

# Tudor Life

THE  
TUDOR  
SOCIETY

The Tudor Society Magazine

Members Only

Nº 51

November 2018

## THE HERESY BURNINGS OF MARY I

The Credo of Mary I

Wyatt's Rebellion

The Martyr  
Anne Askew

John Foxe and his  
Book of Martyrs

PLUS

Dissolution,  
Mathematics &  
Shakespeare

Anne of Cleves

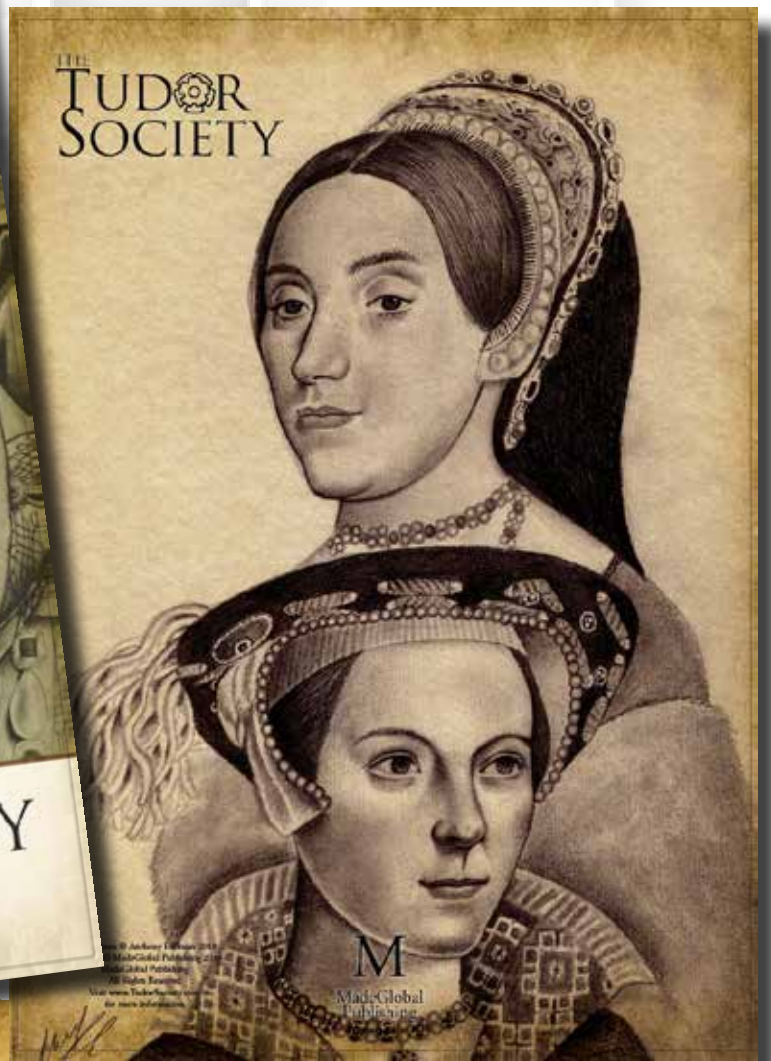


**THINK THIS PORTRAIT IS  
CATHERINE HOWARD? Think again...**





# THE TUDOR SOCIETY CALENDAR 2019



ROBERT DUDLEY

MAY 2019

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19 Anne Boleyn 1536
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

## THE PERFECT GIFT!

Our **Tudor Society 2019 Wall Calendar** features the beautiful artwork of Tudor Society member Anthony Hillman. Anthony produced these portraits especially for us here at the Tudor Society and we are so pleased to be able to share them in this way. You can tell one of his heroes is Holbein!

This high-quality wall calendar measures 297mm (12¾ inches) by 420mm (16½ inches), it is spiral bound at the top and is printed on thick 100# stock paper. It has one full page per month.

AVAILABLE NOW

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## THE HERESY BURNINGS OF MARY I

**I**N RECENT YEARS, Mary I's reputation as "Bloody Mary" has been questioned, critiqued, and even condemned, not just by a new generation of biographers - many of them, excellent - but also by legions of Tudor enthusiasts, for whom Mary's historiographical evisceration seems particularly unjust. Yet, her government's execution of hundreds of Protestants remains notorious. As Lauren Browne reminds us in her article on Foxe's (in)famous Book of Martyrs, her notoriety began within years of Queen Mary's death in 1558, but, as Roland Hui points out in the harrowing tale of Anne Askew, heresy trials, and grotesque executions had been a feature of English crime and punishment long before Mary I's succession to the throne. In their horror, their confusion, the good intentions of its perpetrators, and the bravery of their victims, the heresy trials remain sources of warning and fascination.

**GARETH RUSSELL**  
**EDITOR**

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Image above: Mary I by Antonis Mor  
Background fire added by the Tudor Society

# Tudor Life



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*"Portrait of a Lady, Probably a Member of the  
Cromwell Family"*

by Hans Holbein the Younger c. 1535-40  
Toledo Museum of Art 1926.57

# THINK THIS PORTRAIT IS QUEEN CATHERINE HOWARD?

## *THINK AGAIN...*

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*This portrait of a young noblewoman by Hans Holbein the Younger at the Toledo Museum of Art remains the subject of intense debate. Once thought to have been a depiction of Queen Catherine Howard, the fifth wife of Henry VIII, and subsequently, a member of the Cromwell family, there is to date, no consensus on the sitter's identity. The artist, in his accustomed manner, has left clues that now make it possible for **Teri Fitzgerald** to finally give her a name.*

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One of a collection of portraits by Hans Holbein the Younger that immortalises the court of Henry VIII, *Portrait of a Lady, probably a Member of the Cromwell Family*, at the Toledo Museum of Art, remains anonymous (fig. 1). There are two extant copies of this portrait: a sixteenth-century version at Hever Castle in Kent, and another at the National Portrait Gallery in London dating from the late seventeenth century. The Toledo portrait is acknowledged to be the original and painted by Hans Holbein *circa* 1535–1540, although the style of her French hood is more in keeping with the later end of that date range.<sup>1</sup>

The sumptuous clothing and jewellery worn by the sitter indicate that she is a lady of the highest status, perhaps royalty. Although her name has remained elusive, her age, twenty-one, is inscribed in gold on the portrait. The painting belonged to the Cromwell family for centuries, so she is thought to have been a member of that prominent family. She wears a French hood edged with white, heavily embroidered in gold, with a falling black veil. She has auburn hair, parted in the middle, and blue-grey eyes. Around her neck she wears a necklace set with pearls and diamonds, to which is attached a pendant jewel. She is wearing a black satin gown, with a square black velvet yoke, open at the neck and turned back to show the white lining. The wing-like sleeves, decorated with stylised vines in gold with a fleur-de-lys motif, are fastened at intervals with gold aiglets, with richly embroidered cambric ruffles showing at the wrists. Framed by the crisp white of the hood and the lining of her upturned collar, ‘is a face without evasion, as firm as it is intelligent, of extreme maturity’ for her age.<sup>2</sup>

On the bodice of her gown, is a brooch from which hangs a circular pendant with a diamond at the centre and a biblical theme: Lot with his family, guided by an angel, fleeing from Sodom. To the left of the central gem is Lot’s wife who was turned to a pillar of salt because she disobeyed God and looked back to Sodom. A design by Holbein for this pendant

survives in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> ‘His choice in this portrait was not so much motivated by a wish to propose a moral to his sitter, but rather to emphasize the boldness of his conceitto. Presenting a jewel as a petrified body enhances the power of the artist, who can effect the same transformation on his sitter. As a result of his conceitto the stone becomes a vivid metaphor of the metamorphosis operated by the portrait.’<sup>4</sup> Another large circular jewel, probably also designed by Holbein, is attached to her girdle, depicting God the Father enthroned, flanked by angels.<sup>5</sup> The latter can be seen more clearly on a copy of the portrait at the National Portrait Gallery in London.

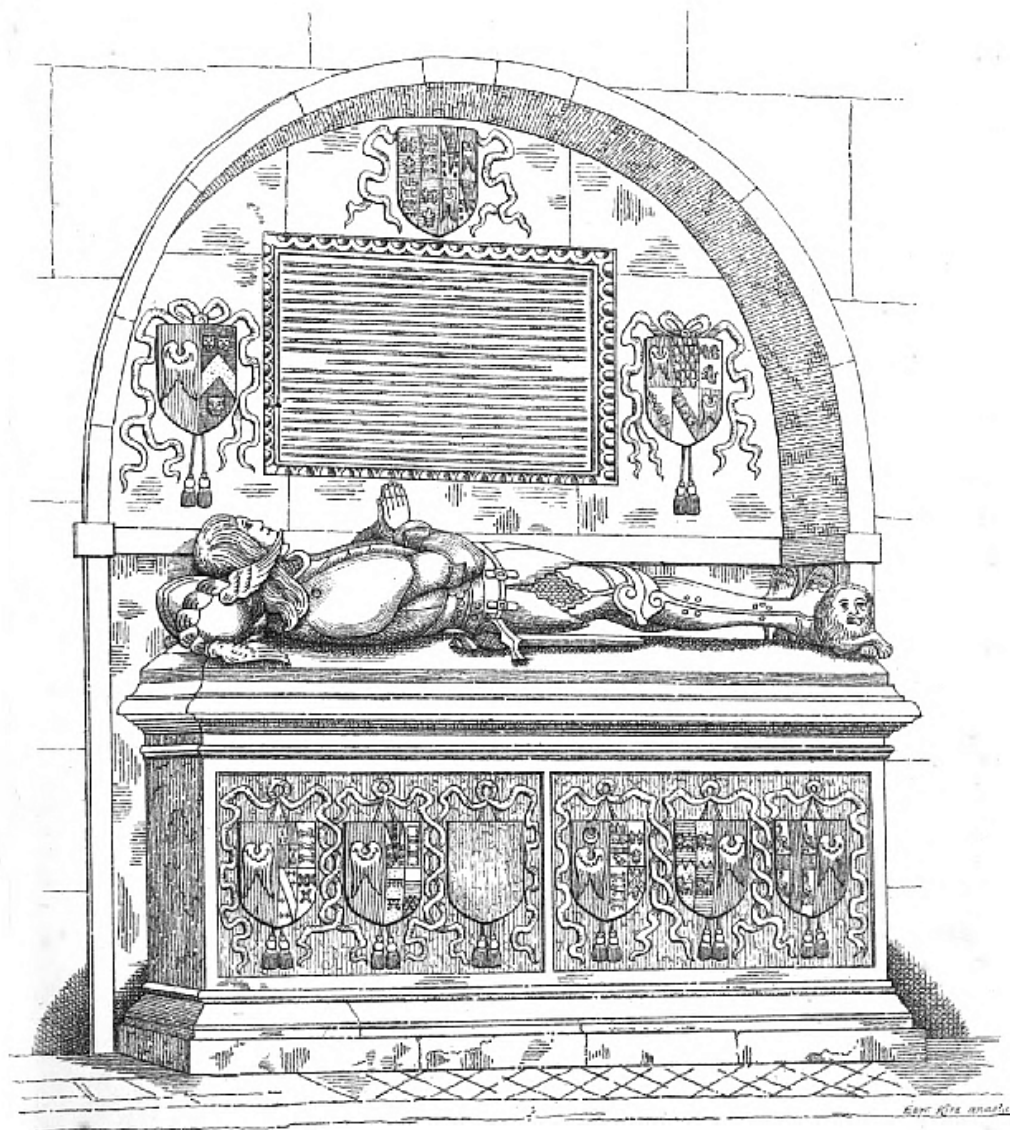
The portrait not only demonstrates Holbein’s skill both as an artist, and a goldsmith, but also his ingenuity. As we will discover, ‘all that glitters, is not gold’, it is instead an elaborate heraldic rebus that holds the key to a centuries-old mystery – the identity of the lady.

In 1909 when the portrait was submitted for examination by the owners, the Cromwell family, the lady was identified as Queen Catherine Howard by Lionel Cust, after linking it with a seventeenth-century version in the National Portrait Gallery, as well as the subject of a miniature in two versions, and a drawing in the Royal Collection at Windsor.<sup>6</sup> His findings were subsequently published in the *Burlington Magazine* in 1910.<sup>7</sup> The portrait had been in the possession of the Cromwell family for hundreds of years, and during that time was thought to be, successively, ‘Cromwell’s mother’, Mary Tudor, Duchess of Suffolk, and Eleanor Brandon, Countess of Cumberland, but not Catherine Howard.<sup>8</sup> It would indeed have been ironic if the Cromwell family had preserved, copied, and handed down a portrait of ‘a lady whom Henry VIII married on the very day on which he executed his deposed minister, Thomas Cromwell’.<sup>9</sup> Cust’s identification stood unchallenged until doubts were raised about the sitter’s identity in the catalogue of *The Kings and Queens of England* exhibition held at Liverpool in 1953.<sup>10</sup>



A forthright attempt to re-identify the lady as Queen Catherine Howard was made by Bendor Grosvenor, David Starkey and Alasdair Hawkyard in the *Lost faces* exhibition catalogue in 2007, but the identification of the sitter as Henry VIII's fifth wife rests on questionable physiognomic comparisons, descriptions of jewellery that are 'fairly generic', and not

identified in an inventory of her jewels.<sup>11</sup> The subject is 'evidently not a queen' they argue so she must have been painted after she joined the court, and before her marriage. This would require her to have been born between 1517 and 1519, 'which makes her almost a decade older than some of the other maids of honour in 1539, and negates every piece of evidence



TOMB OF SIR JOHN SEYMOUR, KN T  
IN GREAT BEDWYN CHURCH.

*The arms restored from Aubrey's sketch, circa A.D. 1672; and the shields arranged in the order set down in his MS.*

The Monument to Sir John Seymour in Great Bedwyn Church consists of a chest tomb displaying heraldic escutcheons, surmounted by his recumbent effigy, fully dressed in armour with hands in prayer, his head resting on his helm from which projects the sculpted Seymour crest of a pair of wings.

we have from her childhood.’ The other maids of honour appointed to serve Anne of Cleves were all in their mid to late teens, with the majority in the younger group. Catherine Howard’s biographers, Gareth Russell and Josephine Wilkinson have each argued that Queen Catherine was in her teens at the time of her marriage in 1540.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, the association of this portrait with Henry’s queen still has support.

In 1967 Roy Strong, following the lead of C. K. Adams, noted that both the Toledo portrait and the National Portrait Gallery version appear in the context of a series of portraits of members of the family of the Protector’s uncle, Oliver Cromwell (1562/6–1655), and have provenances linking them with the Cromwell family. Strong argued that the portrait in the Toledo Museum of Art, ‘should by rights depict a lady of the Cromwell family aged 21 c.1535–40’ and suggested that the lady might be Elizabeth Seymour, wife of Gregory Lord Cromwell, son of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex.<sup>13</sup> He concluded that since the year of her birth was unknown and there were no certain portraits for comparison, the portrait should be called ‘A Lady of the Cromwell Family’. Strong’s theory about the sitter’s identity, while accepted by some art historians, is disputed.<sup>14</sup>

The Toledo portrait descended with the Cromwell-Bush family portraits, and was first recorded in the family home at Cheshunt Park, Hertfordshire, by G. P. Harding in the lifetime of Oliver Cromwell (1742–1821).<sup>15</sup> These were descendants of Thomas Cromwell’s nephew, Sir Richard Cromwell *alias* Williams (c.1510–1544) and Frances Murfyn (c.1520–c.1543).

Richard Cromwell, the son of Morgan Williams, and Thomas Cromwell’s sister, Catherine, had married Frances Murfyn by 8 March 1534.<sup>16</sup> Frances was the daughter of Thomas Murfyn (*d.* 1523), an alderman and former lord mayor of London, by his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter, and heir, of Sir Angel Donne, alderman of London, and Anne Hawardine of Cheshire. Her mother

subsequently married Sir Thomas Denys in 1524. Richard and Frances would have two sons: Henry, born around 1537, and Francis in about 1541.<sup>17</sup> When his uncle made his will in 1529, Richard was a servant of the Marquess of Dorset, but at some point after Dorset’s death in October 1530, he entered his uncle’s household and adopted the name Cromwell. He had been made a gentleman of the Privy Chamber by 1539 and was knighted during a tournament at Westminster in May 1540.<sup>18</sup> By then he was wealthy and well-connected: his uncle, already related to the king through his son, Gregory’s marriage to the Queen’s younger sister, Elizabeth Seymour in 1537, was newly-made Earl of Essex and Lord Great Chamberlain.<sup>19</sup> Sir Richard and his wife were apparently unaffected by the earl’s fall from power in mid-1540, continuing to benefit from offices and royal grants.<sup>20</sup> Lady Frances was still living in June 1542, but had died before her husband made his will, which was dated 20 June 1544. Sir Richard died on 20 October 1544 and was survived by his sons, Henry, aged seven and Francis, three.<sup>21</sup>

That the Toledo portrait was preserved by the descendants of Sir Richard Cromwell and not those of Gregory Cromwell might suggest that the portrait depicts his wife, Frances Murfyn who would have been twenty-one in about 1541, and of suitable status, but the wife of Gregory Lord Cromwell has a stronger claim.

Born by 1518, Elizabeth Seymour was a younger daughter of Sir John Seymour of Wolf Hall in Wiltshire and Margery, daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth of Nettlestead, Suffolk. Her siblings included Edward, the future Protector Somerset and Jane, third wife of Henry VIII.<sup>22</sup>

Elizabeth Seymour would play a brief, but prominent role in the 1530s and 1540s during the ascendancy of her father-in-law, Thomas Cromwell, and the Protector Somerset. As the king’s sister-in-law and subsequently, aunt to the future Edward VI, her letters to Thomas Cromwell and the king before and during her second marriage reveal an intelligent



and spirited woman. She served three of Henry VIII's Queens — Anne Boleyn, Anne of Cleves, and Catherine Howard — and would outlive the old king, dying in the reign of his daughter, Elizabeth I.

By July 1530, Elizabeth Seymour had married, as his second wife, Sir Anthony Ughtred, (*d.*1534), the third son of Sir Robert Ughtred (*d.*1487) of Kexby, and Catherine, daughter of Sir William Eure of Stokesley, Yorkshire.<sup>23</sup> Sir Anthony Ughtred served both Henry VII and Henry VIII as a soldier and military administrator. In 1496 he took part in Edward Poyning's campaign in Ulster. He was knighted at Eltham in 1512, and participated in Edmund Howard's naval expedition to Brittany in August of the same year. Ughtred accompanied Henry VIII to France in July 1513, and was appointed marshal of Tournai after the city's fall in September, remaining in the post until February 1515. He served as captain of Berwick from February 1515 until August 1532, when he replaced Sir Hugh Vaughan at the castle of Mont Orgueil as captain and governor of Jersey.<sup>24</sup>

The marriage produced two children: Henry, born either in late 1533 or early 1534, and Margery, probably shortly after her father's death on 6 October 1534. Leaving her son, Henry, in Jersey, Lady Ughtred returned to England to serve her mistress and cousin, Queen Anne Boleyn.<sup>25</sup>

Her late husband had known Thomas Cromwell since the mid-1520s, and by the 1530s they were on friendly terms,<sup>26</sup> consequently it was to Thomas Cromwell that the well-connected young widow would turn in March 1537, rather than her sister Queen Jane, in the hope of securing one of a number of monasteries 'if they fortune to go down.' By now, Cromwell's wife, two of his daughters, and both of his sisters had died, leaving a niece and several nephews.<sup>27</sup> His only surviving children were a son, Gregory, born around 1520, and an illegitimate daughter, Jane, who had arrived by 1535.<sup>28</sup> The opportunity was not lost on

Cromwell: he offered her, instead, a marriage with his son and heir, Gregory.

Lady Ughtred, then about nineteen or twenty, married Thomas Cromwell's seventeen-year-old son, Gregory, on 3 August 1537 at the minister's house at Mortlake.<sup>29</sup> The marriage would produce three sons: Henry, born in early 1538, followed by Edward, in 1539 and Thomas in 1540. There were also two daughters: Catherine, probably named after Queen Catherine Howard, born about 1541, and Frances, perhaps in memory of the late wife of Sir Richard Cromwell in around 1544.<sup>30</sup>

In early 1538 Thomas Cromwell became a grandfather for the first time.<sup>31</sup> The boy, loyally named Henry, in honour of the king, was baptised on 1 March, probably at Hampton Court. Princess Mary, who most likely stood godmother, gave generous gifts of money to the nurse and midwife as well as a cup for 'my lady Outred Child'.<sup>32</sup> Sometime after the baptism, the minister commissioned a portrait of his daughter-in-law by Hans Holbein, who had previously painted the minister and his son, to mark the birth of a Cromwell heir.<sup>33</sup>

Since the death of Queen Jane in late 1537, Holbein had been fully occupied painting potential brides for the king. By 18 March 1538, the artist had returned from the court of Mary of Hungary, the Regent of the

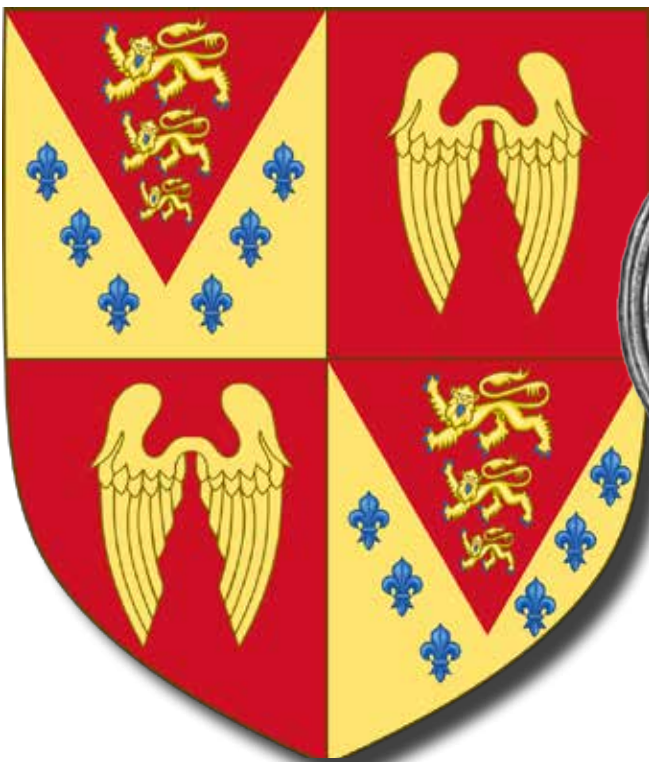


Coat of Arms of the Kingdom of England from 1509 to 1554 used by Henry VIII and Edward VI

Netherlands, where, on 12 March, he had captured the likeness of Christina of Milan in exquisite detail, in only three hours. In the same year, he was granted an extended leave of absence from court, for which he was paid in advance, and he would not return until the following year. Holbein was expected to leave for Europe in June, but his departure had been delayed until August.<sup>34</sup> It is doubtful, however, that the artist painted Cromwell's daughter-in-law in 1538, since the young couple appear to have left for Lewes, in Sussex, shortly after the baptism.<sup>35</sup> The portrait was probably painted in the late autumn-winter of 1539–40, after the birth of the couple's second son, Edward, and following Elizabeth's appointment to the household of Queen Anne of Cleves.<sup>36</sup> The clothing worn by our sitter, and the absence of fur, suggests that the portrait was more likely painted in autumn.

Thomas Cromwell had been granted an augmentation of honour to his arms following the marriage of his son, Gregory, to the queen's sister, Elizabeth. The 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> quarters have a division of six, with fleurs-de-lys alternating with pelicans, and possess 'the same unusual threefold structure, same metal and colours, fleurs de lys, and a feral creature' as the coat of augmentation granted to Edward Seymour following his sister Jane's marriage to the king: *or, on a pile gules between six fleurs de lys azure, three lions of England*.<sup>38</sup> In 1538 Cromwell commissioned a portrait medal featuring his new arms.<sup>39</sup> Those same arms also appear in a portrait of the minister by an unknown artist, presumably painted during Holbein's absence, and on the title page of the Great Bible that was published in early 1539.<sup>40</sup>

Hans Holbein, who had come to England for the first time in 1526, hoping to 'pick up



**Arms of Edward Seymour:** quarterly, 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup>: or, on a pile gules between six fleurs de lys azure three lions of England; 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>: gules, two wings conjoined in lure or (Seymour), being the coat of augmentation granted by Henry VIII on his marriage to Jane Seymour. 37 These arms concede the positions of greatest honour, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> quarters, to the fleurs de lys and lions of the royal arms.



**Arms of Thomas Cromwell:** quarterly, 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup>: azure, on a fess between three lions rampant or, a rose gules, barbed vert, between two Cornish choughs proper; 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>, per fess azure and or, a pale counter-changed, charged alternately with fleurs de lys of the second, and pelicans with wings elevated vulning themselves gules, being the coat of augmentation granted by Henry VIII on his son's marriage to Elizabeth Seymour.<sup>41</sup>





Henry VIII angel, struck 1513–1526

some angels' was by now 'king's painter' and doing rather well (fig. 6).<sup>42</sup> It is tempting to speculate that when the artist glanced around his workshop, that a golden coin might have been the source of inspiration for the Toledo portrait. All the elements are there; an angel, a pair of wings and the fleurs-de-lys of the arms of Henry VIII.

The viewer's eye is drawn, first to the lady's face, then to the golden jewel, encircled by the golden vines on her sleeves. Here is a homophone in court French:

*manches: ailes de vignes,  
d'or [sounds like] anges: ailes  
divines, d'or*

The circle of golden vines, the angels in the pendant jewels, and the fleurs-de-lys on her left sleeve, form an heraldic rebus (fig. 1). The angel, when viewed as a pair of golden wings, alludes to the ancient Seymour arms: *gules, two wings conjoined in lure, or*, and to the pelicans in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> quarters of Cromwell's arms.

If we examine the pendant jewels in the portrait, we discover three angels, or pairs of wings, and in the foliate scrollwork on the sleeve to the viewer's right, there are six fleurs-de-lys: three above the elbow, and three below. The portrait thus contains heraldic clues to the lady's identity and correspond to the placement of those on Cromwell's medal — we can now identify the sitter as Elizabeth Seymour.



Arms of Seymour: *gules, two wings conjoined in lure, or.*



In the golden foliate scrollwork on the sleeve to the viewer's right are six fleurs de lys: three below the elbow, and three above

Elizabeth Seymour came from a famously fertile family: Sir John Seymour fathered at least ten children, and most of his surviving children would have large families. Vines symbolise fertility, growth and renewal – the golden vines on her sleeves, and the flowering vines on her cuffs may hint at this particular lady's fecundity.<sup>43</sup>

*Who soars too near  
the sun, with golden  
wings, melts them; to ruin  
his own fortune brings.*

In mid-1540, following the arrest of the Earl of Essex, his daughter-in-law reassured a paranoid king of her loyalty and that of her husband. An undated letter, probably written while



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On the bodice of her gown, is a brooch from which hangs a circular pendant with a diamond at the centre and a biblical theme: Lot with his family, guided by an angel, fleeing from Sodom.

Another large circular jewel, probably also designed by Holbein, is attached to her girdle, depicting God the Father enthroned, flanked by angels.

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Cromwell was imprisoned in the Tower of London, but before his execution, demonstrates a wisdom beyond her years. Having enjoyed an affectionate relationship with Thomas

Cromwell since her marriage to his son in 1537, she was now compelled to use towards him 'strong terms of reprobation':

*After the bounden duty of my most humble submission unto your excellent majesty, whereas it hath pleased the same, of your mere mercy and infinite goodness, notwithstanding the heinous trespasses and most grievous offences of my father-in-law, yet so graciously to extend your benign pity towards my poor husband and me, as the extreme indigence and poverty wherewith my said father-in-law's most detestable offences hath oppressed us, is thereby right much holpen and relieved ... Most humbly beseeching your majesty in the mean season mercifully to accept this my most obedient suit, and to extend your accustomed pity and gracious goodness towards my said poor husband and me, who never hath, nor, God willing, never shall offend your majesty, but continually pray for the prosperous estate of the same long time to remain and continue.<sup>44</sup>*

The king was satisfied, and suspicion cast aside. Elizabeth was appointed to the household of Queen Catherine Howard, and on 18 December, five months after his father's execution, Gregory Cromwell was raised to the peerage as Baron Cromwell.<sup>45</sup> The Cromwells and their Seymour kin remained in favour with King Henry, participating in court ceremonial, while continuing to receive grants of property. Gregory Lord Cromwell participated in the funeral of King Henry in early 1547, and was made a Knight of the Bath at his nephew, Edward VI's coronation in February 1547. The Seymours would not endear themselves to their royal relations. Thomas Lord Seymour

of Sudeley and the Protector Somerset would not survive the power struggles of the reign of Edward VI. After the death of Gregory Lord Cromwell in July 1551, his widow married, in 1554, John Paulet, Lord St John, eldest son and heir of William Paulet, Marquess of Winchester. Her third husband and his father had been signatories, 21 June, of the letters patent, 16 June 1553, settling the Crown on Lady Jane Grey, later transferring their allegiance to Mary I.<sup>46</sup> In 1560, Elizabeth's nephew, Edward, Earl of Hertford, would secretly marry Lady Catherine Grey, earning the displeasure of Elizabeth I.<sup>47</sup>

Elizabeth died on 19 March and was buried on 5 April 1568 in St Mary's Church, Basing, in Hampshire.<sup>48</sup>

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## A LOOK AT THE PROVENANCE OF THE PORTRAIT

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Elizabeth Seymour's son, Henry Cromwell (1538–1592), who had married Mary Paulet by 1560, succeeded his father as 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron Cromwell. Henry's grandson, Thomas, 4<sup>th</sup> Baron Cromwell, later 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount Lecale, was created Earl of Ardglass in the Irish peerage on 15 April 1645. The Barony of Cromwell was held by the 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount Lecale from 22 November 1624 and by the Earls of Ardglass from 15 April 1645 until 26 November 1687, when, on the death of the last male heir, Vere Essex Cromwell, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Ardglass and 7<sup>th</sup> Baron Cromwell, both titles became extinct.<sup>49</sup>



### LIONEL AND CATHERINE TOLLEMACHE

Catherine Tollemache (*d.* 1621), daughter to Henry Lord Cromwell and Mary Paulet, married Lionel Tollemache (1562–1612), 1<sup>st</sup> Baronet, in 1581.<sup>50</sup> Their granddaughter, Jane Tollemache (*d.* 1666), daughter of Lionel Tollemache 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet, and Elizabeth Stanhope, married her cousin, Thomas Cholmondeley (1627–1702) of Vale Royal by 1650.<sup>51</sup> Her husband's grandmother was Dorothy Wentworth, daughter of Sir Richard Wentworth (*d.* 1528) of Nettlestead, sister of Thomas Wentworth, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Wentworth, and first cousin of Elizabeth Seymour.<sup>52</sup> Jane and Thomas Cholmondeley would have five sons, and seven daughters, however, all the sons predeceased their father, and he was succeeded by Charles Cholmondeley (1770–1846),

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Catherine Tollemache, 1597,  
Robert Peake the Elder

third son of his second marriage to Anne St. John.<sup>53</sup>

### OVERLEIGH HALL, CHESTER

Matthew Ellis, a gentleman of the bodyguard to Henry VIII, purchased the Overleigh estate from the Crown in 1545. It continued in this family for nearly a century, when it was conveyed by the marriage of Juliana, daughter of Matthew Ellis, to Thomas Cowper (*d.* 1620), of Chester. The timber-framed manor house and chapel of the Ellis family were destroyed in the siege of Chester, and in around 1662 a new brick house was built by Thomas Cowper (*d.* 1695), who had





Overleigh Hall, sketch copied from a small watercolour drawing in the possession of Mr. T. Topham.

acquired the estate partly through descent and partly through purchase.<sup>54</sup>

Overleigh Hall was a red brick building, the walls of its chief rooms being richly panelled in oak. It contained a good library, and a great number of old portraits, particularly some valuable ones of the Cromwell family, as mentioned in an inventory in the Library.<sup>55</sup>

- Sir Oliver Cromwell, uncle and godfather to the Protector, *aet.* 84, 1646
- Lady Elizabeth Cromwell, first wife of Sir Oliver, and daughter of Sir Thomas Bromley
- Sir Thomas Bromley, Lord Chancellor to Elizabeth I
- Colonel Henry Cromwell, *aet.* 60, 1646, eldest son of Sir Oliver
- Colonel John Cromwell, second son of Sir Oliver
- William Cromwell, fourth son of Sir Oliver
- Major John Hettley, painted in a large wig

- Sir Thomas and Lady Hettley (whose son, William, married Sir Oliver's granddaughter, Carina Cromwell)
- Dr. Sparks, M.D.
- Mr. Manley, said to have been an artist

In the later 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>-century, Overleigh Hall remained the home of the Cowpers, a prominent Chester family that descended from Thomas, a younger son of the Cowpers of Strode, in Sussex, who was one of the bed-chamber by August 1498. In the same year, he married Isabella, daughter and heiress of Richard Goodman, then Mayor of the City. Their descendants included aldermen, a city recorder, and a celebrated local antiquarian, Dr. William Cowper (*d.* 1767). The male line of the Cowpers ceased in 1788 with the death of Thomas Cowper, Recorder of Chester, and on the death of his widow, Harriet in 1811, Overleigh Hall and its portrait collection passed into the Cholmondeley family of Vale Royal.<sup>56</sup> Thomas Cowper's sister and co-heir, Dorothy (1746–1786) had married, in 1764, Thomas Cholmondeley (1726–1779), third son and

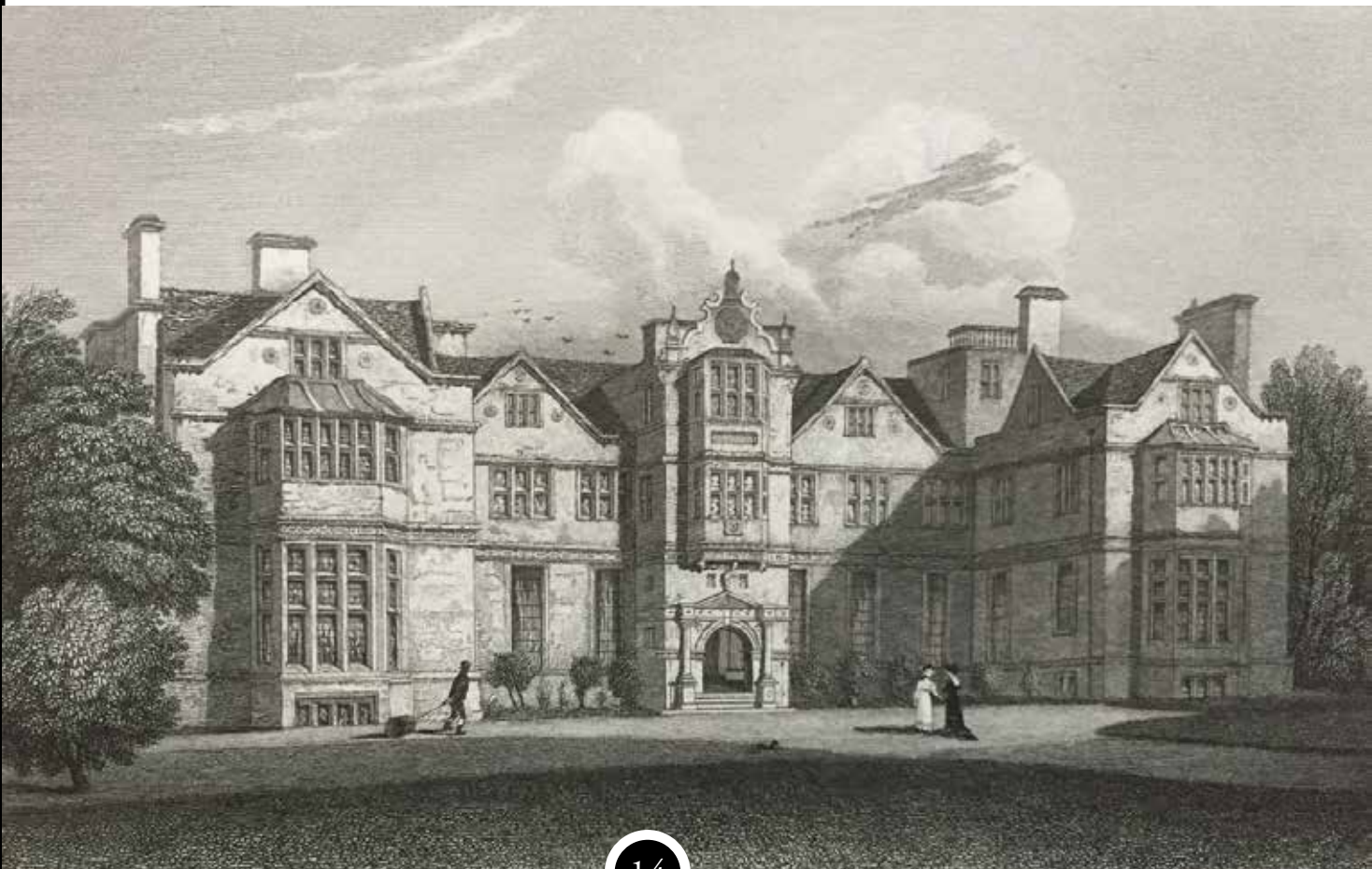
heir of Charles Cholmondeley (1685–1756) and Essex Pitt. Her husband's grandfather, Thomas Cholmondeley (1627–1702) married, by 1650, as his first wife, Jane Tollemache (*d.* 1666), daughter of Lionel Tollemache 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet, and Elizabeth Stanhope.<sup>57</sup> Jane was Elizabeth Seymour's great-great-granddaughter. The NPG portrait dates from the late seventeenth-century, which coincides with the marriage of Jane Tollemache and Thomas Cholmondeley – *circa* 1650 to the latter's death in 1702.

In 1811, the Overleigh estate was inherited by Charles Cholmondeley (1770–1846), of Vale Royal, third son of Thomas Cholmondeley and Dorothy Cowper, and let to a tenant. The portrait collection was relocated, in 1816, to Condoover Hall in Shropshire, then owned by a nephew, Edward William Smythe Pemberton Owen (*d.* 1863). In 1821, along with 135 acres (55 ha) of land, it was bought by Robert Grosvenor, 1<sup>st</sup> Marquess of Westminster, and demolished in 1830 to allow construction of a new entrance to the Eaton Hall estate.<sup>58</sup>

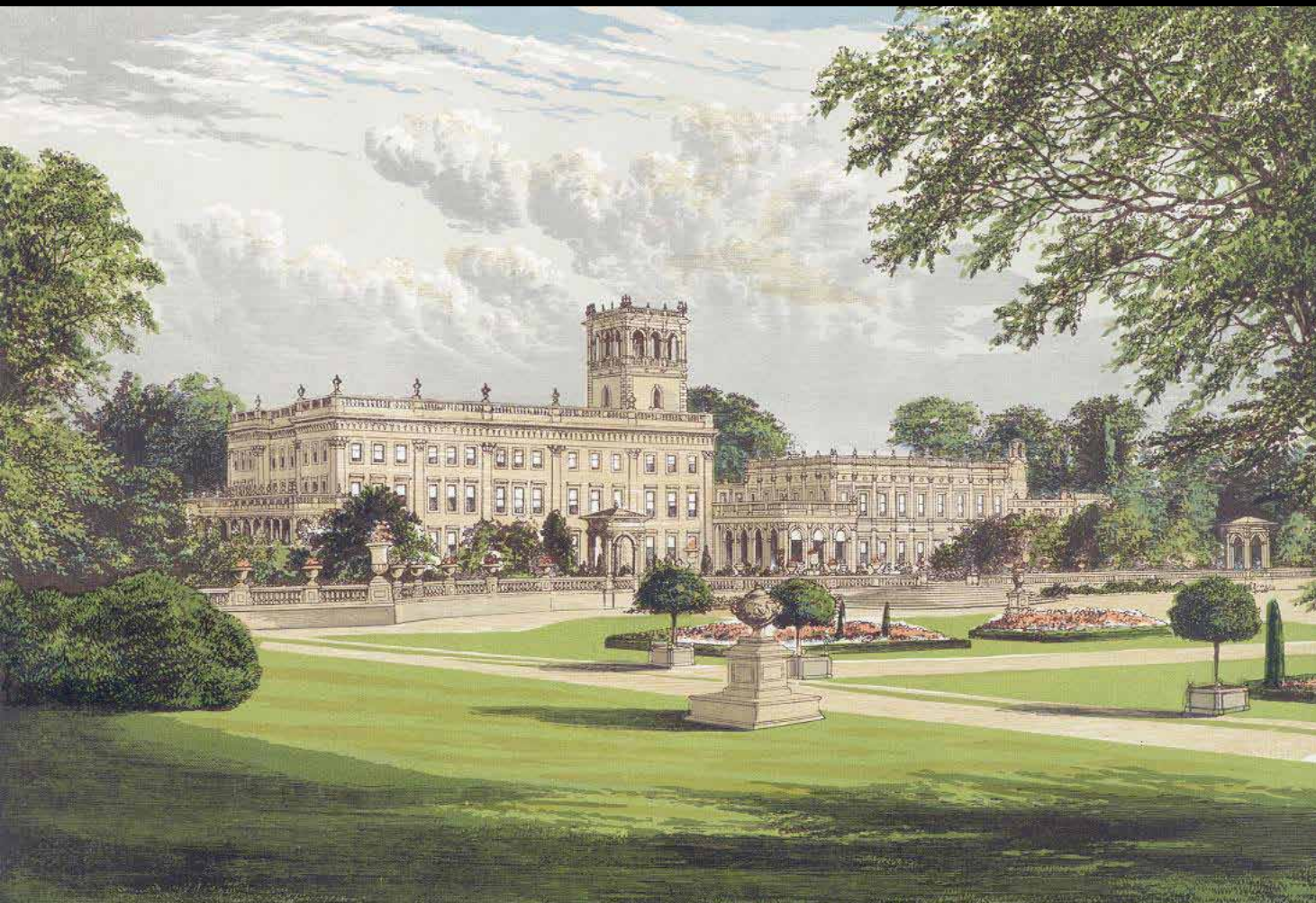
## CONDOVER HALL, SHROPSHIRE

Condoover Hall was built by Thomas Owen, judge of the Common Pleas (*d.* 1598). Thomas Owen was succeeded by his son, Roger (*d.* 1617), who died without an heir, and the estate passed to his brother, William, and down the male line, until the death of Edward Owen in 1728. The estate descended to Edward's sister, Letitia Owen, then to her granddaughter Anna Maria, who married Nicholas Smythe of Nibley, Gloucester. Their son and heir, Nicholas Owen Smythe, assumed in 1790 by royal licence the additional surname and arms of Owen. He died without issue in 1804 and the estate devised to his nephew, Edward William Smythe Pemberton Owen (*d.* 1863), then to Edward's cousin, Thomas Cholmondeley. In March 1863, Thomas Cholmondeley inherited Condoover Hall and the estate adjacent, and took the name of Owen as a condition of the inheritance.<sup>59</sup>

Condoover Hall, Shropshire, 1825







**Trentham Hall, Staffordshire, 1880**

Thomas Cholmondeley (1823–1864) was the eldest son of the Rev. Charles Cowper Cholmondeley (1795–1831), rector of Overleigh, Cheshire, and Mary, sister to Reginald Heber, the celebrated bishop of Calcutta. His grandparents were Charles Cholmondeley (1770–1846) and Caroline-Elizabeth, the daughter of Nicholas Smythe, and sister and co-heir of Nicholas Owen Smythe Owen. Thomas was brought up at Hodnet, in Shropshire, where his father, a cousin of Lord Delamere, had succeeded his brother-in-law as rector, on the departure of Bishop Heber for India, in 1823.

In 1564 he married Victoria Cotes, daughter of John and Lady Louisa Cotes, a godchild of Queen Victoria, and went to Italy for his wedding tour. In Florence, he was ‘seized with a malignant fever’ on 10 April 1864, and died there on 20 April. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Reginald Cholmondeley

(1826–1896), an accomplished painter and amateur sculptor. Following Reginald’s death in 1896, Condover and its portrait collection were sold by his younger brother, the Rev. Richard Hugh Cholmondeley, in 1897.<sup>60</sup> A seventeenth-century copy of the Toledo portrait was sold in the Cholmondeley sale (lot 8) at Christie’s on 6 March 1897 as ‘a Lady in a black dress’. It was purchased from Colnaghi by the National Portrait Gallery, London in 1898, as Catherine Howard on the identification of Lionel Cust.<sup>61</sup>

An earlier copy of the portrait dating from the mid-sixteenth century came from Trentham Hall in Staffordshire, seat of the Dukes of Sutherland, and while in their possession it was called ‘Mary Tudor, Duchess of Suffolk’. The portrait was sold as from their collection and as formerly at Trentham Hall, at Christie’s on 27 October 1961 (lot 45) ‘Mary, Duchess of Suffolk’ and again on 25 November 1966 (lot 2) as German school ‘unknown’.<sup>62</sup>



## TRENTHAM HALL, STAFFORDSHIRE

In 1538, Trentham Priory was acquired by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who sold it within a year to Sir Thomas Pope. By 1540, Trentham was in the possession of James Leveson (c.1500-1547), a wealthy wool merchant from Wolverhampton.<sup>63</sup> The estate of Trentham came into the possession of the Duke of Sutherland through the marriage of Sir Thomas Gower (1605–1672), 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet, and his second wife, Frances, daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Leveson (1555–1615) of Lilleshall, Staffordshire, and Haling, Kent. His second son, Sir William Gower (1636–1691) married, in 1669, Jane Granville (*d.* 1696), daughter of John Granville, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Bath (*d.* 1696), and sister of Grace Carteret, 1<sup>st</sup> Countess Granville. Sir William adopted the surname Leveson-Gower when he inherited the Trentham and Lilleshall estates of his maternal great-uncle, Sir Richard Leveson (1598–1661). He succeeded his nephew, Thomas Gower, as 4<sup>th</sup> Baronet in 1689.<sup>64</sup>

Sir William Leveson-Gower's nephew was John Carteret, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl Granville, whose daughter Grace, married Lionel Tollemache, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Dysart, a descendant of Catherine Tollemache (née Cromwell). Their son, Lionel Tollemache (1734–1799), 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Dysart, married Charlotte Walpole, niece of Horace Walpole.<sup>65</sup> Sir William's great-grandson, Granville Leveson-Gower, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl Gower, 1<sup>st</sup> Marquess of Stafford KG (1721–1803), married Lady Louisa Egerton, daughter of Scroop Egerton, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Bridgewater.<sup>66</sup> Their son, George Granville Leveson-Gower, 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquess of Stafford, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Sutherland KG (1758–1833), married Elizabeth Sutherland, 19<sup>th</sup> Countess of Sutherland.<sup>67</sup>

The 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Sutherland's great-grandmother was Jane Powlett, Countess of Bridgewater, whose father the 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Bolton was a direct descendant of John Paulet, 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquess of Winchester, Elizabeth Seymour's third husband, whose daughter,



Jane Powlett, Countess of Bridgewater,  
[circle of] Sir Peter Lely, c.1670

Mary, married Henry Lord Cromwell. If the portrait does in fact date from the mid-sixteenth century, then it is entirely possible that it was commissioned by John Paulet, who married Elizabeth Seymour, as his second wife, in 1554.<sup>68</sup>

Jane Powlett's grandmother, Jane Savage, was the wife of John Paulet, 5<sup>th</sup> Marquess of Winchester, and daughter of Thomas Savage, 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount Savage of Rocksavage and Elizabeth Darcy *suo jure* Countess Rivers. Her brother, Thomas Savage, married Bridget, widow of Sir Edward Somerset, and daughter of William Whitmore by Margaret Beeston. Bridget was the great-granddaughter of Jane Hough (née Cromwell), Thomas Cromwell's daughter.<sup>69</sup>

The claim that there is no evidence to suggest that the 'Trentham picture shared a Cromwell provenance with either the original or the NPG version' does not stand scrutiny. It

has been established that the descendants of Lionel and Catherine Tollemache, the Earls of Dysart, were related by ties of blood or marriage to the owners of the Toledo portrait, as well as the NPG and Hever copies.

So there you have it - the portrait can be confidently named as Elizabeth Seymour.

## TERI FITZGERALD

- 1 'Portrait of a Lady, probably a Member of the Cromwell Family', Toledo Museum of Art, ref. no. 1926.570; 'Portrait of a Lady, thought to be Catherine Howard', Hans Holbein the Younger, follower of, 16<sup>th</sup> century, Hever Castle, Kent; 'Unknown woman, formerly known as Catherine Howard', after Hans Holbein the Younger, late 17th century', National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 1119; Strong, R. (1969). *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*. 2: Plates. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office., plates 76-78; Rowlands, J. (1985). *Holbein: the paintings of Hans Holbein the Younger* (complete edn). Oxford: Phaidon, p. 146, cat. 69, pl. 109.
- 2 Nirdlinger, V. (1933, May). Four paintings in the exhibition at Chicago. *Parnassus*, 5(4), 8-11 at p. 9.
- 3 British Museum number SL.5308.25. Medallion of Lot with his family, guided by an angel, fleeing from Sodom, one of ten designs for medallions, from the 'Jewellery Book'.
- 4 Bättschmann, O., and Griener, P. (2014). *Hans Holbein* (second edn). London: Reaktion Books, pp. 245-6, fig. 244.
- 5 Chamberlain, A. B. (1913). *Hans Holbein the Younger*. London: George Allen, 2, pp. 195-6; see also Ganz, P. (1956). *The paintings of Hans Holbein the Younger* (enlarged edn). London: Phaidon, p. 254, cat. 118, pl. 157.
- 6 Royal Collection, 'Portrait of a Lady, perhaps Katherine Howard', RCIN 422293; another version of the miniature, 'Katherine Howard', is in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry. The drawing is in the Royal Collection, 'An unidentified woman', RCIN 912218.
- 7 The sitter was formerly thought, on no real evidence, to have been Queen Catherine Howard, see Cust, L. (1910, July). 'A portrait of Queen Catherine Howard, by Hans Holbein the Younger'. *The Burlington Magazine*, 17(88), pp. 192-5, 199, and accepted as such until the identification was questioned by Roy Strong, following the lead of C. K. Adams, see Adams, C. K. (1964, Sept.). 'Portraiture problems and genealogy'. *The Genealogists' Magazine*, 14(11), pp. 382-8 at pp. 386-7, who has very plausibly argued in favour of the sitter being a member of the Cromwell family. See Strong, R. (1967). 'Holbein in England - I and II'. *The Burlington Magazine*, 109(770), 276-281 at pp. 278, 281.
- 8 The Toledo portrait appears in Waylen's list of 1891 as Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VIII. See Waylen, J. (1891). *The house of Cromwell and the story of Dunkirk: a genealogical history of the descendants of the Protector, with anecdotes and letters*. London: Elliot Stock, p. 347.
- 9 Adams, C. K. (1964, Sept.), 'Portraiture problems and genealogy', pp. 382-388 at p. 386.
- 10 Strong, R. (1969). *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1, p. 43.
- 11 Ibid.; Starkey, D. (2007). *Lost faces: identity and discovery in Tudor royal portraiture*. B. Grosvenor, (ed.) London: Philip Mould Ltd., pp. 70-75, 109-124: The inventory is BL Stowe MS 599, ff. 55-68.
- 12 Russell, G. (2017). *Young and damned and fair: the life and tragedy of Catherine Howard at the court of Henry VIII*. London: William Collins. 'None of the girls who served alongside her was born before 1521': see p. 18 and pp. 386-7; Wilkinson, J. (2016). *Katherine Howard: the tragic story of Henry VIII's fifth queen*. London:



Jane, Marchioness of Winchester,  
Gilbert Jackson, 1632



- John Murray, p. 61; Wilkinson, J. (2016, Dec. 15). 'How old was Katherine Howard?' Retrieved May 14, 2018, from <http://dr-josephine-wilkinson.blogspot.com.au/2016/12/how-old-was-katherine-howard.html>
- 13 Strong, R. (1967). 'Holbein in England - I and II', pp. 276-281; Adams, C. K. (1964, Sept.), 'Portraiture problems and genealogy', pp. 382-8 at pp. 386-7.
- 14 Dolman, B. (2013). 'Wishful thinking: reading the portraits of Henry VIII's queens'. In T. Betteridge, & S. Lipscomb (Eds.). *Henry VIII and the court: art, politics and performance*, Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 115-129 at pp. 124-6; Weir, A. (2016). *The lost Tudor princess: a life of Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox*. London: Vintage, pp. 401: 'the costume does seem rather lavish for the daughter of a knight and wife of a gentleman'.
- 15 Strong, R. (1967). 'Holbein in England - I and II', pp. 276-281.
- 16 Hofmann, T. M. (1982). 'Cromwell, alias Williams, Richard (by 1512-44), of London; Stepney, Mdx. and Hinchinbroke, Hunts.' S. T. Bindoff, (ed.) *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1509-1558. British History Online*. Retrieved May 14, 2018, from [http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/cromwell-richard-1512-44#footnote5\\_8sdujla](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/cromwell-richard-1512-44#footnote5_8sdujla)
- 17 Ibid.; Charles, N., and Camden, W. (1849). *The visitation of the county of Huntingdon, under the authority of William Camden, Clarenceux king of arms, by his deputy, Nicholas Charles, Lancaster herald, A.D. MDCXIII*. H. Ellis, (ed.) London: Printed for the Camden Society, pp. 79-80, where Frances Murfyn's father is named Thomas then John, and given a knighthood. From her father's will we find that Frances was the daughter of Thomas Murfyn and his second wife, Elizabeth Donne, who married in 1519. See Drake, W. R. (1873). *Fasciculus Mervinensis, being notes historical, genealogical, and heraldic of the family of Mervyn*. London, appendix i, pp. vi-viii. For Thomas Murfyn's 'erroneous' knighthood, see Beaven, A. B. (1908). *The aldermen of the city of London, temp. Henry III.-1908*. London: The Corporation of the city of London, i, p. 35, and *ibid.*, ii, p. 22, n. 30.
- 18 Hofmann, T. M. (1982), 'Cromwell, alias Williams, Richard'.
- 19 Leithead, H. (2004-09-23). 'Cromwell, Thomas, earl of Essex (b. in or before 1485, d. 1540)', *ODNB*.
- 20 Sir Richard was a recipient of gifts of clothing from the King a week before his uncle's execution. See *LP* xv, 900: 'The articles given are gowns and jackets of various materials and colours.'
- 21 In June, 1542, Sir Richard Cromwell *alias* Williams and Frances, his wife, granted the manors of Great Raveley and Moynes to John Sewster. See Turner, G. J. (ed.). (1913). *A calendar of the feet of fines relating to the county of Huntingdon, levied in the King's Court from the fifth year of Richard I. to the end of the reign of Elizabeth, 1194-1603*. Cambridge Antiquarian Society. Octavo publications, 37, pp. 131-2; see also 'Parishes: Great Raveley'. (1932). In W. Page, G. Proby, & S. I. Ladds (eds), *A history of the county of Huntingdon*, 2, pp. 198-201, fn. 52. *British History Online*. Retrieved Mar. 12, 2015, from <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/hunts/vol2/pp198-201> ; Hofmann, T. M. (1982), 'Cromwell, alias Williams, Richard'.
- 22 Brown, W. (ed.). (2013). *Yorkshire deeds*. Cambridge University Press, 2, pp. 162-3; Davids, R. L. (1982). 'Seymour, Sir John (1473/74-1536), of Wolf Hall, Wilts.'. In S. T. Bindoff (ed.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1509-1558. British History Online*. Retrieved May 19, 2018, from <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/seymour-sir-john-147374-1536>; Fitzgerald, T., & MacCulloch, D. (2016). 'Gregory Cromwell: two portrait miniatures by Hans Holbein the Younger'. *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 67(3), pp. 587-601. Sir John Seymour fathered ten children, six of whom survived: Edward, Henry, Thomas, Jane, Elizabeth, and Dorothy. Elizabeth was probably married in 1530, and aged fifteen or sixteen when her son, Henry Ughtred was born in 1533/4. Her younger sister, Dorothy Seymour (c.1519-c.1553), married Sir Clement Smith (c.1515-1552) in the early 1530s. Their eldest son and heir, John Smith, was born c. 1534 and died at the end of August 1607, aged seventy-three. See Gause, A. (2008, January 03). 'Smythe [Smith], Sir John (1533/4-1607)', *ODNB*.
- 23 Brown, W. (ed.). (2013). *Yorkshire deeds*, 2, pp. 162-3; 'Yorkshire Fines: 1511-15'. In F. Collins (ed.). (1887). *Feet of Fines of the Tudor Period [Yorks]*. 1: 1486-1571, pp. 24-30. Leeds: Yorkshire Archeological Society. *British History Online*. Retrieved May 19, 2018, from <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/feet-of-fines-yorks/vol1/pp24-30>; MacMahon, L. (2004-09-23). 'Ughtred, Sir Anthony (d. 1534)', *ODNB*.
- 24 Ibid.; In January 1532, perhaps to aid in securing the governorship of Jersey for her husband, Lady Ughtred presented the king with a New Year's gift: 'a fine shirt with a high collar'. See *LP* v, 686.
- 25 For Henry Ughtred, who was one year old at the time of his father's death on 6 October 1534, see Syvret, G. S., & de Carteret, S. (1832). *Chroniques des Isles de Jersey, Guernesey, Aureigny et Serk*. Guernsey: T. J. Mauger, pp. 60-61; see also Fuidge, N. M. (1981). 'Ughtred, Henry (by 1534-aft. Oct. 1598), of Southampton and Ireland'. In P. W. Hasler (ed.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1558-1603. British History Online*. Retrieved May 19, 2018, from <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/>

- member/ughtred-henry-1534-1598. For Margery Ughtred, see Flower, W. (1881). *The Visitation of Yorkshire in the years 1563 and 1564, made by William Flower, Esquire, Norroy King of Arms*. (Harleian Society xvi). C. B. Norcliffe, (ed.) London: [Harleian Society], p. 166.
- 26 Thornton, T. (2012). *The Channel Islands, 1370-1640: between England and Normandy*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, p. 71; Fitzgerald, T., & MacCulloch, D. (2016). 'Gregory Cromwell', pp. 587-601 at p. 593.
- 27 Merriman, R. B. (1902). *Life and letters of Thomas Cromwell*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, i, p. 58; *LP* vi / 1182 and 1183.
- 28 For Gregory Cromwell, see Fitzgerald, T., & MacCulloch, D. (2016). 'Gregory Cromwell', pp. 587-601. Jane Cromwell (*d.* 1580) married William Hough of Leighton, Cheshire by 1550/1. For Jane and William Hough, see *ibid.*, p. 591. The couple's daughter and sole heir, Alice was 34 at the time of her father's death in 1585. See Ormerod, G., & Helsby, T. (1882). *The history of the County Palatine and city of Chester ...* (second edn). London: George Routledge and Sons, ii, p. 552.
- 29 *LP* xiv / ii, 782, p. 330: 'Mr Gregory, by Mr Richard [Cromwell], "the same day he was married at Mortelacke" 50*l.*'
- 30 Fitzgerald & MacCulloch, 'Gregory Cromwell', pp. 587-601 at pp. 593-4.
- 31 Elizabeth's father-in-law spared no expense in providing for her comfort while she awaited the birth of his first grandchild. See *LP* xiv / ii, 782 (p. 335): 'lady Owtred, by Mr. Richard, for things "she needed at her lying down", 44*l.* 15*s.*'
- 32 I am most grateful to Diarmaid MacCulloch for the dating and probable location of the baptism. See MacCulloch, D. (2018). *Thomas Cromwell: a life*. London: Allen Lane, pp. 440-1. For a payment in Cromwell's accounts for 1 March to 'Mr. Richard's nurse and midwife, by Mr. Gregory, at the christening', see *LP* xiv / no. 2, 782 (p. 334). For Cromwell's location, see Merriman, R. B. (1902), *Life and letters of Thomas Cromwell*, ii, pp. 122-5 (*LP* xiii / i, 387). For Princess Mary, see Madden, F. (1831). *Privy purse expenses of the Princess Mary, daughter of King Henry the Eighth, afterwards Queen Mary*. London: William Pickering, pp. 66-7, 69.
- 33 Fitzgerald & MacCulloch, 'Gregory Cromwell', pp. 587-601.
- 34 Wilson, D. (2006). *Hans Holbein: portrait of an unknown man* (revised edn). London: Pimlico, pp. 250-1.
- 35 *LP* xiii / i, 549; Ellis, H. (ed.). (1846). *Original letters, illustrative of English history ...* (third series), iii, pp. 192-4. See also Cooper, C. (2006). *A village in Sussex: the history of Kingston-near-Lewes*. London: I.B. Tauris, pp. 134-5.
- 36 *LP* xiv / ii, 12; *LP* xiv / ii, 664; For the Queen's household, see: *LP* xv, 21.
- 37 Burke, B. (1884). *The general armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales*. London: Harrison, p. 914.
- 38 For a detailed discussion of Cromwell's arms, see MacCulloch, D. (2018). *Thomas Cromwell: a life*. London: Allen Lane, pp. 427-8.
- 39 Hawkins, E., Franks, A., & Grueber, H. (1885). *Medallic illustrations of the history of Great Britain and Ireland to the death of George II*. London: British Museum, i, pp. 39-41; British Museum, M.6792.
- 40 'Portrait of Thomas Cromwell (c. 1485-1540), half-length, in a black coat with fur trim, his coats-of-arms upper-left', English School, circa late-1530s. Sold at Christie's 'Old Master and British Pictures' (Day Sale), 6 July 2007, lot 112. Two copies of the Great Bible survive, one at St John's College, Cambridge, and another at the National Library of Wales. See Carley, J. P. (2004). *The books of King Henry VIII and his wives*. London: The British Library, p. 88 and pl. 81.
- 41 Merriman, R. B. (1902), *Life and letters of Thomas Cromwell*, ii, p. 284; College of Arms, MS 2 G.4, f.35v.
- 42 Chamberlain, *Hans Holbein the Younger*, 1, p. 255: In a letter of introduction written for Holbein by Erasmus to his friend Petrus Ægidius (Pieter Gilles) in Antwerp, 'The arts are freezing in this part of the world, and he is on his way to England to pick up some angels there (*petit Angliam ut corrodat aliquot Angelatos*).' The angel was an English gold coin patterned after the French angelot or ange. The name derived from its representation of the archangel Michael slaying a dragon.
- 43 Varner, G. R. (2006). *Strangely wrought creatures of Life and death*. Lulu.com, pp. 57-8: 'Vines represent fertility, the Tree of Life and life itself.'
- 44 Wood, M. A. E. (ed.). (1846). *Letters of royal and illustrious ladies of Great Britain*. London: Henry Colburn, iii, pp. 159-60.
- 45 *LP* xvi, 1489; *Complete Peerage*, iii, p. 557 (*LP* xvi, 379-34).
- 46 *Complete Peerage*, xii / ii, pp. 761, 763.
- 47 *Complete Peerage*, vi, pp. 505-6.
- 48 *Complete Peerage*, xii / ii, p. 764, where her date of death is [incorrectly] given as 1563. In fact, she was still living in 1564. See *CPR: Elizabeth*, 3, p. 141. For her death and burial in 1568 see College of Arms (1829) [S.



- and R. Bentley, London, 1829], *Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts in the Library of the College of Arms*. p. 63; See also *CPR: Elizabeth*, 4, p. 184.
- 49 *Complete Peerage*, iii, pp. 558-9.
  - 50 Copinger, W. A. (1908). *The Manors of Suffolk: notes on their history and devolution*. Manchester: Taylor, Garnett, Evans & Co., 2, pp. 309-10.
  - 51 Thomas Cholmondeley's uncle, Robert Cholmondeley, married her mother's sister, Catherine Stanhope. See Ormerod, G., & Helsby, T. (1882), *A history of the County Palatine*, ii, p. 157.
  - 52 Copinger, W. A. *The Manors of Suffolk*, 2, p. 308; Rutton, W. L. (1891). *Three branches of the family of Wentworth. I. Wentworth of Nettlestead, Suffolk; II. Wentworth of Gosfield, Essex; III. Wentworth of Lillingstone Lovell, Oxfordshire*. London: [Mitchell and Hughes], pp. 138-9; Wentworth, J. (1878). *The Wentworth genealogy, English and American*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, i, pp. 39-40.
  - 53 Hampson, G., & Henning, B. D. (1983). 'Cholmondeley, Thomas (1627-1702), of Vale Royal, Cheshire'. In B. D. Henning (ed.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690*. *British History Online*. Retrieved June 02, 2018, from <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/cholmondeley-thomas-1627-1702>; Ormerod, G., & Helsby, T. (1882), *A history of the County Palatine*, ii, pp. 157-8; see also Thornton, T. (2006). *Prophecy, politics and the people in early modern England*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, pp. 116, 128-9, n. 137.
  - 54 *Journal of the Architectural, Archaeological, and Historic Society, for the County, City, and Neighbourhood of Chester*, i (Jun. 1849-Dec. 1855), pp. 385-6.
  - 55 Dugdale, J. (1819). *The new British traveller, or, modern panorama of England and Wales*. London: J. Robins and Co., i, pp. 321-2; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, (April 1794), 64(6), p. 328; Ormerod, G., & Helsby, T. (1882). *The history of the County Palatine*, i, p. 374.
  - 56 *Ibid.*, pp. 375-6, and *ibid.*, ii, pp. 157-8.
  - 57 Thornton, T. (2006). *Prophecy, politics and the people in early modern England*, pp. 116, n. 79, 128-9 n. 137.
  - 58 Barrow, J. S., & Herson, J. D., et al. (2005). 'Manors and estates in and near the city'. In A. T. Thacker, & C. P. Lewis (eds), *A history of the county of Chester*, 5(2): the City of Chester: culture, buildings, institutions. London: Victoria County History, pp. 322-330; Ormerod, G., & Helsby, T. (1882), *A history of the County Palatine*, i, pp. 374-6.
  - 59 Gaydon, A. T. (ed.). (1968). *A history of Shropshire*, 8. Published for the Institute of Historical Research by the Oxford University Press, pp. 38-9; Leach, F., (ed.). (1891). *The county seats of Shropshire*. Shrewsbury: Eddowes's Shrewsbury Journal Office, pp. 49-53.
  - 60 Thoreau, H. D. (2014). *The writings of Henry David Thoreau*. F. B. Sanborn, (ed.) (enlarged edn), VI: Familiar letters. Createspace, p. 236, fn 102; Gaydon, *A history of Shropshire*, 8, pp. 38-9.
  - 61 Strong, R. (1995), *The Tudor and Stuart monarchy*, 1, p. 81; Christie, Manson & Woods. (1897); *Catalogue of the collection of pictures by old masters of the late Reginald Cholmondeley, Esq. removed from Condover Hall*. London: Christie, Manson & Woods. Retrieved May 18, 2018, from <https://archive.org/stream/reginald00chri#page/n3/mode/2up>
  - 62 Starkey, D. (2007), *Lost faces*, p. 74: 'Dendochronological analysis proves conclusively that the panel used came from the mid sixteenth century'; Strong, R. (1995), *The Tudor and Stuart monarchy*, 1, p. 81.
  - 63 *LP xiii* / i, p. 587; *LP xiii* / ii, 1182-18; *LP xiii* / ii, 1182-20; TNA, E 328/86 (*LP xv*, 611-5); Wisker, R. (Autumn 1996). 'The first Trentham Hall'. *Staffordshire History*, 24, pp. 6-14.
  - 64 *Complete Baronetage*, i, p. 147; *Complete Peerage*, vi, p. 95; Granville, R. (1895). *The history of the Granville family*. Exeter: William Pollard, p. 417.
  - 65 *Ibid.*, pp. 417-8; *Complete Peerage*, iv, pp. 564-5.
  - 66 *Complete Peerage*, xii / i, pp. 199-200.
  - 67 *Complete Peerage*, xii / i, 563-4. Elizabeth Sutherland's ancestor, John Gordon, 16<sup>th</sup> Earl of Sutherland, married as his second wife, Catherine, widow of Lord Doune, eldest daughter of Lionel Tollemache, 3<sup>rd</sup> Bt. and Elizabeth Murray, *suo jure* Countess of Dysart. See *ibid.* pp. 559-60.
  - 68 *Complete Peerage*, iii, p. 558; *ibid.*, xii / ii, pp. 762-3, 769.
  - 69 *Ibid.*, pp. 767-8; Burke, J., & Burke, J. B. (1844). *A genealogical and heraldic history of the extinct and dormant baronetcies of England, Ireland, and Scotland* (second edn). London: John Russell Smith, p. 470; Boothman, L., Parker, R. H., & Dymond, D. (eds). (2006). *Savage fortune: an aristocratic family in the early seventeenth century*. (Suffolk Record Society, XLIX). Woodbridge: Boydell Press, pp. xxxv-xxxvii, 188-9; Ormerod, G., & Helsby, T. (1882), *A history of the County Palatine*, ii, p. 552.



November's guest speaker is

**Claire Ridgway**

**Catherine Howard** and the arrests  
and interrogations of November 1541



# THE CREDO OF MARY I

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History remembers Mary I as “Bloody Mary”; “the Spanish Tudor”; the embodiment of everything extreme. Unlike Elizabeth I whose iconic portraiture presents an elaborately confected enigma the picture history paints of Mary I from her portraits is of a narrow-minded religious bigot. As **John Murphy** shows us, it is all a little cartoonish...

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Mary's educational and spiritual inheritance – for they were at this time one and the same – was progressive and humanist and imbued with the ideals of the Catholic reform movement. That movement had found lay patronage from the second half of the fifteenth century principally in the lands of ducal Burgundy – the homeland of Erasmus – in the Castile of Queen Isabella and the Aragon of Ferdinand – the homeland of Juan Boscan and Juan de Valdes – and in the city-states of northern Italy and in Rome dominated by the time of Mary's birth by Leonardo Da Vinci, Michelangelo and Raphael.

Mary's parents – Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon – brought together two of these strands of culture and spirituality. In her last years as Queen, Reginald Pole drew the third Italian and Roman strand into her life. However, by then decades of strident debate had unalterably changed some minds whilst leaving the majority unmoved. Yet, it is vital not to overlook the fact that the very course of the bitter argument had modified everyone's ideas about which aspects of Christian faith truly mattered.

Mary's grandmother, Elizabeth of York, inherited from her father Edward IV, approbation for all things Burgundian. The manners of the English court borrowed heavily and consciously from the court of Charles the Bold whose only daughter, Mary of Burgundy, later succeeded him and governed the provinces of what then became the Netherlands. Elizabeth's second son, the future Henry VIII was much influenced by the courtly culture of his mother's household. Unlike his

elder brother Arthur, young Henry spent much of his early and formative years in the entourage of Elizabeth of York where scholars, poets, musicians and the humanities flourished.

Catherine of Aragon grew up in her mother's Castilian court where Queen Isabella was a major patron of both the New Learning and the spirituality of the Catholic reform movement. This was that same movement that was particularly influential in the Reformed Augustinians and therefore also shaped Martin Luther's spirituality. The Friars Observant and the Reformed Carthusians of whom Isabella had been patron in Spain were both brought to England under Catherine's patronage.

Mary's education was informal until the middle 1520's. She was precocious particularly in Latin. Much has been made of the influence of Mary Tudor's principal tutor – the misogynist scholar, Juan Luis Vives. Born in Valencia in 1493, Vives, like most of the scholars of his time was educated widely in Europe. He attended both the universities of Paris and Padua before settling in Bruges. He was a follower of Erasmus but was regarded in his own right as something of an expert in pedagogy and a champion of the education of aristocratic women and of inductive methods of reasoning based on experiment and exercise rather than metaphysics and intellectual speculation. His choice as Princess Mary's tutor was significant comment on the reforming credentials of both young Mary Tudor's parents. Her personal spirituality was therefore shaped both by the Humanist educational curriculum and by her

parents' sympathies with Humanism and the Catholic reform movement of which both were patrons.

Mary was much more intellectually apt than is usually credited. She spoke Latin and French with ease and she read and translated Latin with subtle fluency. The extent of her gift can be found in her translation of the Paraphrase of St John's Gospel by Erasmus which was actually published in 1548 with a note of fulsome praise from Thomas Cranmer amongst others. Mary was modest about her accomplishments, but this was a world where women were expected to be modest particularly about their intellectual abilities. Noblewomen danced and played musical instruments; they acted in masks and recited verse to applause; and they embroidered, but, they did not debate or argue or reason in public.

History has made much of Mary's mother's religiosity. Catherine of Aragon was indeed deeply spiritual, and the trauma of the Divorce made her more so. However, public religiosity was also a royal affectation. Like Henry VIII, Catherine enjoyed the company of scholars and the culture of the classics. She gave personal audience to Erasmus too and offered him her patronage. It is true she kept the hours of the Friars Observant when she was in Greenwich rising at the same time as the monks to be at Matins and staying to hear the first Mass of the day. However, Elizabeth of York had kept those same hours in Lent and Advent and Margaret Beaufort's household was known throughout Europe for its fastidious religious observance.

Margaret Beaufort indeed was Bishop John Fisher's first royal patron.

Like the Cathedrals of Europe, royal courts kept their time by the hours of religious devotion. All the offices sung in cathedrals were sung in the chapels royal and each day four masses were said in court: the Mass of Apostles after Matins; the Mass of Blessed Virgin after Lauds; the Mass of the Dead after Prime; and the Mass of the day – which was usually attended by both the king and queen when there was full court – after Terce at about nine in the morning.

The universal practice of princely households by the early sixteenth century was for the lesser masses also to be said privately in the oratory situated next to the royal closet which was beside the principal bedroom of the prince. The doors were left ajar, so the prince might "hear Mass" without necessarily coming into the Oratory. As in Cathedrals, when the Sanctus bells were rung everyone knelt until they were rung again after the elevations. Similarly, when the Angelus bell was rung everyone at court observed a brief silence and knelt until the bell was rung again. This was part and parcel of the world in which Mary and the other children of Henry VIII grew up. It was only after 1540 when Henry's infected ulcerous legs made it impossible for him fully to participate in these ostentations that the English court gradually abandoned their observance.

Despite the trauma of the Divorce and the brief reign of Queen Anne Boleyn, Mary did not show any exceptional spiritual intensity. Her Privy Purse Expenses show us a

young woman unremarkably fond of dancing; performing in masks at court; extremely fond of cards and gambling; and obsessed with clothes and jewellery. One of her first actions of the death of her father in January 1547 was to obtain access to the Jewel House and to the Wardrobe to fit out her new household.

In those same early months of the reign Mary also cleverly parlayed the pension given her in Henry VIII's will into land – principally those of the Howard Dukes of Norfolk who had fallen into disgrace in the last weeks of her father's reign. By the early 1550's Mary had remade herself into a noble of first rank with an income of £3000 per year and a princely retinue to match and a ready-made affinity from her Howard vassals. She kept her household between the former Howard palace of Kenninghall and her mother's favourite royal palace of New Hall (Beaulieu).

Edward VI was barely king four months before Mary was forced to take political sides. Previously she had been on best terms with dowager Queen Katherine Parr, but Mary broke with her over her clandestine marriage to Protector Somerset's brother, Lord Admiral Thomas Seymour. Her first venture into high politics since the fall of Anne Boleyn demonstrated Mary could play for high stakes. From this point Mary stealthily moved herself into position as the head of the conservative and traditionalist groupings which were looking for leadership. By 1549 she was widely talked of as a Regent in succession to the disgraced Duke of Somerset.

It was only at this stage that Mary's religious sympathies became public. In 1549 she pointedly refused to have the new Common Prayer Book used in her household. However, her refusal was couched on pragmatic political grounds. She maintained that until the king was of age there could be no change in religion. Her household publicly observed outlawed ceremonies and her officers began to carry rosary beads and missals as part of their livery. Mary began attending Mass four times a day as her mother once had done at Greenwich. These gestures certainly demonstrated her religious affiliation. Whether they reveal an unusually intense personal spirituality is another matter.

By the late 1540's what Christians meant by the Real Presence in the sacramental bread and wine had become the burning issue between Protestant and Catholic. Mary's public conduct confirmed she, like the majority, firmly held to the traditionalist view: at consecration the bread and wine became Christ's body and blood. This was certainly still the majority view at Mary's death in 1558 and, beyond, well into the reign of Elizabeth I.

In the summer of 1549 Lord Protector Somerset gave an undertaking to the Emperor Charles V that Mary, the Emperor's cousin, might continue to have the Mass in her household. In England's governing class the matter of Mary's Mass became a cause celebre for the next three years. However, after the execution of the Duke of Somerset in January 1552 a peace broke out between Mary and Edward and even whilst the young king pressed ahead



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Finally, there must be mention of the political program of religious enforcement which included burning Protestant martyrs and which through Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* has become the defining motif of the reign. It has been used to explain the failure to impose a "Spanish Catholicism" on England and to evidence Mary's extremism. Foxe told only half the story, never discussing, for example, how actively Parliament and the authorities pursued the policy and how that might be explained.

Mary's husband Philip II for example had no "Spanish" army in England. Nor was this Catholicism "Spanish"

ACTES  
and Monuments  
of these latter and perillous dayes,  
touching matters of the Church, wherein  
are comprehended and defended the great persecu-  
tions & horrible troubles, that have bene wrought  
and perpetrated by the Assurine Papallie, especial-  
lye in this Ilesland of England and Scota-  
land, from the reigne of our Lorde a  
hundred & thretye yeres.  
Gathered and collected according to the  
true copies of writings certifiarous as well  
of the paines them selves that suffered, as  
also out of the witnesses hereafter, as  
toucheth woe the deere death,  
by John Foxe.  
Imprinted at London by Iohn Day,  
dwelling over Burdigale,  
Com. printers to the Kings Maestrie.

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nowe present.

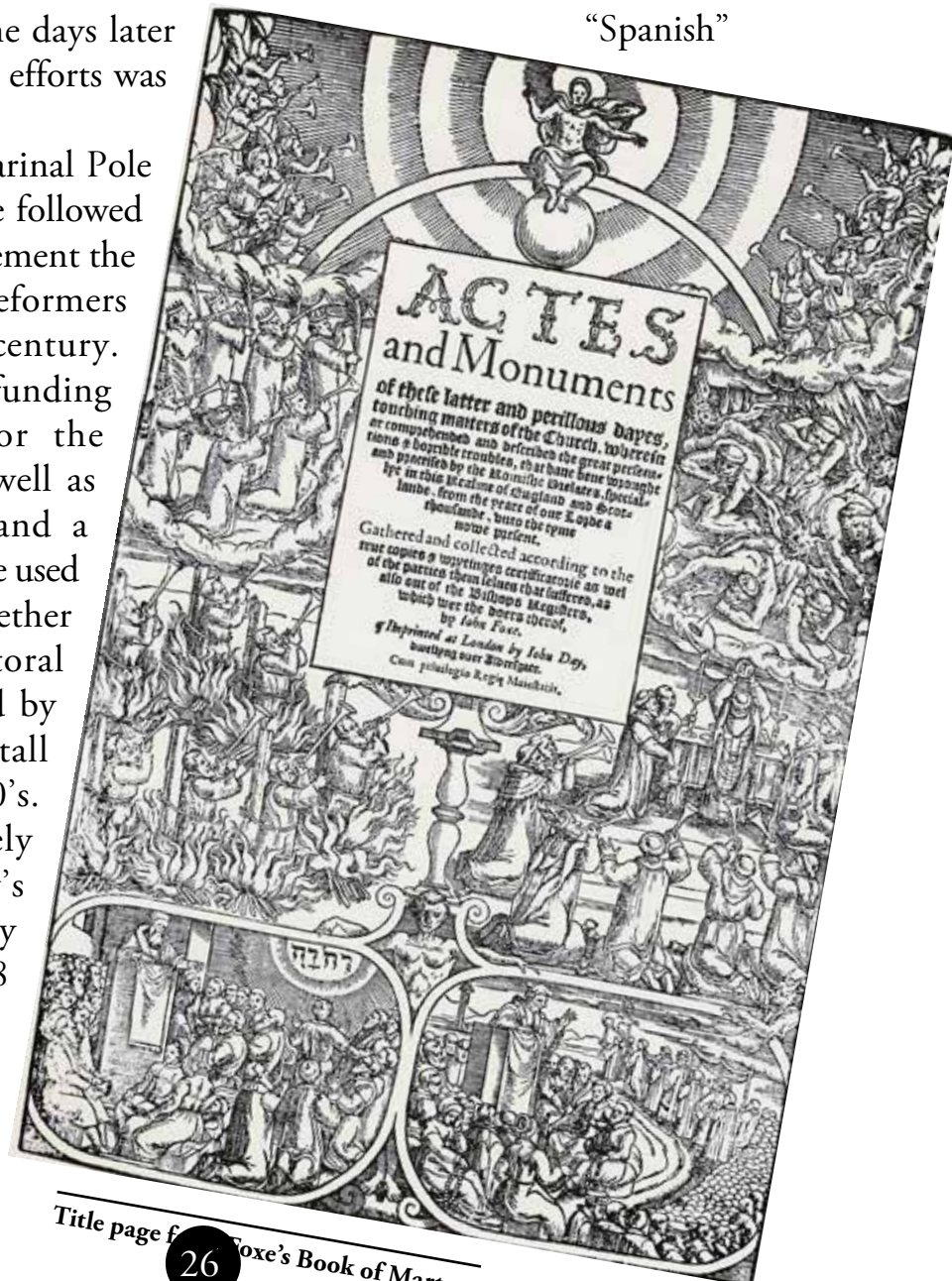
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Cm. p. 1563. Argv. Maistritz.

6 Foxe's Book of Martyrs

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Title page from Foxe's Book of Martyrs

but, rather, English in sensibility and reformed in use. Inevitably we find it shocking that these executions were carried out by Englishmen on English men and women much as the martyrdoms of Catholics had been in the reign of Henry VIII and would be again in the reign of Elizabeth I. Historians have therefore been tempted by a numbers game comparing the rates of the Marian executions with those of her predecessors and successors. Statistics cannot support an argument so utterly replete with hindsight. There can be little doubt the queen was at the centre of the political endeavour. And it is to political rather than religious reasons historians should look for some understanding of both the policy and its execution. Here the politics of the English succession deserve more careful consideration.

This brief overview of Mary's religious beliefs leaves many questions unanswered. History may only glimpse personal faith through remnant words that happen survive in manuscript. The architecture of interior beliefs remains a puzzle not only because

records are so incomplete but also because the conceptual framework which we own as part and parcel of the everyday of our lives and, by which, we explain ourselves to others, was not part of the self-perception of men and women in Tudor England. Before the Enlightenment changed ideas of self-perception all thoughts about the sentient self were enwrapped in religious faith. That places a vast gulf between us and our experience of self and those who lived through upheavals of Reformation and Counter Reformation

If Tudor historians are certain about anything you might think that it would be about the religious beliefs of Mary I. However, the evidence we have tends to present England's first Queen Regnant as a traditionalist in the most pragmatic terms rather than the zealot propaganda has painted. It may be hard for us to think there was pragmatism in a politics which executed men and women for their faith. That was Mary I's world much as it was the world of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I.

## JOHN MURPHY

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**John Murphy** graduated from Leeds University with First Class Honours and won *the History Prize*. After a Research Scholarship at Leeds, he gained a Fellowship from the Institute of Historical Research. John taught at Universities of Leeds, London and Exeter before pursuing a career in the Legal Profession. He took early retirement and since then has resumed his research, recently publishing on Cardinal Reginald Pole. Currently John is engaged with research on the Reformation and Recusancy in the parish where he lives in South Oxfordshire. He is helping with the establishment of a music consort specialising in sacred polyphonic music of the sixteenth century. The Davey Consort (named after a local sixteenth-century recusant family) is now established at the Church of St Birinus Dorchester-on-Thames and is under the direction of composer/conductor Ryan Wigglesworth and international opera soprano, Sophie Bevan. It is hoped the consort will explore in due time the music used in the Chapels Royal in England particularly in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I as well as giving a wider public the opportunity to enjoy world class performance of rarely sung sacred music in both its proper liturgical setting and in concert.



# A GODLY MATCH AND WYATT'S REBELLION

*by Anthony Ruggiero*

Prior to her accession to the throne, Queen Mary I of England had relied on Emperor Charles V for protection. Emperor Charles V was a significant Catholic monarch in the early and mid sixteenth century. Initially the King of Spain belonging to the royal, Hapsburg family, Charles would later become the Holy Roman Emperor and one of the most powerful monarchs in Europe in the sixteenth century. He controlled a vast empire, which included lands in the Netherlands, Italy, and the New World. Emperor Charles V was also the nephew of Mary's mother, Catherine of Aragon, making him a powerful ally and relative.<sup>1</sup> Charles would be able to give Mary military protection against any other foreign enemies, as well as shelter in case she needed to flee England. This was evident during her brother's reign, when she considered leaving England, fearing for her life due to the control of her brother's Lord Protector, the Duke of Northumberland, although she later chose to stay and succeed to the throne.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Ferdinandy, Michael De. "Charles V." *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*. April 20, 2015. <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Charles-V-Holy-Roman-emperor>.

2 Titler, *The Reign of Mary I*, 5.



During her campaign for the throne, King Henry II of France supported Northumberland's claim that Lady Jane Grey take the throne, since Northumberland promised to support France in a war against Charles, in exchange for Italian estates and territories Charles controlled that bordered France.<sup>3</sup> When Mary took the throne she continued to rely on Charles for protection. However, despite the fall of Dudley, Henry II still wanted to pursue England as an ally and sent an ambassador, Antoine de Noailles, in order to make amends. However, Mary was already under the influence of her close advisor and friend, the Imperial ambassador from Charles's court, Simon Renard.<sup>4</sup> This was evident when Mary decided that a marriage to Charles's son, Philip, was a perfect choice for her.

Before negotiations for the Spanish marriage, Mary had already recognized that marrying and securing an heir to the throne was crucial to maintaining the Catholic faith she wished to restore in England. Mary recognized that if Elizabeth were to succeed to the English throne that she would not maintain the Catholic faith due to her own Protestant beliefs. Elizabeth's succession was inevitable due to the *Act of Succession* and

Henry's will, which made it law, thus Mary needed to prevent her succession by producing an heir.<sup>5</sup> Although many insisted that Mary wed someone of English descent, she refused. Instead she chose to pursue Ambassador Renard's suggestion of a match with Philip. Philip possessed attributes that Mary valued; Philip was Spanish, Catholic, educated, and was experienced in state affairs. Charles also supported the marriage because he recognized that a match could bring England back into the Catholic fold.<sup>6</sup>

However, when news of Mary's intentions to marry Philip spread throughout the kingdom, there was almost immediate opposition from English Protestants, who were against Mary due to her own staunch opposition to their faith. The idea of a foreign Catholic monarch on the throne raised intense xenophobia, particularly with the Protestant subjects.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, there were massive divides and questioning amongst English citizens regarding religious practices.<sup>8</sup> John Foxe was a Protestant and English historian whose famous work, *Acts and Monuments*, also known as *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, was a collection of works written by

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3 Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen*, 173-174.

4 Titler, *The Reign of Mary I*, 67.

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5 Titler, *The Reign of Mary I*, 4.

6 Ibid, 21-23.

7 Ibid, 23.

8 Jones, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis: 1539-1563*, 93.

Protestants that were either exiled or executed during the reign of Queen Mary. Foxe, a prominent Protestant at the time, noted opposition based on anti-Spanish sentiment. Foxe examines these works and offers his own viewpoint on them, as well as his life in England prior to his own exile.<sup>9</sup> His work indicates that, even prior to Mary's ascension, there was concern about her inclination towards the Spanish. According to Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of England during the reign of King Edward VI, preached a sermon following the accession of Lady Jane Grey, claiming that Mary would "bring in a foreign power to reign over them, besides the subverting also of all Christian religion already established."<sup>10</sup> Opposition also came from Mary's Lord Chancellor, Stephen Gardiner, who shared in these anti-Spanish sentiments, but did not openly state his position. Instead he insisted Mary wed an Englishmen, hoping that he would be able to dissuade her from choosing a foreigner.<sup>11</sup> However, despite opposition, Mary

was still determined to continue with marriage proceedings, determined to make a binding alliance with Spain and produce an heir. Negotiations for a marriage started in January 1554, and it clear that a marriage was imminent.<sup>12</sup>

The most intense opposition to the royal marriage came in the form of Wyatt's Rebellion. When news was first discovered of Mary's intention to marry Philip in late 1553, there were already public outcries of opposition in London, which Mary had suppressed in a proclamation stating that any outcry would be viewed as "rebellious" and would be met with dire consequences. However, regardless of Mary's proclamation, a plan was already underway to cause a massive uprising in four areas of England: Kent, Herefordshire, Devon, and Leicestershire.<sup>13</sup> Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir James Croft, Sir Peter Carew, Henry Grey 1st Duke of Suffolk, and Edward Courtenay Earl of Devon, each possessing major land-holdings in the listed areas and formulated the rebellion. Sir Thomas Wyatt, whose name would be synonymous with the uprising, owned land in Kent and was a highly influential figure in the area. During his time serving in the army under King Henry VIII in France,

9 Foxe, John, George Townsend, and Stephen Reed. Cattley. *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe: A New and Complete Edition with a Preliminary Dissertation by George Townsend*. London: Seeley & Burnside, 1837.

10 Foxe, John, George Townsend, and Stephen Reed. Cattley. *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe: A New and Complete Edition with a Preliminary Dissertation by George Townsend*, 389.

11 Titler, *The Reign of Mary I*, 22.

12 Porter, Linda. *Mary Tudor: The First Queen*. London: Portrait, 2007, 291.

13 Titler, *The Reign of Mary I*, 24.

Wyatt fought alongside the Spanish, however it was during this time that it is speculated he developed his intense disdain for them, as well as being opposed to the Catholic religion.<sup>14</sup> Sir James Croft came from an influential family in Herefordshire, Carew and Courtenay had influence in Devon, and Henry Grey maintained land holdings, as well as being the father of Lady Jane Grey, thus these men were all important leaders in the uprising. The plan was to have each area rise up in rebellion simultaneously and overthrow the queen and place Elizabeth on the throne, this plan was set to take place in the spring of 1554.<sup>15</sup>

However, despite having devised a strategy, the uprising did not go as planned. Stricken with fear out of the sure death he would face if the rebellion was not successful, Courtenay told Chancellor Gardiner about the uprising, and Gardiner informed the government. As a result, Croft and Carew, as well as the English subjects in their controlled areas, engage in a rebellion. Both men were sought out for arrest due to their involvement in formulating the uprising, but both managed to escape England. Only approximately 150 men joined the Duke of Suffolk in a failed

fight in the Midlands, and he was captured. Wyatt was more successful, railing approximately 2,500-armed supporters in Kent, Medway Valley, and in various towns. Wyatt managed to garner support playing on the people's disdain for the Spanish and his anti-Catholic message. In response, the government called upon Thomas Howard the Duke of Norfolk, who in his youth was an impressive soldier, to stop Wyatt's forces.<sup>16</sup>

Despite the Duke's experience, when he first met Wyatt's forces at Rochester he was unable to defeat him. Instead, due to his soldiers' negative feelings towards the Spanish, many of Norfolk's men defected to Wyatt's army, thus increasing his number of followers. As a result Norfolk had no option but to return to court, and it appeared as though London was open for the rebels to invade. This elevated anxiety within the government and Mary who could not decide what action to take next. Eventually the choice was made to remain in London to protect England's capitol. Mary knew that Wyatt still needed to cross the Thames River to enter London; she calculated that if she could get the support of Londoners that they would be able to stop his forces. Mary rode to the center of the city where she made a proclamation

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14 Porter, *Mary Tudor: The First Queen*, 288-289.

15 Porter, Linda. *Mary Tudor: The First Queen*. London: Portrait, 2007, 288-290.

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16 Titler, *The Reign of Mary I*, 24.



that denounced Wyatt as a “wicked traitor,” stated that she would not marry without Parliamentary approval, and that she loved her subjects “as a mother doth love a child.” This strategy proved to be effective because as Wyatt and his army reached Ludgate, an ancient gateway entrance through the London Wall, Mary’s supporters stopped his forces. Wyatt was captured and later executed, the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey, and her husband Guilford Dudley, were all later executed to prevent further uprisings.<sup>17</sup> Mary had won her first major challenge to her authority and could continue pursuing her plans of marriage to the foreign prince.

Prior to Philip’s arrival in England, a marriage treaty had been drawn up by Parliament that laid out the conditions for the marriage. The treaty, which would come to be known as the, *Act for the Marriage of Queen Mary to Philip of Spain*, discussed what Mary would expect from the marriage, as well as assuring England that Philip would not have too much power within England.<sup>18</sup> For example, the document states, “...as our only Queen, shall and may solely and as a sole Queen, use and

enjoy the Crown...”<sup>19</sup> This reaffirmed that Queen Mary and she alone would make any decisions. However, the document also states that Philip would enjoy “...the style, honour and kingly name...” which makes his role in England unclear, other than being a device for a treaty and heir.<sup>20</sup> Philip himself objected to the fact that he would not be considered a joint ruler, but at the behest of his father, carried on with the marriage.<sup>21</sup>

The twenty-seven year old Philip arrived in England in mid-July of 1554. Two days prior to the wedding on July 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1554, the two met for the first time. It was clear that the future foreign consort of England did not speak English, but would instead have to communicate in Spanish with Mary.<sup>22</sup> During their encounter Philip’s men formulated opinions of Mary that could make sense of his willingness to leave England the following year. One stated, ‘She [Queen Mary] is rather older than we are led to believe...’<sup>23</sup> Another one of Philip’s closest confidants, Ruy Gomez, was impressed by Philip’s “tact and ability” in dealing with

17 Titler, *The Reign of Mary I*, 25-26.

18 “Act for the Marriage of Queen Mary to Philip of Spain (1554).” Act for the Marriage of Queen Mary to Philip of Spain (1554). [http://rbsche.people.wm.edu/H111\\_doc\\_marriageofqueenmary.html](http://rbsche.people.wm.edu/H111_doc_marriageofqueenmary.html).

19 “Act for the Marriage of Queen Mary to Philip of Spain (1554).”

20 “Act for the Marriage of Queen Mary to Philip of Spain (1554).”

21 Loades, D. M. *Mary Tudor: A Life*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell, 1989, 223-224.

22 Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life*, 224-225.

23 Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life*, 225.

someone he did not find attractive.<sup>24</sup> Eventually, Mary and Philip were married on July 25th, 1554. With the marriage, Mary, now thirty-eight acquired the titles of Queen of Naples, Jerusalem, Princess of Spain and Sicily; Duchess of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; Countess of Habsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol.<sup>25</sup> The marriage was recognized throughout Europe. For example, convoys from Brussels, Vienna, and Rome sent their congratulations on their marriage.<sup>26</sup> Soon enough, Mary announced that she was pregnant and it seemed that the marriage was a success.<sup>27</sup>

Despite what seemed to be the immediate success of the marriage, tensions between the Spanish and English were evident. For example, the Spanish complained about English thievery. Philip's own belongings had been burglarized the moment they had landed in England.<sup>28</sup> The Spanish also viewed the English as "barbaric heretics" who "execute monks and nuns for amusement." They noted the mistreatment of Mary's mother, Catherine of Aragon.<sup>29</sup> English

merchants were also hostile to the Spaniards, whom they felt were going to take business away from them due to the Spanish's tendencies to create businesses.<sup>30</sup> During this time, anti-Spanish literature was also published, such as *A Warning For England* that compared Philip's seat on a throne to the plague and *A Short Treat of Political Power* that likened Philip to the Antichrist.<sup>31</sup> Despite these objections to a foreign power on the English throne, Mary did not stand down; she stubbornly ignored their protests and suppressed them by force, such as arrest and execution.<sup>32</sup>

Along with handling opposition to her marriage, Mary began focusing on her main goal, which was reuniting England with the Catholic Church. Mary looked to accomplish this through the return of Cardinal Reginald Pole. Pole was a prominent Catholic theologian and deacon who was exiled during the reign of Mary's father King Henry VIII for refusing to accept the new religion under Henry's reforms. Pole would eventually become a cardinal. Mary and Pole became allies after the two began trading secret letters before and after her ascension to the throne. Mary believed that Pole's popularity would help gain support in England to once

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24 Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life*, 225.

25 Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life*, 225-226.

26 "Mary: August 1554," in *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Mary 1553-1558*, ed. William B Turnbull (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1861), 110-117. *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/mary/pp110-117>.

27 Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life*, 232.

28 Ibid, 230.

29 Ibid, 230-231.

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30 Ibid, 231.

31 Ibid, 257.

32 Ibid, 258.

again tie them to the church in Rome. However, first Mary needed to absolve the act of attainder put against Pole. An act of attainder officially declares someone treasonous and exiled, and if that individual were to return to the country, they would be executed.<sup>33</sup> Within days of placing the bill to exonerate him of the act, Parliament granted Mary's request, allowing Pole to freely partner with Mary to begin their reconciliation with Rome.<sup>34</sup> Following the dissolution of his act of attainder, Pole issued an absolution to Parliament on November 28<sup>th</sup> 1554, that would allow him to enact his duties that were given to him from the Pope, as well as pardon the country for breaking away from the Catholic Church.<sup>35</sup>

From [the Apostolic See] I am sent hither, with the character of legate, and have full powers in my commission. But notwithstanding my being entrusted with the keys, I am not in a condition to use them 'till some obstructions are removed on your part...My commission is not to pull down but to build; to reconcile, to invite, but without compulsion.<sup>36</sup>

Pole sought to "invite" England back into the Catholic fold. The absolution was accepted by Parliament, and on November 30<sup>th</sup>, Pole proclaimed that the realm of England was forgiven.<sup>37</sup> This was a success for Mary, who now felt the Catholic restoration was underway.

Following his exoneration, Mary allowed Pole to enact a series of plans. Pole's overall theme was to promote a peaceful transition from Henry VIII's reforms back into the Catholic fold, in what he labeled as a return to "normality."<sup>38</sup> In devising his plans, Pole did not take into account the generation of English subjects who had lived under years of royal supremacy and the Church of England. Pole, who had been in exile for many years, similar to Mary, did not understand that Protestantism had become ingrained in the minds of Englishmen and women during the English Reformation, as well as the subjects' sentiments towards the Catholic faith. This is most noted in a letter he had written to Charles V prior to arriving in England, he stated that when it came the papacy the subjects were, "more disposed to that obedience than any other nation."<sup>39</sup> He claimed that most subjects were only

33 Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life*, 235-237.

34 Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life*, 238.

35 Titler, *The Reign of Mary I*, 39-40.

36 Reginald Pole, *The Report of Cardinal Pole's Speech To Both Houses of Parliament Offering to Grant Absolution to the realm*. In Titler, *The Reign of Mary I*, 104-105.

37 Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government, and Religion in England, 1553-1558*, 326.

38 Ibid, 325.

39 Ibid, 172.



disobedient to the Catholic Church due to Henry VIII's dire consequences for not conforming.<sup>40</sup> As the Pope's papal legate, or representative of the Catholic Church in England, Pole was given series of workers, such as administrators, pastors, and priests to assist him in providing visitations to religious institutions. These visitations were designed to examine these different institutions to see if they were practicing correct religious doctrine and the details of their parochial finances.<sup>41</sup> In 1555, Pole further developed his plan to state that all priests must remain in the parish they were licensed to serve. During the reign of King Edward VI, many Protestant priests practiced pluralism, which means they illegally served as parish priests in multiple areas. Catholic education was also more heavily enforced. These education reforms were focused on clerical education, and properly educated subjects, who were pursuing religious life, were educated in the Catholic doctrine.<sup>42</sup> Lastly, these changes also included the reintroduction of the burning of those who refused to conform to the religious policies of the government, which would ultimately gain Mary notoriety.<sup>43</sup>

Although these changes in shifting the country back to Catholicism were a success to Mary, they were also her inevitable failure. The mass executions of subjects who were convicted as heretics were highly unpopular amongst Protestants and Catholics alike. The Venetian Giovanni Michelli, provided a general overview of the attitudes of many of the English subjects during these executions:

*...two days ago, to the displeasure as usual of the population here, two Londoners were burned alive, one of them having been public lecture in Scripture a person sixty years of age, who was held in great esteem. In a few days time the like will be done to four or five more; and thus from time to time to many others who are in prison for this cause and will not recant, although such severity is odious to many people.*<sup>44</sup>

According to this account, the English subjects apparent repugnance for the constant brutality was evident during their observations of these executions. However, there is evidence that some Catholic subjects did support these actions. For example, Miles Huggarde, a noted Catholic propagandist, criticized these heretics for willingly sacrificing themselves to the Protestant cause in order to gain

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40 Ibid, 172-173.

41 Titler, *The Reign of Mary I*, 38-39.

42 Titler, *The Reign of Mary I*, 39.

43 Ibid, 39-40.

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44 Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government, and Religion in England, 1553-1558*, 334.

martyrdom and recognition, and that their punishment was deserved.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, Protestant propaganda experienced a surge throughout Europe, particularly in Germany and Switzerland, two areas that were filled with massive amounts of Protestant activity.<sup>46</sup> Protestant and English exiles such as Foxe and John Olde primarily wrote these publications. One of Olde's publications, *A warnyng for Englande Conteynyng the horrible practices of the Kynge of Spayne*, once again highlighted the negative, preconceived notions of the Spanish, as well as their unwanted presence in England, but also blamed them for influencing the queen. Furthermore, the document also denounced the Catholic Church and its practices for their "cruelty."<sup>47</sup> This also shows that Protestants objected and criticized Pole's process of transitioning England back to Catholicism and its end result. Another failure associated with the reconciliation of England to the Catholic Church was restoring land to clergymen whose lands

were confiscated under Henry VIII. Following its passage and enactment of the act of absolution, Pole sent another dispensation to Parliament requesting they overturn the previous legislation that placed clerical land under the jurisdiction of the crown on December 26<sup>th</sup>, 1554.<sup>48</sup> However, on January 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1555, it was officially announced that Parliament denied his request and once again affirmed that the lands that were confiscated were still under the jurisdiction of the crown.<sup>49</sup>



During this time Mary also announced that she was pregnant. This pregnancy stirred up another example of English xenophobic attitudes towards the Spanish presence. Supporters of Mary and Philip rejoiced at the prospect of a child being born.

This would provide England with an heir who would prevent Mary's sister, Elizabeth, from succeeding to the throne.<sup>50</sup> As the months passed there were multiple reports given throughout the different towns and cities in England regarding

45 Ibid, 337.

46 Ibid, 338.

47 Ibid, 338.

48 Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government, and Religion in England, 1553-1558*, 328.

49 Ibid, 328.

50 Ibid, 218.

the pregnancy. Some doubted that the queen was pregnant; while others would hear she delivered when she had not. Some lamented that a child, born of Spanish blood would ultimately be detrimental to the English way of life. For example, an English subject who had mistakenly heard that Mary had delivered a son. John Gillam, commented, “Now that there is a prince born, his father will bring into this realm his own nation, and put out the English nation...”<sup>51</sup> However, these concerns were all for naught because by June of 1555 it was officially discovered that the queen was not with child, and that the pregnancy signs she was experiencing were inexplicable. Philip would eventually leave England in August to join his father in the Netherlands

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51 Ibid, 218-219.

to fight against the Spanish, sending Mary into a depression.<sup>52</sup>

At the start of her reign, Mary recognized the importance of establishing an heir to the throne in order to protect the interests and practices she would ultimately pursue. Mary strategically decided to marry Philip of Spain in order to accomplish this task. Additionally, she elicited the help of Reginald Pole in order to begin the reconciliation of England and the Catholic Church. Although she managed some success, Mary ultimately faced adversity due the English subjects’ disdain for the Spanish. Their disdain, mixed with unpopular burning of suspected heretics, resulted in the decline of Mary’s popularity within the realm.

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52 Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government, and Religion in England, 1553-1558*, 219-220.

**BY ANTHONY RUGGIERO**

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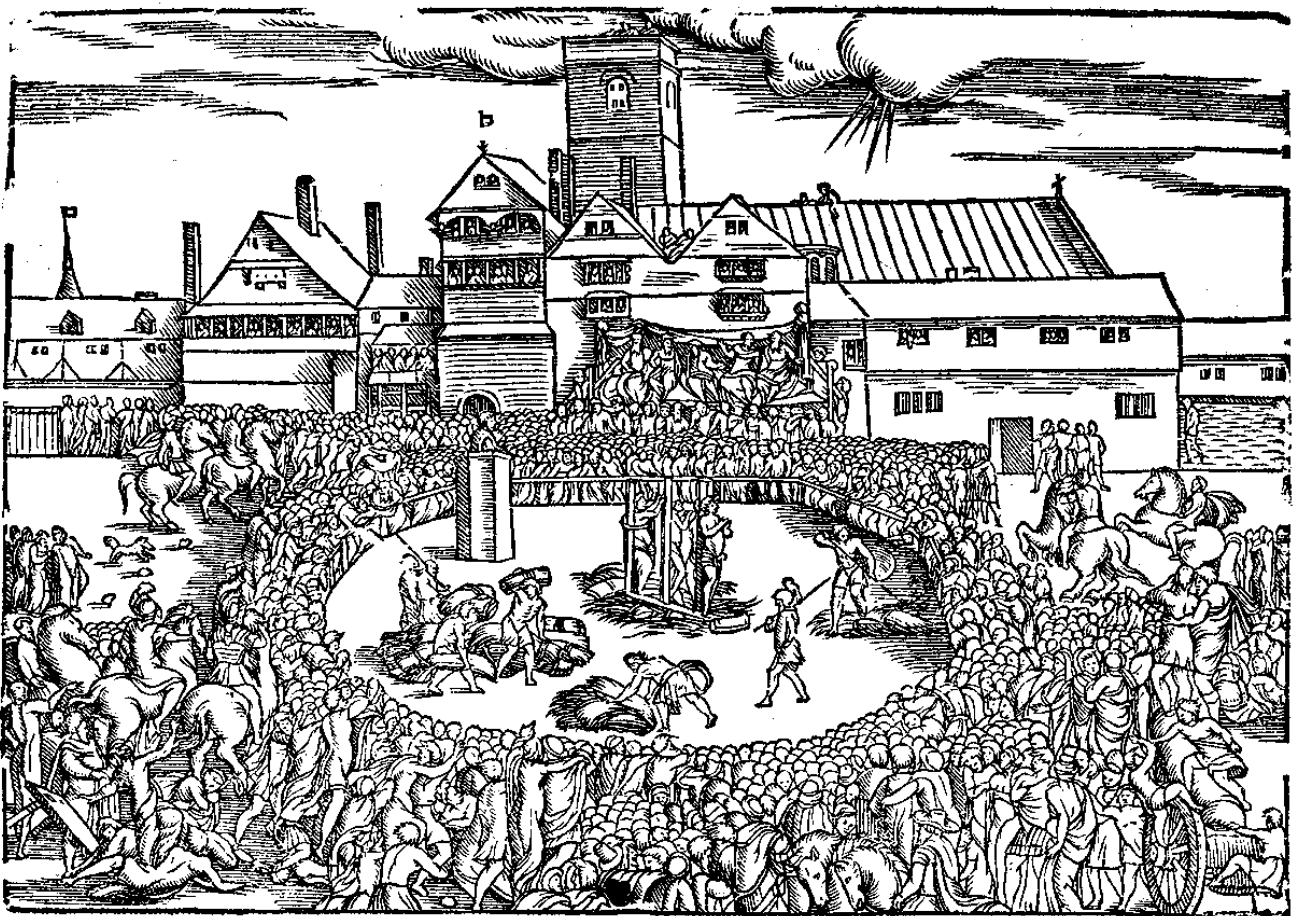
**Anthony Ruggiero** attended St. Joseph’s College in Brooklyn, New York where he obtained a B.A. in History Adolescence Education. He is currently a High School History Teacher at University Neighborhood High School in Manhattan. One of the many reasons he decided to become a teacher was his fascination with Tudor England, in which he has conducted extensive research. The Tudor dynasty, filled with drama and triumph, significantly impacted both England, as well as the modern era. This interest and his love of research, prompted him to write about the Tudors. He chose to focus his research on Queen Mary I of England as he felt that there was more to “Bloody Mary.”





# **‘A WOMAN POOR AND BLIND’: THE MARTYR ANNE ASKEW**

**BY ROLAND HUI**



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The Execution of Anne Askew, John Lascelles,  
John Adams, and Nicholas Belenian

**B**orn in 1521, Anne Askew hailed from a family 'of a very ancient and noble stock' in Lincolnshire. Being so respectable, Anne was married off to one Thomas Kyme, a gentleman from a local family of means. The couple had two children, but a future of domestic bliss was not in store for the Kymes. At some point during the marriage, Anne was exposed to the teachings of the new faith. Like all her contemporaries, Anne had grown up in the old Catholic religion and was attached to its traditional teachings until a conversion occurred.

It was in thanks to the English Bible. In 1538, by command of King Henry VIII, all parish churches were required to have a copy of it, and that it be made available to the people. However, there were restrictions. In 1543, concerned that common folk would take it upon themselves to interpret the Word of God, it was decided that the privilege of reading the Bible be restricted to upper class males only. Women of similar rank, such as Anne Kyme being a gentlewoman, were still given the right too, provided they read in private and not to others.

In reading the great Bible, chained to a lectern in her local church, a spiritual battle began raging in Anne. No longer did she accept the faith she had been taught and had adhered to without question. Reading the Bible in the vernacular, she was able to learn and understand its message without the influence of clergy.

Anne's conversion to Protestantism was documented in a posthumously published poem entitled *A Ballad of Anne Askew Intituled I Am A Woman Poor And Blind*. Written not long after Anne's death, it recounted in allegorical terms her embrace of the new faith. Couched in the verses is the Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, whose surname lent itself to the ballad's theme of a symbolic garden - one's body in which Christ resides in secret. In actuality, the Bishop played no part in Anne's life until her final arrest for heresy years later.

In the poem, the Bishop also appears in the guise of 'the Gardener', a grand deceiver set on waylaying Anne from the path of righteousness. She describes her longing and search for God through a true knowledge of the nature of Christ. In her ignorance, she is sickened in both body and soul, and her conscience troubles her greatly. To overcome her spiritual blindness, Anne seeks wisdom from 'the Gardener' as to Christ's true self:

*I am a woman poor and blind,  
and little knowledge remains in me,  
Long have I sought but fain would I find,  
what herb in my garden were best to be.*

*A garden I have which is unknown,  
which God of his goodness gave to me,  
I mean my body, wherein I should have sown,  
the seed of Christ's true verity...*

*With whole intent and one accord,  
unto a Gardener that I did know,  
I desired him for the love of the Lord,  
true seeds in my garden for to sow.*

'The Gardener' assures Anne that the Divine is attainable only through traditional ceremonies and practices - Masses, prayers for the dead, indulgences, the building of chantries, and such. She is warned against the new learning, and in her fear she gives in.

*Then this proud Gardener seeing me so blind,  
he thought on me to work his will.  
And flattered me with words so kind,  
to have me continue in my blindness still...*

But after falling into temptation and reverting back to the old religion, Anne realizes her deception by the Devil, and she seeks forgiveness. She becomes enlightened to a joyful understanding that God's grace is not achieved through rituals or good works as prescribed by the Church, but by one's faith alone. It is this newfound truth that Anne will defend to the death and thereby achieve life everlasting.

*My time thus, good Lord, so wickedly spent,  
alas, I shall die the sooner therefore.  
Oh Lord, I find it written in thy Testament,  
that Thou hast mercy enough in store.*

*For such sinners, as the Scriptures sayeth,  
that would gladly repent and follow Thy  
word,  
Which I'll not deny whilst I have breath,  
for prison, fire, faggot, or fierce sword...*

Enraptured, Anne Kyme became a familiar sight hunched over the Bible in her church. Her reputation for piety extended beyond the local community to the city of Lincoln. Anne was actually warned by her friends not to set foot in the cathedral there lest the priests put her to 'great trouble'. But knowing her 'matter to be good', Anne marched fearlessly into the great church and stood by the lectern reading the Bible as usual. When the ministers tried to admonish her, they found themselves losing their courage entirely.

Whether it was Anne's reputation for her force of character or for her disarming look of godliness that overwhelmed her naysayers, she was less successful in putting off her husband. Thomas Kyme remained devoted to the religion of his ancestors. Lincolnshire, it must be remembered, was one of the regions that rose against Henry VIII during the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536. Though the area was eventually pacified by the royal forces, it still clung to its traditionalist beliefs. Men like Kyme, had no

liking for newfangled ideas in religion, and not when they were embraced by his wife who was making a public spectacle of herself. Fed up, he drove Anne, not without violence, from their home.

Remembering the words of St. Paul who said that 'if a faithful woman have an unbelieving husband, which will not tarry with her, she may leave him', Anne set out to begin a new life for herself. While in London hoping to be divorced, she even reverted back to her maiden name 'Askew'. In the great city, she made friendships with likeminded individuals. She became close to a lawyer named John Lascelles who was also described as 'a gentleman of the court and household of King Henry'. Perhaps he owed his advancement to Archbishop Cranmer in recognition of their mutual religious sympathies, and for his help in bringing down the conservative Howard family. It was Lascelles who initially revealed the sexual indiscretions of the former Queen - Katheryn Howard - leading to her downfall.

Not long after settling in London, Anne Askew became known among fellow Reformists for her 'gospelling', that is her preaching. She also distributed Protestant literature, and was said to have befriended ladies at court who attended upon the King's latest wife Katharine Parr. However, Anne's popularity landed her in trouble. In March 1545, she was arrested. On the testimony of outraged witnesses who claimed to have heard Anne speak against the Eucharist, she was brought before a 'quest', a panel authorized to seek out heresy.

The interrogator Christopher Dare got off to a rocky start. Initially, he inquired as of the defendant's opinion of the Sacrament of the Altar. It was reported that Anne had blasphemed saying that the consecrated Host could not be Christ incarnate. Instead of a reply, Anne used the tactic of posing questions of her own, often ones totally unrelated to what she was asked, to confound her enemies."Wherefore", she queried out of the blue, "was St. Stephen stoned to death"? Caught off guard, Dare muttered that he did not know.



Having assumed the advantage in their match of wits, Anne brusquely responded that since he could not answer her, she would not answer him.

Undeterred, Dare said that Anne was heard to say that ‘God was not in temples made with hands’, that is, He was not present in the tabernacle in the form of the Blessed Sacrament. Was this true? Anne shot back with her proficient knowledge of Scripture. According to St. Stephen, ‘the Most High does not live in houses made by men’. Also, as St. Paul said, ‘God who created the world and everything in it, and who is the Lord of Heaven and Earth, does not live in shrines made by men. We ought not to suppose that the Deity is like an image in gold or silver or stone, shaped by art and man’s devising.’

Exasperated by Anne’s clever and evasive answers, Dare called in others to interrogate her. But a priest, the Lord Mayor, and even the infamous Bishop Bonner (an enthusiastic punisher of heretics) got nowhere with the young woman. Finally, it was decided to let her go upon signing a confession admitting her errors. But when it came to putting her signature, Anne wrote more than required, adding, ‘I, Anne Askew, do believe all manners of things contained in the faith of the catholic church’. Anne was playing at semantics. To her, the use of the term ‘catholic church’ meant the ‘universal church’, not necessarily that of traditionalist doctrine following the old religion. Bonner saw through her ruse and was infuriated. It was only after a cousin of Anne who had come to bail her out of jail managed to convince Bonner that she was simply an ignorant and misguided woman, was she released.

But in June, Anne was arrested again, and this time taken before the King’s Council, suggesting that she had continued in her dissenting activities. Anne was of particular interest to Bishop Gardiner. She could be used

to entrap the Queen of England herself. Since her marriage to Henry VIII in 1543, Katharine Parr was a thorn in the Bishop’s side. Though she was always careful to hide her more radical views, the Queen was highly sympathetic to Protestantism. Often she would even debate religion with her husband. Though their talks were mostly good natured, Katharine would express opinions contrary to those of the King, irritating him greatly. “A good hearing it is when women become such clerks”, he was heard to

complain, “and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old days to be taught by my wife”! Taking advantage of the King’s bad temper, if Gardiner could prove the Queen a heretic, it would be the solution of getting rid of her. The means would be Mistress Anne Askew.

After multiple rounds of questioning by the Council, Anne was put on trial for heresy at the Guildhall. She refused to recant, and spoke contemptuously of the Eucharist. “As for that ye call your God, it is a piece of bread”, she shouted, “let it lie in the

box three months, and it will be mouldy, and so turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon, I am persuaded that it cannot be God”! Needless to say, Anne was condemned to death. As a heretic, she would suffer the terrible penalty of burning at the stake.

Before she was to be executed, Anne was secretly taken from Newgate Prison to the Tower of London by two royal officials Sir Thomas Wriothesly and Sir Richard Rich. Under Gardiner’s direction, they were to get Anne to name names at court - those among the Queen’s ladies suspected of harbouring controversial beliefs. Through them, Katharine Parr would be taken down.

To loosen her tongue, Anne was hauled to a dungeon where the rack was kept. Normally, as a gentlewoman, she ought to have been



Katharine Parr  
(by an Unknown Artist)



**Sir Thomas Wriothesley**  
(by Hans Holbein)



**Sir Richard Rich**  
(by Hans Holbein)

exempt from torture, a practice which also needed the permission of the King or his Council, but she was strapped upon the dreaded instrument nonetheless. Sir Anthony Knevet, the Lieutenant of the Tower, protested, but to no avail. All he could do was to apply as little force to the levers to minimize Anne's suffering. But Wriothesley and Rich seeing what Knevet was up to, pushed him aside. Throwing off their coats, they meant to torture Anne themselves. Disgusted, the Lieutenant left.

Try as they might, Wriothesley and Rich could get nothing from Anne, even with her 'bones and joints almost plucked asunder'. At last, she was released and brought back to prison in secret, though many learned of her ordeal. Even Henry VIII himself was astonished when news of 'so extreme handling of the woman' brought to him by Knevet. Still, the law would take its

course. Anne would be punished as the heretic she was.

On July 16, 1546, Anne Askew was taken to Smithfield along with her old friend John Lascelles. With them were a priest and a tailor also sentenced to die for apostasy. Still broken by the rack, Anne had to be carried to her execution in a chair. As she and the others were chained to the stakes, bags of gunpowder were hung around their necks. Mercifully, they would explode killing them instantly, ending their agony in the flames.

As the fire was lit, the Lord Mayor cried out, "Fiat justitia (Let justice be done)"! But among the spectators were those who knew Anne Askew and the three others, or who knew them by reputation as co-religionists. Watching the flames engulf them, they could only lament, yet at the same time be joyful that the 'heavens had opened up to receive these blessed martyrs'.

**ROLAND HUI**



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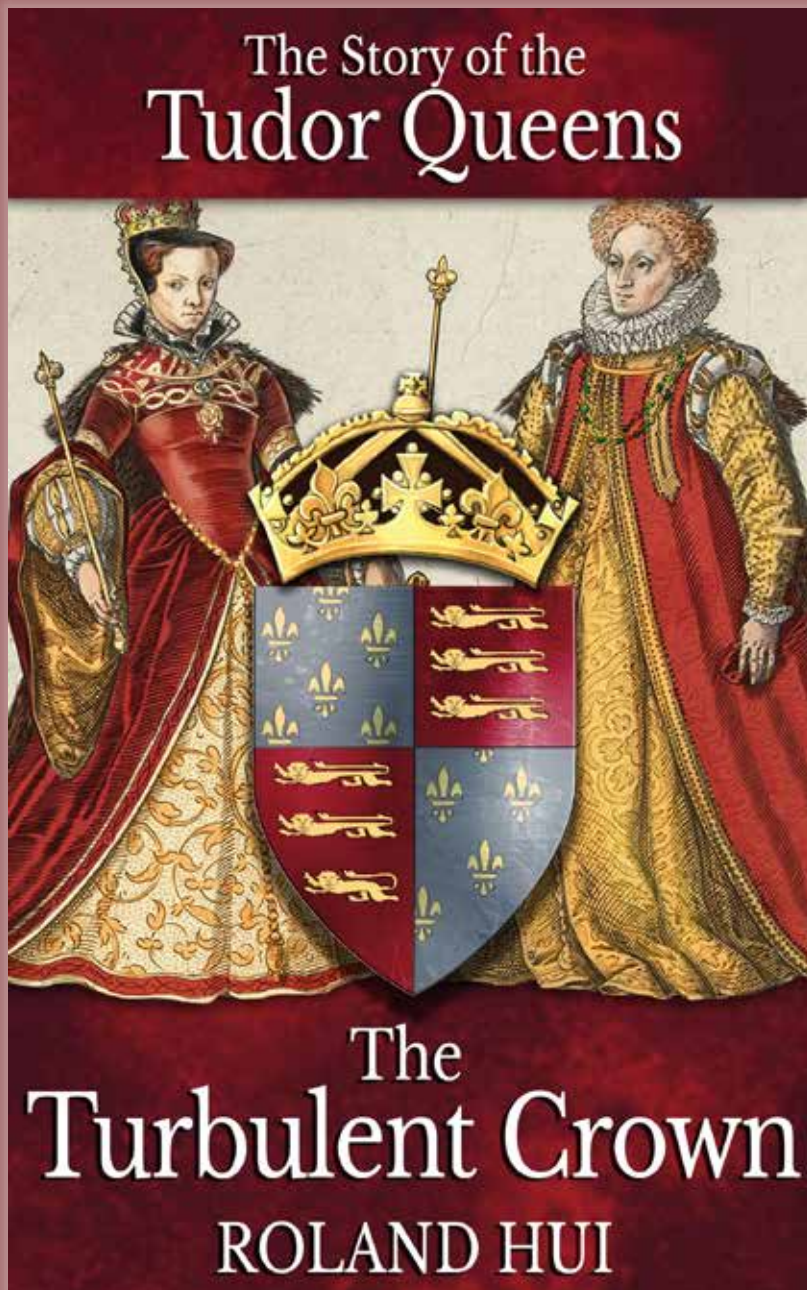
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*The lattre examinacyon of Anne Askewe, latelye martyred in Smythfelde, by the wycked Synagoge of Antichrist, with the Elucydacyon of Johan Bale*, 1546.

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# JOHN FOXE AND THE COMPILATION OF HIS 'BOOK OF MARTYRS'

BY LAUREN BROWNE

**F**OXES "BOOK OF Martyrs" has become one of the key sources for historians exploring religious persecution in the Tudor period. At one point, almost every church in England owned a copy of Foxe's mammoth work. With over 3 million words and four times longer than the Bible, the "Book of Martyrs" is obviously a piece of Reformation propaganda. Originally published under the title 'Acts and Monuments' it has become one of the most influential English books to have ever been published. In this article, we are going to explore the man behind the work, how his earlier publications informed his most significant work, and how he compiled the various editions published during his lifetime.

John Foxe was truly a Reformation age man, born c.1516/17 just before Martin Luther's famous 95 theses rocked the bedrock of the Roman Catholic church. He lived throughout the tumultuous religious landscape of the Tudor period, spent time as a religious exile and produced several texts which could be termed martyrologies.

Foxe was born in Boston, Lincolnshire, and by all accounts he came from a humble background. His fortune was to change, however, when John Hawarden, a fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, became rector of Coningsby in 1533. Through his guidance and assistance John Foxe entered Brasenose College, around 1534, where his room-mate was Alexander Nowell, the

future dean of St Paul's.<sup>1</sup> Foxe took his Bachelor's degree in July 1537; however it is not clear how long he remained at the college. In July 1539 he was elected fellow of Magdalen Collage and from 1539-40 he was a lecturer of Logic at the college.

It was during this time at Oxford that John Foxe became a staunch evangelical, and it appears that his following of the 'new religion' attracted attention from his peers. There survives a letter from Foxe to Owen Oglethorpe, the president of Magdalen, 'defending himself against unnamed

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas S. Freeman, 'Foxe, John, (1516/17-1587)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10050>)



AN DNI  
1587

ÆTATIS SVÆ  
70



The martyrologist, John Foxe,  
by an unknown artist.





detractors who accused Foxe of not attending mass or any church services.<sup>2</sup> Due to the tensions between the evangelical minority of the college, which Foxe was certainly a member of, and the conservative majority, and the fact that he was required to take holy orders to remain there, he eventually left his post.

Following his decision to end his academic career in Oxford, John Foxe relied heavily on the evangelical connections he had made during his time at Magdalen. He eventually found a position as a tutor in the household of Sir William Lucy at Charlecote, Wiltshire. It was here that he married Agnes Randall on 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1547. Shortly after this marriage, Foxe left Charlecote for reasons which still remain unclear. This period

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**Foxe's one-time college,  
Brasenose, in Oxford.**

of Foxe's life has been deemed the 'lean years', and there is little information on what he was doing during this time. His son, Simeon Foxe, wrote a brief memoir of his father which was published in the 1641 edition of *Acts and Monuments*. Simeon tells us that John's strained relationship with his stepfather, Richard Melton, caused him to move to London. During this time in London Foxe translated a sermon of Martin Luther and made two other evangelical translations for the printer Hugh Singleton. He then became tutor to the, recently executed Earl of Surrey's children and he was in the employ of Surrey's sister, the Dowager Duchess of Richmond. Through this position, Foxe was able to gain access to England's Protestant elite, and wrote several reforming tracts. However, his comfortable position was not to last and it quickly

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<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, (accessed 18/09/18).



came to an end with Queen Mary I's accession in July 1553. His employment was terminated, the children were placed in the custody of their grandfather, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Norfolk who had been imprisoned in the Tower until Queen Mary liberated him, and Foxe found himself in a perilous position.

Despite his reluctance to leave his homeland, Foxe was forced to leave England with his pregnant wife and made his way to Strasbourg in 1554 and settled in with the already thriving exile community there. It was here that Foxe published his first martyrology, the *Commentarii rerum in ecclesia gestarum* in August 1554. The book, often described as the precursor to the 'Book of Martyrs', detailed the history of what Foxe considered to be the 'true church', and focused mainly English martyrs, the Lollards, and detailed the lives of a few continental figures. The *Commentarii* was written in Latin which meant that it could be disseminated throughout the European elites, and unlike the 'Book of Martyrs' it was quite a brief history with only 212 leaves.

Following a brief spell in Frankfurt, Foxe went on to Basel which is where the major groundwork for his *Acts and Monuments* took place. Working from the shop of the printer Johann Oporinus, Foxe was at the centre of networks of Protestant scholarship. He had access to numerous works which would influence and advise his seminal martyrology, and also had the opportunity to publish other works whilst working there. He began work on his second Latin martyrology which was heavily informed by exiles fleeing England who would gather at Oporinus' shop to share the horrors they had experienced under Mary's regime. Accounts flooded in and Foxe worked on a more contemporary account of Protestant martyrdom in England, which was eventually entitled *Rerum in ecclesia gestarum*. *Foxe had worked leisurely on this book at first, however Mary unexpectedly died in 1558 and he was forced to speed up the publication. It was eventually published in August 1599, and consisted of 750 pages which were divided into six books. The first*



*book consisted of Foxe's martyrology*

**For Foxe, there was no doubt that Mary I deserved the sobriquet of 'bloody'**

*of 1554 which some additions and the second book covered the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, from the death of Richard Hunne in 1515 to the execution of the Duke of Somerset in 1552. Included in these books are particularly vivid eyewitness accounts of the execution of Somerset and an incredibly accurate account of the 'martyrdom' of William Gardiner. The final four books were dedicated to accounts of the persecution of Protestants under Mary, they included letters written by the martyrs themselves, accounts of their executions and other testimonies. The final few pages of the *Rerum* simply list the names, dates and locations of the martyrs for the final two and half years of Mary's reign. This is probably because Foxe was gearing up to release the book at the Frankfurt book fair, and further research and gathering of testimonies would have taken too long to complete in time for*



later artist's painting of Elizabeth I, who had a tense relation with Protestant propagandists, despite her Protestant faith.

*Autumn 1559. The Rerum, much like the Commentarii, was a massive hit and its popularity led to it being published in English in 1563. Foxe returned to England in October 1559 with the goal of fully completing his martyrology, a task which would take up the next decade of his life.*

The first edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* was published by John Day on 20<sup>th</sup> March 1563, and immediately became known as 'Foxe's Book of Martyrs'. It was an extremely large folio, with 1800 pages and about three times the length of the *Rerum*. Due to its size and scope, it was an incredibly expensive book and would have cost the average yeoman three months' wages to purchase. The work begins in the year 1000 and continues until Elizabeth's accession, although largely focused on English history there are numerous accounts from the continent, and there is a greater emphasis placed on oral testimony, which Foxe was consistently inundated with. The accounts of the martyrs

are extraordinarily detailed and accompanied by extremely graphic woodcuts which John Day commissioned especially. The majority of the images feature martyrs being burnt in cruel and unusual ways, such as the depictions of being burnt on chairs because they were too weak to stand at the stake. There are also images of people being burnt with 'greenwood', a wood which has been dampened in order to make it burn slowly, essentially cooking the victim to death rather than burning them.

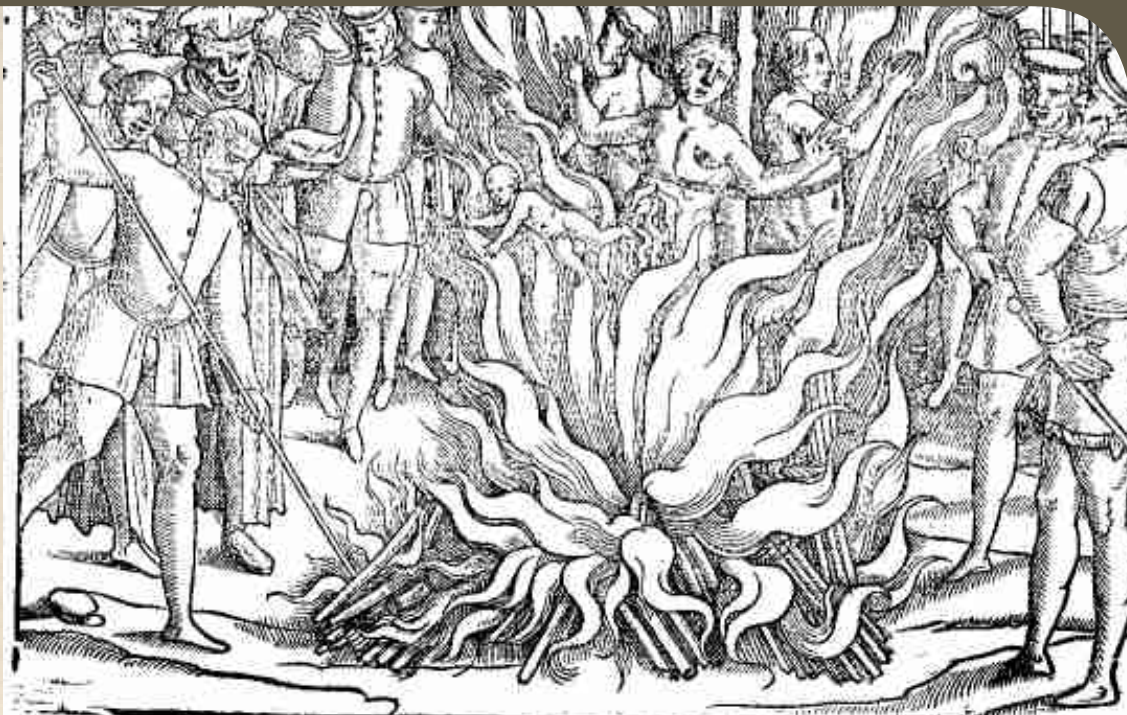
The 'Book of Martyrs' was very well received at court, and Elizabeth was almost certainly presented with a copy. John Day produced lavish copies of the work specifically for key members of the court and church, which were specially bound and contained colourised images. The text was so popular that the second edition was planned immediately after the release of the first, and it was backed by a Privy Council decree. In fact, the Privy Council wrote to key members of the church to suggest that a copy should be placed in every parish 'to bring her Majesty's good subjects into the dear liking of this present government.' This edition, published in 1570, also contains the first poster, which depicted persecutions and tortures.

When examining Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs', it is important to bear in mind that this is far from a stable text. The book was extended, rewritten and revised during each of the four publications during Foxe's lifetime; in 1563, 1570, 1576, and 1583. The second edition was by far the longest text; with three million words it is at least three times the size of the Bible. With each edition, new material gathered from oral testimonies was added in order to flesh the martyr's stories or to correct details. Like Johann Oporinus' printing shop in Basel, John Day's shop became a hub for those to give testimony. In this sense Foxe was operating almost like a modern social historian mixed with an investigative journalist, however he also incorporated classical works into his early church and medieval martyrologies. Foxe utilised these testimonies, as well as legal records



and local records of episcopal visitations into his work. He was meticulous with his sources and references, and if he was proved to be wrong on certain details he was quietly correct them in the subsequent edition.

Of course, it is extremely important to note that this text is rabidly anti-Catholic and Foxe links Catholicism directly to the anti-Christ. Despite his meticulous attention to sources *Acts and Monuments* is an epic piece of religious propaganda, a fact which Catholics were very quick to point out. In certain instances, Foxe takes criticism from Catholic commentators well and corrects certain passages that have been shown to have included incorrect details. However, the critiques based on his argument that Protestantism was the 'true church' were refuted. Catholics were particularly incensed by his table of saints, which excluded the traditional Catholic saints, and argued that Foxe's martyrs were merely religious fanatics. The graphic descriptions of the Protestants who were burned for heresy, including the truly horrific execution of the heavily pregnant Perotine Massey and her baby born in the pyre, did not include the Anabaptists who had been burned by Protestants, a point which was made repeatedly by Catholic commentators much to the chagrin of Foxe. He was accused of picking and choosing who was to be deemed a martyr of the true church and of glossing over the parts of Protestant history which would make the church seem less than sympathetic. Foxe depicted the Roman Catholic church as evil because they were burning innocent people for their religion, but



wasn't the Protestant church doing the very same thing? Such criticisms did not, however, impact the success of the numerous editions of *Acts and Monuments* and it became one of the three key texts in the Protestant church along with the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer.

When asked to discuss the importance of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs', Justin Champion commented that it defined what it meant to be English right up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century; Englishness equated with not being Catholic after 1000 years of Catholicism. The editions of Foxe's work did not end with his death in 1587, but rather grew and adapted. After the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, and the Irish rebellion in 1641, new editions of the text were published and included the most up-to-date threats from Catholicism. Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' was still being read to children during the Victorian period and it has become synonymous with the English Reformation.

It is truly a fascinating, if at times gruelling, piece of literature and one which has profoundly impacted the historical understanding of the Tudor period. If you have been inspired to undertake the mammoth task of delving into this gargantuan volume you can access the four editions published during Foxe's lifetime on [www.johnfoxe.org](http://www.johnfoxe.org), and good luck! You'll certainly need it!

**LAUREN BROWNE**



# Tudor Life

## EDITOR'S PICKS



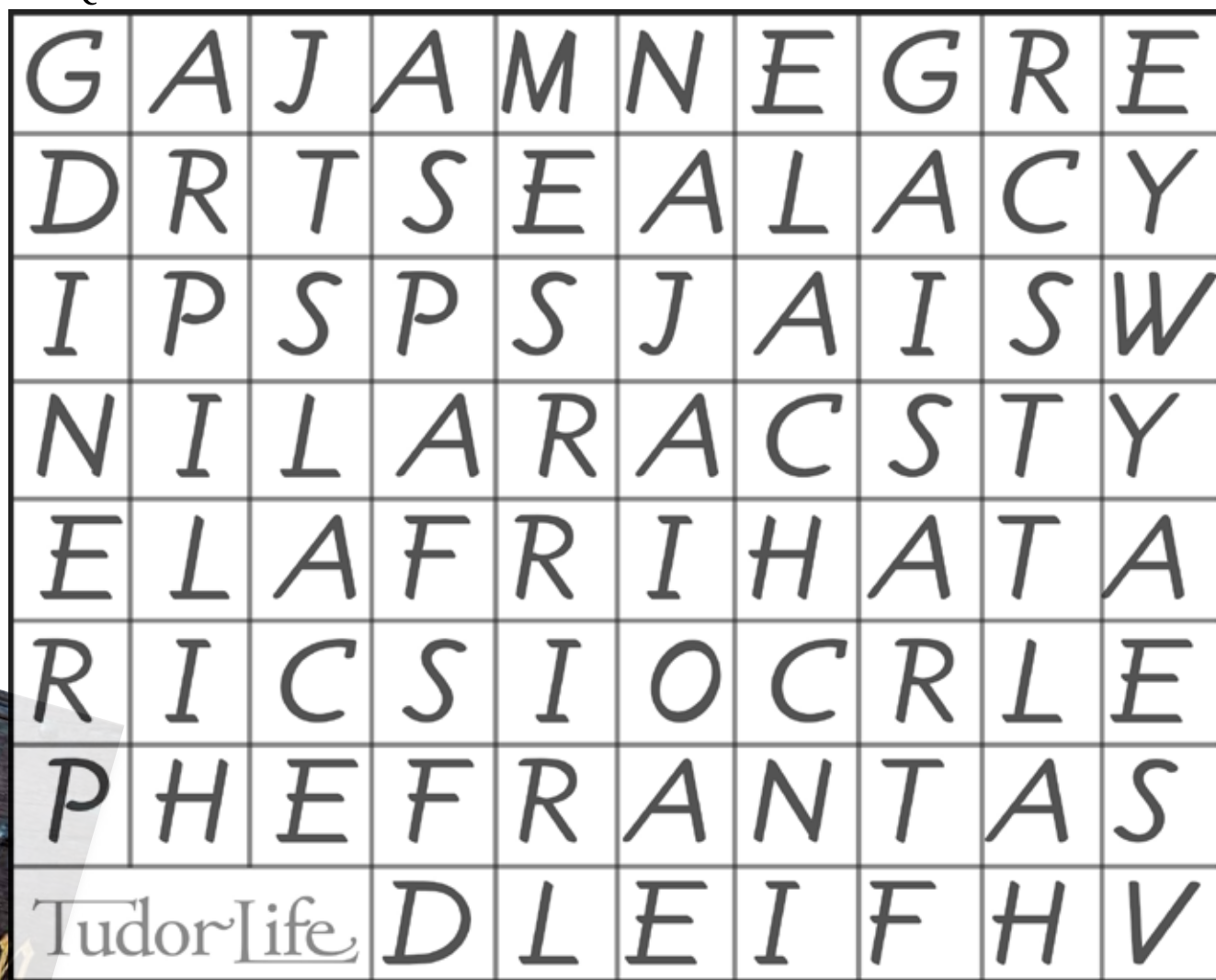
There have been some excellent biographies of Mary I in recent years, of which I can thoroughly recommend Linda Porter's and Anna Whitelock's. David Starkey's "Elizabeth: Apprenticeship" focuses on those years from the prospective of the heiress to the throne and the threats the heresy trials posed to her. For a fictional take on heresy in the Tudor era, C. J. Sansom's "Lamentation" pitches the reader into the horrific Anne Askew trial and its dangers to Katherine Parr, as dealt with in this magazine by Roland Hui, who has also

tackled Mary I's political legacy in a non-fiction book "The Turbulent Crown". The Askew-Parr connection is tackled in non-fiction through Derek Wilson's new book, "The Queen and the Heretic".

For a more sympathetic revisionist take on Mary's religious policy, the best academic account is Professor Eamon Duffy's "Fires of Faith", while Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch's "Thomas Cranmer: A Life" profiles in magisterial detail one of the Marian persecutions most famous victims.



Start  
Here



## MARY I "WORD CHAIN" QUIZ

BY CATHERINE BROOKS

Answer the questions below, locating all the solutions in the grid above. Each word and letter in the answers will follow the previous one, up, down, left and right but not diagonal. Remember, each word can change direction within the word/s as it's not a traditional word search ... good luck!

- Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, who crowned Mary at Westminster Abbey on 1 October 1553
- Mary's unpopular Spanish husband
- Where did Mary die on 17th November 1558? (3 words)
- Name of the Dauphin of France, who Mary was betrothed to at the age of two
- Mary was baptised at the Church of the Observant?
- Queen deposed by Mary, to take the throne
- French city lost by Mary
- Rebellion quashed by Mary
- In 1521, Mary's betrothal to the Dauphin was broken when she was instead contracted to marry her cousin, the Holy Roman Emperor. What was his name?
- Where was Elizabeth when she was told of Mary's death?



# DISSOLUTION, MATHEMATICS AND SHAKESPEARE

*“I could be bounded in a nutshell and  
count myself a king of infinite space . . .  
Shakespeare – Hamlet*

**T**wo months ago, I wrote about the early Copernican scientists in England, and opened with a Shakespeare quote. This month I’m completing that idea, and also opening with Shakespeare, because modern scientists have found evidence that Hamlet was actually a defense of Copernicus. But I’m getting ahead of myself.

When we were last here, we were talking about the radical shift in mindset that a sun-centered solar system meant for humanity. Suddenly this wasn’t some kind of Garden of Eden created just for humanity, who were themselves created in the image of an all-knowing God. Instead, we were floating around on a planet just like any other, around a sun. It wasn’t the other way around. We weren’t, in fact, the center of the universe.

England was particularly open to these ideas in part because of John Dee, who was one of the last of the occult-scientists. His breed of scientist-who-also-had-a-conjuring-table would die out by the Enlightenment. But for now, no one questioned the scientific standing of a man who also planned Elizabeth’s coronation day based on a detailed astrological chart.

Interestingly, one of the other reasons why the

heliocentric idea found a footing in England was due to property surveyors and the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Come again? How are those two related?

Well, when Henry VIII began pulling down the ancient monasteries, he set in motion the largest land grab that England had ever seen. Land that had previously been owned by the church flooded the property markets, and there was a huge demand for property surveyors. These were the people who surveyed and parceled up the land, and one of their most important skills was mathematics.

Being able to create and read maps became vogue, and understanding the math of how to measure, and divide up the land, understanding the math of the motion of the streams, and how to calculate the height of a hillside was a popular subject to study. England suddenly had the need of an entire workforce of mathematicians.

The first official English Copernican was the son of one of those property surveyors. Thomas Digges was born in 1546, three years after the Copernicus published his book. His father, the surveyor Leonard Digges, is sometimes credited for inventing the telescope before Galileo. When



his father died, Thomas went to live with none other than John Dee.

In 1572 there was a major event in European skies. A new star appeared in Cassiopeia. It confused everyone, because the predominant belief at the time was that the stars were fixed. How could a new bright star just appear in a major constellation? Turns out it was a supernova and was named as such by Tycho Brahe. But Digges was working on it simultaneously in England, and he concluded that it had to be beyond the orbit of the moon. This contradicted the view of the universe that nothing changed in the stars.

In 1576 Digges published a new edition of the almanac his father wrote, *A Prognostication everlasting*. He left the text written by Leonard Digges for the third edition of 1556 unchanged, but Thomas added new material in several appendices. The most important was *A Perfit Description of the Caelestiall Orbes according to the most ancient doctrine of the Pythagoreans, latelie revived by Copernicus and by Geometricall Demonstrations approved*. Contrary to the Ptolemaic cosmology of the original book by his father, the appendix featured a detailed discussion of the controversial and still mostly unknown Copernican heliocentric model of the Universe. This was the first publication of that model in English.

For the most part, the appendix was a loose translation into English of chapters from Copernicus' book *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*. Thomas Digges went further than Copernicus, however, by proposing that the universe is infinite, containing infinitely many stars. He may have been the first person to do this.

Even Tycho Brahe didn't think about infinite stars. Brahe also rejected the purely Copernican system – he tried to compromise between the two. He wrote that other planets do go around the sun, but the sun goes around the earth.

And that, my friend, brings us back to Shakespeare, and the quote I began with, from *Hamlet*: 'I could be bounded in a nutshell and



count myself king of infinite space'. To us, that quote sounds perfectly fine and poetice. But even the concept of infinite space at this point in history was something that very few people were able to wrap their heads

around. I mean, it's difficult enough for us, and we've all been taught it since we were kids. Imagine how challenging it would have been for someone in the 16th century!

There are hints all through *Hamlet* that Shakespeare was actually thinking of the struggle between Digges and Brahe, between the new and tradition.

*Hamlet* is set in Elsinore Castle, named for Helsingør Castle which was being built at the time that Tycho was constructing his observatory at Uraniborg. *Hamlet* was a student at Wittenberg, which at the time was a center for all the new Copernican theories. When *Hamlet* says he wants to study in Wittenberg, the King demurs, saying: "It is most retrograde to our desire." Are you familiar with the term retrograde? Like when your more new-agey friends blame the slow internet on Mercury Retrograde? It's an astronomical term for a contrary motion. So studying in Wittenberg was actually a pretty clever double meaning.

King Claudius, the theory goes, is named for Claudius Ptolemy, who was the one to solidify the earth-centered model of the universe. *Hamlet's* friends Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, Usher says, are named after ancestors of the astronomer Tycho Brahe. "And Digges' model killed Brahe's geocentrism just as *Hamlet* is responsible for the deaths of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, and then of Claudius," wrote Peter Usher, of Penn State University, who first wrote about this connection. "The slaying of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern is the Bard's way of favoring the Diggesian model over the Tychonic, while the death of Claudius signals the end of geocentrism. Shakespeare delays dispatching Claudius until the final act to simulate the protracted dominance of the Ptolemaic model over fourteen centuries."

So there we have connected the Dissolution of the Monasteries to property surveying, to mathematics, and Shakespeare.



# Member Spotlight

## ‘ASSUMPTIONTIDE AT HEVER’

First written seven years ago, this short story is **Gareth Russell’s** attempt to imagine summer reunions at Hever Castle, when the Boleyns were in residence in 1524.

**A**S EVENTS transpired, Tom Wyatt was not to lay eyes on Anne again until a full six weeks after her seventeenth birthday, when the impending Feast of the Assumption made it impossible for him to avoid her any longer. It was traditional that, on some of the great Holy Days - mainly the Epiphany, Easter Sunday, the Feast of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, the Assumption, and All Saints’ Day - the most prominent families of the Weald would congregate in one of the families’ parish chapels to attend Mass together. Tom had been in London for Saint Peter and Saint Paul’s Day, meaning that he had mercifully avoid-

ed the Boleyns’ company, but with the arrival of the Assumption and his return to the family home at Allington, he could not put off a reunion any longer. Moreover, when Tom had discovered that, this year, the Assumption was to be marked by a Mass at St. Peter’s Church, “the Boleyns’ chapel”, and had subsequently tried to wriggle out of attending, his ailing father had insisted he attend, in order to pay his respects to the new Earl of Kent, who would almost certainly be there, now that the mourning for his late father had ended.

Riding past Hever on the way to the church, on that predictably sweltering Assumptiontide, Tom could

see lanterns, tables, and decorations being set out around the gardens of the castle by a busy army of servants, all at Anne and Elizabeth’s instructions, he presumed. A small statue of the Virgin had already been installed near the bridge, with poesies of flowers clustering around her feet. From somewhere in the grounds, he could hear the voice of three maids cheerfully singing “Star of the Sea” in honour of the Holy Mother. Later, there would be music and dancing far into the balmy evening in honour of the Assumption and the overwhelming aroma of the flowers the Boleyn women had clustered around their gardens would waft softly



# Member Spotlight

through the heavy summer morning air. Hever always reminded him of Anne and seeing the castle and its gardens abuzz with preparations that bore all the hallmarks of her sensibilities, Tom felt a new sense of foreboding at seeing her after their last, disastrous meeting.

Walking reluctantly into the packed knave of St. Peter's Church with a miserable looking Bess by his side, Tom tried not to scan the congregation for a glance of Anne. Walking to his pew with the rest of the gentry, he kept his eyes resolutely fixed on the less well-dressed worshippers, correctly assuming that Anne would be taking her place with the other aristocrats, in the company of her mother and sister.

The church choir were already giving a pre-service rendition of "Assumpta Est Maria", whilst Anne's sprightly uncle, Father William, prepared to start the Mass. Nearby, glistening in the light of dozens of votive candles was an icon of Mary, Assumed in Glory into Heaven, there to be crowned its queen. It sat opposite a decidedly less lovely painting of Saint Bartholomew being skinned alive by the heathen Armenians and a scene from the Resurrection of Lazarus, painted in excruciatingly bright detail. After Assumptiontide, the Feast of the Coronation of the Virgin would follow a week later

and if it had been anything like the previous two years, it would be marked by yet another banquet at Hever, with dancing in the gardens afterwards - weather permitting, of course - and a homily by Father William. Tom was determined to leave Kent and get back to London before the Feast of the Coronation rolled along, with or without Bess by his side. She could do as she liked.

Shifting nervously in his seat and cursing himself for not bring his infrequently-used Rosary beads, so he would at the very least have had something to do, Tom heard Mary Carey before he saw her. The bright, vivacious rhythm of her speech floated through the noise and incense of the chapel, spurred on by her signature volume, which was always just one notch above what was required and one notch below what was offensive. She wore a dress of rose-pink and a white lace mantilla, similar to those favoured by the great ladies of the French nobility. Her husband was absent, which gave Mary the opportunity to flash that irresistibly winsome smile at several of her usual partners in harmless flirtation. It was one of the great mysteries of Mary Carey's life why, after treating these men to a virtuosic performance in flirtation, they should all of a sudden expect something of her and become angry when she

failed to oblige. Tom liked Mary. He liked her vivacity, her zest for living, her good humour, above all, he liked her prettiness. He occasionally found himself fantasising what she would look like without her clothes on.

The ever-lovely Mary settled into her pew, as the rest of the Boleyn family entered the church, acknowledging bows from their tenants and passing salutations to their neighbours and equals. Today, unexpectedly, the family was led in unofficial procession by the Dowager Lady Boleyn, still swathed in velvet mourning for the husband who would be dead twenty years next October. It was tacitly understood by everyone in the parish that the Dowager's mourning was an affectation, since, like almost everybody else of her acquaintance, she had found her late husband to be insufferably tiresome. Moving only a step behind her were her daughter-in-law and youngest granddaughter, both of them dressed in blue, the colour of the Holy Virgin. Breaking off briefly from her family, Elizabeth Boleyn knelt on the cold stone ground to kiss the spot where her baby boy had lain since death snatched him from her as a toddler. Had he been alive today, he might have been joining her as a handsome lad of nineteen, a second brother for Mary and Anne, a second son for Eliz-





# Member Spotlight

abeth and Thomas.

Tom's eyes fixed on the graceful figure of Anne, her beautiful brunette tresses swept up beneath a mantilla that floated around her head like a nimbus cloud. She was, quite simply, breath-taking and Tom did not care who thought otherwise. She carried a Book of Hours and silver Rosary in her hand, with her face a study in elegant detachment. As she walked, however, Tom fancied he saw a look of irritation flash across her eyes as she glanced towards the figure of her sister. Or somebody near her. It was hard to tell with Anne.

"Mr. Wyatt."

Tom jumped to his feet and bowed to the Dowager, who now stood before him, having deigned to stop at his pew: "Your ladyship."

"How kind of you to join us today," she smiled, her voice lilting out over the chapel in the almost absurd Anglophile drawl of the Irish nobility. "And you too, Mrs. Wyatt. How lovely to see you again."

Anne's eyes flickered contemptuously over Bess, but her grandmother continued on in a tone so flawlessly polite that had one not known better, one would have assumed that nothing on Earth

could possibly have given the Dowager Lady Boleyn greater pleasure than having the notorious Mrs. Wyatt in her company.

"Thank you for inviting us," Tom replied, as his wife fixed Anne with a look of sizzling dislike. "The church looks lovely, Your Ladyship."

"Oh, you are kind," the Dowager replied carelessly. "It's so nice to see the parish coming together on a day such as this, don't you think?"

"Of course my lady, and nothing but ill-health could have kept my father away. He sends his apologies."

"Oh, he shouldn't be so silly as to worry about apologising for something like that. I was so sorry to hear that he was indisposed. Won't you please pass along my very best wishes?"

"Yes, thank you, milady, you're very kind. I had hoped to speak to Lord Kent today, on my father's behalf. We have not seen him since his father's funeral."

"I'm afraid the Earl is indisposed also," explained the Dowager, "and is unable to attend."

"That is a shame," said Tom, catching the exquisitely arched eyebrow now raised into a perfect arc of disbe-

lief on Anne's forehead. The Earl of Kent was evidently not indisposed, but either too drunk or too indebted to make a reasonable showing at today's festivities.

"Isn't it?" smiled the Dowager. "Well, if you will excuse us, the Mass will be starting at any moment. Will you be joining us for supper, later?"

Tom glanced over at Anne questioningly, but her eyes were now so devoid of feeling that she seemed rather to be staring through him. "I am not sure, my lady," he stammered. "We... I had thought perhaps to start back for London in the morning..."

"Nonsense. My granddaughters have arranged a dance in the gardens afterwards and I am sure you would enjoy it. Do call anytime this afternoon. It would be too impossibly lovely to see you both, and your wonderful sisters, of course. Come along, Anne."

As the Dowager made for the front of the church, Anne turned her attention on Tom at last, "So nice to see you both," she smiled politely. It was hard to remember something she had said which had cut Tom more deeply.

**GARETH RUSSELL**



# Member Spotlight

## CONGRATULATIONS GENEVIEVE BUJOLD!

**Roland Hui** is a huge Bujold fan, and wanted us to mention her amazing achievements.

This year, tribute was paid to actress Genevieve Bujold in her native Canada at *The Governor General's Performing Arts Awards* held in Ottawa, Ontario on June 2.

The annual ceremony which recognizes the best and brightest in the Canadian arts, honoured Ms. Bujold

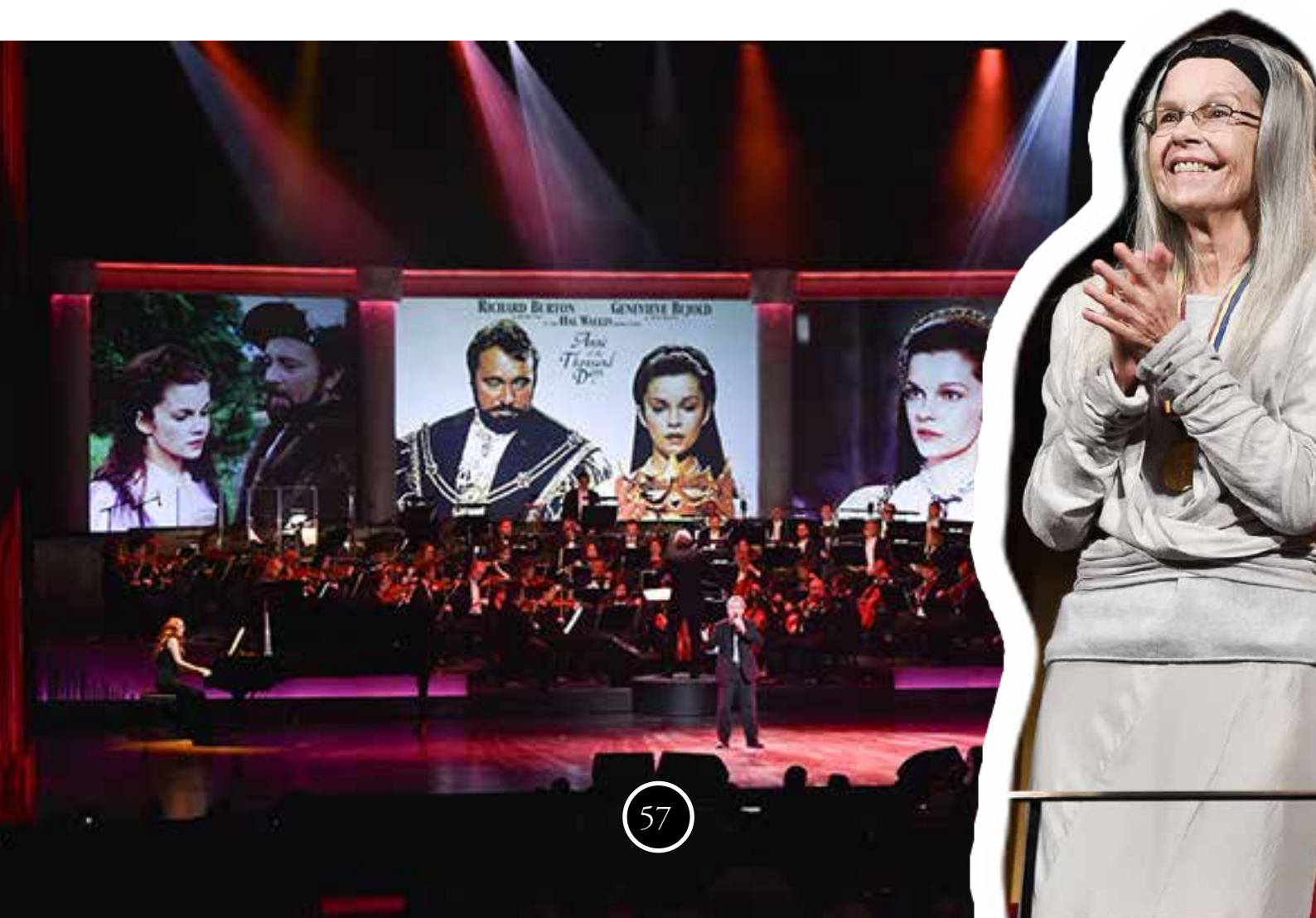
with a 'Lifetime Artistic Achievement Award'. With a career in motion pictures spanning over 50 years, Ms. Bujold has won numerous accolades, including a Golden Globe Award and an Oscar nomination for her memorable portrayal of Queen Anne Boleyn in *Anne of the*

*Thousand Days* (1969).

Ms. Bujold's award was presented by actor James Cromwell (whom many may remember for playing Prince Philip in *The Queen*) with whom she had co-starred in the well received Canadian film *Still Mine*.

Felicitations Genevieve!

**ROLAND HUI**







# Member Spotlight







# Member Spotlight

## A TRULY AMAZING ARTIST...

Long-term Tudor Society members will know and love the artwork of **Dmitry Yakhovsky**. Dmitry has contributed covers, incidental artwork and illustrations throughout many years. He is the cover illustrator for the Sebastian Foxley series of medieval murder mysteries, and for each cover has to draw a different gruesome murder weapon. He also drew the illustrations of Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII for the covers of Sandra Vasoli's "Je Anne Boleyn" books, the illustrations in "The Life of Anne Boleyn Colouring Book" by Claire Ridgway, the illustrations in "The Wars of the Roses Colouring Book", his own two graphic novels based around Carcassonne, and so many more things! He's a truly talented artist, and Claire and Tim feel honoured that he came to stay a while back, though they didn't see much of him as he was painting all the time! Some may not know that he is now married to Debra Bayani, one of our regular historian contributors.

Dmitry has created the image you see on the left as an imagining of a heresy burning in the reign of Mary I. Stunning, isn't it?!

You can find out more about Dmitry and his artwork from his website:

**<https://entaroart.com/>**



# AT THE CROSS-ROADS OF THE REFORMATION: THE LIFE OF SIGISMUND II, KING OF POLAND

In the sixteenth century, the royal union of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania produced one of the world's most powerful states. Like most European countries, Poland-Lithuania was unsettled by the advent of the Protestant Reformation, with many Polish subjects becoming sympathetic to the new evangelical faith emerging from the neighbouring German states. When Mary I came to the throne, several high-born English Protestants became refugees to Poland since, although the country remained nominally Catholic, they could be assured of a friendly welcome there from Protestant sympathisers. Perhaps the most significant émigré to Poland-Lithuania was Katherine Brandon,



Dowager Duchess of Suffolk, accompanied by her second husband, a former servant called Richard Bertie, and their two children, Susan and Peregrine.

Coming to the throne at the age of twenty-seven in 1548, Sigismund II Augustus was said to be one of his kingdom's pro-Protestant sympathisers, despite remaining a Catholic. Sigismund's first wife, the devoutly Catholic Archduchess Elisabeth of Austria, had tragically died during an epileptic seizure, aged eighteen. As a widower in pursuit of fathering a son, Sigismund had once been rumoured to have an interest in Katherine Brandon after her husband Charles's death, ironically years before she sought sanctuary at his court. Sigismund then caused a na-



**Katherine Brandon and her family fled Mary I  
for refuge in Poland. (Greenwood)**

tional crisis when he married one of his own subjects, Barbara Radziwiłł, the daughter of a local noble family who had embraced Calvinist-Protestantism. Their King's marriage to a Calvinist nearly caused an aristocratic uprising against him and Queen Barbara was accused of witchcraft and whoredom by her many enemies. However, Sigismund refused to abandon her and eventually even his mother, the Dowager Queen Bona, acknowledged the marriage.

Queen Barbara's death in Kraków in 1550, when she was thirty, was even cruelly attributed by some of her enemies to a sexually transmitted disease although, in fact, it was almost certainly due to cervical or ovarian cancer. King Sigismund was devastated and followed most of his wife's funeral procession on foot. For political reasons, he then married his cousin and another Hapsburg, the Archduchess Catherine. Their union was not happy and it also remained childless. In increasing desperation to prove that he could father a son, Sigismund began affairs with two of the most beautiful women in the commonwealth. Neither conceived a child.

Although her marriage was not emotion-

ally fulfilling and ended in disaster, Catherine of Austria's tenure as Queen of Poland and Grand Duchess of Lithuania was politically significant, in that it marked a serious triumph for the pro-Catholic faction of the nobility and the large number of religious traditionalists in the wider population. Catherine's influence was generally credited with helping stem her husband's spiritual drift towards Protestantism, she certainly stifled any prospect of a formal royal conversion, and she undercut the influence of Protestants at the heart of court and government. However, she neither opposed nor undermined her husband's consistent attempts to introduce legislation guaranteeing a rare degree of religious toleration for late sixteenth-century Europe. Eventually, the King sent his queen back to Austria, in a move clearly seen as preparation for divorce to marry a younger bride. Catherine was well provided for financially, but her life was tormented by what she perceived as the humiliation of her failed marriage. Her health was destroyed by complications arising from rolling cycles of depression, which hastened her death at her Austrian country house in February 1572, aged thirty-eight.



'Sigismund Augustus and Barbara Radziwill' by Jan Matejko



A gifted ruler and patron of the arts who was haunted by his inability to father a son, Catherine's widower Sigismund II Augustus, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, died at his favourite hunting lodge in Knyszyn on 7<sup>th</sup> July 1572, aged fifty-one - five months after his third wife. His death seemingly brought to an end the rule of the House of Jageillon and an aristocratic elec-

tion offered the crown to the King of France's younger brother Henri, Duke of Anjou. Henri was resident in Poland until his succession to the French throne as King Henri III in 1574. His absentee rule revived interest in the Jageillons and Sigimsund's sister, Anna, was elected queen alongside her Hungarian husband, the nobleman Stephen Báthory.

**GARETH RUSSELL**

**RIGHT:** The tragic Catherine of Austria, Queen of Poland and Grand Duchess of Lithuania.







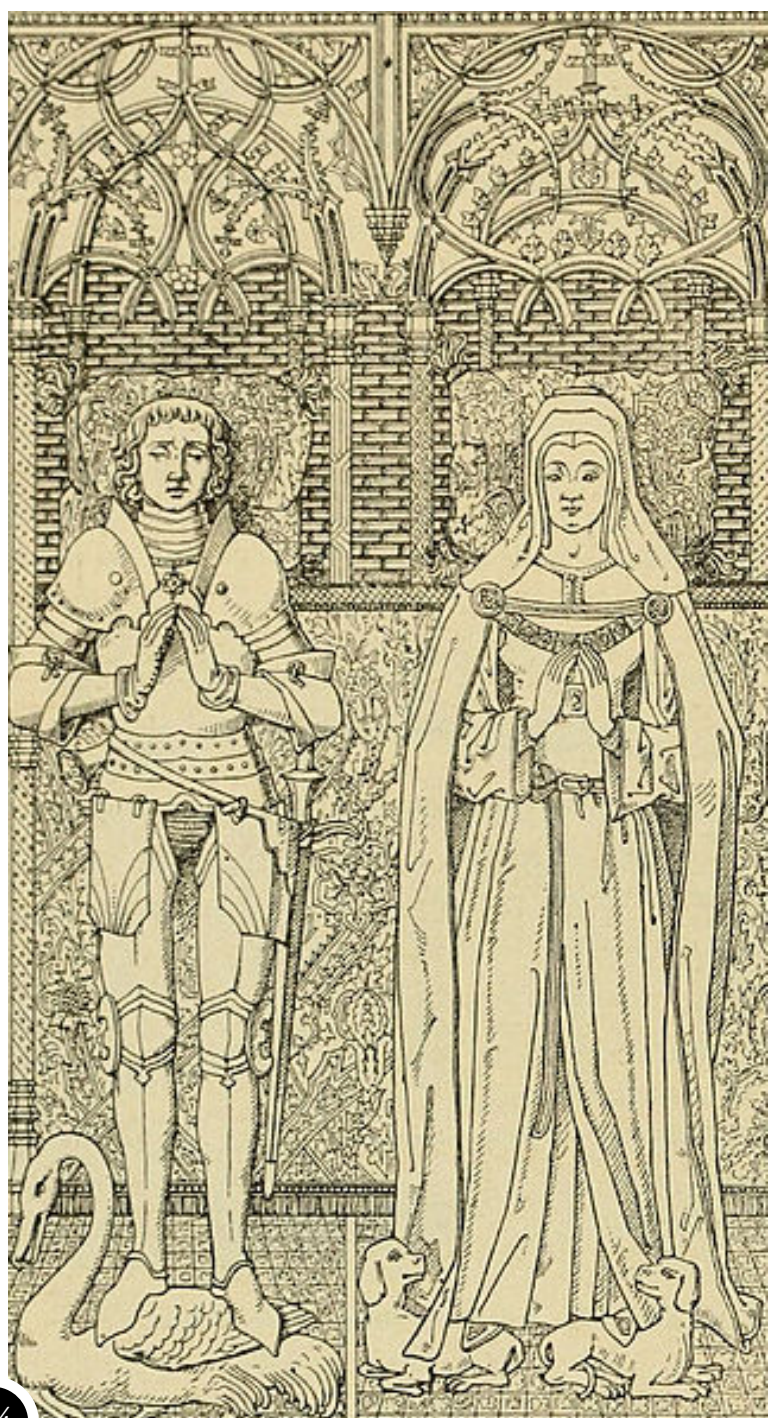
# ANNE OF CLEVES' CHILDHOOD AND FAMILY

*by Debra Bayani*

**W**hat exactly is known about Anne from the time before Henry sent his Bavarian court painter, Hans Holbein, to paint a portrait of Anne and her sister Amelia in their homeland of Cleves, the capital of the Northern Rhineland, a state of the Holy Roman Empire?

Anne of Cleves, who has gone down in history as Henry VIII's rejected fourth wife and the "Flanders Mare", may also be considered as Henry's luckiest wife! Anne was able to keep her head, she didn't die in childbirth, and after her divorce, she even became well-respected by the king and was styled "The King's Sister". She was, in fact, the last of the six wives to survive.

Anne of Cleves, or Anna von Kleve, was not born in Cleves but at Schloss Burg (Burg Castle) in Solingen, around 21 miles east of Dusseldorf, as the crow flies. Castle Burg was the seat of the counts of Berg, and in 1496 the five-year-old Maria von Jülich-Berg became wife-to-be of the six-year-old Johann von Kleve-Mark, the future Duke Johann III. In 1521, the united duchies were created from this union of the houses of Jülich-Berg and Kleve-Mark.





They covered broad parts of today's North Rhine Westphalia.

Johann III and Maria's first child, Sybille, named after her maternal grandmother, was born in 1512. In 1515, their second child, Anne, was born. The baby's gender may have been a disappointment to her parents who must have been hoping for a son and heir. But fortunately, the family was extended with a son, William, named after his maternal grandfather, less than a year later. In 1517, their family was completed by the birth of a third daughter, Amelia.

From her father's side, Anne was a descendant of the House of Burgundy. Her great-grandfather, Johann I (1419-1481), was heir to the House of Cleves as the oldest son of Adolph II of Cleves and Maria of Burgundy, eldest daughter of John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, and sister of the powerful Duke Philip the Good. Johann I was raised in Brussels at the Burgundian court of his uncle, Duke Philip, who held his nephew in high favour and made him a member of the much-admired Order of the Golden Fleece. (On this painting from c. 1460 by Rogier van der Weyden, Johann I wears a chain with the emblem of his uncle, Philip the Good of Burgundy, the order's founder) In 1473, Johann I helped his cousin, Charles the Bold, to conquer the Duchy of Guelders.

Anne may have had some memories of her grandfather, Duke Johann II (1458-1521), who died when she was six years old. Duke Johann II spent his childhood years, like his father had, at the Burgundian court in Brussels and supported his cousin Charles the Bold during his Burgundian Wars at the Siege of Neuss 1474-75 and the Battle of Nancy in 1477. Johann II succeeded his father in 1481 as Duke of Cleves. While his father had warned him not to turn his back on the House of Burgundy, Johann II did not listen and sent his troops to support Utrecht and the area whose dislike of Burgundy had grown during the Hook and Cod Wars in Holland. After Charles the Bold's death in 1477, opposition against his half-brother, David of Burgundy,



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**Tomb of Johann II and his wife in the Michael Chapel in the Stiftskirche, Cleves**

Bishop of Utrecht, inflamed, ending in the second Utrecht Civil War. Johann's troops were successful in claiming the area around Utrecht, as well as part of Guelders, and David had to escape the city and seek the support of the new ruler of Burgundy, the son-in-law of his late brother, Maximilian of Austria.

Johann II had inherited his father's tastes for luxury and extravagance and was called 'the Baby maker' for fathering sixty-three illegitimate children before his marriage to Anne's grandmother at the age of 31.

Anne's childhood seems to have been happy, and was spent in the care of her mother and in the company of her sisters. Anne's father was a follower of the humanist and reformer Desiderius Erasmus, but her mother, Maria of Jülich-Berg, Duchess of Cleves, was more conservative and preferred the traditional Catholic faith. She was a strong-minded and

intelligent woman who was responsible for Anne, Sybille and Amelia's upbringing and education. Anne's relationship with her mother was close, and she stayed by her side until adulthood. She and her sisters were able to read and write but spent much of their time at their needlework. Anne was not taught to play an instrument or sing, since it was considered a sin or too much frivolity for a great lady to learn these things. Anne seemed to have been fond of her younger sister, and at her death in 1557 Anne left Amelia a diamond ring.

By 1526, Sybille had reached the appropriate age to marry, and her betrothal to Johann Friedrich, Electoral Prince of Saxony, took place at her family home, Castle Burg. A year later she left the family to get married.

After Sybille's wedding, Johann III focussed on making arrangements for Anne's future. Even though the Duchy of Jülich-Cleves-Berg was relatively small, it was powerful enough to be considered with respect by other leaders. Therefore, Anne's father was able to make good matches for his children and negotiated with the Duke of Lorraine for the engagement between the Duke's son Francis and Anne. However, Anne and Francis never actually met to give consent to the match and the betrothal was annulled when the Duke of Lorraine lost the Duchy of Guelders in 1538 in favour of Anne's brother William. Around the same time, Johann III died, and William succeeded his father. Anne and Amelia became their brother's responsibility, and soon Henry VIII sent Hans Holbein to the duchy to paint both Anne and Amelia. Henry VIII preferred the older sister, probably due to her more favourable heritable rights in the duchy. Anne was "the lucky one", and was chosen to marry King Henry VIII of England.

Later, William would marry Jeanne d'Albret, heiress of Navarra, but the marriage was annulled after four years, and in 1546 he went on to marry Maria of Austria, daughter of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, brother of Emperor Charles V, and Anne of Bohemia and Hungary). It was a successful marriage,



**Johann I c. 1460 by Rogier van der Weyden**

and the couple had six children together. Anne was a kinswoman to the Hapsburgs and a distant cousin of King Louis XII of France and Francis I's wife, Queen Claude. William respected his younger sister Amelia, and declined marriage candidates that seemed unfit and allowed her, by her own wishes, to remain unmarried. Instead, she was heavily involved in the upbringing of her nieces, William's four daughters.

It appears that Duchess Maria was not keen on sending Anne abroad and in correspondence she wrote about how she disliked Anne leaving her. It was the last time





Sibylle of Cleves, Anne's elder sister, at the time of her betrothal to electoral Prince Johann Friedrich in 1526 by Cranach the Elder.



Anne of Cleves' famous portrait by Hans Holbein painted in 1539



The six dukes of Cleves with Cleves at the background. From left to right: Adolph I, Johann I, Johann II (Anne's grandfather) Johann III (Anne's father) Wilhelm (Anne's brother) and Johann Wilhelm



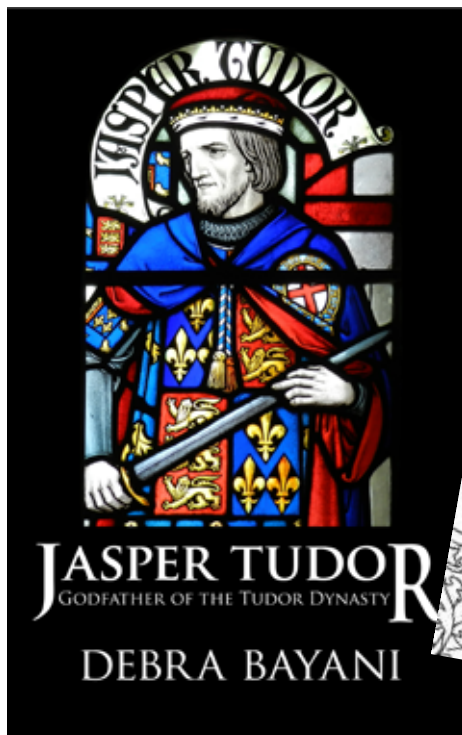
Anne would see her beloved mother, for Maria died in 1543.

### DEBRA BAYANI

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Portrait thought to be Amalia of Cleves,  
by Hans Holbein the Younger



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# THE TUDOR SOCIETY



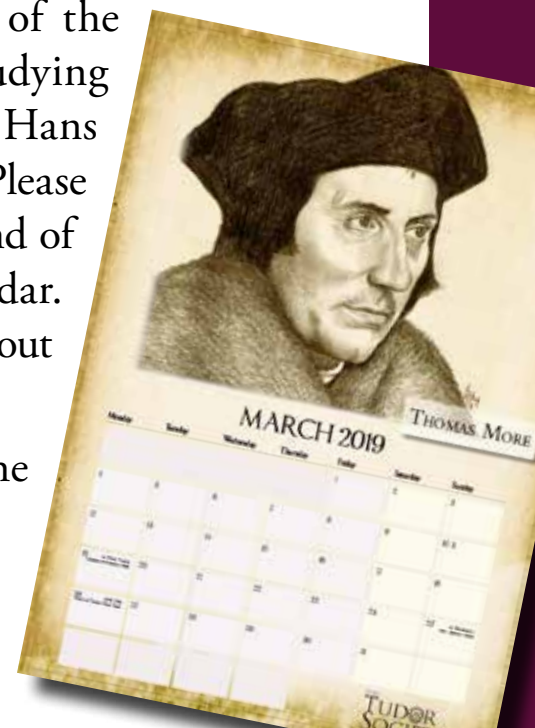
## *MEMBERS' BULLETIN*

Firstly, The Tudor Society would like to take the opportunity to thank Emma Taylor for her extra-long time of writing articles for Tudor Life Magazine. Emma has been sharing her detailed knowledge of Tudor TV and film productions since May 2016, and her tireless work has just got better and better since that time. Thank you so much for sharing your knowledge. We look forward to publishing the occasional special article from you in the future.

Secondly, I'd like to draw your attention to the Tudor Society 2019 Calendar. This is the first time we've produced a printed calendar, and we think it's stunning! Member and active contributor, Anthony Hillman is the artist who has produced all of the images in the calendar. Anthony has been studying and perfecting his skill in recreating the style of Hans Holbein, and we think he has done wonders! Please do consider supporting the work of Anthony and of the Tudor Society by buying a copy of this calendar. You'll be able to enjoy stunning artwork throughout the year!

Thank you, as always, for your support of the Tudor Society,

**Tim Ridgway**





# THE LORD LEYCESTER HOSPITAL





**T**HE LORD LEYCESTER Hospital in the centre of Warwick is 900 years old. At one time the home of the Guilds of Warwick, it is known for its unmistakable and stunning medieval architecture. It is, however, the events of the Tudor age that set it on a course that changed its life and the community within it forever.

From 1348 until 1548, the United Guilds, closely linked to religious orders, were given the site and land by Richard II. With their wealth on their newly acquired site, they built much of the medieval complex we know today as the Lord Leicester: The Guild Hall for their meetings, the Great Hall for their banquets, the Courtyard and the Guild Masters house. As religious guilds they were at the heart of commercial, philanthropic and civic life in Warwick with



an obligation to say mass for the souls of the departed, care for widows and orphans and provide alms to the sick and needy.

But Henry VIII's widespread policy of seizing church lands and property from religious orders eventually changed this way of life forever. The Dissolution of the Monasteries was the legal process by which Henry VIII disbanded monasteries, priories, convents and friaries in England and Wales and Ireland, appropriated their income and disposed of their assets. He benefitted hugely and after the policy had been fully implemented he had added over £150 thousand to the Crown coffers (£1 billion in today's money). Professor George W. Bernard states that "The dissolution of the monasteries that began in the late 1530s was one of the most revolutionary events in English history. There were nearly 900 religious houses in England, some 12,000 people in total, 4,000 monks, 3,000 canons,

3,000 friars and 2,000 nuns. If the adult male population was 500,000, that meant that one adult man in fifty was in religious orders." The King's far-reaching policy changed the very fabric of English life – especially for the thousands of men and women who lived in the religious houses, and for the people who benefited from their philanthropic activities that provided for the poor and needy of England. By 1539 the vast majority of monasteries had been dissolved.

The Guild buildings of Warwick (later known as the Lord Leycester Hospital), did not escape the policy. By 1540 Henry again needed money quickly to fund his military ambitions in France and Scotland, and so monastic property was sold off. By 1547 it represented an annual value of £90,000 (equivalent to £50m today), which went to the King. The United Guilds of Warwick had – according to Henry's stewards –



monastic property that was rightly or wrongly seized during this period shortly after 1540 and income proceeds reverted to the crown.

Guildmaster Thomas Oken decided by 1545 to take steps to recover the lands and income this Crown seizure represented. With other Guild members, Thomas Oken travelled to Aylesbury to petition the King's commissioners for damages based on wrongful seizure, and for the lands and buildings of the Guilds to be returned. He may have argued that the land had provided means to educate local children but that this revenue was now gone. In the same period he took out a Charter to convey ownership of the lands and Buildings of the Religious Guilds to the Corporation of the people of Warwick – that is the Burghesses (the original Borough Council).

Oken's intervention with the Crown was successful and the Burghesses of Warwick

held the building turning the Guildhall into their Burghall and the Great Hall became the Grammar School – also known as Warwick school – possibly to substantiate the education claim that Oken had made in his negotiations. Oken was the Burgh Master.

For a quarter of a century, the Burgesses conducted business in much the same way as their forefathers the Guilds, until Elizabeth I was crowned queen of England and their way of life and precious buildings and land were once again swept up in the social change spreading across England.

The number of poor people living in abject poverty in Elizabethan England was increasing. One of the catastrophic results of the Dissolution of the Monastery policy was the social safety net to take care of poor and needy was swept away as religious orders and monasteries were seized. And nothing replaced it. The decline in Christian values,







and the examples set by the Nuns and the Monks, resulted in these charitable acts of Mercy towards the unfortunate were no longer seen as a duty and nor were they undertaken. The English had placed the responsibility of these people firmly on the shoulders of the Crown and government.

By the time Elizabeth I was crowned, there were real social challenges. Nothing had replaced the monasteries and many of the men and women of religious orders were destitute, turned out of their homes and on the street. Many of the poor they tended had nowhere to turn to either. Worse still soldiers who had fought for Queen and country, blinded, wounded, without limbs were begging on the streets. The Queen's advisors warned her that unless something was done to alleviate the suffering of the

destitute and needy, there would be trouble and civil uprisings. Lord Burghley was particularly concerned that starving and homeless people were driven to desperate acts endangering society in general and Law and Order in particular. Queen Elizabeth responded to the warnings by introducing through the English Parliament the Act of 1552 - the first Poor Law to officially record the number of poor in each Parish Register. This was just a start and was followed by the second Poor Law – The 1563 Act. Under this Act, the different types of Poor people were categorised in order to determine the treatment that they might receive. They were the 'Deserving Poor', the 'Deserving Unemployed', and the 'Undeserving Poor' - those who turned to a life of crime or became beggars.

Then in 1572 the third Poor Law the was imposed at a local level making the alleviation of poverty a local responsibility. The Justice of the Peace for each parish was allowed to collect a tax from those who owned land in the parish, called the 'Poor Rate'. The money was used to help the 'Deserving Poor' – and anyone refusing to pay was imprisoned.

So it was that in the context of these Poor Laws the Lord Leycester Hospital was founded. In 1571, a year before the Law for compulsory poor tax at the local level, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, living in Kenilworth, acquired the buildings belonging to the Master and Burghesses of Warwick. Dudley founded a Hospital for wounded, aged or infirm warriors of the Elizabethan era and their wives, and it was

granted a Charter by Queen Elizabeth I. The Elizabethan Court was highly attuned to the poor crisis and it was something that must have been in Robert Dudley's mind as to how to deal with it locally in Warwickshire. His close relationship with the Queen and position as a highly influential courtier meant that he had to be seen to be setting an example and responding to her new policies. And of course, he was eager to please her for personal reasons. Seizing the Warwick Burghesses ancient buildings to create the Lord Leycester Hospital did not seem to be of concern to Robert Dudley, but the irony is poignant: After escaping seizure by the Crown in 1545 the buildings had now been "acquired" by one of England's most influential courtiers to support a Crown policy to take care of the poor.







The original Royal Charter that Dudley drew up setting up a Corporation consisting of the Master and twelve Brethren, still exists and is kept by the Warwick Records Office. The Brethren were housed in the Guildhall with their wives and the Hospital Master set up Residence in the old Guild Masters house. These arrangements remained unchanged for nearly 400 years until 1950 when the Guildhall was restored to its original form and the Brethren were moved to self contained accommodation elsewhere in the buildings. With less space, their number was

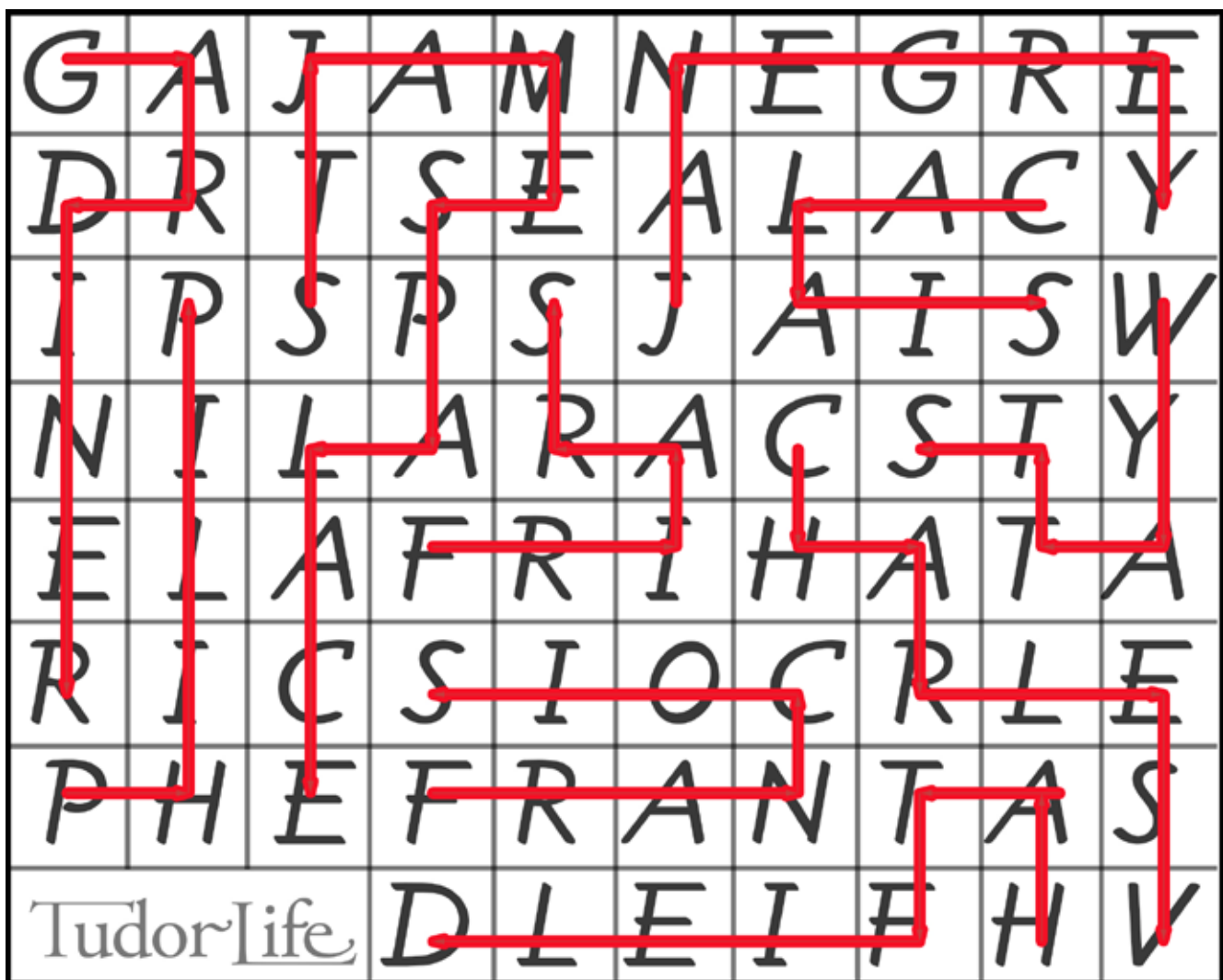
reduced to eight, and that is the number we have today, enabling the legacy to live on after almost 450 years.

So today, the Master and Brethren still live at the Lord Leycester Hospital. They are a relic of our Tudor past, a living legacy of the Poor Laws of the Elizabethan age, and they still abide by the statutes and ordinances drawn up by Robert Dudley in 1572. The most obvious traditions are the Elizabethan robes worn by the Brethren, and that they are still expected to attend Matins in the chapel with the Master. They are summoned every morning by the Senior Brother ringing the chapel bell and recite together the words written by Robert Dudley as they have done for over four centuries.



# QUIZ ANSWERS

- |                    |              |
|--------------------|--------------|
| 1) Gardiner        | 6) Jane Grey |
| 2) Philip          | 7) Calais    |
| 3) St James Palace | 8) Wyatts    |
| 4) Francois        | 9) Charles V |
| 5) Friars          | 10) Hatfield |



# Charlie on Books

## FOUR QUEENS AND A COUNTESS

by Jill Armitage



Bess of Hardwick was a prominent woman during the Tudor period, yet she is often neglected by historians. She made several prestigious matches and met four queens - Mary Queen of Scots, Elizabeth I, Mary I, and Lady Jane Grey. Jill Armitage is the first historian to explore the relationship between Bess and the four queens and makes a good attempt of this in her latest book *Four Queens and a Countess*.

The author starts by using the Battle of Bosworth as a focal point, going backwards and forwards from it as she looks at the separate lives of the five women.

*'Born in 1527 in the reign of Henry VIII, Bess, Countess of Shrewsbury - better known as Bess of Hardwick - had seen a sickly youth and three queens sitting on the throne of England: Jane Grey, Mary Tudor and Elizabeth Tudor... Elizabeth Tudor had been a lifelong friend and confidant who had entrusted Bess with the responsibility of guarding her rival, Mary Queen of Scots. The Scottish queen had been Bess's friend and foe, living in her household for sixteen years. Four queens and the countess had known them all - as friend, confidant, companion and jailer.'*

Bess is arguably the most important woman in this book and it could be seen as a biography on her, if not for some of the focus occasionally being diverted to the other women. It is an interesting way to look at the lives of these women and how they were all connected, with Armitage doing a great job of providing a fairly balanced view of all of them, something that can be hard to do when you are looking at the lives of strong individuals such as Elizabeth I and Mary I.

There are a few problems with this book, the main one being that it feels like a lot of information is thrown at the reader at once. The author goes through some key events a little too quickly, one example being that Lady Jane Grey's execution is over in a couple of sentences. It also could have done with a family tree, all of the interconnecting relationships can get confusing, and it seems odd that one wasn't included as it is in many history books.

I think the main problem with this book is that it is a little over ambitious in trying to cover the lives of five people in around 220 pages. It is still an interesting read but sometimes I feel like there should be more depth in certain areas and at other times it feels like the author is just throwing facts at the reader to the point that it becomes a little overwhelming. It is still a good overview of the time period and the ever-changing relationships between these women, but it would have perhaps worked better as just a biography of Bess of Hardwick.

(We also note that the kindle version is more expensive than the paperback, at a huge \$25! It's even more expensive than the hard cover edition, and that doesn't seem right to us - Ed)



# ELIZABETH I A STUDY IN INSECURITY

by Helen Castor



The Penguin Monarchs series have been slowly releasing short biographies on the English kings and queens since 2014 and, with three of the five Tudor monarchs already out, it is now time to look at Elizabeth I's reign. The historian chosen to take on this difficult task is Helen Castor, a well-known name for those interested in Tudor and Medieval history.

The author starts by briefly looking at Elizabeth's early life and how this may have influenced her reign and some of her policies. Elizabeth had been under constant threat throughout her life, both from her family members and from her political and religious enemies later on. This created a woman who was very insecure, something that could clearly be seen in the decisions she made in regards to any possible rivals – Katherine Grey's imprisonment for marrying being a notable case in point. Those around her struggled to understand her, but Castor does an excellent job of describing Elizabeth's approach to

queenship:

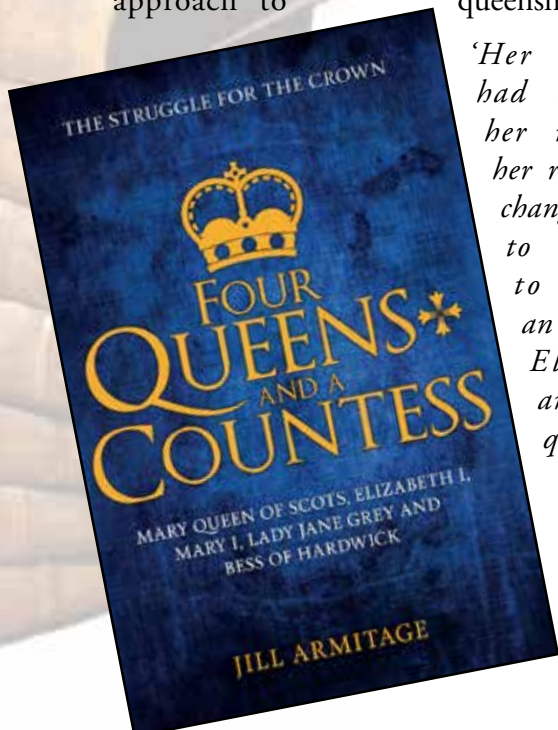
*'Her ministers had questioned her methods - her resistance to change, to war, to marriage, to naming an heir - but Elizabeth's ambition as queen had*

*been consistent and coherent: wherever possible, to seek security through stillness; to manage the known risks of current circumstances, rather than precipitate unknown dangers through irreversible action. Her strategy itself had been a risk. To remain unmarried, with no direct heir, was to gamble on her own life, and to place control of the present before planning for the future. It was a choice no king had ever had to face; make sovereignty allowed for marriage and children without any concession, real or perceived, of independent authority. But a woman who wore a crown had to choose; and Elizabeth had chosen to inhabit the personal sovereignty she had achieved at such perilous cost, rather than to share her throne with a husband, her kingdom with a king.'*

Due to the short nature of the book, Castor mainly gives the key facts of Elizabeth's reign and often will let the reader develop their own ideas and theories. The author manages to stay objective, no easy task, and does not influence the reader too much with their own feelings, as others have done in recent years with the likes of Mary Queen of Scots' execution.

*Elizabeth I: A Study in Insecurity*

is a great addition to the Penguin Monarchs series. Castor manages to explore the key aspects of Elizabeth's reign in just 160 pages and just still manages to keep it fairly detailed. She presents a well-balanced picture of a woman who learnt from her family's mistakes but was also shaped by the insecurity inflicted on her by those family members. It is a good starting point for anyone interested in Elizabeth I's reign and I would recommend it to anyone who enjoyed the other books in the series.



CHARLIE FENTON



# FROM THE SPICERY



AT THE TABLE  
OF ELIZABETH I





So far, we've spent Christmas with Richard P and Anne N, dined with the staff and students at Kings College, and attended two very over-the-top, but oh so sumptuous banquets thrown by the Count of Anjou and the Duke of Savoy. Then we travelled by TARDIS attend the most decadent christening feast that Henry T had ever required of the kitchens of Hampton Court Palace to mark the arrival of his much-longed-for son and heir. From there we dined on porpoise with Catherine A and sampled a new-fangled raw salad. We also spent time in the Orangerie at Hampton Court with Catherine and savoured the best Spanish oranges in England. We learnt from Guilford D to be very careful when picking salad leaves, lest we accidentally mistake hemlock for wild carrot. We enjoyed a summer treat of cherries with Jane S, watched Cardinal Wolsey's chefs create a chess set from sugar, and satisfied our sweet cravings with a veritable smorgasbord of *suckets*, marzipan *subtleties* and other sweetmeats.

On this beautiful evening in late Spring (or late Autumn if you find yourself in the Northern Hemisphere) we see ourselves seated around the dining table with such good company as Elizabeth T, William S and his wife Anne H, and Christopher M. Francis W sends his apologies; trouble with the Spanish, you know.

Elizabeth's England was fortunate and overall food security was good. This isn't to say that everything was rosy as both localised bad harvests and conflicts with neighbouring countries were cause for concern at the county and national levels. Thanks to exploration, English taste buds were introduced to new foods and flavours; the humble spud was imported late in the period, along with such 'exotic' drinks as tea, coffee and cocoa. For reasons I don't quite understand,

the English really took to acidic foods. Perhaps this owes its beginnings to Seville oranges from the Spanish kingdoms, but for whatever reason, heavily vinegared sauces became popular (although not to the same degree as Roman *garum*). Bread was strictly controlled (regarding quality and quantity), while oysters were cheap and kept the masses fed. This is very surprising to the modern mindset as bread (including artisan loaves) is considered a daily staple, while oysters have become a luxury item.

When it came to dining, it appears that no one left the table hungry. The main meal of the day was eaten between 11:00 and 12:00, and with everyone seated and with clean hands, the 'first course' would be served. This might consist of a soup, a meat dish, a chicken dish, and pastries (both sweet and savoury). Once each dish had been sampled, they would be replaced by a 'second course' of game meats (rabbit, pheasant or venison), a roast of some description and a baked open tart. Once sampled, these dishes were removed and replaced by a 'third course', which may include smaller portions of meats or songbirds, savoury pastries and sweetmeats. This is not what the modern mind associates with a contemporary three-course meal, and reflects the trend that each course was a meal in its own right.

So, what's on the menu? Depending what day we happen to be dining on, there's still an excellent chance that there would be at least one fish dish on offer. While I've not worked out the exact number of days one was expected to eat a pescatarian diet, I believe it was about a third of the year. That is potentially a lot of fish! This was due to a mix of religious expectation, and stabilising the national economy. I have heard tell that





**Figure 1 Gerard's Goose Barnacle "Tree". The original image occurs in John Gerard's Herball book from 1597.**

that under Elizabeth's rule, fish days were promoted to increase the wellbeing of the English navy in the face of the 1588 Armada Crisis. I've not found a direct reference to this, but when I do (and rest assured I will), I will it on the Tudor Society's forum page.

To Elizabethans (and their Tudor forebears), "fish" was not restricted to things that swam in the rivers, lakes and seas of the British Isles. For reasons best known to themselves, the term "fish" also applied to veal, game and poultry. This is perhaps best illustrated by the Barnacle Goose that I mention in a previous article.

Monastic historian, Giraldus Cambrensis described the Barnacle Goose in his work *Topographica Hiberniae* as being "produced from fir timber tossed along the sea. They hang down by their beaks as if they were seaweed attached to the timber, and are surrounded by shells in order to grow. In time... clothes in a

strong coat of feathers, they either fall into the water or fly freely away ..."<sup>1</sup>

The odd case of the Barnacle Goose being something of plant origin that metamorphoses into something avian is one of many examples of medieval food oddities. To a certain extent it also lends credence to the idea that if One was rich and powerful enough, that religious food laws did not necessarily apply. But as usual, I digress (I do this a lot).

OK, back to dinner. Elizabethan feasts were considered a form of entertainment. The bigger, the better; the more extravagant, the better, and where the amusement and presentation of the foods were as important (if not more so) than the taste of the dish.

If you really wanted to impress William and Elizabeth, why not make your own pie, filled with live blackbirds,

<sup>1</sup> Heron-Allen, E. *Barnacles in Nature and Myth*, London, 1928, preprinted 2003, pg 10.





Figure 2, Kitten Pie -  
Young Einstein, 1988

or other small birds? It's not as tricky or as gruesome as it sounds. As a rough guide, make a suitable pastry and line a deep pie dish, filling the interior with flour or rice to give it an appropriate shape. A separate pastry lid could then gently rested on top and brushed with an egg wash to provide a mouth-watering golden sheen. The faux-pie is then baked until golden brown. Once removed from the oven to cool, carefully set aside the lid, and remove the rice or flour filling, returning the pie base to the oven if the base is underdone. The crust must be completely cold so as not to injure the filling; such as live birds, frog or kittens. Quickly cover your chosen filling with the cold pastry lid before placing the entire pie before your guest of honour. Provide them with a blunt knife with which to cut the first slice, and enjoy the reaction!



A far more achievable dish for the 21<sup>st</sup> century Feastocrat is the dish, "Pears" in Broth<sup>2</sup>, which is often served at

modern medieval banquets. A fine pork mince, spiced with thyme and parsley, and salt and grains of paradise (*Aframomum melegueta*), and bound with an egg, is then moulded around a grape (green or red, the choice is yours) to form a pear shape, and placed upright in a baking tray to be grilled until done. Once cooked, a sage leaf is gently embedded into the top of each 'pear'. Several of the completed 'pears' are placed into a serving bowl and covered with a warm chicken broth.

Bold flavours were also extremely popular in Elizabethan cooking, for

2 Society for Creative Anachronism, *The Known World Handbook: Being a Compendium of Information, Traditions and Crafts being Practiced in These Current Middle Ages*, 1986.





**Figure 3** A selection of Elizabethan spices. Clockwise from top: Mace Blades, Black Pepper, Rose Buds and Petals, Grains of Paradise, Cubeb or Tailed Pepper. Author's own work.

those that could afford it, of course. New imported Italian pasta was served mixed with butter and hard, slow-ripened semi-fat cheeses such as *Grana Padano* or *Parmigiano-Reggiano*. Sauces made from slowly simmered savoury stewed fruits, such as fig, or prunes in a red wine reduction gave rise to the modern concept of the tomato-based pasta sauce. Such

sauces could be flavoured with mace and cloves, and cinnamon and black pepper. However for that added 'wow' factor, rarer spices such as grains of paradise and cubeb (*Piper cubeba*), or tailed pepper were frequently used.

Spices were used to lend depth and zing from everything from meats to fruits and the Elizabethan scourge – sugar-based



## To make sugar Cakes.

Take a pound of butter, and roash it in rose-water, and halfe a pound of sugar, and halfe a dozen spoonfulls of thicke Creame, and the yolkes of 4 Eggs, and a little mace finely beaten, and as much fine flower as it will, and worke it well together, then roll them out very thin, and cut them with a glasse, and prick them very thicke with a great pin, and lay them on plates, and soe bake them gently.

sweets. It

was not uncommon

for something as savoury as black pepper to be paired with honey, especially when made into delicate wafers. Although the 1610 family cookbook of Mistress Sarah Longe appears at the very end of the Elizabethan period, it offers a personal look at the dessert tastes of a typical upper class household.<sup>34</sup> Mistress Longe's "Sugar Cakes" can be in the following manner "To make sugar cakes. Take a pound of butter and roash it on rose-water and halfe a pound of sugar, and half a dozen spoonfulls of thicke criame, and the yolkes of 4 eggs, and a little mace finely beaten. as much fine florer as it (undesciperable), and roorke it well together, then roll thim out very thin, and

cut

thim woith

a glass, and prick them very thicke with a great pin, and lay thim on plates, ans soe bake thim gently."

A modern redaction of this recipe calls for butter and sugar to be creamed together with rose water until light and fluffy. Finely grated mace is added to the mixture, along with thick cream, egg yolk and sifted flour to produce a thick batter. Note there is debate among modern medievalists as to whether the flour is wheat or almond. I much prefer the taste of this biscuits when almond flour or almond meal is used, but ultimately it is up to you. The batter is then dropped onto a well-oiled baking tray, and baked in a hot oven for approximately 10 minutes. Because of the high-fat content of these biscuits, they do tend to spread while cooking and end up more like a wafer than a true biscuit.

3 Longe, S. *The Receipt Book of Sarah Longe*, 1610, <https://hamnet.folger.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=230591>

4 <http://www.manuscriptcookbookssurvey.org/collection/index.php/Detail/manuscripts/77>

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY





# TUDOR ENTERTAINMENT PART 1



Misericord in Gloucester Cathedral showing a Medieval Ball-Game [Dominic Strange © [www.misericords.co.uk](http://www.misericords.co.uk)]

So much has been written about Elizabethan theatre, its venues, actors and playwrights, you may wonder how the Tudors entertained themselves before the performance of stage drama developed

in Queen Elizabeth's reign. In this article I shall look at some other, less well-studied pastimes.

Throughout the medieval period, sports and music had been approved – and

sometimes required – pastimes. Archery practice had been compulsory by law and, in theory at least, continued to be so under the Tudors, to ensure a good supply of bowmen in time of war. The strength and skill required couldn't be learned in a few lessons, as the Tudors realised was possible with firearms, but were developed over a lifetime. Every able-bodied man, aged between twelve and sixty, had to practise at the parish butts on a Sunday after attending church. Although not required to do so by law, women often joined in and could be equally skilled with a bow. Wrestling and similar feats of strength were approved by the authorities, probably because they aided young men in developing the musculature so useful to soldiers in warfare. Likewise, exercise with sword, stave and buckler (a small shield about the size of a dinner plate, used offensively rather than in defence) was encouraged – all martial exploits that might be of service.

John Stow [1525-1605] in his *Survey of London*, first published in 1565, complained that such energetic activities were now being abandoned by young people in favour of less worthy pastimes, such as football, though even Henry VIII's wardrobe included 'one leather pair [of shoes] for football' [!]. Football was a free-for-all game with any number of players – often apprentices – and no rules. It could go on all day, either until it was too dark to see the sawdust-stuffed ball, or until the participants could run no more.

Apart from distracting young people for their 'proper' occupations, football was a dangerous game and fatalities weren't unknown. Before the Reformation, one William Spalding petitioned the pope for forgiveness after his friend and fellow footballer had fallen against the knife on his

belt and died of his injuries. Arguments in the field of play occasionally came to blows with dire results and 'hooliganism' wasn't unknown among the spectators supporting opposing sides. On one occasion in London, during the traditional Shrove Tuesday match between apprentices of different trades and crafts, shops and properties were damaged in the course of play and during the winners' drunken celebrations afterward. No wonder the authorities disapproved.

Stow complained that one-time archers now frequented 'dicing houses' and bowling alleys to gamble away their money. Stephen Gosson, writing in 1579, also remarked that 'shootyng and darting, running and wrestling' had been replaced by 'banqueting, playing and dauncing' as popular leisure activities. Yet in the 1580s, visitors to London still noted that archery meetings went on in the fields outside the city throughout the year, so the practice of martial arts must have continued to some extent.

Perhaps the only docile activity that neither Church nor State might disapprove of was making music, although the Church, of course, couldn't commend lewd tavern ditties, roistering songs and the like. The playing of musical instruments and singing were everyday entertainments. As levels of literacy improved, song sheets would be pinned up in taverns so everyone – men and women – could join in. Though fine young ladies and gentlemen were expected to learn music as part of their education, even a ploughman might sing or play a simple pipe, fashioned from a hollow reed that cost nothing but a half-hour's knife work.

Towns and cities often employed professional musicians, known as 'waits', to play on civic occasions and in





St Mary's Bell-Cage, East Bergholt, Suffolk, 1531  
[Photo by Glenn Mount]

processions and most noble households had a band of minstrels and choristers to perform both religious and secular pieces. Lordly patrons could be possessive about their most talented musicians, composers and songsters, 'lending' them to other households as a generous gesture. For those who wanted a more strenuous 'musical' activity, apparently bell-ringing became fashionable for both men and women, with competitions of stamina leading to gambling and betting on who could maintain ringing for the longest time.

Regarding bell ringing, readers may be interested to visit the website [eastbergholt-bells.org.uk](http://eastbergholt-bells.org.uk) or the village of East Bergholt in Suffolk, near Ipswich. The village church of St Mary has a bell-cage, constructed in 1531 and still in use. The oldest of the five bells dates to 1450 and is known as Faithful Gabriel. Cardinal Wolsey was in the process of planning a belfry for the church but his downfall and death meant it never got

built. As a purely temporary measure, the cage was made to house the bells.

The size of a cottage, it was never replaced and since it was designed to hold five bells, the Mary bell, or Rose of the World, cast in 1601 and the others founded in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, must all be replacements for the originals. The bells hang 'upside down' inside the cage i.e. open end up, and aren't rung by rope and wheels, like other church bells, but by pushing the wooden 'headstock', to which each bell is fixed, by hand. The website has a video showing how this is done and it's extremely hard work. Today, the ringers wear ear-defenders but in Tudor times the activity would have been, quite literally, deafening, as well as exhausting.

For less energetic people or in bad weather, board games such as chess and tables (backgammon) had always been popular for those able to afford the sets at



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The Bells in their positions in the Bell-Cage  
[Photo by Glenn Mount]

least since Viking times. Fox-and-geese, nine-men's-morris and similar games were for the less affluent since board designs could be scratched on any surface and pebbles or knuckle bones might serve as gaming pieces. The only other requirement was a die or dice. As with so many other Tudor pastimes, the outcome of any game could be gambled on, much to the disapproval of both religious and secular authorities. However, whether frowned upon or not, even royalty could not resist wagering bets.

In 1494, King Henry VII's accounts record the paying of his debts resulting from losing at cards. Henry VIII preferred more active pursuits in his youth but he too played cards, as did his daughter Mary whose losses had to be made good. In his play, *Henry VIII*, Shakespeare has the king playing *primero* with his brother-in-law the Duke of Suffolk. Although *primero* became the most popular card game in Elizabethan times, it

is first mentioned in Rome in 1526 and it's uncertain whether it was played in England as early as Henry's reign. However, it is a fact that our modern playing cards still depict the queens wearing the gabled headdresses familiar in portraits of Elizabeth of York and Katherine of Aragon.

Not unlike poker, there were many forms of the game *primero* with four-card and six-card versions.

Animal sports, such as bear-baiting and cock-fighting were disapproved of entirely – not because they were cruel to the unfortunate creatures involved, but because the audiences were usually of the rougher sort and could get rowdy and over-boisterous. The bear-pits of Bankside on the south side of London Bridge proved extremely popular with the citizens on Sunday afternoons when, by law, they should have been practising archery. No doubt, certain clerics and Puritans would, therefore, have taken great satisfaction when, in





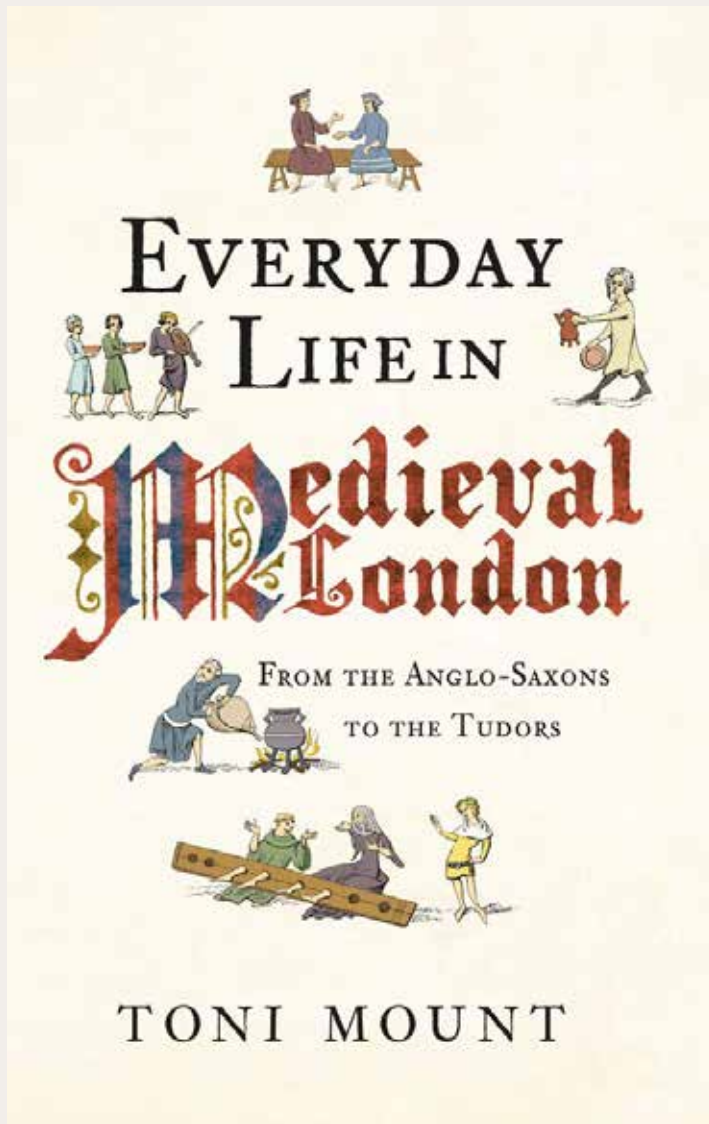
Four high-ranking Gentlemen playing Primero Painting  
(c.1560) attributed to the Master of the Countess of Warwick

1583, the stands at the Bear Garden collapsed under the weight of spectators, killing eight people and injuring many more. But royalty enjoyed a good bear-baiting too. When Henry VIII met Anne of Cleves in Rochester, Kent, he entertained her by staging a bear-baiting at St Andrew's Priory there. As a first date, history tells us it wasn't a success. They were violent and smelly affairs, as Thomas Platter moaned in 1599, so perhaps that put Anne off.

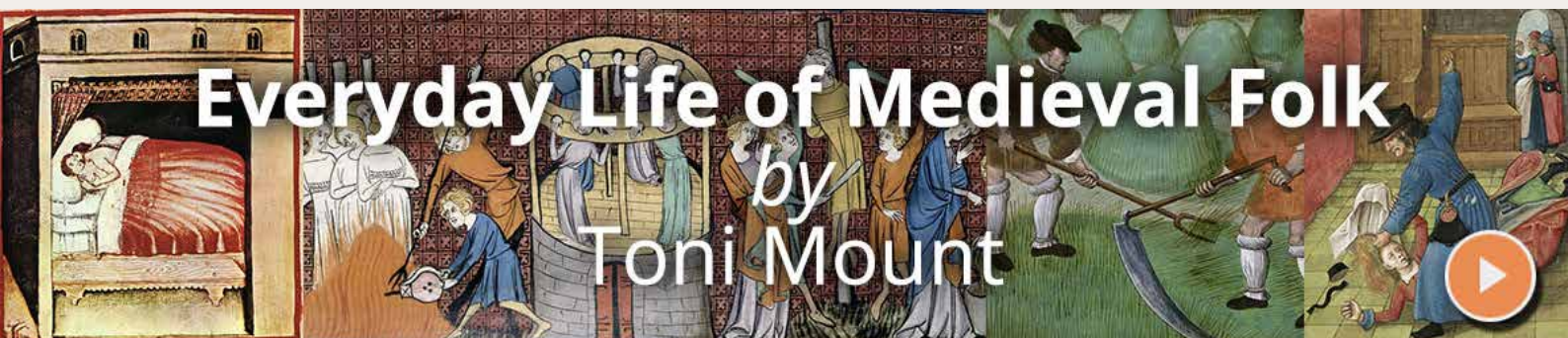
Today, aircraft have cockpits as the hub of the action; Tudor cockpits were also at the centre of attention. Westminster and Whitehall Palaces had their own cockpits, as well as bowling greens and (real or royal) tennis courts. For lesser folk, entrance to the cockpit at Smithfield, just to the north-west of London's city walls, could be had for a penny. Birds were trained to be aggressive in the straw-covered arena, their natural spurs

enhanced by metal spiked additions to rip at their opponents. As you might expect, money was wagered on the outcomes and owners of successful cockerels could make quite a profit from these bloody, feathered contests. Animal welfare wasn't a consideration for the Tudors but a good fighting cock was valuable and a pampered asset. Before the event, birds were sometimes given a few sips of wine or beer. This was believed to encourage their quarrelsome temperament but not too much, else they might have to sleep off a hangover rather than fight. Victors would have their injuries carefully tended; losers probably went into the cook-pot.

In my next article, I shall be taking a look at how the street performances and pageants of medieval times evolved into the comedies, tragedies and histories of the Elizabethan theatre.



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# NOVEMBER'S "ON THIS"

**1 November**  
**1530**

**Henry VIII** sent Sir **Walter Walsh** (some say William Walsh) with **Henry Percy**, Earl of Northumberland, to Cawood Castle to arrest Cardinal **Thomas Wolsey** for high treason. They arrived on 4<sup>th</sup> November and took him into custody.

**2 November**  
**1470**

Birth of **Edward V**, son of **Edward IV** and **Elizabeth Woodville**, in Westminster Abbey

**3 November**  
**1568**

Death of **Nicholas Carr**, physician, classical scholar and Pegius professor of Greek at Cambridge.

**4 November**  
**1501**

**Catherine of Aragon** met **Arthur, Prince of Wales**, for the first time at Dogmersfield.

**7 November**  
**1541**

Archbishop **Thomas Cranmer** and the Duke of Norfolk went to Hampton Court Palace to interrogate Queen **Catherine Howard**, and to arrange that she should be confined to her chambers there.

**8 November**  
**1602**

The opening of the Bodleian Library (Bodley's Library), Oxford, to the public.

**9 November**  
**1518**

**Catherine of Aragon** gave birth to a daughter. We don't know the full details but the baby did not survive very long.

**10 Nov**  
**1565**

**Robert Devereux**, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex, was born on this day in 1565

**14 Nov**  
**1501**

**Catherine of Aragon** married **Arthur, Prince of Wales** at St Paul's Cathedral.

**15 Nov**  
**1527**

Death of **Katherine, Countess of Devon** (also known as Katherine of York) at Tiverton Castle.

**16 Nov**  
**1612**

Death of **William Stafford**, conspirator. Stafford was the son of **William Stafford**, widower of **Mary Boleyn**, and his second wife, **Dorothy**. Stafford was imprisoned in the Tower of London after being implicated in the plot of **Baron de Châteauneuf**, the French ambassador, to kill **Elizabeth I**. It is speculated that the plot was actually orchestrated by **Walsingham** and **Cecil** to show Elizabeth I that her life was in danger.

**22 Nov**  
**1538**

Burning of **John Lambert**, Protestant martyr, at Smithfield in London.

**23 Nov**  
**1499**

The hanging of the pretender **Perkin Warbeck** at Tyburn. Warbeck had claimed to be one of the Princes in the Tower.

**24 Nov**  
**1542**

The Battle of *Solway Moss* between England and Scotland. The Scots were forced to surrender.

**29 Nov**  
**1530**

Cardinal Thomas Wolsey died at Leicester Abbey in a peaceful death, cheating the axeman in London.

**30 Nov**  
**1601**

**Elizabeth I** delivered her famous Golden Speech to the House of Commons, addressing their concerns over England's economy. It was the last speech that she gave to Parliament, and in it she spoke of her position as Queen and her love and respect for her realm.



The "Darnley Portrait" of Elizabeth I

# DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

Mary I by Antonis Mor, 1554



**5 November**  
1514

**Mary Tudor**, sister of **Henry VIII**, was crowned Queen of France. She had married **King Louis XII** at Abbeville on the 9<sup>th</sup> October 1514. The marriage was rather short-lived, as Louis died on the 1<sup>st</sup> January 1515

**6 November**  
1541

**Henry VIII** abandoned **Catherine Howard**, his fifth wife, at Hampton Court Palace.

**11 Nov**  
1563

Burial of chronicler **Henry Machyn** (Machin) in London. He died after contracting the plague.

**12 Nov**  
1555

**Mary I's** Parliament re-established Catholicism in England.

**13 Nov**  
1536

Murder of **Robert Pakington**, mercer and member of Parliament, at Cheapside, while making his way to mass.

**17 Nov**  
1558

Queen **Mary I**, died. She was just 42 years-old. Her 25 year-old half-sister, **Elizabeth**, became Queen.

**18 Nov**  
1531

Birth of **Roberto di Ridolfi**, merchant, banker and conspirator, in Florence, Italy.

**19 Nov**  
1587

Death of **Henry Vaux**, poet, Catholic recusant and priest harbourer, of consumption.

**20 Nov**  
1515

Birth of **Marie de Guise**, Queen of Scots, consort of **James V**, regent of Scotland and mother of **Mary, Queen of Scots**.

**21 Nov**  
1558

Death of **James Bassett**, courtier and stepson of **Arthur Plantagenet**, Viscount Lisle.

**25 Nov**  
1545

Death of Sir **Thomas Legh**, lawyer, member of Parliament, diplomat and ecclesiastical administrator.

**26 Nov**  
1533

**Henry Fitzroy**, the Duke of Richmond and Somerset, married Lady **Mary Howard** at Hampton Court.

**27 Nov**  
1531

Burning of **Richard Bayfield**, Benedictine monk and reformist, at Smithfield for heresy.

**28 Nov**  
1499

Execution of **Edward Plantagenet**, styled Earl of Warwick, on Tower Hill.

## TUDOR FEAST DAYS

1 November - Feast of All Saints

2 November - Feast of All Souls

11 November - Martinmas

17 November - Accession Day

30 November - The Feast of St Andrews

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