and Bess worked on (probably together) while the queen was still alive and in Bess's care. The needlework collection at Hardwick Hall is internationally famous. It contains some of the first large scale embroideries in the country, and all of them are works of art. One of the most important parts of the collection is the group of 4 large scale embroideries called "The Noble Women", depicting laudable heroines and womanly virtues. The Nobel Women weren't made by Bess and her ladies; they were the work of professional embroiderers using velvet, cloth of gold and figured silk. Some of the material was repurposed from the remains of medieval church vestments, as was done frequently at the time. Currently, the National Trust is running a long term conservation project to conserve these pieces. Two panels of the restored Nobel Women, one featuring Penelope with the virtues of Perseverance and Patience and the other of Lucretia with the virtues of Fidelity and Honor, have been rehung at Hardwick Hall.

There are other items of historical value within the Hall beyond the artwork on its walls. The Hall still has several pieces of its original furnishings, such as the Sea Dog Table, an inlaid and partially gilded walnut table based on engraved designs from around 1560 by the French architect Du Cerceau. The table is called the Sea Dog Table because it rests on four chimera (once known as sea dogs) which crouch on another base, which in turn rests on the backs of four turtles. There is also the Eglantine Table, so named because of the carvings on it of the 'aeglentyne', or sweet briar rose, which was a floral emblem in the Hardwick and Cavendish family arms. The

table is ash inlaid with walnut and fruitwoods to depict sheet music, a violin, and various wind instruments, as well as Tudor Era playing cards and board games. It is probably one of the tables recorded in the 1601 inventory of the Hall, and the heraldic symbolism on it strongly suggests that it was made to commemorate the marriages between the Cavendish and Shrewsbury family in 1567 and 1568. The table cannot be any earlier than 1563 because of some of the sheet music on the marquetry bears a four-part setting of 'O Lord in Thee is All My Trust' by Thomas Tallis, which was first printed in London that year.

Ironically, Hardwick Hall and its furnishings remained intact in part because the house was used only for the occasional hunting party or dowager residence. When Bess died in 1608, she left the Hall to her son William Cavendish, 1st Earl of Devonshire. When her great-great-grandson, William, was created 1st Duke of Devonshire in 1694, the family continued to use Chatsworth as their main residence. The Hall was unimportant, and thus it escaped redecoration or modern renewals by subsequent generations. It remained in the Cavendish family until the sudden death of the 10th Duke of Devonshire, which required an enormous amount of taxes to be paid by the 11th Duke of Devonshire. One of the properties given to the Treasury to pay the tax was the Hall. The National Trust took over Hardwick Hall in 1959, and opened it to the public.

Hardwick Old Hall, where Bess of Hardwick was born in 1527, remains as a picturesque ruin near the gardens of the Hardwick Hall. Her descendant, the 12th Duke of Devonshire, still has a family seat at Chatsworth. Another of Bess's descendants, Queen Elizabeth II, makes do with Buckingham Palace for most of the year, but has a couple of other places to stay on weekends and during the summer.







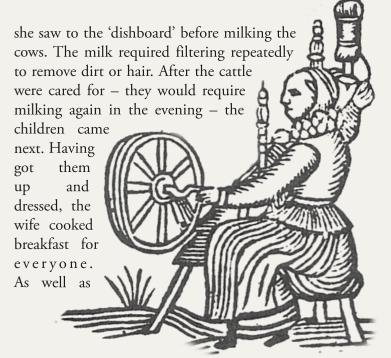
HAVE SYMPATHY FOR THE TUDOR HOUSEWIFE, PART 2

More Chores for the Housewife

When we read English history, it is often separated into the 'Medieval' and 'Tudor' periods, divided at the year 1485, when Henry Tudor defeated Richard III, the last Plantagenet king, at the battle of Bosworth. But this convenient packaging of history into pigeon-holes doesn't reflect the way people at the time went about their daily lives. Life for the lesser subjects of the first Tudor monarch, Henry VII, continued much as it had for centuries.

Work for the ordinary housewife changed hardly at all. Early Tudor writers like Thomas Tusser and John Fitzherbert wrote on 'the care of a household'. In 1533, Fitzherbert described in his *Boke of Husbandry* the daily

chores for a Tudor housewife whose stamina had to be phenomenal. Having swept the house,



TONI MOUNT

making bread, butter was churned, cheese made and ale brewed. Dinner and supper had to be prepared and cooked. Pigs, hens and other livestock required feeding twice a day. Eggs were collected and taken to market to sell, along with surplus dairy products. At the market, the wife would shop for anything the family couldn't supply themselves, perhaps a new cooking pot or knife, leather to repair shoes, needles and sewing thread – these last were vital for making and mending the family's clothing.

The wife might grow, prepare and spin hemp and flax and card, comb and spin sheeps' wool, all to be sold to raise money to buy linen and woollen textiles to clothe the family. Other weekly tasks included doing the laundry - as we saw last time - and, depending on the season, helping her husband with ploughing, muckspreading, weeding, harvesting and winnowing of corn before taking it to the mill. Besides this, she would tend her garden, growing vegetables and herbs for the pot, useful plants like stinging nettles to make a dye for wool and tough string, medicinal plants to treat lame horses, cows with sore udders, children with chilblains, her husband's cut finger or sore throat, as well as a salve for her own poor workaday hands. Fitzherbert advised the woman to prioritise her chores but at least Thomas Tusser recognised that 'a housewife's affairs have never an end.'

For women working in town, in the mid-fifteenth century, they could become *femmes soles*, business women in their own right, even though they were married. But, as the Tudor period continued, this possibility became less common. In the 1560s, Alice Montague, whose silk business was thriving with Queen Elizabeth as a customer, was obliged to hand over to her husband, Roger. By 1587, William Harrison noted that in London 'until the tenth yeere of Queene Elizabeth there were few silke shoppes, and those were only kept by women, not by men [as] now they are'. So why were men taking over a craft that had previously been an all-female preserve?

The main reason was male unemployment. Society saw men as bread-winners, supporting wife, family and household. This was how things ought to be and women should know their place – it said so in the Bible, so it was God's intended arrangement.

However, in the years 1348-49, God's arrangement was set aside when plague ravaged England. Crops went unharvested, animals died untended and trade stalled but this situation was quickly overcome. As agriculture

and trade resumed, all hands were needed with enough work for every survivor, male and female. Women who survived their husbands frequently took over the business, whether running a few acres of land in Oxfordshire or a bell-foundry in Whitechapel, London. This situation continued for a century and more. The plague reappeared every few years, so the population remained small.

Population recovery was further hampered by wars. In the 1340s, the Plantagenet kings had embarked on what became the Hundred Years War against the French and when that conflict concluded, ignominiously, in 1453, the nobility put their military might into the Wars of the Roses which lasted, on and off, until 1487. Wars are fought by young men who, otherwise, would be working and raising families. They're also the usual casualties. This meant more women than men were available in the workforce and they were cheaper! Women were always paid less even when doing exactly the same job, so employers often preferred them to men.

With a reduced workforce on the land, it was realised that sheep required less attention except at lambing and sheering time, whereas crops needed constant care. Landowners began enclosing large areas for sheep, destroying the small cultivated strips that were their tenants' livelihood. Entire villages were occasionally demolished to make room for more sheep and bigger profits. However, the first Tudor monarch wanted to refill his coffers, not waste money waging war. Fewer wars meant more fit young men needing employment yet the vast sheep farms had no need of their labour. The dispossessed and unemployed moved into towns, hoping to make a living.

With male bread-winners out of work and employers taking on women as cheaper labour, something had to be done. Parliament and guilds passed new laws and regulations, aimed at making more jobs for men. In 1511, the Weavers' Guild in Norwich, Norfolk, excluded women from the industry, claiming 'they be not of sufficient strength to work the worsteds [heavy woollen textiles]', despite women having managed the task for generations.

A woman's place was in the home, focusing on her husband and family. Therefore, mothers could teach their daughters all they needed to know about housewifery and any other education was wasted on girls. In fact, it was detrimental to their marriage prospects because no man wanted a clever wife for fear she'd make him look foolish.

Dusic in the Doge's Venetian Court by Jane Moulder



N my articles, I have often referred to the powerful influence that Italian fashions had across the rest of Europe, whether that was with regard to music, art, clothing, manners or cuisine. So I thought that in this edition, focusing on palaces and stately homes, I'd venture abroad and look at music in one of the grandest of Italian palaces, the Doge's Palace in Venice.

At this time, Italy was formed of a number of independently run states or republics and as one of these, Venice had asserted itself as a powerful and influential economic city since early medieval state times. The city was ruled by a man carrying the title of Doge, (the term derived from the Latin for a military ruler). The Doge was elected for life by a council of forty one Venetian elders or statesmen who were all members of the local wealthy elite families. To eradicate any

one family's undue influence, to ensure that the Doge represented everyone for the best of the city, there was an extremely complicated electoral voting system. Whilst the Doge was the figurehead for Venice, and therefore entailed living in a lavish palace with associated regalia and lifestyle, the role itself did not automatically confer personal wealth and power. remuneration for the job was not great but the Doge would have been able to increase his wealth by developing the trading ventures of the city. This not only helped his personal standing, but the wealth and power of the citizens as

"The church of St Mark was so full of people that one could not move a step and a new platform was built for the singers, adjoining which there was a portable organ, in addition to the two famous organs of the church: and the other instruments made the most excellent music, in which the best singers and players that can be found in this region could offer."

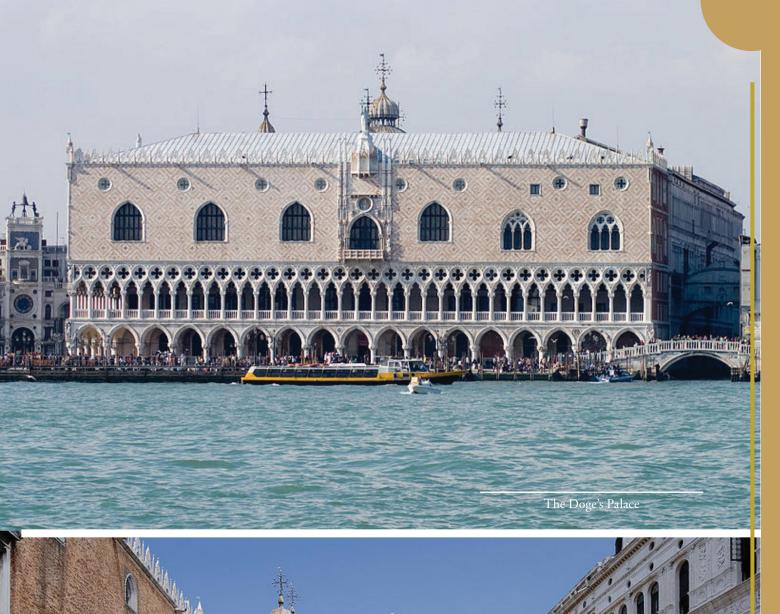
Sonsovino describing the music for a mass in 1585

well. Venice believed that it had found the perfect method of government - a mix of monarchy and democracy. For example, after a Doge died, the council of statesmen looked back at his works and achievements whilst in office and if they found it lacking, or if there was any indication of mismanagement or malpractice, the Doge's personal estate would be fined or forfeited.

The linking of the church with the state was also key to Venice's power and success. Venice had always extolled its greatness and deliberately created its own created myth – it set itself at the most perfect of cities or 'La Serenissima',





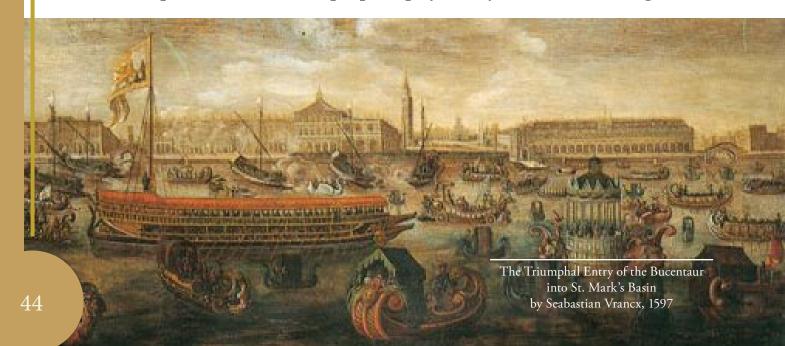




meaning the most serene. It was a destination city even during the 16th century, a period where the look of something was sometimes more important than the substance. Venice was the most dominant trading city of the Mediterranean and as such, it had always welcomed outsiders. The canals provided plenty of waterfront for the elite of the city to build their palaces and the grand palazzo in front of St Mark's Church provided a focal point for pomp and circumstance. St Mark's was Venice's principal church (although not at this time the cathedral) and it was inextricably linked to the neighbouring Doge's Palace both in a physical and spiritual sense: it also served as the Doge's private chapel.

Whenever a new Doge was elected there were always great celebrations, bells were rung throughout the city and, if it had been a popular choice, there was widespread rejoicing of the citizens. The Doge had an official coronation which consisted of three stages: firstly an entry into St Mark's where he received the Ducal banner and was presented to the people; secondly the Doge was carried around the Piazza San Marco and, finally, he was crowned with the Ducal hat or camauro in the courtyard of the Ducal palace. These were all secular activities but the following day there would be a ceremonial mass in St Mark's.

The Doge, despite his position, was still seen as a servant of the Republic and a 16th century commentator, Dominico Morosini, described the Doge as being the chief guarantor of civic harmony. He was a figure to be revered and venerated by the citizens and displays of wealth and ostentation went with the role and the palace was an integral part of the image. Venice was very keen to exert its influence as a state and as such it needed buildings, art and culture to impress its image on its neighbours. The ducal palace impresses visitors today and it certainly would have done the same back in the 16th century! As different parts of the building were completed, altered and added to, they would be unveiled with great ceremony which included the performance of especially commissioned music played by both the Doges'



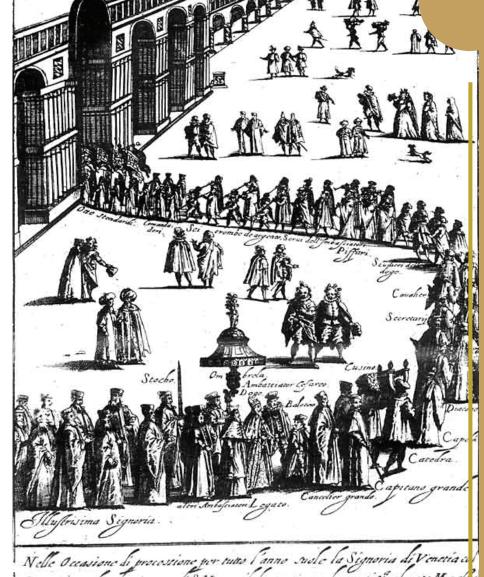
musicians and those of neighbouring St Marks.

Music, musicians and lavish ceremony all linked to together in Venice. For example, one of the most ostentatious ceremonies of the year was the "Marriage of the Sea", which signified the maritime supremacy of the city. The Doge would enter Venice on the state barge, or bucentaur it was known, and drop consecrated wedding ring into the sea whilst proclaiming, "We wed thee, sea, as a sign of true and everlasting domination".

The splendour of Venetian processions was legendary and by the end of the 16th century the number

of grand state occasions had increased to about sixteen each year. Visitors from all over Europe acknowledged that those of Venice exceeded by far the civic and religious ceremonies of anywhere else, both in their frequency and in their lavishness. Many contemporary writers expressed amazement at the Venetian displays of power, wealth and pomp and commented that, despite this, they still retained a pious nature. It was this successful link between the secular Doge and the sacred St Mark's that helped make Venice so special.

Music, of course, was an integral part of this marriage between church



Giacomo Franco, "Procession in St.
Mark's Square," 1610. This engraving

and state as even in St Mark's, the music performed there was an unusual combination of both sacred and secular.

shows the musicians, Piffari, in one of

Venice's many parades.

The Doge's ducal court employed the instrumental ensemble known as the *Piffari della Doge*. This professional wind ensemble was kept very busy as it gave an hour-long concert each day, played music from the campanile tower to mark the hours and also marched in procession in front of the Doge during Venice's many Feast Day celebrations. These musicians were also employed as a dance band for the Doge,

and the musicians of the *Piffari* had to had kept a diary. The diary included be able to play a variety of instruments instructions on seafaring, notes on in order to adapt to the requirements of the payments he received both as the event or the venue.

a musician and wine merchant, as

The Venetian City State wanted to ensure that their musicians and music matched the standards set by other republics and states in Italy and across Europe. Musicians were often traded between courts and the Burgundian ruler, Philip the Fair, gave a trombonist as a gift to the Venetian ambassador in 1505, a positive sign that Venice was a city to be courted.

The Doge's band of three shawm players and two trombonists was officially established in 1458 and one of the initial members was a very interesting character. Zorzi Trombetta di Modon, as a young man, had served as a trumpeter on a Venetian merchant ship and, conveniently for historians,

had kept a diary. The diary included instructions on seafaring, notes on the payments he received both as a musician and wine merchant, as well as excerpts of some music he would no doubt have played whilst on board. He later swapped his trumpet for a trombone and joined the Doge's court *piffari*. He became a respected musician and played not only for the Doge but also for three of the city's Scuole Grande.

The Scuole Grande (literally meaning "Great Schools") were confraternities which had been founded in the 13th century. They were established as charitable and religious organisations for the laity and by 1552 there were six in Venice. Membership was open to all citizens and consequently proved to be one of the few ways that nonnoble Venetians could have some





Scuola Grande di San Rocco where Thomas Coryat was so enraptured by the music he heard there. It is still a concert venue today

control and influence over the city and its people. The Scuole would organise processions, sponsor festivities, distribute food, money and clothing, provide dowries and even supervise hospitals. There were also about 200 Scuole Piccole for trade guilds and other citizens that could not gain access to the Scuole Grande.

The Scuolas Grande played a role in the history and development of music in Venice as they employed and hired in musicians for providing music at a variety of events. The Scuola San Marco regularly held a grand procession on the first Sunday of every month for which they employed trumpeters, shawm players and singers. The Scuola San Marco finally established a permanent ensemble of musicians in 1568 and throughout its history this particular

control and influence over the city and Scuole had close links with the Doge its people. The Scuole would organise with several of the musicians playing in processions, sponsor festivities, both ensembles.

Thomas Coryat, the English traveller and eccentric, visited Venice in 1608 and took in the wonders of the city which he "hastily gobbled up". He recounted a number of musical events he attended including a concert of the Scuola di San Rocco. The concert lasted three hours but afterwards, Coryat felt compelled to write:

[the evening] consisted principally of musicke, which was both vocall and instrumental, so good, so delectable, so rare, so admirable, so super excellent, that it did even ravish and stupifie all those strangers that never hear the like.... For mine own part I can say this, that I was for the time even rapt up with Saint Paul into the third heaven."



The number of musicians playing and performing for the Doge grew over time and his permanent ensemble increased to six musicians by the end of the 16th century. The consort was increased by hiring in other musicians and singers as required to depending on the occasion or the music to be performed .

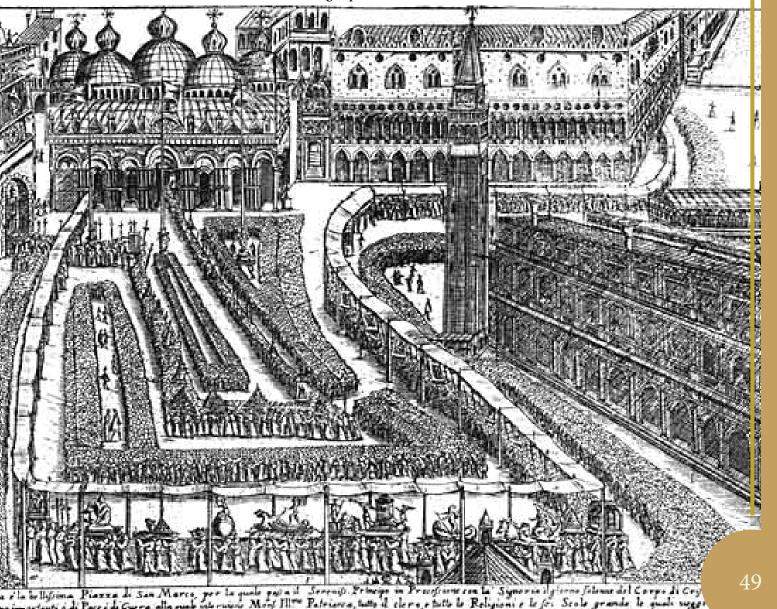
A number of influential composers and musicians were employed by either the Doge or St Mark's such as the Franco-Flemish composer, Adrian Willaert, the organist and composer, Claudio Merula and the Gabrielis, Antonio and Giovanni. In the early 17th century, Venice became the home of Claudio Monteverdi, the father of opera. From an English perspective, perhaps the most famous of the Doge's

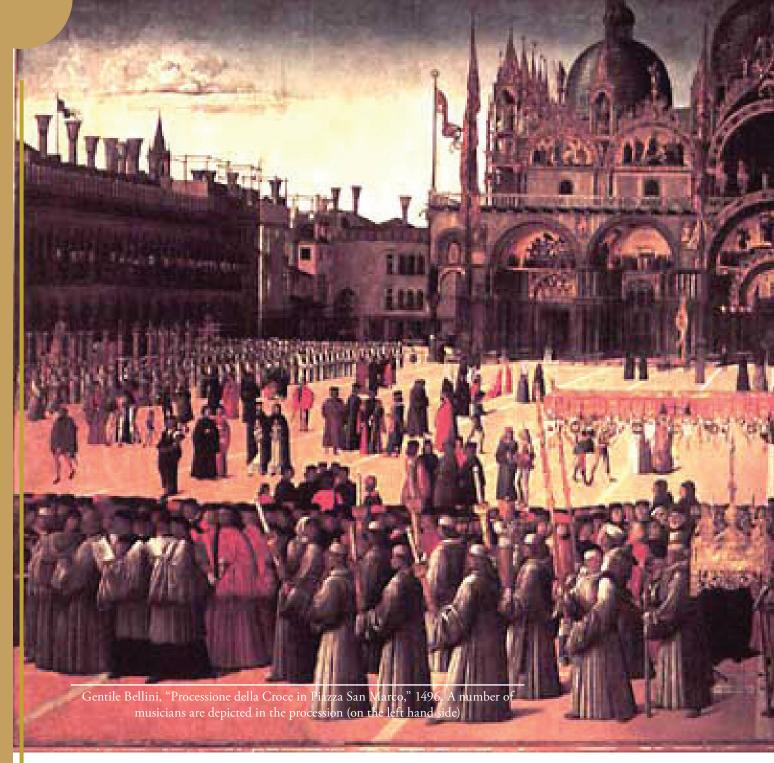
musicians were the Bassanos. In all, there were six Bassano brothers and they were both instrument makers as well as musicians. One of the Bassanos, Alvise, was employed by the Scuola San Marco in 1515 and there are indications that his father Jeronimo, had also been employed by the Doge as a sackbut player as early as 1495. The brothers were all respected recorder and woodwind musicians but they were as well known throughout the courts of Europe for their instrument making skills. Their fame certainly spread as they were sought out by Henry VIII and he negotiated for them to come and work for him in England. Henry made payments from his own privy purse to recruit them and even paid for some of their transport costs from Venice to London. Although all six brothers initially came over for a series of exploratory visits, only five of the brothers eventually settled in London. First of all though, the had to be some serious negotiations regarding terms and initially the Doge refused their release from Venice – he was, after all, losing a significant number of his most skilled musicians. Henry's Venetian agent, Edmond Harvel, communicated with Thomas Cromwell about the situation. Harvel claimed that they were

considered the best musicians in Venice and that whilst the brothers were happy to come to England the Doge would not grant them an exit licence from the city. Harvel was keen to stress the considerable efforts he had made on the king's behalf (which may have been exaggerated to keep him in favour) but eventually the licence to leave was granted by the Doge and money may possibly have changed hands in order to secure the deal.

The splendour of the Venetian processions was legendary. Visitors

An engraving by Giacomo Franco, 1610 of the "Corpus Christi Procession," showing the procession under a temporary cover, going from the Doge's palace into St Mark's





from all over Europe acknowledged that those of Venice exceeded by far the civic and religious ceremonies of anywhere else, both in frequency and in lavishness. Many writers expressed amazement at the Venetian displays of power, wealth and pomp allied with piety. Observers noted the close association between the civic power of the city, represented by the Doge, and the religious ritual, as virtually every

procession concluded with a sacred ceremony of some kind. After that, the event culminated in the Doge's Palace with a banquet, dancing and general festivities and musicians were, of course, an integral part of these celebrations.

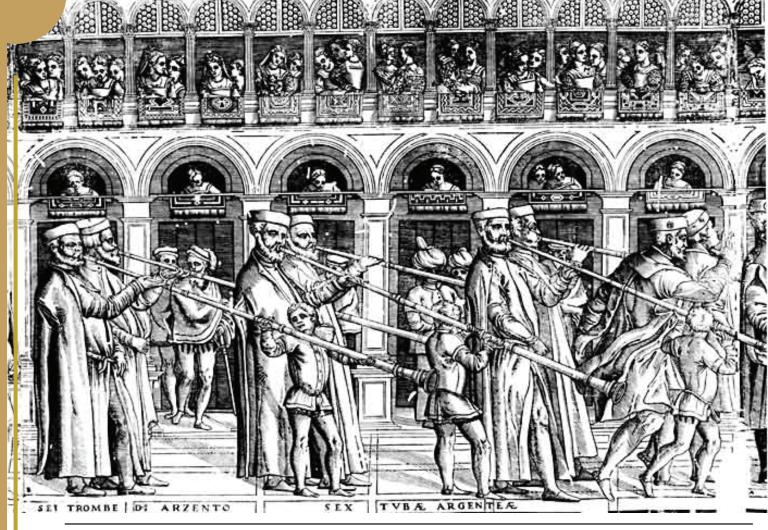
On parade at every procession there was always a contingent of trumpets, sackbuts and shawms. But there is pictorial evidence that shows that



quieter instruments such as a rebec, lute and harp were played. But the trumpets had a special significance. Venice was the proud possessor of six special silver trumpets, dubbed *trombe lunghe* or *trombe d'argento*, that, according to legend, had been a gift of Pope Alexander III in 1177, and the source of the trumpets was endlessly repeated by Venetian historians to help promulgate the "*myth of Venice*." The

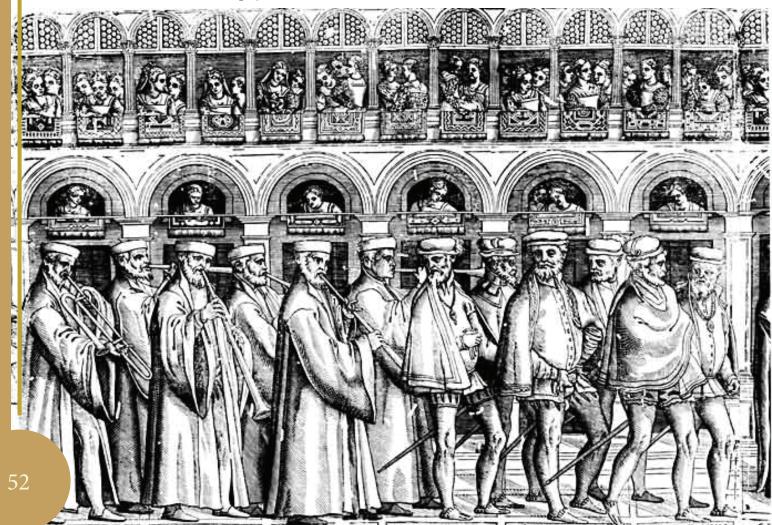
trumpets occupied a special position in the cortege and were only ever used in processions that the Doge was a participant in as they represented civic and ducal authority.

Another key duty of the musicians was to play for ceremonies celebrating the election of a new Doge and for events on anniversary of the Doge's election. They also played for the coronation of the consort of the Doge, the Dogaressa



ABOVE: Matteo Pagan, "Procession in St. Mark's Square on Palm Sunday," 1556, showing six silver trumpets each being supported by a young boy.

BELOW: Matteo Pagan, "Procession in St. Mark's Square on Palm Sunday," 1556, showing the sackbuts and shawm players.



or Signoria. In May 1597 there was a famous procession for this event and it was recorded in several paintings and engravings and a number of detailed written accounts. When Marino Grimani was elected Doge in 1595 he had made a commitment that his wife would be given a grand coronation after at least one year. This was the first time since 1557 that the wife of a Doge had been crowned. The celebration lasted for four days and was, according to the chroniclers, stunning in its sumptuousness. The procession included over 400 especially selected gentlewomen and escorts, representatives of all the artisans' guilds walking two by two, with each guild's insignia carried by a standard bearer; all accompanied by a large contingent of trumpets, drums and pifferi. Visitors came from all over Italy to witness the coronation and the canals were filled with boats.

Accompanying the Dogaressa on her boat were twelve trumpeters, twelve drummers, six pifferi and the six long silver trumpets of the Doge. The descriptions state that as the vessels travelled along the Grand Canal people leant out of windows, stood on the roofs of houses, filled the streets and crowded all along the canals and bridges. Amidst the cacophony of the crowds could also be heard the "sweet sound of many instruments," which echoed off the boats. Having alighted from the boat, she entered St Marks for a ceremony where "instruments and singers made lovely music while she was present" and then the entourage made its way to

the ducal palace where the Dogaressa was received "with the most beautiful music," and as she passed from one room to another, each filled with decorations and confections furnished by the various artisans' guilds, she was greeted with "music full of infinite sweetness." played on "lutes, cornettos, shawms, strings, and various other instruments".

The festivities continued for a full four days. Each day consisted of various ceremonies and musical performances. The public were invited into the palace to view the decorations and there were further banquets, dances, a mock battle on the Grand Canal and all the while the palace remained open to visitors who could "hear the music in every room," and there was dancing "until three hours after sundown".

As new trade routes were opened up with the Americas and the Far East, the maritime and cultural power of Venice faded gradually over the course of the 17th century. Venice was not well placed geographically to capitalise on these new markets. However, its cultural influence remained strong and was, of course, the focus for The Grand Tour during the 18th century as well as a model for the philosophy of the Enlightenment. Music, procession and ceremony continued to be the lifeblood of the city attracting artists and musicians from across Europe and this continues through to the 21st century. Venice is, and always will be, a most remarkable city and the Doge's Palace is still one of its highlights.



Andrea Michieli il Vicentino, "Arrival of the Dogaressa Morosini Grimani at the Doge's Palace," Musicians can be seen through the pillars in the boat.

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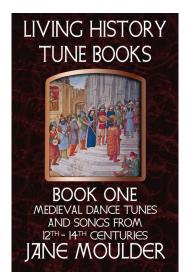
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Tudor Places Wordsearch

TETEOXBURGHHALLQLD TLTRUOCNOTCAIT TLKVMDLEG GSQNLRLL WVGDL GENRYAJAMMT DLZ LQ IPLCSKE NE TWLF RCNTDETTASMV GAEBMBNCROD RMRWRU T TB D B Y F HODENWSQE TTXAONEI LMQSLTSCCHCOLALNX QEADNOAATOHLNC KRWN PNHNQSPUEF PWOAZDB NSMOROAM KELRALAR BEE VDHEBNANML DMTWPUNYTRBYCWAB QZTTROZLSAGNLQEBEQ WDRLTNBDLLYNYELYXM

Tower of London
Hampton Court Palace
Westminster Abbey
Windsor Castle
Leeds Castle
Ludlow Castle
Greenwich Palace
Hever Castle

Hatfield House Eltham Palace Little Moreton Hall Oxburgh Hall Kenilworth Castle Layer Marney Acton Court The Vyne Speke Hall

SPECIAL REPORT:

THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF HENRY VII AT PEMBROKE ON 10TH JUNE 2017

BY NATHEN AMIN OF THE HENRY TUDOR SOCIETY, AUTHOR OF "TUDOR WALES"



West Wales is well-known for its propensity to be plagued by monsoon-like weather, but on Saturday 10th June the torrential downpours could not keep the public away from honouring Pembroke's most famous son, King Henry VII, the first of the Tudors.

A statue has long been an ambition of certain folk in these parts, and in front of an umbrellawielding crowd that braved the rain in their hundreds, that ambition was finally realised when the £45,000, 8ft tall bronze sculpture was revealed by Sara Edwards, Lord Lieutenant of Dyfed, acting on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen, a direct descendant of Henry VII.

The statue was a project of the Pembroke and Monkton Local History Society, led energetically by Linda Asman, and Saturday's unveiling represented the culmination in years of raising awareness and fundraising.

The event itself proved popular with the crowds, with a special marquee set up in the shadow of Pembroke Castle which contained an outside bar, a coffee and tea table and a stage upon which featured, at various times, Welsh dancing, a Welsh choir, medieval music, some bands and even a mummer's play, all for the entertainment of the masses. Outside the marquee were a book stall featuring some of the work of author Tony Riches, a stall set up by some local guides and the opportunity to see some knights in person. A particular highlight of the festivities was the Henry VII impersonator, who appeared uncannily like we imagine Henry to have been from known portraits. Accompanying 'Henry' was a greyhound, who modelled for the dog that appears part of the statue.

As for the statue itself, after a speech from Linda thanking the many sponsors and supporters, including the Town and County Council and two significant donors in Valero and Mr Richard Evans, the sculptor Harriet Addyman also said some words of thanks to the crowds, along with Mayor Dai Boswell and Rose Blackburn, the town crier, both of whom were resplendent in the finery of their public office. Finally, just after 2pm, the ribbons were enthusiastically yanked from the statue and the lifelike image of the Tudor king was unveiled, standing tall and proud upon Mill Bridge with Pembroke Castle proving a splendid backdrop to the finest royal statue in the country.

This doesn't mark the end of Pembroke's plans however. Thoughts now turn to establishing a permanent Visitor Centre dedicated to Henry VII in his birthplace, and after getting this statue installed, who would bet against the people of Pembroke further honouring their hometown hero?





MEMBER FEATURE: DAWN HATSWELL VISITS KILDRUMY CASTLE

The atmospheric remains of **Kildrummy Castle** can be found in Aberdeenshire, in Scotland. "VisitScotland" considers it to be "one of the most complete examples of a 13th century castle in eastern Scotland". The ruins consist of a curtain wall, four round towers, a hall, chapel and a twin-towered gatehouse thought to have been commissioned by Edward I of England, who has gone down in history as the "Hammer of the Scots". In 1435, it was taken by King James I of Scotland and remained a crown possession until 1507 when King James IV granted it to Sir Alexander Elphinstone, Lord Elphinstone. In 1626, Clan Erskine, the Earls of Mar, took the castle.

The castle played an important part in the Wars of Independence and the Jacobite Rising, but was abandoned in 1716 after the failure of the rising, the Erskines being Jacobites and having to go into exile.

You can find out more about the castle at https://www.historicenvironment.scot/visit-a-place/places/kildrummy-castle/and

https://www.visitscotland.com/info/see-do/kildrummy-castle-p248711

Enjoy these photos from Tudor Society member **Dawn Hatswell**'s visit. Dawn says of her visit:

"The castle's in a lovely quiet spot off the beaten track. It belongs to Historic Scotland and has toilets, a small ticket office and gift shop. It's a beautiful place for a picnic. We had it all to ourselves that day. Dogs are allowed and it's a short walk up to it.

There are over 300 castles, stately homes and ruins in this area! Hence the saying 'Scotland's Castle Country' - more per acre than anywhere else in the U.K."









THE TUDER SOLLETIN

Welcome to all our members, both new and old!

It is an exciting time to be a member of the Tudor Society and some incredible changes are underway at the moment...



Here is a photograph of the unique **Tudor Rose Pin Badge** that we've had designed and manufactured exclusively for Tudor Society members to proudly wear. Exciting, isn't it? You'll be hearing about this, and many other exciting things in the pipeline, very soon indeed.

You'll also have noticed that we have some new regular contributors to the website - Conor Byrne and Alexander Taylor. A HUGE Tudor Society welcome to both of these dedicated historians, we really appreciate your hard work in researching and writing about all things Tudor!

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

Charles THE TUDOR MURDER FILES by James Moore THE TUDOR BOOKS

People throughout history have been fascinated by crime, particularly murder, with books on the likes of Jack the Ripper still selling well today. James Moore uses this fascination to explore a part of Tudor history which has previously been neglected. *The Tudor Murder Files* is in two parts, with one part explaining how the officials dealt with murderers, including reporting a murder, punishments and catching them. However, this is the smaller of the two parts of the book. The second part is the main one and looks at 31 individual cases.

The first part of the book starts by explaining how a murder was officially defined back in the Tudor period, giving the reader interesting snippets of information which have not typically been explored in other books on the subject before. One example of this is the fact that 'murder was made distinct from manslaughter under the Tudors', with manslaughter being defined as a death that occurs as a result of 'chance medley'. Moore also explores the methods of catching criminals, mainly using the hue and cry so that the whole village was held responsible for catching them and providing information, and how guns started to be used for the first time in murder cases.

What the majority of readers will be most interested in are the murder cases themselves. The book includes a variety of cases which are well chosen, although at around 4-5 pages each it is too short to get into any real detail. Some chapters deal with better-known cases such as Amy Robsart's death and the cook who was boiled to death after trying to poison Bishop Fisher, but most are relatively unknown.

The book includes even the most shocking of murders, a father murdering his children. However, he made a simple mistake by not acting the part of the grieved father:

Despite his attempts to make it look as if his children had been the victims of an unknown attacker and create witnesses who could swear he had not been at the property at the time of the murder, Lincoln didn't do a good job of acting the devastated father. He 'made no signe of sorrow'... Incredibly he pointed the finger of blame at his remaining son.'

There are many murders like this which shocked the public as much back then as they do now, but sometimes the punishments were just as heinous as the crimes. Moore gives the reader a good insight into one of the punishments inflicted on those who

refused to plead guilty or not guilty, being pressed to death. The use of Thomas Smith as a contemporary source also shows just what the people of the time thought of this punishment, it being described as violent and cruel:

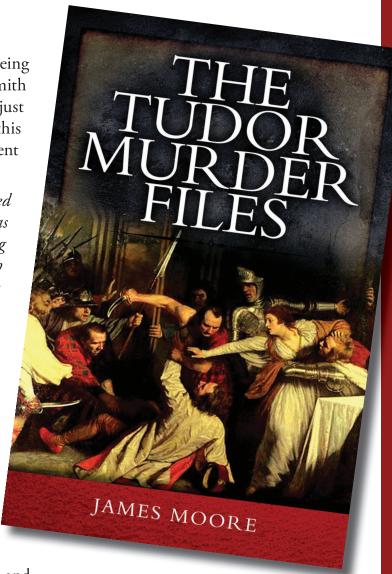
'In De Republica Anglorum, published in 1583, the English scholar Sir Thomas Smith painted a vivid picture of being pressed to death, a process which was undertaken inside a prison like Newgate. He described it as 'one of the cruellest deathes that may be,' going on to explain how 'he is layd upon a table, while as his bodie be crushed, and his life by that violence taken from him.'

The case of the cook who tried to poison Bishop Fisher is another such crime where the punishment is just as bad, yet Henry VIII himself was personally involved in this one, not leaving it to the officials. This may

have been to counteract rumours that he and the Boleyn family wanted Fisher dead and may have even been behind the attempt. <u>This</u> is doubtful, but Henry's reaction was extreme:

'So heinous was the crime, according to the king, that this 'detestable offence nowe newly practysed and comytted requyreth condygne punysshemente for the same'. A special law was quickly introduced by parliament allowing Roose, and anyone else found guilty of the crime, to be boiled to death. The statute, known as the Acte for Poysoning, mentioned Roose specifically, describing him as a man of a 'moste wyked and dampnable dysposicyon'

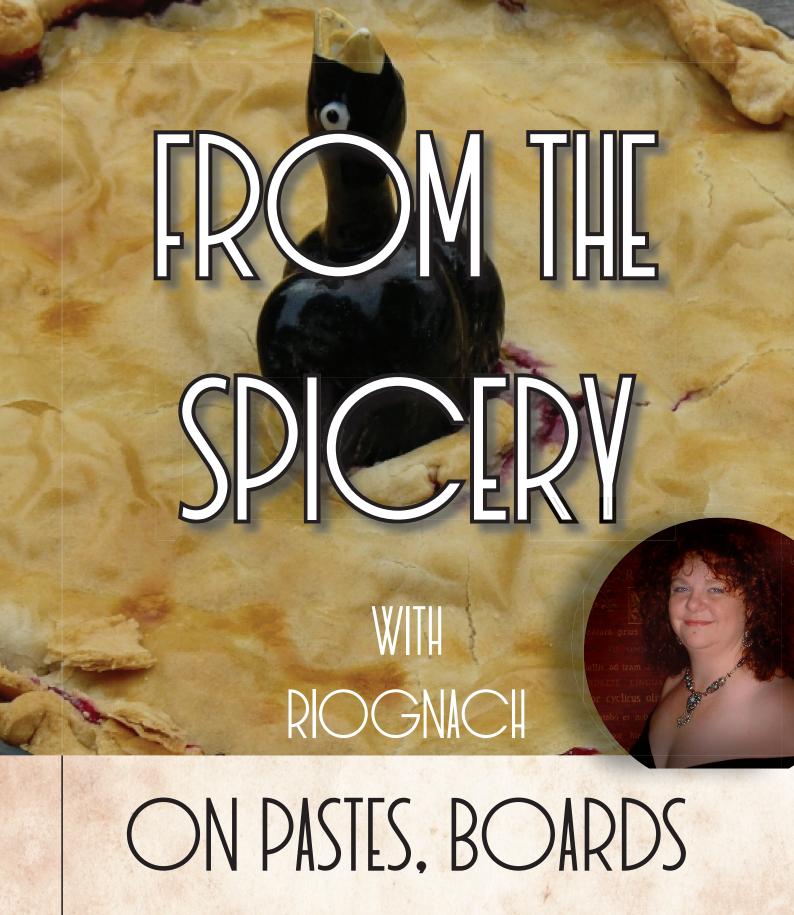
This brought in a new act, the Act for Poisoning, which meant that anyone found guilty of poisoning was to be boiled to death. This was used again in 1542 for Margaret Davy, but was a rare



punishment. Despite this, in 1547, Edward VI repealed this act and replaced it with a new Treason Act. I am glad that Moore included this detail, as many dwell on the fate of Richard Roose (the cook) and not the legal implications and what became of the act.

The Tudor Murder Files is a book that doesn't quite give as much as it promises regarding scandal and gruesome tales, but it is still interesting nonetheless. The writer does expect the reader to have some background knowledge, making me wonder who it is truly aimed at, but the first part is an excellent introduction on crime and punishment in Tudor times, and the cases are good examples of the different methods used for murder and then to catch and punish the guilty parties.

CHARLIE FENTON



AND COFFINS



In preparation for articles I've planned for the next few months, I thought I'd look at the concept of paste and coffins in the medieval kitchen. No, gentle readers, I'm not being macabre; the term *paste* referred to pastry, and a *coffyn* referred a pie.

The creation of pies represents the movement of human society from the free-ranging huntergatherer to a more settled, agrarian-based civilisation. The first pies, called "coffyns" (specifically a basket or box) were savoury meat pies with the pastry crust (or *boards*) being tall, straight-sided with sealed-on floors and lids. Open-crust pastry dishes (no tops or lids) were known

as "traps." These pies held assorted meats and sauce components and were baked more like a modern casserole with no pan (the crust itself was the pan, its pastry tough and inedible). These crusts were often made several inches thick to withstand many hours of baking

Here in South Australia, we have the tradition of the Cornish Pasty (or Cornish 'Nasty" if you prefer), which stems from the Cornish tin and copper miners who came out from England 1842. The South Australian Cornish pasty is characterised by its big, thick (some would say huge) 'handle' of curled pastry. The handle provided the means by which grubby miners could eat their main

For Tarts Not During Lent

Take soft cheese and pare it

Take soft cheese and pare it

and grind it / in a mortar and

and grind it / in a mortar and

break egges and add thereto

break egges and add thereto

and / then put in butter and

and mix all well /

cream and mix all well /

together, put not too much

together, put not too much

butter therin if the / cheese is

and colour it on top the yolks /

and colour it on top the yolks /

and colour it on top the yolks /

serve it forth.

meal whilst down

the mine. Having eaten the filling of the pasty, the now-dirty handle would be thrown away. A bit like the use of bread trenchers in the medieval world. But as usual, I digress.

A small pie was known as a tartlet, and a tart was a large, shallow open pie. Confused yet? Since pastry was a staple ingredient in medieval menus, the majority of early cookbooks often overlooked pastry making, and recipes are not usually included. This is one of the many banes of being a modern

medievalist A recipe may go into precise detail as to the contents of a pie, but not spare a second thought for the pastry!

Grumble!!

Take as an example, the recipe shown (to the left) - "For Tarts Not During Lent" which is late 15th Century.¹

There is quite a lot of detail as to the type and quantity of soft cheese and other ingredients to be used in the dish, including a warning about the ratio of butter to cheese. However, there is no mention made as to the type of pastry used, much less a list of ingredients. During modern medieval feasts, there is often much grumbling to be heard coming from the direction of the kitchen. There is frequently hot debate as to what might have been used in the pastry for a particular dish.

As it turns out, I appeared to have set myself somewhat of a challenge in trying to find authentic medieval recipes for pastry. To modern medievalists, it is fairly simple to rub together some butter and flour, add in an egg or two and some milk, and Bob's-your-Uncle. But it quickly became apparent that this was not necessarily the case for our medieval forbears.

What I discovered pretty rapidly is that there are actually few recorded recipes for pastry. The earliest recipe I could find appears in William How's 1575 book, *A Proper newe Booke of Cokerye*. With the advent of the printing press, those that could afford to publish did and included pastry recipes in their cookbooks. How's recipe for *short paste* is as follows:

To make short paste for a Tart

Take fine Flower, a litle faire water, & a dish of sweete butter, & a litle saffron, and the yolkes of two egges, & make it thin and as tender as ye may.²

Or for Paste Royall

Yf you wyll have paest royall, take butter and yolkes of egges and so tempre the flowre to make the paeste³

中

These appear to be How's go-to recipes for pastry, and he uses them for everything from beans (Tarte of Beanes) to strawberries, goseberies to spinach. How also details a recipe for Pescoddes, which takes

bone marrow spiced with cinnamon and ginger, salt and sugar (sugar as a spice). The spiced marrow is then encased in fine paste and fried, with the end result being something like a sweet spiced marrow turnover. A As much as I do like bone marrow, I can't say that I've tried this recipe. For me, mixing sugar and meat is one culinary hurdle I've yet to cross.

I did have to laugh when I read his recipe for a *Tarte of Medlars*, as How begins the recipe with "*To bake a Tarte of Medlars. Take medlars when they be rotten*..." Now, I know that medlars are best eaten once they've tasted frost, but obviously, How liked his medlars one stage further on!

It also seems that pies were popular presents to give royalty over the Christ Mass and New Years season. I would have to hope that both Mary and Elizabeth were very fond of quinces, as it seems to be the New Year's pie of choice. Just look at this lift over the years:

- * "New Years Gifts for Philip and Mary 1556-1557 John Bettes, Serjaunt of the Pastry, a quince pye.
- New Years Gifts for Queen Elizabeth 1565-1566

 John Bettes, Serjaunt of the Pastry, a quince pye

- New Years Gifts for Queen Elizabeth 1577-1578

 John Dudley, Sergeaunt of the Pastry, a grete pye of quynses and wardyns guilte.
- New Years Gifts for Queen Elizabeth 1578-1579 John Dudley, Sargeaunte of the Pastry, a fayre pye of quynces.
- New Years Gifts for Queen Elizabeth 1588-1589 John Dudley, Sargeante of the Pastry, one faire pye of quinces orringed."6

And what good would an article on medieval pastry making be without some kind of reference to "Sing a Song of Sixpence"? Thought to have been written during the mid-16th Century, this rhyme is thought to be a parody of Henry VIII's often stormy relationship with Anne Boleyn.

The story goes that in anticipation of Henry's visit to Hever Castle, gamekeepers were sent into the

fields to capture blackbirds. The gamekeepers carried rye grains in their pockets to attract the birds, which were subsequently netted and taken to the castle's kitchens and baked alive into said pie, feathers and all. The rest of the rhyme appears to be critical of both Henry's wealth (via the Dissolution) and Anne's love of the luxurious life. Even the Jane Seymour comes in for criticism by tempting Henry into discarding Anne by 'hanging out her clothes'.

Now, whilst the idea of baking live blackbirds into a pie may well have come from the 16th Century culinary 'amusement' (entremet) or an illusion food, it is pretty clear that the smell coming from such a pie would have been pretty terrible. It is probably well then, that an entremet was used to mark the end of a course within a banquet, as I'm not at all certain that the diners would feel much like dining after the pie had been opened!

NOTES

- 1. Hodgett, G.A.J Stere Hit Well, Adelaide, 1972, p 27
- 2. How, W. A Proper newe Booke of Cokerye, declarynge what maner of meates be beste in season, for al times in the yere, and how they ought to be dressed, and serued at the table, bothe for fleshe dayes, and fyshe dayes, London, 1575, pg IIr
- 3. How, ibid, pg Ilr
- 4. How, ibid. pg 10r
- 5. How, ibid, pg Ilr
- 6. http://www.larsdatter.com/index.html
- 7. www.rhymes.org.uk/blackbirds-in-a-pie



1 July 1536 Parliament declared that Henry VIII's two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth,

were illegitimate.

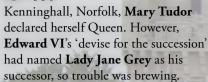
2 July 1536 Thomas Cromwell formally appointed Lord Privy Seal in Thomas Boleyn's place.

3 July 1495 The pretender, Perkin Warbeck, landed at Deal in Kent with men and ships.

July 1533 Burning of John Frith, reformer, theologian and martyr, at Smithfield for heresy.

5 July 1535 Sir Thomas More, awaiting execution, wrote his final letter to his beloved daughter, Margaret Roper, using coal.

Q July 01553



OJuly 1540 Just over six months after their wedding, the marriage of King Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves

July 1553 Lady Jane Grey and Guildford **Dudley** arrived by barge at the Tower of London to a gun salute and trumpet fanfare.

July Death of Desiderius Erasmus, the famous Humanist scholar, from dysentery.

5 July 1553 guarding the Eastern coast

The royal ships for 'Queen Jane' swapped their allegiance to 'Queen Mary'.

6 July 1546

Protestant martyrs Anne Askew, John Lascelles, John Adams and Nicholas Belenian were burned at the stake.

July 1555

was null and void.

Birth of Richard Carew, antiquary, bee-keeper, translator and poet,

8 July 1565 Death of

Katherine (Kat) Ashley (née Champernowne), also known as Astley, in London.

1553

Thirteen days after the death of her half-brother, Edward VI, Mary was proclaimed Queen in place of Queen Jane.



4 July 1534

Jacques Cartier, the French explorer, landed in Canada, at Gaspé Bay, and claimed it for France by placing a cross.

Coronation of James I at Westminster Abbey.

1588

4,000 men assembled at Tilbury Fort on the Thames estuary in Essex because of the Spanish Armada.

OJuly 1553

Princess Elizabeth left her new home, Somerset House, to ride to Wanstead and greet her half-sister, Mary, England's new queen. Somerset House was built by Edward Seymour, Protector Somerset.

July 1544

The future Elizabeth I wrote her earliest surviving letter, to Catherine Parr in a beautiful italic hand.

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

6 July 1535

Execution of Thomas More, Henry VIII's former friend, for high treason for denying the King's supremacy.

12^{July} 1543

King Henry VIII married his sixth and final wife, Catherine Parr, in the Queen's Closet at Hampton Court Palace.

21 July 1553

Arrest of John
Dudley, Duke of
Northumberland
for his part in
placing Lady
Jane Grey on the
throne.

7^{July} 1553

Goldsmith **Robert Reyns** informed **Mary** (future Mary I) of Edward VI's death. Mary was staying with **Lady Burgh** at Euston Hall, near Thetford, and Reyns had rushed from London to give her the news.

13 July 1626 Death of Robert Sidney, 1st Earl of Leicester, poet and courtier, at

Penshurst Place.

14July 1551 Deaths of Henry and Charles Brandon, from sweating sickness Charles survived his brother by just half an hour.

20July 1554 Philip of Spain arrived

Spain arrived in England, at Southampton, in readiness for his marriage to Mary I.

22^{July} 1549

Robert Kett and protesters stormed Norwich and took the city, during *Kett's Rebellion*.

23 July 1543

Mary of Guise and her daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots, escaped from Linlithgow Palace, where they were being watched, to Stirling Castle. They were helped by Cardinal Beaton.

27^{July} 1553

Edward VI's former tutor and principal secretary, Sir **John Cheke**, was sent to the Tower for his part in putting Lady **Jane Grey** on the throne. He was released in spring 1554.

28^{July} 1540

Marriage of
Henry VIII
and Catherine
Howard at
Oatlands Palace.

29^{July} 1565

Marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, at Holyrood Palace

TUDOR FEAST DAYS

2 July – Visitation of the Virgin
20 July – St Margaret's Day
22 July – St Mary Magdalene's Day
25 July – Feast of St James the Great,
Feast of St Christopher

NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

Tudorlife

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JANE MOULDER
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Lating Vollagori

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