Tudor Life

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KATHERINE OF ARAGON

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EXCLUSIVE ARTICLE - DID HENRY VIII EVER WANT MARY TO BECOME QUEEN?

KATHERINE of ARAGON

FOR THOSE READING this magazine for the first time, it seems appropriate to start with one of Tudor England's most famous, and beloved, firsts! This issue of our magazine contains many articles on Katherine of Aragon, Henry VIII's first wife and Mary I's mother. Sometimes referred to as Catherine or Catalina, she was the last foreign royal princess to marry an English monarch until Henrietta-Maria of France landed at Dover to marry Charles I in 1625, well over a century later. (The intervening consorts were either men, English-born or, like Anna of Denmark, married their spouse before he succeeded to the English throne.)

But by the time Henrietta-Maria set her dainty feet on English soil, the circumstances facing a foreign-born consort had changed dramatically. The very criteria that had once made Katherine of Aragon so popular in her adopted homeland – her European ancestry and devout Catholic faith – had been transformed into devastating liabilities by the passage of time. Three of England's seventeenth-century queens were to have their royal careers traumatised, or ended, because of the fears stoked by their nationalities and faith.

This vitriolic hostility towards continental Catholicism was, of course, in no small way the long-term result of Katherine of Aragon's actions and those of her daughter, who entered English national myth, fairly or unfairly, as "Bloody Mary", a ferocious persecutor of local Protestants. To many people in England, Mary I's actions were inextricably linked to her Spanish roots – her mother and her husband were both Spaniards. As far as they were concerned, Mary I had been a child and bride of the Inquisition. This feeling of anti-Spanish xenophobia intensified after the defeat of the Armada, which solidified the idea of Catholic Europe as an oppressive, papist external threat, inherently antithetical to the English values now embodied by Elizabeth I and her successors.

Had Katherine of Aragon, a pious Catholic, acquiesced to her husband's requests for an annulment in the 1520s, this part of the story might have been very different. There is a cruel, indeed almost-brutal, irony that Katherine's heroic defence of her royal marriage unintentionally helped cripple the legacies of both her faith and her daughter. Of course, there were myriad other factors, but Katherine of Aragon's surrender at Blackfriars is one of the great "what ifs" in European history. Would England have remained Catholic if Anne Boleyn had become queen with the Pope's blessing, rather than a declaration of a de facto cold war?

It is therefore nothing short of astonishing that even after a mood of xenophobic anti-Catholicism was entrenched in English history as part of the national narrative, Katherine of Aragon continued to enjoy a golden reputation. Shakespeare presented her as an heroic lady, despite the strength of anti-Spanish sentiment in Jacobean London. And that reputation has survived, almost intact, to the modern day – the best-selling author, Alison Weir, identified Katherine as her personal historical heroine in an article for the BBC's History magazine, and revealed she had named her daughter in Katherine's honour. In the early 2000s, David Starkey was heckled at public events when he suggested that the available documentary evidence proved Katherine lied about her first miscarriage. In her 2004 biography of Katherine's successor Anne Boleyn, the late Joanna Denny was sharply criticised for demonising Katherine as a bigoted liar and belittling the Catholic faith in its entirety.

The reasons for Katherine of Aragon's sterling reputation are not hard to find. She was an intelligent, dignified, courageous lady who survived seven years of purgatorial unhappiness in England following the death of her first husband, Prince Arthur, in 1502. She served as regent during her second husband's absence on military campaign, during which her leadership arguably saved England from catastrophe. She endured a catalogue of heartbreak, as all bar one of her children perished in womb or infancy. She was repeatedly embarrassed by her husband's infidelities and, after twenty years as queen, she waged a decade-long campaign to save her title, despite mounting costs to her mental health.

Katherine has, of course, also been accused by some of her contemporaries and modern historians of poor tactics, vindictiveness, pettiness, and blinkered stupidity. It remains very much in the eye of the beholder. The evidence is there for all of us to interpret as we will. What is clear is that this remarkable, dramatic, tenacious princess continues to fascinate us, five centuries after her lonely death at Kimbolton.

GARETH RUSSELL

TIMELINE

1485 Katherine of Aragon is born at the episcopal palace in Alcalá de Henares, Spain. She is the youngest daughter of "the Catholic kings", Ferdinand and Isabella.

1499 Katherine's proxy marriage to Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales, takes place.

1501 Katherine and Arthur's public wedding at Saint Paul's Cathedral, London.

1502 Death of Katherine's first husband, Prince Arthur, at Ludlow Castle.

1504 Death of Katherine's mother, Queen Isabella I, at Medina del Campo.

1509 Death of Katherine's former father-in-law, King Henry VII, at Richmond Palace. Katherine marries her former brother-in-law and the new king, Henry VIII, at Greenwich Palace, followed later in the summer by their coronation at Westminster Abbey.

1510 Queen Katherine possibly suffers her first miscarriage.

1511 The birth and death of Katherine's first son Henry, Duke of Cornwall.

1513 Katherine serves as regent of England and helps defeat an invading Scottish army. She gives birth to a stillborn son that November.

1515 The Queen suffers another miscarriage.

1516 Death of Katherine's father, King Ferdinand, at Madrigalego. Birth of Katherine's daughter, the future Queen Mary I, at Greenwich Palace.

1517 Possibly another miscarriage by the Queen.

1518 The Queen's final pregnancy ends with a daughter, who lives for only a few hours.

1519 Birth of Henry VIII's illegitimate son Henry Fitzroy, the future Duke of Richmond and Somerset.

1520 Queen Katherine and her husband represent the kingdom at the Field of the Cloth of Gold summit in France.

1524 Possible date that the Queen passes the menopause.

1527 Henry VIII initiates attempts to annul his marriage to Katherine and to marry her former lady-in-waiting, Anne Boleyn. The Sack of Rome makes Pope Clement VII dependent on the goodwill of Katherine's Hapsburg nephew, Emperor Charles V.

1529 Legal proceedings at Blackfriars culminate with Katherine's famous public rebuttal of her husband's case. In the same year, Eustace Chapuys arrived as the Emperor's new ambassador to England and quickly becomes one of Katherine's most trusted advisers.

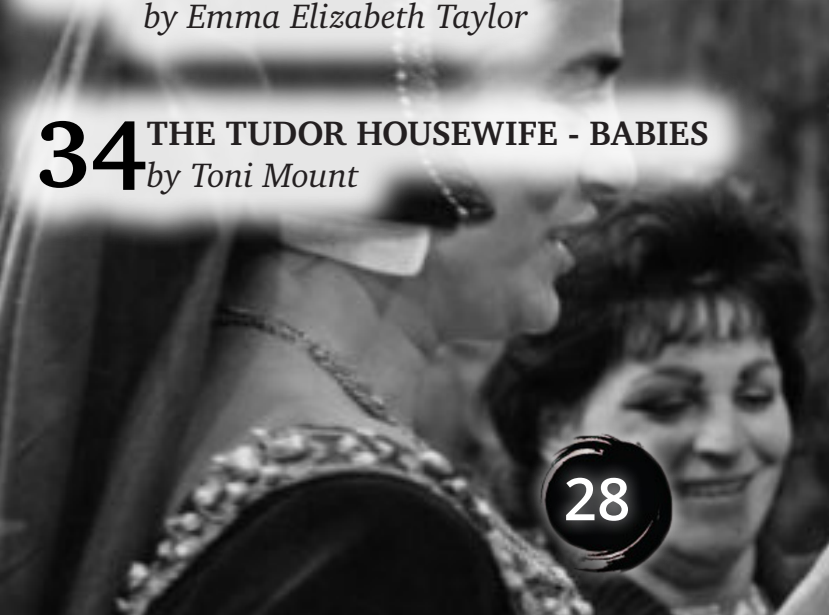
1531 Queen Katherine is banished from court and rehoused in great luxury in the countryside.

1533 The Break with the Roman Catholic Church in England gathers momentum. The new Archbishop of Canterbury publicly rules in the King's favour and Anne Boleyn is crowned queen at Westminster Abbey. Katherine refuses to accept this and cuts are made to her household in retaliation.

1536 Katherine, now legally styled "Princess Dowager of Wales", dies of cancer at Kimbolton Castle. Until the end, she signed herself as England's lawful queen.

1553 Katherine's daughter defeats a coup against her succession to the throne and begins her reign as Queen Mary I.

Tudor Life



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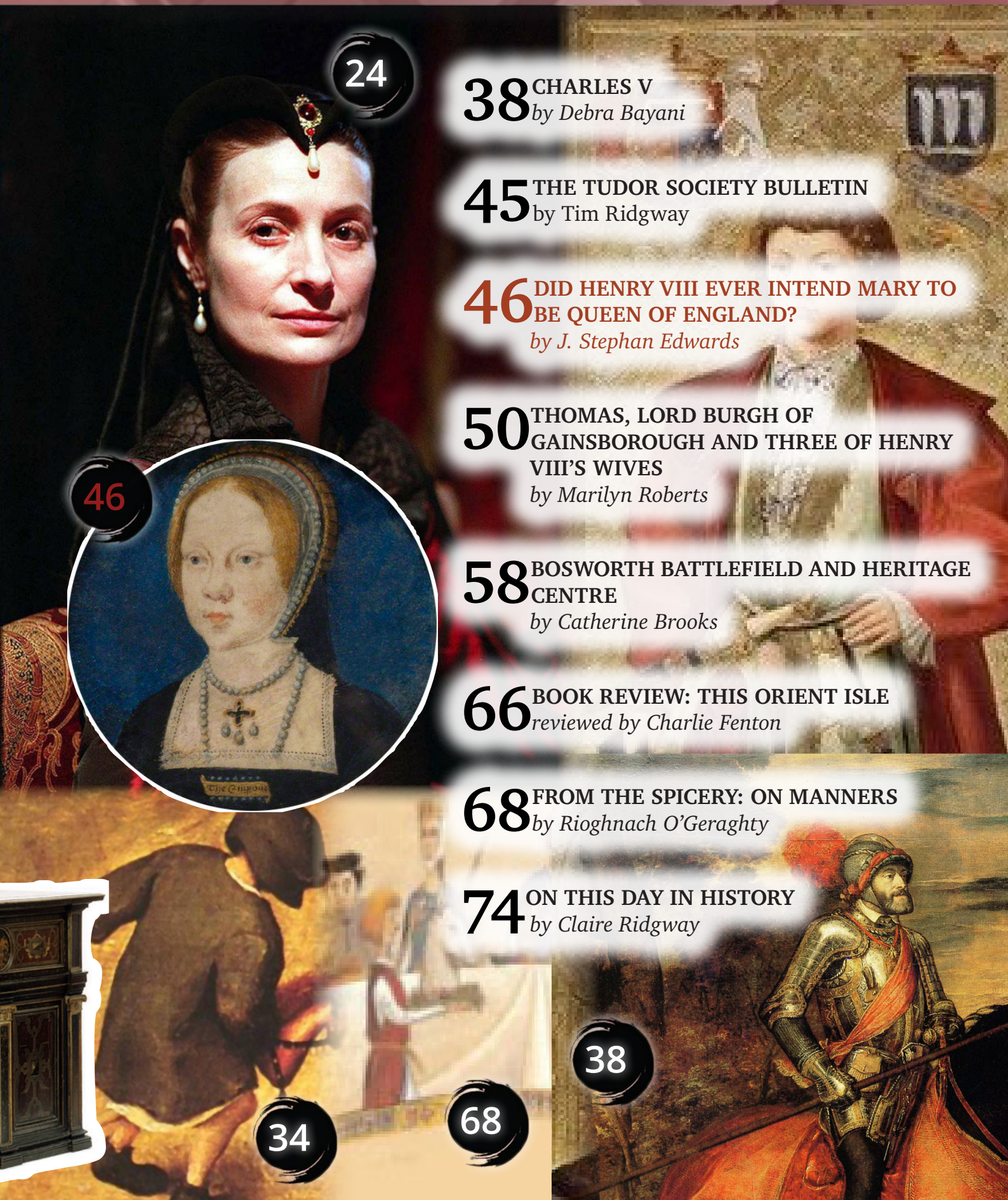


THE RECEPTION OF KATHERINE OF ARAGON IN LONDON, NOVEMBER 1501

by Roland Hui

HAVING WON HIS right to be King of England at the Battle of Bosworth, Henry Tudor looked to securing his fledgling dynasty. To bolster his claim to the throne, Henry, the seventh of that name, had wed the vanquished Richard III's beautiful niece - and daughter of the late King Edward IV - Elizabeth of York. To their great joy, a prince named Arthur was born in 1486. Already looking to the future, Henry envisioned marrying his newly born son into one of the great royal Houses of Europe. In 1488, negotiations were begun with Ferdinand and Isabella, the rulers of Spain, to form an Anglo-Spanish alliance. Arthur would be wed to their youngest daughter Princess Catalina (or 'Katherine' as the English would later call her).

Believing that absence made the heart grow fonder, Arthur and Katherine were made to put pen to paper by their respective parents, becoming the equivalent of 15th century 'pen pals'. One letter written by Arthur to his beloved, had him telling his fiancée how being unable to meet her till their wedding was most 'vexatious to me'.

As tender as their letters were - or pretended to be - the couple were not to

The young and lovely Princess Katherine
painted by Michael Sittow

lay eyes upon another until 1501. That fall, Katherine finally set sail to her new country, never to see her parents and her native Spain again. In November, she met her betrothed at Dogmersfield, when her impatient future father-in-law insisted on seeing Katherine before her arrival in London. The young couple spoke briefly to one another (in a mix of Latin and French), and then according to universal courtly dictates, they danced. As neither knew the steps of the other's country, Katherine performed with her Spanish ladies, while Arthur partnered an English noblewoman before the mixed assembly.

On November 12, a week after the impromptu reception at Dogmersfield, Katherine made her formal entry into London. The city, 'full excellently accompanied with the most great multitude of people', had made great preparations to receive their new Princess of Wales. The streets along the processional route, usually covered in dirt and muck, were cleaned and laid over with gravel. The weather had been poor of late with much rain, and the crushed rock would prevent the many horses and carriages from slipping. At the same time, buildings along the route which had seen better times, were repaired and repainted. Many were hung with colourful tapestries and garlands to welcome the Princess.

Although he would not take part in officially receiving Katherine, Henry VII had come to the city two days earlier to observe the festivities. He was met by Queen Elizabeth, who was undoubtedly most anxious to hear her husband's impressions of

Prince Henry with Prince Arthur

Katherine. The bride-to-be, Henry assured his wife, was a young lady most suitable for their son as he 'liked her person and behaviour'.

As the King and Queen, and their family consisting of Prince Arthur, his two younger sisters the Princesses Margaret and Mary, and their paternal grandmother Lady Margaret Beaufort, concealed themselves in a house at Cheapside to watch Katherine's reception in private, the 10-year-old Prince Henry, the King's younger son, had been dispatched to welcome his new sister-in-law. It was at Lambeth that Katherine made her appearance, riding upon a mule as in the custom of Spain. Dressed 'in rich apparel on her body after the manner of her country', with a 'little hat fashioned like a cardinal's hat' upon her head from which her hair,

described as 'fair auburn', streamed down upon her shoulders, Katherine set forth accompanied by an enormous entourage consisting of her Spanish household and of her English hosts.

The great parade made its way to Southwark to the entrance of London Bridge. There it stopped at a staged tableau with a young woman dressed as Saint Katherine of Alexandria. Above her was Saint Ursula, the legendary ancestress of the Britons. Saint Katherine welcomed her namesake and promised that as she was with the Princess at her very birth, she would continue to act as her spiritual guide. Saint Ursula then spoke, reminding Katherine of her common descent with Arthur Tudor from the royal House of Lancaster. The Prince, the Saint said, was the earthly counterpart of the great star Arcturus and a second King Arthur of legend. In time, she prophesied, Katherine herself would be another Ursula, matriarch of the English people.

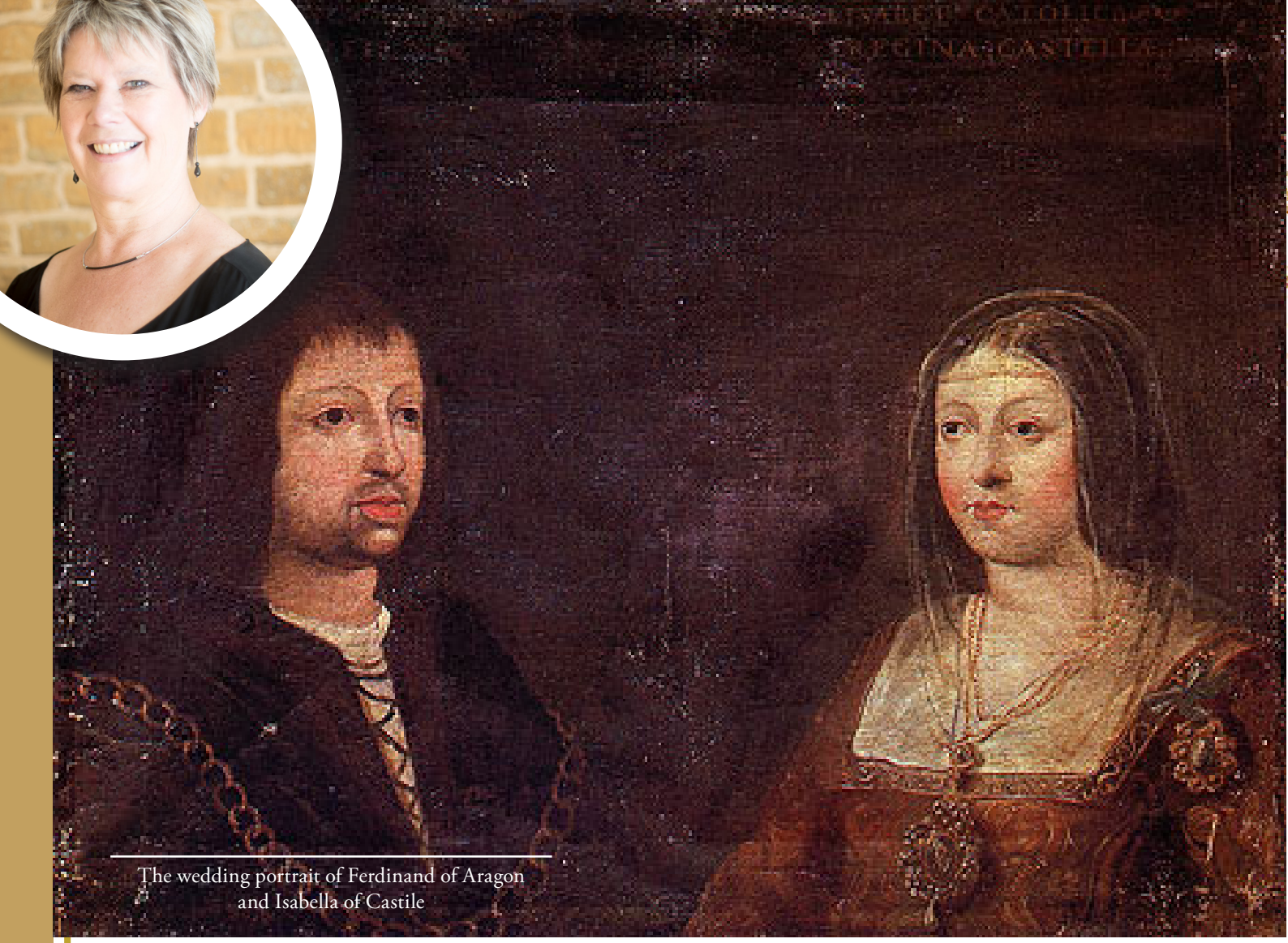
After the speeches were finished, Katherine and her entourage, with Prince Henry at her side (acting as her guide to the city, and as her translator of the presentations made to her in English which Katherine did not understand), came before a tableau shaped as a great castle at Gracechurch Street. Here, a youth dressed in armour as the personification of 'Policy', and joined by 'Noblesse' and 'Virtue', hailed Katherine as Hesperus, 'the bright star of Spain'. The astronomical and astrological themes of the reception were further explained when Katherine moved on to the 'Pageant of the Moon 'at Cornhill. In a staging resembling a modern day planetarium, a performer playing the part of Katherine's ancestor King Alfonso discussed the passage of the stars and planets. Their alignments, he declared, foretold a great destiny for Arthur and Katherine as the future King and Queen of England.

At Cheapside, not far from where King Henry and his family were waiting to catch a glimpse of her, Katherine was directed to the 'Pageant of the Sun'. Here, the Sun in splendour, seated in the firmament and surrounded by constellations 'as named in books of astronomy', saluted Katherine telling her of the joy she will have in being the wife of England's Prince. The parade then stopped at the nearby 'Temple of God'. In all His heavenly glory with burning candles and singing angels about Him, the enthroned God the Father gave the Princess of Spain His blessing - "Blessed be the fruit of your belly, your sustenance and fruits shall increase and multiply."

At the end of Cheapside, near the churchyard of Saint Paul's Cathedral, was the final tableau. Having encountered his companions Noblesse and Virtue, and exemplifying their qualities, Katherine was now received by 'Honour'. By his side were two empty seats. They were for her and Arthur, Honour said, for them to 'reign here with us in prosperity forever'.

With the great reception at an end, Katherine made her way into Saint Paul's. There she offered up her prayers, no doubt of thanksgiving for the great welcome she had received. Grateful and no doubt exhausted by the long day, Katherine retired to the Bishop's Palace, musing of the great and glittering future ahead of her.

ROLAND HUI



The wedding portrait of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile

MUSIC OF THE COURTS OF ARAGON AND CASTILE

by Jane Moulder

Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, the parents of Katherine of Aragon - both were incredibly strong monarchs...

THE marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1462 united the disparate regions of Aragon and Castile in Spain and set in motion the beginnings of a single country after centuries of infighting and warring states. Neither of the couple were born first in line to their respective kingdoms and both had succeeded their crowns through a fortuitous series of somewhat shady events. Ferdinand's elder half-brother died suddenly (some claimed it was due to poisoning) and Isabella's claim was won due to the supposed illegitimacy of her elder sister Juana. Their marriage had been somewhat clandestine but they employed various propaganda tools to extol the marriage and potential for the two kingdoms and, as one chronicler described "*to diminish the sadness the people felt from the unfortunate occurrences of the past*". Their marriage was celebrated in great fashion, following the established Burgundian tradition which was dominant throughout Europe at this time: this included jousts, pageants, grand feasts, disguisings, music and dancing. They eventually acceded the throne in 1474 and as well as having a significant influence on the political make-up of the country, they also set in train cultural change.

Ferdinand and Isabella, due to the way they had risen to their position, didn't start their reign with a firm grip on power and so it was very important that they projected an image of splendour, not only to their own subjects but to other foreign states. They wanted to create a court that was more opulent and more influential than the renowned Burgundian one. They were so determined that their festivities would rival those of the Duke Charles the Bold that they even invited the Burgundian ambassador to Spain to witness them.

"The year 1489 opened with the celebration of public spectacles, by the wish of the king as much as of the queen, to display before the ambassadors by demonstration of wealth, magnificence and expense, the great joy for the reason of the visit, which they had already expressed by word".

The festivities required the services of painters, illuminators, embroiderers, jewellers, silversmiths, artisans and, of course, musicians. The royal chapel singers not only sang for the various religious ceremonies involved in such an occasion but they also entertained the gatherings with secular songs as part

of the entertainments. Instrumentalists played for dancing as well as providing background music for the feasts and the corps of trumpets and drums, in resplendent new uniforms, accompanied the processions and heralded the arrival of all the dignitaries. It is clear that for the Spanish court, as elsewhere, musicians were an integral and important part of displaying pomp and promulgating propaganda.

As soon as they had acceded their respective royal thrones, the couple set about increasing their retinue of musicians. From assessing court records it can be established that at the beginning of his reign Ferdinand's chapel employed about twelve singers and Isabella's nine. However, by the time of the Burgundian visit in 1489, these numbers had increased to seventeen and twelve respectively and, when Isabella died in 1504, she was employing 34 singers and Ferdinand 24. These are considerable choral forces and were the largest in Europe at the time. The two choirs would have performed separately but records indicate that they combined forces for grand state occasions. After Isabella's death ten of her choir joined with Ferdinand's and towards the end of his reign, he employed over 40 singers. Isabella's piety was renowned and so it is of no surprise that she would have given such importance to her chapel choir. A royal chronicler noted on her death that "*the preachers, the singers, the harmonious music of the ceremony of divine worship, the solemnity of the masses and hours sung continually in her palace*". The few surviving music manuscripts from her chapel contain a variety of masses, motets, hymns and lamentations and they are all richly

A woodcut relief showing Isabella and Ferdinand in the Royal Chapel at Granada Cathedral by Felipe Bigarny

A vihuela depicted on a frontispiece of a book by the composer Luis de Milan

bound, covered in luxurious fabrics such as velvet and also inset with gold and precious stones.

At the beginning of their reigns, the musicians and singers at the Spanish court were largely drawn from northern Europe with just a few native singers. This was not unusual for the time as Flemish and Burgundian musicians were dominant throughout all of the European courts, including those of Italy and England. The Aragonese court had, in earlier times, consistently recruited musicians from the north with the lure of high salaries and generous benefits such as accommodation, clothing and tax exemptions. This was the standard practice of the day and the various European courts would vie with each other to offer the most generous package to attract the best and skilled musicians. This situation began to change after 1474. Early in Ferdinand's reign his *maestro de capilla* was Juan de Urede, a Flemish singer and composer. However, he was to be succeeded by a Spaniard and this pattern was to be repeated with many other singers and instrmentalists. There is even evidence to suggest that some foreign musicians who had been living and working in Spain for some time became naturalised Spaniards towards the end of the century. It is also evident that whilst the court continued to employ non-native musicians, they did not hold any important or influential positions. It is not clear whether Ferdinand conducted a deliberate policy of excluding northern musicians, especially as he continued to employ a large number of other non-native artisans, or whether it was simply a case that Spanish musicians, having been trained locally, eventually became able to perform to the required standards. The result of this was that whilst the Franco-Flemish style of polyphony was still dominant, there was a gradual but distinct cross fertilisation of ideas and the music began to take on a "Spanish" flavour.

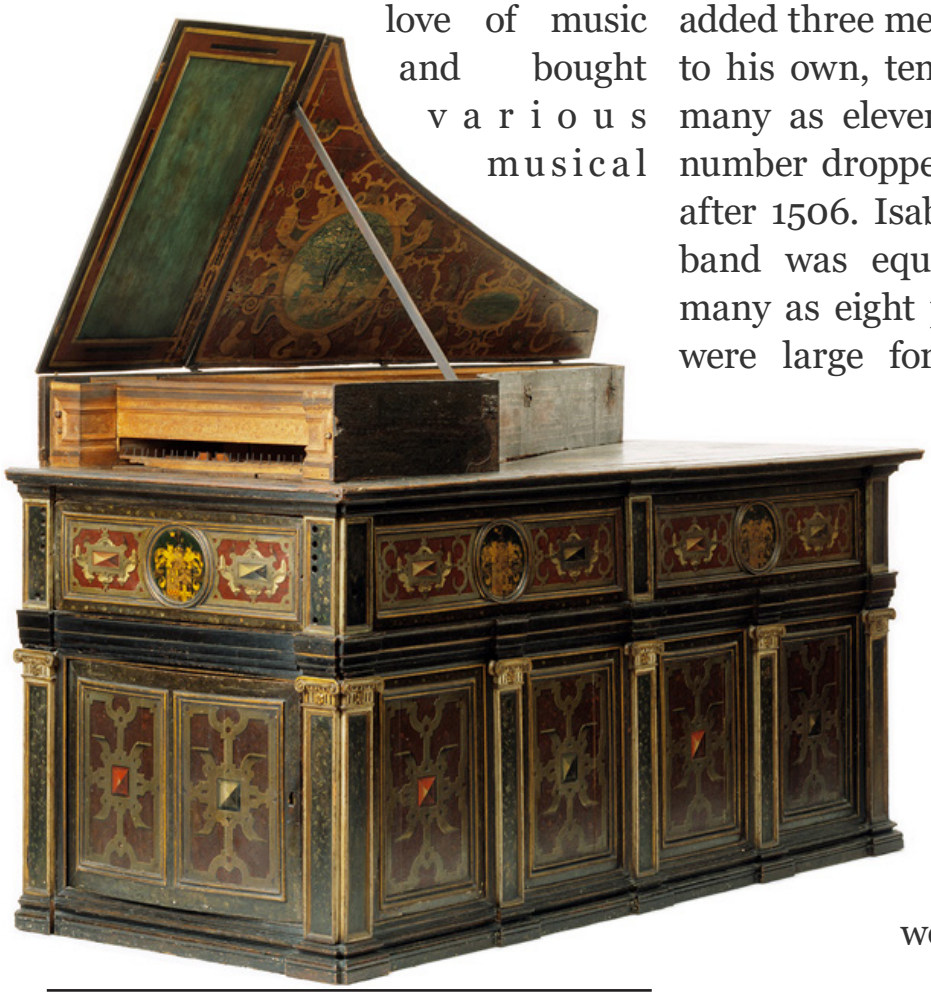
There is no direct evidence to suggest that either Ferdinand or Isabella were musicians themselves but they certainly had a keen interest and love of music. Ferdinand was reported to spend afternoons alone in his private chamber listening to music. This account by his private secretary described a typical day:

" Yesterday his highness rose early and, having prayed, went to church and stayed for the whole service, after which he ate and then rested a little, reading. As usual, his highness went hunting and killed two kites. This morning his highness attended Mass in the church. As usual, after eating there was vihuela music, after which he went to Vespers."

A vihuela is a guitar-shaped stringed instrument and pay slips, signed by Ferdinand, authorised the the purchase of this instrument for the royal court.

He also bought flutes and these quiet, or *bas,* instruments would have been used in a private, or semi-private, context. Whilst Ferdinand bought instruments, Isabella bought music manuscripts and her private collection was reported to be vast.

Whilst the royal couple were not known to have played instruments themselves, it was clear that they were keen that their children, Isabella, Juan, Juana, Maria and Catalina (Catherine of Aragon) had a full and comprehensive education which included being taught to sing and to play instrumental music. Their teachers were drawn from some of musicians and composers engaged by the royal chapel. The eldest son, Juan, developed a strong love of music and bought various musical instruments including the first ever known claviorgan in Spain. This is one of the rare, very early references to this particular instrument.



A claviorgan from a later period (1570s) – it was essentially a mix of a stringed keyboard and organ.

In the same way that the numbers of singers employed by the court increased after the couple's rise to power, so it was with instrumentalists. In 1462 Ferdinand employed a three-piece wind band, known as an Alto Capella. This was a standard formation for this period and it consisted of two shawms (predecessors to today's oboe) and a slide trumpet or trombone. By 1478, three musicians had increased to five and by the 1490s, his band had six or seven members. After 1496, the minimum size of the band was eight. When Isabella died in 1504, Ferdinand added three members of her wind band to his own, temporarily giving him as many as eleven players, although the number dropped back to eight or nine after 1506. Isabella's own Alta Capella band was equally large and had as many as eight players in 1490s. These were large forces for the time and would certainly have rivalled many of the other European royal courts as, together with the singers, it meant that there were over 50 musicians in the Spanish court. This number doesn't include the various trumpeters and drummers who would also have been

employed for providing ceremonial music and civic fanfares.

Throughout their reign, Ferdinand and Isabella travelled constantly, visiting all parts of their kingdoms. When they travelled, they took their musicians with them. They even took portable organs to provide musical accompaniment for their singers and the instruments were packed onto a dedicated cart. The entourage would stay in local nobleman's palaces and castles or monasteries and each time they came to a new location, after the ceremonial entry into the town (which would have been accompanied by trumpets) a thanksgiving service would have been given in the local cathedral with the royal musicians and singers providing the music.

Whilst there was a significant emphasis on sacred music at the time, especially with Ferdinand's and Isabella's deeply rooted religious outlook, secular music also had a part to play. The influential Burgundian style included the singing of chanson and love songs but Ferdinand was keen that a distinct "Spanish" character be established. He therefore required his newly employed local musicians to develop their own style: 'canciones' and 'villancicos', secular songs which were predominantly about love and romance (often unrequited). Some songs had a licentious flavour which would have no doubt been well received at the various court feasts and entertainments. The songs also glorified Ferdinand and the Spanish rule and verses were especially composed to mark victorious battles or adventures. Some of the melodies for these songs were based on local folk tunes and this resulted in a new, pared

down musical style quite different from the all-pervasive Burgundian polyphony of the time.

At a feast or banquet, music would have been played in the background whilst the meal was being eaten but once over, the dancing would begin. It was at this point the Alta Capella band of shawms and slide trumpet would come into its own, providing the loud and rumbustious (but also very accomplished) music for the gathering.

Spain was, at this time, a multicultural country. Having been ruled by the Moors for many centuries, it also had a strong Jewish presence until they were expelled by Ferdinand following the fall of Granada in 1492. It is evident that this varied ethnic mix was also reflected in the court musicians as shown in a painting, dating from the early 16th century which depicted a number of dark skinned musicians, highly unusual for the period.

Ferdinand and Isabella's youngest child, Catherine, was known to have been taught music and, like all of her siblings, she employed her own musicians when she reached adulthood. The various alliances and marriages that were made for all four children helped cement Spanish musical influence throughout Europe. When Catherine first arrived in London for her marriage to Arthur, Henry VII staged major celebrations which were, at the

Detail from a painting depicting the engagement of St Ursula and Prince Etherius, c1520.

time, the most spectacular in living memory. They followed the Burgundian style of pageants, disguisings, music and dancing together with tournaments and jousting. But it is known that Catherine had also brought her own musicians with her as part of her retinue. The Tudor treasury, according to the accounts, made several financial awards to her Spanish minstrels in the months after the wedding and some, including the trumpeter John de Cecil became permanently employed by the Tudor court. Another, more well-known musician, thought to be part of Catherine's retinue was another trumpeter John Blanke or Black. He was depicted in the Westminster Tournament Roll dated 1511 and is shown as a turbaned, black musician.

Moving into the 16th century, Spanish music continued to develop its own characteristics and format, breaking away from the accepted Franco-Flemish style. It's power and influence grew as many of the "home grown" musicians and composers moved abroad and settled in the various European courts, especially in the allied Italian state of Naples. However, Ferdinand's and Isabella's patronage and support of music was viewed as having been the halcyon days of Spanish music. In 1539, the composer Mateo Flecha wrote a lament with the words shown below:

The kings and the lords,
Where did they go?
What happened to that reward,
The favours to singers
What became of them?
King Ferdinand, first born
Of all our hope,
Where are your favours now?

If you would like to discover more about the heyday of Spanish court music, then I can thoroughly recommend a recording by The Dufay Collective. "Cancionero, Music for the Spanish Court, 1470-1520" (Avie Records) is one of my favourite cds.

JANE MOULDER

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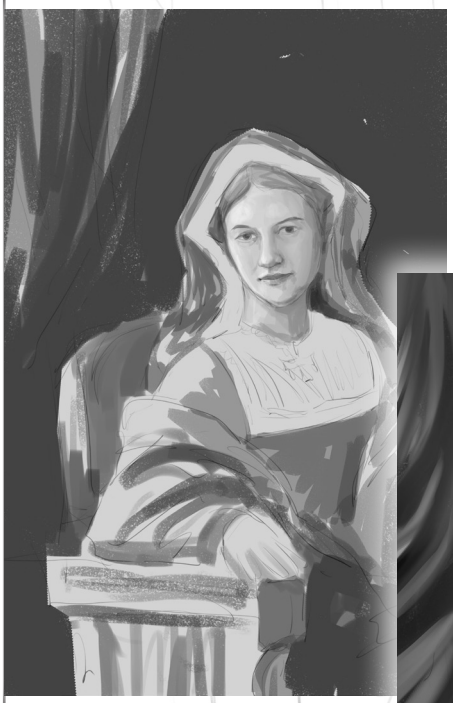
An extract from the Westminster Tournament Roll, 1511, showing John Blanke, the trumpeter who had originally come to England as one of Catherine of Aragon's musicians.

The evolution of our cover design, kindly drawn by talented artist Dmitry Yakhovsky.



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19.7.17

WHEN **HOPE** TURNS TO **TRAGEDY** WITH THE **DEATH** OF ARTHUR, PRINCE OF WALES

BY LAUREN BROWNE

KATHERINE OF ARAGON married her first husband, Arthur, Prince of Wales, at St Paul's cathedral on Sunday 14th November 1501. Arthur's parents, Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, watched the wedding of their eldest son to the Spanish princess from a latticed closet in the vault above the consistory. The cathedral was sumptuously decorated, the altar displayed plate, jewels, nd relics, while the choir walls were hung with rich arrases. A walkway had been constructed from the west door to a stage upon which the sacrament would be taken by the bride and groom. It was elevated 6 feet high, and extended 600 feet through the cathedral, so the guests could have an uninterrupted view of the bride and groom from the moment they entered the west door. The event was lavishly presented, in keeping with Henry VII's propaganda campaign to ensure the Tudor name became synonymous with extravagance and luxury. Arthur wore a white satin wedding suit, while Katherine donned a white coif and veil with an inch-and-a- half border of gold, pearls and precious stones. Her dress was made from white satin, to mirror Arthur's wedding suit, the skirt was pleated and spread over a series of large hoops. Elizabeth of York's sister, Cecily, carried Katherine's train with one hundred ladies and gentlewomen following behind.

As soon as Katherine stepped out from the Bishop's palace a cacophony of shawms, trumpets, and sackbuts sounded, and continued to play until she reached the high alter of St Paul's. When Arthur and Katherine met at the entrance to the choir, they joined hands and turned to the south and then the north so that 'the multitude of people might see and behold their persons.'[1] This triumphant sight must have sparked a sense of pride and hope in the congregation. Shortly before Christmas, the couple departed for Ludlow where Arthur would take up the governance of Wales and begin his married life with Katherine.

Another celebration was on the horizon for the Tudors – Henry VII and Elizabeth's daughter Margaret was to be married to James IV of Scotland, by proxy, on the 25th of January 1502. As Margaret was twelve years old, her departure to Scotland was delayed for a few years, probably because of the influence of Henry VII's mother, Margaret Beaufort, who had become pregnant at 13. Although the ceremony was not as lavish as Arthur and Katherine's had been, the turn-out was auspicious and the feasting as elaborate as fitting for the daughter of Henry VII. It must have been another triumphant day for Henry and Elizabeth, two of their children had made excellent marriages, securing peace with both Spain and Scotland. Their dynasty, and the fate of England, seemed secure.

The period of celebration and hope was, unfortunately, not to last. As the Receyt explains:

> *From the Feast of the Nativity of Christ in the year beforesaid [1501] unto the solemn Feast of the Resurrection, at which season grew and increased upon his body, whether it were by surfeit or by cause natural, a lamentable and... most pitiful disease and sickness, that with so sore and great violence had battled and driven in the singular parts of him inward; that cruel and fervent enemy of nature, the deadly corruption, did utterly vanquish and overcome the pure and friendful blood, without all manner of physical help and remedy.'*[2]

1 Receyt, p. 44.
2 Receyt, p. 79

Actors James Maxwell and Norma West play Katherine's parents-in-law, Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, in the television series *Shadow of the Tower* **(BBC)**

The nature of the 'most pitiful disease and sickness' cannot be discerned by historians, as the quoted text is the only contemporary description of Arthur's illness. Historian Arlene Oakerlund Naylor shows that many have speculated that it was the 'sweating sickness' which had swept across England during this period, and others have suggested Arthur may have contracted something whilst washing the feet of twelve poor men on Maundy Tuesday. Arthur succumbed to the disease on 2nd April 1502, less than four months after his marriage to Katherine.

The Prince's death had both political and personal ramifications for his family. According to John Leland his parents were distraught when they received the news;

Immediately after his death, Sir Richard Pole, his Chamberlain, with other of his Council, wrote and sent letters to the King and Council at Greenwich, where his Grace and the Queen's lay, and certified them of the Prince's departure. The which Council discreetly sent for the King's ghostly Father, a friar observant, to whom they showed this most sorrowful and heavy tidings, and desired him in his best manner to show it to the King.

He in the morning of the Tuesday following, somewhat before the time accustomed, knocked at [the] King's Chamber door; and when the King understood it was his confessor, he commanded to let him in. The Confessor then commanded all those present to avoid, and after due salutation began to say Si bona de manu dei suscipimus mala autem quare non sustineamus? [If we receive good from the hand of God, should we not also tolerate the bad?] and so showed his Grace that his dearest son was departed to God.

When his Grace understood that sorrowful heavy tidings, he sent for the

Queen, saying that he and his Queen would take the painful sorrows together. After that she had come and saw the King her Lord, and that natural and painful sorrow, as I have heard say, she with full great and constant comfortable words besought his Grace that he would first after God remember the weal of his own noble person, the comfort of his realm and of her. She then said that my Lady his mother had never no more children but him only, and that God by his Grace has ever preserved him, and brought him where he was. Over that, how that God had left him yet a fair Prince, two fair Princesses; and that God was where he was, and we are both young enough. And that the prudence and wisdom of his Grace sprung all over Christendom, so that it should please him to take this accordingly thereunto. Then the King thanked her of her good comfort.

The account shows a very human side of Henry VII and his grief over the loss of his heir. It paints an incredibly tender picture of his relationship with Elizabeth of York, and her counsel shows her strength in the face of the tragic news. She managed to hold herself together in front of her grieving husband, but when she left him she allowed herself to grieve.

After she was departed and come to her own Chamber, natural and motherly remembrance of that great loss smote her so sorrowful to the heart that those who were about her were fain to send for the King to comfort her. Then his Grace of true gentle and faithful love, in good haste came and relieved her, and showed her how wise counsel she had given him before, and he for his part would thank God for his son, and would she should do in like wise.[3]

After the royal couple had accepted the news of their son's death, preparations for his funeral began. There are several extant descriptions of Arthur's funeral, which have most likely come from an original record made by an attendant herald, perhaps the Garter King of Arms John Writhe. The prince's body was embalmed and 'chested' in a wooden coffin, which was placed in his chamber and covered with black cloth. A makeshift hearse was created out of a table draped in cloth of gold surrounded by candles. Arthur lay in state in his chamber at Ludlow until the 23rd of April, 21 days after his death. The coffin was censed by the bishops of Lincoln, Salisbury, and Chester, before being taken to the church of St Lawrence in Ludlow. During the procession to the church, the coffin was covered with a white canopy, which featured a large cross of gold. The procession was led by a banner bearing the arms of the prince and was accompanied by 80 torchbearers. Other banners featured included those painted with images of the Trinity, the Passion, the Virgin, and St George. Upon arrival at St Lawrence in Ludlow, the coffin was installed in a hearse at the entrance to the choir and the dirge was performed. The next day, the Lady, Trinity, and Requiem Mass were sung, and donations to the poor were given in Arthur's name. The coffin was then placed back on the carriage for its journey to Worcester, it was drawn by six horses with black trappings. The journey was interrupted by rain, which was so heavy in parts that the coffin had to be covered by a waxed sheet and the horses were replaced with oxen. It finally arrived at Worcester on the 27th of April, after an overnight stop at Arthur's residence at Tickenhall.

At the gates of the city of Worcester the carriage was supplied with new shields, fresh horses and a further 40 torchbearers joined the procession. The carriage was met at the gate of the abbey yard and was censed again by the bishops of Lincoln, Salisbury, and Chester, as well as the bishop of Worcester. The coffin was then carried into the church and placed in a hearse which had been constructed before the high altar. The hearse had 18 principle candles and it was draped with banners painted with various arms and badges, including those of the prince, his parents, and his parents-in-law.

The following day, 28th April, 26 days after his death, Arthur's funeral was held, beginning with the Lady Mass at 8 o'clock in

3 Leland, vol. 5, pp. 373-4 and the Receyt, pp. 80-81

the morning. The Trinity and Requiem Mass followed respectively. As was customary, the prince's achievements were presented in front of the alter by the senior mourners – Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey; George Grey, Early of Kent; and George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. The senior mourners also presented cloths of gold to the coffin, which were placed on to it in the shape of the cross. Following the sermon and a reading from the Gospel according to Saint John, the cloths were removed and the coffin was lowered into a grave on the south side of the altar. The Bishop of Lincoln placed a cross atop the coffin, and the senior members of the Prince's household cast their symbols of office into the grave.

There is no record of a funeral effigy, or that any member of the royal family was present for Arthur's funeral. This is not in-keeping with the ordinances made by the prince's own father, in 1494, which relate to the burial of a prince 'Nighe of the Blood Royall', which state that the King should be the chief mourner at a Prince's funeral. The absence of the royal family may be explained by an outbreak of illness in the local area, and indeed the citizens of Worcester were prevented from making offerings to the high altar 'because of the sickness that then rained amongest them.'

Arthur's burial place within the church, south of the high altar, was the most senior place available, as King John already occupied the place just before the altar. There are no surviving records about the commission of Arthur's tomb and chantry chapel, however it is assumed that the responsibility lay with the crown. Katherine of Aragon's badges appear on the south wall of the chantry, however she not mentioned in the epitaph.

Like her young husband's life, Katherine of Aragon's marriage to Arthur had been brief but, as we all know, it would prove to be incredibly significant in years to come.

LAUREN BROWNE

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The grave of Katherine of Aragon's first husband, Arthur at Worcester Cathedral

Arthur's Chantry at Worcester Cathedral

A DARK-HAIRED QUEEN?

Conor Byrne discusses how the media have portrayed the personality of Katherine of Aragon...

Petite in stature, auburn-haired and fair-skinned, the teenaged Katherine of Aragon undoubtedly conformed to sixteenth-century northern European ideals of female beauty. Her attractive appearance, coupled with a charming manner, later won her the heart of her brother-in-law Henry VIII when the young king chose Katherine as his bride. Her admirers, including Sir Thomas More, were generous in their praise of the young queen's appearance, but as the years passed the physical compliments lessened. By her mid-thirties, after numerous pregnancies Katherine was referred to as 'not ugly', but not beautiful, and one observer callously commented that she was 'old' and 'deformed'.

In film and television, Katherine has usually been presented as stolid, plain, overweight and frumpy. Partly this lies in her placing as a foil to the attractive and alluring Anne Boleyn, in narratives that overwhelmingly focus on Katherine's later years and the drama of her husband's attempt to annul their marriage. In these visual interpretations of her life, Katherine has almost always been portrayed by dark-haired actresses, especially in the last decade or so, including Assumpta Serna in *Henry VIII* (2003). Most of these portrayals are perhaps notable for their adherence to stereotypes of Spanish appearance, and in this adherence it is unsurprising that Katherine has often been played by Spanish and Greek actresses. Katherine's Spanishness formed an integral aspect of her identity both as a queen and as a woman, which may account for why filmmakers have stressed it in their adaptations of her life.

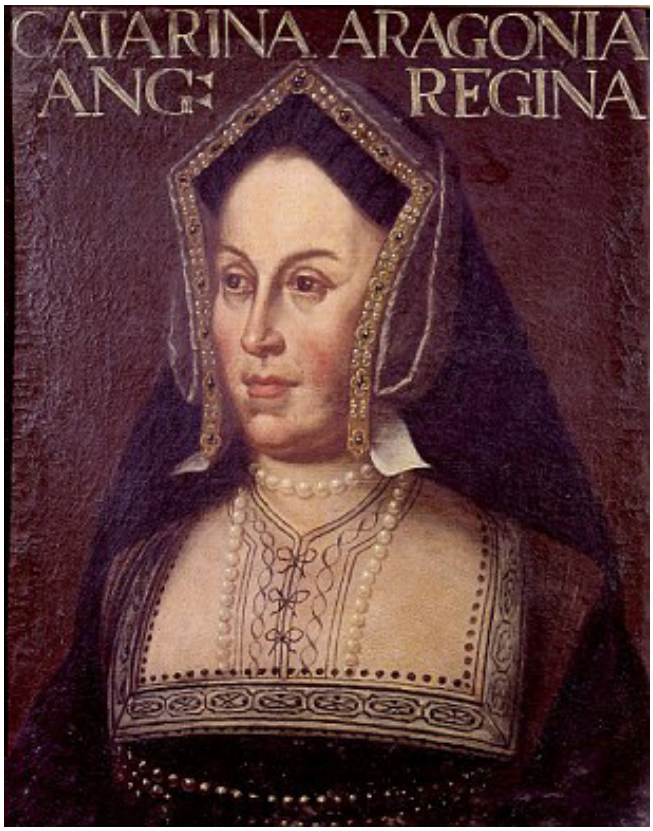
Unlike film depictions of Anne Boleyn, which have tended to be sensational in nature, the majority of portrayals of Katherine in film and television have been relatively historically accurate, drawing on a wide range of texts authored by the likes of the Imperial ambassador Chapuys, the gentleman usher George Cavendish, as well as by Tudor chroniclers including Edward Hall, Polydore Vergil and Charles Wriothesley. A significant number of her letters survive, coupled with her reported speeches at the Blackfriars court and recorded in the correspondence of Chapuys. Because of this, it is possible to attain a rich insight into Katherine's character, beliefs and opinions, especially during the final decade of her life. However, while this is true, the relative abundance of extant material – coupled with the drama and intensity of Henry's courtship of Anne and his desire to repudiate Katherine – means that the focus in film is inevitably on the ending of her marriage to Henry, rather than the early years of their life together. Even in *The Tudors*, which commences relatively early in Henry's reign, the character of Anne Boleyn is introduced fairly early on, and the chemistry of her relationship with Henry overshadows the happiness he initially enjoyed with Katherine.

The television series *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (1970) is something of an exception to the rule of Henry and Anne with Katherine in the background. Katherine's episode commences with her short-

lived marriage to Arthur, Prince of Wales, and her subsequent years of poverty and neglect during the reign of Henry VII. The episode presents the youthful Henry VIII's decision to marry Katherine and chronicles their early years of happiness together, when it was confidently anticipated that the queen would produce a male heir. In a departure from other portrayals of Katherine in film and television, the fair-haired Annette Crosbie was chosen to play Katherine, and offered perhaps the most visually accurate depiction of the queen. As in other television narratives of her life, the episode portrayed Katherine's unerring devotion and love of her husband. Likewise, the episode constructed Katherine as the loyal and mistreated wife in opposition to her rival, a cunning and manipulative seductress.

Modern film and television adaptations have overwhelmingly centred on the breakdown of Katherine's marriage to Henry and the emergence of Anne Boleyn, not surprisingly because of the sexual and personal themes that are likely to prove titillating to audiences. In doing so, much of Katherine's life has been brushed over or ignored in cinematographic depictions, including her childhood in Spain; her short-lived and tragic marriage to Arthur, Prince of Wales; the seven years of uncertainty, debt and poverty that she endured as his widow; and the early years of her marriage to Henry, which saw her actively work as her father's ambassador at court and which saw her take a leading role in the defeat of the Scots in 1513. While these adaptations usually stress Katherine's love and devotion to her daughter Mary, they rarely provide an insight into Katherine's interest and involvement in her daughter's education, in which she ensured that Mary was educated to be a queen in her own right. Figures such as the scholar Juan Luis Vives and the Imperial ambassador Eustace Chapuys – both of whom played critical roles in Katherine's life – rarely feature, although *The Tudors* did unusually present the close friendship between the queen and Chapuys.

The preference for the love triangle between Katherine, Henry and Anne is understandable from the perspective of a film or television producer, because of the sensational and salacious storylines



Katherine of Aragon, in middle age (The Daily Mail)

that centre on the breakdown of a happy marriage and the entrance of a beautiful, ambitious younger woman that promises everything Katherine has been unable to deliver. Portraying the annulment and the onset of the Reformation in film and television in a sense does justice to Katherine, because it presents the struggle with which she was tirelessly faced for the final decade of her life, a struggle in which she refused to give any ground and refused to relinquish her beliefs. However, in preferring this storyline to the many others of Katherine's complex life – at times difficult, at times happy, at times tragic, at times uncertain life – modern audiences are left with only a fragment of Katherine's life, with only the barest of insights into who she was as a woman and as a queen. Whether or not a full-length feature film about Katherine of Aragon is one day produced, it would undoubtedly be valuable to enjoy an adaptation that provides a more rounded and enriching account of her life as princess, widow, queen and princess dowager.

CONOR BYRNE

Spanish actress Assumpta Serna as Queen Katherine in the 2003 2-part biopic, Henry VIII (ITV)

Anthony Brophy as Katherine's confidant, Eustace Chapuys, in The Tudors (Showtime)

A rare, if accurately, fair-haired Katherine, played by Annette Crosbie in 1970's The Six Wives of Henry VIII (BBC)

THE *A-Z* OF KATHERINE OF ARAGON QUIZ!

- Katherine's place of birth on 16th December 1485? **A**_____
- Katherine sent Henry a coat to prove to him that James IV of Scotland was dead - what was it covered in?
  B_____
- What was Katherine's badge?
  C_____
- What was the name of Katherine's duenna, who protested her virginity whilst a Papal dispensation was being sort for her marriage to Arthur? **D**_____
- Which mother of a future Queen of England was present at Katherine's coronation?
  E_____
- In which battle did Katherine secure victory for Henry, whilst he was at war in France, on 9th September 1513?
  F_____
- Where did Katherine and Henry's wedding take place? **G**_____
- What title was held by Katherine's Nephew, Charles V (as well as being King Charles I of Spain)? **H**_____
- Who was Katherine's mother?
  I_____
- Who was Katherine's royal ancestor who gave her some claim to the English throne?
  J_____
- Where did Katherine die?
  K_____
- Katherine's motto was 'Humble and …'?
  L_____
- What was the name of Katherine and Henry's only surviving child?
  M_____
- On the 14th of which month in 1501, did Katherine and Arthur marry?
  N_____
- Which was Katherine's favourite university?
  O_____
- Where is Katherine buried?
  P_____
- What title did Katherine use right up until her death? **Q**_____
- To what role did Henry appoint Katherine went he went to war with the French 1513?
  R_____
- Where did Katherine marry Arthur, Prince of Wales? **S**_____
- Katherine was the second queen of which dynasty? **T**_____
- Which treaty in 1518 was sealed in part by the betrothal of Katherine's daughter?
  U_____
- Who was Katherine's chosen advisor for her daughter's education?
  V_____
- Who was her daughter's Godfather?
  W_____
- Who was the Bishop of Rochester opposed to Katherine's marriage to Henry (last letter)?
  X_____
- What colour were Henry and Anne Boleyn rumoured to have worn upon hearing of Katherine's death in January 1536?
  Y_____
- During the trial of her marriage, how many times did Katherine admit to sleeping with Arthur during their marriage?
  Z_____

Answers on page 31

THE PERSISTENT QUEEN: KATHERINE OF ARAGON IN TELEVISION AND FILM

By Emma Elizabeth Taylor

Katherine of Aragon is best-known as the first of Henry VIII's six wives, and the mother of his daughter, Mary, who would become the infamous "Bloody Mary" of History, 23 years after the death of her mother. Katherine was the queen who was set aside in favour of Anne Boleyn, beginning a series of events known as the English Reformation, and the destabilisation of the power of the Catholic Church in England. Katherine, or Catalina as she was known at birth, is commonly featured in books, films and television shows revolving around the events of the reformation, and the reign of her husband, Henry VIII.

The tragedy in Katherine's representation lies in the fact that she is so frequently a secondary character; a foil to the younger, more beautiful and more glamorous Anne Boleyn. Katherine has been played by over twenty actresses in both film and television, and has yet to be the central focus of any one sustained story – the closest to this being *The Tudors*, series one, a series not exactly famed for its accuracy in representation. This being considered, it's interesting to examine representations of Katherine, and see how this stubborn, beautiful and charming woman now plays second fiddle to the myth of Anne Boleyn. I will be looking at four different television shows and films featuring Katherine, and examining how she has been presented through the lens of 20th and 21st century cinema and television.

Firstly, it seems fitting to examine *The Other Boleyn Girl,* the 2008 feature film, starring Eric Bana as Henry VII, Natalie Portman as Anne Boleyn and Scarlett Johansson as the title character, Mary Boleyn. As the movie focuses on Anne and Mary's relationships with Henry during his marriage to Katherine, we are safe to assume that the representation of Katherine is not going to be wholly positive or flattering. Katherine, played by Ana Torrent, is very much presented as a foil to Anne and Mary, even from their very first meeting. She sits in a raised throne, surround-

Ana Torrent (right) as Katherine of Aragon, with Juno Temple (left) as the young Lady Rochford in The Other Boleyn Girl (Hotflick)

ed by ladies, towering over Anne and Mary. She is wearing a dress of rich, deep red satin, which is high-necked, and ornamented with pearls and rubies. She wears a heavy gable hood with a long black veil, with her hair pulled back underneath it. It is a powerful, imposing, royal look, directly contrasting Mary and Anne's lightly-coloured, silk gowns with small, ornate French hoods, and transparent partlets which barely cover their cleavage. Katherine looks older, more imposing, and every inch a queen. Her surrounding ladies are all dressed in dark, rich tones, wearing gable hoods. We are meant to feel intimidated by this woman and her power, and she commands Mary to sing, to prove her worth as an addition to Katherine's ladies-in-waiting. In a later scene in the film, Katherine is on her way to court, and addresses Mary and Anne as 'the Boleyn whores.' Once again, she is surrounded by ladies, and is cloaked in opulent furs, silks and velvets. She wears a giant gold cross at her neck – an in-your-face reminder of Katherine's piety and assurance in her holy duty. Torrent plays Katherine admirably, in the few scenes she has throughout the film, but the structure of the work leads us to sympathise not with Katherine, but with the Boleyns. We do not empathise with her, or understand her; she is an obstacle to Henry and Mary, a roadblock in their great romance. In a movie named *The Other Boleyn Girl,* this hardly seems surprising, but there is a certain subtlety lacking in this film's presentation of this much-loved queen.

When it comes to subtlety in representations of Katherine, *Anne of the Thousand Days* remains one of the most stereotypical. *Anne of the Thousand Days* received 10 Academy Award nominations, and deservedly won the Academy Award for Best Costume. Played by the Greek actress Irene Papas, Katherine is

On set fun - Irene Papas (right) played Katherine with regal splendour in Anne of the Thousand Days, but she and her co-star Genevieve Bujold, who played Anne Boleyn, found time to relax between takes. (Public Domain)

Irish actress Maria Doyle Kennedy played Katherine in two seasons of The Tudors (Showtime)

Joanne Whalley, who previously played Katherine's daughter Mary in episode 1 of The Virgin Queen, as Katherine in Wolf Hall (PBS)

presented in extreme contrast to Anne, played by Geneviève Bujold. In a similar vein to *The Other Boleyn Girl,* Katherine is here presented as olive skinned, with dark eyes and dark hair, alongside a Spanish accent, but in reality, Katherine was red-haired, with a pale complexion and blue eyes. It is something of a cinematic short-cut used in both films; an audience may assume that a Princess of Spain would have dark eyes and hair, and so, instead of casting per Katherine's real physical appearance, they cast actresses who were recognisably Hispanic in an effort to quickly convey Katherine's nationality to the audience. The Katherine presented in *Anne of the Thousand Days* has a silent-movie era beauty; cloaked entirely in black velvet, she wears a large ornate cross, and a severe French hood that pulls her hair off her face. Anne is cloaked in light, beautiful, form-fitting dresses, in contrast to Katherine, who appears in heavy, dramatic and opulent dresses and robes, that are almost consistently black. Once again, in a movie that centres on Anne's story, Katherine acts as little more than a foil to Anne, an obstacle to be overcome.

Moving on to more contemporary representations, Katherine is played by Irish actress and singer Maria Doyle Kennedy in the Showtime series *The Tudors.* Once again, we have a dark-haired Katherine, although this time with a paler complexion, and blue eyes. The colour palette used for Katherine in *The Tudors* is strikingly similar to the ones used in *The Other Boleyn Girl* and *Anne of the Thousand Days.* Katherine is clothed predominantly in rich deep reds and blacks, with opulent fabric and heavy, ornate jewellery. No hoods are featured; at least none that are period accurate; *The Tudors* has been the source of much criticism revolving costuming and sets, as many of the items and pieces of clothing used were stylised or heavily anachronistic to

the Tudor time period. However, in terms of presentation of the character, Kennedy has much more time to present a more complex, nuanced performance of Katherine, a role which she fills admirably. We see softer sides of Katherine; her love for her daughter, her piousness and her admirable stubbornness to step aside for Anne Boleyn. We also see her in exile, a time period rarely covered by Tudor film and television, and we, as viewers, have much more time to understand Katherine, both as a character and a historical figure. We also see Katherine's death, movingly portrayed by Kennedy – another rare occurrence in the presentation of Katherine's story. While *The Tudors* has some dubious issues with historical accuracy, it offers the audience a chance to really engage with each of Henry's queens, as well as the King himself, an opportunity few film or television series have had thus far.

Moving from a series criticised for inaccuracies, we then come to *Wolf Hall,* the BBC series praised highly for its historical accuracy, attention to detail, and its non-sexualised portrayal of the court of Henry VIII. Katherine is here portrayed by Johanna Whalley, who is the closest in physical appearance to the real Katherine. While she doesn't have the blue eyes that Katherine did, she is fair skinned, with red hair, and stand as a relatively close physical match to the real woman. Whalley is costumed in beautiful, period accurate Tudor gowns, and *Wolf Hall* breaks the monotony of the red-gold-black colour palette; we finally see Katherine wearing purple, a colour intertwined with notions of royalty and nobility. She also wears period-accurate gable hoods, furs and veils; and while these seem like relatively small details, this is the accuracy that *Wolf Hall* was celebrated for. It's an excellent performance by Whalley, who makes the most of Katherine's small role. However, Anne Boleyn is not the lead in this story, as *Wolf Hall* follows the story of Thomas Cromwell, detailing his rise from commoner to Henry VIII's chief minister. *Wolf Hall* is a story more focused on political upheaval and intrigue, rather than romance or interpersonal relationships – and this shows. It's an excellent portrayal of Henry VIII's court at this tempestuous time, and special mention must be given to Damian Lewis, who excels at playing a Henry who is just beginning to the slow descent into the huge, tyrannical autocrat of legends.

Katherine of Aragon is, without a doubt, overshadowed by Anne Boleyn in popular historical fiction. The young, glamorous Queen Anne, who was beheaded at the behest of her husband, is still the darling of television and film, in comparison to Katherine, who died a quiet death of suspected cancer on January 7th, 1536. However, Katherine's reputation remains un-besmirched. Her tomb in Peterborough Cathedral hardly ever lacks decoration with roses and her heraldic symbol, pomegranates, and there is a service every year dedicated to her memory. While Katherine might not have swathes of books, films or television shows made about her, she is indisputably remembered as Henry's longest reigning queen; a stubborn, beautiful pious woman, who without a doubt left her own mark on history.

EMMA TAYLOR

A-Z Quiz Answers

Alcala de Henares (near Madrid, Spain)
Blood
Crowned Pomegranate
Doña Elvira Manuel
Elizabeth Boleyn
Flodden
Greenwich Palace (in the Queen's Closet)
Holy Roman Emperor
Isabella of Castile
John of Gaunt
Kimbolton Castle
Loyal
Mary
November
Oxford
Peterborough Cathedral
Queen of England
Regent (or Governor of England)
St Paul's Cathedral
Tudor
Universal Peace
Vives (Juan Luis)
(Cardinal) **W**olsey
Fox
Yellow
Zero

The Tudor Housewife Childcare, pt 1

Babies

When we talk about 'swaddling' a baby today, we mean wrapping it securely in a blanket, to keep it warm and comfortable while it sleeps and statistics show that restless infants sleep longer when swaddled in this way. However, in medieval and Tudor times, swaddling was an art form, often learned by girls practising on their younger siblings, involving numerous layers and great lengths of linen swaddling 'bands'. The intention was to make certain the child's limbs grew straight but also served to immobilise the little one and keep him out of harm's way. So how were Tudor babies swaddled?

First, the baby wore a plain linen shirt – called a shift, if the child was a girl, but the design was the same – a simple 'T'-shaped garment that opened down the front. Wealthy families might use fine diaper[1]* linen, embroidered and trimmed with lace; poorer folk would cut down an adult's worn out shirt or shift. Most important was the tailclout: a double layer of linen to go around the baby's bottom. Tailclouts were often reinforced with a flannel square or 'pilch', especially overnight but leakage must have been a problem. Next, the 'bed': a wide cloth that went from the baby's chest, down over its feet and up the back. A bib was laid under the chin to catch dribbles or, if the little one was teething and dribbling a lot, a more substantial 'pinafore' might be pinned there instead.

It was vital to keep the baby's head warm, beginning with a 'cross-cloth', a linen band that went across his forehead. Then a close-fitting woollen cap called a 'biggin', sometimes a second, looser cap or a hood, was worn as well. For very young babies needing head support, wide linen 'stay bands' would go over the head and be pinned to the shoulders of the shirt. With the baby's head fixed in position, the rest of his little body could be swaddled with linen bands – or woollen in cold weather – strips about three inches wide. These were wrapped around, beginning at the chest, working down to the feet and back up again, making certain there were no creases to cause discomfort. In tiny babies, the arms were held at its sides by the swaddling but in many contemporary images of swaddled infants the arms are shown free as the baby grew older. If this sounds like a lot of effort, don't forget the infant would have to be unwrapped and rewrapped with the same care every time its tailclout needed changing!

But infants weren't swaddled continuously. They were changed regularly and allowed to crawl around. The swaddling might come off altogether when the child could sit up on his own. Some sources say children were swaddled up to a year old but we know Prince Edmund – Henry VIII's little brother who died young – was 'released from swaddling' at five months, so clearly it varied. Busy mothers sometimes 'laced' unswaddled youngsters into the cradle, making a sort of net across it to keep them from falling out, leaving them free to kick

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1 * originally the name of the type of cloth, only later in America becoming the word for what it England is known as a 'nappy'

or move about within the cradle. It's also known that babies were often swaddled onto boards to be carried around and sometimes these boards had a loop of rope fixed to the back so the little one could be hung up on a hook to watch what was going on without getting in the way, or even hung safely in a tree while mother worked in the fields.

Coroners' Court rolls show that whatever precautions were taken, children had accidents. Swaddled infants or those laced into a cradle were known to die in fires. Parents were warned not to sleep with their babies for fear of overlaying and smothering them. Once a child began moving around, the danger increased. Adventurous toddlers fell down wells, into ponds and streams, tumbled down stairs, into fires and boiling cauldrons, or even crawled out into the street to be crushed by a passing cart. Unexpected accidents could befall: there was no such thing as a baby-proof Tudor household. Busy peasant mothers were sometimes unable to keep a constant watch but court records show it was rare to leave infants or toddlers unattended – an action greatly disapproved by the community.

Babies who weren't swaddled were often simply naked or wrapped in blankets against the cold. There is a c.15th German image of Jesus as a toddler[2*] riding a hobby horse, wearing just his open-fronted shirt and nothing else which must have made toilet-training easier. There is little evidence for special baby clothing except for the 'bearing cloth', an outer blanket for grand occasions, particularly the baptism. Since babies grow quickly, having lots of clothes was uneconomical in poorer families. But wealthy babies might have mantles of silk or satin decorated with lace or exquisitely patterned quilting. A splendid mantle could be part of a child's christening clothes, along with beautifully trimmed bibs, cuffs, gloves and caps.

A baby's mother was usually its primary carer in poorer families. Other family members might help but the mother breastfed the child. Poorer parents didn't often hire a nurse, although if the mother died or was too ill, a wet nurse could be found. If no wet nurse was available, other means of feeding the child included soaking bread in milk, soaking a rag in milk for the child to suckle, or pouring milk into his mouth from a horn. All were more difficult than putting him to the breast and the baby's chances of contracting illness increased due to these unhygienic methods and the lack of beneficial breast milk to help him fight disease. However, among the nobility and wealthier folk, wet nurses were common and frequently stayed on, once the infant was weaned, to care for him through childhood. Even so, mothers might nurse their children themselves as this was encouraged by the Church. Parents could and did take an active interest in the welfare and progress of their children. They also took great care in choosing the nurse and treated her well for the ultimate benefit of the child.

Whether a child received his food and care from his mother or a nurse, he was consoled when he fell or was sick, bathed and sung to sleep, even having his meat chewed for him. The average Tudor child was loved, even if his fragile life might not last a year. Death came in many ways: apart from accidents, diseases that can be cured today by antibiotics or prevented with a vaccine, claimed too many young lives in the sixteenth century, but parents loved their children and mourned their loss if they died.

TONI MOUNT

2 * seen here (unknown artist, accessed 16 July 2017) http://www.florilegium.org/files/CHILDREN/Horsey-Toys-art.html

PRINSENHOF,
GHENT, FLANDERS.
THE BIRTHPLACE OF
CHARLES V.
BY DMITRY YAKHOVSKY

CHARLES V

Debra Bayani

As Tudor fanatics, readers of Tudor Life Magazine will be interested in the family members of the most famous Tudors. This article focuses on Catherine of Aragon's nephew, Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, King of the Romans and Italy, son of Catherine's sister Joanna and her husband Philip I of Castile

Charles was born at the Prinsenhof in Ghent, Flanders (modern day Belgium) and was the eldest of six children: four daughters and two sons. Between 1498 and 1501, Joanna gave birth to three children in the Netherlands: Eleanor, Charles and Isabella. Then, in Spain, in the year 1503, Ferdinand was born. Two years later, back in the Netherlands, Mary was born. Once again in Spain in 1507, Joanna gave birth to her last child, born shortly after the tragic death of the child's young father. This child was named Catherine and was the only one of their six children who grew up in her mother's presence.

Joanna remained in Spain, where she became the heir to the Spanish throne upon the death of her brother, his infant child and older sister.

Queen Isabella, Joanna's mother, had made her the successor to the throne, but with a limitation that if she were absent, not prepared or not capable of ruling, then her father, Ferdinand, would become the country's regent until Joanna's eldest son, Charles, came of age.

When Queen Isabella died in 1504, Joanna succeeded her as planned, but there were problems. Joanna's husband, Philip, and King Ferdinand were entangled in a difficult conflict. Ferdinand wanted to prevent his daughter and son-in-law from taking the throne to stop it falling into Habsburg hands in the future.

Joanna became a pawn between these two men in their battle for power. Her father took the leading role, and the power struggle only ended in 1506 when Joanna's husband died at the age of twenty-eight due to Typhus from drinking contaminated water. Of course, it was suspected that Philip had been poisoned and that Ferdinand was responsible.

Joanna's grief was profound. The heavily pregnant and already mentally vulnerable Joanna sank into a deep lethargy. In the following years, Joanna's mental state worsened, and she became queen in name only.

Ferdinand, her father, ruled until his death in 1516, but during this time he tried everything in his power to prevent his daughter and foreign-born grandson Charles from succeeding him. He preferred Joanna's second son, Ferdinand, who was not only named after him, but also grew up at his grandfather's court, being groomed to be his heir.

Even though Ferdinand remarried, his second marriage failed to produce an heir, leaving Joanna as his heir presumptive, and upon Ferdinand's death, Charles became his mother's co-monarch of Castile, León and Aragon. In addition, Charles inherited the Burgundian Netherlands and Franche Comté from his paternal grandparents, Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian I. From Charles's own line, he inherited the Habsburg heritage. Charles was, therefore, the heir to Europe's three leading dynasties, the houses of Valois-Burgundy (Burgundy

Joanna and her parents, Ferdinand and Isabella, c. 1482

Joanna la loca (the mad)
by the Master of Afflighem c. 1500

and the Netherlands), Habsburg (the Holy Roman Empire) and Trastamara (Spain). Upon the death of his grandfather Maximilian I in 1519, Charles also became Holy Roman Emperor.

The union was the closest Europe would come to a "*Monarchia Universalis*". The area covered included the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Austria, Germany, Hungary, and a large part of Italy, as well as parts of modern day Poland, Croatia, Switzerland and the Czech Republic. It also included regions in Africa and Asia. Charles ruled over 40% of Europe, populated by around 28 million people.

There were, however, widespread fears about Charles's vast inheritance and the possibility that it might lead to a European sovereign. Charles was largely ignored by other European monarchs, especially by those who were Lutheran. Despite Charles's persecution of heretics, Protestantism grew solidly.

His reign was dominated by battles, especially with Francis I of France and King Suleyman I of the Ottoman Empire. These cost an enormous amount of money, mostly provided by the rich Netherlands.

Charles's main goal was to shape his Habsburg dominions into a single Catholic union, but, bitterly disappointed and exhausted after 34 years of energetic permanent travelling and fighting wars, Charles made an extraordinary move. He decided to lay down his crown and abdicate, giving the Holy Roman Empire to his brother Ferdinand and his Spanish empire (including the Netherlands) to his son Philip II.

Therefore, the enormous Habsburg Empire of Charles V was split. On 25 October 1555 all of his dignitaries gathered in the Aula Magna of the Palace of Coudenberg in Brussels. Representatives of all seventeen provinces, members of the government, and knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece, including his son Philip II from Spain and the young Prince William of Orange, were present for the occasion.

Even though it was a sad event for Charles, he wanted it to be memorable and magnificent, one that would be spoken of for years after.

The walls of the Magna Aula were hung with gorgeous tapestries, and an abundance of flowers and garlands gave it a festive appearance. At one end of the hall, a platform had been erected. Above the centre of the platform hung a huge canopy, and beneath it was the throne. On either side of the throne were two gilded chairs. To the right of the platform, seats covered with richly coloured tapestry were placed, reserved for the nobles and knights among the guests. Seats were also provided for members of the three great councils which governed the Netherlands, including the young Prince William of Orange.


PIVS. VLTIO

Allegory on the Abdication of Emperor Charles V in Brussels
by Frans Francken the Younger c. 1630-1640

Benches below the platform were filled with those who had come to represent the different provinces. Magistrates were garbed in their gowns and chains of office, officers of the State were dressed impressively. After a long series of speeches, in which Charles expressed his gratitude and affection to the people of the Netherlands, the great assembly listened with bated breath as he told them of the great successes and achievements of his reign.

Of course, during his long reign, Charles had put many of their countrymen to death, trades had been hindered by extortion and charters ruthlessly ignored, but for the moment the people forgot these wounds. In the moment, they only remembered that Charles belonged to them by birth and that he could talk to them in their own language, that he was dear to them for his friendly, informal ways. Despite his cruel deeds, he had won a place in the people's hearts.

Charles ended his long speech by saying:

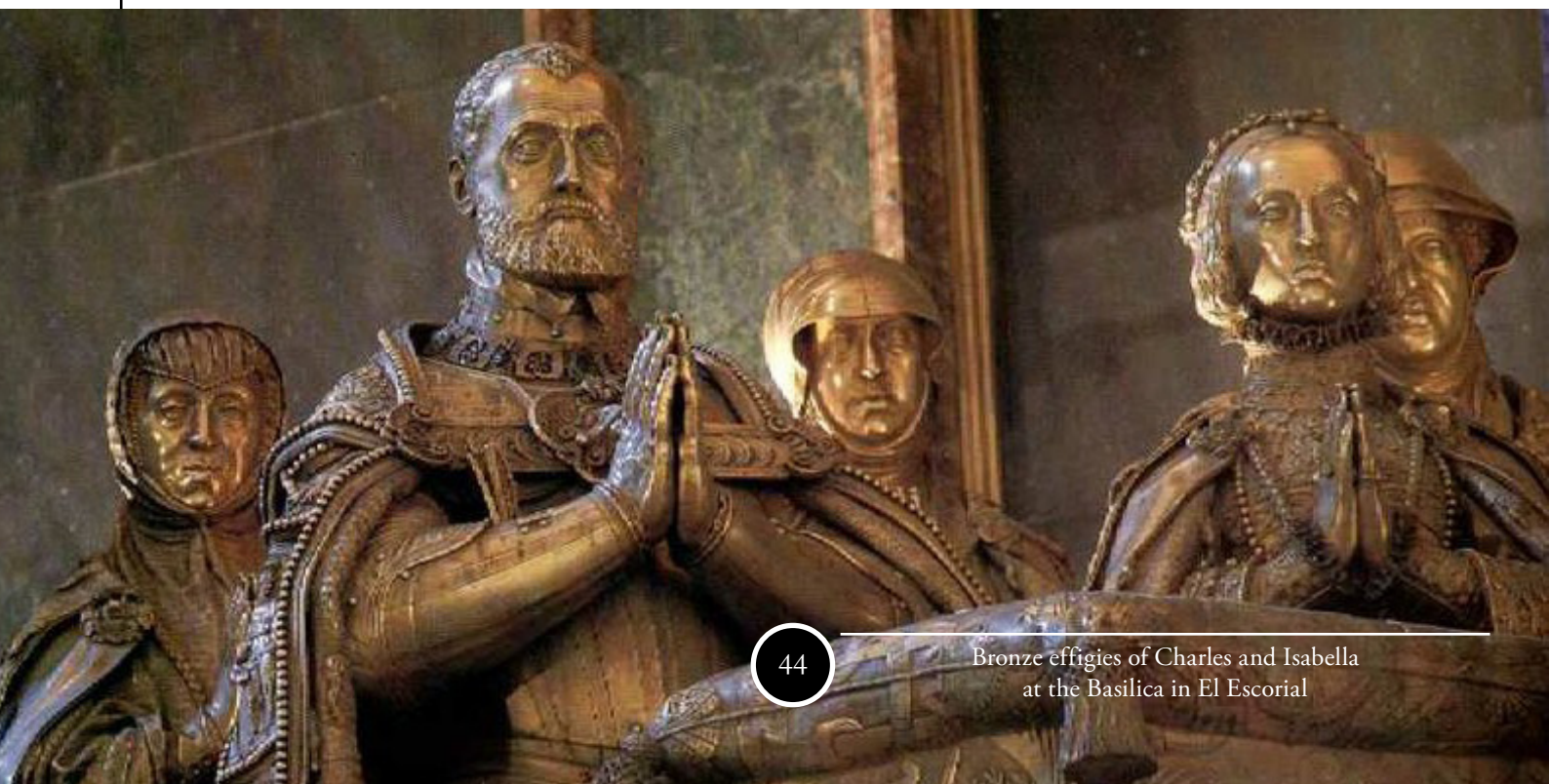
> *"I know well that in my long reign I have fallen into many errors and committed some wrongs, but it was from ignorance, and if there be any here whom I have wronged, they will believe it was not intended, and grant me their forgiveness".*

Exhausted and overcome by emotion, the emperor sank back on his throne; the silence broken by the weeping of this great assembly. His son, Philip II, usually formal and arrogant, was touched, and, dropped on his knees before his father, seizing his hand and kissing it. Solemnly, Charles placed his hands on his son's head, blessing him by making the sign of the Cross over him. Philip rose and turned to the great assembly. Before them, they saw their future lord.

Philip was similar to his father in features, having all the Burgundian characteristics. He looked Flemish, yet was haughty like a Spaniard. However, that was where the similarities ended. He had none of his father's charismatic ways and was unable even to speak the language of his new subjects. Philip failed from the outset to win the hearts of the Netherlanders.

Philip II went on to marry four times, and this is where the link to the Tudors comes in - his second marriage was Mary I of England, daughter of his father's aunt, Catherine of Aragon, and her husband Henry VIII. But that's another story...

DEBRA BAYANI



Bronze effigies of Charles and Isabella at the Basilica in El Escorial

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

MEMBERS' BULLETIN

Welcome to all our members, both new and old!

This month we're posting out the paper magazine to our members who have selected the paper magazine option for the very first time. It's a momentous occasion for us as it is something we've wanted to do for a very long time!

Of course, if you're reading this bulletin on printed paper or in digital format ... thank you for your support of our goals to make the Tudor Society the best place for information on this fascinating era. Thank you also for your support of the historians who contribute to our website and magazine. Without your membership, it would be much harder for them to continue the research we all enjoy.

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DID HENRY VIII EVER INTEND THAT HIS ELDEST DAUGHTER MARY SHOULD BE QUEEN OF ENGLAND?

Addressing a question asked recently on the Tudor Society website, **J. Stephan Edwards** looks into this fascinating area of the Tudor line of succession...

The topic of this article was recently asked on the TudorSociety.com website and it piqued my interest. Conor Byrne offered a tentative response, but the issue is worth further examination, in largest part because any answer has bearing on the wider question of the relationship between gender and power in sixteenth-century England. The short answer to the question is, "No, Henry VIII never intended that his daughter Mary should be a ruling Queen of England."

It is perhaps too tempting today, given the enormous mythology that has built up around the historical figure of Henry VIII, to view his obsessive desire for a male heir as stemming entirely from Henry's own mind. Yet that is not the case. Henry was not the first to express a strong preference for a male heir, nor was he the first (or last) to go to exhaustive extremes to see his wishes fulfilled. Instead, Henry merely reflected a longstanding paradigm in English—and even European—social and political culture.

England was a patriarchy, or a society in which the overwhelming majority of power in both the public and the private spheres was ordinarily assigned almost exclusively to men. Women did not customarily participate in any way in public affairs, and they were afforded only limited opportunities in private affairs. This structuring of society was supported by a foundation of ancient religious doctrines that subjugated women, of feudal customs that denied to women most of the property and inheritance rights afforded to men,

and a political system that barred women from direct participation. In the ecclesiastical realm, for example, the dictates of St Paul had long barred women from any position of authority within the Christian church, except where that authority was exercised over other women in the setting of holy orders. But even then, any female leader within an all-female order was always subject to supervision by male priest-confessors or diocesan bishops. Women could not themselves serve as bishops, priests, or deacons.

In the secular world, restrictions impacting women were equally severe. Women of all social levels in Tudor England were prohibited from attending any English university, for example. They were likewise barred from entry into the leading professions of theology, law, and medicine. The guild system that sought to control the English manufacturing economy largely barred women from membership. Women were not allowed to vote or to run for elective office, and neither could they serve in appointed offices such as sheriff or lord lieutenant. Nor could they serve on juries, or in any military capacity whatsoever. Unmarried women who inherited significant property were commonly placed into wardship under some adult male who was then responsible for administering the property for the female ward, though the guardian was legally free to act in his own interests with respect to the property rather than in the interests of his ward. Married women were barred from making wills since any individual legal identity ceased to exist upon marriage and was instead incorporated into that of the husband. Only women who never married and widows were afforded any real degree of individual rights to real property, though such women were usually under extreme social pressure to marry or remarry. Such pervasive restrictions on the ability of women to hold or to assert power in even their private lives made it exceedingly difficult for the political elite to envision a woman being invested with the ultimate power of monarchy.

Other common beliefs and practices of the period held that the maintenance of political stability was critically dependent upon the maintenance of social order, and that social order could be maintained only if each individual adhered to the roles assigned to them, including gender roles. The role of monarch was a decidedly masculine one in the pre-modern period, so that the possibility of a queen regnant was regarded with the gravest of concern for the continuance of social order and thus of political order. A female monarch represented, in effect, a world turned upside down and fraught with danger for any realm she attempted to rule.

It is perhaps useful to consider the situation prospectively rather than retrospectively. If we set aside our knowledge of the events that occurred after Henry's divorce/annulment from Katherine of Aragon, we are left with roughly the same information had at the time by Henry himself. Recall, for example, that Henry VIII was the first English monarch in almost a century to inherit the throne without significant challenge. That fact alone gave cause for concern when considering the future stability of the Tudor dynasty, regardless of the gender of Henry's ultimate successor. But reaching back still further in time across all of Henry's nineteen predecessors since the Norman Conquest, almost half (nine) had either gained the throne by seizing it from the heir-in-blood or had faced significant challenges from counter-claimants. In other words, peaceful transitions from a given English male monarch to his lineal male heirs had occurred in only about half of all changes of reign between 1066 and the mid 1500s. And in the sole previous instance in which the lineal heir had been female, (i.e., Matilda, daughter of Henry I), that heir had faced an immediate challenge that had led to a civil war lasting almost two decades. She had ultimately lost in that conflict, reinforcing the notion that even though a woman might inherit the throne, no woman could hold it. Historical precedent was not on Henry's side as he considered who might succeed him.

As the sole legitimate child of Henry VIII, at least during the years that included her own childhood, Mary was initially afforded a royal household at Ludlow, as Conor Byrne noted. But we must be careful not to overestimate the significance of that household. It was not intended to train Mary for a future role as a queen regnant. Rather, the goal was to train her in managing a royal household for a future king-husband, consistent with her expected role as a queen consort. And the Ludlow household also served important purposes for Henry VIII himself during the time it existed. Establishing a separate household for royal children reflected

positively on the royal parent, affording that parent the opportunity to exhibit their magnificence and largesse in a very public manner through a second and subsidiary court. The Ludlow household also gave Henry a reliable "forward base" in the Welsh Marches, an area that remained restive in the Tudor period. Lastly, it is important to recall that the Ludlow household was immediately dissolved when Mary was stripped of her royal title in 1533, and Mary was made to serve thereafter in the new Princess Elizabeth's household.

Conor noted that, during her years as Henry's heir apparent, Mary "had the same authority and rights that the Prince of Wales traditionally enjoyed, although she was never formally appointed Princess of Wales." This is again related to issues of gender and power. The title Prince of Wales is traditionally reserved for the *male* heir apparent, rendering it gender-exclusive. As a woman, Mary was not eligible to be granted the title Princess of Wales, just as she was thought not eligible to be a queen regnant. Nonetheless, Mary was still Henry VIII's *female* heir apparent from her birth in 1516 until passage of the First Act for the Succession in 1533. That Henry VIII categorically refused between 1516 and 1533 to accept Mary as his successor to the crown is apparent from the exhaustive way in which he pursued his "Great Matter." Indeed, from Katherine of Aragon's first pregnancy until the birth of Prince Edward to Jane Seymour in 1537, Henry VIII exhibited an obsessive determination that his heir would be male, even if he had to move heaven and earth in order to accomplish that end.

We must also be careful not to misinterpret the restoration of Mary to the succession under the Third Act for the Succession of 1544. We cannot simply assume that Henry had by then made peace with the possibility that either of his daughters might inherit the throne should Edward die without issue. Instead, we must read the Act in the context of 1544 and without the benefit of hindsight. The Second Act for the Succession, that of 1536, had vested the crown in the heirs male of the body of Henry VIII and his then wife, Queen Jane Seymour, or in any heirs male born of any future lawful wife or wives, while explicitly excluding his "natural" (i.e., illegitimate) daughters Mary and Elizabeth. In other words, Henry and the English political elite still envisioned in 1536 the possibility—even the likelihood—that Henry would go on to sire multiple legitimate male children. The Third Act for the Succession similarly included wording that anticipated future additional and legitimate male issue of Henry VIII. Henry was, after all, still very much alive at the time of the passage of the Third Act in 1544, newly remarried to a woman still of childbearing age, and himself sufficiently healthy to lead personally a military campaign on the continent.

So why did the Third Act restore Mary and Elizabeth to the succession if Henry did not anticipate that either might actually and eventually become queen regnant of England? The answer lies in the duty of a monarch to anticipate the needs of his realm and his subjects and to make reasonable and adequate provision for those needs. The Third Act was entirely an ad hoc measure specific to Henry's planned expedition to the continent and should not be interpreted as a long-range plan or schema for the succession, much less as Henry VIII's *personal* long-range plan. Instead, Henry thought it "convenient ***afore his departure beyond the seas***" [emphasis added] to make his wishes known in the unlikely event he failed to return to England. The Act was, in other words, a short-term and occasion-specific stop-gap measure intended to circumvent any dynastic struggles in the unlikely event that both Henry and Edward should die while Henry was away in France. Only then and *in extremis* might the crown pass to Mary.

Implicit in the Third Act, however, is an assumption that Henry would again address the succession issue following his return from France, especially should Edward die in the interim. And in that interim, after Henry's return from France but prior to the enactment of some final long-term settlement, the Third Act explicitly granted to Henry the "full power to and authority to ... assign ... the imperial crown ... for lack of lawful heirs of either of the bodies of the King's Highness and Prince Edward begotten, and also for lack of lawful heirs of the bodies of the said Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth ... to such person or persons ... as shall please his Highness ... as shall be ... named ... in His Highness's letters patent, or by his last will in writing signed with his most gracious hand." Note that this clause does not refer to either Mary or Elizabeth themselves succeeding, but instead to

"lawful heirs of the[ir] bodies" doing so. The Third Act effectively empowered Henry to skip one or more generations of female issue and to pass the crown to a male of the second or third generation of his own descendants. And the framers of the Act almost certainly envisioned those descendant-heirs being male rather than female, consistent with patriarchal expectations. In short, Mary might succeed *only* if Henry and Edward *both* died while Henry was in France, an outcome that Henry undoubtedly considered very unlikely. Then, following Henry's return from France and until yet another act for the succession could be passed, Henry could pass over Mary and Elizabeth to settle the crown on any son that either might yet bear prior to Henry's death. Further, Henry was personally empowered by the Third Act, in the event that neither Mary nor Elizabeth had produced male issue prior to his own death, to set aside either or both of Mary and Elizabeth depending upon whom they married if either woman should marry without his consent and approval of the potential husband. In an era when secret marriages were not uncommon (even Henry's own marriage to Anne Boleyn had initially been a secret one), and in light of the general assumption by the English polity that the husband of any female monarch would necessarily either reign as co-monarch or supersede his wife, such a provision makes it clear that the restoration of Mary and Elizabeth to the succession was highly circumscribed by qualifications and conditions. Neither Henry nor the framers of the Third Act intended that any woman should inherit the crown freely and without restriction, whereas inheritance my any of Henry VIII's legitimate male issue ***was*** free and unrestricted.

In the event, Henry did return alive from France, though he never sired any additional children. But because Edward remained an active, healthy child until his father's death in January 1547, notably less than three years since passage of the Third Act, Henry had no compelling reason to revisit the succession issue prior to his last illness. For Henry, the matter was already settled via practical reality rather than through parliamentary statues: Edward would succeed him and go on to marry and father male heirs of his own. On his deathbed, Henry had no reason to believe that Edward would die without issue, and therefore he had no reason to anticipate that Mary or Elizabeth would ever come to the throne themselves. God had given Henry the seemingly healthy male-gender heir he desired, securing the future social and political order of the realm. Henry could and did die in the belief that he had done all he could to ensure that England was provided with a king to rule over her. Had Henry VIII had any doubt that Edward would survive long enough to sire a fourth generation of Tudor royal princes, it seems to this author quite certain that he would eventually have called for a fourth act for the succession, and that act would again have given preference to males, however distant in the succession bloodline, over and before Mary and/or Elizabeth.

J. STEPHAN EDWARDS, PH.D.

J. Stephan Edwards earned his PhD in British History as a mature student in 2007 for his dissertation on Lady Jane Grey. He has since published several articles on scholarly subjects as varied as the ancient origins of the acrostic puzzle and the identification of female sitters in early modern portrait paintings. His book on portraiture of Jane Grey, entitled *A Queen of a New Invention*, was published in 2015 and was followed in 2016 by a study of her prayer book. He is currently in the final stages of preparing a biography of Jane Grey that will focus on the gender issues surrounding the English succession crisis of 1553. Dr Edwards will also appear as an expert commentator in a three-part documentary series on Jane Grey that is scheduled to air in the UK on BBC4 in the autumn of 2017.

THOMAS, LORD BURGH OF GAINSBOROUGH AND THREE OF HENRY VIII'S WIVES

BY MARILYN ROBERTS

GAINSBOROUGH IS A SMALL TOWN IN LINCOLNSHIRE approximately 17 miles from Lincoln, 12 miles from Retford and 40 miles from Grantham. Its most famous building is the 15th century Old Hall begun around 1460 by Sir Thomas Burgh which, apart from its fascinating structure and history, boasts one of the finest late medieval kitchens in the country and a magnificent Great Hall. The Burgh (pronounced 'Borough') family, staunch Yorkists, came to prominence in the reign of Edward IV and managed to weather the storm when the Lancastrians took the throne in 1485. In the next generation, however, Sir Edward Burgh's bouts of madness were an early indicator that this family might not, after all, reach the elevated status certain other 'new made men', such as the Russells and the Cavendishes managed to achieve. The afflicted man's son, Lord Thomas Burgh, had connections with three of the wives of Henry VIII, one of whom, in her teenage years, was actually his daughter-in-law.

Gainsborough Old Hall's Great Hall, more than likely the venue for huge banquets in honour of King Richard III in 1484 and Henry VIII and Katherine Howard in 1541. © M Roberts

LORD BURGH AND KATHERINE PARR

Thomas, Lord Burgh of Gainsborough could be a difficult man: possibly due in no small part to his family having been almost ruined by the avarice of King Henry VII. One of that first Tudor monarch's more unfortunate characteristics was the pursuit of his nobles, and sometimes the lesser classes, for every penny he could squeeze out of them through fines, sometimes on very spurious grounds. His pursuit of Lord Thomas's father, Sir Edward, from 1496 onwards, was so great that he was confined to the Fleet Prison in London for debt. Although his father was eventually released, Thomas had been obliged to take on the family's responsibilities at a relatively young age, and in 1510, during the first year of the reign of Henry VIII, his father was declared a lunatic and 'distracted of memorie', and lived on in that unfortunate condition until his death in 1528.

Sir Thomas, as he was until 1529, won his knighthood at the Battle of the Spurs in 1513, took an active part in politics, was twice Sheriff of Lincoln, and was about 40 years old in 1529 when elevated to the peerage and summoned to Parliament, where he took his seat as Lord Burgh of Gainsborough. The same year, his son and heir, another Sir Edward, married 17-year-old Mistress Katherine Parr, daughter of the late knight and courtier Sir Thomas Parr. (Until fairly recently it had been claimed by certain authors that the young Katherine had married the elder Edward, that is, the grandfather, but this cannot have been the case.)

Barring any disaster, Katherine Parr would one day be chatelaine of Gainsborough Old Hall, and it was there her married life began. Alas, her husband died in 1533, still only in his mid-twenties, leaving her a young widow with no son, and thus surplus to the Burgh family's requirements. Her mother had recently passed away, so Katherine went to relatives in Westmoreland, and the following year became the third wife of her father's second cousin, John Neville, Lord Latimer, a man twice her age with young children. With him she appears to have had a happy union, but ten years on she was again a widow with no children of her own.

Expecting at last to marry a man of her own choice – the late Jane Seymour's brother Thomas – Lady Latimer's hopes were dashed when the obese and ailing king decided to make her his sixth wife. The myth that Henry VIII had first noticed Katherine Parr at Gainsborough Old Hall when on the royal progress of 1541 with his fifth wife, fails to take into account that at the time she was Lord Latimer's wife, and had already been away from Lincolnshire for over eight years.

Lord Burgh was a proponent of Henry VIII's reform of the Church and supported the annulment of his first marriage, so his appointment as Chamberlain to Katherine of Aragon's successor was, perhaps, a reward for that support. At the time of his son's death in the spring of 1533, Lord Burgh would have been largely occupied in overseeing plans for Anne Boleyn's forthcoming coronation; reports from a high-ranking foreign diplomat give a glimpse into the unattractive side of his personality at this time.

On 29th May 1533, Queen Anne's procession from the Thames-side Greenwich Palace across to the Tower of London, where she would be lodged prior to her coronation at Westminster, was to be a magnificent river spectacle, for which was needed a large, gilded and embellished barge of up to 170 feet in length, manned by oarsmen sporting the finest livery. There was no shortage of such vessels suitable for what we today would term an extensive 'makeover', so when the new queen's Chamberlain appropriated the barge of her helpless predecessor, whose royal coat of arms he ordered to be ripped from the vessel, there were mumblings in high places that it had been an unnecessarily vindictive act against an already defeated woman.

Eustace Chapuys, ambassador of Katherine of Aragon's nephew Charles V, wrote to him of a conversation he had had with the Duke of Norfolk:

> *He told me that the King his master had taken in very good part the warnings I had given to [Thomas] Cromwell to avoid occasions of irritating your Majesty; that he had been very much grieved that the arms of the Queen [Katherine of Aragon] had been not only taken from her* barge*, but also rather shamefully mutilated; and that he had rather roughly rebuked the Lady's chamberlain [Lord Burgh], not only for having taken away the said arms, but for having seized the* barge*, which belonged only to the Queen, especially as there are in the river many others quite as suitable.*[1]

(Chapuys still refers to Katherine as queen, although Henry had downgraded her status to Princess Dowager.) However, after Anne was brought from Greenwich to the Tower, with Lord Burgh accompanying her in the barge, the ambassador noted:

> *..., whatever regret the King may have shown at the taking of the Queen's* barge*, the Lady has made use of it in this triumph, and appropriated it to herself. God grant she may content herself with the said* barge *and the jewels and husband of the Queen, without attempting anything, as I have heretofore written, against the persons of the Queen and Princess [Mary].*[2]

When Anne Boleyn arrived alongside the Tower she was received by dignitaries and heralds; the Constable of the Tower, Sir William Kingston, would three years later receive her again, alas under very different circumstances. Naturally, she was dressed from head to foot in the finest jewels, fabrics and furs; Lord Burgh helped her step-grandmother, the old Duchess of Norfolk, to bear the weight of the

The Sir Thomas Burgh who built Gainsborough Hall and died in 1496, had a very successful career as a courtier and was made Knight of the Garter in 1484. The shield is *quarterly*: 1 and 4, azure three fleur-de-lis ermine for Burgh; 2 and 3, gold a lion azure for Percy, quartering gold three pales sable for Strabolgi, both from his mother's side of the family. It is his grandson, Lord Thomas Burgh of Gainsborough who was father-in-law to Katherine Parr, Lord Chamberlain to Anne Boleyn and is believed to have played host to Henry VIII and Katherine Howard. (HOPE, W. H. St. John, *The Stall Plates of the Knights of the Order of the Garter 1348 – 1485)*

Gainsborough Old Hall, dating from the 1460's, is a much-loved local landmark saved from demolition in 1949 and now in the care of English Heritage. © M Roberts

train by supporting it in the middle. This grand old lady had other step-granddaughters too, including Mistress Katherine Howard, aged about thirteen at the time, who lived with her in Horsham, and sometimes in Lambeth.

On Saturday 31st May 1533, Anne Boleyn, by now five months pregnant, made her way through the City throng from the Tower to Westminster for her coronation. Her Chamberlain was again present, at the very centre of the pomp and splendour 'attending upon the queen':

> *The Queen was in an open litter of white cloth of gold, drawn by two palfreys in white damask. She wore a surcoat and mantle of white cloth of tissue, the latter furred with ermines. Her hair was hanging down, but on her head was a coif with a circlet of rich stones. A canopy was borne over her by four knights. After the Queen came Lord Borough [Burgh], her chamberlain ...*[3]

These were scenes of excess, wealth and power that the humble folk back in Gainsborough would never have imagined. How could they? The closest that people living outside London could hope to get

Among the finest of its era to survive, Gainsborough Old Hall's late medieval kitchen would have been a hive of activity during the royal visit in 1541. © M Roberts

to anything remotely approaching such a spectacle was if they should be honoured with a royal visit. [4]

The coronation was also the highlight of Lord Burgh's career at court, for when Henry's love for his new queen died, her triumph rapidly turned to tragedy. Just short of three years after the coronation her former Chamberlain found himself as an interrogator on the panel packed with Henry VIII's friends and staunch supporters that found Anne Boleyn guilty of adultery, incest, and 'conspiring the King's death', a treasonable offence. The result was a foregone conclusion:

> *.... and being examined from the lowest peer [Lord Burgh] to the highest, each of them severally saith that she is guilty. Judgment: To be taken to prison in the Tower, and then, at the King's command, to the Green within the Tower, and there to be burned or beheaded as shall please the King.*[5]

Anne Boleyn was beheaded four days later. The day after that King Henry became betrothed to her lady-in-waiting, Jane Seymour, whom he married before the end of the month.

LORD BURGH AND KATHERINE HOWARD

When it was discovered that Henry VIII was to make a royal progress in the summer of 1541 that would include Lincoln and terminate in the city of York, many citizens of the North and those destinations *en route* would be quaking in their boots, and not just with worry about old scores the king might be planning to settle 'up North'. They would be terrified as well about how much it was all going to cost them, for the king and his wife, ministers, courtiers, servants and military escort all had to be fed and housed largely at their current hosts' own expense, which in reality meant stripping the local area bare of provisions by fair means or foul, and at a price 'fair' to the purchaser.

From the outset the weather was awful and progress was slow. To a king and court more used to the smooth and stately gilded barges gliding along the Thames, London's major thoroughfare,

the boggy countryside and the Great North Road, flooded in places and sticky with deep, squelching mud, could only have added to their distaste for the North. The French Ambassador Marillac wrote that were it not for the stupendous amount of money, time and effort it had taken to organise the venture, the progress of 1541 would have been abandoned in its early stages.

That the 1541 progress was to be a magnificent spectacle designed by and for Henry to impress his people and reinforce in their minds his enduringly overwhelming power over them, despite the Lincolnshire Rising of 1536, can be in no doubt, and no expense was spared. Jane Seymour had died in 1537, while her successor, Anne of Cleves, had been dispensed with in 1540 after only six months of marriage. So it was Henry's tiny fifth wife, weighed down by masses of exquisite jewels and decked-out in scarlet velvet and cloth of silver, who was to be the centre of attention; although, not to be outshone, the king had reserved the cloth of gold for his own outrageously ostentatious clothing. For his young wife their stay at Lincoln that August should have been a magical time. Instead, it was here that Queen Katherine Howard's short life began drawing towards its premature and violent end. Lincoln Cathedral is breathtaking. The west front and main entrance, where the king and queen knelt at the Great West Door, although seeming beautiful at first glance, in reality carry dire warnings, and the carved faces from hell already had Katherine Howard in their sights.

After the first day's business in the ancient city, when Henry took pleasure in publicly humiliating those who had stood against him in the 1536 Rising, the royal party repaired to their lodgings at the Bishop's Palace alongside the cathedral. There, during the next three nights, Queen Katherine would arrange for one of the doors to her suite of rooms to be left unlocked for Thomas Culpeper, a young gentleman of the privy chamber, one of her husband's favourite and most trusted companions. Later it would transpire that the lady's stool room (lavatory) at Lincoln was not the only place where she was having what turned out to be not-so-secret assignations with the dashing Thomas.

On 12th August, a Friday, the royal party departed for Gainsborough, where it is assumed they were accommodated at Lord Burgh's home, the only dwelling in town anywhere near fit for a king. Katherine Howard was pretty, vivacious and aged about 20, possibly younger, while Henry was 50, morbidly obese, and suffering from ulcerated legs that oozed evil-smelling pus and was, or so the

Gainsborough Old Hall's east range with the tower where Katherine Howard is believed to have slept in August 1541.

local story goes, so overweight and lame he could not climb the spiral stairs to their bedchamber in the tower. That King Henry was forced instead to sleep in the ground floor room, now used as the Gift Shop, appears to be tradition rather than documented fact, but, in any case, the king and queen would have been allotted separate rooms.

Henry was travelling with a phenomenal amount of baggage that included his own furniture and tapestries, so it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that he was actually lodged in his own spectacular tents or temporary buildings in the Hall grounds on this occasion: as Ambassador Marillac had recorded, 200 tents were being transported.[6] Gainsborough Old Hall itself could by no means have accommodated all of Henry's massive entourage, many of whom would be billeted with often unwilling hosts under any roof that could be commandeered, but it is possible that the main players such as Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Queen Katherine's uncle Norfolk, Henry's daughter Mary and prominent members of the Privy Council had a comfortable stay there.

The Hall had every modern convenience – in every sense – as witnessed by the number of garderobes, chimney stacks, and the magnificent kitchen, while the Great Hall itself must surely have been the scene of at least one immense banquet. After four days the royal party went on its way, eventually arriving in York, where Henry VIII waited in vain for his Scottish nephew, King James V, to put in an appearance.

Less than three months after leaving Gainsborough, Queen Katherine stood accused of having led an immoral life before her marriage. That was bad enough, but when her meetings with Culpeper in Lincoln, Pontefract, Hatfield near Doncaster and York came to light, her days were numbered. Jurors across the country, knowing Henry VIII had turned against her, and remembering the fate of her cousin Anne, knew she was a lost cause so were never going to put their own lives at risk by finding her innocent of 'lewd behaviour' . The only Jury to accuse her of misbehaviour at Gainsborough was that deliberating at Lincoln. As Ambassador Mariallac wrote to King Francis I on 22nd November:

> *...they have sent to Lincoln and other places where she was found with Culpeper, to have her solemnly judged, preparations are made to lodge her in the Tower, and Norfolk says she shall die, and specially because the King could not marry again while she lives.*[7]

As there is none of the usual salacious detail, it has to be wondered whether the Lincoln Indictment threw in Gainsborough just for good measure.[8]

Gainsborough Old Hall. The kitchen is on the right and great Hall in the middle, while the stone bay window could, perhaps, have come from one of the local monasteries.

We shall probably never know about young Katherine's romantic liaisons at Gainsborough Old Hall, but perhaps a secret meeting between the queen and her husband's servant had been possible. There was sufficient evidence of adultery, however questionable, from other places to satisfy the various juries of their guilt, and Thomas Culpeper was executed in December, while Katherine Howard, at no more than 21 years of age, went to the block the following February.

It was probably in the year prior to the royal visit that Thomas, Lord Burgh lost his second son and heir, also named Thomas. He himself had married another rich widow in 1540 and moved to her Suffolk estates, which begs the question of his whereabouts during the royal progress the following year. He died in 1550, was buried at Holy Trinity Church, Gainsborough, and was succeeded by his third son, William. Sadly, nothing remains of the elaborate Burgh tombs, and no known portraits of the family survive.[9]

By 1596 the family's finances were in such a dire state that Lord William's heir, another Thomas Burgh, sold the Gainsborough estate, including the Old Hall itself, to London merchant William Hickman. Thomas died in 1597 aged 39, to be succeeded by his three-year-old son, Robert, who had been named after Queen Elizabeth's favourite, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. Lord Robert died aged eight in 1602. There being only sisters surviving, the Burgh title went into abeyance, which was terminated in 1916 in favour of a descendant of one of the girls. The current Lord Burgh is Alexander Gregory Disney Leith, born in 1958.

Katherine Howard wore the most beautiful of gowns and was dripping with jewels; model of Queen Katherine in the Old Hall tower bedroom where she is reputed to have slept in 1541.
© M Roberts

NOTES

1. *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic Henry VIII*: Vol. 6 (556)
2. *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic Henry VIII*: Vol. 6 (556)
3. *L&P* Vol. 6 (601)
4. The coronation arrangements and proceedings and various people's observations can be found in some detail in *L&P* for May and June 1533
5. *L&P* Vol 10 (876) May 1536
6. *L&P* Vol. 16 (941)
7. *L&P* Vol. 16 (1366), 22 November.
8. *L&P* Vol. 16 (1395); gives details of charges, evidence and names of the members of the various Grand Juries around the country
9. The Holbein portrait 'Lady Borowe' in the Royal Collection was re-worked and titled many years after the artist's death and is not proven to be Lord Burgh's first wife

CATHERINE BROOKS VISITS THE LOVELY

BOSWORTH BATTLEFIELD AND HERITAGE CENTRE

When I recently visited another historical attraction, a colleague remarked to me that 'All these places are so commercialised – they're ruined'.

Well, that's a discussion for another time. But it isn't a criticism that can be levelled at The Bosworth Battlefield and Heritage Centre.

What people sometimes find unclear, is the fact that you are not visiting the place you think you are visiting. Confused? You're not alone. The original site of the battle at Bosworth was thought to be Ambion Hill farm, but a combination of considerations led to the discovery that the battle was actually fought about a mile south west from there. The result is that you don't visit the battlefield when you visit the Battlefield Centre itself.

Having undertaken the full 7-hour Battlefield walk, where we are able to skirt the edge of the battlefield itself, people may think that being in the wrong location could take away from the experience. But that's not the case.

Each year I attend for just one of the two days of the Medieval Festival weekend, but this year, I regretted not doing both. While the number of attractions seems to gradually increase, it doesn't feel cramped, tacky, or commercialised. There are no hidden costs on top of the (very reasonable) entrance fee. You just walk in and enjoy the day.

Aside from the obligatory burger vans and doughnut huts, everything here is delightfully informative, with none of the heavy and sluggish reelings out of information that many people associate with history. One of

the key struggles we have today is trying to find ways to engage children in history. Well, what do children like? Fun physical activities? Fancy dress? Mud? Sword fighting? Crafts? Medieval Rubber Ducks? Star Wars bouncy castle (Well – there were battles in it, I suppose)? Boxes all ticked. All day, children were jousting, practising archery, colouring, reading, pretending to do battle (the parents usually came off badly – perhaps a crown rather than a wooden sword next year). The living camp, the home of the re-enactors, is warm and welcoming and you can interact with anyone you come across. They live the history of the time and answer your questions with an easy familiarity. This is their way of life at these events, and Tim Nightingale, of Neville fame, told me that this event is the largest of the annual events for the War of the Roses re-enactors, and attracts people from all over Europe.

(ED: there is a video where Catherine interviews Tim Nightingale on the Tudor Society website)

There were also many medieval folk carrying out their daily tasks, and preparing for battle. Ladies sewed shirts, men sharpened swords and beat their armour. People showcased weapons and talked of the violence they inflicted (another child box ticked). The costumes were authentic and detailed. And for the shoppers amongst us, there was a variety of stalls selling hand-made medieval goods (the wooden sword now seems a much safer purchase, because you know that most children would love the real thing. And by children, I mean most people. Especially dads...).

So what does this mean to me – as all of you – as a lover of Tudor history?

Let me first say, that I love royal history. I'm not going to debase one period against another. But the Tudors are my 'first love', and despite the later grouchiness of Henry VIII and the over-enthusiastic burning

of Protestants by Mary (everyone needs a hobby, right?), I won't have a word said against them. But there is one word you will hear a lot at Bosworth: Usurper.

Whilst their motto is 'Two Kings, One Battle', the lines are drawn clearly for Richard here. I think this has been underlined by the discovery of Richard's body under a car park in nearby Leicester City Centre and his subsequent reinterment almost two and half years ago in Leicester Cathedral. The year of the reinternment was the first year that I came to the anniversary event, and a staff member who walked with us to the top of Ambion Hill told us that attendance on the first day had exceeded that of what they normally had for the entire weekend.

So Richard is important to Leicester – and quite rightly so. For without him, there is no Bosworth. But equally so for Henry. For without Henry, not only do we have no battle at Bosworth, we would have Tudor Dynasty to drive our passion towards.

Whatever people think of him, Henry Tudor was a man who achieved a great deal. After 30 years of violent bloodshed, Bosworth is a most notable marker of peace. And this achievement is just one of the things that draw

so many of us to the Tudors. Combining the houses of York and Lancaster ended a lengthy period of uncertainty and vile treachery, which possibly seemed it may never end until everyone had finished everyone else off (at which point, I suppose, Henry could've gained the throne anyway on the basis of being the only one sensible enough to stay out the way and not be murdered).

To some, Edward IV was a usurper. To others, Richard fills that role with the disappearance (in whatever capacity), of his nephews, the Princes in the Tower. As you watch the re-enactment begin and the battle unfolds, it is hard to imagine the things those men did and saw. It cannot have been anything but horrific. The narrator of the battle is always Lord Thomas 'It's make your mind up time' Stanley, and while he describes the use of weapons, and the deaths of key figures, he does so with an edge of humour.

But, oddly perhaps, when I am there, I feel a real sense of sadness and loss. Perhaps seeing the battle in 'real life' is more emotive than a documentary or even a dramatization? Is that because I feel close to these people and their history, perhaps more than many people do? But I am not alone. When you watch the crowds at that time, whilst you can see many people there enjoying a great day out, you can also see the passion and pain in people's eyes. These events may be long ago in our wonderfully rich English history, but those of us who have studied it know only too well the lasting effects that this monumental change in dynasty brought about. The defeat of Richard continues to evoke immense anger and upset, and each year I can see that spill over in the reactions of the Yorkists watching the battle. They rally behind Richard even though they know the outcome.

After Bosworth, never again did the crown pass over on a battlefield. This is a bigger victory than Bosworth itself. People can scream that Henry was a usurper, but many believed that if the crown was fought for and won in battle, the victor was the rightful king in the eyes of God. Should Henry be any different, despite his weaker inheritance? He was indeed the underdog, and if you consider the life he had led and the fact he was devoid of experience on the battlefield, then his victory, with a smaller army, is not to be sniffed at. Disloyalty to Richard may have contributed to Henry's victory, but that disloyalty is not the fault of Henry and anger about it should not be directed towards him.

I may not agree with every view the Ricardians hold, but I admire their passion, and it is this sort of pride and dedication that makes events like the Medieval Festival enduring. For me, Bosworth is an important date for us at the Tudor Society, as it marks the beginning of the dynasty which has entrenched our hearts and minds. You can enjoy the activities (including the beer tent), learn about the skills people had and how they applied them, explore the camp, appreciate the costumes, and immerse yourself in the glorious history of it all. In all my years there, one of my most personal memories is taking a red rose and placing it on Henry's memorial at the sundial. The white roses were piled high for Richard just feet away from me as I placed my single offering. Amidst the terrible things that battle had inflicted on so many poor souls, that was my moment to remember them all, and it was my private moment with Henry to show him my respect. It almost seems silly now that I write it, but that is what Bosworth means to me.

I would like to thank Tim Nightingale for taking some time out to talk to me and

record a video for us in camp; the never-endingly splendid Julian Humphries from the Battlefield Trust for his warmth, impressive knowledge of battles and castles, and baby entertaining services; Leanda de Lisle for the friendly reception and book signings, and Linda Asmen of the Pembroke and Monkton Local History Society for all her updates on Henry's statue and visitors' centre.

CATHERINE BROOKS

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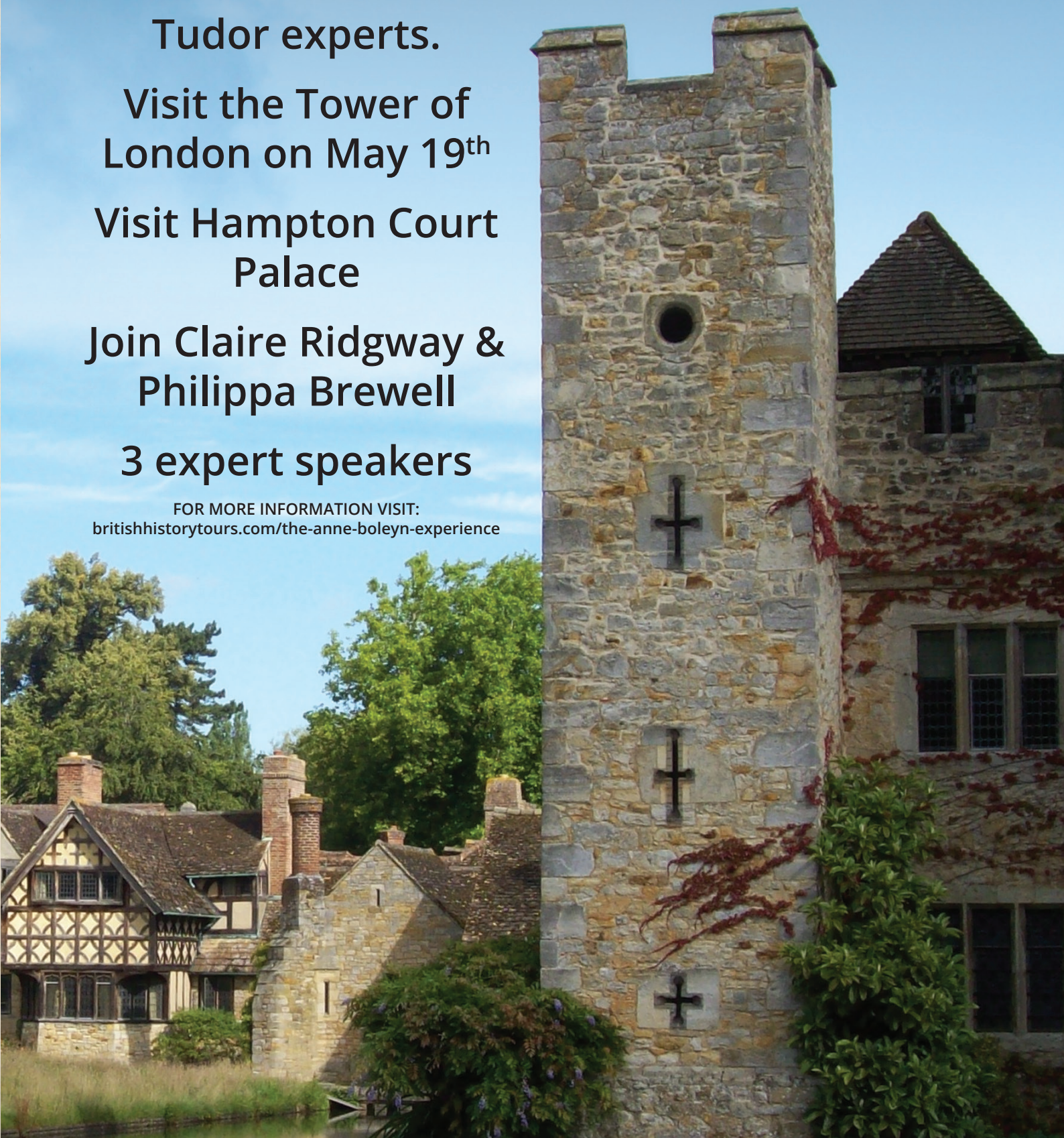

Charlie Loud Books

THIS ORIENT ISLE: ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND AND THE ISLAMIC WORLD

by Jerry Brotton

The majority of books on Elizabethan England focus on Elizabeth herself, her court or what life was like at the time, therefore it was a nice surprise when *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World* was released. The author, Jerry Brotton, takes on the task of exploring the Tudor fascination with the Islamic world, a fairly difficult one as it is not written about often and is rarely referred to in other works, yet it is a task he manages with surprising ease. Brotton manages to write a fascinating book that could be read both by those studying history and literature, and those simply interested in the subjects.

After the introduction, the book starts with Mary I's marriage to Philip II of Spain, giving some background to England's relationship with the Islamic world before moving on to Elizabeth I's reign. Mary's staunch views against the Turks are explored, which steadily become worse after her marriage to Philip. Brotton explains this well and presents examples of the couple comparing Protestants to Turks:

> *'As one Protestant commentator observed in July 1555, Mary and Philip's religious advisers were arguing that 'the Turks are one and the same thing as we who embrace the pure doctrine of the Gospel'. Mary had already made the connection between Protestantism and Muslim 'heresy' in North Africa as early as the autumn of 1535.'*

The author does not dwell too long on Mary's reign, just enough to give some useful context before moving on to the main topic – Elizabeth's reign.

Elizabeth I found herself in a precarious position after her accession. She was a Protestant and so was threatened by Catholic powers on the continent. Brotton tells us that this meant that she was inclined to look towards making strategic alliances with powerful Muslim states. Elizabeth frequently had foreign ambassadors at her court, with Abd al-Wahid bin Masoud bin Muhammad al-Annuri being a notable one as an ambassador from Morocco:

> *'He is there as ambassador of the Moroccan ruler, Mulay Ahmed al-Mansur, with orders to conclude an Anglo-Moroccan alliance that would unite English Protestants and Moroccan Muslims against their common enemy: Catholic Spain.'*

This agreement cut across culture and religion, with both parties focusing on eliminating their enemies. This shows a remarkable tolerance in the Elizabethan era, contrary to the usual depiction of people being against anyone not of the same religion.

Brotton explains how Elizabeth was able to turn what, on the surface, was a negative into a

positive. She used her excommunication by the Pope to her own advantage:

> *'But now, as a Protestant nation led by an excommunicated sovereign placed beyond papal sanction and with some experience of trade with Morocco, England and its merchants were suddenly freer than any other Christian country to trade with the Islamic world with ecclesiastical impunity. The dawning realisation that England could pursue commercial alliances with Muslim rulers was a purely circumstantial response to excommunication'*

She was no longer bound by contemporary expectations and couldn't be judged by anyone; she was an outcast and could act as such. Her excommunication seems to have actually helped her cause, seeing as her first ambassador who was sent just after she was crowned was refused, with the Persians claiming not to have heard of Elizabeth I or even England itself. After she was excommunicated in 1570, she tried the Ottomans and Moroccans with much more success. Her trade deals with them helped put England on the map and made it a large centre of trade.

The book can become a little repetitive near the end, although this is due mainly to it not sticking to chronological order and jumping back and forth in time. This is just a minor issue and can easily be overlooked, especially as the reasons for not using the chronological order are sound. This book explores both the historical side and the literary side, showing how the relationship with Islam influenced the likes of Shakespeare, among many other literary figures. The Elizabethan audience was fascinated by this other world, especially after Marlowe's play, "Tamburlaine", and many plays with connections to it were performed during this time:

> *'Of more than sixty plays featuring Turks, Moors and Persians performed in London's public theatres between 1576 and 1603, at least forty were staged between 1588 and 1599. Of the thirty-eight extant plays performed between 1587 and 1593, at least ten acknowledge explicit debts to Marlowe's Tamburlaine.'*

This book may interest those who are studying literature, with its many sections looking in depth at the allusions and portrayals of the Muslim people and how it coincided with important political events. Brotton sometimes spends a little too much time summarising the plots and backgrounds of the plays, but again this is a minor issue and may be interesting to those who are not familiar with the works.

The title of this book will sound familiar to those who have read or seen Shakespeare's plays. Brotton takes his inspiration from one of John of Gaunt's lines in *Richard II*, where he calls England a *'sceptered isle… a fortress… against infection'*. By changing that to *This Orient Isle*, the author contests the idea of the nation existing in isolation from the Islamic world. In his book, he shows us how *'Islam is part of the national story of England'*; it greatly influenced trade (bringing in riches, food and various fabrics) and literature.

This Orient Isle is an important study in England's relations with Islam, with the timing of its release being an apt one. Brotton manages to avoid any mention of modern issues, but confesses that *'Protestant England came closer to Islam than at any other time in its history until today'*.

Jerry Brotton blends both history and literary analysis to create a compelling account of England's engagements with the major Islamic powers. His scrupulous research and enthusiasm for the subject shine through in this detailed account. Due to the depth Brotton goes into, it can be a little heavy going in places, and so it isn't for light reading. However, this is a serious feat in introducing general readers to the Elizabethans' relationship with the Islamic world.

CHARLIE FENTON

FROM THE SPICERY

WITH

RIOGNACH

ON MANNERS

Image above: Come to the Castle - A Visit to a Castle in Thirteenth-Century England, Flash Point, 2009

At meat well y-taught was she withal; *She let no morsal from her lips fall;* *Ne wet her fingers in her sauce deep;* *Well could she carry a morsel and well keep* *That no droppe ne fell upon her breast*[1]	*For rudness it is thy pottage to sup,* *Or speak to any, his head in his cup.* *They knife se be sharpe* to cut *fayre thy meate;* *Thy mouth not to ful when thou dost eat;* *Not smakynge* thy *lyppes, as commonly do hogges,* *Nor gnawynge* the bones *as it were dogges;* *Such rudenesse abhore,* *Such beastlynes flie,* *At the table behave thy selfe manerly……..* *Pyke* not thy teeth at the table *syttynge,* *Nor use at thy meate* over *muche spytynge;* *This rudness* of youth is to be *abhorde;* *thy selfe manerly behave at the borde.*[2]

I thought that this month we might take a break from slaving in the kitchen and instead take a look at the wonderful and amusing world of medieval table manners. Engaging in medieval re-enactment is not only chance to dress up, it is a very hands-on way to discover why we do the things we do. At one time or another when we were all growing up, we've all been told things like "don't put your elbows on the table". But were you ever told why not? This was something that baffled me while I was growing up, as it seemed (to me at least) that it was easier to eat WITH my elbows on the table. My long-suffering Mum never told me WHY this was so. Perhaps if she had I might have listened.

Last month, I used the antics of Robin Hood and his Merry Men as a way of setting the scene for the subject of venison. Now I'll turn the spotlight to the dining halls of the Sherriff of Nottingham and King John and what may have been happening when they sat down to dine.

Anyone who has ever seen an old Hollywood film about the supposed dining antics of the Medieval and Tudor periods could be forgiven for thinking that they were drunken and rowdy events. If Hollywood is to be believed, everyone feasting was supposed to stuff as much in his or her mouth as humanly possible. The bits and pieces that dropped to the floor were supposed to have been fought over by a veritable menagerie of lap dogs and hounds that prowled in the rushes.

Dining during the medieval period was a communal experience. It was not uncommon to have to share a portion of food between groups of people, usually between 3 or 4 individuals. A shared bowl or trencher would be placed between the diners, with food being eaten by spearing morsels with a sharp-pointed, personal table knives. However, one would never eat the food directly from the point of the table knife. Food had to be removed with the fingertips and conveyed to the mouth. Now at least I know why my aforementioned long-suffering Mum taught me never to eat from my knife. One never ate with a fork as this was considered to be a tool exclusively used for cooking. It was only during the reign of Henry VIII that the Italian novelty of using a dining fork became more the norm. This particular form of dining was known as a '*messe*'. Now, whether or not this referred to what was probably a very

messy way of dining, I know not. But the name has stuck, particularly with reference to the Officers' Mess in many defence forces.

Due to the communal nature of the early dining experience, guests were expected to act accordingly. Upon being seated, the diner would be given a cloth napkin which was placed over the left shoulder or wrist. It was never placed in the diner's lap. The napkin was to be used following washing one's hands at the beginning of the meal, to wipe one's finger and mouth on during the meal, and wiping the lip before and after drinking from a communal cup. On that note, if you were fortunate enough to be offered to drink from the host's cup, you were expected to wipe the rim first, hold the cup with both hands as you drank (lest you drop it) and then return the cup to its rightful owner having wiped the rim again. Under no circumstances would you be permitted to hand the host's cup around to your dining neighbours, no matter how excellent a vintage it contained. And never should a diner contaminate the salt bowl by dipping his or her table knife or food into it. More about the role of salt a little later.

In order to keep everything clean and above board whilst dining (yes, a intentional dining pun there) a diner of good grace and manners was expected not to belch or spit at the table, stuff his or her mouth (there goes that particular Hollywood assumption), or use their table knife in lieu of a toothpick (for fairly obvious reasons). One should never put their fingers in their ears nor their hands on their heads (eew, lice) whilst at the table. And under no circumstance was

one permitted to blow their nose with their hands or the table linen, nor use their sleeves to wipe their hands or lips upon. Men, in particular, were expected refrain from 'scratching' (the images that conjures up!) Oh, and one should never partake in such an act of shame as farting at the table.

All of these courtesies make perfect sense given the overall lack of hygiene of the time. In terms of the modern medieval feast, a communal dish is still brought to the table where diners spoon (not stab) portions into their personal bowls or plates. By and large communal trenchers are not used, with particular reference to food allergies. However, some Dark Age households (including my own) do still make use of trenchers that we carve from stale bread. Even though bread trenchers are wonderful at soaking up all the yummy gravies and meat juices, they're never eaten. This is something that we appear to share with our medieval ancestors. Although having said that. It was not at all uncommon for used bread trenchers from great feasts to be distributed amongst the poor as a form of alms.

Salt played an incredibly important part of the medieval dining experience. Because salt was such a painfully expensive item. it was used to help determine a diner's social status. And not in the way you might expect. As the salt bowl was always within easy reach of the ruling monarch, their position was considered to be *above the salt*. So if you happened to be in favour with the monarch, you might be seated closer them and were also considered to be *above the salt*. However, if you happened to fall from favour and your position retreated back down the hall, you were considered to be *below the salt*.

As a person of lower rank and *below the salt*, you'd expected to stand when the monarch, head of the house or important guests entered or left the hall. This idea of knowing one's place at the table has followed us down the ages. Men were expected to stand when a lady joined or left the table, as were children, although judging from modern dining manners, this appears to have largely fallen by the wayside.

So why have we been taught to keep our elbows off the table? As medieval and Tudor era halls served double duty as dining halls, it wasn't practical to keep long tables *in situ*. They had to be easily disassembled for storage when not in use. To this end, medieval dining tables were wooden boards placed on top of wooden trestles, with a row of benches along one side as seating. Such trestle table arrangements must have been inherently unstable, particularly under the weight of food and dining accoutrements. So I think it goes without saying that if one were to add one or several pairs of elbows to one side of a trestle table, that the diners would more than likely end up with their meals in their laps. And if you take into account that the average medieval diner might only have one or two items of really good clothing, the idea of keeping one's meal out of one's lap and in one's trencher must have been a prime consideration. Not to mention how it might look to the host or the monarch!

A popular book on medieval and Renaissance manners was written by a Florentine named Giovanni Della Casa. Della Casa's book *Il Galateo, overo de' costumi* (The Rules of Polite Behaviour)

published during the late 1550's provides witty insight on the rules of good behaviour for the Renaissance man about town. Della Cassa recommends that a refined Renaissance diner should not make a lot of noise whilst eating as "there is a difference between the eating of men and pigs".[1]

And as for the refined medieval lady, well she was subject to a whole slew of polite do's and don'ts. The eloquently penned *Roman de la Rose* by 14th Century French writer Guillaume de Lorris sets the bar very high for the ladies.

> *"She ought also to behave properly at table. . . .*
>
> *She must be very careful not to dip her fingers in the sauce up to the knuckles, nor to smear her lips with soup or garlic or fat meat, nor to take too many pieces or too large a piece and put them in her mouth.*
>
> *She must hold the morsel with the tips of her fingers and dip it into the sauce, whether it be thick, thin, or clear, then convey the mouthful with care, so that no drop of soup or sauce or pepper falls onto her chest.*
>
> *When drinking, she should exercise such care that not a drop is spilled upon her, for anyone who saw that happen might think her very rude and coarse. And she must be sure never to touch her goblet when there is anything in her mouth.*
>
> *Let her wipe her mouth so clean that no grease is allowed to remain upon it, at least not upon her upper lip, for when grease is left on the upper lip, globules appear in the wine, which is neither pretty nor nice"*[2]

I think that we can all agree that Anne Boleyn would have looked anything but regal with sauce down the front of her cleavage, or Elizabeth with droplets of grease in her wine!

The modern medieval feast does still largely adhere to these guidelines, but with some quite specifically modern additions. Re-enactors with food allergies or religious considerations often make their own dishes to share with other diners. Mobile phones are usually prohibited during the feast proper, as are things like watches and hand held computer games. Plastic and modern glass bottles are placed in fabric bags to disguise their modernity, and the lack court minstrels is made up for via the use of 'minstrels-in-a-box' (I'll leave you to work out what that is). And while Lord may not necessarily stand when a Lady joins or leaves the table, we are all expected to stand or sit (usually on the floor) when the ruling 'monarch' and their consort enters the feasting hall, or decides to hold 'court'.

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RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

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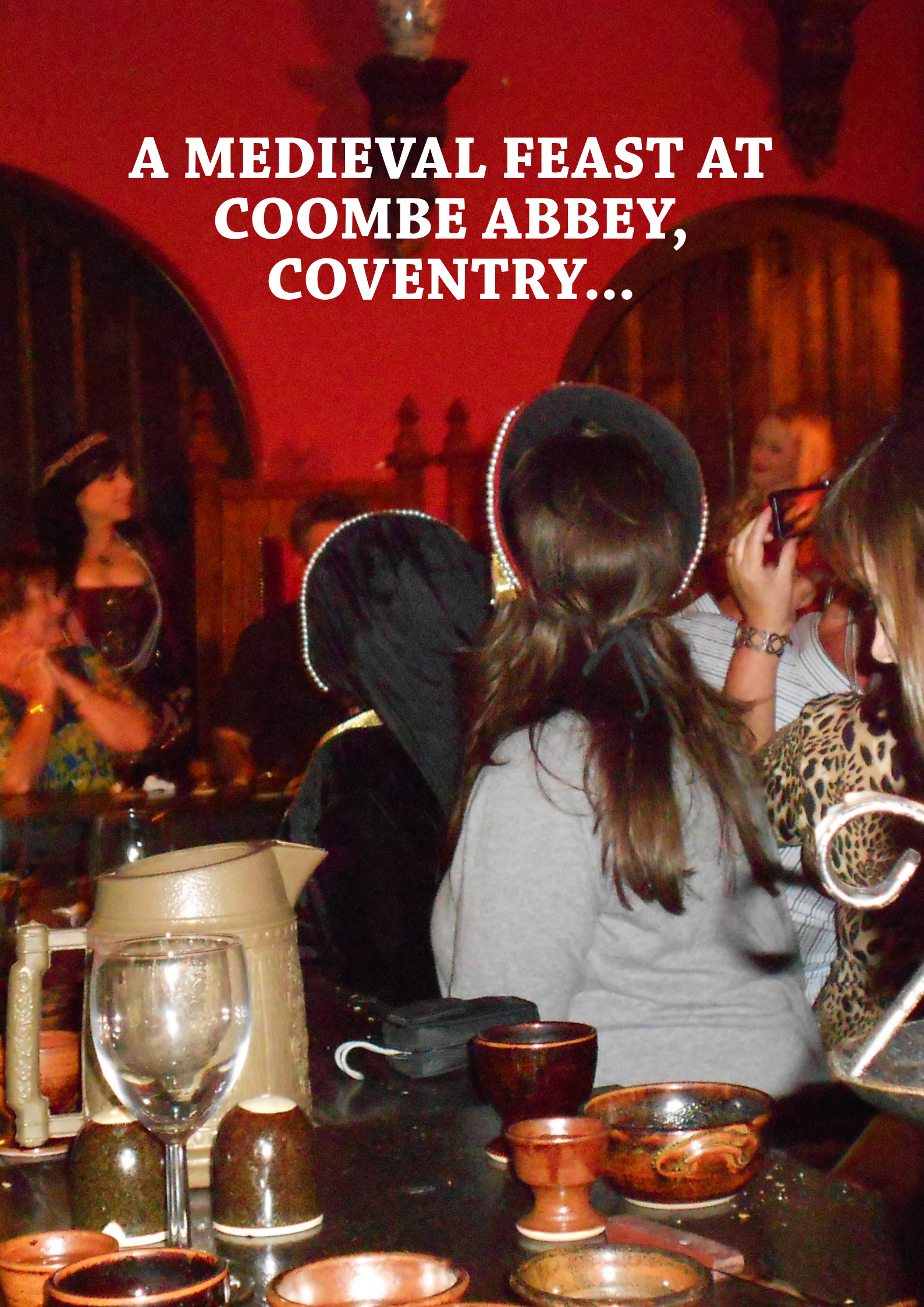

A MEDIEVAL FEAST AT COOMBE ABBEY, COVENTRY...

SEPTEMBER'S ON THIS

1 September 1532
Henry VIII made **Anne Boleyn** Marquis of Pembroke, a title in her own right in a ceremony at Windsor Castle

2 September 1554
Anthony Browne was created 1st Viscount Montagu as part of the celebrations for **Mary I**'s marriage to **Philip of Spain**.

3 September 1588
Death of **Richard Tarlton**, actor and famous clown, in Shoreditch.


Richard Tarlton

8 September 1601
Burial of **John Shakespeare**, father of **William Shakespeare**, at Stratford-upon-Avon.

9 September 1513
Catherine of Aragon wrote to **Henry VIII** of the victory against the Scots and the death of **James IV**.

10 Sept 1515
Thomas Wolsey was made Cardinal.

16 Sept 1541
King **Henry VIII** entered the city of York through Walmgate Bar, and was met by the city's officials at Fulford Cross.

17 Sept 1558
Death of **Walter Devereux**, 1st Viscount Hereford, at the Devereux seat at Chartley in Staffordshire.

18 Sept 1535
Birth of **Henry Brandon**, son of **Charles Brandon**, Duke of Suffolk, and his wife **Katherine** (née Willoughby)

19 Sept 1551
Birth of **Henry III of France**. He was born at the Château de Fontainebleau.

20 Sept 1486
Arthur, Prince of Wales, was born at Winchester, just eight months after his parents' marriage.

24 Sept 1561
Birth of **Edward Seymour**, Viscount Beauchamp, son of **Katherine Grey** and **Edward Seymour**, 1st Earl of Hertford, in the Tower of London. He was born in the Tower because his parents had been imprisoned for marrying without the Queen's permission.

25 Sept 1534
Death of Pope **Clement VII** in Rome from eating a death cap mushroom.

26 Sept 1580
Sir Francis Drake arrived at the port of Plymouth in the *Golden Hind*, which was laden with treasure and spices after his three year voyage around the world. Drake had successfully circumnavigated the globe

29 Sept 1528
The papal legate, Cardinal **Lorenzo Campeggio**, landed at Dover on the Kent coast. He had arrived in preparation for hearing the case for the annulment of the marriage of **Henry VIII** and **Catherine of Aragon** at a special legatine court.

30 Sept 1553
At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, **Mary I** left the Tower of London to the sound of guns firing and church bells ringing. This was her coronation procession, and the next day she would be crowned Queen of England. At the end of a long day, Mary finally reached Whitehall and retired for the day to prepare herself for her coronation at Westminster Abbey.

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

4 September 1539
William, Duke of Cleves, signed the marriage treaty promising his sister, **Anne of Cleves**, in marriage to **King Henry VIII**. The Duke then sent the treaty to England, where it was ratified and concluded by early October.

5 September 1548
Catherine Parr, Queen Dowager, widow of **Henry VIII**, died aged around 36 at Sudeley Castle.

6 September 1506
Death of Sir **Richard Guildford**, courtier and administrator of Henry VII, in Jerusalem while on pilgrimage.

7 September 1533
Queen **Anne Boleyn** gave birth to a little girl, the future **Elizabeth I**, at Greenwich Palace.

11 Sept 1572
Pope Gregory XIII ordered a commemoration for the defeat of the Ottomans at the Battle of Lepanto.

12 Sept 1555
The trial of **Archbishop Cranmer** began in the University Church of St Mary the Virgin at Oxford.

13 Sept 1557
Death of Sir **John Cheke**, Tudor scholar, one time tutor to **Edward VI**, Secretary of State for **Lady Jane Grey**

14 Sept 1540
Death of Sir **William Kingston**, Constable of the Tower of London, Knight of the Garter.

15 Sept 1556
Charles V left Vlissingen in Zeeland bound for Spain following his voluntary abdication in October 1555.


Katherine of Aragon

21 Sept 1578
Between seven and eight o'clock, **Robert Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, married **Lettice Devereux** (née Knollys)

22 Sept 1515
Anne of Cleves, was born near Düsseldorf.

23 Sept 1568
Battle of *San Juan de Ulúa*, near present day Veracruz, Mexico, between Spanish forces and English privateers.

27 Sept 1501
Catherine of Aragon left the port of Laredo in Spain bound for England to marry **Arthur, Prince of Wales**.

28 Sept 1553
Mary I travelled by barge to the Tower of London to prepare for her coronation, accompanied by **Elizabeth**.

TUDOR FEAST DAYS

Harvest Home
(Celebrated when the harvest was finished)
29 September - Michaelmas

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