Tudor Life

The Tudor Society Magazine

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THE TUDOR SOCIETY

THE HOWARDS

MARILYN ROBERTS TALKS ABOUT AGNES TILNEY

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THE TUDOR SOCIETY

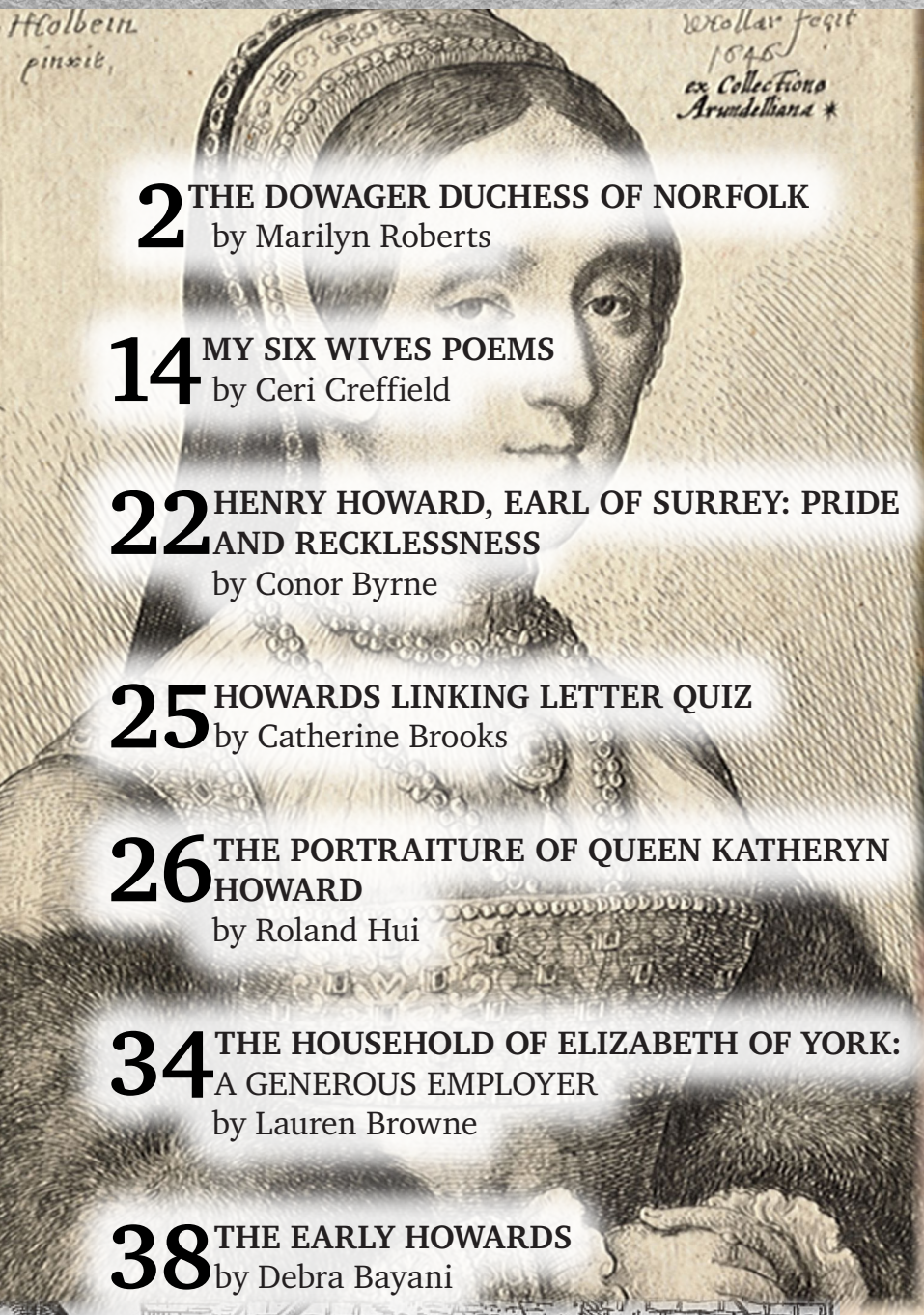
Tudor Life

Dynasty in profile: The Howards

I AM SO excited to introduce a new recurring feature of "Tudor Life" magazine in this issue. Every few months we will be profiling the great noble families who served, prospered and often perished under the Tudors. We begin with the House of Howard. Having written a biography of England's Howard queen, poor young Catherine, I am delighted to share an extract from that book, "Young and Damned and Fair", querying if the Howards really were as rabidly ambitious and exploitative as we have traditionally led to believe. We also have some thrillingly interesting articles from regular contributors and guests, exploring Howards on screen, as well as different individuals from this unlucky family - such as "Henry VIII's last victim", the Earl of Surrey, and Anne Boleyn's grandmother and Catherine Howard's guardian, Agnes Howard. We also look back to the courts they served and their rise to power. The Howards, who still hold the earl marshalcy and the dukedom they acquired in the time of the Tudors, are a study in tenacity and survival.

GARETH RUSSELL
EDITOR

Tudor Life



MARCH

MEET KATHERINE HOWARD'S REDOUBTABLE STEP-GRANDMOTHER: THE DOWAGER DUCHESS OF NORFOLK

by **Marilyn Roberts**

NEARLY 20 YEARS ago I took my first tentative steps into researching the history of the medieval Mowbray family, the original dukes of Norfolk, and have subsequently written several books and articles about them. That great family, with many royal connections, died out in 1481, but a marriage between Lady Margaret, a daughter of the first Mowbray duke, and a young man of much lower noble status named Robert Howard led to their son, Lord John Howard, being made first Duke of Norfolk in a new creation in 1483.

All that remains of the once massive castle at Sheriff Hutton near York where the Earl of Surrey was stationed as Henry VII's Lieutenant in the North and where he married Agnes Tilney in 1497. Photo © 2008 Shaun Conway

Obviously, in time the research was going to lead me to John Howard's great-granddaughters Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard, those unfortunate first cousins who were married to, and executed by, King Henry VIII. Right from the start, though, I have been rather more interested in the 'supporting cast' in the dramatic tale of Katherine Howard's short life, and this article gives a *very* brief introduction to the most important of those players: her step-grandmother, the redoubtable Dowager Duchess of Norfolk.Popular culture has not been kind to Katherine Howard and her step-grandma. Part of the purpose of the book currently in preparation is to draw attention to the devastating effect that the young Queen's fall from grace had upon the fortunes of her immediate family and former associates, particularly Agnes, the aged Dowager Duchess of Norfolk who had brought her up. Until recently, the majority of historians have been eager to apportion blame for Katherine's tragic end on deficiencies in that upbringing, frequently placing them squarely upon Duchess Agnes's shoulders; yet next to nothing has been written about what the girl's disgrace actually meant for the old lady herself, or for the other Howards involved, to say nothing of the hapless members of the duchess's household staff.

The Novotel on Lambeth Road, London, and a portion of the black building next to it are on the site of the Duchess's Norfolk House, where young Katherine Howard was up to no good before her marriage. Photo © Marilyn Roberts

The reader of certain nineteenth- and even twentieth-century works which have done so much to create the current public perception of these unfortunate human beings, is frequently presented with a narrative of events embellished with a liberal serving of fiction or wishful thinking and culminating in the horrific deaths of Katherine and two of her male associates. More often than not the impression is given that the rest of the accused were then released from captivity and able to pick up the pieces of their lives as effortlessly as though nothing of any great consequence had befallen them.

In reality, the demise of Katherine Howard was of terrifying and even life-threatening consequence for those who found themselves incarcerated in the Tower as accessories to her pre-marital misconduct: so many individuals, in fact, that the royal apartments had to be used to accommodate the overflow. Some, it is true, such as Katherine's half-uncle Lord William Howard, would be fully rehabilitated and eventually move on to greater things,

but for one prisoner in particular – Lord William's mother – life could never be the same again.

The story of Henry VIII's fifth wife is familiar to many people: Katherine at an early age is taken into the household of the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk to learn the ropes of how to become an accomplished young noblewoman, and in her early teens falls victim to the attentions of her music master. When the duchess finds them kissing she chastises them both, but apparently not vigorously enough. Later on the girl becomes much more involved with another of the duchess's staff, with whom she shares a very intimate and somewhat public relationship – he in various stages of undress – in full view, and hearing, of her companions in the young ladies' dormitory. Again, when the duchess finds them flirting and cuddling, both are chastised with a good slap, as is another poor girl simply for being there.

However, it was for having kept her knowledge of her step-granddaughter's imprudent antics a secret from Henry VIII when he decided to marry young Katherine that Duchess Agnes was imprisoned in the Tower, forfeited all her possessions, and was in real danger of losing her life.

So, who was this woman? In 1485, after his father John first duke's death at the Battle of Bosworth, the badly wounded Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey was taken prisoner and incarcerated in the Tower; when there arose an opportunity to escape he had the good sense not to take it, even though his title had been taken away by the victorious Henry Tudor and his father's dukedom was forfeit. Although the Howards had been leading supporters of Richard III, the astute King Henry VII recognised Thomas Howard's potential as a loyal servant of the new dynasty, and in 1489 he was released and restored as Earl of Surrey. The attainder by which his goods and properties had been confiscated was also reversed, but much of his fortune in land and property was still withheld. When the earl was sent to protect and administer the North, some of his children were taken to live at Court, as a sort of insurance policy, just in case his old Yorkist sympathies should suddenly flare up again.

In 1497, only four months after the death of Elizabeth Tilney, his wife of 25 years, Thomas Howard, now aged 54, obtained a dispensation from the Church to marry her younger first cousin 20-year-old Agnes Tilney, whose brother, Sir Philip, was in his service. The wedding took place three months after that, on 8th November, in the chapel of the great castle at Sheriff Hutton near York, where he was stationed as the King's Lieutenant in the North. While coming from a perfectly respectable Lincolnshire family, Agnes seems to have had little to bring to the marriage that would have made much difference to the earl's assets, so this could well have been a love match, on his part at least. With Agnes, who was younger than his eldest son and heir,

the earl had several more children, including Lord William Howard and yet another Katherine Howard, who by her second marriage became Countess of Bridgewater.

Thomas Howard proved his loyalties and abilities to such an extent that in 1499 he and his young wife were recalled to Court and in 1501 he was appointed to the position of Lord Treasurer, one of the great offices of State. In 1509 the dying Henry VII restored to Thomas all his lands and properties, but it was not until 1514, when the dukedom was finally restored to her husband by the young Henry VIII, in recognition of his victory over the Scots at Flodden the year before, that Agnes Tilney at last became Duchess of Norfolk. The new duchess's husband was, therefore, not only a devoted servant to the Crown, but also a famous soldier and national hero.

Ten years after his restoration the second duke died at the age of eighty, not long before the world as he had known it was about to change dramatically under the rule of Henry VIII, and statesmen of the old man's calibre would become increasingly hard to find. His Lambeth and Horsham mansions and lands were part of the huge settlement which came to his wife for the rest of her life and that at her death would revert to her stepson Thomas, now the new third duke.

The Will of Thomas, second duke 'being whole of mind and of good memory' is remarkable for the exceptional value of the goods he left to his wife, and is one of the few surviving documents where someone other than the ruling monarch speaks of himself in the plural. To his son and heir he left:

... our great hanged bed, with cloth of gold, white damask and black velvet and browdered [embroidered] *with these two letters* T A [the initials of the Christian names of himself and Agnes] *and our hanging of the story of Hercules made for our great chamber at Framlingham* [Castle].

These would be so valuable it would be like leaving someone a top-of-the-range Ferrari and a priceless Old Master painting today, though one has to wonder what the recipient felt about his stepmother's initial being 'browdered' on his trophy piece. The third Duke of Norfolk was also left the greater part of his late father's vast estates, but his step-mother was set to become an exceptionally wealthy woman for the rest of her life:

To our wife Agnes all manner of plate, jewels garnished and ungarnished, all our household stuff, bedding, hangings, sheets, fustians, blankets, pillows, cushions, hanged beds of gold and silk, or what other stuff that ever they be of, and all other stuff belonging to bedding and apparelling of chambers.

And on and on it went. The late duke wanted 'our said wife to have and enjoy all our said goods of our bequest' and beseeched Cardinal Wolsey to be 'good and gracious' to Agnes, his wife of 27 years, and make sure she received that which she was due.

The Church of St Mary At Lambeth, opposite Norfolk House, where Agnes, Dowager Duchess of Norfolk was laid to rest. Photo © Marilyn Roberts

According to the ordinances issued at Eltham in 1526 for the reform of the royal household, the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, then in her late forties, was the first lady of the Queen's (Katherine of Aragon) household after the King's sister Mary, and nearly fifteen years later, on the brink of her downfall, she was still one of the foremost ladies in England outside the immediate royal family in both status and wealth.

In her younger days, and even into the early years of her sixth decade, Agnes had spent a good deal of time at Court, becoming an attendant and friend to Queen Katherine, and at one time was governess to her and Henry's daughter Mary, to whom she was also a godparent.

In 1533, because of her seniority among the noble ladies, and despite any sympathy she may have harboured for the discarded Katherine of Aragon, the dowager carried her step-granddaughter Anne Boleyn's train at her coronation, and the following autumn stood godmother to Anne's baby, Princess Elizabeth. So, in the early 1530's,

The elaborate brass from Duchess Agnes's tomb; sadly neither tomb nor brass have survived.

arguably still the most senior of the non-royal duchesses on account of her stepson and his wife having separated, the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk was a very great lady indeed, and very much in the public eye.

Agnes and her kin were not, however, immune to the unpredictable wrath and increasing paranoia of Henry VIII, and that decade would see the execution of her daughter Katherine's first husband, the beheading of her step-granddaughter Anne Boleyn and the death of her own son, yet another Thomas Howard, who had been left to languish in the Tower for having secretly contracted a marriage with Henry VIII's niece Lady Margaret Douglas.

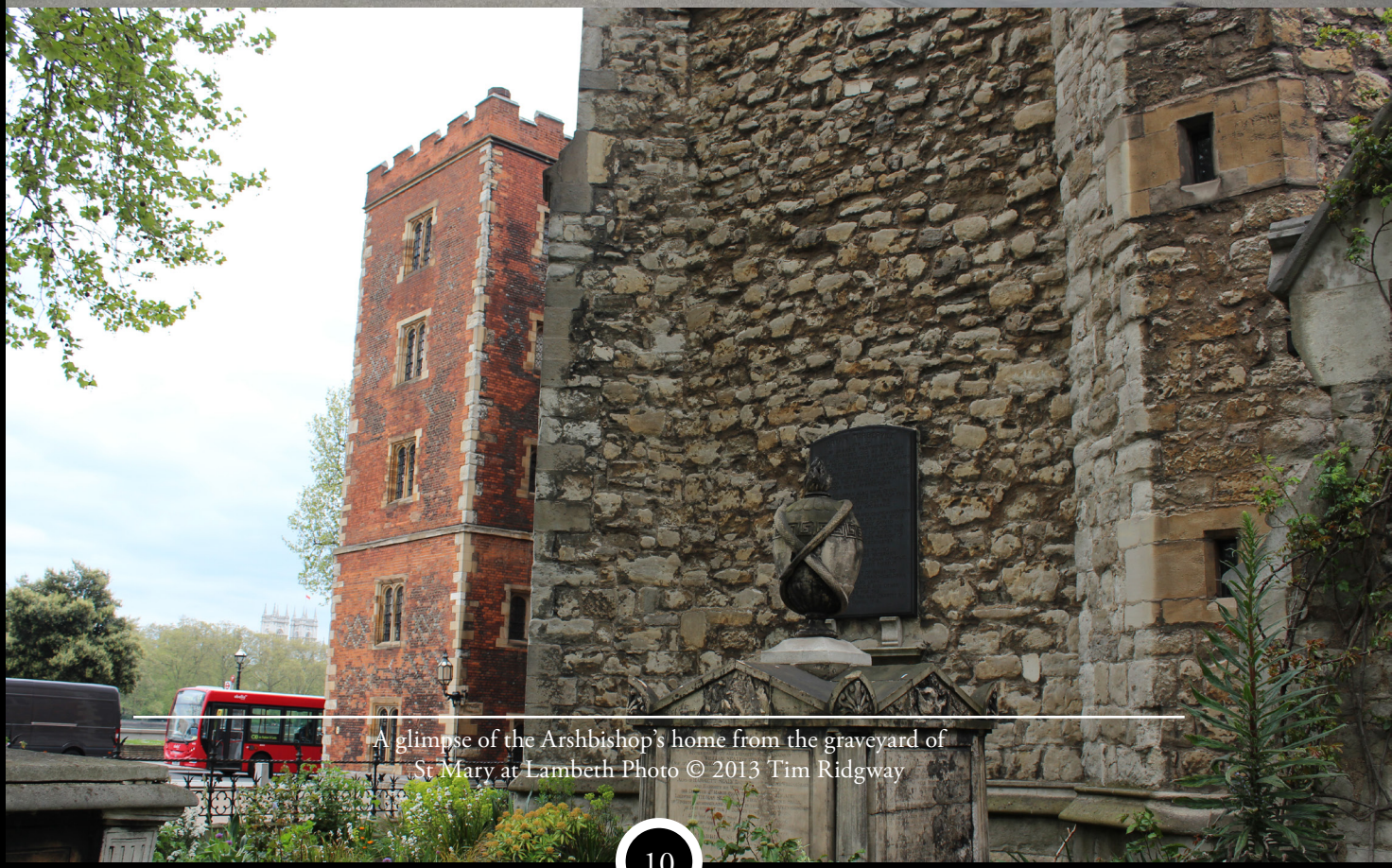
The Katherine Howard who would steal the heart of Henry VIII was one of ten children of Lord Edmund Howard, a son of the second duke's first marriage, so her true grandmother (and Anne Boleyn's also) was the late Elizabeth Tilney, not Agnes. Within the walls of the Lambeth mansion Norfolk House which lay opposite the Archbishop of Canterbury's London palace, and also at Chesworth House near Horsham in Sussex, Duchess Agnes ran what we today might call a finishing school for young ladies where, by working in the role of servants and attendants, they would learn how to run a great house, behave properly in high society and transform themselves into suitable candidates for the hand in marriage of some eligible younger son of a well-established family. This was the norm amongst the nobility, and it was quite natural that the young Katherine would go to live with her esteemed relative.

The dowager's Chesworth and Lambeth abodes constituted respectable and wealthy households, occupying large and, for the times, very luxurious dwellings adorned, no doubt, by the plethora of luxury goods Agnes had been willed by her late husband, and at the same time were home to a large number of people, including possibly more than 200 servants working in various departments. In any large group living together in close proximity there are always those ready to take advantage of weaknesses in the system, and some who might even enjoy the challenge of 'getting away with it'.

Neither advanced years nor incessant demands on her time and resources are evidence in themselves that Agnes Tilney was an uncaring or unworthy guardian. However, it was the great lady's failure to get to grips with, or possibly to realise the extent of, the fraternisation with gentlemen visitors to the maidens' chamber that would prove to be her undoing.

On 28 July 1540 Mistress Katherine Howard, aged no more than 19, married King Henry VIII, at least 30 years her senior. Alas, her position as the most important woman in the kingdom was short-lived, for she was arrested in November 1541 under suspicion of having had sexual relationships before her marriage. She was found guilty of these charges and also of having met since with Thomas Culpeper, one of her

The main entrance to the Archbishop of Canterbury's London home is much as it would have been when Agnes was laid to rest in the church alongside. Photo © Marilyn Roberts



A glimpse of the Arshbishop's home from the graveyard of St Mary at Lambeth Photo © 2013 Tim Ridgway

The stained glass window in St Mary At Lambeth Photo © 2013 Tim Ridgway

husband's favourite and most trusted gentlemen, in "a secret and vile place" and was executed on 13th February 1542.

Queen Katherine's step-grandmother and half-uncle Lord William Howard, with other family members and retainers, had already spent several weeks as prisoners in the Tower, convicted of misprision of treason, that is, having known of a treasonous act but failing to report it, which carried the penalty of life imprisonment with the confiscation of goods and property. Although eventually all were released and the dowager duchess had some lands and properties restored, she never retrieved Norfolk House, her precious Lambeth home, which the King had already made over to her stepson, the third Duke of Norfolk. Agnes Tilney died in 1545 aged about 67 and was buried in an elaborate tomb, of which nothing remains, in the Howard Chapel in the church of St Mary at Lambeth, opposite her old home.

MARILYN ROBERTS

Marilyn Roberts is a writer and lecturer, and also a former Collections Care Co-ordinator at Epworth Old Rectory Museum in North Lincolnshire, the childhood home of John and Charles Wesley, founders of Methodism.

Her major area of research, *The Mowbray Legacy*, initially intended for local interest only, has attracted attention from many parts of the world. Beginning as it does with the Norman Conquest and ending with the death in 1481 of Lady Anne Mowbray, the last of her line and child bride of one of the Princes in the Tower, it is unique in offering an overview of the entire dynasty, ancestors of the Howard Dukes of Norfolk.

Marilyn has also carried out extensive research on the lives of the children and grandchildren of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, which can be found in *The Bare Bones of Queen Victoria's Family Trees: Her Children and Grandchildren,* and is pleased to report that this title, along with *The Bare Bones of British Royal Family Trees* and *From Battenberg to Mountbatten: Three Generations of a Remarkable Family*, has been purchased for several years by Gift Shops on the Royal estate at Sandringham, St Mildred's Church at Whippingham near Osborne House where Queen Victoria and her family worshipped, and by Romsey Abbey, Hampshire, the burial place of Earl Mountbatten of Burma. All titles may be viewed at www.queens-haven.co.uk

Marilyn's current work-in-progress is *Queen Katherine and the Other Howards: a Family on the Brink of Disaster.*

A member's

POETRY

MY SIX WIVES POEMS BY CERI CREFFIELD

DURING THE SUMMER of 1977 I wrote a series of poems about the six wives of Henry VIII. They were completed before I turned 16: one just before my O-Levels and the rest shortly afterwards. I was obsessed with the Tudors, and Anne Boleyn in particular, in the way that only a teenage girl can be and I was reading anything related I could get my hands on - Thank goodness for local libraries! That summer I also bashed out a historical novel on an old manual typewriter. I still have it. Some parts are not at all bad and others make me wince. Maybe some day I will rewrite it; I already have some ideas on how I would change it. I certainly could not write the same novel now, nor could I write the same poems. Both my style and perception have changed somewhat over the intervening years.

Looking back now over forty years later, I rather like these poems but it's interesting to see how much my views of the six wives have changed.

Perhaps my favourite poem of the six is the one on Catherine of Aragon (or Katharine, as I spelt it in an attempt to distinguish between the three wives of that name). I think I did well to put myself in her shoes back then. At that age, I thought of her as frumpy and dull and annoyingly stiff-necked. How dare she stand in the way of the far more glamorous Anne Boleyn? I knew about the hardships of her youth in widowhood and her sad obstetric history but I had little empathy either for that or for her famous resistance to the annulment of her marriage.

Now as a stubborn middle-aged woman myself, I find myself admiring her courage, her intelligence, her dignity and her strength of character. She was a woman schooled to be a queen and assumed the temporary role of regent with aplomb. At the same time, I believe that she was less kind than I thought her then; she was not always generous in spirit to her ladies. She could also be ruthless and cruel; remember that she wanted to send the bloody body of the defeated James IV of Scotland to Henry (although she had to settle for his coat) – something of Isabella of Castille coming out there, I think. Moreover, she was not always a perfect example of rectitude; she certainly obfuscated the truth

regarding a mysterious pregnancy in the early years of her marriage. She was also capable of strange lapses in judgement, like her ill-advised attachment to Fray Diego, her less than saintly and controlling confessor.

However, her strong religious beliefs and her abiding love for Henry and for her daughter Mary, which I brought out in the poem, remain her defining characteristics and I think she was telling the truth when she swore she had come to Henry as a true maid. All this makes her a complex, well-rounded woman, rather than the boring saint I once thought her. Even so, I don't think I would need to alter any of the sentiments expressed to fit in with my changed picture of Catherine.

I am glad that her resting place in Peterborough Cathedral now proclaims her Katherine, Queen of England; she would have liked that.

On now to Anne Boleyn. I was seduced early on by *Brief Gaudy Hour* and Anne has been my heroine ever since. I was attracted to the idea that, thwarted in her first love, she set her sights on becoming queen for love of power and for the opportunity to destroy Wolsey en route. I saw her as charming, sexy, single-minded and utterly fascinating, which no doubt she was, but not in the femme fatale way I originally pictured. I admired her intelligence, her strength of mind, her patience and the will-power that enabled her to hold the king at bay and in thrall for so many years while they overcame every obstacle to make her queen. That was the Anne I tried to portray in the poem. I still admire her for those qualities but I now see that she had far more dimensions than I realised back then.

Firstly, Anne had a remarkable education at the hands of Margaret of Austria which she continued at the French court under the influence of Queen Claude and her friend Marguerite of Navarre. This alone, would have fitted her, in terms of accomplishments if not in rank, to be the consort of a king like Henry VIII. To this, she added intelligence, a quick wit, grace and charm and an air of French sophistication not often seen at the English court. Moreover, she knew almost everyone who was anyone in contemporary Europe. She may not have been close to Charles V or Francis I but she had moved in the same circles on an everyday basis, observed them on many occasions, interacted with their families and heard the gossip of the courts in a way that was unthinkable for most English men or women. Henry, who was an obsessive rival of his contemporary rulers, must have been fascinated by her insight into their daily lives. I imagine that they would have spoken often in private along these lines. I believe now that despite some initial reluctance on her part, she and Henry had a relationship of equals – or as near equal as was possible in that male-dominated culture. She brought as much to the partnership as he did and was not afraid to assert herself. I also believe that their love was

mutual and passionate. All this made their marriage a turbulent one; Henry liked his wives to be intelligent but ultimately submissive and Anne found the transition from mistress to wife a difficult one.

One thing that surprised me when I became aware of it was that Anne gave away far more money to charity than Catherine of Aragon had done – but Anne had a wide streak of altruism, which is not always appreciated, certainly not by myself in 1977! We know that Anne fell out with Cromwell over the proposed use of the proceeds of the dissolution of the monasteries. Rather than a means of enriching herself and others, she envisaged schools and universities flourishing with the grants that could be bestowed. She valued education and her deeply-held religious beliefs were based on intelligent reason rather than on trust in the traditional church. She wanted to offer others a similar opportunity to thrive.

I still think she was proud and often sharp-tongued, but not as unforgiving of her sister as my poem might suggest.

Of all the wives, I still consider her the most fascinating, all the more so because there is some much unknowable about her – from her actual birthdate to the reasons behind her fall.

Passing on reluctantly to Jane Seymour, I have to admit I have always had difficulty with her. To me, she is just not very interesting. When I wrote the poem, I saw her as a prim, dull little mouse, conventional and obedient, completely awed by the king and in love with him. These days I find her hard to decipher. What was it about her that caught the king's eye? Was it perhaps that she was the very antithesis of Anne? - Solidly English, outwardly unambitious, unexceptional, submissive. There are few records of her words or feelings, no indication of any wit. It is impossible to tell to what extent she may have been a stooge, following her family's advice to pique Henry's interest, or whether she acted on her own agency. Perhaps she was, like Anne, a genuinely reluctant recipient of Henry's attentions. I tend to think that she was just a passing fancy, a casual courtly dalliance that suddenly assumed disproportionate importance once the events of Anne's fall were set in motion. Her behaviour suggests that either she was very self-contained or very unemotional, or perhaps both. During most of the time she was married to Henry, she knew her place and kept to it. The only time she incurred his displeasure was in pleading for the rebels in the Pilgrimage of Grace. Had she lived to enjoy her position as mother to the heir would she have matured into more of a public personality? Who knows? She remains the cipher with the pursed lips and the clasped hands, forever unknowable but not inviting. Perhaps I do her an injustice but I do not warm to her.

In contrast, I have always felt a great deal of sympathy for Anne of Cleves. She was probably the least fitted of Henry's queens to assume that position, simply because nothing in her

background or education had equipped her for it. Schooled for domesticity, not diplomacy, she had not learned music or dancing; what was deemed frivolous in Cleves was seen as indispensable at the Henrician court. The style of dress in the German states was the antithesis of the French fashions favoured in England. At the time she arrived in the country, she had not yet mastered English and she was certainly not prepared for Henry's liking for disguise and charade, completely failing to take her cue when he came to greet her in the guise of a merchant. Presumably no one had thought to furnish her with a character sketch of her future husband! None of this was her fault and there was little she could have done to change the fact that Henry was simply not attracted to her. I've always thought that her misfortune was to be a big-boned German Hausfrau, when Henry to all appearances, preferred his women to be petite or slender!

In my poem, I chose to show Anne as fearful during her marriage and thankful for the divorce. I think now that she rather enjoyed being queen and that it is debatable to what extent she was aware that her husband found her burdensome. Although she acquiesced gracefully to the ending of her marriage, I think she missed being queen and was certainly affronted when Catherine Parr assumed the title later on. One perception has remained constant and that is the sense that Anne was much loved by those close to her and by her very different step-daughters. Whatever her shortcomings as a royal wife, she had a warm personality and was valued by both Mary and Elizabeth. I would like to hope that this – and the unusual wealth and independence that she gained on her divorce – made up to some extent for the humiliation she felt at her rapid demotion.

When I wrote these poems, I was fairly dismissive of Catherine Howard, despite her then being my close contemporary in age. I saw her as a silly, feather-headed wanton, who danced her way to her own doom. Poor little girl, I thought, not realising that those who play with fire get their fingers burnt. I pitied her for having to cope with the amorous attentions of an ageing, corpulent king but at the same time, thought her foolish to succumb to an intense love affair with Thomas Culpepper. Over time, whilst still considering it the height of folly, I've been less inclined to romanticise her relationship with Culpepper or to believe that it was consummated. At the same time (and I acknowledge Gareth Russell's influence here) I've come to believe that although not particularly clever, she displayed warmth, charm, a strong will and a fine sense of public decorum. Outwardly at least, she made a good queen. It is just a shame that she grew up in a culture that normalised and encouraged pre-marital sex and romance and that she had such poor taste in men! Had she married among her peers, this might have counted for little. Her real misfortune was to

be espoused by a king whereby every aspect of her life, past and present, became open to scrutiny!

And so to Catherine Parr, the most intellectual of Henry's consorts. I don't think my poem does her justice in that respect, although I did try to infuse it with a certain humour, at least in the first few verses. I was wrong about her first two husbands both being old; the first at least was young. However, I did refer to her royal marriage as a "calling", reflecting the fact that she saw it very much as her duty – and she did her duty very well indeed. After Henry's previous marital history, you might not expect him ever to trust a wife again, but Catherine won his confidence to the extent that he nominated her regent in his absence abroad. He was also careful to stipulate that she should continue to be given every honour due to a queen after his death. She made an exemplary regent. Her prudence, good sense and dignity must have provided an excellent example to both her step-daughters of how a woman should rule.

I fell for the old chestnut that Catherine was first and foremost Henry's nurse, possibly lulled by the false impression of domesticity. Certainly, under Catherine's influence, the royal household became more of a family than the dysfunctional Tudors had been in decades or ever would be again. This in itself was a notable achievement, but there was still more to Catherine. Her interest in reading, languages and religion is striking and must surely have made a big impression on the young Elizabeth. Very few women actually published books in the sixteenth century; in so doing Catherine was making herself quite conspicuous, not to say daring. This itself could be dangerous. Her religious convictions were the one aspect of her character that got her into trouble. It took a lot of tears and persuasion to convince Henry to forgive her for her dangerously Protestant views. Again, maybe Elizabeth learnt something from that.

After over three years of careful, sensible and cautious behaviour, it is no wonder that Catherine for once acted out of impulse in marrying Thomas Seymour so soon after Henry's death. It was a shame that she was so deceived in Seymour's loyalties. She deserved much better at his hands.

I hope that you enjoy the poems and that in reading this very partisan description of how my views have changed over the years, you have perhaps recognised something of your own journey, whether or not our opinions concur! One of the joys of studying Tudor history is that there is always more to learn, more surprises to be found and more to revise my thoughts and opinions. Many thanks for sticking with my ramblings and I hope that you as well as I, will continue to be fascinated by the infinite variety that the Tudors can offer.

CERI CREFFIELD

The Dirge of Katherine

Was it for this I left my country?
I ne'er will see my kin again.
I wish so much for Spanish sunshine
But now it only seems to rain.

Espoused in name, a virgin widow,
Not honoured as a princess should,
E'en then I knew God would not sanction
A marriage that was born in blood.

Another prince, another wedding,
Another hope that drifted past.
A lifetime – yet we had no issue
Save she I fought for to the last.

My daughter – ah! My cause for staying,
How can he watch her suffer so?
The reason lies with my poor rival.
A harder way soon she will go.

So now I live in squalid sadness.
Death is near; I will be shriven.
Welcome Lord! Forget not, husband,
The love that I have truly given.

The Tale of Jane Seymour

The first queen that I e'er did serve
Was true and kind and gentle
But then there came another maid
Whose guiles were detrimental.

This bawd did filch my lady's crown.
Much good that title brought her.
Gulity or no of treasoned crimnes,
Her fault lay in a daughter.

Since her small neck has now been severed,
Since my lord made me his wife,
With virtue I shall heal his fortunes,
To obey and serve him all my life.

Be sage, be silent, love his children…
Einceinté, I must bear a boy.
The king's own sweetheart has no fears.
For purity, God will send joy.
Dear brothers mine, they fuss upon me,
Though my love's to Esher gone,
While I am here confined to Hampton.
I'll yield my son to him ere long.

Dedicated to Anne

What does it matter that my clothes are fine,
My jewels bright, my perfumes rare?
What does it matter that all men adore me,
Save the one whose crown I share?

Is it meet to wed sans loving?
Should I perchance have gone astray?
Alack, too late to forfeit virtue.
Power's allure hath changed my way.

That wanton that I dub my sister
Took the easy twisting path,
Although I thought her poor rewarded,
She chose better than I hath.
And now the charm that held my lover,
That secured for me a crown,
Has deserted its proud owner,
So my dark head will tumble down.

The stain that he hath cast upon me –
I vow no fault of mine were true!
'Twould be far kinder to perish seulemente –
I'd fain these others would not die too.

Although I leave one king behind me
(And my flame-haired daughter unaware)
I know I go to meet another
Who hath much justice and pity to spare.

SIX WIVES POETRY BY CERI CREFFIELD

Anne's joy

From Italy the envoy passed.
Forthwith their questions did ensue
And when they came again to Cleves,
They bowed: "His choice alights on you

To be the King of England's Queen".
My heart with shock was frozen.
My sister – clever, skilled and fair –
Wherefore was she not chosen?

The journey was both rough and cruel.
At Dover I found respite.
Caught deshabillé, I was scorned.
"A Flanders Mare!" 'Twas not polite!

Not well-schooled as my lord's new love,
Who warned me of the other wives,
I knew I did not please my husband
And those poor ladies lost their lives!

Each night my bed was cold and empty.
Each day my speech would fail to shine.
My head, my neck, I felt would fall.
I wished a Hausfrau's lot was mine.

But I had no need to fear him.
His "sister" royal, I am content.
I love his children, watch their progress.
Divorce was sure from heaven sent.

Katherine's promise

After a childhood neglected and grim
'Twas heaven to be raised on high.
As for the men I know before,
What did they matter? Queen was I!

A music master and a pirate spouse then
Before my marriage counted naught.
My true mistake my folly gave me –
Besides my king, a lover sought.

With aid 'twas simple to deceive him.
I never thought we could be found,
When *he* crept swiftly from the backstairs
To my bed, without a sound.

Although I should have recalled others
And been more careful with my fate,
The fickle chance that killed my cousin,
I derided till too late.

The gallery to me seemed endless,
The walls pressed in, resounding screams.
If I perchance had reached my husband….
The guards destroyed my girlish dreams.

The "rose without a thorn" shall perish.
The block is here to practise death.
My lord loved me and I was foolish
But I'll whisper "Tom" with my dying breath.

Catherine's Elegy

When I was young twice I was wed
To lords old and decrepit
With children grown – none of my own –
This lady so intrepid.

A widow twice with fortune great,
At court I found my calling.
Alas, my love was sent from me.
The king I was enthralling.

Not for a wife but for a nurse
And mother for his offspring,
The king's sixth wife soon I became.
What danger did that name bring!

Theology imperilled me.
I did not mourn sincerely
My husband's death. I married then
The one I love so dearly.

But my love was not so true
As my poor heart believed him.
I found a princess in his arms.
I'd never have deceived him!

'Twas not her fault, I realise now.
He loves not me but power.
He'll have my child but my life's blood
He swallows by the hour.

HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY: PRIDE AND RECKLESSNESS

Conor Byrne looks at this fascinating Tudor man...

Henry Howard was the eldest son of Thomas, duke of Norfolk. He was born in 1517, probably in London but possibly in Hunsdon, and spent some of his childhood in Ireland while his father served as lord lieutenant there. His grandfather died in 1524 and his father succeeded to the dukedom of Norfolk, which meant that Henry acquired the earldom of Surrey. His childhood was mainly spent at family residences in Suffolk and Hertfordshire; later he resided at court in the household of Henry VIII's illegitimate son Henry Fitzroy, who was close in age; Fitzroy went on to marry Henry's sister Mary. In 1533, when he was sixteen, Henry resided at the court of Francois I of France; that year, his cousin Anne Boleyn became queen of England. His noble status and relationship with the royal family – another cousin, Katherine Howard, became Henry VIII's fifth queen in 1540 – appears to have inculcated pride and arrogance in the young earl, who was a gifted poet and linguist. In 1529, for example, when he was twelve years old, Henry's elegant letter writing was lauded by his father to the imperial ambassador at court. He was skilled in Latin, Spanish and French. The same year, it was reputed that Norfolk favoured a marriage between his son and Mary, the king's daughter. Such a union would have been in keeping with the duke's ambitions, but it did not come to fruition. In 1533, Henry married Frances de Vere, daughter of the earl of Oxford.

The tragic Henry Howard, a poet-Earl

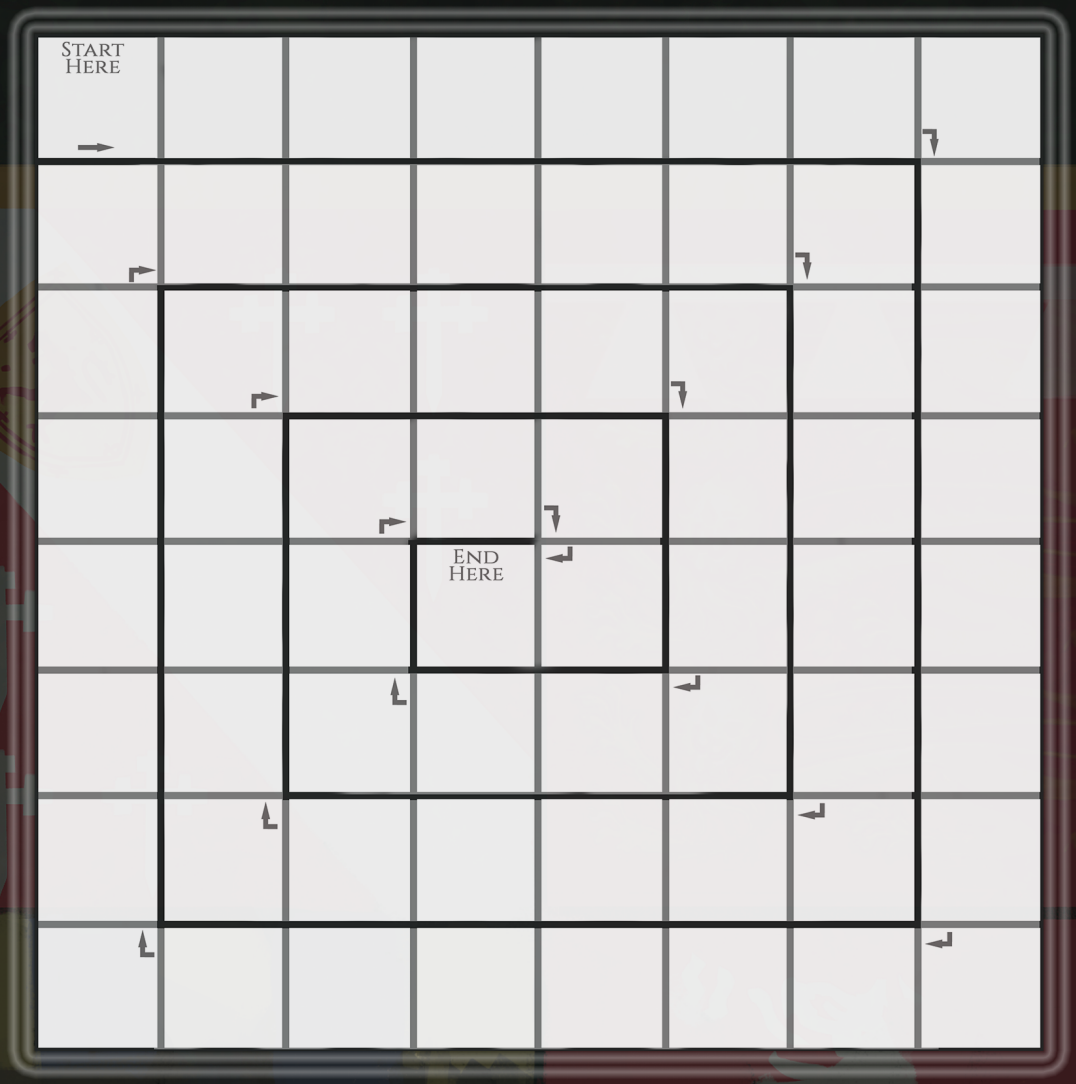
They had five children: Thomas (b. 1538), Henry (b. 1540), Jane (b. between 1533 and 1537), Margaret and Katherine, whose dates of birth are unknown.

Although he possessed literary and linguistic talents, Surrey was indiscreet and reckless in nature. In 1543, he was briefly imprisoned for eating meat in Lent and for behaving violently at night-time. He disliked those at court whom he perceived to be inferior in birth to him, including the king's master secretary Thomas Cromwell. From the mid-1530s on, Surrey was engaged in a number of military campaigns. In 1536, when the Pilgrimage of Grace broke out, he was tasked with riding north to raise horses for the king's army, and later travelled to Cambridge, where he was ordered to stay his troops. During the crisis, rumours circulated that both Surrey and his father were sympathetic to the rebel cause. The earl was subsequently incarcerated at Windsor Castle as a result of engaging in combat with an accuser. Surrey lamented his loss of freedom, held as he was 'in pryson… with bondage and restraynt.' Two years later, when rumours circulated of an invasion, he was commissioned with organising the defence of Norfolk, and in 1541 he was made a Knight of the Garter. The following year, he accompanied his father to Scotland, and witnessed the burning of Kelso. The king pursued war with France in 1544, and Surrey was appointed marshal of the army to capture the town of Montreuil; on 11 September he witnessed the fall of Boulogne to the English. In the summer of 1545, Surrey was appointed commander-in-chief of the English armed forces in France, but experienced humiliation when the English were defeated at St. Etienne in January 1546. The following month, the earl of Hertford replaced Surrey as lieutenant general. Susan Brigden has noted that 'the Howard alliances with the royal family were prodigious and dangerous,' which was true in 1536 and 1542 (when Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard were executed, respectively), and again in 1547, as Surrey discovered to his cost.

According to Brigden, 'Surrey was isolated and vulnerable' when he returned to court in the spring of 1546. He was resentful of the political influence exercised by men 'of vile birth', and recklessly encouraged his sister Mary – whose husband Fitzroy had died in 1536 – to become the king's mistress, 'as she might the better rule here as others had done'. Mary was horrified by her brother's suggestion, and informed Surrey's disaffected friends of his scheme. One of those former friends may have been Richard Southwell, who produced evidence against the earl in December and accused him of disloyalty. It became apparent that Surrey had sought the position of regent for his father in the council appointed by the king to govern during the minority of Edward VI. Perhaps most recklessly of all, however, Surrey had quartered the royal arms of Edward the Confessor with his own. As Suzannah Lipscomb has suggested, 'the visual crime of bearing royal arms was considered a powerful form of *lèse-majesté*: it was treason, and it comprised the one charge eventually included in Surrey's indictment.' The enraged king believed that Surrey intended 'to govern the realm' and 'to rule the king'. It was rumoured that the earl intended the destruction of the Council and desired the seizure of the prince. Surrey was tried on 13 January 1547. He was found guilty of treason and was executed at Tower Hill six days later. The earl's remains were interred at All Hallows Barking and, later, St. Michael's Church in Framlingham. His father had been due to follow him to the block on 28 January, but Henry VIII's death that morning prevented the execution from taking place. Norfolk remained in prison for the entirety of Edward VI's reign and was released only after Mary I's accession in 1553; he died the following year. Surrey has been described as 'Henry VIII's last victim'; certainly he was neither the first Howard, nor the last, to suffer the fatal consequences of royal disfavour.

CONOR BYRNE

THE HOWARDS
LINKING LETTER QUIZ



Starting at "Start here" and following the arrows, put one letter of each answer in each box. The last letter of each answer is the first letter of the next answer!

1. What was the first name of Catherine Howard's mother?
2. The name of Catherine Howard's step-grandmother, who she was sent to to finish her upbringing (two words)?
3. Surname of Francis, Catherine Howard's lover before she caught Henry's eye?
4. First name of Catherine Howard's father's third wife (maiden name Munday)?
5. First name of Anne Boleyn's uncle and Howard relative, who suggested her marriage to James Butler?
6. Relationship between Thomas, Earl of Surrey, and John, Duke of Norfolk (the latter killed in the Battle of Bosworth)?
7. Catherine Howard's step-grandmother was the Dowager Duchess of?
8. A sometimes used alternative spelling of Catherine Howard's first name?
9. First name of Catherine Howard's father?
10. Surname of John, Catherine Howard's Master of the Horse?

Answers

A	R	D	E	R	E	H	A
U	R	F	O	L	K	A	M
O	O	N	D	U	D	T	A
H	N	U	R	K	L	H	R
S	O	M	O	Y	E	E	G
E	S	D	E	N	I	R	A
N	A	M	O	H	T	E	R
G	A	T	S	O	C	A	J

The Portraiture of Queen Katheryn Howard

by Roland Hui

As Henry VIII's fifth Queen for so brief a time and executed for high treason no less, it is not surprising that the portraiture of Katheryn Howard is scarce, perhaps even nonexistent. Like her cousin Anne Boleyn - also beheaded - likenesses of Katheryn were probably destroyed or put away upon her death in 1542. Nonetheless, images said to be the tragic young lady do exist, but can any be acknowledged with certainty?

Because it was difficult to find portraits of Katheryn Howard, early depictions of her were entirely fanciful **(Fig. 1).** But by the Victorian era, serious efforts were made to seek out her likeness. One such image was a miniature of a lady found at Sudeley Castle **(Fig. 2)**. The inscription ANO XXXII was interpreted as the '32nd regnal year' of Henry VIII, that is 1540-1541. As Katheryn Howard was Queen of England at the time, the miniature was thought to be of her.[1]

However, the inscription was more accurately read as 'age 32' or 'in her 32nd year'. The portrait was subtsequently re-identified as Henry VIII's sixth wife Katharine Parr, and dated to about 1544 when she was at the age indicated. Also, as Katharine lived at Sudeley Castle during her later marriage to Sir Thomas Seymour, this was taken as supplementary evidence that the miniature was of her, not of her predecessor.

Although the Sudeley miniature has been dismissed as Katheryn Howard, another small portrait by Hans Holbein currently in the Royal Collection (with a duplicate in the possession of the Duke of Buccleuch) appears to have a good claim as Henry VIII's fifth wife **(Fig. 3 and Fig. 4)**. Of its known history, the Royal Collection version appears to have belonged to King Charles II.[2] Later it was apparently in the hands of Thomas Barrett of Lee Priory in Kent.[3] There a miniature was seen by the antiquary George Vertue who described it as being of Katheryn Howard in 1739. Three years earlier, Vertue had also come across the Buccleuch version, then in the collection of one Jonathan Richardson. The sitter was also called Katheryn Howard. However, it was not so earlier on. When the Buccleuch copy (then in ownership of the Arundel family) was engraved by Wenceslas Hollar in 1646 **(Fig. 5)**, the lady, though she was unnamed in the engraving, was called 'Mary Tudor', the younger

Fig. 1: Katheryn Howard (by an Unknown Artist)

Fig. 2: Katharine Parr (by an Unknown Artist)

Fig. 3: Katheryn Howard (?) (by Hans Holbein)

Fig. 4: Katheryn Howard (?) (by Hans Holbein)


Holbein
pinxit,
Wollar fecit
1646
ex Collectione
Arundelliana *

sister of Henry VIII.[4] Nonetheless, Holbein's sitter was recognized as Katheryn Howard when the Royal Collection version was inventoried early in the reign of Queen Victoria.[5]

Even with the tradition of being Katheryn Howard, is there certainty that the Holbein miniatures actually were of her? The art historian Roy Strong has suggested that since two copies of the miniature exist, the sitter was undoubtedly of exceptional status - a queen, he thought.[6] Her costume seems to acknowledge her royal status. The young woman wears cloth-of-gold with sleeves of cloth-of-silver (though the silver pigment has oxidized over the centuries to a dull gray). Her jewellery - most lavish - is indicative of her state as well. Her French hood is encrusted with pearls and gems, as is the upper section of her bodice. Around her neck is a rich necklace made up of clusters of pearls alternating with rubies set in goldsmith's work. The centrepiece is a golden 'ooche' (a pendant) with a ruby, an emerald, and a large teardrop pearl.

The lady's sumptuous jewels have been used to link her to Katheryn Howard. It was noticed that the necklace and pendant resembled those worn by Henry VIII's third wife Jane Seymour in a portrait by Holbein.[7] Clearly, such jewels were passed down from one queen to another. In an attempt to actually trace Katheryn's jewels, historian David Starkey looked to an inventory compiled by Nicholas Bristowe, the clerk of Henry VIII's wardrobes.[8] Among Starkey's findings were listings of 'an ooche of gold having a very fair table diamond and a very fair ruby with a long pearl hanging at the same', a hood with an 'upper habiliment of goldsmith's work enamelled and garnished with 7 fair diamonds, 7 fair rubies, and 7 fair pearls, and a 'square' containing '29 rubies and 29 clusters of pearls, being 4 pearls in every cluster'. These very items, Starkey claimed, can be seen in the Holbein miniatures, thus confirming the sitter's identity as Katheryn Howard.[9]

Apart from her jewels, some historians have looked to contemporary descriptions of Katheryn Howard to tie the miniatures to her. The sitter's seeming plumpness was associated to a report made in early 1542 of Katheryn being 'fatter and more beautiful than ever'.[10] It was also said that Holbein's lady resembled members of the Howard clan, that is Katheryn's uncle the Duke of Norfolk and his son the Earl of Surrey as seen in their portraits.[11] Historians have even played psychologist. David Starkey opined that Katheryn's expression in the miniatures revealed her 'quizzical and come-hither' nature, no doubt a reference to her supposed lack of intellect and her alleged promiscuous temperament. Unfortunately, such observances are subjective and unreliable as art historian Brett Dolman remarked. Scholars 'have habitually painted their own prejudices and opinions on to portraits', he wrote. 'This historiographic laziness is subjective at best, wholly unreliable at worst'.[12]

Because the miniatures cannot conclusively be said to be of Katheryn Howard, other candidates have been proposed. Among Holbein's other clients was Mary Brandon, Lady Monteagle (1510-c.1540) **(Fig. 6)** who served Queen Jane Seymour at court. Jane was known to have given presents of jewels to her ladies. Could Holbein's miniatures in fact show Lady Monteagle wearing a necklace bestowed to her by the late Queen?[13] While there is a similarity in looks between Mary Brandon and the woman in the miniatures, it cannot be said with certainty that they are the same person. Also, while Jane Seymour was generous in her gifting giving, a necklace as ornate as to one in the miniatures might not have been the sort of jewellery handed over to a lady-in-waiting.

In another attempt to re-identify Holbein's lady, scholar Susan E. James put forward the notion that she was actually Margaret Douglas (1515-1578), a niece of Henry VIII.[14] In looking at portraits of Margaret, James was convinced that the miniatures showed her as she was in the early 1540s. Besides an apparent likeness between the two ladies, James remarked that Margaret was also a recipient of jewels from Jane Seymour. In addition, because of the abundance of pearls in the Holbein portraits, James believed they alluded to Margaret herself; *margarite* in Greek means 'pearl'. But as in the case of Lady Monteagle, any facial resemblance between Margaret Douglas and Holbein's sitter is superficial at best. James' conclusions have not been popularly embraced.

Art Historians have also looked beyond the Holbein miniatures to seek out Katheryn Howard. Earlier in 1910, the eminent Lionel Cust, the former Director of the National Portrait Gallery in London, and the co-editor of the prestigious *Burlington Magazine*, proposed that a panel painting by Holbein of a lady in black velvet was Katheryn

Fig. 5 (Left): Katheryn Howard (?)
(by Wenceslas Hollar after Hans Holbein)

Fig6. Mary Brandon, Lady Monteagle (by Hans Holbein)

Fig 7. Unknown Lady (by Hans Holbein)

Howard.[15] The picture exists in three versions of varying quality, the finest of them now in the collection of The Toledo Museum of Art in Ohio **(Fig. 7)**.

Fig. 8
Katheryn Howard (?) (by Hans Holbein)

Cust identified the subject as Katheryn Howard based on her resemblance to the miniatures and to a sketch of a female **(Fig. 8),** also by Holbein, said to be of the Queen as well. In one of his arguments in favour of the woman being Katheryn, Cust drew attention to her age, given as 21 or 'in her 21st year'. Cust thought this was consistent with 'the known facts' of the Queen's life as she was born in 'about 1520 - 1521'.[16]

Ever since Cust introduced the Toledo image to the public, it was widely accepted as Katheryn Howard. But beginning in 1953 at *The Kings and Queens Exhibition* held in Liverpool, concerns were raised whether the 21-year-old lady was indeed the Queen.[17] Later in 1969, Roy Strong also expressed doubt based on the provenance of the Toledo picture.[18] It had belonged to members of Thomas Cromwell's family. Since Katheryn's elevation to the throne in 1540 was due in part to the fall of Cromwell - he was even executed on the very day Katheryn married Henry VIII - it was hardly expected that the disgraced minister's kin would own a portrait of her. If the image was not of Katheryn Howard, it was instead of someone prominent in the Cromwell family in the 1540s. Strong suggested she might be Elizabeth Seymour, the sister of Queen Jane. In about 1537, she was wed to Thomas Cromwell's son Gregory.

Yet in 2007, the *Lost Faces: Identity and Discovery in Tudor Royal Portraiture* exhibition thought otherwise. The 'Toledo-type' image, the curators believed, was indeed of Queen Katheryn.[19] 'The physiognomical similarities' between the woman in the Holbein miniatures and Holbein's sitter in black 'are too striking too ignore', they wrote in the exhibit's catalogue. Accordingly, 'the miniature face is simply the Toledo face tilted slightly back'.

Fig. 8: Katheryn Howard (?) (by Hans Holbein)

Oddly enough, the curators have also argued that the Toledo sitter - that is Katheryn - was evidently painted before she was Queen, though they offered no explanation for this opinion. Nonetheless, it was 'a hypothesis that would fit the age of the sitter, and the early 1540s fashion', they said. This statement is curious in that Katheryn was wed in July 1540. If she was painted before her marriage, she would be wearing styles of the late 1530s instead. Also, the fact that Katheryn would have had her likeness taken - and by the great Holbein no less - before she was Queen, is problematic. Prior to her marriage, she was not a person of significance. Katheryn was living as a dependent in the household of her grandmother the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk. When she did go to court, it was initially to serve as a maid-of-honour to the King's fourth wife Anne of Cleves.

It remains to be seen whether there will be others advocating for Holbein's 21-year-old sitter to be formally recognized as Katheryn Howard

again. There are still no indications of this as of yet. Presently, The Toledo Museum of Art still calls the picture 'Portrait of a Lady, probably a Member of the Cromwell Family'.

Despite a lack of definite evidence that the two Holbein miniatures depict Katheryn Howard, they still remain the strongest contenders. Admittedly, there have been other portraits besides the Toledo type that have also been put forward as possible likenesses - a stained glass of the Queen of Sheba at King's College Chapel in Cambridge, a miniature of a woman age 18, and a painting of a lady age 17[20] - but all lack substantial proof of being Katheryn Howard. There is no reason to believe that Katheryn was the model for the Queen of Sheba, and the likenesses of the two young ladies have no more than their respective ages to suppose they are Katheryn. With no more to go on, the Holbein miniatures remain the most likely depictions of Henry VIII's elusive fifth wife.

ROLAND HUI

1 George Scharf, 'Notes on several of the Portraits described in the preceding Memoir, and on some others of the like character' in *Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, vol. 40, pt. 1, 1866, p. 84.
2 Susan Foister, *Holbein in England*, London: Tate Publishing, 2006, p. 102. A miniature identified as Katheryn Howard was owned by the artist Peter Stevens in the 17th century, but it is uncertain whether it was one of the two Holbeins.
3 Roy Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, London: The Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983, p. 50. Also, Christopher Lloyd and Vanessa Remington, *Masterpieces in Little: Portrait Miniatures from the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, London: Royal Collection Enterprises Limited, p. 58.
4 Roy Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, p. 50.
5 ibid.
6 ibid.
7 ibid.
8 Bendor Grosvenor (editor), *Lost Faces: Identity and Discovery in Tudor Royal Portraiture*, London: Philip Mould Ltd., p. 73. A transcript of the inventory is on pp. 109-124.
9 Actually, Starkey was mistaken about the ooche. It is more accurately the one described in the inventory as 'one other ooche of gold enamelled containing one very fair ballas' (a ruby) 'and one emerald with a very fair pearl hanging at the same'. As well, the 'square' which Starkey describes as a 'shaped necklace', may actually mean the jewelled band on the neckline of a gown. See: Roy Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, p. 50.
10 *Letters and Papers*, XVII, no. 63. However, an earlier description described Katheryn Howard as 'slender'. See: Jean Kaulek, (editor), *Correspondance Politique De MM. de Castillon et De Marillac, Ambassadeurs de France en Angleterre (1537-1542)*, Paris: La Commission des Archives Diplomatiques, 1885, p. 248.
11 Lionel Cust, 'A Portrait of Queen Catherine Howard, by Hans Holbein the Younger', *The Burlington Magazine*, XVII, 1910, p. 194.
12 Brett Dolman, 'Wishful Thinking: Reading the Portraits of Henry VIII's Queens', *Henry VIII and the Court: Art, Politics and Performance*, edited by Thomas Betteridge and Suzannah Lipscomb, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013, p. 116.
13 Christopher Lloyd and Vanessa Remington, *Masterpieces in Little: Portrait Miniatures from the Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II*, p. 58.
14 Susan E. James, 'Lady Margaret Douglas and Sir Thomas Seymour by Holbein: Two miniatures re-identified', *Apollo Magazine*, May 1998, pp. 15-17.
15 Lionel Cust, 'A Portrait of Queen Catherine Howard, by Hans Holbein the Younger', pp. 193-199. Interestingly enough, two versions of this portrait, like the Buccleuch miniature, were also called 'Mary Tudor' at some time during their history. See: Roy Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, London: H.M.S.O, vol. I, pp. 42-43.
16 Lionel Cust, 'A Portrait of Queen Catherine Howard, by Hans Holbein the Younger', p. 194. Katheryn Howard's birth date remains controversial. Historian Lacey Baldwin Smith proposed circa 1521 (Lacey Baldwin Smith, *A Tudor Tragedy*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1961, pp. 209-211). More recent biographers have suggested a later date.
17 Roy Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, vol. I, p. 43.
18 ibid.
19 Bendor Grosvenor (editor), *Lost Faces: Identity and Discovery in Tudor Royal Portraiture*, pp. 70-75.
20 For the Queen of Sheba image: Antonia Fraser, *The Wives of Henry VIII*, New York: Viking, 1992, p. 315. For the miniature and the panel painting: Susan E. James and Jamie S. Franco, 'Susanna Horenbout, Levina Teerlinc and the Mask of Royalty', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*, Antwerp, 2000, pp. 90-125.

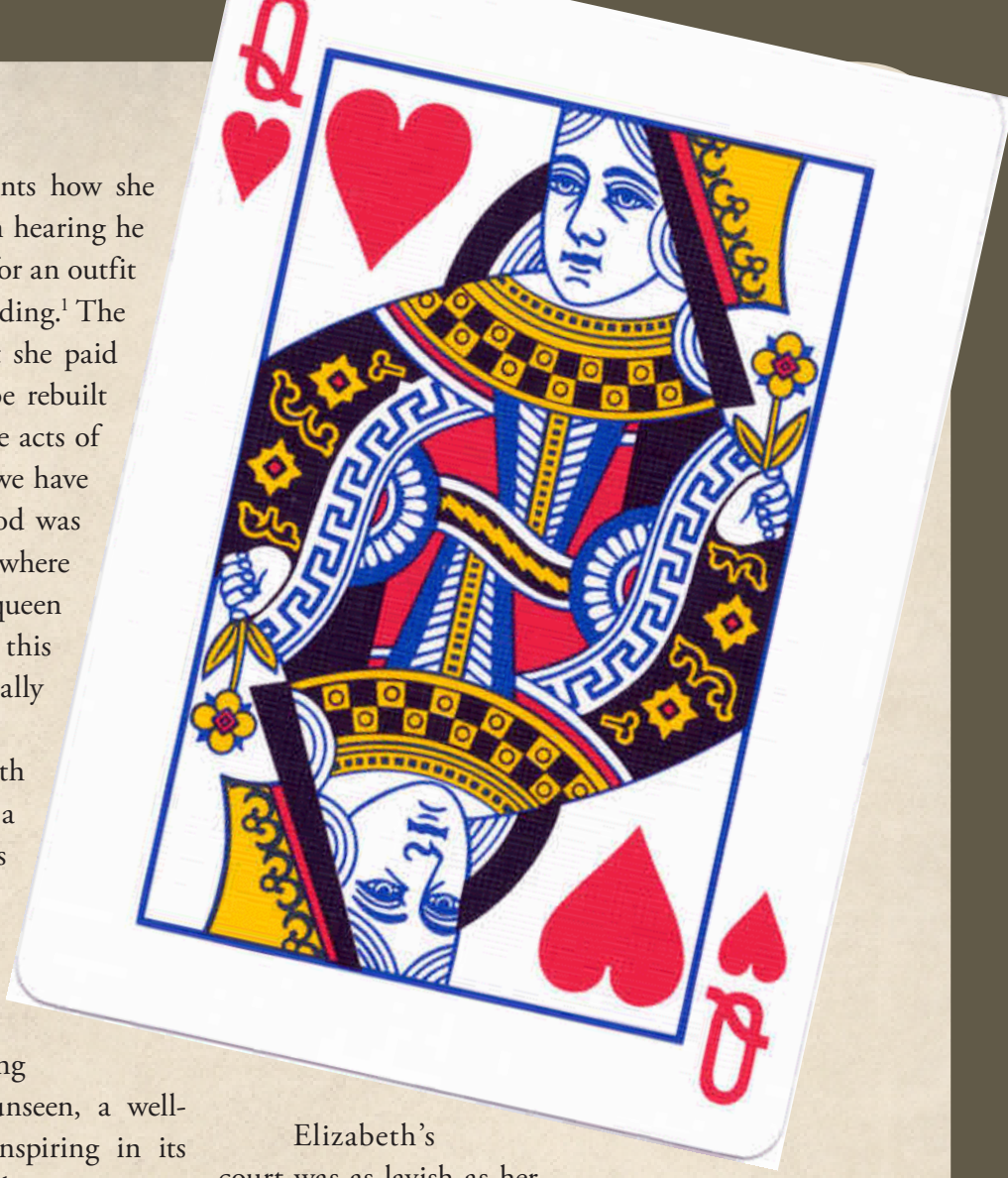
Roland Hui is the author of ***The Turbulent Crown: The Story of the Tudor Queens*** (MadeGlobal, 2017). He blogs about Tudor art and personalities at: Tudor Faces: https://tudorfaces.blogspot.ca.

THE HOUSEHOLD OF ELIZABETH OF YORK

A GENEROUS EMPLOYER OF LOW AND HIGH, INCLUDING THE HOWARD FAMILY

BY LAUREN BROWNE

THE FIRST OF the Tudor queens, Elizabeth of York, has sometimes been referred to by later historians as the 'Tudor Queen of Hearts'. This is because of the legend that her image is featured on this card in a standard deck. The extant sources certainly do reveal that she was a popular consort, someone who certainly captivated the hearts of most of her subjects, and those in her employ. From the fragmentary evidence we have about the personality of Queen Elizabeth of York, it appears that she was a good employer, and she seems to have been incredibly generous, despite the somewhat dire financial situation of her household. It also appears that she actively involved herself in her servants' lives.



Historian Amy Licence recounts how she gave her fool additional money upon hearing he had taken ill, and how she had paid for an outfit for one of her pages to wear at his wedding.[1] The privy purse expenses also show that she paid for one of her courtier's houses to be rebuilt after it was destroyed in a fire. These acts of kindness may appear strange to us, we have an idea that the Early Modern period was a much more brutal era than today, where personal relationships between a queen and her courtiers were removed. But this was not always the case, and especially not true of Elizabeth of York.

On becoming queen, Elizabeth was tasked with managing a great household. Thomas Penn's description of the court perfectly paints the picture of how it was run: -

'The royal household was the regime in microcosm, its beating heart. Below stairs it functioned unseen, a well-oiled machine. Above stairs, awe-inspiring in its spectacular, minutely ordered opulence, was its public face: the hall, and the chamber, with its procession of lobbies, antechambers, closets and galleries.'[2]

> The royal court was often nomadic in nature, the king and queen often travelled together, participating in a full social life at court. Despite the marked financial difficulties which plagued Henry VII's reign, and his reputation as an incredibly frugal man, the royal household was a magnificent display of the Tudor's power and prestige.

Elizabeth's court was as lavish as her father's, Edward IV, and just like his, hers was modelled on the Burgundian style. Everything about it was lavish; the jewels, fur, and trappings. It was saturated with learning, music and pageantry, a precedent upon which all subsequent Tudor courts were based. The pageants, tournaments, feasts and other occasions around which the court revolved were carefully constructed to emulate the majesty of the House of Tudor. During the Christmas season of 1487, celebrated at Greenwich, several jesters, dancers, singers and musicians were employed to delight the assembled court with their antics, 'while mysterious disguisers remained silent and intrigued all with their strange movements.'[3] The records for 1494 make mention of the position 'Master of Revels' for the first time, a role which would become a significant position over the course of the Tudor period. Musicians were also a common

1 Amy Licence, *Elizabeth of York: Forgotten Tudor Queen,* (Stroud, 2014), p. 15

2 Thomas Penn, *The Winter King: The dawn of Tudor England,* (London, 2012), p. 20

3 Amy Licence, *Elizabeth of York,* p. 154

entertainment at court, and the household accounts show regular payments made to individuals and groups. William Cornish became a popular fixture in Elizabeth's household, and there is reference to a payment made to 'Cornyshe' in 1493 for a prophesy. Cornish remained popular under Henry VIII, and would become the third recorded Master of the Children at the Chapel Royal. Elizabeth's jester, Patch, was also a favourite of hers and the records show regular payments and gifts made to him throughout the 1490s.

Aside from the grand occasions and revelry, there were also a number of more daily pursuits for the royal family and their courtiers to enjoy. Bowling alleys and tennis courts were installed in some of the royal palaces, and it is known that Elizabeth enjoyed hunting. The privy purse expenses show regular payments for her greyhounds, and for arrows. We also know that she employed Oliver Aulferton who kept her goshawks and spaniels, he was paid an annual salary of £2.

Unlike some of the more notorious European royal households of the time, which were known, fairly or unfairly, for lax morality, and in some cases outright debauchery, Henry and Elizabeth's court was based on propriety. This may have been due to the example set by the king and queen, it is generally accepted that Henry VII remained faithful to his wife- his only known bastard was born during his exile, long before his marriage to Elizabeth. Learning, culture and the arts were placed in high regard, and this may have been partly due to the influence of the other woman in Henry VII's life.

Elizabeth was not the only key figure at court, her mother-in-law, Margaret Beaufort, was a strong presence. It appears that she had great influence over Elizabeth, although there is no evidence of any fierce animosity of between the two women. Their outward relationship seems to have been characterised by companionship, and it appears Margaret took Elizabeth under her wing, so to speak. If there was any tension between mother and daughter-in-law, they were well hidden. Beaufort's strong morals may have indeed influenced the character of her daughter-in-law's household. She

Thomas Howard, 2nd Duke of Norfolk

was an incredibly pious and intelligent woman, who had translated several devotional works which were published by William Caxton, someone she is known to have been patron to. In a previous article, I noted her influence over Elizabeth's birthing chamber and Arthur's nursery, and it could be surmised that this influence extended to the organisation of Elizabeth's household more generally. When the royal household moved, Margaret Beaufort was usually not far behind, especially in the early years of her

son's reign. Henry's household ordinances show that apartments were designated for his mother in every royal palace, usually next his own lodgings.

The shimmering opulence of the royal household could also have a dark side. In a previous article on Perkin Warbeck's wife, Lady Catherine Gordon, I showed how a position at court could be appointed with darker motives. Catherine Gordon was appointed to Elizabeth's household by Henry VII, to keep her prisoner after her husband's capture and execution. However, it appears that it was not a wholly unhappy existence for Catherine, who became a favourite intimate of the queen, and was the recipient of several gifts from the royal couple. The privy purse expenses show that she was given several gifts of clothing, including clothes-of- gold furred with ermine, a purple velvet cloak, and a black and crimson gown. It appears that Catherine managed to make the best of her situation.

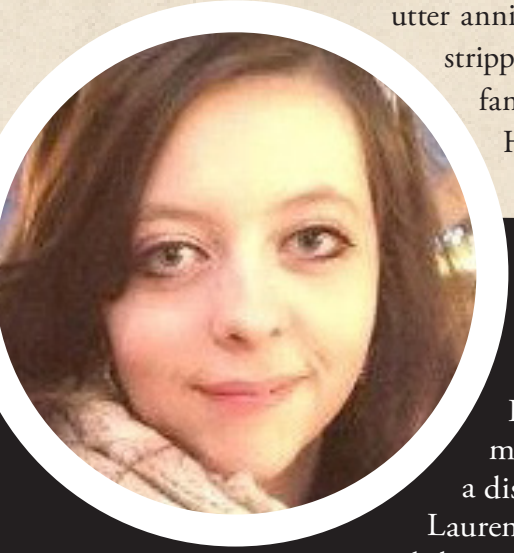
Many appointments made to the royal household were based on political decisions, a position could infer royal favour, or keep the nobility under the control and watchful eye of the crown. This was part of the motivation for appointing members of the Howard family to positions within Henry and Elizabeth's royal households. John Howard, 1st Duke of Norfolk, and Catherine Howard's great-grandfather, had been a close friend of Richard III, and was slain at Bosworth in 1485. Catherine's grandfather, Thomas, eventually the 2nd Duke of Norfolk, also fought for Richard at Bosworth. Henry Tudor's victory during this battle, and his subsequent coronation, placed the Howards on the wrong side of the conflict. Instead of utter annihilation and totally stripping the Howard family of their lands, Henry VII sought to keep them in line with the new regime. Therefore, Henry 'decided to demote them and then promote them again, at his pleasure.'[4] Thomas Howard was also temporarily prohibited from his inheritance, a large proportion of the Howard wealth was given to the Earl of Oxford, and Thomas was sentenced to three years in the Tower. His loyalty to the new king was tested several times, and each time he passed. He was rewarded with the gradual restoration of his titles and lands.

Thomas Howard's first wife, Elizabeth, was appointed as a lady-in-waiting in the household of Elizabeth of York. The relationship between the Howards and the crown gradually thawed, and Elizabeth Howard was named godmother to the Princess Margaret. The Howard children were welcome at court and eventually the boys were appointed to positions in the royal households. The crown showed that loyalty would be rewarded, and fostered the inclination in the Howard family to demonstrate their fealty, rather than rebel.

The Howards would certainly have been privy to some of the revels, feasts, and other entertainments held at court. Elizabeth's kind nature, exemplified in the financial assistance of her servants when they needed it, must have made it a rather enjoyable household to be a member of. A position close to the queen could also infer political favour upon a noble family, and could be used to full advantage in getting the aristocracy on side with the crown.

LAUREN BROWNE

4 Gareth Russell, *Young and Damned and Fair: The life of Catherine Howard, fifth wife of King Henry VIII,* (New York, 2017), p. 23



LAUREN BROWNE

Lauren is currently studying at Queen's University, Belfast, for her Ph. D. in early modern attitudes to queenship. She previously completed her undergraduate with a dissertation on Elizabeth of York and her postgraduate on Eleanor of Aquitaine. Lauren is originally from Northern Ireland, where she discovered her love for History and the arts.


Elizabeth nat Talbot
Elizabeth nat Tilney
Ducissa Norfolcie
ux Thome Howard
This·window·was
Thomas·and·Ellen·Ardley

THE EARLY HOWARDS

by Debra Bayani

The Howard family is an English aristocratic family that most people know from Anne Boleyn's mother Elizabeth Howard and her ambitious uncle Thomas, 3rd Duke of Norfolk, as well as for Henry VIII's 5th wife Catherine Howard, whose father Lord Edmund Howard (d. 1539) was Elizabeth's brother and so another uncle of Anne Boleyn. Elizabeth and Edmund were two amongst many children of Thomas Howard, 2nd Duke of Norfolk, and his 1st wife, Elizabeth Tilney.

But who came before these Tudor Howards and where from do they originate?

The first prominent Howard member was John Howard, 1st Duke of Norfolk, father of the above mentioned 2nd duke. This John was the son of Sir Robert Howard (1398–1436) and Margaret de Mowbray (d. 1459), eldest daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray and his 2nd wife Elizabeth FitzAlan (d.1425)

There are several stories about the descendancy of the Howard Family. The Howards themselves claim to originate from Hereward the Wake who was an Anglo-Saxon nobleman and a leader of local resistance to the Norman Conquest of England. But according to William Dugdale the Howard family are descended from the Howarth family of Great Howarth Hall, Rochdale.

John Howard, 1st Duke of Norfolk was a descendant of English royalty through both sides of his family. On his father's side, Howard was descended from Richard, 1st Earl of Cornwall, the 2nd son of King John. King John had an illegitimate son, named Richard (d.1296), whose daughter, Joan of Cornwall, married Sir John Howard (d. 1331). On his mother's side, Howard was descended from Thomas of Brotherton, 1st Earl of Norfolk, the elder son of Edward I of England by his 2nd wife, Margaret of France, as well as from Edward I's younger brother Edmund.

Sir John Howard's (d.1333) great-great-grandson, Sir Robert Howard, married Lady Margaret Mowbray, elder daughter of Thomas Mowbray, 1st Duke of Norfolk (1366–1399). The line of Mowbray dukes died out in 1476 upon the death of the 4th Mowbray duke of Norfolk and his daughter in 1481.

It all started when John entered the service of his cousin John Mowbray, 3rd Duke of Norfolk. He was of service to the Yorkist cause and on the accession of Edward IV in 1461 he was one of the men knighted at the coronation. This was the start of the grants John would receive in the next two and a half decades. It was soon followed by the constableship of Colchester and Norwich Castle, Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, as well as named as one of the King's carvers and chamberlain of the royal household.

(LEFT) Stained glass of Elizabeth Tilney, 1st wife of the 2nd Duke and mother of the 3rd Duke in Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford, Suffolk. Photo © Andrew Abbott.

John Howard, 1st Duke of Norfolk

Thomas Howard, 2nd Duke of Norfolk

He again served under Norfolk opposing the Lancastrians in the north and helped the Earl of Warwick at Warkworth, and in the spring of 1464 he was with Norfolk in Wales. A year later John Howard's 1st wife Catharine (daughter of William Moleyns) died and he married his 2nd wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir John Chedworth, a few months later. He was elected knight of the shire for Suffolk.

John did not join King Edward during his exile in 1470-1471 and he did not lose his position during Henry VI's short reestablishment, in fact he was even created a baron during this time. But as soon as Edward returned John accompanied him in London and fought at the battle of Barnet along with his son Thomas (who in the event was badly wounded) and possibly also at Tewkesbury in 1471. As one of Edward IV's most trusted servants he was known to have 'great fellowship' with the King. When Edward invaded France in July 1475 he was accompanied by Howard, he met Philip de Commines to orchestrate the meeting between the two kings and was one of the officials who made the Treaty of Picquigny. He was amongst Edward's leading advisors who received one of the highest pensions of the King's men from Louis XI. John remained in France as a hostage for a short time after Edward returned to England and was rewarded for his loyalty on his return by the King and received grants of several manors in Suffolk and Cambridgeshire. Next, John was involved in the Scottish campaign in 1481 and in other diplomatic, military and commercial foreign matters and owned his own fleet which he used to reinforce the Royal Navy. At the funeral of Edward in April 1483 John bore the late King's banner. However indispensable John was to Edward, it was only until after Edward's death that he was made duke of Norfolk, though the last Norfolk duke, John Mowbray, had died in 1476. Instead Edward had married his younger son Prince Richard to the Norfolk heiress Anne Mowbray. Upon Anne's premature death in

Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk

1481, Edward disinherited John and William Viscount Berkeley, who had both been the Mowbray heirs.

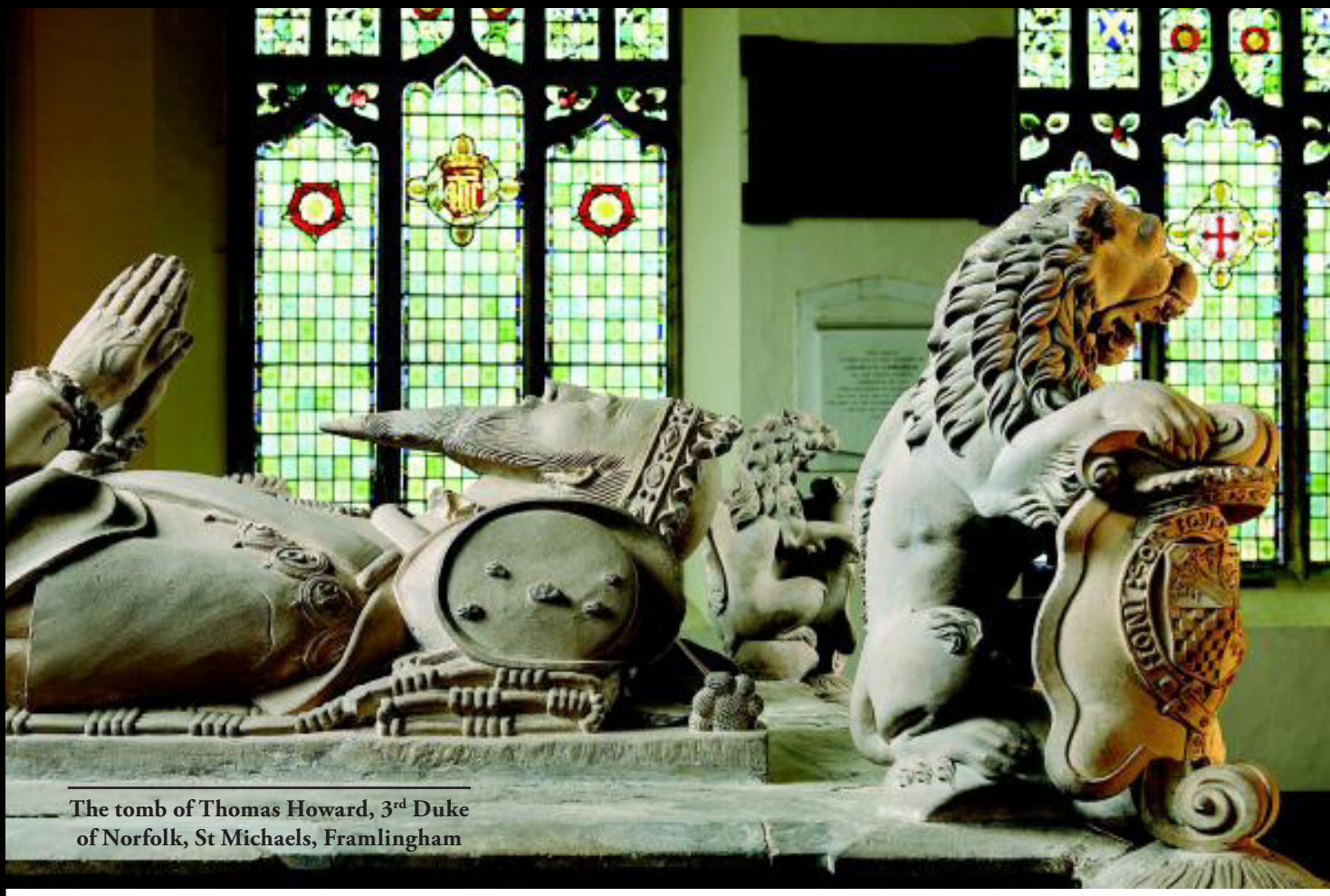
Next he connected himself to the late King's brother Richard of Gloucester and became privy to all Richard's plots and activities. He was involved in persuading the widowed Queen Elizabeth Woodville to let her younger son, Richard, join his brother's accommodations in the Tower. John's wealth and status had grown steadily over the years in the service of Edward IV but it cannot be compared to the way he was rewarded during the two-year reign of Richard III. John's influence and support were crucial to Richard. Arguably, John acted also in his own interest during the months between Edward IV's death and the usurpation of Richard III but fact is that John Howard was one of the noblemen accepting the evidence to bastardize Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville's children. Upon the bastardization of Edward's children the dukedom of Norfolk reverted to the crown and John Howard was well rewarded. Following Richard III usurpation, the new king restored John to his inheritance and created him duke of Norfolk and his son was granted the earldom of Surrey. Another point of discussion is John's own convenience in the mysterious disappearance of the Princes Edward and Richard during the summer of 1483. Richard also put John in charge of arresting Lord Hastings during that summer and received dozens of properties formerly belonging to John de Vere, Earl of Oxford and Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, a confiscated London house previously belonging to the late Duke of Somerset and many other "smaller" grants. But the most spectacular grants that John would receive were the titles of the dukedom of Norfolk, Admiral, Earl Marshal and Steward of England.

At the coronation of Richard III on 6 July he stood on the King's right side and acted as High Steward, bore the crown and rode to Westminster Hall after the ceremony. John Howard joined Richard on most notable occasions and 1485 John had risen from an obscure Suffolk gentleman to one of the richest and most powerful men during Richard III's reign. But his hunger for power would come at a high price. At the Battle of Bosworth in 1485 he commanded Richard's vanguard. John's son and heir Thomas was badly wounded and John himself was slain in battle. Both John and his son Thomas were attained by Henry VII and Thomas was imprisoned in the Tower until his release in 1489 and his attainder reversed. The Howards regained favour with the new Tudor dynasty after leading a resistance from Scottish invasion at the Battle of Flodden and the 2nd duke would serve four monarchs as a statesman and soldier. Their royal favour brought back the dukedom and their lands.

John was buried in the church of Thetford. By his 1st wife, Catharine, John had five children, one son, Thomas, Earl of Surrey (later 2nd Duke of Norfolk) and four daughters: Anne, Isabel, Jane and Margaret. His 2nd wife bore him one daughter, Catharine, who died in 1494. John's son and heir, Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and 2nd Duke of Norfolk (1443-21 May 1524), was the grandfather of two English queens, Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard, both wives of Henry VIII and so great-grandfather of Elizabeth I

Thomas Howard and his first wife Elizabeth Tilney had ten children, including Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk, and Elizabeth Howard, wife of Sir Thomas Boleyn, 1st Earl of Wiltshire. After his first wife died in 1497 Thomas married her cousin Agnes Tilney as his second wife in the same year, with who he had again a large family with eleven children.

These first two Howard dukes of Norfolk were the start of one of the most powerful and largely extended families at court. Other than dukes of Norfolk and earls of Surrey they also held the earldoms of Suffolk, Arundel, Nottingham, Effingham, Carlisle, several baronies and other high offices. Both Thomas's son, the 3rd duke also



The tomb of Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk, St Michaels, Framlingham

named Thomas Howard (1473-1554) and his heir Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey were accused of treason by Henry VIII. Henry Howard was executed but, though imprisoned for several years, the 3rd duke survived and regained his dukedom during Mary I's reign (c. 1517-1547)

Henry Howard's son, Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk (1538–72), was executed for his conspiracies against Queen Elizabeth I on behalf of Mary Queen of Scots. The family's most prominent member during Elizabeth's reign was Charles, 2nd Lord Howard of Effingham (1536–1624), who was lord high admiral and commanded the fleet that defeated the Spanish Armada.

It took the Howards nearly a hundred years to regain the title of duke of Norfolk, which had been lost with the 4th duke's execution in 1572.

DEBRA BAYANI

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

England's Medieval Queens: Rivals and Mistresses - Jane Shore

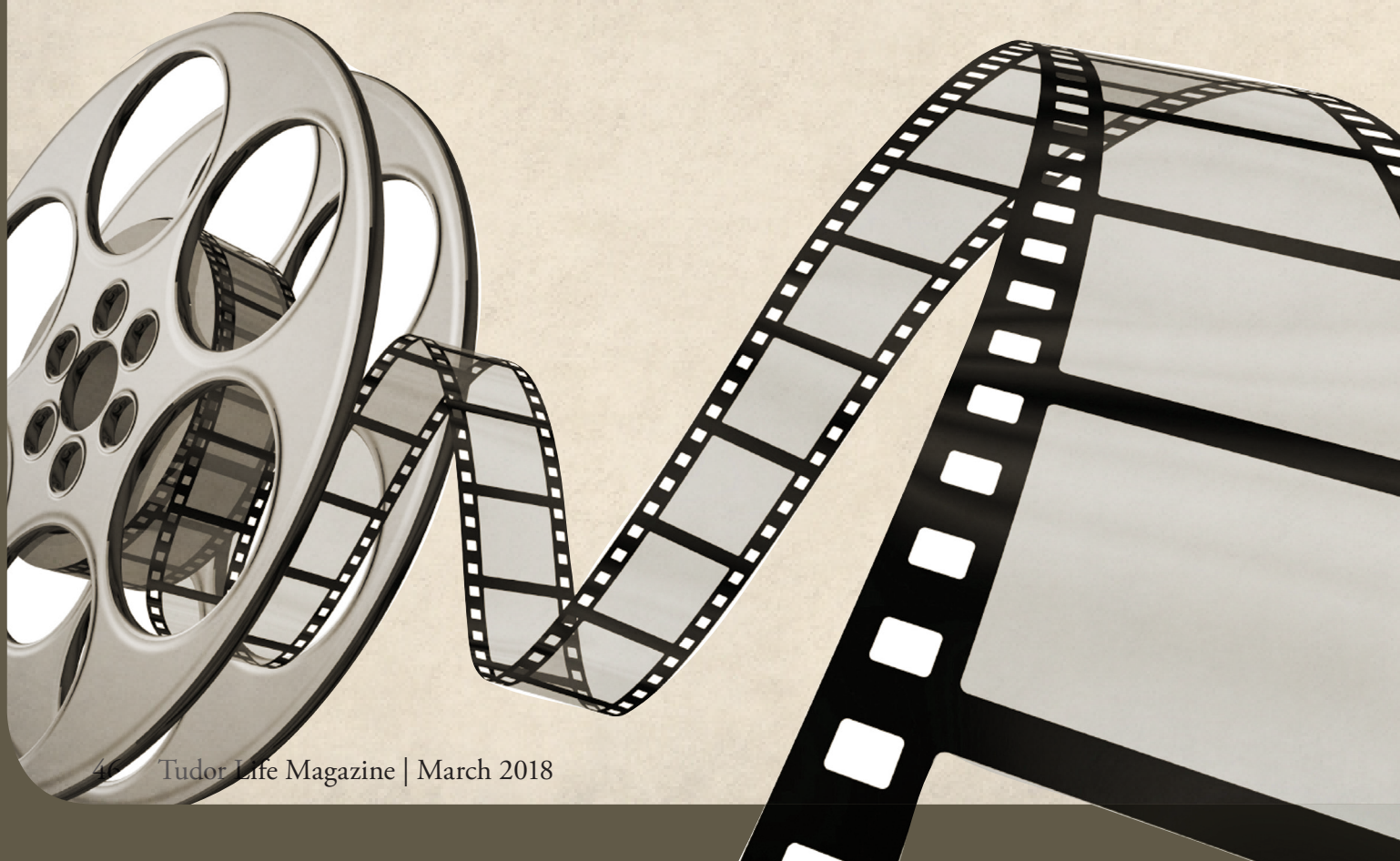
MARCH EXPERT

LAUREN BROWNE

A TEENAGED QUEEN: A LOOK AT 2003'S HENRY VIII

The presentation of Catherine Howard

By Emma Elizabeth Taylor



As the fifth of Henry VIII's six queens, Catherine Howard is sometimes forgotten about. Enraptured with the English reformation and the dramatic downfall of Anne Boleyn, television and film can often forget the short rule of the teenaged queen who reigned at Henry's side for less than two years. When Catherine is portrayed in fiction, it is usually as a coquettish flirt at best, and at worst, a cruel, manipulative, spoilt child. On a surface level, they are relatively uncomplicated portrayals of a young woman who ruled for no time at all; who was at one out of her depth and before her time. However, a television programme or film is not just the actor's responsibility, and when we delve into the visual representations of Catherine onscreen, we can unpick just what the directors and artists are trying to say about her character, her story and her gruesome, premature death. In this article, I will be looking primarily at how Catherine is presented in the 2003 television mini-series, *Henry VIII,* as one of the more sympathetic presentations of the young Queen.

The 2003 television mini-series *Henry VIII,* produced by Granada Television for ITV, was met with critical praise during its October run, featuring well-known actor Ray Winstone as King Henry VIII. While this was something of a controversial choice, with Winstone known primarily for his 'tough guy' roles, he carried the role of the ageing, tyrannical king well, despite a much-commented upon cockney accent used by Winstone as the King. He starred alongside a host of well-known British actors, including Helena Bonham Carter as Anne Boleyn, Sean Bean as Robert Aske, and David Suchet as Cardinal Wolsey. This drama also starred British actress Emily Blunt in her second-ever television role as Catherine Howard, a role

Ray Winstone as Henry VIII
(ITV)

Helena Bonham-Carter as Queen Anne Boleyn (ITV)

which also earned the young actress critical acclaim. It is easy to see why - Blunt plays one of the most sympathetic and lovely versions of the teenaged queen, and with only 45 minutes' worth of screen time, makes a huge impression on the audience.

We first meet Blunt's version of Catherine during an all-male game of cards in the King's private quarters. The room is lavishly decorated, dressed in red and gold, with an abundance of candles and rich ornamentation all around the room. Catherine joins the entirely male party, sweeping into the room in a beautiful cream gown, inlaid with pearls and gold detailing. Her hair is loosely swept back, but worn loose with no adornments. She wears a simple string of pearls; nothing ostentatious. She looks beautiful and young – every inch the teenage queen that Henry falls so deeply in love with.

In this version, colour is used in a very interesting and simple way; Catherine is only ever seen in white or red dresses – no other colours are used in her costuming at all. There are obvious connotations to be drawn here; white is the colour of innocence, purity, youth and virginity, all traits that Catherine displays in abundance from her introduction. Red, however, is the polar opposite of this; the colour of love, passion, anger and sexual desire – once again, emotional elements that are intertwined with Catherine's story and her betrayal of the King. In one particular scene, the use of white is hugely significant – the King is discussing his attraction to Catherine with his advisor, while watching her in the garden. Catherine is the very picture of purity and innocence; she is surrounded by her ladies in waiting, all dressed in white and cream, while sitting on a swing in the palace gardens. She is surrounded by flowers and trees, wearing a long white dress, with long trailing sleeves. It's a hugely romantic image – a idealised version of Catherine, representative of the way that the King sees his 'rose without a thorn'. Everything in this scene is dreamlike, the bright spring colours and pastel flowers a welcome break from gloomy castle interiors. We are enchanted by

Emily Blunt as a sympathetic and fragile Queen Catherine (ITV)

Catherine alongside Henry, seeing only her beauty and innocence, with no flaws. In their next scene together, Henry proposes marriage to Catherine. Catherine arrives, looking beautiful once again, in another white dress. This dress is slightly more formal, as befits a private audience with the King; however, the setting could not be more different. In contrast to the last scene, Henry and Catherine are framed by fire at all sides; an open fireplace burns between them, and we see two people who could not be less suited to each other. The King attempts to kneel to propose, and we see Catherine's visible discomfort and awkwardness, alongside the King's almost sickly-sweet declaration of love for her. We feel Catherine's discomfort alongside her, and history lovers amongst us are subconsciously reminded of the grim fate that awaits her.

Catherine and the King are married in whites and creams, Catherine looking modest and beautiful in an empire-line white dress, with a pearl hairnet and resplendent white furs. However, while getting ready to bed the King as part of her wedding night, we see Catherine in red for the first time. She is wearing a beautifully ornate red velvet robe atop her white nightshift. These deep red bedclothes are indicative of the hidden passion and sexual past that Catherine is keeping hidden from the King; and this is the first time that we get any hint of sexuality from Catherine's character, as she jokes about knowing how to make men happy. However, she is harshly reprimanded by her great aunt for this, and we see a glimpse of the young, frightened girl behind Catherine's lovely face and bawdy jokes, as a tear rolls down her face in fear. Catherine removes the red nightgown before bedding Henry, symbolic of the deception she is hiding from him. She is back to wearing white when Henry sees her; back to the innocent virginal bride just in time to greet her new husband.

While Henry gloats about the night that the two of them shared to Culpepper, we quickly learn in a private scene with Catherine that the King is impotent, and he begs her not to judge him, or to share any details. Catherine sits in his

huge bed, sheets pulled up around her to protect her modesty. She swears that she desires no other man but him. However; her nakedness in this scene is significant. She hides herself and her body around the King, closing herself off from him physically and placing a fabric barrier between herself and the King. However, in her next scene with Thomas Culpepper, no such barrier is in place. She is in the bath, surrounded by her ladies, when Culpepper enters. Catherine's bathtub sits amongst draped white and gold cloth; it is a beautiful, sensual bathroom, seemingly structured for people to peer through the drapes. Culpepper averts his eyes, but Catherine demands that he look at her, as she sits naked in the bathtub. It is unclear whether or not this is a game, as Catherine seems to enjoy taunting the young man, who is clearly attracted to her. However, she receives a letter from the King, alongside a gift of a necklace. She demands that Culpepper put the necklace on her neck, revelling in holding this power over him. He places it around her neck slowly, laying the jewels on her naked body. The clear sexual nature of this scene serves as a comparison for how Catherine behaves around the King, and how Catherine behaves around someone that she is attracted to. Of course, we know from history that this alleged affair with Culpepper was key to Catherine's downfall, and so Catherine's display of sexuality is inextricably tied with her downfall and eventual execution.

When Culpepper and Catherine's affair is arranged by the Duke of Norfolk and Lady Rochester, Catherine goes to Culpepper in a deep red nightgown, instead of her white shift. Catherine's desires are being realised, and the red she's wearing is both indicative of her desire and the eventual blood that will be spilt as a result of this affair. When Catherine's affair is discovered, the King flies into a blind rage. Storming into Catherine's chambers, he throws her down on the bed roughly, screaming at her, and holds a knife to her throat. Her ladies cry and scream, and Catherine herself cries quietly. She lets herself be carried away by the King's guards, who roughly carry her under the arms out of her room, to the sounds of her ladies screaming and crying.

Catherine awaits her death in her cell in a white gown, similar to the gown she was married in. This time, however, she does not look like a Queen, but a scared young girl. Her hair is loose and tangled, and she stares out the window at Culpepper's execution, looking entirely alone and almost spectre like. The dress hangs loosely on her; gone are the fitted, formal gowns of Henry's court. We see her walk to her execution through the eyes of God; a shot follows her from above, and we see the crowd part to make way for her. She looks angelic, almost holy, as she walks to her death, her hair plaited around her head, halo-like. She weeps and cries on the platform, and we see countless shots of the audience at the execution, each looking pitying, tears filling their eyes. Catherine is the only person clothed in white; the men all around her in black; and she looks small, young and frightened. In this version, she does not meet her death with dignity – she screams and cries that she does not want to die, and has to be physically restrained while the axeman attempts to behead her in front of the weeping crowd. It is a sad, pitiful end for a character that we grow to love, during her short reign onscreen.

Catherine's story is often relied on to add sexposition to the story of King Henry VIII; and the 2009 Showtime series *The Tudors* certainly relies on this tactic, with Catherine being naked in bed more than she is clothed. However, Blunt's performance, while perhaps not as well known as Tamzin Merchant's performance in *The Tudors,* still stands as one of the most sympathetic; audiences feel for this girl Queen who died before the age of twenty, and remains one of the best performances of this young Queen amongst the pantheon of Tudor television and cinema.

EMMA ELIZABETH TAYLOR

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

MEMBERS' BULLETIN

Hello, fellow Tudor Society member,

This month I'd like to start by welcoming our new members to the society. Our numbers have been growing, which is wonderful. I had one comment from a new member which said *"I now need to spend some time finding my way around the enormous amount of material on your website – this could take some time!"*. It is true that we now have a LOT of things for members to do on the site.

As some of our members are magazine-only subscribers, I wanted to let you know that we've opened up more magazines to those people - you can now read an additional six months of magazine copies that are earlier than the ones you've been able to access before. Of course, as a full-access member, you can access ALL of the magazines and ALL of the videos, talks, chats, forum and all the other things which are on the site!

With over 153 hours of video on the site now, over 1700 articles, 172 weekly videos, 43 expert chats and with this being the 43rd edition of the magazine, there is SO much for members of all levels to do.

The Tudor Society team would like to thank you so much for your support of our growing society. Keep sharing your knowledge about the Tudors and the world will be a better place.

Tim Ridgway

PLEASE SUPPORT THE TUDOR SOCIETY

Charlie Bud Books

THE LOST KINGS
by Amy Licence

Amy Licence has written many books on the Tudors and the Wars of the Roses, but this one is unique. She explores the lives of ten kings who 'could have been', mainly boys who died young on both sides of the royal family during the Wars of the Roses and the Tudor period. She covers many people who we know little about and, on their own, wouldn't warrant a full biography, such as Guildford Dudley and Edward of Middleham.

Licence starts by exploring the medieval concept of death, as well as mortality rates, to give you a sense as to why so many of these boys with such promising futures died. She puts it into perspective for the reader, saying that *'mothers faced around a 1 per cent chance of mortality as a result of giving birth, a statistic that marks the process as around 150 times more dangerous than it is today'*. She then focuses on later childhood and adolescence, when they were introduced to many potential killers.

The author does speculate many times, but that seems appropriate for this type of book as these boys and men had so much ahead of them. She puts forward a very interesting theory about Edmund, the second son of Richard, Duke of York. If Edmund hadn't been killed, it is very likely that George, Duke of Clarence, wouldn't have rebelled and we wouldn't have had Richard III or the Tudors. Edward and Edmund were very close, having fought in battle together and there being only a one-year difference in their ages, so him rebelling would have been unlikely. Thus, as Licence points out, George would have been unable to rebel against his elder brother. Richard was also only able to take the throne because no adult male claimant was standing in his way.

Licence also includes a lot of detail about things like Henry Fitzroy's household. Fitzroy, being the only confirmed illegitimate son of Henry VIII, was brought up like a prince. It is interesting to see how Henry cared for his son, trying to protect him from potential dangers, such as the sweating sickness:

> *'By October, the household had returned to Sheriff Hutton, where Magnus informed Wolsey that 'my Lord of Richmond is in good health and merry.' The boy also wrote to his father that he had 'paste this last sommere withoute any perelle or daunger off the ragious swete that hath reigned in these partis... and myche the better I truste with the help off suche preservatives as your highnes did sende unto me'.'*

Fitzroy was given titles and a good education, but he does stand out in this collection of people who could have been king, as it was very unlikely Henry would have attempted to make him his heir.

Overall this is a fascinating look at some of the potential kings and lesser-known figures from the Wars of the Roses and Tudor period. It is easy to read and yet full of interesting facts and information about people who tend to not have their own biographies. I would recommend this to anyone interested in the time periods and who wants to learn more about the likes of Henry Fitzroy, Edward of Middleham and Guildford Dudley.

THE LAST TUDOR
by Philippa Gregory

Philippa Gregory recently released her last novel on the Tudors, and this one is about the three Grey sisters: Jane, Katherine and Mary. The Grey sisters have been slowly becoming more popular, and so it is no surprise that Gregory decided to tackle them in *The Last Tudor.*

The book starts with Jane's point of view, one which quickly becomes annoying. Jane is very religious, constantly talking about sin and judging her family for their sins. She is very proud of herself, especially when she compares herself to her sisters:

> *'My baby sister, Mary, was born into original sin and cannot grow out of it. She is quite tiny. She is as pretty as a little miniature version of our sister, Katherine, tiny as a doll. My lady mother would have sent her away as a baby to be raised far from us, and spare us the shame, but my father had too much compassion for his last stunted child, and so she lives with us. She is not an idiot - she does her lessons well, she is a clever girl - but she has no sense of the grave of God; she is not one of the elect like Father and me.'*

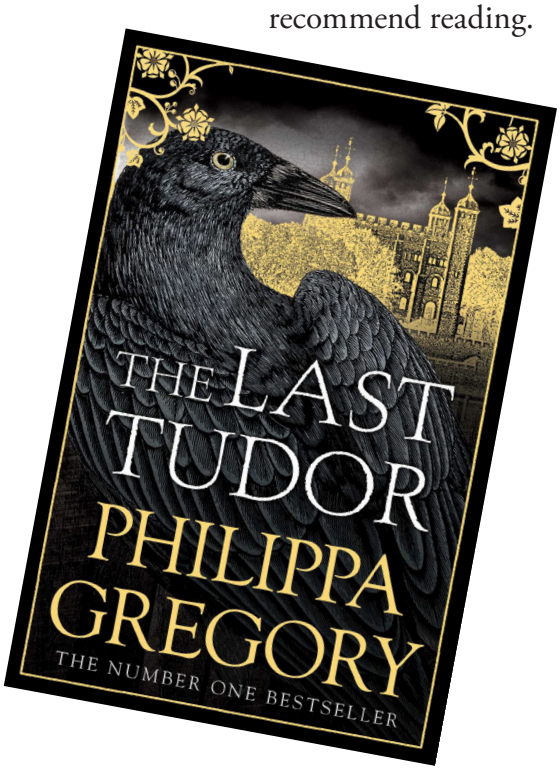
But then she says she does not judge, just after she has been judging people. This also includes the likes of Princess Elizabeth for her actions with Thomas Seymour. This is only the start of the sisters' many insults towards Elizabeth. All of them hate her and criticise her:

> *'Of course, our cousin the queen gives Katherine a magnificent funeral. How she does love a funeral, especially family! ... Elizabeth does not allow me to attend. Of course not. She only loves her heirs when they predecease her. The last thing she wants is someone pointing out that if Katherine was a Tudor princess then her little sister is one too - and the last of the line. The last thing she wants is a live cousin, especially when she is ostentatiously mourning a conveniently dead one.'*

I wish the author had included Jane's full debate with John Feckenham, not just alluded to it. We know so little about Jane already; it would have been nice if she had included something we know for a fact happened.

The sections of Katherine and Mary Grey are better than the one on Jane, but not by much. All three women spend most of their time in the books imprisoned. It makes the book drag in places, and they are perhaps an unfortunate choice to write a novel on. Gregory does, however, for the most part, write accurately. She sticks to the facts and only embellishes things we are unsure about, such as who killed Amy Dudley, which is this book's saving grace.

Unfortunately, *The Last Tudor* isn't the best of Philippa Gregory's books. It was, however, perhaps the most accurate of her works, but it was slow and dull in quite a few places. I think Gregory picked the wrong women to write about, as the three spend most of their time in the book imprisoned. It isn't a novel that I would recommend reading.



CHARLIE FENTON

Howard Pimps: Did the family really plot to make Catherine Howard queen?

IT IS ONE of the most frequently repeated legends of Tudor history, that the Howards deliberately used their beautiful offspring, Catherine, to seduce and marry the King. But in my biography of Queen Catherine, *Young and Damned and Fair*, I argue strongly that there is in fact very little evidence that they, or their ally Bishop Stephen Gardiner, ever behaved in such a Machiavellian manner, particularly in the spring of 1540, as their feud with Thomas Cromwell intensified, along with the King's attention to Catherine.

An Exclusive extract from "Young and Damned and Fair" by Gareth Russell.

In this ugly battle [of 1540], Henry's physical attraction to Catherine was obviously very useful to Gardiner and the Duke. Subsequent accounts of her rise to the throne often cast Norfolk and Gardiner as an unsavoury cross between Catherine's chaperones and her pimps, hosting banquets at which they pushed a singing, smiling Catherine into the King's sights. Gardiner's modern biographer, Glyn Redworth, has cast doubt on this version of events and there is room for scepticism, not least because this narrative of Catherine's rise is too neat. The Dowager Duchess's previously mentioned recollection of Henry's instant attraction to Catherine provides evidence that the initial stage of their relationship was spontaneous and apparently inconsequential. The likelihood is that the King flirted with Catherine, probably quite obviously, but the impending arrival of Queen Anne made it little more than a social diversion. Once the King decided that he 'abhorred' his new wife, his interest in Catherine revived.

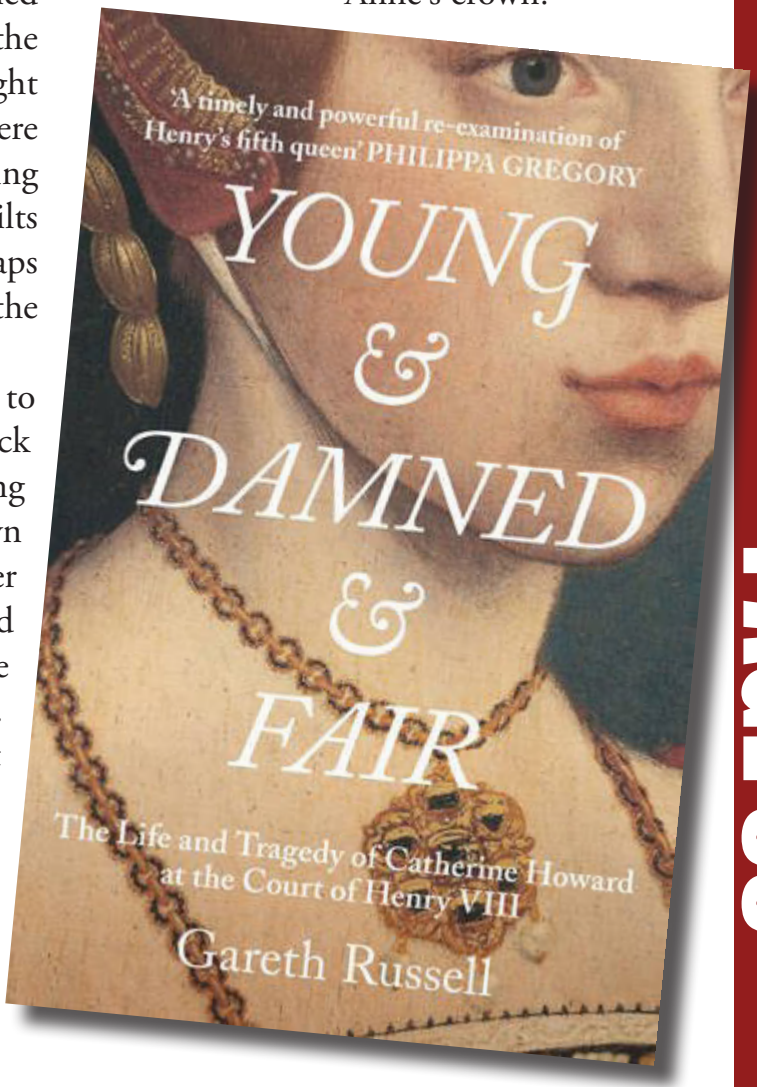
That Norfolk was responding to circumstances as they unfolded is supported by the fact that he clearly knew very little about his niece. There is, for instance, absolutely nothing to suggest that he knew about her previous romances with Henry Manox or Francis Dereham. The Dowager did not rush to enlighten him. But if the Howards had wanted to entice Henry VIII, they would not have chosen Catherine. She was damaged goods. Had they been as Machiavellian as the usual presentation of them suggests, at some point in the vetting

process either the Dowager Duchess or the Countess of Bridgewater could have pointed out that elevating Catherine would put them all at risk in the long-run. Rather, the King's infatuation seems to have caught them all off-guard and while her family seem to have played the hand dealt to them, they would have been foolish not to, that is not the same thing as stacking the deck.

Confronted with the King's frequent demands for her company, Catherine sought the wisdom of her relatives. They gave her advice on the proper way to behave when she was with him, 'in what sort to entertain the King's Highness and how often', as it was put later.

… The precise chronology of Catherine's affair with the King is unclear. A few clues are provided in grants made to her by the royal household, one of which made Catherine a woman of moderate means in her own right – at the end of April, the goods of two condemned criminals, a father and son both called William Lidbeter, who had been convicted of murder were signed over to her. By modern standards, the second-hand goods of two killers might lack in romance, but the Tudors were incorrigible recyclers. In May, the King bought her twenty-three, brand new, quilts of sarsenet, a light silk, which was perhaps a welcome choice of fabric given the mounting temperature in the capital.

At some point, her family decided to move Catherine and her silk quilts back to Lambeth for propriety's sake. During her courtship with the King, Anne Boleyn had insisted on being accompanied by her mother for a chaperone, while Edward Seymour and his wife fulfilled the honours for an unmarried Jane in 1536. Henry's barge, the *Lyon*, was difficult to miss given its size and gilding, so when he began paying evening visits to Lambeth, people talked and when the official reason was that the King had called to pay his respects to the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, they guffawed. Whether the relationship with Catherine was sexual at this stage is unknown. The royal barge's visits provoked gossip, but Henry was historically impressed by women who preferred to wait for a wedding ring. If Catherine was his mistress, or if she would have become it had the relationship lasted much longer, is unclear. A London merchant with ties to the court heard the affair was 'whispered by the courtiers, who observed the king to be much taken with another young lady of very diminutive stature'. Queen Anne found out about the liaison and confided her unhappiness on 20 June to a fellow Clevian called Karl Harst, who lived in London. By that stage the King's relationship with Catherine was well advanced and events in Europe had combined with those in London to make the young, lovely, 'diminutive' and vivacious Catherine a serious contender for Anne's crown.



George Ripley and the Philosopher's Stone

In January's edition of Tudor Life Magazine I looked at the life of Dr John Dee, the 'Queen's Magician', who never quite succeeded in living up to his monarch's expectations of turning base metals into gold, using the mysterious Philosopher's Stone.

This month, I'm writing about a man who may have achieved this amazing feat a hundred years before Dee tried to. His name was George Ripley and he was born in Ripley, near Harrogate in Yorkshire sometime in the first half of the fifteenth century – the exact date isn't known but probably c.1415 (the year of the battle of Agincourt).

George Ripley was an Augustinian canon who became one of England's most famous alchemists. His writings attracted a lot of attention when they were first published in the fifteenth century but, because of the subject matter they continued to be studied into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and we know John Dee read them as did Robert Boyle – the first modern chemist – and even Isaac Newton who was a keen student of alchemy.

Ripley's most important work was *The Compound of Alchymy* which he dedicated to King Edward IV in 1471. This was a wise precaution because the practice of alchemy could lead to imprisonment, even the death penalty if the king thought you were using the dubious arts to make gold for yourself, or worse: for the king's enemies. Written in verse, in the form of a long scroll, the treatise explains 'the right & perfectest meanes to make the Philosophers Stone' which could then be used to transmute lead or tin into gold and silver. The stone could also grant a long life or even immortality, so you can understand why these instructions were popular. But there was a catch. The 'Ripley scrolls' were not only written in verse, they were full of obscure imagery that made them impossible for the layman to understand – this wasn't like working through a recipe for a sponge cake.

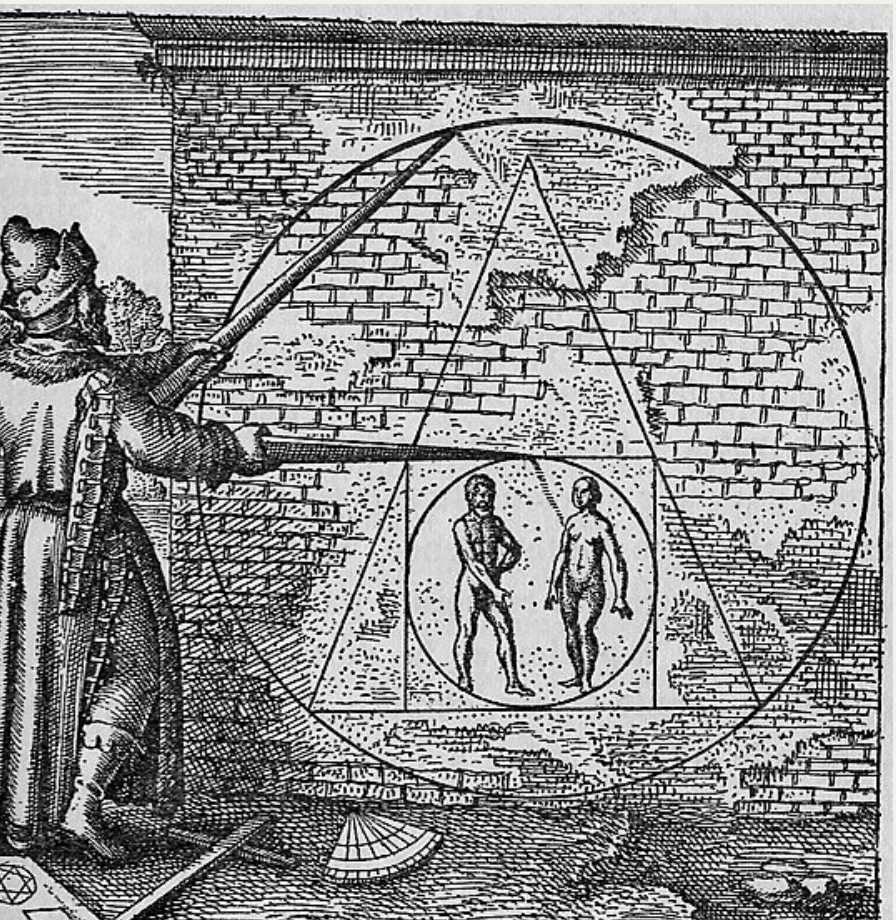
Ripley wrote his method in a kind of code, using a drawing that depicted the various metals as the planets which – they then believed – revolved around the Earth. In alchemy, the seven [known] planets were: Sol (Sun), Luna (Moon), Mercurius (Mercury), Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. These planets correspond respectively to gold, silver, quicksilver, copper, iron, tin and lead. So, the big question must be: did Ripley succeed in creating gold?

One story about him tells that he spent time on the island of Rhodes in the Mediterranean, and that he donated the incredible sum of £100,000 to the Knights of St John that they might properly defend their island against Turkish invaders who threatened the place in the mid-fifteenth century.

Where might such an unimaginable amount of cash have come from? Ripley claimed he had made the gold himself but, of course, the process was secret so he couldn't discuss it.

He returned to England and lived as a canon [a kind of priest-cum-monk] at Bridlington Priory in Yorkshire. There he had his own still-room or laboratory where he did his alchemical experiments and wrote his scrolls but the prior and his fellow canons complained about the horrible stinks created, making it hard to concentrate on their prayers. When Ripley died in 1490, it was discovered that he was indeed very wealthy – far richer than any poor canon should ever be – so surely he must have succeeded in making gold? That's what people thought at the time, despite his deathbed confession that his life's work had been pointless and all his writings must be destroyed. Of course, they weren't or we wouldn't know about them. After all, he got rich somehow and if not by using alchemical knowledge and the legendary Philosopher's Stone then how else? For at least two hundred years, hopeful experimenters wrestled with Ripley's codes and conundrums, so far as we know without any success – unless, of course, they too kept it a secret.

George Ripley as shown in a sixteenth-century copy of a Ripley Scroll in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



Twenty-three copies, though not the originals, of the Ripley Scrolls are known to exist. The Bodleian Library in Oxford has five of them; the British Library has five; the Wellcome Library in London has two, with the Science Museum in London and the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge each having one. Other copies are held in various institutions across the world, including the USA and France. A colourful character drawn on two of the Bodleian scrolls is thought to be George Ripley himself with his unusual horseshoe staff.

TONI MOUNT

FROM THE SPICERY

WITH RIOGNACH

WHAT IS OFF THE TUDOR MENU?

THIS MONTH'S *FROM THE SPICERY* article stems from an interesting conversation I recently had with a complete stranger. He told me of his dining experience at a medieval-themed restaurant he came across during his travels in Canada. The restaurant offers the whole medieval-inspired dining and entertainment experience; right down to trained fighters battling away to provide the floorshow. I was intrigued, so went away and looked up the web page of the restaurant and perused its menu.

Let me say at the outset that I've no intention to bag the efforts of the business's owners. Instead, what I want to do is take a look at their menu and offer suggestions as to how it could be tweaked to provide a more historically authentic medieval experience, something anyone can successfully pull off at home (probably *sans* the knights and floorshow). The host of this particular medieval inspired dining experience is a chain of restaurants across the United States and Canada called "*Medieval Times Dinner and Tournament*"[1], and I've included a link to their webpage as a footnote.

So, what's actually on the menu for feast night? On offering to diners are the following: *"garlic bread, tomato bisque soup, roasted chicken, sweet buttered corn, herb-basted potatoes, the pastry of the Castle, coffee and two rounds of select beverages"*.[2]

Let's start by looking at each item on the menu in some detail.

Garlic Bread. While garlic is a favourite ingredient in many medieval dishes and cookbooks, I can't honestly recall finding a recipe for garlic bread per say. I know from personal experience that many modern medieval feasts offer what is best called a 'mixed bread platter', usually consisting of a couple of small cob loaves (generally one white and one wholemeal), served with honey butter and maybe some almonds and simple cheeses.

Tomato Bisque Soup. At first, blending your choice of veggies with cream or almond milk (or indeed a blend thereof) wouldn't seem like a bad idea. Unfortunately, tomatoes and their other New World *Solanacea*e-kin were initially viewed with suspicion upon their arrival in Europe in the Sixteenth Century. Swap out the tomatoes, and you're headed towards a winner. I have attended one de

1 https://www.medievaltimes.com/

2 https://www.medievaltimes.com/about-the-show/index.html

Medici-themed feast where tomatoes did appear but not actually on the menu. Instead, they were prominently displayed on the high table to amuse the visiting 'royals'!

Roasted Chicken. Frankly, it is nice to see the humble roast chook making an appearance over the grandiose (and historically inaccurate) turkey leg. Using the sheer volume of extant medieval and Tudor-era poultry recipes, I think it's a pretty safe bet that chook was eaten for the vast majority of the year. With the exception, of course, being Lent. Having said that, I do have a recipe for Lenten chicken soup that combines a thick almond milk-based soup with rosewater. I suppose the real question is whether or not the humble roast chicken is well, regal enough to be included as part of a royal feast. Personally, I'd say it all depends on two things; a) how deep your purse is, and b) how much of an authenticity maven you want to be. If you have access to and can afford the rarer delights of game birds, by all means, do so. However, well cooked and presented a roast chicken can still be a memorable addition to any medieval feast.

Sweet Buttered Corn. Surprisingly the inclusion of corn on the menu is right on the money. However, I can't say I'd care for it topped with butter AND sugar. Perhaps this speaks to the taste of

Edmund, Lord Blackadder and Baldrick in the TV series Blackadder (BBC)

traditional heritage variety of corn, or merely a Tudoresqe sweet tooth; I know not. Linguistically, the UK-English term "corn" can be used to refer to any grain (aka *mealie*), whereas the in US-English the refers specifically to the genus *Zea maya*.

Herb-based Potatoes. In the Blackadder Goes Forth episode "Potato"[3] Blackadder refers to them as 'brown, lumpy things" and expresses concern that people will "start to eat potatoes[4]. Potatoes, like tomatoes, come from the same family and have the same problem. Like tomatoes, spuds were a food viewed with suspicion. Not only are potatoes not a 'period' food item, I can't help but wonder as to their place at a feast. Late medieval and Tudor cooks took great delight in elevating a particular food by dressing it up to the nines with rare and expensive spices and gilding. To me, serving a spud with herbs lowers its station, rather than raising it up. Oh well, horses for courses etc.

"Pastry of the Castle". For me, the highlights of any feast are when the desserts are served forth. However, what *Medieval Times* call 'Pastry of the Castle' could be anyone's guess. I *suspect* that such a pastry may well be the humble fruit pie masquerading as something grander. As I talked about in an earlier article, pies and pastries are the personification of medieval foods.[5] They are portable; self-contained dishes; a basic flour-and-water coffin containing a delicious meat, fish or fruit filling. Like recipes for chicken, medieval and Tudor cookbooks present an array of sweet pies, the contents of which are only limited by the cook. I'd argue that given the tartness of medieval apples that any pie containing them would also include a goodly amount of spices (and possibly sugar), and possible other complimentary fruits such as quinces and plums. Similarly, I suspect that the modern palate might not cope well with an apple pie spiced with copious amounts of *poudre douce*.

I don't believe that I would consider the menu offered by Medieval Times as genuinely befitting a Royal feast. However, for a large-scale commercial attempt, it doesn't altogether miss the mark. Other than the obvious problems with the tomatoes and potatoes, it's the quantity (the lack of) that concerns me. Medieval and Tudor feasts were known for the sheer volume of foods that would be produced and consumed. We know, for instance, that the Tudors had a considerable appetite for sweets and that large portions of a feast were given over to them. The reverse is true for the modern dining habits; desserts and other sweet foods solely appear at the end of a meal, whereas savoury foods constitute the vast majority of a meal. Shame really, no royal feast should be without at least several sweet courses, encompassing all manner of sugary delicacies.

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

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3 http://blackadder.wikia.com/wiki/Potato

4 " https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_Uk3ELR1KBg

5 *Coffins and Paste*, Tudor Life, July 2017.

MARCH'S "ON THIS

1 March 1553
Edward VI opened Parliament. The King was ill at the time, so it was a much more low key ceremony than usual.

2 March 1618
Burial of **Elizabeth Carey**, Lady Hunsdon, wife of Sir **George Carey** (Mary Boleyn's grandson).

3 March 1528
Marriage of Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII and widow of James IV, and her third husband, Henry Stuart (Stewart), 1st Lord Methven. She had divorced her second husband, Archibald Douglas, 6th Earl of Angus, in 1527. Margaret's marriage to Methven was not happy for long, though. Margaret had managed to pick another unfaithful husband.

8 March 1539
Sir **Nicholas Carew** was beheaded on Tower Hill for treason.

9 March 1566
David Rizzio, the private secretary of **Mary, Queen of Scots** was assassinated in front of Mary, who was heavily pregnant. Rizzio was then stabbed multiple times, with the final blow being delivered by Lord Darnley's dagger, although he was not the one brandishing it.

10 March 1538
Birth of **Thomas Howard**, 4th Duke of Norfolk, eldest son of **Henry Howard**, Earl of Surrey, and **Frances de Vere**.

11 March 1609
Burial of **William Warner**, poet and lawyer, at Great Amwell in Hertfordshire. His works included "Albion's England".

15 March 1493
Arrival of **Christopher Columbus** at Palos in Spain after his 1492 voyage to the New World.

16 March 1561
The body of Marie de Guise, mother of **Mary, Queen of Scots**, was put on a ship heading to France to be buried at Rheims.

17 March 1473
Birth of **James IV**, King of Scots, at Stirling in Scotland.

18 March 1496
Henry VIII's beloved sister, **Princess Mary Tudor**, was born at Richmond Palace.

19 March 1577
Death of **Edmund Harman**, former barber of **Henry VIII**. He had retired there after Henry's death.

22 March 1599
Birth of Sir **Anthony Van Dyck**, painter and etcher, in Antwerp.


Marie de Guise

23 March 1540
The Dissolution of Waltham Abbey, the last abbey to be dissolved by **Henry VIII**.

24 March 1603
Elizabeth I, daughter of **Anne Boleyn** and **Henry VIII**, died at Richmond Palace at the age of sixty-nine.

29 March 1613
Burial of Sir **Thomas Bodley**, scholar, diplomat, and founder of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

30 March 1558
Mary I made her will, believing that she would soon give birth and childbirth was a risky process.

31 March 1553
Edward VI dissolved Parliament, after having opened it 1st March. It was his last Parliament.

Background image: St David's Cathedral , Pembrokeshire. Photo Chris Rivers

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY"

4 March 1584
Death of **Bernard Gilpin**, theologian, clergyman and preacher, known as the "Apostle of the North".

5 March 1558
Smoking tobacco was introduced in Europe by **Francisco Fernandes**.

6 Match 1547
Thomas Wriothesley lost the Great Seal of his Lord Chancellorship and was confined to his home at Ely Place for abusing his authority. He was found guilty of issuing a commission without the knowledge or permission of the other executors of Henry VIII's will.

7 March 1556
One of the days on which the *Great Comet*, or the Comet of **Charles V**, was seen and recorded by **Paul Fabricius.**

12 March 1539
Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire and Earl of Ormond, father of Anne Boleyn, died at Hever Castle, aged around 62.

13 March 1540
Death of **Henry Bourchier**, Earl of Essex. He died after falling off a horse, and his title was given to **Thomas Cromwell**.


Henry Bourchier, 2nd Earl of Essex

14 March 1471
Death of Sir **Thomas Malory**, known for his work "Le Morte d'Arthur", which he wrote in prison.

20 March 1549
Thomas Seymour, 1st Baron of Sudeley and Lord High Admiral, husband of the late Dowager Queen **Catherine Parr** and brother of Queen **Jane Seymour** and Protector Somerset, was executed after being charged with thirty-three counts of treason.

21 March 1556
Archbishop **Thomas Cranmer** was burned at the stake in Oxford for heresy.

25 March 1555
During **Mary I**'s reign, diarist **Henry Machyn** recorded jousting at Westminster.

26 March 1609
Death of **John Dee**, astrologer, alchemist, spy, philosopher, geographer and adviser to **Elizabeth I.**

27 March 1555
Burning of **William Hunter**, Protestant martyr. 19 year-old Hunter got into trouble when he was found reading the Bible.

28 March 1552
Death of **John Skip**, Bishop of Hereford. Skip is known for being the chaplain **Anne Boleyn**.

TUDOR FEAST DAYS

1 March - St David's Day
25 March - Lady Day
29, 30, 31 March - Borrowed Days

Tudor Life

NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

Tudor Life

MYTHS AND MYSTERIES

CLAIRE RIDGWAY
Myths surrounding the Boleyns

NATHEN AMIN
Did Margaret Beaufort kill the Princes in the Tower?

SARAH-BETH WATKINS
Catherine Carey and Henry VIII

EMMA TAYLOR
Myths of Tudor Wardrobe

+ MUCH MORE

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

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