

Tudor Life

The Tudor Society Magazine

THE
TUDOR
SOCIETY

Members Only

Nº 33

May 2017

Death

Drowned in
Wine

Oddly similar
Tudor deaths

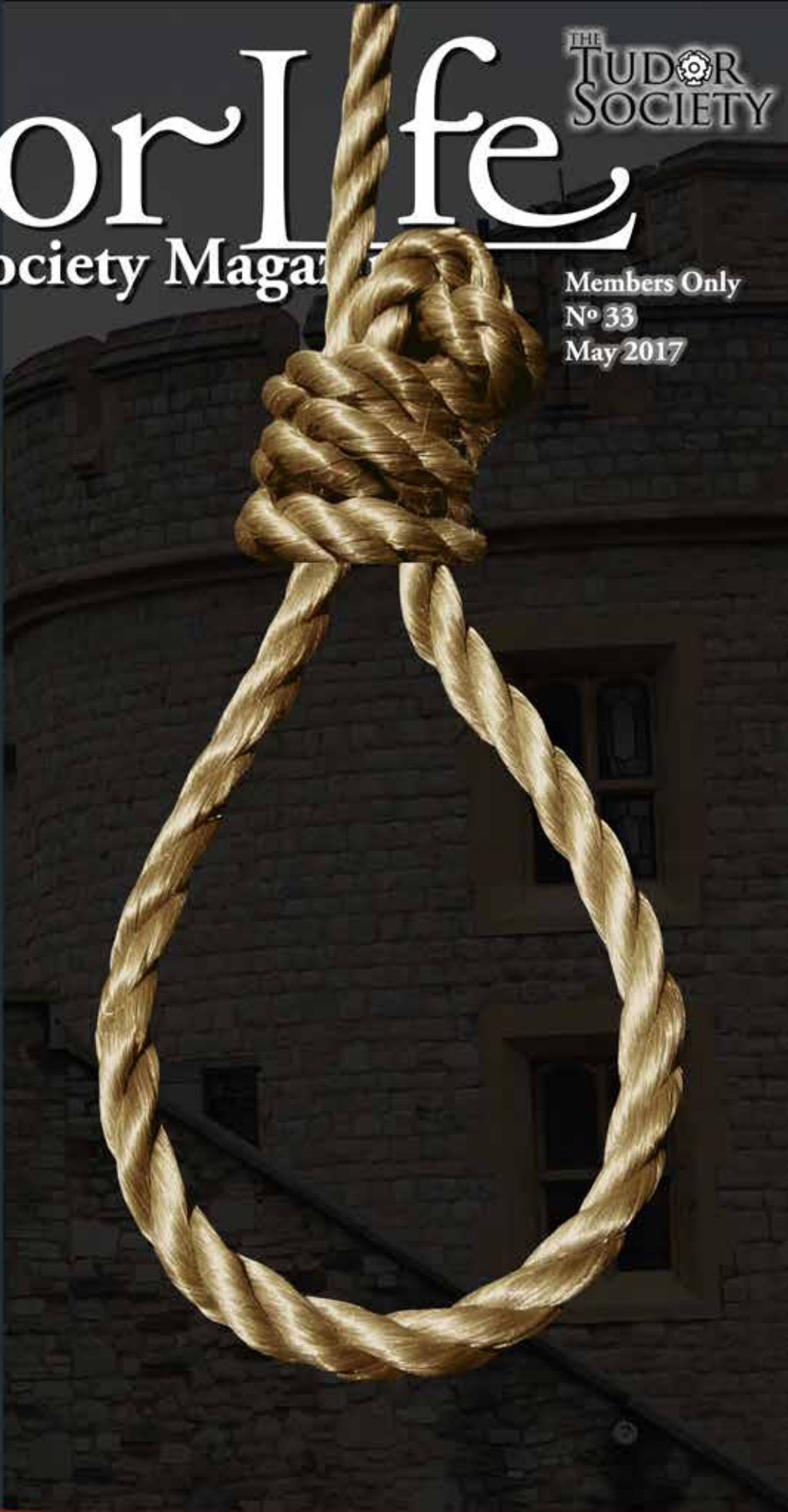
Off with their
heads

Saint Derfel's Tragic
Prophecy

The Hanging Song



*Historic York: a massive 24 page
photo special by Luke Finn and Claire Ridgway*



Exclusive Tudor Society Books

Henry VII



Henry VIII



Edward VI



Jane Grey



Mary I



Elizabeth I



OUT THIS MONTH!



Wither Goest Thou?

History is often where we indulge our taste for the macabre. The Tudors were not squeamish and, as “Tudor Life” regular Emma Taylor makes clear in her superb article, “Off with his head”, we - as modern viewers - can sometimes live vicariously through tales of their horrors and tragedies. If the Tudors were fascinated by death, they were also fascinated by Italy - its culture, its politics, and its scandals. I am thrilled to welcome back to these pages Dominic Pearce, who uses a 2006 investigation and exhumation to discuss the mysterious deaths of Grand Duke Francesco and Grand Duchess Bianca of Tuscany. For me, the story of Blessed John Forest’s hideous, agonising martyrdom is one of the most moving and I would like to think all our contributors for handling so tastefully how the Tudors saw and used death in their government, reigning family, popular entertainment, and religion.

GARETH RUSSELL

Tudor Life

Contents

25 FUN TUDOR FACTS
by Roland Hui

46

4 DEATH IN TUSCANY
by Dominic Pearce

11 GUEST SPEAKER: MICHELLE ENZINAS
TALKING ABOUT HENRY BUTTES

12 DRAMATIC DEATHS
by Lauren Browne

15 THE REAL WOLFHALL
Special event in Wiltshire, UK

16 DROWNED IN WINE
by Conor Byrne

18 ODDLY SIMILAR DEATHS
by Kyra Kramer

25 QUIZ: TUDOR DEATHS - TRUE/FALSE?
Could they REALLY have died that way?

26 OFF WITH THEIR HEADS!
by Emma Taylor

30 THE TRAGIC PROPHECY OF THE IDOL OF SAINT DERFEL GARDARN
by Beth von Staats



36

30

50

28



MAY

Contents

4

34 ACTON COURT SUMMER ACTIVITIES
A beautiful Tudor House built for Henry VIII

36 THE HANGING SONG
by Jane Moulder

42 THE TUDOR POOR LAW
by Toni Mount

44 CHARLES BRANDON: THE KING'S MAN
BOOK REVIEW by Charlie Fenton

46 A ST GEORGE'S DAY FEAST
by Heather R. Darsie

49 TUDOR SOCIETY BULLETIN
by Kyra Kramer

50 PHILIP ROBERTS MEETS
DAVID STARKEY
by Philip Roberts

54 HISTORIC YORK: PHOTO SPECIAL!
by Claire Ridgway and Luke Finn

78 CHICKEN SOUP - TUDOR STYLE
by Rioghnach O'Geraghty

84 ON THIS DAY IN HISTORY
by Claire Ridgway

56

18

12

25 fun Tudor facts

**Roland Hui,
author of
"The Turbulent Crown"
runs us through
some fascinating
little tidbits about
the Tudors that you
would never have
guessed ...
sometimes
truth is stranger
than fiction!**

1 Thursday was an unlucky day for the Tudors

Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I coincidentally all died on that day.

2 Actress Vanessa Redgrave has played three English Queens on film

Anne Boleyn in 'A Man For All Seasons', Mary Stuart in 'Mary Queen of Scots', and Elizabeth I in 'Anonymous'.

3 Contrary to popular belief, Edward VI was not a chronic sickly young man

In fact, he enjoyed excellent health until he eventually succumbed to what appeared to be tuberculosis in 1553. Earlier in 1551, the Imperial ambassador remarked upon Edward's great enthusiasm and skill at the tiltyard.

4 James VI of Scotland was not the most tactful letter writer

In a message to Elizabeth I asking her not to put his mother Mary Queen of Scots to death, James reminded his cousin how her father Henry VIII's reputation was forever damaged by the 'beheading of his bedfellow' (that is Anne Boleyn). Later, James apologized for his tone, but his mother still was executed.

5 Anne of Cleves did not consider herself the 'lucky one' of Henry VIII's six wives who got away

After she was divorced by the King, she even hoped to become Queen again after Kathryn Howard's downfall.

6 Thomas Howard, the third Duke of Norfolk, was not only uncle to Anne Boleyn and to Kathryn Howard, but also to their husband Henry VIII

Norfolk's first marriage was to Anne of York, a sister of Henry's mother Queen Elizabeth.

7 Jane Seymour was no fan of French couture

Young ladies entering her service were not allowed to wear 'racy' French style dresses and hoods, but had to restrict their choices to the more sedate English style that Jane herself preferred.

8 Henry VII was the most well travelled of the Tudors

Until he became King, he was forced on the run on the Continent from his enemies Edward IV and Richard III. While his son Henry VIII did go to France, none of his own children (Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I) ever left English soil.

9 Lady Jane Grey was an extraordinary linguist

She was reputed to know French, Latin, Italian, and Greek, and she was even starting to learn Hebrew.

10 Actress Glenda Jackson 'lost' her nose for the movie 'Mary Queen of Scots'

In the tv series 'Elizabeth R', Jackson wore a prosthetic nose to imitate the Queen's famous aquiline features. However, when she played Elizabeth again on the big screen, no such cosmetics were used.

11 Anne Boleyn hated monkeys

Those wishing to send her gifts were told not to offer them as pets. The Queen could not abide the sight of them, they were warned.

12 Kathryn Howard was very short

Her small stature was often commented upon, probably more so when she was seen standing next to Henry VIII who was over 6 feet tall.

13 Katherine of Aragon had to learn French to marry an English husband

When she was betrothed to Prince Arthur, her future mother-in-law Elizabeth of York advised Queen Isabella of Spain that the young couple needed to know a common language (besides Latin) to better communicate. Since neither knew the other's native tongue, it was decided that French, commonly spoken at many courts, would be their shared language.

14 The same day was both unlucky and lucky for a mother and daughter

On May 19, 1536, Anne Boleyn was executed at the Tower of London. On May 19, 1554, the Princess Elizabeth was released from the same place and sent to a more relaxed house arrest at Woodstock.

15 Mary I kept it simple at her wedding to Philip of Spain

Despite her well known love of extravagance and finery, Mary insisted on a plain band of gold as her ring of choice. Maidens, she was told, were so married in olden times.

16 During her pregnancy, Jane Seymour had sudden hankerings for quails

Bunches had to be sent over from Calais to satisfy her cravings.

17 Elizabeth I might have been known in history as 'Mary II'

Shortly, before her christening in September 1533, it was originally planned to name her 'Mary' (perhaps as a means to spite her older sister Mary Tudor; Elizabeth being more legitimate than her). However, the idea was abandoned shortly before the ceremony.

18 Mary Queen of Scots lived in considerable luxury as a prisoner in England

Her upkeep as England's 'guest' was entirely paid for by her cousin Elizabeth's government, and as Queen Dowager of France, Mary also received a pension from the French.

19 Christina of Denmark, who Henry VIII considered marrying, later visited England

During the reign of Queen Mary, she accompanied Philip of Spain, a relation of hers, on his second visit to England. That she was still lovely, and always in Philip's company, was said to arouse Mary's jealousy.

20 Three actresses who have portrayed Elizabeth I in the movies have appeared in a film together

Cate Blanchett, Judi Dench, and Anne-Marie Duff were all in 'Notes on a Scandal' (2006).

21 Henry VIII liked his women tall

After the death of Queen Jane, when he was looking for a new queen, Mary of Guise (later the mother of Mary Queen of Scots) was much favoured. When told of Mary's tall height, Henry was pleased saying he liked a 'big wife'.

22 Elizabeth of York sadly died on her birthday

Complications followed after the birth of a daughter in the Tower of London. Elizabeth was only 37.

23 Katharine Parr was the first and only one of Henry VIII's wives to have a Protestant funeral

At her death in 1548, she was buried according to the new rites approved by Edward VI's government. There was no Requiem Mass, hymns were sung in English, and the sermon was read by Miles Coverdale, translator of the first authorized English Bible.

24 Hollywood producer Hal Wallis' first choice to play Mary Stuart in 'Mary Queen of Scots' was Genevieve Bujold

Bujold who had won acclaim as Anne Boleyn in Wallis' 'Anne of the Thousand Days, tuned him down as she did not want to be typecast playing beheaded queens. The role was then given to Vanessa Redgrave.

25 Katharine Parr was the least 'camera shy' of Henry VIII's 6 wives

A patroness of the arts, she had her picture painted many times. She was also fond of giving away portrait miniatures of herself.



Grand Duke Francesco: murder victim?

DEATH IN TUSCANY

BY DOMINIC PEARCE

In the late summer of 1494 King Charles VIII of France led a large army across the Alpine pass of Montgenèvre into Savoy. The plan was to march on Naples whose throne the King was claiming. It was a turning point, the start of more than sixty years of conflict in the Italian peninsular. But there is always a silver lining. As they reached ever upwards, the ambitious Medici family found the spiral of violence lifted them higher.



Joanna of Austria, Grand Duchess of Tuscany

THE EMPEROR'S DAUGHTER

Florence in 1494 was a republic controlled by the Medici faction. The death in 1492 of Lorenzo the Magnificent had just removed one of that dynasty's more effective leaders. Lorenzo is famous as the patron of the Florentine Renaissance but his real job was that of party boss which required hardness and met opposition. When his son Piero, now head of the family, made an abject failure of negotiating with Charles VIII, whose troops passed through Tuscany on the way south the enemies of the Medici struck. The

family was expelled from Florence. They returned in 1512, but were thrown out once more in 1527 after the Sack of Rome.

The Medici were out but they were not down. Pope Clement VII (Giulio de' Medici) and the Emperor Charles V struck up a surprising alliance – surprising because the pontiff, stuck in Castel Sant' Angelo, had just been the Emperor's hostage as Rome burned around him. This new collaboration led to the coronation by Clement of Charles as Holy Roman Emperor (1530) and to the Siege of Florence by impe-

rial troops (1529-30). Both wanted Florence under Medici control, the pontiff desperate for his family to return home, the Emperor seeking a reliable ally to manage Tuscany (republican Florentines supported France, his enemy).

The city's defences (designed by Michelangelo) held but Florence was defeated in battle and capitulated. The Medici returned. The senior male descendant in the senior Medici line, Alessandro de' Medici, a man in his early twenties, was made Duke of Florence by Charles V (1532).

Farewell to republican Florence.

The first of three important marriages now took place. Duke Alessandro in 1536 married the Emperor's illegitimate daughter Margaret of Austria. This settlement failed with Alessandro's murder the next year in a seedy intrigue.¹ Margaret then married the Duke of Parma and went

1 Lured into a fake one-night stand with a relative of his cousin Lorenzino de' Medici, Alessandro was killed by Lorenzino himself helped by a hired assassin.



Tragic and controversial: Grand Duchess Bianca

on to be Governor of the Netherlands.

While Charles V refused a second Medici marriage for Margaret, he agreed to the marriage of Eleanora de Toledo to Alessandro's successor as Duke: his cousin Cosimo de' Medici. Eleanora's father was the Spanish viceroy of Naples. Eleonora was therefore a connection with the Spanish Habsburgs but she was not royal.

In the next generation the Medici struck gold. On 21 December 1565 the oldest son of Cosimo and Eleanora, Francesco de' Medici (aged twenty-four), married the Archduchess Joanna of Austria (aged eighteen) in Florence. She was the youngest child of the Emperor Ferdinand I, brother of Charles V (who died in 1558) and his wife Anna of Bohemia and Hungary. In short Joanna was the real thing, a legitimate Habsburg princess.

When the Archduchess made her triumphal entry into Florence on 16 December the city was radiant with pagan imagery. On the front of the Palazzo Ricasole stood Hymen, god of marriage, crowned with marjoram. He was flanked by Love and Fidelity. Joanna and Francesco were depicted beneath him with their attendants in a torchlit procession. Below were the three Graces and eight Virtues associated with marriage in man/woman pairings. Each part of the allegory was accompanied by text including lines from the Greek lyric poet Theocritus, and the Latin poets Virgil and Catullus.

Even so the Catholic Church Triumphant dominated the celebrations. Joanna met Francesco in Florence cathedral. At the cathedral door she was crowned by a bishop. A *Te Deum* was sung as the still unmarried couple knelt before the high altar. The

wedding followed within a few days.

At this time Duke Cosimo planned to become Grand Duke of Tuscany, a rank that would make him a sovereign equal with other sovereigns (rather than the emperor's feudatory). His son's top level marriage furthered his project even though the bride's family would be the losers.

Cosimo needed the Pope's support. The complex sign language of the time helped. Charles V had accepted the imperial crown from Pope Clement VII (in 1530). This implied what the Sack of Rome (in 1527) denied, the Pope's authority over the Emperor. Cosimo's tactics succeeded. In 1569 Pope Pius V crowned him Grand Duke of Tuscany. By this time the Emperor Ferdinand was dead, succeeded by his son as Emperor Maximilian II, who initially refused to recognise the new dignity. Even so the Medici were home and dry. After Cosimo died (1574), Maximilian invested Francesco as Grand Duke (1575).

These are the outline facts of Medici dynastic progress in the sixteenth century. None of this impinged on Cosimo's personal life or that of his children. After his wife died in 1562 Cosimo had at least two mistresses one of whom, Camilla Martelli, he married. His daughter Isabella married the Duke of Bracciano in 1558 but lived apart from him (and had a long affair with his cousin Troilo Orsini). As for Francesco, at the time he married the illustrious

princess Joanna, he was in love with another woman.

BIANCA

At the end of November 1563 a young couple eloped from Venice. We do not know quite when, after a wintry trip across north Italy, they arrived in Florence, the home of the young man, Piero Bonaventuri. But we know they went to his parents and were installed there as residents in 1564; and were legally married in Florence. The father of the girl, Bianca Capello (she was sixteen that year), was rich and noble. It was a scandal. Piero's uncle, who worked in Venice – Piero had been working with him – was thrown into gaol by the Doge's outraged officials. There he died a few months later of disease.

Because of the politics, because of the scandal, because the uncle was an industrious agent of Florentine business interests abroad, the affair came to the attention of Grand Duke Cosimo and his son Francesco. It seems they may have interviewed Piero and Bianca personally.

There is another tradition, that Francesco spotted Bianca as she leaned out of the window of the relatively modest house of her parents-in-law. Based on this one sighting he asked a woman friend of his to arrange a meeting. Judging from the portraits Bianca was an exceptional beauty. Clearly she was ready to take risks. Anyway Bianca Capello became the mistress of Francesco before Joanna of Austria arrived in Florence. She continued

in that role throughout Joanna's marriage.

Piero Bonaventuri was now a *mari complaisant* who benefited from his wife's affair. The reckless streak that was obviously part of his nature led to further escapades and to his death in 1572. He was attacked by a group of men and knifed, probably because of a quarrel with the Ricci family. As a widow Bianca's position was perhaps stronger. Francesco was more devoted to her than ever. At this time the Ferrarese ambassador reported to his duke that Bianca was all-powerful in Florence, and that in church she and Francesco spent the whole of Mass glancing and smiling at each other, and that Francesco only went to church because he knew he would see Bianca there.

Unsurprisingly Joanna of Austria is known as an unhappy wife. On arrival in Florence she had been judged 'beautiful in soul but of scarce physical beauty, being small of stature, pallid, and with a not very pretty face, with a mind that is placid and quiet, rather than lively and elevated.' It was not enough to distract her husband from his girlfriend.

Still Joanna performed her primary duty by producing a succession of children. All, to begin with, girls. On 28 February 1567 Joanna gave birth to Eleanora; on 20 November 1568 to Romola (who died in December); on 31 December 1569 to Anna; on 30 September 1571 to Isabella (who died at eleven months); on 7 November 1572 to Lucrezia (she

died at nineteen months); and on 26 April 1575 to Maria. On 10 May 1577 Grand Duchess Joanna at last produced a son, named Philippo after the King of Spain. This baby died at the age of four. By then he had lost his mother. Joanna of Austria died, heavily pregnant once more, on 11 April 1578.

Francesco and Bianca were free to marry. They did so first secretly (1578) then splendidly in public (1579). Bianca was officially – and controversially, she was not Francesco's social equal² – declared Grand Duchess. She was a most effective Grand Duchess in important ways. The relationship with Francesco was a success. Bianca never lost her hold on her second husband. He wrote poems to her. She acted as patron of the arts. Her portrait was painted repeatedly, about twenty times by Bronzino. She decorated and filled with works of art a set of rooms called the 'Camerini della Gran Duchessa' either in the Pitti or the Uffizzi. She wooed popes with expensive presents. She received from Pope Sixtus V a golden rose.

As for children Bianca already had a daughter, Pellegrina Bonaventuri, by her first husband and an illegitimate son, Antonio de' Medici, by her second before they were married. Gossip made Antonio another woman's child, a kind of warming-pan infant, but the sources to

support this are lacking. Antonio was probably just what he appeared to be. Nonetheless Bianca did not become pregnant again, nor was Antonio considered an heir, even though he was legitimised. The heir apparent was Francesco's brother Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici (prince of the Church but not ordained priest).

Bianca was unpopular with the people of Florence who thought she was a witch. She was unpopular with Ferdinando too. The situation has been seen in terms of (his) personal ambition but family tension

may have had more political causes. In the sixteenth century a succession crisis was greatly feared. Bianca could be considered an obstacle to political stability.

Venice showered her with honours but there was little interest in Bianca from the great powers outside Italy. She had no family links with the sovereign houses. Michel de Montaigne passed through Florence on 22-24 November 1580 and noted that Bianca was beautiful according to Italian taste, and that she clearly had captivated her husband. Hardly a vote of confidence from this



Ferdinando de' Medici, the cardinal who became a Grand Duke (Polo Museale Fiorentino)

² Camilla Martelli, the second wife of Grand Duke Cosimo, was never Grand Duchess.



Maria de Medici, in regal splendour as
Queen of France

discerning traveller. With her glamour and her energy Bianca Capello did not tick all the boxes. She was the more suitable wife but Joanna was the preferred Grand Duchess.

In autumn 1587 Grand Duke Francesco invited his brother Ferdinando to Poggio a Caiano where they would spend quality time together. The fifteenth century villa can be visited today. It is a fortified pavilion built around a central courtyard. The house sits in a formal garden. On the ground floor a loggia – an open gallery with arches on the garden side – runs round the building, something halfway between a room inside and a paved walk outside.

The villa's main rooms are on the first floor, and give views of the surrounding countryside. The central hallway is decorated with frescos by Pontormo, del Sarto and Franciabigio. The subjects are the rustic 'Vertumnus and Pomona' (a tale of love in the countryside, from Ovid), and the political 'Tribute to Caesar' and 'Cicero's return from exile.'

In this paradise the Grand Duke fell ill. His wife nursed him devotedly. She too fell ill. The Cardinal took personal control of his brother's health bulletins, and monopolised the information flow, initially attributing the symptoms to diet. Nor did he allow visitors outside family members. On 19 October 1587 Grand Duke Francesco died (aged forty-six). The next day Bianca died (aged forty).

THE CAUSE OF DEATH

Rumours of poison have circulated down the centuries.

If being Grand Duke was victory, Cardinal Ferdinando was the winner. But there is evidence that the youngest Medici brother, Piero, then living at the Court of Madrid, asserted his own claim to succeed as Grand Duke on the grounds that Cardinal Ferdinando was not eligible. This came to nothing since Piero was in no position, physically speaking, to capitalise on the situation. His patron Philip II of Spain might have intervened, but was intent on plans to invade England, Mary Queen of Scots having been executed at Fotheringhay on 8 February that year.

Who else wanted Grand Duke Francesco dead? A less decisive response from Cardinal Ferdinando could have led to a Tuscan succession crisis and/or a fratricidal war. In Florence were plenty of people happy to exploit Medici weakness. The Habsburgs might welcome and build on the death of the man who insulted Joanna of Austria. Other Italian dynasties had protested about the elevation of Cosimo I to the rank of Grand Duke, and might profit from the situation.

Cardinal Ferdinando scotched any and all proponents of chaos by ordering autopsies on both Francesco and, unusually, Bianca (consorts were not usually autopsied). The conclusion was that both died of malaria.

Ferdinando succeeded as Grand Duke, abandoning the Church hierarchy

with the Pope's consent. He restored lustre to the Medici name. His priorities were clear when he ordered that the arms of Joanna of Austria, not those of Bianca Costello, be displayed among his brother's funeral paraphernalia. Poor Bianca was excised from history. Ferdinando married Christina of Lorraine in 1589, the grand-daughter of Catherine de' Medici, Queen of France, thus strengthening the link with the French monarchy (enemies of the Habsburgs). He developed the port of Livorno, guided Tuscany through years of famine and flood, and married his niece, Maria de' Medici, to King Henri IV of France in 1600. He was a statesman-Grand Duke who asserted his country's independence and increased his family's influence. Lorenzo the Magnificent would have been proud of him. By the time Ferdinando died in 1609 the deaths at Poggio a Caiano in October 1587 were long forgotten.

However Grand Duke Francesco's symptoms were not those of a malarial infection. His doctors reported 'nausea and violent vomiting as initial symptoms; cold sweats; repeated requests for cold drinks because of terrible dryness and constant gastric burning; the persistence of violent and convulsive vomiting; aggressive and delirious restlessness; apparent improvement four to five days after the onset of illness, followed by the sudden return of symp-

toms.'³ Bianca's illness followed a similar pattern.

Quite recently the autopsy report was challenged.

In 2006 a high-level medical team from the universities of Florence and Pavia tested remains from the two bodies. These included fragments from Francesco's grave in San Lorenzo and remains taken from terracotta pots in a nearby church, Santa Maria a Bonistallo, holding the viscera of Francesco and Bianca. The presence of the viscera here can be easily explained. There was a full state funeral for the Grand Duke (not for his wife) but the autopsies meant that the viscera had been removed.

In this way science reopened the history books. The investigation revealed a level of arsenic sufficient to cause death. Grand Duke Francesco himself had a passion for science: he was a practising chemist/alchemist. His hobby could have poisoned him over time, but the pattern of arsenic content found – for instance the amount of ar-

3 For this and the following see Mari, Francesco (Chair of forensic toxicology, University of Florence); Poletti, Aldo (Chair of forensic toxicology, University of Pavia); Lippi, Donatella (Chair of history of medicine, University of Florence); Bertol, Elisabetta (Chair of forensic toxicology, University of Florence), *The mysterious death of Francesco I de' Medici and Bianca Capello: an arsenic murder?* (BMJ 2006 Dec 21; 333: 1299-1301).

senic in beard hair samples – did not suggest chronic poisoning of this sort. It was the arsenic content in soft tissue samples that persuaded the team that the poisoning was acute rather than chronic – a large dosage in a short time would have caused death before the arsenic was absorbed by bone and hair. From the forensic evidence the team

concluded, consistent with the reported symptoms, that both Francesco and Bianca were very probably victims of acute arsenic poisoning.

In short that they were murder victims.

We cannot know the rest. We can only surmise.

Was Cardinal Fernando driven by ambition to murder his brother and

sister-in-law? Bianca-haters put about the story that she had tried to kill Ferdinando with a poisoned cake (or cup of wine) but Francesco ate (drank) some by mistake, and she in despair followed suit. Could there be some truth in this? Was it someone else entirely? Is

there another explanation of the team's discoveries?

It is frustrating. Every television thriller has its dénouement. We are used to knowing the answer. This is not a television thriller. The cloak of invisibility protects the poisoner of the grand ducal couple, and the mists of time.

DOMINIC PEARCE



The Basilica of San Lorenzo, where the couple rest. (Photograph by Salika)

- Full Members ONLY -

MICHELLE ENZINAS

TALKS ABOUT HENRY BUTTES AND THE MIDDLE CLASS FEAST



Michelle Enzinas is the author of *Big Buttes Book: Annotated Dyets Dry Dinner (1599)*, by Henry Buttes, with *Elizabethan Recipes*, which focuses on the menu of Henry Buttes and his book *Dyets Dry Dinner (1599)*. This book has been expanded to also include commentary on late 16th century culture and other social and aspects of Tudor thought which heavily influenced how middle-class society planned their feasts.

She has 15 years of experience as an amateur domestic technologies archaeologist with a focus on allergies and food security issues and has a B.Sc. in Psychology from Acadia University.

Michelle lives with her family in Ottawa where her cooking experiments are often enjoyed by her husband, and eyed suspiciously by her daughter.

DRAMATIC DEATHS

BY LAUREN BROWNE

Spectacular death became an art form in the Tudor period. Numerous ballads, plays, chapbooks and folk tales proliferated of the horrific and unusual ways people could meet their untimely end. In this article, Lauren explores a particularly unusual method - the death of two women on stage by serpent bite.

ON-STAGE DEPICTIONS OF POISONING BY ASP

George Peele is now a comparatively lesser known Tudor playwright, as far as I am aware there has not been a society set up to honour his contribution to the Elizabethan stage. The play which forms the main focus of this article is not regularly performed and it does not feature in any syllabus for an English Literature class. *The Famous Chronicle of King Edward I* is known only to keen enthusiasts of the Tudor stage or to those who have examined it for historical or literary endeavour.

It is believed that the play was written in 1590 or 1591, however this version is no longer extant. It was printed by Abel Jeffes and sold by William Barley in 1593. This copy is generally accepted as a corrupted version of Peele's original, although the exact nature of this corruption

is disputed. Some historians would argue that this publication represents a bad quarto, a pirated copy of a play which may have been produced by an actor or someone who had been to see it performed. Others argue that it was edited in order to make the plot fit into the contemporary political context - namely the succession crisis. I have also come across a journal article which suggests that the play was adapted by the Queen's Men in order to make it more appealing to a provincial audience - by adding themes and plot lines from popular ballads.

The plot of *The Famous Chronicle of King Edward I*, mainly focuses on the power struggle between Edward I and Llewellyn ap Gruffudd, the last prince of an independent Wales before it was conquered by Edward. Eleanor of Castile, Edward's



The suicide of Cleopatra VII has inspired much artistic imagination

consort, is also featured in a sub-plot involving the Mayoress of London, with whom she starts up a rivalry. It is generally accepted that this secondary plotline was added into the original version of the play. The scenes in which the Mayoress features appear garbled, confused and are at times almost unreadable. The rivalry between the two women appears to have been inspired by a ballad called *The Lamentable Fall of Queen Eleanor, who for her pride and wickedness by God's judgement sunk into*

the ground at Charing-Cross and rose at Queen-hive. (The Tudors really loved giving the plot away in their titles!) Both the play and the ballad state that Eleanor was so angry that the Mayoress was living a happy and prosperous life that she hatched a diabolical plan to murder her. The Mayoress, who is not referred to by name, is hired by Eleanor to be the wet nurse of the newborn Prince Edward. When the Mayoress presents herself at court the following scene ensues:

Eleanor:

O no Nurse, the Babe needs no great rockeing,
It can lull it selfe,
Katherina bind her in the chaire,
And let me see how sheele become a Nurse,
So now Katherin draw forth her brest
And let the Serpent sucke his fil, why so
Now shee is a Nurse, sucke on sweet Babe.

Mayoress:

Ah Queene sweete Queene, seeke not my bloud to spill;
For I shall die before this Adder have his fil.

Eleanor:

Die or not, my mind is fullie pleased
Come Katherina to London now wil we,
And leave our Maris [sic] with her nurserie.

Katherina:

Farwell sweete Maris, looke unto the Babe.
Exeunt Queene and Katherina

Maryoress:

Farwell proud Queene the Autor of my death,
The scourage of England and to English dames:
Ah husband sweete John Bearmber Maier of London,
Ah dist thou know how Mary is perplex,
Soone wouldst thou come to Wales and rid me of this paine.
But oh I die, my wishe is al in vaine.

The Mayoress then dies on stage and Eleanor is punished by God for her crimes by making her sink into the ground at Charing Cross and reappearing at Queen-hive. She lies on her death bed while Edward and his brother Edmund of Lancaster dress as friars to hear her confession. She

states that she had an affair with Edmund before her wedding night as well as an affair with a friar, who fathered her daughter Joan. The play ends with Eleanor and Joan's death, who dies of shame upon the discovery that she is illegitimate.

When carefully examined, the Mayoress' death

scene is similar to the death of another character that graced the stage during this period – Shakespeare's Cleopatra. There has been fierce debate on whether Shakespeare took inspiration for his iconic death scene in *Anthony and Cleopatra* from Peele's *The Chronicle of King Edward I*.

It is generally accepted that Shakespeare's main source for *Antony and Cleopatra* was Plutarch's life of Anthony, however historian Irving Ribner advanced the idea that Peele's play was also a source of inspiration.¹ He shows that the legend of Cleopatra applying an asp to her breast has 'little basis in actual history, since it is not in any of the earliest and most reliable accounts of the Egyptian queen.'² Plutarch, Strabo and Galen are all actually unsure of how she died, they do suggest that it may have been poisoning by an asp but this is only put forward as a possibility and there is no mention that it was applied to her breast. Dion Cassius and Plutarch venture that it was applied to her arm, as two small puncture wounds were found there. Irving Ribner ventures that Plutarch was not the only source for Cleopatra's death, and that he was directly influenced by the murder of the Mayoress of London in Peele's play, which he used to 'heighten the dramatic intensity of the entire death scene.'³ Cleopatra certainly does mimic the imagery of a nursemaid in her final scene:

Cleopatra:

*Peace, peace!
Dost thou not see my baby at my breast,*

That sucks the nurse asleep?

There are others who would disagree with Irving Ribner's theory, and two such historians also voiced their opinions on the matter in *Notes and Queries*. John Reeves points out the two scenes differ on one very important point – the act of dying by serpent poison. Cleopatra refers to soporific nature of the asp's poison, something which she deems important in her chosen means of death.⁴ This is not something which features in Peele's play, in fact the Mayoress exclaims that she wished her husband would come to her and 'rid me of this paine'.

Another historian, Holger Nørgaard, argues that this method of death was not a new concept in literary or theatrical writings. He shows that it was used in Barnes' *The Divils Charter* (1606), and that assertions that Cleopatra applied the asp to her breast can be found Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae*, a reference book which was in Stratford Grammar School and 'with which Shakespeare has been shown to have been thoroughly familiar.'⁵ The idea that asp was applied to Cleopatra's breast also featured in a poem preserved in the Codex Salmasianus, by an otherwise unknown Ponnanus, 'describes a picture of Cleopatra dying with an asp at her breast.'⁶ The idea that the asp was applied to her breast, rather than her arm, proved to be a much more dramatic version of her death and it was picked up on by the artists of the Renaissance, the scene was especially featured in cameos

which were popular during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

From my research, it seems unlikely that Shakespeare was influenced by the murder of the Mayor in *The Chronicle of King Edward I*, the link between the two plays appears to be tentative at best. It is, however, interesting to note that this method of death proved popular on the stage during this pe-

riod and that metaphor of a babe at a nurse's breast is used in both plays. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, it is a sombre but gentle reference as if she is falling asleep whilst nursing. In *The Chronicle of King Edward I*, the reference is far more ironic, as well as graphic. As John D Reeves describes 'the comparison of victim and serpent with a nurse and babe is but the grimmest possible jest.'⁷

LAUREN BROWNE



Eleanor of Castile (d. 1290) was cast as a murderous adulteress in Elizabethan plays (Alchetron)

1. Irving Ribner, 'Shakespeare and Peele: The Death of Cleopatra', *Notes and Queries*, cxcvii, (1952), pp. 244-246.
2. *ibid.*, p. 244-5
3. *ibid.*, p. 245
4. John D. Reeves, 'A Supposed Indebtedness of Shakespeare to Peele', *Notes and Queries*, cxcvii, (1952), p. 441
5. Holger Nørgaard, 'A Supposed Indebtedness of Shakespeare to Peele', *Notes and Queries*, cxcvii, (1952), p. 442
6. *ibid.*, p. 442
7. John D. Reeves, 'A Supposed Indebtedness of Shakespeare to Peele', *Notes and Queries*, cxcvii, (1952), p. 442



Kim Cattrall as Shakespeare's Cleopatra at the Chichester Festival Theatre shows that the story has lost none of its allure. (Pete Jones Productions)



LAUREN BROWNE has completed an MA at Queen's University Belfast, studying the posthumous representation of Eleanor of Aquitaine. She has now begun a PhD at Queen's and is currently researching Tudor attitudes towards Medieval Queens as well as the writing of History in the Tudor period. Her main focus is the posthumous representation of queenship from the medieval period right through to the early modern.



THE REAL WOLFHALL

A celebration of its revival and Royal Tudor history

At the edge of Wiltshire's ancient Savernake forest lies a house steeped in Royal history. Wolfhall stands as a testimony to the rise and fall of the Seymour family, so crucial to the heart of the Tudor monarchy and the history of England itself.

Thanks to a best-selling novel and award-winning television series of the same name, Wolfhall is once again synonymous with the romance of the court of Henry VIII and his marriage to Jane Seymour, arguably the love of his life and mother of his long-awaited son and heir.

Originally the dwelling of the warden of Henry's favourite hunting forest, Wolfhall rose to grandeur along with the power and influence of the Seymour family. Its chequered history is as fascinating as the amalgamation of architectural styles, from its clearly visible original Tudor great hall to its later genteel Georgian and Victorian additions.

But today, this remarkable, historic property is in a sorry state and time is running out to save it. On Friday 30th June *Friends of Wolfhall* are proud to offer you a chance to visit Wolfhall for yourself to kick off a fundraising initiative with an evening hosted by Laurence Llewelyn-Bowen.

The evening will include the glorious music from the award-winning TV series, performed by Philip Dukes (viola) and friends. Philip Dukes performed on the original soundtrack and will introduce the music, reflecting on the fascinating collaboration with composer Debbie Wiseman and Director Peter Kosminsky.

Plus exclusive talks and interviews from two of Britain's leading archaeologists and historians, Graham Bathe and Robin Holley. This event is a one-off opportunity to find out more about our exciting discoveries so far and how you can join us on this unique journey as we bring the real Wolfhall and its hugely romantic family back to life.

Friday June 30th, 6.30pm - 10pm.

Refreshments available

Admission only available by pre-booked tickets @ £15.00.

Visit tinyurl.com/realwolfhall for tickets.

For further information please contact Alice Macaire on 07805304597.

KINDLY SPONSORED BY RAMSBURY ESTATES LTD



DROWNED IN WINE

BY CONOR BYRNE

George, duke of Clarence, was the brother of the Yorkist kings Edward IV and Richard III. He was also the husband of Isabel Neville, elder daughter of the earl of Warwick and sister of Richard's queen.

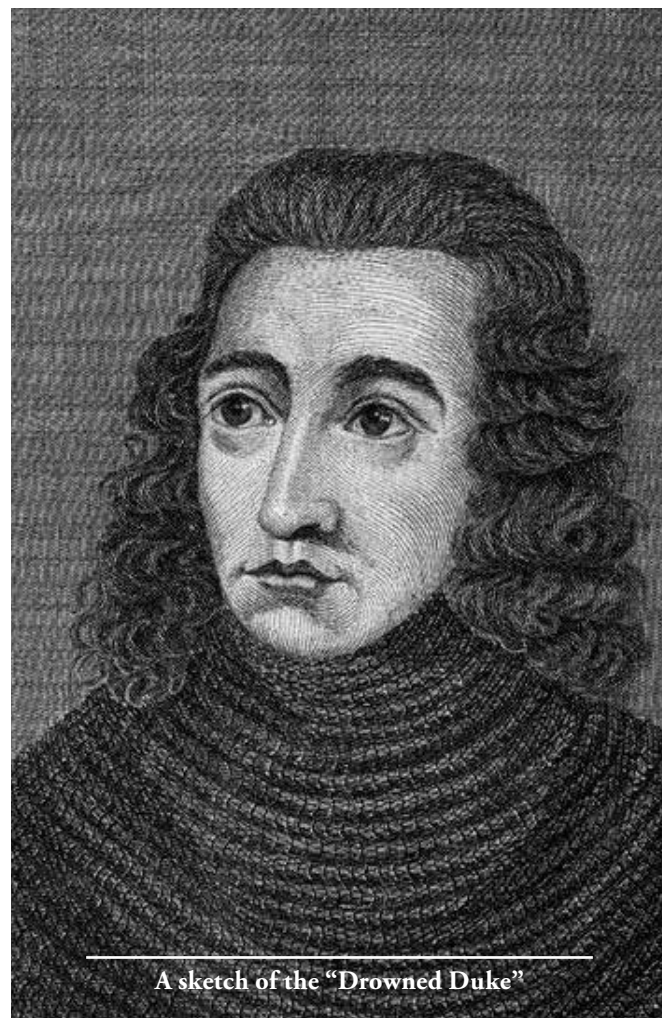
THE PERPLEXING DEATH OF GEORGE, DUKE OF CLARENCE

During his lifetime, George played an important military and political role in the Wars of the Roses. However, he is perhaps best known today for the notorious manner in which he allegedly met his death. Following his conviction for treason against his brother, King Edward, tradition has it that the disaffected George was privately drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine on 18 February 1478 at the Tower of London.

As Charles Ross acknowledges, 'Edward's reputation has suffered from this act of judicial fratricide.' Contemporaries condemned the duke's execution as a 'fact most horrible', and modern historians have tended to be critical

of the king's actions. Ross accepts that 'Edward alone must bear full responsibility for his brother's execution', but also acknowledges that 'the removal of Clarence had become a political necessity.' Whether or not one agrees with Ross' interpretation, John Ashdown-Hill makes the useful point that 'since the late fifteenth century, historical writers have been struggling with this strange and unlikely-sounding tale of his death.'

The mystery about George's manner of death is mainly due to the 'private' nature of his execution; unlike a beheading, there were no crowds present to preserve details of the execution for posterity. One contemporary wrote of 'the execution, whatever



A sketch of the "Drowned Duke"

its manner may have been.' Others, however, went into more detail. In 1516, Robert Fabyan recorded that George 'was secretly put to dethe & drowned in a barell of maluesye within the sayd Tower'. Polydore Vergil, while acknowledging that George was reportedly 'drowned (as they say) in a butte of malmesey', admitted that 'yeat have I no certaintie therof to leave in memory' regarding the cause of his death. The uncertainty about George's death, in part, can be explained by the dearth of contemporary sources. As Ross notes, 'the story of the malmesey does not appear in English sources until early Tudor times'.

The French jurist and administrator Jean de Roye, writing a few years

after the execution, recorded that George had initially been sentenced to a traitor's death, but this was commuted as a result of the urgent pleading of Cecily Neville, duchess of York, George's mother: 'Clarence being a prisoner in the Tower of London was taken and brought out of his said prison, and after he had been confessed, was thrust alive in a cask of Malmsey opened at one end, his head downwards, and there he remained until he had given up the ghost, and then he was pulled out and his neck was cut, and afterwards he was shrouded and borne to burial'. In the 1490s, the continental writer Philippe de Commines confirmed that George was 'put to death in a pipe of malmsey because



Actor David Oakes as Clarence in
"The White Queen" (BBC/Starz)

it is said he wanted to make himself king.' In the aftermath of Edward IV's death and Richard III's seizure of the throne, Mancini wrote that George was 'plunged into a jar of sweet wine' as a result of Elizabeth Wydeville's¹ insistence that 'her offspring by the king would never come to the throne unless the Duke of Clarence was removed; and of this she persuaded the king.' Elizabeth allegedly feared George's 'mastery of popular eloquence'.

Largely on the basis of Mancini's claims, Clarence's death has tended to be associated with Elizabeth Wydeville, and Michael Hicks comments that 'if the queen really regarded Clarence as a threat to the succession of her son, certainly his removal substantially strengthened the king's authority over his greater subjects, as the Crowland continuator alleged.' Hicks also notes that there is no evidence that George was hanged

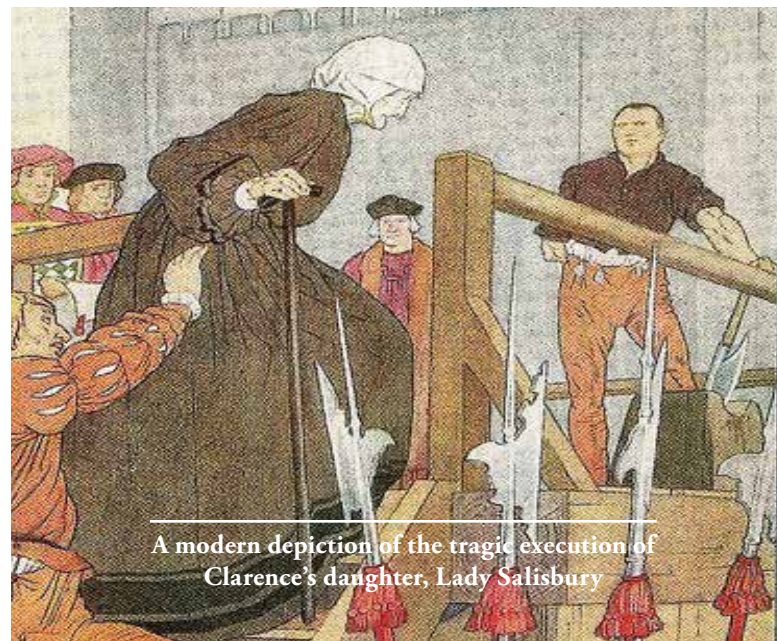
or beheaded, but contemporary chroniclers, such as the Crowland continuator, expressed uncertainty over the exact method of execution. Aside from being drowned in malmsey wine, however, 'no chronicler suggests any other mode of death.' The mode of execution devised for the unfortunate duke was not meted out to other convicted traitors at the time or subsequently. Instead, those found guilty of treason were hanged, drawn and quartered, while noble traitors were fortunate to suffer beheading. George's grandnephew and Edward IV's grandson, Henry VIII, similarly devised a novel punishment for the poisoner Richard Rouse, who was boiled to death in 1531.

George's execution placed his children, Margaret and Edward, in an ambiguous position, as the offspring of a convicted traitor, but had it not been for Richard III's defeat at Bosworth and the resulting victory of the Tudors, it is possible that the children's fortunes might

have changed. In 1484, Richard III's only son, Edward, died. The king was understandably concerned about the succession and appears to have considered remarrying after the death of his queen the following year. Richard appears to have favoured his nephew John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, as his successor, rather than his brother George's son Edward. This decision is explicable given that George's conviction for treason barred his chil-

dren from inheriting his property and tainted them with the crime of treason. Both children, ultimately, suffered a similar fate to their father, in that both were executed albeit in far more public settings than that of 1478. Edward, earl of Warwick was executed in 1499 during the reign of Henry VII, on dubious charges of plotting with the pretender Perkin Warbeck, while Margaret, countess of Salisbury, went to the scaffold in 1541 on the orders of Henry VIII. Contemporaries expressed horror at the execution of the countess, and she was later beautified by the Roman Catholic Church. Both children can be regarded, at least in part, as victims of their Yorkist inheritance, for both were pursued by the Tudors at times of dynastic and political crisis. The manner in which their father had met his death, moreover, only served to associate Edward and Margaret more closely with treason and political disloyalty.

CONOR BYRNE



A modern depiction of the tragic execution of
Clarence's daughter, Lady Salisbury

¹ Sometimes given as "Woodville".

THE ODDLY SIMILAR DEATHS OF ARTHUR TUDOR, HENRY FITZROY, AND KING EDWARD VI

BY KYRA KRAMER

WAS IT ATYPICAL CYSTIC FIBROSIS?

Arthur Tudor, Henry Fitzroy, and King Edward VI were all closely related and all died in a very similar manner. Arthur Tudor was the eldest son of Henry VII, while Henry Fitzroy and Edward VI were both sons of Henry VII's youngest son, Henry VIII. Arthur and his nephews all passed away in their mid-teens when the adolescents, who had seemed healthy until just a few weeks before their deaths, were struck down by a disease that wasn't *quite* tuberculosis and wasn't *quite* sweating sickness. Could the disease that ended their lives have been the genetic ailment non-classic cystic fibrosis?

Non-classic cystic fibrosis, which has only begun to be understood by the modern medical community in the last decade or so, has – metaphorically speaking – the means, motive, and opportunity to be the killer. Although it is rarely fatal in teenage patients today because of the ready availability of antibiotics, this illness could have easily caused death in the 16th century. Non-classic CF can cause symptoms reminiscent of both tuberculosis and the sweating sickness, and it is based on a heritable genetic mutation possessed by as many in 1/28 of people of Northern European descent, so it doesn't stretch credulity to think that some members of the royal family were carriers. Moreover, since all three teens were

descended in multiple ways from the fellow descendants of a common ancestor, Edward III, the chance of having parents who were both able to pass on the mutation is significantly increased.

The last of the trio to die, Edward VI, is the patient with the most detailed descriptions of the symptoms he suffered in the last months of his life. (I cover this in more detail in my book, *Edward VI in a Nutshell*.)

The imperial ambassador to England, Jehan Scheyfve, wrote to the Emperor Charles V on February 17th, 1553 that, 'On the very evening of the arrival of the said Princess [Mary, his oldest half-sister by Henry VIII] in this town the King was attacked by a fever caused by a chill he had caught, and was so ill that the Lady Mary could not see him for three days'¹. A month later Scheyfve would write that the king 'has never left his room since the beginning of the illness that came upon him not long ago. I have made inquiries whether his indisposition is likely to last long, and it appears that he is very weak and thin, besides which I learn from a good source that his doctors and physicians have charged the Council to watch him carefully and not move away from him, as they are of opinion that the slightest change might place his life in great danger'²



Things grew steadily worse for the teenage king, so that in early May 'the King's doctors and physicians conferred with his chief ministers over his illness. They requested very earnestly to be allowed to summon others of their art to consult with them and receive the assistance of their knowledge, as the King's life was in great danger ... the people are beginning to talk of the King's illness'³.

As the king's illness became worse, more details emerged. Scheyfve wrote that Edward was 'still indisposed, and it is held for certain that he cannot escape. The physicians are now all agreed that he is suffering from a suppurating tumour (*apostème*) on the lung, or that at least his lung is attacked. He is beginning to break out in ulcers; he is vexed by a harsh, continuous cough, his body is dry and burning, his belly is swollen, he has a slow fever upon him that never leaves him'⁴. By the end of May ambassador Scheyfve wrote that the king was, 'wasting away daily, and there is no sign or likelihood of any improvement. Some are of the opinion that he may last two

months more, but he cannot possibly live beyond that time. He cannot rest except by means of medicines and external applications; and his body has begun to swell, especially his head and feet. His hair is to be shaved off and plasters are going to be put on his head.'⁵

Although Edward seemed to rally a bit in June, this hopeful uptick didn't last. The teen sovereign was 'never quite free from fever, but on the 11th of this month he was attacked by a violent hot fever, which lasted over 24 hours, and left him weak and still feverish, though not as much so as at first. On the 14th, the fever returned more violent than before, and the doctors gave up the King and decided that he could not recover, but that about the 25th of this month, at the time of the full moon, he must decline to a point at which his life would be in the gravest danger, nay that he might die before that time, because he is at present without the strength necessary to rid him of certain humours which, when he does succeed in ejecting them, give forth a stench. Since the 11th, he has been unable to keep anything

in his stomach, so he lives entirely on restoratives and obtains hardly any repose. His legs are swelling, and he has to lie flat on his back, whereas he was up a good deal of the time (*i.e.* before the violent attack of the 11th). They say it is hardly to be believed how much the King has changed'⁶.

The last weeks of June were essentially a death watch for young king, with his passing predicted almost daily. On the 24th, it was said that the king 'cannot possibly live more than three days. It is firmly believed that he will die tomorrow, for he has not the strength to stir, and can hardly breathe. His body no longer performs its functions, his nails and hair are dropping off, and all his person is scabby'⁷. Despite the fact that the king survived another three days and was said to be improving, Edward IV died on July 6, 1553 of the painful and protracted illness that had plagued him since February.

Scheyfve confidently reported that the 'disease whereof his majesty died was the disease of the lungs, which had in them two great ulcers, and were putrefied, by means whereof he fell into consumption [tuberculosis], and so hath he wasted, being utterly incurable'⁸. A Venetian ambassador would later claim during Mary's reign that Edward had been 'seized with a malady, which the physicians knew to be consumption [tuberculosis]'⁹.

Edward IV's physicians would later say that the disease that killed the king was 'judged to be the

same as that which killed the late [Henry Fitzroy]'¹⁰. Since the details of Fitzroy's death in 1536 were not recorded because King Henry VIII did not want the news of his illegitimate son's passing disseminated, one can only assume that the contemporary physicians were aware of facts regarding Fitzroy's illness that didn't make it into the historical record. Regardless of Henry VIII's attempts to keep his son's illness quiet, rumors began to fill the court. Fitzroy seems to have developed a pulmonary illness in the last half of June and grew steadily worse in the following weeks, not unlike the 'feverish cold' that would trigger his younger half-brother's decline in 1553.

Eustace Chapuys, the imperial ambassador to Henry VIII's court at the time of Fitzroy's death in 1536, wrote a letter on July 8th of that year to tell his emperor that 'the King's bastard son, I mean the Duke of Richmond, cannot according to the prognostication of his physicians live many months, having been pronounced in a state of rapid consumption'¹¹. However, Fitzroy's illness could NOT have been tuberculosis; TB usually takes two to ten years to kill the patient. TB can, of course, prove fatal more quickly than its average, but it would be farfetched to think it caused Fitzroy's death in just a few weeks with no prior symptoms. Nonetheless, the disease looked enough like TB for his doctors to presume it was some kind of oddly fast-acting variant of the

illness, since they didn't know of any other ailment that would fit the symptoms Fitzroy was experiencing. This means we can reasonably assume that Fitzroy was, like Edward VI, plagued with a chronic and productive cough, weight loss, fever, and weakness.

A letter to Lord Lisle from his agent on July 18th reported that the king's son was very ill¹² and a few days later Chapuys wrote again to the emperor that Henry VIII had given up hope that Fitzroy would live¹³. The young duke appears to have been aware of his circumstances and known he was dying, because he started giving away things of value to friends and family. Fitzroy died on July 23, 1536 at St. James's Palace in London, a formerly hale teen boy cut down at the beginning of manhood.

Details of Arthur Tudor's illness are also scarce and the exact cause of his death is unknown. A contemporary source records that Arthur's ailment was 'the most pitiful disease and sickness, that with so sore and great violence had battled and driven, in the singular parts of him inward, [so] that cruel and fervent enemy of nature, the deadly corruption, did utterly vanquish'¹⁴ the teenage prince. The onslaught of the illness on March 27, 1502 to the final breath Arthur took on April 2nd was only a week. Thomas Penn's biography of Henry VII states that the newlywed prince died of the sweating sickness, but the course of the sweating sickness – whether to resumed health or to the

grave -- went much faster. The papal nuncio, writing about the sweating sickness epidemic of 1517, reported that the illness 'lasted 24 hours, more or less'¹⁵. It took Arthur a week to succumb, which is an oddly long time for the sweating sickness to progress. Influenza and/or pneumonia could have certainly caused it in that space of time, but Arthur's physicians would have known and named either condition¹⁶.

Other historians have speculated that Arthur's death was the result of consumption¹⁷, but if a week was too long for



sweating sickness it is MUCH too short a time to die of tuberculosis. A Spanish physician in the household of Arthur's new bride, Katharina of Aragon, reportedly diagnosed the prince with '*tisis*', a Spanish catchall word covering everything from pulmonary tuberculosis to any wasting, feverish disease that produced ulceration of some bodily organ¹⁸. If Arthur had something resembling tuberculosis, why didn't any of the prince's English doctors notice it *before* his marriage a few weeks pri-

or to his death? Certainly tuberculosis was a disease which any medieval physician would have recognized¹⁹.

Although the boys have all been described as physically frail and in poor health by historians after their untimely deaths, this is a Victorian error which was promulgated unchecked into the twenty-first century. Eyewitness accounts of all three teens reported them to be physically well.

A French ambassador described Edward as being 'remarkably tall for his age'

when the future king was four years old, which indicates reasonably good health²⁰. Furthermore, in the spring of 1551 the imperial ambassador reported that Edward was 'beginning to exercise himself in the use of arms' and a Venetian ambassador reported that the young king was 'arming and tilting, managing horses and delighting in every sort of exercise, drawing the bow, playing rackets, hunting and so forth, indefatigably, though he never neglected his studies'²¹.

Fitzroy's caretakers assured Cardinal Wolsey in 1525 that 'your honourable young and tender godson my lord of Richmond is at this present time (lauded be God) in good and prosperous health, and as towardly a young prince as ever hath been seen in our time'²². When Fitzroy was a little older, he and his friend the Earl of Surrey spent their time in 'adolescent delight ... a constant round of tennis, jousting, hunting, dancing, and flirting'²³.

Arthur's health seems to be a more complicated affair than that of his reasonably-healthy-until-suddenly-dead nephews. As in the case of his nephews, Arthur Tudor was initially described as a healthy child. In August of 1497 Raimondo da Soncino, secretary to the Duke of Milan, described the eleven year old Arthur as being taller than average for his age, as well as gifted with 'singular beauty and grace' and a ready ability to speak Latin²⁴. While Arthur lacked the robust physique of his little brother Henry, there is no real evidence of Arthur being weak or frail in either English accounts or from foreign ambassadors who saw him briefly or from afar. Henry VII certainly considered his son hale enough to not need to be coddled, so surely Arthur's physicians had assured his father that the prince was healthy.

In contrast, the Spanish attendants who saw Arthur in a state of undress during his brief marriage to Katharina of Aragon tell another tale. The nephew of Katharina's doctor, who had accompanied the physician to

England for the wedding, swore before a Spanish tribunal that his uncle had said Arthur's 'limbs were so weak that he had never seen a man whose legs and other bits of his body were so small'²⁵. Was this merely a case of a growth spurt rendering a teenage male ridiculously bony that had become exaggerated in the physician's mind? If any of Katherina's attendants believed Arthur to be *actually* unwell, wouldn't they have written her parents with a warning?

All the facts indicate that Arthur Tudor, Henry Fitzroy, and Edward VI were normatively healthy teens who each died of a progressive and fast-acting pulmonary disorder resembling tuberculosis that does not fit into the common parameters of TB presentation. Could non-classic cystic fibrosis have been the hidden killer of all three young men? There is substantial evidence that supports this idea.

Most people are at least passingly familiar with cystic fibrosis, although probably still think of it solely as the deadly disease that can – and does – kill infants and children. The disease is an inherited autosomal recessive disorder resulting in a mutation of the cystic fibrosis transmembrane regulator gene (CFTR gene). The CFTR gene is necessary to create a protein that functions as a channel across the membrane of cells that produce mucus, sweat, saliva, tears, and digestive enzymes. The transport of chloride ions is necessary for the production of the thin, freely flowing mucus which lu-

bricates the lining of organ systems, particularly important to the pulmonary, digestive, and reproductive systems. The CFTR protein also regulates the function of the cell membrane channels that transport positively charged sodium ions, which are necessary for the normal function of organs such as the lungs and pancreas.

There are over 1800 mutations of the CFTR gene and they are not created equal in terms of health²⁶. Alterations in the CFTR gene have been associated with conditions as mild as rhinosinusitis as well as with more serious respiratory and pulmonary issues. Additionally, the 'relationship between disease severity and genotype is not direct, suggesting an influence of extrinsic and intrinsic factors on disease progression'²⁷. Hence, environmental factors can affect how badly the CFTR gene mutation will affect a patient.

Among those many mutations are those that cause 'mild' forms of cystic fibrosis, referred to as non-classic types. Non-classic CF is a fairly recent medical discovery. Initially, CF was considered to be either 'typical', diagnosed in infancy and childhood and affecting multiple systems, or 'atypical', diagnosed in adolescence or adulthood and manifested in only one or two organ systems. However, advances in medical knowledge and the development of 'new CF diagnostic criteria based not only on sweat chloride values but genetic screening and nasal ion transport measurements, have made

the diagnosis of CF less straightforward for many clinicians'²⁸. More nuanced diagnostic abilities allowed physicians to determine that CF could present atypically in adolescents and adults with the same multi-organ manifestation as typical CF. This led to a shift in nomenclature, so that 'typical' CF became 'classic' CF, and 'atypical' CF became reconfigured as 'non-classic' CF²⁹.

Patients with non-classic CF are otherwise healthy, but often suffer from the same 'respiratory symptoms and chronic airway infection with typical cystic fibrosis pathogens such as *Pseudomonas aeruginosa* and *Staphylococcus aureus*, as well as non-tuberculous mycobacteria. Often these patients have previously received diagnoses of asthma, chronic bronchitis, or emphysema ... Although lung disease is generally less severe in cystic fibrosis patients receiving the diagnosis as adults than in adult patients who received the diagnosis as infants, the extent of bronchiectasis can nonetheless be severe ... they have milder disease and a more favorable prognosis'³⁰.

Non-classic CF patients may have had pulmonary problems in infancy and childhood which become more severe as they become adolescents and adults³¹. Other than the fact they weren't diagnosed until adulthood, non-classic CF patients 'commonly present with typical respiratory symptoms, significant lung dysfunction, and infection with mucoid *P. aeruginosa*'³² as classic CF sufferers. By the time they are adults,

the non-classic CF patients usually present with chronic productive cough and other pulmonary issues, as well as weight loss and intermittent fever.

Sometimes, non-classic CF patients seem perfectly healthy except for a persistent cough and therefore don't come in for treatment until the cough becomes problematic. For example, there is the case study of a 24-year-old man with a history of a productive cough and a runny nose who was diagnosed with non-classical CF in 2014. He had sought treatment at an outpatient clinic of his local hospital because his sputum had become blood-streaked. 'The patient also had low-grade fever, fatigue and sweating ... He also had a history of hospital admission about 7 years ago for the evaluation of recurrent abdominal pain ... His growth and development, physical activities at home and at school, learning in school and other activities did not show any significant difference from his other peers ... examination of heart and abdomen were normal. Examination for cyanosis, clubbing and edema were negative'³³. In short, he probably thought he had the flu or bronchitis -- but he was suffering unaware from complications of non-classic cystic fibrosis.

The disease is also much more common in white populations of northern European descent than had been previously thought; as many as 1/28 members of that population are carriers of the genetic mutations that cause classic CF and even more are carriers of genetic mutations that will

present as non-classic CF. Dr. Preston Campbell, a pediatric pulmonologist at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore and an expert in cystic fibrosis has pointed out that 'hundreds of thousands of those patients in the United States who have recurrent sinusitis or unusual forms of lung disease such as nontuberculosis mycobacteria, aspergillosis, recurrent pancreatitis, biliary disease in their liver or males who present to infertility clinics with aspermia — meaning they do not have sperm — that will have a very mild form of cystic fibrosis'³⁴.

Just as there is a wide range of severity in conditions springing from CFTR mutations, there is a wide range of severity among the relatively mild cases of non-classic CF. Patients with non-classic CF can suffer from such diverse problems as 'early childhood death as a result of progressive obstructive lung disease with bronchiectasis, to pancreatic insufficiency with gradually progressive obstructive lung disease during adolescence and increasing frequency of hospitalization for pulmonary disease in early adulthood, to recurrent sinusitis and bronchitis or male infertility in young adulthood'³⁵. It is more common for non-classic CF patients to seem to be flourishing in childhood or adolescence, with the main complaint being a propensity to develop bronchitis-like symptoms, but even in this otherwise healthy cohort 'studies indicate that focal bronchiectasis often occurs in young CF patients with

apparently normal lung function'³⁶.

Therefore, adolescents and adults with non-classic CF can seem to be reasonably healthy except for the occasional pulmonary infections that modern doctors are likely to assume are bronchitis. Notwithstanding the appearance of health, once the bronchitis becomes severe enough or frequent enough for a physician to become concerned the patient is probably already experiencing bronchiectasis — the dilation and destruction of larger bronchi in the lungs caused by chronic infection and inflammation. The symptoms of bronchiectasis are chronic cough and pus-containing (purulent) sputum expectoration, as well as fever and dyspnea in some patients. This dangerous condition is often overlooked even today, in that patients with mild cystic fibrosis disease and stable spirometry results seem fine until their physicians find 'evidence of bronchiectasis on their x-rays and advanced lung disease that appears on high-resolution CT'³⁷.

Bronchiectasis is a serious and incurable condition requiring a barrage of anti-inflammatory medication and antibiotics to control, with the possibility of surgery in severe cases³⁸. Untreated, bronchiectasis can cause abscesses in the lungs and death via respiratory failure, lung collapse, or heart failure. Nowadays non-classic CF patients are likely to live to adulthood or old age, because their chronic pulmonary infections are aggressively treated with modern med-

ical interventions. None of these life-saving treatments were available to the Tudors.

Ergo, if Arthur, Fitzroy, and Edward had all inherited a similar genetic mutation causing non-classic CF, then they could have been relatively healthy as children but have had undetected pulmonary deterioration that eventually needed just one more infection (viral or bacterial) to tip the scales toward their demise. Once their bodies were weakened, more opportunistic infections could occur, as well as septicemia and renal failure. The chronic cough, struggle to breathe, and the 'wasting' effect of malabsorption of food due to the thick mucus obstructing the digestive system were all symptoms exhibited by the dying Tudor adolescents. The bronchiectasis would have looked a lot like tuberculosis to their physicians, albeit a strangely fast-acting one.

Furthermore, non-classic cystic fibrosis would explain a puzzling feature of Edward's illness that is not easily explained by tuberculosis, bronchiectasis, septicemia, or renal failure: the ulcers that broke out on his skin. In non-classic CF patients the most common culprit behind the chronic air-

way infections is the pathogen *Pseudomonas aeruginosa*. Nowadays, *P. aeruginosa* is treated with antibiotics and can be fought with reasonable success. However, in Edward's time there was no such hope of keeping the *P. aeruginosa* from running amok. One of the things this bacterium can do is cause hemorrhagic and necrotic lesions with red and irritated skin surrounding them³⁹. In short, it can give you what looks like little ulcers on your skin. If Edward had non-classic CF then the long-standing infection of *P. aeruginosa* could have opportunistically spread to other systems in his body — such as his skin — as his immune system weakened, which would explain the king's lesions.

What was the likelihood that Arthur, Fitzroy, and Edward all received a mutated CRFT gene from both parents? Considering the inbreeding among the royals, it is not at all unlikely. Arthur's father Henry VII's maternal great-grandfather was John of Gaunt, one of the sons of Edward III and therefore a direct descendant of the Plantagenet



king, Henry II. Arthur's paternal great-grandmother was Catherine of Valois, who was also descended from Henry II by his granddaughter Blanche of Castile via a marriage to King Louis VIII of France. Arthur's maternal line was also descended Henry II. His mother, Elizabeth of York, was the direct descendant of Edward III from his son Edmund of Langley. Clearly, if there was a recessive gene for a CFTR mutation in the Plantagenet DNA, Arthur

had multiple chances of inheriting it from his multiple Plantagenet ancestors.

Arthur's younger brother, Henry VIII, also bred back into the Plantagenets with his sons Fitzroy and Edward. Henry Fitzroy was Henry VIII's illegitimate son with Bessie Blount, and Blount was descended maternally from Henry II through his grandson Richard, the 1st earl of Cornwall. Edward's mother, Jane Seymour, was also descended maternally from Henry II through

Edward III's son Lionel of Antwerp. Although the mutuality of their ancestors was not as extreme as Arthur's, there were still multiple ways a recessive gene could have been passed on to Fitzroy and Edward through the Plantagenet bloodlines.

Whether or not Arthur Tudor, Henry Fitzroy, and Edward IV had non-classic CF cannot be definitely answered at this time. The genetic anomalies of the Tudors must remain speculative until researchers have

access to their remains for DNA analysis. For now, it can only be shown that the closely related teens all had a strong chance of having inherited one of the CFRT mutations common to Northern Europeans if the gene was present in the Plantagenet bloodline, and that the onset and development of their final illness can be adequately explained by non-classical cystic fibrosis.

Bibliography

- Bates, Calton M, Michel Baum, and Raymond Quigley. 1996. "Cystic Fibrosis Presenting with Hypokalemia and Metabolic Alkalosis in a Previously Healthy Adolescent." *Journal of American Society of Nephrology*, American Renal Training Centers, , 352–55.
- Boeck, K De, M Wilschanski, C Castellani, C Taylor, H Cuppens, J Dodge, and M Sinaasappel. 2006. *Thorax* 61: 627–35.
- Boyle, Michael P. 2003. "Nonclassic Cystic Fibrosis and CFTR-Related Diseases : Current Opinion in Pulmonary Medicine." *Current Opinion in Pulmonary Medicine* 9 (6). http://journals.lww.com/co-pulmonarymedicine/Fulltext/2003/11000/Nonclassic_cystic_fibrosis_and_CFTR_related.9.asp
- Castellani, C., C. Quinzii, S. Altieri, G. Mastella, and B.m. Assael. 2001. "A Pilot Survey of Cystic Fibrosis Clinical Manifestations in CFTR Mutation Heterozygotes." *Genetic Testing* 5 (3): 249–54. doi:10.1089/10906570152742317.
- "CFTR - Cystic Fibrosis Transmembrane Conductance Regulator (ATP-Binding Cassette Sub-Family C, Member 7)." 2015. *Genetics Home Reference*. March 30. <http://ghr.nlm.nih.gov/gene/CFTR>.
- Childe-Pemberton, William S. 1913. *Elizabeth Blount and Henry VIII*. London.
- Childs, Jessie. 2007. *Henry VIII's Last Victim: The Life and Times of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*. Macmillan.
- Crabtree, Pamela. 2013. *Medieval Archaeology - Crabtree*. Routledge.
- Eickmeier, Olaf, Marisa Huebner, Eva Herrmann, Ulrich Zissler, Martin Rosewich, Patrick C. Baer, Roland Buhl, Sabina Schmitt-Grohé, Stefan Zielen, and Ralf Schubert. 2010. "Sputum Biomarker Profiles in Cystic Fibrosis (CF) and Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease (COPD) and Association between Pulmonary Function." *Cytokine* 50 (2): 152–57. doi:10.1016/j.cyto.2010.02.004.
- Gilljam, Marita, Lynda Ellis, Mary Corey, Julian Zielenski, Peter Durie, and D. Elizabeth Tullis. 2004. "Clinical Manifestations of Cystic Fibrosis among Patients with Diagnosis in Adulthood*." *Chest* 126 (4): 1215–24. doi:10.1378/chest.126.4.1215.
- Groman, Joshua D., Timothy W. Hefferon, Teresa Casals, Lluís Bassas, Xavier Estivill, Marie Des Georges, Caroline Guitard, et al. 2004. "Variation in a Repeat Sequence Determines Whether a Common Variant of the Cystic Fibrosis Transmembrane Conductance Regulator Gene Is Pathogenic or Benign." *The American Journal of Human Genetics* 74 (1): 176–79. doi:10.1086/381001.
- Groman, Joshua D., Barbara Karczeski, Molly Sheridan, Terry E. Robinson, M. Daniele Fallin, and Garry R. Cutting. 2005. "Phenotypic and Genetic Characterization of Patients with Features of 'nonclassic' Forms of Cystic Fibrosis." *The Journal of Pediatrics* 146 (5): 675–80. doi:10.1016/j.jpeds.2004.12.020.
- Groman, Joshua D., Michelle E. Meyer, Robert W. Wilmott, Pamela L. Zeitlin, and Garry R. Cutting. 2002. "Variant Cystic Fibrosis Phenotypes in the Absence of CFTR Mutations." *New England Journal of Medicine* 347 (6): 401–7. doi:10.1056/NEJMoa011899.
- Harris, A. 1990. "DNA Markers near the Cystic Fibrosis Locus: Further Analysis of the British Population." *Journal of Medical Genetics* 27 (1): 39–41.
- Hodson, Margaret, Andrew Bush, and Duncan Geddes. 2012. *Cystic Fibrosis, Third Edition*. CRC Press.
- Holmes, Grace, Frederick Holmes, and Julia McMorrough. 2001. "The Death of Young King Edward VI." *New England Journal of Medicine* 345 (1): 60–62. doi:10.1056/NEJM200107053450111.
- Joshi, Deepak, Anil Dhawan, Alistair J. Baker, and Michael A. Heneghan. 2008. "An Atypical Presentation of Cystic Fibrosis: A Case Report." *Journal of Medical Case Reports* 2 (1): 201. doi:10.1186/1752-1947-2-201.
- Jr, Robert B. Fick. 1992. *Pseudomonas Aeruginosa the Opportunist*. CRC Press.
- Keating, Claire L., Xinhua Liu, and Emily A. DiMango. 2010. "Classic Respiratory Disease but Atypical Diagnostic Testing Distinguishes Adult Presentation of Cystic Fibrosis." *Chest* 137 (5): 1157–63. doi:10.1378/chest.09-1352.
- Lao, Oscar, Aida M. Andrés, Eva Mateu, Jaume Bertranpetit, and Francesc Calafell. 2003. "Spatial Patterns of Cystic Fibrosis Mutation Spectra in European Populations." *European Journal of Human Genetics* 11 (5): 385–94. doi:10.1038/sj.ejhg.5200970.
- Loach, Jennifer. 1999. *Edward VI*. Yale University Press.
- Lodge, Edmund. 1791. *Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners: In the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, and James I, Exhibited in a Series of Original Papers*. Sold by G. Nicol.
- MacCulloch, Diarmaid. 2001. *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*. University of California Press.

- Magner, Lois N. 1992. *A History of Medicine*. CRC Press.
- Martiniano, Stacey L., Jordana E. Hoppe, Scott D. Sagel, and Edith T. Zemanick. 2014. "Advances in the Diagnosis and Treatment of Cystic Fibrosis." *Advances in Pediatrics* 61 (1): 225–43. doi:10.1016/j.yapd.2014.03.002.
- McConkie-Rosell, A., Y. T. Chen, D. Harris, M. C. Speer, M. A. Pericak-Vance, J. H. Ding, W. E. Highsmith, M. Knowles, and S. G. Kahler. 1989. "Mild Cystic Fibrosis Linked to Chromosome 7q22 Markers with an Uncommon Haplotype." *Annals of Internal Medicine* 111 (10): 797–801.
- Metersky, Mark L. 2012. *Bronchiectasis, an Issue of Clinics in Chest Medicine*. Elsevier Health Sciences.
- Moskowitz, Samuel M., James F. Chmiel, Darci L. Stern, Edith Cheng, Ronald L. Gibson, Susan G. Marshall, and Garry R. Cutting. 2008. "Clinical Practice and Genetic Counseling for Cystic Fibrosis and CFTR-Related Disorders." *Genetics in Medicine* 10 (12): 851–68. doi:10.1097/GIM.0b013e31818e55a2.
- Murphy, Beverley. 2011. *Bastard Prince: Henry VIII's Lost Son*. The History Press.
- Mussaffi, H., D. Prais, M. Mei-Zahav, and H. Blau. 2006. "Cystic Fibrosis Mutations with Widely Variable Phenotype: The D1152H Example." *Pediatric Pulmonology* 41 (3): 250–54. doi:10.1002/ppul.20343.
- Naderi, Neda, Soheil Peiman, Azam Alamdari, Taraneh Dormohammadi Toosi, and Foad Taghdiri. 2014. "A Salty Cause of Cough in a 24-Year-Old Man." *Oxford Medical Case Reports* 2014 (4): 71–73. doi:10.1093/omcr/omu029.
- Network, From CDC National Prevention Information. 2001. "The Death of Young King Edward VI." *TheBody.com*. July 6. <http://www.thebody.com/content/art20580.html>.
- Nick, Jerry A., and David M. Rodman. 2005. "Manifestations of Cystic Fibrosis Diagnosed in Adulthood." *Current Opinion in Pulmonary Medicine* 11 (6): 513–18.
- Norton, Elizabeth. 2012. *Bessie Blount: Mistress to Henry VIII*. Amberley Publishing Limited.
- Paranjape, Shruti M., and Pamela L. Zeitlin. 2008. "Atypical Cystic Fibrosis and CFTR-Related Diseases." *Clinical Reviews in Allergy & Immunology* 35 (3): 116–23. doi:10.1007/s12016-008-8083-0.
- Peckham, D., S. P. Conway, A. Morton, A. Jones, and K. Webb. 2006. "Delayed Diagnosis of Cystic Fibrosis Associated with R117H on a Background of 7T Polythymidine Tract at Intron 8." *Journal of Cystic Fibrosis: Official Journal of the European Cystic Fibrosis Society* 5 (1): 63–65. doi:10.1016/j.jcf.2005.09.009.
- Penn, Thomas. 2013. *Winter King: Henry VII and the Dawn of Tudor England*. Simon and Schuster.
- Ricks, Delthia. 2009. *100 Questions & Answers About Influenza*. Jones & Bartlett Learning.
- Ridgway, Claire. 2014. *Sweating Sickness in a Nutshell*. MadeGlobal.
- Sayre, Carolyn. 2009. "Cystic Fibrosis, Complicated and Variable." *The New York Times*, April 24, sec. Health / Health Guide. <http://www.nytimes.com/ref/health/healthguide/esn-cystic-fibrosis-expert.html>.
- Sermet-Gaudelus, Isabelle, Emmanuelle Girodon, Dorota Sands, Nathalie Stremmler, Vera Vavrova, Eric Deneuville, Philippe Reix, et al. 2010. "Clinical Phenotype and Genotype of Children with Borderline Sweat Test and Abnormal Nasal Epithelial Chloride Transport." *American Journal of Respiratory and Critical Care Medicine* 182 (7): 929–36. doi:10.1164/rccm.201003-0382OC.
- Skidmore, Chris. 2009. *Edward VI: The Lost King of England*. Macmillan.
- Starkey, David. 2003. *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*. Harper Collins.
- Stern, Robert C., Thomas F. Boat, Carl F. Doershuk, Arthur S. Tucker, Robert B. Miller, and Leroy W. Matthews. 1977. "Cystic Fibrosis Diagnosed after Age 13 Twenty-Five Teenage and Adult Patients Including Three Asymptomatic Men." *Annals of Internal Medicine* 87 (2): 188–91.
- "The Death of Prince Arthur, Prince of Wales, 1502." 2015. *English History*. Accessed April 1. <http://englishhistory.net/tudor/the-death-of-prince-arthur/>.
- Tremlett, Giles. 2010. *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Queen*. Faber & Faber.
- Wallis, Faith. 2010. *Medieval Medicine: A Reader*. University of Toronto Press.
- "When to Suspect Atypical Cystic Fibrosis: The Journal of Family Practice." 2015. Accessed April 1. [http://www.jfponline.com/index.php?id=22143&tx_ttnews\[tt_news\]=175330](http://www.jfponline.com/index.php?id=22143&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=175330).
- Whitelock, Anna. 2010. *Mary Tudor: Princess, Bastard, Queen*. Random House Publishing Group.
- Whitley, Catrina Banks, and Kyra Kramer. 2010. "A New Explanation For The Reproductive Woes And Midlife Decline Of Henry VIII." *The Historical Journal* 53 (04): 827–48.

NOTES

1. CSP Spain XI
2. CSP Spain XI.
3. CSP Spain XI Scheyfve to Charles V, May 5, 1553
4. CSP Spain XI to Charles V, May 12, 1553
5. CSP Spain XI Scheyfve to Charles V, May 30, 1553
6. CSP Spain XI Scheyfve to Charles V, June 15, 1553
7. CPS Spain XI Scheyfve to Charles V, June 24, 1553
8. Lodge, Vol. I., 1791
9. Loach, 2014:161
10. CSP Spain XI Scheyfve to Charles V, May 30, 1553
11. Murphy, 2011:176
12. Lisle Letters III 748,
13. CSP Spain V pt II Chapuys to Charles V, July 22, 1536
14. Starkey, 2003:76
15. Ridgway, 2014
16. Ricks, 2009; Wallis, 2010
17. Whitelock, 2010:10
18. Tremlett, 2010:91
19. Magner, 1992; Crabtree, 2013
20. Murphy, 2011:246
21. Loach, 2014:157
22. Childe-Pemberton, 1913:149-150
23. Childs, 2007:124
24. Penn, 2013:18
25. Tremlett, 2010:90
26. Groman et al., 2002
27. Keating et al., 2010
28. Boyle, 2003
29. Boeck et al., 2006
30. Nick and Rodman, 2005
31. Mussaffi et al., 2006
32. Keating et al., 2010
33. Naderi et al., 2014
34. Sayre, 2009
35. Moskowitz et al., 2008
36. Moskowitz et al., 2008
37. Chawla et al, 2010
38. Metersky, 2012
39. Fick, 1992



NEVER? SURELY THEY COULDN'T BE KILLED *THAT* WAY... COULD THEY?

F
A
L
S
E

T
R
U
E

A widow called Agnes Rapte was killed by Lord Bergavenny's bear when it broke loose at his house at Birling, Kent in 1563.



Nicholas Wyborne was lying down near a target when he was hit by a falling arrow, which pierced him to a depth of six inches.



In 1557, when the Duke of Norfolk's horse stumbled on a road in Tottenham, his gun went off and shot dead a servant.



In 1552, Henry Pert drew his bow to its full extent with the aim of shooting straight up into the air. The arrow lodged in the bow, and while he was leaning over to look, the arrow was released. He died the next day.



Elizabeth Bennet was baking bread at the house of Matilda Nanfan in Birtsmorton, Worcestershire, on 29 January 1558. She went to the moat to collect cabbage leaves to put under the loaves she was baking. The fence broke and she fell into the moat and drowned.



Robert Calf was walking through fields in March 1557 when he was attacked by a cow, which gored him to death with her horn.



Thomas Alsopp of Coventry was standing under a stone wall on 26 April 1558 when a maypole fell over. It hit the city wall and knocked a stone out of the top of it, killing him instantly.



In the summer of 1558, John Joplyn and George Lee drowned while washing in rivers at Cambridge and Leicester, one getting trapped by bushes and the other falling into a whirlpool.



OFF WITH THEIR HEADS! DEATH AND EXECUTION IN TUDOR POPULAR CULTURE

BY EMMA TAYLOR

**‘Divorced, beheaded, died, divorced,
beheaded, survived’ - a rhyme many
a Tudor fan will find all too familiar;
and with good reason.**



From our very first introduction into the world of the Tudors, we become acquainted with death in all its glory. Many of the most famous figures in Tudor history met their end on the nefarious chopping block, and sites of executions continue to draw tourists in their thousands, year upon year. Popular culture is no different in its fascination with Tudor executions. It's almost a guarantee that any film, book or television show based in Tudor times will include an execution; whether by hanging, beheading or even boiling alive.

In this article, I am going to explore the gruesome world of Tudor beheadings and hangings within the framework of several films and television shows to break down some of the narrative frameworks and visual representations therein, and further explore why we are all so fascinated with the gory world of the Tudor scaffold.

One of the most striking differences in execution scenes is the disparity between male and female executions. Executions of male prisoners are presented in a more visceral, grotesque manner. In almost every execution



scene, the male prisoner is dragged through a jeering, screaming crowd of onlookers, towards a scaffold upon which a hooded executioner stands. There is no dignity in the journey; the prisoner is heckled, punched and made filthy from excrement and rotten fruit thrown by the angry crowd. There is no clear path to the scaffold, and the accused must be dragged through a judgemental crowd: a reference to Christ on the Procession to Calvary. This is an oft-repeated scene within Tudor popular culture, a formulaic process from

the execution of George Boleyn in *The Other Boleyn Girl*, to Thomas Cromwell in *The Tudors*. The male prisoner is always garbed in a loose white shirt and black breeches; which would be considered a state of undress for the aristocratic Tudor male. It is a simple costume, in simplistic colours, and it feels right in the context of these scenes; the male prisoner would have no access to their wardrobe while imprisoned, and it speaks of the denial of dignity to the accused. The white shift-like shirts, frequently worn as a base layer by Tudor men, is





also the perfect colour to display the inevitable shower of blood that follows a beheading, and the colour contrast of red blood on the white shirt is a powerful visual cue for the audience. While these points may seem on a surface level, simplistic, they have become tropes in Tudor popular culture simply due to the visual power of the images, and their capability to display the horrors of the Tudor beheading. The use of black and white, while practical, is also significant. Black, the colour of death and mourning, is paired with white, the

colour usually coded for purity and innocence. These shades are rich in signification, and when paired with the deep crimson of the blood from the beheading, this costume takes on a powerful visual significance. Blood is always present, and in some cases, the actual execution is shown; rather than a more tasteful cut away to the crowds shocked faces. In one instance, the execution of William Brereton in *The Tudors*, we see the executioner hacking at his neck; it clearly took more than one clean blow, and the proceeding shots show the au-

dience being splattered with blood and cheering. Cheers erupt the moment the accused head is severed, and often the head of the prisoner is held aloft to be seen by the crowd. It is a gruesome spectacle, made even more gory by copious amounts of blood sprayed on the hooded executioner.

The execution of Thomas Culpepper and Francis Dereham in *The Tudors* is particularly notable for its violence. Their execution is shown alongside a dreamlike sequence of Katherine Howard dancing in her underclothes. The presenta-

tion of Katherine's character in the show was inherently coded in sexuality, and this sexuality spills over into the deaths of Culpepper and Dereham. A voiceover of Katherine reading her last letter to Culpepper dubs the scene, accompanied by the jeers and screams of the crowd. Katherine, in her unclashes, dances sensually through a large, empty room, garbed in white, while Culpepper and Dereham are dragged to their inevitable deaths. We have a close-up, tracking shot of Culpepper as he is led to the scaffold; we, as the viewer, are taken

with him, increasing the dramatic tension of the scene. Culpepper's actual death is quick, and not shown directly on camera, but Dereham's death is one of the most gruesome thus far. He vomits with fear at Culpepper's death, and is dragged to the scaffold bruised, bloody and covered in his own sick. Katherine speaks the lines, 'He called me wife, and touched the secret parts of my body...and he kissed me often and passionately,' while Dereham is being hanged. Culpepper's and Dereham's deaths are therefore tied directly to Katherine's passion and sexuality; the one thing that ensured the downfall of Henry's fifth wife. Dereham, after being hanged, is then removed from the scaffold, still alive, and disembowelled in front of the gathered crown. Katherine does not speak, and Dereham's death is instead accompanied by an orchestral swell as he drowns in his own blood. Culpepper's and Dereham's deaths stand as one of the most brutal deaths represented in Tudor popular culture; even more brutal when we remember that these deaths are not just fantasy, but took place on the 10th December, 1541.

In contrast to these visceral, bloody executions, the executions of women are presented in an entirely different way. While an execution by axe or by sword can hardly be considered dignified, the way in which the female execution is framed differs drastically from the males. The women being executed are usually allowed a gown and hood, as opposed to underclothes. The final outfit of Anne Boleyn in *The Other Boleyn Girl* is one of the most accurate in television and film; the real Anne attended her execution in a dress of black or grey damask, with a crimson kirtle, traditional Gable hood and a robe of ermine. The onscreen dress is incredibly similar, except for the crimson kirtle, which was omitted from the screen version. *The Tudors* version of Anne Boleyn, played by Natalie Dormer strays from this, but presents Anne in a crimson-lined robe, and a gown of grey damask, with no Gable hood. However, the executions in both have some striking similarities. The crowd is comprised of silent, aristocratic onlookers, rather than a jeering mob. While Anne in *The Other Boleyn Girl* does not make a final speech, Anne in *The*

Tudors makes a speech taken almost directly from historical sources. Notably, blood is rarely shown in the execution scenes of Anne; a far cry from the graphic, gruesome executions of the male prisoners. In *The Tudors*, blood is replaced by a close up of Anne's shocked face, and an image of doves flying away; an artistic representation of the end of Anne's life. In *The Other Boleyn Girl*, Anne's death is established by an extreme long shot, from a birds-eye view. We, as the audience, can just about see the blood on the scaffold and Anne's body, but it is a short shot, shown only to establish her death, rather than involve the viewer in any gruesome detail. We, as the audience, are separated from these executions; shown either a representation of death or a long-shot, as opposed to the close-up, visceral brutality of the male beheading.

But why do we enjoy watching these gruesome, awful deaths? It's a question that is not easily answered. Many scientific studies have shown that violence ignites certain pleasure centres in the brain; it's a visceral, almost ani-

malistic response, especially when we feel that the character onscreen has deserved this death. However, many an execution in the Tudor Era feels wrong and unjustified; and the same kind of pleasure at a death well deserved is simply not present. I would suggest that reasoning behind such bloody inclusions in the story comes back to the reality of the storytelling. It is one thing to watch a character die on a television show; they were never alive, and did not exist outside the realms of fantasy. But when we engage with stories based in the Tudor era, we often deal with real stories, and most importantly, with real people. These characters are not just characters; they, and their deaths, are presentations of real people and real events. Our response to their death, within this context, changes somewhat. We know that these people did face their deaths on the scaffold, and the re-enactment of these famous deaths adds an entirely more human edge to the spectacle of violence often played out on screens both big and small.

EMMA TAYLOR

THE TRAGIC PROPHECY OF THE IDOL OF SAINT DERFEL GARDARN

BY BETH VON STAATS

Saint Derfel Gadarn – holy, mighty, valiant and strong – is one of Welsh History’s beloved historic figures, his life story surviving through eleven centuries of oral history.



A modern-day sculpture of the heroic Saint Derfel (BBC News)

Derfel, ultimately a holy man, began his life journey towards immortality as a warrior for the legendary King Arthur, one of a mere seven survivors of the Battle of Camlan, a miraculous feat thought accomplished by “his strength alone”. Son of King Hywel of Brittany, Derfel’s legacy as King Arthur’s greatest warrior was immortalized by Welsh poet Tudur Penllyn, who through an English translation teaches us, “Derfel in war, he would work his spear wondrously, steel covering is the garment, brave is the appearance.”

After his heroic service to King Arthur, Saint Derfel Gadarn entered the religious life. Initially a hermit, Derfel eventually entered the monastery of Llantwit

in Lladderfel, Gwynedd. Ultimately, Derfel was Abbot of Ynys Enlli, Bardsey Island, where he died 6 April 660.

With such a magnificent life story, it is no wonder Derfel was canonized a saint, one greatly venerated by the Welsh people. Through the centuries, Welsh pilgrimages in celebration of Saint Derfel Gadarn brought the faithful to him, by the 16th century to a church in Lladderfel. There pilgrims worshipped a huge crudely carved statue of Saint Derfel portrayed as a Celtic warrior in armor. Carrying a spear and shield, an iron casket was hung by a ribbon from the idol’s neck. With a promise of avoiding the depths of hell, pilgrims shared offerings of pigs, oxen, horses and cash – in-

dulgences lucrative to the church and its appreciative clergy. The pilgrims must have shared a profound sense of urgency. After all, prophecies taught the faithful this idol of Saint Derfel along with its mystic powers would not last long. Instead, this wondrous carved statue would be used to set a forest on fire – but when?

In 16th and 17th century Tudor England and Wales, religion was serious business. Unfortunately for the subjects and clergy of the realm, just what religion one was to adhere to changed with the theological whims of the reigning monarchs and was particularly confusing during the reign of Henry VIII. Overstep the mark of the king's ever-changing religious philosophies, and a person would become the victim of judicial murder.

During the reigns of Henry VIII and his daughters Mary I and Elizabeth I, thousands died

for their religious beliefs. Roman Catholics, represented notably by John Cardinal Fisher; Sir Thomas More; Elizabeth Barton, Holy Maid of Kent; Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury; Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots; Father Edmund Champion; Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel; and a host of others, were convicted as traitors, executed by a variety of means commanded by the whims of their monarchs. Condemnation for heresy was instead reserved for Evangelicals, Anabaptists, and Protestants – with one notable exception, Blessed John Forest.

Blessed John Forest, chaplain and confessor of Queen Catherine of Aragon, was an Oxford educated Franciscan Observant Friar. His first home of clerical service was at the Greenwich Friary. Attached to the Royal Palace at Greenwich, home of the “Grey Friars”, this friary was cherished by royals since its 1480 founding during the reign of Edward IV. Initially, Henry VIII offered frequent grants of money and sang his praises to his Franciscan neighbors, writing to Pope Leo X that he “could not sufficiently commend the Observant Friars’ strict adherence to poverty, their sincerity, charity and devotion. No Order battled more assiduously against vice, and none were more active in keeping Christ’s fold.” In fact, the Greenwich Friary was so beloved that its Friary Church hosted royal marriages and baptisms. Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon were wed there, while



Queen Katherine of Aragon, who Father Forest served with devotion.

Henry VIII, his brother Prince Edmund, and his daughters Mary I and Elizabeth I were all baptized at the Franciscan Observants’ home of worship.

By 1532, however, the Franciscan Friars Minor of the Regular Observance in Greenwich had incurred the wrath of the King of England. Due to the friars’ open opposition of Henry VIII’s desire to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon with a stated intention of gaining supremacy of the nation’s clergy to accomplish the task, Henry VIII threatened to suppress the Order in England. After alerting the friars of the king’s plans, Blessed John Forest openly denounced the Henry VIII’s intentions to divorce his wife at Saint Paul’s Cross. Initially, Henry showed uncharacteristic

patience, but Friar Forest’s civil disobedience continued unabated. By 1533, he was incarcerated in Newgate Prison, condemned to death. He was eventually released from Newgate to confinement at a Conventual Franciscan Friary at Smithfield, the death sentence neither being commuted or commanded. From this forced confinement, Friar Forest corresponded with Catherine of Aragon, by this time banished from Court and living at Kimbolton Castle.

Unfortunately for Blessed John Forest and his Franciscan brethren, Henry VIII was not alone in his disdain towards the Order. His cherry-picked evangelical Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, often considered more tolerant than his 16th cen-



Blessed John Forest, a heroic Catholic martyr (Saint Ethelreda’s Church)



Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, a powerful enemy

tury counterparts, loathed Franciscan Observants for their stubborn disobedience to bowing to the king's supremacy, among a host of other theological disagreements. By 1534, Henry VIII made good on his threat to suppress the Franciscan Observants, scattering them throughout England. Once both the Supremacy and Treason Acts of 1535 were passed through Parliament, without a willingness to bend to the Crown and take an oath bowing to the king's will, Friar Forest and his fellow Franciscan Observants would be doomed. After initially recanting and swearing the oath, Blessed John Forest once again became disobedient. From his confinement in 1538, Friar Forest composed and published a tract denouncing Henry VIII entitled *De auctoritate Ecclesiae et Pontificis maximi* (On the Authority of the

Church and the Supreme Pontiff).

Enraged by Blessed John Forest's "most abominable heresies and blasphemy", and likely also easily persuaded by Henry VI-II's brilliant chief minister Thomas Cromwell, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer interrogated Friar Forest in April 1538 at Lambeth Palace. Friar Forest was unyielding, insisting the king's subjects should believe in the Pope's pardon for remission of sins, while also proclaiming priests could reduce the time believers dwelled in purgatory for penitent sinners. Cranmer was further convinced that Forest's previous sworn oath to Henry's supremacy was insincere, the Friar Forest's oath taken "by his outward man, but his inward man never consented". Through this harrowing experience, Friar Forest was allowed several opportunities to recant, but

refused, Cranmer declaring to be done, "miraculously by the instigation of the devil". Unable to move Blessed John Forest to recantation, he was charged and found guilty of heresy.

Unlike all Roman Catholics during the reign of Henry VIII before and since, all who were tried for treason and condemned with a "traitor's death" for similar intransigence, Blessed John Forest would burn at the stake a heretic. Why? Well, as the story goes, as a result of the dissolution of a Welsh religious house near Lladderfel, Thomas Cromwell had in his possession the magnificent wooden idol of Saint Derfel Gardarn. Prophecy in Tudor Era England and Wales was a powerful phenomenon indeed. Whether intended with a macabre sense of humor, a brilliant stroke of propagandizing, a flair for the dramatic, a desire to enthrall the king's subjects, a powerful object lesson, or a combination of some or all, Cromwell had a simply devilish idea. With Henry VIII's enthusiastic approval to move forward, the prophecy would come to pass. The idol of Saint Derfel Gardarn would set a forest on fire.

The tragic 22 May 1538 martyrdom of Blessed John Forest was a dramatic spectacle for the ages. Summoned by advanced royal proclamation, Londoners lined the dirt roads between Newgate Prison and Smithfield to catch a glimpse of Friar Forest being dragged by horse on a sheep hurdle. In a celebratory mood, over 10,000 of Henry's loyal subjects

awaited Friar Forest's arrival to the place of his doom, outside the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great. This certainly was quite a dramatic "must see" event. Not only did common Londoners abound, but in a specially constructed "VIP Section", Thomas Cranmer was joined in attendance by Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; Henry Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex; Sir Richard Gresham, Lord Mayor of London, and a host of other dignitaries.

Upon Blessed John Forest's arrival, one of the Tudor era's greatest theatrical orators, Bishop Hugh Latimer, awaited at a pulpit constructed at the entrance of railed-off double gallows. Standing near him was Thomas Cromwell, evidently an enthusiastic director of the day's ceremonies. For three long hours Blessed John Forest was compelled to listen from a facing platform as Bishop Latimer repeatedly berated him while sermonizing his Evangelical agenda, just a few years previously considered heretical by the Crown. Blessed John Forest defiantly debated this very point, noting Bishop Latimer's views were once thought heretical by the very king who doomed the friar today. With courage and determination, Friar Forest further declared that even if an angel came down from heaven and told him to do so or if his body was to be "cut, joint after joint, or member after member, burnt, hanged or what pain would be done to his body – he would never turn from his old sect."

"My lord bishop, I think you strive in vain with this stubborn one!" Thomas Cromwell boisterously chided. Cromwell then ordered nearby soldiers to "Take him off at once!" That they did.

Raised in chains before the cheering crowd, Blessed John Forest was dangled above a slow burning fire, hung in a manner to prolong his agony. Upon Thomas Cromwell's dramatic command, the enormous wooden idol of Saint Derfel Gardarn was dragged out and tossed into the burning fags beneath Friar Forest's feet. The prophecy unfolding before all, Bishop Latimer could not contain himself. He sermonized with abundance. Though tortured, Friar Forest found his cour-

age. "All the treasures of the world, Latimer, will not make me move from my will..."

16th century England was a ruthless era, but this martyrdom was particularly so. Blessed John Forest died a slow and tormented death, slow roasted for over two hours by the burning idol of Saint Derfel Gardarn. Swinging in thick black smoke, burning slowly from the feet upwards, this heroic Franciscan Observant Friar finally yielded to his fate, screaming in agony, "*Domine miserere mei!*" (God have mercy upon me.) The spectacle finally complete, Thomas Cromwell had the last word. A placard was nailed to the scaffold that hosted Blessed John Forest's doom.

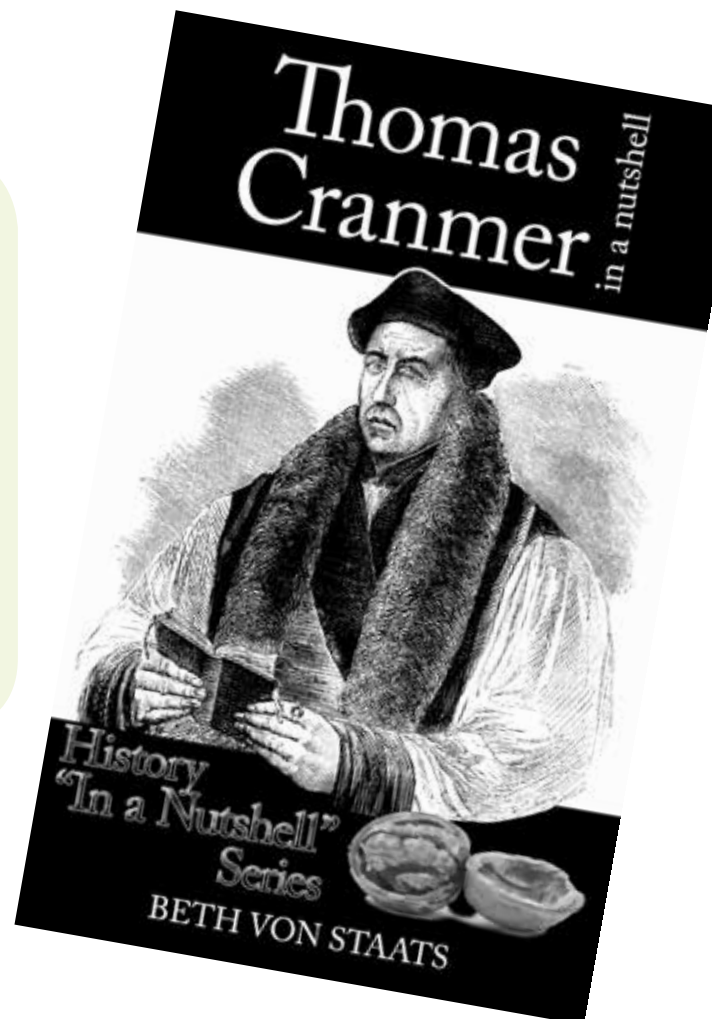


BETH VON STAATS

*David Darvell Gardarn,
As say the Welshmen,
Fetched outlaws out of Hell.
Now he came with spear and shield
In harness to burn in Smithfield.
For in Wales he may not dwell.
And Forrest the friar,
That obstinate liar,
That willfully shall be dead.
In his contumacy
The gospel does deny,
The king to be Supreme Head.*

Resources:

- Gray, Mary Agatha, *Derfel the Strong, A Romance of the Days of King Henry VIII*, Benziger Brothers, New York 1914
Hutchinson, Robert, *Thomas Cromwell: The Rise and Fall of Henry VIII's Most Notorious Minister*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London 2007.
MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *Thomas Cranmer*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1996.
Schofield, John, *The Rise & Fall of Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's Most Faithful Servant*, The History Press, Gloucestershire, 2008.
Wales Online, *Welsh History Month: St. Derfel and the Stag – icon or idol?*, www.walesonline.co.uk



Norton Court 1535

A beautifully conserved Tudor House
built for the pleasure of Henry VIII



Acton Court Summer Events 2017

The Acton Court 2017 events programme is now posted at actoncourt.com

The owners hope you find their events interesting and they look forward to seeing you this summer.

Acton Court will open to the public from 5 July to 13 August 2017, but it is closed Mondays and Tuesdays.

In addition to our Special Events you can book a guided tour of the House & Grounds

!PLEASE MENTION THAT THE TUDOR SOCIETY SENT YOU!

For further information, please visit actoncourt.com or call the Acton Court Information Line on 01454 228 224



Sounds and Sweet Airs

The harp was the primary stringed instrument in England from the 10th century. It was a favourite of many of our medieval kings and queens and played both by humble touring minstrels and famous troubadours. Sarah uses reproduction Medieval, Tudor and modern harps, and is accompanied by Phil Williams on bagpipes, hurdy-gurdy, cittern and hammered dulcimer. She brings alive the magical music and songs of the past with her own acclaimed compositions for the modern lever harp and a blend of haunting songs, dazzling instrumentals and a large helping of dry humour.

Saturday 22 July 7:30pm

Tickets £14 | £12 concessions

<http://www.actoncourt.com/special-events>



The Lion and the Rose

Music celebrating Henry VIII, his wife Anne Boleyn and their daughter Elizabeth I

Courtiers of Grace weave Tudor music around the passionate love story of Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII as told in their own words. Both were skilled musicians; here are love songs written by Henry himself, and selected from Anne's personal book. The fruit of this musical union was Elizabeth, the 'lion's cub', patroness to the great composers of the English Renaissance.

Sunday 13 August 3:00pm

Tickets £18 | £16 concessions

<http://www.actoncourt.com/special-events>
01454 228 224

The Hanging Song – Fortune my Foe

by Jane Moulder



In 1616, a woman named Ann Wallen was found guilty for the bloody and gruesome murder of her husband. The details of the crime are immortalised in a ballad called “The Lamentation of Anne Wallen”.

According to the lyrics, Anne’s husband John, who was a wood turner, had come home drunk and much the worse for wear, whereupon he lay down to sleep off his stupor. This enraged Anne who set about telling him off for his drunken behaviour. John’s response to her nagging was to tell her to be quiet or “he would do her wrong” but instead of quietening her down, his threats had the opposite effect and Anne scolded him even more. John retaliated by beating her and hitting her upon her ear. Anne then picked up one of his tools, a chisel, and threw it at him whereupon the tool pierced his stomach and seriously wounded him. On hearing the commotion,

the neighbours called round to find John prostrate and bleeding on the floor. At that point everyone did their best to save him and he was placed on his bed and his wounds were dressed. John survived the night and upon waking, forgave Anne for her deeds; however, he died later that day. Anne was immediately arrested and subsequently tried and found guilty of murder. No detailed transcript of the trial remains but even though it was accepted that she committed the crime out of self-defence, this did not seem to have helped her cause. Her punishment was to be burned at the stake, a death usually reserved for those who had committed treason. A commentator of the time, John Chamberlain, wrote to a colleague about Anne Wallen and it is clear that he felt that her punishment was extreme, especially given the provocation that she had received.

Whilst John Chamberlain did not go into detail about the case, we are fortunate enough to have the surviving ballad, together with the illustrative woodcuts depicting both the attack and Anne's execution. The ballad contains a graphic account of the deed (I love the third line!):

*Then presently one of his tools I got
And on his body I gave a wicked stroke
Amongst his entrails, I this chisel threw
Where as his caule came out, for which I rue*

It seems that Anne accepted her guilt and her fate and even appealed for forgiveness from her mother-in-law.

*My judgement then it was pronounced plain
Because my dearest husband I had slain
In burning flames of fire I should fry
Receive my soul sweet Jesus, now I die*

One of the reasons for focusing on this particular ballad is that it is one of many that was directed to be sung to the tune of "Fortune my Foe". By studying surviving ballad sheets, references in plays, accounts, correspondence and entries in the Stationer's Company records, it has been suggested that at least 105 ballads were set to this particular tune. There may have been even more but it is difficult to be accurate as only about 3,000 ballads have been identified from the 16th century. By studying printer's records and other contemporary accounts it has been suggested that as many as another 15,000 songs could have been in circulation during the period. Despite the proliferation of different tunes which could have been used, there are more known songs set to Fortune my Foe than any other - marking it out as quite a special piece of music.

It's fame even spread abroad with versions of the melody being printed in the

Netherlands, France and Germany. However, it was so popular in the Netherlands, where it was known as 'Engelische Fortuyn' or 'Fortuyn Anglois', that even more songs were set to it in there than in England – at least 220 attributable ballads were accompanied by the tune.

Fortune my Foe seems to have been a "Top Ten" hit right from the very beginning and the basic tune was set and arranged for a variety of instruments including the lute, cittern, viol and virginals. It was also arranged by a number of well-known composers of the day including John Dowland, Thomas Tomkins and William Byrd in England and Jan Sweelinck and Samuel Schiedt on the continent. The tune, with many florid decorations, was included in a collection known as William Ballet's MS Lute Book which is now housed in Trinity College, Dublin. The popularity of the tune is somewhat surprising considering that it is slow, stately and somewhat sombre in nature. But perhaps it is the tone of the tune that led it to becoming perfectly suited for accompanying the various lugubrious stories of murder, natural disaster, capital punishment, hanging and deathbed confessions. It very quickly became associated with this type of event and so the tune acquired its other name by which it was often popularly referred to – the Hanging Tune.

Printed ballads would have been sold in the street for a penny by sellers who would attract their buyers by singing out the song. These 'black letter ballads' were usually accompanied by a crudely cut woodcut depicting either the crime, the culprit or the event. However, it was often the case that the illustration had nothing to do the actual event

or subject at all as, in the haste of producing it to fit a deadline (or hanging), there was not enough time to have one especially made. The woodcut would also added cost or delay to the production. The illustration of Anne Wallen's fiery death was, for example, subsequently used to accompany at least three other female burnings.

Fortune my Foe may have taken its name from a song, printed towards the end of the 16th century, called 'The Lover's Complaint for the Loss of his Loves', which has the sub-heading "a sweet sonnet, wherein the lover exclaimeth against Fortune for the loss of his Ladies favour, almost past hope to get again, and in the end receives a comfortable answer, and attains his desire, as may here appear".

The first stanza is:

*Fortune my foe, why doest thou frown on me?
And will thy favours never better be?
Wilt thou, I say, for ever breed my pain?
And wilt thou not restore my joys again?*

The ballad continues for another twenty one doom laden, depressing stanzas. However, hope is on the horizon as the young man's complaint is then followed by another ballad called 'The Ladies Comfortable and Pleasn't Answer'. So, it does have a happy ending after all. The ballad may seem long but over twenty or even thirty verses is not unusual at this time. For example,

another ballad set to Fortune was 'Sir Walter Rauleigh his lamentation, who was beheaded in the old Pallace at Westminster' which lasts for 23 six-verse stanzas.

A parody of the first verse of 'Fortune' appeared in a play by John Fletcher, called 'The Wild Goose Chase'. In the scene a character, aptly named Joyless, whistles the tune *Fortune* followed by the following verse:

*My Savoy Lord, why dost thou frown on me?
And will that favour never sweeter be?
Wilt thou I say, for ever play the fool?
De-gard, be wise and Savoy go to school!*

The comedic play on words of a character called Joyless singing a mournful tune is a technique also used in the play 'The Knight of the Burning Pestle' by Francis Beaumont. In this, there is a scene where the ever-positive, larger than life character, Merrythought, requests that the merchant should sing a happy tune in order to gain admittance to his quarters. However, the song the merchant picks to sing is *Fortune* and there's no doubt the audience would have seen some comedic value in this, especially if the mournful nature of the words is played out well by the actor. Whilst the choice of the Hanging Song

initially appears an odd one, the merchant had forced his daughter to split apart from her true love and he had wrongly thought that she had subsequently committed suicide. The use



complaint and lamentation of Mistrresse Arden

of *Worsam* in *Kent*, who for the loue of one *Mosbie*, hired certaine Ruffians
 Villaines most cruelly to murder her Husband ; with the farall end of her and her
 Affociats,
 To the tune of, *Fortune my Foe.*



of him singing a gallows confessional song fitted perfectly with the remorse he felt for his actions and so Merrythought, understanding the merchant's repentance, allows him into the room.

The first possible written reference to the tune is in 1565 when John Cherlewood was granted a license to print a ballad "of one compalynyng of ye mutability of fortune". This may or may not be set to the tune we know but the first definite attribution occurs in February 1589 when a license was issued to Richard Jones for a ballad "*of the life and deathe of Dr Ffaustus the great Cunngerer*", to be set to the tune Fortune my Foe. There followed a number of ballads about Dr Faustus which were all set to the tune and it became so closely linked with the tune that Fortune, for a time, also became known as Doctor Faustus.

The mournful, minor key of the piece ideally leant itself to doleful subjects which were reflected in the titles of the ballads,

such as "*a mournfull Dittie on the death of certaine Judges and Justices of the Peace*" or "*Recounting griefes and dolors long tyme done*". But by 1590 it had begun to be associated specifically with hangings, such as "*The Lamentacion of John Parker whoe for consenting to the murder of John Bruen was hanged in Smithfield the 28 of June 2 yeres after the fact was committed to the tune of fortune*".

The ballads were the result of equivalent of today's popular press or "Red Top" newspapers trying to satisfy a public eager for accounts of gruesome deeds and the last words of the guilty party and some of them were very clearly hastily written and printed so that they were ready to be sold to a hungry audience at the public witnessing the actual hangings and executions. The massed crowds could then read and sing the stories of the guilty party whilst they met their end! There is little poetic merit in the ballads and many

were quite formulaic - but that didn't seem to matter.

I've listed below just some of the crimes committed where the perpetrator's deeds and history was sung to the tune of Fortune my Foe. Whilst not necessarily being snappy song titles, it is easy to gain a picture of the crime and circumstances.

"The complaint and lamentation of Mistresse Arden of Faversham in Kent who for the love of one Mosbie, hired certaine ruffians and villaines most cruelly to murder her husband: with the fatall end of her and her associats". (The title of the ballad and its woodcut is pictured below)

"A cruell murther committed lately upon the body of Abraham Gearsy who liv'd in the Parish of Westmill, in the County of Harford; by one Robert Reeve, and Richard Reeve, both of the same parish: for which fact Robert was prest to death Richard was han'd and after both of them were hang'd up in chaines, where now they doe remaine, to the affrightment of all beholders

"the lamentation of Master Pages wife of Plimmouth who being enforded by her parents to wed him against her will, did most wickedly consent to his murther, for the love of George Strangwidge, for which fact she suffered death at Barstable in Devonshire. Written with her owne hand a little before her death"

Some of the accounts of the various murders and misdemeanours may sound quite far-fetched but researchers have investigated background to many of the ballads and matched them with official legal records, pamphlets as well as other sources and it seems that, in the majority of cases, the deeds depicted in the ballads were based on actual events and facts.

Execution ballads were extremely popular because they fed the public imagination. This was no doubt helped by the fact that they were usually written as if by the hand of the lamenting, guilty party.

*For three and thirty years ago
I midwife did begin
And of late years astutely know
I have been murdering.
Sweet infants from their mothers womb
Oh! Wretched creature, I
Starving did make their Dismal Doom,
For which I now must dye.*

As well as telling the audience about the crime, there was usually a moralistic tone set in the ballad and words were often steeped in self-accusation and repentance. For example *"a sad example made"*, *"for all my villainy"* and *"let my shamefull end a caution give"*. Despite the autobiographical nature of the lyrics there is no evidence that the words were ever written by the subject; they would always have been written by a third party. Sometimes, as in Sir Walter Raleigh's ballad, the account has them being executed in 'real time':

*my head on block is laid and my last part is paid,
fortune hath me betraid, sweet Jesus grant
mercy.
or in burning flames of fire I should fry
receive my soule sweet jesus now I die*

In common with many other ballad tunes, 'Fortune my Foe' changed its name as it went through history. As well as being known as 'Dr Faustus', it also was commonly called "Aim not too High". This was described as *"an excellent song, wherein you shall finde great consolation for a troubled mind"* With the new name of 'Aim not too High', at least a further thirty ballads were set to it. Despite changing its name, (perhaps to get away from its old associations) it was still a popular

hanging tune as at least four of these thirty were “execution” songs. ‘Aim not too High’, like ‘Fortune’, seems to have been particularly associated with female wrong-doers such as witches, scolds or murderers. One of the ballads was a tale about the double execution of a widow and her children who had robbed a man. Despite a body never being found, and therefore no direct evidence of wrongdoing, all were hung for his murder.

Other subjects set to ‘Aim not too High’ included deathbed scenes, mortal wounds, a fatal hailstorm and poisonous snakes! The tune, in common with its title, became associated with a moralistic attitude and approach. The words of the ballad began “*aim not too high in things above they reach, nor be too wise within thy own conceipt*” which exemplified the new popular, Puritan approach of moderation in all aspects of life and for there to be no sin.

As with Fortune, Aim not too High also had the coupling of a man’s lament for his lost love being followed by the rejoinder of a woman’s positive response. “*The Despairing Lover*” is about a man who loses his lover and vows to kill himself. He says he will have to wander the world telling strangers of his miseries. Just as he is about to commit suicide by stabbing himself with a dagger, his love

returns to him, smiling, and tells him not to do it. Then follows the ballad “*A Constant and Kind Maid*”, in which the woman becomes the man’s true and loving wife.

The fashion for singing ballads to the tune of Fortune at public hangings continued through until the 18th century. One of the last recorded instances of the tune being used was to relate the story of the execution of Thomas Boulter, a miller turned highwayman, who was hung in Winchester on 19th August, 1779. The account stated that: “*As he walked to the gallows tree the crowd chanted the popular hanging tune “Fortune my Foe and a thousand kerchiefs flutter a last farewell to him”*”. After being in the popular consciousness for over well over two hundred years, ‘Fortune my Foe’ eventually began to fade from fashion but it was overtaken in popularity by another tune called “Russell’s Farewell” which had originated with the high treason of Lord Russell in 1683. At least forty three lamentable ballads were set to this, twenty two of which were execution ballads.

Despite the mournful nature of gruesome association of Fortune My Foe, it is a good tune and is a favourite of Piva, the group I play in. We often perform it in concert and we are planning to record it as one of the tracks on our next CD of English music.

JANE MOULDER

References

- Dragstra, Henk, *Betraying Our Selves: Forms of self-Representation in Early Modern England*, Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000
- Marsh, Christopher, *The Sound of Print in Early Modern England. The Broadside Ballad as Song*. edited by Julia C. Crick and Alexandra Walsham -The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700, 2004
- Poulton, Diana, *John Dowland* University of California Press, 1972
- Simpson, Claude M, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*, Rutgers University Press, 1966
- Williams, Sarah F “*To the Tune of Witchcraft*” – Journal of Seventeenth Century Music Volume 19, No 1 (2013)
- Internet resource: The English Broadside Ballad Archive administered by the University of California



WHAT THE REFORMATION MEANT TO ORDINARY FOLK, PART 3.

THE TUDOR POOR LAW.

With the closure of the monasteries, priories and friaries by Henry VIII in the 1530s, homeless monks, nuns and their lay servants swelled the numbers of unemployed, often with no skills or trade to earn their living any other way.

In my previous article, we looked at how increasing numbers of the common folk in Tudor times were becoming unemployed and, with little alternative, were forced into lives of petty crime. Many were resorting to theft as the only means to avoid starvation. Clearly, the majority of those without a job were honest folk with no intention of turning to crime to feed, clothe and provide shelter for themselves and their families. So what were their alternative means of support?

I'm afraid the answer was 'there was none'. Authorities, from the monarch down to the local parish councils, had no method of dealing with the jobless except to move them somewhere else, into some other authority's jurisdiction. 'Every beggar suitable to work shall resort to the Hundred [a local community of roughly one hundred households] where he last dwelled, is best known, or was born and there [to] remain'. This hardly helped anyone. People had moved away from their impoverished parishes in the first place, hoping to find employment in some more affluent town. Having failed to get a job – and this was never easy because each town had its own guild system which ensured those who were locally trained were employed in preference to outsiders – they were now simply sent back to the same poor parish where they had been unable to make a living before. The poorer the parish, the more beggars and vagrants it was likely to be expected to support and, of course, it couldn't.

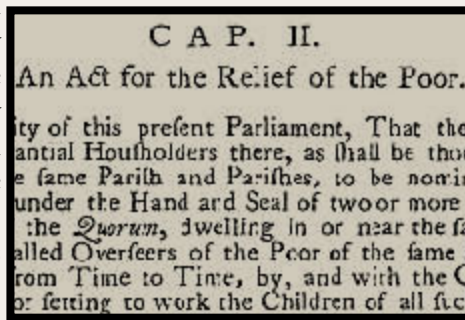
In 1535, with the dissolution of the monasteries in full swing, the government made a gesture – no more than that – towards the problem, drawing up a parliamentary bill to provide for the poor, using public funding raised by a tax on income and capital. But a bill only becomes an enforceable 'Act' of law when approved by Parliament and given royal assent. Such a tax was never going to be popular so it never became law. Instead, another law was passed permitting vagrants, beggars and vagabonds to be whipped – as if that would help.

London, as throughout its long history, was always the place to which people were most attracted, hoping to improve their lives. This meant the city had crowds of poor folk to deal with and no organised relief system with which to do so. The famous St Bartholomew's Hospital – still there today – had been run by monks for centuries, giving aid to the sick and dying. Now, with the monasteries being closed, the hospital was no longer available. Even King Henry realised the hospital had served a vital function and permitted it to reopen in 1544, run by lay persons, not monks, on condition that the citizens of London pay, voluntarily, for both the staff's wages and the upkeep of the buildings and provisions required. At first, money was raised from

the Sunday collections in church but this proved inadequate. So in 1547, the first compulsory 'Poor Rate' was introduced to pay for St Bartholomew's and, in 1552, this was extended to pay for the reopening of St Thomas's Hospital across the River Thames, in Southwark. But still London was overwhelmed by the number of fit and able people who wandered its streets, searching for work and resorting to petty crime in order to survive. In 1555, the new king, Edward VI, donated his palace at Bridewell, just outside the city, as the first House of Correction. The name tells us it was more of a prison than a place of relief and meaningful assistance but at least the poor had shelter, a bed and food provided, however miserable the quality. In exchange, they had to work at such tasks as featherbed making, stitching caps and wire-drawing.

Further Vagabond and Poor Acts were introduced in the reigns of Mary I and Elizabeth I. One example in Elizabeth's reign was that of 1575 which required towns to have 'a stock of wool, hemp, flax, iron and other stuff' available to provide the poor with some occupation and houses of correction where they could live and work. How towns paid for all this was up to their councils. Then, in 1597, a series of crop failures, rapid inflation and economic decline in general added to the number on the breadline, while those who should make the charitable donations to fund the hospitals and houses of correction found they too had less money to give. Parliament passed the Act for Relief of the Poor that same year and set down the Elizabethan Poor Law in 1601, requiring all parish residents to give to the poor 'according to their abilities', i.e. wealth, and if they refused they would be fined £10 anyway. The parish Collector of Alms was to keep a list of who paid as well as who among the poor deserved to receive the charity.

However, a new advance on the old idea of moving the poor around, out of sight elsewhere, began to evolve from the 1580s. Ireland was in need of fit, healthy workers to colonise her empty landscape. George Peckham thought 'the great numbers which live in such penury and want... could serve there one year for meat, drink and apparel only, without wages... to amend their estates'. Richard Hakluyt had an even better idea, to ship them off to the New World across the Atlantic. And not only the poor and unemployed could take up this 'indentured [on a contract] service'; why not empty England's prisons and send the inmates to America? By 1619, this system was populating Virginia with poor folk, hoping to make a new life. But, inevitably, 'the poor are always with us'; a problem as yet unsolved.



Charlie Brandon Books

CHARLES BRANDON THE KINGS MAN

by Sarah Bryson



Charles Brandon is imagined by many as the dashing young man played by Henry Cavill in the ever popular series *The Tudors*, Henry VIII's close friend who went behind his back and married his sister. However, other than a few sketchy details, few know the exact details of the life of one of the most important men in the king's life. Sarah Bryson aims to dispel some of the myths and produces a readable account of who this man really was.

The book is divided into several parts in which Brandon's life is explored and important life events labelled, such as the Life at Court and a War with France (1509-1513) chapters, allowing the readers to easily find the years with which they may not be so familiar. Bryson's style of writing draws the reader in and it reads more like a novel than non-fiction, so can easily be read from cover to cover as well.

Bryson does not hide the fact that there is little known about Brandon's early life. Therefore she does not attempt to choose a birthdate, yet she does make an educated guess as to what his place was in the family:

'It is unclear exactly how many children William Brandon and Elizabeth Bruyn actually had. There have been suggestions that Charles Brandon was their only child, while other sources state they had four children, and others state three. It does seem most likely that William and Elizabeth had at least three children, a first born son

named William after his father, a daughter named Anne and, of course, Charles, the youngest. The exact birth-dates of William and Anne remain unknown, although it can be strongly assumed that William was the oldest, then Anne and lastly Charles.'

What undoubtedly many people will be interested in reading about is Brandon's marriages, specifically his marriage to Mary Tudor, although Bryson notes that he had caused scandal with his marriages even before marrying Henry VIII's sister. The author's simple words to describe his actions, without over analysis, give the desired effect of shock, making the reader wonder what people's reactions would have been at the time:

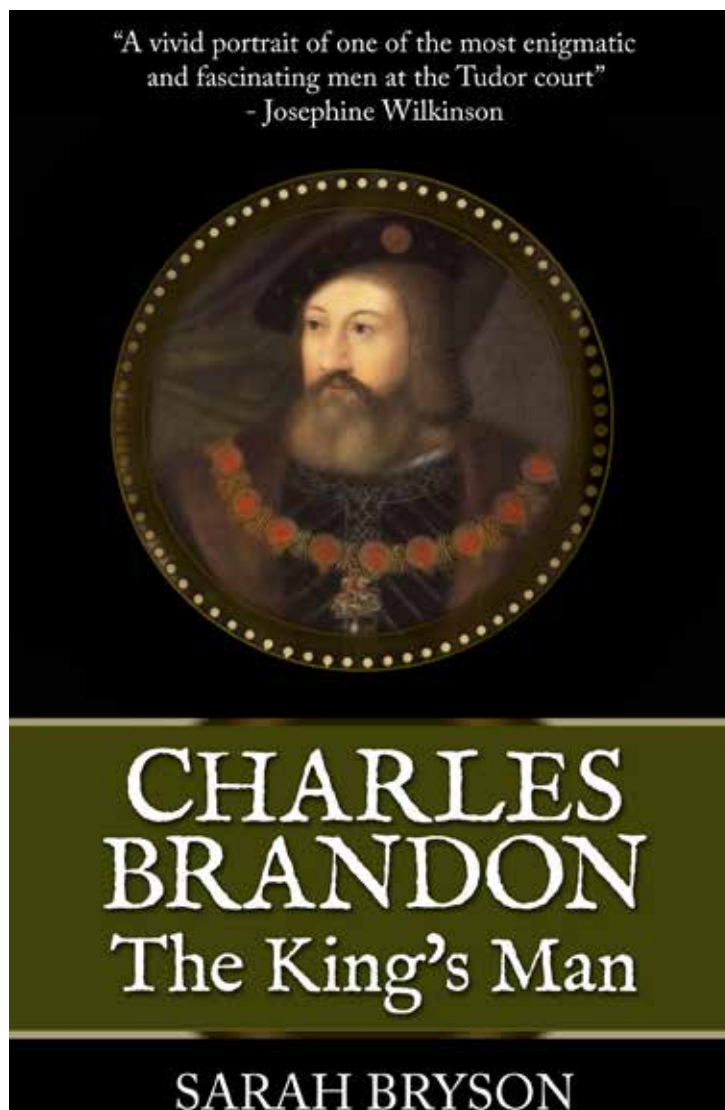
'Brandon first attracted the attention of Anne Browne, daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, around 1505/06 when Charles was around twenty-one years of age. He confessed to Walter Devereux that "he was in love and resorted much to the company of Anne Browne". Brandon proposed marriage to Anne and the couple slept together, conceiving a daughter who would be named Anne after her mother. However, Brandon saw better prospects for himself with Anne's aunt, and he broke off the betrothal and made a proposal to Margaret Neville'

We are told that, once they were married, *'Brandon had licence of Margaret's lands and began to sell them off in quick succession, profiting over £1,000 (around £483,770.00).'* Bryson shows another side of Charles to the traditional portrayals in fiction, the true side of what is what to be a nobleman in the 16th century. She then explains how Brandon wanted his marriage to Margaret to be annulled *'on the grounds of consanguinity'* (a close relationship to another member of the family and/or being in some way related, grounds in which Henry would argue for when trying to annul his marriage to Katherine of Aragon) so that he could return to her niece:

'In 1508, Brandon returned to Anne Browne and the couple married in secret at Stepney Church. They later repeated the marriage ceremony publicly at St Michael, Cornhill. In 1510, Anne gave birth to the couple's second daughter, Mary. Sadly, Anne died shortly afterwards, in approximately 1510, and Brandon was left a widower at the age of twenty-seven with two young daughters.'

A large section of this book explores Brandon's relationship with Mary Tudor, Henry VIII's sister. This is arguably what he is most known for and was a major event in his life. His children with Mary were in the line of succession and, as it became apparent that Katherine of Aragon wasn't going to have any more children, many eyes turned to them. Bryson explains this and helps put the reader in the mindset of what the rest of the nobility (especially those born into their positions) must have been feeling. It is a little harder, however, to get into the mindset of Brandon when Mary died, yet Bryson does give the reader an idea:

'We do not have any record of his feelings towards the death of his wife of eighteen years. He had risked all, even facing treason charges and the possibility of death by marrying a member of the royal family without the king's permission. Surely he must have felt something towards his wife, be it love or a close companionship.'



Sarah Bryson's biography on Charles Brandon is readable and detailed but still accessible for those who do not often read non-fiction. One useful addition is a section on places associated with Brandon so that the reader can walk in his footsteps and visit some amazing historic buildings. She has also included times, locations and a brief overview of each place. Bryson's biography sheds some light on this mysterious figure in the Tudor court, but it also creates questions as to why he is so often overlooked. I would suggest this book to anyone wanting to find out more about 'the king's man' or Mary Tudor, and for those who want an easy-to-read but detailed biography of the man who dared to marry the king's sister.

CHARLIE FENTON

A ST. GEORGE'S DAY FEAST -OR- OBSERVING THE BARD'S BIRTHDAY

BY HEATHER R. DARSIE

This year for St. George's Day, 23 April, I decided to break out my medieval/Tudor/Renaissance cookbooks and have a go at making an "authentic" meal. St. George's Day also happens to be the birth and death day for William Shakespeare, so we

had a good time incorporating that. I woke up plenty early on Sunday to start on the three types of desserts we were to have: 16th-century trifle, apple mousse, and sugar plates.

The sugar plates started off well enough, though I will say I think I may have used the wrong sort of sugar. The dessert recipes all called for rosewater, but I substituted with orange flower water, as we had that on hand. For those of you without access to rosewater or orange flower water, not to worry! Simply use half the amount of vanilla extract (e.g., 2 tbsp rosewater = 1 tbsp vanilla extract), since the goal is to provide



subtle, aromatic flavouring. While I was busy making the paste for sugar plates and pressing them into various dishes for moulds (do remember to grease the moulds or line them with wax paper... more on this faux pas later), my housemate collected violets from the backyard

and set about candying them. Candying flowers is fairly simple; take granulated sugar and crush it up a bit or run it quickly through a coffee grinder, then place the crushed, granulated sugar in a bowl and an egg white in another. Using a paintbrush that is food-safe, dip the brush in the egg white, then sugar, then paint it onto the flower. The sugar acts as a desiccant.

After pressing the sugary dough into moulds, I made the slightly sweet trifle. The orange flower water certainly did add a nice flavour to this glorified whipped cream. I cheated a little when making the dessert and used the

impressive mixer my housemate has. The dessert tasted much lighter than I expected, given that it was basically heavy cream with a dash of some spices. The apple mousse, which I made after the trifle, was a delight. It was like a creamy apple sauce and not too filling, at all. Definitely a nice dessert to have at the end of a big meal! I plan on making it again for “ordinary” use.

The main courses were a cheese and onion tart, and a chicken pie with bacon lattice. The cheeses recommended for the tart were Double Gloucester and Stilton; out here in the American Midwest I could only find Stilton, and substituted Kerry Gold Dubliner cheese for the Double Gloucester. That was a wise choice! The chicken pie was rather simple to make, and I look forward to having that dish for “ordinary” purposes in



the future, too. The bacon lattice made the dish very greasy, and my brave housemate poured off the grease a couple of times during baking. The nice side effect of all that grease was that the crust became lightly fried, so I suppose it wasn't too bad! I used very thick-cut bacon from the butcher and perhaps would have done well to partially cook the bacon before adding it to the pie.

After all that, my main goal was to put together a 16th century-style salad, and I no longer desired to cook vegetables. My housemate's husband stepped in and kindly prepared the white and orange sweet potatoes according to the recipe I wished to use.

And then, dinner!



After taking sonnet breaks throughout the day, where I read Shakespeare's sonnets aloud in a goofy voice to all in my house who would humour me, we sat down to dinner and started with the salad. During this course, we filled out a couple of different Shakespeare ad-libs to be used later. After the salads, we took a sonnet break, then ate the cheese tart. By this time, we were all enjoying spiced red wines and white wines, so it seemed appropriate after the cheese tart to read out our first ad-lib Shakespearean sonnet. We passed the ad libs to our left, then read them aloud. If you have never done ad libs, I recommend you start! It is an easy, fun way to enjoy others' company. After that, we insulted each other by choosing an insult from the Shakespearean collection of insults I had. We enjoyed the chicken pie and candied sweet potatoes for our main course, then read out the second set of ad-libs and insulted each other some more.

Finally, the desserts! The sugar plates did not turn out well at all, but I was still able to use at



least one of them. I put store-bought marzipan and the candied violets in the dish for decoration, and we ate a few of those along with the trifle and apple mousse. The apple mousse was by far the best. Finally, we capped the evening off with a final round of sonnets.

A good time was had by all four of us, and we look forward to celebrating St. George's Day again next year! Below please find information on the cookbooks, sonnets, and insult books. And a thank-you to my parents for getting me at least one of the books as a gift, and to my dear friends for humouring me and being such delightful company!

SOURCES

- Cohen, Tricia and Graves, Lisa (2016) A Thyme and Place: Medieval Feasts and Recipes for the Modern Table. New York: Skyhorse Publishing.
 - "The Bard's Chicken Pie and Bacon Lattice," s. 75
 - "Onion and Cheese Tarts," s. 53
- Brears, Peter (1985, 2003) Tudor Cookery: Recipes & History. Swindon: English Heritage.
 - Salad, s. 41
 - Apple Mousse, s. 45
 - Trifle, s. 56
 - Sugar Plates, s. 58
- Olsen, Anjila K. Renaissance Cooking. Self-published; no publishing information given. Anjila68@gmail.com.
 - Candied root vegetables, last page
- Shakespeare: the Bard's Guide to Abuses and Affronts. Philadelphia: Running Press (2001, 2014).
- Love Sonnets of Shakespeare. Philadelphia: Running Press (2014).



THE *Appeal* TUDOR SOCIETY

MEMBERS'

BULLETIN

Have you had a chance to see Claire Ridgway's video asking for input from members about how to help the Tudor Society to grow? We need your thoughts and help!

The Tudor Society's mission is to help researchers and historians working on the Tudor era, and to give them a forum to bring their very latest and best research to a wider audience so that more people can understand this fascinating subject.

The Tudor Society is doing well, but we know from the large number of people who suddenly "discover" us that we aren't reaching enough people ... that's where you come in!

PLEASE EMAIL US (info@tudorsociety.com) with suggestions about how we could reach more people ... THANK YOU!

TIM RIDGWAY

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

PHILIP ROBERTS MEETS DAVID STARKEY

Tudor Society member, **Philip Roberts**,
author of
“Whitehall Palace in a Nutshell” and
“The Mary Rose in a Nutshell” gives us a
glimpse of the talk he recently went to...

AFTER waiting a very long time for the pleasure, I recently heard a lecture from Professor David Starkey CBE, Tudor historian, author and Trustee of the Mary Rose Trust.

Early in my love of the Tudors, I loved watching David Starkey presenting new history documentaries on British TV, initially on Henry VIII. He was one of the first Tudor TV historians of my generation and I was hooked, learning so much from him. More recently, he has also presented a TV series called Henry VIII and his six wives and Monarchy.

Despite my dislike to his more than occasional reference to sex, which I felt was rude and unnecessary, I really like his constant comparisons of historical people, places and circumstances to modern times. To me, this made history come alive as it was very easy to understand and it helped me to visualise important historical facts. For instance, at the beginning of his earliest TV documentary on

Henry VIII, I remember him comparing the ‘happy?’ marriage of Prince Charles and Princess Diana to Henry’s marriage to Catherine of Aragon. He went on to make a comparison of Camilla Parker-Bowles, unpopular at the time, when it became public of the love between her and Prince Charles, to the Tudor people’s dislike of Anne Boleyn.

Starkey began his lecture by explaining how historians have a strange job by trying to communicate what happened 500 years ago to a modern audience. He said historians are interpreters, but then strongly condemned the stupidity of those who foolishly apologise for and disapprove of past events. I assumed that he may be primarily referring to the finding of Richard III and his death in 1485, though I do not know for sure.

David Starkey said that we might think that our modern values are better than those of the past, but the people of the past would almost certainly think that we were corrupt, sensual, foolish, short-sighted, immoral, irreligious and contemptible.



Historians do not try to make them the same as us but try to help us to understand the differences and distinctions between past and present. He made the valid point that humans are not too dissimilar in their vanity, cleverness and so on, throughout time.

HENRY VIII

The subject of the lecture was 'Henry VIII'.

Starkey said that there are two aspects to Henry. Firstly, the pure soap opera of his life. Henry thought that he was a young god, married six times (although Henry actually thought that he only married twice!!) Henry's ludicrous story is extraordinary but this is a fact of history. Secondly, Henry is the beginning of our British history. Henry stands half way between us and the Norman Conquest. Before Henry, England was absolutely connected to Europe and in no way separate. The channel was not a barrier. It was the reign of Henry

VIII that invented England. Henry carried out the first Brexit. Starkey drew attention to the break from Rome and drew parallels with Scotland wanting to break from England in the present day. That is no accident. Henry VIII never ruled Scotland. With the present issues going on, this lecture could have had a subtitle of, 'We are still living in the reign in Henry VIII'.

Starkey performed a "Henry VIII Whitehall Mural" stance. A single gesture which still reminds us of Henry. We know it is Henry. It is HIS image. We are dealing with a deep paradox with Henry. Henry was a revolutionist King. Starkey then apologised to those who wanted to remain in Europe but pointed out that Parliamentary sovereignty was invented by Henry VIII. It was devised for Brexit (the first Brexit) and had nothing to do with democracy. Remaining in Europe was never an option, either 500 years ago or now.

Why was Henry trying to be different? The man had a full-size image of himself – sheer vanity. But he needed people from the continent to bring this image to life. Hans Holbein, the German painter, painted the well known mural of Henry onto the privy chamber wall in Whitehall Palace with oil paints, which was an extremely skilled job. Henry's armour was not made in England but came from Milan... Starkey made the point that there is a similarity between the 16th century and today - if you want a job done professionally, get a foreigner to do it. Uncomfortable, but true!!

Why do we care about the Tudors today? They are the first generation of people that we truly recognise. We know what they look like and who they all are. Hans Holbein was so skilled in his portraits and the faces of the Tudors give us an intimacy with them. Henry VIII is one of the few Kings whose outline you can remember. It is an advertising board. He became an emblem, and it is super PR and advertising. Of course, Henry, Jane, Henry VII and Henry's mother are all in the Whitehall mural too. In the middle, on a type of alter, there are words in Latin. The writing says that Henry VII, his father was great, for he started the Tudor Dynasty, BUT, Henry VIII is greater, nay the Greatest. Henry is like a modern film star or celebrity. He wanted fame. When Henry VII died, it was commented that the people were pleased that the boring chartered accountant was gone but now they have the young Henry who has the motto: 'Virtue, glory and immortality'. Henry created a media and projection revolution which can be compared, today, with social media and mass printing.

HIS PROJECTION FOR A QUEST FOR FAME.

We remember Henry for the 1st Brexit. Henry never made England Protestant but he stopped it from being Catholic. We were the first country which directly converted by Rome. For the five hundred years before Henry, we were very loyal to Rome. Henry came along and tore it apart. Starkey suggested that one good thing that has come out of recent events is that, at last, we can now take religion seriously. When Henry destroyed the monasteries, it was not the vandalism we may view

it as today. The same is the case with ISIS destroying the historical site of Palmyra. To them, it was not vandalism. Their aim was to destroy idols. One of the Ten Commandments is, 'Thou shalt have no Idols'. No one was more Catholic than Henry. There were only about four who might be called Protestants within Henry's council during this time. The Catholic church was not crumbling from within, and the people were giving money to the church so the Catholic church was still flourishing. Henry was committed to the papacy. When Henry went to battle, he had the banner of St George and sometimes the Tudor flag with the red dragon but the main flag which the English fought under was the crossed keys of the papal flag. The Mary Rose was not named after Henry's sister but after the Catholic Virgin Mary. The Mary Rose was a Catholic symbol.

Yet Henry changed.

Big events happened. A big event much like Brexit today. Why did our Brexit happen? It is clear that David Cameron [ED: Prime Minister] got scared of Nigel Farage [ED: leader of UKIP, an opposition party]. (Oh, and before we go on, Starkey told us that there is a clear ancestral line between Henry VIII and Nigel Farage, and yes, the audience laughed a lot.) The big revolution against Rome happened because of Henry's willy. Pure and simple. Henry was a romantic. He had to have a son. No woman had been queen of England in their own right. If they had, then Margaret Beaufort would have been queen instead of her son Henry VII. Anne Boleyn went to France to learn courtly love. That was the purpose of her being on the continent. Henry married Anne for a son. Simple. In their letters' they pledged vows to marry. And, as many will know, these were very romantic letters. Henry had every reason to think that he was going to get his divorce from Catherine. He had fought for the Pope, written a book in support of the Pope and had even been given the title of 'Defender of the Faith'. However, Anne Boleyn knew that the divorce wasn't going to be given. Anne more or less said, 'I told you so'. So, the break had to happen.

David Starkey continued his talk with a discussion of the modern day political situation in the UK and how David Davis (ED: now Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union) is the



'think tank' behind Britain's exit from Europe. In the same way, Henry used a 'think tank' to study the bible and other books to get evidence to support his divorce. Apart from the scripture in Leviticus, which mentions that you must not take your dead brother's wife, they also discovered that there was no pope mentioned in the bible, but many of scriptures talking about kings. And we all know what happened in the end.

Finally, moving onto a different topic, Starkey stated that many people as him, "was it the jousting accident in 1536 which changed Henry?" His answer - no. He pointed out that months before that joust, Henry had already executed Thomas More and Bishop John Fisher. Henry was already a tyrant in the making.

It was a very entertaining talk, and the questions afterwards were great too. One of the questions raised in the section after the lecture was, "The Windsor drawing that depicts a lady wearing a high-necked black satin night gown, is argued to be Anne Boleyn and the reason for her to be wearing

that kind of clothing is because she had scrofula. Do you agree with that?"

David Starkey answered, "This drawing you mention is labelled 'Anna Boleyna, Queene' and it is not the image most have of Anne Boleyn. The image most think of as being Anne Boleyn shows an image like Elizabeth, with a long face and Auburn hair. The image you have mentioned shows a woman with a hugely strong chin and a heavy, fleshy face, and yet, it is labelled as being Anne by a contemporary. That is an important reason to think that this is the real Anne Boleyn. Apart from that, there is but a single contemporary portrait of Anne Boleyn in existence, the lead medal which was struck for her coronation. Obviously, after Henry executed her, every image he could get his hands on was destroyed. The lead medal image has had a mallet hit it. Yet, with a computer, you can re-construct it. Lucy Churchill re-constructed the image and it is identical to the drawing at Windsor. There is, therefore, every reason to suppose that the later images of Anne Boleyn are an Elizabethan invention. They are designed and made to look as much like Elizabeth as possible, but Anne did not look a bit like Elizabeth. The drawing you have mentioned is a working drawing. Holbein was allowed in first thing in the day when they were not dressed. This work is kind-of done over breakfast. What you see is Anne, I am 99% certain that this is Anne Boleyn, wearing her under-headress and a very high collar, which is unusual. You are suggesting scrofula, it is not scrofula but a goitre. This was commented on by Chapyus, who hated Anne." Starkey then made the joke Anne is Camilla [ED: modern day Duchess of Cornwall] squared. (The audience laughed). "Anne was a breeding machine and like all women who have been in child-birth, the weight naturally goes on."

To conclude, meeting David Starkey and talking to him face to face, I could see that he is a very humble and kind person, even quietly spoken. On the other hand, when he is giving his lectures or when he is on TV he doesn't hold back any punches. I agree with most of his comments and that is probably why I look to him as a role model...and probably always will.

PHILIP ROBERTS

HISTORIC YORK

YORK IS A beautiful, historic walled city in North Yorkshire, England. It dates back to Roman times, when it was founded at the confluence of the Rivers Ouse and Foss.

Attractions for general history lovers include the Jorvik Viking Centre and its wonderful city walls with gates (known as “bars”) and towers, but it also has attractions which will appeal to those interested in medieval and Tudor history.

- **York Minster** – A Gothic-style, medieval cathedral built between the 13th and 15th centuries.
- **Barley Hall** – A stunning medieval house, once home to the priors of Nostell and the Mayor of York, William Snawsell.
- **St Mary’s Abbey** – Located in York Museum Gardens are the beautiful ruins of a Benedictine Abbey dissolved in the reign of Henry VIII.
- **Richard III Museum** – A small museum located in Monk Bar, the medieval gatehouse.
- **Henry VII Experience** – A small museum located at Micklegate Bar.
- **Clifford’s Tower** – A 13th-century stone tower giving amazing panoramic views over the city.

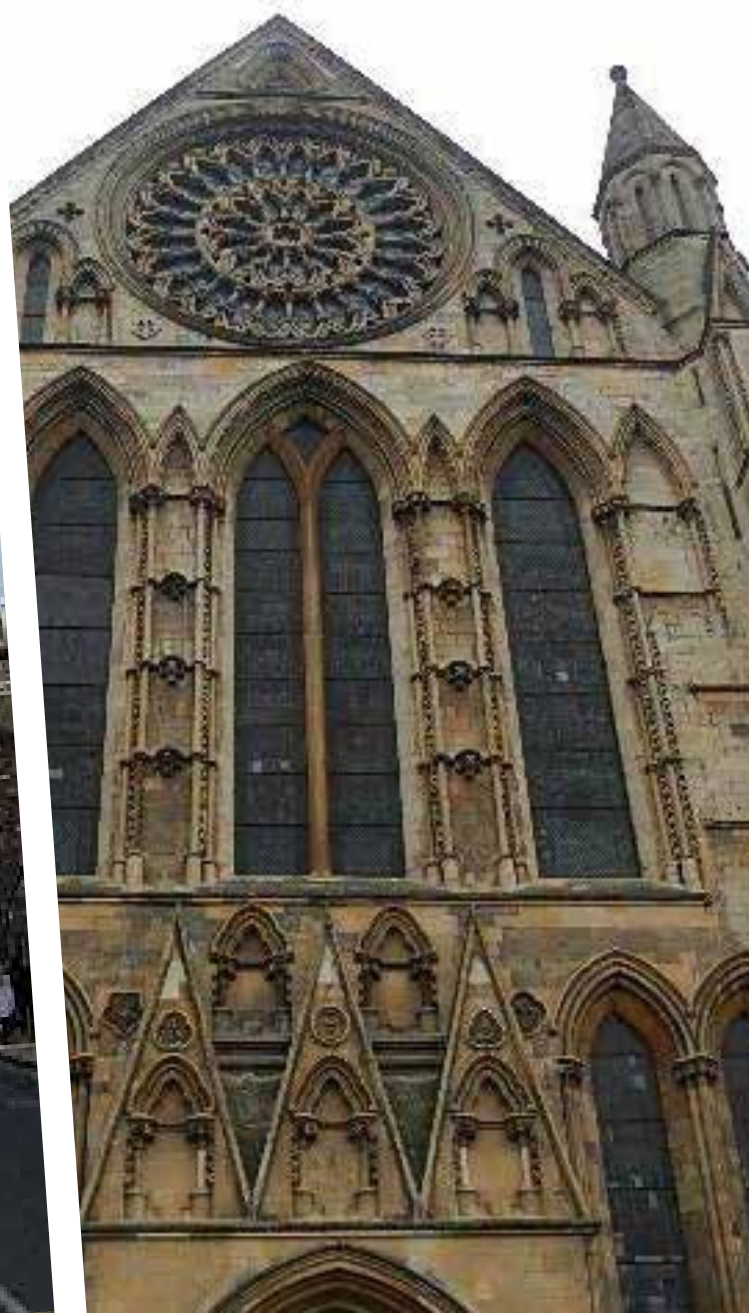
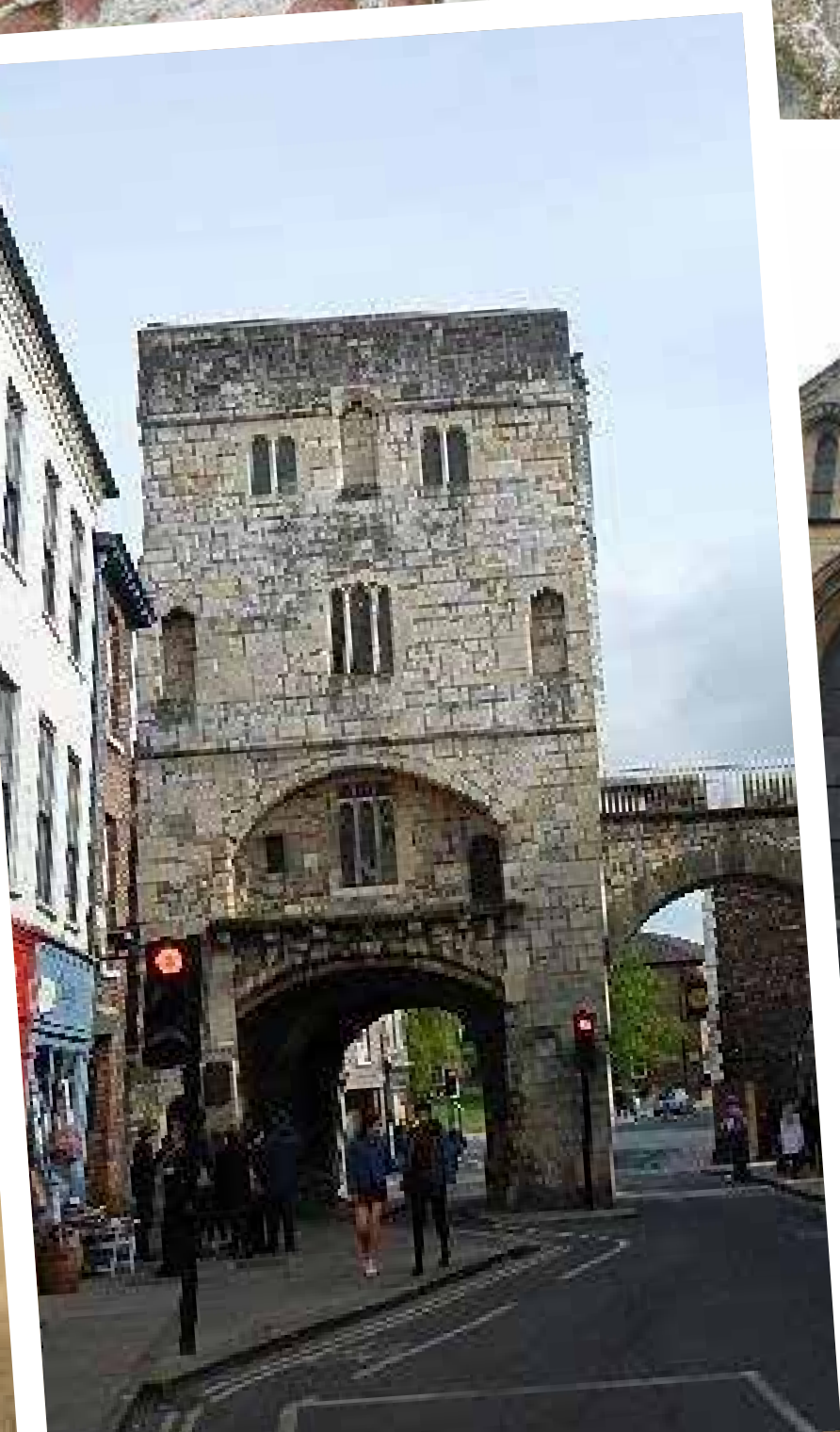
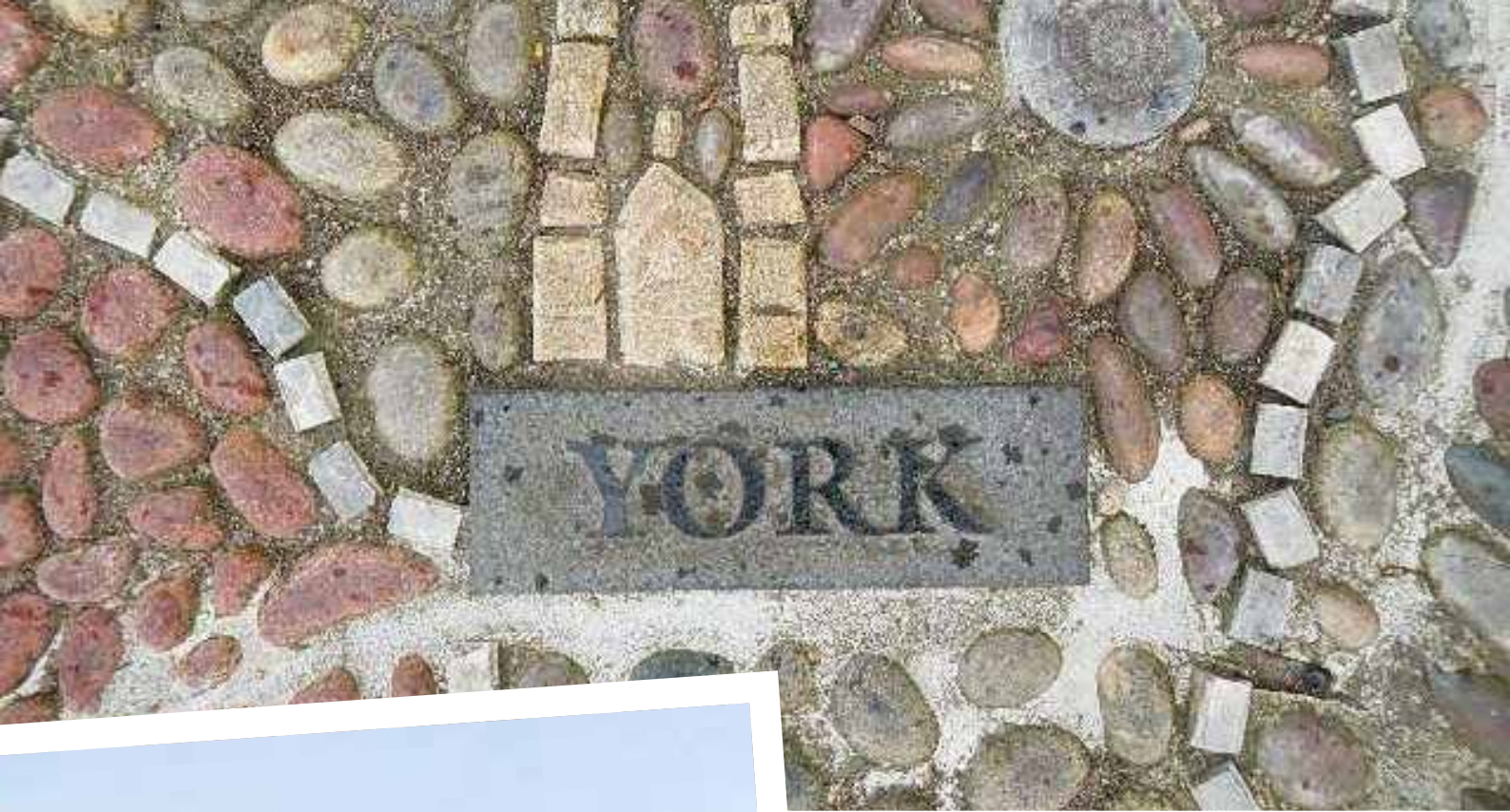
YORK MINSTER

York Minster, or the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of St Peter, is York’s beautiful cathedral and the seat of the Archbishop of York. The original church was

destroyed by fire in the 8th century but was then rebuilt to be a huge building with thirty altars. The church has been damaged and rebuilt at various times throughout its history, and the Gothic-style cathedral we know today dates from between 1220 and 1472. It is known as one of the finest medieval buildings in Europe and its features include:

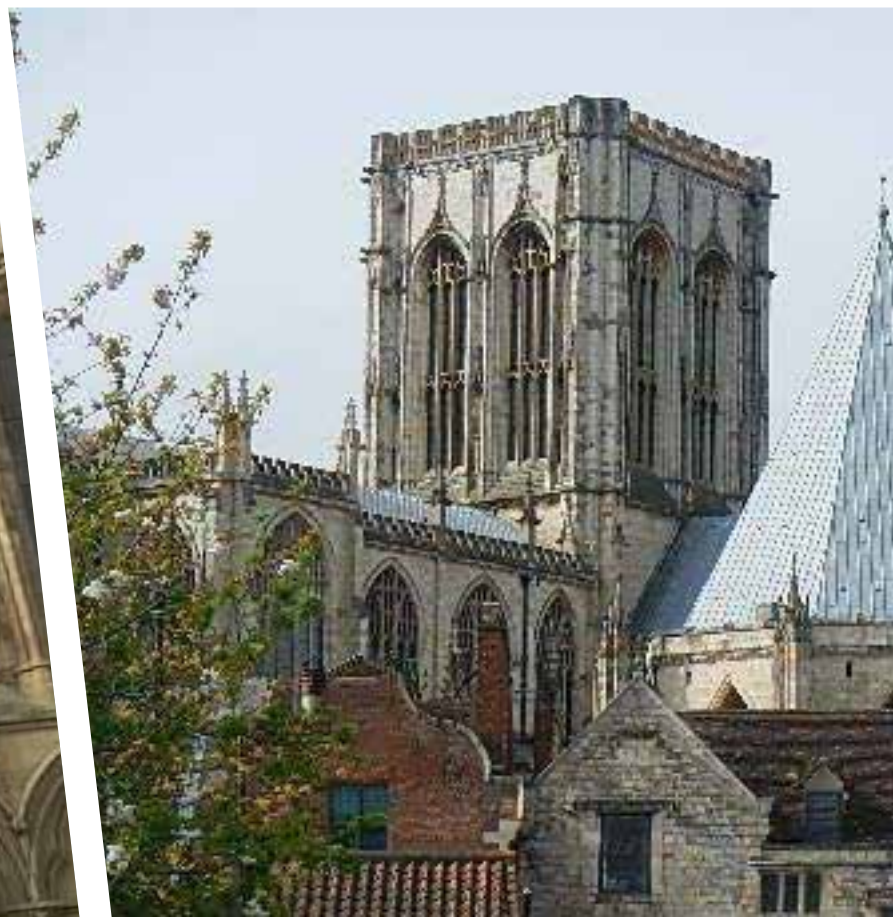
- **The Great East Window** – measuring 23.7m by 9.4m, this is said to be the largest medieval stained glass window in the world
- **The Rose Window** – this commemorates the union of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, i.e. the union of the Houses of Lancaster and York
- **The choir screen** with its sculptures of fifteen kings
- The 13th century **chapter house**
- The decorated **13th century Gothic nave**, which is the widest in Europe and is also one of the highest
- **The undercroft** – the interactive “Revealing York Minster in the Undercroft” exhibition takes visitors through the 2,000 year history of the minster and displays interesting artefacts and relics
- **The Central Tower** – climb the steps of the minster’s central tower for a breathtaking view of York

**ARTICLE BY CLAIRE RIDGWAY
PHOTOS © 2017 - LUKE FINN**



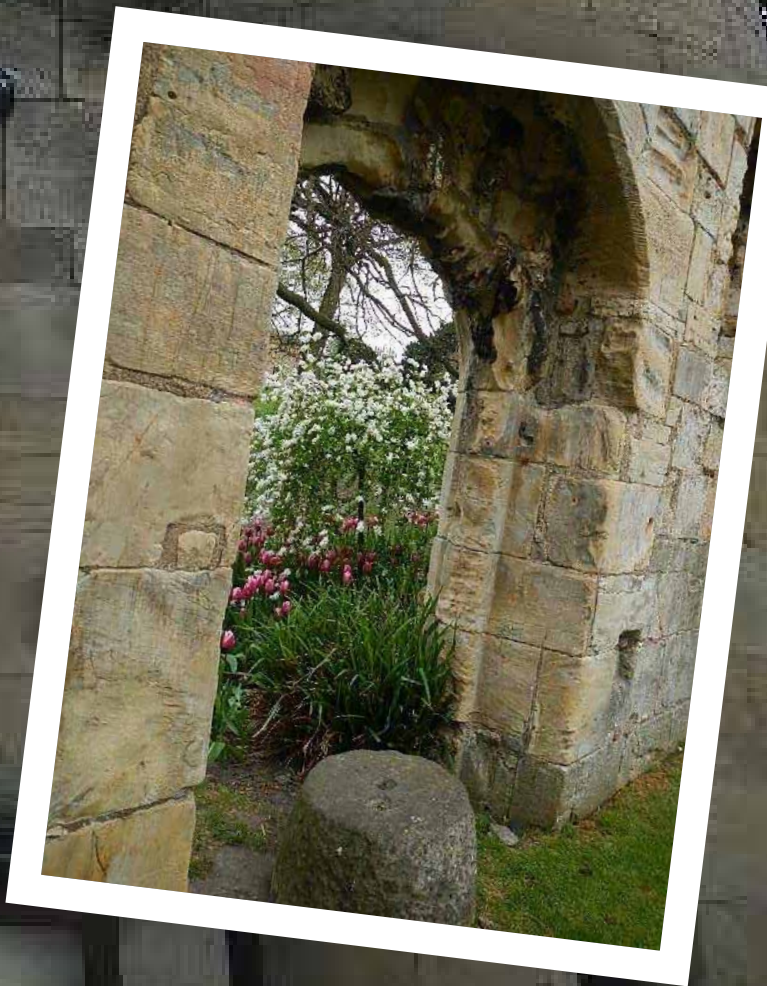


























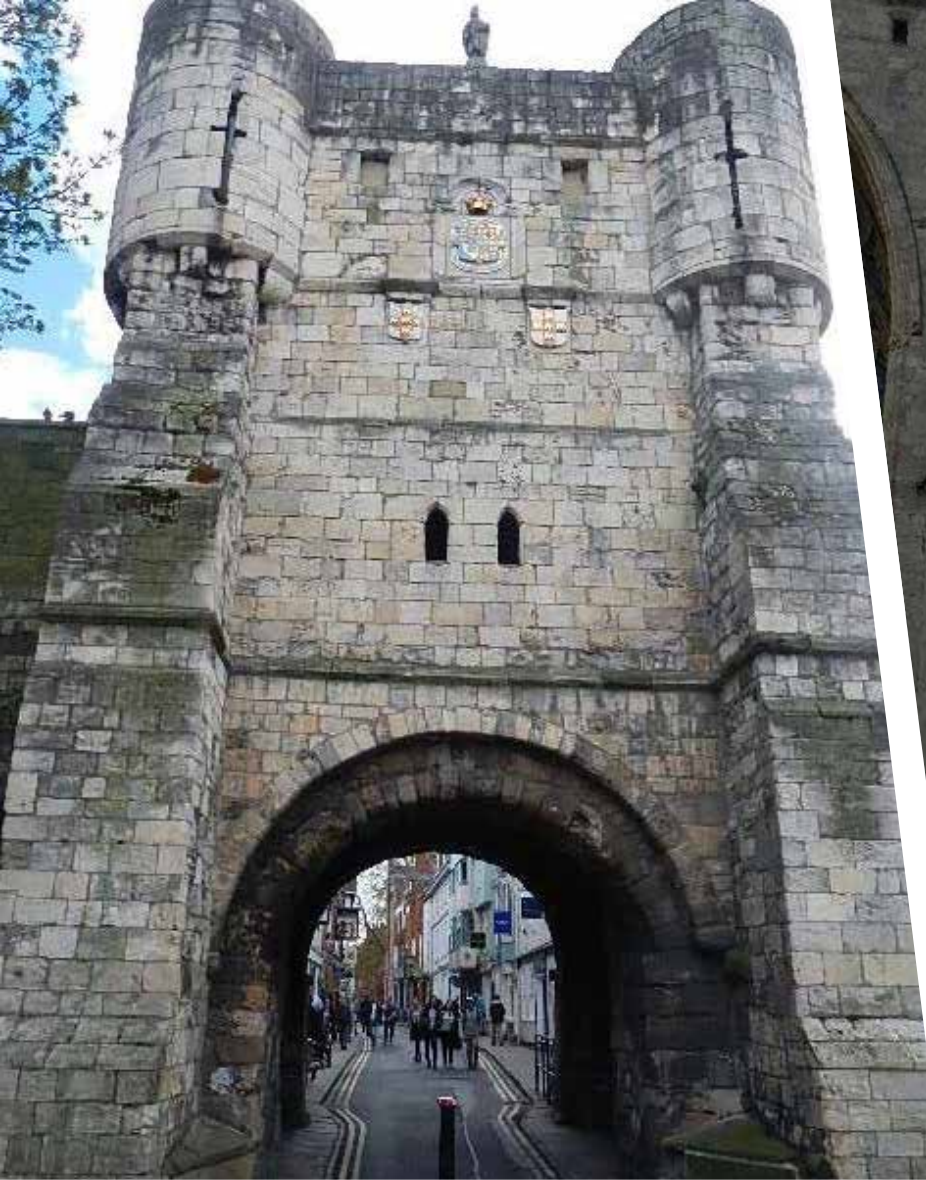


















FROM THE SPICERY

WITH
RIOGNACH



CHICKEN SOUP

EVER WONDER HOW OUR MEDIEVAL ANCESTORS
MIGHT HAVE COPED WITH *COLDS* AND THE LIKE?

This month's article might seem well, rather left field to some readers. But most of this week I've been suffering through a late summer cold. At the first sign of being sick, I made a batch of made-from-scratch chicken soup in my slow cooker, and it is currently happily simmering away. Warm, satisfying and healthy, there is something wonderfully comforting about chicken soup!

So, while I shivering under a blanket with a bowl of my chicken soup, I began to wonder how my medieval ancestors might have coped with colds and the like. Hence the inspiration for this month's medieval cooking piece. The supposed benefits of chicken soup's medicinal properties have been passed down by word of mouth for centuries. So, I think it is fairly safe to assume that our medieval ancestors may well have turned to the humble barnyard hen for a cure-all. But where did the idea come from, and how does it work? Is it just an old Jewish grandmother's tale, or does it really work?

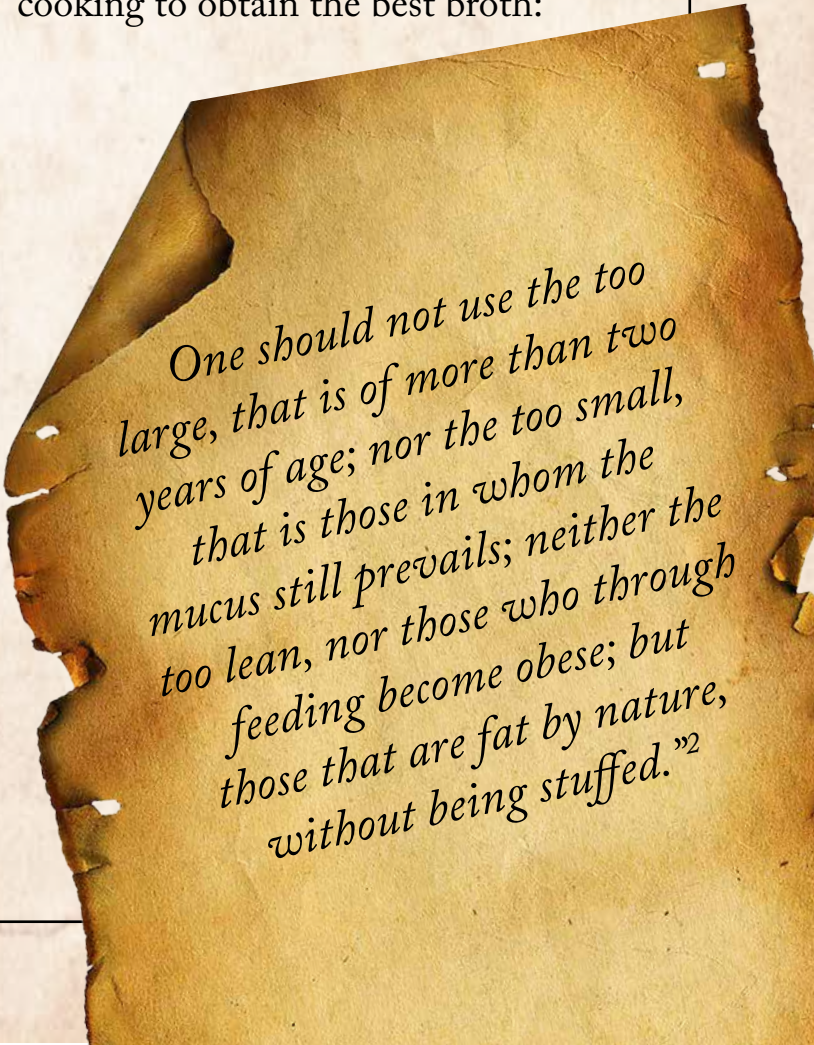
But first some history.

We know that in the 12th century, the Egyptian physician and philosopher – Rabbi Moshe ben Maimonides – was the first to *write* about the positive effects of chicken soup on the symptoms of upper respiratory tract infections.¹

I say that Maimonides was the first to write, but this discovery had to have come from somewhere else. Unfortunately, we don't know whether this came from personal experience, anecdotal evidence, or from earlier Greek literature.

In his book, *On the Causes of Symptoms*, Maimonides recommends the meat of hens and roosters, chickens and pullets because this type of fowl has the property of balancing corrupted humors and neutralising the body's "constitution". Balanced bodily humors were crucial to ensuring good health.

Maimonides then describes the age and size of the bird to be used, and suggests a suitable method of cooking to obtain the best broth:



One should not use the too large, that is of more than two years of age; nor the too small, that is those in whom the mucus still prevails; neither the too lean, nor those who through feeding become obese; but those that are fat by nature, without being stuffed.”²

"The chicken or pullet can be boiled or stewed or steamed or boiled with fresh coriander, or with some green fennel added to the soup. This dish is especially suitable in winter. The soup, however, where lemon juice or citron juice or lemon slices are added to the broth, is better suited for summertime."³

Maimonides also says that chicken soup is also excellent for treating the early stages of leprosy, hemiplegia and facial paralysis, kidney stones and oedemic pain, and (wait for it) increasing the patient's libido and sexual function!⁴

In his conclusion, Maimonides states that "these procedures have been verified and their usefulness is clear."⁵ Unfortunately, however, modern medical researchers appear to be less convinced of Maimonides' verdicts on chicken soup, not in the least because he doesn't detail "whether or not he conducted a double-blind randomised study."⁶ A tad snide methinks, but nonetheless the author does make a valid point.

I also came across a humorous little piece of poetry concerning

a medieval Benedictine abbess named Maria del Fabriano, and a roast chicken.⁷

The story goes that one All Saints' Day, while carrying a newly roasted chook on a platter, Mother Maria tripped up and the chook landed in the bath of Sister Francesca.⁸ Now for a bit divine inspiration! Rather than be damned by their Order for stuffing up one of the few feast days when they could actually eat meat, Mother Maria and Sister Francesca dragged the bath to the abbey's kitchen. There they added vegetables and strips of dough to the tub and its contents. The newly created chicken-and-bath water concoction was then ladled into bowls and shared by the Benedictine community as their All Saints' Feast.⁹ An entertaining and fanciful tale, but not particularly believable. But honestly, who knows?

Like a lot of medieval foods, chicken soup obviously had some sort of medicinal effect. I think that we can all relate to feeling warm and comforted after having a bowl of chicken soup made to grandma's secret recipe. Unlike so many modern medicines, chicken soup was both good for you and tasted good into the bargain. Thanks to modern medical research, we now have

an understanding of how chicken soup actually works, something that Maimonides, medieval physicians and grandmothers everywhere have always known but not been able to detail. For those who are medically minded or simply curious, chicken soup (specifically the broth) has an anti-inflammatory effect and helps in loosening respiratory mucous.¹⁰

So, what would be served up to you in medieval times if you were feeling poorly and had a nasty cold?

You'd probably get a bowl containing a rich, gelatinous broth obtained from the slow simmering of a chook. It is the broth component of chicken soup that makes it so healthful as it contains all the vitamins, minerals and other goodies extracted from the bones of and flesh of the chicken. There appears

to be a consensus when it comes to using the entire bird (obviously sans feathers) in the preparation of the broth. From a purely economical point of view, it would make far more sense to use an older bird, rather than a valuable laying hen. Oddly enough some recipes say that the meat and veggies used in the preparation must be removed prior to serving, as per the Jewish tradition. To me at least, this makes no sense. The flesh is made plump and juicy by the cooking process. It also takes on the characteristics of the other ingredients, e.g. garlic and ginger, onions and spices, some of which contain anti-inflammatory properties. We can't very well go about raising chooks just for their breast and thigh meat – what would Grandma think!!

14th Century English
Caponys in Concys schal be Sodyn
The Forme of Cury, Curye on Inglysch,
Chapter II Diuersa Seruicia

*Nym te lyre and brek it smal in
a mortar, and peper and wyte bred
terwyt, and temper it wyþ ale, and
ley it wyt te capoun. Nym hard sodyn
eyryen and hew te wyte small, and
keste thereto, and nym te yolkys al
hole and do hem in a dysch; boyle te
capoun and colowre it wyþ safroun,
and salt it, and messe it forthe.*

**Early 14th Century French
Capon White Dish for and Invalid
Le Viandier de Taillevent – from the Vatican
Manuscript**

(translated by James Prescott, University of Ontario)

Cook it in water until it is well cooked. Crush it (including bones) and plenty of almonds in a mortar, steep it in your broth, strain everything through cheesecloth, boil until it is thick enough to slice, and pour into a bowl. Brown half a dozen peeled almonds in lard and sit then on half your plate, with some pomegranate seeds on the other half. Sugar them all over.

Medieval chicken soup was prepared in many different ways. I have selected 3 different recipes from different medieval manuscripts and cookbooks for your enjoyment.

Unfortunately, this particular recipe is incomplete due to some illegible letters in the original manuscript. It produces a soup containing chicken and ale, pepper and saffron, and is thickened with bread and whole boiled eggs.

To be honest I'm not so sure about this dish, particularly the bit about crushing the bones with the flesh. I understand why it is done, but I'm not sold on how it would taste. Similarly, the use of sugar as a seasoning to a meat dish seems odd, but then again I also have recipes for chicken poached in rose water. Obviously, tastes have changed.

In the recipe on the next page we see that a basic broth is prepared

and spiced, with almonds used as the thickening agent. This broth (if it can be called that) would be incredibly hearty, and not for the faint hearted! I'm certain about the "amount of sugar appropriate for the quantity of the broth". Maybe this broth wouldn't be one for the diabetics amongst us. The sheer volume of additional meat and other ingredients used in proportion to the chicken meat is huge. I think that after a bowl of this "German broth" you'd not have any choice other than to feel fully sated and content, and well on the road to recovery.

Until next time!

RIOGHNACH
O'GERAGHTY

**15th Century German / Savoyard
Broet d'Alamaniz (a German Broth)
On Cookery – A Fifteenth Century Savoyard Culinary
Treatise**

(translated from the original by Terence Scully)

To instruct the person who is to make it, depending on the quantity he is to make of it let him take his capons, prepare them cleanly and cut them into quarters; then according to the quantity of that pottage he has been charged to make, he should take the meat in an amount proportionate to the poultry, just as in the other pottage, either pork, lamb, kid, or veal, and this meat should be cut up to the size of the quartered poultry. And for this take a quantity of onions according to the amount of meat you will be making, and cut them up very small; and take the fat of bacon and melt it fully, and put the amount of meat you have in either good, clean cauldrons or boilers, and then put your onions and the fat around your meat and fry all of it together. Depending on the amount of your meat, get a quantity of almonds, and clean them so that there are no bits of shell left, and wash them in good water; then have them ground without peeling the skin off them, and moisten them with beef bouillon; then take a good two-handled pot and with beef bouillon, strain the amount that you want to make of it; and check that it is not too salty. Then take good white wine and verjuice in an amount suitable for the quantity of the broth and add them together with white ginger, grains of paradise, pepper – and not too much of it, with nutmegs, and all the lesser spices like cloves and mace, and some saffron to give it color; and use all these spices judiciously. Once they have been ground, put them into your broth, and pour this broth over your fried meat, together with a large amount of sugar appropriate for the quantity of the broth. When everything is together, taste it to see whether there is too much or too little of anything so that you can correct this, and taste it too for saltiness. And be careful about the meat that it does not cook too much, because kid and veal are more tender than poultry. When your meat is cooked just right and it is time to serve it up, put it to one side and set it out in dishes, and then pour the broth over top of it.

1. Colgan, R. *Advice to the Young Physician*, Springer Science, 2009, Chapter 3 Medieval Medicine, pp 29-40.
2. Rosner, F. *Therapeutic Efficacy of Chicken Soup*, CHEST (Communications to the Editor), Vol 78, Iss. 4, 1980, pp 672-673.
3. Rosner, *ibid.*
4. Rosner, *ibid.*
5. Rosner, F & Munter, S. *The Medical Writings of Moses Maimonides*, Vol III, Philadelphia, 1969, pp 60-64.
6. Rosner, *op. cit.*
7. Beal, S. *Chicken Soup: For Joanna Ruth Bock*, *Prairie Schooner*, Vol 88, Iss 1, 2014, pp 107-108.
8. Beal, *ibid.*
9. Beal, *ibid.*
10. Rennard, S et al, *Chicken Soup Inhibits Neutrophil Chemotaxis In Vitro*, CHEST, Vol118, Iss 4, 2000, pp 1150-1157.

MAY'S ON THIS

1 May 1536 The May Day Joust. Henry VIII left abruptly, taking Sir Henry Norris with him and interrogating him about his alleged affair with Queen Anne Boleyn .	2 May 1568 Mary, Queen of Scots escaped from Lochleven Castle. As a May Day masque took place, Mary was smuggled out.	3 May 1446 Birth of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy , also known as Margaret of York .	4 May 1608 Funeral of Elizabeth Talbot (Bess of Hardwick), Countess of Shrewsbury.
8 May 1546 Death of Thomas Knollys , President of Magdalen College, University of Oxford, from 1528 to 1536	9 May 1509 The body of Henry VII was taken to St Paul's in London by a chariot, covered with black cloth of gold.	10 May 1552 Suicide of John Clerk in the Tower of London. He hanged himself with his girdle.	 Bess of Hardwick
15 May 1464 Execution of Henry Beaufort , 2 nd Duke of Somerset, immediately after the <i>Battle of Hexham</i> .	16 May 1566 Death of Patrick Ruthven , 3 rd Lord Ruthven, a man who was involved in the murder of David Riccio	17 May 1575 Death of Matthew Parker , Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth Palace.	
20 May 1579 Burning of Matthew Hamont , alleged heretic, in the castle ditch at Norwich.	21 May 1471 Henry VI died at the Tower of London "of pure displeasure and melancholy".	22 May 1538 The burning of John Forest , Franciscan friar and martyr, at Smithfield for heresy.	
23 May 1533 Cranmer declared Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine of Aragon was annulled.	24 May 1562 According to Holinshed , a year of "manic monstrous births" had a mare giving birth to a two-headed foal.	27 May 1614 Death of Peter Turner , physician, in London. He had attended Sir Walter Raleigh in the Tower of London.	28 May 1582 Executions of Roman Catholic priests Thomas Forde , John Shert and Robert Johnson at Tyburn.
29 May 1546 Murder of David Beaton , Archbishop of St Andrews. He was killed by a small group of Fife lairds.	30 May 1593 Death of Christopher Marlowe , playwright and poet. He was stabbed to death in a "tavern brawl"	31 May 1601 Death of Katherine Brettergh . On her deathbed she "raged against God's unmercifulness".	

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

<p>5 May 1542</p> <p>Agnes Tilney, Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, was pardoned after spending nearly five months imprisoned in the Tower of London. Her home and valuables had been seized but she had kept her head, unlike her step-granddaughter, Catherine Howard.</p>	<p>6 May 1541</p> <p>Henry VIII issued an injunction ordering “the Byble of the largest and greatest volume, to be had in every churche”. The Bible referred to was “The Great Bible”, the first authorised Bible in English. It had been prepared by Miles Coverdale and was based on the work of William Tyndale.</p>	<p>7 May 1540</p> <p>Death of Sir William Weston, Prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England.</p>		
<p>11 May 1537</p> <p>Two Carthusian monks from the London Charterhouse, Blessed John Rochester and Blessed James Walworth, were hanged in chains from the battlements of York. They had been tried in the city for treason for denying the King’s supremacy following the <i>Pilgrimage of Grace</i> rebellion.</p>	<p>12 May 1538</p> <p>John Forest, a Franciscan friar, refused to recant his allegiance to Rome.</p>	<p>13 May 1619</p> <p>Funeral of Anne of Denmark, consort of James VI and I. She was buried in Henry VII’s Chapel in Westminster Abbey.</p>	<p>14 May 1595</p> <p>Death of Anne Fiennes (née Sackville), Lady Dacre, at Chelsea.</p>	
 <p>Holinshed Cronicle</p>	<p>18 May 1536</p> <p>Anne Boleyn’s execution was postponed.</p>	<p>19 May 1536</p> <p>Execution of Anne Boleyn. Her ladies wrapped her head and body in white cloth and took them to the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula, where she was placed inside an old elm chest which had once contained bow staves.</p>		
	<p>25 May 1537</p> <p>Hanging of John Pickering, Dominican friar, at Tyburn.</p>	<p>26 May 1537</p> <p>Executions of Adam Sedbergh, and Abbot of Jervaulx, and of William Wood, at Tyburn</p>		

TUDOR FEAST DAYS

1 May - May Day
19 May – St Dunstan's Day

TudorLife

Tudor Life

REGULAR CONTRIBUTORS

Beth von Staats
Charlie Fenton
Conor Byrne
Emma Taylor
Kyra Kramer
Riognarch O'Geraghty
Lauren Browne
Jane Moulder
Toni Mount

LAYOUT Tim Ridgway

VIDEOGRAPHER Tim Ridgway

MAGAZINE EDITOR

Gareth Russell
info@tudorsociety.com

CONTACT

info@tudorsociety.com
Calle Sargento Galera, 3
Lucar 04887
Almeria
Spain

ONLINE

www.TudorSociety.com

Copyright © 2017 All Rights Reserved
Reproduction in whole or part without
written permission is prohibited.

ANNE OF CLEVES

~IN THE~
TUDOR LIFE MAGAZINE

HEATHER DARSIE

Anne of Cleves' most
infamous portrait

KYRA KRAMER

Did Anna of Cleves
Like Henry VIII?

JANE MOULDER

Tudor Portraits in Greenwich

CONOR BYRNE

Anne of Cleves: post-annulment

CHARLIE FENTON

Review of
Falling Pomegranate Seeds

+ MUCH MORE

DON'T MISS

OUR MONTHLY
EXPERT TALKS!