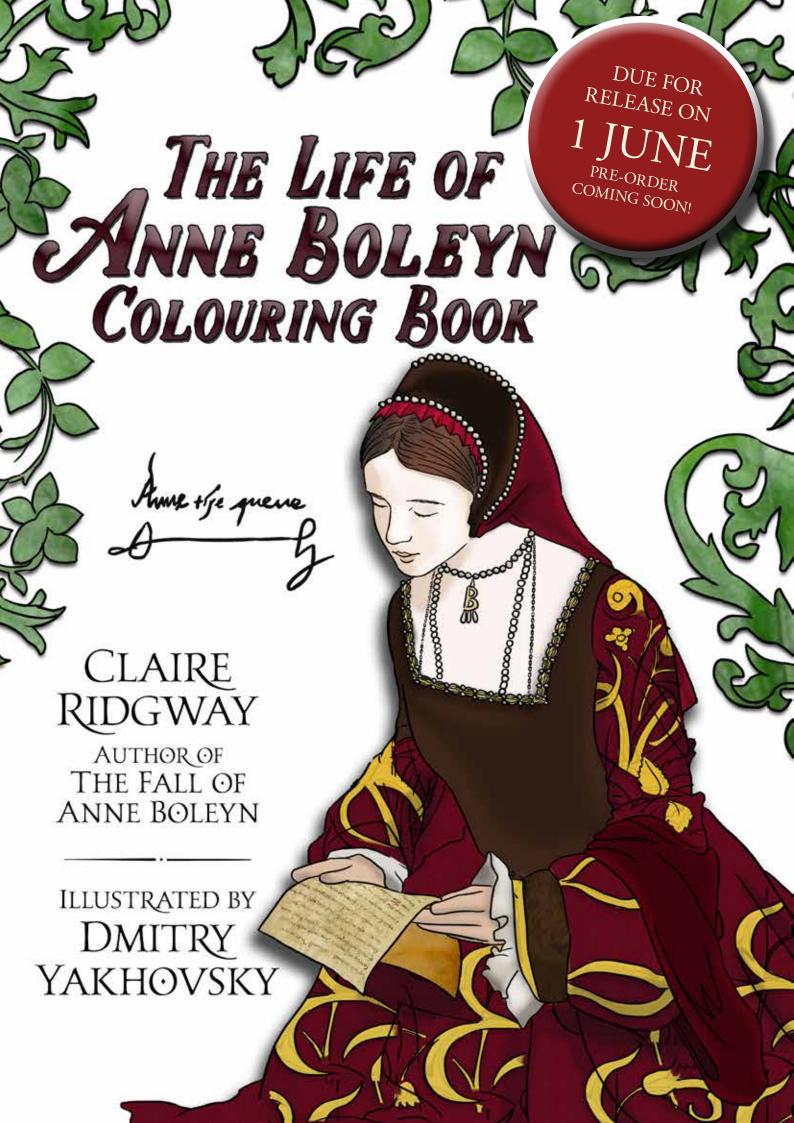
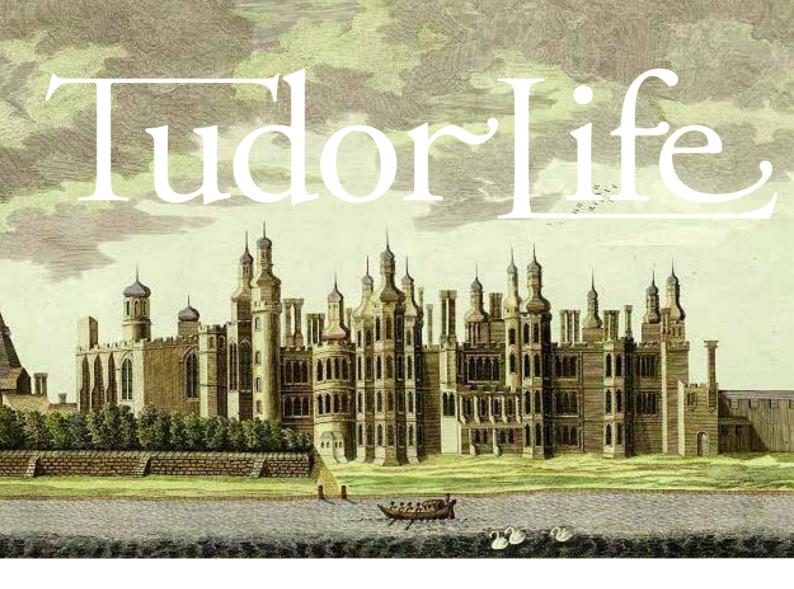


EXCLUSIVE
QUICKFIRE QUESTIONS WITH DAN JONES





The Final Years of Elizabeth I

OR ME PERSONALLY, few stories in Tudor history are more oddly moving than Elizabeth I's death. Perhaps it's the elderly Queen's deep Christian faith oscillating with the depression that plagued her later years. One courtier believed that Elizabeth could have lived longer if she had wanted to but, following the recent deaths of so many of her contemporaries, she had lost the will and "princes must not be forced". It's a beautiful, haunting quote that captures the final act of this remarkable sovereign.

In this issue, I'm thrilled that we can offer so many articles on Elizabeth's later years and the transition of power to her Scottish kinsman, James VI. I'm also pleased to offer a new feature for the magazine, through some recommended further reading on each issue's theme. It's not an endorsement of all of the authors' views per se—that's for each reader to decide for themselves— but they're books I've read personally, and which provide more on the topics discussed by our experts.

GARETH RUSSELL EDITOR

Cover photo: Queen Elizabeth I in Old Age, painted c.1610. Currently at Corsham Court, Wiltshire. Image above: Richmond Palace engraved by James Basiere in 1765, the place where Elizabeth I died.



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ELIZABETH I'S CLOTHING THROUGHOUT THE AGES

by Anne Barnhill

ROM AN EARLY age, Elizabeth Tudor understood the power of clothing. And her wardrobe often became her way of sending a message to the world. Even as an infant, what Elizabeth wore was of utmost concern. We have records of Anne Boleyn ordering sumptuous materials for her baby and, after Queen Anne's execution, we have a letter from Elizabeth's caretaker, Lady Margaret Bryon, writing to Thomas Cromwell asking for more clothes for the 'Lady' Elizabeth, as the ones she had were too small. Since she'd been declared a bastard and was no longer the Princess Elizabeth, she'd slipped the notice of the King himself, even so far as to neglect her needs.

Later, when she was around thirteen, Elizabeth began to understand how important the 'right' clothing was. She had been embroiled in a flirtation with Sir Thomas Seymour, husband of the widowed Queen Katherine Parr. Seymour was likely Elizabeth's first, teen-aged crush. Seymour behaved inappropriately with the young Elizabeth, which resulted in her being sent away from her step-mother's home. Later, after he'd been executed for trying

to kidnap Elizabeth's brother, King Edward VI, Seymour's taint remained on Elizabeth. His attempts at seduction had sullied Elizabeth's reputation. Only by being extremely careful in her behavior and dress did Elizabeth manage to regain her good name.

After the embarrassing debacle with Seymour, Elizabeth wanted very much to prove her virtue to her brother. He was a strict Puritan and so, Elizabeth adopted a "sober mode of dress" selected to please



A painting of Queen Elizabeth I that portrays her in all her aging glory has recently been authenticated and is now on display at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C. her brother and his supporters. Living circumspectly and dressing moderately eventually helped Elizabeth overcome rumors spread by her detractors. Her selection of modest clothing saved her from further harassment.

Edward died in 1553, when Elizabeth was twenty. Her elder sister, Mary I, took the throne after the ill-fated coup staged by Jane Grey's family. Mary loved beautiful clothing and adorned herself in a queenly fashion. Such fondness for the 'best' is understandable, given Mary's harsh treatment by her father earlier in life. Once she got the chance, Mary decked herself with sumptuous clothing and valuable jewelry, including "La Peregrina," the large pearl given to Mary upon her marriage to Philip of Spain.

During her elder sister's reign, Elizabeth kept to her white/black demur wardrobe. She had enough sense not to 'outshine' her sister.

Detail of The Rainbow Portrait showing the amazing eyes and ears on the cloth. Elizabeth was around 60 when this was painted.

Currently on display at Hatfield House



Once Elizabeth became queen, she inherited Mary's clothing and jewels. That's not all she inherited. She also got Mary's great debt. Monetary constraints kept Elizabeth from indulging in her love of clothes, at least for a while. Her robes of state were, of course, excellent. But she didn't begin her reign with the exorbitant gowns in which she ended it.

When she came to the throne in 1558, the style of clothing was not that different from her mother's era twenty-some years earlier. The Spanish farthingale still dictated the conical shape of the clothing, coming back into fashion around 1545. Elizabeth's farthingales were stiffened with ropes. False sleeves were still in vogue, though as time progressed, these were turned back in a sort of big cuff to reveal the lining of the sleeves. Kirtles continued to be constructed of two different fabrics, the rich fabric to be seen (the pieshaped piece) while the less expensive material was used where the kirtle didn't show. Blackwork as well as colorful embroidery remained in favor, especially on the sleeves of the smock and on the stomacher. Whereas the medieval pair of bodies showed the slight curve of the breast, by the 1530's, the bodies had become much more stiff, using such stuff as buckram or canvas. Over time, the point of the stomacher grew longer and more pointed. Slashing and pinking remained popular throughout the century, as did cutwork. Designs were etched on lush materials such a velvet to give a three dimensional depth to the cloth.



The Ditchley Portrait of Elizabeth I showing a cartwheel farthingale Image © National Portrait Galery

As time passed, the sleeves of the ensembles changed. At first, they were slashed to reveal the silks or satins beneath. Eventually, the sleeves 'grew' so that they were stiff and stuffed. Sleeves and kirtles could be mixed and matched to create even more wardrobe choices.

Elizabeth I was well-known for holding onto her clothing forever! Her wardrobe is said to have contained over three thousand gowns. Once she became queen, she shed her maidenly blacks and whites for more daring and flattering colors. The sleeves grew larger and stiffer, the lace grew wider and the starched ruffs and cuffs grew to, what

is to the modern eye, extreme size. Many courtiers gave Elizabeth gloves and sleeves for New Year's gifts, some of which she never wore, a few of which she passed on to her ladies. But she employed many tailors, embroiders, etc to change her outfits as fashions changed. Clothing was too precious to discard when a new style emerged.

As the cult of 'Gloriana' grew, Elizabeth, ever the shrewd propagandist, used symbols on her clothing to convey messages of power and almost divinity. She controlled her image, forbidding portraits to show her as she aged. As her physical body grew more frail, the importance of projecting strength and vigor became more important. She used her wardrobe to help project that image. For example, in the Rainbow Portrait by Marcus Gheeraerts, her gown has been embroidered with eyes and ears, implying she sees and hears all, almost like a goddess. She also is surrounded by various objects that increase her divine status such as the snake, which symbolizes wisdom and the rainbow, which she holds. There is no rainbow without the sun and of course, Elizabeth is that sun which makes all life in England pleasant and prosperous.

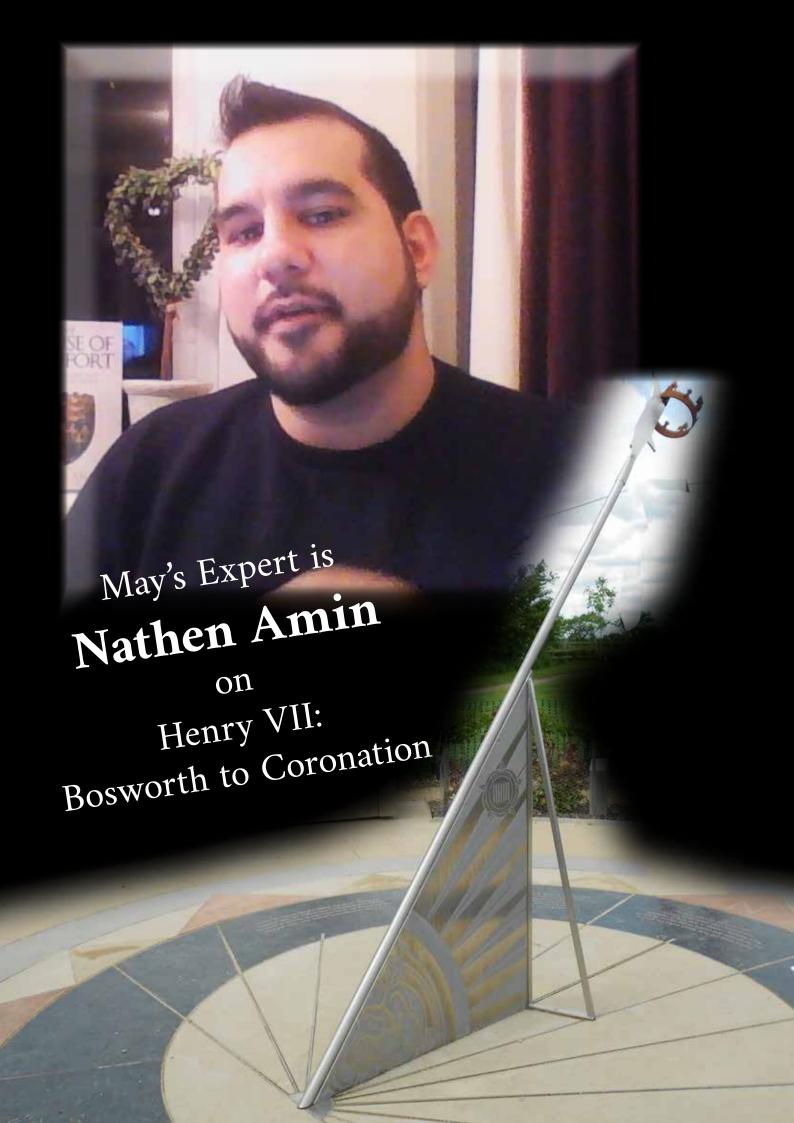
By the last decade of her reign, Elizabeth's look had changed significantly with the popularity of the cart-wheel farthingale, a monstrosity that defies logic in 21st century fashionistas. This strange-looking apparatus evolved from the French farthingale. To make this unusual shape work, the stomacher grew longer and more pointed so that it could be pinned to the wheel and keep the skirts down in the front and a little higher in the back. I've always joked that you could serve tea on one of the sides of this skirt. Going along with this style were the extreme ruffs and veils that grew ever larger and lacier. Jewels and pearls were sewn into various articles of clothing and strands of pearls often hung from the queen's neck, dripped from her hair (usually a wig—wigs were very popular during this time) and adorned the false sleeves. The pearls symbolized virginity and reaffirmed the identity of the Virgin Queen. In the candlelight, the queen must have shimmered with otherworldliness.

This barely scratches the surface of Elizabeth and her relationship with clothing. She kept her servants busy with sewing and re-sewing. The result is the resplendent image the queen wanted, an image recognized worldwide today.

ANNE BARNHILL

BOOKS USED IN THIS ARTICLE:

Tudor Costume and Fashion by Herbert Norris The Life of Elizabeth I by Alison Weir The Tudor Tailor by Ninya Mikhaila and Jane Malcolm-Davies



THE ELIZABETHAN SUCCESSION

Conor Byrne looks at who would have been England's next monarch according to Henry VIII's last will?



uring Henry VIII's reign, the succession to the throne became more complex and less clear-cut, mainly because of the King's determination to sire a legitimate male heir. As is well known, Henry failed to achieve that goal in his first two marriages, but the birth of Prince Edward in 1537 meant that the Tudor succession had to be substantially revised. The King's daughters Mary and Elizabeth, both of whom had been declared illegitimate after the annulment of the Aragon and Boleyn marriages in 1533 and 1536 respectively, were removed from the line of succession. After Jane Seymour's death twelve days after giving birth to Edward, Henry remained hopeful that he would sire additional sons during his short-lived marriages to Anne of Cleves and Katherine Howard, but that hope was to prove unrealised. By the time of his marriage to Katherine Parr in 1543, the morbidly obese fifty-two year old monarch had surely accepted that he would beget no more sons.

Although Mary and Elizabeth had been publicly declared bastards, in the 1544 Act of Succession Henry unconventionally restored both daughters to the line of succession. By electing not to restore their legitimacy, however, the king placed both Mary and Elizabeth in a highly ambiguous position. If Edward were to die prematurely, for example, then Mary would succeed him according to her father's will, but a bastard claimant to the throne would perhaps not expect to be widely supported in their bid to be accepted as rightful successor. This legal and constitutional ambiguity, as set out in the 1544 Act and later confirmed in Henry VIII's last will and testament of 1546, was to pose unsettling questions during the reigns of Henry's offspring.

As well as clarifying in his last will and testament Edward's status as heir to the throne and the placing of Mary and Elizabeth as second and third, respectively, in the line

of succession, Henry made the unusual decision of considering other possibilities should his three children die without producing heirs of their own. As Suzannah Lipscomb noted, Henry's exercise of his right in determining the English succession through his will was highly unusual, for 'none of his recent namesakes - Henry V, Henry VI nor Henry VII, for example – had attempted anything so grandiose as to interfere, in their wills, with the timehonoured pattern of male primogeniture in royal succession.' Having stipulated that the crown would be inherited by Edward and his heirs, followed by Mary and her heirs, and then by Elizabeth and her heirs, Henry specified that the crown would pass to the descendants of his younger sister Mary, duchess of Suffolk: Jane, Katherine and Mary Grey, the daughters of his niece Frances Grey, marchioness of Dorset. Why Henry decided to remove Frances herself from the line of succession is unclear; it may perhaps have been on account of her marriage to Henry Grey, who had not been included in the list of sixteen regency councillors or the twelve assistants named in the King's will to assist his son Edward with the business of ruling during his minority.

Clearly, the King had no desire for the Marquess of Dorset to become King of England if Frances were to inherit the throne.

Н explicitly rejected contemporary legal his customs in decision to promote the descendants of his younger sister, in preference to the descendants of his elder sister Margaret, Queen of Scots. By the standards of the day, Margaret's son and Henry's nephew James V, King of Scots, Henry and almost certainly contributed to his decision to exclude the Scottish branch of the family from the line of succession. Thus, at his death in January 1547, Henry VIII was adamant that the English crown should pass to Edward and his heirs and subsequently to

and subsequently to Mary and her heirs, Elizabeth and her heirs, and then to the offspring of his niece Frances Grey: her daughters Jane, Katherine and Mary.

Contrary to the traditional narrative, Edward VI was not a sickly child. It soon became apparent, however, that his illness in the spring and early summer of 1553 was terminal. At the age of fifteen, Edward had not yet married and would have known that, according to

his father's will, his half-

Mary, Queen of Scots: heiress or replacement?

should have been named in

the line of succession after Edward, Mary and Elizabeth. James had died four years prior to the completion of Henry's last will and testament, and his infant daughter Mary had succeeded him on the Scottish throne. The English King had attempted to arrange a marriage between Mary and Edward as a means of attaining control of the Scottish crown, but Mary's subsequent

sister Mary was his lawful successor in the event of his death. Edward, however, was determined to prevent Mary from succeeding him on account of her Catholic faith, which was abhorrent to the devoutly Protestant king, and on account of her illegitimacy. For that reason alone, both Mary and Elizabeth were barred from succeeding Edward according to the terms of his 'Devise for the Succession', which was written a few weeks before his death on 6 July 1553. Both in the 1544 Act and in his last will and testament, Henry VIII had established a somewhat thorny precedent in permitting the monarch to name their own successor according to personal preference.

Edward VI took that precedent one step further. By nominating his own successor according his personal preferences, Edward directly ignored his father's last will and testament, which stipulated had that Mary was to succeed him if he died without producing an heir of his own. Instead, Edward instructed that his cousin Lady Jane Grey newly married to Guildford Dudley, son of the Duke of

Northumberland – would succeed him after his death.

As is well known, Jane's accession in July 1553 was greeted with ill-concealed distaste and opposition amongst the country at large, and Mary Tudor rallied her troops with admirable effectiveness. Jane's regime collapsed within a few days of Edward's death and Mary received an enthusiastic reception upon her arrival

in London. Her coronation took place on 1 October and Jane was executed the following February. It is worth noting that the actions of the Grey family underlined their unsuitability in the line of succession, from the perspective of both Mary and Elizabeth Tudor. Mary herself attempted



Elizabeth I over-ruled her father's will

to produce an heir after her marriage to Philip of Spain in 1554, and even when it became apparent that no child would forthcoming the Queen openly voiced her displeasure at the prospect of being succeeded as queen by her halfsister Elizabeth. Contemporary rumour suggested Mary's that preferred heir was her cousin Margaret Douglas, daughter Margaret Tudor. Irrespective

of her personal desires, Mary eventually named Elizabeth as her heir, and the latter became Queen of England when Mary died in November 1558.

Unlike her half-sister, Elizabeth had no desire to marry, and as a result the Elizabethan succession was a highly fraught and divisive dynastic, political and religious issue for the entirety of her forty-four year reign. Some of her councillors favoured

the claim of the Queen's cousin Katherine Grey, but Elizabeth herself was hostile to Katherine and ordered her cousin's imprisonment when she married Edward Seymour without royal permission. Their marriage was declared invalid and their two sons deemed illegitimate. Katherine remained under house arrest for the remainder of her life, dying in 1568 at the age of twenty-seven. Her younger sister Mary also provoked Elizabeth's anger when she too married without the Queen's consent. Like her sister, Mary Grey was placed under house arrest and was never restored to royal favour, dying in 1578. By then, Elizabeth was forty-five and the prospect of her marrying and bearing an heir seemed more remote than ever. Some of her subjects were in favour of Mary, Queen of Scots being named as Elizabeth's successor. Mary had arrived in England seeking refuge some years previously after her forced abdication from the Scottish throne, but the wary Elizabeth had ensured that Mary remained securely confined in a succession of English castles and manors. She seems to have been ambivalent at best and hostile at worst to the thought of Mary inheriting the English crown, especially after the Pope issued a bull in 1570 calling for Elizabeth's assassination and replacement with the Catholic Mary.

The deaths of Katherine and Mary Grey in 1568 and 1578 respectively meant that, according to Henry VIII's last will and testament, Elizabeth's heir was her cousin Margaret Clifford, Countess of Derby. Margaret was the daughter of Eleanor Brandon, Countess of Cumberland, and the granddaughter of Henry VIII's sister Mary, Duchess of Suffolk. Whether Elizabeth herself ever seriously considered Margaret Clifford as her heir is uncertain, however. Margaret was both highly ambitious and highly reckless, and she was arrested in 1579 for opposing Elizabeth's proposed marriage to Francis, Duke of Anjou, on the grounds that it threatened her hoped-for status as the Queen's heir. Matters worsened for Margaret when she was subsequently also accused of employing sorcery to predict the date of Elizabeth's death, which led to her imprisonment. Although she was not charged with treason, she was banished from court and was never restored to royal favour. Margaret's death in 1596 meant that she was succeeded as the Queen's heir - according to Henry VIII's wishes - by her granddaughter Anne Stanley, whose father had died in 1594.

When Elizabeth died on 24 March 1603, the crown of England should legally and constitutionally have passed to Anne Stanley, Baroness Chandos. Henry VIII had explicitly outlined his determination to exclude the Scottish line – the descendants of his elder sister Margaret - from consideration as successors to the throne. Of his three children, only Mary honoured her father's wishes. Both Edward and Elizabeth ignored Henry's last will and testament by nominating their successors according to personal preference. Instead of naming the twenty-two year old Anne as her heir, Elizabeth instead signalled her desire for James VI of Scotland, son of the executed Mary, Queen of Scots, to succeed her. James's accession in 1603 subsequently inaugurated the Stuart dynasty on the throne of England. The Stuarts held power until the death of Queen Anne in 1714.

Henry VIII's last will and testament set a precedent, in enabling the monarch to nominate their successor according to personal preferences rather than primogeniture. Unconventionally, Henry had barred the descendants of his elder sister from inheriting the English crown, thus ignoring contemporary legal customs. Instead, his preference was for the descendants of his younger sister Mary; therefore, according to this wish, Elizabeth I's lawful successor in 1603 was Anne Stanley. However, Elizabeth – like her brother before her – directly ignored

her father's wishes and instead nominated James VI of Scotland as her heir. In doing so, Elizabeth restored the excluded Scottish branch of the family to the line of succession. Leanda de Lisle has speculated that Elizabeth's preference was always for the Scottish line, despite her decision to order the execution of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587. Whether or not her personal dislike of the Grey family was the deciding factor in her decision regarding the succession, Elizabeth's act of naming James her heir has ensured that history has almost entirely forgotten Anne Stanley, who was legally and constitutionally the heir to the throne at Elizabeth's death in 1603.

CONOR BYRNE



Tudor Life. EDITOR'S PICKS



One book which has, rightly, gathered an impressive number of stellar reviews recently is John Guy's "Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years", a harrowing portrait of the Queen's final fifteen years on the throne, from the defeat of the Spanish Armada to her death in 1603. One of my personal favourite historical books to return to, over and over again, is Leanda de Lisle's magnificent debut "After Elizabeth", which chronicles agonised last months and, fascinatingly, the subsequent handover of power to the Scottish royal family. Lady Anne Somerset's biography of Elizabeth is still considered one of the best. For those looking for a fictional take on the tumultuous sunset to the Virgin Queen's career, Margaret George has written an epic novel "Elizabeth I", which begins its story in 1588.

THE EDITOR





FAMOUS PRISONERS AT THE TOWER OF LONDON QUIZ

At the Tudor Society, we always remember Anne Boleyn on May 19th, the anniversary of her execution. This month's quiz is about her and some other famous prisoners of the Tower in and around the Tudor period.

Your first job is to fill in the dates of imprisonment with each prisoner (there are no clues for this). **Your second job** is to fill in the gaps with the words from the area on the right.

GOOD LUCK!

HENRY VI - D	OATES IMPRISON	ED
He suffered many years of acute m 1470, when Richard Neville, Earl of him in the first place, changed side of (4) 6 months later on 21 st May 1471. Some claimed	nental health difficulties. Hof Warwick (the (3) es and put him back. How and Henry was returned he died from ill health an a wound to his head supp	die at the Tower (the other being (2)). He found himself back on the throne in October), who had been instrumental in removing vever, his supporters were defeated at the Battle to the Tower. He died here shortly afterwards and despair following the death of his son and ports the claim he was murdered at the orders was also involved).
Anne Boleyn was imprisoned in universally accepted as false. She	was accused of (7) yn uncle, (9)	May 1536, on charges which are now almost with (8) men and incest with her own, Duke of Norfolk. Anne was beheaded by
LADY JANE	E GREY - DATES IN	MPRISONED
the order of succession in order to Mary, become Queen. Jane was a panny saw Jane as a (13), a she may have been housed in the	o prevent England from roprotestant and granddaugh nd Mary's popularity was (14) N	, in July 1553. He had changed returning to Catholicism should his half-sister, hter of King Henry VIII's sister, Mary. However, a underestimated. Carvings on the wall suggest Mary was not forgiving when Jane's father was be was beheaded on 12th February 1554

PRINCESS ELIZ	ZABETH - DATES IMPRISO	ONED
convict her. She arrived at the Tower disbelieved. She was later released in	olved in Wyatt's Rebellion, but there by boat and the account that she entered to house arrest. She returned to the Toher coronation at (17)	ed via (16) is now ower on 14 th January 1559, and
CATHERINE (GREY - DATES IMPRISONI	ED
The Seymours were considered pow alternative for the anti-Elizabeth fac sent to the Tower, where they were he and the baby was born there and ch meet in secret, and she conceived a se	In 1560 she secretly married (18) verful and ambitious at court, and station. As a result, their marriage was coused separately. Catherine was pregnaristened (19) The Lieutenant econd son, (20) Catherine had, where she died on 26 th J	o their marriage provided an leclared illegal, and they were ant when she was imprisoned, of the Tower allowed them to been released from the Tower
Raleigh was actually imprisoned in the That seems like quite an achievement in-waiting, (22) years on a charge of treason for sup However, there was not sufficient even 1616 he was sent by the king on a mi	e Tower on three separate occasions, earner occasion was for marrying on without her permission. The seposedly conspiring against the then ridence to prove this. His final spell in ssion to Guiana for gold. He was charge the Tower and executed in the (25)	ach time for a different offence. ne of Queen Elizabeth's ladies- cond time, he was held for 13 monarch, James I of England. n the Tower led to his end. In ged with inciting war between
GUY (GUIDO) F.	AWKES - DATES IMPRISO	NED
to put an end to allowed to go far enough that the perposentenced to be (29)	osion to kill the King and the whole of the persecution of (28) . Ho petrators could be caught. After impris	wever the plot was leaked and onment in the Tower, each was y 1606, Fawkes spared himself
	QUIZ BY CAT	THERINE BROOKS
Words to fit into the text above: adultery	Edward V Elizabeth Throckmorton	Richard III Spain

adultery
armed rebellion
Beauchamp Tower
Catholics
Chapel Royal
Cockfield Hall
Edward
Edward IV
Edward Seymour

Edward v
Elizabeth Throckmorton
four
France
hanged, drawn and quartered
Houses of Parliament
King Edward VI
Kingmaker
Lancastrian
Old Palace Yard

Spain
Tewkesbury
Thomas
Thomas Howard
Tower Green
Traitors Gate
usurper
Westminster Abbey
Wyatt's Rebellion

"I AM NOT SICK, I FEEL NO PAIN, AND YET I PINE AWAY": THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF ELIZABETH I

BY LAUREN BROWNE

Queen Elizabeth I outlived eight Popes, four Kings of France, and at the time of her death, her forty-four-year reign was among the longest of the English monarchs. She survived smallpox, several assassination attempts and was generally in good health. That is until she began to deteriorate around February 1603.

Over the course of February and into March 1603, Elizabeth's health began to rapidly decline. She was plagued with insomnia, sometimes getting only a few hours of sleep at a time. Although her arthritis was briefly in remission, her insomnia was accompanied by an extreme bout of 'melancholy'. Elizabeth had also contracted bronchitis, which the

sources refer to as 'an inflammation from the breast upwards.'1

The queen's deterioration did not go by unnoticed, and a great number of interested parties reported extensively on her condition in a flurry of diary entries, letters, and sermons. Due to this, an

¹ John Guy, *Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years*, (London, 2016), p, 377



extensive source-base survives: 'the letters of Robert Cecil, Elizabeth's secretary of state, and the gossipy ones of John Chamberlain, a minor courtier and great observer; the memoir of the Queen's cousin, Robert Carey, later Earl of Monmouth, and the diaries of Lady Anne Clifford, Master of Requests Roger Wilbraham, and law student John Manningham; a manuscript history of 1603 complied by William Camden; the reports of foreign ambassadors, and eyewitness accounts by a maid of honour, an imprisoned priest, and anonymous sources'.²

The queen's melancholy was remarked upon by a number of these accounts. Dr Henry Parry told John Manningham in March 1603 that 'hir Majestie hath bin by fittes troubled with melancholy some 3 or 4 monthes.' On 9th March, de Beaumont reported that 'a deep melancholy is visible in [the Queen's] countenance and her actions.' Robert Carey reported

that Elizabeth had told him during one of his visits that she had complained 'that her heart had been sad and heavy for ten or twelve days.'5

On the 15 March, a visiting Dutch diplomat sent a detailed report on Elizabeth's condition to the deputy of the States in Paris. He reported that the queen had been ill for fifteen days, during ten to twelve of which she was unable to eat. She had been refusing food during this period as well. However, he continued, in the past few days she had been sleeping for four or five hours a night and had begun to eat again, though she was refusing medicine. An incident had also occurred during which Elizabeth was almost unable to speak for around half an hour. A 'defluxion' of foul matter into her throat had caused her to choke, and he explains that it was to do with mouth abscesses rather than a build-up of phlegm.

Despite a brief recovery over a few days, Elizabeth began to rapidly deteriorate throughout the course of mid-March. 'Eating less and stubbornly refusing to go to bed for two days and three nights, she sat immobile on a stool in her nightgown, staring into space.' John Chamberlain stated that she

² C. Loomis, The Death of Elizabeth I: Remembering and Reconstructing the Virgin Queen, (London, 2010), p. 7

³ Quote taken from C. Loomis, *The Death of Elizabeth I*, p. 8

⁴ Frederick von Raumer, Contributions to Modern History, from the British Museum and the State Paper Office: Queen Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots, (London, 1836), p. 456

⁵ C. Loomis, The Death of Elizabeth I, p. 8

⁶ John Guy, Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years, p. 378



thought if she lay down she would never rise again. De Beaumont described the queens condition in a detailed dispatch dated 18th March:

'The queen is already quite exhausted, and sometimes, for two or three hours together, does not speak a word. For the last two days she has her finger almost always in her mouth, and sits upon cushions, without rising or lying down, her eyes open and fixed on the ground. Her long wakefulness and want of food have exhausted her already weak and emaciated frame, and have produced heat at the stomach, and also the drying up of all the juices, for the last ten or twelve days.'⁷

The political tension caused by Elizabeth's illness was felt in London, as John Stow reports; 'straight watches were kept in the Citie of London, with warding at the gates, lanthrones with lights hanged out to burn all night.' On 12th March, Chief Justice Popham cautioned Robert Cecil to fortify London because 'the most dissolute and dangerous people of England are there, and upon the least occasion will repair thither.'8 On 16th March, the Earl of Shrewsbury was ordered by the Council to 'suppress all uncertain and evil rumours concerning the state of the Queen's health... and also to prevent all unlawful assemblies...'9 Other attempts to suppress Elizabeth's condition were made: a letter which was dispatched to the sheriff of Stafford survives, and states that 'extraordinarie care' was to be taken to ensure that rumours of the Queen's 'indisposition of health,' were suppressed, and that the council was 'assured that the better and wiser sort of men will governe themselves with such discretion and judgemnt as is meete', it promised that 'her majestie (by whose aucthoritie wee do this) liveth with good sense and memorie and thankes be to God with good hope of presente recoverie and amendment.'10 Despite such assertions that the queen would recover, preparations were made to ease the political tension now swirling further from London. Officials began to imprison

people considered to be dangerous, Catholics were also rounded up, and vagrants soon joined them. On 19th March, the Privy Council closed the theatres in London, Middlesex, and Surrey, in order to discourage public gatherings.

It had become clear that Elizabeth was not going to make the recovery promised by the Council in their letter to the sheriff of Stafford. On 22^{nd} March, de Beaumont describes the queens' ever worsening condition:

'The queen is drawing near her end, and has been given up by all the physicians. They have put her into bed almost by force, after she has been sitting upon cushions for ten days, and been quite dressed for scare an hour in the day. She then seemed to feel better and asked for meat-broth, which gave all fresh hopes. Soon after this, her voice began to fail, and since then she has eaten nothing, but lies quite motionless on one side, without speaking or looking at any body.'11

This pattern of ailing around midday and then coming around for a while before declining again repeated itself on the 23rd March. 'Speechless by midday, she rallied a little during the course of the afternoon, demanding some broth, but by the evening she was sinking fast... At about six o'clock that evening, no longer able to speak, she made a sign that he [Archbishop Whitgift] be sent for, along with her almoner and chaplains." Whitgift stayed for most of the evening, praying beside the dying queen. She responded to his questions about her faith in God through gestures, having been unable to regain her ability to speak. When Whitgift and most of the others who were present retired for the eveing, only Elizabeth's ladies remained to hold vigil. The queen died peacefully, at Richmond Palace, around 3 o'clock on Thursday 24th March.

For a few days after her death, Elizabeth's body lay at Richmond, before being taken by barge to Whitechapel where she lay in state. Although Elizabeth died on 24th March, her funeral procession wasn't held until 28th April. Two drawings of her

⁷ Raumer, p. 457

⁸ C. Loomis, The Death of Elizabeth I, p. 9

⁹ Historical Manuscripts Comission, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Earl of Rutland*, (London, 1888) p. 388

¹⁰ C. Loomis, The Death of Elizabeth I, p. 9

¹¹ Raumer, pp. 457-458

¹² John Guy, Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years, p. 380

procession are still extant. The main focus of the depictions is not the body of the queen, but of her funeral effigy. By this time in England, funeral effigies were unique to royal funerals. The life-like effigy of the Queen was described by Henry Chettle, in his 1603 account;

'The lively picture of her Highnesse whole body, crowned in her Parliament Robes, lying in the corpse balmed and leaded, covered with velvet, borne on a chariot, drawn by four hourses, trapt in Black Velvet. Six bannerils were carried on each side of the chariot by barons. Three Earl's assistants followed them on each side. Then came two groups of gentlemen pensioners, their axes pointing downwards, and following them a group of footmen. Four noblemen bore a canopy over the chariot. The Earl of Worcester followed leading the 'Palfrie of Honour.'13 Elizabeth's effigy was made

13 Henry Chettle, 'The Order Proceeding at the Funerall of the Right High and Mighty Princesse Elizabeth Queene of England, France and Ireland from the Palace of Westminster, called Whitehall: to the Cathedrall Church of Westminster. 28th April 1603', in F. Gogan (ed.), A Third Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts, 3 vols, (London, 1751)

by John Colt, but it was remade in 1760 with a new wax head and outer clothes. The original corset is still extant, and was recently displayed alongside the reworked effigy with the new clothes.

John Stow described the crowds' reaction to Elizabeth's effigy as the procession made its way to Westminster Abbey; when 'they beheld her statue and picture lying upon the coffin set forth in Royall Robes... there was such a general sighing and groning, and weeping, and the like hath not beene seene or knowne in the memorie of man.'14

Unfortunately, no record of the church services, including the offering ritual, is extant today. Elizabeth's burial monument was erected in the north aisle of Henry VII's chapel, which can still be seen today. Her white marble monument, although sizable, is smaller than the monument James I had erected for his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, on the opposite side of the chapel. It was constructed by Maximillian Colt, the brother of John Colt who had made Elizabeth's funeral effigy. Because the original head of the funeral effigy does not survive, we do not know if it was a death mask-

14 John Stow, Annals of England, (London, 1615) p. 815



a wax moulding of the corpse's face, or if it depicted Elizabeth as younger than 69. The extant drawings of Elizabeth's funeral effigy do seem to show her as a lively figure, with her eyes wide open, and a more youthful visage. Unlike funeral effigies, which were usually designed to portray the deceased monarch as they would have been in life, the tomb effigy depicts Elizabeth in advanced age.

In 1606, Elizabeth's coffin was transferred to a vault below the monument erected for her by James I, and was placed on top of Mary I's coffin. Over the centuries, several aspects of Elizabeth's monument have been stolen or damaged. The cross and orb, as well as the sceptre Elizabeth's tomb effigy holds are modern additions, and the iron railing around the tomb was added to replace the lost original in 1983. Although the monument is now white marble, it was originally painted by Jan de Critz. This was a common feature for royal effigies, dating back Henry II's at Fontevraud, the first example of an English monarch's tomb effigy.

A large Latin inscription adorns the top of the monument, and serves as a fitting and final remembrance of 'Gloriana':

"Sacred to memory: Religion to its primitive purity restored, peace settled, money restored to its just value, domestic rebellion quelled, France relieved when involved with intestine divisions; the Netherlands supported; the Spanish Armada vanquished; Ireland almost lost by rebels, eased by routing the Spaniard; the revenues of both universities much enlarged by a Law of Provisions; and lastly, all England enriched. Elizabeth, a most prudent governor 45 years, a victorious and triumphant Queen, most strictly religious, most happy, by a calm and resigned death at her 70th year left her mortal remains, till by Christ's Word they shall rise to immortality, to be deposited in the Church [the Abbey], by her established and lastly founded. She died the 24th of March, Anno 1602 [this is Old Style dating, now called 1603], of her reign the 45th year, of her age the 70th.

To the eternal memory of Elizabeth queen of England, France and Ireland, daughter of King Henry VIII, grand-daughter of King Henry VII, great-grand-daughter to King Edward IV. Mother of her country, a nursing-mother to religion and all liberal sciences, skilled in many languages, adorned with excellent endowments both of body and mind, and excellent for princely virtues beyond her sex. James, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, hath devoutly and justly erected this monument to her whose virtues and kingdoms he inherits."¹⁵

LAUREN BROWNE

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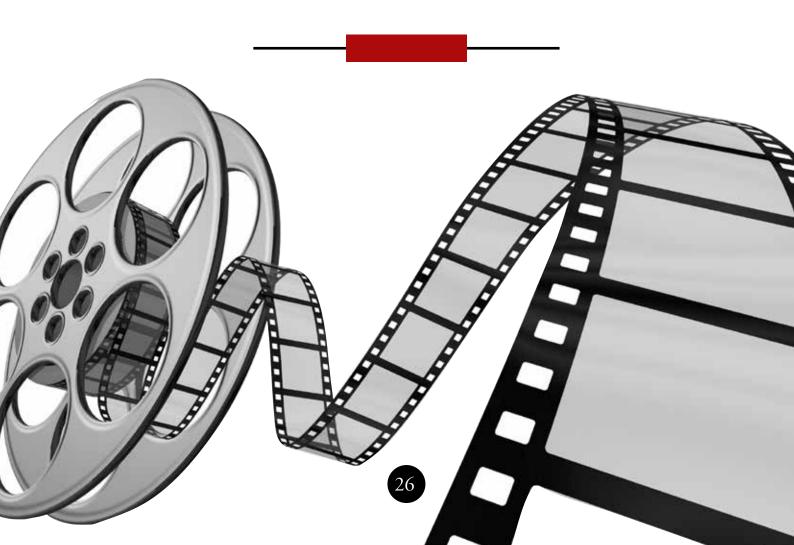
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ELIZABETH R: RECREATING THE VIRGIN QUEEN'S WARDROBE

By Emma Elizabeth Taylor





Elizabeth, representing her power, as a royal phoenix (Provided by the author/BBC)

Emma Taylor is full of praise for BBC episodes dramatizing the later years of Elizabeth's life

Elizabeth I, the Virgin Queen, remains one of the most easily recognisable faces in history. Elizabeth's red hair, huge ruffs, and pearl encrusted dresses adorn the pages of both history books and fashion magazines to this day. Elizabeth's portraits, of which there are many, helped to create a mythos and legend around the Virgin Queen, creating a romantic, chaste, brave, almost mythical Queen, who is still iconic around the world.

Of all the actresses who have Elizabeth, Glenda Jackson's portrayal of tackled the monumental role of Elizabeth I in Elizabeth R arguably re-

mains one of the most famous; and with good reason. Jackson earned a Best Actress Emmy award for her 1971 performance, playing Elizabeth from her early years as a Protestant princess to the lofty heights of her later life and reign. It is a series highly praised for its historical accuracy, especially in relation to its costume design and production. At least six of the gowns worn by Jackson throughout the series are direct recreations of dresses that Elizabeth wore, and four are recreations of some of Elizabeth's most famous dresses, worn in portraits painted of the Queen. The dresses from these portraits; the Darnley, Phoenix, Armada and Ditchley all respectively feature in the series at different points. By

recreating these dresses, costume designer Elizabeth Waller tied the series into reality in a way many series and films fail to do, and rooted the events firmly in reality.

One of the best aspects of this series is the bravery to adapt the Elizabethan style with honesty and accuracy. This is something that tends to be pushed aside in modern adaptions, in favour of an 'updated' Elizabethan style, more palatable to a 21st-century audience. Details such as Elizabeth's high forehead, pale skin often accentuated with white makeup, and rouged cheeks are all included, despite how alien this may be to a modern viewer. Elizabethan women often plucked their hairline by at least an inch to achieve the

The Darnley portrait brought to life on screen (Provided by the author/BBC)



desired aristocratic high forehead, and pale alabaster skin was seen as the ideal. Women, including Elizabeth herself, lightened their skin with ceruse, a mixture of egg whites and lead; a mixture we now know can prove deadly due to lead exposure. However, in a time of smallpox that often lead to scarring, many women relied on this method to achieve smooth, white, and unblemished skin. While this practice can seem almost comical now, and leads to a rather startling effect not too dissimilar to a porcelain doll, it is fantastic to see the incorporation of these beauty standards as a true representation of how the Elizabethan court judged beauty.

The Phoenix portrait dress is the first of the dresses from portraits to appear, worn in episode three of the series. It is a perfect recreation of the dress worn by Elizabeth in the Phoenix portrait, painted in 1575. This was a portrait painted when the Queen was in her early forties, and had begun to cement her image as the Virgin Queen; much of the symbolism in the paintings revolves around her status as an unmarried woman. When looking closely at the dress, one can see a phoenix at her breast, representative of rebirth and chastity; Elizabeth began to use the symbolism of the phoenix as representative of her virginity and her intent to restore the Tudor dynasty. The dress is beautiful and regal - including the long, triangular corset and low hips characteristic of the Elizabethan style. The dress also includes a ruff - a piece of clothing that is inextricably tied to Elizabeth and her public image.

The Darnley portrait dress appears next, in episode four of the series. Also painted in 1575, this portrait shows a cold, haugh-

ty looking Elizabeth, wearing a beautiful and slightly simpler gown that the previous Phoenix portrait. This dress has a few aspects which would be considered traditionally masculine, particularly the doublet and militaristic frogging design at its front. The Queen holds an ostrich feather fan here, with her crown placed on the table in the background of the picture. Studies have shown that the colours on this painting have faded over time, and the original colours would have been much closer to crimson and gold, and the Queen's complexion decidedly rosier. The recreation of the dress in Elizabeth R is actually slightly paler than the dress in the portrait, but this works well on the slightly dated camera of the 1970s. This dress is beautiful in motion, and one of the most iconic dresses worn by Elizabeth during her reign.

The infamous Armada dress appears next in Elizabeth R. Painted in 1588, the portrait, of which there are three surviving versions, celebrates the English victory in the Spanish Armada. The portrait itself is hugely significant in terms of symbolism; Elizabeth sits with her hand resting on a globe, with her figures just touching the Americas, a symbol of England's plans to expand into the New World. While not costume related, to Elizabeth's left, the arm of her chair has been carved into the shape of a mermaid. The mermaid, a fictional siren who lures sailors to their deaths at sea, could be seen as indicative of Elizabeth's, the siren's, famous defeat of the Spanish in 1588. The ships in the background of the painting depict two separate time frames of Spanish defeat in the Armada, and the large, expansive frame of the dress show Elizabeth as larger than life, a threatening monarch looming over her vast empire. Elizabeth's dress is covered in pearls, and she wears strings upon strings of pearl necklaces; a symbol of chastity and virginity. The dress, while appearing huge in the portrait, is an exaggerated version of the fashions of the Elizabethan era; with a long, tapered triangular bodice, large arms that taper to a narrow wrist, and a ruff; the larger and more ornate the better.

The final dress to appear in the series is one from Elizabeth's later life; it is a dress featured in the Ditchley portrait, painted in 1592 by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. Named for the Oxfordshire home of Elizabeth's former champion, Sir Henry Lee of Ditchley, this portrait depicts Elizabeth in a resplendent white dress encrusted with pearls, standing atop a map of England, with her feet placed on Oxfordshire. Storms rage in the sky behind her, and the sun shines before her; it is a powerful image, and is fitting with the mythology and symbolism that created the iconography of Elizabeth, which was, at this point in time, well established in popular culture. Elizabeth would have been around 56 years old when this portrait was painted, and it seems likely that this portrait was painted as a celebration of the Queen's visit to Ditchley in 1592. Once again, this dress heavily features pearls; they would forever be associated with the Virgin Queen due to their symbolic values of chastity and purity. This is further emphasised by the entirely white dress; symbolic of Elizabeth's marriage to England. The recreation of this dress featured in Elizabeth R is just as resplendent in its television counterpart; it is a larger than life

dress, creating an almost impossibly wide silhouette, which would have undoubtedly been a great burden for Jackson to wear. However, in the television show, we can also clearly see Elizabeth's heavy white lead make-up and rouged cheeks, and while it looks somewhat startling to the modern viewer, it would have been commonplace for Elizabeth.

When we look at Elizabeth in these portraits, it is easy to imagine the beautiful young Queen who ascended to power at the height of her youth and beauty. While Elizabeth was undoubtedly young and beautiful, as time went on, she, too, grew older. She had been scarred in 1562 by smallpox, which also left the ageing queen with thinning hair, and dependent on wigs and cosmetics. She was a fan of sweet delicacies, leaving her with tooth decay and tooth loss later in life. However; in portraiture, her beauty never fades. Elizabeth's portraits make for fascinating viewing, and not only for those of us enamoured with fashion history and the stories that clothing and fashion can tell. They are historical documents that tell explain to us what the Virgin Queen meant to England and her people; they are visual stories that chart the course of her life, successes and failures, and to see the importance of these portraits remembered by modern artists is hugely exciting. By incorporating these iconic dresses into Elizabeth R, Elizabeth Waller has contributed to the mythos of Elizabeth, ensuring that the symbolism and artistry of these portraits can continue to delight and inform audiences to this day.

EMMA ELIZABETH TAYLOR







Queen Bette Bette Davis as Elizabeth I Onscreen

by Roland Hui

younger man in love with an older woman - one twice his age in fact - may not exactly be the type of movie that will guarantee box office returns, but when that film starred Bette Davis in her heyday alongside Errol Flynn, it was bound to draw audiences.

By the end of the 1930s, Bette Davis (1908-1989) had established herself as one of Hollywood's greatest stars. Certainly at her home studio Warner Brothers, she was the queen of the lot. She had already won two Academy Awards - for Dangerous in 1935 and for Jezebel in 1938, and was one of the studio's biggest money-makers. Confident in Davis' ability to fill its coffers again, Warners acquired a new project for its great leading lady entitled Elizabeth the Queen in early 1938. A theatrical work by the eminent Maxwell Anderson (who would later write Anne of the Thousand Days), it ran on stage for nearly a year with the respected acting couple Lynn Fontanne as Queen Elizabeth of England and her husband Alfred Lunt as Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.

Always interested in roles larger than life and in remarkable characters, Davis had expressed her interest in doing a film version of the well received Elizabeth the Queen. This was not the first time she had envisioned herself as the great Gloriana. When director John Ford was planning to shoot Mary of Scotland (1936) with Katharine Hepburn at RKO

Pictures, Davis was keen on playing her rival cousin Elizabeth Tudor. However, Ford, after meeting with Davis in person, disliked her personally. He gave the part to actress Florence Eldridge instead. Davis' consolation was that Mary of Scotland ultimately flopped with audiences.

Despite the risk of "prestige" type motion pictures - they were often thought too highbrow and too expensive to make - Warner Brothers had faith in Elizabeth the Queen as a star vehicle for Bette Davis. She was excited about doing the film, but the catch was that she would have to accept Errol Flynn as her Essex. Flynn (1909-1959) was another one of the studio's most popular stars after his successes in Captain Blood (1935), The Charge of the Light Brigade (1936), and The Adventures of Robin Hood (1938). Davis had worked with Flynn before in The Sisters (1938) and did not think much of him as an actor. Flynn, she thought, breezed through his films on the strength of his charms and good looks, rather his acting ability. Davis desperately wanted Laurence Olivier instead. He was "perfect for the part of Essex;

arrogant, beautiful, virile, and talented", as Davis would later say. But since Olivier was unavailable, she had to make do with Errol Flynn. Davis later confessed that when she doing her scenes with him, she imagined she was acting with Oliver instead.

The casting of Errol Flynn caused additional headaches to Davis when the actor insisted on changing the title of the film. Elizabeth the Queen, Flynn protested, made no reference to him as Essex. Because of Flynn's box office clout, the studio was obliging. The title, it was announced, would be The Lady and the Knight instead. Davis was furious. Not only would she have to accommodate Flynn, she also thought that the

title was vulgar. It could be read as a sexual pun on The Lady and the Night, said the offended Davis. But Warners stood its ground. Even during the making of the film months later, the new title remained. "I find myself so upset mentally and ill physically by the prospect of this title", Davis fumed to her studio bosses, "that unless this matter is settled in writing, I cannot without serious impairment to my health finish the picture". Seeing that Davis would not back down, Warners settled upon The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex, a nod to another Tudor themed film The Private Life of Henry VIII made in 1933.

Davis approached her role as Queen Elizabeth with her customary seriousness and dedication. When she was originally told that it might be better to imply that Elizabeth was only in her mid thirties as opposed to her sixties, as to make the romance between her and the much younger Essex more plausible, Davis refused. She wanted historical accuracy maintained. The film would require her to age from her current 30 years to double that of the Queen in her twilight, but then again, Davis was never afraid to take on such risks. In fact, she seemed to welcome them. In one of her greatest triumphs Of Human Bondage (1934) she insisted upon appearing ill and dying as the vicious character Mildred. Later in movies such as Marked Woman (1937), Mr. Skeffington (1944) and Whatever Happened to Baby Jane (1962), she would again make no concessions to being attractive if she felt the scripts demanded that she look her worst. To make herself appear twice her age, Davis had her face made pasty white, her eyebrows plucked into pencil thin lines, and her hairline shaved back some two inches. The



high forehead was not so much as to suggest that the Queen was wearing wigs, but that she was in fact bald. At the time the film was made, there was belief among some historians and writers of historical fiction that Elizabeth had lost her hair early on and had to resort to hairpieces. Such an idea was so strong that when writing the biography Elizabeth the Great, the historian Elizabeth Jenkins felt she had to address the issue head-on in the preface.³

Davis also paid much attention to her costumes. They needed to be as big and flamboyant as those in the 16th century. When the studio heads and director Michael Curtiz objected - they were too large and cumbersome to film - Davis secretly ordered two sets of clothes to be made - one at a smaller scale for rehearsals and the other as she wanted them to be for the actual filming. When it came time for the cameras to roll, Curtiz never noticed the difference, and Davis was able to get away with wearing the larger costumes.

The plot of the film was faithful to Maxwell Anderson's play. When Robert Devereux returns from his triumphs against Spain, his accomplishments are greeted with scorn by a jealous Elizabeth. Both are overly proud, which leads to many quarrels between them. When the lovers do make up, matters are complicated by Essex's enemies at court who want to discredit him with the Queen. With the help of a lady-in-waiting, Lady Penelope (played by Olivia de Havilland, a frequent co-star of both Davis and Flynn) who is also in love with Essex, the Earl finds himself in disgrace while campaigning in Ireland. Frustrated by an apparent lack of support from the Queen, Essex returns in rebellion. Later when it is discovered that both he and Elizabeth were duped, the Queen cannot pardon him as Essex does indeed



covet her kingdom. When she ultimately reconsiders she will surrender her Crown to Robert - it is too late - he goes to the block with willingness. His ambition, he knows, would only be the ruin of England. At his sacrifice, Elizabeth, old and tired, is left to face her remaining years alone.

While the historical Essex was a highly regarded favourite of Elizabeth, Maxwell Anderson's play and the film version took their relationship further in making it a romantic one.4 In truth, the ageing Elizabeth was rather an indulgent grandmother to the younger Essex, and her affection for him almost certainly stemmed from the fact that he was the stepson of her late much-loved Robert Dudley. But as the play and film imagined it, the Queen and Earl were lovers, so much that even when he dabbled in treason, Elizabeth was willing to forgive him and to forsake her kingdom for his sake. It was highly romantic, but false. In truth, she had no regrets in her dealing of Essex. As the real Elizabeth was to say after the Earl's execution, "I had put up with but too much disrespect to my person, but I warned him that he should not touch my sceptre".5

As filming progressed during The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex, Bette Davis' concerns about Flynn were justified. Though handsome and charismatic as the real Essex had been, Flynn lacked the discipline and gravitas for the part. Specifically, he had trouble memorizing Maxwell Anderson's blank verse. "We made 20 takes, all account of Flynn", a production manager complained to the head office. Even when some of the dialogue was later simplified, Flynn still flubbed his lines. When she was not daydreaming of Laurence Olivier, Davis, it was said, took her frustrations out on the co-star she was burdened with. In a scene where she was to slap the Earl of Essex in the face, Davis gave it her all despite Flynn asking her to kindly hold back beforehand.

Apart from having to work with Flynn, Davis could not complain about the attention given to the making of Private Lives. It was filmed in colour and its production values were high. The sets were lavish, and even if they were not always authentic looking but rather "Hollywood", they did invoke the grandeur of the Elizabethan court. Equal consideration was given to the recreation of Ireland where Essex is sent to crush the rebellion of the Earl of Tyrone. Like many "outdoor" sets used in movies of the time, it was entirely created indoors. At the Academy Awards for

that year, Private Lives received nominations for Art Direction, Sound Recording, Cinematography, and Special Effects. There was also a nomination for the talented Erich Wolfgang Korngold for his excellent music score. Although the movie did not win any Oscars, Private Lives was a critical and commercial success. The New York Times thought it a "rather stately, rigorously posed and artistically Technicolored production", and it praised Bette Davis for her "strong, resolute, glamour-skimping characterization" of Queen Elizabeth. Admittedly, some critics were less kind. The film was too talky and Davis' performance too eccentric. For one who was supposed to be regal and stately, her Elizabeth was a bundle of nerves. She could not keep still but was forever bobbing her head or fidgeting with her hands, some reviewers noted. As for Flynn, in playing against Davis, he had "as much of a chance as a beanshooter against a tank".7

Bette Davis went on to further successes, but by the late 1940s, her career was suffering; times and tastes were changing. Films aimed at women or "weepies" as they were called, went into a decline as motion pictures began tackling more "masculine" and gritty subject matters. At the same time, the advent of television was changing the entertainment industry. By the 1950s, families preferred to stay home to watch programs for free rather than to go out and pay for movie tickets. In response, cinema offered gimmicks such as 3D, Smell-O-Vision, and such to lure back customers. In 1955, Bette Davis, now a freelancer without a home studio, was given her chance to appear in one of the new innovations. She would play Elizabeth I again, but in widescreen Cinemascope, in a film entitled The Virgin Queen for Twentieth Century Fox.

Instead of the Earl of Essex, Elizabeth's love interest this time around would be Sir Walter Raleigh. Interestingly enough, the story would take place beginning in 1581, making the Queen actually younger than she was at the time of her relationship with Robert Devereux in the 1590s. There was talk of Richard Burton as Raleigh, but the part went to the handsome and gifted Irish actor Richard Todd instead. Todd had done a previous Tudor era film called The Sword and the Rose (1953) in which he played Charles Brandon, who wins the heart of Henry VIII's sister Mary Tudor. Being a lesser known actor, Todd obviously did not challenge Bette Davis in

changing the title of The Virgin Queen to reference his Walter Raleigh as well.

Bette Davis approached her Elizabeth with the same care as she had done sixteen years earlier. Again, she had her hairline shaved back and her eyebrows severely plucked. Perhaps to take advantage of the bright and garish colours of 1950s cinema, Davis opted to wear a brilliant orange wig. She would draw unflattering remarks from critics who thought she looked outlandish, but perhaps her choice was not altogether misguided. Portraits of Elizabeth do show her with brightly coloured hair, and it was remarked in her time how the Queen often wore hairpieces of wholly unnatural colours. As for her costumes, apparently the director Henry Koster did not argue with Davis as Michael Curtiz did. She appeared onscreen wearing an assortment of showy gowns -"very handsome" ones as Davis later recalled - that recreated those of the late 16th century.8

To take advantage of widescreen Cinemascope, production values were high as they had been on The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex. There were magnificent sets, and a series of outdoor scenes (Elizabeth at the chase and at a picnic, the famous cloak over the puddle, the attempted escape of Lady Raleigh, etc.) were included as well.

As in Private Lives, love and its incompatibility with power was the theme of The Virgin Queen. But unlike the earlier film, the Queen and Raleigh are not lovers, at least not obviously. Though Elizabeth, who always has an eye for a handsome man at her court, favours Raleigh, she only treats him as a favourite. However, when Raleigh falls in love with her lady-inwaiting Bess Throckmorton (Joan Collins), the truth comes out. Elizabeth is in love with Raleigh, but as a queen jealous of her power, she cannot have him, and she reacts violently. Both Raleigh and Bess are sentenced to death. Only when Raleigh gets Elizabeth to admit the truth does Elizabeth relent. "I am also a woman", she exclaims, "a woman not too young"! Unable to kill one she loves but cannot have - she spares Raleigh for his promise of riches from the New World. Later, after spying him and a happy Bess ready to sail off, Elizabeth, sexually frustrated and alone, sits at her desk to attend to the business of government as usual. She bows her head in weariness. The closing scene is reminiscent of that in Private Lives. In that picture, at her lover's execution, Elizabeth sits alone at the Tower of London, her face stricken with grief. She knows the bleakness ahead. As she had told Essex on his way to die,



"I could be young with you, but now I'm old.

I know how it will be without you. The sun

Will be empty and circle around an empty earth
And I will be queen of emptiness and death-"9

Although The Virgin Queen was another prestige picture for Bette Davis, it was not a commercial success. While reviews were favourable - one critic thought her portrayal of Elizabeth Tudor was better than her first - the movie failed to draw audiences. Davis herself would later say that the studio was at fault for failing to promote the film properly. "It was snuck out as if they were ashamed of it", she grumbled.¹⁰

While The Virgin Queen is one of Bette Davis' less memorable pictures, The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex remains one of her classics. Over her long

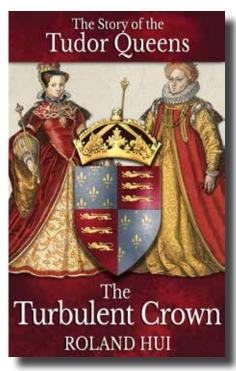
life, Davis was modest about her achievements and, in keeping with her down-to-earth New England upbringing, she was not given to surrounding herself with memorabilia about herself - just her two Academy Awards and a few modest reminders of her past here and there. But three items she was clearly fond of even into her old age were framed pictures of the historical Elizabeth I as seen in a photograph of Davis taken in her Hollywood apartment in the mid 1980s. 11 Having portrayed Elizabeth in film, not once, but twice, her personal admiration for the Queen should come as no surprise. "I always felt a great propinquity to the character of Elizabeth", Davis once said, "In many ways we very alike. But the power to roll heads - this she had over me. Both times I played her, I had a whale of a time".12

ROLAND HUI

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- 2 Ed Sikov, Dark Victory: The Life of Bette Davis, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2007, p. 153.
- 3 Elizabeth Jenkins, Elizabeth the Great, New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1959, pp. 9-10. Nonetheless, Davis' follow-up The Virgin Queen had a balding Elizabeth wearing wigs.
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- 9 Maxwell Anderson, Elizabeth the Queen, New York: Samuel French, Inc., p. 113.
- Whitney Stine with Bette Davis, Mother Goddam, p. 275.
- Tudor Faces blog: https://tudorfaces.blogspot.ca/2018/01/ queen-bette.html, accessed March 2018.
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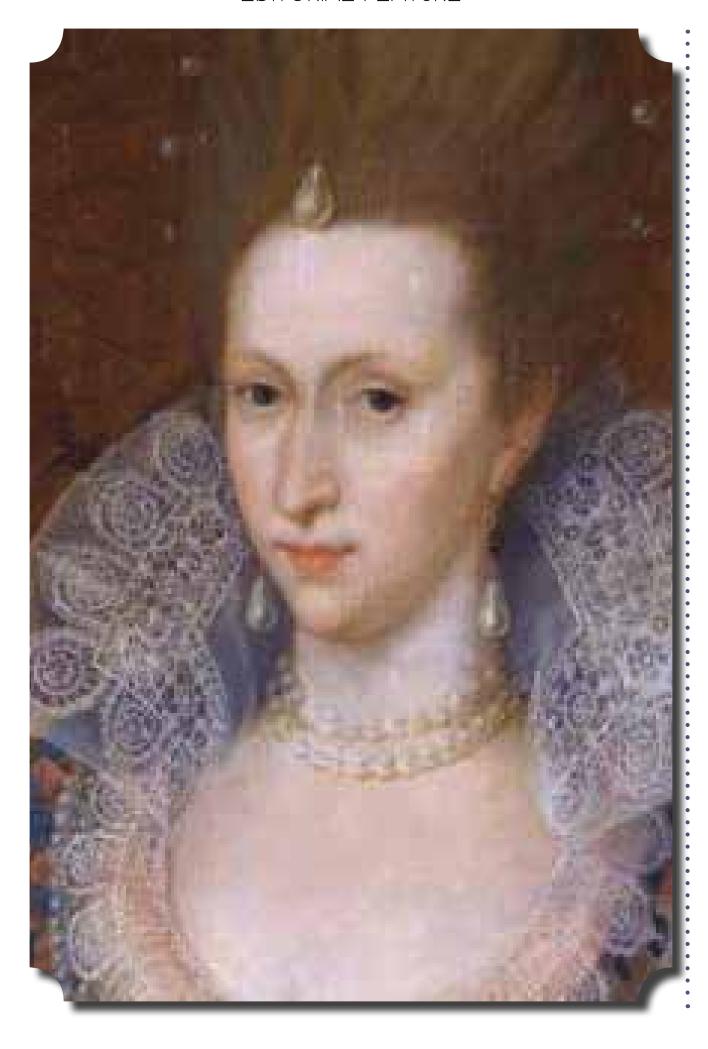
THE FIRST STUART QUEEN OF ENGLAND: ANNA OF DENMARK

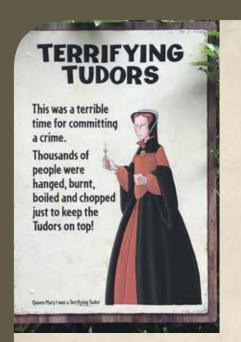
When the towering blonde coiffure of Anna of Denmark travelled south of the border after her husband's succession to the English and Irish thrones in 1603, there hadn't been a Queen consort of England in half a century. After years of resentment at the domineering, penny-watching control of the Presbyterian church in Scotland, Queen Anna threw herself into a life of glamorous decadence once she reached London, pillaging the late Elizabeth's vast wardrobe and cutting up Gloriana's splendid gowns so that she and her ladies-in-waiting could wear them as costumes in the phenomenally expensive masques Anna performed for the court and foreign observers. Observers were shocked, on one occasion, to see the Queen and her ladies, all clearly tipsy, drunkenly playing a game of bowls in their finery. This has led to Queen Anna being dismissed by many future historians as an inconsequential and frivolous figure, who was outshone by her husband's male favourites who were, almost certainly, his lovers. In fact, Anna's materialism served a

material purpose - she was a savvy, and sometimes even a ruthless, politician. Having enjoyed a happy childhood in Denmark and long idyllic spells with the German relatives of her mother, Queen Sophie, Anna had arrived in Scotland to become the unwitting figurehead of savage witch trials, because the storm that beset the teenage princess's voyage to Edinburgh had been attributed by her husband and his advisers to witches intent on destroying the Scottish royal house. Anna grew up, quickly, in Scotland where she pursued vendettas against courtiers who attempted to limit her influence or her contact with her children. In England, she proved herself a great patroness of the arts, including the plays of William Shakespeare. There is also strong evidence that the Queen may have converted to Catholicism later in life. She was particularly close to her second son, the future King Charles I, who loved dining with her. This remarkable and complex Queen died at Hampton Court Palace in March 1619. Her husband outlived her by six years.

GARETH RUSSELL

EDITORIAL FEATURE





WARWICK CASTLE AND THE

During Tudor times minor crimes were punishable by being placed in the stocks or pillory.

With their head, hands and sometimes feet locked up, criminals were subjected to humiliation from anyone who passed by, including having the odd rotten tomato thrown at their faces.

COMMERCIALISATION

OF HISTORY

by Catherine Brooks



love Warwick Castle. I've been lucky enough to go several times over the years, most recently last July. So, perhaps unusually, this article isn't about a recent visit, but about an issue that arose from it. But we'll come back to that.

Warwick Castle describes itself as 'The Ultimate Castle'. A bold claim, but certainly it's an impressive place, playing an important part in the history of The Wars of the Roses, principally as the home of the Neville family, the head of whom was Richard

Neville, known as Warwick the Kingmaker. The Tudors, in fact, have very little to do with the castle. Elizabeth I visited it in 1572, but the castle was in real disrepair, and new lodgings had to be erected for her. When you visit the Time Tower exhibition there, you find that the Tudors neglected the castle and as a result, are not too popular! However, in the summer of 2017, they launched 'Wars of the Roses Live', where the big characters of the period are unveiled and we





see

versus the white rose.

how their lives — well, deaths, mostly — pan out during this saga. The show culminates with jousting and the Battle of Bosworth, and you choose your side by where you view from the stands. It's meant all in the name of good natured fun but I can assure you it's a very serious business when it comes down to the red

Other attractions at Warwick include the Birds of Prey show (listen out for the story where a duck was torn from the sky and dismembered in front of a group of school children), History Team Tours, the Kingmaker Exhibition (taking us through battle preparation in Medieval times), The Castle Dungeon (gory enough to exclude under 10s), demonstrations of the Mighty Trebuchet, and of course, the castle and its interiors themselves. There are a LOT of stairs.

Some attractions are available seasonally. During the summer months, the castle erects a small stage which becomes home to a production by Horrible Histories (if you haven't come across these, you must check them out). Last year, a permanent Horrible Histories Maze was installed, and this was great fun (It was the kids that got lost, not me. Honestly). There were also children's archery and shield-making, face painting, and the like (some at an extra cost). I would say that one day at Warwick Castle is simply not enough.

Sound like fun?

A couple of days before the visit I was expressing my excitement about going to a lady who I'd just met. She replied that she'd never been there, because 'all these places have just become too





Crimes Punishable by Death:

Being found upon the King's highway with a sooty face
Cutting down fruit trees
Adopting a disguise
Piracy on the high seas
Causing mutiny
Counterfeiting licences for the sale of perfume
Robbing rabbit warrens
Pickpocketing
Impersonating a Chelsea pensioner
Poisoning wells
Setting fire to your mother's house
Setting fire to your own house
Horse stealing
Communicating information to the enemy
Sheep stealing



commercialised these days. They've been ruined'. She felt that sites of historic interest are no longer about the history, but only about money.

I felt deflated. And I thought that was very unfair. And here's why...

As a child (we won't discuss how long ago that was), I have a few memories of visiting sites of historical interest. The ones that stick out in my mind the most are the London Museums (which I include for their historical exhibitions), Leeds Castle (I grew up in Kent), and Hampton Court (still a favourite).

I remember it being very sunny at Leeds Castle and Hampton Court, and I remember walking through the gardens and corridors, with my parents guiding my attention to all sorts of things that I found beautiful and interesting. I didn't have the appreciation for them then as I do now, of course. But my memories have little more detail than this.

Things were very different then. We didn't have the internet and children especially didn't have access to information in swathes as we do now. Places miles away were often inaccessible or even unheard of. Walking for miles was something often done as a matter of course, whereas now, people are buried in their devices and a long time on your feet is perceived as a chore or something that would ruin a perfectly good day out!

So what might this mean for sites of historical interest? The fact is, that the visits of long, casual walks around gardens and through corridors and high-ceiling rooms that I experienced, may fail to captivate people now. Not just children – although adults may be more likely to have developed a love for history and be doing their own reading and research.

My main memory of my museum visits comes from the Science Museum in London. The whole top floor was dedicated to kids, with experiments, building stuff, water explosions, and just getting really hands on. I think I was about 9. I took my eldest son around 3 years ago, knowing he'd simply love it.

Except it wasn't there. Instead, for children, the basement had been converted into an exhibition on fossils. It was OK. But it didn't hold his interest for long. He held some and looked around, but it was nearly all reading based. I was so disappointed.

Kids want noise, colour, excitement, activity and to join in. Some are shy, but they still like to watch.

Financial pressures on sites like Castles, Stately homes, Palaces and so forth are colossal.

To run and maintain such places costs *phenomenal* amounts of money, and they are usually responsible for finding it all, or most of it, themselves. Warwick Castle was taken over by what is now called Merlin Entertainment in 2007, but many sites are standalone or run in conjunction with others, such Historic Royal Palaces, or The Royal Collections Trust. And we must not forget the amazing preservation work of The National Trust and English Heritage, who run in good part due to a lot of volunteer workers.

So here's the first point: To command the sort of entrance fees they need to make the money they require, they've got to make the whole experience something pretty special. And the more you can offer, the more a higher fee will seem justifiable. Sure, each item you add increases your costs, but it's all relative.

The second point? Well, the more you can offer, the more likely you will have something to appeal to everyone. If people want or require more stimulation and a more hands-on experience, then you have to try and find ways to give it to them. As many lovers of history will tell you, it can be tough to engage people who believe history is dull and will have nothing to hold their interest. And it can certainly be a challenge to instil an interest in history to the youngsters of today.

I'm sure that there are places out there that have been turned into uncomfortable and tacky tourist traps, and equally, there are places that will hold very little entertainment for any but the most ardent enthusiasts. But in adding shows, displays, activities and special events, history can be brought to life. And that's what people seem to want - they need to be engaged. Walking around and reading the signs were for the best part the experience of my younger days, and I'm glad for those experiences. But would the memories been clearer if I'd cheered along in a jousting competition, had a tale told to me by a series of talking portraits, had a go at archery, or watched a duck have its entrails scattered by a wayward bird of prey? You know, I think they would.

We enjoyed digging around the interior of the castle, climbing the towers and ramparts, and soaking up the atmosphere in the open spaces. I also enjoyed watching my eldest son fight an imaginary dragon with the sword his nanny bought him. I watched him laugh over and over at the Horrible Histories show. We had fun exploring the maze and wandering



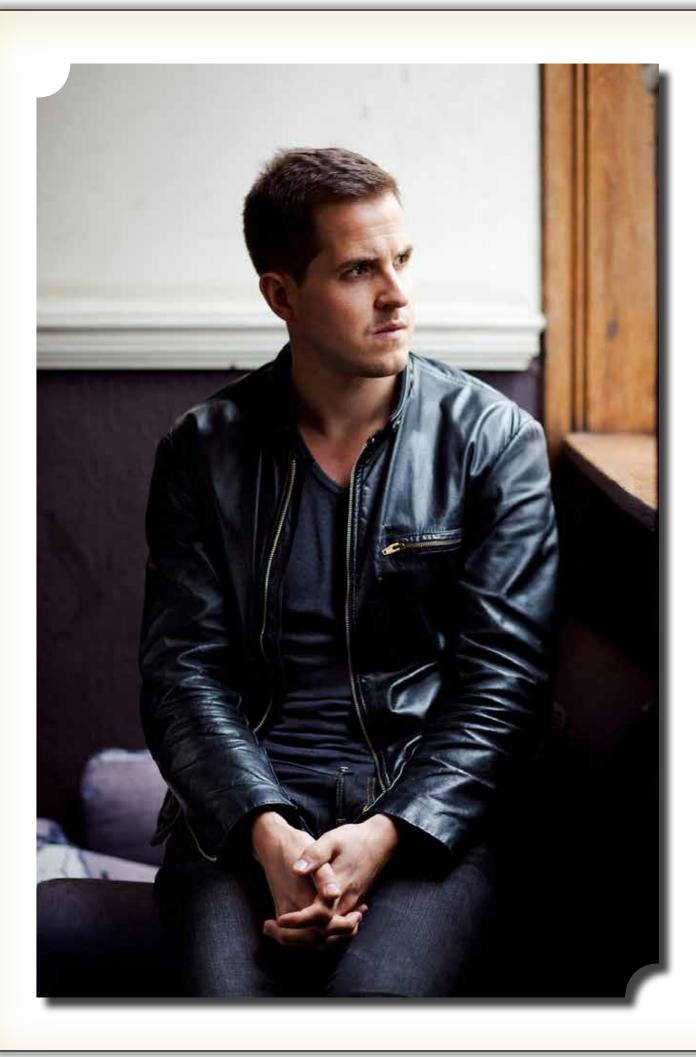


through the Kingmaker, discussing how horrible and terrifying life was then.

And all of these experiences helped us to enjoy the castle as a family.

I believe all such places have immense value and are amazing in their own ways. I'm sure you have your favourites, as do I. But they need preserving. Not just financially, but in keeping their meaning and spirit alive, and being inviting enough to captivate young minds and continue to draw each generation to a love of history. If all the additions are tasteful and preserve the environment they inhabit, then they are a blessing, not a curse. Enjoy every last inch of where you explore.

CATHERINE BROOKS



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QUICK FIRE QUESTIONS WITH DAN JONES

Catherine Brooks recently had a chance to ask historian and journalist **Dan Jones** some quick questions...

What fascinates you about U.K. history?

The expansion and contraction which feels a little like breathing - our role in the world has been both profound and worthless and the vacillation between the two is the rhythm to which we still dance

What would you say to people who don't see the importance of studying history?

No one has ever said that to me. Perhaps I'm very intimidating. My answer would be that history is best defined as studying the sum total of all human deeds, and if you can't see the point in that, then you're in trouble.

Moving to the Tudors: With the Reformation, Renaissance, and Elizabeth's 'Golden Age', would you agree that the Tudor era altered the course of history more than any other?

You're asking Mr Plantagenets the wrong question. The Tudor brief, but for a couple of short windows - 1509-1525 and 1558-1570*ish* was a story of scrambling to survive. If it changed anything, it sure as shit didn't mean to. The world changed around the Tudors. Some of them kept pace.

If Catherine of Aragon had retired to a nunnery, and Henry had been granted his divorce, do you think the course of English history would be very different, or do you think the Reformation would have happened in the 16th Century anyway (albeit rather less messily), or even at all?

Maybe. Henry was instinctively a Catholic. With egomania. But who can say what would have happened if Edward VI - a hot Protestant - would have lived? Counterfactual is fantasy

If you were Henry VIII, who would be your favourite child in hindsight?

Henry Fitzroy. All the glamour. Nothing to worry about

Are there any popular Tudor myths or misconceptions that make you want to bang your head on the desk?

Never say the phrase 'cousins war' to me...

I've read allegations that Henry VIII's forts were of inferior build. Do you agree?

I've never heard that said. What use would a fort be in the sixteenth century?

What is your favourite Tudor location, and why?

I like Hampton Court - I live close by. It's elegant.

Stepping away from the Tudors again, the future will be the past soon enough. What are your predictions for the next 100-200 years?

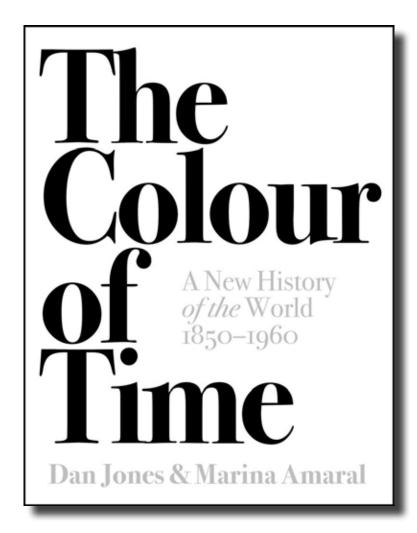
The four horsemen are artificial intelligence, climate change, resistant pandemic disease and the entertainment industry. Take your pick which kills us first.

What will be written on your epitaph?

Nothing. I hope. I find the idea of commemoration excruciating. Chuck me in the sea and forget me, please.

What projects do you have in the pipeline (if it's not hush hush), and do you have any projects for children in mind?

This autumn I have a beautiful book with Marina Amaral. A labour of love and a work of intense collaboration and much deep thought. It's called The Colour Of Time - please check it out



The Colour of Time spans more than a hundred years of world history from the reign of Queen Victoria and the US Civil War to the Cuban Missile Crisis and beginning of the Space Age. It charts the rise and fall of empires, the achievements of science, industry and the arts, the tragedies of war and the politics of peace, and the lives of men and women who made history.

The book is a collaboration between a gifted Brazilian artist and a leading British historian. Marina Amaral has created 200 stunning images, using contemporary photographs as the basis for her full-colour digital renditions. Dan Jones has written a narrative that anchors each image in its context, and weaves them into a vivid account of the world that we live in today. A fusion of amazing pictures and well-chosen words, *The Colour of Time* offers a unique – and often beautiful – perspective on the past.

A ROYAL WEDDING IN MAY

BY GAYLE HULME



N 27 NOVEMBER 2017, the heart of every royal watcher leapt and fluttered a little as HRH Prince Henry (Harry) of Wales and Ms Meghan Markle appeared in the Sunken Garden at Kensington Palace to make their first official appearance as a newly engaged couple.

The news had been formally announced via Kensington Palace earlier in that morning by Meghan's parents, and naturally, both families expressed their joy at the news with Prince Harry's

father HRH The Prince of Wales, telling journalists he "hoped they would be very happy indeed". His brother, HRH The Duke of Cambridge, never one pass up the chance to lightheartedly chide his

younger brother, had more practical and personal hopes saying "I hope this will mean him (Harry) staying out of my fridge and scrounging my food."

Of course, no royal engagement is complete without a good old nosey into the details of the proposal, and the couple confirmed in their engagement interview that it took place at their home, Nottingham Cottage, whilst they attempted to roast a chicken together. As with any couple, it was an emotional moment and it seems a kneeling Prince Harry was unable to complete the words of his proposal before Meghan's eagerness got the better of her and she interrupted Prince Harry with an excitable "can I say yes now?"

After the warm fuzziness of the proposal story, we all gave a reflective "Aww" as the details of the ring Harry had designed for his new fiancée emerged. Prince Harry, mirroring his brother's thoughts on his own engagement seven years before, had wanted to include his late mother Diana Princess of Wales in his happiness, and therefore with the help of court jewellers, Cleave & Company, he designed a bespoke ring with which to propose. The unique piece that emerged was a trilogy ring with a gold band symbolising friendship, love

and fidelity. The 3-4 carat centre stone from Botswana is a cushion cut diamond, beautifully complimented on either side by two 0.75 round cut diamonds from his late mother's personal collection. All three diamonds are set in white gold, making a dazzling sparkle, which Meghan described as "Beautiful...and incredible".

With royal wedding fever in full swing, speculation about when and where the wedding would take place was gaining pace, and within weeks of the engagement, it was confirmed that the ceremony would take place at St George's Chapel within the precincts of Windsor Castle on Saturday 19th May 2018. I confess as a Tudor and royal history enthusiast this produced a gasp from me. It was on the 19th May 1536 that Queen Anne Boleyn, the second wife of King Henry VIII (himself a red-haired former Prince Henry) was beheaded at the Tower of London after an extremely flimsy conviction on charges of High Treason. Additionally, Anne Boleyn's successor, Queen Jane Seymour, and Henry VIII are both buried beneath the central aisle of St George's. I wonder if anyone noticed or mentioned it?

St George's Chapel within Windsor Castle is no stranger to royal weddings,



with four of HM Queen Victoria and HRH Prince Albert's children being married there. It was even considered a fitting venue for the future King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra's wedding in 1863. However, this was probably more to do with Queen Victoria not wishing to attend a lavish ceremony at Westminster Abbey due to her deep mourning over the death of her beloved husband and consort Prince Albert in 1861.

It was the Queen's all-consuming grief that turned her second daughter Princess Alice's wedding at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight just seven months after Prince Albert's death into what Alfred, Lord Tennyson described as "The saddest day I can remember". As a concession to the occasion, the Queen did allow the bride to wear a white gown embellished with Honiton lace, together with a matching veil secured by an orange blossom and myrtle headdress. The wedding garments were only permitted for the actual ceremony, and court mourning was donned before and after. The Queen herself, unable to contain her distress, sat blocked from view by Prince Albert Edward and cried continuously throughout. Indeed she later wrote remorsefully to her eldest daughter in Germany "Poor Alice... more of a funeral than a wedding".

Perhaps one of the most romantic, but frequently mixed up royal wedding traditions is that the bridal bouquet always has a sprig of myrtle within it, which is picked from a bush at Osborne House. While this part is true, it is not true that the bush was grown from cuttings of Queen Victoria's own wedding bouquet. At her own wedding, The Queen only wore the German bridal flower of orange blossom, perhaps in honour of her new German husband.

The actual source of the bush now visible to visitors enjoying the Lower Terrace at Osborne House is from Queen Victoria's eldest daughter, The Princess Royal's 1858 wedding bouquet. According to a contemporary

report in the Times, in 1863 The Queen expressly commanded Princess Alexandra of Denmark to have myrtle from this source placed in her wedding bouquet. The report continued "Her Majesty desires to have myrtle plants raised and kept in the gardens at Osborne from each of the bridal bouquets in remembrance of these auspicious events".

No account of the spectacle and tradition of British royal weddings would be complete without a look at the tiaras that have sat atop of the perfectly quaffed locks and fine lace veils graced by the ancestors of Prince Harry.





When Prince Harry's grandmother, the then HRH Princess Elizabeth married Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten at Westminster Abbey in 1947, she wore the Queen Mary Fringe Tiara. This royal item has quite a colourful history. The headpiece was originally a necklace commissioned by Queen Victoria as a wedding gift to Princess Mary of Teck (later HM Queen Mary) on her marriage to her grandson HRH The Duke of York in 1893. Queen Mary later had the necklace broken up and redesigned in the Russian kokoshnik style we recognise today. Subsequently, on the ascension of her son HM King George VI to the

throne in 1936, she gave it to his wife HM Queen Elizabeth.

The Queen Mary Fringe Tiara turned out to be a source of stress on Princess Elizabeth's big day. On the morning of the wedding, the band snapped while being attached to the veil by the hairdresser. Imagine having to tell your royal mother that her priceless royal tiara was broken! However, the Queen calm as ever reassured her daughter, "we have two hours and there are other tiaras". Despite her mother's soothing sentiments, the young bride's heart was set on this piece of bling, so the royal jewellers of Garrard were swiftly

summoned and emergency repairs saved the day. If you look closely at the wedding pictures you will see the tiara is slightly off centre. Was this due to the hasty last-minute repair?

When Prince Harry's mother, the then Honourable Lady Diana Spencer married his father in 1981 at St Paul's Cathedral, she wore the stunning Spencer Tiara and frequently used it for formal events during her royal career. The end sections of the tiara are thought to be the oldest dating back to the 18th century. The Spencer family legend states they were part of a tiara owned by Frances, Viscountess of Montagu. After Frances's death in 1797, the pieces came into the possession of Lady Sarah Isabella





paternal grandmother Lady Cynthia

Spencer who in turn gave it to Diana's Althorp in 1919. However, it wasn't until 1937 that the tiara we recognise on her marriage to Albert, Viscount today was assembled. At that time

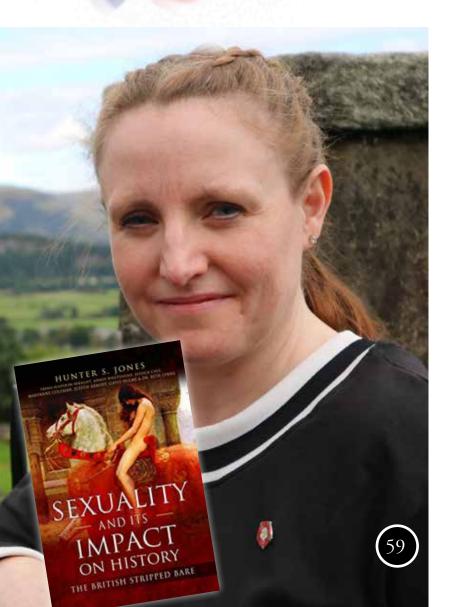


Garrard was commissioned to design and attach four matching central pieces. The additional pieces consisted of is that it is a possibility, but with so diamonds fashioned into tulip and starshaped flowers, together with spiralling foliage. Diana Princess of Wales is not the only Spencer bride to have donned the elegant headpiece for their wedding. Both Diana's sisters wore the piece; Lady Jane in 1978, Lady Sarah in 1980 and even her former sister-in-law Victoria Lockwood in 1989. So could Meghan

wear the Spencer Tiara for her wedding to Prince Harry? The answer, of course, much other sparkly truly royal items available it is unlikely.

So where will I be on Saturday 19th of May? I will be on the streets of Windsor at 1 pm, phone and selfie stick in hand waiting to cheer the newly married couple as they emerge from Windsor Castle to take their first carriage drive.

GAYLE HULME



Gayle Hulme was born and brought up in Glasgow, Scotland and after many years of soaking up island life in Jersey, Channel Islands she returned to Scotland via the historic county of Warwickshire, England. Back in bonnie Scotland she now enjoys hanging out with husband Paul, son Jamie and two silly, but adorable dogs, Millie and Spot.w

Weekdays are spent motivating and instructing women to get fit and have fun in her 'proper job' as a group fitness instructor while she spends her weekends travelling the length and breadth of the UK investigating dusty corners of historical castles, palaces and museums. When not out on tour she is a keen student of esoteric related subjects. Her passions and fascinations are hugely diverse. In the morning she could be reading and writing about her favourite royal heroine Queen Anne Boleyn and by the afternoon you might find her at Ibrox Stadium cheering on her beloved Glasgow Rangers FC. Then maybe in the evening she will be away with the fairies or learning about ancient Hawaiian wisdom.

Gayle is one of the authors whose work is featured in the book Sexuality and Its Impact on History.

Visit her website:

https://anneboleynreflections.wordpress.com/

MAKING A GOOD DEATH: THE TUDOR WAY.

BY WENDY J. DUNN

"The greatest work we have to do is to die well" (Cressy 1999, pg. 389).

n an age when death, without distinction, scythed down people fast and furious, one thing all Tudors desired was to make a good death. Death by execution and expected death by natural causes shared two great similarities: witnesses and this desire to 'make good a life' by dying well, which explains Katherine of Aragon's great relief when her friend Eustace Chapuys, the Spanish ambassador, came to comfort her at her deathbed, thus making her not abandoned "like one of the beasts" (Mattingly 1942, pg. 305).

No Christian person of this time wished for a sudden death, with no time to gain forgiveness for the wrongs of their lives and to die with all their sins upon them. The last moments of Henry VIII involved his priest ensuring the king went to grave acknowledging he died in the faith of Christ. When, in his last hours, he was reminded to remember his sins, King Henry VIII said, "the mercy of Christ would 'pardon me all my sins, though they were greater than they be' (Weir 2002, pg. 502).

Great weight and belief were held of deathbed words such as these.

At Anne Boleyn's death, those friends sharing her final moments regarded themselves as duty-bound to see her through this dreadful time, their duty to her taking them beyond simply watching her die. They were Anne's witnesses to her making a good death. Those loyal to the king also witnessed her death for another cause. At this execution of the first ever crowned queen to die in such a manner, some of them, no doubt, went away disappointed, and reflective. For them, Anne's death possessed no tokens of a guilty woman, going to her grave with her soul imperilled by lies and wrongdoing. It moves me to tears to know in her final moments that most of the thousand or so men (Weir 2010, pg. 335) who were gathered to witness her death knelt in prayer (Weir 2010, pg. 344).

I believe Anne held tight to the knowledge that her final moments would be her final gift to her daughter, Elizabeth. Anne's family, some of them with her on the scaffold, and many of them later forming a protective and nurturing unit around Elizabeth's growing up years,

would have spoken of Anne's final hours with pride. Her 'good death' confirmed her innocence, and thus her true status in many eyes as a martyr. Indeed, in her final days, Anne asked for this message to be given to the king:

country had seen Henry do all in his power to make her his queen. Now he was using his power to rid himself of her. Very few believed

Can you dance the shaking of the sheets,

A dance that everyone must do?

Can you turn up with dainty sweets,

And every thing as longs threto?

Make ready then your winding sheet.

And see how you can bestir your feet,

For death is the man that all must meet

(Cressy 1999, pg. 381)

in her guilt, and it is possible that a last minute order for exile or life-time 'house arrest' were expected, rather than the king go through with murdering his wife.

The final thing I find very interesting about her death was

that there seems no mention of the executioner proclaiming Anne Boleyn 'traitor' when he held her head up for all to see. Rather, we have the horrible story that her eyes and mouth opened and shut convulsively after death, to the great shock of those close enough to see this terrible sight (Abbott 2003, pg. 42). Her head was placed with her body, rather than used to adorn the Tower Bridge, where the heads of traitors were usually set as a warning for all.

Generally, bodies of traitors suffered further indignities after death, often treated as refuse rather than a vessel once holding a human soul. Defeated and killed on the battlefield, Richard III was stripped naked and flung for all to see on a horse. Yet documented history tells us the respect given to Anne's body after death, with her friends and kin seeing to her body's last needs - something denied to the bodies of good

"Commend me to his Majesty and tell him that he hath ever been constant in his career of advancing me, from private gentlewoman he made me Marchioness, from Marchioness a Queen and now that hath left no higher degree of honour he gives my innocency the crown of martyrdom" (Naish 2013, pg. 49).

Crowned consort of a king, her death in my eyes plain and simple murder, I always find Anne's execution possessing some interesting points about which to ponder. Firstly, why the employment and added expense of a French executioner? For a king who bought back boiling in oil as a punishment, surely if Henry truly believed in Anne's guilt he would have not given her the mercy of this more skilled executioner. Second, why wasn't there any coffin ready for her body? The story goes that her friends placed Anne's head and body in an unused box for arrows. This makes me wonder whether those at the Tower doubted the king would go through executing Anne. Remember - only three years before the execution, the



men such as More and Fisher, one a former friend of the King and the other a tutor from his earliest years. Even with the execution of the elderly Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, close kin and once a friend of the King's own mother, the king showed no compassion, rather he allowed her to be virtually hacked to death, when a headman in training showed his need for greater training (Weir 2002, pg. 450).

I am a fiction writer passionate about Tudor history. Research always awakes in me those vital 'what if' questions, but those 'what if' questions birth from my knowledge of this time and the people involved. I believe it is possible to conjecture that a pact may have made between Henry and Anne, brokered when Cranmer visited her for her last confession. To

have the headman take up Anne's head and proclaim her as traitor, plus place her head alongside the heads of the men executed as her lovers, would have placed her daughter Elizabeth in more perilous position than simply by the fact of her mother's execution. For Anne's 'good' behaviour on the scaffold, Henry may have been willing to give her promises via Cranmer. Remembering all their past history and his daughter, Elizabeth, made mother-less by his own doing, Henry may have ensured he kept his side of the bargain.

Nevertheless, most of the other rituals of highborn execution were present at Anne's death. The final speech, the final prayer, the coin to the executioner to ensure a clean death – all this was there, only with some interesting variations. The great divide between the



classes meant different rules applied for nobles and those lowly born.

For a whole range of crimes, those not fortunate to be noble could be hanged or crushed to death. Hersey, witch craft, murdering your husband could result in being burnt at the stake. In 1530, Henry VIII changed this, for a brief time, to boiling in oil, which also

included those convicted for poisoning. People convicted of treason could die one of the most terrible deaths ever thought up by men: Hanging, drawing and quartering. William Wallace died such a death! Many, many people were put to death in Henry's time, according to one source: 72,000 (Rusche & Kirchheimer 2003, pg. 19)

Rituals were also very much part of ordinary death. Whereas birth saw a darken environment welcoming the entry of a new mortal life, death saw people opening shutters and the like to ensure the smooth passage of the soul. After death, often coins were placed on the eyes or in the mouth – sometimes both. A rite maintained from pagan times, this was money to pay the ferryman.

Dying parents often bestowed upon their children a final blessing. After death, bells knelled the passing of a soul – sometimes ringing out the age of the decease. Only the rich were buried 'chested' – in a coffin – while other people were buried only in their 'winding sheet.'

Despite the frequent occurrence of early death, and so many children dying before reaching the age of five, people in this time grieved for their loved ones just as much as we do in our age. The Tudors held tight to their religious convictions, believing their loved ones now passed "to eternal bliss" (Cressy 1999, pg. 384).

WENDY J DUNN

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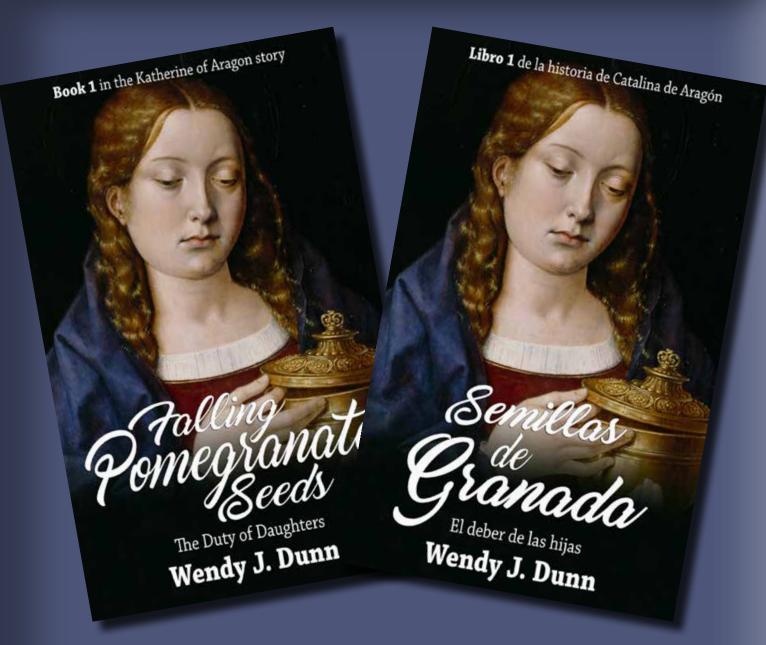
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Doña Beatriz Galindo.
Respected scholar.
Tutor to royalty.
Friend and advisor to Queen Isabel of Castile.

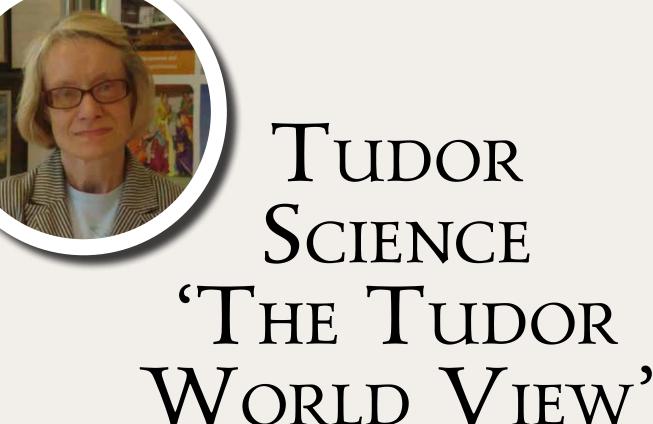
Beatriz is an uneasy witness to the Holy War of Queen Isabel and her husband, Ferdinand, King of Aragon. A Holy War seeing the Moors pushed out of territories ruled by them for centuries.

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In this new series of articles, I shall be discussing science in the sixteenth century: how did the Tudors think of their world and the way it worked? What new ideas and inventions were being developed and how did religion and science relate to each other?

If a Tudor gentleman spoke of 'science', he would have used it as another word for 'knowledge'. It could apply to astronomy or medicine but it made equal sense to refer to the science of music or military tactics. Whatever his interest, he most definitely wouldn't have called himself a 'scientist' since this word was first coined by a Cambridge professor, William Whewell, in 1834 and even then it took a while to catch on. Our Tudor gentleman, studying the heavens or the plants in his garden or any aspect of Nature would have described himself as a 'natural philosopher', as did others with similar interests well into the nineteenth century.

These days, it often seems that modern science and religion are mutually exclusive and belief in one makes it difficult to believe the other. However, to the Tudors, natural philosophy was seen as a supporter of theology, the term used

was 'the handmaid of religion'. For centuries, mankind had two 'books' of knowledge

to explain the universe and his place in it. One was the Bible, in which God had dictated all the necessary information in words. The other was Nature, God's own creation in which practical examples of all that theological information could be found. A man who studied both 'books' and interpreted them correctly would eventually understand God's ultimate purpose for mankind and the secrets of the universe. I think we still have a long way to go on both.

So, how would a Tudor gentleman have envisioned his world? Not flat, for a start. (The Flat Earth Society was founded in 1956 by Samuel Shenton of Dover, Kent in England. His idea had already been disproved by photographs taken from 100 miles above the earth in 1947, showing the curve of the planet from every angle, proving it must be a sphere. The iconic blue planet photograph, taken from Apollo 17 in 1972¹, left no doubt for even the most hard-line flat-earthers.) Christopher Columbus knew the world was round, else he would never have dared think about reaching China and the East Indies by sailing west - in the wrong direction - in 1492. (Unfortunately for the intrepid explorer, he didn't know the American continent would bar his passage.) Land-lubbers might have doubted it was possible but sailors had seen for themselves the curve of the horizon that was visible at sea: a sure clue the earth was shaped like a ball, not a dinner plate.

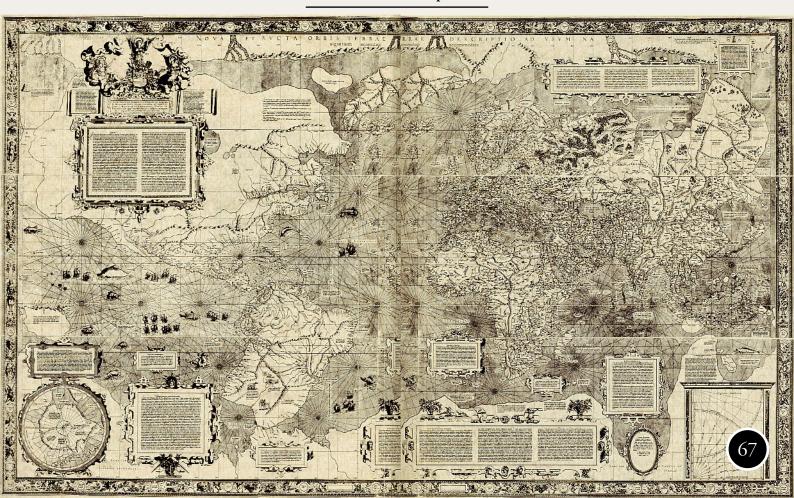
Besides, God had described it so in the Bible. In Isaiah 40:22, the 'circle of the earth' is mentioned². Admittedly, a circle can be flat but scholars of ancient Hebrew in the sixteenth century studied the Old Testament in its original language, and here the word khûg was used – the Hebrew word for 'sphere'. We know that scholars understood this because their Latin translations use words like sphaera and globus³. They also knew from reading the Book of Job 26:7 that God 'hangs the earth on nothing'. This must have been a difficult concept, to imagine a free-floating world supported by nothing, but theologians and natural philosophers seem to have accepted such a sophisticated idea.

Christopher

Columbus was familiar with previous thoughts on world geography from Claudius Ptolemy's maps drawn c.150 AD. These were made for the benefit of the Roman Empire and apart from showing Asia far larger than it is, were surprisingly accurate for Europe, North Africa

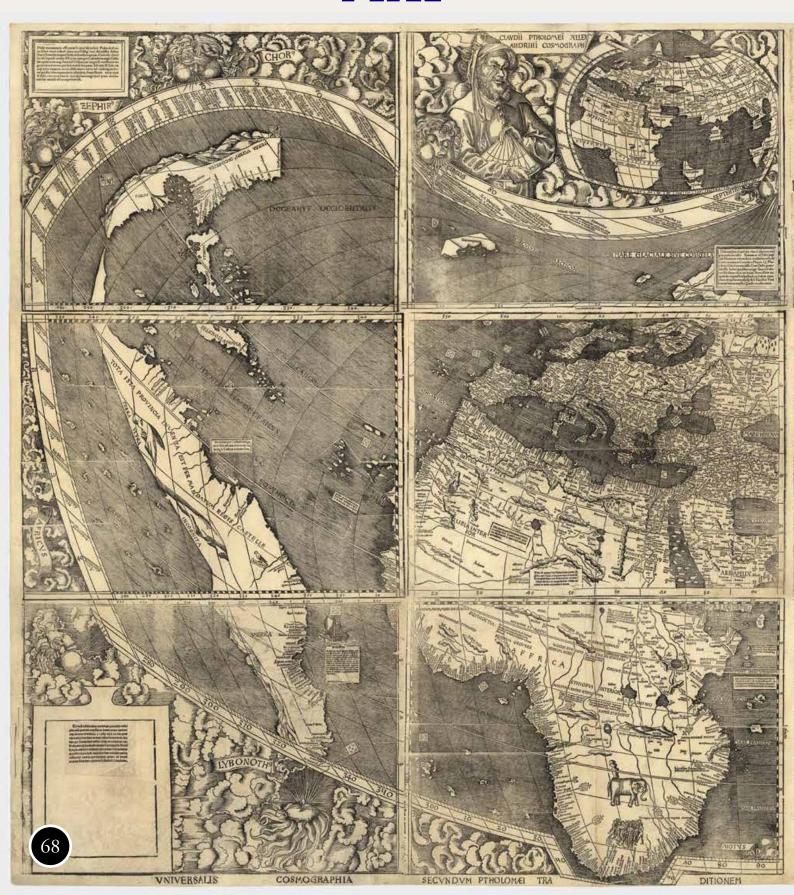
The Mercator world map of 1569

TONI MOUNT



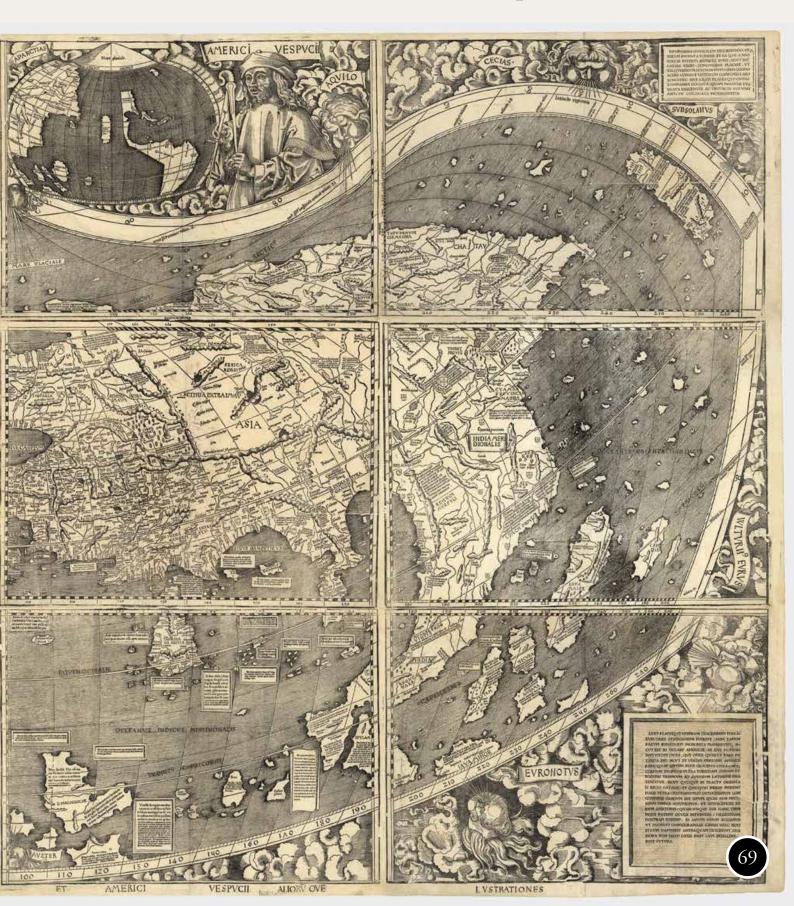
TONI MOUNT

THE AMAZING MARTIN WALDSEEMULLER WORLD MAP



TONI MOUNT

This map was originally drawn in 1507 on twelve separate sheets. This map shows the South American coast & Caribbean islands with Florida [top] on far left.



TONI MOUNT

and the Middle East. Ptolomy's *Geographia* had been lost for centuries but came to light for western scholars around 1400 and was assumed to be *the* infallible source of knowledge about the world. It was soon a best-seller, running to more than forty editions within a century⁴. It was probably the seeming great expanse of Asia that led Columbus to think it might be easily reached by sailing west.

However, explorers of the fifteenth century were already proving Ptolemy's information wrong. For example, he stated that life was impossible close to the equator because the heat of the sun there would cause men's blood to boil. Yet the Portuguese navigator, Bartholomew Diaz, had crossed the equator on the West African coast and sailed around the southern point of Africa in 1488. He not only survived to tell of it but reported that native

populations thrived there. When Columbus landed on the island of San

Salvador in the Bahamas, in the Caribbean, it's no wonder he called the locals 'Indians', thinking he had somehow missed Japan and China, so this must be India, according to Ptolemy's map. But of course the Roman cartographer had no idea that the continent of America existed – his work was far from infallible after all. Clearly, the maps would have to be redrawn and Martin Waldseemuller constructed one of the first to include the east coast of America in 1507⁵.

A few years later, Gerard Mercator [1512-94], a Flemish-born German working in the Netherlands, became famous for his vast knowledge of geography, his detailed atlases, globes and navigational maps for

tlases, globes and navigational maps for mariners – all produced without leaving

home. Instead, he used his huge library of over 1,000 books and corresponded in six different languages with merchants, scholars and seamen who travelled across the world. In 1541, he produced a marvellous globe, showing the world as it was then known, with quite a degree of detail for the eastern coast of America but the western coast remained vague, guesswork for the most part. In 1547, the young English scholar,



Gerard Mercator

John Dee – whom we met in an earlier article – visited Mercator. They got along well together, sharing their fascination for maps and instruments and remained fervent correspondents for decades to come, until Mercator's death. Dee spent time with Mercator during his three years of study at Louvain University and brought assorted maps, globes and astronomical instruments back to England when he left. This wasn't a one-way trade: in return Dee sent Mercator

copies of the latest English texts on all sorts of subjects that might prove

of interest, and most importantly any new geographical knowledge discovered as a result of English explorations of the world.

Perhaps the most significant contribution to our Tudor gentleman's concept of the world would have been Sir Francis Drake's logbook and reports of his circumnavigation of the world in 1577-80. However, despite proving, once and for all, that the earth was a sphere, for political reasons, Drake said very little about his voyage that was made public. This was mainly because he had been harassing Spanish territory in the New World and waylaying their treasure-laden galleons at sea, so the less said about that, the better. Also, it is now believed that Drake explored the Pacific coast of America, perhaps

TONI MOUNT

as far north as Alaska, and the English had no intention of revealing their knowledge and discovery of these places to others, especially not the Spaniards who were the enemy at the time. Interestingly, in the seventeenth century, when the English began to colonise the eastern seaboard of North America, they actually laid claim to the entire expanse of the continent, from 'sea to shining sea', as they put it. This was done on the grounds that Drake had landed in California, most likely in what became San Francisco Bay, on 15th June 1579, naming the land *Nova Albion*, (New England in Latin and

predating New England on the eastern seaboard of North America) claiming it in the name of Queen Elizabeth and planting the English flag there⁶.

So our Tudor gentleman's view of his world had expanded vastly to encompass not only the southern extent of the African continent but the whole New World of the Americas. However, the situation of his world within the universe had changed as well – a new concept that was even more difficult to comprehend, as we shall see next time.

TONI MOUNT

Notes

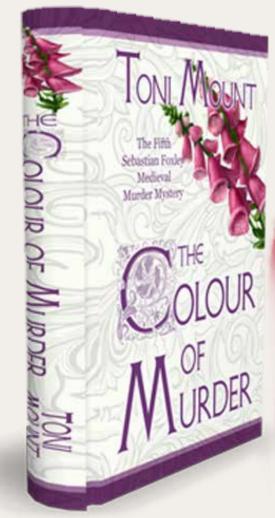
- For photograph see https://www.nasa.gov/content/blue-marble-image-of-the-earth-from-apollo-17
- 2 https://answersingenesis.org/astronomy/the-universe-confirms-the-bible/ [accessed 1.3.18]
- 3 https://creation.com/isaiah-40-22-circle-sphere
- 4 British Library, Harley MS 7182, ff. 58v-59.
- 5 Map Courtesy of Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division [use permitted for educational purposes]
- 6 http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/drake-claims-california-for-england

Toni Mount is a prolofic writer of both non-fiction and fiction. Her latest non-fiction book, *A Year in the Life of Medieval England*, looks at real events that occurred each day of the medieval year.

If fiction is more your thing, then her successful "Sebastian Foxley" Medieval murder mysteries are perfect for you.

Toni mount has a busy speaking schedule throughout the year, and can often be found sharing her in-depth knowledge of history to groups both small and large.

After many years of teaching history to adults several of her courses are now available online at **www.medievalcourses.com**. You can also visit her on her own website to see what she's up to: **www.tonimount.com**







Hiamers infront.

Louest Fix holand Foren

Francis Lovell's stall plate

72



LESSER-KNOWN MYSTERIES OF HENRY VII'S REIGN

by Debra Bayani

Continuing last month's mystery theme and the article about mysteries during the Wars of the Roses, this month I'm looking at two lesser-known mysteries of Henry VII's reign.

The disappearance of Francis, Baron Lovell

rancis Lovell grew up as a ward of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, along with Richard, Duke of Gloucester (the future Richard III), at Middleham Castle and he married Warwick's niece, Anne Fitzhugh, in around 1466. Francis served Richard as chamberlain but was also his closest friend, remaining so for the rest of his life. Francis belonged to a notorious trio, famously known as The Cat (William Catesby), The Rat (Richard Ratcliff) and Lovell the Dog, who were Richard's three favourites. He fought for Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485 and afterwards escaped to Flanders to seek sanctuary at the court of Richard's sister, Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy.

Francis stayed loyal to his old friend, even after Richard's death. In early 1486,

he returned to England and was one of the men leading a force, supported by Margaret, against Henry VII which nearly captured the king, but eventually failed. His properties were forfeited, including his home Minster Lovell Hall. In 1487, at the Battle of Stoke Field, he was one of the Yorkist commanders against Henry VII. Henry VII was victorious, and amongst the Yorkist leaders, Francis was the only one who most likely survived but mysteriously seemed to have vanished right after the battle. Several theories regarding his death emerged over the next centuries. It was speculated at the time that he was killed during the Battle of Stoke and that his body was never found, but some observers are said to have seen him escaping the battle by swimming on horseback across the River Trent



and struggling to find his way to safety on the other side. But he was never heard of again, so where did he go after that? After the Battle of Stoke in 1487 a court was held where it was decided that due to the lack of any evidence or a body, Francis must have fled and died abroad. He was declared a traitor and his lands were confiscated.

Francis's ancestral home was Minster Lovell, which had been built by his grandfather, next to the River Windrush in Oxfordshire in 1440. Strangely, during building work carried out in the early 18th century at the property, workmen exposed a vault and when they opened it they were astonished to find that it contained the skeleton of a man. The man was seated at a table with the skeleton of his dog at his feet, surrounded by writing materials and a book.

According to William Cowper's statement (clerk of the Parliament), written in

1737, Lovell's body was found in one of the cellars:

'On the 6 May 1728, the present Duke of Rutland related in my hearing that, about twenty years then before (viz. in 1708, upon occasion of new laying a chimney at Minster Lovell) there was discovered a large vault or room underground, in which was the entire skeleton of a man, as having been sitting at a table, which was before him, with a book, paper, pen, etc. etc.; in another part of the room lay a cap; all much mouldered and decayed. Which the family and others judged to be this lord Lovell, whose exit hath hitherto been so uncertain.'

Unfortunately, the remains of the skeleton and the papers dissolved when the air was let in.

Richard of Eastwell, Richard of York or Richard Plantagenet?

he name of Richard of Eastwell is surrounded by myth and mystery. Different theories circulate about who this man was - was he just an ordinary bricklayer from Eastwell, Kent, or was he, in fact, Richard of Shrewsbury, one of the Princes in the Tower who had mysteriously disappeared in 1483? Or was he, as he is sometimes claimed to be, the illegitimate son of Richard III?

The record of Richard of Eastwell's burial was re-discovered in the parish registers of Eastwell in 1720 by Heneage Finch, 5th Earl of Winchilsea, a direct descendant of Queen Jane Seymour's brother, Edward, 1st Duke of Somerset. The record ended up with the English Antiquary Francis Peck. Peck *authored Desiderata Curiosa*, where it is recorded that Richard of Eastwell was brought up by his teacher and that he did not know who his parents were. However, Richard was visited several times a year by an unknown gentleman

who also happened to provide money for Richard's upbringing. In August 1485, this gentleman took Richard to see King Richard III at his encampment just before the Battle of Bosworth. It is alleged that the king told Richard that he was, in fact, his son and told him to observe the battle from a safe distance. The king told the boy that, if he won, he would acknowledge Richard as his son. But, if he lost, the boy was never to tell anyone about his real identity, thus securing his safety. King Richard lost and was killed in the battle, and the boy is said to have fled to London. Richard became a craftsman, possibly a bricklayer, but seems to have never forgotten the Latin he had learned during his upbringing. By the time Richard was an old man, Sir Thomas Moyle had hired him to build Eastwell Place. The story goes that Moyle noticed Richard reading Latin, something which was very unusual at the time since literacy was reserved only for the richer classes, upon which Richard told him his secret. After this, Moyle offered him the position of supervisor of Eastwell Place's kitchens. Richard was used to his isolated lifestyle and refused Moyle's offer. Instead, he asked to build a very small cottage on Moyle's estate and lived there until his death a few years later. A building called "Plantagenet Cottage" still stands on the site of Richard's original cottage.

The Eastwell Parish Register burial record is a 1598 transcript of the original 1550 one and states:

'Rychard Plantagenet was buryed on the 22. daye of December, anno ut supra. Ex registro de Eastwell, sub anno 1550.'

In 1861, John Heneage Jesse published his *Memoirs of King Richard III*. In it, he states:

Anciently, when any person of noble family was interred at Eastwell, it was the custom to affix a special mark against the name of the deceased in the register of burials. The fact is a significant one, that this aristocratic symbol is prefixed to the name of Richard Plantagenet. At Eastwell, his story still excites curiosity and interest ... A well in Eastwell Park still bears his name; tradition points to an uninscribed tomb in Eastwell churchyard as his last resting place; and, lastly, the very handwriting which, more than three centuries ago, recorded his interment is still in existence.

A tomb in the ruins of St Mary's, Eastwell, has a plaque with the following words: 'Reputed to be the tomb of Richard Plantagenet, 22. December 1550.'

However, it has been suggested that the remains in the tomb actually belong to Sir Walter Moyle who died in 1480.

According to the late historian David Baldwin, there is no evidence of Richard of Eastwell from before 1483, and we do not know what happened to Richard of York after he and his brother Edward V mysteriously disappeared in the Tower of London. Baldwin reasons that the gentleman who escorted the boy to King Richard at Bosworth was Francis, Viscount Lovell. Lovell, as well as the Stafford brothers, escaped to Colchester's St. John's Abbey, which was regarded as a safe refuge by Yorkist rebels. Baldwin also speculates that the reason for their visit to the abbey was likely for a secret purpose, to actually take the boy there. Henry VII may have known about all this but agreed on it for the sake of his wife, who in this case would have been the boy's sister, and her mother Elizabeth Woodville. There is also evidence that Henry kept an overly concerned close watch on the abbey - a secret letter was sent there from the King's council - and he even visited Colchester on several occasions during this time. The dissolution of the abbey in 1538 may have made the by-now elderly Richard look for another place to live and that's how he ended up in Eastwell.

Soon after the discovery of the resting place of Richard III in Leicester in 2013, there were appeals for a search at Eastwell to determine whether the person buried there was, in fact, Richard's illegitimate son Richard Plantagenet, his nephew Richard of York or simply Richard of Eastwell. It may bring some answers to these mysteries.

DEBRA BAYANI

Further Reading:

G.E.C. The Complete Peerage VIII 1932 (p. 225)

Memoirs of King Richard the Third and some of his contemporaries, John Heneage Jesse, 1862.

Stoke Field, The Last Battle of the Wars of the Roses, David Baldwin, 2006

Richard III, David Baldwin, 2012.

Richard III Society of NSW website

The Lost Prince, David Baldwin, 2007.



Reputed tomb of Richard Plantagenet, the inscription reads "Reputed to be the tomb of Richard Plantagenet December 1550"
Photo Copyright © 2007 Jacqui Sadler





MEMBERS' BULLETIN

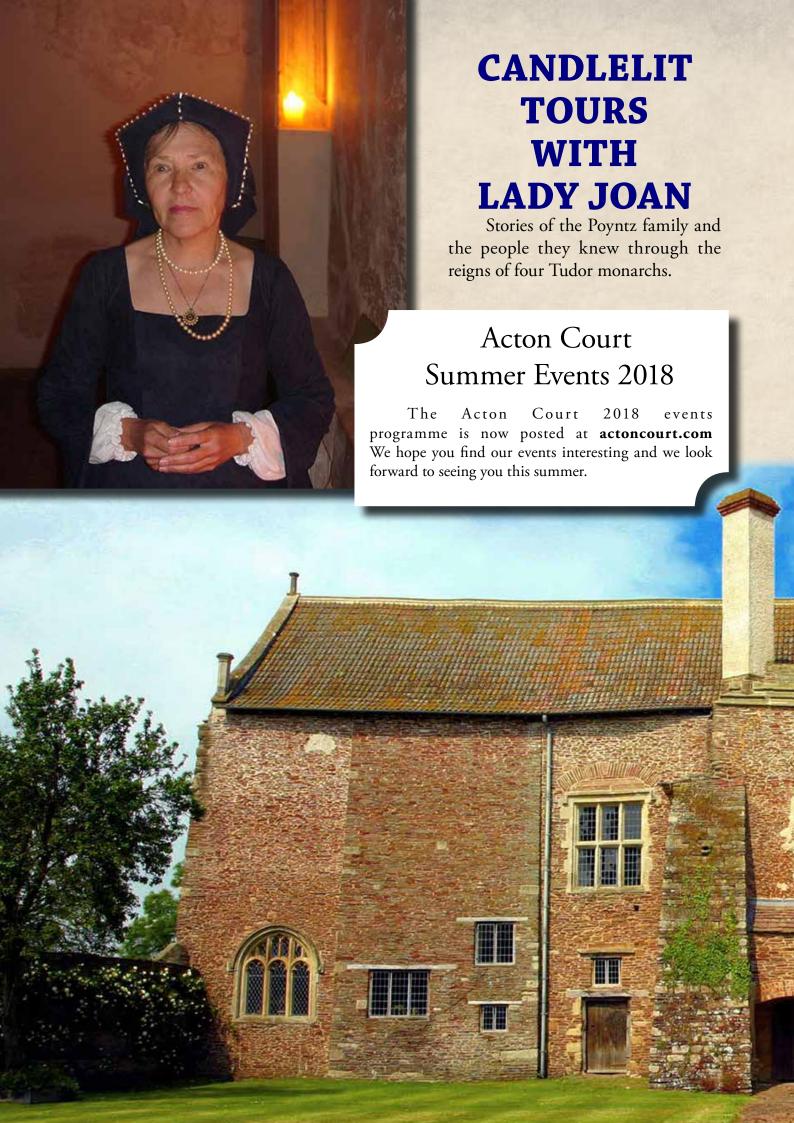
Some may not know the way that our magazines are created, so I thought I would explain what goes into the making of each beautiful magazine. About a year in advance, Gareth Russell (editor) puts forward a set of themes for the magazine, and we decide which theme will go on which month. Then the team of Gareth, Catherine Brooks, Claire & Tim Ridgway get to work to find two or three guest expert articles for each month, plus letting all of the amazing regulars know in advance what they need to write about. This way we can ensure that we have really well themed magazines.

Articles are submitted to us about two months before the actual "cover date", giving us a chance to help with any unforeseen events and to ensure all is up to the right quality. Gareth and Claire both edit the articles and, together with Tim, suitable images are sourced to make it an interesting read for everyone.

Around a month before the "cover date", the magazine enters the layout phase, and this happens even earlier on those months where there is a printed magazine to produce too. Tim deals with the layout of each magazine, then digitises them and uploads them as PDF files and for the online viewer that we use, plus versions for the printers if required.

If it's paper quarterly time, orders are placed for all of the printed copies as early as possible so that both paper and online versions reach people at the same time - our aim is that the magazine is available around 26th of the month before the actual cover month. Fun, eh?!

Tim Ridgway





Charle DISCOVERING TUDOR LONDON by Natalie Grueninger



Several new guidebooks to Tudor England or Tudor London have recently been released, however many of them do not include some of the basic things that the average tourist needs to know, such as how long you should expect to spend at each historic site. Natalie Grueninger has finally rectified this with her new book *Discovering Tudor London*. She is the author of similar works, most notably *In the Footsteps of Anne Boleyn* and *In the Footsteps of the Six Wives of Henry VIII* and her experience in this area is clear in this latest addition.

The author starts off by making it clear that she only includes Tudor sites that fit certain criteria, mainly ones that are still standing:

I also decided to include only those places where there is something substantial left to see, and importantly, which are open to the public. This immediately ruled out some major sites, such as that of Tyburn Gallows, Greenwich Palace and Whitehall Palace, all of which played an important role in the story of the Tudors, but where, sadly, there is nothing or very little left to see above ground. It also meant excluding places like St James' Palace and Crosby Hall, as they are not open to the public. Hence, this book is not a comprehensive guide but rather a curated guide to what I consider the best of Tudor London, based on the above principles.'

This is a good move on her part, as casual tourists and those just getting into Tudor history

want to visit places with things they can see and imagine clearly what it would have been like 500 years ago.

There are several useful features included in this book for anyone planning on visiting London. The book includes some example itineraries to help those wanting to see several locations in London and who may be staying for a while, this includes a 3-day tour, 5-day tour, 7-day tour and 10-day tour. There is also a helpful map and section on what you should take with you on these trips, such as a Historic Royal Palaces membership card and several tourist maps (including links on where to download them).

It has separate sections for the different types of buildings; this includes Houses, Halls, Palaces & Castles, Churches & Religious Houses, and Museums & Galleries. This is helpful for those who just want to go to palaces and castles and avoid museums, for instance.

Natalie Grueninger's Discovering Tudor London is a much-needed guide to the many historical buildings, museums religious sites located in London. I would recommend this to anyone planning on visiting London to see the historic sites or anyone who just wants to learn about the history of some London's most famous Tudor buildings.

Natalie Grueni

THE SURVIVAL OF THE PRINCES IN THE TOWER

by Matthew Lewsis



The Princes in the Tower have fascinated the public for many years, with many books available on their murders and who the suspects are, however, few books examine the theory that the boys survived. Most authors dismiss the likes of Perkin Warbeck as a pretender, not questioning whether he really could have been the younger of the two princes. Matthew Lewis looks at all of the facts and proposes multiple theories as to what happened to them in his latest book *The Survival of the Princes in the Tower*, instead of simply assuming they were murdered. This is an interesting book as it does not come to any firm conclusion, as we will never know what exactly happened to the two princes.

Lewis sets out the aim of his book early on, clearly stating that he is not trying to:

solve a mystery that had evaded any definitive resolution for five centuries. No smoking gun has yet been unearthed and what evidence is available is, almost without exception, circumstantial and open to the broadest interpretations...

The purpose of this book is not to provide a definitive

answer to a question that still defies answering, but to look beyond the traditional argument centred around who killed the Princes in the Tower in the summer of 1483 to ask a different question and to see where that inquiry leads.'

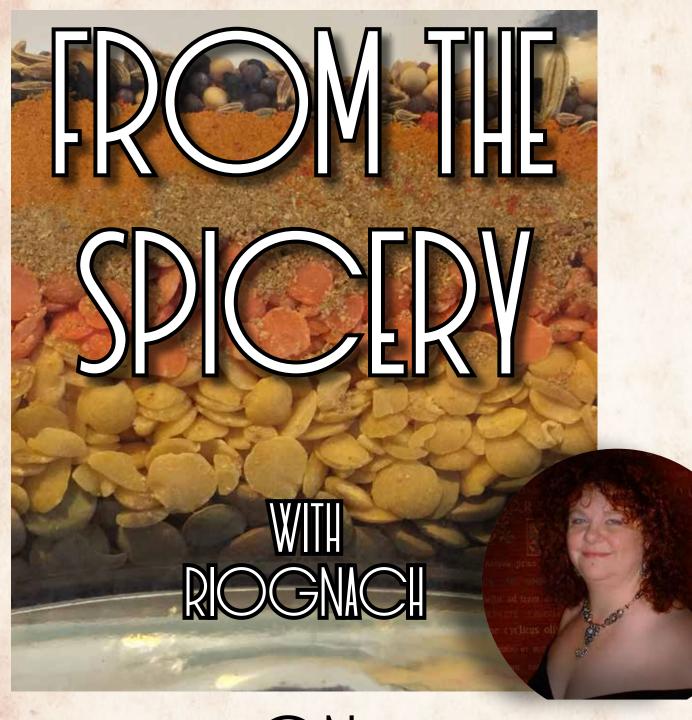
It is refreshing to have one book which goes through the theories regarding what happened to these two boys, including some new ones and some that are rarely discussed. For instance, the author questions whether Lambert Simnel could have been real, which goes against every other historian and is seemingly impossible, as the real Earl of Warwick was in the Tower at the time. Perhaps he somehow escaped or was replaced? This book raises more questions than it answers.

The main problem with this book is that it includes no references, so it is not very helpful for research or as an academic work. We cannot check any of the author's many theories, which is unfortunate as he obviously has some great ideas. Therefore it has to be classified as popular history, despite the fact that the author has done a lot of research on the subject and it reads like an academic book.

One other problem is that the book can become a little confused sometimes, especially when the author discusses Lambert Simnel. It became unclear as to whether the author believes he was the real Earl of Warwick (who was in the Tower at the time), Edward V or an imposter. There was also little on the actual man in the Tower, which seemed strange after exploring the Lambert Simnel affair so thoroughly and describing Warwick as the 'third prince in the tower'. It just seemed like he was an afterthought, with the index only having one page for his plot with Warbeck, trial and execution.

Overall, it is a great book, and it is obvious that Lewis has done a lot of research. It can be a little overwhelming at times because it contains so much information for one book, and has fact upon fact and theory upon theory. The reader won't agree with all of Lewis's theories, and even the author does not seem to commit to any he proposes, but it is still a valuable addition to the works we have on the princes and gives us a lot to consider.

CHARLIE FENTON



ON BEANS

LIKE VEGETABLES, BEANS AND LEGUMES are frequently a kitchen autocrat's saviour. They're cheap, highly nutritious, and can be added to so many dishes to make them stretch just that little bit further. They're also one of the very few food items that were a real social leveller being able to breach the class divides; where King and serf could (and frequently did) eat the same meal.

he earliest recorded recipes using beans, pulses and legumes appear in Forme of Cury (circa 1390), a text that is accessible to everyone thanks to the modern medievalist's best friend. Project Gutenberg. Beans are referenced in the works of Chaucer, The Merchant's Tale and Shakespeare's Twelfth Night. Chaucer talks disparagingly of the bean, while Shakespeare uses as a device for causing mischief. The fact that the authors thought the humble bean to be of sufficient culinary interest to include it in Forme of Cury has always intrigued me. I believe that our culinary ancestors recognised just how vital a role beans and their kin played in the medieval diet. But how was a bean different to a vegetable, and why were they such and important (if frequently overlooked) culinary staple?

Technically, the term 'bean' refers to any pod-borne seed crop. This definition creates a point of difference between things like chickpeas and broad beans (aka fava beans) and French beans, as French beans are almost always eaten fresh. Beans have been consumed since time in memorial and have provided the poorer classes with valuable non-animal protein and non-

However, like root vegetables, beans and their ilk had an image problem. Our medieval forebears believed that as beans and veggies grew in the ground, that they were somehow an inferior food, and were not fit for the diet of the upper classes. More fool them! Given the dietary records of the wealthier members of medieval society, I often wonder how many suffered from heart and cholesterol illnesses as a result of a diet that was rich in animal proteins. But back to the beans.

The Catholic Lenten observance (now shortened to Lent) with all its food rules is the main reason why beans are a unique culinary leveller. To appreciate some of the sacrifices that Christ underwent during his desert wanderings, good medieval Catholics 'gave up' all flesh-based dishes. From Ash Wednesday until Easter Sunday, all animal products were strictly off the menu. Accordingly, the diet of the upper classes was forced to change from one rich in meat and fish, cheese and dairy to one of vegetarianism. Dishes made from beans and other pulses and legumes came to the fore, as did dishes made from almond milk, and illusory foods.

haem iron, and complex carbohydrates and insoluble fibre. They were the perfect food to fill a hardworking peasant up and provide them with the energy needed to sustain them while working in the fields.

¹ Forme of Cury, Project Gutenberg (http://www.gutenberg.org/)

I have attended one Lenten feast where a flitch of bacon was presented; the catch was that it had been made entirely from marchpane (marzipan). Ingenious and tasty too. One the subject of sweets and Lent, Thomas Aquinas permitted and encouraged the consumption of sweets and comfits as in his opinion, they were more medicinal, than food.² This loophole must have proven extremely useful in years

when St Valentine's Day coincided with Ash Wednesday, as it did in

February of 2018.

Before we get to good the stuff (the recipes), I'll leave you with a couple of bits of bean-related trivia. According to a Facebook page I frequent (Medieval Death Bot), a toddler by the name of John Deles died in 1324 at the tender age of two after tripping over a pot of beans by the fire.3 Seriously, if medieval trivial of the macabre and morbid variety interests you in the slightest, I can highly recommend this very entertaining page.

Beans were also baked into the aptly named King Cakes, traditionally served at the Winter Solstice, and later during the Feast of Epiphany. Any man who was "lucky" enough to find a bean in his piece of cake (and didn't break his teeth), was entitled to "rule" for the year.

> I use the term "lucky" in the loosest possible sense, as in pagan

> > tradition, Bean

the

King was sacrificed the end of his rule, his blood returned to reinvigorate Earth, to ensure that the following harvest would be a bountiful one. Women weren't left out of the equation, if a woman was lucky to find a pea in the cake, she became the Queen - and lived.

Richardson, T. H. Sweets: A History of Candy, Bloomsbury, 2002, pp 146-150.

³ Medieval Death Bot @ Medieval Death on Twitter and on Facebook.

And now for the recipes.

The basics - Gronden Benes I

Take benes and dry hem in a nost or in an Ovene and hulle hem wele and wyndewe out pe hulk and wayshe hem clene an do hem to seep in gode broth an ete hem with Bacon.⁴

Essentially this is a dish of medieval baked beans. It is a particular favourite of mine as it is so simple to prepare and can be enhanced with other ingredients. I tend to make mine during Autumn and Winter, and add things like rabbit, bacon and homemade spiced chorizo sausage.

Drawen Benes II (Figure 2 Gronden Benes (II) and Chorizo⁵)

Take benes and seep hem and grynde hem in a morter and drawe hem up with gode broth an do Oynouns in the broth grete mynced an do perto and colour it with Safroun and serve it forth.⁶.

Drawen Benes is an extrapolation of Gronden Benes that adds finely diced onions and saffron to cooked mashed beans. If saffron is out of your price range, a little turmeric or annatto will do the job nicely. Further additions can include red wine (Makke)⁷, as well as minced garlic and pouder douce (Benes Yfryed).⁸ For a sweet dish between removes, white beans can be cooked in almond milk and sweetened with honey and raisons to create Potage Feneboils⁹, a dish which can best be described as a sweet hummus.

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

- 6 Form of Cury, Project Gutenberg, op cit.
- 7 Form of Cury, Project Gutenberg, ibid.
- 8 Form of Cury, Project Gutenberg, ibid.
- 9 Form of Cury, Project Gutenberg, ibid

ANSWERS TO THE QUIZ

Henry VI - 1465-70 and 1471

Anne Boleyn - 1536

Lady Jane Grey - 1553-4

Princess Elizabeth - 1554

Catherine Grey 1561-3

Sir Walter Raleigh - 1592, 1603-16, 1618

- (1) Lancastrian
- (2) Edward V
- (3) Kingmaker
- (4) Tewkesbury
- (5) Edward IV
- (6) Richard III
- (7) adultery
- (8) four
- (9) Thomas Howard
- (10) Chapel Royal
- (11) Tower Green

- (12) King Edward VI
- (13) usurper
- (14) Beauchamp Tower
- (15) Wyatt's Rebellion
- (16) Traitors Gate
- (17) Westminster Abbey
- (18) Edward Seymour
- (19) Edward
- (20) Thomas
- (21) Cockfield Hall
- (22) Elizabeth Throckmorton
- (23) France
- (24) Spain
- (25) Old Palace Yard
- (26) Houses of Parliament
- (27) armed rebellion
- (28) Catholics
- (29) hanged, drawn and quartered

⁴ Forme of Cury, Project Gutenberg, op cit.

⁵ Photo by R. O'Geraghty (Spice Alchemy).

MAY'S "ON THIS

1 May 1590

James VI of Scotland brought Anne of Denmark, his bride, to Scotland. The couple had been married by proxy in Copenhagen in August 1589, but Anne had to abandon her journey to Scotland due to storms.

2^{May} 1568

Mary, Queen of Scots escaped from Lochleven Castle. As a May Day masque took place at the castle, Mary was smuggled out and taken to a waiting boat.

3 May 1580

Death of Thomas Tusser, poet, farmer and writer on agriculture, at the age of sixtyfive.

7May 1603

James VI/I arrived in London after travelling from Edinburgh to claim the English throne. His predecessor, Elizabeth I, had died on 24th March.

8 May 1559

The "Act of Uniformity" was signed by Elizabeth I, and the "Act of Supremacy" was given royal assent.

9^{May} 1538

Marie de Guise and James V of Scotland were married by proxy at the Château de Châteaudun.

10^{May} 1553

The first expedition of the Company of Merchant Adventurers in search of a Northeast passage.

14^{May}_{1571}

Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox and regent to James VI, held the "Creeping Parliament".

15^{May}

The marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots and James Hepburn, 4th Earl of Bothwell, at Holyrood.

16^{May} 1618

Death of Dorothy Wadham (née Petre), founder of Wadham College, Oxford. She is buried in St Mary's Church, Ilminster.

17^{May} 1601

Burial of Anthony Bacon in St Olave's, London. Bacon was a spy, providing intelligence for William Cecil.

18^{May} 1536

Anne Boleyn's execution was postponed.



The burning of John Forest, Franciscan friar and martyr, at Smithfield for heresy.

23^{May} 1554

The future Elizabeth I arrived at Woodstock, where she was put under house arrest.

24 May

Death of Robert Cecil, 1st Earl of Salisbury, Elizabeth I's Secretary of State, at Marlborough, Wiltshire.



Murder of David Beaton, Cardinal and Archbishop of St Andrews, at the castle in St Andrews.

30^{May} 1536

Henry VIII married Jane Seymour at Yotk Place (Whitehall)

31 May 1589

Death of Sir Walter Mildmay, founder of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.



DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY"

4May 1608

Funeral of Elizabeth Talbot (Bess of Hardwick), Countess of Shrewsbury, in All Hallows, Derby. At the time of her death, she was one of the richest people in England.

5 May 1542

Agnes Tilney, Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, was pardoned after spending nearly five months imprisoned in the Tower of London. Her home and valuables had been seized but she had kept her head, unlike her step-granddaughter, Catherine Howard.

6^{May}_{1536}

It is said that Anne Boleyn wrote a letter to her husband, King Henry VIII, from the Tower of London.

11 May 1607

Burial of Sir Edward Dyer, courtier and poet. His known works included the poem "The lowest trees have tops".

12^{May} 1521

Cardinal Wolsey announced the papal bull against Martin Luther outside St Paul's. Luther's books were then burned.

13^{May} 1568

Mary, Queen of Scots's forces were defeated at the *Battle of Langside*.



19^{May} 1536

Anne Boleyn was executed. She did not protest her innocence and instead simply did what was expected of her.

20^{May} 1598

Death of John Bullingham, Bishop of Gloucester. He died in Kensington.

21 May 1535

The arrest of William Tyndale, Bible translator and religious reformer, in Antwerp.



25^{May}₁₅₂₄

Death of Sir Thomas Lovell, administrator and Speaker of the House of Commons, at Elsings in Enfield.

26^{May} 1596

Burial of Thomas Bickley, Bishop of Chichester, in Chichester Cathedral.

27^{May} 1601

Death of Robert Beale at his home, Barn Elms, in Surrey. He served Elizabeth I as a clerk of the Privy Council.

28^{May} 1582

Executions of Roman Catholic priests Thomas Forde, John Shert and Robert Johnson at Tyburn.

TUDOR FEAST DAYS

1 May - May Day 19 May - St Dunstan's Day

NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

Tudor life

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THE SEYMOURS

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The portraiture of Jane Seymour and Anne of Cleves

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The Seymour Brothers

EMMA TAYLOR

Jane Seymour in "Henry VIII and his Six Wives"

DAYNA GOODCHILD

Jane Seymour's labour and death

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