Tudor Life

The Tudor Society Magazine

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

Members Only
No 42
February 2018

Royal Mothers-In-Law

ELIZABETH WOODVILLE

ELIZABETH BOLEYN

MARGARET BEAUFORT

ELIZABETH HOWARD

CATHERINE DE' MEDICI

MAUD GREEN

ELIZABETH OF YORK

FRANCES BRANDON

+ more



Special Feature: Elizabeth Boleyn at Hever





Discover the Tudors

BOOK NO

https://www.britishhistorytours.com/history-tours/discover-the-tudors

Walk in the footsteps of key Tudor people on our luxury "Discover the Tudors" tour.

This 9-day luxury tour, led by Claire Ridgway of The Tudor Society and Philippa Lacey Brewell of British History Tours, will take you from the royal palaces of Windsor, Hampton Court Palace and Hatfield, to the magic of Shakespeare's Stratford-upon-Avon and London.

Fill your mind and feed your Tudor-loving soul with memories you'll cherish for a lifetime.

12 Historic venues

Windsor Castle, Hampton Court Palace, Hatfield House, Shakespeare's Birthplace, Shakespeare's Schoolroom, New Place, Shakespeare's Grave, Kenilworth Castle, Bosworth Battlefield, Charterhouse, Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, Tudor Gallery at the National Portrait Museum.

Private tours

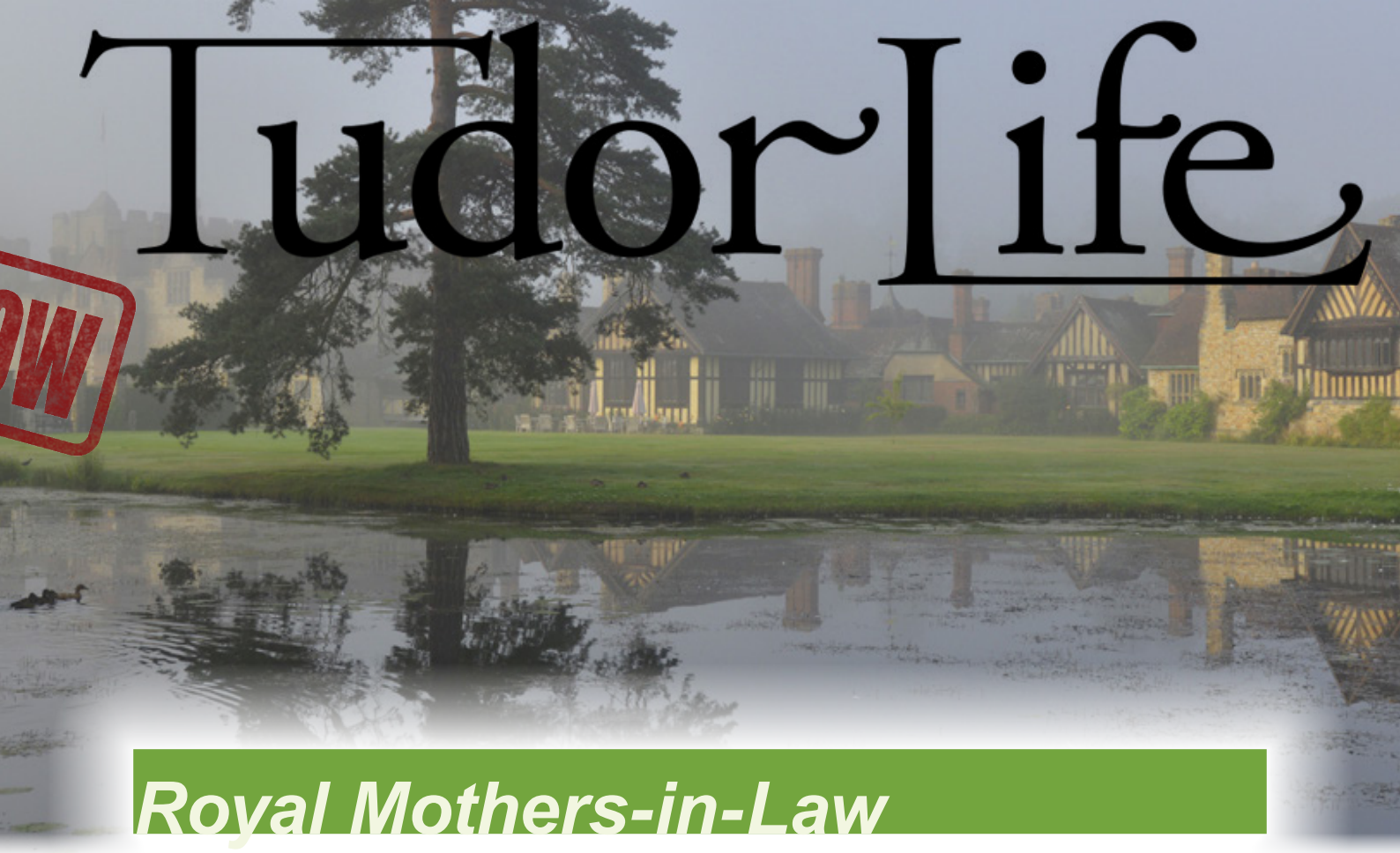
A Brother's tour of Charterhouse, where Elizabeth I stayed for 5 days on her return to London as Queen, a Bankside tour of the Tudor theatre district in London, a tour of the Globe theatre and a special talk on Elizabethan dress.

Luxury 4* hotels

Harte & Garter, Windsor
The Arden Hotel, Stratford-upon-Avon
The Doubletree by Hilton, overlooking the Tower of London

16th - 24th September 2018



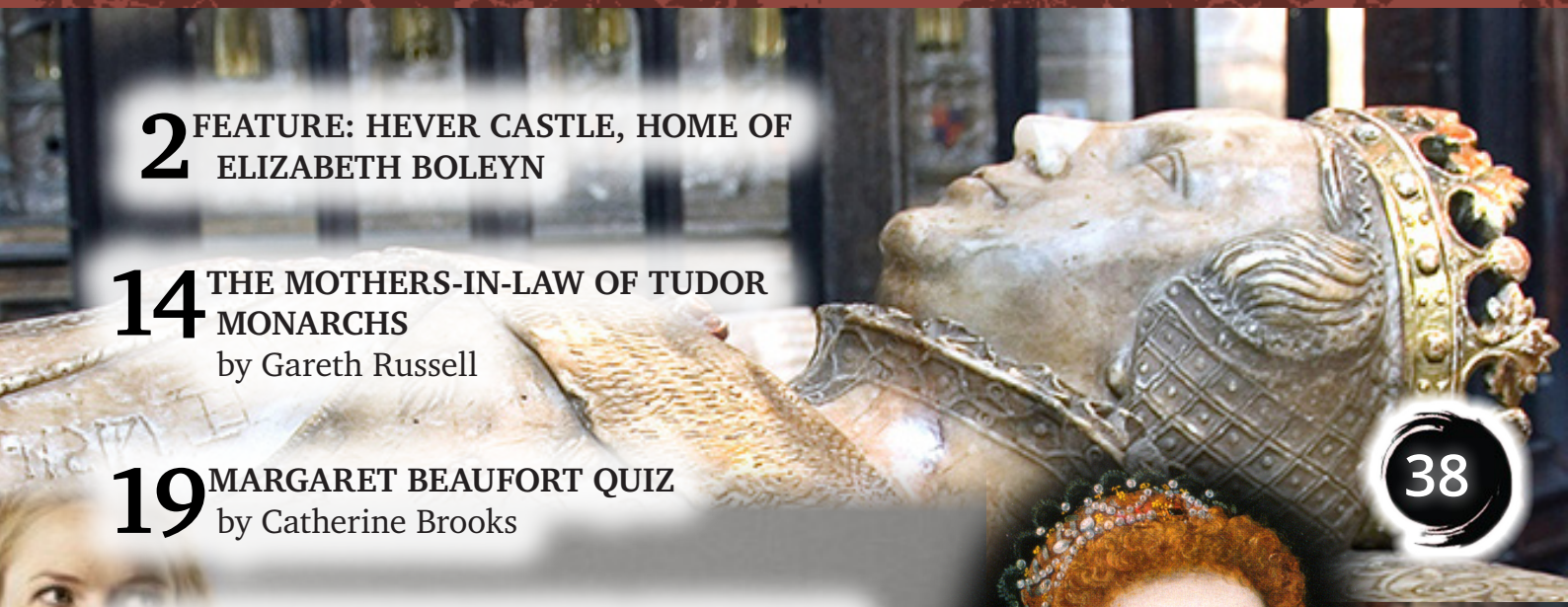
Royal Mothers-in-Law

WRITING FROM THE court of King Henry VII, the Spanish ambassador could not hide his amusement at the apparently strained relationship between England's queen, Elizabeth of York, and her mother-in-law Margaret, Countess of Richmond. A mother-in-law's ties have been a comedic staple for generations. With the Tudors' chaotic private lives, there were more royal mothers-in-law than usual. The first two Tudor mothers-in-law were equally formidable women, both forged in the chaos of the Wars of the Roses - the Dowager Queen Elizabeth Woodville and the aforementioned Countess of Richmond. They, in their turn, had witnessed the often deplorable treatment of dowagers in the previous reigns, which Conor Byrne discusses in his article in this month's issue.

Henry VIII's mothers-in-law included a foreign queen, a German duchess, a sheriff's widow, two knights' wives, and a countess who allegedly inspired poetry through her beauty - Elizabeth Boleyn, the subject of another one of our articles. But, with the rise of the first British queens regnant, consorts could also be men, gifting Mary, Queen of Scots with two fearsome politicos as her first two mothers-in-law, Queen Catherine de' Medici and Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox. Mary was tied to the latter through the disreputable Lord Darnley, who we also profile in this issue. One thing I've personally enjoyed about this month's edition, and I hope you will to, is that this theme has allowed us to profile a vast cast of fascinating individuals, connected only by the tangled roots of their family trees. I am also thrilled to offer a copy of my biography of Queen Catherine Howard, which contains many new pieces of information about Queen Catherine's mother, Joyce.

GARETH RUSSELL
EDITOR

Tudor Life



2 FEATURE: HEVER CASTLE, HOME OF ELIZABETH BOLEYN

14 THE MOTHERS-IN-LAW OF TUDOR MONARCHS
by Gareth Russell

19 MARGARET BEAUFORT QUIZ
by Catherine Brooks

20 ELIZABETH WOODVILLE: CONSPIRACY, CELEBRATION, AND CONTEMPLATION
by Lauren Browne

26 MARGARET BEAUFORT: THE MOTHER-IN-LAW FROM HELL?
by Claire Ridgway

31 FEBRUARY'S GUEST SPEAKER IS NATALIE GRUENINGER

32 ROYAL MOTHERS-IN-LAW DURING THE WARS OF THE ROSES
by Conor Byrne

38 16TH CENTURY MOTHERS-IN-LAW: HOW MUCH DO YOU KNOW?
by Roland Hui

46 HOW TO DRESS THE MOTHERS OF A DYNASTY
by Emma Elizabeth Taylor

FEBRUARY



2

50 THE MOTHERS OF THE TUDOR DYNASTY
by Debra Bayani

54 ALL ABOUT OWEN TUDOR
by Susan Abernethy

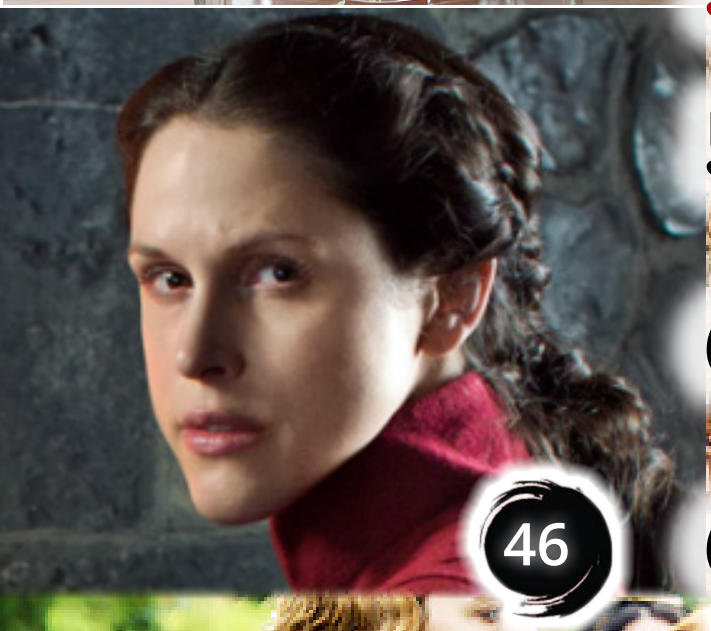
57 WIN A COPY OF
YOUNG AND DAMNED AND FAIR

58 THE LOOKS AND PERSONALITY OF HENRY, LORD DARNLEY
by Robert Stedall

60 CHARLIE ON BOOKS:
Review of "The Raven's Widow" and "Houses of Power"

20

62 WITCHCRAFT
by Toni Mount



46

64 FROM THE SPICERY: ON THE ROYAL PROGRESS
by Rioghnach O'Geraghty

68 TUDOR SOCIETY MEMBERS' BULLETIN
by Tim Ridgway

70 FEBRUARY'S ON THIS DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY
by Claire Ridgway

26



Photos Copyright © Hever Castle & Gardens

HEVER CASTLE

HOME OF ELIZABETH BOLEYN

HEVER CASTLE, LYING just outside the town of Edenbridge in Kent, is most famous for being the childhood home of Anne Boleyn, second wife of Henry VIII and mother of Elizabeth I.

It is believed Hever Castle was the place where Henry and Anne did much of their courting. It was Henry's love for Anne and her insistence that she became his wife rather than his mistress that led to the King renouncing Catholicism and creating the Church of England.

But although we know much about Henry and Anne, not much is known about Anne's mother, Elizabeth Boleyn, Countess of Wiltshire.

There is not even an accurate date of birth for her – it has been suggested 1480 in Norfolk or as late as 1486 at Arundel Castle in Sussex. This would have made her barely 12 when she married if this date is correct.

Her father was Thomas Howard, 2nd Duke of Norfolk and her mother was Elizabeth Tylney, daughter of Sir Frederick Tylney and Elizabeth Cheney. Elizabeth had royal blood, through her great-grandmother, Margaret Mowbray as the Howards were descended from Edward I.

She originally lived at Blickling in Norfolk until 1505 when her father-in-law, William Boleyn died and the family moved to Hever Castle.

Elizabeth had at least five children. After 1536 Thomas Boleyn is recorded as saying that when he married he had only £50 per annum, "yet she brought me every year a child". Two sons, Thomas and Henry, who died sometime after the birth of George, are buried at St John the Baptist church at Penshurst and St Peter's at Hever, respectively.

There is mention that when Elizabeth was a young girl, she was sent to court to serve in the household of Elizabeth of York. Elizabeth remained in the royal household and began serving as lady-in-waiting to Catherine of Aragon.

Anne was extremely close to her mother and she accompanied Anne to court throughout the period of Henry's courtship.

According to historian Eric Ives, Elizabeth was present at her daughter's coronation ceremony in 1533. Of the two carriages that rode in the procession, it is possible that Elizabeth rode in the first with the Dowager Duchess, Agnes Howard, Anne's step-grandmother.



Historically recorded as being an attractive woman, rumours circulated that Henry VIII once had a dalliance with Elizabeth Boleyn after he came to the throne. When Henry was confronted with the rumour of his involvement with Elizabeth Boleyn and Mary Boleyn, he confirmed his relationship with the "sister" but is said to have remarked: "never with the mother."

Her movements after the death of her children Anne and George are unknown.

She was recorded as being ill in April 1536. Thomas Warley wrote to Lady Lisle, just before the fall of Anne Boleyn, reporting that Elizabeth was "sore diseased with the cough, which grieves her sore."

Anne Boleyn was concerned about her mother hearing news of her arrest in May 1536, saying "O, my mother, thou wilt die with sorrow." This could suggest that Elizabeth's health was fragile. But it is impossible to know whether her illness in 1536 could have attributed to her death in 1538.





Elizabeth died on 3 April 1538 at the home of Hugh Cook Faringdon, the Abbot of Reading, near Baynards Castle in London, a year or two before her husband.

On April 9 1538 John Husee wrote the following to Lady Lisle: "My Lady of Wiltshire was buried at Lambeth on the 7th. My Lord Comptroller was chief mourner for the men and Lady Dawbny of the women. She was conveyed from a house beside Baynard's Castle by barge to Lambeth with torches burning and four baneys set out on all quarters of the barge, which was covered with black and a white cross. At her burial was the King of Heralds, a herald and a pursuivant."

Hever Castle's biggest claim to fame is its link to Anne Boleyn but was also home to Anne of Cleves and it has had 37 owners from 13 different families. It was transformed in the early 20th century by William Waldorf Astor - the richest man in America.

The Castle first opened its doors to the public in 1963 when it was still owned by the Astor family and has impressed visitors with its combination of colourful history, glorious award-winning gardens, attractions and special events for over 50 years. Today it is owned by Broadland Properties who continue to care for the Castle and Gardens.

The original medieval castle with its gatehouse and walled bailey was built in 1270, with the Tudor dwelling added within its walls by the Boleyn family who lived at Hever during the 15th and 16th centuries. Its splendid panelled rooms contain fine furniture, tapestries, two Books of Hours signed and inscribed by Anne Boleyn and an important collection of Tudor portraits described by David Starkey as 'One of the best collections of Tudor portraits after the National Portrait Gallery'.

Having purchased the Hever Estate in 1903, American multi-millionaire William Waldorf Astor set about restoring the Castle to its former glory and built a 100-room wing in the style of a Tudor village to accommodate staff and guests.

HEVER CASTLE & GARDENS

He created the magnificent gardens to showcase his unique collection of ancient Greek and Roman statuary collected while he was American Ambassador to Italy.

Laid out by Joseph Cheal and Son between 1904-1908, each garden has its own style and character, from the magnificent Italian Gardens which lead to the majestic Loggia, to the Tudor Gardens and Walled Rose Garden containing over 4,000 fragrant rose bushes. Sunday Walk and the recently rediscovered Church Gill Walk are planted in a very different style to formal gardens and offer a peaceful retreat away from the main areas of garden.

The Castle is surrounded by glorious grounds to get lost in including a 100-year old Yew Maze, the Tudor Towers adventure playground, the popular Water Maze and Lake Walk. There's a fascinating collection of period miniature model houses in a small museum.

As well as a varied calendar of events throughout the year guests can stay in the 5* Bed and Breakfast in the Astor Wing or Anne Boleyn Wing.

For details of events, opening times and ticket prices please visit hevercastle.co.uk
















1520
BOLEYNS BED

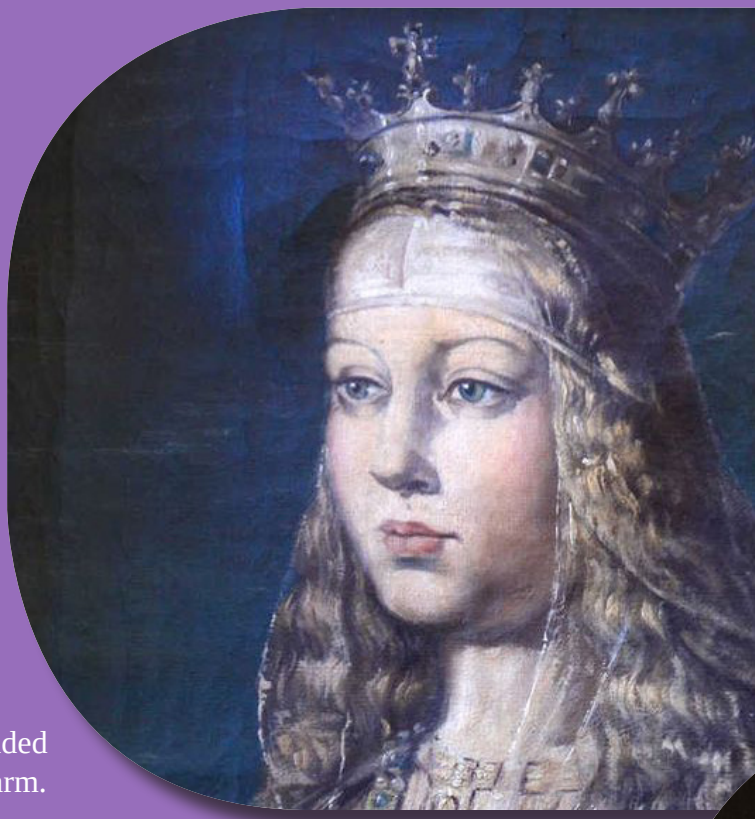

Æ LE TEMPS VIENDRA Æ
Æ REMEMBER ME Æ



The Mothers-in-law of Tudor Monarchs by Gareth Russell

Isabella the Catholic

Queen of Castile (1451 - 1504)



The first of Henry VIII's six mothers-in-law was also the most historically significant. Rising to power after elbowing out the competition in the form of her unpopular brother and possibly-illegitimate niece, Isabella's marriage to Ferdinand of Aragon and their ensuing wars of conquest helped unite Spain under a single monarchy. Revered in her lifetime for her intelligence, charm, and religious piety, Isabella's legacy is today more controversial due to her government's support for the Inquisition, deplorable treatment of Spanish Jews and Muslims, and expansion in the Americas. Two of her children, including her only son, died before her. Her daughter Katherine of Aragon inherited much of Isabella's single-minded determination mixed with great personal charm.

Lady Margery Seymour

(c. 1478 - 1550)



As with Elizabeth Boleyn, there is no known likeness of Jane Seymour's mother, Margery. As enigmatic as her royal daughter, Margery ran the Seymours' country estate at Wulfhall with circumspection and success. Her daughter's meteoric rise to the consort's throne in 1536 catapulted a formerly obscure gentry family into the heart of national politics. Margery's daughter Elizabeth married into the Cromwell family and in 1547 Margery's grandson became the young king Edward VI, with his Seymour uncle, Edward, installed as regent. The curse of the Tudor clan did not spare Margery, either, since she lived to see her son Thomas executed for treason in 1549. Her death from natural causes in 1550 at least spared her witnessing the execution of her son Edward, on the same charge, in 1552. Margery is a direct ancestress of the current Duke of Somerset, John Seymour, the nineteenth member of the Seymour family to hold that title since Margery's lifetime.



Elizabeth Woodville

Dowager Queen of England
(1437 - 1492)

Long before she became Henry VII's mother-in-law, Elizabeth Woodville was left a widow when her first husband, Sir John Grey, fell fighting for the Lancastrian side during the Wars of the Roses. Despite this, Elizabeth's extraordinary beauty and charm won her a second husband in the shape of the new Yorkist king, Edward IV. They presided over a glittering court, but Elizabeth was detested by many of her husband's allies and after his death she endured terrible heartbreak when three of her sons vanished in the reign of her estranged brother-in-law, Richard III. Perhaps unsurprisingly Elizabeth was active in plots against King Richard and married her eldest daughter, Elizabeth of York, to Henry VII after his victory at Bosworth. The Dowager Queen died on retreat at a convent in 1492.



Elizabeth Boleyn

Countess of Ormond (c. 1480 - 1538)

Allegedly so beautiful she inspired poetry, no known portrait of Anne Boleyn's mother survives today. A daughter of the tenacious 2nd Duke of Norfolk, Elizabeth married the diplomat Sir Thomas Boleyn, who was expected to succeed his Irish grandfather as Earl of Ormond. A lawsuit from the Irish side of the family delayed this inheritance, but it was eventually settled in the Boleyns' favour, along with the gift of a spare earldom of Wiltshire, once Elizabeth's youngest - and possibly favourite - daughter, Anne, became Henry VIII's betrothed. Like Elizabeth Woodville, Elizabeth Boleyn's life was shattered by political savagery when two of her three surviving children, Queen Anne and George, Lord Rochford, were beheaded within 48 hours of each other on a fabricated charge of incest. Elizabeth survived them by two years and at her funeral in 1538, the chief mourners were her younger sister, the Countess of Bridgewater, and their brother, Lord Edmund Howard, father to another of Henry's unlucky queens

The Mothers-in-law of Tudor Monarchs by Gareth Russell

Lady Maud Parr

(1492 - 1531)



An incorrigible matchmaker who served as a lady-in-waiting to Queen Katherine of Aragon, Henry VIII's final mother-in-law had three young children to care for after her husband, Sir Thomas, passed away. Her greatest achievement seems to have been arranging the marriage of her son William to Lady Anne Bourchier, heiress-presumptive to the earldom of Essex. She even left Anne her best jewellery in her will, provided the marriage was consummated, which gives some idea of how miserable the union was. Her own daughter, also named Anne, followed her mother in to royal service, becoming a lady-in-waiting to Queen Anne Boleyn and serving right the way through until the extraordinary turn of events which saw her sister, Katherine, become Henry's sixth and final wife in 1543. Sadly for the majestic and determined Maud, she died 12 years before her daughter became a queen.

Jane Dudley

Duchess of Northumberland (c. 1509 - 1555)



Like Maud Parr, Jane Dudley had a career as a lady-in-waiting. Her husband John was Master of the Horse to Queen Catherine Howard and Jane was one of her ladies-in-waiting. Later, the tumultuous politics of Edward VI's reign saw Jane's husband to become the power behind the throne. Devoted to her controversial husband and their large brood of children, Jane lived to see both her husband and their son, Guildford, executed in the aftermath of the family's disastrous attempt to put Guildford's wife, Lady Jane Grey, on the throne in place of her kinswoman, who became Queen Mary I. Frantic to save her family from total ruin, the shy Dowager Duchess set out to win the support of the Queen's Spanish husband, Prince Philip, a policy which paid dividend as there were no more Dudley executions under Mary's rule. Although she did not live to see it, Jane's son Robert became a great favourite and rumoured potential husband for Elizabeth I; her daughter Mary (pictured) became one of Gloriana's closest friends.



Maria

Duchess of Jülich-Cleves-Berg (1491 - 1543))

Long before she became Henry VII's mother-in-law, Elizabeth Woodville was left a widow when her first husband, Sir John Grey, fell fighting for the Lancastrian side during the Wars of the Roses. Despite this, Elizabeth's extraordinary beauty and charm won her a second husband in the shape of the new Yorkist king, Edward IV. They presided over a glittering court, but Elizabeth was detested by many of her husband's allies and after his death she endured terrible heartbreak when three of her sons vanished in the reign of her estranged brother-in-law, Richard III. Perhaps unsurprisingly Elizabeth was active in plots against King Richard and married her eldest daughter, Elizabeth of York, to Henry VII after his victory at Bosworth. The Dowager Queen died on retreat at a convent in 1492.



Lady Joyce Howard

(c. 1480 - c. 1528)

Born into the wealthy landowning Culpepper family, Joyce became an heiress of modest means following her father's death, sometime after her twelfth birthday. Her intelligent mother Isabel swiftly arranged both her own re-marriage, and Joyce's first, into the Leigh family, an influential clan in Surrey politics. With her husband Ralph, Joyce had five children before becoming a widow. Around 1515, she remarried to Lord Edmund Howard, son of the Duke of Norfolk and a man active in Surrey government, too. However, Lord Edmund was a man beset by numerous debts, which saw Joyce's inheritance eaten up in attempts to keep their large household afloat. With Edmund, she had at least five more children, including the future queen, Catherine, who was most likely born sometime around 1522 or 1523. Evidence from family wills indicate that Joyce died either in 1528 or 1529. Later, the Howards tended to refer to her by the grander name of "Jocasta".

The Mothers-in-law of Tudor Monarchs
by Gareth Russell

Isabella of Portugal

Holy Roman Empress
(1503 - 1539)



The daughter of King Manoel the Fortunate of Portugal and wife of the Hapsburg Emperor, Charles V, the beautiful and intelligent Isabella was an invaluable aid to her husband as he ruled his vast, expanding empire. Weakened by her later pregnancies, the elegant Empress succumbed to influenza while staying in the Spanish city of Toledo. The piety and courage with which Isabella greeted death inspired one of her courtiers, Francis Borgia, to vow that he would never again serve a mortal master, since none could compare to the holy Empress. He took vows as a priest and was later himself canonised by Pope Clement X. Isabella's death was the cause of widespread mourning and her heart-broken husband did not remarry. He often stared at portraits of her for the rest of his life. Their son later became King Philip II of Spain and husband of England's Queen Mary I..

MARGARET BEAUFORT QUIZ



1. Margaret was born on the 31st of which month in 1443

_____

2. What is the name of the castle in which Margaret was born, located in Bedfordshire?

_____

3. Margaret's father, John Beaufort, was the 1st Duke of where?

_____

4. Who was Margaret's paternal great-grandfather, who provided her blood-line to the throne?

_____

5. Who was Margaret either married or more likely just betrothed to in 1450?

_____

6. What was the name of Margaret's final husband, whose change of allegiance helped Henry Tudor's Army to defeat Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth

_____

7. As well as being known as 'My Lady the King's Mother', Margaret was the Countess of where?

_____

8. Which Bishop of Rochester was Margaret's friend, political and spiritual adviser, and executor of her estate?

_____

9. Translated as 'I remember often', what was the Beaufort motto?

_____

10. Margaret died aged 66, on 29th June 1509. Where did she pass away?

_____

11. Where was Margaret laid to rest?

_____

12. What is the name of the actress who played Margaret in the BBC adaption of 'The White Queen'?

_____

13. Margaret founded two colleges at Cambridge University. What are their names?

_____

14. What is the name of the devotional text by Thomas a Kempis that Margaret translated and published?

_____

15. Who was her son's famous uncle in whom she entrusted him to during his exile?(Jasper Tudor)

_____

16. Which historian described Margaret as 'The most powerful woman in England of her day

_____

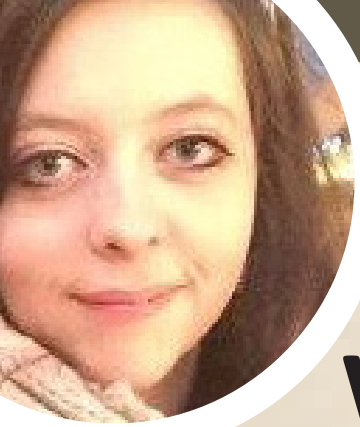
17. Who was the well-known printer sponsored by Margaret?

_____

18. In 1499, Margaret took which vow in front of her spiritual adviser?

_____

Answers on page 41



ELIZABETH WOODVILLE

CONSPIRACY, CELEBRATION, AND CONTEMPLATION

BY LAUREN BROWNE

The events of Elizabeth's queenship have been retold by chronicles, plays, poems, historical fiction, and even television shows, and are therefore not main focus of this article. What really interests us in this issue, is how Elizabeth Woodville, a woman who seemed a highly unlikely candidate for queen-consort, behaved and was treated as queen-dowager, and more importantly as a royal mother-in-law.

Elizabeth Woodville's eldest child, Elizabeth of York became the 'heiress of York' after the death of her father, Edward IV, and the presumed deaths of her two brothers Edward V and Richard of York.'[1] She, arguably, had more of a right to the throne than

1 Anne Crawford (ed.), *The Letters of the Queens of England 1100-1547* (Stroud, 1994), p.153



Queen Elizabeth Woodville in her coronation robes (The Worshipful Company of Skinners' Fraternity Book)

her future husband, however it was inconceivable that England should have a queen-regnant. That precedent would have to wait another 67 years, until Elizabeth of York's granddaughter Mary Tudor succeeded the throne in 1553. Her marriage to Henry VII, in 1486, was heralded as the end of England's internal conflict, the union of the warring factions, and the end of what would become to be known as the end of the Wars of the Roses.

It appears that Elizabeth Woodville was involved in the arrangement of her daughter's marriage. She was in contact with 'her long-time friend' Margaret Beaufort, the mother of the future Henry VII.[2] Henry traced his linage to Edward III through his mother, the great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt. His father, Edmund Tudor, was the earl of Richmond and half-brother to Henry VI, and he could claim the royal blood of France, but not England. Henry had been in exile in Brittany since Edward IV's victory at Tewkesbury in 1571, but now, at 26, he was ready to claim the crown. The two mothers, Elizabeth and Margaret, plotted to marry Elizabeth of York to Henry Tudor, whose claim was on the Lancastrian side- this is why their marriage was later heralded as the union of two houses and was represented by the red and white Tudor rose.

2 Arlene Naylor Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York,* (New York, 2009), p. 28

In order to carry out their plot Margaret used her physician Lewis Caerleon, who was permitted to visit Elizabeth Woodville in sanctuary, as a go-between. The marriage was politically motivated, and documents specified that if Elizabeth of York should die, her sister Cecily would take her place. Polydore Vergil records the agreement:

> ...[Queen Dowager Elizabeth] would do her endeavour to procure all her husband King Edward's friends to take part with Henry [Margaret's] son, so that he might be sworn to take in marriage Elizabeth her daughter after he shall have gotten the realm, or else Cecily the younger if the other should die before he enjoyed the same.[3]

The news of this pact was dispatched to Brittany and financial support for an invasion was sought. The first attempt at invasion failed miserably, with Henry turning back to Brittany from Plymouth and the duke of Buckingham's execution on 2nd November, All Souls Day, 1483. Henry was soon joined in Brittany by Sir Edward Woodville, princess Elizabeth's uncle, and her half-brother Thomas, marques of Dorset.



Elizabeth's daughter, Queen Elizabeth of York

The Woodville women, joined by Buckingham's widow, Katherine- sister of Elizabeth Woodville, remained in Westminster Sanctuary, while the men gathered in Brittany. The pact between Elizabeth and Margaret was solemnized by Henry Tudor on Christmas Day 1483, when he made an oath of betrothal to Elizabeth of York at Rennes Cathedral. It was during this period that an application to the Papal Penitentiary was made for a dispensation for the marriage.

On 23rd January 1484, Richard III's parliament began, and struck two blows to the members of Elizabeth Woodville's family. The Woodville men were issued attainders, and the infamous *Titulus Regius: An Act for the Settlement of Crown upon the King and his issue, with a recapitulation of his Title* was also issued. This Act declared Elizabeth Woodville's children with Edward IV as bastards;

> … the said pretended marriage betwixt the above named King Edward and Elizabeth [Woodville] Grey, was made of great presumption, without the knowing and assent of the Lords of this Land, and also by Sorcery and Witchcraft, committed by the said Elizabeth, and her Mother Jacquetta, Duchess of Bedford…
>
> At the time of contract of the same pretended marriage, and before and long time after, the said King Edward was and stood married and troth plight to one Dame Eleanor Butler, daughter of the old Earl of Shrewsbury, with whom the same King Edward had made a precontract of matrimony, long

3 Polydore Vergil, Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History, comprising the Reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV, and Richard III, ed. Henry Ellis (London, 1844), p. 196

> time before he made the said pretended marriage with the said Elizabeth Grey, in manner and form abovesaid. Which premises being true, as in very truth they be true, it appears and follows evidently, that the said King Edward during his life, and the said Elizabeth, lived together infully and damnably in adultery, against the law of God and of his Church; …
>
> Also it appears evidently and follows, that all the Issue and Children of the said King Edward, be Bastards, and unable to inherit or to claim any thing by inheritance, by the Law and Custom of England.[4]

Elizabeth's marriage was declared invalid, which not only meant her children were illegitimate in the eyes of the law, but her status of queen-dowager was also revoked.

Sanctuary became increasingly prison-like for Elizabeth and her daughters, and Richard III urged them with 'frequent intercessions and dire threats' to leave Westminster Abbey.[5] Elizabeth finally relented when Richard made a vow on 1st March 1484, before an assembly of the three Estates, pledging to protect her daughters and arrange marriages for them to 'gentlemen born, and every of them give in marriage lands and tenements to the yearly value of 200 marks for each of their lives.'[6] Elizabeth Woodville and her daughters left sanctuary sometime after this, Elizabeth of York joined the court of Richard III and Queen Anne, although little is known about the fate of her mother and sisters during this year.

Elizabeth Woodville had secured the best arrangement for her daughters as she could. Her agreement with Margaret Beaufort and her son still stood, and if, against all odds, Henry was successful in invading England then their fortunes would be reversed. If Henry was unsuccessful, then Richard III's vow meant that they would at least have some future, despite their diminished status. As we know, Henry was indeed successful in his invasion. His victory at Bosworth Field on 22nd August, 1485, meant that Margaret and Elizabeth's pact was fulfilled, and Henry VII and Elizabeth of York married in 1486. Elizabeth was present at the wedding of her daughter to Henry VII, although there is no extant description of what was surely an extravagant event.

Elizabeth Woodville was restored to her title and dignity as queen-dowager during Henry VII's first Parliament, which met a week after his coronation, on 7th November 1485. Richard III's *Titulus Regius* was repealed and on 4th March 1486 she was restored 'the lordship and manors of six properties in the county of Essex.'[7] The following day, Henry added her dower property from the duchy of Lancaster.

Elizabeth of York conceived either just before or after her marriage, and Henry VII established her in St Swithin's Priory within Winchester Close. She was surrounded by family; Elizabeth Woodville and Margaret Beaufort attended her, along with her sisters. Margaret Beaufort took on a more active role during the Queen's seclusion than her mother, and Margaret issued a series of Ordinances which specified the exact requirements for the birthing chamber, down to the length of the bed sheets! Elizabeth Woodville was a much more passive mother-in-law than her counterpart. However, she was to stand as godmother for the new arrival.

Eight months after her wedding, Elizabeth of York gave birth to a son at Winchester on 20th September 1486. It was fitting that the child was called Arthur, fifteenth century historians had associated Winchester with the court of King Arthur, whose knights had gathered round the large table displayed in the great hall of Winchester Palace. Prince Arthur's christening was a lavish affair, the earl of Oxford,

---

4 *Titulus Regius,* http://www.r3.org/bookcase/texts/tit_reg.html

5 *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations: 1459-1486,* ed. Nicholas Pronay and John Cox, (London, 1986), p.171

6 *ibid*., p. 175

7 Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York*, p. 28



Annette Benning and Kate Steavenson-Payne as a modernised Elizabeth Woodville and Elizabeth of York in the 1995 movie "Richard III" (BBC)

delayed until the crucial moment due to bad weather, stood as godfather, and the queen-dowager stood as godmother. She carried her christened grandson to the high altar and laid him there as offering. She also presented him with a 'rich cup of gold, covered' set with stones.

1486 was indeed a monumental year of Elizabeth Woodville and her family. Her daughter had been married to Henry VII, thus fulfilling the pact made between Woodville and Beaufort, and had produced an heir, Arthur. As her daughter's life was changing, so too was Elizabeth Woodville's. She obtained a lease from the Abbot of Westminster for 'a mansion within the said Abbey called Cheyne gate… with all the houses, chambers, aislement and other.'[8] It appears that the queen-dowager was preparing for a life of religious seclusion and contemplation. In February 1487, Elizabeth Woodville retreated to Bermondsey Abbey and stayed there for the rest of her life, save for a visit to the queen during her second confinement.

Elizabeth Woodville died at Bermondsey Abbey on 8th June 1492, and was interred beside her husband as instructed by her brief will, dated two months before she died. She requested to be laid to rest 'without pompes entering or costlie expensis done thereabought.'[9] Her coffin arrived at Windsor on Whitsunday, 10th June, and her burial appears to have been conducted on the same day. The customary Lady, Trinity and Requiem masses took place over the following three days.[10] A contemporary chronicler commented on the low attendance to her meagre funeral, and he also stated the hearse that was used was 'such as they use for

8 *Lease Book Number 1,* 1486-1595, Westminster Abbey, folio 9

9 Mark Duffy, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England* (Stroud, 2003), p.258

10 Ibid., p.258

he common people.'[11] Elizabeth Woodville has no memorial of her own and Elizabeth of York or her sisters did not provide one after their mother's death.[12] When describing the funeral of Elizabeth of York, Okerlund states 'The private, truncated, scantily attended burial services for her mother, Queen Elizabeth Wydeville, 10 years earlier bears no comparison at all.'[13]

The reason for Elizabeth Woodville's paltry funeral may be because she had taken herself into religious seclusion. There has been fierce historical debate as to why she had chosen a life of religious devotion, with Vergil and Bacon among others suggesting she was being punished by Henry VII for support of Lambert Simnel.[14] There is no evidence to suggest that this was the case. Historian Michael Hicks states, 'It is scarcely credible that she had been plotting against her daughter in February 1487, when a great council deprived her of her dowerlands and transferred them to her daughter, though retribution for her having come to terms with Richard III cannot be ruled out.'[15] Okerlund argues that the transfer of the dowager properties to Elizabeth of York was needed in order for the queen to organise her own household.[16] Elizabeth Woodville was compensated with 200 marks and then 400 marks every year afterwards.[17] This suggests that the removal of her properties and religious seclusion were not a punishment. It was also, briefly, proposed by Henry VII in 1487 that his mother-in-law should marry James III of Scotland, once again suggesting that there was no ill-will against the queen-dowager.

Her somewhat dismal funeral may instead be because of her religious devotion or the fact that she was a queen dowager not consort. It is also important to note that Henry VII had already included provisions for his wife before either of them had died, something that Edward IV had failed to do. Elizabeth Woodville's secret marriage to Edward IV, and the rumours surrounding it, as well as Richard III's attack on the legality of her marriage and on her character, may well have negatively impacted her reputation. The Woodvilles had also long been accused of abusing Elizabeth's status when she married Edward IV, in order to bolster their position through marriages, and this did not reflect well on her. The low attendance at her funeral masses could perhaps be explained by a combination of these factors.

11 Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York,* p.116
12 Duffy, *Royal Tombs,* p.258
13 Okerlund, *Elizabeth of York,* p.209
14 Ibid., pp.69-70
15 Michael Hicks, Elizabeth [née Elizabeth Woodville] (c. 1437–1492), queen of England, consort of Edward IV, (https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8634) (Accessed 19/12/17)
16 Ibid., p.70
17 Ibid., p.70

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

The Crowland Chronicle Continuations: 1459-1486, ed. Nicholas Pronay and John Cox, (London, 1986)

Lease Book Number 1, 1486-1595, Westminster Abbey, folio 9

Polydore Vergil, Three Books of Polydore Vergil's English History, comprising the Reigns of Henry VI, Edward IV, and Richard III, ed. Henry Ellis (London, 1844)

Titulus Regius, http://www.r3.org/bookcase/texts/tit_reg.html

Secondary Sources

Baldwin, David, *Elizabeth Woodville: Mother of the Princes in the Tower,* (Stroud, 2010)

Crawford, Anne (ed.), *The Letters of the Queens of England 1100-1547* (Stroud, 1994)

Duffy, Mark, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England* (Stroud, 2003)

Michael Hicks, Elizabeth [née Elizabeth Woodville] (c. 1437–1492), queen of England, consort of Edward IV, (https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8634) (Accessed 19/12/17)

Licence, Amy, *Elizabeth of York: Forgotten Tudor Queen,* (Stroud, 2014)

Okerlund, Arlene Naylor, *Elizabeth of York,* (New York, 2009)

Penn, Thomas, *Winter King: The Dawn of Tudor England,* (London, 2012)



CLAIRE RIDGWAY ON

MARGARET BEAUFORT The mother-in-law from hell?

Lady Margaret Beaufort has to be one of the most fascinating women of the late Plantagenet and early Tudor periods. She was the great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and his mistress (and eventual wife) Katherine Swynford; she was married four times and gave birth to her only child, the future Henry VII, at the age of thirteen; she was a key figure in the Wars of the Roses and actively supported her son's claim to the throne, *and* she plotted with Elizabeth Woodville, the dowager queen, to arrange the marriage of Henry to Elizabeth's daughter, Elizabeth of York. Then, when her son defeated Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth and became King Henry VII, she took the title "My Lady the King's Mother" and ensured that she had an equal status at court to the king's queen consort, Elizabeth of York. She was a formidable woman.

But what was she like as a mother-in-law? What was it like for Elizabeth of York to have her husband's mother on an equal footing with her and so prominent? Was Margaret dominant and domineering? Was she over-bearing? Was she the mother-in-law from hell?

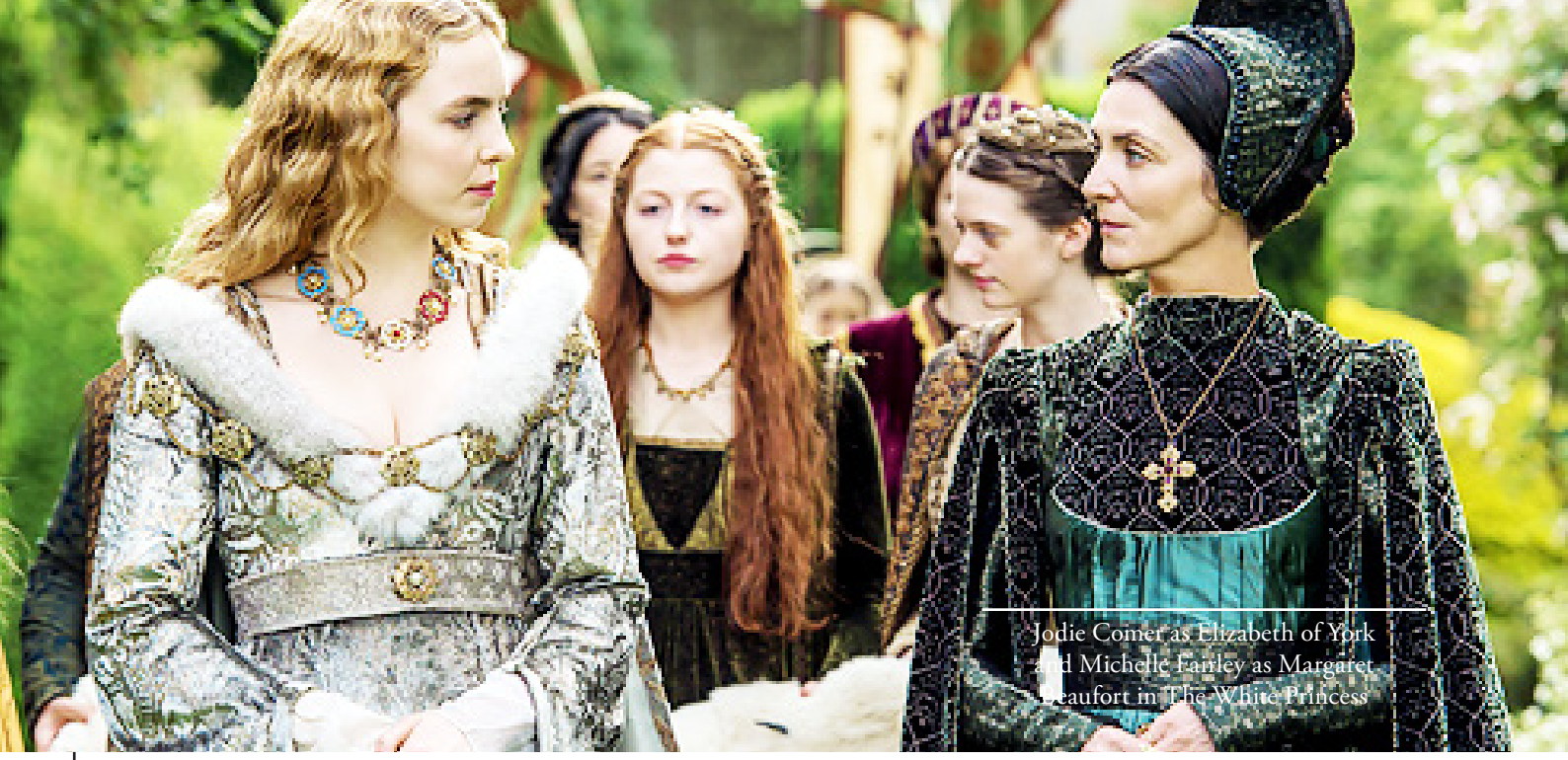
Well, it's impossible to say, and only Elizabeth could tell us, and she never recorded her feelings. In the first year of Elizabeth's marriage, there were three women all vying for top spot at court: Elizabeth herself as queen consort, the queen dowager and the king's mother. There must have been some friction, and I don't envy Henry VII and those responsible for ensuring that etiquette was not breached and that all three were treated appropriately. But in 1487, Elizabeth Woodville retired to Bermondsey Abbey to live out her days away from court, leaving her daughter to contend with Margaret by herself. Things must have been difficult. We know that the queen and her mother-in-law would attend court celebrations wearing identical outfits, due to their equal rank, and that Margaret was ever-present. However much she might respect and love her mother-in-law, Elizabeth couldn't get away from the woman, and it must have been frustrating to have such a strong woman looming over her all of the time. Margaret wasn't even watching from the shadows; she was there next to Elizabeth everywhere she went, and the women were often left together when the king was away.

Not only was Margaret present at the births of Elizabeth's first two children, but she also took it upon herself to write detailed ordinances regarding the queen's confinement, the christening and how the nursery would be furnished. She micromanaged the whole thing, even going as far as stating exactly what fabrics, and how much of them, would be used to furnish the queen's bed and what fringing would be used on it. Anybody reading her ordinances would have to say that Margaret was a bit of a control freak but then it was important for her to know that her grandchildren would be born in the appropriate setting for princes and princesses of England. Their environment would be lavish and spectacular.

How did Elizabeth feel about her mother-in-law taking charge of her confinement, her churching, her children's christenings and their nurseries in this way? We don't know, but I think it's likely that Elizabeth would have been relieved that she could

"*Ordinances by Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, as to what Preparation is to be made against the Deliverance of a Queen, as also for the Christening of the Child which she shall be delivered*" are a wonderful source for historians and researchers today. They were written by Margaret in 1486 when her daughter-in-law, Elizabeth of York, was expecting her first child. From the Ordinances, we know exactly how Elizabeth's chambers were furnished for her confinement (down to the number of cushions), how the church was to be prepared for the royal christening, and how the nursery was to be furnished. You can find out more by searching on the Tudor Society website for "Margaret Beaufort's Ordinances" as I did a video talk on them, but here are a few examples of Margaret's requirements:

- The queen's bed was to be furnished with two pairs of sheets of cloth of raynes, or cloth of Rennes; a fustian pillow stuffed with fine down; a pane of scarlet furred with ermine and embroidered with crimson velvet on velvet or cloth of gold; a mattress fluffed with wool; a feather bed and bolster of down; a "sparner" embroidered with crowns of gold, the king's and queen's arms and device, lined with double tarterton and garnished with fringes of silk, blue russet and gold.
- For the christening, the church was to be hanged with rich arras or cloth of gold, the chancel to be well carpeted throughout, and the porch hanged and sealed with rich cloth of gold or arras. The font from Canterbury Cathedral was to be ordered in advance. 200 torches were to be carried before the little prince or princess
- The royal baby's wet nurse was to be attended by a physician at every meal to ensure that she ate well and so would nourish the infant.
- The nursery was to be equipped with a wooden cradle (described in minute detail) and a great cradle of estate, five and a half feet in length and two and a half feet in width.



Jodie Comer as Elizabeth of York and Michelle Farley as Margaret Beaufort in The White Princess

simply focus on her pregnancies and the birth of her children, on her duty as queen consort. It is likely that Margaret's ordinances were followed to the letter, and her instructions would be used again and again at successive royal births.

In an article on the death of Elizabeth of York for "History Today", Richard Cavendish writes that "Elizabeth had no appetite for politics, and she was evidently easy-going enough not to quarrel with Henry's doting and managing mother, the Lady Margaret Beaufort, who had given birth to him at the age of thirteen and was one of Nature's organisers." We have no record of any arguments between the two women so that may be a true reflection of the dynamics of their relationship. The queen consort's role at this time in history was to provide the king with heirs and to be an intercessor and counsellor. Elizabeth certainly did her duty with regards to heirs, but she had to share the role of intercessor and counsellor with her mother-in-law who was a very politically astute lady. Although one ambassador described Elizabeth being "kept in subjection by the mother of the King", Elizabeth would have respected her elders and would have expected to submit to Margaret and her expertise. She had known Margaret before her marriage, she knew the woman's life story and the breadth of her experience, and as Amy Licence says in her biography of Elizabeth, Margaret was "indefatigable, highly organised and competent; quite likely she was a tower of strength." Elizabeth could lean on this older woman, she had a sounding board in her, and the two women could and did work together to help the man they both loved. Elizabeth was intelligent, pragmatic and well-liked, and Margaret was determined, strong and experienced. Elizabeth was the Queen of Hearts, the perfect queen consort and loved by all who met her, and Margaret was the matriarch of the Tudor dynasty, a practical organiser and force to be reckoned with – they were quite a team, and I'm sure that together they could have run the country without Henry!

A mother-in-law from hell? Perhaps at times, but at other times she was a woman who could be depended upon for good advice and someone who always had your back.

CLAIRE RIDGWAY

SOURCES:

Cavendish, Richard. "The Death of Elizabeth of York", published in History Today, Volume 53, Issue 2, February 2003.

Licence, Amy (2013) *Elizabeth of York: The Forgotten Tudor Queen*, Amberley.

Norton, Elizabeth (2011) *Margaret Beaufort: Mother of the Tudor Dynasty*, Amberley.

Ordinances by Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, as to what Preparation is to be made against the Deliverance of a Queen, as also for the Christening of the Child which she shall be delivered, p. 179 onwards in *Joannis Lelandi antiquarii De rebus Britannicis collectanea,* Volume IV, Benj White, Fleet Street, London, 1774.



Margaret Beaufort (NPG)



Elizsbeth of York

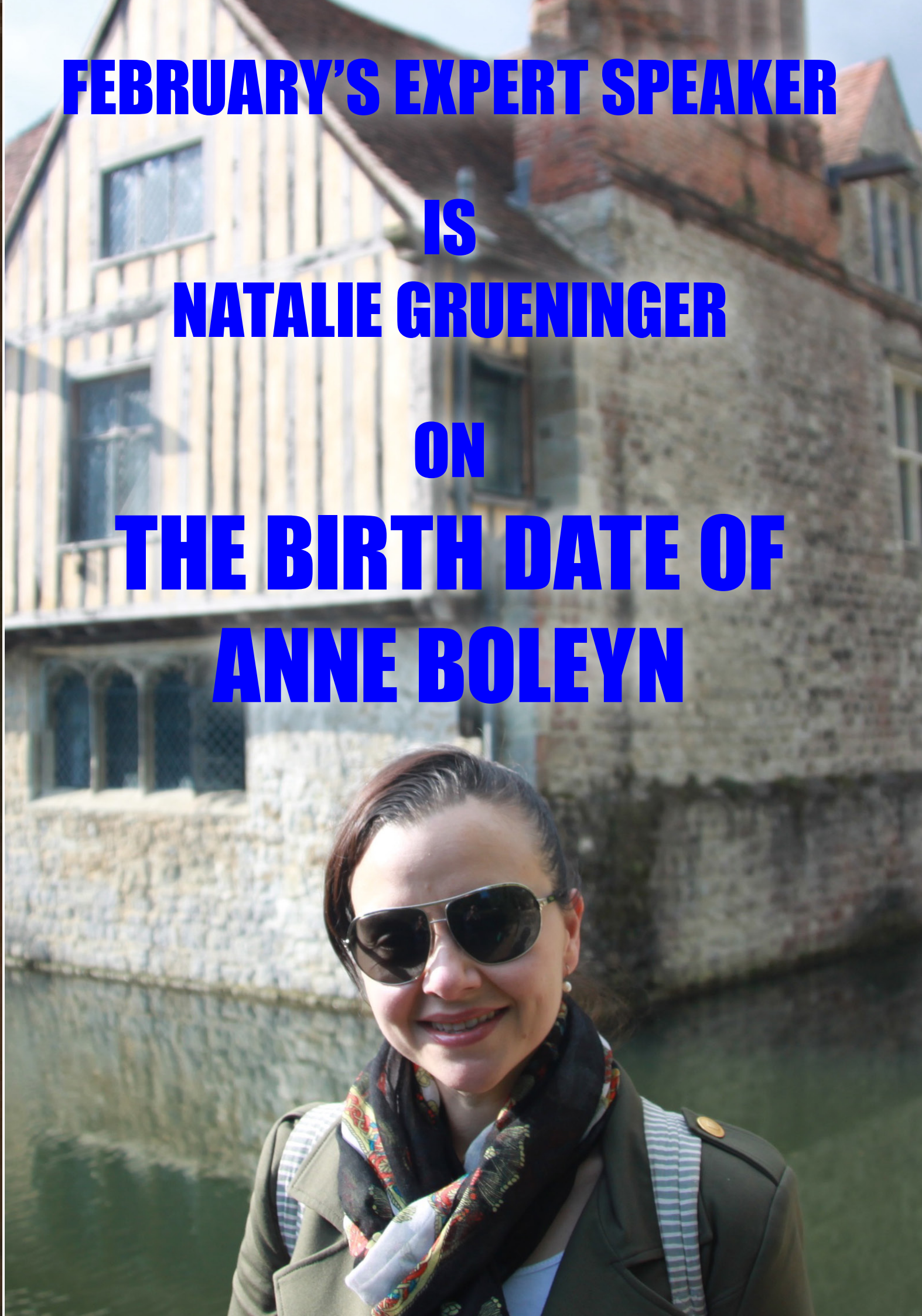
FEBRUARY'S EXPERT SPEAKER

IS

NATALIE GRUENINGER

ON

THE BIRTH DATE OF ANNE BOLEYN





ROYAL MOTHERS-IN-LAW DURING THE WARS OF THE ROSES

Conor Byrne looks at these important women from an age before the Tudors...

'Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.' So wrote William Shakespeare in his *Henry IV, Part II*, and so it proved during the turbulent fifteenth-century. The dynastic conflict known to history as the Wars of the Roses witnessed a noticeable chopping and changing of the English monarchy; in 1461, the Lancastrian king Henry VI was finally forced from the throne by the Yorkist conqueror Edward, Earl of March after a succession of battles and skirmishes. Edward IV, as he became known, failed to make much of an impression in the decade after his accession, and was subsequently deposed by the earl of Warwick, who restored Henry to the throne in what was known as the Lancastrian 'Readeption'. The Lancastrian triumph, however, proved to be catastrophically short-lived and Edward won back the throne barely six months later; his triumph was completed when Warwick was slain at Barnet and the Lancastrian king hastily murdered in the Tower of London. Edward's second reign was somewhat more effective than his first, but his unexpected death in 1483 led to a dynastic crisis. His son Edward, who was proclaimed king shortly after the Yorkist monarch's death, was hastily deposed by his uncle, Richard of Gloucester; the duke's exact motivations for doing so continue to be fiercely debated by historians. Richard III, as he became known, ruled with mixed success until his defeat and death at Bosworth in 1485, which heralded the arrival of the Tudors.

The unstable succession during the Wars, which involved Henry VI, Edward IV and Richard III as its central players, had important implications for royal mothers-in-law. Some were able to exercise influence and authority, while others were relegated to the sidelines of power, destined to be shadowy figures. This article examines Jacquetta of Luxembourg, mother of Edward's consort Elizabeth Woodville, and Anne Beauchamp, countess of Warwick, mother of Richard's wife Anne Neville; these two women were to have contrasting experiences that testify

to the instability and uncertainty of this period in history.

Born in 1415-6, Jacquetta was the daughter of Peter I of Luxembourg, count of Saint-Pol, Conversano and Brienne, and his wife Margaret of Baux. When Jacquetta's daughter married the first Yorkist king in 1464, he was scornfully disparaged for wedding a woman of comparatively low social status. However, Elizabeth Woodville's ancestry on her mother's side was impressive. Jacquetta was also descended from Henry III of England, since her paternal great-grandmother was Henry's daughter. Her grandmother descended from Eleanor of England, daughter of King John, while Jacquetta was also related to Sigismund of Luxembourg, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Bohemia and Hungary. The House of Luxembourg claimed descent from the mythical water deity Melusine, characterised by Jacques Le Goff as 'the fairy of medieval economic growth'.

When she was about seventeen, Jacquetta married John of Lancaster, duke of Bedford at Therouanne. Her husband, who was about twenty-five years her senior, was the son of Henry IV of England and the younger brother of Henry V. Bedford was an effective governor in Normandy and was also known for his cultural interests, namely illuminated manuscripts. One of his manuscripts was the Bedford Hours, a fifteenth-century book of hours that was later bequeathed to the duke's nephew, Henry VI, as a gift. Henry V had died in 1422 and only his successor, the child Henry VI, stood between Bedford and the English crown. The marriage, however, proved both childless and short-lived; the duke died in Rouen on 14 September 1435. At twenty years of age, Jacquetta was left a widow, but a wealthy one, for she inherited a third of her late husband's estates.

Jacquetta's second marriage caused a scandal in aristocratic circles. The wealthy duchess appears to have fallen in love with Richard Woodville, who had escorted Jacquetta to England after Bedford's death. The couple married in secret without the king's permission, and were required to pay a fine of £1000 when Henry VI discovered what had happened. Unlike Jacquetta's first marriage, which had been childless, the Woodville union proved to be highly fruitful. Jacquetta gave birth to at least fourteen children, the eldest of whom was Elizabeth, born in 1437, and the youngest of whom was Katherine, born in 1458. The duchess was the highest-ranked lady at court after Henry VI's queen, Margaret of Anjou, to whom she appears to have been close.



Jacquetta of Luxembourg, Countess Woodville, as played by Janet McTeer in "The White Queen" (BBC)



The site of the Prince Edward's investiture, today (Conor Byrne's collection)

Woodville was created Baron Rivers in 1448, and the Woodvilles were known for their support of the Lancastrian cause during the early years of the Wars of the Roses. In about 1452, for example, the eldest daughter Elizabeth married Sir John Grey of Groby, who was killed fighting on the Lancastrian side at the Second Battle of St. Albans in 1461. Elizabeth, of course, married the first Yorkist king Edward IV three years later, allegedly with the assistance of her mother. Romantically, it was later claimed that the handsome king had fallen head over heels in love with Elizabeth when he espied her and her two young sons waiting by a tree; other tales recorded that he had sought to violate Elizabeth, or that the king was seduced into marrying Elizabeth by witchcraft. After Elizabeth's marriage, Richard Woodville was created Earl Rivers and was appointed Lord High Treasurer in 1466. Jacquetta may have been involved in Woodville matchmaking, which included the marriage of her son John to Katherine Neville, dowager duchess of Norfolk, who was forty-five years his senior. Traditionally, it has been claimed that the nobility resented the Woodvilles on account of their avaricious and unscrupulous policies, including their domination of the marriage market, but it is also possible that resentment of them grew because there were so many of them. Each of Elizabeth's twelve surviving siblings – with the exception of Lionel, bishop of Salisbury – had to be found a spouse.

It has been conjectured that Jacquetta enjoyed some influence at court, primarily with regards to her matchmaking enterprises. Partly this was on account of her close relationship with the queen; she attended Elizabeth's coronation in 1465 and was present at her churching the following year. The exact nature of her relationship with Edward IV, however, is uncertain. Despite Elizabeth's marriage to the king, the Woodvilles found themselves in a somewhat precarious position occasioned by the resentment of Edward's erstwhile ally, the earl of Warwick. The earl had planned for the king to wed Bona of Savoy, or a princess of France, and was outraged when he learned that the king had married the widow of a Lancastrian knight. It is also possible that the earl was infuriated by the Woodville family's domination of the noble marriage market, for he had two young daughters of his own – Isabel and Anne – that he sought to marry off to members of the aristocracy. Warwick rebelled against the king and seized Elizabeth's father and her brother John, both of whom were executed at Kenilworth in August 1469. Around this time, Jacquetta was criticised for her alleged greed and arrogance in association with the trial of Thomas Cook for treason in 1468; she apparently resented that he had not provided her with a rich tapestry that she coveted. Shortly afterwards, Jacquetta was accused of witchcraft by Thomas Wake, an associate of the earl of Warwick. It was claimed that Jacquetta had fashioned a lead image constructed in the style of a 'man-of-arms… broken in the middle and made fast with a wire,' for the purposes of sorcery. A Northamptonshire parish clerk John Daunger could apparently confirm that Jacquetta had made two other images, one for the king and one for the queen. Jacquetta, however, was cleared of the charges in February 1470. Four years later, the charges were revived by Richard III in his *Titulus Regius* as part of an attempt to justify his seizure of the throne from Edward's son. Although Jacquetta was not

ultimately tried as a witch, the accusations may have caused damage to her reputation, and certainly the association of sorcery lingered. She died two years later, on 30 May 1472.

Edward IV died eleven years later, and his wife, after some resistance, was compelled to seek peace with Richard III after her son Edward was deposed. Around the time of Jacquetta's death, Richard married Anne, youngest daughter of Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, who had rebelled against Edward IV in 1469. Their coronation took place in July 1483, and on 8 September, their son Edward was created Prince of Wales in York.

There is no evidence that Richard was close to his mother-in-law Anne Beauchamp, countess of Warwick, who exercised none of the influence at court enjoyed by Jacquetta Woodville. According to the antiquary John Sous, the countess was a 'noble lady of the blood royal', and held extensive lands in the West Midlands, including Warwick, and south Wales. The countess found herself in a precarious position, however, when her husband rebelled against the Crown and attempted to restore Henry VI to the throne in 1469. The earl died at the battle of Barnet in 1471. Anne Beauchamp was still entitled to her jointure, which had been settled on her at marriage, but she was unable to secure dower from the estates of her late husband. During her husband's rebellion, she had sought sanctuary at Beaulieu Abbey, but after Edward IV's restoration she was effectively confined within the walls of the abbey, despite requesting the king to provide her with a safe conduct. She was therefore unable to travel to court to sue for livery of her inheritance, dower and jointure. The countess sought the intercession of several noble and royal women, including Queen Elizabeth, Jacquetta Woodville, the king's daughter Elizabeth of York and his sisters Anne, duchess of Exeter and Elizabeth, duchess of Suffolk. It is also possible that she sought the assistance of her daughter Isabel and her son-in-law George, duke of Clarence, but as Michael Hicks noted, it was in the interests of Isabel and Clarence for the countess to remain confined at Beaulieu.

Some years prior to Richard's marriage to Anne Neville, both Isabel and Anne had contested their mother's inheritance; the former's husband Clarence – brother of Richard – was determined to hold the majority of the countess's lands. In 1474, after the birth of Anne Neville's son, Edward IV ruled that Anne was entitled to receive her share of the Beauchamp and Despenser estates. Parliament duly divided the lands, which effectively rendered Anne's mother dead in the eyes of the law, since it was not customary for such estates to be divided prior to an individual's demise unless they had been attainted as a traitor. Clarence's lands from the Beauchamp-Despenser-Salisbury inheritance were located in the West Midlands and the south of England. All Neville lands in the north of England were granted to Richard of Gloucester and his male heirs, on the grounds of the treason committed by Warwick's heir John Neville, Marquis Montagu. As Charles Ross noted, the proceedings depicted Richard of Gloucester as 'an active participant in this ruthless carve-up of the estates of others.' The Croyland chronicler referred to the episode as 'this hopeless business'. Rous explained that this 'good lady' suffered 'great tribulation for her lord's sake', but she remained 'patient'. The seizure of the estates constituted 'the greatest single act of patronage of any medieval English king', as interpreted by Hicks. The countess was effectively disinherited and lived in sanctuary at Beaulieu Abbey; in 1486, after the death of her son-in-law, she petitioned Henry VII for the restoration of her estate, which was partially granted on the condition that she broke the entail and remit the bulk of them to the king. Her final years were lived in obscurity. On 20 September 1492, Anne Beauchamp died at the age of sixty-six, seven years after the deaths of her daughter Anne and son-in-law Richard III.

Both Jacquetta Woodville and Anne Beauchamp experienced contrasting fortunes as a consequence of the dynastic and political upheaval of the Wars of the Roses. Extant evidence indicates that Jacquetta may have enjoyed some influence at court during her daughter's marriage, and a contemporary tradition credited her with arranging the marriage of Edward IV and Elizabeth. However, the earl of Warwick's rebellion, the deposition of Edward IV and the execution of her husband collectively placed Jacquetta in a difficult position; without a powerful protector, she was vulnerable to hostile accusations of witchcraft that re-emerged after the death of Edward IV when Richard of Gloucester usurped the throne. Anne Beauchamp was similarly vulnerable to mistreatment when her political status rendered

her a nuisance to the Crown; the treason of her husband justified, in the eyes of the king, the seizure of her estates and their sequestration among her daughters and their husbands. There is no evidence, however, that she exercised influence as Jacquetta had, but almost certainly this was due to the actions of Richard and his wife in disinheriting the countess and preventing her from residing at court, even if she had been inclined to do so. If Warwick's rebellion against Edward IV had succeeded in the deposition of the Yorkist king and the restoration of Henry VI, the countess might have enjoyed a dazzling future as the wife of the Kingmaker and mother-in-law of Henry's heir, Edward of Westminster, who was briefly married to her younger daughter until his death in battle.

CONOR BYRNE



The Countess of Warwick's son-in-law, King Richard III

HISTORY BOOKS BY CONOR BYRNE









16th Century Mother-in-Laws How Much Do You Know?

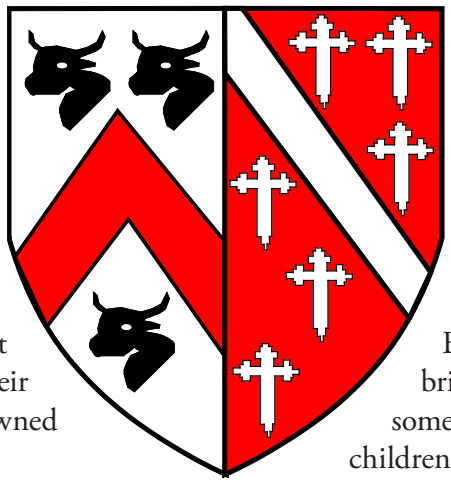
by Roland Hui

Firstly, I would like to test your knowledge, and no peeking at the answers first! You've undoubtedly read the articles in this magazine about mothers-in-law. And you probably know a little bit from your own research and reading. See how you do with these questions before I give you the answers on the following pages...

1) This mother-in-law of a king was rumoured to even have been in a sexual relationship with him. Who was she?
2) Which mother-in-law to three reigning monarchs introduced ice cream to the French court?
3) This mother-in-law to her daughter's three husbands attracted the attention of a king because of her height. Do you know who she was?
4) Identify this mother-in-law to a king who was famed as an educator in her community, and was responsible for providing her children an excellent schooling.
5) Name this mother-in-law to a Danish princess was who known for her series of daring escapes.
6) This mother-in-law to a king sought the safety of sanctuary at Westminster Abbey on two occasions. Name her.
7) This mother-in-law to several women was said to have been in love with her uncle the king. Who was she?
8) Give the name of this mother-in-law to a princess who had her first and only child when she was only about thirteen.
9) Which mother-in-law to a young nobleman had three daughters - all prisoners in the Tower of London?
10) This mother-in-law to a reigning queen found herself twice under arrest for falling in love. Give her name.

1) Elizabeth Howard (mother of Mary, Anne, and George Boleyn, and mother-in-law to William Carey, William Stafford, Henry VIII, and Jane Parker)

The coat-of-arms of Elizabeth Howard



Elizabeth Howard, the eldest daughter of the Earl of Surrey (later the second Duke of Norfolk), was married to the rising courtier Thomas Boleyn in about 1499. The couple produced three surviving children- all were to become prominent at the court of Henry VIII, particularly their daughter Anne who would be crowned as the King's second wife in 1533.

There was a whiff of scandal about Elizabeth Howard. Before her daughter Anne became Queen, Elizabeth was rumoured to have been a mistress of Henry VIII, despite their age difference. Born in about 1480, Elizabeth would have been about a decade older than her supposed lover. Still, one of Henry VIII's courtiers named George Throckmorton had dared to confront his master about his alleged affair with Thomas Boleyn's wife. The King absolutely denied it, while his minister Thomas Cromwell who was present as well at the meeting, added that the King had never slept with her daughter Mary Boleyn either. While it was highly unlikely that Henry and Elizabeth were lovers, he did have a brief liaison with Mary. There is still some conjecture that one or both of her children - Henry Carey and/or Katherine Carey - might actually have been sired by the King, not by their acknowledged father William Carey.

In the reign of Elizabeth I, the Queen's maternal grandmother would have her reputation smeared even further. In bedding Henry VIII, it was said, she gave birth to their daughter Anne who would later marry her own father!

2) Catherine de' Medici (mother of Francis II , Elisabeth of Valois, and Margaret of Valois, and mother-in-law to Mary Queen of Scots, Philip II of Spain, and Henry IV of France)

Though variations of ice cream were known in the ancient world, the closest to its modern equivalent was invented in Florence in the early 16th century. A Florentine named Ruggeri, added flavourings to snow and produced a type of sorbet, while at the same time, Bernardo Buontalenti, an artist and organizer of courtly festivals, came up with the idea of including eggs and milk to the recipe.

When Catherine de' Medici, the daughter of the ruler of Florence and the great-niece of Pope Leo X, was wed to the future King Henry II of France in Marseille in 1533, she had the popular frozen dessert served at their wedding feast.



3) Marie de Guise (mother of Mary Queen of Scots, and mother-in-law to Francis II, Henry Lord Darnley, and James Lord Bothwell)



Marie de Guise, a French noblewoman, was known in Europe for her good looks and tall stature (later inherited by her daughter Mary Queen of Scots). After the death of his third wife Jane Seymour in 1537, Henry VIII was seeking his fourth spouse. He was most impressed with what he heard of Marie, especially her height. Being 'big in person', he said, he needed a 'big wife'. Unfortunately for Henry (and some may say fortunately for Marie herself), she decided to marry his nephew King James V of Scotland instead.

Their union produced one surviving child, a daughter Mary born in 1542. Even as a baby, Mary's life did not lack for drama to say the least. She became Queen at only a few days old after the unexpected death of her father. Fearing for her daughter's safety from the aggressive Henry VIII who wanted Mary bought to England - by force if necessary - to marry his son Prince Edward, Marie had the girl sent to France when she was five years old.

Remaining in Scotland as Regent, Marie struggled to preserve her daughter's kingdom against her factious nobles, especially those divided along religious lines. As a Catholic Queen, Marie was unpopular with her Protestant subjects. After her death in 1560, her daughter Mary as the widowed Queen of France, returned to Scotland to assume power.

4) Maud Green (mother of Katharine Parr, and mother-in-law to Henry VIII and Thomas Seymour)

When Maud Green, the wife of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal, was widowed in 1517, she devoted the rest of her life to the care and advancement of her children - a son named William, and two daughters, Katharine and Anne. Unlike many of her contemporaries, Maud believed that girls should be as well educated as boys. She had once served Queen Katherine of Aragon at court, and was impressed by the thorough program of learning received by the Princess Mary. In her curriculum for her own children, Maud took particular care in the instruction of foreign languages - French, Italian, and Latin. In time, the Parr household became renowned for its teaching, so much that neighbouring well-to-do families began sending their children to Maud.



Maud's daughter Katharine would eventually leave home to wed, and in her third marriage in 1543, she found herself Queen Consort to Henry VIII; the last of his six wives. Thanks to the excellent education given to her by her late mother (Maud Green died in 1531), Katharine's circle at court was one devoted to learning, especially about religious matters leaning towards Protestantism. Katharine would even be England's first Queen to be published - a work entitled *Prayers and Meditations* in 1545.

5) Mary Queen of Scots (mother of James I, and mother-in-law to Anne of Denmark)



Sent away to France as a child, Mary Stuart spent her formative years at the court of King Henry II and his wife Catherine de' Medici. In 1558, she married their son and heir the Dauphin Francis. When the King was unexpectedly killed in a jousting accident in the year after, Francis and Mary assumed the French throne.

Mary's happy years in her adopted country ended with the untimely death of her young husband in 1560. No longer Queen of France, Mary opted to return to her native Scotland. There, her second marriage to her cousin Henry Lord Darnley ultimately proved disastrous. Though outwardly handsome and charming, Darnley, in truth, was jealous and violent. On an evening in March 1566, he took part in a plot to kill David Riccio, a musician and confidante to his wife. Despite her horror, Mary was able to turn Darnley from her enemies, and the couple made a daring escape at night on horseback. During the getaway, the pregnant Mary begged her husband to slow down. Fearing for his life, Darnley refused. If the child died, he cried out, they could have another. His callousness, it was said, only intensified Mary's hatred towards him.

The birth of Prince James shortly afterwards did nothing to reconcile the couple. In February 1567, Darnley was found dead. Gunpowder placed under his house had failed to kill him, but not the assassin who had the King strangled after the explosion. Mary's inability to clear herself especially after she wed James Hepburn Lord Bothwell - suspected by many to have been behind Darnley's murder - led to the Queen's forced abdication and imprisonment at Loch Leven Castle. Mary made two escape attempts. Firstly, she disguised herself as a laundress and boarded a boat to the mainland. However, the softness and whiteness of her hands gave her away. On her second try in May 1568, she enlisted the help of one of her jailer's servants. The boy stole his master's keys and was able to take the Queen away to safety. However, Mary's freedom was short-lived. A battle to retake her throne ended disastrously, and Mary was again on the run, this time to England. There in the hands of her cousin Elizabeth I, there would be no more escapes. For almost twenty years she was held in captivity. Only in death - on the executioner's block - would Mary find release.

Answers to the Mary Beaufort Quiz on page 19

1. May
2. Bletsoe
3. Lancaster
4. John of Gaunt
5. John de la Pole
6. Thomas Stanley
7. Richmond and Derby
8. John Fisher
9. Souvent me souviens
10. Cheyneygates
11. Westminster Abbey
12. Amanda Hale
13. St. Johns
14. Imitation of Christ
15. Jasper Tudor
16. David Starkey
17. Wiliam Claxton
18. Chastity

6) Elizabeth Woodville (mother of Elizabeth of York, and mother-in-law to Henry VII)



Though her family had supported the Lancastrian claim of Henry VI during the Wars of the Roses, Elizabeth Woodville had attracted the attentions of the new King, the Yorkist Edward IV. According to tradition, the widowed Elizabeth with her two young sons, had approached Edward seeking his protection. Not only did he grant it, the story went, he fall passionately in love with Elizabeth. The two wed in secret in 1464.

The marriage which eventually came to light was unpopular as those closest to the King, including his two brothers George Duke of Clarence and Richard Duke of Gloucester, and his mentor the Earl of Warwick, viewed the Queen and her relatives as greedy upstarts. There were further tensions when Edward fell out with Warwick over policy. The Earl, along with Clarence, rose in revolt driving the King into exile abroad in 1470. When the news reached his pregnant Queen, she flew into panic. Gathering her daughters about her, Elizabeth took refuge in Westminster Abbey. There, she gave birth to a son Prince Edward. After the restoration of the House of York to the Crown in 1471, another son named Richard was born to the King and Queen's great joy.

But Elizabeth's fortunes took a turn when Edward IV died in 1483. Elizabeth and her Woodville relations were unable to maintain control of the government when it was discovered that Richard of Gloucester had taken possession of his nephew the new young King. Terrified, the Queen and her family again took sanctuary in Westminster Abbey. Eventually, Elizabeth was made to surrender Prince Richard into Gloucester's care as well. It was a decision she would come to regret. Edward V (as her elder son was called) was deposed, and he and his brother were apparently never seen alive again. In his nephew's place, Gloucester assumed the Crown as Richard III.

In time, Richard would be slain in battle, and Elizabeth's eldest daughter, her namesake Elizabeth of York, would marry the victorious claimant to the throne, Henry Tudor. Though she was honoured as the Queen's mother, Elizabeth Woodville would later retire (forced some say by her son-in-law Henry VII) to a life of seclusion at Bermondsey Abbey. She died there in 1492.



7) Elizabeth of York (mother of Henry VIII, and mother-in-law to Katherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, Katheryn Howard, and Katharine Parr)

With Elizabeth of York's reputation as an ever good, gentle, and pious lady, speculation that she had once been in love with the much maligned Richard III - and her uncle at that - is shocking. After all, this was the man who had usurped the throne of her brother King Edward V, and declared her and her siblings as illegitimate bastards.

Although there is some thought that Richard was indeed interested in his niece after the death of his wife Queen Anne in 1485, it is generally believed that Elizabeth never reciprocated her uncle's feelings. However, the antiquarian George Buck (1560-1622) disagreed. He claimed that uncle and niece were indeed lovers. His proof was a letter written by Elizabeth to King Richard, her 'only joy and maker in this world', as she addressed him. She was most anxious that they be wed, she complained, and why can't the ailing Queen Anne die sooner?

Was the letter authentic? We will never know. It has long since vanished.

8) Margaret Beaufort (mother of Henry VII, and mother-in-law to Elizabeth of York)

A descendent of King Edward III, Margaret Beaufort was instrumental in preserving the Lancastrian claim of her son Henry Tudor to the English throne during the Wars of the Roses.

A bride at only twelve years of age, Margaret gave birth to her one and only child in 1457. Despite mother and son being soon parted to preserve the boy's safety, and the two seldom seeing each other in the years to come, they remained very close. Margaret's chief pleasure was in writing affectionate letters to her 'dearest and only desired joy in the world' or 'dear heart' as she liked to call Henry. A deeply religious woman, Margaret had always believed that she was divinely inspired her to marry his late father Edmund Tudor. Similarly, she was convinced that it was God's plan for England that their son should one day be King.



For years, Margaret encouraged Henry's ambitions for the Crown, and she was not afraid to do her part. In 1483, she entered into conspiracy with the Duke of Buckingham and the Queen Dowager Elizabeth Woodville against King Richard III. A revolt led by Buckingham was a grand failure. While the Duke lost his head, Margaret was fortunate that Richard did not deal harshly with her. She was merely ordered to be kept close by her subsequent husband Thomas Stanley.

Margaret's continuing faith in her son was justified when victory finally came for him at the Battle of Bosworth in August 1485. King Richard was slain, and the House of Tudor was established. For the remainder of her life, Margaret devoted herself to charitable, religious, and educational works. Sadly, she would find herself outliving her son. Henry VII died in April 1509. Margaret herself passed away two months later. Her consolation was to see the Crown passed on safely to her grandson Henry VIII.



9) Frances Brandon (mother of Jane, Katherine, and Mary Grey, and mother-in-law to Guilford Dudley, Edward Seymour, and Thomas Keyes)

The daughter of Mary Tudor, a sister of Henry VIII, Frances was married to the nobleman Henry Grey (later of Duke of Suffolk) in 1533. They had three girls Jane, Katherine, and Mary.

The lack of male heirs among his relations was a concern to the young King Edward VI. He was dying in the summer of 1553. With no male to succeed him, his half sister Princess Mary who still followed the old faith was next in line to the throne. However, Edward, as a committed Protestant, tampered with his father's Act of Succession as to prevent a Catholic ruler. He even denied the claim of his other stepsister Elizabeth - even though she was of the new religion - as she was considered illegitimate after the disgrace of her mother Anne Boleyn. That left Edward's cousins, descendants of his father's younger sister Mary Tudor. His Scottish relatives born of Margaret Tudor, Henry VIII's elder sister, were never considered, being 'foreigners'.

Interestingly enough, Edward passed over Frances (and her younger sister Eleanor), in favour of her teenage daughter Jane Grey. It was Edward's hope that a son of Jane and her husband Guilford Dudley would eventually succeed to the throne. Jane was indeed proclaimed Queen upon Edward's death in July 1553. However, the country gave its support to the Princess Mary instead. Jane was deposed after nine days as Queen and imprisoned in the Tower of London, the very place where she had taken up residence as Sovereign. Months later, she would even lose her life there as well when her father the Duke of Suffolk raised a failed rebellion against Queen Mary. Although Jane had nothing to do with the uprising (which was apparently only in protest against the Queen's proposed foreign marriage to Philip of Spain), she was still thought too dangerous to the new regime. She was executed along with her husband in February 1554.

Jane's two sisters would lead tragic lives too. After the death of her mother Frances in 1559, Katherine Grey served her royal cousin Elizabeth at court. There, she fell in love with Edward Seymour, the son of Edward VI's Lord Protector. The two wed covertly in 1560, but it was eventually discovered when Katherine found herself pregnant. Seeing the marriage as a threat to the security of her throne, the still unwed Elizabeth - who never really liked her cousin to begin with - had Katherine and her spouse thrown in the Tower of London. As Katherine and Edward had no witnesses to back up their marriage and no documents to prove it, Elizabeth was able to have it annulled. Shortly afterwards, to her continued annoyance, another son was born to the Seymours, thanks to a sympathetic jailer who allowed them conjugal visits. The couple were then forced to live apart. Lonely and later ill with consumption, Katherine eventually died in 1568.

With Katherine Grey's death, her claim to the throne passed to her sister Mary. But she too had ill advisedly fallen in love. In 1565, she secretly married Thomas Keyes, the Queen's sergeant porter. The marriage was regarded with contempt. It was thought that Mary had made a match well beneath her station. And there was much ridicule. Mary was a tiny woman, and Keyes, a giant of a man, was almost seven feet tall. Like her sister Katherine, Mary was forcibly parted from her husband, and made to live under house arrest. She passed away in 1578, the last of the three tragic Grey sisters.

10) Margaret Douglas (mother of Henry Lord Darnley, and mother-in-law to Mary Queen of Scots and Elizabeth Cavendish)

Margaret Douglass was the daughter of Margaret Queen of Scotland, the elder sister of Henry VIII, and thus a potential heiress to the throne of England.

At the English court, Margaret was romantically attached to Queen Anne Boleyn's uncle Lord Thomas Howard, enough to be secretly engaged to him. When their affair was discovered in July 1536, Henry VIII reacted with fury. With still no legitimate heir - his natural son Henry Fitzroy had just died, and his two daughters Mary and Elizabeth were considered bastards - Margaret as a possible successor was accused of making a treasonous match behind the King's back. She and her lover were both sent to the Tower of London. The situation was so grave that Lord Thomas was put under sentence of death. He died the year after, not by execution, but by illness.



Margaret was eventually back in her uncle's good graces, but she had the misfortune of falling in love again, and with another of the Howard clan, this time a brother of Queen Katheryn Howard. Again, Henry VIII was alarmed, and he placed his wayward niece in detention at Syon Abbey. In time, Margaret was pardoned, as was her lover Charles Howard who wisely left court.

In later life, even as a respectably married woman wed to the Scottish nobleman Matthew Stuart Earl of Lennox, Margaret would still find herself in prison. In 1566, she was again in the Tower for encouraging the marriage of her son Henry Lord Darnley to Mary Queen of Scots, a match disapproved of by Queen Elizabeth. Margaret was eventually forgiven by a sympathetic Elizabeth when Darnley was mysteriously murdered the year after. However, the Queen did not stay merciful. In 1574, Margaret was back in the Tower for a spell for arranging a secret match between her younger son Charles Stuart and Elizabeth Cavendish, the stepdaughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury. When Margaret later died in 1578, Elizabeth, forgetting their past differences, honoured her relative with a lavish funeral in Westminster Abbey.

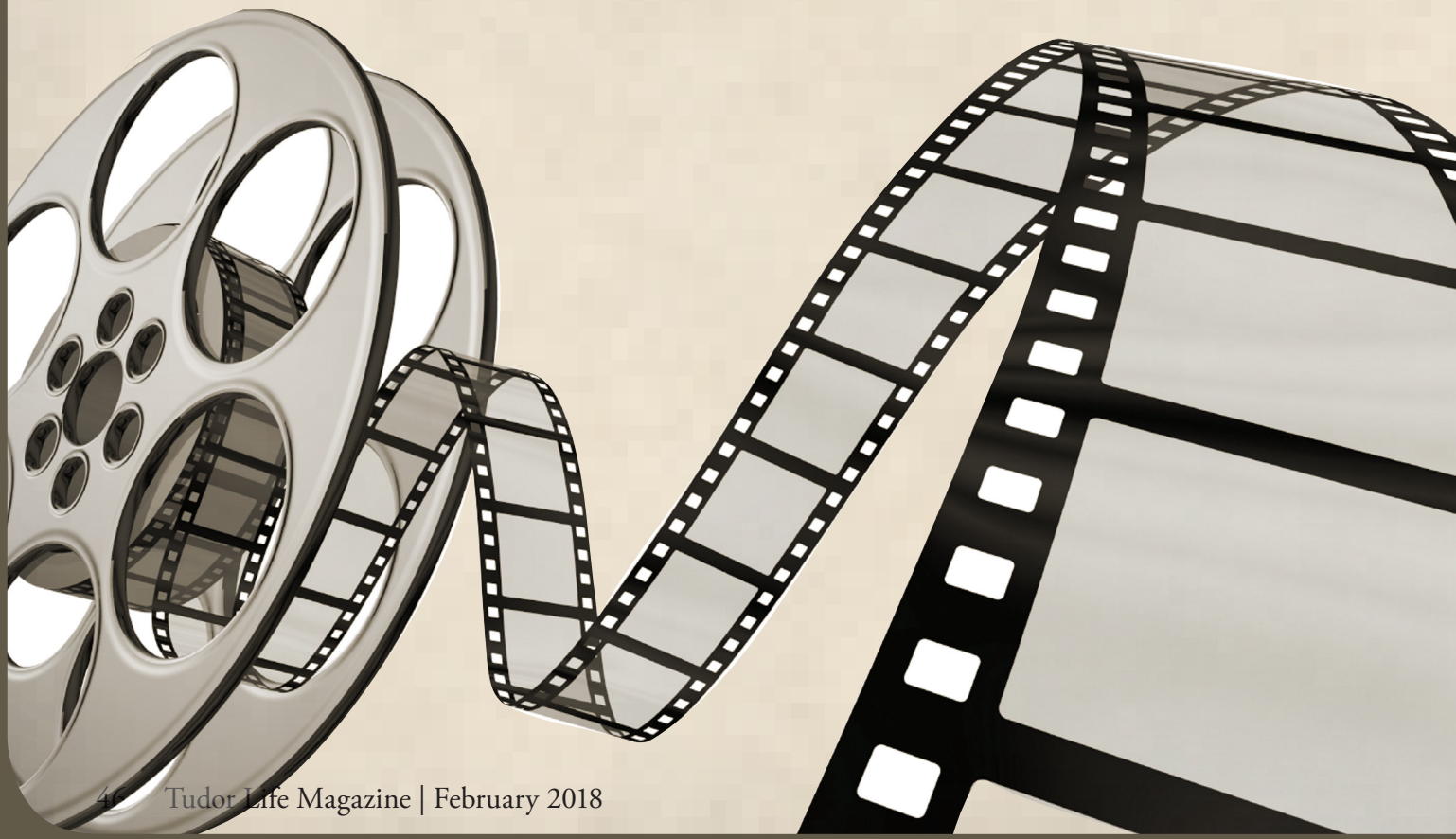
ROLAND HUI



HOW TO DRESS THE MOTHERS OF A DYNASTY

Costuming Margaret Beaufort and Elizabeth Woodville in 'The White Queen'

By Emma Elizabeth Taylor



When it comes to the Tudor period, it can be easy to address only who we see as the main players in the life of Tudor history's biggest monarch, King Henry VIII. However, it is important to remember, both as historians and history fans alike, that the Tudor dynasty was made possible by those men and women who came before it. Two of England's most formidable mothers and mother-in-laws were key in establishing the Tudor dynasty – Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, and Elizabeth Woodville, Queen consort of England. These two women gave birth to the future King Henry VII and Elizabeth of York respectively, whose marriage signalled the end of the Wars of the Roses, a bitter series of civil wars for the English Crown, fought between 1455 and 1485. These two women, and their lives, have had a phenomenal cultural impact; after all, the world's most famous television show, *Game of Thrones,* cites the Wars of the Roses as one of its main inspirations, and it's impossible to ignore the similarities between the fictional houses of Lannister and Stark and the real houses of Lancaster and York.

The countless stories of the Wars of the Roses have been explored in various media, with plays, books, television shows and films all focusing on the Wars which undoubtedly shaped the future of England and Great Britain. However, in relation to Margaret and Elizabeth, I will be looking at the 2013 television series *The White Queen.* While this series has been criticised for some chronological reshuffling and anachronistic costuming, it is, without a doubt, one of the most interesting explorations of Margaret and Elizabeth's characters in modern times, and a well received series, nominated for three Golden Globes and four Emmy Awards.

Costuming medieval dramas can be very difficult; simply put, it is difficult to recreate the medieval times in a way that is both realistic and creatively satisfying. Costume design relies on being able to tell a story through clothing, and when the design style and cloth supply is limited due to historical accuracy, it can be difficult to full realise the character in a way that audiences can read and enjoy. So, *The White Queen* can be forgiven for some historical inaccuracies, as what it lacks inaccuracy, it makes up for in character creation and development.

I will begin by looking at the titular character of *The White Queen,* Elizabeth Woodville. A beautiful widower who catches the eye of the King, Elizabeth is thrust into a position and a role that many at court feel she is unfit for. Played brilliantly by Rebecca Ferguson, Elizabeth is a smart, capable woman, who cares deeply for her children and her husband. Ferguson has an almost ethereal beauty, with long, flowing golden hair, pale blue eyes and pale porcelain skin. Elizabeth's contemporaries spoke highly of her beauty, and Ferguson looks not too dissimilar to the surviving portraits of Elizabeth. The choice of colour palette is an interesting one; Elizabeth is rarely in dark or bright colours at all. In keeping with the Yorkist heraldry of the white rose, Elizabeth wears a lot of whites and creams, as well as soft blues and pastel pinks. It is not an ostentatious colour palette; it's soft, floral and feminine. Even the ermine fur used to trim some of her dresses is in soft whites and greys, and her jewellery remains understated and modest, despite her meteoric rise through society to become Queen. Another interesting note regarding Elizabeth's costuming is the cut of her dresses; often, the waistline of her dress sits just underneath her bust, in an empire line. This emphasises her femininity, not by emphasising her womanly shape, but by accommodating a



pregnant belly; this is important for Elizabeth, who spends much of the series pregnant. This shape is evocative of maternal feminity, rather than a sexualised femininity; emphasis is placed on Elizabeth's role as mother rather than her role as wife.

However, that is not to say that the character is created devoid of sexuality. Elizabeth's gowns, especially at the beginning of the series, have low, scooped necklines, with bare shoulders and moderate amounts of cleavage. She also frequently wears her hair unbound in loose waves; in cinema, loosened, flowing hair is frequently indicative of the person's vitality and sensuality. Elizabeth's daughters are also important in terms of costume; they are all very alike; loose, flowing blonde hair, wearing pastel dresses. This is, again, symbolic of Elizabeth's fertility and feminity. She is surrounded by her children, all miniature versions of herself; a fertile, feminine household.

In direct contrast to this, however, we have Margaret Beaufort, played by Amanda Hale. Physically, the two women couldn't be more different; Hale's dark hair, slim frame and striking features are directly opposite to Ferguson's Elizabeth. Hale is mesmerising in the role of Margaret, playing her with an almost terrifying energy and passion; this Margaret is a determined, sometimes harsh woman, whose piety and utter faith in her family carry her through any trail she might face. There is no flowing, loose hair here; Margaret always has her hair tied back in a long plait or a ponytail, pulled back from her face in a severe manner. It is controlled, neat, and restrained; a microcosm of Margaret's character. She wears no jewellery or adornments at all – and we very rarely see her in any patterned fabric. Margaret's dresses are plain and unadorned, usually cut in an empire line. Hale is slim and lean, and the straight lines of the gowns do not display any curves or bust. Her gowns are also usually high-necked and long sleeves; rarely is there any display of flesh other than her face or hands. Margaret's colour palette is also directly oppositional to Elizabeth's, favouring strong, dark colours, usually black or midnight blue. The only bright colour Margaret ever wears is a deep, rich red, evocative of the red rose of Lancaster, and obviously very symbolic within the story. This high-necked, empire line gown is also evocative of a cassock, a robe worn by the clergy. This is a nod to Margaret's



piety; a recurring theme in the series. In one scene, Margaret prostrates herself in front of the altar in this red dress, offering the audience a direct visual tie between Margaret's life and her faith; they are inextricably bound together, with her faith giving her reason to carry on through even the toughest of trials.

Setting up these two women on different sides of the conflict by using these visual clues is effective in a way that the audience notices subconsciously rather than making the cues too obvious. This is where real excellence in design happens; when designs evoke a feeling and a comparison in the audience without patronising them, they have been successful; and *The White Queen* certainly does this. In *The White Queen,* costume design is used very effectively to place these two women as mirror images of each other; the dark and the light, the red and the white. While this is a common technique in cinema, it is interesting to see this applied to two mothers; and to explore what this means when representing a mother onscreen. Neither woman is a villain; we, as an audience, root for both Margaret and Elizabeth, which makes the narrative all the more frustrating when the families continue to fight. We want them both to win the thrones, and the eventual harmony that is achieved through marriage is a deeply satisfying narrative conclusion. While these women are complete opposites, this union in the next generation goes on to create one of the most famous dynasties in European history, and ensures that both families names and bloodlines live on into infamy.

The White Queen, anachronistic and chronological issues aside, is a genuinely excellent series, and explores what is, without a doubt, one of the most volatile and interesting periods in English history. It is also excellent to see a series that focuses on the women of the time; when war is involved, it is often from the perspective of those fighting, which, at the time was exclusively male. In *The White Queen*, we experience this story from a female perspective, headed by a female author and female writing team. While the fighting that these women do isn't on the battlefield, it is by no means less important, and serves as a great reminder of what these two mothers of the Tudor dynasty achieved all those many years ago.

Above left: Rebecca Ferguson as a beautiful and maligned Elizabeth Woodville (BBC)

Above right: Amanda Pale playing a ferociously driven Margaret Beaufort (BBC)

EMMA ELIZABETH TAYLOR



THE MOTHERS OF THE TUDOR DYNASTY

by Debra Bayani

The relationship between Elizabeth Woodville and Margaret Beaufort is one that has been debated many times over the years. Most historians tend to put Margaret into the position of the domineering mother-in-law at court, overshadowing her daughter-in-law Elizabeth of York and being a rival of Elizabeth's mother, the dowager queen Elizabeth Woodville. But the truth is that there is not much evidence at all to support this view.

Elizabeth Woodville was the wife of Edward IV (d. 1483) and mother to their many children, including Elizabeth of York, Henry's queen consort. Elizabeth of York was born in 1466 and was the eldest child of the Yorkist king, Edward IV, sister of the "Princes in the Tower" Edward V and Richard of Shrewsbury, and niece of Richard III. The probable murder of her brothers in 1483 made Elizabeth, in many people's view, the rightful queen of England.

Henry Tudor claimed to be the rightful heir to the House of Lancaster and he defeated Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth in August 1485. Henry kept the promise he had made in 1483 and married Elizabeth, uniting the houses of York and Lancaster and creating the Tudor Dynasty. Margaret Beaufort had married the Yorkist Lord Thomas Stanley as her 4th husband in 1472 and due to this came into abundant favour with King Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville. She joined the queen for the reburial of Edward's father, the Duke of York, at Fotheringhay and for the christening of the king and queen's youngest child, Bridget, in 1482, she was given the honour of holding the baby. Margaret's son had been in exile from 1471, and Margaret eventually persuaded Edward IV to allow Henry to return to England. A draft of pardon was drawn up, and there were discussions regarding Henry marrying the king's eldest daughter, Elizabeth. But in 1483, before everything could be finalised, Edward IV suddenly died. The late king's heir mysteriously disappeared and Edward IV's brother, Richard, had the king's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville declared invalid, making all of their children illegitimate. Richard had himself proclaimed king soon after. Margaret however, was able to receive the trust of the new king and his queen consort, Anne Neville. She played a role in their joint coronation and received a grant for her coronation clothes and carried the queen's train at the event. However, Margaret carried on with her plans to bring her son back home. In secret, she pleaded with others to help her, including the dowager queen, Elizabeth Woodville, and so marriage



plans carried on for Henry and Elizabeth. It is suggested that Elizabeth Woodville supported Margaret's plan to overthrow Richard with her son from the start. Margaret put her trust in her Welsh physician and sent him to Elizabeth's sanctuary at Westminster Abbey. It was then that a mutual understanding was reached, by which the Woodville kinship would support Henry's claim to the throne if he would marry Elizabeth's eldest daughter, Elizabeth of York. If Elizabeth died, he would marry Elizabeth's second daughter, Cecily. Elizabeth also brought in her eldest son from her first marriage, Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, to the plan and he later joined Henry in exile, along with his three Woodville uncles. These supporters joined Henry on Christmas Day 1483 at Rennes Cathedral where they repeated their allegiance to Henry, and Henry, in turn, swore that once he had become king, he would marry Elizabeth. His supporters then swore homage to him *'as though he had been created king'*.

When Henry first came to the throne as King Henry VII, he had the Woodvilles involved in his government and some of them were strong supporters of him. Elizabeth Woodville's brothers Edward, Richard and Lionel, and many loyal supporters of her late husband had joined Henry in exile, and the first of her brothers was one of the commanders for Henry at the Battle of



Stoke in 1487. The christening of Henry and Elizabeth's firstborn, Prince Arthur, honoured the Woodville and Yorkists families and their close link to the Tudors. Elizabeth Woodville was given the honour of being named Prince Arthur's godmother, while Margaret's husband, Lord Stanley, was named the boy's godfather. Margaret herself had many links with the Woodville family during both the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III. Margaret's brother-in-law, Jasper Tudor, with whom she always had a close friendship, married Elizabeth Woodville's youngest sister, Katherine. Margaret also had a close friendship with Elizabeth Woodville's second daughter, Cecily. Cecily had been brought into Margaret's household soon after Henry's victory at Bosworth, and the two became fond of each other and not long after Cecily and Margaret became sisters-in-law through Cecily's marriage to Margaret's half-brother John Welles. In 1499 Cecily became a childless widow, and Margaret ensured that Cecily retained a large portion of her possessions. Margaret even reserved a room for Cecily at her home. Later, when Cecily secretly re-married Thomas Kyme, a man below her status, Margaret tried to protect her from the king's anger. She remained in contact with her over the years, and when Cecily died in 1507, Margaret covered part of Cecily's funeral expenses. Elizabeth Woodville's brother-in-law, George Grey (who had married her sister Anne), fought for Henry as well and held some offices.

From the early years of Henry's reign, the king tried his best to keep both his mother and his mother-in-law content in their roles. Henry had restored Elizabeth to her titles and possessions and had the validity of her marriage to Edward IV restored. She was also given an income to allow her a comfortable retirement. Both mothers were with the queen during at the birth of Prince Arthur in 1486.

Margaret's reputation for being a demanding and intimidating mother-in-law, outshining her daughter-in-law, may be partly true. There is no doubt that Margaret had a prominent role at court, but it is more likely that Queen Elizabeth became known as the

most passive one of the two because she did not pursue the limelight as much as some of her contemporaries, or like King Henry VI's queen, Margaret of Anjou, had done. This was because there was no reason for Elizabeth to take up the role as "she wolf", for her husband was, unlike Margaret of Anjou's husband, well capable of governing the realm. Kings were not expected to share government issues with their queens but Elizabeth did often use her influence, although it was mostly on matters concerning her children, estates, and household and she was not politically active. Elizabeth performed her queenly role as was required of her and there is nothing that proves she was restricted in this by Margaret.

The reason for Elizabeth Woodville's retirement to Bermondsey Abbey in 1487 is much debated. According to Polydore Vergil, it was a punishment for Elizabeth's conciliation with Richard III in 1484, which seems very unlikely because it would be a rather late reaction on Henry's side. Several other historians later argued that she was forced to Bermondsey for her supposed involvement in Lambert Simnel's rebellion in 1487. Others disregarded these stories as Elizabeth had been planning to move away from court as early as 1486. It is true that Elizabeth was deprived of her dower lands (they transferred to her daughter) but it should not be forgotten that, as Michael Hick's states, *'no late medieval English King permitted dower to two queens simultaneously'*. Instead, she was given an annuity of 400 marks. Henry VII gave her grants from time to time, and she occasionally appeared at court. Elizabeth was even considered as a possible bride to the Scottish king, James III, an unlikely thing to do if Henry really believed that his mother-in-law had been plotting against him. It seems more likely that Elizabeth freely chose to spend her retirement at Bermondsey, as had her predecessor, the dowager queen, Katherine de Valois (queen of King Henry V).

DEBRA BAYANI



ALL ABOUT OWEN TUDOR

by Susan Abernethy

Owen Tudor was born c. 1400, the son of Maredudd ap Tudur ap Goronwy and Margaret, daughter of Dafydd Fychan. His family were not mere peasants. Through his father, Owen was a descendant of Ednyfed Fychan who was a major landowner in the area of Penmynydd in Anglesey. Fychan had been a prominent servant of the princes of Gwyndedd. His position at the court of Gwyndedd would be the equivalent of say the Duke of Norfolk during the time of King Henry VIII.

Through marriage, Owen was a cousin of the legendary Owain Glyn Dŵr, the Welsh prince who rebelled against the kings of England. The Tudors were a part of an innovative movement by the princes of Wales to unify the country into its own principality. Owen's family played a key role in the Welsh unification movement and fought on Glyn Dŵr's side. After the rebellion was suppressed, many Welshmen came into the service of the English kings, including Owen's relatives. Most likely this is how he made his way to the English court and met the Dowager Queen Catherine of Valois, widow of King Henry V.

When Henry V died in 1422, Catherine, who was not allowed any political role in the government, acted as caretaker for the infant King Henry VI and remained in his household until 1430. Catherine apparently began a liaison with Edmund Beaufort, Count of Mortain and future Duke of Somerset. This relationship caused anxiety for Henry VI's council and his guardian and uncle Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. If Catherine married into the nobility of England and had children, those children would pose a threat to the status quo.

Many historians mention there was a Parliamentary statute passed in retaliation, forbidding a dowager queen to marry without royal consent and initiating forfeiture of lands on the part of the couple. S.B. Chrimes says in his biography of King Henry VII there was no such statute passed by Parliament. If there ever was, it has disappeared from the parliamentary record. Whether or not this statute existed, Catherine didn't marry Beaufort.

How the relationship between Catherine and Owen came about is not mentioned in the chronicles. Sometime between 1428 and 1432, the couple formed an attachment. One report says Catherine watched Owen dance and he fell in her lap. Another account says Catherine saw Owen swimming without his shirt. While these are romantic and pleasing stories, they are only speculation. Some historians say Owen worked in Catherine's household but the evidence does not exist to verify this. There is also speculation Owen served in France during the Hundred Years War but it appears he has been confused with another soldier in the historical record.

When and where Owen and Catherine married is unknown. S.B. Chrimes says they were canonically married by a priest but no date is given and there is no tangible documentation of the marriage. Contemporary evidence strongly suggests the marriage was valid and their children were recognized as legitimate. Chrimes says there was no Parliamentary statute forbidding the marriage although a statute did exist on the record barring marriage between a person from Wales and a person from England. But Catherine was not from England so this didn't apply in their case.

Many historians say the marriage of Owen and Catherine was a secret. The truth is, it wasn't a secret but it wasn't widely known. This is probably due to the disparity of their social status. While the marriage of a woman of higher status with a man of lower social rank did happen quite frequently during this time, it was frowned upon. There is a sixteenth-century chronicle stating Catherine presented Owen's pedigree to Parliament in 1431. At that time, he called himself Owen ap Meredith or Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor. Their relationship was acknowledged in 1432 and Owen was given the status and rights of an Englishman.

In 1434, Catherine granted Owen favours from some of her lands in Flintshire. Judging from the variety of birthplaces for their children, the couple must have travelled between different residences rather than settling down in one home. Edmund was born c. 1430 at Much Hadham Place in Hertfordshire where Catherine owned some estates. Jasper was born c. 1431 at the Bishop of Ely's manor at Hatfield. Catherine may have given birth to a son who was born in Westminster Abbey and stayed there to become a monk but this is disputed. A daughter is mentioned by the Tudor historian Polydore Vergil but little is known of her. She may have died young or became a nun.

In 1436, Catherine was very ill and retired to Bermondsey Abbey to receive medical attention. She died on January 3, 1437. Owen or their children are not mentioned in her will. Edmund and Jasper were sent to the Abbess of Barking to be brought up and educated. Once Catherine had retired to Bermondsey, Owen's tribulations with the king's Regency council began.

The Duke of Gloucester called Owen to appear before the council but Owen was reasonably suspicious and requested a safe conduct. He received the safe conduct but his better judgement compelled him to seek sanctuary in Westminster Abbey where he remained for some time. He finally appeared before the council to defend himself and maintained his innocence against any alleged charges against him. He was cleared and allowed to return to Wales. Despite this clearance to travel, he was captured by Lord Beaumont and was given in to the charge of the Earl of Suffolk at Wallingford.

Owen received a pardon for all offences in November. He became a member of the king's household and Henry settled an annuity of £40 on Owen. From this point on, Owen served the king in various capacities. In 1452, his sons Edmund and Jasper had been elevated to peerages and recognized as the king's uterine brothers. When Edmund was sent to South Wales in 1455 as the king's representative, Owen may have accompanied him. Edmund died in November of that year and Owen joined his other son Jasper. In late 1459, the king raised his annuity to £100 and he was granted the office of Keeper of the King's Parks in sections of Denbighshire which came with the customary wages, fees and profits. Owen was now truly a squire and began to be known as Owen Tudor. That same year Owen had a son born at Pembroke Castle by an unknown mistress.

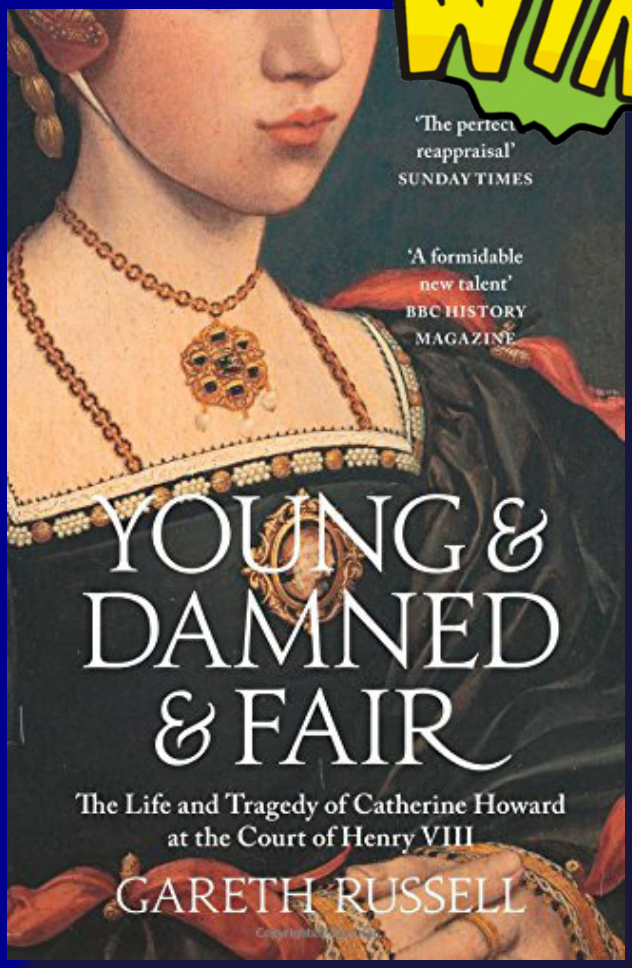
It is unclear if Owen was being charged with the crime of marrying the dowager queen without the king's permission, if it was related to another litigious matter, if he committed some unnamed crime or if Gloucester was just interested in punishing him. All of his goods, which were worth just over £137 were seized and he was imprisoned in Newgate. In early 1438, he managed to escape with the help of his priest and a servant. He was recaptured and returned to Newgate and then transferred to Windsor Castle in July and put under the guardianship of Edmund Beaufort. He was held for a year and was released on a £2000 recognizance. There are several stories of Owen making miraculous escapes. But in truth, there was only one successful escape from Newgate.

Owen and Jasper became loyal supporters of the House of Lancaster during the conflict later known as the Wars of the Roses. Jasper and the Earl of Wiltshire raised an army in Wales in January 1461 to fight the Yorkists on behalf of King Henry VI. Owen joined the army which engaged the Yorkist troops of Edward, Earl of March in battle at Mortimer's Cross on February 2, 1461. It was a victory for the Yorkists. Jasper and Wiltshire escaped but Owen was chased by the victors and captured at Hereford. The Earl of March ordered Owen be beheaded. He believed he would be spared and placed in prison but shortly before his execution, it dawned on him that he was going to die. He supposedly murmured 'that head shall lie on the stock that was wont to lie on Queen Catherine's lap'.

His head was placed either on the market cross or on the highest step. A chronicler witnessed a mad woman comb his hair and wash the blood off his face. She then lit one hundred candles around the cross. He was buried in the chapel on the north side of Greyfriars Church, Hereford. Owen's life was celebrated by several Welsh poets who wrote eulogies in his honour.

Owen's grandson, Henry Tudor, son of Edmund and Margaret Beaufort, would defeat the Plantagenet King Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth in August of 1485 and become the first Tudor king of England.

Further reading: "Henry VII" by S.B. Chrimes, "The Making of the Tudor Dynasty" by Ralph A. Griffiths and Roger S. Thomas, "The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century" edited by James Gairdner, entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography on Owen Tudor written by R.A. Griffiths, entry in the 1899 Oxford Dictionary of National Biography on Owen Tudor written by W.A.J.A.



WIN!

WIN A COPY!

Simply send an email to

info@tudorsociety.com

with the title

"Gareth Russell Compeition"

and let us know who your favourite Tudor monarch is, and why (Max 200 words).

Judging* will take place on March 1st 2018

One lucky winner will get a copy of this book sent to them!

*(the judges decision will be final)

THE LOOKS AND PERSONALITY OF HENRY, LORD DARNLEY

by Robert Stedall

It is generally assumed that Henry, Lord Darnley was extremely good looking, captivating Mary Queen of Scots as soon as she set eyes upon him. He was the son of handsome parents, Matthew Stuart 4th Earl of Lennox, who was closely connected to the Scottish Crown and Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of Princess Margaret Tudor, Henry VIII's elder sister. Theirs was an arranged marriage linking together the Scottish and English Royal families, but it was a true love match. Darnley stood 6 ft. 2 ins. with a slim physique (compared to Mary, who was 5ft. 11ins), and was pandered by doting parents. He excelled at sports and music, being strong and athletic with a passion for hunting and hawking, and was trained in all the Royal sports, such as swordplay, shooting, running at the ring (a game for practicing jousting), tennis, golf and pell mell (croquet). He undoubtedly had elegant legs, but facially was somewhat effeminate. He became an expert lutenist, having inherited the lutes of Edward VI, and was a fine singer and dancer.

In 1928 the shape of his skull, found at Holyrood, received minute inspection from Karl Pearson, a distinguished biostatistician, and he compared it to all Darnley's known portraits. Pearson was able to demonstrate that many of them were designed only to flatter, as he had a somewhat backswept forehead and a broad bridge to his nose which gave him a somewhat 'ape-like' appearance. This is borne out by a portrait of him now at Hardwick Hall, which is depicted on the front cover of my book. Pearson concluded:

We must not offhand condemn any man for the shape of his skull, but if ever there was a skull which the man in the street would describe as that of a moron or fool, it must certainly be Darnley's and his every action confirms such judgement. (Pearson, *Biometrika* Vol. XX pt1 (July 1928) p. 52)

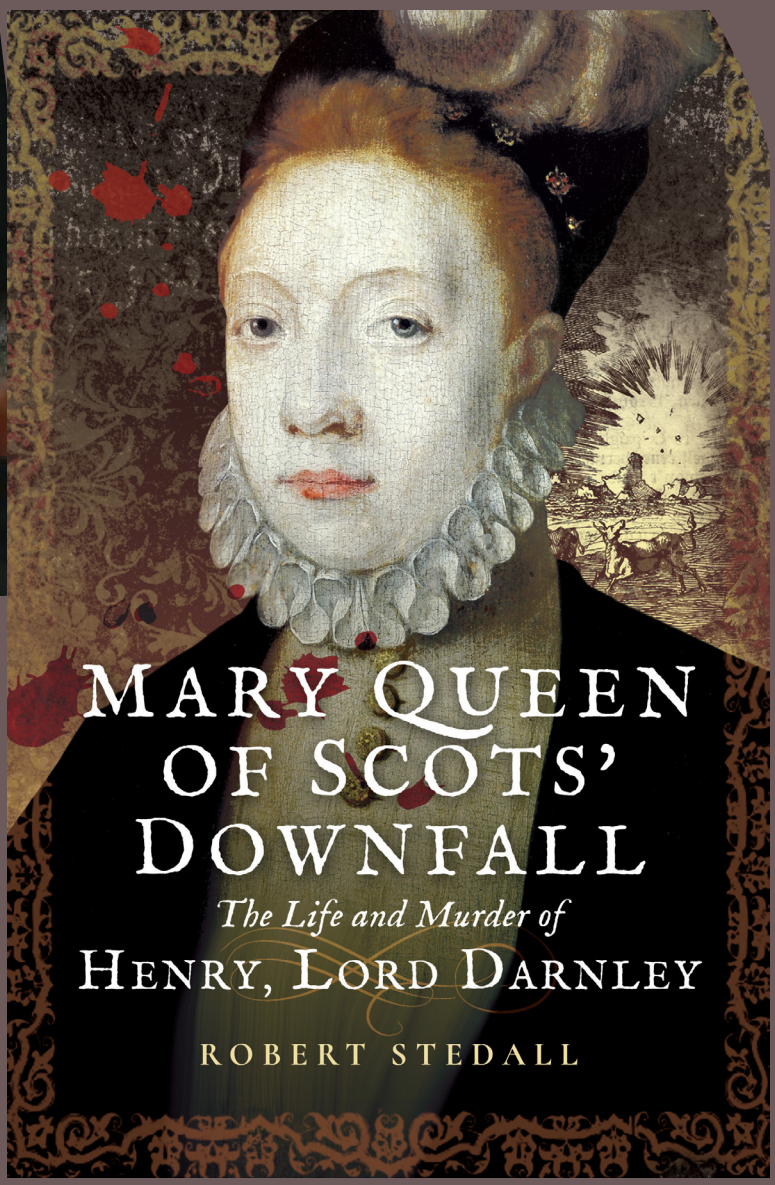
His personality failed to live up to his looks. He was insufferably spoilt, and, despite a careful education, he lacked commonsense. He was unable to hold his tongue, was arrogant, idle and, when thwarted, could be petulant and uncouth with a violent temper. He was selfish and vain, spending substantial sums on food and clothing. He was often drunk and promiscuous, being openly homosexual, resulting in him contracting syphilis. He was described as 'mentally and morally weak, and his imbecility was conjoined with reckless courage … and fatal obstinacy'.

It has been suggested that Mary fell in love with 'a fantasy of a man'. She very soon realised his shortcomings.

ROBERT STEDALL

AUTHOR PROFILE





Robert Stedall was educated at Marlborough College and McGill University, Montreal. He is a retired Chartered Accountant having fulfilled most of his career in the City of London. He was Master of the Ironmongers' Company in 1989. He lives near Petworth in West Sussex.

Having written a family record Hunting from Hampstead (Book Guild – 2002), he embarked on a two volume history of Mary Queen of Scots and her son James VI while in Scotland, The Challenge to the Crown (Book Guild 2012) and The Survival of the Crown (Book Guild 2014). These have been well received and are coupled with an acknowledged website www.maryqueenofscots.net which has a strong following. With access to the all the voluminous records of the London Livery Companies, Stedall has been well placed to write Men of Substance – The London Livery Companies' reluctant part in the Plantation of Ulster (Austin Macauley 2016). This is a copiously illustrated record of the Companies' part in the plantation of Londonderry from 1609 to about 1900, a story that is not well known. Henry Lord Darnley The Life and Murder of a Queen's Consort, was published by Pen and Sword in November 2017.

Charlie Bloud Books



THE RAVEN'S WIDOW
by Adrienne Dillard

Jane Parker, wife of George Boleyn, has been vilified for many years. She has been accused of being jealous of her husband and sister-in-law and plotting their downfall. Despite a biography in which these accusations were disproved, this image of Jane has prevailed. Adrienne Dillard aimed to set the record straight and has triumphed in that regard with her book *The Raven's Widow*. Her book tells Jane's story and shows her in a sympathetic light for the first time.

One interesting event in the book is when Jane witnesses the birth of Catherine Carey, linking her to *Cor Rotto*, Dillard's previous book from the point of view of Catherine. She is the daughter of Mary Boleyn and the paternity is uncertain in the book, although there are hints that she is Henry VIII's due to the red hair. Mary's second child, Henry, isn't the king's though. Those who have read *Cor Rotto* will see many connections between the two books and I think it is an interesting thing to add:

'William Carey arrived later in the morning to pay a visit to his wife. When he lifted the infant from Mary's lap, the bonnet slipped off, exposing the shock of russet hair. He tenderly smoothed it down with his thumb, then brushed his lips against the silken skin of her forehead. "My mother once told me that red hair runs in my family," he told us with a smile. I knew then that it matter not whose blood pumped through Catherine's veins, William Carey would always claim it was his own.'

Dillard's depiction of Jane's suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder is masterful, especially as we know she went mad in the Tower later on. Some suggest Jane was faking it, however, the author goes with her madness being real. This makes more sense, she had been through a terrible ordeal with losing her husband, her new family and having to carry on as normal at court. Anyone would struggle in that situation and I think it is unrealistic to suggest otherwise. Either way, in a tragic twist of fate, Henry VIII changed the law to have her executed anyway.

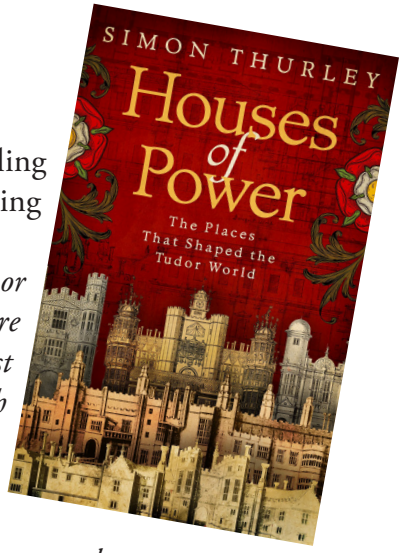
The author has Jane having miscarriages, which explains why she had no children with George. Many have used this to justify their theories that the marriage was unhappy, despite the fact that many couples have fertility problems both back then and now. She even has George reassure her and tell her *"you will make yourself bitter with grief if you continue to believe that your only value to me is as a brood mare"*.

The book is told through flashbacks, something I was uncertain about at first but it grew on me as the book went on. It worked with Jane's madness and makes the reader believe in her struggle, constantly going between the present day in the Tower of London and her time with her husband and sister-in-law. Strangely, Dillard decides not to cover Jane's involvement in Katherine Howard's alleged affair with Culpepper in the flashbacks, instead alluding to it several times when she is in the Tower. This is a unique approach, although I am still intrigued as to how Dillard would have shown Jane's actions.

The Raven's Widow is a great read and one that finally sets the record straight in regards to Jane Boleyn. I am glad there is finally a positive portrayal of Jane to combat all the negative stereotypes. It is entertaining and yet accurate, which seems to be rare nowadays. I would suggest this book to anyone who likes historical fiction or wants to know more about Anne Boleyn's infamous sister-in-law.

HOUSES OF POWER

by Simon Thurley



Throughout England, there are many Tudor buildings still standing, despite several having been destroyed. However, as the average tourist wanders around these places, it is difficult to imagine how they actually functioned. Simon Thurley remedies this with his latest book, *Houses of Power: The Places that Shaped the Tudor World*. He explores over 50 Tudor buildings in great detail, telling the reader things such as why they were built, how they functioned, who slept where, among many other things.

The author looks at the buildings through the reigns of the Tudor monarchs, taking the reader through the development of the different places chronologically and showing how their functions changed with the personality of the monarch. Thurley starts by looking at how things changed with the reign of Henry VII, but also what aspects of medieval households and systems he kept. He includes a lot of information about how households were run, so readers don't need any previous knowledge, except maybe a little of the actual reigns of the kings and queens:

'Keeping such a household was expensive and the monarch was expected to settle on his queen the resources to uphold her magnificence and dignity. Traditionally the queen was assigned an annual income of just under £6,700 a year; this would be drawn from land given her for life (her jointure lands) and specific income streams, such as customs revenues'



Thurley writes well and explains detailed things in a clear manner, which can be rare with academic books. He tells the reader how the kitchens in Hampton Court Palace were designed in a specific way, telling them where everything went and why:

'In the first, or western, court were stored the least perishable items, such as spices, charcoal, candles and linen. In the eastern court were the confectory, where sweetmeats were made, and the pastry, responsible for shaping the pastry coffins that encased Tudor pies... In the main kitchens, round a narrow court close to the great kitchen, were the larders. From these larders ready-butchered meat, poultry, fresh fish or rehydrated dried fish could be brought straight into the great kitchen'

The author includes many interesting facts about the buildings, with a particularly interesting part on heraldic images and tapestries and their significance. He tells us how Henry used these to his advantage, citing the specific example of his purchase of a tapestry of King David in 1520s. Henry would have seen King David as God's anointed king but without a son (his first wife was cursed) and he would have emphasised with him.

One of my favourite things about this book is that it includes so many pictures, floor plans and maps. It is really useful, especially for the places that aren't around anymore, such as the Palace of Richmond, built by Henry VII in 1501.

I would recommend this book to anyone interested in the buildings of the Tudor monarchs and how they functioned, this is one of the best books I have read on the subject. The vast amount of floor plans and maps makes it a valuable resource in itself, without the knowledge Thurley brings to the table. His knowledge and experience, having previously worked for both English Heritage and Historic Royal Palaces, is evident throughout the book. It is full of facts and figures, yet is still easy to read and an enjoyable one at that.

CHARLIE FENTON



Witchcraft

In my new novel *The Colour of Murder,* published by MadeGlobal on 1st February 2018, Elizabeth Woodville, wife and queen to Edward IV [r.1461-83] dabbles in the Black Arts. There were rumours at the time that she had bewitched the king into marrying her in 1464 but she denied it and no action was ever taken to either prove or disprove the story. However, at the time, witchcraft was believed to be a fact by a good many well-educated people and was a crime punishable by death. One of the earliest cases of witchcraft I've discovered in the records dates to 1324, in Ireland.

Petronilla de Meath was born *c.*1300, in Meath, in Ireland. She served as a maid to Lady Alice Kyteler, in Kilkenny. In 1324, Lady Alice, along with her son and ten others, was accused of witchcraft. Lady Alice was charged with a list of crimes, from sorcery and demonism to the murders of several husbands – other women's as well as her own – and was believed to have acquired her wealth through magical and devilish means. It was said that an incubus visited her, in the form of a large black cat [Walker-Meikle, K., *The Medieval Pet*, p.13].

To extract her confession, the Bishop of Ossory ordered the torture of Lady Alice's maid and confidante, Petronilla. The maid claimed that she and her mistress applied a magical ointment to a wooden beam which enabled them to fly. She was then forced to proclaim publicly that Lady Alice and her followers were guilty of witchcraft. With the help of relatives, Lady Alice managed to flee to England but her followers, including Petronilla, remained behind. Some were convicted and whipped but others, Petronilla included, were burned alive at the stake – the first Irish woman to suffer this punishment for heresy (the crime of defying Church doctrine).

By the fourteenth century, when more people were able to read, 'magic spells' were sometimes included in recipe books. This recipe from 1324 would definitely upset your neighbour: take ground rose petals and mustard seed, mix them with the fat of a green woodpecker and smear it on your neighbour's apple tree to ensure the tree will never give him any fruit ever again.

In Tudor times, the county of Essex, north-east of London, seems to have been a nest of witches. The Witchcraft Act was passed by Queen Elizabeth I's Parliament in 1563. As a result, between 1564 and 1602, 172 people – all but sixteen of them women – were charged with witchcraft. Fifty were hanged; seventy were



found not guilty. The rest were imprisoned, whipped or pilloried but a few managed to escape. In the same county, 1584 saw fifteen prosecutions for 'murder by witchcraft', whereas the worst years in other counties around London were Sussex – three cases in 1577. Kent saw three cases in 1567 and Hertfordshire saw five in 1590. No one knows why Essex found and prosecuted so many witches – somebody in authority there must have been paranoid.

Widows were always easy targets for such accusations. They might be blamed for bad weather, crop diseases, sick animals, miscarriages or the death of a loved one with no means of proving they were innocent. And every witch had a 'familiar', whether a cat, dog, goat, mouse, bird or frog; bore the 'devil's mark' of a mole, wart or age-spot, and flew on her broomstick. Since animals were everywhere, either as pets, livestock, vermin or wild creatures and everyone has a blemish or two on their body, almost every lonely woman might pass the test for a witch. Flying was another matter. Fortunately for every housewife who owned a broom, by 1712, sanity prevailed. In that year, when Jane Wenham of Hertfordshire was accused by her neighbours of being a witch because they claimed they'd seen her flying on her broomstick, a wise magistrate, Sir John Powell, stated in court that, since there was no law against flying, she did not have to answer that charge. However, the jury found her guilty of 'conversing with the Devil in the form of a cat'. Sir John had no time for such nonsense and Jane was released but, unsurprisingly, avoided going home to face her neighbours.

More on witches next time.

TONI MOUNT

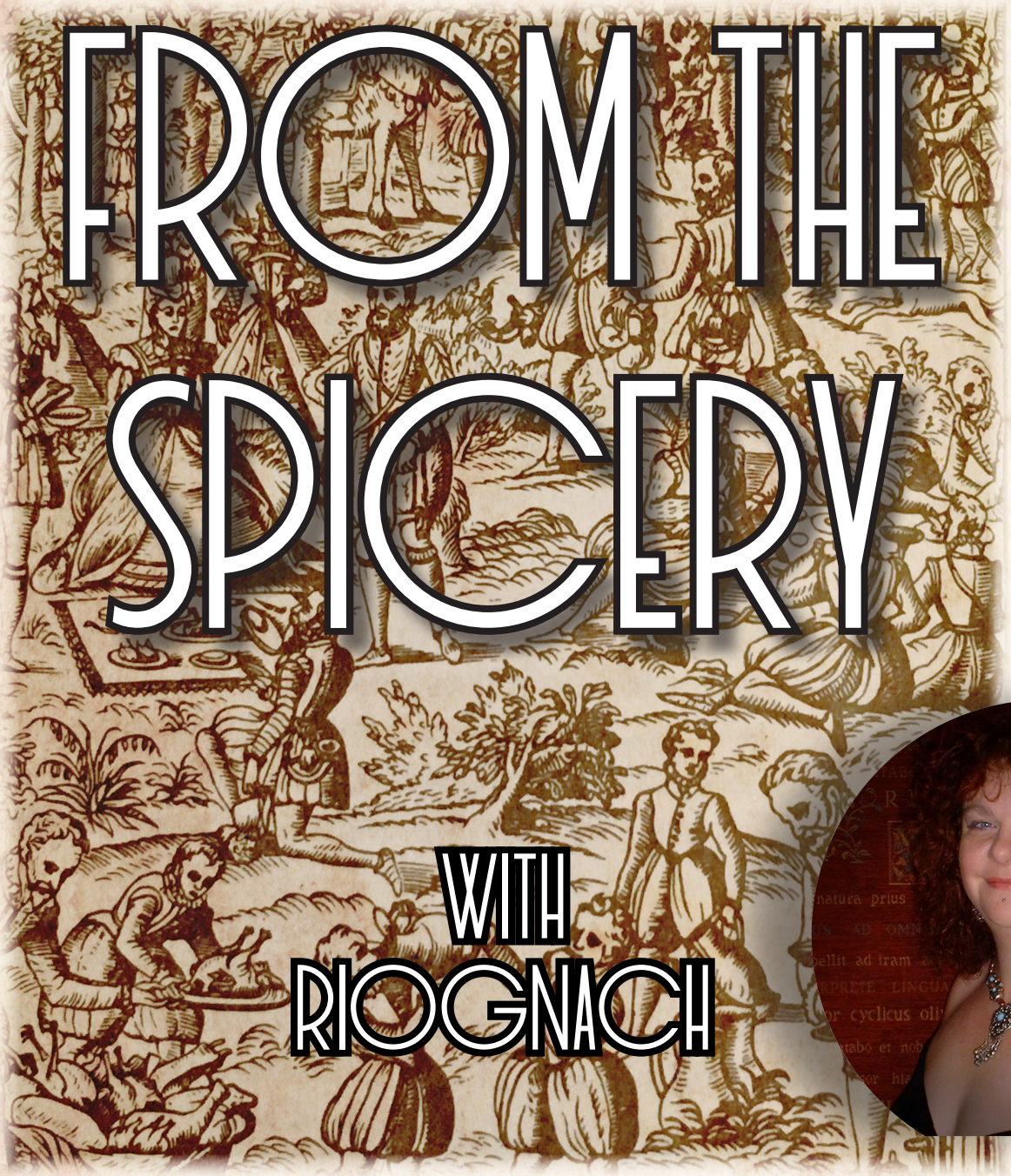






OUT NOW

FROM THE SPICERY



WITH RIOGNACH



ON THE ROYAL PROGRESS

Turberville, G. "Elizabeth I Takes Breakfast Before The Hunt" from Noble Art of Venerie and Hunting 1575 as it appears in Black, et al, A Taste of History 10,000 Years of Food in Britain, English Heritage, 1993.

GREETINGS, GENTLE READERS!

I've had a request from a reader named Valerie to look into what happened during a Royal Progress. So this month, we're out of the kitchen and taking a look at the logistical nightmare that was the Royal Progress.

As part of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of the current Queen Elizabeth of England, The Telegraph newspaper reported on the preparations for the Diamond Jubilee picnic. The natural setting for the picnic was, of course, the gardens at Buckingham Palace.

According to The Telegraph, in the early hours of the 4th of June 2012, eight lorries left a Leicestershire depot, laden with 10,000 five-course hampers for 10,000 lucky picnic diners.[1] The culinary mastermind behind this feat, Heston Blumenthal (who else), required the following from the UK supermarket chain Waitrose; 62,500 strawberries, 32,000 eggs (free-range of course!), 63,823 tomatoes, 1,600 cucumbers and 20,000 lemons.[2] This is in addition to everything else that was required eg smoked salmon and chickens, herbs and spices. I can't tell you how much all of these goodies cost, as Waitrose donated them. One estimate I've come across suggests a figure of £1 million.[3] That's rather a lot of cucumber sandwiches and trifle!

Now, hop into your favourite time machine and travel back some 500 years. Welcome to the Tudor equivalent: the spectacular event that was the Royal Progress!

Royal Progresses were conducted during the summer months, during which the reigning monarch (in this case I'll be using Elizabeth I) toured the countryside, staying in the houses of her favourite nobles and receiving free food and drink, accommodation and entertainment. In fact, during her forty-four years a Queen, Elizabeth embarked on no less than twenty-three royal progresses[4]. The lady obviously put great stock in getting out of London and being seen by her subjects. The progress took the court out of London and away from the dreaded sweating sickness, and into the clearer and cleaner air of the southeast and the midlands. It was also far easier to travel during the summer; the weather was warmer which allowed the common folk to come out and admire their Queen, and the risk of a cart, heavily laden with all manner of expensive royal goodies, getting bogged on the road was at a minimum

So, like the convoy of hamper laden trucks that left that Leicestershire depot in 2012, the medieval equivalent of 3,000 men and women left London, en mass. Of course, Elizabeth travelled at the head of this human convoy and according to

1 Prince, R. The Queen's Diamond Jubilee Picnic: A royal feast with a patriotic theme, The Telegraph, 04 June 2012. (http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/the_queens_diamond_jubilee/9309961/The-Queens-Diamond-Jubilee-picnic-A-royal-feast-with-a-patriotic-theme.html)

2 Prince, *op cit*

3 McAviney, V. et al, *Queen's Diamond Jubilee: cost of the celebrations*, The Telegraph, 11 April, 2012. (www.telegraph.co.uk/news/interactive-graphics/9197527/Queens-Diamond-Jubilee-cost-of-the-celebrations.html)

4 Hill Cole, M., *Monarchy in Motion* in Archer, Goldring and Knight *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I,* pg 22.

one report that I've come across, travelled in utter style and luxury in a diamond-encrusted coach ...! Imagine if you will, what an incredible site this must have been to the average Tudor man or woman. It is said that in some instances, that such a procession could stretch for over a mile[5]. Contained within that incredible procession, was absolutely everything that Elizabeth could ever hope of desiring or needing whilst on the move. Apparently, there were even occasions when up to 300 carts laden with various royal goods and chattels, would set off ahead of the royal party to ensure that everything was just as Elizabeth liked it when she arrived at her lodgings.[6]

To ensure that Elizabeth stayed in the degree of finery and splendour that she was accustomed to, her household servants also went on the Progress. These servants included, but were certainly not limited to the royal laundresses and seamstresses, cooks and maids[7]. This is to say nothing of her ladies-in-waiting and courtiers, and their laundresses and seamstresses, maids and grooms. You get the general idea.

OK, so we have this impressive human migration that travelled around England during the summer. But who footed the bill, and what happened if it was your castle that was granted the honour of a week-long (or potentially longer) stay by Elizabeth and her court?

To find yourself and your home on an Elizabethan Progress itinerary (originally known as the *giest* list) was undoubtedly a great honour. But I'd also argue that it was also a source of incredible financial hardship and stress, and not just for the courtier concerned (and his family). The fortunate courtier had to find the cold hard cash to pay for all food and lodgings required by Elizabeth and her entourage, whilst the common folk had to foot the bill in terms of inflated prices and frequently bare marketplaces. The courtier in question was also expected to present Elizabeth with expensive gifts and baubles throughout her stay. The concept of gift giving was a two-way street; the courtier demonstrated his loyalty to his Queen, whilst contemporaneously "asking" for a better position at Court.[8] A risky and expensive undertaking, to be sure!

Having to pay for just about everything and everyone involved in the Queen's Progress made hosting it an incredibly expensive and risky undertaking. Add to this, the fact that there was little opportunity to recover such a huge personal financial outlay (other than through increased prestige at court, and possibly some royal largesse), is it little wonder that Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and Elizabeth's favourite, almost succeeded in bankrupting himself?[9] In her article *Tudor Dining: A Guide to Food and Status in the 16th Century*, Emma Mason cites a figure of 10% of a courtier's capital, as the amount permitted to be spent on food for the courtier and his

5 http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/1P2V2gQsSYDYsfmY6vl6G06/11-things-you-didn-t-know-about-king-henry-viii-s-great-progress

6 English Historical Fiction Authors, *Elizabeth I's Royal Progresses and Kenilworth Castle*, Thursday, 16th February, 2012. http://englishhistoryauthors.blogspot.com.au/2012/02/elizabeth-is-royal-progresses-and.html

7 English Historical Fiction Authors, *ibid*

8 Wardell, F., *Queen Elizabeth I's Progress to Bristol – examination of expenses*, in *Smugglers' City Special Field Projec*t 2009/2010, pg 7

9 English Historical Fiction Authors, *op cit*

immediate family.[10] Now given how fond Elizabeth was for such dynamic past times as dancing, hawking and hunting[11], my mind boggles at how much more than the recommended "10%" the total food bill for feeding a hungry monarch and her travelling court would have come to!

Admittedly, it wasn't just individual courtiers and their households who were expected to foot the bill for hosting the Queen. Town and city councils also suffered the same fate. The City of Bristol paid out £40[12] (around £12,225 in today's terms) for the transportation of sand to be used in the arena for a staged battle to entertain the Queen.[13] The total cost of "corn and serpentine powder" (Elizabethan forms of gunpowder) used in such mock battles, cost the City a staggering £210[14], or £642,000 in today's currency. Talk about a huge bang for one's buck!

At the heart of every one of Elizabeth's progress was the triad of politics, socializing and ceremony. This allowed Elizabeth to keep the wheels of royal business turning whilst allowing her loyal subjects to drink their fill of seeing their *Gloriana.* For those who were privileged and honoured enough to host Elizabeth came the opportunity to maybe, just maybe have the royal ear for a fleeting moment. I can't help wondering, just how long did it take for a great household to recover from a visit from Elizabeth? And did they recover in time for the next one, or did they stay one step away from personal bankruptcy like Robert Dudley? As the honoured courtier, you'd have to make absolutely certain that everything from the food to the drink; the floor rushes to the bedchambers; and the furnishings to gifts was of the utmost highest quality so that you were not to be accidentally outdone by Lord So-and-so from down the road.



10 Mason, E. *Tudor Dining: A Guide to Food and Status in the 16th Century*, 8th December, 2014. www.tudortimes.co.uk.

11 Mason, *ibid*

12 Wardell, F., *op cit,* pg 6

13 http://www.elizabethan-era.org.uk/elizabethan-period-money-and-currency.htm. To achieve the final figure, I used the given exchange rate calculated into USD and then converted it to modern GBP.

14 Wardel, F., *op cit*, pg 9

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

MEMBERS' BULLETIN

We've been looking at what we do and what you want!

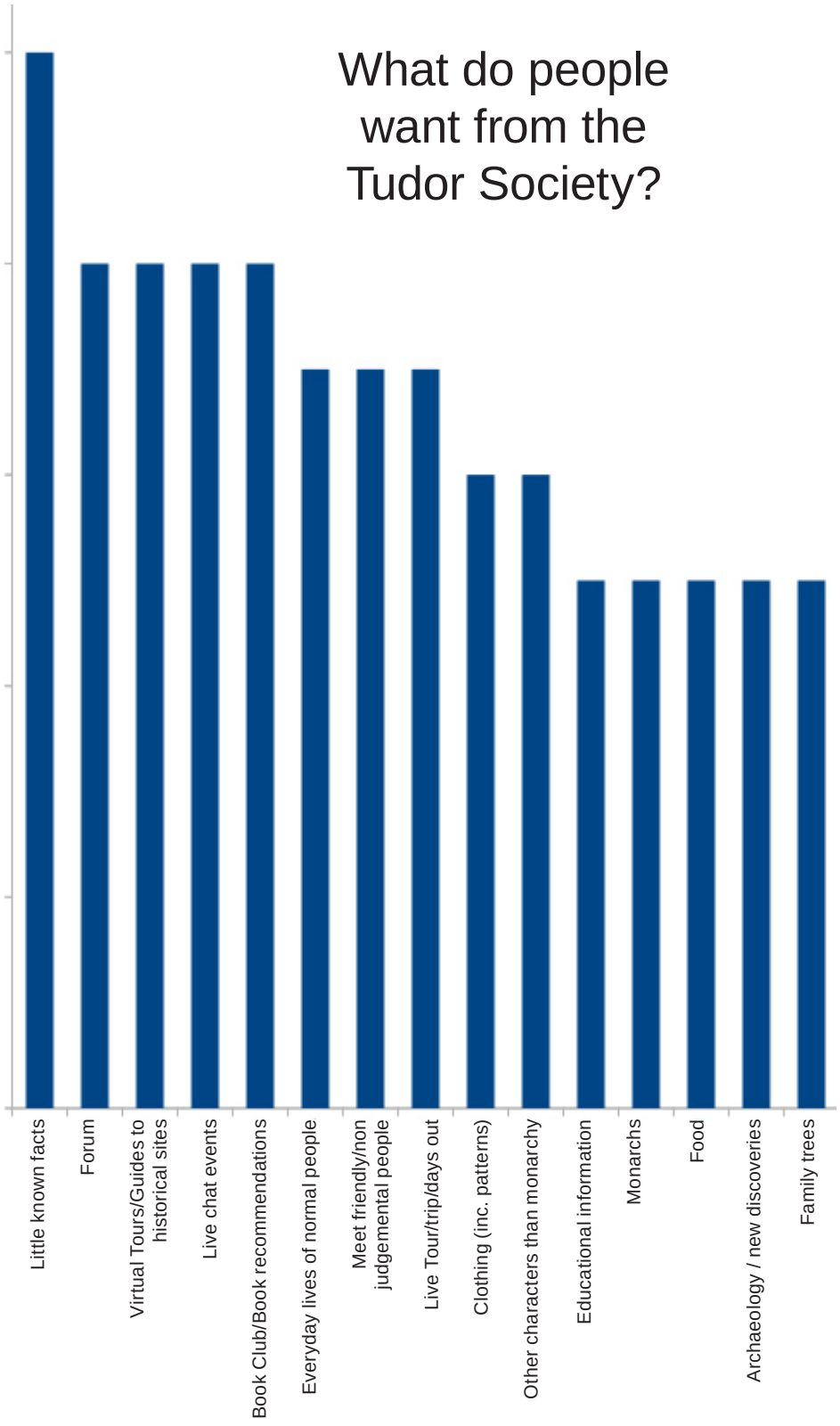
A while ago we sent out a questionnaire to people, asking what they thought an ideal Tudor Society would be. We had lots of responses, and we've been patiently working through the best of these ideas to bring things to our members. One of those things was the physical magazine, another was real-world tours.

If you haven't seen the announcements we have made, we've put together the now-sold-out "Anne Boleyn Experience", based on the amazing tours that TheAnneBoleynFiles ran several years ago. We've also put together "Discover the Tudors" tour, which takes in some more off-the-beaten-track places for Tudor fans. Claire Ridgway is a leader on this tour, and we have Leanda de Lisle and Elizabeth Goldring as expert speakers ... these are all people who are well loved by Tudor Society members.

We hope you'll join us on one of these amazing experiences.

On the next page is a small infographic of the top results we received from the questionnaire, with comments and thoughts below.

We also have implemented an affiliate scheme, where you can earn money by recommending The Tudor Society to people. We want the world to know about the Tudors!



As you can see, we need to implement a book club, and we need virtual guides to historical sites. We could also do with clothing patterns ... we have some work to do!

Please share the word about The Tudor Society

WE RELY ON YOUR ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP TO MAKE THE SOCIETY THE BEST IT CAN BE!

FEBRUARY'S ON THIS

1 Feb 1587
Elizabeth I called her secretary, **William Davison**, to her and asked him to bring her **Mary, Queen of Scots**'s death warrant. She then signed it.

2 Feb 1550
Sir **Francis Bryan**, courtier, diplomat, poet nicknamed "the Vicar of Hell", died suddenly at Clonmel, Ireland.

3 Feb 1554
Thomas Wyatt the Younger and his rebels reached Southwark, London. By this time, however, **Mary I** had rallied her troops, and Wyatt found the city guarded and barricaded. He had to move on to Kingston, where he managed to enter London on 6th February.

8 Feb 1587
Mary, Queen of Scots was executed at Fotheringhay Castle. The warrant for her death had arrived the day before.

9 Feb 1554
Original date set for the execution of Lady **Jane Grey** and Lord **Guildford Dudley**. However, extra time was given.

10 Feb 1542
Catherine Howard was taken to the Tower of London by barge prior to her execution.

11 Feb 1466
Elizabeth of York was born, the daughter and eldest child of **Edward IV** and **Elizabeth Woodville**.

12 Feb 1554
Lady **Jane Grey** and her husband, **Guildford Dudley**, were executed for treason.

17 Feb 1547
Edward Seymour, uncle of King **Edward VI**, was made Duke of Somerset.

18 Feb 1503
Henry Tudor, the future **Henry VIII**, was created Prince of Wales.

19 Feb 1546
William Cavendish was appointed Treasurer of the Privy Chamber.

20 Feb 1547
King **Edward VI** was crowned King at Westminster Abbey.

21 Feb 1549
Death of Sir **Richard Gresham**, Mayor of London, mercer and merchant adventurer, at Bethnal Green.

23 Feb 1503
Burial of **Elizabeth of York**, Queen Consort of **Henry VII** and mother of **Henry VIII**, at Westminster Abbey.

24 Feb 1525
Battle of Pavia. The French were defeated by Imperial troops and **Francis I** was taken prisoner.



Edward VI

27 Feb 1545
The English forces were defeated by the Scots at the *Battle of Ancrum Moor,* near Jedburgh in Scotland.

28 Feb 1540
Execution of Thomas Forret, Protestant martyr. He was burned at the stake in Castle Hill in Edinburgh in front of King James V after being condemned as a heretic.

Background image: Nunney Castle, Copyright © Mike Searle and licensed for reuse under the Creative Commons Licence.

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

4 Feb 1495
Anne of York, daughter of **Edward IV** & **ElizabethWoodville**, married Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey.

5 Feb 1556
Treaty of Vaucelles between **Philip II** of Spain and **Henry II** of France. The treaty was quickly broken.

6 Feb 1557
The remains of reformers **Martin Bucer** and **Paul Fagius** were exhumed and publicly burned, after being posthumously found guilty of heresy. They were burned, along with their books, on Market Hill in Cambridge.

7 Feb 1477/1478
The traditional birthdate of Sir **Thomas More** in Milk Street, London.

13 Feb 1542
Catherine Howard and Lady **Jane Rochford** were executed at the Tower of London.

14 Feb 1556
Thomas Cranmer was degraded from his office of Archbishop of Canterbury for heresy.

15 Feb 1536
Death of **Richard Rawlins**, Bishop of St David's and former warden of Merton College.

16 Feb 1547
Henry VIII's body was interred in a vault in St George's Chapel Windsor, alongside that of his third wife, **Jane Seymour**. Today, there is a memorial slab marking his resting place under the Quire of St George's Chapel.



Christopher Marlowe

22 Feb 1511
Tragedy struck Catherine of Aragon and Henry VIII on this day in history, 22nd February 1511, when their fifty-two day-old baby boy, Henry, Duke of Cornwall, died. We do not know what caused his death, but it was unexpected. It was a tragedy, and little did Catherine of Aragon realise that this loss would ultimately lead to the end of her marriage.

25 Feb 1570
Excommunication of Queen Elizabeth I by Pope Pius V.

26 Feb 1564
Christopher Marlowe, poet, translator and playwright, was baptised at St George's Canterbury.

TUDOR FEAST DAYS

1 February - Candlemas Eve
2 February - Candlemas
3 February - Feast of St Blaise
14 February - Valentine's Day
24 February - Feast of St Matthias the Apostle

Tudor Life

NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

Tudor Life

THE HOWARDS

MARILYN ROBERTS
The Dowager Duchess of Norfolk

GARETH RUSSELL
The shadow of the Tower

ROLAND HUI
Portraiture of Katheryn Howard

EMMA TAYLOR
Catherine Howard on screen

CERI CREFFIELD
Six wives poetry

+ MUCH MORE

THIS MAGAZINE comes out every month for FULL MEMBERS. We hope you enjoyed it!

REGULAR CONTRIBUTORS

Charlie Fenton
Conor Byrne
Emma Taylor
Riognarch O'Geraghty
Lauren Browne
Roland Hui
Toni Mount
Debra Bayani

LAYOUT Tim Ridgway

VIDEOGRAPHER Tim Ridgway

MAGAZINE EDITOR

Gareth Russell
info@tudorsociety.com

CONTACT

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

ONLINE

www.TudorSociety.com

Copyright © 2018
All Rights Reserved

Tudor Life Magazine takes constant care to make sure that content is accurate on the date of publication. The views expressed in the articles reflect the author(s) opinions and are not necessarily are the views of the publisher and editor. The published material, adverts, editorials and all other content is published in a good faith. Tudor Life Magazine cannot guarantee, and accepts no liability for, any loss or damage of any kind, caused by this publication or errors herein, nor for the accuracy of claims made by any contributors. Photos are open source, unless specifically mentioned. All rights reserved. No part of this magazine can be partially, or in whole, reprinted or reproduced without written consent.