

TudorLife

The Tudor Society Magazine

THE
TUDOR
SOCIETY

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MYTHS & MYSTERIES

Margaret Beaufort &
the Princes in the
Tower

Anne Boleyn's
Sixth Finger

Was Katherine Knollys
really Henry VIII's
daughter?

Boleyn Myths

Shakespeare's Witches

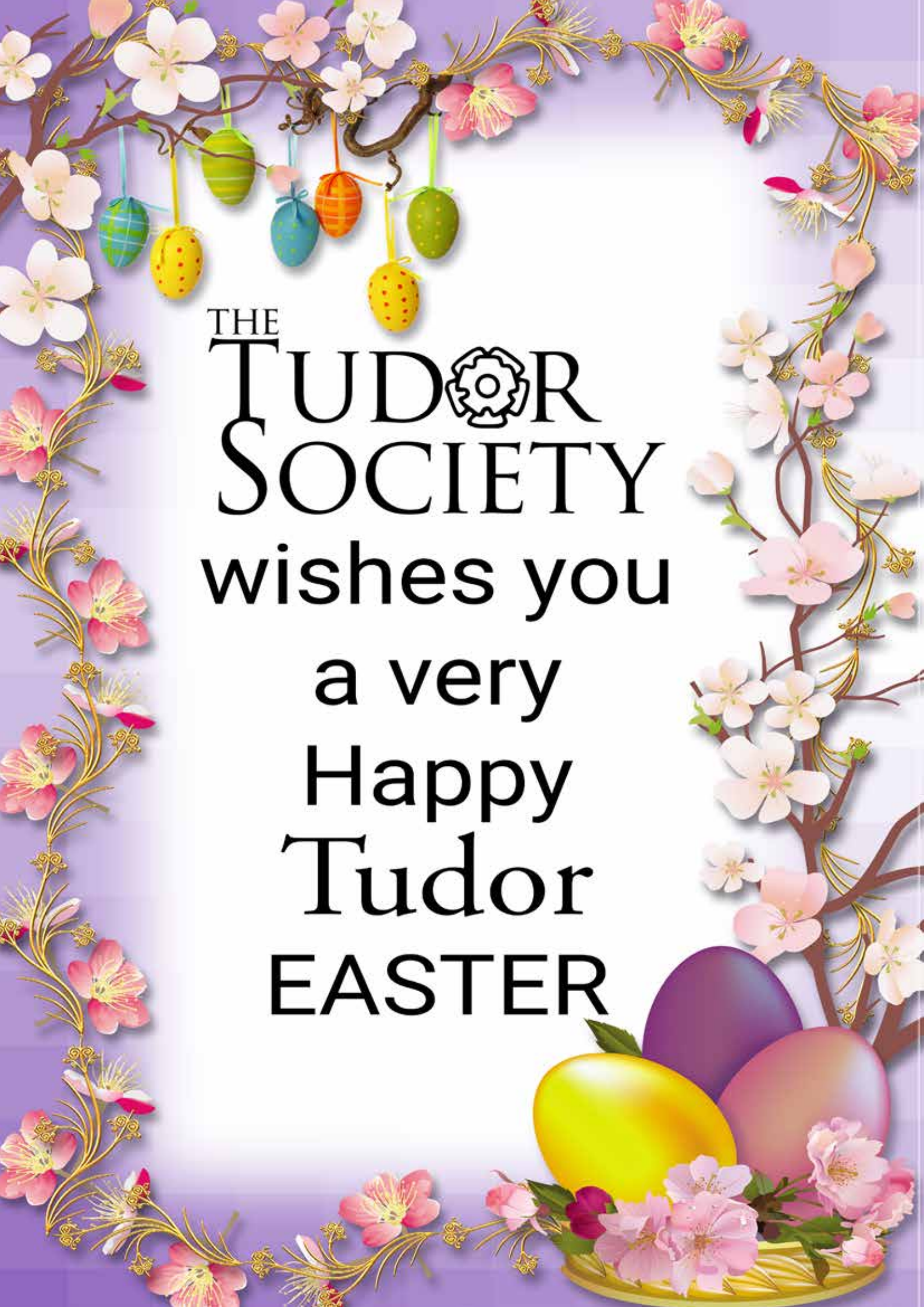
Mysteries during the
Wars of the Roses

+ more

Featured Article

THE BISLEY LEGEND...
WAS ELIZABETH REALLY A BOY?



A decorative border surrounds the central text. At the top, a branch with pink cherry blossoms and several colorful Easter eggs (green, blue, orange, yellow) hanging from it spans across the frame. The sides are decorated with vertical branches of pink cherry blossoms. At the bottom right, a basket filled with pink cherry blossoms and three large Easter eggs (yellow, purple, and pink) is visible.

THE
TUDOR
SOCIETY
wishes you
a very
Happy
Tudor
EASTER



Tudor Life

TUDOR MYTHS AND MYSTERIES

THE TUDOR ERA is one rich in myths and suppositions. Few who are familiar with its splendid fascination can be strangers to the ways in which contested theories are so often presented as facts by modern historians, replicating in some strange way the myriad of fictions that surrounded the Tudor royals and their subjects whilst they lived. Anne Boleyn and her family attracted more than her fair share of dubious assertions, hence several articles about that tragic queen's myths versus her history. The deaths and depositions of the Tudors, along with those that plagued their York relations, continue to fascinate also, as do the bubbling questions of bastard children, fears over witchcraft, and the lives of the general population. These mysteries are by turns both frustrating and compelling. They enrage as much as they excite, and whatever their origins, they are crucial to explain why the Tudor era continues to entice.

GARETH RUSSELL
EDITOR

Cover photo: Suit of armour at Thornbury
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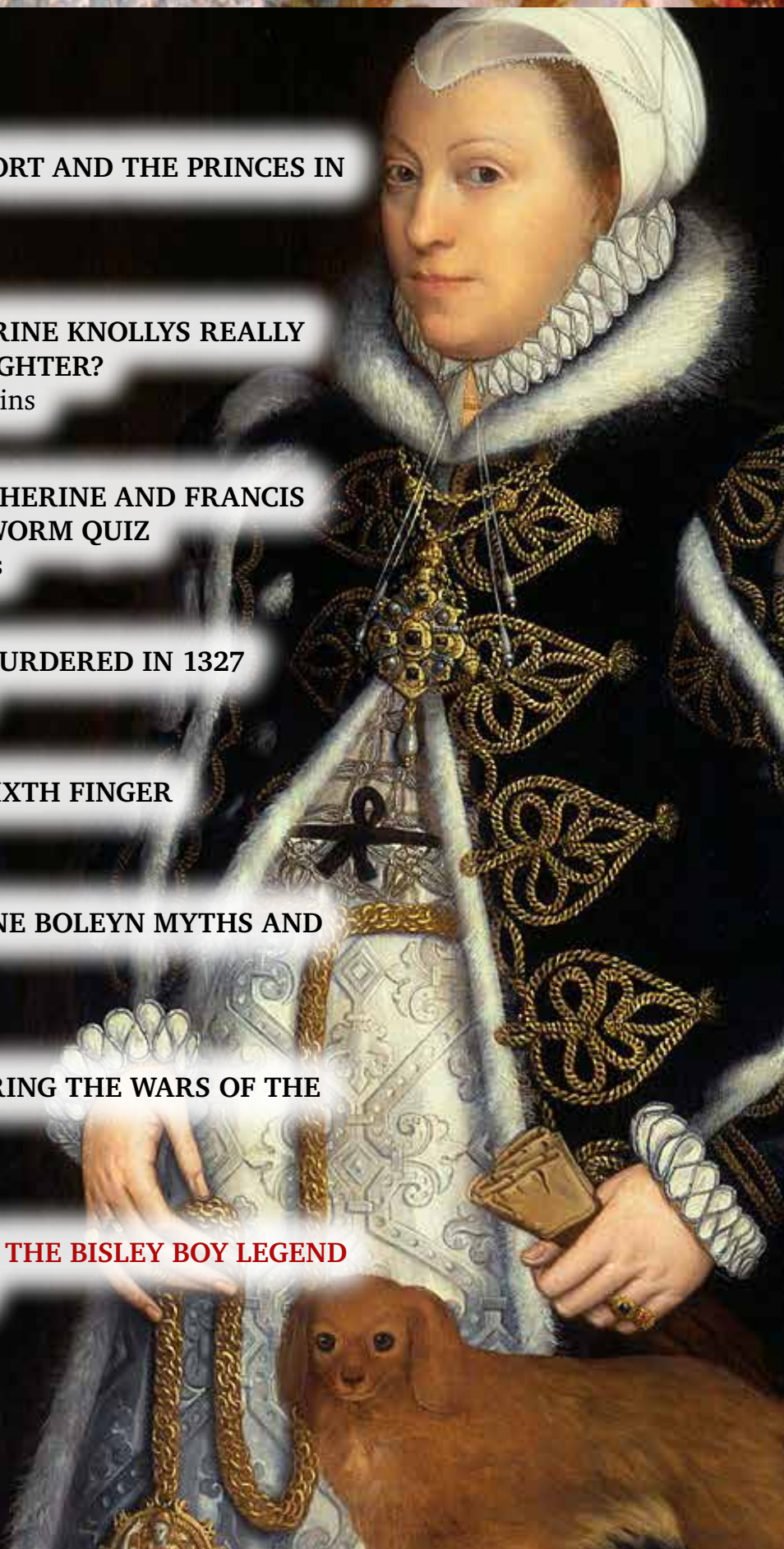
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MARGARET BEAUFORT AND THE PRINCES IN THE TOWER

by **Nathen Amin**

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF the *Princes in the Tower* is English history's greatest cold case, and a mystery which still raises considerable emotion amongst historians, both amateur and professional, more than five hundred years later. Just what happened to the two boys, King Edward V and his younger sibling Richard of Shrewsbury, in the summer of 1483 after they were placed in the Tower of London by their uncle Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the man soon to become Richard III?

Theories abound, of course, as they are wont to do with all of history's well-known mysteries. Some confidently assert the boys were ruthlessly slaughtered by those who wanted to seize power for themselves, whereas notions of their survival have recently begun to make headway. The curious appearance of two pretenders, Lambert Simnel and particularly Perkin Warbeck, during the early years of Henry VII's reign undoubtedly complicate matters.

The crucial question, of course, one that is unavoidable, is 'who killed the

boys?' (if indeed that was their fate). Suspicion traditionally falls upon the uncle responsible for placing them in the Tower in the first place and who succeeded as king as a result, Richard III, whilst other suspects often put forward during any debate include Henry VII and the Duke of Buckingham. All three men had much to gain from the deaths of the Princes, so it naturally follows for many that one of the trio were behind the dark deed.

One name that has been added to this list with increasing prominence



“The Princes in the Tower”
by John Everett Millais, 1879



in recent years, inspired no doubt by the rise of Social Media and fuelled by fictional portrayals by influential if inaccurate novelists, is Margaret Beaufort, the beloved and dedicated

mother of Henry VII. So, could the diminutive and pious Lady Margaret have been responsible for one of the most notorious murders of our history?

THE DISAPPEARANCE

First, let us revisit the events of the summer of 1483 to add some context to this pressing question. On 9 April 1483, after a twenty-two-year reign split only by the brief Lancastrian resurgence in 1470, Edward IV, the first king of the House of York, died aged only forty, leaving a child heir now proclaimed Edward V. The death of a strong, autocratic monarch and the accession of a mere boy renewed factional discord in England unseen in a dozen years, for someone had to govern in the king's stead during his minority. The question was, who?

Edward V had been chiefly raised at Ludlow Castle under the guidance of his maternal uncle Anthony Wydeville, 2nd Earl Rivers, who now anticipated continuing his role for the foreseeable future, alongside the boy's elder half-brother Sir Richard Grey. Conflict soon reared its head, however, when Edward's paternal uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, received news of his brother's death. The rapacious Wydevilles had never cultivated wide support amongst the commons, and according to the Croyland Chronicler, some members of the King's Council even voiced their opinion that the guardianship of Edward V, 'so youthful a person', should

be 'utterly forbidden to his uncles and brothers by the mother's side', who had already occupied 'the chief places about the prince'.

Rivers and his royal nephew departed Ludlow on 24 April 1483 intending to reach London in time for a coronation on 4 May. Any crowning would abolish the office of Protector, which Gloucester expected to fulfil, and clear the path for the Wydevilles to rule unsolicited until Edward attained his majority. They failed to account for Gloucester's dramatic response, however. On 29 April, Rivers and Duke Richard crossed paths at Stony Stratford where the former was arrested the following morning. The latter, meanwhile, continued the journey on to London with the bewildered young king now firmly under his control.

News of Rivers' arrest soon reached the capital where an Italian observer named Dominic Mancini noted how the 'unexpectedness of the event horrified everyone', although he did add that a wider consensus grew amongst the citizens that 'it was more just and profitable that the youthful sovereign should be with his paternal uncle than with his maternal uncles and uterine brothers'. The king's mother, Rivers' sister, Elizabeth Wydeville saw things

rather differently and sought sanctuary in Westminster Abbey, taking with her Edward's younger brother Richard of Shrewsbury, and her five daughters.

On 27 May 1483, Gloucester was formally appointed Protector and the coronation was postponed until 24 June. Thus far, nothing appeared untoward other than the duke asserting his royal birth-right to rule England whilst his nephew remained underage. Events took a dramatic twist on 13 June, however, when at a council meeting in the Tower of London, Gloucester's men rushed into the chamber and seized Lord Hastings, who was unceremoniously dragged outside and beheaded. Mancini pointedly remarked that the respected lord was slain 'not by those enemies he had always feared, but by a friend whom he had never doubted'. Other attendees at the Tower meeting, such as Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York, John Morton, bishop of Ely, Oliver King, the royal secretary, and Thomas Stanley, 2nd Baron Stanley, were also detained, although none lost their lives in the manner Hastings did. It was a shocking event that would prove to be not just a turning point in the lives of those present, but in wider English history.

Whether Gloucester was justified in believing his life was in danger and had merely launched a pre-emptive strike against Hastings, who he alleged had turned his coat to the Wydevilles, or if it was the start of a concerted conspiracy to seize the crown, has never been satisfactorily determined. The author of the *Croyland Chronicle* did point out,

however, that Richard had removed the strongest supporters of the young king 'without judgment or justice'. Henceforth, the chronicler lamented, the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, who offered his support, acted 'just as they pleased'.

On 16 June, Gloucester and Buckingham sailed to Westminster, 'armed with swords and staves', and compelled the elderly archbishop of Canterbury to enter the abbey and appeal to Elizabeth Wydeville to release her youngest son Richard, and with little choice, she agreed. According to the private testimony of Simon Stallworthe, who wrote from the capital on 21 June to Sir William Stoner, the Protector received his namesake nephew at the door of Westminster Palace's Star Chamber 'with many lovyng wordys'. It would be the last time Elizabeth would see either of two royal sons again.

It isn't precisely clear when Gloucester first had designs for the throne, but by 22 June there can be little doubt a move was being made for the crown. Richard may have gradually recognised that if his protectorship was to be terminated with the king's coronation, not only would he face removal from power, but Edward V would almost certainly restore his maternal relations to their former positions, each of whom would seek revenge. Gloucester had, therefore, backed himself into a corner.

Several public sermons were given declaring the children of Edward IV to be illegitimate on grounds that the deceased king had been married prior to

his union with Elizabeth, and soon it was stressed that 'no certain and uncorrupted lineal blood' of the House of York existed except in the person of Richard, duke of Gloucester. He didn't seem to disagree. Orders were dispatched into the north to execute Rivers, whilst Buckingham was sent to petition the mayor, aldermen and assembled citizens of London to accept Gloucester's claim to the throne. On 26 June 1483, the council formally approached the duke, and offered him the crown, a proposition accepted by the man now regarded as Richard III.

Edward V had been deposed before his reign had truly begun, and with his brother remained 'in the custody of certain persons' throughout the summer of 1483, prompting some people in the west and south of the kingdom to 'murmur greatly, and to form meetings and confederacies'. The *Croyland Chronicle*, however, soon noted that rumour was spreading that the two princes 'had died a violent death, but it was uncertain how', whereas Robert Ricart, a town clerk of Bristol, believed

they had been 'put to seylence in the Towre of London'.

Mancini also reported on similar rumours, noting how the children had been 'withdrawn into the inner apartments of the Tower proper' until 'they ceased to appear together'. The Italian also documented the reactions of the Londoners, observing how 'many men burst forth into tears and lamentations' when mention was made of Edward V and how 'there was a suspicion that he had been done away with'. Mancini was careful to add, however, that whether 'he has been done away with, and by what manner of death, so far I have not at all discovered'. Edward Brampton, who had been in the service of both Edward IV and Richard III, later referred to the princes' disappearance as 'the worst evil in the world'. It seems a fair presumption, for history had shown the fate of deposed kings of England was hardly auspicious; Edward II, Richard II and Henry VI were three examples of monarchs who were quietly dispatched after losing their crowns.

MARGARET'S *MOTIVE*

But if they were indeed silenced permanently, what role did Margaret Beaufort play in their death? By the summer of 1483, the presumed date of the Princes' disappearance, she was a forty-year-old, thrice-married mother of one. That child was Henry Tudor, the exiled Earl of Richmond who, through his mother, was a great-great-

great-grandson of Edward III, enough to provide him with a slim Lancastrian claim to the throne now occupied by the House of York. Motivation to have the Princes killed, therefore, is undeniable; crush the Yorkist seed and put in their place her son, something that could only be accomplished if the princes were dead.

Even so, at the time of the princes' disappearance, the suggestion that Margaret was the mover behind their destruction seems far-fetched. First, at the time of Edward V's deposition in the summer, Henry Tudor was not a viable candidate for the throne, and there is no evidence he was lauded as such by anyone. The princes and Richard III notwithstanding, Henry also had several other Yorkist candidates ahead of him in any prospective line of succession, including Richard's own son Edward of Middleham, the Earl of Warwick, and the de la Pole brood. Nobody was anticipating a Lancastrian resurgence in mid-1483, including Lady Margaret. The House of York was firmly secure upon the throne, and it is folly to suggest Margaret was plotting to sweep away such formidable opposition having hitherto shown no Machiavellian tendencies.

In fact, Margaret Beaufort initially sought a working relationship with King Richard, just as she had with his brother Edward IV. On 5 July 1483, she met with Richard and his chief justice William Hussey at Westminster to discuss a family debt she was owed, and one imagines to discuss her son's future, and the following day even bore the train of the new king's queen at their coronation. Edward Hall, writing during the reign of Henry VIII, even suggested she raised the possibility of Henry marrying Elizabeth of York, which had been broached before Edward IV's death. If accurate, Margaret's alleged

remorseless ambition clearly only went so far at this juncture.

Henry Tudor was not actually acclaimed as a prospective king of England until later in the year when Margaret acted on rumours of the princes' death. Polydore Vergil recounted in his history how Margaret, *'after the slaughter of king Edwardes children was knowen, began to hope well of hir soones fortune, supposing that the dede wold without dought prove for the profyt of the commonwelth'*. This is an important account; Vergil, writing during the Tudor ascendancy, does not deny Margaret entered a conspiracy to place her son on the throne, but crucially states this only begun once rumours of the princes became widespread.

Margaret and her son unquestionably had much to gain from the princes' death, but so did Richard, who in fact became king weeks after placing the boys into the Tower, as well as Buckingham, also of Lancastrian royal descent, and a host of other figures who stood to rise with their masters. Motive alone, therefore, cannot be a solid indication of guilt.

At best, all we can be sure of is that Margaret shrewdly reacted to rumours of the princes' death for her own purpose, possibly even being responsible for informing Elizabeth Woodville of her sons' alleged death to gain her cooperation, reinventing Henry as a prospective alternative to Richard III in the process. Reactive, rather than proactive.

MEANS AND OPPORTUNITY

If Margaret possessed motive to kill the princes, what about having the means and opportunity to carry out the dastardly deed? Although having cultivated cordial relations with Richard at the start of his reign, she was hardly in a position to effortlessly gain access to the Tower in order to kill the princes, or at least get her nominated assassin entry without detection.

Although her husband Thomas Stanley was appointed Lord Constable by Richard in November 1483, in theory handing him authority over the kingdom's fortresses, including the Tower, by then rumours of the princes' death had been extant for several months, a consequence of the fact they had already had vanished from view.

Margaret's standing with the king had already fallen considerably by this point as well because of a failed October uprising in which she had been complicit. She was stripped of her lands and effectively placed under house arrest, with Stanley ordered by the king to 'kepe hir so strait with himself that she shoulde not be hable from thencefurth to send any messenger nether to hir soone, nor frinds, nor practice any thing at all agaynst the king'. In short, Margaret's independence was severely curtailed, as was her ability to conspire. If Stanley was not in on any conspiracy, and his reluctance to defect to Henry Tudor's side until the very last moment is telling, then Margaret's window of opportunity was really between the boys' disappearance in July 1483 to October.

What is not clear, however, is just how she reached the boys.

Although often characterised as being shut away in a prison, they almost certainly weren't confined in a dungeon, but were nevertheless securely kept. Mancini reported at the time that all the attendants who had waited upon young Edward V '*were debarred access to him*' and '*he and his brother were withdrawn into the inner apartments of the Tower proper, and day by day began to be seen more rarely behind the bars and windows*'.

Nobody, including Margaret, could simply turn up at the Tower and expect to be given entry into this inner sanctum. Medieval guards, particularly those tasked with protecting the king's position, simply weren't minded to give free entry without the orders of their master, which one imagines in this instance was Richard. In 1425, for example, during the factional discord that took place during the minority of Henry VI, Cardinal Beaufort ordered Richard Woodville to hold the Tower of London against Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and when the latter tried to gain access as a royal prince, he was denied entry by Woodville on the grounds that the council of the land had not given permission.

Lord Stanley's appointment as Constable after November 1483 also did not give him the right to act as he pleased, even if he was in the capital at the time. It also should be considered that Stanley appeared to retain the favour

of Richard during this period; are we to believe having secured such patronage, he would risk it all for a stepson he had never met, and whose cause was unlikely to succeed? His indecision until late in the Tudor conspiracy suggests a man

who had yet to be convinced to switch side this early. If Margaret or Stanley could have worked their way into the Tower, directly or indirectly, then surely so could scores of other persons of means loitering around the court of that time.

CHARACTER

And what of Margaret character? There is nothing in the contemporary historical record to suggest she possessed such a ruthless nature that would include ordering the deaths of two children, although George Buck, a fraud who issued an revised version of his namesake great-uncle's *The History of Richard the Third* in 1647, asserted she was 'a Lady of a politick and contriving bosome'. His accusation that she was involved in their deaths, based on 'an old manuscript book' that was not sourced nor remains in existence, serves as the origin of Margaret the prince-killer. This is contrary to the testimony after her death of those who knew her personally, such as Edward Lewkenor who requested masses said for the soul of the 'famous and excellent princess' and William Bedell who remembered a 'most singular good lady'.

In conclusion, it seems fanciful to suggest the Lady Margaret ordered the killing of the Princes in the Tower, based on the lack of evidence available. If it is considered absurd for Richard III to be considered a leading culprit, and the case has yet to be fully proven one admits, then the sheer idea that Margaret could

have committed the act is beyond reason. She had motive, but so did everyone else, and yes she was a woman of means, at least until November 1483 when it was taken from her by Richard, but that doesn't necessarily transfer into gaining entry undetected into the Tower of London. Crucially, rumours of the princes' deaths, and their disappearance, occurred before Henry Tudor was openly proclaimed a candidate to the throne.

I believe the condemnation of Margaret Beaufort is a consequence of an all-encompassing desire from some quarters to unmalin the reputation of Richard III by casting the blame elsewhere. Anywhere. Even in 2018, it sadly appears a charitable woman, praised by Bishop John Fisher at her funeral as a person "of mervayllous gentylness" who was not "vengeable, ne cruell", is a susceptible target for many, based on little more than the most basic of circumstantial evidence.

Quite frankly, there is no conclusive evidence whatsoever that allows us to cast Margaret into the flames of Hell as English history's most famous murderess.

NATHEN AMIN

.ATATIS.SVÆ. 38.
Aº DOM 1662.



Lady Katherine Knollys, a royal bastard?
(Yale Museum of British Art)

WAS LADY KATHERINE KNOLLYS REALLY HENRY VIII'S DAUGHTER?



by **Sarah-Beth Watkins**

ONE OF TUDOR'S great mysteries is whether Mary Boleyn's children, in particular, her eldest daughter Katherine, were the children of the king. Mary Boleyn was the king's mistress from around 1522 – 1526 at a time when Henry VIII was young, virile and athletic. He was despairing of his marriage to Katherine of Aragon and his lack of male heirs – having only one illegitimate son by Bessie Blount - but it had not yet reached a critical point. This was his hey-day full of jousting, feasting, pageants and passion. And Mary served that passion.

Mary had accompanied Henry's youngest sister Mary Tudor to France during her short-lived marriage to King Louis XII. Rumours the eldest Boleyn girl was the mistress of the king of France's son-in-law Francis can never be proved as Rodolfo Pio, Bishop of Faenza, who termed her a 'great and infamous whore' slandered her over 20 years after her time there and he was no friend to the Boleyns. Mary was neither a proliferate whore

nor did she ensnare Henry VIII: Instead it appears that he did all the running.

At a joust in 1522 Henry rode out with the motto *elle mon coeur a navera* – “she has wounded my heart” - emblazoned on his caparisons. It signalled his affection for Mary but shows he hadn't yet won her over, and this was echoed again in a pageant *'The Assault on the Castle of Virtue'* about unrequited love in which Mary took part as Kindness. Perhaps Mary was not the push-over that



**Natascha McElhone played Mary Boleyn as a long-serving royal mistress
in the 2003 adaptation of "The Other Boleyn Girl" (BBC)**

some historians have suggested, and instead Henry was in hot pursuit. And who could say no to the king?

For Mary was married. She wed William Carey, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, in 1520. Henry had even attended their wedding and subsequently through 1522 – 1526 William received generous grants; some have postulated for his compliance in allowing his wife to be the king's mistress. But William may also have received them on his own merit for his service to the crown.

Mary had her first child, Katherine in 1524, at the height of her affair with the king. This in itself points to Henry being her father. Henry did not like his mistresses sleeping with other men, not even their husbands, and seeing as he continued to sleep with Mary after Katherine's birth it's suggestive of his paternity.

It was believed for many years that Katherine's brother Henry was the eldest of

Mary's two children but evidence found by Susan Varlow in the Knollys family Latin dictionary confirms the date of Katherine's later marriage and the births of her children. Her last son Dudley would be born in 1562 at the same time she was painted by Steven van der Meulen. The portrait's inscription gives her age as 38 thus confirming Katherine was born in 1524. Although we cannot garner evidence from a painting it also shows a likeness to the king and Elizabeth I. Katherine would also join Anne of Cleve's household in 1539 as a maid of honour – a position usually taken up by girls of around fifteen or sixteen, so another indication of her age.

There has also been some conjecture that Katherine's brother was the king's son and the rumours definitely pointed to this relationship – something that warrants more investigation – but Henry was born after their affair was

over and it is more likely that he was William Carey's unless new evidence comes to light.

Mary's relationship with the king ended when he began to pursue her sister, Anne, in 1526 and his motto had changed to 'declare I dare not'. And this relationship would underline why Henry could never acknowledge Katherine as his own.

To divorce Katherine of Aragon, the king would use her previous marriage to his brother Arthur as an excuse. Quoting from Leviticus in the bible he deemed that a marriage between a man and his brother's wife was abominable.

But what he wanted to be kept quiet was a further passage that reads 'Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister, to vex her, to uncover her nakedness, besides the other in her lifetime'.

In order to marry Anne Boleyn, he sought a dispensation to remarry and to marry a woman with whom he had the first degree of affinity or closeness. But this he wanted to be kept a secret so there would be no impediment to his second marriage. He would never admit to his affair with Mary and therefore could never acknowledge Katherine as his daughter.

But others knew what he had done. Cardinal Pole wrote *'A Defence of the Unity of the Church'* which in no uncertain terms accused Henry. Basically a diatribe against Anne, in it he asks him 'Is she not the sister of her whom first you violated and for a long time after kept as your concubine?', then and answers his own question: 'She certainly is'.

In 1533 George Throckmorton also accused Henry not only of sleeping with Mary Boleyn but also her mother to which

the king replied 'Never with the mother', and it was Cromwell who added 'Nor never with the sister either, and therefore put that out of your mind'.

After William Carey's death from the sweating sickness in 1528 Henry intervened with Mary's family to allow her to return home to Hever and allocated her £100 a year. Henry had no need to acknowledge an illegitimate daughter and would bastardise both of his legitimate daughters, but he ensured Mary was taken care of.

Katherine would grow up close to his daughter, Elizabeth, by Anne Boleyn and quite possibly spent a lot of her childhood with her. They certainly had a close relationship before Elizabeth inherited the crown. After Henry's death and Mary's succession, Katherine had to flee abroad to escape religious persecution, and Elizabeth wrote her a letter she signed 'Cor Rotto' - Broken Heart.



William Carey

*Relieve your sorrow
for your far journey with
joy of your short return,
and think this pilgrimage rather
a proof of your friends, rather
than a leaving of your country,
the length of time, and distance
of the place separates not the love
of friends, nor deprives not the
show of good will ... when your
need shall be most you shall find
my friendship greatest ... My
power but small my love as great
as those whose gifts may tell their
friendships tale...*

After Mary's death in November 1558 and Elizabeth's accession, Katherine returned home, and her relationship with Elizabeth could not have been closer. They were definitely cousins but more probably half-sisters. Elizabeth had had a tumultuous relationship with her other half-sister, Mary, and although she could never acknowledge Katherine as anything more, she ensured her rise at court. She was made chief lady of the bedchamber in January 1559, an intimate role close to the queen. So close that Katherine was rarely allowed to visit her husband and children. Although somehow they managed to have at least fourteen!

Katherine's granddaughter Penelope would later be courted by Sir Philip Sidney, an avid poet, who wrote 'Astrophil and Stella' – Penelope being his Stella. It seems that in the later Elizabethan court others too felt that Penelope was descended from royalty. In his poem Sidney refers to 'hiding royal blood full oft in rural vein', calls her your Grace and says that she is 'rich in the riches of a royal heart'.

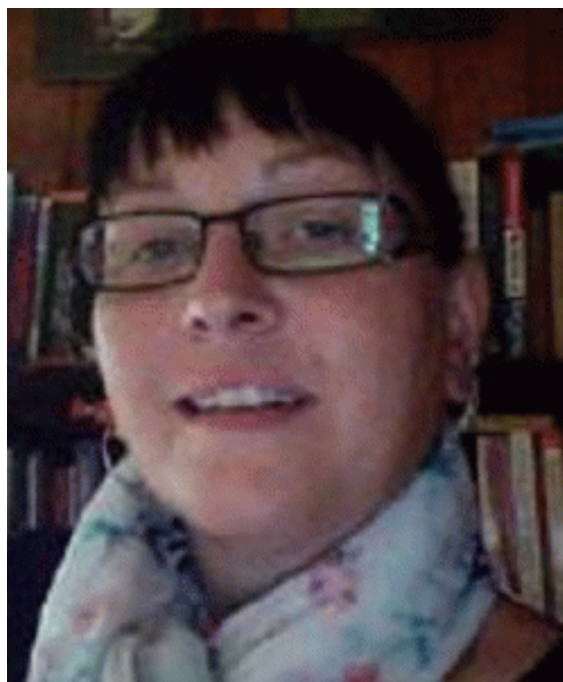
Katherine's husband Francis often tried to get leave to visit her or have her allowed

home when she was sick but very rarely did the queen allow Katherine to leave her side. He yearned for a retired life in the countryside where they could raise their children and grandchildren together. Even in Katherine's final illness, Elizabeth refused to let her leave court as 'the journey might be to her danger or discommodity'. Instead, Lord Burghley acted as their go-between assuring Francis that all was well, but it was just a reprieve. As Katherine became increasingly worse, the queen had her put to bed in a chamber next to her own so that she could care for her personally.

When Katherine died on the 15th January 1569, Elizabeth felt 'passions of grief for the death of her kinswoman and good servant, falling for a while from a prince wanting nothing in this world to private mourning'. She ordered the most impressive funeral costing £640. 2s. 11d or £110,000 in today's money and paid the cost herself. Katherine was buried at Westminster Abbey surrounded by royalty – a fitting place for the daughter of a king.

SARAH-BETH WATKINS

Sarah-Beth Watkins grew up in Richmond, Surrey and began soaking up history from an early age. Her love of writing has seen her articles published in various publications over the past twenty years. Working as a writing tutor, Sarah-Beth has condensed her knowledge into a series of writing guides for Compass Books. Her history works are Ireland's Suffragettes, Lady Katherine Knollys: The Unacknowledged Daughter of King Henry VIII, The Tudor Brandons, Catherine of Braganza, Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scots: The Life of King Henry VIII's Sister and the forthcoming Anne of Cleves: Henry VIII's Unwanted Wife.



A FIENDISHLY DIFFICULT “CHILDREN OF CATHERINE AND FRANCIS KNOLLYS” WORD WORM...

HENRY	EDWARD	RICHARD	
MARY	MAUDE	FRANCIS	KATHERYN
LETTICE	ELIZABETH	ANNE	DUDLEY
WILLIAM	ROBERT	THOMAS	

START
HERE

H	E	D	W	A	L	L	I	C	I
E	Y	N	N	R	I	M	A	N	S
N	R	E	A	D	W	F	R	A	E
T	E	K	A	S	N	A	Z	I	L
H	D	A	U	N	Y	B	T	I	C
O	U	T	H	E	R	E	T	E	E
M	A	M	D	R	A	T	H	L	D
A	S	R	O	B	H	C	I	R	U
B	T	W	A	E	R	A	R	Y	D
E	M	I	F	K	T	M	Y	E	L

Beginning at “Start Here”, follow a continuous path to find all of the children’s names. The trail passes through each letter once and may twist up, down or sideways, but never diagonally. The names may be in any order and there are a few extra letters in the grid which don’t get used, just to trick you!

Was EDWARD II *MURDERED* IN 1327?

In this extract from
“A History of the English Monarchy”,
Gareth Russell looks at a royal
murder mystery from the 14th Century.

In January 1327, Edward II, who had been a very unpopular monarch, abdicated in favour of his eldest child. Just nine months later, he vanished...

The new regency government, headed by Mortimer and Isabella, claimed that Edward had died of a grief-related illness on 21 September, the feast day of Saint Matthew the Evangelist. The news reached the adolescent King at Lincoln three days later, who told his cousin ‘my father has been commanded to God’. But few believed the Queen regent and her lover. The lawyer Adam Murimuth, who had once worked for the former King, wrote later that Edward had been dead for over a week by the time the official announcement was made and ‘it was commonly said that [...] he was craftily killed.’ It has already been mentioned that the story claiming he was murdered by having a red-hot poker inserted into his anus is untrue. More recently, Kathryn Warner has put forward the idea that he may have been drugged and then smothered. Mortimer had a working knowledge of sedatives and given Edward II’s physical strength, his murderers would have needed to quieten him before attacking. One chronicle claimed that he had been fed terrible food for weeks beforehand, in the

hope of weakening him. The rationale for committing the terrible sin of regicide, spilling the quasi-sacred blood which justified Isabella’s place in society as much as her husband’s, sprang from panic when Edward briefly escaped his captivity. The regency needed to ensure that did not happen again. Edward’s body was taken to Gloucester Cathedral, where stories of his lonely death soon obliterated criticism of him and brought pilgrims to pray at the grave of their martyr-King.

But was he really there? Ian Mortimer, a biographer of both Edward III and Roger Mortimer, has recently resurrected the idea that Edward II was not murdered on 27 September 1327 but that he was in fact smuggled abroad, via Ireland, received sanctuary at the Papal court and lived in obscurity, probably dying some time around 1341. This version of events is not nearly so absurd as it sounds. An extraordinary letter written by Manuel Fieschi, the future Bishop of Vercelli, relates this version of Edward II’s life after September 1327 and so far no historian has been able to satisfactorily prove how Fieschi came by his information. From about 1327 until 1343, Fieschi worked as a notary to the Papal court where,

according to his own narrative, Edward II had been granted asylum. The problem with Fieschi's intriguing account is that there is no other evidence that firmly corroborates it and the image of Edward II wandering around western Europe disguised as a pilgrim perhaps stretches credulity beyond its limits. Yet the theory that Edward II did not die on 27 September 1327 in his cell at Berkeley Castle cannot lightly be dismissed. In 1330, his younger brother Edmund, Earl of Kent, attempted to lead a rebellion against Roger Mortimer and Queen Isabella on the grounds that Edward II was still alive. This was a belief apparently shared by William Melton, Archbishop of York. That two men so close to the throne both believed Edward II was still living in 1329 or 1330, and going so far as to specify that he had been moved to captivity at Corfe Castle in Dorset, lends credence to the theory that he was not killed in 1327 and, at that juncture, Isabella had still recoiled from the idea of shedding royal blood. If Edward II had been left alive after 1327, it is possible that his brother's attempts to overthrow Isabella prompted her to take decisive action and that Edward II therefore died circa 1330. This would explain why both the Earl of Kent and the Archbishop of York believed Edward II was still alive and it would explain some, but not all, of the inconsistencies in the official version of events.

Obviously, none of this conclusively proves that Edward II survived the year of his abdication and a healthy scepticism should always be maintained. It is possible to square some of the circles in the story, while still adhering to the traditional date of Edward II's death. The murder was carried out at Berkeley Castle in September 1327 and the news reached his son three days later, a suspiciously short time to travel the distance between Berkeley and Lincoln, not because it was a lie but because it was pre-arranged by his killers. Or, as Adam Murimuth believed, perhaps Edward had actually already been dead for several days before the twenty-seventh. Later, as Roger Mortimer became more unpopular, other members of the royal family, like the Earl of Kent, began to plot against him. Hoping to push his enemies into committing an open act of treason against the new regime, Mortimer deliberately orchestrated a campaign of misinformation which tricked them into believing that Edward II was alive at Corfe.

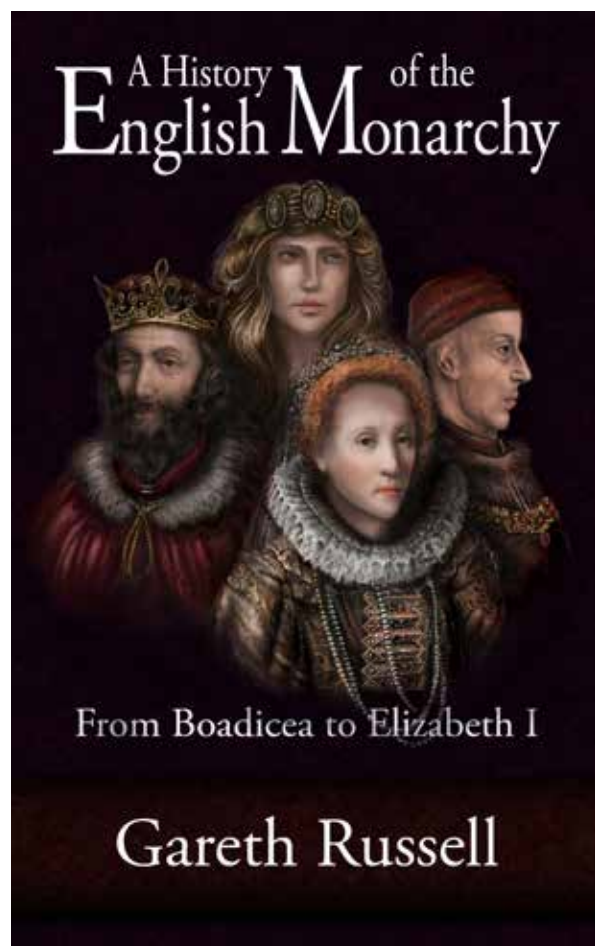
The riddle may never satisfactorily be resolved. Unless his tomb at Gloucester Cathedral is broken open, a habit that the current Sovereign is loath to condone lest it lead to the mass-deseccation of royal resting places. It seems we will never find out what really happened to Edward II.

GARETH RUSSELL

In **A History of the English Monarchy**, historian Gareth Russell traces the story of the English monarchy and the interactions between popular belief, religious faith and brutal political reality that helped shape the extraordinary journey of one of history's most important institutions.

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ANNE BOLEYN'S SIXTH FINGER

We've all heard this myth countless times. Here, **Conor Byrne** looks at the truth behind this Anne Boleyn myth...

In a discussion of the reputed deformities of Anne Boleyn, Henry VIII's second wife, Susan Bordo noted that 'the wens, goiters, and projecting tooth have all faded from the popular imagination. But that sixth finger just won't let go.' In the cultural imagination, Anne has long been thought to have had six fingers on one hand, but the contemporary evidence for this alleged deformity is minimal. This association of deformity with Anne plays an important role in how she is more generally interpreted for, as Retha Warnicke suggested, 'for many she [Anne] remains the queen with a malformed finger whose social conduct was too unrestrained for her own well being and whose carefree sexual behavior irresponsibly courted death.' The association of Anne's deformed finger with the perception of her as a witch is so culturally embedded that a portrait of Anne was glimpsed at the magical school Hogwarts in the 2001 film *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*.

ANNA BOLINA VXOR -

HENRI OCTA



The Elizabethan Jesuit Nicholas Sander was perhaps the first author to explicitly conceptualise Anne as a witch in his *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, a polemical study published in 1585 that harshly criticised the English Reformation. Its publication date was almost fifty years after Anne's execution. Sander described Anne in graphic terms:

Anne Boleyn was rather tall of stature, with black hair, and an oval face of a sallow complexion, as if troubled with jaundice. She had a projecting tooth under the upper lip, and on her right hand six fingers. There was a large wen under her chin, and therefore to hide its ugliness she wore a high dress covering her throat. In this she was followed by the ladies of the court, who also wore high dresses, having before been in the habit of leaving their necks and the upper portion of their persons uncovered. She was handsome to look at, with a pretty mouth, amusing in her ways, playing well on the lute, and was a good dancer.

Aside from his suggestion that Anne was 'handsome' and an accomplished musician, Sander's description of her appearance is undoubtedly damning. By adopting the contemporary tradition of depicting immoral individuals as physically

grotesque monsters, Sander left the sixteenth-century reader in no doubt as to his opinion of the queen's (lack of) morals. Sander's lurid account of Anne's appearance is difficult to reconcile with descriptions of her from her own lifetime. The Venetian ambassador bluntly stated that she was 'not one of the handsomest women in the world', but made

no mention of bodily deformities. Nor did the Imperial ambassador Chapuys, who nonetheless accused the queen of poisoning her stepdaughter Mary. The unknown author of the 'Spanish Chronicle', who was hardly sympathetic to Anne, made no mention of a sixth finger. Other contemporaries recorded that she possessed an elegant figure and was good looking.

Undoubtedly, had Anne actually had six fingers on her right hand, other sixteenth-century authors would surely have recorded it as fact. Warnicke has noted that Sander's suggestion of a sixth finger should be considered in the wider context of contemporary perceptions of witchlike appearances. Fingers played a prominent role in witchcraft, while wens and projecting teeth were likewise associated with witches: all of these were identified by Sander in his description of Anne's appearance. In response to these outrageous claims, George Wyatt published a manuscript in the seventeenth-century denying that Anne was physically deformed; rather she was a 'rare and admirable beauty'. Wyatt suggested that

Anne possessed 'upon the side of her nail upon one of her fingers, some little show of a nail, which was yet so small, by the report of

.....
*...upon the side of her nail upon
one of her fingers, some little show
of a nail...*
.....

George Wyatt

those that have seen her, as the workmaster seemed to leave it an occasion of greater grace to her hand, which, with the tip of one of her other fingers might be, and was usually by her hidden without any least blemish to it.' As the grandson of the poet and diplomat Thomas Wyatt, who was arrested on suspicion of adultery with Anne in 1536, it might be

thought that George Wyatt's conceptualisation of her appearance was at least somewhat more accurate than Sander's version of her features. However, the reality may be more problematic.

In her study of Anne's life, Warnicke suggested that 'George's [Wyatt] method in denying Sander's description was to reduce some of these

features to proportions as normal as he could make them.' At a large court that included many who were hostile to her, it would have been extremely difficult for Anne to have

concealed a deformity, no matter how small. In 1527, when he had resolved to annul his marriage to Katherine of Aragon and was tentatively considering possible brides, Henry VIII was noticeably concerned when he discovered that Renée of France would almost certainly be unable to 'bring forth frute, as it apperith by the liniacion of her body.' (She actually went on to bear five children after marrying Ercole II d'Este.) Like her sister Claude, Renée limped, which seems to have been perceived by sixteenth-century observers as tantamount to a deformity. The king's concerns are understandable, since sixteenth-century monarchs usually required detailed descriptions of the appearances of prospective spouses to confirm that offspring would be likely to be produced. In view of this context, it is difficult to accept Wyatt's depiction of Anne's

appearance since it would have been thought that contemporaries who actually saw the queen, including the aforementioned Venetian ambassador, would have mentioned her 'little show of a nail'. It is also worth noting that Wyatt was born in 1553, seventeen years after her execution. Despite these issues,

several authors have accepted Wyatt's suggestion of a 'little show of a nail', including Eric Ives and Alison Weir.

In 1876, excavations beneath the altar pavement of the Tower chapel were

.....
*...she had a projecting tooth under
the upper lip, and on her right
hand six fingers. There was a large
wen under her chin, and therefore
to hide its ugliness she wore a high
dress covering her throat...*
.....

Nicholas Sander

undertaken. The remains of prisoners interred there were subsequently revealed, including the remains of Anne Boleyn. Dr Mouat examined the remains and concluded that they showed 'a female of between twenty-five and thirty years of age, of a delicate frame of body, and who had been of slender and perfect proportions; the forehead and lower jaw were small and especially well formed. The vertebrae were particularly small, especially one joint... which was that next to the skull, and they bore witness to the Queen's 'lyttel neck'.' There was no indication of a sixth finger on either hand. When the contemporary descriptions of Anne's appearance are examined alongside the detailed findings of the 1876 committee, the notion of a sixth finger must be discarded as a cultural figment of the hostile anti-Elizabethan recusant tradition.

CONOR BYRNE

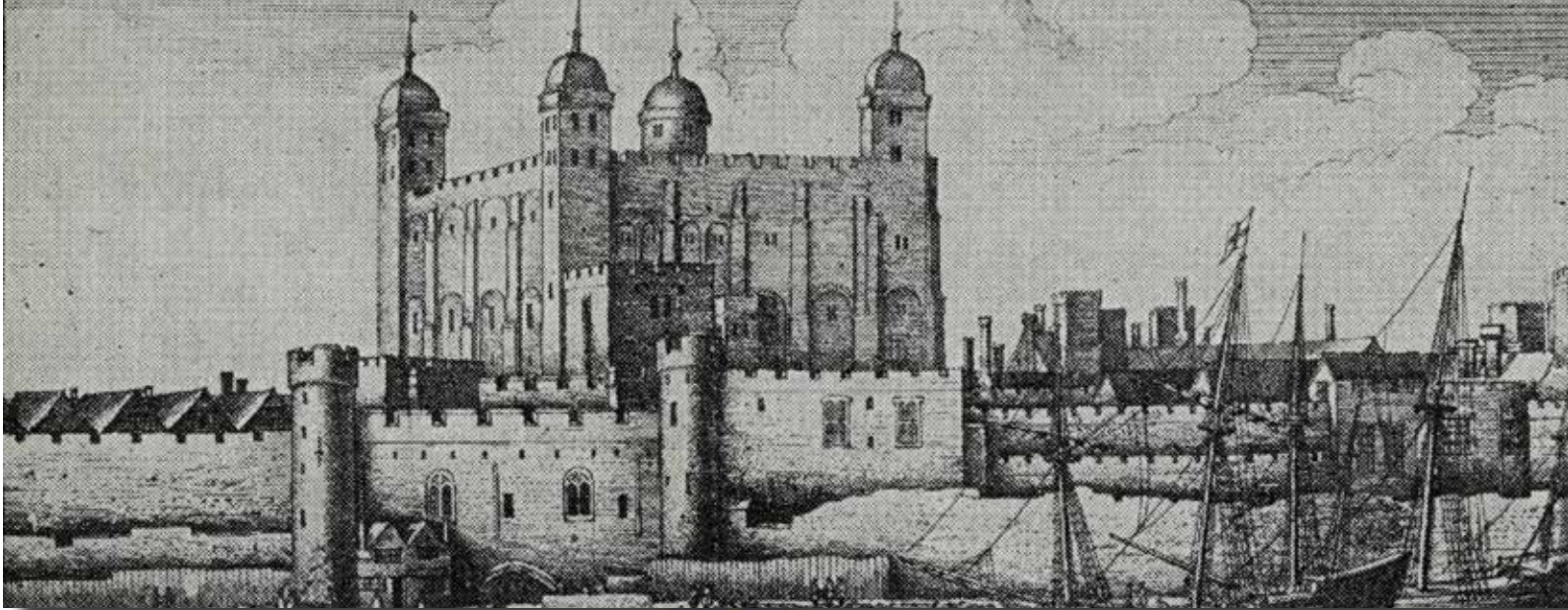


Charlotte Rampling in 'Henry VIII and His Six Wives'

Fascinating Anne Boleyn Myths and Mysteries

by Roland Hui

In the previous article, Conor Byrne discussed the myth of Anne Boleyn's sixth finger. In this article, Roland Hui expands on the myths surrounding the second wife of Henry VIII, and it's surprising how many of these myths people still believe and defend...



1) Anne Boleyn was born in 1507

That Anne was 'not 29 years of age' at her death in May 1536 was stated in a biography of Lady Jane Dormer (1538-1612).¹ Although Jane was not even born until two years after the execution of Anne, such reminiscences of hers are still considered invaluable. Being a lady-in-waiting to Queen Mary I, Jane was particularly close to her mistress, and would have heard her recollections - and those of others - about the court of the late Henry VIII. Not only was Jane adamant about Anne Boleyn's age, so was the Elizabethan antiquary William Camden.² In his history of Elizabeth I, he had included a marginal inscription 'Anna Bolena nata M.D. VII' (that is 'Anne Boleyn was born in 1507').

However, in the Victorian era, historians were taking a fresh look at Anne Boleyn's early life. Rather than the accepted 1507, some thought Anne was actually older, and a date of circa 1501 was thought more acceptable. In 1513, Anne was known to have been sent abroad to the Low Countries to serve Margaret of Austria. Critics of the 1507 date have argued that being six years of age, Anne would have been too young for such a position. But if she was born in 1501 (and there was some external evidence to support this), she would have been about twelve, the usual age for a girl to begin as a maid of honour.³

So 1507 or 1501? It remains a mystery as historians still take sides.

2) Anne and her siblings Mary and George were raised by a step-mother

Despite the undisputed fact that their mother Elizabeth Howard lived on till 1538, there was a misconception that she had died earlier in 1512, and that her husband Sir Thomas Boleyn then took a second wife. This person's name was not recorded (though writer Margaret Campbell Barnes helpfully called her 'Jocunda' in her 1949 fictional *Brief Gaudy Hour: A Novel of Anne Boleyn*), and as such was described as a 'Norfolk woman of humble origin' or simply as a 'local lady'.⁵

However, a Boleyn stepmother was a myth. The misconception was made on the part of the eminent biographer Agnes Strickland. In writing about Anne Boleyn in her monumental *Lives of the Queens of England* (1840-1848), Strickland misinterpreted an old document about the lineage of Elizabeth I. Where it was written that Queen Elizabeth came from 'her father having selected for his second consort a subject of no very elevated extraction', Strickland misread 'her father' as being her grandfather Thomas Boleyn instead. The document was actually referring to Henry VIII of course, and the 'second consort' being the Queen's mother Anne. In spite of the correction made to Strickland's error by the historian Philip W. Sergeant in 1923,⁶ the legend of a Boleyn stepmother persisted. She was mentioned in several historical novels and in at least two historical biographies.⁷

Similarly, a 'Mrs. Mary Orchard' (described as Anne's childhood nurse to whom she very close to and who was present at Anne's trial in the Tower of London) who appears in some historical novels and even as an actual person in Alison Weir's non-fiction *The Lady in the Tower*,⁸ was evidently a wholly invented character.

3) Anne introduced new fashions to the English Court

Anne Boleyn was undeniably chic and stylish. Even the hostile Nicholas Sander wrote that the English ladies around her imitated Anne's clothing as 'she was the model and the mirror of those who were at court, for she was always well dressed, and every day made some change in the fashion of her garments.'⁹ George Wyatt concurred when he said that in 'her attire', Anne 'excelled them all.'¹⁰

But what Anne's contributions to Tudor fashion actually were are a mystery. Much has been said about her introducing the rounded French hood to the English court, but there is no basis for this claim. If any prominent English lady did bring new French styles back to her native England, it would have been Mary Tudor, Henry VIII's younger sister. In 1514, she was briefly married to King Louis XII of France. After she was widowed, she would have presumably brought back samples of French clothing.

In popular culture, Anne was also said to have created elongated sleeves; no doubt to hide her deformed finger. But there is no proof of this. As well, women's sleeves as seen in Tudor art were never so long as to hide one's hands.

4) Anne was a deprived prisoner at the Tower of London

While some films and television presentations imply that Anne was held in sparse prisonlike conditions at the Tower (complete with barred windows and clanging cell doors as in the 1969 movie *Anne of the Thousand Days* for example), this was mythology. In truth, Anne was still treated with honour. Far from being held in 'a dungeon' as she herself supposed she would be at her arrival at the Tower, Anne was instead taken to the royal apartments where she had stayed prior to her coronation in 1533. In fact, they had been purposely refurbished for her for her day of triumph. Surrounding the royal palace area were luxurious gardens. High ranking prisoners such as the Lady Jane Grey, and later Anne's daughter the Princess Elizabeth, were sometimes allowed to recreate outside. Whether Anne herself was given the same privilege during her confinement is unknown.

Shortly after her death, it was recorded that Anne had £100 (a good deal of money in Tudor times) worth of 'a composition for such jewels and apparel' with her at the Tower.¹¹ As Anne's arrest at Greenwich Palace was sudden and she was at the Tower only hours after, suggests that belongings were sent to her after she was imprisoned. Clearly, Anne was still maintained in her high state despite her predicament. Likewise, a sum of £25 had been allowed for 'the late Queen's diets when in the Tower.'¹²

5) Anne was a Protestant

That Anne was a Protestant is a myth. Like Henry VIII, Anne was certainly anti-Papal and had a nationalistic view of the Church, but she would not have been considered of the 'New Faith', one still in its formative stages in England. Anne held traditional Roman Catholic beliefs, though she was open to religious reform as some other Catholics were too without being considered heretics. Anne's biographer Eric Ives has gone so far as to say that Anne (like her brother Lord Rochford) was of an 'evangelical' sort. Though she practiced her faith as it was, she also sought a more intimate relationship with the Divine through her reading of the Bible, particularly in the vernacular, and of various religious commentaries.

There is still a mystery to aspects of Anne's personal piety. Some historians like G.W. Bernard have downplayed her commitment to Reform, and see her as a traditional-minded Catholic.¹³ As evidence, Anne believed in the sanctity of the Blessed Sacrament (during her imprisonment, she had asked for the Host to be placed in her private chapel for adoration, and after her condemnation for adultery, she publicly swore to her innocence at the taking of Communion), and had even expressed an interest in making a religious pilgrimage to help conceive a child.

6) Anne unwittingly triggered her own ruin

Anne's downfall remains the greatest mystery of her life, and in 2002, the academic Greg Walker offered a new and interesting take on what probably happened in May 1536.¹⁴ Walker, rather than attributing the fateful events to Henry VIII's falling out of love with his wife, or to the machinations of Thomas Cromwell, or to the eccentric theory of a deformed baby conceived by the Queen, blamed Anne's fall upon Anne herself. She of course did not purposely court disaster, but had inadvertently invited it upon herself through a choice of carelessly uttered words.

As argued by Walker, Anne was still in a position of power, though one weakened by her miscarriage of January 1536. It was an indiscreet conversation with Sir Henry Norris that was to bring her world tumbling down. She accused the nobleman, a favourite of the King that he was looking for 'dead man's shoes', that is if anything bad were to happen to the King, he would look to have her. In suggesting the death of Henry VIII and that there was some of intimacy between her and Norris caused a scandal. Anne's remark was overheard at court, and to do damage control, Norris had to be sent to a priest to make a public declaration that the Queen was 'a good woman'. But as Walker argues, things only went downhill. Anne's outburst - which was actually treasonable - forced the King and Cromwell to begin an investigation. Even though the Queen had really meant nothing by her words, she and five men were ultimately put to death on the scaffold.

Walker's theory has had its share of criticisms - the downplaying of a faction at court already set against the Queen, Cromwell's claim that he had orchestrated her destruction, and so forth - but it remains intriguing and plausible. Is it enough to explain Anne's fall? That's still a mystery.



7) Because of Anne's popularity as a cultural icon, she has always been viewed positively in film and television

From the silent picture *Anna Boleyn* (1920) to *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969), cinematic presentations have been favourable to Anne Boleyn depicting her as a sympathetic heroine. But it would be a myth that this would always be the case. Later takes on Anne's life have been less kind. In the television series *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (1970), actress Dorothy Tutin played Anne as a mocking, arrogant adventuress out to steal Henry VIII from the kind-hearted Catherine of Aragon. Only in the next episode which focused on Anne's demise, was she shown more sympathetically. Humbled by her spectacular fall from grace, Anne faced her ordeals - and ultimately her wrongful death - with great courage.

In the film adaptation of the tv series re-entitled *Henry VIII and His Six Wives* (1972), Anne Boleyn was no better. Actress Charlotte Rampling's Anne was a jealous, bad tempered shrew who might truly have been guilty of infidelity as the film seemed to suggest. Rampling justified her interpretation saying that "Anne wasn't a nice girl, I'm afraid, and had dangerous qualities of spitefulness and arrogance."¹⁵ Worse to come was *The Other Boleyn Girl* (2003) based on Philippa Gregory's popular novel. In both the book and the movie, there was almost nothing Anne would not do to compete with her sister Mary and to hold on to power. It is relief when Anne gets her comeuppance, and Mary is free of her malevolence.

8) Anne the Tudor fashionista

Authentic likenesses of Anne Boleyn are meagre. Her most famous is the popular image of her wearing a 'B' pendant. The original artist is unknown (probably the court painter Lucas Horenbout), but it was certainly not the great Holbein. None of the surviving paintings of this type, dating from the Elizabethan or early Jacobean periods as copies, approach the quality of work by the great master. While there are two drawing by Holbein of individual ladies said to be the Queen, there is no absolute certainty or consensus that either of the two were indeed her.¹⁶

A most intriguing image is one listed in the late 16th century inventory of Lord Lumley.¹⁷ The picture, a full length, was described as 'the Statuary of Quene Anne Bulleyne'. Even when Anne was rehabilitated during the reign of Elizabeth I as the Queen's mother, interest in her likeness was limited to standard bust lengths, and such pictures were always just parts of 'Kings and Queens of England' sets meant to hang altogether in long galleries. As such, Anne's main importance was as Henry VIII's wife, as she is inscribed as his second consort in her pictures.

But because the painting was a full length, it was set apart from the usual 'Kings and Queens' collections. It would be natural to assume that the 'Anne Bulleyne' was Elizabethan in origin - perhaps commissioned by a descendant of Mary Boleyn - but could it be earlier? An *ad vivum* painting done in the time of Henry VIII? We know that Holbein executed full lengths - the picture of Christina of Denmark, and the cartoons for and the Whitehall mural itself of Henry VIII with Jane Seymour and his parents. Could he have painted Anne like that as well?

The argument against this theory is that no such image is known to have existed, even in copies. The Lumley inventory was also careful in listing pictures done by 'Haunce Holbyn' (including the mentioned Christina of Denmark), and the one of Anne contains no such notation. Still, a clerical error could have been made, and the possibility is still there. Or better yet, the 'Anne Bulleyne', known to have been later damaged and subsequently cut down in size to be sold at auction in 1773,¹⁸ can still be found some day. Until then, Anne Boleyn as Holbein's sitter remains a mystery rather than a myth.

9) Ghost sightings of Anne are fantasies

While it would be easy to dismiss ghost sightings as unscientific figments of imagination, there are many in the world who do believe in the supernatural and in the possibility or reality of an afterlife populated by spirits of the departed. In fairness, it would be better to categorise this subject as a mystery rather than a myth.

Admittedly, ghost sightings of Anne Boleyn are far and few in-between these days. While the curious may still gather at historical locations places such as Blickling Hall in Norfolk on the anniversary of her death hoping to catch a glimpse of Anne gliding by,¹⁹ reports of seeing her in the flesh - or rather in the shroud - have been disappointing.

But not so in Queen Victoria's time. In 1864, it was reported at the Tower of London that one evening a Captain of the Guard had confronted the

very spectre of Anne Boleyn.²⁰ He was making his rounds when suddenly a woman in white came upon him. He ordered her back, but she came forward and through his bayonet! The man fainted. He was to be court-martialled for misconduct and for his colourful excuse until two fellow guardsmen later backed up his story; they too had witnessed the apparition. The Captain was let go.

Another account from about the same time, told how guards were alerted to a strange light coming from the Chapel of St. Peter Ad Vincula one night.²¹ The men peered through a window and claimed to have seen a ghostly procession of men and women from the Tudor era walking up and down the aisle within. In front was a figure thought to have been Anne Boleyn.

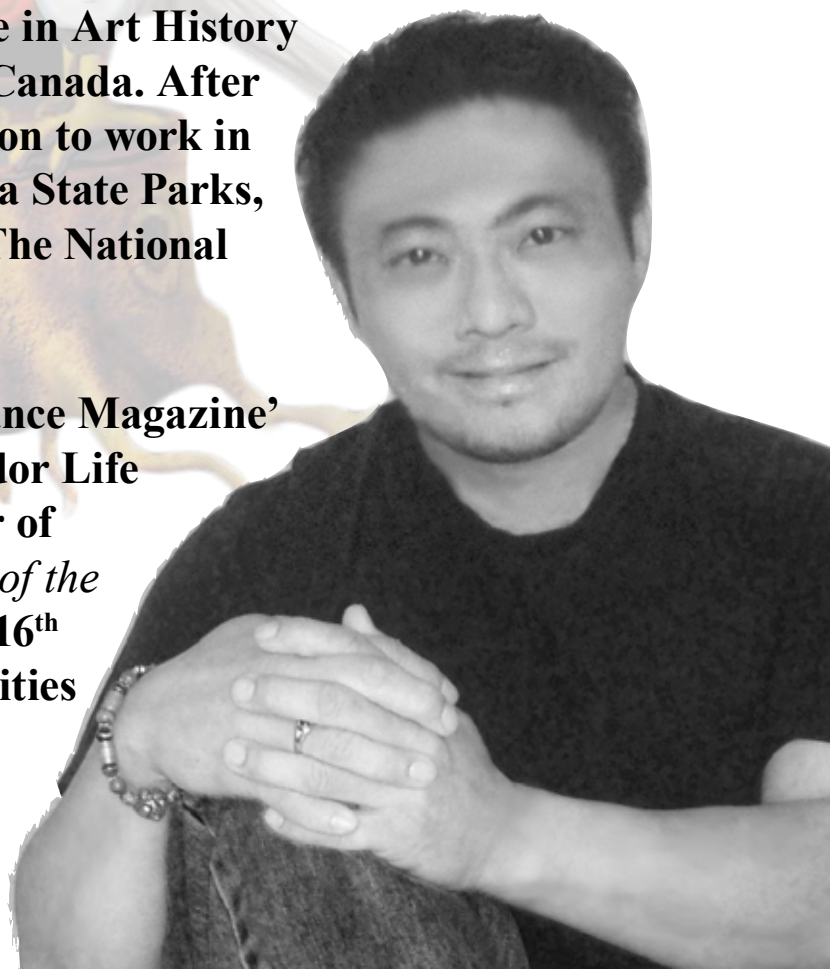
ROLAND HUI

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Roland Hui received his degree in Art History from Concordia University in Canada. After completing his studies, he went on to work in Interpretive Media for California State Parks, The U.S. Forest Service, and The National Park Service

Roland has written for 'Renaissance Magazine' and regularly writes for 'Tudor Life Magazine'. He is the author of *The Turbulent Crown: The Story of the Tudor Queens* and blogs about 16th century English art and personalities at 'Tudor Faces' (tudorfaces.blogspot.com).





Guildhall in Warwick © Shakespeare's England.



3 MYSTERIES DURING THE WARS OF THE ROSES

by Debra Bayani

Isabel Neville's Death

Isabel, the eldest daughter of the powerful “Kingmaker” and Anne Beauchamp, was born at her parents’ family home of Warwick Castle. Without the King’s consent, her father betrothed Isabel to the heir-presumptive, George, Duke of Clarence. The couple had four children: a still-born baby in 1470, Margaret in 1473, Edward in 1475 and Richard on 5 October 1476. Isabel gave birth to Richard in a chamber of the infirmary of Tewkesbury Abbey and the baby was baptised there the next day.

On 12 November, George and Isabel travelled back to Warwick Castle and it is recorded that around this time Isabel became seriously ill. Less than three months after giving birth, Isabel died at the age of only 25, soon followed by her baby son Richard. Stricken with grief, George was determined to find the persons responsible for the deaths of his wife

and son. George suspected one of Isabel’s ladies-in-waiting, Ankarette Twynyho, of having murdered her by giving her a poisonous drink mixed with ale. On 12 April, he sent a force of 20 men to Ankarette’s house in Somerset. These men entered her house by force and seized the elderly widow. She was taken via Bath and Cirencester to Warwick, where she arrived after an exhausting two days’ journey. At Warwick, her jewellery, money and other possessions were taken from her and ‘*also then and there, in the said Duke’s behalf, though he had used a King’s power*’, they also charged Ankarette’s daughter Edith, her husband Thomas de la Lynde and some of their servants for staying to support Ankarette during the first few days of her arrest.

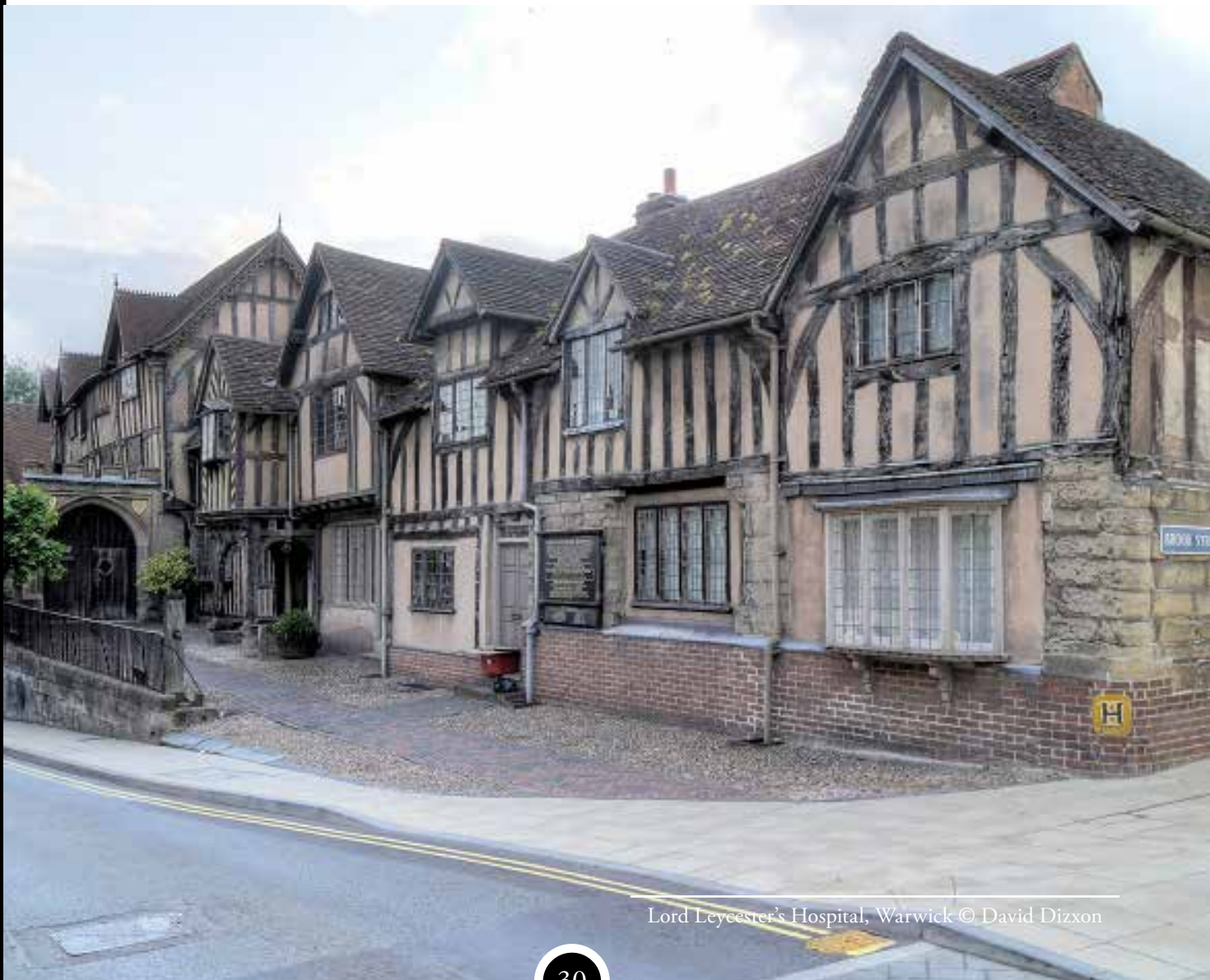
The next day, George put her on trial at the Guildhall along with another of the Clarence family servants, John Thursby. George also accused Sir Roger Tocotes of being

involved in the murders, but somehow this man (who was a kinsman of Duchess Isabel) did not stand on trial. Whatever evidence was presented has not survived on record but both Ankarette and John Thursby were found guilty and sentenced to death. According to a petition by Ankarette's cousin Roger Twynyho, on behalf of Ankarette's son John:

Which juries, for fere and drede of grete manaces, and doubt of love and life and godes, found the said verdict conntinarie to their own entents, truth and conscience: in prove wherof divers of the same jury, after the said judgement, came to the said Ankarette, having grete remorse in their conscience, knowing they had proven an untrue verdict in

that behalf, humbly, pitiously asked forgiveness of the said Ankarette.

Ankarette and John Thursby were brought to Warwick prison before being drawn to the gallows at Mytton and hanged to death. The mystery of this case is that on 20 May 1477, King Edward IV requested the records of Ankarette's trial to be sent to him and the next year Ankarette's cousin Roger and son John were successful when they petitioned parliament to overturn the verdict against Ankarette. This was likely after George's own mysterious execution but it is obvious that George had exceeded his authority. It is now generally believed by historians that Isabel's cause of death was either childbed fever or Tuberculosis.



Lord Leycester's Hospital, Warwick © David Dixon

The Death of the King's brother: Plague or Murder?

First, a little historical background.... in the wake of the Wars of the Roses, King Henry VI's uterine Tudor brothers, the recently elevated Edmund, Earl of Richmond, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, were on good terms with Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York.

However, in early 1454, King Henry had his first mental breakdown and action had to be taken. The Tudor brothers supported the Duke of York at a council meeting as he received protectorship of the country during the King's illness. There was unrest throughout the country, but despite this, not even the first real battle of the Wars of the Roses, the 1st Battle of St. Albans in 1455, seems to have reduced their strong connections with York.

Early on during York's brief protectorate, he tried to suppress lawlessness in South-West Wales, but was unsuccessful. Not long afterwards, it seems to have been a great humiliation that Edmund succeeded where York had failed. Soon after this, York lost his protectorship just as quickly as he had gained it. The significance of this whole campaign was York's determination to assert his control over the government and to counteract potentially dangerous rivals in the area. York had failed.

As a result, in April 1456, Edmund seems to have become a rival for the power York wanted. York had to act. York's men, Sir Walter Devereux and his son-in-law Sir William Herbert, made their move by gathering a force of about 2000 men from around Herefordshire and on their route caused many local skirmishes. This unrest escalated further in June when an attempt was made to take over Kenilworth, with the intention of killing the King.

William Herbert, Walter Devereux and family members of Devereux' half-brother joined their forces, focusing their attentions on championing York's authority and headed for South-West Wales. Passing through unfriendly territory, they eventually came to Carmarthen Castle, a place Edmund Tudor had only a short while ago been able to seize for the King. Edmund was still in the castle.

Edmund must have been completely astounded by this surprise attack and was

not prepared for it at all. Herbert and his force immediately seized the castle and took Edmund prisoner. It is not clear at all why William Herbert acted the way he did, as he appeared to have been on good terms with both Edmund and Jasper Tudor, but a section from a contemporary poem, composed by Lewys Glyn Cothi in 1452/1453 in praise of William Herbert, says:

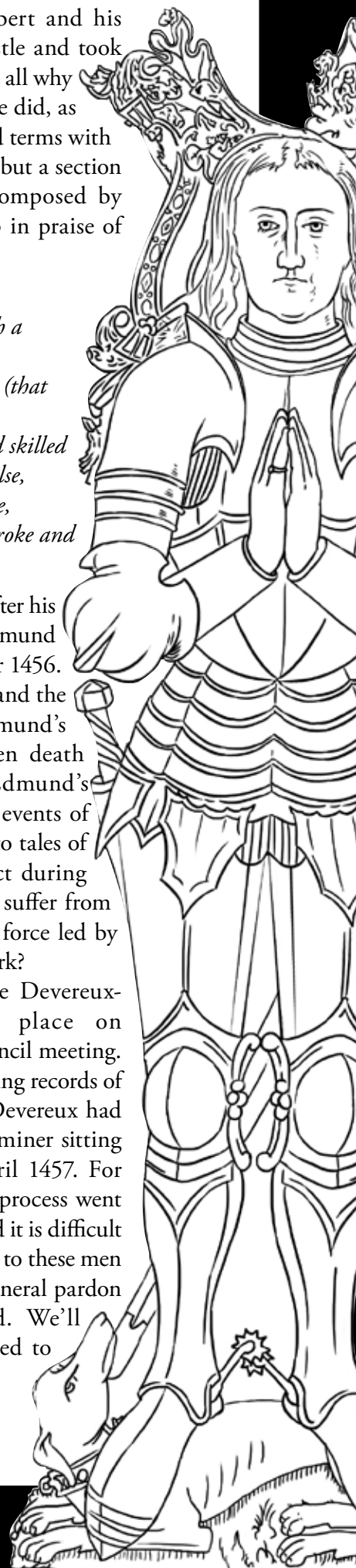
*...If Jasper was being pounded,
he'd [=William] pound through a
thousand men.*

*The nobleman's full of sincerity (that
will serve him well);*

*Gwilym [=William] is true and skilled
for one God before everything else,
also for the Crown, kindly eagle,
and above for the earl of Pembroke and
his men.*

As for the mystery ... soon after his imprisonment at Carmarthen, Edmund mysteriously died on 1 November 1456. Although a plausible suggestion, and the generally accepted cause of Edmund's death, is the plague, his sudden death was a great shock to many. Edmund's surprise death so soon after the events of the summer, gave inevitable rise to tales of suspicion of violence and neglect during his imprisonment. Did Edmund suffer from wounds caused by opposing the force led by representatives of the Duke of York?

Attempts to condemn the Devereux-Herbert disturbances took place on 15 February 1457 at a Great Council meeting. Unfortunately there are no surviving records of this meeting, but Herbert and Devereux had to appear before an oyer and terminer sitting at Hereford from 2 until 7 April 1457. For Herbert and Devereux the legal process went on for a few months and at the end it is difficult to see why King Henry responded to these men like he did, Herbert received a general pardon but Devereux was imprisoned. We'll never really know what happened to Edmund...





The Resting Place of the King's Son

There is debate on almost everything surrounding Richard III and Anne Neville's only son, Prince Edward of Middleham. Even his date of birth is only roughly placed somewhere between 1472 and 1476. What we do know with certainty is that he was born at his father's family home of Middleham Castle, that it was also the place in which he spent all of his short life and that his governess was Anne Idley. Edward was made Earl of Salisbury in 1478 and during the first year of the two-year reign of his father, he was created Duke of Cornwall, Earl of Chester and received the title of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, as well as the traditional title Prince of Wales, with which he was invested in the Bishop's Palace in Wells shortly after his father's coronation.

As with many children in medieval times, records were not accurately kept and this was the case with Edward, though it is quite odd that so very few contemporary accounts were made or survive about this Prince of Wales. According to some accounts, Edward was a sickly child. According to the Croyland Chronicle Edward *'was seized with an illness of*

but a short duration, and died at Middleham Castle ... You might have seen his father and mother in a state of almost bordering madness, by reason of their sudden grief'.

Edward died on 9 April 1484, aged between eight and twelve. His parents were at Nottingham Castle when they received the terrible news. It is not known why he died, but the biggest mystery is the location of his final resting place.

For the last century it has been believed that Edward was laid to rest in the south side of St Helen and the Holy Cross Church at Sheriff Hutton, buried amongst his Neville family members. A battered white alabaster cenotaph that is thought to be Edward's tomb was, in the early 17th Century, recorded as bearing the Neville coat of arms. However, a very real possibility is that this tomb once belonged to one of the Neville children who died during early childhood.

No mention was ever made that Richard III and Anne visited Sheriff Hutton after Edward's death and in fact, according to the Croyland Chronicle and Rous Roll,



Stained glass in St. Mary's and Alkelda Church in Middleham depicting Edward of Middleham, Richard III and Anne Neville © Fleeting Glimpse.

Middleham was the place of burial. Because of this, some believe it was at Middleham's small St. Mary and Alkelda Church that the Prince was buried, a place where his father intended to found a college. But, due to its small size, this is also seen as an unfitting place to bury a Prince of Wales. Of course, there are other possibilities such as the nearby abbeys of Jervaulx and Coverham.

Re-interments were quite common during this time (e.g. Henry VI, and Richard III's own parents, Richard Duke of York and Cecily

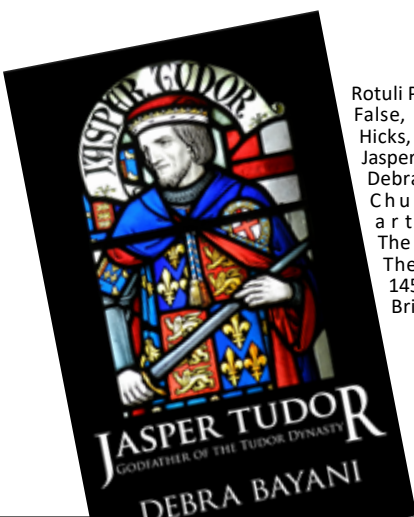
Neville) Perhaps Richard planned to have his son re-interred in the chantry chapel in York or even in Fotheringhay, near to Edward's grandparents and uncle.

There are so many possible sites... maybe one day Edward's remains will be found, just as happened to his father's remains at Leicester in 2013. It would be interesting to know more about the boy who, more than 500 years ago, was heir to the English throne. But for now it remains yet another mystery.

DEBRA BAYANI

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Edward of Middleham's supposed tomb at Sheriff Hutton © Fleeting Glimpse.



ELIZABETH I AND THE BISLEY BOY LEGEND

Claire Ridgway discusses this rather outrageous myth, the origins of the theory and whether it could actually be true...

I receive many emails and comments about Queen Elizabeth I, but I have lost count of how many times I have been asked whether Elizabeth was actually a man. The myth that Elizabeth I was a man in disguise has proliferated due to popular TV programmes like “The Secret Life of Elizabeth I” (or Secrets of the Virgin Queen) and newspaper articles with headlines such as “Is this proof the Virgin Queen was an imposter in drag?” (The Daily Mail), which was about Steve Berry’s research for his novel *The King’s Deception*. According to the newspaper article, Berry believes that when Elizabeth I addressed the troops at Tilbury Fort in 1588, saying “I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England, too”, she “could have been telling the literal truth – that she had the heart of a man, because her body was male”.

Steve Berry was told of a rumour that originated in the Cotswolds, a legend that was made famous by Bram Stoker, the famous author

of *Dracula*, in his 1910 book *Famous Impostors*. As well as being a writer, Stoker was the personal assistant of actor Henry Irving. Irving was





house-hunting in the Cotswolds and visited the Gloucestershire village of Bisley where the annual May Day celebrations involved a boy May queen dressed in Elizabethan costume. Irving told Stoker of this, and the two men were intrigued by this tradition and its basis. Stoker decided to investigate the origins of the male May queen tradition, and he published the results of his research as a chapter in his book. Here is a brief synopsis of the Bisley Boy Legend...

A young Princess Elizabeth was sent with her governess to stay at the manor of Overcourt, in the village of Bisley, for her health, for a change of air. While she was there, the princess's governess received word that King Henry VIII was coming to visit his daughter. On the day that the king was expected, with him due to arrive at any time, the little princess developed a high fever and sadly died. The governess panicked. She could not bring herself to tell the king the devastating news, for he was known for his bad temper. What was she to do? She decided to hide the body in the grounds of the manor and then set off for the village to find a little girl who could

act as a substitute for the princess until after the king had departed. It would be far better to give the king the bad news by letter after his visit, she decided. Unfortunately, the village was only small, and there was no suitable girl. But there was a boy. He had been a playmate of the princess and was similar in build and looks to Elizabeth. The governess dressed him in Elizabeth's clothes and passed him off as Elizabeth when the king arrived. Stoker writes that the king didn't suspect a thing: "Elizabeth had been brought up in such dread of her father that he had not, at the rare intervals of his seeing her, been accustomed to any affectionate effusiveness on her part; and in his hurried visit he had no time for baseless conjecture."

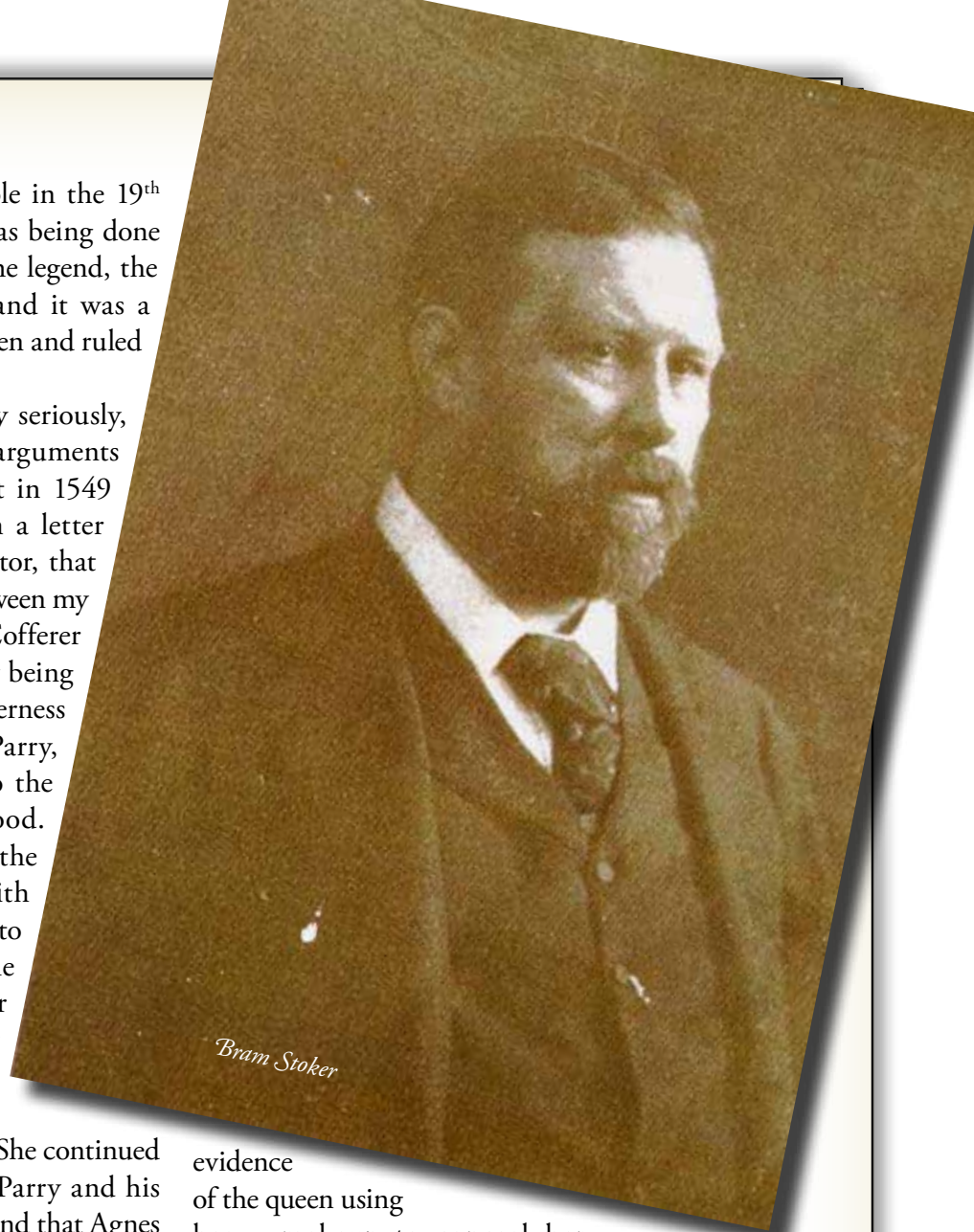
Even after the king had left, the governess and other members of the household who had been brought into the secret could not bring themselves to tell the king of the death of his daughter. The boy continued in the role, and the real Elizabeth's body stayed buried in the garden at Overcourt, where the remains of a girl aged about nine were claimed to have been

found by Reverend Thomas Keble in the 19th century when restoration work was being done on the manor. So, according to the legend, the real Elizabeth died as a child, and it was a Bisley village boy who became queen and ruled England for over 44 years.

Stoker took the legend very seriously, supporting it with a number of arguments and points. He pointed out that in 1549 Sir Robert Tyrwhitt recorded in a letter to Edward Seymour, Lord Protector, that there was “some secret promise between my Lady, Mistress Ashley, and the Cofferer never to confess to death”; Ashley being Katherine Ashley, Elizabeth’s governess and the cofferer being Thomas Parry, both of whom had been close to the princess from her early childhood. Stoker went on to write about the princess’s close relationships with Parry and Ashley and her loyalty to them; how, on her accession, she appointed Parry as the comptroller of the royal household and Ashley as the chief gentlewoman of the privy chamber. Stoker quotes Frank A. Mumby as writing that “She continued to confer preferment upon both Parry and his daughter to the end of their lives” and that Agnes Strickland had said that this “naturally induces a suspicion that secrets of great moment had been confided to him — secrets that probably would have touched not only the maiden name of his royal Mistress, but placed her life in jeopardy, and that he had preserved these inviolate. The same may be supposed with respect to Mrs. Ashley, to whom Elizabeth clung with unshaken tenacity through every storm.”

Stoker felt that Elizabeth’s refusal to marry was suspicious, along with her refusal to see doctors who were not her usual physicians. He also quoted the Count de Feria writing in 1559, when Elizabeth was just 25, “If my spies do not lie, which I believe they do not, for a certain reason which they have recently given me, I understand that she [Elizabeth] will not bear children.”

Then there was her appearance. Stoker believed that Elizabeth’s “swarthy” skin was



evidence of the queen using heavy makeup to conceal her true identity, and that she used wigs to cover male pattern baldness. He also writes of how changes were noted in the princess. He notes, that there was a significant change in literary style between the two letters that Elizabeth wrote her stepmother, Queen Catherine Parr, in 1543 and 1544, and that Roger Ascham was advising Katherine Ashley to go easy on the princess with regards to her education in 1546, but in 1550 Ascham wrote that “No apprehension can be quicker than hers, no memory more retentive. French and Italian she speaks like English; Latin with fluency, propriety and judgment; she also spoke Greek with me, frequently, willingly, and understanding well”. Ascham also wrote that “The constitution of her mind is exempt from female weakness, and she is endued with a masculine power of application.”



Katherine Ashley

Thomas Parrie.



Thomas Parry



Steve Berry added his own points in favour of the Bisley Boy legend. He noted the differences between portraits of Elizabeth as queen and Elizabeth as a child, how the adult Elizabeth had broad shoulders and a heavy square jaw, while the child had slender shoulders, a heart-shaped face and a delicate neck. Then there's the fact that the queen would never allow people to see her without her makeup and wig. When this was added to the Bisley annual May tradition, the legend and Elizabeth's words about having the heart and stomach of a king, Berry found it convincing.

Bram Stoker even put forward an identity for the boy who assumed Elizabeth's identity. Stoker believed that it could have been the son of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset (Henry VIII's illegitimate son), and his wife, Mary Howard, and that this would explain the resemblance in appearance and the child's intelligence.

The legend is interesting, as so many legends are, but can it be taken at all seriously? I don't believe so. Stoker notes that Henry VIII

didn't notice the substitution because he didn't visit his daughter very often and because when he did, she tended to keep her distance because she was afraid of him. This, however, is not backed up by the records. Although he seems to have ignored his second daughter temporarily, following the fall of her mother, Anne Boleyn, in 1536, Henry did take an interest in his children, and they visited court on a regular basis. Even if the king didn't notice, Elizabeth's half-sister, Mary, and members of the court would surely have noticed. The dates of the alleged changes – between 1543 and 1544, or 1546 and 1550, do not make any sense either because Elizabeth was at court regularly in the 1540s and Henry VIII died in January 1547 anyway. In 1542 and 1543, when Elizabeth was nine, the age of the remains said to be found by Reverend Keble, Elizabeth's rehabilitation at court began in earnest, and she was seeing her father. Furthermore, I have not found any record of Elizabeth's household being at Overcourt. As for the substitute boy being the son of Mary Howard and Henry Fitzroy, there is no evidence that the couple had a child together or that Mary ever gave birth.

With regards to Elizabeth's appearance, her mother's complexion was described as "swarthy" too, and it was the fashion of the time for women to wear ceruse, the thick white lead-based makeup. Elizabeth was not bald either. In September 1599, when Elizabeth was aged sixty-six, the Earl of Essex strode uninvited into her bedchamber and saw the queen, according to courtier Rowland Whyte, "newly up, her hair about her face". As for the queen looking radically different to the princess, I do not see that at all. There are so many portraits of the queen, but I would not describe her as being broad-shoulder or square-jawed. Elizabeth also did not dress as if she was hiding her body, choosing instead to wear low necklines.

Queen Elizabeth I's body was not her own. She did not have privacy: her ladies helped her to bathe, they helped her use the closed stool, they dressed her, and one lady would sleep with her. If she were truly a man in disguise, then her ladies would surely have noticed this and word would have got out. Philip II's emissary bribed the queen's laundress for details on Elizabeth's

health, and the laundress reported that the queen was functioning normally, i.e. her sheets and use of linen rags showed that she was menstruating. Elizabeth was also physically examined during marriage negotiations to check that she was still capable of bearing a child.

In 1547 and 1548, the teenage Elizabeth lived with her stepmother, the dowager queen, Catherine Parr, and Catherine's new husband, Thomas Seymour. During her time with them, Thomas Seymour had a very inappropriate relationship with Elizabeth, visiting her in her chamber before she had risen and got dressed, tickling her and stroking her buttocks when she was only dressed in her shift, and one time slashing her gown "in a hundred pieces". This was all very intimate, and it is hard to believe that Seymour wouldn't have noticed if Elizabeth had actually been a young man. Then there's the queen's close relationship with Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, a man she'd known since childhood. Leicester would surely have noticed if she'd been substituted or if she was really a boy. Even if he'd kept it secret, would he have pursued her the way he did if she'd been a man?

The royal court was a hotbed of gossip and yet not one ambassador wrote of there being rumours about Elizabeth's gender, of the princess looking different, of the queen being masculine... I just cannot see how something so big could have been kept secret, particularly when a monarch's body was not their own and their health was monitored carefully.

I'm not sure why this legend is still 'doing the rounds' today. When I first wrote about it back in 2009, historian Leanda de Lisle commented "I'm afraid this kind of sexist myth about Elizabeth is not that uncommon. In the sixteenth century, it was believed that women



Elizabeth as a young woman

who exercised power over men lost their femininity and were rendered barren. It was an idea drawn from the Greek myth of the masculine women called the Virago, And these beliefs are surprisingly persistent, In 1985 a doctor Bakan went so far as to suggest that Elizabeth's mental toughness suggested she suffered from testicular feminization and was genetically male. I discuss these theories briefly in my book on the Grey sisters." Is it just that this legend is a juicy story, or is it down to the fact that some people still find it hard to believe that a 16th-century woman could be a strong monarch? I really don't know. It certainly cannot be said to be a convincing tale.

CLAIRE RIDGWAY

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The Mystery of the “abominable and detestable” Lord Hungerford

Gareth Russell looks at the
scandalous case of a man close to
Thomas Cromwell...

As attitudes to homosexuality change with lightening speed across the Western world, it's difficult to remember that it was once dubbed “the love that dare not speak its name”. Homosexuals and bisexuals at the Tudor courts not only may have lacked the vocabulary to properly understand their sexuality, but even if they could process it, secrecy of some degree was advisable. Tudor attitudes to homosexuality were, it's worth noting, often far more relaxed than those of the more censorious Victorians, but there were still risks and they intensified in England after the passing of the 1533 Buggery Statute, which made consensual homosexual sex between two men a capital crime. This lugubrious legislation was seldom enforced and homosexual liaisons were openly functioning late into Queen Elizabeth's reign, particularly in theatrical or upper-class circles surrounding the likes of Christopher Marlowe or, north of the border, King James VI.

The Buggery Statute was primarily employed to target the monasteries, with veiled and then open accusations of rampant sodomy in the Catholic abbeys, at precisely the time Cromwell and Henry VIII were looking for reasons to destroy them. It was thus overwhelmingly a political tool rather than a moral one and, with brutal irony, its first victim was one of Thomas Cromwell's erstwhile allies, who was executed alongside the notorious politician on 28th July 1540.

Born into a family of the Wiltshire gentry and a grandson of Lord Zouche on his mother's side, Walter Hungerford had become one of Henry VIII's squires by the time he was nineteen in 1522. Contrary to the often ludicrous assertion that homosexual men cannot be homosexual if they have also slept with women, Hungerford married three times and fathered three children who lived to adulthood. His heir, Walter, was born to his first marriage to Alice Danvers, whose death was followed by the upwardly mobile Hungerford's marriage to Lord Sandys' daughter, another Alice, with whom he had two more children, Edward and Mary.

By that time, Hungerford had attracted the patronage of Thomas Cromwell, the King's soon-to-be chief minister, and when he served Cromwell's agenda in the 1536 Parliament, the knight had become a peer as Baron Hungerford of Heytesbury. He had also been widowed, and married again, to Elizabeth, a daughter of the conservative Lord Hussey of Sleaford. Hungerford's new father-in-law had once served in the household of Henry VIII's disinherited eldest daughter, the former princess Mary, and his allegiance to the old order was strong enough that he was executed for complicity in the Pilgrimage of Grace uprising.

Despite his allegiance to Cromwell, Hungerford himself increasingly gravitated in a conservative political direction and there were



Homosexual relationships are often depicted in dramas set in the Tudor era, but finding evidence of them is necessarily difficult. (Showtime)

rumours that his family chaplain remained secretly loyal to the Pope in Rome. Disentangling what happened next is particularly difficult, because of the deluge of innuendo and rumour that swirled around Hungerford as his marriage collapsed. Lady Hungerford claimed that he was cruel to the point of abusive to her, alleging that he regularly ignored her until it had become a kind of house arrest. Along with rumours that he was employing a papist priest, Hungerford was also plagued by gossip that he had attempted to murder his third wife by poison on several occasions.

What seems undeniable is that despite having done his duty in perpetuating the family line, Hungerford was either gay or bisexual, to use modern terms for an eternal reality. There had been love affairs, or flings, with two of his servants - William Master and Thomas Smith - and this apparently heightened the discord in the Hungerford household. By the time Hungerford fell foul of the government, it was open season on his reputation, with charges of sodomy with his two servants alongside charges of papism, consorting with a witch to predict the date of King Henry's death, and treason against the royal family. The French ambassador in London, Charles de Marillac, heard that Hungerford was also suspected of sexually assaulting his own daughter, Mary, and actively plotting to murder the King himself. These

last two rumours seem to have been born from nothing more than the waves of inaccurate spite which accompany the drowning of a man's reputation.

The government clearly wanted Hungerford's death as passionately as they had wanted that of Queen Anne or Thomas More several years earlier - all four charges laid against him carried the death penalty - and he was sentenced to be beheaded at the same ceremony as his former patron, on the sweltering summer's day in 1540 when Henry VIII had journeyed to Surrey to wed his fifth queen, the young and radiant Catherine Howard. Driven to distraction, Hungerford had suffered a nervous breakdown to the point that Cromwell, who was beheaded first, had attempted to comfort him with thoughts of Heaven as they had walked to the scaffold. His estates were seized by later restored to his heir upon the succession of Queen Mary to the throne, thirteen years later.

The mysteries that surround Lord Hungerford go far beyond which, if any, of the crimes he died for were justified accusations. His life and downfall highlight the complexity and pain of many homosexual lives in the Tudor period, including the many ways in which it is now impossible for us to know the truth, so necessary was the obfuscating cloak of secrecy which those men, and women, had to throw over their lives.

GARETH RUSSELL



MY TRIP TO THORNBURY CASTLE?

BY CERI CREFFIELD

IT WAS A bitterly cold but brilliant day when we visited Thornbury Castle. I could not help a frisson of excitement as we drove through the castle gates and the frontage came into view on our right, bathed in the golden light of the afternoon sun, almost glowing. After looking forward to it for so long, this was to be our lodging for the night. We were following in the footsteps of so many familiar names from history: the perfidious Henry Stafford, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, his son Edward, the third Duke, executed by Henry VIII, Margaret Beaufort, Jasper Tudor, Thomas Wolsey and of course Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII.

A suit of armour guarded the panelled reception area in the south range. This range, once the living quarters of the Duke and Duchess, now houses the public areas of the hotel. Our own chamber, the Plantagenet Room, lay across the courtyard in the north range, accessed via a wide stone spiral staircase opening onto a broad landing with access to three stout wooden doors. My partner and I caught our breath as the key turned in the lock and we were ushered inside. The room was enormous, so big in fact, that it even failed to be dominated by the substantial four-poster bed. Three of the four walls were of stone; one hung with a venerable tapestry. There were two casements, one looking into the courtyard towards the south range and a smaller one over the meadows towards the River Severn. Underfoot there was a deep crimson carpet; above us a decorated ceiling. The last time we slept in a four-poster in an historic building, the nearest bathroom was seventy-eight steps away down a cold and narrow spiral stairway (but that's another story!) so we appreciated the well-appointed and spacious bathroom

with its Elemis toiletries and towelling robes. Thornbury Castle is not known as a luxury hotel for nothing!

The only flaw was that the huge fireplace was doomed to remain unlit during our stay. Since the Grenfell Tower disaster, the fireplaces in the castle had been inspected and the hotel had been told that they needed to line the flues. Having recently been quoted for the lining of my own chimney at home, I know that this is an expensive undertaking but when you add the complexities of applying for such changes to a Grade One listed building, the process becomes very complicated indeed, and it may be some time before guests can enjoy a fire in their own bedchamber. However, some large radiators ensured that the sixteenth-century atmosphere did not extend to the temperature; we were very warm and cosy all night.

Soon afterwards, we crossed the courtyard back to the south range for a history tour, starting in the library, which did have a fire burning. There were six of us, three couples, and our guide was a lovely lady called Valerie,

who used to work in the castle and has a depth of knowledge at her fingertips. As the fire burned merrily and a little wren pecked at the leading on the outside of the great bay window, she took us through the history of the site. The current castle, as many of the Tudor Society's members will know, was built by Edward Stafford, the third Duke of Buckingham, but there was a manor house on the site for some centuries prior to this. Nothing remains above ground of this former building, but it was sited at the east end of the present courtyard and was still standing in the third Duke's day, closing off the central space. This would have been the house associated with the second Duke and his rebellion against Richard III and with Jasper Tudor, who married the Duke's widow, Catherine Woodville, and who died in the manor in 1495. I was slightly disappointed that Valerie said very little about this period, but it would have been churlish to complain, as the tour lasted a good 90 minutes and was packed with information.

After taking us through the life and execution of the third Duke, Valerie explained that the ground floor of the south range of the current castle where we were sitting had been designed as the apartments of the Duchess of Buckingham, the former Lady Eleanor Percy. The current layout was faithful to the original suite, and it was thrilling to realise that these rooms had also been Anne Boleyn's during her stay.

Moving through the rooms, Valerie pointed out and explained a wealth of details: - a mysterious blocked-up doorway, family emblems on the door frames and fireplaces, linenfold panelling and much more. Then we moved outside into the courtyard to admire the mounting block which was certainly used by Anne in 1536 and most likely also by the

ageing Henry on a later visit in 1541. Valerie had been unable to discover whether Catherine Howard accompanied her husband on that later stay: maybe that is a challenge for one of our resident historians?

By now the sun was very low in the sky, but it still illuminated the famous red-brick Tudor chimneys which predate (and in Valerie's opinion surpass) those at Hampton Court. Wolsey was certainly a visitor to Thornbury, so who knows? Maybe he did get his inspiration from there.

We took in the splendid main façade of the castle, a mere fragment compared to the massive edifice the duke had planned to build, a fitting monument to his own magnificence prematurely cut short. To the north-west of the façade, there is a whole wing which was never completed. I had a wander through it after breakfast the next morning and was amazed at the scale; it would almost have doubled the size of the castle.

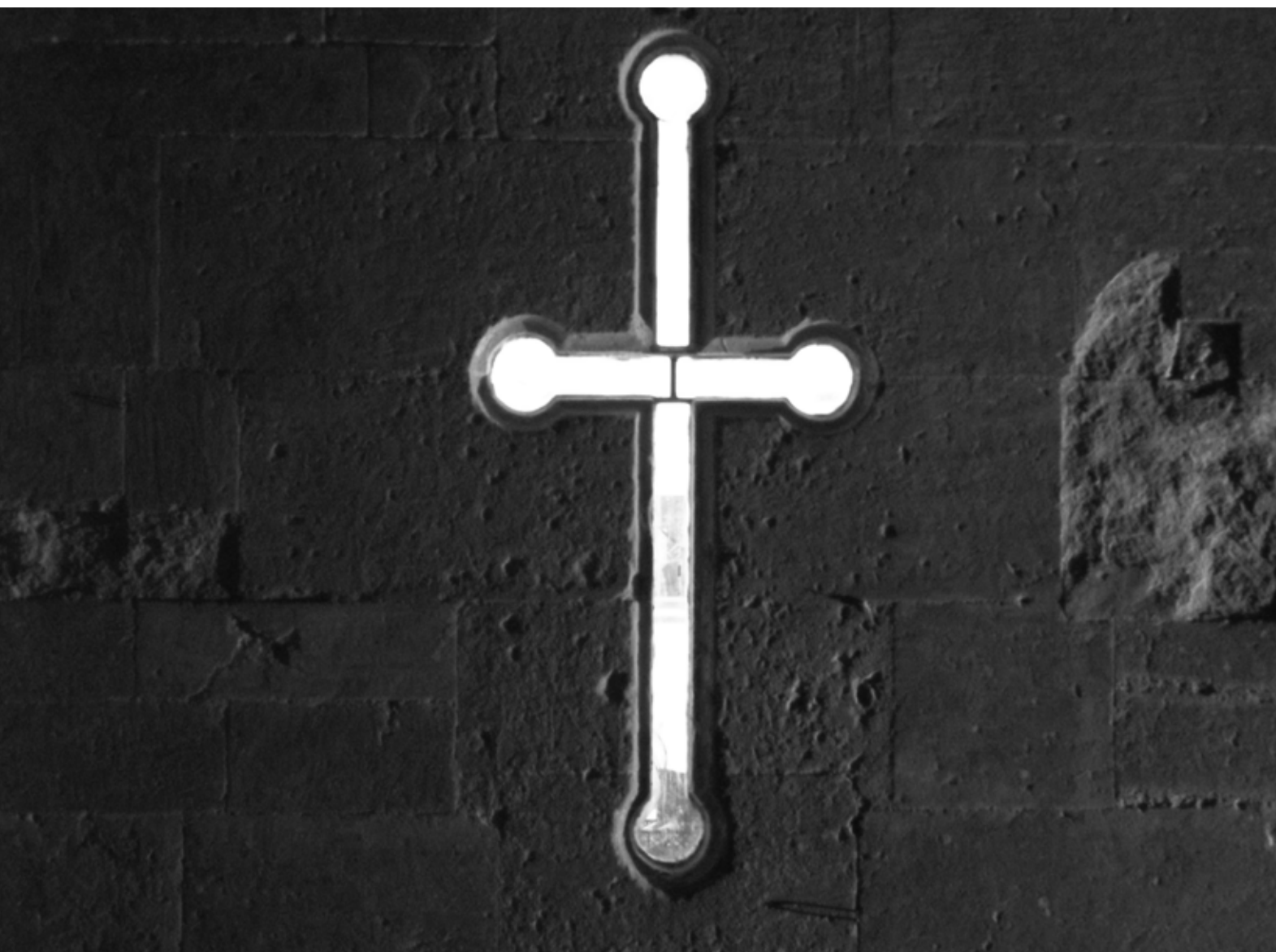
From here we passed on to the south garden. All the principal apartments look out onto this, and the Duke spared no expense on the vast and ornate windows. Both Henry and Anne had a fine view of the garden from their bedchambers. Around the perimeter walls, we could see the remains of a covered gallery at the level of the first floor which Henry would have used to access the church; no need to pollute his shoes with the dust of the paths used by the common people! The church itself is just outside the castle gates and worth the short walk. Although it dates back several centuries earlier, it is mostly perpendicular in style, light and airy. I spent some time there trying to work out where the gallery would have been from which Henry would have viewed the mass but without success.

As the dusk gathered around us among the tall yew hedges, it was time for the ghost











stories. We were asked which rooms we were staying in, as Valerie's policy is never to tell ghost stories about the guests' own rooms! Ours, apparently, is not haunted; I was unsure whether to be relieved or disappointed!

Suitably chilled, we returned to our chamber for a relaxing glass of wine and to change for dinner. I paid my own small tribute to Anne by wearing my own variation on her famous necklace with a central "C" rather than a "B".

There is nothing like staying in an authentically old building to give you a flavour of how life would have been. On our way over to dinner, as we shivered in the now biting cold, I realised that for just about everyone except the Duke and Duchess themselves, daily life would have involved innumerable trips out into and across that courtyard in all weathers. With the exception of the ducal apartments with its interconnected rooms and private staircases, all the accommodation was arranged around separate staircases opening onto the central quadrangle in the manner of an Oxford college, and to move from one place to another would have of necessity involved going outdoors. It dawned on me for the first time how public everyone's comings and goings would have been, not just here but also in the royal palaces and other great homes, and immediately it seemed so blindingly obvious, I cannot believe I had never seen it before.

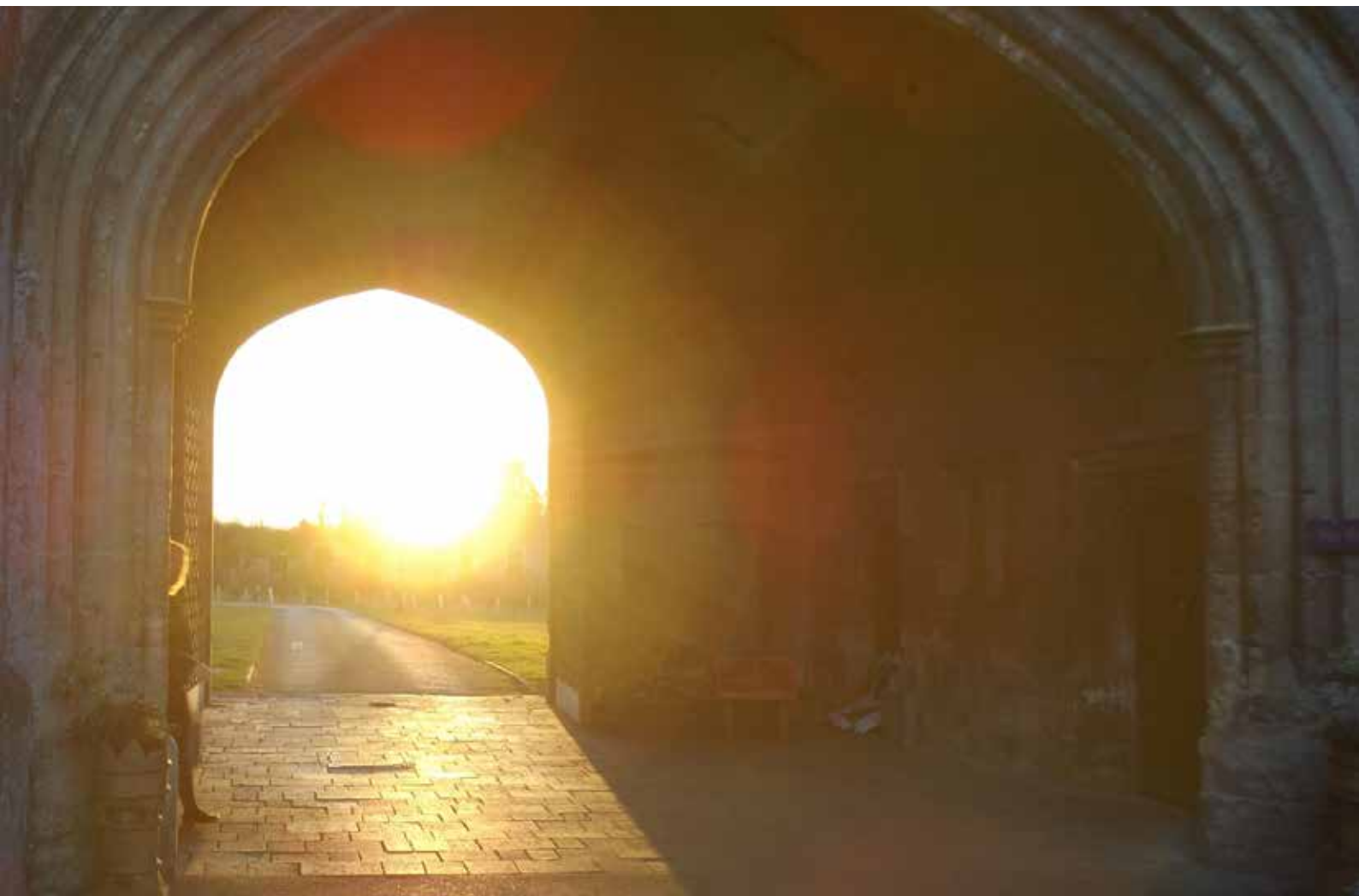
Glad to be once more inside, we sat in the lounge in one of the great window bays opposite the crackling log fire and chose from the menu, regaled with remarkably good wine and canapes. We certainly felt akin to royalty at this point! I was slightly disappointed to be led into the smaller part of the restaurant; the larger part occupies the former duchess's bedchamber and the room allocated to Anne

Boleyn during her stay. However, it was a cosy space and the food was so delicious that I soon forgot my disappointment in indulging my appetite. The fare at Thornbury Castle is of the highest quality and suitably expensive; I'm sure that the third Duke would approve of that!

We were back in the smaller restaurant again for breakfast (I recommend the eggs Florentine) but once the sitting was over, I wandered into the larger room for a thorough perusal. Despite the central island loaded with fruit juice and yoghurts, my imagination produced a vivid image of Anne in a pale yellow gown (why yellow, I have no idea) walking about the room in the sunlight, which streamed in from the one great window. In my mind's eye, I saw her bed, richly hung, a chest and her waiting woman, standing patiently in a corner. I had a very strong sense of her presence there.

I had asked the receptionist whether it would be possible to see both the dungeon (now a wine cellar) and the Duke's Bedchamber and once all the guests had checked out, he escorted me to view both. Whitewashed now and full of vintage wines and chandeliers, the cellar must be a far cry from five hundred years ago when the only light came just one very small window! We were told that the Duke did use it – particularly when his servants incurred his displeasure. No wonder he was not beloved of his household! The cellar is available for private dining but I can't say it would appeal to me as it remains at a constant temperature of around 10 degrees. Moreover, what dungeon can compare with the delights of the castle restaurant?

The Duke's bedchamber is reached by an internal stone staircase tucked away beside the restaurant. I followed reverently where Henry and Anne once trod and emerged into



a remarkably light hexagonal room with three large windows and views over the gardens and the Gloucestershire countryside. I am sure Henry was very comfortable there; it was one of the most pleasant rooms of the period I have ever seen. I would have loved to linger – but the cleaner was busy about the bathroom and the receptionist was standing at the door, so most reluctantly, after just one photograph, I tore myself away, not just from the Duke's Bedchamber but from Thornbury Castle itself, which had more than lived up to my expectations.

So that is the story of our visit. No spooky goings-on or eerie ghost stories, I regret to say, but certainly one of the most satisfying hotel experiences I have ever had. I could have spent hours sitting in the window embrasures in the

public rooms or soaking up the atmosphere in our room or wandering further through the grounds. The staff were all delightful; nothing was too much trouble and we felt so welcome. Most of all, I loved the feeling that we were immersed in such a wealth of history, enjoying much the same pleasures as the Staffords and the royal couple did so many centuries ago. It certainly was not cheap but as a treat for a special occasion or a well-earned indulgence, for a history-lover such as myself, it could hardly be bettered. I hope that each and every one of you gets the chance to go there at some point. As for me, I'm already wondering when I can go back. The hotel is currently up for sale with an asking price of some £8.8 million. Excuse me, I'm just off to buy a lottery ticket.....

CERI CREFFIELD





Congratulations to Gail for her winning
Tudor Bumper Sticker entry. Gail's
winning caption was

“The Tudors Rule”

We've created the following bumper sticker
using that wording. Gail will be receiving
a real bumper sticker in the post soon!



*Note, car not included!

THE TUDOR SOCIETY



MEMBERS' BULLETIN

It's fun being part of the team organising the Tudor Society sometimes! In the past month we've been doing so many out-of-the-ordinary things such as:

- Filming a member reading through the magazine
- Comissioning a videographer to film someone watching our videos while on the metro train system
- Learning how to make short video style adverts
- Judging and designing Tudor bumper stickers
- Preparing for the Anne Boleyn Experience in May
- Experimenting with a live chat box on the website

I'd have to say that there is never a dull day here for the Tudor Society team. Thank you to everyone involved, especially our Tudor Life regular contributors, Gareth for editing the magazine, Catherine for her organisation skills, Claire for organising and chairing the live chat events each month, everyone who answers questions on the Forum and for our experts who get involved in talks, chats and also our Ask the Expert section. When I look at what the Tudor Society is achiving at the moment, it really is truly incredible.

Above all though, I would like to thank **YOU** so much for your support of what we do. Without you, the society would be nothing. THANK YOU SO MUCH!

Tim Ridgway



WITCHES IN SHAKESPEARE'S DAY



Macbeth seeing three witches.
Engraving after Reynolds c. 1786

TONI MOUNT

William Shakespeare wrote his plays for an audience that was convinced of the existence of sorcery, witchcraft and the ability to foresee the future. If the three weird sisters in the opening scene of *Macbeth* give us a shiver down the spine, imagine the macabre thrill of anticipation they must have produced in Tudor and Stuart theatre-goers who saw witches as a daily danger in their lives, not just creatures of fiction.

Books and pamphlets on the subject of witchcraft rolled off the printing presses and even James VI, King of Scots [the future King James I of England] was caught up in the frenzy, writing his own treatise entitled *Daemonologie* [the study of demons], published in 1597. James was paranoid about witches, convinced that in 1591 several of their kind had cast spells, using a christened cat and human body parts, to wreck the ship on which he and his new queen, Anne of Denmark, were embarked. James regarded this storm-tossed voyage as an attempt to assassinate him and only God's timely intervention had saved His anointed one from destruction by the devil's minions. More than seventy suspects were rounded up and tortured into confessing their involvement and evil intentions in what became known as 'the North Berwick witch trials'. James attended some of the torture sessions in person and directed the proceedings. One of those subjected to such agonies admitted Satan himself had appeared to them [the supposed witches] and 'promised to raise a mist, and cast the king into England, for which purpose he threw into the sea a thing like a football. Yes, even alleged witches of the sixteenth century knew about football. They were swiftly convicted and put to death.

But how were these suspects to be identified? Some of the many handbooks available in Elizabethan England instructed people to beware of –

All persons that have default of members naturally, as of foot, hand, eye, or other member; one that is crippled; and especially of a man that hath not a beard. Also any old woman with a wrinkled face, a furrowed brow, a hairy lip, a gobbler [crooked] tooth, a squint eye, a squeaking voice, or a scolding tongue.

It's a wonder that any female over forty-five avoided being reckoned a witch with this list of faults as a guide to recognition.

It is possible that Shakespeare wrote *Macbeth* especially with England's new king from Scotland in mind as a possible patron, knowing of James's obsession and with an obvious Scottish theme. The play was first performed in 1606, three years after James succeeded Queen Elizabeth on the English throne and Shakespeare wrote several references to the king's close encounter with death during that North Sea voyage into the *Macbeth* script. For example, the First Witch claims that she set sail in a sieve: precisely the accusation made against one of the North Berwick witches. Another obvious allusion is made in the lines –

*Though his bark [a type of ship] cannot be lost,
Yet it shall be tempest-tossed.*

A play by Christopher Marlowe: his dark production *The Tragical History of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus*, was printed and published in 1604, although it had first been performed in 1588. King James would have approved what was considered the 'most shocking portrayal of witchcraft ever to be performed'. Of *Faustus*, it was even claimed that members of the audiences were sometimes so astounded by the horrors revealed upon the stage, that some went quite mad. It was said that, on occasion, the play was so realistic, actual devils materialised on stage, summoned by the supposed 'pretend' magic, shocking not only the spectators but the actors themselves.

If the intention of both plays was to scare people into naming anyone they suspected of being a witch and deterring them from dabbling in the Black Arts personally, they may well have had a measure of success. Undoubtedly, King James would have approved because, now ruling England as well as Scotland, he was startled to discover that his new subjects south of the border didn't share his enthusiasm for hunting down witches. In fact, as the last Tudor monarch passed away in March 1603, her people were coming to doubt that witchcraft existed at all. James was as determined to obliterate such growing scepticism as he was about ridding his realm of the witches themselves. So, in 1604, James introduced The Witchcraft Act in England,

making hanging the mandatory punishment even for a first offence, however minor the outcome of the supposed criminal act. If the alleged witch was found to have a mole or birthmark or liver spot upon their body which might be ‘the devil’s mark’, that was sufficient to condemn them to death. The act stated that –

If any person or persons shall use, practise or exercise any invocation or conjuration of any evil or wicked spirit, or shall consult, covenant with, entertain, employ, feed, or reward any evil and wicked spirit to or for any intent or purpose then they shall suffer pains of death.

During James’s reign in Scotland, as many as 4,000 people were believed to have been burnt as witches – an incredible number considering the small population. England, with a far greater population, sent less than half that number to the flames. This was all down to James and his obsessive fears which may be traced back to his childhood. He was persuaded by his Presbyterian tutors that the execution of his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, had been brought about by witchcraft, as much as by the political necessities of her cousin, Queen Elizabeth. As a result, the boy developed a dark and unhealthy fascination with Black Magic. An English courtier to both Elizabeth and James, Sir John Harington [inventor of the flush toilet], later remembered that:

His Highness [James] told me her [his mother’s] death was visible in Scotland before it did really happen, but was spoken of in secret by those whose power of [fore]sight, presented to them a bloody head dancing in the air.

For ordinary people, witchcraft was a way to explain their misfortunes as part of the on-going struggle between God and Satan. If a loved one died unexpectedly, or the hens stopped laying eggs or a child fell ill, it was easier to blame it on a witch’s satanic curse than to think that God wasn’t taking loving care of you and yours after all. Unsurprisingly, witches became scapegoats for all manner of events from crop failures to losing valuables.

In March 1612, Alizon Device of Pendle in Lancashire cursed a pedlar who wouldn’t sell her any pins. The pedlar collapsed and his son reported it to a local magistrate, Roger Nowell. Alizon

lived with her mother Elizabeth, her grandmother Demdike, younger sister Jennet and brother James. Neighbours referred to Grandmother Demdike as a ‘cunning’ or wise-woman. Nowell interviewed Alizon and she confessed to bewitching the pedlar but also accused their neighbours, with whom the family were having a feud, of using spells to kill four people.

The neighbours then accused Demdike of witchcraft, so Nowell arrested Alizon, Grandmother Demdike and also their neighbours, Anne Whittle, and her daughter, Anne Redferne.

Elizabeth Device held a celebration on Good Friday, a day when all good Christians should have been in church, mourning their Saviour’s death upon the cross. A local constable heard rumours that it was actually a meeting of witches, so arrested everyone present. The family quickly implicated others and all were accused of plotting to kill a man using witchcraft. Elizabeth’s nine-year-old daughter, Jennet Device, was called to give evidence in the trial that followed. There had been earlier cases of children appearing as witnesses in trials but the law stated those under fourteen weren’t credible and couldn’t be sworn under oath. However, in his book *Daemonologie*, King James wrote that ‘Children, women and liars can be witnesses over high treason against God’. This influenced the justice system and led to Nowell using Jennet as his key witness.

‘At twelve noon,’ she said, ‘about twenty people came to our house. My mother told me they were all witches. My mother is a witch and that I know to be true. I have seen her spirit in the likeness of a brown dog, which she called Ball. The dog did ask what she would have him do and she answered that she would have him help her to kill.’ Jennet then named six people and her mother and brother James. James then denounced his mother Elizabeth too but Jennet then turned on him, saying he had been a witch for three years and she had seen his spirit kill three people. Her convincing evidence was believed by the jury and after a two-day trial all her family and most of her neighbours were found guilty of causing death or harm by witchcraft. The following day, ten people, including all Jennet’s own family, were hanged at Gallows Hill.

The clerk of the court, Thomas Potts, wrote a book about the trial. His *Wonderful Discoverie of*

TONI MOUNT

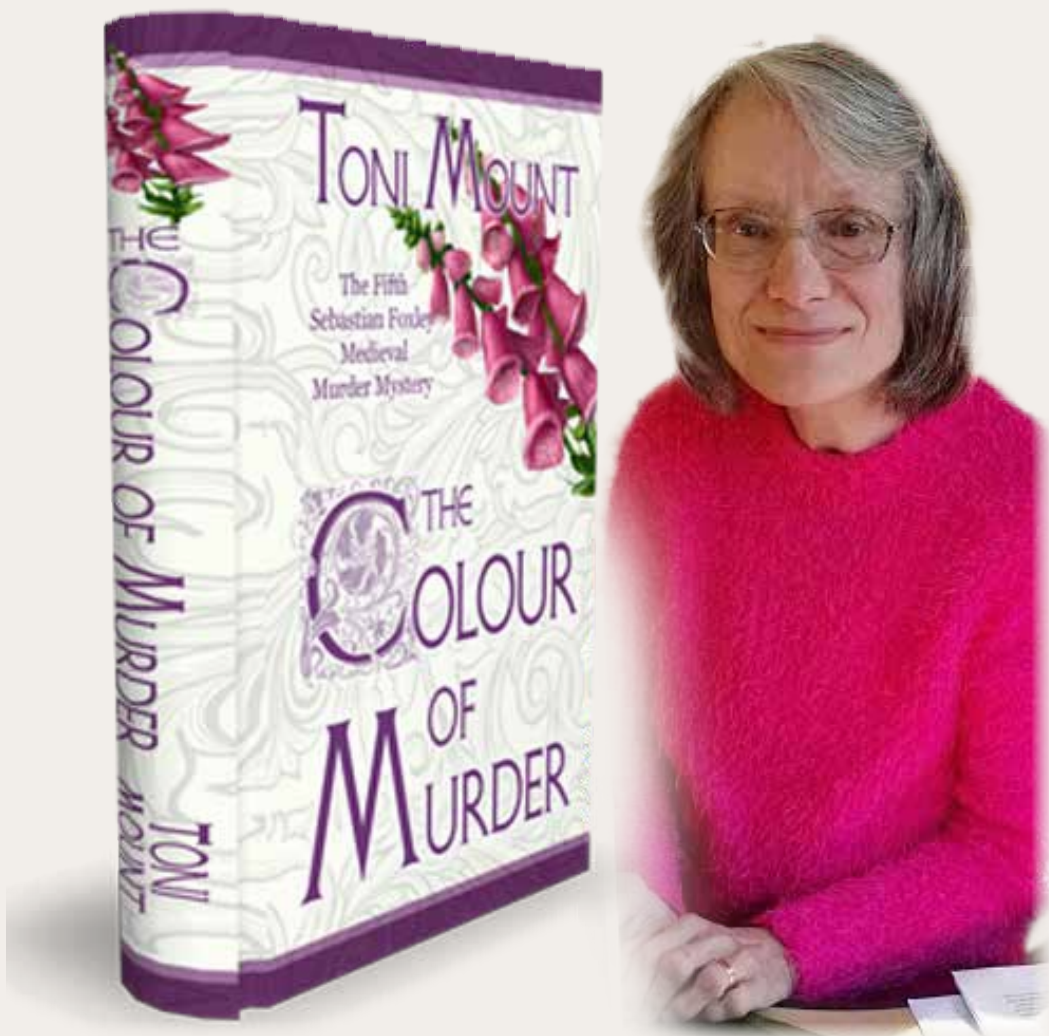
Witches in the Countie of Lancaster became a bestseller and his writings and Jennet's evidence appeared in a handbook for magistrates, *The Country Justice*, which was later used in the colonies in America. It was now acceptable to use the testimony of children in trials of witchcraft. During the notorious Salem witch trials in 1692, most of the evidence was given by children and nineteen people were hanged.

Twenty years after the Pendle case, Jennet found herself on trial, accused of witchcraft. In 1633, at the village of Wheatley Lane in Lancashire, Edmund Robinson, aged ten, was responsible for looking after his mother's cows. On one occasion, he was late bringing the animals home from pasture and told his mother that witches had abducted him, blaming some of the women of the village, one of whom was Jennet Device. The case was taken before the local justices and the women were found guilty by the jury. But the judges weren't convinced and referred

the case to the Privy Council at Westminster. Young Edmund and the women he accused made the long journey south to appear in court but, perhaps more scared of the higher authorities than he was of his mother, the lad finally admitted his story was untrue. Late home, he had concocted the whole tale because he knew his mother would punish him. The women were acquitted. However, despite this, Jennet wasn't allowed to leave Lancaster Castle until she'd paid for her board during the time spent there. For Jennet, that was impossible and the last known record of her was at the castle in 1636. King James's obsession was still destroying lives more than a decade after his death but, fortunately, his subjects were increasingly sceptical about the existence of witches.

Next time, I shall be looking at how the Tudors' growing interest in scientific ideas would begin to dispel belief in the supernatural.

TONI MOUNT



Charlie

John

Books

OWEN TUDOR

by Terry Breverton



Owen Tudor is one of the few figures in the Tudor family about whom we know very little. Few historians have written on him before, but finally, Terry Breverton has released a biography of the man who dared to marry Henry V's widow and who started the Tudor dynasty.

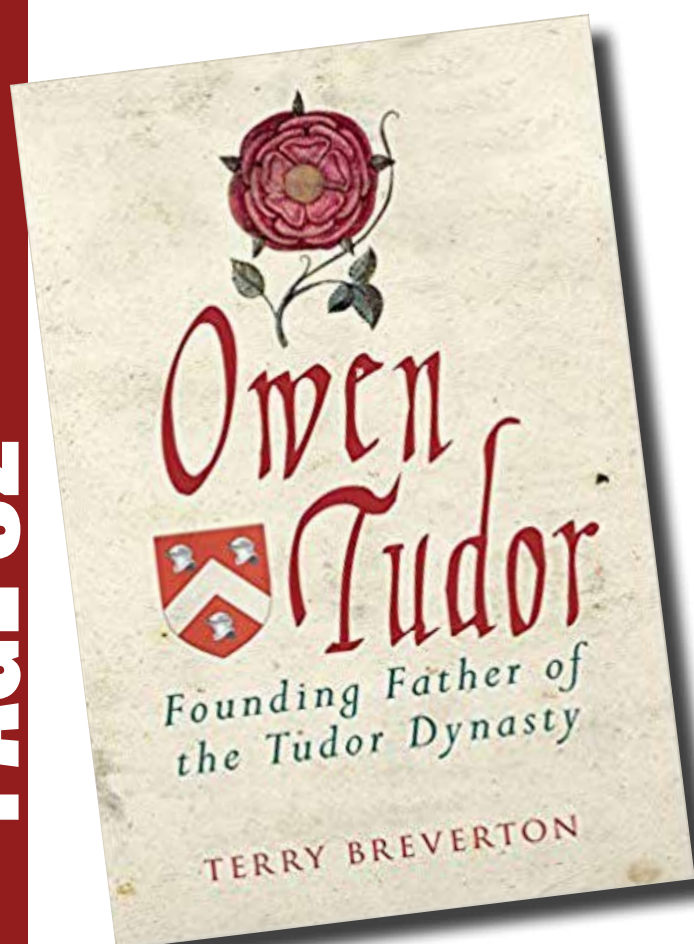
The author includes a lot of information on Owen Tudor's Welsh family and their history. It goes surprisingly far back and, because of that, it feels like it throws quite a few names at the reader in the first few chapters. For a while, it feels like

more of a story of Owen's family than a book on the actual man himself. It also has a chapter on the ancestry and birth of Catherine of Valois, his wife, but this is only four pages long, so luckily Breverton hasn't fallen into the trap of writing many pages on her instead of Owen.

The biggest problem with this book is that there are no references, a problem made worse by the large sections of secondary sources. Breverton instead will just mention the author and then quote large parts directly from their work, which feels bizarre. A good example of this is that he includes a whole page of Strickland, a secondary source, and it makes the book feel lazy.

There are also several errors in the book. For example, Breverton states that Owen was summoned to the Regency Council in 1537 when it was actually 1437. This is repeated several times, and a good editor would have picked this up, Owen was dead in 1537, and his great-grandson was on the throne. One mistake I could accept, but this same mistake is repeated at least three times over three pages.

Unfortunately, I cannot recommend this book. I really wanted to like this, as it is the only biography on the man, but over half of the book is sources, and most of them in here are secondary sources, such as Strickland, so would be of no interest to historians. It also had several mistakes, saying 1537 instead of 1437, and has no references. It makes me believe that we cannot have a biography of Owen Tudor, as we don't know enough about him. The only interesting parts were on Owen's family and their connections to Owain Glyndwr, Catherine of Valois and her family, and the section on Owen Tudor in literature.



THE HOUSE OF BEAUFORT

by Nathen Amin



The Beaufort family is something that is often discussed but only in relation to the likes of Edward III, Henry VI and the Tudors, rarely in their own right. Now they finally have their own book and a very well researched one at that. In *The House of Beaufort* Nathen Amin explores the family's origins from the early fourteenth century up to 1471 and their connections with the royal family and court.

The author first briefly covers the lives of John of Gaunt and Katherine Swynford, the ones who started the Beaufort family, before moving on to their son, John Beaufort. It gives some good background and stresses their importance

without dwelling too much on those who aren't officially Beauforts by name. It is useful to have some information on Katherine Swynford, as we do not know enough about her to warrant a full biography.

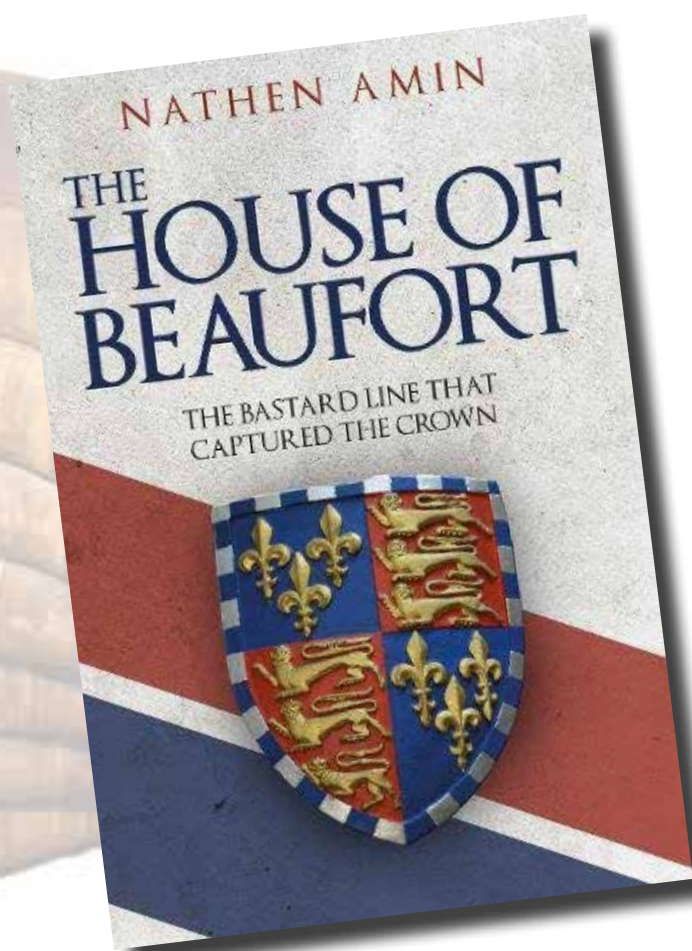
Amin manages to keep fairly unbiased in his book, neither criticising the family's mistakes or trying to justify them. Many make the likes of Margaret Beaufort and Henry Beaufort out to be evil monsters, but this book provides a balanced view of their lives.

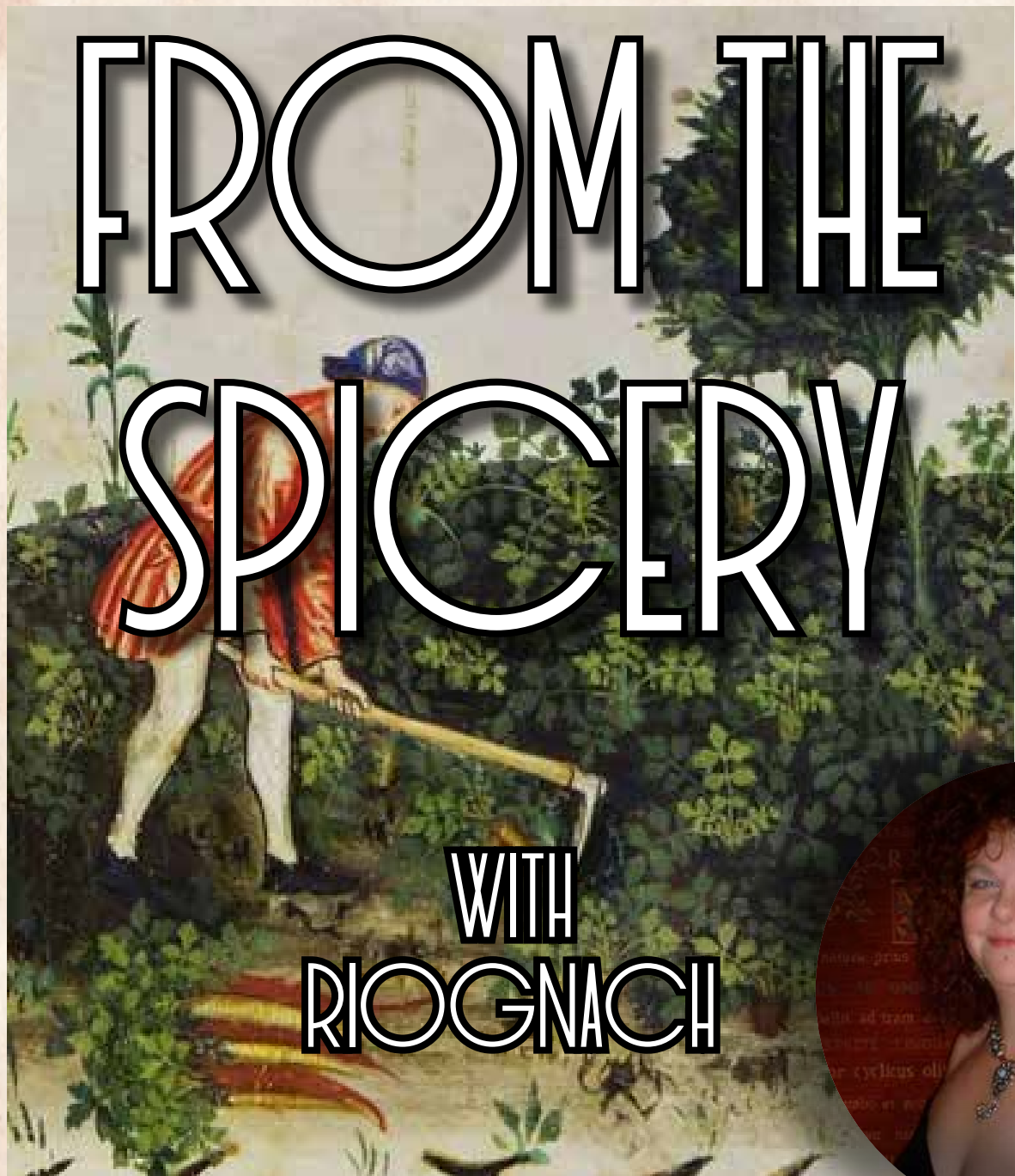
One of the most interesting parts of the book is when the children of John of Gaunt and Katherine Swynford are legitimised. Amin explains this well; it was important to them as beforehand the children had to rely on their father giving them gifts, as they would not inherit anything when he died. The Beauforts were originally legitimised with no conditions, so they could claim the throne at some point. It was only during Henry IV's reign that it was altered, despite the fact that they had been nothing but loyal to him:

'three simple words had been added to the original Act, squeezed clumsily into the existing text - excepta dignitate regali, or 'except to the royal dignity'. The interlineation appeared after the word 'dignities' and before 'pre-eminences', altering the Latin text to read that the Beauforts could be 'raised, promoted, elected, assume, and be admitted to all honours, dignities, except to the royal dignity, pre-eminences, estates, degrees and offices public and private whatsoever'. The inference was clear; the family were entitled to inherit or obtain any office in the kingdom, with the specific exception of one: the throne itself.'

It can be a little confusing with all the similar names, the many different John Beauforts, Thomas Beauforts, Edmund Beauforts etc. However, this is not the author's fault, and it becomes easier to figure out and remember who's who as you get further into the book.

This is a much-needed book on a subject often overlooked, and Nathen Amin has achieved that with such skill and finesse. I would recommend this book to anyone interested in the origins of the Tudor dynasty, the Beauforts in general or just the Wars of the Roses. It is a fascinating read and one that anyone should have in their collection.





ON
VEGETABLES



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AS ANY KITCHEN-AUTOCRAT will tell you, vegetables are an indispensable part of any modern medieval feast. Veggies are the best way to break up and bulk out any mediievally inspired meal, especially when keeping to a strict budget. But what of our medieval ancestors? Did they view veggies with the same enthusiasm as we do?

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There is little argument that vegetables played a prominent role in diet of the peasantry. The medieval upper class often viewed vegetables with disdain and preferred to use them as table decorations, rather than serving them up as part of a meal. I have been known to decorate a high table with leftover veggies, including an incident that saw an unusually beautiful example of a toadstool, *Amanita muscaria*, taking pride of place. But that's another story. While researching this article, I discovered that vegetarianism (by choice as opposed to necessity) was also a reality in the medieval era. However I can't really see Henry VIII tucking into a plate of Brussels sprouts in preference to a platter of roasted meats.

So what problem did the medieval upper classes have with vegetables? Put simply; vegetables were common. They came out of the ground, and more than likely did not taste as good as the modern varieties that modern medievalists can enjoy. Perhaps, medieval nobility shares some secret knowledge with small children concerning the inedibility of vegetables.

The medieval definition of what could be called a 'vegetable' was something that grew underground and produced an edible root or tuber. Vegetables were also referred to a "*wortes*". The Harleian Manuscript (#4016) contains a recipe for *Buttered Wortes*.

"Take all maner of good herbes that though may get ... and putte hem on the fire with faire water, put thereto clarified buttur, a great quantite. When thei ben boyled ynough, salt hem ... dise brede small in dishes and on the wortes

*and powre on the wortes and serve hem forth"*¹

Sound familiar? Essentially this is a dish of seasonal vegetables that cooked until tender in boiling water to which butter has been added. The veggies are then served over dried breadcrumbs and seasoned with *powre* (which may refer to either *powder forte* (a pepper based spice blend) or *powder douce* (a sweet spice blend)).

The edible green tops of plants are referred to as 'herbs'. The humble carrot began its journey in central Asia, as *Daucus carota*, where typically only the fragrant young leaves and flowers were eaten battered and fried. I can personally vouch for this dish; it is quite fresh and works best with some coriander (leaves and stalks, seed pods and flowers) added to the batter. Originally, the edible taproot of *D. carota* was predominantly white, however variations did occur naturally and were selectively bred to produce orange and purple varieties that are familiar to all of us. Perhaps it was the overall physical similarities between *D. carota* 'herb' and that of the deadly poison hemlock, *Conium maculatum* (the plant responsible for the slow death of Pliny the Elder) that resulted in the consumption of the carrot's taproot. I don't know, but it is as good a reason as any.

Another reason as to why vegetables were not altogether popular with the medieval upper class may be found in medical texts of the time. Medieval medicinal texts frequently referred to the four humors of the body, and that

¹ Black, M et al., *A Taste of History: 10,000 Years of Food in Britain*, English Heritage, 1993

all must be in perfect harmony. Illnesses occurred when the humors became unbalanced. Too much of the wrong type of food was seen as the primary culprit. My favourite example of this is Chaucer's *The Summoner's Tale*. The Summoner's his pale complexion and many boils, his thinning and lank hair, and his pompous and angry nature, on his diet of garlic and onions (he is a wandering priest, and his diet is inherently poor). Onions, garlic and leeks were considered to heat the body and upset the humors, resulting in problems with one's hair and skin. Chaucer's description of the Summoner's diet also illustrates the medieval view that onions and other members of the *Allium* family were considered as lower class and peasant foodstuffs, and ones to be rejected by the upper class. This idea is quite hypocritical as onions, and other *Alliums* frequently appeared in medieval cookbooks and were widely eaten.

Take, as an example, this 14th Century English recipe for a cheese and onion tart (*Tart in Ymbre Day*, or *Ember Day Tart*)²:

"Take and perboile oynouns & erbis & presse out þe water & hewe hem smale. Take grene chese [brede AB] & bray it in a mortar, and temper it vp with ayren. Do þerto butter, saffroun & salt, & raisons corauns, & a litel sugur with powdour douce, & bake it in a trap, & serue it forth."

The modern redaction of this recipe reads, "Take and parboil onions and herbs & press out the water & cut them small. Take green cheese & grind it in a mortar, and mix with eggs. Add butter, saffron, salt, raisins, currants, and spices, & bake it in a

pie shell, and serve it." Note that the term "green cheese" refers to any cheese with low water content, such as a vintage or mature cheddar or parmesan.

Perhaps one of the most easily recognisable vegetable dishes of medieval origin is the *salat* or salad. Many medieval cookbooks stated that various vegetables and herbs could be served raw or with the addition of vinegar, oil and salt. A typical *salat* might include any or all of the following ingredients (this is not a restricted list):

"parcel, sawge, garlic, , onyons, leek, borage, myntes, porrecles, fennel, , rew, rosemarye, purselayne, lave (a variety of seaweed)".³ These are to be washed and mingled with rawe oile."

Dishes know as *pottage* were also hugely popular, and were made from vegetables and *wortes*, 'herbs' and fruits. For those of you who are unfamiliar with the term, a pottage is essentially a slow-cooked soup or stew (a stoup?). For example, *Gourdes in Potage*.⁴

"Gourdes in Potage. Take young Gourdes; pare hem and kerue hem on pecys. Cast hem in gode broth, and do þerto a gode pertye of oynouns mynced. Take pork soden; grynde it and alye it þerwith and wip yolkes of ayren. Do þerto saffroun and salt, and messe it forth with powdour douce."

The idea is to cook any marrow (specifically excluding pumpkin and cucumber as they are New World vegetables), with onions, in stock or broth of your choice until just tender. Add pork

² *Forme of Cury*, 1390, <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/8102/pg8102.html>

³ Russell, J. *Boke of Nurture*, Harlien MS (<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/24790/24790-h/nurture.html>)

⁴ *Forme of Cury*, *op cit*.



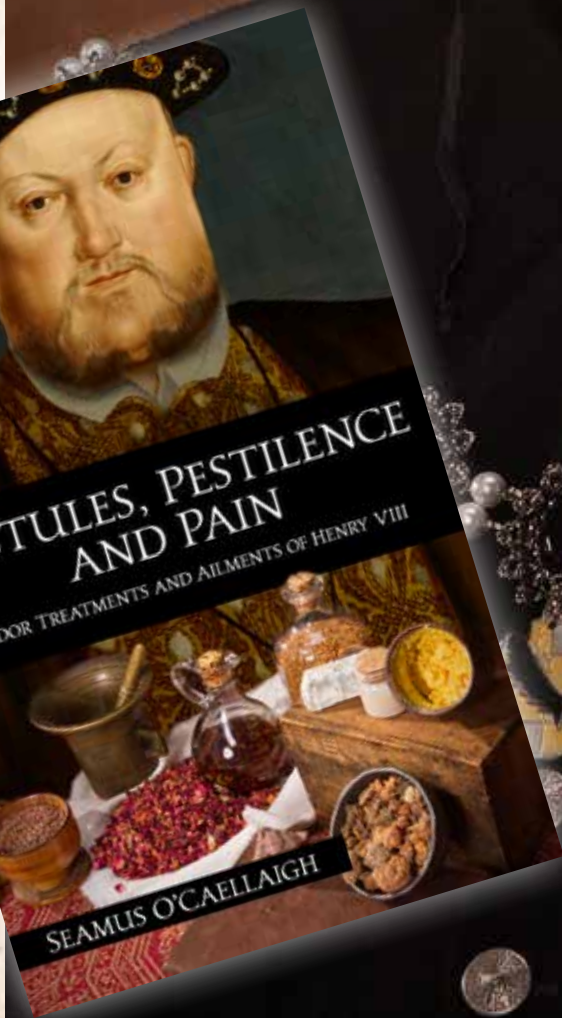
Aubergine Pottage with Bay and Coriander (R O'Geraghty)

ground with ale, egg yolks, saffron and salt and allow it to thicken. Remove the dish from the heat and season with *powder douce* a combination of sweet spices. To create a vegetarian version of this recipe, replace the minced pork with an equal

quantity of ground nuts of your choice and add a little butter. Please, please don't overcook the marrows, as the dish becomes an insipid and unattractive mess.

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

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April's Expert Speaker is
Seamus O'Caellaigh
"Treatments from the Tudor Court"

APRIL'S "ON THIS"

1 April

Easter Sunday mass marked the end of Lent, a period where people's diets were restricted, so it was only natural to celebrate it with good food. Dairy products and meat were back on the menu, and people enjoyed roasted meats like chicken, lamb and veal.

2 April
1502

Arthur, Prince of Wales, son and heir of King Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, died at Ludlow Castle in the Welsh Marches. He was just fifteen years old, and had only been married to the Spanish princess Catherine of Aragon for four and a half months.

3 April
1606

Burial of Sir **Edward Fitton**, member of Parliament and **Elizabeth I's** Receiver-General.

9 April
1483

Death of **Edward IV** at the Palace of Westminster. His cause of death is unknown.

10 April
1585

Death of Pope **Gregory XIII**, the Pope known for his introduction of the Gregorian Calendar, in Rome.

11 April
1533

The Royal Council was ordered by **Henry VIII** to recognise **Anne Boleyn** as Queen.

12 April
1533

Thomas Cromwell became Chancellor of the Exchequer.

13 April
1534

Sir **Thomas More** was summoned to Lambeth to swear his allegiance to the "Act of Succession".

17 April
1554

Sir **Nicholas Throckmorton** was acquitted of treason for being involved in *Wyatt's Rebellion*. The jurors were arrested straight after the trial and Throckmorton remained in prison until January 1555.

18 April
1536

Eustace Chapuys, Imperial Ambassador, was tricked into acknowledging **Anne Boleyn** as Queen.

22 April
1542

Death of **Henry Clifford**, 1st Earl of Cumberland. He supported **Henry VIII** during the Pilgrimage of Grace.

23 April
1536

Sir **Nicholas Carew** was elected to the Order of the Garter at the annual chapter meeting at Greenwich, rather than **George Boleyn**, brother of Queen **Anne Boleyn**.

27 April
1584

Death of **David Lewis**, civil lawyer and judge involved in the maritime cases of **Elizabeth I's** reign.

28 April
1603

Elizabeth I's funeral took place in London. She was buried at Westminster Abbey in the vault of her grandfather, **Henry VII**, until she was moved in 1606 to her present resting place, a tomb in the Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey.

29 April
1536

Anne Boleyn argued with Sir **Henry Norris**, rebuking him with the words "You look for dead men's shoes"

30 April
1547

Sir **Anthony Denny** was made **Henry VIII's** Groom of the Stool.

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

4 April 1581 Francis Drake was awarded a knighthood by Elizabeth I on board the Golden Hind at Deptford.	5 April 1531 Richard Roose was boiled to death after confessing to poisoning the soup of Bishop John Fisher's and his guests.	6 April 1590 Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth I's Principal Secretary, died at around the age of fifty-eight.	7 April 1619 Burial of Robert Rich, 1st Earl of Warwick , at Felsted.	8 April 1554 A cat dressed as a priest was found hanged on the gallows in Cheapside.
	14 April 1556 Death of Sir Anthony Kingston , former Constable of the Tower of London, at Cirencester.	15 April 1599 Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex , was sworn in as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.	16 April 1512 The Mary Rose began her first tour of duty in the English Channel on the hunt for French warships.	
	19 April 1615 Death of Laurence Bodley , Church of England clergyman, brother of Thomas Bodley , founder of the Bodleian Library.	20 April 1534 Elizabeth Barton , known as "the Nun of Kent" or "the Holy Maid of Kent", was hanged at Tyburn.	21 April 1509 Henry VII died. The throne passed successfully to his son who became Henry VIII . 	
24 April 1558 Mary, Queen of Scots married Francis, the Dauphin of France , at Notre Dame in Paris. Mary was fifteen, and Francis was fourteen. Francis became King Consort of Scotland at the marriage and then he became King of France on the death of his father, Henry II , in July 1559.	25 April 1544 Anonymous publication of Catherine Parr's English translation of John Fisher's "Psalms or Prayers".	26 April 1540 Marriage of Francis Knollys and Catherine Carey , daughter of Mary Boleyn and William Carey .		

TUDOR FEAST DAYS

1 April - Easter Day (movable feast)

23 April - St George's Day

24 April - St Mark's Eve

25 April - The Feast of St Mark the Evangelist

TudorLife

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THE FINAL YEARS OF ELIZABETH I

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Making a good death

ANNE BARNHILL

Elizabeth's clothing
as she got older

EMMA TAYLOR

The costumes of
Elizabeth I

CONOR BYRNE

The Elizabethan
succession crisis

+ MUCH MORE

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