Tudor Life

The Tudor Society Magazine

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

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The Supernatural & the Tudors

Most Haunted Tudor Places

Tudor Witchcraft

Toil and Trouble...

Staging the Supernatural in Elizabethan England

PLUS

Anne Boleyn's Knickers!



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Tudor Life

The Supernatural & The Tudors

THE TUDORS' APPEAL lies in part through how relatable they are. The tragedies and turmoil that beset both the royals and their subjects are, I have always felt, a kind of grand morality play, in which future generations have looked back for inspiration and warning, projecting what they need and what they fear into the stories of the long-dead. The early modern era was, however, also awash with ideas distinctly different to our own. Their belief in the supernatural possessed an intense vitality, particularly when it came to witchcraft. Nor, as Roland Hui's article on dubious neo-pagan claiming of Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard as early converts to Wicca, has it entirely been left in the sixteenth century.

GARETH RUSSELL
EDITOR

Image above: Miranda Raison at the Globe Theatre as Anne Boleyn
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Tudor Life

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DID ANNE BOLEYN WEAR KNICKERS?



https://www.uibk.ac.at/urgeschichte/projekte_forschung/textilien-lengberg/mittelalterliche-unterwaesche/index.html.en

Historian and author **Toni Mount** gives us a 'brief' discourse into this 'underlying' subject...

OBVIOUSLY, KING HENRY VIII could answer this question for us but since we cannot ask him, a bit of detective work is required. A few years ago, historians would probably have said "no" believing that, due to lack of evidence to the contrary, the shift – sometimes called a chemise – was a Tudor woman's only item of underwear. However, more recently, this idea has been called into question due to some incredible discoveries of fifteenth-century items of clothing and more in-depth study of historical manuscripts and documents.

It has always been accepted that men in the medieval and Tudor eras wore an undershirt and braies or breeches i.e. underpants of some description. Most often, braies were made of linen and could be washed frequently. We know King Edward III in the mid fourteenth century wore 'robes-lignes', which translates modestly from the courtly French of his Wardrobe Accounts as simply 'linen garments'. Linen would have been comfortable but woollen garments from around the same date have been found at Hull on the east coast of England and Italian records note hemp underclothes for sale in a Genoese market. Itchy wool would not have been so easy to wash and sackcloth undies must have been horrible to wear.

From royalty to labourer, all men wore breeches and to go 'commando' was a sign of abject poverty or humbleness and braies were vital with split hose. In William Langland's work *Piers Plowman,* written in the later fourteenth century, a pilgrim to Rome is described as not only wearing the poorest clothing but no breeches between them and his body. This showed to what great extent he humbled and demeaned himself in order to give God the greatest honour. If any mention is made of a colour for breeches, they are usually described a 'white'. Even nowadays, references to washing 'whites' is general accepted as meaning underwear despite them being available in any colour imaginable. However, in medieval and Renaissance art, dark coloured underwear may symbolise evil since images of men heading for execution are sometimes

depicted as wearing black braies.

Having established that men – both rich and poor – wore underpants, what about the women? A humorous topic carved into church choir-stall misericords and painted in the margins of illuminated manuscripts was that of who wears the breeches at home. Images of women wresting a pair of braies from their husbands was the equivalent of the modern question: 'who wears the trousers?' But, one problem with all the early sources of information about underwear is that whether carved, written or painted, mostly it was produced by men – often monks or priests. What did they know about women's unseen under garments?

In 2008, in Austria, a great step towards answering the questions concerning women's underclothes occurred unexpectedly when archaeological works were required in Lengberg Castle in East Tyrol. Textile pieces of all kinds were found and radio-carbon dated to the fifteenth century. They included four pairs of 'breast-bags', precursors of modern day bras, including a long-line model and two with lacy edgings.

Such garments get a mention very rarely but a fifteenth-century German satirical poem, implying that women are never satisfied with what nature has granted them, has this to say:

Many a woman makes two bags for the breasts,
with them she roams the streets,
so that all the guys look at her,
and see what beautiful breasts she has got;
But whose breasts are too large,
makes tight pouches,
so it is not told in the city
that she has such big breasts.

Extract from Cod.2880, fols. 130v-141r
(Austrian National Library, Vienna. Trans. Beatrix Nutz.)

More importantly for this discourse, along with the bras there were also found some tie-at-the-hips briefs. These were sent for DNA testing in an attempt to determine whether they were worn by men or women. The results were 'inconclusive' yet, despite this, the archaeological report states that they were probably worn as a lining for a cod-piece. So it appears that academics remain reluctant to allow medieval and Tudor women to have worn knickers. I can only conclude that they must be men who have never required the convenience of something of the kind to keep 'things in place' at

certain times of the month. Medieval women were practical people and quite capable of inventing 'breast-bags', so surely knickers of some kind were not beyond the wit of womankind's ability to design and create.

Though an elusive topic in the male-dominated world of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, art can occasionally reveal some intriguing details:

In the illustration (shown to the right) from an early fifteenth-century French version of a book about noble women of the Classical era by Giovanni Boccaccio [1313-75], almost all the men are wearing underpants, even in the bath. However, most interesting is the female figure at bottom left, clad in a chemise of transparent material. There is no evidence of a bra but she is most definitely wearing knickers underneath! Score one for the girls.

In another later printed version of the same book, this wood-cut illustration represents women pretending to be men but it clearly shows fifteenth-century



Above: Flora welcomes two prostitutes and their clients (fol. 98v), *Des cleres et nobles femmes*, **1402, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS Fr. 12420.**

Below: Sweet Apples (f. 6), 1380, Liège Tacuinum Sanitatis, Liège University Library, MS 1041.



Boccaccio's 'Famous Women' printed 1474 Bavarian State Library



females in knickers. A line drawing from a *Tacuinum Sanitatis* or Book of Health from 1380, shows a well-dressed lady catching falling apples in her skirt. Just visible is one leg of what could be baggy bloomers that reach as low as her stocking tops.

In an anonymous French tale of the thirteenth century, *De Braies au Cordelier,* translated by Richard O'Gorman, a wife takes a lover, Cordelier, who departs after a tryst forgetting to take his braies with him. Next morning, when the husband goes to put them on, he realises they are not his. His quick-witted wife tells him they are hers, borrowed from a friar, in the hope they will enable her to conceive. The husband accepts her explanation without any expression of shock, suggesting he did not think it unusual for a woman to wear braies.

All these literary examples given above could be fictitious, down to the imagination of the artist or author, but one written source can surely be considered factual – legal documentation. There is the case of a trial for rape in Paris in 1337. Two female apprentices, both aged twelve and both named Perrette, were sexually assaulted by one Jahanin Agnes. The account states (in translation from the French) what he did to one of the girls:

He made her, Perrette la Souplice, go down into the cellar against her will, using force, and threw her to the floor and pulled down her braies...

Here is an example of an ordinary, respectable girl wearing knickers in the first half of the fourteenth century in Paris, France. Unfortunately, this is two centuries before Anne Boleyn's time yet surely such useful, confidence-enhancing garments did not go out of fashion. They would be invaluable to help secure in place the absorbent linen napkins or rags during the monthly period, in addition to pinning them in position by looping the ends over a cord tied around the waist. This age-old method of sanitary protection was still used until the mid-twentieth century, the cloths being washed out and reused. Perhaps my Granny had it correctly when she always referred to her underwear as her 'unmentionables'. It may be the case that women's braies were either beneath notice or too embarrassing to list in wardrobe accounts and inventories. Does absence of evidence mean evidence of absence?

Incidentally, on the delicate matter of sanitary protection, medieval and Tudor women did have the option of using tampons, if they could afford to buy a couple – one to wear while the other was being washed out for reuse. Silk sponges were natural sea-sponges imported from the Mediterranean. Less coarse than bath sponges, these were soft and very absorbent when wet. They could be trimmed to the suitable size and shape, as required.

Prostitutes would soak them in vinegar and insert them as a barrier to conception. [Interestingly, silk

sponge tampons are available on the internet today, but are not necessarily recommended.]

So, did Anne Boleyn wear knickers? Women's braies were certainly worn in France at particular points in history and since Anne spent time at the French court as a young woman, I would suggest she took to wearing braies for comfort and protection. Whether King Henry would have objected to her wearing them during the later stages of their courtship or recognised them as symbolic of Anne's respectability, we cannot say. I think Anne *did* wear knickers, at least occasionally, and probably most other women did so too.

In addition to the above see https://www.theanneboleynfiles.com/resources/q-a/did-anne-boleyn-wear-a-farthingale/. The additional Q&A in this article of March 2013 contains a note from Baroness von Reis, saying:

> *They [Tudor women] also wore drawers with 1 tie on the side this was optional, and men wore drawers as well, or if you want to call them knickers. The reason they tied on one side is so that you would not loose [sic] them down the lou or privey [sic], what ever you call it the camode [sic], toilet.*

I do not know where the information originated since the baroness gives no reference – the spelling is not the best but it is interesting.

I also want to send thanks to Lorna Thomas of the Wolfshead Bowmen for sending me the link to the 1337 rape case in Paris.

TONI MOUNT



Historian Interview

ALL ABOUT CATHERINE PARR AND ANNE ASKEW

An interview with Derek Wilson



Catherine Parr is often remembered as the wife who outlived Henry VIII. As we know, in reality she was so much more than that. What would you say was her finest achievement, and why?

It's a pity – and not a little odd – that in this highly feministic age many people still seem to be thinking of Catherine in terms of her relationship with her husband. She was one of several remarkable women in an age of remarkable women – Marguerite of Navarre, Margaret of Austria, Vittoria Colonna, Bona Sforza, Anne Askew, to mention but a few. What makes Catherine stand out from the historical record (and the same is also true of Anne) is that she was a Christian evangelist. Through the power of patronage given to her by her position, by her influence with the king and by her writing (in an age when women simply did *not* publish books) she dedicated her life to the spread of the Gospel. That may be something a secular age finds difficult to grasp – or applaud.

Can you tell us something about the books that Catherine published?

Between 1544 and 1548 Catherine authored or edited four books. Three were devotional works – reflections on psalms and collections of prayers. The other was the remarkable *Lamentation of a Sinner*, a personal testimony of her own spiritual journey from 'dead, human, historical faith' to the 'true, infused faith and knowledge of Christ'. This remarkable lady went on public record to declare 'neither life, honour, riches, neither whatsoever I possess here … be it never so dearly beloved of me, but most willingly and gladly I would leave it, to win any man to Christ'. I know of no other ruler, male or female, in our history who has made such a forthright demonstration of religious conviction.

Historian Interview

How would you describe the relationship between Henry VIII and Catherine?

How do you begin to understand the behaviour of a man who had no moral compass? Why did Henry choose Catherine after a cataclysmic marital career during which four of his previous wives had each proved to be a disappointment? He obviously had respect for and confidence in her abilities, as was shown by his appointing Catherine as regent during his absence on campaign in France in 1544. With Catherine's motivation we are on safer ground because she described her emotions in a later letter to the man she really loved, Thomas Seymour: '… my mind was fully bent to marry you before any man I knew. However, God withstood my will therein most vehemently for a time and, through His grace and goodness, made that possible which seemeth to me most unpossible … to renounce utterly my own will, and to follow his will most willingly.' I am convinced that the 'Esther factor' was one which helped to clear her mind. The Old Testament lady was a Jewish queen married to a powerful Persian monarch who was able to use her influence to ease the sufferings of her own people. Like Esther, Catherine found herself faced with the question, 'Who knows but that you are come to the kingdom for such a time as this?'

How would you describe the relationship between Catherine and Mary, given their differences in religious belief?

As is well known, Catherine took seriously her rôle as stepmother to the king's children and, for the first time in their lives, brought them occasionally together at court. Mary was by then a mature woman in her late twenties. There is some indication that the queen tried subtly to influence Mary's religious thinking. Because Henry had forbidden most of his subjects to read the English Bible, Catherine undertook a scheme to get some portions of Scripture into the hands of the people. She sponsored translations of Erasmus Latin Paraphrases of parts of the New Testament. She entrusted to Mary work on St John's gospel. The princess must have felt uncomfortable about embarking on a project which would scarcely have had the approval of her confessor. In fact, she left her portion of the work unfinished, crying off on the grounds of ill-health.

Catherine nearly ended up in the Tower of London. How close was this to actually happening, in your opinion?

The crisis of the summer of 1546 is the dramatic highlight of this dual biography. It is recorded by John Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments* and he had the information from members of the ex-queen's entourage. There seems no reason to doubt the main elements of the story. It had its origins in two conciliar factions jockeying for power in what everyone at court must have realised were the closing months of Henry's reign. The Norfolk-Gardiner-Wriothesley clique were anxious to get their hands on the reins of power during the coming minority of Edward VI. The Seymour-Dudley-Cranmer group were equally determined to outmanoeuvre them. Bishop Gardiner, as the story goes, was offered a half-chance to strike directly at the queen – and he grabbed it. This fits psychologically with the cautious, reactionary politician who, rather than boldly proclaim his own convictions, preferred to undermine the reputations of his ideological opponents. Three years earlier he had used the same tactics with Cranmer – and failed. When it came to getting his hands dirty with Anne's interrogation/torture, he, typically, left it to Wriothesley. As to Henry's role in this *piece de theatre*, once again second guessing him is difficult. Three things are clear: 1. He reckoned himself as a theologian; 2. He was convinced of his own orthodoxy (and seemed oblivious to the fact that that was a movable feast); 3. He loved play acting: So, was he really piqued enough at being lectured to by a woman or was he feigning anger in order to bring Catherine down a peg or two? I incline to the latter. We know he didn't trust Gardiner; he left him off the regency council in 1544 and he deliberately excluded him in his will from the council appointed to assist during Edward's minority.

Historian Interview

And now on to Anne Askew... Anne is well remembered for the brutal end to her life, but generally we don't know much about her life. Are you able to give us a brief overview of what brought her to the Tower as a heretic?

Anne was one of the early 'middle-class' converts to evangelicalism She came from a part of the country very prone to religious radicalism. She had studied Tyndale's New Testament (circulating in England from 1526) and possibly had other banned books from her eldest brother who studied at Cambridge (an intellectual hotbed of heresy) and learned from two other brothers who were members of the royal court what was going on in London. John Lascelles, who died with her, was a near neighbour of the Askews and belonged to a 'network' of heretical families in the Trent Valley. She was married off to Thomas Kyme who lived deep in the fenland amidst a very different, aggressively conservative society (This was where the Lincolnshire rising, protesting at monastery closures, started in 1536). Anne eventually left her husband and went to Lincoln to obtain a divorce from the episcopal court. Failing there, she travelled to London, to plead her case in the Court of Chancery, seemingly aided by friends and relatives in the Inns of Court (another heresy-infested institution). One of the causes of friction between husband and wife was her 'gospelling'. The first officially approved English Bible – the Great Bible – appeared in 1539 and Anne read from it to her servants and illiterate neighbours. This infuriated the local clergy 1. because it was perfectly legal (until 1543) and 2. Because Anne was far better versed in Scripture than they were. In London she was closely examined by the bishop and by the municipal authorities and eventually sent home with orders to 'behave herself'. It was when Wriothesley thought that he might be able to reach court evangelicals through Anne that she was summoned back for further interrogation.

Anne was also known as a writer and poet. Is there any remaining writing in existence today?

When Anne was in prison in 1546 she wrote detailed accounts of her experiences and smuggled them out. They reached John Bale, a renegade friar and ardent evangelical propagandist, living in exile in the Lutheran state of Hesse. Within months he had had them printed in two volumes with his own tendentious running commentary They rapidly circulated in England. During the reign of Edward VI they could be read freely and had a considerable impact. Later, when Bale and John Foxe were both living in Basel, Foxe incorporated Anne's story in his *Acts and Monuments*, though shorn of Bale's glosses. Bale had added to his second volume a 'Ballad', supposedly written by the martyr in Newgate prison but whether or not this is genuine is debatable.

Anne was a "gospeller" in an age where women were not respected as preachers. What did she do, and do we know how the public received her preaching?

During her time in London she met with groups of evangelicals, doubtless including friends and country neighbours who belonged to the legal fraternity or the royal court. She knew she was being watched and so behaved circumspectly. Nothing emerging from her trials suggested immoral behaviour. Even the Jesuit, Robert Parsons, writing in 1605 to denigrate Foxe's account, could find nothing to say about her 'evil living'. As to her impact, this mostly came posthumously as a result of the books. They went through several editions and her story featured in the works of the chroniclers Holinshed and Stowe. Anne became and has remained among the most famous of England's Protestant martyrs, and the most famous female martyr.

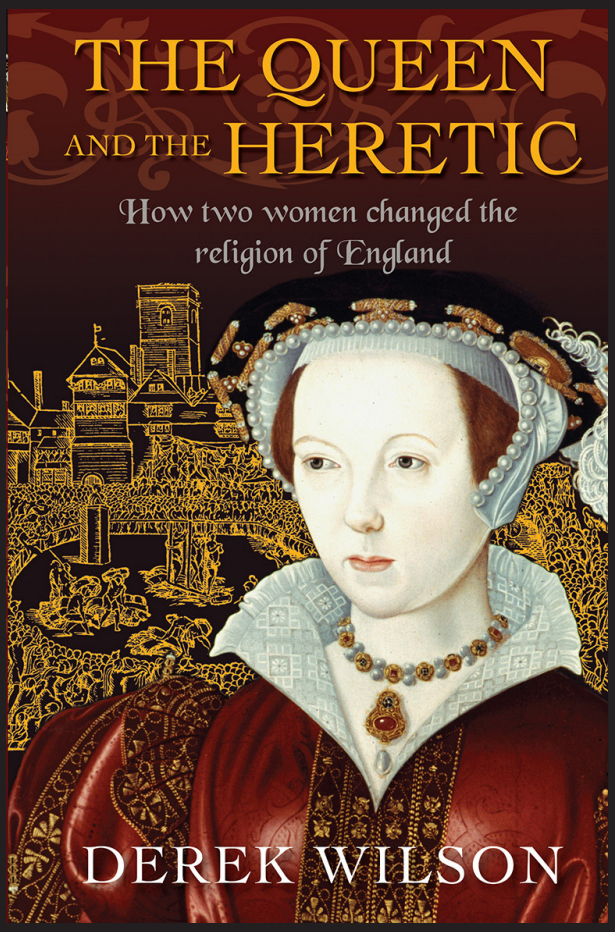
Historian Interview

And finally, can you tell us how you settled on writing a book about Catherine Parr and Anne Askew?

This book comes towards the end of a long writing career stretching back over more than fifty years. During that time, Reformation studies have grown in importance. We now know much more than before about the origins and development of what was this most fundamental revolution in English thought and life. Many scholars have contributed invaluable studies by delving into local and family archives so that we now have a much clearer picture of how England morphed from a Catholic to a Protestant country. Way back in Cambridge days I explored the Anne Askew story in a prize-winning university essay in which I tried to probe how 'heresy' spread from the lower classes to the better-educated and more influential sections of society. The present book has enabled me to integrate my early work with later research and to integrate Anne's story with the more 'headline' events of Tudor life. It also seemed to me to be high time to evaluate Catherine Parr's life. She has for far too long been pushed into the shadows by the more sensational and 'romantic' of Henry's wives. For my money, she was better educated, more intelligent, more high-principled, more courageous and more sympatico than all the others, with the possible exception of Catherine of Aragon. If you're inclined to disagree with that assessment, read the book and see whether it shifts your viewpoint.

Can you tell us about any other projects you are working on?

As for my current public activities, I'm taking a year off from speaking engagements having had a hectic 2017, a year which marked the 500th anniversary of the Reformation and the 50th of my professional writing career. At the moment I'm more involved in journalistic articles and in preparing something to mark the 400th anniversary of the sailing of the *Mayflower*. (Just who *were* these 'Pilgrims' and what did they really believe?) Doubtless the new book will see me hoofing around the country again in 2020. Further details can always be found on my website – **www.derekwilson.com**

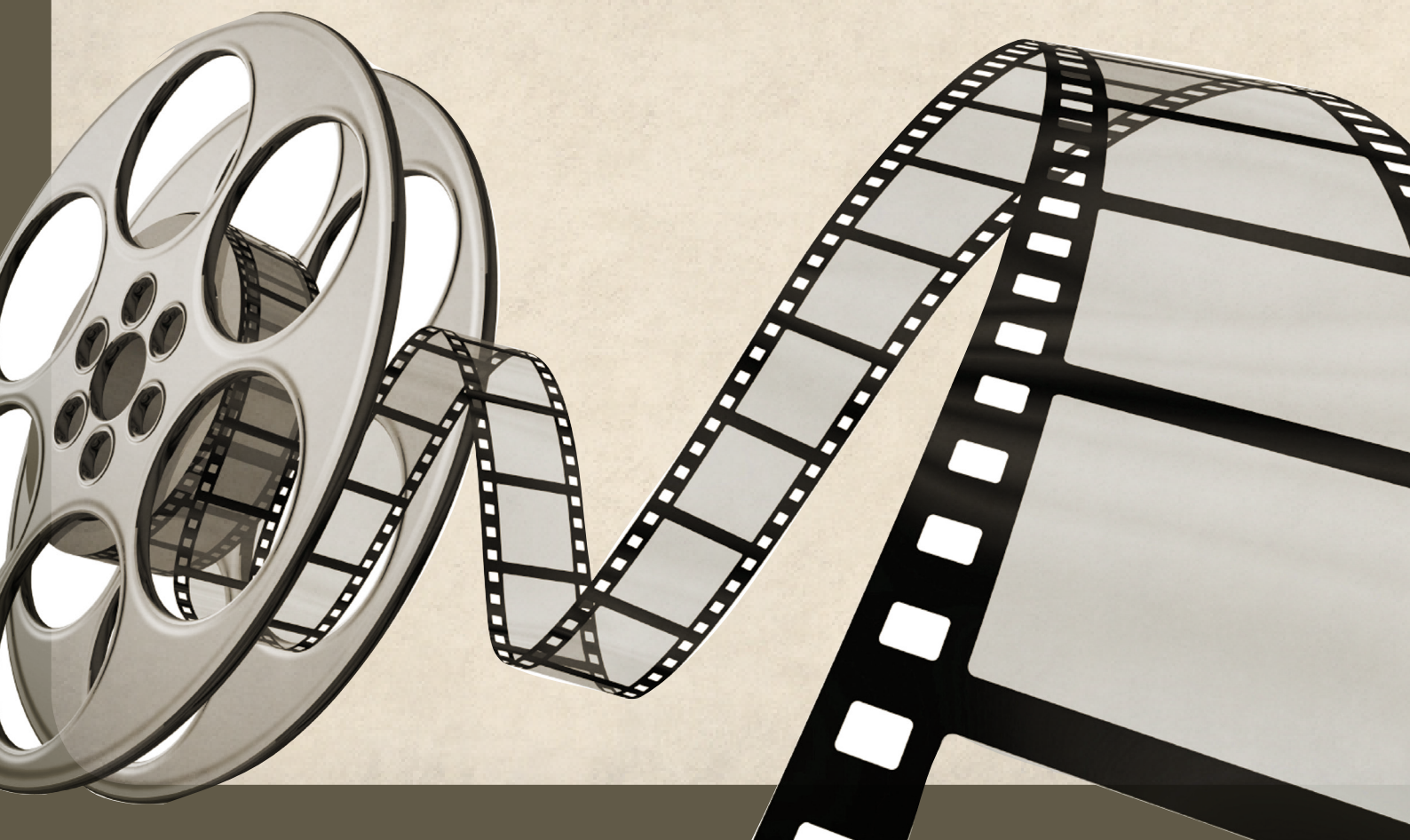


Derek Wilson is one of Britain's leading authors of history and historical fiction. In a writing career spanning half a century he has written 70+ books, and innumerable articles, as well as featuring in radio and television programmes, speaking at literary festivals and at venues including the British Museum, the Tate Gallery, Hampton Court Palace, the British Library and Manchester Cathedral. Having graduated from Cambridge in History and Theology, he has explored many aspects of the Reformation. Among his popular works are *Out of the Storm – The Life of Martin Luther*, *A Brief History of the English Reformation*, *Henry VIII – Reformer and Tyrant*, and *Mrs Luther and Her Sisters – Reformation Women*. He currently lives in Devon, writes frequently for leading historical magazines and is working on a series of Tudor crime novels. His most recent book is *Superstition and Science – Renaissance to Enlightenment*.



TOIL AND TROUBLE: THE TUDORS AND WITCHCRAFT

By Emma Elizabeth Taylor





In our modern times, it is rare that the supernatural is considered a reality or a threat. Our media is saturated with supernatural tales of horror and gore, and the supernatural has taken a root in our collective consciousness, with vampires, ghosts, witches and demons ingrained as myths, legends and even heroes in our books, movies and television shows. However, it is important to remember that these legends of the supernatural come from a very human place; specifically, from the myths and legends of those that came before us. Many of these creatures and entities can be found in all corners of the world, in countless iterations; tales of bloodsucking beings from across the world have informed the modern iteration of the vampire, and various medicinal healers, doctors and legends have informed our modern interpretation of the witch. These myths and legends are not simply stories; they give us an insight into the belief systems of those that came before us and can help us to understand how our ancestors seen the world in a time before modern science and technology. In this article, I will be looking at the folkloric staple that is the witch, and what the Tudor understanding of a witch can tell us about their culture, belief systems and world view.

Above: A contemporary woodcut of a coven surrounding the Devil. (Author's Collection)



In Tudor society, religion, folklore and superstition lived side by side. While the Church was a central part of people's everyday lives, many relied on charms and potions for a variety of life's problems. Amulets and charms were commonly used to ward off evil spirits, cure disease and even to make someone fall in love with the bearer. Modern science and technology were in their very infancy, and it was believed that various potions and herbs could aid in curing disease. Many villages and towns had herbalists and practioners of 'magic'; this was often simply a mixture of herbal knowledge and folk superstition. This type of magic was sometimes known as 'white magic', and was usually considered helpful, rather than occult or evil. Many superstitions arose around those who practiced white magic; it was said that the seventh son of a seventh son would be predisposed to white magic, and may become a 'wise man', who could be both helpful and harmful to the community, depending on their predisposition. Small physical deformities and blemishes were considered signs of having the 'gift' of healing, and often these people practised healing 'magic' in their small communities. This type of magic could also be carried out by women, and women who practised this were often called 'cunning women' or 'cunning folk'. It is interesting to consider that, in the Tudor era, this type of magic existed alongside strict religious beliefs with no

Above: Witches travelling by broom in contemporary imagination. (Author's Collection)

real interference between the two, despite the Pope having renounced magic and witchcraft in 1484. Astrology was also widely believed, and even monarchs were known to consult astrologers to predict auspicious days that were to come. Prophecies were also widely considered to be accurate, with dreams and visions considered portent of events yet to take place. While the Church was, without a doubt hugely influential, this mix of folklore, religion and superstition was the accepted norm, and many people found comfort in these homemade potions and charms, believing in their protection and effectiveness. Not every person who practiced healing was considered a witch; however, using any form of 'magic' certainly put the user in a precarious position in the community.

Despite the potential of this magic for good, it was believed that cunning-folk, or witches, could also do harm to the community. While charms and potions could be used to heal, many people also believed that their local healer could do harmful magic as well. This led to many people, predominantly women, being accused of witchcraft; perhaps after a disagreement with a neighbour, or a potion gone wrong. Many believed that witches could consort with the devil and demons and were often accused of having a familiar; a supernatural entity who took the form of an animal, to help with their evil deeds. People believed that witches could cause natural disasters, illness and even curse death upon individuals and families, making them a force to be feared as well as respected. And, while Tudor society held a certain respect for these healers, laws were still passed that meant witchcraft was punishable by death. Henry VIII passed this law in the 1540's, and while it was later repealed, further laws against the use of witchcraft were passed in 1563 and 1604. However, in the reign of Tudor monarchs, Henry VIII and his children, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, the death penalty was relatively rare for witches. While many were put on trial, most escaped with their lives. It was not until the reign of James I and VI (1567-1625) that suspected witched were widely executed. James I and VI wrote a philosophical dissertation called *Daemonologie,* which was a study in demonology, as well as a treatise on the merits of prosecuting witches in a Christian society. People accused of witchcraft were almost always female, and it was extremely rare that a man would receive a death sentence for witchcraft, even though wise men and male practitioners of 'magic' did exist. Often, suspected witches were tortured and harangued into confessing, and alongside testimony of the purported victims, could be accused of a range of crimes related to their practice of magic, including consorting with the devil, cursing, poisoning and even murder. Between the years of 1563 and 1700, around 3000 women in England were put on trial as suspected witches, with around 400 women receiving the death penalty for their supposed evil deeds. While this is a shocking number, this was not only taking place in England; from 1484 until around 1750 some 200,000 witches were tortured, burnt or hanged in Western Europe.

To a modern perspective, this seems inherently barbaric; with little to no solid proof, many women were executed for supposedly consorting with demons and carrying out heinous

deeds. However, when one looks at the time in which this took place, the reasoning behind this paranoia and fear begins to make sense. Tudor and Jacobean society was still inherently a patriarchal system, in which women were considered the lesser, weaker sex. Women had few rights of their own, and without a husband or family to protect them, became the subject of suspicion and revulsion. Women were considered to have 'weaker wills' than men, and supposedly were more easily tempted, making them the targets of demonic forces and possessions. The Fall of Man was also taught within the religion of the time; by eating the apple in the Garden of Eden, Eve was the first sinner, and thus caused Adam to sin. Historians Keith Thomas and Alan McFarlane study the anthropological reasoning behind witchcraft allegations and note that English witchcraft is endemic rather than epidemic; it is limited to small cases in certain communities, often beginning as an argument, disagreement, or misfortune that turns sour. Of course; there are some notable cases of larger groups of women being accused of witchcraft; one example being the Great Scottish Witch Hunt of 1597, in which 400 women were put on trial for witchcraft under the rule of King James I and VI. This, however, was only one of five major witch hunts which took place in Scotland around this time, making it clear that King James I and VI was much more intent on hunting down supposed witches than his Tudor predecessors.

It was often older women who were accused of witchcraft. This was mostly because they were easy targets; often widowed and living on the fringes of society, they were easy scapegoats for misfortunes in the community and the circumstantial 'evidence' was easily given through testimonies of other members of the community. Unmarried women were also common suspects of witchcraft; similarly, to older women, they may not have had notable members of society willing to stand up and defend them, and, as such were easy targets. However, it is important to remember that, while the women in question may have been the scapegoat, the fear behind the accusation is very real indeed. Witchcraft was widely believed in, in the same way the teachings of the Church were, and the precedent for prosecution written into the law of the country.

Thanks to modern science and technology, we now, of course, know that potions made from herbs are nothing to be feared, and an old woman with a black cat is not likely to curse us. However, looking back from our modern perspective, it is clear to see how a combination of factors led to this mythos developing around the idea of the witch; and we can find the roots of our modern supernatural witch buried in the truths of history. And, while the cunning folk of the Tudor times may not have ridden a broomstick or stirred a caldron, their history and the superstitions surrounding them is nothing short of fascinating.

EMMA TAYLOR

DÆMONOLOGIE,

IN FORME OF A DIA-LOGVE,

Diuided into three books:

WRITTEN BY THE HIGH and mightie Prince, IAMES by the *grace of God King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, &c.*

LONDON,
Printed by *Arnold Hatfield* for *Robert VVald-graue.*
1603



UPON THE ALTAR OF DIANA: ENVISIONING ANNE BOLEYN AND KATHERYN HOWARD AS SACRIFICIAL WITCHES

BY ROLAND HUI



Anne Boleyn (by an Unknown Artist)



Anne Anthropologist Margaret Murray

Centuries after her death, Anne Boleyn continues to incite strong opinions from those studying her life and career. As a controversial figure, it is not surprising that scholarship on Henry VIII's infamous wife has often been contentious, particularly in regards to her dramatic fall. Explanations have run the gamut from the King tiring of Anne and wanting a new wife, to the machinations of a self-serving Thomas Cromwell, to the Queen being actually guilty as charged.[1] One of the more curious explanations for Anne's destruction was that she had borne a deformed child. According to historian Retha Warnicke, the miscarriage was interpreted by a horrified Henry VIII that his wife had engaged in adultery and incest, and that the nature of the birth suggested she was a witch.[2]

Warnicke's argument that Anne Boleyn was brought down by 16th century beliefs in witchcraft was actually not the first. Decades earlier, the famed anthropologist Margaret Murray (1863-1963), was firmly convinced that Anne was indeed a witch - or rather a pagan - and that her execution was not really for the crimes she was charged with, but to fulfill her destiny as a 'sacrificial victim'.

Margaret Murray's background was initially in the study of Egyptology. She worked under the tutelage of the eminent archaeologist Flinders Petrie, and participated in excavations in Abydos and Cairo. A keen scholar, Murray published several well received academic papers during her time abroad. While in England after the turn of the century, she continued her studies in ancient Egyptian culture, and was the first woman to perform a public unwrapping of a mummy in 1908.

Murray's other great interest was in European folklore. In 1921, she published the seminal *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe*. Going against conventional analyses of Medieval and Early Modern witchcraft which essentially regarded the phenomenon as a product of make-believe and hysteria, Murray theorized that it was indeed an actual religion, one that predated Christianity. Incredibly, she added, it managed to survive in secret for centuries and lasted until the 17th century when its traces were finally eradicated. Until its demise, this 'Dianic Cult' - named after Diana, the Roman goddess of the hunt who was also associated with the moon, the woodlands, and fertility - was followed by the populace, high and low. As a Mother Goddess figure, Diana was often worshipped with a companion male deity (Cernunnos of the ancient Celts for example). This 'horned god' (he was usually depicted wearing antlers) would later be corrupted into the Devil by Christians hostile to the pagans, Murray claimed.

Central to the religion's tenets, was the mystical association between the ruler and the land. The vitality of the king was essential. If he should ever grow weak or die, his kingdom would perish. This notion, which Murray borrowed from James George Frazer's *The Golden Bough:*

A Study in Comparative Religion (1890), went on to explain how to prevent such a calamity. The king - or someone in his place - must be killed as a sacrifice. Only by such an act could the survival of all be ensured. As Murray wrote in her follow-up *The God of the Witches* (1931):

The underlying meaning of the sacrifice of the divine victim is that the spirit of God takes up its abode in a human being, usually the king, who thereby becomes the giver of fertility to his entire kingdom. When the divine man begins to show signs of age, he is put to death lest the spirit of God should also grow old and weaken like its human container. But until the time of sacrifice arrives, no sacrilegious hand may be raised against the incarnate god; for his death, by accident or design, means overwhelming disaster to his people. When, however, the time comes for him to die no hand may be outstretched to save him.[3]

Through her research, Murray claimed to have identified famous historical figures who were ritualistically slain including England's King William II and Thomas Becket, and France's Joan of Arc and Gilles de Rais. William did not die because of an accident, and Becket for being a 'turbulent priest', and across the channel, nor did the famed Maid of Orleans for heresy and her fellow soldier de Rais for murder - all of them, according to Murray, gave their lives - and willingly - to guarantee the wellbeing of their respective countries. While William II perished as a leader whose time was up, the rest were 'substitute victims' who were offered up in place of their masters; Becket for King Henry II, and Joan of Arc and Gilles de Rais for King Charles VII.

In *The God of the Witches*, Margaret Murray would draw attention to another well known face from history - Anne Boleyn. While imprisoned, the Queen, Murray believed, spoke of having magical powers over the weather - that 'there would be no rain in England until she left the Tower'. This was taken as confirmation that Anne was a witch (as the Church and society called such persons) or rather an adherent of the 'Old Religion', that is the Dianic Cult.[4]

That Anne Boleyn was a follower of a still existing pagan faith was expanded upon in Murray's *The Divine King in England* (1954). Not only was she a so-called witch, but like Thomas Becket, Joan of Arc, and Gilles de Rais, she was also a substitute victim. Thus Anne had been beheaded, not actually for high treason (adultery and plotting regicide) as commonly believed, but as a surrogate for her husband the King.

The evidence for Anne's extraordinary position was a hodgepodge of Murray's unusual theories and her fanciful reinterpretation of historical events. Where she did agree with mainstream historians was in Henry VIII's obsession for a male heir. After years of marriage to Katherine of Aragon, there was still only a daughter the Princess Mary. Consequently, his eyes had wandered upon Anne Boleyn, younger and more attractive than his Spanish Queen, and presumably fertile. But where Murray and her academic colleagues would part ways was in her other reason for Henry VIII's desire for Anne. The young lady was prepared to give her life to provide him an heir. She would be willing to die as a royal substitute if necessary.

Being from East Anglia, 'that part of England in which the Old Religion flourished long after it had disappeared elsewhere',[5] Anne, though ostensibly a Christian, upheld the old pagan ways as well. She was also a young woman of good reputation, 'there was not the breath of a word against her',[6] and thus entirely suitable to replace the middle age Queen Katherine. Henry VIII himself was ageing too, and by 1533, was 42 years old. This according to Murray was momentous. Multiples of the number 7 (in this case 7 x 6 = 42) were considered sacred. A sovereign (or his substitute) might be put to death when his age or his reign reached a multiplication of 7. At 42, Henry Tudor's power was seen as waning by his subjects as he had no male heir. His removal was deemed imminent. However, with the birth of the Princess Elizabeth that September, the sacrifice of the King was averted as he had proved himself capable of siring more children.

But in January 1536, tragedy struck. Anne Boleyn miscarried a male child. The Tudor succession was seen as in jeopardy unless a blood sacrifice was offered. As the King himself obviously did not want to be killed, it was the Queen who must die. That spring, she was condemned on trumped up charges by a tribunal of 26 peers (that is 2 x 13); 13 being the number of individuals in a traditional witches' coven. This 'suggests that the whole trial was a ceremony connected with the Old Religion, and had nothing to do with Christianity or the laws of England', Murray opined. With Anne dead to appease the ancient gods, Henry VIII was able to wed again and safeguard his dynasty with a son.

Anne Boleyn, unfortunate as she was, at least died happy. When she was executed in the 'sacrificial month of May' - a time held in significance by pagans,[7] - the late Queen had fulfilled her part of the substitute victim perfectly. She 'knew her fate and rejoiced in it', Murray wrote.[8] As evidence of this, a saying attributed to Anne was brought to attention - that the King had raised her to be a marquess, then a queen, and then a martyr. That Anne had not been held in a dungeon, but in the lavish royal lodgings of the Tower of London, was also taken as proof by Murray of her eminence. Substitute victims were always greatly honoured before they were put to death.

Not only was Henry VIII's second wife a substitute victim, so was his fifth, Katheryn Howard. Like her cousin Anne Boleyn, Katheryn, being a Howard was of a 'victim family'. Murray quoting a French envoy, observed that the Howards 'are subject to be beheaded and cannot avoid it, because they come of a race naturally given that way'.[9] Evidently, she took this to mean that the Howards were specially marked for sacrifice by the pagan religion.[10]

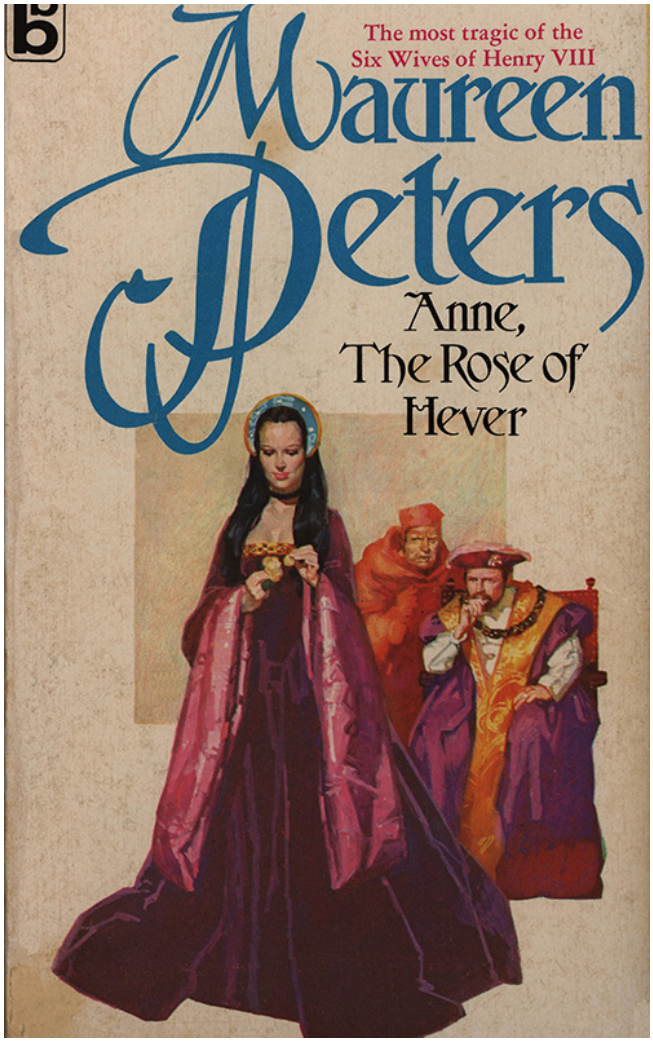
Katheryn Howard's fall was not dissimilar to Anne Boleyn's by Murray's account. She too was entirely innocent of the charges brought against her, and her death was in reality as a proxy for the declining Henry VIII. 'The whole episode shows the living force of the old Dianic cult influencing and moving all the actors in the tragedy'.[11]



Katheryn Howard (by Wenceslas Hollar after Hans Holbein)

That Katheryn was raised high to be a royal victim was apparently obvious to her contemporaries. When Anne of Cleves, Henry VIII's discarded fourth wife, paid the new Queen a visit at court, she did so with 'exaggerated humility', addressing Katheryn on her knees. Murray took this to mean that Anne recognized Katheryn as a 'destined victim' and honoured her as such.[12] Even the Queen's motto - *No other will than his* - acknowledged her status. Katheryn regarded her husband as the 'God Incarnate' and was wholly submissive to his will, even unto death.[13]

Katheryn's fate as a destined victim would be fulfilled when she seemingly proved barren. After months of marriage to the King, she had no child to show for it. In response, her ruin was plotted by the Council; its members were all devotees of the Old Religion. Katheryn was falsely



Anne, the Rose of Hever
by Maureen Peters

charged with infidelity with two courtiers Francis Dereham and Thomas Culpepper. At the trial of the men, Katheryn's uncle the Duke of Norfolk was seen to be laughing. This said Murray could only have been because of his relief that it was his niece who was to be sacrificed, not himself.[14] After the Queen went to the block in February 1542, Henry VIII celebrated by inviting 26 ladies to dine with him at court. This number did not go unnoticed by Murray; 26 was equivalent to two witches' covens of 13.

In the decades after Margaret Murray's death in 1963, much of her findings had been revaluated with much of it discredited. Though her work in Egyptology is still highly regarded, the same could not be said about her research on witchcraft. Academics have found no proof that an ancient pre-Christian religion lasted into the Middle Ages and into Early Modern era in Western Europe, much less in secret. Nor could they agree with Murray that those accused of witchcraft were in fact participating in fertility-based rituals and gatherings that were then distorted into Satanic practices by their Christians persecutors.

As one of her critics observed, Margaret Murray's conclusions about witchcraft were 'based on deeply flawed and illogical arguments'.[15] Taking a look at why she considered two of Henry VIII's wives as witches/pagans, it is clear that Murray believed what she wanted to and rejected evidence that did not support her claims. When Anne Boleyn was mentioned as having supernatural powers, Murray ignored the obvious that she was merely alluding to her innocence through a figure of speech. That there was 'not the breath of a word against her' was also misleading. Anne, never popular, was the subject of innumerable attacks upon her character. She was famously called, among other things, 'the scandal of Christendom', a 'goggled-eyed whore', and a 'naughty paikie' (prostitute). Her supposed attitude as an enthusiastic victim was equally problematic. Murray made absolutely no reference to Anne's well documented sorrow in the Tower of London or to her many declarations that she was innocent.

The arguments about Katheryn Howard were just as bizarre. Murray's certainty of her clan as a victim family ready to be sacrificed was as ridiculous as her speculation about the multiples of seven and of courtiers organized into covens. Murray's mention of Anne of Cleves paying tribute to Katheryn was another howler. If Anne were truly saluting her as the next substitute victim, the Dianic cult was indeed the worst kept secret in Tudor England.[16]

Although Margaret Murray's scholarship in witchcraft has been panned by the academic community, the public has been drawn to her unconventional views. With popular interest in Anne Boleyn as a witch,[17] author Maureen Peters based her novel *Anne, the Rose of Hever* (1969) upon Murray's theories. In the book, Peters even

has Anne and Henry VIII married in a pagan bloodletting ceremony presided by a priest of the Old Religion. But Murray's legacy was not in inspiring historical fiction, but in helping to create a veritable new religion - Wicca. While scholars may have scoffed at her beliefs in a secret pagan sect, complete with famous members such as Henry VIII's wives in its ranks, countless individuals have been attracted to what Murray also offered in her books - a vision of a benign ancient nature-based faith in reverence of a Mother Goddess. Today, innumerable numbers of men and women, of all ages, walks of life, and of different backgrounds - identify themselves as witches, thanks to Margaret Murray.[18]

ROLAND HUI

1 That Henry VIII had Anne Boleyn removed to replace her with Jane Seymour is a longstanding traditional view. For Thomas Cromwell engineering Anne's fall, see Eric Ives, *Anne Boleyn* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986). For the opinion that Anne was truly guilty of adultery, refer to G. W. Bernard, *Anne Boleyn: Fatal Attractions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).
2 Retha M. Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
3 Margaret Murray, *The God of the Witches*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 60.
4 Margaret Murray, *The God of the Witches*, p. 154.
5 Margaret Murray, *The Divine King in England: A Study in Anthropology* (London: Faber, 1954), p. 128.
6 ibid.
7 Margaret Murray, *The Divine King in England,* p. 140.
8 Margaret Murray, *The Divine King in England,* p. 134.
9 Margaret Murray, *The Divine King in England,* p. 128.
10 Other Howard victims, according to Murray, included the Earl of Surrey (executed in 1547) and his father the third Duke of Norfolk, who almost shared his son's fate. Robert Devereux, the second Earl of Essex and a Howard descendent, was another substitute victim.
11 Margaret Murray, *The Divine King in England,* p. 143.
12 Margaret Murray, *The Divine King in England,* p. 144.
13 Margaret Murray, *The Divine King in England,* pp. 144 - 145.
14 Margaret Murray, *The Divine King in England,* p. 147.
15 Jacqueline Simpson, 'Margaret Murray's Witch Cult', in *The Witchcraft Reader - Second Edition* (edited by Darren Oldridge), (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 93.
16 According to Murray, many were in the know about the pagan religion, including Katherine of Aragon, Thomas More, and Cardinal Wolsey.
17 Roland Hui, 'Anne of the Wicked Ways: Perceptions of Anne Boleyn as a Witch in History and in Popular Culture' in *Parergon - Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Early Modern Studies (Inc.)*, [Volume 35, Number 1 (2018), pp. 97-118]. Online at: https://www.academia.edu/36850156
18 In 2001, it was estimated that some 134,000 people in the United States identified themselves as witches or pagans. See: Neela Banerjee, 'Wiccans Keep the Faith With a Religion Under Wraps', *The New York Times*, May 16, 2007. The number has undoubtedly increased in the past seventeen years, not to mention that followers of Wicca or similar religions exist elsewhere around the world too.

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

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STAGING THE SUPERNATURAL IN TUDOR AND STUART ENGLAND

BY LAUREN BROWNE

Modern audiences of Shakespeare's plays are often accustomed to high-tech set design, complex costumes, and impressive visual effects. A prime example of this is the 2016 Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) production of The Tempest, which was created in collaboration with Intel, in association with The Imaginarium Studios, and directed by Gregory Doran. The visually stunning production included a set modelled from a cross-section of the Mary Rose, and a transparent floor filled with polycarbonate 'thins' designed to support the weight of the set and actors. By far the most impressive element, technically and visually, was the incredibly high-tech costume of the character Ariel. The RSC worked in conjunction with Intel to create an avatar to make Ariel fly.[1] Gone are the wires and rigging of older productions, and the simple the balcony and trap doors used in The Globe. The use of technology in this production truly captured the essence of the magic described in Shakespeare's script and left audiences reeling long after the final curtain.

1 I would highly recommend the RSC's video 'Creating The Tempest' featured on their website, which details exactly how they created this stunning visual effect and to get a flavour what it looked like on stage.



The lavish spectacle of Gregory Doran's vision of "The Tempest" (The Independent)

The experience of watching Gregory Doran's iteration of *The Tempest* left me wondering how the original staging of *The Tempest,* and other Shakespearean plays focusing on the supernatural, would have been perceived by early modern audiences. Like Doran's production of our time, The Globe and other Elizabethan and Jacobean theatres were working on the cutting edge of their own technology. Through the use of stagecraft, pyrotechnics, and music, a sense of 'otherworldliness' was explored and disseminated, impressing early modern audiences in much the same way as Doran's interpretation impressed audiences in 2016-17.

Fireworks and pyrotechnics were used in Tudor drama to create special effects such as thunder, lightning, cosmic events, and magical spells. Books dedicated to this variety of special effects were common, such as; *Pyrotechnia, A Discovrse of Artificall Fire-works* by John Babbington, and published in 1635; and *The Mysteryes of Natvre and Art,* written by John Bate and published in 1634. Despite the late publication dates of these manuals, the use of pyrotechnics in drama and indeed the very techniques described in such publications can be dated much earlier in history, and were especially common in Medieval passion plays.

Fireworks were made with Tudor gunpowder, a substance which was extremely expensive, and its making was considered somewhat of a dark art. The process of making gunpowder began with turning wood into charcoal, however the most important ingredient was saltpetre. This substance is now more commonly known as potassium nitrate, and it was incredibly difficult to make during the Tudor period. The process involved a tremendous amount of urine, a



Theatrical celebrations at the Globe, from the movie "Anonymous" (Collider)

method (I hope) which is not implemented in the chemistry labs of today! The urine was combined with soil and manure then left for eighteen months, during which time a bacterial reaction occurred and led to the end product of saltpetre. The final ingredient of Elizabethan gunpowder was powdered sulphur, with which the charcoal (the fuel), and the saltpetre (the element which provides the oxygen for the fuel to burn) was mixed. The sulphur lowered the temperature at which the gunpowder could be ignited. The three ingredients were ground together into a fine powder, an extremely dangerous process during which even the smallest spark could ignite the mixture.[2] This gunpowder was then used in Tudor pyrotechnics, as well as in warfare and in increasingly popular fireworks displays.

Fireworks are specifically mentioned in the stage directions of some of Shakespeare's plays, such as *Julius Caesar* and *Macbeth* and they were set off in the wooden structure of The Globe. It was this use of pyrotechnics which caused The Globe to burn down in 1613, during the performance of *Henry VIII* in which some small cannon was let off. Of course in a theatre context cannon balls were not used, instead gunpowder was held down by wadding and it was this burning wadding that caught in some of the thatch and burnt the theatre to the ground in less than hour.

Perhaps one of the most memorable, and quoted, scenes dealing with the supernatural in Shakespeare's play is the opening of *Macbeth,* when the three witches meet during a thunderstorm. This special effect could have been created by using the door in the heavens, which refers to the ceiling of the stage usually painted with celestial objects and the figures of the constellations. The lightning was generated by stage hands situated up in the heavens lighting squibs, small fireworks which burned with a hissing sound, through the opening. Swivels were also used to create certain effects such as lightning or other cosmic events,

2 As I am sure you can imagine this is incredibly dangerous, so I wouldn't recommend trying this process at home!

such as a comet. These were rockets which were placed on top of a rope which was strung across the width of the stage, and once ignited the rocket would travel along the length of the rope. Thunder could be mimicked with large drums which may have also been concealed in the heavens, by rolling a cannon ball across the heavens, or by using a 'thunder machine' which was a see-saw like enclosed box with a cannon ball inside it.

The impact that this would have had on the audience cannot, I believe, be overstated. The pathetic fallacy used during this scene, combined with the pyrotechnics and sound would have created a sense of fear amongst the audience, heightening the drama and the experience of the play. Tudor England would have been much quieter and darker than it is today, and exposure to fireworks and other pyrotechnics would probably be contained solely in the theatre space, or other entertainments such as the Lord Mayor's show. Because of the unusual and almost otherworldly special effects, the supernatural element of plays such as *Macbeth* would have been emphasised. Extreme weather events, such as thunderstorms, and especially celestial events such as comets were intricately linked with prophesy and religion, which once more strengthens the connection to the supernatural.

The heavens were also used to 'fly in' actors suspended from ropes or wires who represented angels, gods, or good spirits. Similarly, demons and other evil spirits would rise from the trap door in the stage floor, symbolising their assent from hell. The evil characters' arrival was usually accompanied by the letting off of fire crackers, which were thick tubes of paper filled with gunpowder which let off sparks and then a bang. This symbolised the frightening nature of such characters and once again left the audience ill at ease.

Magic and magical spells were usually denoted by smoke, which could be red, yellow, white or black depending on the chemicals used.



In 2015, the restored Globe staged a production of Shakespeare's "Henry VIII", the play which, in 1613, had caused the incineration of the original theatre. Miranda Raison is seen here at the Globe in the role of Anne Boleyn. (Shakespeare Players)



Actress Debra Hill in the role of Miranda. In 2016, a lavish production of "The Tempest" in Belfast, Northern Ireland, combined modernised elements of Elizabethan and Jacobean spectacle, including a masque, to dazzle the audience in the spirit of Shakespeare. (Author's Collection)

Similarly, magical fire was created by a strong mix of alcohol and salts, which could vary depending on the desired colour of the flames. Tudor theatre used very little scenery, if none at all, and so the special effects were vital in setting the scene and creating a sense of mystery, magic, and otherworldliness.

Another key element in establishing the sense of the supernatural in Tudor drama was music. *The Tempest* relies on the strange sounds of the island to denote a magical and otherworldly atmosphere, and it most commonly present along with the appearance of the character Ariel or when magic spells are being cast. The musical term 'air' is mentioned frequently throughout the stage directions and the dialogue of *The Tempest*. Ferdinand wonders where the ethereal music hear hears is coming from in the lines;

> Where should this music be? I' th' air, or
> th' earth?
> It sounds no more: and sure it
> waits upon
> Some god o' th' island. Sitting
> on a bank,
> Weeping again the King my
> father's wrack,
> This music crept by me upon
> the waters,
> Allaying both their fury and my passion
> With its sweet air…

The magic and music of the island and intertwined in the minds of the characters, and so too the audience. This same idea is further reinforced when Ferdinand meets Miranda and believes that she 'is the goddess on whom these airs attend.' His lines during this scene establish 'the belief that earthy music, by its imitation of celestial harmony, could order both nature and human passions'.[3] This idea is further reinforced during the scene in which Caliban tries to persuade Stephano to kill Prospero. Ariel, who is invisible to the other characters, plays a music in order to confuse Stephano and Trinculo who become frightened. Caliban then explains 'Be not afeard, the isle is full of noises/ Sounds, and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not.' Ariel's

3 David Lindley, ***The Tempest,*** (Cambridge, 2002), p. 122

command of the magical properties of music is used to control Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo, he tells Prospero

> …Then I beat my tabor,
> At which like unback'd colts they
> prick'd their ears,
> Advanc'd their eyelids, lifted up
> their noses
> As they smelt music…

Music was already linked to the supernatural in the eyes, and ears, of the early modern audience. The concept of the Harmony of the Spheres, or Musica Universalis, had prevailed since ancient history until the end of the Renaissance. The philosophical concept linked celestial objects, the sun, moon, and planets, with a cosmic music which was inaudible, and linked to harmony, mathematics, and religion. Musica Universalis influenced how people thought of and conceived music, and so was intricately linked to people's perception of musical form.

The elaborate, ground-breaking work of Intel, Imaginarium Studios, and Gregory Doran in the 2016 production of *The Tempest* is therefore linked to the original staging of the play in the early modern period. Music, special effects and staging are used in imaginative ways to produce a sense of wonder in the audience and create an island filled with sprites and other paranormal beings. The staging of the supernatural in *The Tempest*, from the first recorded performance on 1st November 1611, to Doran's adaptation in 2016, relies on cutting edge technology in order produce a mysterious and most importantly magical spectacle.

LAUREN BROWNE

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LAUREN BROWNE has completed an MA at Queen's University Belfast, studying the posthumous representation of Eleanor of Aquitaine. She has now begun a PhD at Queen's and is currently researching Tudor attitudes towards Medieval Queens as well as the writing of History in the Tudor period. Her main focus is the posthumous representation of queenship from the medieval period right through to the early modern.

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Admission: Free

Venue: Wolfson Room I, Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, London, WC1E 7HU.

Ralegh, by his own admission, was an unlikely naval hero. He found it hard to sleep onboard ship, complaining 'I shall never sleep night if I be here till Christmas' and joking that he was 'an excellent watchman at sea' since his eyes never closed. Yet the sea was vital to Ralegh - in the day-to-day reality of Elizabethan and Jacobean war and peace, but also to his imagination: he called himself 'Ocean' in a remarkable poem written to his queen, Elizabeth I.

Ralegh's achievements (and failures) are notoriously wide-ranging - he was explorer and poet, soldier and historian, courtier and scientist, parliamentarian and political prisoner - but the ocean remains a constant, a key to understanding this complex, elusive man and his time.

Dr Beer's book, Patriot or Traitor: The Life and Death of Sir Walter Ralegh, is out now and will be available to purchase at the event.

www.rmg.co.uk/see-do/exhibitions-events/oceans-love-sir-walter-ralegh-and-sea







POTENTIALLY BLOODY EDWARD VI

by Kyra Kramer

KING EDWARD VI and his half-sisters, Queen Mary I and Queen Elizabeth I, were all children of Henry VIII who ascended the throne. Why was he, like his sister Elizabeth, spared the moniker "Bloody' -- a nickname that has stuck like glue to Queen Mary for perpetuity? Was he, like Elizabeth, less than eager to 'hale windows into men's souls' for the sake of religious purity? Or did he just die too young to have had the time to persecute too many people?

First, one has to look at the justice -- or injustice -- of calling Henry VIII's eldest daughter "Bloody" Mary. Without doubt, she was nowhere near as bloody as her father, who slaughtered thousands of people for religious reasons in the last decade of his rule. It's a bit rich to call her Bloody Mary, while her much more sanguinary father is spared the title Bloody Henry. Nevertheless, Mary's sobriquet isn't entirely unearned. During her five year reign (roughly from 19 July 1553 until her death on 17 November 1558), Queen Mary executed approximately 300 Protestants for religious reasons. These executions, like those supervised by Thomas More under her father's rule, had the victims burned alive, which was seen as a fitting death for heretics.

In contrast to her older sibling, Queen Elizabeth created *zero* religious martyrs for the first decade of her reign. However, in 1571 the Ridolfi Plot, a conspiracy to overthrow Elizabeth and replace her with Mary, Queen of Scots, resulted in the deaths of almost 600 Catholics … but they were technically executed as traitors rather than for their spiritual beliefs. In terms of sheer numbers and religiously motivated

executions, Queen Mary was indeed "Bloody" when compared to Queen Elizabeth.

So whether Queen Mary 'deserves' to be called Bloody Mary is entirely dependant on your perspective.

But what about Edward VI? He didn't live long enough to rule fully independently of his advisers, but if he had would he have been as potentially bloody as Mary? In short, was he more like Mary, or more like Elizabeth?

Beyond contestation, King Edward VI was taught to hate Catholics in a way it is hard for most people to wrap their head around in these modern times. He loathed 'papists' and reviled them with the same kind of anti-Catholic rhetoric that would be used by the KKK to denigrate Irish immigrants in 1920s America. In an essay written by his own hand, the young king made it clear that he considered the Pope to be evil, and nothing less than an Antichrist. Catholicism, in Edward's opinion, was *literally* the tool of the Devil. The king wrote that it was Satan himself who fostered "superstitiousness and idolatry" through the Catholic Church by the "bringing in of popery and naughtiness." Edward VI also seemed to think that Catholicism was somehow contagious, and that time spent among papists actually spread moral corruption to otherwise Protestant practitioners. He warned his uncle, Edward Seymour, that Thomas Thirlby, the Bishop of Norwich, had probably become dishonest and untrustworthy because Thirlby had spent so much time in the company of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V that the clergyman had almost certainly been contaminated by association.

In short, Edward gave every sign that he would have become as much of a religious purist and fanatic -- as certain that his version of Christianity was the only correct one -- as his elder sister Mary. But how far would he have gone to "save" his people from the "wrong" religion?

We do have some inkling of what Edward would have been like as an adult monarch. Although he was in his early teens, by 1551 Edward had taken kingship into his own hands for the most part. His journal, letters, and participation in government demonstrate that he was completely aware of the intricacies of ruling and his powers as sovereign. When he felt his Councilors weren't taking his orders seriously he wrote a scathing letter to them in which he "marveled" angrily that anyone would "refuse to signe that bill, or deliver that letter, that I had willed any one about me to write … it should be a great impediment for me to send to al my councell, and I shuld seme to be in bondage". Moreover, letters written to Edward from Northumberland and other Councilmen are couched in the terms of fulfilling the king's will, making it clear that Edward had the last word on the matter. He may have been young, but he was *king* and he was not about

to let anyone forget that.

During those years, he made no overt moves toward a religious purge of Catholics. He didn't burn devout Catholics, although a few were imprisoned for willfully flouting his orders, and he didn't have his sister Mary executed for her refusal to abandoned the Church -- even though she practically begged to be martyred. Mary told her brother that it might "please him to take away her life" because she would not surrender her Catholicism, to which Edward "said quickly that he wished for no such sacrifice." The king didn't even punish her when she countermanded his orders that Catholic mass should not be given to members of her household, but he did make it clear he was through putting up with her shenanigans. When the imperial ambassador, Jean Scheyfve, tried to intervene by suggesting how happy Emperor Charles V would be in Mary's household was allowed mass, Edward told him the emperor would have to get over it and Mary would have to obey the king's laws like everyone else.

King Edward did suppress Catholicism in Britain, but he did not brutally enforce that ban with torture or burnings. Instead, he focused his energies into converting his subjects into a (mostly) voluntary practice of Protestantism. Near the end of 1552 the final version of Archbishop Cranmer's prayer book, was authorized by the king and Parliament. The new Book of Common Prayer had moved even farther away from traditional Catholic practices than its earlier edition, which had sparked the Prayer Book Rebellion in in 1549. Again, the latest version of the prayer book caused a kerfuffle among the less-Protestant subjects of Edward's realm, who thought it was blasphemously Reformist, and among the hardened Reformists, who thought it wasn't quite Protestant enough. If the definition of a good compromise is indeed a situation in which no one is really happy, the 1552 Prayer Book was a *very* good compromise, and an indicator of the moderate path Edward intended to take toward the formation of the Anglican Church.

The final evidence lending support to the idea that Edward was more like his sister Elizabeth than his sister Mary was his response to his own declining health in 1553. He was in mortal dread that Mary would come to the throne and return Britain to Catholicism. He began to take steps to make his Protestant cousin, Lady Jane Grey, his heir. He wrote out his plans in his own handwriting, and summoned a troop of the kingdoms best lawyers to make his plans airtight. His proclamation making Jane Grey his heir was signed and witnessed by 102 people (including the members of the Privy Council), and the Great Seal was applied to it. He also frog-marched Jane Grey up the aisle to wed Guilford Dudley (her parents and Dudley's father -- who supposedly planned the whole thing --

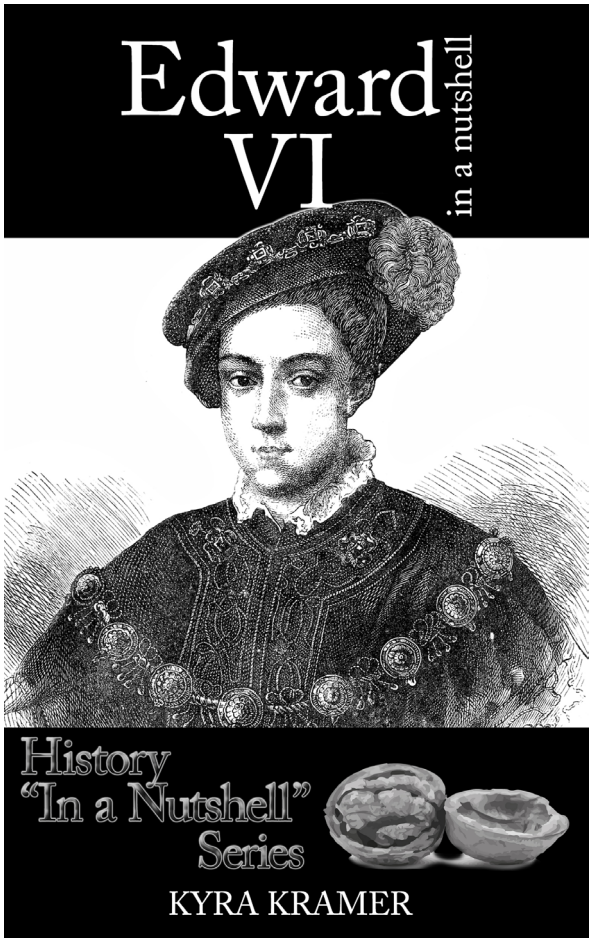
had actually protested the marriage at first and had to be bullied into by the king). The king was determined that Guilford Dudley's father, the Duke of Northumberland, would be in a firm seat to advise young Jane.

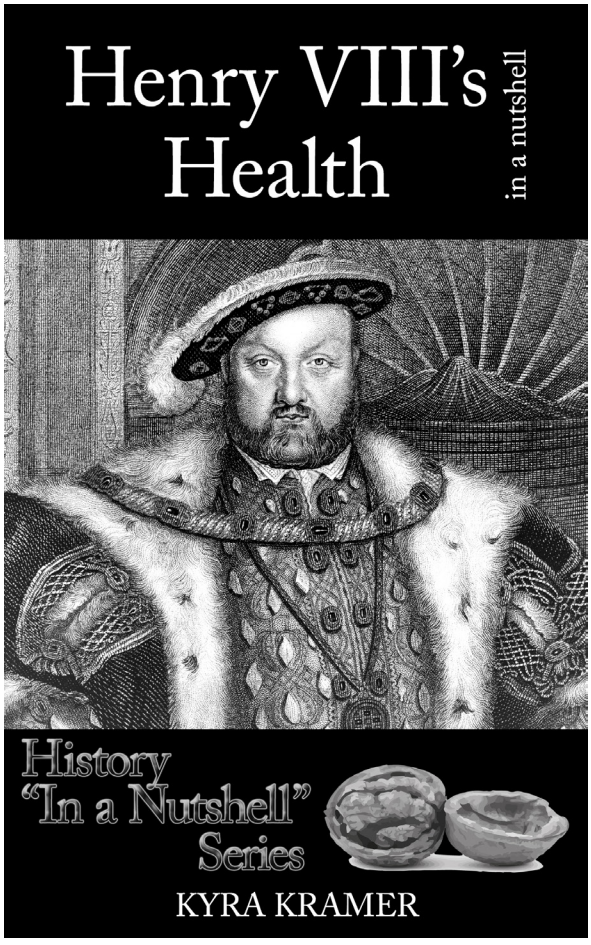
The one thing Edward didn't do to make his plans secure was murder his sister Mary. She had been communicating with foreign powers, and it would have been easy-peasy to nail her for treason and snick off her head. Or at least imprison her where she couldn't make mischief for the new queen after Edward died. The king, however, trusted that the legal steps he took were enough to secure Jane's crown, and absolutely refused to kill his sibling. That shows a fairly serious aversion to killing people 'in God's name'.

But what if the king had hardened with age, becoming more zealous? What if he had started burning Catholics like they were meaty yule logs? Would he have been remembered as Bloody Edward?

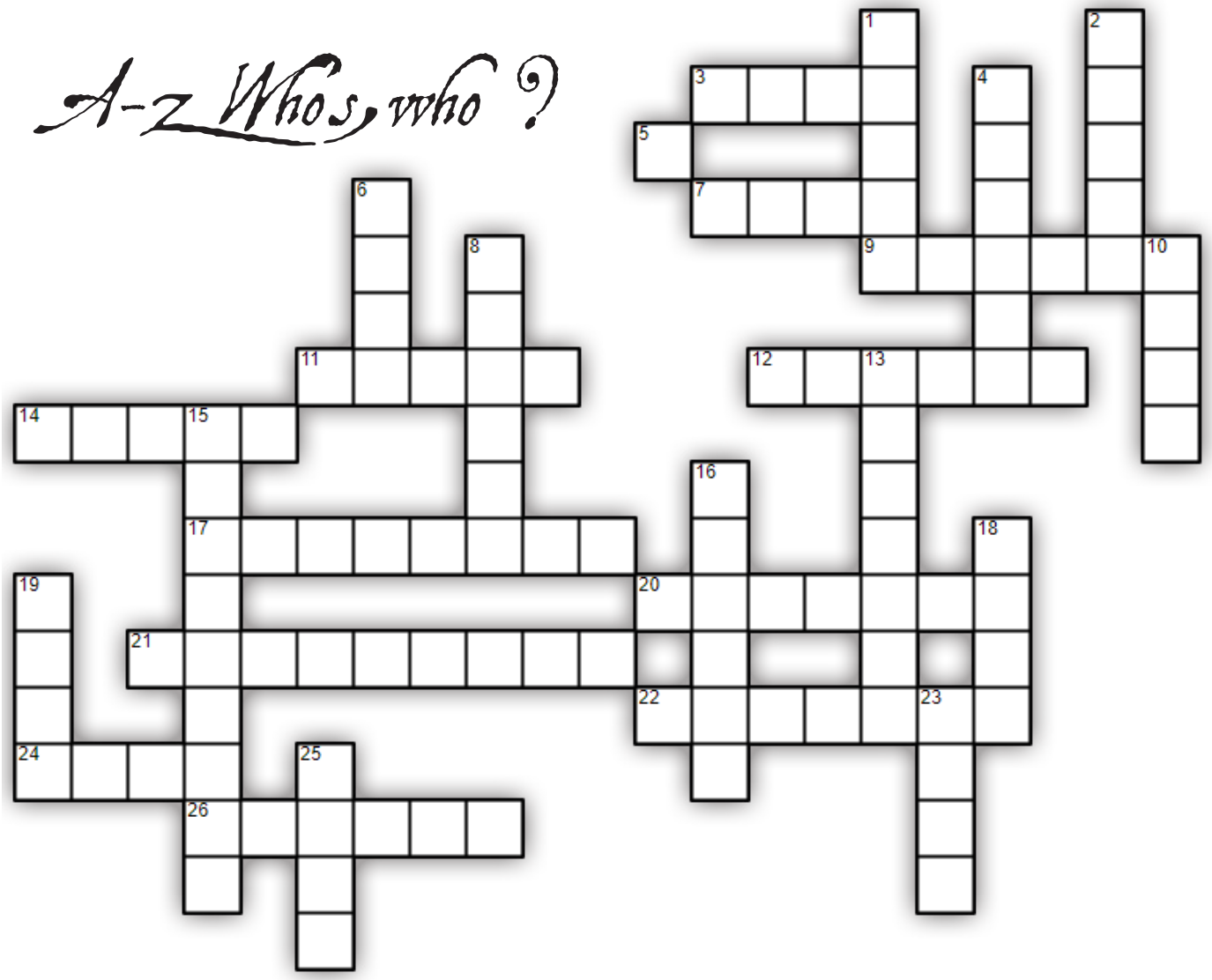
It is unlikely. His masculinity and the fact his religious views eventually carried the day in England would have almost certainly prevented him from being given such an untoward nickname. Nasty appellations that linger through history -- such as Bloody or She-Wolf -- are alas almost exclusively reserved for female rulers in Britain.

KYRA KRAMER





A-Z Who's who ?



ACROSS

3 R: Welsh soldier and landowner who was instrumental in Henry Tudor's victory at Bosworth, ap Thomas (Christian name)
5 X: Pope who made Wolsey a cardinal, Pope Leo (Roman numeral)
7 J: Ill-fated mother of King Edward VI (Christian name)
9 W: Henry VIII's almoner, born in Ipswich, Thomas (Surname)
11 H: First Tudor Monarch (Christian name)
12 B: Husband of Jane Rochford (Surname)
14 Q: Title of Elizabeth, Catherine, Anne, Jane, Anne, Catherine, Katherine, Mary and Elizabeth
17 I: Mother of Catherine of Aragon (Christian name)
20 C: Henry VIII's Chief Minister and man responsible for his marriage to Anne Boleyn (Surname)
21 K: Wife of Henry VIII who, as the rhyme goes, survived (Christian name)
22 Z: Duke of Richmond and illegitimate son of Henry VIII (Letter contained in his second name!)
24 P: Countess of Salisbury, messily beheaded at the Tower of London on 27th May 1541, Margaret (Surname)
26 T: 3rd Duke of Norfolk and uncle of both Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard (Christian name)

DOWN

1 A: Protestant martyr and poet burned to death on 18th June 1546 on charges of heresy (Surname)
2 U: Relationship of both Thomas and Edward Seymour to King Edward VI
4 D: Husband of Lady Jane Grey (Surname)
6 M: Chancellor of England beheaded in 1535 for refusing to accept Henry VIII as the head of the Church of England, Thomas (Surname)
8 V: Henry VII's historian and renaissance scholar Virgil (Surname)
10 Y: Dynastic house to which Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII, belonged
13 L: One of the Oxford Martyrs, burned at the stake in 1555 for his protestant beliefs, Hugh (Surname)
15 E: Final Tudor Monarch
16 N : Henry VIII's Groom of the Stool, beheaded on charges of adultery with Queen Anne Boleyn, Henry (Surname)
18 G: 1st Duke of Suffolk and father of Queen Jane, Henry (Surname)
19 S: Queen Anne Boleyn's almoner, John (Surname)
23 O: Grandfather of Henry VII and husband of Catherine of Valois (Christian name)
25 English historian, reformer and martyrologist, John (Surname

Quiz Answers on page 72



WHY ARE SO MANY WITCHES WOMEN?

"This sex, when it conceiveth wrath or hatred against any, is implacable, possessed with the insatiable desire of revenge, and transported with appetite to right the wrongs offered unto them".

The figure of the witch has become, in contemporary society, associated with frightening caricatures of women wearing pointed black hats, casting spells and flying through the air on broomsticks. (fig.1 is an example of this) This representation, minus the impossibility of levitation, is often emulated by excitable participants on Halloween each October. The witch, in the modern sense, has therefore become a fanciful

A stereotypical figure of the witch with a pointed nose, large hat and frightening appearance, all charactaristis attributed to the modern witch.



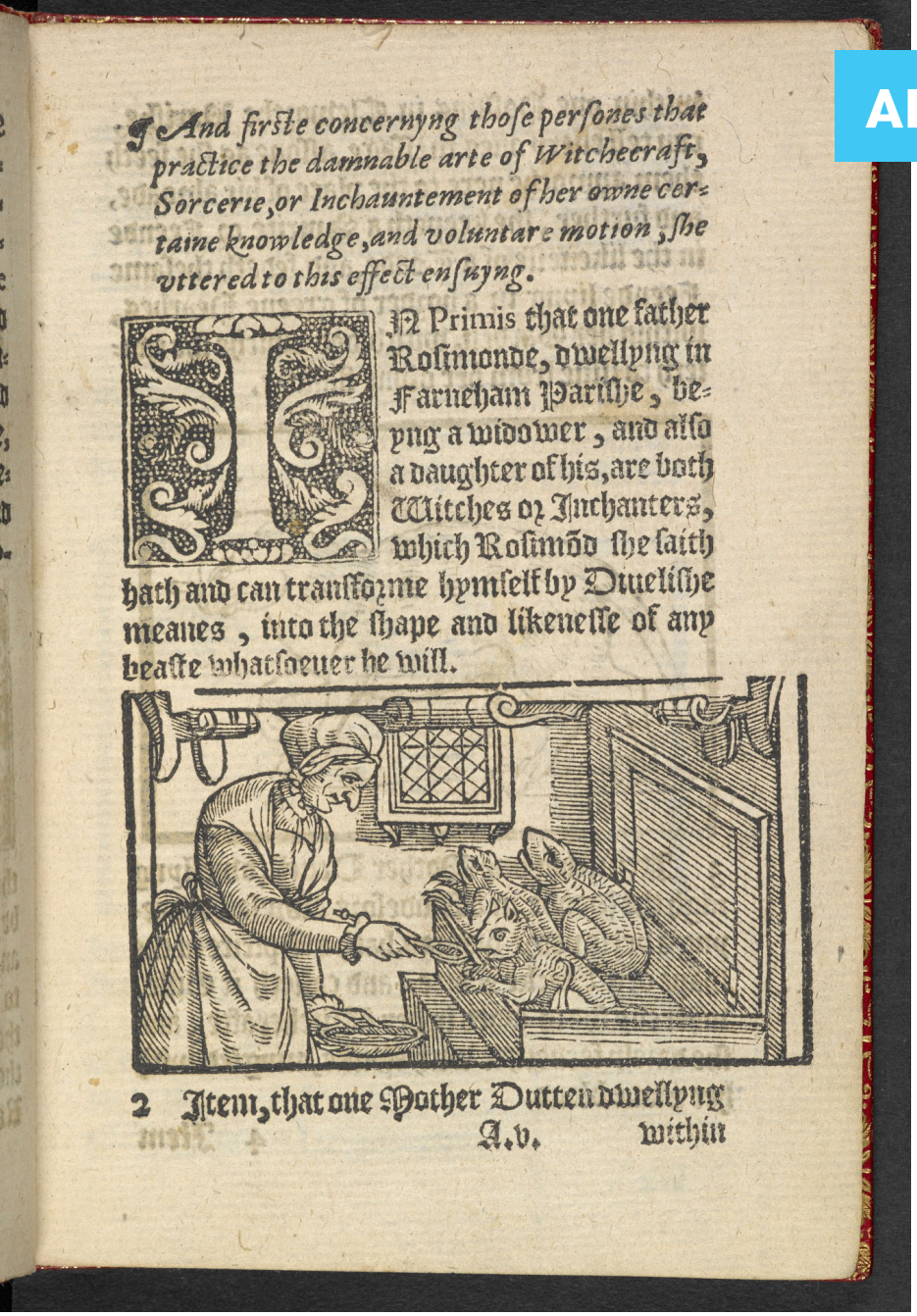
costume, something humorous to recreate and a stereotype easily associated with what Halloween encompasses: darkness and fear. While this may appear harmless, the history of the witch is far more harrowing and disturbing than general readers might expect. Throughout early modern Europe a number of women, and a smaller percentage of men, were executed under law for the practice of purported witchcraft. While twentieth-century historiography has exaggerated the number, with some wild claims reporting that millions were executed, historian Brian P. Levack has debunked these myths and argues instead that the likely estimations of executions, between 1400-1775, did not greatly exceed 50,000. Many reported witches brought to trial, traditionally thought to have been executed, were in fact repealed. With this in mind, the article will aim to examine several themes of Tudor witchcraft: the resurgence of witchcraft in Tudor England, why women were the primary target, (as the opening of this article suggests) the social/ economic aspects of witchcraft accusations, and the then contemporary sceptics of witchcraft.

Witchcraft was not a phenomenon born out of the early modern period; it's roots, arguably, having taken seed centuries beforehand. It did, however, witness a distinct increase in the uneasy relationship between women and the reported cases of maleficium. Arguably, this was the result of the printing press which became a popular, and convenient, means of distributing propaganda and news. In 1484 two German clergymen wrote and published the 'Malleus Maleficarum', Latin for 'The Hammer of the Witches'. As an important treatise on witchcraft, it endorsed the extermination of witches in the authors' attempt at eradicating the Tyrol region (Austria), of its manifestation of sorcerous, feminine behaviour. What made the book inspirational was its roots in biblical theology, significantly the story of Eve. The authors credit Eve with all that is deplorable in womanhood: temptation, deceit and being the 'weaker' creation, and as a result, more likely to align with the devil. The treaty became a hugely popular and between 1487-1520 twenty editions were published. Again, as a result of the printing press, such treatises were able to spread throughout Europe, influencing impressionable witch-hunters, magistrates and clergyman.

While the written word against witchcraft was spreading throughout Europe, Tudor England began to put forward legislation in an effort to quell what was perceived as an invasion, or threat of, sorcerous behaviour. During this period there were two acts of parliament put forward: Firstly, under Henry VII's reign, then under Elizabeth I. The former was the first to define witchcraft as a crime punishable by death, the first the country had seen. The death penalty was prescribed for conjuring spirits, attempting to hurt or kill, finding treasure and provoking love. According to historian Levack, this innovative law did not attract much attention. Similarly, it was not replaced by proceedings monarchs, Edward or Mary, after it's repeal in 1547. Rather, the Elizabethan act of 1563, entitled 'act against conjuracions inchanctments and Witchecraftes', was more significant. The new law added another offence - taking dead bodies out of their graves, and necromantic activity. Alongside this it stated that after a first conviction for sorcerous behaviour, in cases of murder rather than for personal gain, the accused would receive the death penalty. It was with queen Elizabeth I's legislation that Tudor England began to witness a number of women prosecuted for purported witchcraft.

Having briefly touched on gender earlier, women were deemed, with a basis in Christian theology, as more susceptible to ungodly, satanic influence, therefore making them more likely to turn against Christ. Popular pamphlets distributed in the sixteenth-century often stressed a certain style of the witch. As mentioned in the introduction, modern audiences associate the witch as being geriatric women. This was the basis, also, for early modern depictions. Alongside this, printed pamphlets emphasised the ugliness and vileness of the female witch, which opposed the ideal qualities of Tudor womanhood, such as purity and fair skin. (fig.2 is an example of this) Additionally an unpleasant, aged complexion could often represent a woman's inner, or lack of, virtue. Seventeenth-century Puritan, John Gaule, supports this argument, stating that 'every old woman with a wrinkled face, a furre'd brow, a hairy lip, a gobber tooth, a squint eye or a scolding tongue' were 'pronounced for a witch'. Older women were, therefore, a convenient scapegoat for puritanical clergymen such as Gaule.

A printed stereotype of the witch (see over) was likely the result of Tudor propaganda, intended as a sensationalised, scaremongering



A stereotypical depiction of an unattractive, elderly witch feeding her 'imps', from a Tudor pamphlet.

scheme. Although witch-trials have referenced the prosecuted as 'old or 'lame', historian Alan MacFarlane argues that there is little reference to physical descriptions of the accused female witches during Tudor England. Rather, there was more emphasis placed on their reputation within their community. For example, Tudor women were expected to live as modest, respectable women of their community, who were mild in temperament, silent and pious. Additionally, many women accused of witchcraft were primarily based in poor, rural backgrounds. This naturally put them, socially and economically, at a disadvantage when compared to their wealthier counterparts. (few women of gentry status, or higher, were accused with the crime of witchcraft in sixteenth-century England) Ungodly women deviating from Christianity, to align with Saran, were often treated with the most severity. In an age when the parish church was central to rural life, truanting from compulsory church attendance was viewed by parishioners as suspicious.

ALEX ANSWERS

An example of this truanting being one Joan Bell from the village of Fobbing in Essex who, in May 1592, was accused of witchcraft for not receiving communion. Bell alleged that 'one Whaple', likely a fellow parishioner, made a complaint of her as a witch. Naturally, Bell denied these accusations. What is more interesting was that Bell was ordered to bring to a later Court a certificate from 'fower (four) of her honest neighbours', to confirm that she was an honest woman. This relates to an earlier point mentioned above – that Tudor women were, regardless of station, expected to retain a respectable reputation in their local community. Any deviation from this, in a tight-knit community such as Fobbing, bred distrust and rumour that could be misconstrued as a potential concern for the villagers morality. Joan Bell was lucky in this instance, as she brought into court, on 2nd June 1592, a certificate from four honest local women, clearing her name of any association with witchcraft.

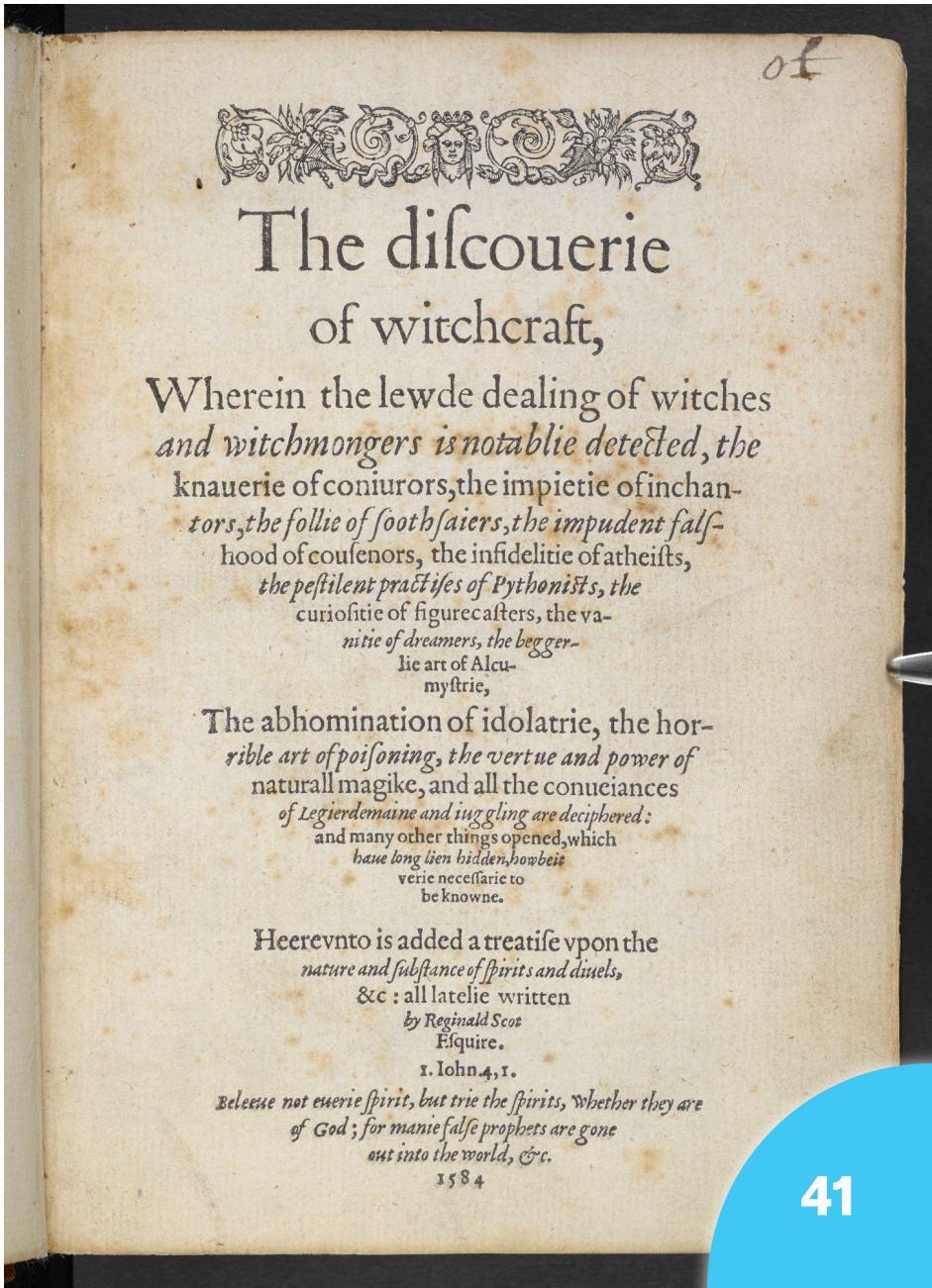
While witchcraft allegations primarily targeted women, many of these accusations were the result of a variety of social based issues: hearsay, discontentment among neighbours, unexpected local deaths and spoiled crops and/or beer that effected village livelihood. Additionally, those accused, and the victims, lived in close proximity to each-other. One of the most common occurrences for this type was found in the county of Essex, notorious as a breeding ground for witchcraft. For example, in 1564, a man blamed his lameness on his wife, and two years later the Essex witches,

Agnes Waterhouse and Elizabeth Frances, confessed to bewitching their respective husbands. The latter women were part of an infamous Tudor trial that took place in the Essex village of Hatfield Peveral. Mother Waterhouse, as she was known, confessed to having been a witch, and chose a cat by the name of Satan to be her familiar. Among her other offences was using witchcraft to cause illness to her neighbour, William Fynne, and also to kill livestock - as mentioned earlier, this was not an uncommon accusation among Tudor witchcraft allegations.

The pamphlet which describes the trials of these women, in Chelmsford 1566, provides an account of their accusations, confessions and ultimate convictions. Mother Waterhouse makes an interesting claim that, according to the pamphlet author John Phillips, 'she confessed to falling out with one widow Goodday, she willed Satan (her familiar) to drown her cow and he did so, and she rewarded him'. This poses the question – why did these women believe such impossible acts of witchcraft, especially as these confessions alone constituted execution? The women, more than likely, confessed under harsh, interrogational conditions. The pamphlet makes no remark regarding the women's treatment during their periods of imprisonment, however, they were likely sleep deprived or 'walked'. The latter involved forcing a suspected witch to walk up and down their cell, repeatedly, in a vain effort to keep them awake. This cruelty resulted in some women convincing themselves that they acted out the fanciful sorcery they were accused of. Equally significant to this case was Agnes's status as a widow. The pamphlet continues that, 'with her husbande she caused her to kyll hym, and he did so about ix. yeres past, syth which tyme she hath lived a widow'. Widows were held with more suspicion in terms of immoral activity than their married counterparts, as they did not receive the protection of a man and were therefore independent women. Ultimately, as a result of Mother Waterhouse's murderous confessions, and under the Elizabethan witchcraft act of 1562, she was executed by hanging.

From the current evidence, there are several conclusions that can already be put forward. Firstly, women were easy targets, especially widows, as they were viewed as potential outcasts in their local communities. Secondly, that community animosity, and purported ungodliness, were instrumental in accusing a witch. While belief in magic

Title page of the discoverie of witchcraft, published in 1584, London. Held by the British Library.


The discouerie
of witchcraft,
Wherein the lewde dealing of witches
and witchmongers is notablie detected, the
knauerie of coniurors, the impietie of inchan-
tors, the follie of soothsaiers, the impudent falf-
hood of cousenors, the infidelitie of atheists,
the pestilent practises of Pythonists, the
curiositie of figurecasters, the va-
nitie of dreamers, the beggerlie art of Alcumystrie,
The abhomination of idolatrie, the horrible art of poisoning, the vertue and power of
naturall magike, and all the conueiances
of Legierdemaine and iuggling are deciphered:
and many other things opened, which
haue long lien hidden, howbeit
verie necessarie to
be knowne.
Heerevnto is added a treatise vpon the
nature and substance of spirits and diuels,
&c: all latelie written
by Reginald Scot
Esquire.
1. Iohn. 4, 1.
Beleeue not euerie spirit, but trie the spirits, whether they are
of God; for manie false prophets are gone
out into the world, &c.
1584

and witchcraft were widely accepted among Tudor society, prominent sceptics of the time put forward claims that clashed with these traditional ideas. One such figure, Reginald Scott, wrote his infamous book *the discovery of witches,* published in 1584, that partially denounced witchcraft. While he may have been a sceptic Scot did not, as witchcraft expert and historian Malcom Gaskell argues, deny the impossibility of witchcraft. Rather, as Scot states in his *discovery*, 'my question is not (as manie fondly sup pose) whether there by witches or naie: but whether they can do such miraculous works as are imputed unto them'. Scot was evidently unconvinced by the supernatural convictions of these unfortunate women. While Scot may have intended for his book to act as a literary protection of the vulnerable individuals targeted by their villagers, and potential witch-hunters, he does not deny the existence of magic. Instead, his *discovery* primarily forwards the blame towards the Roman Catholic church, for encouraging superstitious beliefs and the victimisation of elderly, poor women. Additionally, one of Scot's chapter titles states, 'what miraculous actions are imputed to witches by witchmongers, papists, and poets'. A sense of sarcasm can be read from this, and the chapter continues to denounce the authors of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, the Catholic witch hunting manual discussed at the beginning of this chapter. (fig.3 is an example of the original title page)

Scot's book circulated widely, attracting widespread attention for his scepticism on witchcraft. Academics vary on their view, but William Shakespeare had reportedly drawn from Scot's study, in reference to the three witches in his play Macbeth. While the Tudor period unlikely reinvigorated a belief in witchcraft, as ideas regarding the supernatural had existed for centuries beforehand, Tudor legislation sought to quell the perceived spread of evil. Academics have argued for the possible causes of this resurgence, with most arriving at the same conclusion that the Reformation bred a revived fear of sorcery. While the religious reformation, throughout western Europe, intended to reform and cleanse the Roman Catholic Church of its indulgences, it equally sought to cleanse society of the purported evil of witchcraft. Additionally, the printing press helped to spread an unrealistic, and sensationalised, figure of the witch. One that was: satanic, ungodly and ultimately dangerous to society. As this article has examined, unprotected rural women were the ideal candidate for such allegations. In reality these women were not horribly disfigured, did not wear pointed hats, nor cast spells to harm their neighbours. Rather, they were accused of malevolent witchcraft during the Tudor period as a result of being poor, Christian women; victims of their own unfortunate circumstances. This fear of the ungodly woman continued to manifest into the seventeenth-century, with events such as the Pendle witch trials of 1611, and the East Anglia witch hunt of 1645-47, claiming the lives of vulnerable and innocent women; arguably undertook in a vain, evangelical cleanse of what was perceived as anti-Christian behaviour.

ALEX TAYLOR



Alex Taylor is a regular contributor to the Tudor Society; writing biography style articles on a number of important Tudor figures. He is a recent History graduate from the University of Southampton, with much of his university research having focused primarily on the early modern period. His research examined a variety of themes, including: gender studies, queenship/kingship and Restoration period England. Alex recently completed a dissertation on the reputation of Charles II's foremost mistresses, analysing the relationship between informal female power at the Caroline court, and their celebrity status in pamphlets, ballads and poems of the period. Alex intends to continue his studies and undertake a master's degree in Museum Studies.



OCTOBER'S GUEST SPEAKER IS LAUREN MACKAY ON THOMAS AND GEORGE BOLEYN



Marwell Hall in Hampshire is said to be haunted by the ghost of Anne Boleyn. Anne is said to haunt Yew Tree Walk where Henry VIII and Jane Seymour are rumoured to have planned their wedding. Photo by Chris Downer.



The haunting image shown above was reportedly taken by security cameras at Hampton Court Palace. It is not known who the ghost is, but the footage is certainly ... spooky!



All sorts of ghosts are said to inhabit Hampton Court Palace. Notable figures include Anne Boleyn in a blue dress, and also Katherine Howard, who is said to haunt the aptly named "Haunted Gallery" endlessly doomed in a failed attempt to get to plead for mercy from Henry VIII.

Most Haunted Tudor Places...

BY TIM RIDGWAY



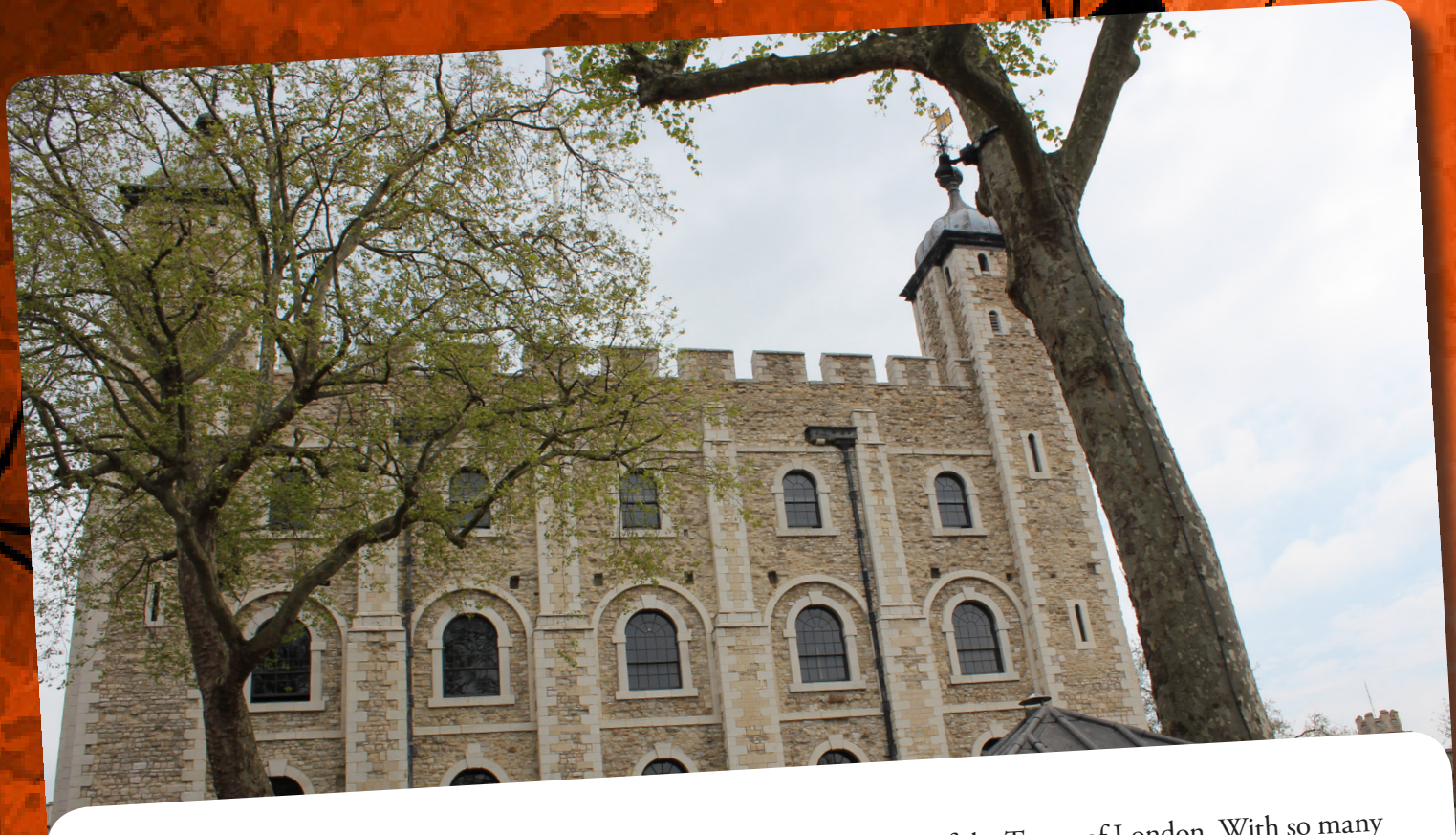
Blickling Hall in Norfolk is said to be haunted by Thomas Boleyn who has to drive a coach over 12 bridges for 1000 years as penance for betraying his family. George Boleyn is also said to be seen being dragged across nearby fields by four headless horses... spooky! Even Anne Boleyn's ghost is said to haunt the area sometimes!

Photo by Christine Matthews.



Anne Boleyn is seen each Christmas Eve roaming through the castle grounds of Hever Castle, and has even been spotted beneath the great oak where Henry wooed her. It's also said that there is a ghost of a priest who died in the priest hole within the castle. Watch out if you're there as you might be lucky to see him, but not if he sees you first...

Photo by Tim Ridgway.



No article on Tudor ghosts would be complete without mention of the Tower of London. With so many unspeakable acts happening in this fortress through the centuries, if anywhere is haunted, this is the place the ghosts would be! Anne Boleyn is said to have surprised a Captain of the Guard in St Peter ad Vincula Church. His witness report is below...

Photo by Tim Ridgway.

"Slowly down the aisle moved a stately procession of Knights and Ladies, attired in ancient costumes; and in front walked an elegant female whose face was averted from him, but whose figure greatly resembled the one he had seen in reputed portraits of Anne Boleyn. After having repeatedly paced the chapel, the entire procession together with the light disappeared."

Captain of the Guard, Tower of London, 19th Century report.



Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire, is a popular destination for those who like Tudor history, but be warned... author Sandra Vasoli has told us of a very chilling episode of a piercing scream that she heard one night while staying in the main tower room. Who knows which ghost it was, but Sandra swears it really happened!

Photo by Philip Halling.



Stratford-upon-Avon has seen its fair share of Tudor history! There are so many ghost sitings said to have happened in the town that it's impossible to pick just one. All we can say is that if the chambermaids won't enter a particular bedroom... neither should you!

Photo of Holy Trinity Church by Len Williams.



Tudor House Hotel, Tewkesbury, may win our award for the most haunted Tudor building, but you'll have to make up your own mind. We're told that there is a dog which haunts the halls, and even a maid who likes to tuck people into bed!?! Of course, ghosts don't really exist ... or maybe they do? Would YOU risk staying in this beautiful hotel?

Photo by Jaggery.

What do you think - are there ghosts? Are we visited by spirits from our distant past? If you had the chance to be haunted by a historical figure, who would it be? Maybe you'd want the tormented spirit of Henry VIII to pass through your room at night, or possibly the headless body of Thomas More?

Whatever you believe, it's amazing how many places in the UK claim that they are regularly visited by the Tudors!

TIM RIDGWAY



HENRY VII AND HIS DEVOTION TO GOD

by Debra Bayani



Henry VII's Deathbed, drawn contemporaneously from witness accounts by courtier Sir Thomas Wriothesley, 1509.



Henry and Jasper Tudor, landed at Mill Bay 7 August 1485
by Dmitry Yakhovsky



Painting depicting Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, Saint George and all seven of their children are shown, including the three that died very young Edmund, Elizabeth and Catherine.

Religion was central to the lives of all English people during the 15th and early 16th centuries. It was of vital importance in everyday social life. For monarchs especially it was important to show their dedication to God by donating to religious houses and the poor. For the standards of his time, King Henry VII was a very devout monarch. Naturally, kings were supposed to support religion and charities, and it is, therefore, difficult to distinguish a king's duty and an individual's desire to help from one another, but Henry seems to have been more religious than many other monarchs.

Upon his landing at Mill Bay on 7 August 1485, and after having been in exile

for fourteen years in Brittany and France, the would-be-king humbly fell to his knees and spoke the words *'Judge me, O God, and distinguish my cause'*. He then kissed the soil and made the sign of the cross.

Those were the first words Henry spoke upon his landing in Wales. Henry's goal, and that of his many supporters, was to defeat King Richard III and make Henry king. Henry marched all the way through Wales to Bosworth in two weeks, and the outcome was astonishing; against all the odds, Henry was victorious at the Battle of Bosworth. No doubt the new king was convinced that God had heard his prayers and had blessed him with victory and the crown

During his reign, Henry showed much interest in the Franciscan Observants. The Franciscan Observants, also known as the Order of the Friars Minor, is one of the three Franciscan orders within the Catholic Church. In 1500, Henry founded a new Observant house in Richmond, close to his palace. He also persuaded existing Franciscan houses to embrace the Observant way of life. Henry often made donations to the Observants, and his contributions did not end at his death. In his will, Henry bequeathed a substantial amount of money to the Observants.

Henry made many donations to religious houses, and he kept a neat weekly account where he listed his usual offerings and alms as well as offerings on specific saints' days. Before his victory at the Battle of Stoke Field in 1487, the king had made one of his pilgrimages to the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham. To show his gratitude for his victory, Henry offered a statue of himself to the shrine. Another of Henry's favourite religious places was the Shrine of Thomas Becket in Canterbury. Henry made frequent visits to the place and requested a statue identical to the one he'd given Walsingham to be made for Canterbury. Henry also made regular donations to the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham.

It is said that after the death of his beloved wife, Elizabeth of York, and his heir Prince Arthur, and as he grew older, Henry grew more devout. But as early as 1499 the Spanish ambassador, Don Pedro de Ayala, reported that the king was growing very pious and that during Lent he had listened to a daily sermon and continued his devotions for the rest of the day. Fasting and abstinence, as well as giving alms to the poor, were important aspects of the king's religious life. For everyone, Lent fasting and abstinence meant no meat, eggs and dairy products, and only one meal a day (except for on Sundays) for the forty days from Ash Wednesday until Easter. At Henry's court, fasting was meticulously supervised to make sure everyone followed the rules. Henry's daughter-in-law, Katherine of Aragon, wrote to her father Ferdinand about how strict the king was in obeying the rules of fasting and that he would not allow anyone else to eat meat. If someone did, even an ill person, she wrote, then they would be considered a heretic.

In 1499 and 1500, Henry established six new houses for the Observants, including in Newcastle, Southampton and some near his palaces of Sheen and Richmond. In 1505 he founded the Savoy Hospital, devoted to feeding and housing one hundred poor people.

Henry was also devoted to the saints. His patron saints were John the Baptist, Michael, John the Evangelist, Anthony, Anne, Barbara, Christopher, Edward the Confessor, Vincent and Mary Magdalene. But his favourite appears to have been St George. King Louis XII of France, Henry's future son-in-law, had found a relic amongst the plunder of his Italian wars and sent the relic to Henry as a gift, a leg of St George. Henry was so delighted with the gift that on St George's Day in 1505 he took part in a procession and worship of the relic and put it on public display in St. Paul's in London where it remained for pilgrims. In his will, Henry bequeathed the relic to the Chapel of St George at Windsor, which he had initially intended to make his family mausoleum. But on 24 January 1503, Henry, being particularly concerned about his afterlife, started building work on his magnificent Lady Chapel at



Margaret Beaufort, Henry's mother

Westminster Abbey and decided to make it his final resting place. The following year, work on the king's majestic tomb began. It was made by Italian sculptor Pietro Torrigiano, who also made Henry's famous posthumous terracotta bust between 1509 and 1511. The black marble tomb base was decorated with six ornaments in copper gilt representing the Virgin Mary and Henry's patron saints. The king, in conversation with the Abbott, ordered daily prayers and masses from monks in the abbey to be sung for himself, his wife and mother. After Henry's burial, six candles were placed on top of the gilded grill around the tomb to burn continuously, watched over by monks, and on special anniversaries candles of 9 feet high were lit.

Henry's mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, is renowned for her piety and her faith and behaviour are likely to have had an impact on her son, especially since their relationship was very close.

For some time after Elizabeth of York's death, Henry shut himself away from public life, stricken with the grief of losing both his son and wife, and only allowed visits from his mother. The king became ill frequently, suffering from bouts of gout and asthma. But from January 1509, his condition deteriorated rapidly due to tuberculosis. It was when he was close to death in March 1509 that his spiritual officers requested thousands of masses to be sung on the ill king's behalf. Bishop John Fisher was appointed to guide Henry during his illness. The bishop had been close to Henry's mother, being Margaret's chaplain and confessor, and had also been on good terms with Henry himself and had hosted Henry for his week-long stay at Queen's College in 1506. He had been made a cardinal and Bishop of Rochester, and was also a theologian, academic and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge during Henry's reign. The bishop was so highly regarded that Erasmus wrote in one of his letters to a priest in Rome in 1502 that *'he is the one man at this time incomparable for uprightness of life, for learning and for greatness of soul.'* Bishop Fisher guided Henry through his arduous final months. The days before Henry's death were anything but peaceful for the king. Fisher's account of this time carries on for pages. It is a description of a king tormented with pain and not just with physical pain but foremost for fear of God's judgement.

'At the beginning of Lent he [Henry] called to him his confessor (who told me). And after confession promised three things, to reform his officers, that justice might be executed indifferently, to dispose church promotion, to grant a general pardon.

Henry promised:

'that if God would send him life he would be a changed man. [Henry] remembering God's benefits, he repented that he no more fervently procured His honour and amendment.
'At mydlent and on Easter Day he took off his bonet and crept to the place where he received the sacrament of the altar. Two days before his death, though too

feeble to receive the sacrament he asked for the 'monstraunt' when his confessor brought it, he with beatings of his breast obeisance thereunto and kissed not the self place, where our Lord's body was contained, but the foot of the 'monstraunt'.

'In receiving the sacrament of penance he sometimes wept and sobbed by the space of three quarters of an hour.'

By the evening of 20 April 1509, Henry was a dying man. According to Fisher's account:

'That same day of his departure he heard mass of the glorious virgin the mother of Christ to whom always in his life he had a singular and special devotion. The image of the crucifix many a time that day full devoutly he did behold with great reverence, lifting up his head as he might, holding up his hands before it, and often embracing it in his arms and with great devotion kissing it, and beating often his breast. Who may think that in this manner was not perfect faith. Who will doubt that he believed that God's ear was open to him and ready to hear him cry for mercy, and assistant unto these same sacraments which he so devoutly received, and therefore in his person it may be said.'

'[Henry] held on to life with fierce determination, with his eyes fixed on the crucifix he held in his hand. Henry held it fervently while repeatedly beating it to his chest. While his life started to vanish, Fisher urged Henry to speak 'In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meam la nomine patris et filii et spiritus sanchi. Amen.'



Bishop John Fisher

The King's *'sharpe assault of life'* had lasted thirty-seven hours. Henry VII's death was kept quiet for two days, being announced to the Knights of the Garter on, how appropriately, Henry's favourite saint's day, St George's Day on 23 April.

Henry died at the age of 52, and he had ruled for 23 years. His reign had brought stability and put an end to the Wars of the Roses. The king was buried next to his wife in his Lady Chapel at Westminster. Bishop John Fisher preached at both Henry's funeral and at that of Margaret Beaufort, who followed him just over two months later and was buried in the same chapel as her beloved son.

DEBRA BAYANI

BL Add. Ms. 45131. Ff 52V-53

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TUDOR MUSIC AS PROPAGANDA

People were legally required to go to church. You were fined if you didn't go and didn't have a pretty good excuse as to why you weren't there. So every Sunday the "system" had a captive – if perhaps somewhat ambivalent – audience.
How did the Tudors use this power?

I'm not the first person to notice that the Tudors were masters of messaging and brand imaging – it's obvious when you look at the portraits of both Henry and Elizabeth, that they had a very clear story they wanted to tell. A way to define their dynasty. And they knew how to manipulate information so that their story got out there. With painting we can see this in a visual way, but what about with music? There was no radio or Spotify, obviously, But there was one thing over which they had complete control: liturgy and the music sung in churches every Sunday. Here are three examples of Tudor Church Music as Propaganda.

KATHERINE PARR, THOMAS TALLIS, AND WAR WITH FRANCE

Last year a new album by the Alamire consort told the story of the first example I'm going to give. In 1544 England was preparing for war on two fronts. Henry was away that summer in France. At the same time, the Rough Wooing had started in December. This was the period where Henry was trying to force the young Mary Queen of Scots to marry his son Edward, rather than marry into France. Henry had been married to Katherine Parr for just about a year, and she was acting as his regent while he was away in France.

Henry wanted a way to rally the country to his cause. People were getting tired of wars, and the accompanying taxes. Henry needed some good PR. And what better way to subliminally get your point across than through music? So now let's set the stage with the players: Thomas Tallis had become the chief composer of the Chapel Royal in 1543. Archbishop Thomas Cranmer was translating the Litany into English. And at the same time, Katherine Parr was working on her *Psalms or Prayers*, a book of 15 meditations on the psalter, inspired by Bishop Fisher.

In 1978, during renovations at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, three musical fragments were found behind plasterwork. They were from the mid 16th century, and were identified an early version of Thomas Tallis' famous piece, the six part Gaude Gloriosa dei Mater. But the text was different. It wasn't Latin, it was English. And rather than being devotional, it was harsh: 'cast them down hedlonge … for they are treatours & raybels agaynst me … let the wicked sinners returne in to hell'.

These were Katherine Parr's words, from her Psalms or Prayers. They come from the ninth psalm, *Against Enemies*. Musicologists reconstructed the music, and through piecing together the fragments, they had enough to work with that

they could confidently say that it was Tallis' music with Katherine Parr's words.

So we have Katherine Parr writing the words in English for Thomas Tallis to add to music, which was then performed at churches all around the country. Music to inspire a people who were tired of fighting. People who were perhaps starting to wonder what it was all about, anyway. Women who wanted to know why their husbands were away.

This is a perfect example of Katherine Parr rallying the country to her husband's side through music in a way that not only supported his warfare, but also did so in English, showing a commitment to the liturgy in English, and that Protestant pillar of faith which was having a direct relationship with the Divine.

NEXT UP... HENRY AND THE SALVE RADIX

Thirty years earlier, in 1516 Henry was still in the prime of life. He was handsome, athletic, and the head of a court that, while still quite new, wanted to be as glittering as any of the cosmopolitan ones in Europe. Henry prepared a manuscript that was filled with the most popular European music of the time, written in the Franco-Flemish style, exemplified by Josquin des Prez. This was the most cultured style, and was very different than the traditional music of the time. There were new harmonies, and in depth polyphony.

This manuscript was as much about showing off the Tudor court as just as well-bred as any in Europe, as it was about the actual music. Henry prepared this manuscript as a New Year's gift for his bride, with whom he was still very much in love, Katherine of Aragon. It is likely no coincidence at all that this is when relations with Spain were starting to go a bit sour. Henry had been abandoned during their planned invasion against France when Spain came to a separate peace with France, leaving Henry in the lurch.

Just then Cardinal Wolsey was also working on a treaty of perpetual peace – a United Nations concept whereby England would be the arbiter of any disputes that arose in Europe. This treaty of Universal Peace became the foundation that culminated in the Field of Cloth of Gold. Many musicologists believe that the Salve Radix manuscript is Henry showing the ambassadors at his court that he is just as cultured, just as glittering and important, as any of their own courts at home. That Henry could think about geopolitical issues, but also have a court that was current, and very much a leader in the arts.

Henry could do it all. And isn't a man like that the kind that you would want to be the arbiter of European disputes?

THIRD, THE PARKER PSALTER

In 1567, Matthew Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury under Queen Elizabeth (the same Matthew Parker that Anne Boleyn implored to watch over Elizabeth when she was a toddler and Anne suspected that she was not long for this world), translated the Psalter into English verse (original here: https://archive.org/stream/whortran00park#page/n5/mode/2up). He published it with the inclusion of nine "Tunes," composed by Thomas Tallis, with the idea that with this collaboration the Psalms could be sung rather than merely spoken.

These were designed to bring people closer to the Protestant worship through singing the word of the Lord in English – a cornerstone of the English Protestant belief system was that individuals could (and did) have a close relationship with God directly, through reading the Bible. Here was one more way for Elizabeth to help train up a new generation of Protestants who would be close to God through song.

So there you go – three examples of Tudor propaganda through music.

HEATHER TEYSKO



Superstition in Politics: The Downfall of Lord Hungerford

Gareth Russell looks at a deadly superstition which brought down two men at the heart of court...

Thomas Cromwell, who was executed moments before Lord Hungerford.

Walter Hungerford, 1st Baron Hungerford, was far less famous than the man who died alongside him - Thomas Cromwell, 1st Earl of Essex. A Tudor aristocrat with a flammable temper and miserable marriage, Lord Hungerford was also allegedly involved in romantic and/or sexual relationships with two of his male servants. His downfall in 1540 has been the focus of renewed attention from Retha Warnicke, in her book "The Marrying of Anne of Cleves", and myself in my biography of Catherine Howard, "Young and Damned and Fair"

For Warnicke, Lord Hungerford's downfall, trial and then his beheading on 28th July 1540 is proof of the Tudor era's lively, deadly superstitions. I agree. It's extremely difficult to disentangle at the distance of five centuries what precisely he did or did not do. There were rumours of domestic abuse surrounding his wife and daughter, which we can be almost certain are false. After consensual male sex was criminalised and then judged worthy of the death penalty by the Buggery Statute of 1533, Lord Hungerford's love affairs were enough to destroy him.

However, basic common sense tells us that he could not have been the only homosexual or bisexual Tudor aristocrat, even if the names of others have been lost to us or successfully hidden by their necessary discretion. Hungerford was also accused of three other capital crimes - treason, necromancy, and papism. His private chaplain was rumoured to oppose the Break with Rome and Hungerford was said to have consulted a witch to predict when Henry VIII would die, which also constituted treason. Whoever attacked Hungerford, they apparently wanted to make sure he did not emerge alive.

Certainly, Tudor attitudes on gradations of sins seem to have dragged Lord Hungerford down into a mire from which he could not escape. Of course, there may also have been political motivations, with Henry VIII attempting to smear Cromwell by executing him alongside Hungerford and then increasing the royal estates by confiscating the disgraced baron's. Most of that land was only restored to Hungerford's son and namesake when he married Anne Bassett with the blessing of Queen Mary I.

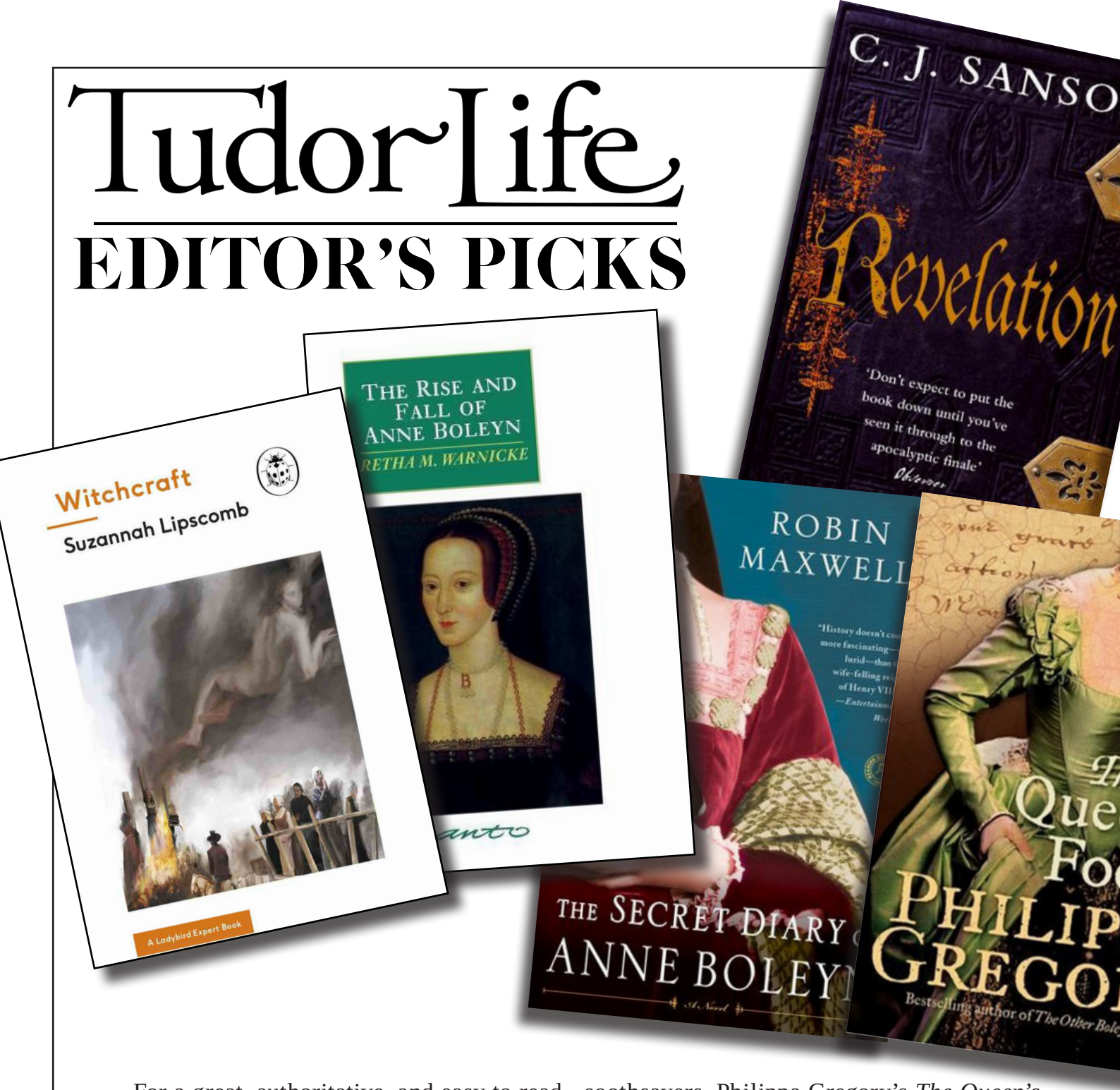
GARETH RUSSELL



Series 1 and 2 of "The Tudors" both used fictional love affairs to dramatise the dangers of being gay or bisexual in 16th-century high society. (Showtime)

Tudor Life

EDITOR'S PICKS



For a great, authoritative, and easy to read introduction to the world of Tudor superstitions, try Suzannah Lipscomb's *Witchcraft*, published this month. In a more specific and controversial vein, Retha Warnicke's *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* and *The Marrying of Anne of Cleves* are not without their critics, but they come from an expert who tried to see how attitudes to magic shaped Tudor politics.

For fiction, Robin Maxwell's *The Secret Diary of Anne Boleyn* contains a fantastic subplot regarding the Queen's reliance on soothsayers. Philippa Gregory's *The Queen's Fool*, set in the reign of Mary I, has as its narrator a girl whispered to have the gift of foresight, while C. J. Sansom's brutal, brilliant novel *Revelation* should not be missed as the perfect blend of a murder mystery, a political thriller, and exploration of religious fundamentalism. It's the fourth literary outing for Sansom's fictitious crime-solver, Matthew Shardlake, who interacts here with characters lifted from history, including a recently-widowed Katherine Parr and Archbishop Thomas Cranmer.



THE TUDOR SOCIETY

MEMBERS' BULLETIN

The Tudor Society would like to thank Alexander Taylor for coming onto the regular writer team for Tudor Life magazine. Alexander has been writing regularly for the website for quite a while now, and we felt his knowledge would be interesting and beneficial for those magazine subscribers that we have.

Our regular writers include Toni Mount, Emma Taylor, Lauren Browne, Rioghnach O'Geraghty, Debra Bayani and Roland Hui. Our regular book reviewer is Charlie Fenton. These experts work tirelessly to write their articles each month, often researching topics that are relatively new to them to ensure that they stay "on topic". The resulting articles are simply amazing, and without their efforts, this magazine would not exist.

So, thank you to all of our writers, both regular and occasional. We really appreciate your hard work and dedication.

Tudor Life magazine welcomes member contributions too, so if you have a topic you would like to write about, or if you visit or do something Tudor, please do let us know and we'll put you in print!

Tim Ridgway

Charlie on Books



JANE SEYMOUR

by Alison Weir



For the last three years, Alison Weir has been writing fiction from the point of view of Henry VIII's wives, with mixed results. *Katherine of Aragon: The True Queen* may have been slow and repetitive in parts, but it was still an interesting account of Henry VIII's first wife. *Anne Boleyn: A King's Obsession*, on the other hand, included many errors and clearly showed Weir's bias against this queen. With the latest book on Jane Seymour having been recently released, I was unsure as to which way this book would go. Fortunately, *Jane Seymour: The Haunted Queen* was a pleasant surprise.

The author portrays Jane Seymour as a very devout and religious woman, perhaps even more so than Katherine of Aragon, with her wanting to be a nun at the start of the book. This idea is mentioned several times throughout the book, however Jane changes her mind after she visits a nearby nunnery and becomes discouraged by their rich foods and relatively luxurious life:

> *'For Jane had no desire to be married. She wanted to be a nun. Everyone teased her for it, not taking her seriously. Let them. Soon they would find out that she was as determined as her brother Edward when it came to getting what she wanted in life. She could not imagine her hearty, jovial father objecting, nor her adored mother. They knew of the dream she had had of herself wearing a nun's veil, kneeling before Our Lady.'*

Of course, we have no evidence for this, but since know so little about Jane Seymour's life anyway, and as it does not alter historical facts in any major way, it is acceptable. Jane is a perfect blank canvas and is very much like Mary Boleyn in *The Other Boleyn Girl* in that regard.

Weir went along with the extra fingernail myth in her book on Anne, but it is still surprising that she mentioned it again in this one. It is one thing having a blemish that Anne manages to hide, but another thing entirely suggesting that people like Jane would be able to see it. It is doubtful that Henry would have been with Anne if she had something like that, something that could be passed on to his children or that suggested she was a witch.

There are some things I do not quite agree with, such as Weir's suggestion that Jane was pregnant during Anne's execution, even though it is doubtful she gave way to Henry before she was married. She then has several miscarriages in this book, even though there is no real evidence for them.

Overall, I enjoyed this novel much more than her Anne Boleyn book. This one, perhaps due to the fact there is so little on Jane and so fewer facts to alter or re-interpret, was much better. This reminded me more of her first book on Katherine, which I really enjoyed. It was slow in places, but at least the Seymour family dramas (mainly surrounding Jane's sister-in-law Catherine) helped early on. I don't always agree with Weir's theories, particularly the one in which Jane's death was caused food poisoning which then led to dehydration and embolism, causing heart failure, but at least it isn't too 'out there'.

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS' DOWNFALL

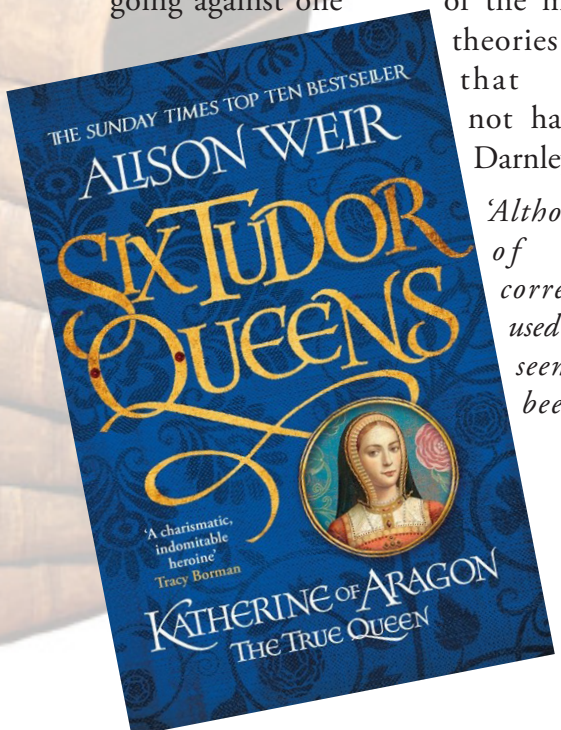
by Robert Stedall



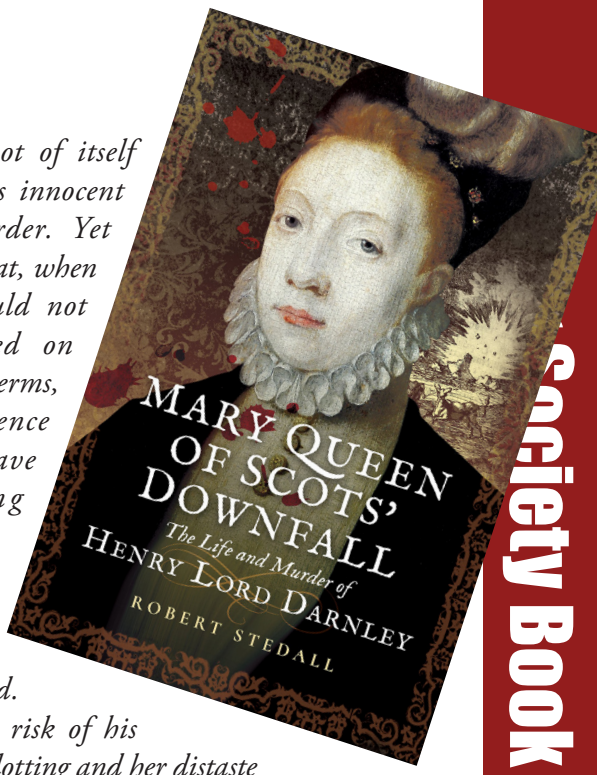
The murder of Lord Darnley is one of history's most notorious unsolved crimes. Blame for it is generally directed at his wife, Mary Queen of Scots. However, Darnley rarely has a book to himself, with many just seeing him and his murder as another event in Mary's tragic life. Robert Stedall's book, *Mary Queen of Scots' Downfall: The Life and Murder of Henry, Lord Darnley,* is a breath of fresh air, even if it does have some flaws and not everyone will agree with his conclusions.

Stedall includes a lot of information about Darnley's father, Matthew Stuart, 4th Earl of Lennox and also adds some detail about Margaret Douglas. Some of Mary Queen of Scot's background is also added before we get to Darnley's birth. Thankfully he does not dwell on Mary's background too much, as it is easy to get sidetracked and to turn the book into another biography on Mary.

The author comes to an interesting conclusion [ed. SPOILER AHEAD] in this book, for once going against one of the most accepted theories and saying that Mary did not have a role in Darnley's murder:



'Although parts of Mary's correspondence used in evidence seem to have been forged, this does not of itself show her as innocent of the murder. Yet we know that, when divorce could not be achieved on acceptable terms, her preference was to have the king rehabilitated. Despite the risk of his continued plotting and her distaste at resuming sexual relations with a syphilitic, he strengthened her claim to be recognised as Elizabeth's heir, as now seemed so tantalisingly close. As late as 8 February, the day before the king's murder, Mary sent Melville to London to renegotiate the Treaty of Edinburgh and wrote to Cecil asking him to accept her good opinion of him, despite their differences. On the evening of the murder, she was showing the king great affection, hardly likely if she were a party to it.'



The author is convincing in saying that Mary did not organise his murder and that she just showed poor judgement in her actions after his death, mainly in not investigating his murder properly and not distancing herself from Bothwell.

Mary Queen of Scots' Downfall is an interesting read and it is good to have a book on Darnley, as he is often neglected in favour of his wife, however, there is nothing new here. It sometimes does struggle to flow and goes back and forth in time quite a bit, so the reader having some knowledge of the time period would be helpful here. It is still interesting to have another opinion on who was behind the murder of Darnley, especially as this one proposes Mary wasn't involved, and to have some background information on him and his family. I would recommend this to someone who already knows some basic facts of the time period but wants to learn more.

CHARLIE FENTON

Member Spotlight

Toni Mount has been "doing" Loxwood for five years now after being 'discovered' by the organiser, Maurice Bacon, performing her "Tyrannical Husband" sketch at the Herstmonceux Castle event. The Tyrannical Husband is a real c.15th 'ballad' which Toni performs in the first person as a 'pop-up' argument, appearing randomly around the event during the day. The ballad is a discussion between a husband and wife and needless to say it's the wife who is the tyrant, the poor husband ends up getting beaten by his wife's distaff! Toni has a tent as a base where she sells books and has artefacts on display. She also gives two scheduled talks a day as The Medieval Housewife. Often, in the afternoon, these talks become a 'fashion show' where some of the other participants act as models and Toni describes what they are wearing and why. This year, for the first time, Toni's husband Glenn was a Barber Surgeon and did the morning talk each day.

The organiser Maurice is an interesting character; he was the drummer in the one-hit-wonder 60's pop group Love Affair and is currently the manager of the singing group Mediaeval Baebes . He developed Loxwood as a vehicle to promote their albums, but it's become a lot more than that!

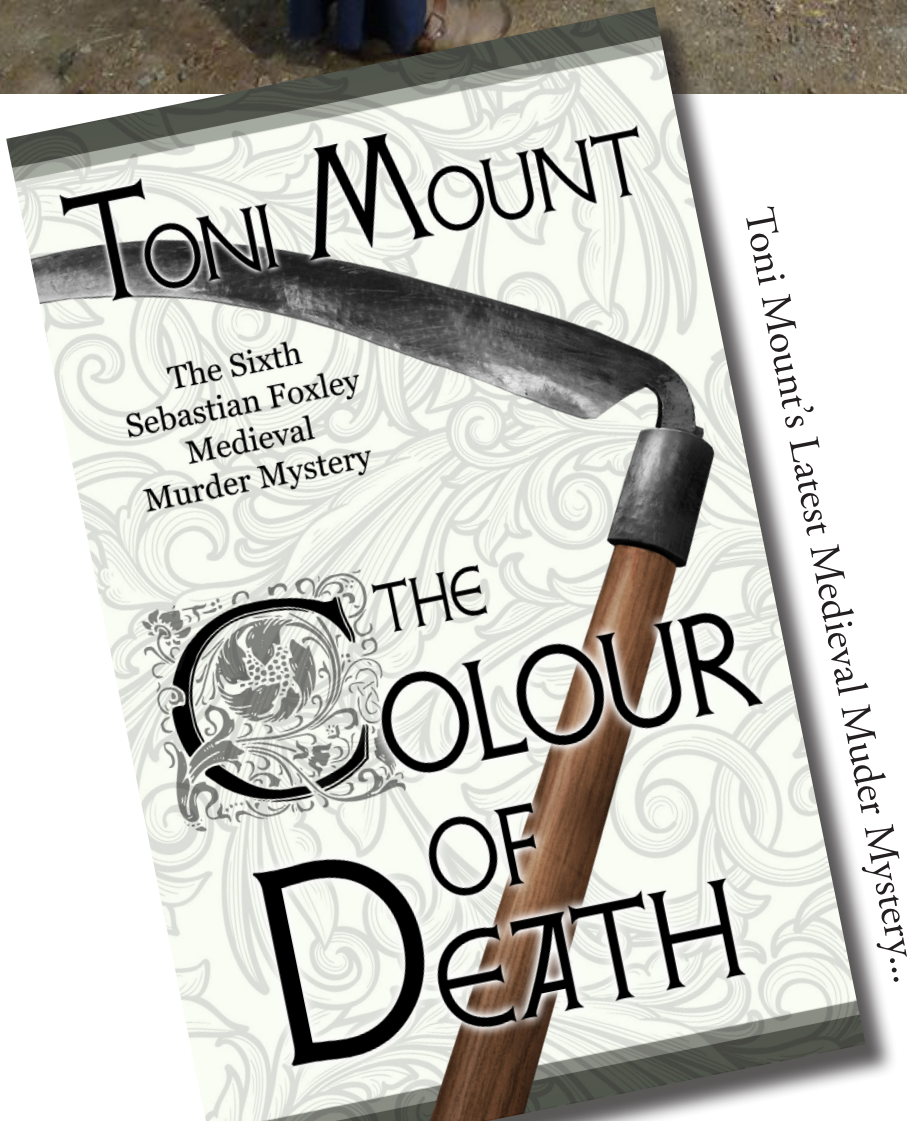
Enjoy these photos taken at this year's event...











Toni Mount's Latest Medieval Muder Mystery...



FROM THE SPICERY



WITH RIOGNACH



ON SIXTEENTH CENTURY FEASTING

When I left you last, we had just discussed the over-the-top splendour of the Fifteenth Century feast. We looked at the culinary one-upmanship that was prevalent through the courts of Continental Europe; and paid attention to what was served up by the master chefs of the Count of Anjou, and Duke of Savoy. Now I would welcome you to the Sixteenth Century and the Tudor Dynasty.

It is the Year of Our Lord 1537, and by the grace of God, Queen Jane was delivered of a long-awaited son, Edward VI. Edward was dutifully dunked (christened) on the 15th of October at the tender age of 3 days, with both the Lady Mary and the Lady Elizabeth in attendance and playing significant roles in the ceremony.

So, how would father Henry VIII and mother Jane Seymour celebrate the birth and christening of the new Tudor heir? With the most decadent and stupendous christening feast that Hampton Court Palace had ever seen (or that the kitchens at Hampton Court ever produced), of course! However, there is one teensy-weensy, easily overlooked problem; and one that I propose to solve in a very hands-on way. While we know *when* and *where* Edward was christened, we do not accurately know *what* was served (by *'what'*, I mean the dishes that were cooked and served to the happy families and hangers-on). In light of this, I propose to solve the problem by putting together a tasting-plate of prospective dishes as would befit a dynastic christening, based on what we know of Tudor eating habits, and matching them up with some suitably luxurious extant recipes.

Canonical law would have governed the foods available for Edward's christening feast. Should the celebration have fallen on a non-flesh day, this may not have necessarily affected what was on offer. The higher up the social ladder one was, the larger the variety of foods available, and often in direct contradiction with the Laws of the Church. If I use an extant menu for a feast held by Henry and Katherine in 1526 as an example, we can see that amongst the surfeit of fish were some decidedly non-fish-like offerings.

> *"...for first course there was chett and manchett bread, ale, beer, wine, herring, pottage, organe ling (cod), powdered eales or lamprons [tiny young eel], pike, calver salmon, whiting, haddocks, mullets or bass, plaice or gurnard, sea bream or soalles [sole], congers [eels] door [dory], porpoise, seale, carp, trout, crabs, lobsters, custard, rascalles or flage [cuts of venison] ..."* [1]

Apparently, Katherine was quite partial to a dish of porpoise for dinner.

At the centre of the feasting table there may well have been a large bird of some description; possibly a swan or peacock and suitably decked out in full plumage and with its beak gilded. Should you feel the need to impress your own dinner guests, the instructions to present your own swan are as follows. But, please check with your local wildlife rules and regulations before proceeding:

> *"Kutte a Swan in the rove of the mouthe toward the brayne elonge, and lete him bleded, and kepe the blode for chawdewyn; or ells knytte a knot on his nek, And so late his nekke breke, then skald him. Drawe him and rost ghim even thou doest goce*

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1 *A History of Royal Food and Feasting – Live Cookery in the Great Kitchens*, Historic Royal Palaces. https://www.futurelearn.com/courses/royal-food/0/steps/17037

in all poyntes, and serue him fort wit chawd-wyne."[2]

When served for royal occasions, a swan would be presented in '*gorged and chained*', and sporting a crown. This particular presentation is reflected in the heraldic device of the Bohun family and the House of Lancaster. A fitting accompaniment for a swan was a *chawdron,* a pungent sauce made from the swan's blood and cooked with vinegar (to prevent coagulation) and "strong spices"; most likely ginger, Grains of Paradise and cloves to name but a few.

Amongst Katherine's many achievements as Henry's wife, she is credited with introducing the concept of the raw salad to Tudor cuisine. I wonder if queen Katherine enjoyed a salad of uncooked leaves with her dish of porpoise? Before Katherine's arrival, English *salats* consisted of boiled leaves, herbs and vegetables served hot, primarily due to health concerns. In his work, *The Boke of Nurture*, John Russell strongly recommends that *saladis* be avoided, even going so far as to liken their effects with those of *grene metis* and *frutes rawe*.[3] Katherine prevailed against conventional thinking and introduced the concept of the raw salad, encompassing a vast array of herbs and leaves, pickles and edible flowers, nuts and dried fruits, all liberally bathed in oil and vinegar. And sugar, but more of that later. Would a salad have been considered extravagant enough to feature at a Tudor christening feast? I'm not sure, but given the high volume of rich meats on offer, it may have offered a reprieve to an over-indulged stomach.

As a note of salad-related trivia, the first Duke of Northumberland's household cook was suspected of inadvertently "plucking one leaf for another"[4], resulting in Guilford Dudley and an unknown number of royal guests becoming severely ill. The moral of the Tudor salad saga: know which leaves to pick for your salad!

This is not to say that Henry was unimpressed with salads and vegetables. One of the king's vegetable favourites was the globe artichoke; something which (apparently) was considered to be a "high-status vegetable", and was only cultivated in the "gardens of the great".[5] In keeping with their regal status, the globe artichoke was subjected to complicated recipes and treatments, including being stewed with plumbs and served in a highly spiced marrowbone sauce.[6] That being said, perhaps a more fitting sauce may be a *Sauce Verte, as* detailed in Ashmole Manuscript (note that this is the ancestor of the modern *Sauce Verte*):

"Take percely, myntes, diteyne, cost marye, a cloue of garleke. And take faire brede, and stepe it with wynegre an piper, and salt; and grynde al this to-gedre, and temper it up with wynegre, or with eisel, and serve it forthe."[7]

So which dishes might be served to tempt the sweet-toothed diners at our Tudor-inspired feast? In a word; SUGAR, and the sweeter the dishes, the better, too.

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2 Anonymous, *Harleian Manuscript* 1406, circa 1450.

3 J, Russell, Boke of Nurture, 1450, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/24790/24790-h/nurture.html#nurture_line_96.

4 http://nerdalicious.com.au/history/curious-morsels-from-a-tudor-kitchen/

5 http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/gardening/article-2952391/Henry-VIII-got-five-day-thanks-Tudor-salad.html.

6 *ibid*

7 Anonymous, *Ashmole Manuscript* 1439, circa 1430.

Sugar was easily the must-have luxury of the Tudors. Honey and fruit-derived sweeteners were for the ordinary folk; if one really wanted to impress, one went out and spent a fortune on a loaf of sugar. Even wine was sweetened with sugar, although to call it so is a misnomer. The Tudors, like the Romans, sweetened their wines by adding sugars of lead (or lead(II) acetate), and needless to say, many of them paid the ultimate price of this particular oenological misadventure.

Insofar as healthy sweet-treats are concerned, Katherine was fond of oranges, and her liking of them set up the tradition of growing them in south-facing *orangeries*; while Jane looked forward to a seasonal treat of cherries. Henry enjoyed preserves and marmalades, a fondness that would show on his waistline in later years. In keeping with our theme of a Tudor christening feast, I think we could expect a treat of thin, sweet wafers to be on offer. Made by specialist cooks, wafers were made by cooking a thin sweet batter between two hot irons. The process is not dissimilar to making modern brandy snaps and is equally fussy. A *subtlety* of a castle or a heraldic device made entirely from *marchpane* (marzipan) might take centre stage. Henry's favourite Cardinal, Wolsey commissioned an entire chess set made from sugar plate, for his visiting French guests in 1527.[8] I have attempted making sugar plate, and I can attest to the difficulty of the task; Wolsey's dessert chef was obviously worth his weight in gold, if not sugar!

Other potential delectable sweet treats (but infinitely easier to make) include *suckets* or spoon sweets, and *wardens* in syrup (*wardens* being a type of hard Winter pear). Being the sweets fiend that I am, I've included a couple of simple recipes for both to tempt your taste buds with.

> *"To make Prunes in sirrope: Take Prunes and put claret wine to then and Sugar, as much as you thinke will make them pleasant, let all these seethe together till yee thinke the Liquor looke like a sirrope, and that your Prunes be well swollen: and so keepe them in a vessel as yee do greene Ginger."*[9]

> *"Take warduns and milberries, and wyn crete (Cretian wine)or vernage (verjuice), and goode sugar, and seethe together as you think will make them done and the Liquor red and a good sirrope: and add thereto a deal of puder douche, and serve them forthe."*[10]

On a final note of trivia, prunes, plums and figs were all considered to be aphrodisiacs and were frequently part of Henry VIII's diet. An extrapolation of this can be found in the dish *Spanish Paps,* although whether this related to Katherine's breasts, I do not know. The dish started out innocently enough, being a blancmange that was served "peaked" using the back of a cold spoon.[11] A more risqué version of the dish involves prunes topped with a tiny pillow of blancmange, being reminiscent of a woman's *duckies.*

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

8 Thomas, M. *Tudor Dining: A Guide to Food and Status in the 16th Century*, December 2014,https://www.historyextra.com/period/tudor/tudor-dining-a-guide-to-food-and-status-in-the-16th-century/

9 J, Partridge, *The Treasurie of Commodious Conceits*, *circa* 1573 http://www.medievalcookery.com/notes/treasurie.pdf

10 Anonymous, *Ancient Cookery*, *circa* 1381.

11 http://nerdalicious.com.au/history/curious-morsels-from-a-tudor-kitchen, *op cit*

OCTOBER'S "ON THIS

1 Oct 1553
Mary I was crowned Queen at Westminster Abbey.

2 Oct 1518
Cardinal Wolsey's treaty of "Universal" peace between France and England was signed.

3 Oct 1559
Death of Sir **William Fitzwilliam**, Gentleman of **Edward VI**'s Privy Chamber.

4 Oct 1539
Signing of the marriage treaty between **Henry VIII** and Anne of Cleves.

5 Oct 1518
Formal betrothal of **Princess Mary** and the D**auphin of France.**

9 Oct 1514
The eighteen year-old Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII, married the fifty-two year-old King Louis XII of France at Abbeville.

10 Oct 1562
The twenty-nine year-old Queen **Elizabeth I** was taken ill at Hampton Court Palace, with what was thought to be a bad cold.



Queen Claude of France

13 Oct 1499
Queen Claude of France, wife of Francis I, was born in Romorantin-Lanthenay.

14 Oct 1586
The trial of **Mary, Queen of Scots** began at Fotheringhay Castle in Northamptonshire..

15 Oct 1537
The future **Edward VI**, was christened in the Chapel Royal at Hampton Court in a lavish ceremony.

21 Oct 1449
Birth of **George, Duke of Clarence**, son of **Richard, Duke of York**, and brother of **Edward IV** and **Richard III**, in Dublin. He was born in Ireland because his father was serving there as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Clarence was also the father of Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury.

22 Oct 1521
Death of Sir **Edward Poynings**, diplomat, at his manor of Westenhanger in Kent.

23 Oct 1545
Death of Sir **Humphrey Wingfield**, lawyer, Speaker of the House of Commons.

24 Oct 1537
Jane Seymour, died of suspected puerperal fever (childbed fever) at Hampton Court Palace

28 Oct 1532
The last day of **Henry VIII** and **Anne Boleyn**'s time with **Francis I** in Calais. This included a wrestling match, which saw the English wrestlers beat the French. Henry VIII refrained from challenging Francis to a wrestling match as he had done at the 1521 Field of Cloth of Gold.

29 Oct 1618
Sir **Walter Ralegh**, courtier, explorer, author and soldier, was executed at Westminster.

30 Oct 1485
Henry Tudor, was crowned King **Henry VII** at Westminster Abbey.

31 Oct 1491
Henry VII's son, Henry (the future **Henry VIII**), was created Duke of York.

Background image: London Charterhouse © 2016 Tim Ridgway

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY"

6 Oct 1536
Execution of Bible translator **William Tyndale**, eighteen miles outside Antwerp.

7 Oct 1589
Death of **William Hawkins**, merchant and sea captain, at Deptford.

8 Oct 1549
Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector, was proclaimed a traitor.



Edward VI

11 Oct 1532
Henry VIII and **Anne Boleyn** left England for Calais. Anne was treated as Henry VIII's queen.

12 Oct 1537
St Edward's Day, Jane Seymour finally gave birth to the future King Edward VI after a long and tiring 30 hour labour. Henry VIII had a legitimate son and heir at long last. Church bells around London pealed in celebration.

16 Oct 1555
Hugh Latimer and **Nicholas Ridley** were burnt at the stake in Oxford.

17 Oct 1595
Death of Sir **Thomas Heneage**, courtier and politician, at the Savoy.

18 Oct 1541
Margaret Tudor died of a stroke at Methven Castle, Perthshire, Scotland.

19 Oct 1512
Reformer **Martin Luther** was awarded his Doctorate of Theology from the University of Wittenberg.

20 Oct 1536
The rebels of the Pilgrimage of Grace threatened an assault on Pontefract Castle and its owner, **Lord Darcy**

25 Oct 1532
Henry VIII arrived at Calais with **Francis I** to a 3,000 gun salute.

26 Oct 1538
Geoffrey Pole was interrogated in his prison at the Tower of London regarding letters he and his family had received from his brother, Cardinal **Reginald Pole**.

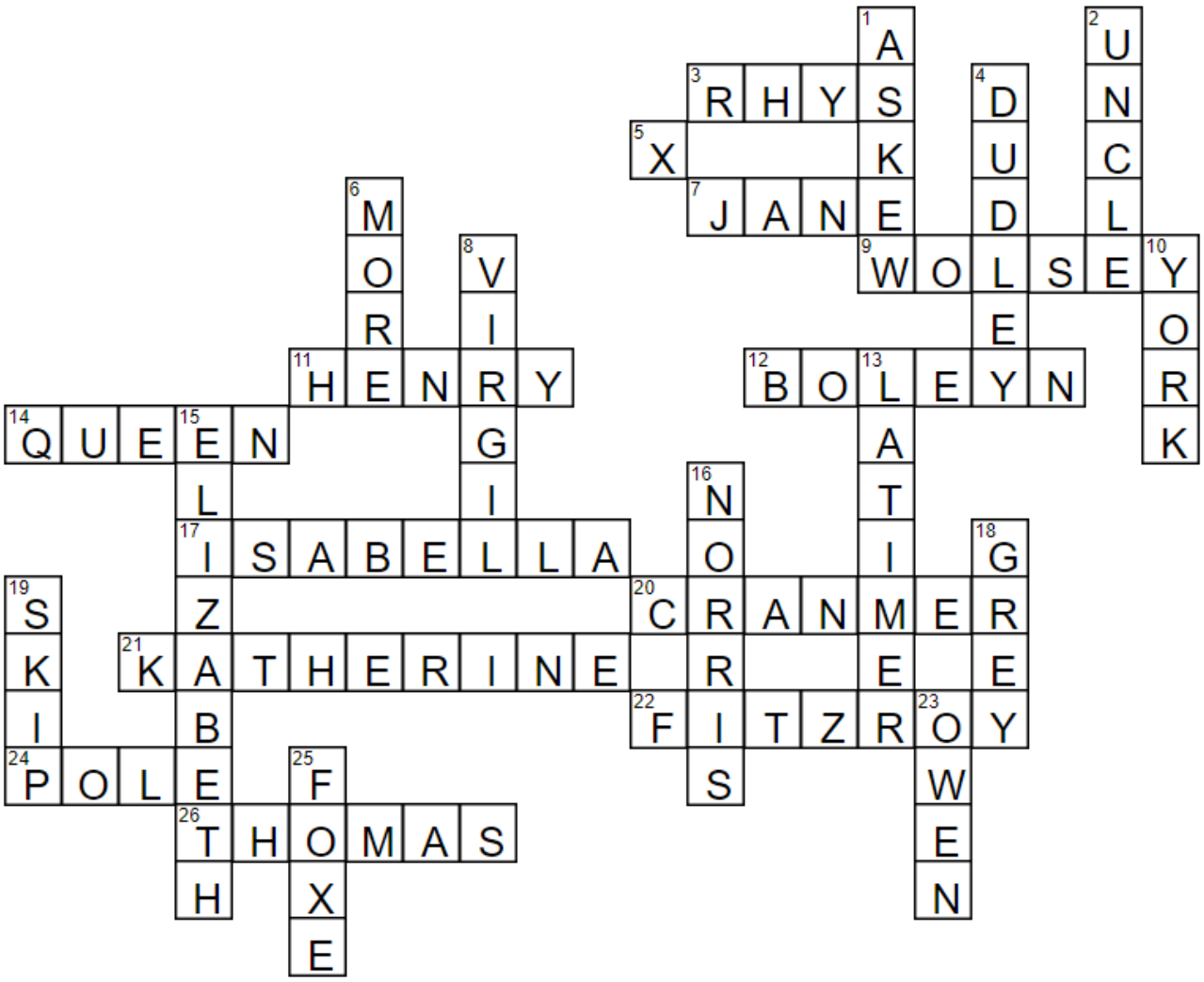
27 Oct 1532
Anne Boleyn made a dramatic entrance to the great banquet held by **Henry VIII** in Calais for **Francis I**.

TUDOR FEAST DAYS

First Sunday – Dedication Service
13 October – Feast of St Edward the Confessor
18 October – Feast of St Luke the Evangelist
25 October – Feast of St Crispin and St Crispinian
28 October – Feast of St Simon and St Jude
31 October – All Hallows Eve

Tudor Life

Quiz Answers



Fancy writing a quiz of your own for Tudor Life? We'd love to hear from you. Whether it's a word search list, crossword questions, or something more exotic, please do email it over to info@tudorsociety.com



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NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

Tudor Life

THE HERESY BURNINGS OF MARY I

JOHN MURPHY
The Credo of Mary I

ANTHONY RUGGIERO
Wyatt's Rebellion

EMMA TAYLOR
Mary I on Screen

ROLAND HUI
Genevieve Bujold

PLUS

FEATURE ON
Lord Leyster's Hospital

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

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