#### ite The Tudor Society Magazine Members Only

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### JAMES VI & I

The Sexuality of James I James' Life of Difficulties Gunpowder, **Treason** and Plot Studying the Stars **Tudor Life in Action** Memories of the Anne Boleyn Experience

James I and the Witchcraft Trials at Berwick by Roland Hui

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#### JAMES VI & I

HIS ISSUE FORMS the informal second part to something of a two-part series. Last month, we looked at the dwindling years of Elizabeth I's rule and so, now, we look at the rise of her successor, James. Considering that the Succession had been the on-going crisis of the Tudor dynasty, the relatively smooth succession of Scotland's James VI to the English and Irish thrones in 1603 was a remarkable end to a remarkable era. Of course, the Stuart succession was anything but smooth, when looked at in detail, and it was perceived by many in England as a "conquest" of their kingdom by their northern neighbours. However, it worked, producing a relatively peaceful reign of two decades, known later as the Jacobean age, from the Latin for James, "Jacobus". King James was a fascinating, complex, brilliant, troubled man, whose intellectual acumen and political mistakes earned him the nickname "the wisest fool in Christendom." We are certainly living in an age of renewed fascination in James and his tumultuous era, with biographies, documentaries, and television dramas paying tribute to that. In this issue, we have several articles on the Tudor-descended Stuart king who dreamed of creating a united, "great" Britain.

#### GARETH RUSSELL EDITOR

**Cover Photo**: King James I of England and VI of Scotland *by.* John De Critz the Elder

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### CROWN AND PARLIAMENT

In this centenary year of the Representation of the People Act 1918, which enfranchised all men and some women to allow them to engage in a secret ballot to elect Members to regular, fixed Parliaments, let's take a lighthearted overview of Parliaments experienced in the earlier Tudor and Stuart dynasties.

On average, today's Parliament sits for 34 weeks a year but the situation was very different in the times of the Tudors and Stuarts.

Tudor elections were not the scenes of frenetic campaigning which we see today, but rather designed to populate a Parliament with as little fuss as possible and often candidates were returned unopposed. During the period, a Parliament was not viewed as a constant or permanent feature of political life but as an event. Its general function was to approve monies to fund the policy decisions taken by the monarch and his or her advisers. In 1532, Henry VIII was faced by MPs who wanted the parliamentary session to end so that they could go home to their wives and mortgages! In 1560, Sir Thomas Smith noted 'What can a commonwealth desire more than peace, liberty, quietness, little taking of base money, (and) few parliaments....?'. However, when forcing through the Reformation, Henry VIII required more support from Parliament



endowing it with a greater role in determining the fate of the Nation.

Elizabeth's attitude to Parliament was more enlightened than earlier monarchs, and she insisted that MPs had complete freedom of speech. She did believe, though, that she and her Privy Council knew best when it came to religion or foreign policy. And she did not like Parliament telling her that she needed to marry. In 1571, she told MPs that they had no right to discuss things that directly affected her person!

Despite promoting parliamentary debate in many ways, Elizabeth vetoed 36 laws passed by the Houses of which she did not approve. When Parliament tried to ban hunting, cock-fighting and bear-baiting on Sundays, Elizabeth maintained that her people should be able to enjoy themselves on their only day off in the week and refused to let the bill stand.

When James VI of Scotland succeeded Elizabeth, Parliament welcomed him as his predecessor's behaviour had become rather unpredictable in her final years. Unfortunately, their welcome proved short lived once Parliament realized that James had absolute faith in his own judgement and refused to believe that he could ever be wrong. This led to arguments with MPs about a number of topics such as religion, royal favourites and royal finances, in particular when James attempted to raise money without the consent of Parliament. Another thorny issue between James and the MPs was their desire to discuss their

rights and powers, which James refused to contemplate.

James wrote two books about the role of the monarch. He believed wholeheartedly in the divine right of kings, stating that kings are higher beings than other men and that they were empowered for Biblical reasons to impose new laws by royal prerogative. He called Parliament the king's 'head court' and advised his son to 'hold no Parliaments, but for the necesitie of new Lawes, which would be but seldome'.

Unfortunately, Charles I also believed in the divine right of kings and taking his father's advice failed to call a Parliament at all between 1629 and 1640. Many people regarded him as a tyrant trying to rule as an absolute monarch whilst Parliament attempted to curb his power of royal prerogative. Charles fought Parliament over his insistence on raising taxes without parliamentary authority and needing monies to finance a war in Scotland he recalled Parliament in 1640. At this point, Parliament took the opportunity to pass the 'Grand Remonstrance' a document drafted by a group of MPs, which recorded everything that had gone wrong since Charles became king.

In response, Charles ordered the arrest of the five MPs for high treason, even going so far as to burst into the House of Commons Chamber with 400 armed men in order to detain them. However, the five had escaped by river. The Speaker of the House, William Lenthall famously refused to answer the king's questions, declaring, '*May it please your majesty, I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place but as* 





this house is pleased to direct me whose servant I am here; and humbly beg your majesty's pardon that I cannot give any other answer than this is to what your majesty is pleased to demand of me'. His brave words upheld the privileges of Parliament against Charles.

Since this event, the House of Commons has continued to uphold these privileges and no monarch may enter the Commons Chamber. This is reasserted in the traditions of the State Opening of Parliament, the ceremony which officially marks the start of the parliamentary year. Next year, for the first time, the Lady Usher of the Black Rod will have the door of the Chamber slammed in her face when she is sent as the sovereign's emissary to summon the House of Commons to hear the Queen's speech in the House of Lords. Sarah Clarke is the first female Black Rod since the post's inception in 1350.

Charles' dealings with Parliament soon led to a full-scale Civil War, from which the Parliamentarian side emerged as victors. Charles himself was tried for high treason in Westminster Hall and condemned to death.

Despite the building dating predominantly to the 19<sup>th</sup> century with Westminster Hall the only place that the Tudors and Stuart monarchs would recognise, a tour of the Houses of Parliament should be top of your 'must visit in London list'.

A choice of guided and audio tours including versions especially produced for children, offer a vivid glimpse into the activities of a busy 21<sup>st</sup> century working building, steeped in history and filled with an array of stunning art and architecture.

Following the processional route taken by the Queen at the State Opening of Parliament the tour takes you through the sumptuous interior of the Robing Room where she dons the Imperial State Crown and on into the splendour of the Royal Gallery before entering the more intimate Prince's Chamber.

Prince's Chamber is an ante-room to the House



of Lords. Dating from the 19th century, the room is named for an earlier chamber used by the monarch's eldest son and has been decorated with a Tudor theme. There is a series of portraits of the Tudor dynasty, painted in the 1850s by students from the Royal College of Art, and above these, paintings of the Spanish Armada. These paintings, completed in 2010, are based on tapestries commissioned by the Tudor statesman Lord Howard of Effingham to celebrate the English victory in 1588. The tapestries originally hung in the House of Lords before they were destroyed by the fire that swept through the building in 1834.

In a basement close to this site Guy Fawkes, and his conspirators, attempted to blow up King James I and Parliament in 1605. The Gunpowder Plot still features in the rituals of the State Openings of Parliament when the area is ceremonially checked by the Yeoman of the Guard to prevent the same thing happening again!

In the majestic Lords Chamber, dominated by the Throne and canopy designed by Augustus Pugin, discover the role of the House of Lords and its importance in the parliamentary process before continuing your tour by exploring the Commons Chamber with its Speaker's chair and famous green benches. As you re-trace your steps through St Stephen's Hall, the site of Charles I's disastrous attempt to control a parliamentary session, the tour finishes in the splendour of medieval Westminster Hall with its hammerbeam roof, adorned with hand carved angels. One of the most momentous events ever to take place in *Westminster Hall* was the state *trial* of *Charles I* in 1649 and this occasion is recorded with a brass plaque.

This summer, to mark the centenary of the beginnings of women's suffrage in the UK, Westminster Hall is the setting for a major exhibition, 'Voice and Vote: Women's Place in Parliament'. The exhibition covers women's attempts to influence Parliament, the campaign for votes for women, and the representation of women in the Commons and the Lords.

What better way to end a visit to this unique and iconic building than the addition of a stylish afternoon tea served in a Thames-side room with views overlooking Lambeth Palace and the London Eye.

Tours of the Houses of Parliament and Afternoon Teas are available on Saturdays throughout the year and on most weekdays during parliamentary recesses.

#### **Further Information**

For further information contact the Bookings Team on 020 7219 4114 or visit the website: www.parliament.uk/visit Before visiting the Houses of Parliament, enjoy the opportunity to explore the historic interiors from the comfort of home with the new 360° virtual tour.

www.parliament.uk/virtualtour

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Sources:

### Tudor and Stuart Parliaments



Today, Parliament sits for an average of 34 weeks a year





### JAMES I: A LIFE OF DIFFICULTIES

Born at Edinburgh Castle on 19th June 1566, James VI of Scots did not have an easy start in life. His parents - Scotland's radiant if scandal-prone monarch Mary, Queen of Scots, and her handsome, unbalanced husband Henry, Lord Darnley - were trapped in a miserably dysfunctional marriage. While James was still Queen Mary's womb, his father had led a group of men that burst into one of the Queen's dinner parties and murdered her Italian secretary. James had graduated from womb to cradle when his father was found dead amidst the smoking ruins of a mansion on the outskirts of Edinburgh. Who authorised Lord Darnley's assassination is one of the most famous unsolved "murder mysteries" in British history. Nonetheless, in 1567, suspicion fixed on Darnley's beautiful widow. The French-educated Mary was already distrusted by many of her subjects, particularly those who had adopted the new militant form of Scotch Protestantism, known as Presbyterianism, which led them to resent their young Queen, not just for her French education but also because of her Catholicism. Shortly after James's first birthday, Queen Mary was overthrown and she fled to England where, nineteen

years later, she was executed for alleged, if contested, complicity in a plot to murder her kinswoman, and reluctant gaoler, Elizabeth I.

The men who had snatched the Scottish throne from Mary installed her son on it while he was a toddler. The Scottish monarchy was thus pitched into yet another period of prolonged instability, with coups, rebellions, and counter-coups shaping the young King's life and damaging his mental well-being. One of the most famous victims of political assassination in that period was James's paternal father and guardian Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox. Reading of the instability this exposed the King to at such a vulnerable and impressionable age, it is hard to avoid speculation that James's later enthusiasm for the Divine Right of Kings sprang, at least in part, from these difficult childhood experiences, through which James personally endured the consequences of a monarchy that had been reduced to a pawn for ambitious subjects. In nearly every major aspect of his life, James's actions were shaped, or limited, by the Presbyterian Kirk and the aristocrats who supported it, the "Lairds of the Congregation".



### JAMES, THE FIRST BRITISH KING



Intellectually, James proved to be a prodigy, bordering on genius, but he had too few opportunities to utilise his skills. Even the young monarch's most intimate personal life was subject to the prejudices of his Presbyterian minders. As a teenager, James fell obsessively in love with his French cousin, the dashing and elegant Esmé, Duke of Lennox. Unsurprisingly, James's Presbyterian minders disapproved of the affair. The extent of their disapproval is captured in the lengths to which they went to end it: they lured James to Ruthven Castle, where they kidnapped him until they had banished Lennox to his native France, where he died eighteen months later, allegedly of heartbreak. A grief-stricken King James wrote a poem in Esmé's memory called "An Ode to a Phoenix", in which he allegorised Lennox as a beautiful bird who had been killed by the vicious envy of others.

Six years later, James did his duty by marrying Princess Anna, the daughter of the King of Denmark and Norway, which were then ruled by the same monarchy. Anna of Denmark was vivacious, outgoing, cultured, and passionate. Having grown up between the sophisticated court of Copenhagen and the loving household of her German relatives, Anna found life in Edinburgh almost as painfully restrictive as her husband did. She particularly resented the fact that her allowance was so paltry, at least by royal standards. The royal marriage was sometimes strained, not so much on the grounds of James's sexuality, but because of his refusal to allow Anna to develop a political influence of her own, something which she increasingly came to resent.

Despite James's liaison with the late Duke of Lennox, as an adult he and Anna produced seven children - Henry-Frederick, Elizabeth, Margaret, Charles, Robert, Mary, and Sophia. Of those, only three -Henry-Frederick, Elizabeth, and Charles reached maturity, and only two, Elizabeth and Charles, outlived their father. In March 1603, James received news that his elderly kinswoman, Queen Elizabeth, had passed away in London and he was now King James I of England and Ireland. He and Queen Anna travelled south to London, where they were duly crowned, despite

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rumours of a plague epidemic on the horizon. In England, Anna was finally given a pension large enough to spend as she liked in the magnificent palaces of the Tudors, including Whitehall, then the largest royal residence in Europe. Anna's wardrobe was almost as lavish as the late Elizabeth's, she became a great patroness of the arts, including Shakespeare, and she established a powerful base in England where, it was rumoured, she had secretly converted to Catholicism.

James, however, struggled with his new role as king of a united Britain. As British Sovereign, James had several key political aims - the first was to create a united British state; the second was to maintain the monarchy as the dominant political power in England, at the expense of Parliament; and the third was to end England's long-running war with Spain. In the latter aim, James I was certainly successful since, with Elizabeth I and her old adversary, Philip II, both dead, their successors, James and Philip III, were able to negotiate peace. There was even talk of marrying James's son to Philip III's daughter, Maria-Anna. (The talks fell through when pious Maria-Anna refused to marry a Protestant and she later wed her reassuringly Catholic cousin, the Hapsburg Emperor Ferdinand III.)

However, in his aims to create Great Britain, James struggled and, eventually, failed. England, Scotland, and Ireland may



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all have had the same king as of 1603, but each of them had their own parliaments which met in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, and through these they had their own customs, needs, and laws. All three of them were reluctant to unify under one parliamentary system. Even the subject of a British flag proved deeply unpopular, particularly in England, despite James's enthusiasm for the idea.

Arguably, however, James's greatest failure as monarch was in trying to ameliorate the power of Parliament. Indeed, his handling of them proved sufficiently antagonising that he bequeathed a crisis that his son Charles I was to try, and fail, to grapple with. As far as James was concerned, anointed monarchs were closer to God than they were to rest of mankind; the rights, and responsibilities, of this Divine mandate, which made them God's chosen servants on Earth, was uniquely theirs. Parliament's role was therefore simply to advise the Sovereign who, in his turn, was under absolutely no obligation to act on that advice. When Parliament attempted to force the King to do things that were against his wishes, chiefly through harsher measures

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against English Catholics or to limit the extravagance of the royal court, then James reacted with pique or fury. Where Elizabeth I had brilliantly manipulated Parliament by flattering them through her honey-voiced speeches, James I harangued them and demanded their financial assistance, which they were increasingly reluctant to give.

Given what these festering tensions between Crown and parliament would lead to in the next generation, it would therefore be easy to write James VI and I off as an historical failure. However, that is perhaps to do him a disservice. While the British Isles admittedly could not be united legislatively in his life time, they had been united, however loosely, by the monarchy which he personified and led; it would be this unity-through-shared-royalty that eventually gave birth to the United Kingdom and, through it, the British Empire. The legislation creating a political entity known officially as Great Britain arrived with the Act of Union in 1707 and the United Kingdom was born through an act, with the same name, passed by George III in 1801. James was also responsible for the mammoth cultural task of translating the Bible into perfect English, thereby giving the world the truly magnificent King James Bible. He had survived the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, which aimed to blow up the King, his heir Prince Henry (who predeceased him) and the Houses of Parliament as retaliation for the penal laws in place against English and Welsh Catholics. On which subject, James had been clever enough to balance the often thankless tasks of his kingdoms' different religious requirements - he had been raised, however unhappily, in the Presbyterian faith in Scotland, but adapted to English Anglicanism after 1603. He never grew to be comfortable with, or supportive of, the growing number of Puritans in England, but neither, despite their hysterical claims to the contrary, had he persecuted them. He had fathered heirs with his wife, despite the fact that he was far more attracted to his own gender. (After his youthful love affair with the "upright, just, and gentle" Duke of Lennox, James became devoted to Sir Philip Herbert, then the Earl of Somerset and, after him, the King was besotted with the gorgeous Duke of Buckingham, whom everybody else seemed to find debilitatingly stupid.) Like his wife, James was a patron of the arts, arguably showing greater patronage to Shakespeare than the late Elizabeth. He had controversially if successfully authorised the expansion of British colonies in Ulster and America. He had attempted to impose the new view of monarchy, prevalent with most European philosophers in the seventeenth century, which held that royal power should be absolute and that regional characteristics must be subordinated to a centralised government which, in itself, was the greatest guarantor of political stability.

It is undeniable that in the pursuit of his goals, King James blundered - his bouts of bad temper, manic highs and depths of depression nurtured contempt, not sympathy, in many of his courtiers - but to dismiss his entire reign as a grotesque embarrassment is to misrepresent it. Whatever his failings, James I had arguably made the monarchy central to the emerging notion of being British and he had successfully managed one of the greatest constitutional changes, via a royal succession, in British history. When he died at his hunting lodge in 1625, a safe conclusion would be that there was more wisdom that foolishness in "the wisest fool in Christendom."

### 'The Wicked Dealings of... Ungodly Creatures': The Witches of North Berwick and King James VI

by Roland Hui

s an intellectual, King James VI of Scotland (and later James I of England upon the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603) had diverse interests. A prolific author, his first publication was a treatise on Scottish poetry written when he was nineteen years old. This was followed by works touching on subjects varying from politics to theology, and to the hazards of smoking tobacco. James would also write about witchcraft. He had a particular interest in black magic, as a conspiracy against his life, incredibly enough, had involved a band of so-called witches.



King James and his wife Anne of Denmark

The alleged plot was initially uncovered in 1590 in the household of one David Seaton, a bailiff of the town of Tranent in East Lothian. Among his staff was a servant girl named Gilly Duncan who was exhibiting strange abilities. She was able to heal the sick and 'did perform many matters most miraculous', it was reported.1 Duncan's unusual powers were kept secret from her master until he discovered that she was sneaking out in the dead of night to work her supposed wonders in the local community. A God-fearing man, Seaton suspected that Duncan's amazing talents were of the unholy. When the young woman could offer no better explanation to him, Seaton put her to torture. She was seized and her fingers placed into a device called 'pilliwinckes' (a type of thumbscrews). At the same time, a cord was wrapped and tightened around her head. Despite the excruciating pain, the maidservant refused to confess. It was only when what was perceived to be a 'devil's mark' was found upon her body did Duncan break down and talk. Yes, she was indeed a witch, she said, and 'all her doings w[ere] done by the wicked allurements and enticements of the Devil'.<sup>2</sup>

While in custody, Gilly Duncan accused a number of people - some seventy it was said - of being witches as well. Among those named were a young schoolteacher John Fian, two prominent well-to-do citizens Barbara Napier and Euphame MacCalzean, and Agnes Sampson, a respectable matron.<sup>3</sup> When the sensational charges were brought to the attention of the authorities, the King himself, 'in respect of the strangeness of these matters, took great pleasure to be present at their examinations'.<sup>4</sup>

An interest in witchcraft was probably impressed upon James during his stay in Denmark in late 1589 to early 1590. Bad weather had prevented his fiancée the Princess Anne from travelling to England, so the impatient James made the trip across the sea to fetch the lady himself. After his arrival, further storms prevented the royal couple from sailing to Scotland. In the meantime, James, ever inquisitive, made the acquaintance of several prominent Danish scholars. Among those he met was the theologian Niels Hemmingsen, an expert on the supernatural. Hemmingsen's views on the occult, particularly the evil activities of witches, may well have made an impact upon the Scottish King.<sup>5</sup> The conviction of the Danish woman Anna Koldings almost certainly left its mark on James too. In 1590, she was accused of raising storms to prevent the Princess Anne's passage to Scotland. Found guilty, Koldings and some dozen other alleged witches were burnt at the stake.

One of the accused, the elderly Agnes Sampson, was brought before James and his Council at the Palace of Holyrood in the autumn of 1590. She was personally questioned by the King, but whatever

News From Scotland (1591), transcribed in: Barbara Rosen, Witchcraft, London: Edward Arnold, The Stratford-Upon- Avon Library, no. 6, 1969, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> ibid., p. 193.

There is confusion about Agnes Sampson and one Agnes Thompson who was also named as a witch in the pamphlet *News From Scotland* (1591) which described the prosecution of the witches from the government's perspective. Most historians have accepted both ladies as being one person, that is Agnes Sampson.

<sup>4</sup> News From Scotland (1591), p. 195.

<sup>5</sup> William E. Burns, *Witch Hunts in Europe and America: An Encyclopedia*, London: Greenwood Press, 2003, p. 150.

threats he might have made towards her were of no avail. Sampson refused to confess to anything. When further attempts to loosen her tongue failed, an exasperated James had her conveyed to prison. Sampson's age and her status as a gentlewoman did not exempt her from torture; Scottish law permitted its use for the examination of witches. The poor woman was stripped naked and her whole body shaved to look for a 'devil's mark'. One was purportedly found on her private parts. Humiliation was followed by pain. As with Gilly Duncan, a rope was repeatedly tightened around Agnes Sampson's head. After an hour, unable to bear it no longer, the old lady 'immediately confessed whatsoever was demanded of her'.6 She had forsaken her Christian faith, she said, after the death of her husband. Left alone with children to raise and little money, the Devil (coming to her in the shape of a 'black man', a dog, or even a heap of hay) offered her 'riches and revenge of her enemies' if she would serve him.<sup>7</sup> She accepted. With her new found powers, as Agnes then confessed, she attended witches' 'conventions'. At such meetings usually held in churches, Agnes would desecrate graves in search of bones to grind into magical powders. Such aids were used, she said, for example to relieve pregnant women of their labour pains. But not all her talents were used for good, Agnes also revealed that she would make waxen images to curse and kill her enemies.

When asked how many other witches there were, Sampson said that on Hallow's Eve, she and two hundred of her kind made their way by sea to a church in North Berwick to meet with the Devil. It was a joyous occasion. There was merrymaking with wine and dancing, and as Gilly Duncan led the procession playing upon a mouth harp, they all sang:

#### 'Commer go ye before, commer go ye If ye will not go before, commer let me'.<sup>8</sup>

James was so captivated by Sampson's account, that he had Gilly Duncan brought from prison to play the song before him.

After their arrival at the church, Agnes Sampson continued, the Devil had the witches do homage to him by kissing his buttocks. He then preached, making great exhortations against the King of Scotland, whom he called 'the greatest enemy he hath in the world'.<sup>9</sup> The Devil hated James VI so much that the witches were ordered to destroy him. Sampson told of how she took venom from a black toad and hoped to smother it upon a piece of clothing worn by the King. The poison would 'put him to such extraordinary pains as if he had been lying upon sharp thorns and ends of needles.'<sup>10</sup> The plot failed only because Sampson was unable to obtain the piece of garment. Undaunted, the old woman then confessed to taking a cat and tying parts of a dead man to it to make a charm to raise a tempest against the King and Queen on their voyage to Scotland. It was only James' faith in God, Sampson admitted, that prevented her spell from taking effect.

While James himself did recall strong winds seemingly directed upon the royal ship alone and not the others on the journey back to his kingdom, he remained sceptical of the witches' testimonies, so much that he called the women 'all extreme liars'.<sup>11</sup> But then, incredibly enough, Agnes Sampson asked to speak to the King in private. She took him aside and as 'she would not wish His Majesty to suppose her words to be false, but rather to believe them',<sup>12</sup> revealed the very words of a conversation between James and his wife on their wedding night. As no one could possibly have known what he and the Queen had spoken about in private, James was then absolutely convinced of the witches' powers.

The King also made himself present at the interrogation of John Fian. The schoolmaster had been brutally tortured by means of the 'boots' (iron casings placed around the legs and feet which were then tightened to crush them) to make him cooperative. But only when he was brought before the royal presence did Fian confess. He told James strange tales of being the officer at the witches' get-togethers, and how he used magic to sexually seduce a young woman and to make a man fall into madness. Later when Fian retracted his confession, James ordered the young teacher to undergo torture again. He was made

<sup>6</sup> News From Scotland (1591), p. 194.

<sup>7</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, X, no. 526.

<sup>8</sup> News From Scotland (1591), p. 195.

<sup>9</sup> ibid., p. 195.

<sup>10</sup> ibid., p. 196.

<sup>11</sup> ibid., p. 195.

<sup>12</sup> ibid., p. 196. Sampson's extraordinary knowledge is doubtful, and was probably inserted in *News From Scotland* to prove that she was a indeed a witch.



The interrogation of the witches by King James

to endure the torment of the boots once more, and to have his fingernails ripped off with pincers. Despite it all, Fian would not admit to anything as he did before. Nonetheless, he was sentenced to death as a witch. He was taken to Castlehill in January 1591, and there strangled to death. His corpse was then set ablaze and reduced to ashes in a great bonfire. Agnes Sampson, Gilly Duncan, Euphame MacCalzean, and several others were likewise condemned and executed.

The persecution of the North Berwick witches was undoubtedly founded upon hysteria. There was no evidence that Gilly Duncan was ever a witch, only a 'wise woman' who used her skills to help those in need. Evidently, her abilities were viewed as the work of the Devil by her employer David Seaton. Seaton, in fact had a talent for seeking out witches. Shortly after the deaths of John Fian and the others, he was appointed by the King to go into England to seek out 'some of the worst sort of witches' who had fled south to evade arrest.<sup>13</sup> James was so fearful of black magic that he even intervened at the trial of Barbara Napier. When it appeared that she would be acquitted due to the weakness of the charges against her, the King demanded and obtained a verdict of her guilt from the jury. Only by pleading pregnancy, did Napier put off her death sentence. Happily, she was later even set free.

By the fantastic nature of the witches' confessions, they were obviously made up under torture. Though John Fian admitted to practicing sorcery, he later recanted. 'What he had done and said before, was only done and said for fear of pains which he had endured', Fian declared before his execution.

13 Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, X, no. 520.

Even the official account of his prosecution put forth by King James' government admitted this.<sup>14</sup> The English envoy Robert Bowes would tell William Cecil the same - that Fian 'denied all he had acknowledged, saying he told those tales by fear of torture and to save his life'.<sup>15</sup> Likewise could be said of Gilly Duncan, Agnes Sampson, and the many others who made extraordinary claims in hope of mercy.

The persecution of the witches was even driven by personal vendettas. The confessions it is believed, were meant primarily to bring down the King's cousin Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell. James was certain that Bothwell was aiming for his crown, and some of the witches had supposedly named the Earl as one of them. Evidence was probably manufactured to rid James of his rival, and it was able to land Bothwell in prison. He did manage to escape, thus avoiding the fate of John Fian and the others. Two other cases appeared to have been motivated by family tensions as well. When Jean Lyon, the Countess of Angus, was accused by her late husband's heir of being a witch, the reason was apparently over money.<sup>16</sup> It was the same with Euphame MacCalzean. There was bad blood between her and her relative David Seaton

- 15 Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, X, no. 526.
- 16 Julian Goodare (editor), Scottish Witches and Witch Hunters, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p. 40.

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

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

over a disputed inheritance, which may have led to MacCalzean being incriminated by Gilly Duncan (an employee of Seaton).<sup>17</sup>

Having rid his kingdom of the menace of witchcraft, James VI would later publish a treatise on the subject entitled *Daemonologie*. Having first hand experience of the diabolical at work, he wanted to 'resolve the doubting hearts of many' who were still unconvinced of the reality of the 'assaults of Satan', and of his 'instruments' - in other words witches.<sup>18</sup> *Daemonologie* was widely read, and it is believed to have been used as a reference by William Shakespeare in the writing of his renowned *Macbeth*.

#### **Roland Hui**

<sup>18</sup> King James VI, *Daemonologie* (1597), transcribed online at Project Gutenberg: <u>http://</u> www.gutenberg.org/files/25929/25929-<u>h/25929-h.html</u>



<sup>14</sup> News From Scotland (1591), p. 202.

<sup>17</sup> ibid., p. 36.

### **Margaret Tudor Quiz**

Margaret Tudor was the great-grandmother of King James I/VI. Your job is to determine which of these statements about her are true, and which are false. When you have done that, see if you can find the right answers for the incorrect ones.

- 1. Margaret Tudor was the eldest daughter, and second child, of Henry Tudor and Elizabeth Woodville
- 2. She was born on 2nd April 1489 at Westminster Palace, London
- 3. She was named after her paternal grandmother, Margaret Beaufort
- 4. She was married by proxy, with Edward, Earl of Bothwell standing in for her intended husband, King James IV of Scotland
- 5. Her first husband, James IV, was killed at the Battle of Flodden, in 1513
- 6. When James IV died, Margaret had just given birth to their youngest son, Alexander
- 7. She and James had 5 children, only one of whom survived into adulthood
- 8. Margaret married twice more after the death of her first husband: Firstly to Archibald Douglas, 6th Earl of Angus, and then to Henry Stewart, 1st Lord Methven. She divorced her second husband
- 9. The Battle of Flodden was fought against the French
- 10. Upon James IV's death, their son became James V. Margaret was his regent and remained so until he came of age
- 11. Mary of Guise was her sister-in-law
- 12. She died 18th October 1541, at the age of 51, at Methven Castle, Perthshire, of a heart attack
- 13. Thomas Boleyn accompanied Margaret on the journey to Scotland to her marriage to James IV

### Was James I gay?

**Gareth Russell** looks into a fascinating side to James I's life...

Every now and then, the historian is confronted by a debate where none is required. It is remarkable to the point of disconcerting to watch so many historians tie themselves up into knots in providing alternative explanations for the sexuality of monarchs like Edward II or, as is relevant in this case, James I. Attempts to explain away their sexuality date from eras in the writing of History, particularly the Victorian era, when there was a taboo surrounding homosexuality to the point that it could only be referred to obliquely or denied altogether. That is not to say there are not monarchs for which genuine debate is merited - England's William II, France's Henri III, and Germany's Wilhelm II spring to mind, for instance - yet in James's case, the issue seems patently obvious. The great passions of his life were all, without exception, with men and, as the recent discovery of a secret passageway linking his bedroom to the Duke of Buckingham's indicates, they were almost certainly sexual - even leaving aside one letter to Buckingham where King James expressed his desire to feel Buckingham's muscular legs wrap around him, which requires acrobatic levels of intellectual contortion to explain as something platonic.

It is worth noting that very few of James's contemporaries doubted that he had been romantically and sexually involved with other men. Even courtiers and diplomats who were outside the Royal household doubted that a man who was so tactile when in public, to the point of embarrassing, was likely to be more restrained in private. It is true that late Elizabethan and Jacobean attitudes to what we would now refer to as homosexuality were more complex and in many ways more tolerant than we might expect, particularly in the upper-classes - some of James's courtiers, most prominently the Earl of Southampton, had male lovers, without attracting opprobrium or ruin. During the festivities surrounding his coronation, James was physically demonstrative with the handsome courtier, Sir Philip Herbert, and later in his reign his favourite George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, wielded great influence as a result of his intimacy with the aging King James.

This bring us to the most important point in this discussion. It is possible to view the King's lovers as male equivalents of royal mistresses, but that is to miss the implications arising from their most basic difference - their gender. English royal mistresses were generally shadowy figures, devoid of any real political clout - think of Henry VIII's lover Elizabeth Blount, Edward IV's "Jane Shore" or Henry II's Rosamund de Clifford, none of whom wielded governmental influence - but, as the ascent of Buckingham showed, a king's male lover could step into the political realm to wield tangible, undeniable power. This is what made James's sexuality a matter not just of importance to the history of gender and sexuality, but also of monarchy and British politics.

#### **GARETH RUSSELL**



If this issue has whet your appetite for James I, his career, and the era he presided over, I thoroughly recommend Leanda de Lisle's superb book "After Elizabeth", an account of the changeover from the Tudor to Stuart monarchy. A political thriller and impeccably researched, "After Elizabeth" also offers provocative assessments of James, his wife Anna, his advisers, courtiers, victims, and allies. You can also pick up Sarah Fraser's "The Prince Who Would Be King," the only modern biography of James's celebrated son, Prince Henry, whose death at the age of eighteen meant that James was eventually succeeded by his younger son, Charles I. For an excellent biography of James I, try Alan Stewart's "The Cradle King". A far more critical account of James can be found in John Matusiak's "James I: Scotland's King of England". If you are looking for an academic slant on the reign, then Leeds Carroll's "Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography", published by the University of Pennsylvania Press, offers a much-needed rehabilitation on James's brilliant, tempestuous queen.

### FILM HEROIC OR VILLAIN? JAMES I IN GUNPOWDER

Remember, remember The Fifth of November Gunpowder, Treason and Plot.

By Emma Elizabeth Taylor





O he of Britain's favourite nursery rhymes, this poem is recited by children and adults alike every 5<sup>th</sup> of November, known as Bonfire Night, or more commonly, Guy Fawkes Night. Around the country, effigies of the traitor Guy Fawkes are burned, and fireworks commemorate the discovery in 1605 of explosives that almost blew up the Houses of Parliament. Guy Fawkes, one of the group of rebels, has taken on a posthumous role as a counter-cultural icon, with stylised masks of his face used in many protests around the globe, and most famously associated with the hacker group, Anonymous. In the slew of fires, effigy's and fireworks, the King that was almost assassinated, James I, can be forgotten.

However, in 2017, the BBC commissioned a three-part miniseries, *Gunpowder*, exploring the story of the Gunpowder plot from the point of view of Robert Catesby, the leader of the group of provincial Catholics who plotted against their King due to the cruel punishments inflicted on Catholics under James' rule. This adaption starred *Game of Thrones* actor Kit Harrington as Robert Catesby, supported by Tom Cullen as Guy Fawkes, Mark Gatiss as Robert Cecil, and Derek Riddell as King James I. Released in October 2017 to rave reviews, *Gunpowder* is an interesting and visceral look at the horrific treatment of Catholic subjects in the Jacobean era, and it presents a compelling, if hugely biased, portrayal of Catesby and the other Gunpowder Plot assailants. While it was praised for its writing and acting, some viewers found issue with the graphic depictions of violence and torture,

#### FILM

which were shown very shortly after the British watershed of 9 p.m. Despite this, viewers ranged between nine and five million per episode, making this miniseries one of BBC's most popular period pieces of the last few years. *Gunpowder*, due to its relatively short timeframe, was able to explore the Gunpowder plot in great detail, giving a voice to all its major players. While its lead is undoubtedly Robert Catesby, Robert Cecil is featured heavily, as was James I and his court.

While the King James I featured in *Gunpowder* is a foil to the rebels, the heroes of the series, he is not presented in too negative a light. Rather, he is primarily seen to be the puppet of many powerful men around him, especially Robert Cecil, who manipulates the King throughout the series in a myriad of different ways. King James is something of a bystander in these events, appearing more concerned with pursing an alliance with Spain than punishing Catholic dissenters. We first meet King James I in a very informal setting, unusual for the introduction of a King. The King reclines on his bed, wearing only his shirtsleeves, a floral waist coat, and breeches, which would have been very informal for an important man of the time. His waistcoat hangs open as he reclines, laughing at his male courtiers performing tricks. He seems a man totally unconcerned with the problems of life, which is particularly jarring as, prior to this scene, the audience has witnessed two gory executions, carried out under his authority. He laughs at his young courtier's tricks, ignoring Cecil and his other ministers. We see a clear disdain for the ministers of his government, and we see him bestow particular favour on one of his courtiers – the young and handsome Sir Phillip Herbert. It seems difficult to believe that this is the man under whose authority people are tortured, and we see that, over the course of the show, his ministers have more of a hand in these executions than James himself. We also are introduced to James as a human first, and a king second; his second scene of the show features him sitting on the toilet, behind a screen, surrounded by his courtiers. The inclusion of



attire is, without a doubt, opulent and fit for a King, it does serve to highlight a disconnect between the audience and James himself. The Catholic rebels planning the Gunpowder Plot are dressed in stylised versions of men's fashions from the time; more palatable to a 21st Century audience, and these costumes do tend to stray into a romanticised image of these men. Catesby, for example, played by Kit Harrington, wears dark, muted doublets, a dark cape and a billowing white shirt. The rebels, many played by young and attractive actors, are the romantic heroes of the piece, and James, in his bejewelled and decorative costumes, seems somewhat ridiculous by comparison.

One of the major features of *Gunpowder*'s portrayal of James lies in implication of his homosexuality or, at least, bisexuality. James is never seen without Sir Phillip Herbert at his side, and seems to favour him Mark Gatiss as the villain of the piece, Robert Cecil. (Radio Times)

er, r ninp and James are wearing very similar costumes, in matching tones of emerald green; they look like the perfect pair. While dressing, James hints that Phillip might remove his doublet later in the evening; while this is factual for a gentleman of the King, there is clear sexual undertones to their relationship, and it's clear to the audience that this relationship, while unspoken, is hugely important part of James' life. This relationship humanizes the King in a way that his relationship with Anna does not; James shows genuine affection and love for Phillip, and it is through this that we see a glimpse of the man behind the crown.

Despite the positives of James' relationship with Phillip, *Gunpowder*'s presentation of King James can seem, in the first episode, to be something of a walkover; a louche, opulent King who cares more about his own enjoyment that the good of his kingdom. However, as the series progresses, his iron will and concern for his coun-

#### FILM

try becomes more evident as he begins to disagree with Cecil, even dismissing him for a time. He is keen to make an alliance with Spain, and so attempts to hold off on any harsher punishments of his Catholic subjects, endearing him to audience in comparison to the harsh and unfeeling Cecil. When alone with Phillip, James confesses that he dislikes many members of his Parliament, noting that they all attempt to order him around to get what they want. However, James also notes that he is the one above them all, and that he can do as he pleases. It's a somewhat surprising scene, as up until this point of the season, we have not seen the King reckon with the massive amount of power he holds.

In one of his final scenes, he confronts Guy Fawkes, after the successful foil of the Gunpowder Plot. He looks magnificent and regal, sat on his throne, looking down at Guy Fawkes, who is bloody and bruised by comparison. He speaks softly and calmly to Fawkes, who spits at him and screams, telling James to run back to the hills of Scotland. James simply laughs softly as Fawkes is dragged away to his eventual doom. It is a powerful and somewhat chilling image of the monarch, as we suddenly realise just how much power this King has, and understand the futility of what the rebels attempted to do with the Gunpowder Plot.

Gunpowder, while an excellent, modern series, does have a few inherent faults when considering its presentation of the Gunpowder Plot, and the people involved. While it is a compelling and dramatic retelling of the story, it is hugely sympathetic to the rebels and Catesby, inviting the audience to relate directly to his story. However, this is simply the modus operandi of this piece; it is important to remember that this story, like all of history, cannot give us a true retelling of the Gunpowder Plot. Television dramas need their romantic heroes and their conniving villains, their innocent martyrs and their comedic Kings. King James I falls somewhere in the middle of these; neither a hero nor a villain, but a complex, well rounded character; a noble feat in a story so sympathetic to the rebels.

#### EMMA ELIZABETH TAYLOR



### JULY'S GUEST SPEAKER IS MATTHEW LEWIS ON THE SURVIVAL OF THE PRINCES IN THE TOWER

### TUDOR SCIENCE **STUDYING** STARS AND THE POSSIBLE Inspiration FOR HAMLET.'

As we saw in my previous article, our Tudor gentleman could well have understood that the earth orbited the sun, rather than the earth being at the centre of the universe, but how widely known was this concept in England? For example, did Shakespeare know of the heliocentric idea? Unfortunately, he never mentions the subject in his plays, but there are a few clues that he may have discussed the matter with others in one particular play: *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, where the action takes place at the castle of Elsinore, as Shakespeare calls it.

This play was written sometime between 1599 and 1601, towards the end of Queen

Elizabeth's reign and almost sixty years

after the publication of Copernicus' book on the subject of a sun-centred universe, *De revolutionibus*, so there had been plenty of time for Shakespeare to have heard about the new ideas, even if he hadn't read the book. One country in Europe where these revolutionary ideas were being studied in depth was Denmark.

In early November 1572, a new star appeared in the sky, something that stunned everyone since it was believed that whereas all things below the moon changed continuously, everything beyond the moon was supposedly perfect, constant and unchanging. The creation of a new star would imply that God the Creator wasn't happy with the heavens
### TONI MOUNT



Kronborg Castle at Helsingør (Elsinore, Denmark) on the Sound from a travel account of 1627-1628 by Abraham Boot<sup>1</sup>.

as He had made them – impossible! Today, we know this new star was a supernova, an exploding star, but at the time it was an inexplicable phenomenon and caused great concern. Astronomers across Europe wondered if it was a comet: something they understood, but a Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe, realised this was different and wrote: 'I conclude that this star is not some kind of comet or fiery meteor, but that it is a star shining in the firmament itself – one that has never previously been seen before our time, in any age since the beginning of the world'<sup>2</sup>. No wonder our Tudor gentleman would have felt disturbed. Even more worrying, the star disappeared a few months later, suggesting God had changed His mind again. How could that be?

Then, in 1577, a true comet – known then as the 'Great Comet' – suddenly appeared in the sky. Tycho was fascinated and made comparisons with the 'new star' of a few years earlier, making observations and detailed measurements of both and corresponding with other astronomers across Europe to compare notes. Frederick II, King of Denmark, was impressed with Tycho's work and made him an offer he couldn't refuse: his own island of Hven, in the channel or sound between Denmark and Sweden, on which to build an observatory to study the heavens and carry out any other scientific

### TONI MOUNT

investigations undisturbed. Within months, Tycho's castle of Uraniborg (the 'heavenly castle') was taking shape. Together with his enthusiastic young disciples, he observed the universe, inventing better instruments to aid both astronomers and map-makers, using the printing press to spread information and ideas far and wide.

Uraniborg became famous, attracting celebrity visitors. The King of Denmark wasn't the only royal to visit: King James VI of Scots (later James I of England) came to see Tycho and discuss the science of the day. So what has this to do with Shakespeare? It is possible that the playwright came also, although there is no record that he did, but can it be purely coincidence that the eerie setting for Hamlet, complete with ghostly apparitions, the castle of Elsinore (known to the Danes as Kronborg), is just across the Sound of Denmark from Uraniborg? More than that: the names of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, characters in Hamlet, seem to have been relatives of Tycho. If he did not visit the island of Hven in person, Shakespeare certainly knew of Tycho Brahe by some means and that may have been through an acquaintance, Thomas Digges, who was mentioned in my previous article.

Thomas Digges was the epitome of our Tudor gentleman and deserves to be more famous than he is. He was born probably in 1546 at Wootten in Kent, seven miles from Dover. His father, Leonard Digges was a wealthy landowner but had become involved in Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion against Queen Mary Tudor in 1554. He was fortunate not to be tried for treason so kept a low profile after that, pursuing his hobby

of compiling and writing almanacs. An almanac is an annual publication that

contains information about the forthcoming year: weather predictions, the best dates for planting crops, sunrise and sunset times, the moon's phases, dates of eclipses and ocean tide timetables and Leonard preferred to make his own calculations, especially those concerning astronomical data. Young Thomas was taught mathematics and how to observe the stars by his father<sup>3</sup>. In later years, Thomas wrote that in the 1550s his father was using a 'perspective tube' that could reveal minute details over great distances. Surely, this must have been some kind of telescope? Could the Digges, father and son, have used such an instrument to better observe the stars? It would be nice to think an Englishman invented the telescope half a century before Galileo thought of turning his 'device for seeing things afar off' towards the night sky. There is further evidence that Digges had used 'a kind of looking glass' to 'see things of a marvellous bigness' since William Bourne co-inventor of the submarine with Cornelius Drebbel<sup>4</sup> – wrote to William Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's secretary, about it. Our old friend, John Dee, suggested the military uses such a device could have decades before Galileo 'marketed' the telescope, persuading the Doge of Venice it would enable him to see his enemies approaching by sea before they could see Venice.

At least we can be fairly certain that Shakespeare knew the Digges family and could well have discussed astronomy and the new idea of a sun-centred universe with them. Leonard Digges, one of Thomas's sons, fancied himself a poet and was a fan of the playwright, contributing an introduction to the *First Folio* of Shakespeare's works in verse form. Leonard and the playwright lived not far from each other in London. Perhaps Shakespeare borrowed a particular engraving of 1590 from the Digges family or saw it framed upon the wall at their house: the likeness of Tycho Brahe surrounded by the crests of his family members, including those of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. We know copies were sent to scholars in England as mementoes.

Thomas Digges was also intrigued by maps and charts so may have possessed a printed copy of the *Atlas of the Principal Cities of the World* that was published in 1588. This book includes a depiction of Tycho's Uraniborg on the island of Hven with Elsinore Castle in the foreground on the mainland of Denmark. Could this image have inspired Shakespeare to use the castle setting when he wrote *Hamlet*?<sup>5</sup> It is fascinating to conjecture a relationship between Shakespeare and Digges that may have influenced the dramatist's most famous play.

Having now mentioned maps and charts, in my next article I shall look at how aids to navigation and exploration, such as better compasses and sextants, along with improved



The engraving of Tycho Brahe. The heraldic crest of Rosencrantz is fifth up from the bottom on the left; that of Guildenstern is bottom left.]

ship design, were changing both worldwide travel and warfare for our Tudor gentleman and his kind.

#### TONI MOUNT

#### (Endnotes)

- 1. "Manuscript Collection" (reference code: PL/10/1016), no. 58, State Archives in Gdansk.
- 2. The Science of Shakespeare, Dan Falk, [Thomas Dunne Books, New York, 2014], p.53.
- 3. http://www.mhs.ox.ac.uk/staff/saj/thesis/digges.htm from Stephen Johnston, 'Making mathematical practice: gentlemen, practitioners and artisans in Elizabethan England' (Ph.D. Cambridge, 1994).
- 4. The Science of Shakespeare, Dan Falk, p.103.
- 5. The Science of Shakespeare, Dan Falk, pp.154-55.





# MEMORIES FROM THE ANNE BOLEYN EXPERIENCE 2018

**Claire Ridgway** shows us her favourite photos and shares her memories of the Tudor Society Anne Boleyn Experience 2018 know that I already shared a day-by-day diary from the Anne Boleyn Experience 2018 tour, but I wanted to share with you some of my highlights, the things I will never forget and the memories I will hold dear forever...

### Just being at Hever

I don't know what it is about Hever Castle, but everyone I've taken there has fallen under its spell. I've been to so many castles and palaces, but Hever never fails to have an impact on me, it is truly magical. As someone who is a little bit obsessed with the Boleyn family, there's nothing quite like visiting their family home, touching walls that they touched, walking up steps that they walked on, looking out of windows they looked out of, visiting the church they worshipped in, and some of them are buried in - simply having that connection. I love going to the Tower of London on 19th May, the anniversary of Anne Boleyn's execution, but being at Hever is even better. She spent her early childhood there, she played with her siblings there, had happy and sad times with her family there, retreated

there to get away from the king's advances, fought off sweating sickness there... it was the place she called home. Visiting the castle and staying in the Astor Wing is a dream come true for me and I have "pinch me" moments there!

A real "pinch me" moment for me was having the honour of speaking about George Boleyn at Hever. I shared his life story and a poem that I believe he wrote, and I tried to do justice to the man who'd grown up in that place and who was executed on false charges. When it hit me that I was at Hever talking about George, I got rather choked up! It was also moving to hear the poem being read by tour participant, Jenni Mayer, who had an amazing voice and stage presence. Wow!





### The Hever gardens

I'm not a gardener and I can't say that I'm really into plants and flowers, although I do love the wisteria, jasmine and Anne Boleyn roses I have on my roof terrace here in Spain, but I adore the gardens at Hever. I know that they didn't exist in Anne's lifetime, but the views you get of the castle from various points in the gardens are breathtaking, and the gardens are superb. On one tour I did a few years ago, one lady missed lunch because she got 'lost' in the gardens. She could find her way back, she wasn't lost in that sense, but she was just lost in the beauty of the place. There is something for everyone – an English rose garden, Rhododendron Walk, herbs, a yew maze, a water maze, an Italian garden with Renaissance-style statues, waterfalls, the Loggia and lake, pretty walks and trails around the lake and through woodland, all sorts. Stunning really doesn't cover it! I just kept turning corners and saying "wow" under my breath!



### **Meeting Tudor Society members**

It was so lovely to finally be able to properly put faces to names and dish out some hugs to Tudor Society members. There were quite a few on the tour, and it was very special to be able to share such a wonderful experience with them and to 'talk Tudor' to our hearts' content. I also bumped into some other Tudor Society members on our day trips to Hampton Court and the Tower of London. I don't know who was more excited, them or me!



### Paying my respects to Thomas and Henry Boleyn

Many visitors to Hever Castle miss visiting St Peter's Church on the green just outside the castle. This church is where the Boleyns worshipped and it is also the resting place of Anne's brother, Henry, who died as a child, and also her father, Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, who died in March 1539. Henry has a little brass cross memorial on the floor of the church, but Thomas has a stone tomb topped with a beautiful brass memorial which is said to be one of the finest in England. The church is lovely and well worth a visit, and photography is allowed so you can get photos of these two memorials and the other brass memorials in the church. I like to pause a while and imagine the Boleyn family worshipping there all that time ago.



## Enjoying some excellent talks and hearing some interesting historical trivia

We were so lucky to have historian Gareth Russell and historian, re-enactor and costume expert Bess Chilver share their knowledge with us. Gareth's talk was both interesting and entertaining, and my very favourite part was when he said that Henry marrying Jane Seymour after having been married to Anne Boleyn was like going from champagne to milk! He made us all laugh, and the Q&A session following the talk was as interesting as the talk itself – we gave Gareth a good grilling! Bess quite literally brought Tudor costume and hygiene to life for us by dressing two of our tour participants in Tudor costume, from underwear to gown and hood, and by letting us touch and smell Tudor-style soap and perfume. There was a funny moment when I managed to get a photo of the Countess (tour participant Rebecca) in full Elizabethan attire using her mobile phone with Hever Castle behind her!

### Drinking bubbly in the castle courtyard

On one night, we were escorted from the Astor Wing around to the front of the castle to be greeted by Henry VIII (the lovely Owen in full Henry costume). Henry/Owen then posed for photos (tour participant Jean was in her Anne Boleyn outfit, so that was fun!) while we enjoyed some Prosecco in the <u>castle inner</u> courtyard. If you looked up, then you could see the latticed window that Anne Boleyn (Genevieve Bujold) looked out of in the movie *Anne of the Thousand Days*. A glass of bubbly in Hever Castle with Henry VIII, that's the life, isn't it?!

It was also lovely to meet Owen, who I've known in a 'virtual' sense for years. Owen has just finished his PhD and is working at Hever. We met up after the tour and are going to be working on a book project together, so it's all very exciting!

#### **CLAIRE RIDGWAY**













## **TUDOR LIFE IN ACTION...**

The Companye of Merrie Folke was formed back in 2012 for the purpose of bringing the Tudor period to life at various historic sites, to get young people interested in the past and above all to make history fun for all involved. Not for us the huge battle reenactments with knights and pikemen, but rather we concentrate on the social and domestic side of Tudor life, and so we offer a range of characters portrayed in first person by our members. We have a travelling baker and baxter Martin and Mary with their wonderful "dragon" oven Oscar, in which they bake period breads, Annys our skilled basket maker and weaver and Diccon the barber surgeon. Diccon will offer the closest of close shaves, draw rotten teeth or amputate limbs. His wares are not for the squeamish.



Our cunning man Matthew is certainly a man to be treated with caution. His various "cures" and charms are somewhat doubtful if not potentially dangerous, whilst our talented herbalists Anne and Juliet with their wide knowledge of herbs offer remedies of a more reliable sort.

Our visits to schools, including special needs schools, are always popular, as our alchemist and archer/ armourer Master Yaffle explains the "magic" of science to the children and they get to try on some of his armour.

Our musicians "Salmagundi" and puppeteers "The Fools Puppet Theatre Company" offer period music, dance and their ever popular puppet shows, whilst "Brother John" will design arms for visitors to our events to take home.

Together with clay charm and pomander making, scribing, story-telling, and embroidery by "Lady Elizabeth", The Companye of Merrie Folke are equally at home bringing their brand of living history to various historic sites (Hever Castle, Layer Marney Tower, Paycockes House and Hampton Court Palace to name but a few) as they are in setting up their own tented encampment (Ingatesone Hall, Weald and Downland Museum, Coggeshall Grange Barn, and others). We have also organised' run and catered for many a Tudor Feast including the Mayor of Colchesters Mayoral Ball.

Our film and TV credits include "Historys Ultimate Spies", "Horrible Histories", "The Private Lives of the Tudors" and the more recent "Elizabeth I" for Channel 5. We always try to give a real flavour of the period we portray, and pride ourselves on being "hands on" with many artefacts, recreated period items and even preserved animal hides available for visitors to handle and examine. Each of us has a has a story to tell and we are only too happy to engage with the public and answer questions about our lives.

We have a full calendar of events this year, but our next outings are at Hever Castle  $28^{th} - 29^{th}$ July, Cressing Temple Barns on  $4^{th}-5^{th}$  August and Coggeshall Grange Barn on  $11^{th} - 12^{th}$  August where we will also staging a craft fair. We do hope to see you soon.

Find us on Facebook "The Companye of Merrie Folke"















It is lovely to hear of some of our members enjoying the Anne Boleyn Experience and staying in Hever Castle. I was left holding the fort and making sure that the website keeps running. Some people commented that the site went down for a couple of days last month - we deeply apologise for that! Though our hosting company had taken our yearly payment, they somehow didn't actually renew the hard disks! So we had an expensive computer without any data on it! Thankfully, everything was still there and just needed to be connected up again. The site is now back and running as usual. Our apologies for any inconvenience.

In other news, as you may have seen on the inside cover of this magazine edition, there are two more tours planned for next year - the Anne Boleyn Experience is running again (with some great changes to keep it interesting for those going around for a second time!) and we are also launching an Executed Queens tour, focusing on those poor women who lost their heads during the Tudor period. Both tours are highly recommended and we already know that there are some Tudor Society members booked to go on these tours.

Finally, we had lots of great feedback about our "Featured Member" section in last month's magazine. We would LOVE to hear about what YOU do and your interests in the Tudor period. If you go to Renaissance fairs, make Tudor clothing, do Tudor cooking, enjoy reenacting, or anything else that we can't even dream of, please do let us know so that we can feature you in the magazine. I'm looking forward to hearing what you get up to!

#### Tim Ridgway

## Charli ELIZABETH OF YORK AND HER SIX DAUGHTERS -IN-LAW by Retha Warnicke

Retha Warnicke is a well-known academic historian who has written many books on the Tudor period. She focuses mainly on royal women, with her past books being on the likes of Anne Boleyn, Anne of Cleves and Mary Queen of Scots. Her latest book is *Elizabeth of York and Her Six Daughters-in-Law* and, unlike some of her past works, this book is not a biography. This book strictly focuses on the different aspects of their reigns and is an interesting approach to a subject that has been covered many times before.

Warnicke claims this is the focus book to focus on the reigns of the Tudor consorts, as most focus on just their personal lives. This book many sections on things like the search for Tudor brides, the queens' households, and their governmental duties. This is not a normal chronological biography on the seven queens; it is just a look at the different aspects of their reigns and is arranged thematically, so it does go back and forth a lot. Therefore the reader will need some background knowledge first as it is very academic and expects the reader to know at least some details.

As expected from an academic historian, Warnicke includes a lot of facts and figures and the extent of her research is evidenced throughout:

'The jointure revenue varied somewhat. At first Henry granted Katherine of Aragon lands, fees, honours, castles, parks, and other holdings with



an annual value of £4,129, 2s. 4d. Later he increased this amount to £4,751, 15s. 2d. Anne Boleyn's jointure during her first year as queen amounted to £4,423, 3s. 1 3/4d., from English revenues. In addition, she retained £633, 13s. 10d., of her Welsh income. Jane Seymour's revenue had a value of £4,623, 1s. 11 3/4d. Even though the Anglo-Cleves marriage treaty promised Anne an income of 5,000 marks (about £3,330), her jointure assignments amounted to about 4,644 marks. Henry probably limited her financial support because he had waived her dowry; if the marriage had not been troubled from the onset, he might have increased her income.'

Information like that isn't often included in the biographies of the queens' personal lives and the comparison between them all is interesting and useful for any research the reader may want to do.

There are a few points on which some might disagree with Warnicke's theories, such as her one on Mary Boleyn being Anne's younger sister, but there has been much debate on that in the past and it will never be agreed on. However, the book is still informative and a fascinating read.

*Elizabeth of York and Her Six Daughters-in-Law* is a great book on the Tudor consorts and a very interesting one at that. It is quite expensive (£85.49 for the Kindle edition at the time of writing), but it is a worthwhile addition to anyone who is researching Tudor queenship, especially that of the consorts. The book is well referenced and is one I would recommend to anyone wanting to know more about the political side of the life of the Tudor consorts and who already has some background knowledge of the period.

Fashjoning Tudor Queenship,

## ELIZABETH'S RIVAL by Nichola Tallis



Nicola Tallis has become a popular historian after the release of her first book *Crown of Blood: The Deadly Inheritance of Lady Jane Grey* and its subsequent success. Tallis now tackles a woman who is lesser known than Jane and not as popular. *Elizabeth's Rival* is the first full-length biography of Lettice Knollys, who is mainly known for having angered Elizabeth I by marrying her longtime love Robert Dudley.

Tallis starts her book by supporting a theory that has divided historians of recent years; she states that she believes Katherine Carey was the daughter of Henry VIII through Mary Boleyn. Henry did not acknowledge Katherine, but she was a woman and so of no use to him, unlike Henry Fitzroy, and she does bear some resemblance to him in her portraits. We will never know if she really was his illegitimate daughter, but this theory will certainly divide some readers and is a bold move on the author's part.

The first part of the book mostly covers Katherine Carey's life, not that of her daughter, and I think is probably slightly longer than needed, but still an interesting read at that and is useful to get a sense of the early years of Lettice's life. It also covers Henry VIII's reign, which most readers will probably know a little about already.

Most of the book centres on the court of Elizabeth I, exploring the lives of not just Lettice but two other people as well, Robert Dudley and Elizabeth I herself. It includes a chapter on Robert Dudley's past, including his alleged marriage to Douglas Sheffield and his illegitimate child by her. This is another thing that has divided historians and once again Tallis does not tiptoe around the subject. She argues that Dudley did not marry Douglas and bases this on a letter he wrote to her

Nicola Tallis

in which he said he wouldn't give up the Queen's favour. However, this is hard to believe and that is mainly due to the fact that he did risk it and briefly give up the Queen's favour to marry Lettice. Tallis does seem to suggest she was similar to Anne Boleyn in the fact that she would not be Dudley's mistress, especially after seeing what happened between him and Douglas:

'Lettice had seen the way that Leicester had cast away his former lover, Douglas Sheffield, and was determined that she would not go the same way. What was more, by now she had fallen deeply in love with Leicester, and he in turn with her. As such there was no longer any question of them continuing their relationship under the guise of friendship, or arranging clandestine meetings. They both wanted more, and only marriage would do. It was a momentous decision for Leicester, who had avoided such a commitment for almost two decades following the death of his first wife - all on the Queen's behalf. Though the Queen did not know it, she now had a rival.'

This book includes a lot of detail on Lettice's life, including her life before and after marrying Dudley (which most skip over), and includes primary sources that aren't easy to access by the public, such as letters from her to Lord Burghley and the lords of the Council, in which she contested the jointure her first husband had assigned to her. Tallis includes these in full and they tell us a lot about what Lettice was like as a person; letters like these show a strong woman who was able to stand up for herself and protest when she thought others were treating her badly.

Like the last book by Tallis, *Elizabeth's Rival* reads like a novel and a very enjoyable one at that. It is clear she has done a lot of research and luckily that is not compromised for the sake of readability, as many popular history books are. She does not just focus on the scandalous relationship between her and Dudley, although it is a large part of this book, and shows us a more well-rounded character who did what she could to survive but did not always make the best choices. I would recommend this book to anyone wanting to learn about the woman who dared to marry Elizabeth's sweetheart or just wants to learn more about the key figures in the Tudor court in general.

#### **CHARLIE FENTON**



IMAGE ABOVE: Medieval bears, carrying/guarding a barrel of ale or beer. from, Saint Gallen's "Vierstimmige Gesänge zu den Hochfesten des Jahres" (Four-part Songs for the Festivities of the Year ), 1562

"I would give all my fame for a pot of ale and safety".<sup>1</sup> "To suckle fools and chronicle small beer".<sup>2</sup> "For a quart of ale is a dish for a King".<sup>3</sup>

- 1 O'Mara, M. William Shakespeare, The Complete Works, London, 1988, Henry V, Act III, Scene II.
- 2 ibid, Othello, Act II, Scene I.
- 3 ibid, The Winter's Tale, Act IV, Scene II.



Ale (and later, beer) was easily the tipple of choice for anyone in medieval and Tudor times, regardless of social standing. Every household had its brewery, lovingly tended to by *alewives* who had a vested interest in the quality of the brews they produced. But what is the difference between ale and beer, and how would they compare to modern varieties?

#### Virtually

everyone (with the probable exception of newborns who were still at the breast) drank ale and would have consumed several pints of the stuff every day of their lives. Ale, along with bread, provided significant nutrition and hydration to the masses. Some modern medievalists argue that the daily consumption of ale also inebriated the population. But recent papers on the subject indicate that medieval ale had a relatively low amount of alcohol by volume; enough to preserve the brew for a couple of days, but not enough to render the household permanently drunk.

There is some debate over exactly why the production and consumption of ale was so prevalent during the medieval time frame. One school of thought argues that medieval norms considered water to be unfit for human consumption. I don't subscribe to this logic as it makes the assumptions that our medieval ancestors were a) unable to find adequate sources of clean drinking water, b) had discovered that water was a vector of transmission for things like cholera, and c) these two assumptions had been arrived at contemporaneously.

The real truth of the matter is that the brewing process requires water to be boiled before fermentation takes place, thus making ale safer to drink than water.

In medieval England, *ale* was an alcoholic drink made from grain, water, and fermented with yeast. The difference between medieval ale and beer is that beer uses hops as an ingredient. Hops were not an accepted part of the English brewing scene until 1520 when they were introduced to the English southeast by immigrant Low Country farmers. Indeed, hops were somewhat unfairly labelled as a *"wicked and pernicious weed"*<sup>1</sup>However, I'd suggest this has more to do with religious and political bias.

The ale recipe and method that I am going to detail comes to me from a good friend of mine who is both a modern medievalist and a Master Brewer. This recipe is an extant medieval example of ale making, and can be found in "The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelme Digbie, kt., Opened."<sup>2</sup>, via the modern medievalist's best friend, Project Gutenberg. I can also highly recommend the Regia Anglorum website which offers an excellent (and frequently humorous) tutorial on early medieval brewing (https://regia.org/research/life/brewing. htm).

But before we start, a disclaimer.

Medieval ales (and beers) do not contain bubbles. Please don't be disappointed that if at the end of your brewing experiment, your ale isn't foamy and bubbly. Don't panic; your brew hasn't mysteriously failed; its supposed to be flat. Remember, medieval ales were brewed before Albert Einstien discovered how to split the beer atom and put bubbles into beer (or ale).<sup>3</sup>

Sir Kenelme's recipe for ale requires a few straightforward ingredients; malt, the gruit or flavouring, water, and yeast. Note that you don't have to use yeast at all if you don't want to. You could rely on the wild yeasts that are present in the air to turn your malt and gruit into alcohol, but this process can be somewhat hit-and-miss. I have discovered that using things like fresh-picked and unwashed elderflowers and borage flowers can provide both the gruit AND naturally occurring wild yeasts. You could also experiment with adding different herbs such as rosemary or bog myrtle, horehound or nettle, or juniper or chicory to the brew.

As the primary ingredient in ales and beer, the malted barley used in medieval brewing differs considerably from the malt used in modern breweries. This presents a problem to modern medievalists, who frequently have no choice other than to use modern malted barley. Barley is malted by converting the starch in the seed to available sugars. This is achieved by wetting the barley and allowing it to sprout. The sprouted barley is then roasted off (traditionally over a fire) to stop the grain from growing too much. If the sprouted barley is dried over a fire, the resultant brew will be darker in colour and smokier in flavour.

<sup>1 .</sup> Unger, R. *Beer in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, UPP, 2004, pg 100.

<sup>2</sup> Digbie, K. The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelme Digbie, kt., Opened, http://www.gutenberg.org/ ebooks/16441?msg=welcome\_stranger

<sup>3</sup> https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Young\_Einstein

Having malted the barley (or other types of historically accurate grains) it is then added to boiled water and returned to the boil, and maintained at a simmer while being stirred. Traditionally, this was done in copper vessels. However, some records detail how lead containers were also used, adding a low-level lead poisoning to the ale or beer. The aroma that comes from the liquid is heavenly; sweet and malty! It is just the sort of smell you would associate with your favourite pub brew. The liquid produces a lot of foam and scum that must be removed as it rises.

After the malt and water have simmered for a couple of hours, the liquid is removed from the heat and allowed to cool to around 60F or 15C. Traditionally it is at this point that the liquid would be transferred to a wooden casket, barrel or hogshead. When the liquid has cooled to the required temperature, the *gruit* and yeast are added. As I noted earlier, fresh borage flowers or elderflowers can be used with great success, as they will provide both the flavouring and some wild yeasts. If you wish to remove some of the risk, add in some honey and a commercially prepared brewer's yeast at this point.

The next step of the process requires patience and restraint. The concoction of malt and water, *gruit* and yeast must be covered and left somewhere warm and undisturbed for at least twentyfour hours. If you're anything like me, the temptation to take a peek and see if fermentation is happening can be quite hard to resist. In winter, I leave my brews by my slow-combustion heater, while in summer I'll leave it in a linen cupboard while it does its thing. If you can smell the typical brewery aroma at this point, then you can be assured that fermentation is happening!

After approximately twenty-four hours have passed, you can strain off the liquid. If you want a brew with higher alcohol content, leave things be for another twenty-four hours with the same climatic conditions. However, the longer the mixture is left, the higher the chance of it spoiling. I use a stainless steel colander covered with lots of layers of cheesecloth or muslin when I strain my brew, and the longer you can let it strain naturally via gravity the better. And be prepared for multiple strains, too.

Your resultant brew will have a finite lifespan; usually no more than two days at the absolute maximum. With a little luck, you'll end up with something that may look slightly milky, through to dark amber. The colour will depend on the temperature you roasted your sprouted barley for, the length of time it was roasted, and whether or not the temperature fluctuated during this time. It may smell quite strongly of yeast (primarily if you have used a commercial brewer's yeast), or it may have a more floral nose. Regarding flavour, it will be quite sweet on the palate, given the lack of hops, and will have smoky characteristics from the malting process. The overall result will be an ale that reflects the characteristics of the town or location where it was brewed.

#### **RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY**





Once upon a time – shaking my head in disbelief, it was over eighteen-years ago – I wrote a regular Tudor column for Suite101, once a very popular site for writers and reader worldwide. Tudor England Suite101 not only gave me the opportunity to write about my Tudor passion, but also to launch a Tudor Ghost Story Competition as an annual Christmas treat for my readers. This contest still holds a very special place in my heart (I love finding ways of helping other writers get published), and thanks to Natalie Grueninger, it was rebirthed for the readers of On the Tudor Trail in 2015. Natalie and I are both busy with our own writing projects, so we decided a biennial competition would work best for us.

So, it is with immense delight we announce the Tudor Ghost Contest will be open for entries on July 1<sup>st</sup>. Entries will be closed on September 15<sup>th</sup>, with the winner and place getters announced on October 15<sup>th</sup>.

## DETAILS

Please send your entries to tudorghost@gmail.com

Stories must be a ghost story (1500 to 3000 words) using Tudor history in some way.

There is no entry fee, but we do encourage writers who enter this competition to donate to their favourite charity. If you do this, please let us know so we can promote this charity and calculate the donations.

The winner receives a signed copy of my novel Falling Pomegranate Seeds: The Duty of Daughters and a copy if any of Natalie's Tudor books. They will be published online at On the Tudor Trail and, thanks to the support of Claire Ridgway, in the December magazine of the Tudor Society Magazine. Second and Third place getters will also gain publication at On the Tudor Trail.

And, yes, I will be judging the competition once again.

Wendy J. Dunn

## JULY'S "ON THIS

<b>1</b> July 1622 Death of William Parker, 13 <sup>th</sup> Baron Morley, the man who discovered the Gunpowder Plot.	2July Burial of Robert Scarlett, sexton at Peterborough Cathedral. A verse accompanying his portrait in the cathedral states that he buried Catherine of Aragon and Mary, Queen of Scots at the cathedral, but it is not known whether this is true.		<b>July</b> <b>Mary I</b> bid farewell to her husband, <b>hilip of</b> <b>Spain</b> , at Dover as he set off for war with France.	<b>4 July</b> Burning of John Frith, reformer, theologian and martyr, at Smithfield for heresy.
<b>10</b> July Assassination of William of Orange. He was shot in the chest by a Frenchman.			<b>11</b> July 1564 The plague hit Stratford- upon-Avon in Warwickshire. The epidemic lasted six months and killed over 200 people	<b>12</b> July Execution of <b>Robert Aske</b> . He was hanged in chains outside Clifford's Tower, the keep of York Castle.
<b>15</b> July Birth of Inigo Jones, architect and theatre designer. Jones is known for his design of the Banqueting House.		ones by Van Dyck	<b>16</b> July Death of Anne of Cleves, fourth wife of Henry VIII, at Chelsea Old Manor after a few months of illness.	17 July Death of Sir Thomas Dacre of Lanercost, illegitimate son of Thomas Dacre.
<b>21</b> July 1586 Explorer Thomas Cavendish set sail from Plymouth on his South Sea voyage.	<b>222</b> 1549 <b>Robert Kett</b> and protesters stormed Norwich and took the city, during <i>Kett's Rebellion</i> .	233 July Mary of Guise and her daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots, escaped from Linlithgow Palace, where they were being watched, to Stirling Castle. They were helped by Cardinal Beaton.		<b>24</b> July Jacques Cartier, the French explorer, landed in Canada, claiming it for France by placing a cross there.
<b>28</b> July Five hell-burners were ordered to be sent amongst the galleons of the Spanish Armada at Calais. The high winds at Calais caused an inferno which resulted in complete chaos, and the Armada's crescent formation was wrecked as galleons scattered in panic.		<b>299</b> 1565 Marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, at Holyrood Palace	<b>300</b> <sub>1540</sub> Execution of Thomas Abell and others for refusing to acknowledge the royal supremacy.	<b>31</b> July Death of John Douglas, Archbishop of St Andrews. It is said that he died in the pulpit.

## DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY"

<b>5</b> July 1535 Sir Thomas More, who was imprisoned in the Tower of London and awaiting execution, wrote his final letter.	<b>GJuly</b> Execution of Sir <b>Thomas More</b> for high treason for denying the King's supremacy.	<b>7</b> July 1607 Death of Penelope Rich (née Devereux), Lady Rich, at Westminster.	<b>B</b> July 1503 Margaret Tudor said farewell to her father, Henry VII, and set off to Edinburgh to marry James IV.	<b>9</b> July Just over 6 months after their wedding, the marriage of Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves was null and void
		<b>13</b> July Death of <b>Robert Sidney</b> , 1 <sup>st</sup> Earl of Leicester, poet and courtier, at Penshurst Place. He was buried at Penshurst on the 16 <sup>th</sup> July. His notebook, which still survives today, holds a collection of poems and sonnets, and also shows the revisions he made to them.		<b>14</b> July 1544 Henry VIII landed at Calais in preparation for the Siege of Boulogne, which began five days later.
	mpression of obert Sidney	<b>18</b> July Burial of Desiderius Erasmus in Basel Cathedral.	<b>19</b> July Death of Sir Francis Knollys, courtier, politician, privy councillor and Treasurer of the Household in Elizabeth I's reign.	<b>200</b> July Philip of Spain arrived in England, at Southampton, in readiness for his marriage to Mary I.
25 July Coronation of James I at Westminster Abbey.	<b>26</b> July 4,000 men assembled at Tilbury Fort, the fort built on the Thames estuary in Essex by Elizabeth's father, Henry VIII. The Armada had first been spotted off English shores on 19 <sup>th</sup> July, off The Lizard.		<b>27</b> July Death of Thomas Knyvett, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Elizabeth I and James I, at his home in Westminster.	

## TUDOR FEAST DAYS

2 July - Visitation of the Virgin
15 July - St Swithin's Day
20 July - St Margaret's Day
22 July - St Mary Magdalene's Day
25 July - Feast of St James the Great

## NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR Tudor life

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## THE RELIGIOUS IMPACT OF THE TUDORS

LAUREN BROWNE The Piety of Elizabeth Woodville and Elizabeth of York

**ROLAND HUI** The Pilgrimage of Grace

## GARETH RUSSELL

The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Tudor England

## EMMA TAYLOR

The investigation of heretics

THIS MAGAZINE comes out every month for **ALL** MEMBERS. We hope you enjoy it!

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