Tudor Life

The Tudor Society Magazine

The Tudor Society

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Portraits, Artists & Actors

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

KATHERINE HOWARD

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also

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TUDOR CHILDCARE

FANCY A SALEP?

Learn how to go to the theatre like a Tudor...

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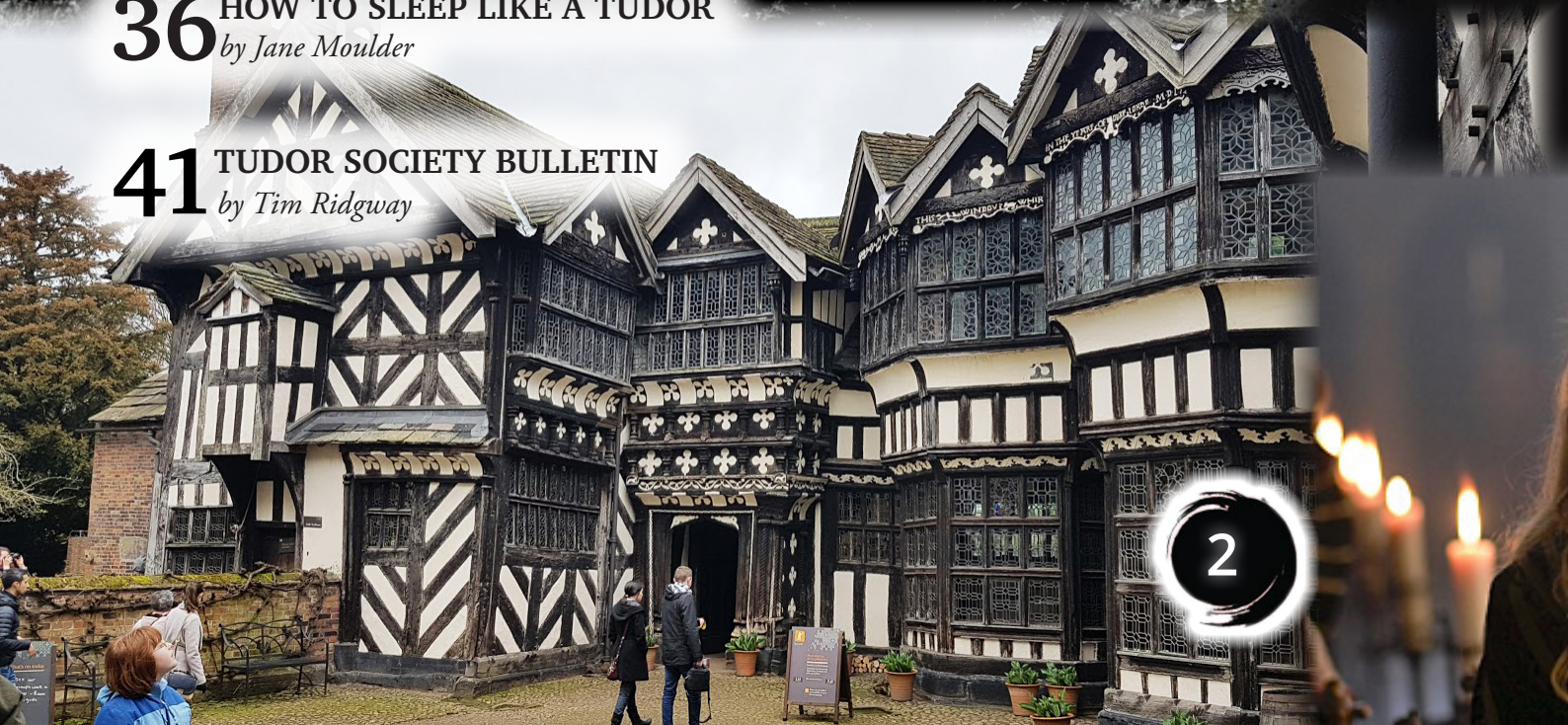
Portraits, artists and actors

THE TUDORS LEFT vibrant art – be it on canvas, stage, or sheet music – through which they have been remembered and misremembered. As Emma Taylor points out in her article, "Sex sells", and we have articles on how queens and Tudors have been represented and re-imagined throughout the centuries because of it. We continue to debate on the identity of the sitters in many fascinatingly, frustratingly unidentified portraits - as Conor Byrne explores in his discussion of Queen Catherine Howard's alleged portraiture. Are any of them a likeness of this young woman, who perished so horribly in 1542? It is not hard to see why the Tudor era continues to intrigue us, with its perfect storm of political upheaval, sexual ambiguities, and artistic revival. Under the Tudor monarchs, Shakespeare and Marlowe flourished, Tallis composed, and Holbein, Horenbout and Hilliard painted. It was an era that made art of its own and inspired art for generations to come.

GARETH RUSSELL

Tudor life



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A TRIP BACK IN TIME TO LITTLE MORETON HALL

by Kyra Kramer

One of the best preserved Tudor homes in the UK is Little Moreton Hall in Cheshire, not far from the town of Congelton and just before the village of Scholar Green. The oldest part of the half-timbered building was built between 1504 and 1508, while Henry VII still wore his crown, and was then given multiple additions by the Moreton family for almost 150 years, until the Civil War of 1642. After that, it was frequently rented out to tenant farmers but it was never sold, passing down through the family for generations.

Near the end of the 19th century, the last surviving member of the family, a nun by the name of Elizabeth Moreton, bequeathed Little Moreton Hall to a cousin, Bishop Charles Thomas Abraham, with the codicil that he was to never sell it. Bishop Abraham loved the Hall at first sight, writing in his diary that he would never "forget the thrill as I toped the rise after Scholar Green, walking from Kidsgrove Station, and saw the front of the old black and white house in spring sunshine confronting me. It has been in my heart and dreams ever since."

Abraham and his wife devoted themselves to restoring his beloved inheritance, with the help of their tenants, local farmers named Thomas and Ann Dale who rented some of the hall as living space for themselves and their 14 children. The Hall certainly needed all the help it could get. A letter to the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings warned in 1887 that the building was "falling to pieces … The walls sinking so as to bulge the paneling as much as two feet" in some places.

Although the Abrahams and the Dales did their best, the economic troubles of the 1930s soon meant that the Abraham family could no longer pour money into caring for the venerable Hall. To preserve Abraham's son from being burdened with a home he could not maintain even with his tenants help, the Hall was vested to the National Trust in 1938, more than 500 years after the foundation stones were laid.

The National Trust has done their usual exquisite job of preservation, including an architectural survey in 2012 that would allow them to rebuild the house identically "right down to the size and position of each peg hole" if a disaster should strike.

What draws the eye first as a visitor to Little Moreton Hall is the wavy and buckled appearance of its walls.

Part of the issue is that the ground it is built on is marshy, which has caused the house to sink over time. Mostly, however, the house has such a catawampus appearance because of the way timber-frame housed were constructed during their time period. They were the original "pre-fab" homes, with each section pieced together in the carpenter's yard before being hauled to the site and assembled via rope and pulley, as though they were building a life-size 3D puzzle. Several gouges in the wood, known as "carpenter's marks" can still be seen on the walls of the Hall, indicating where one section of frame was supposed to be attached to another section of the new construction. The central vertical newel posts of the main staircase were also hauled into position to help support the Long Gallery in the last-built Southern part of the Hall. These newel posts appear to have come from a single mammoth tree more than 20 feet tall.

Other wonderful architectural features of the Hall are the chimneys and windows. Brick fireplaces didn't become common until near the end of Queen Elizabeth I's reign, but signs indicate that Little Moreton Hall was a rare early adapter of this new Dutch technology. Not only were chimneys able to provide heat in bedrooms (which older Tudor homes could not), they were a magnificent status symbol. Things like chimneys and the multi-paned (quarried) windows were expensive to build, and they were subsequently heavily taxed as luxuries. Thus, anyone looking at the Hall could see in a glance that a well-to-do family lived here, because they could afford to support the tax burden resulting from the comforts of light and heat.

The visitor's entrance to the Hall opens into the inner courtyard, which was built to impress – and succeeds in its aims. The wings of the building enfold the yard, and the ornamentation of the walls facing inward are as ostentatious as the Moreton family could afford to make them. It was here that guests would be first welcomed to the Hall, and thus it was here that the Hall must put on its best face. To that end, the timbers of the walls, doors, and bay windows are all carved with painstaking decorations, including quatrefoils, greyhounds, wolves, the Moreton family crest, and multiple dragons showing the inhabitants' devotion to the Welsh royal family on the throne.

To walk inside the Hall is almost overwhelming to a Tudor historian like myself. It is as close as one can come to time-traveling, with only a little imagination needed to see what someone born in the Tudor era would have seen.

The Great Hall is usually the first place a visitor will enter. It was built so early that it would have originally had an earthen floor with rushes and a hearth in the center, with an open gallery around the top for musicians to perform during feasts, or for those lower down on the social totem pole to gawk at the Moreton family as they sat in state.

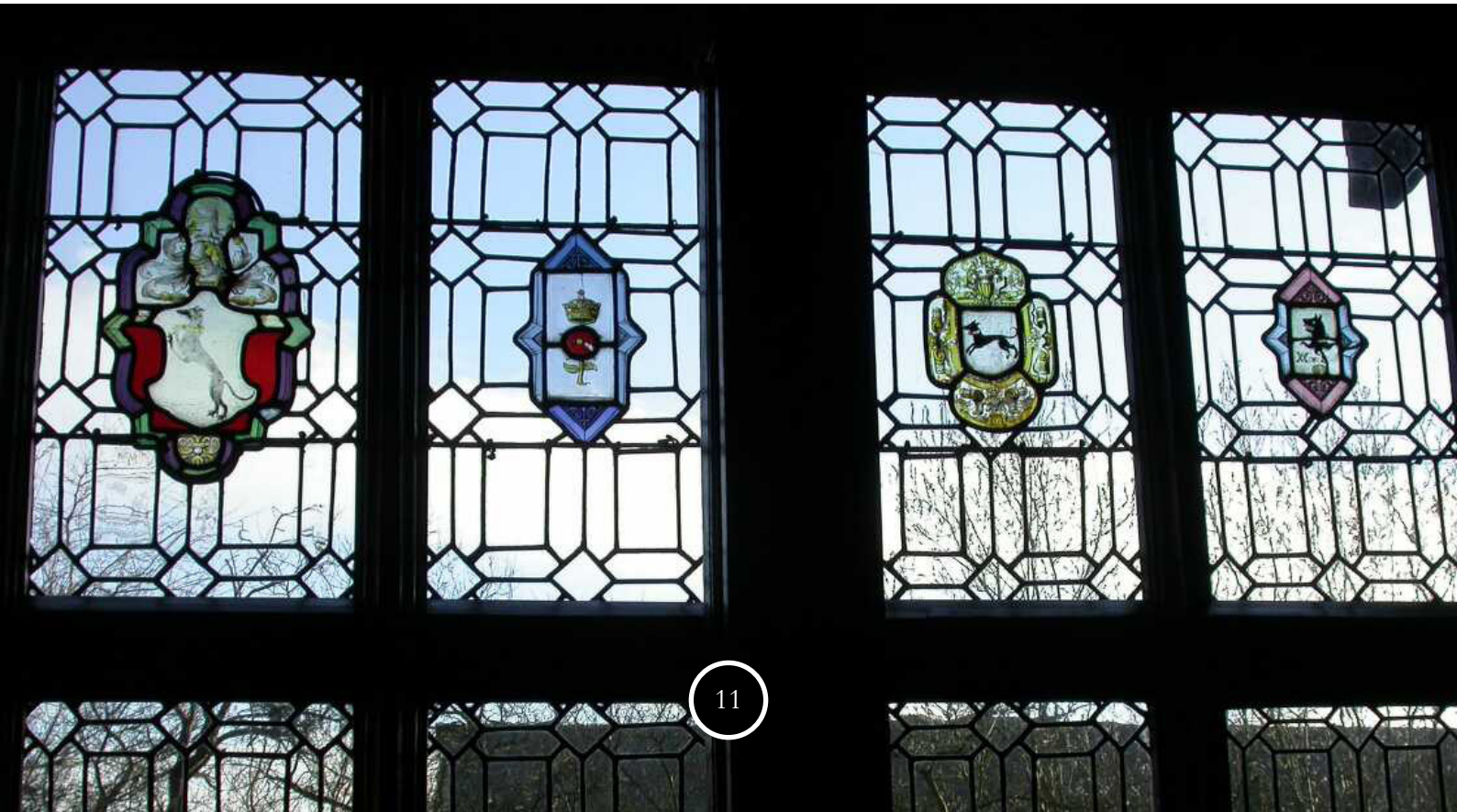
Accessible by a small spiral staircase, the gallery also led to the family's private apartments, "three rooms with fireplaces, garderobes, and impressively arch-braced roof with cusped wind-braces".

In 1559 William Moreton II decided to modernize the Great Hall, putting in a top floor where the gallery once ringed the room

(the "new" floor was removed in 1807, but the gallery wasn't replaced) and adding a bay window to make the Great Hall look like a proper Tudor dining room.

At the right side of the Great Hall is the doorway to the Little Parlour, a small space the family would have used as a sitting room when they wished for private evenings. This area boasts the remains of the kind of painted plaster frieze that was enormously popular from roughly 1570-1610. The paintings depict both the wolf's head of Moreton crest and Biblical scenes of Susanna and the Elders, a tale that was later moved to the Apocrypha during the collation of the King James' Bible.

In 1559 William Moreton II not only refurbished the Great Hall, he added a long wing of three additional rooms, which were probably used as kitchens, communal living areas, and work spaces. One of the rooms, the Great Parlour, is completely covered



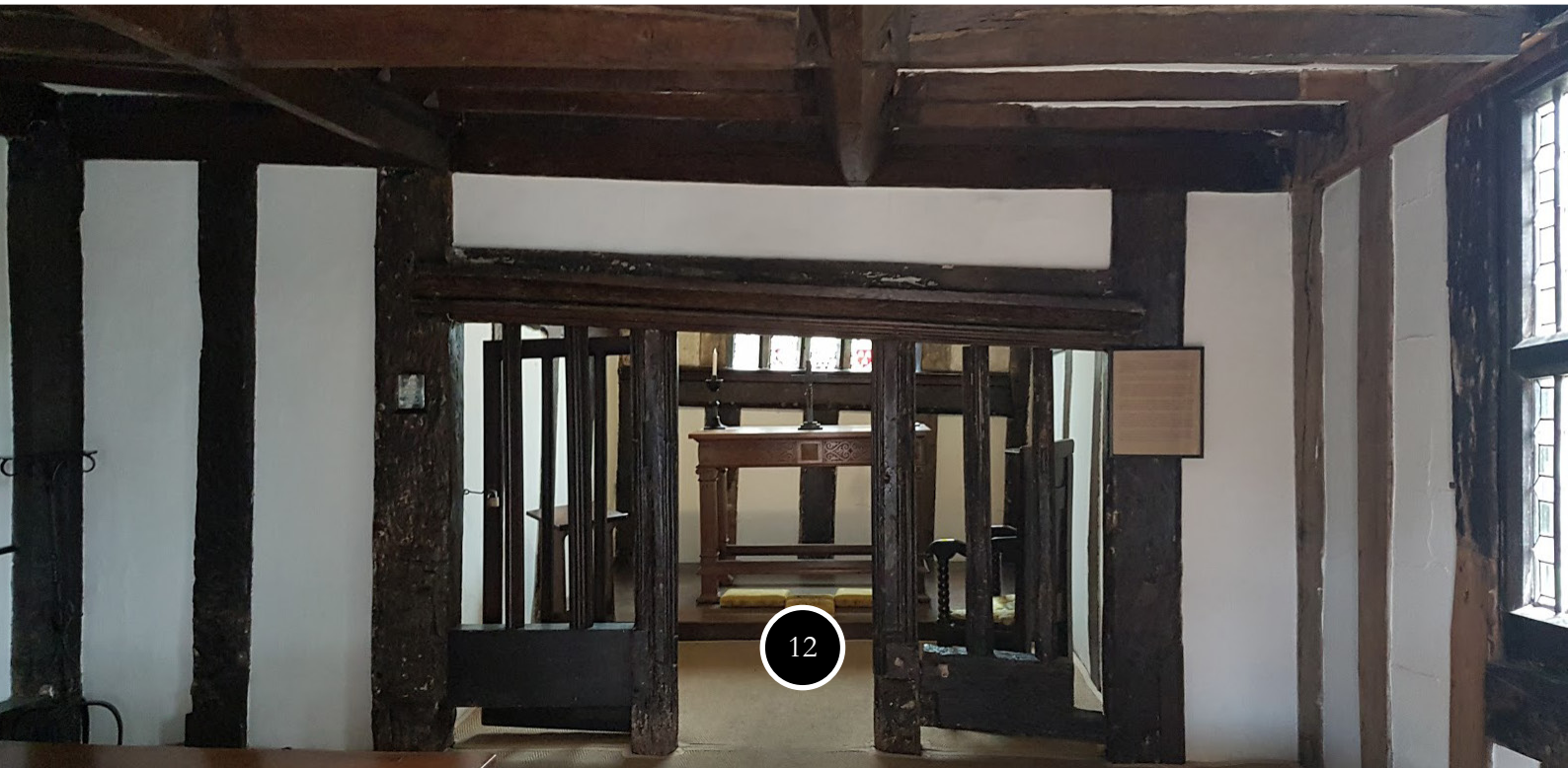
with some of the most exquisite wooden panels you have ever seen.

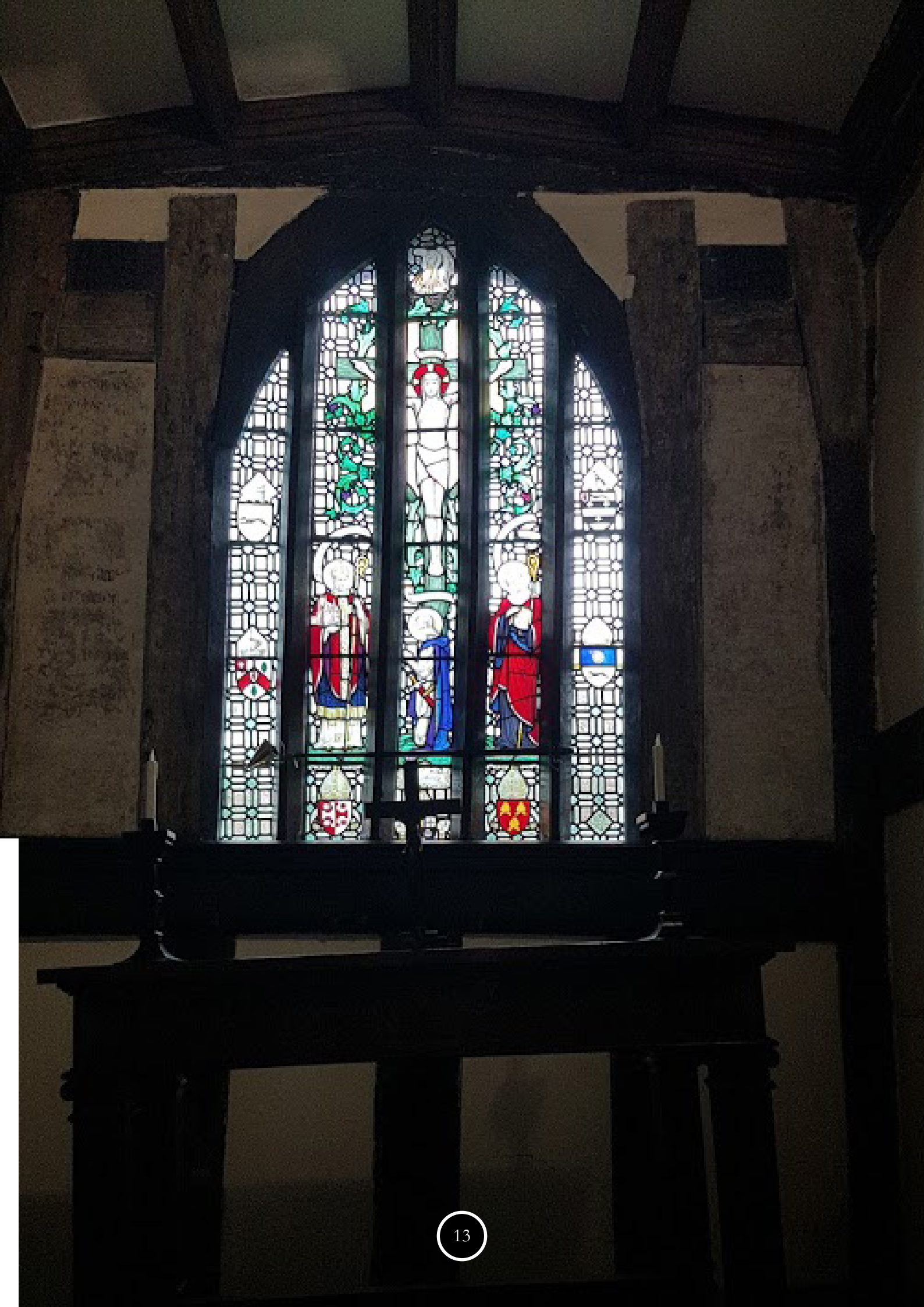
Its fireplace also has an overmantel that still proudly displays the Queen Elizabeth I's coat of arms. No one is certain how it survived occupation by Cromwell's Roundheads in the 1640s, but there is speculation the royalist Moreton's covered it with plaster or panels to hide it.

The Great Parlour is also remarkable for having some of the finest surviving examples of 16th century stained glass in its windows.

Additionally, the Great Parlor has the original "great rounde table" of the Hall's Tudor era inventories, which sits in the nook of a bay window for visitors to admire.

Another 16th century addition to the Hall was the Chapel. It was made to be entered only from the courtyard, and was a separate, sacred, space for worship. The altar stands at the east end of the Chapel, so that worshipers would be "facing Jerusalem" during prayers. Sadly, the Chapel was deconsecrated after the Reformation and the rise of the Puritans, and turned into a mere storeroom for coal, while the room above it (created in the 1590s by laying a floor across



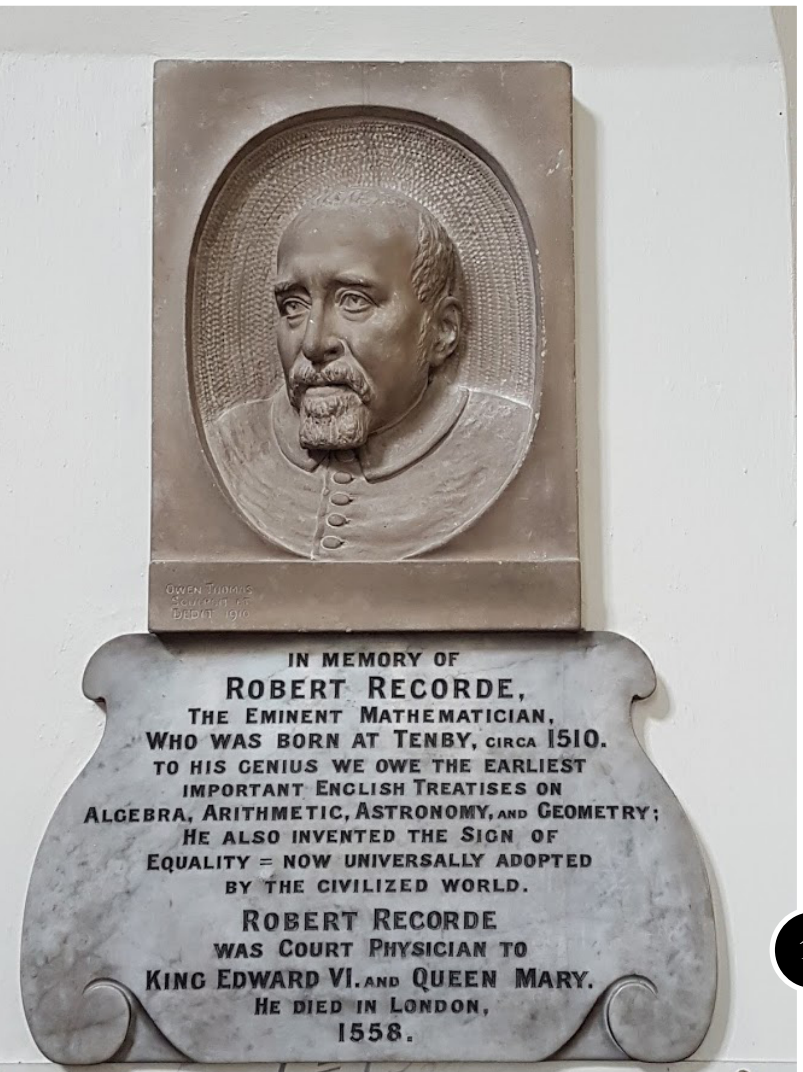


the mid-point of the Chapel's height) was used as a bedroom.

In 1893, however, Elizabeth Moreton, the last Moreton owner of the Hall, had the Chapel consecrated once more and services continue to be held within it today. Bishop Abraham also provided the Chapel with a lovely stained-glass window as a parting gift to the Hall he loved and the National Trust that would care for it.

Early in the 1600s another wing was added to the Hall, in the form of the South Range adjacent to the Chapel. The bottom floor of this wing holds the Great Chamber, an adjoining small study called the Bridge Chamber, garderobes, and the less impressive South Chamber, while the top floor is taken up entirely by the Long Gallery.

The Long Gallery is beautiful, almost entirely lined in gorgeous wooden panels and a multitude of windows. The room was used as a place to walk for exercise on cold or rainy days. The discovery of Italian leather tennis balls indicates it was place for more vigorous sporting activities as well.



The room is end capped with painted Tudor plasterwork that echoes the design of the 1556 frontispiece of the treatise *The Castle of Knowledge* by Robert Recorde, one of the great mathematicians in history. His mathematical works were medieval best-sellers, in part because of his invention of the "=" sign. He was of particular pride in Tudor England and Wales, because he was born in the Welsh village of Tenby, where Jasper Tudor succored his nephew and the site where he smuggled the future King Henry VII out of the country to keep the boy safe from the Yorkists.

As on the front on Recorde's work, Dame Fortune stands at one end of the Long Hall, her hand raised to turn the Wheel of Fortune, "whose rule is ignorance".

At the other end Destiny stands under her sphere, "whose ruler is knowledge." By displaying decorations from such an impressive work, the Moretons were advertising to anyone who saw the plasterwork that they were educated, and hence more similar to the gentry that they wished to be thought as rather than merely rich merchants.

Just off the Long Gallery is the Gallery Chamber, which perches above the Bridge Chamber. This was a cozy place to sit after you were finished with your exercise or didn't want to play games in the Long Gallery. It was kept warm by a large fireplace, fronted and mantled by stone-colored plasterwork that had been brightly painted when the family was in residence. Justice and Prudence flank the central panel of the overmantel, which displays both the Moreton arms and

the Macclesfield family's cross in honor of the 1329 marriage of John Moreton to heiress Margaret Macclesfield. Stylized sea serpents cavort below the mantel, showing the influence of Italian motifs in the late Tudor period.

The grounds of the Hall are as picturesque as the interior, featuring a herbal knot garden that is appealing in all seasons and a small surrounding moat blessed with cavorting ducks.

Little Morton Hall was as much a pleasure for the eyes as it was a pleasure for the historical curiosity, and I cannot recommend a trip to see it highly enough!

KYRA KRAMER

Kyra C Kramer is the author of "*Henry VIII's Health in a Nutshell*", "*Edward VI in a Nutshell*", "*Blood will Tell*" and also a novel "*Mansfield Parsonage*". She is a regular contributor to the Tudor Life magazine with her fascinating and convincing view of history.

ADULTERESSES, ADULTERERS, WHOREMONGERS, FORNICATORS, HARLOTS AND CONCUBINES: MARRIAGE, SEX, AND SCANDAL IN THE LIVES OF ORDINARY PEOPLE

THE MOST INFAMOUS sex scandals, whether accurate or imagined, in the Tudor period invariably happened at the court. Anyone with a vague knowledge of sixteenth-century history would be able to recall the accusations laid against Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard, or a number of other high-profile scandals. But the most common sex scandals occurred amongst ordinary people.

Adultery was seen as a subversion of the natural order, a dangerous act which could have profound consequences for society as a whole. The purpose of marriage in this period was, generally speaking, the production of children. Sex was not supposed to be merely for pleasure, and there were strict regulations on what was, and more importantly what was not, permissible according to the laws of nature and God. According to Margaret R. Sommerville, 'Early-modern writers had a great deal to say about sex.' It was agreed that the difference between the sexes existed for the sole reason of reproduction; 'So God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him; males and female created He them. And God blessed them: and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it.' (Genesis 1:27-8). The existence of the female sex was tied directly with the act of reproduction- why else would God create such an inferior sex? (The feminist in me groaned as I wrote that). Sommerville states 'the

Anne Boleyn was the most famous of the many women destroyed by fabricated sex scandals in the Tudor era. (Public Domain)

The double standard favoured men, like Henry VIII, who took many mistresses but condemned two wives to death on suspicion of adultery.

opinion that God created the female sex with the aim of enabling man to reproduce was accepted in the sixteenth century as it had been in the Middle Ages.' Martin Luther asserted that 'the entire female body was created for the purpose of nurturing children.' Of course, women had other functions, such as housekeeping, but producing and raising children was her primary role.

Both sexes were instilled with a desire for sexual conjugation, which was believed to be linked to the desire to reproduce. However, reproduction was only permissible within marriage. Family ties were seen as the building blocks of wider society. Children were thought to have needed both parents in order to become fully functioning, and profitable, members of society. The mother's role in childbearing was obvious, and it was the father's 'natural' role to provide for and support his family. Sexual infidelity on behalf of the mother was seen as extremely dangerous to the prescribed natural order. A woman could be certain that a child was her natural offspring, however man did not have that advantage. It was thought that people were disinclined to support others' children, and 'whatever the trust between wife and husband, the children are always more surely her children than his.' Mothers could be sure to recognise their own children, but the institution of marriage was required to provide fathers reasonable certainty of issue.

The thought that sexual relations could be pursued simply for pleasure, or to enhance the emotional bond between husband and wife would have been alien to early-modern thinkers. Indeed, other sexual acts, during which conception was not possible, were deemed unnatural. Although both husband and wife owed sexual duties to one another, they were entirely within their rights to refuse such 'unnatural' acts as felatio. Some early modern thinkers did permit spousal sexual relations even if reproduction was not possible- in cases of pregnancy or old age. This was so that the couple could keep one another in check, and prevented their spouse from being tempted to stray outside the marriage for sexual gratification. In other words, if you believed your spouse would seek sexual satisfaction from someone else if you did not give it to them, sex was permitted even if reproduction were not the object. However, there was serious debate over whether you could approach your spouse yourself with this predicament. Marriage, therefore, was primarily about the production of children, but also a check on the couple's morality and their immortal soul.

In religious theory, sexual infidelity by a husband was seen as equally bad, if not worse, than that committed by a wife. This is because men were seen as the superior sex, and women were thought to have had less self-control. A husband was to stand as an example to his wife, so how could she be expected to restrict her sexual desires to one person, if her husband could not? Religious leaders preached vehemently against sexual infidelity committed by husbands, however how they were treated in practice was a much different story.

The most cited 'double standard' in gender relations during the early modern period as a whole is the attitudes surrounding adultery. This double standard was ingrained in the very language used to describe it during the Tudor period. The word 'adulteress' was used to describe a married woman who had sexual relations with a man who was not her husband, 'adulterer' described this man. If a man had sexual relations outside marriage, with an unmarried woman or widow, they were described as 'forincators' or 'whoremongers' rather than dubbed an 'adulterer', and the woman was usually described as a 'whore', 'harlot', 'Misses', or 'concubine' rather than 'adulteress'. This shows that it was the marital status of the woman, not the man, which determined whether the illicit union was described as adultery.

Sexual conduct in marriages was gendered, and so sexual misconduct was viewed very differently for either gender. In popular culture, a husband's infidelity could certainly arouse some sympathy for his wife, but 'cuckholds' were a source of comedic entertainment. An adulterous wife could harm her husband's reputation far more than if the situation were reversed. Her infidelity subverted the natural order of the household, the building block for society as a whole. With sufficient evidence, a man could relatively easily obtain a separation from an unfaithful wife. On the other hand, women

could only really dissolve their marriage on the basis of extreme cruelty. Female sexual conduct was the epitome of a woman's honour, and therefore her marital conduct. According to Laura Gowing, 'adultery was a betrayal of the martial bond whose implications were well rehearsed in popular culture and religious rhetoric.' Extreme cruelty, on the other hand, was much harder to define, and was not as often discussed in the contemporary culture.

The breakdown of a marriage could result in an appearance at court, however there were a limited number of resolutions. In the majority of cases, couples could only legally separate, which meant they were allowed to live apart, but were not allowed to remarry. Some Protestant states in Europe were beginning to move away from this practice, and allow at least the innocent party in the case to remarry. In post-Reformation England this was not the case, neither party was permitted to remarry following judicial separation. The only cases were remarriage was allowed was when the union had been annulled on the grounds bigamy, precontract, non-consummation, forced marriage, or the minority of either partner. It appears that most common cases were men suing their wives for adultery, and women suing for extreme cruelty. The outcomes of such cases were as gendered as the views on marital misconduct. According to Gowing, 'A relatively high proportion – 42 per cent – of complaints sued by men, centring on women's adultery, were sentenced; suits alleging men's violence, sued by women, were much less successful, and only 26 per cent received a final sentence.'

Despite the fact that most theologians saw a husband's infidelity as worse, if not more so, than a wife's, male adultery was not, in practice, sufficient grounds for a legal separation. Women occasionally sued husbands for adultery, but in a much wider context of desertion, extreme cruelty or bigamy. The majority of the court cases surrounding adultery concerned the wife as the guilty party, and they show that the proceedings seemed to follow somewhat of a set pattern. As Gowing states, 'their testimonies played on themes rehearsed at length in contemporary culture.' Tales of men being cuckolded by their apprentices, co-workers, servants or friends were prolific during this period, and the drama featured in popular culture was transferred to the courtroom. A wife's adultery subverted the natural state of the household and cast the husband out of his usual role. If the adultery was committed with a servant or apprentice, as was often the case, the whole hierarchy of society was undermined.

A case heard in 1574 reflected these concerns. Henry Denham sued his wife Elizabeth Denham for adultery with his apprentice Isacke Bynge. Henry Denham owned a printing shop in Paternoster Row, which published works such as *A Briefe and Pleasant Discourse of Duties In Marriage,* written by Edmund Tilney in 1568, and *The Monument of Matrons,* by Thomas Bentley (1582). Michael Osborn, another member of the workshop, stated that he watched Isacke Bynge 'dallyin, embracing, and kissing with Elizabeth Denham; [he] noted that as their familiarity increased, he was moved up the master's table, and often went into her garden and her parlour alone with her.' When Michael went to his master with the news of what he had witnessed, Henry Denham beat him. The wife of another man working for Henry, Judith Awdry, told the court that she saw the couple sitting together 'at the table ende in the hall… drinckinge of wyne togethers in a glasse… the sayde Isacke Bynge was vere familiar, and she likewise… for she… did see the sayde Isack Bynge lay his hande aboute her necke and kysse her'. It later transpired that Elizabeth Denham was pregnant.

In cases where a household servant was not a guilty party in the proceeding, they were often witnesses. This also subverted the natural order of the household. The servant's knowledge of the adultery placed them in an advantaged position, and their employer in an unusual state of vulnerability. It could also put the servant in an uneasy position, torn between loyalty and their own morality. In 1609 Edmund Forester appeared at court to testify against his employer Grace Ball, and his friend. His master was away on a long absence from the household, and during this time Edmund grew suspicious about the behaviour of his mistress with his friend. In a total subversion of the typical household roles, Edmund began to investigate the actions of his

mistress in order to ascertain if something sinful was occurring in the house. His friend would arrive at night and suddenly 'reappear' in the morning for breakfast. One night he listened on the stair and heard them conversing in bed together. One morning, Grace sent Edmund on an errand to get sausages in order to get him out of the house so that her lover could sneak out unnoticed. Edmund grew wise to the plan and managed to corner his friend in the kitchen. Edmund finally decided that he should make his concerns known and went to his mistress' brother-in-law. In court, he expressed anger at Grace's betrayal, her loose morals and her attempts to deceive him. This was in total contradiction to normal household relations. The mistress of the house was responsible for supervising her servants' conduct, including the sexual relationships, and yet Edmund had to intervene in his mistress' affair. Of course, other servants may have turned a blind eye to improper relationships within the household, either out of loyalty or fear for their jobs. They needed to be supported by the husband who wished to sue, and if they weren't the case was never heard at court.

An adulterous wife placed her husband in an extremely difficult, not to mention potentially embarrassing, situation. If the news of the affair got out, he could be the butt of numerous jokes and become the laughing-stock of his community. Cuckolds were treated with cruel torments, which could culminate in the ritual of Charivari. This was a rough music procession were the cuckhold was paraded (often in effigy) around the town in a public shaming ritual. In order to avoid becoming a mockery, husbands often stressed the enormity of his wife's transgressions, as well as their total shock and grief at the betrayal. This was also to avoid becoming the worst kind of cuckhold, the 'wittold' who condoned his wife's sexual transgressions. The drama of the situation was often emphasised in court, and in how the husband conducted himself upon the revelation of his wife's actions. In 1625, William Lodger decided to take the situation into his own hands and tell the community of his wife's adultery. He gathered their friends and brought them up to her chamber where she was lying in bed and announced, 'Oh Lord I would I had never lyved to this daye for my wife hath undone me… she had disgraced him and stayned the house playing the whore with his tapester.' In this case, William Lodger sought to publically humiliate his wife, in an attempt to avoid ridicule aimed toward him.

The subversion of 'natural' household order had a profound impact on how the community defined itself and its functions. When a marriage broke down 'a whole edifice of economic transactions, sexual relations, and social roles came unstuck.' Adultery was represented, in popular culture and the courts, as a wholly gendered crime. In most cases, female adultery brought shame on both the guilty and innocent party, the wife's sinful betrayal was emphasised, and the husband's lack of control in his own household mocked. Male sexual infidelity was not treated as something that could cause the breakdown of a marriage, and wives were expected to forgive their husbands' indiscretions. It truly was a 'double-standard' in gender relations during the Tudor period.

LAUREN BROWNE

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LAUREN BROWNE

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MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

by Roland Hui

Roland, author of "The Turbulent Crown", discusses an epic film from 1971...

Since its inception, cinema has looked to historical events and characters for its storytelling. When Thomas Edison made one of his first short films in 1895 with his new invention of the motion picture camera, he chose the tragic Mary Queen of Scots as his subject. The past has always fascinated moviegoers, and 16th century England was often the setting of historical entertainment. Films such as *Anna Boleyn* (1920), *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933), *Nine Days A Queen* (1936), *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* (1939), *Young Bess* (1953), and *The Virgin Queen* (1955) proved that there was a market for royal themed pictures, particularly those set in the Tudor period.

In the mid 1960's, there was a resurgence of interest in English history beginning with *Becket* (1964), followed by *A Man For All Seasons* (1966). Both were critical and commercial successes. This was not lost on the eminent Hollywood producer Hal Wallis (who brought out *Becket,* and *The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex* decades earlier), and in 1969, he released *Anne of the Thousand Days*. Although the movie received mixed reviews, it was a

money maker. As well, it was honoured with ten Academy Award nominations (getting one win), and made a star of the relatively unknown French-Canadian actress Genevieve Bujold who played Anne Boleyn to Richard Burton's Henry VIII.[1]

With the popularity of *Anne of the Thousand Days,* Wallis was hoping for another winner by revisiting 16th century Britain. This time, he looked to another famous Queen - Mary Queen of Scots. Like Anne Boleyn, Mary Stuart was equally fascinating and controversial. Ruler of Scotland just days after her birth in 1542, she wed three husbands, was accused of murdering one of them, and was subsequently dethroned. Forced to take flight to England as her cousin Elizabeth I's unwanted guest, her life ended on the executioner's block in 1587 for plotting the English Queen's death.

Mary Stuart's life, so full of drama and tragedy, was perfect for a new cinematic adaptation. Although a previous biopic *Mary of Scotland* (1936) with Katharine Hepburn had failed to impress at the box office, Hal Wallis was sure that a fresh take on Mary's life on the big screen would find an audience. To hopefully replicate *Anne of the Thousand Days'* success, Wallis engaged some of the talent that had worked with him previously. John Hale, one of the screenplay writers of *Anne*, was hired to write the script, while Margaret Furse who had won the film's one and only Oscar, was made costume designer. *Anne's* director Charles Jarrott was also brought on. Surprisingly, Wallis had wanted Genevieve Bujold in the lead role of Mary. Bujold, who probably did not want to be typecast as headless queens, passed.

With Bujold not interested, Wallis looked to actress Vanessa Redgrave.[2] Redgrave, member of the prestigious acting family,[3] and who had a number of successful pictures under her belt, including *Blowup* (1966), *Camelot* (1967), and *Isadora* (1968) seemed ideal. As well, at almost 6 feet tall, she more closely resembled the historical Mary Stuart known for her height, than the petite Genevieve Bujold. With Vanessa Redgrave onboard, an equally talented actress was needed for the part of Mary's great rival Elizabeth of England. Glenda Jackson, who was so memorable in the role in the recent television series *Elizabeth R* (1971), was Wallis' pick. Rounding off the rest of the cast were Timothy Dalton as Henry Lord Darnley[4], Trevor Howard as William Cecil, and Patrick McGoohan as Lord James Stewart.

In approaching the lead role, Vanessa Redgrave had researched the historical Mary thoroughly. However, she admitted, it went beyond that as well. "Characters", she said, "don't emerge simply from reading books or journals, at least not for me. Often, I get a sudden lightning impression of some quality I'm seeking. It may come from a stray phrase from a speech or an odd sentence or two". At the same time, Redgrave also confessed that while she didn't necessarily admire Mary, she was 'fascinated by her'.[5]

Glenda Jackson, truth be told, was less enthusiastic about playing Elizabeth I again. She was put off by the script which she considered inferior to the *Elizabeth R* teleplays. She would later dismiss the movie as 'a crappy film'. "I think the reason I did it was the opportunity to work with Vanessa", Jackson recalled.[6] During the production of the film, she also thought that her co-star had the better, juicier role. "I prefer Vanessa's part", the actress said,

"Mary was a tart - three marriages (one to a man with syphilis), murders, prisons, intrigue, violence - the whole lot. But I'm doing my best with Elizabeth. She was called the 'Virgin Queen', because she never got married, but she's no virgin the way I'm playing her."[7] To prepare for her role, Jackson had her forehead shaved again as she did for *Elizabeth R* to imitate the Queen's raised hairline as seen in many of her portraits. However, this time around, Jackson eschewed the prosthetic nose she had used before to suggest Elizabeth's aquiline profile.

Like *Anne of the Thousand Days*, actual historical locations were used in *Mary Queen of Scots* to give the film authenticity. The beautiful fairytale-like Château de Chenonceau in the Loire valley in France can be seen in the opening sequence where Mary is with her husband Francis II. For when she returned to Scotland, a number of properties in Britain were taken advantage of including Alnwick Castle which stood in for the Palace of Holyrood, Dunbar Castle, Bamburgh Castle, and Hermitage Castle (owned by Mary's third husband the Earl of Bothwell and even visited by the Queen herself).

The same care for accuracy was given to some of the film's music. Its main theme entitled 'Vivre et Mourir' and sung by Vanessa Redgrave over music composed by the great John Barry, used words attributed to Mary Queen of Scots herself.

The lyrics, adapted from a sonnet written in 16th century French are as follow:

Vous conoistres avecques obeissance
De mon loyal deuoir n'omettant la science
A quoy i'estudiray pour tousiours vous compliare
Sans aymer rien que vous, soubs la suiection
De qui ie veux sens nulle fiction
Viure et mourir.[8]

The song can be heard in the beginning and end of the film, and in the scene where Mary serenades a convalescing Lord Darnley at Kirk o' Field shortly before he is murdered.

Another piece of music that was sourced - or partially so - from the Tudor era was the love song sung by Robert Dudley (Daniel Massey) to Queen Elizabeth as they sail leisurely on a barge. The tune ('Farewell My Pleasure Past') was originally used in *Anne of the Thousand Days* - when Henry VIII tells an aloof Anne Boleyn that it was written especially for her, she asks him 'how his wife liked it'. 'Farewell' had its lyrics (though modified) taken from a poem attributed to the real Anne Boleyn. Entitled 'O Death Rock Me Asleep', it was said to have been written during her last days in the Tower of London.

Mary Queen of Scots begins in France where Mary Stuart was briefly Queen. But in no time her idyllic life is shattered when young King Francis II suddenly falls ill and dies, forcing the widowed Mary's return to her native country. The film then concentrates on her thorny relationship with Elizabeth I. Her English cousin is both fearful and jealous of Mary. As a Catholic who considers the Protestant Elizabeth a bastard and a heretic, Mary has designs on her throne, and being younger and more beautiful than her cousin, incites her rival's jealousy. However, it is Elizabeth who has the upper hand. Her experience as a ruler and her better use of statecraft ultimately sees Mary in flight to England as a disgraced deposed refugee. Although history recorded no meeting between the two women, they meet not once, but twice - shortly after Mary's arrival and then later before her execution. It could have turned out differently as Elizabeth tells Mary, "Madam, if your head had matched your heart, I would have been the one waiting for death."

Despite excellent performances from the two leads (Vanessa Redgrave would get an Oscar nomination) and the overall high production values of *Mary Queen of Scots*, some critics were just as unimpressed as they were with *Anne of the Thousand Days*. Audiences and reviewers who were more familiar with the movie's historical backdrop cited its inaccuracies as causes for complaint. The homosexual affair between Darnley and the musician David Riccio was an outright fabrication, Mary's flight to England and the Babington Plot leading to her arrest were oversimplified, and the meetings between the two Queens never took place. Hal Wallis, being a filmmaker, not a historian, offered this explanation - "I'd rather face the wrath of a few historians and get my big dramatic scenes".[9]

Along with generally less than positive reviews, the public was lukewarm towards *Mary Queen of Scots*. By the early 1970's, films about royalty - and 'historical soap operas' at that - were thought out of touch against more topical fare such as *A Clockwork Orange*, *Dirty Harry*, *The French Connection*, *Klute*, and *Harold and Maude* - all released in the same year

as *Mary Queen of Scots*. 'The New York Times' reviewer thought it a bore; one of the 'things the world does not need now'. Another critic agreed, saying that *Mary Queen of Scots* was only worthwhile when Redgrave and Jackson appeared on screen together. With its cool reception, it was evident that epic English historical films were on the wane. *Cromwell*, released a year earlier in 1970 was not particularly distinguished, while *Henry VIII and His Six Wives* (1972) was largely ignored by moviegoers who sensed déjà-vu.[10]

Although it was not as successful as *Anne of the Thousand Days* as was hoped, *Mary Queen of Scots* is still fondly remembered by Tudor enthusiasts. In recent times when historical productions have been trivialized and updated to attract younger and hipper viewers, the film is looked to as part of the 'golden age' of Tudor themed movies and television of the bygone era of the mid 1960's to early 1970's. Even though *Mary Queen of Scots* had received its share of criticism, and other presentations have since been made about the legendary Scottish Queen[11], it still remains the definitive film of the life of Mary Stuart.

ROLAND HUI

NOTES

1 The film won an Academy Award for Best Costume Design. Though Genevieve Bujold failed to win the Oscar for her portrayal of Anne Boleyn, she did nab the Golden Globe Award as 'Best Actress in Drama'.

2 Interestingly enough, Redgrave had done a cameo as Anne Boleyn in *A Man For All Seasons*. Later in life, she would play Elizabeth I in *Anonymous* (2011).

3 Redgrave's brother Corin had appeared in *A Man For All Seasons* as well as William Roper. Her mother Rachel Kempson was in the series *Elizabeth R* as Kat Ashley.

4 Timothy Dalton would become Vanessa Redgrave's romantic partner for many years. He appeared on film with her again in *Agatha* (1979) and in various theatrical productions.

5 *Mary Queen of Scots* Advertising/Publicity/Promotion press book (Universal Pictures, 1972).

6 *Vanessa: The Life of Vanessa Redgrave* by Dan Callahan (Pegasus Books, 2014).

7 'Mary Queen of Scots - The Royal Film', *Photoplay Film Monthly*, April 1972. The film implies that Elizabeth and Dudley were having a sexual relationship. The novelization of the film, also written by screenwriter John Hale, has the couple actually bedding together.

8 The English translation (taken from *Letters and Poems By Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots*, modernized and translated by Clifford Bax, Philosophical Library, 1947): *Someday you certainly will comprehend/How steadfast is my purpose, and how real/Which is to do you pleasure until death/Only to you, being subject: in which faith/I do indeed most fervently intend/To live and die.*

9 'Mary Queen of Scots - The Royal Film', *Photoplay Film Monthly*, April 1972. Wallis' take on Tudor history was not the only one to have Mary and Elizabeth on screen together. There was also *Mary of Scotland* (1936) and *Elizabeth I* (2005).

10 The movie was based on the television series *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (1970).

11 *Gunpowder, Treason and Plot* (2004), *Mary Queen of Scots* (2013), and *Reign* (2013-2017). Mary has also appeared as a supporting character in *The Virgin Queen* (2005), *Elizabeth I* (2005), and *Elizabeth - The Golden Age* (2007).

ROLAND HUI

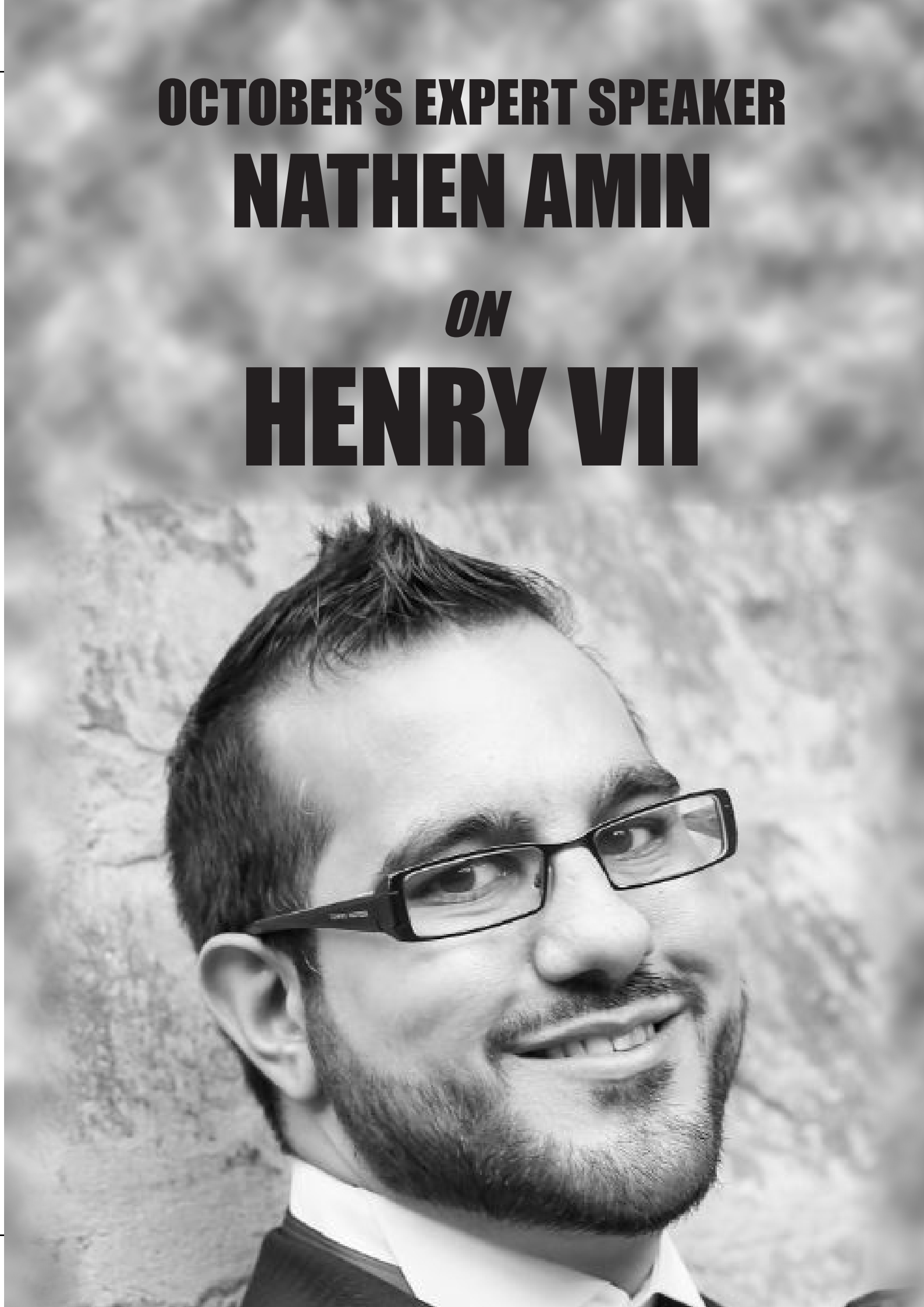
Roland is the author of the recently published The Turbulent Crown: The Story of the Tudor Queens. He blogs about Tudor art and personalities at Tudor Faces: https://tudorfaces.blogspot.ca/

OCTOBER'S EXPERT SPEAKER

NATHEN AMIN

ON

HENRY VII



Shakespeare's burial place in Stratford
Photo © Tim Ridgway 2015

Discover Shakespeare

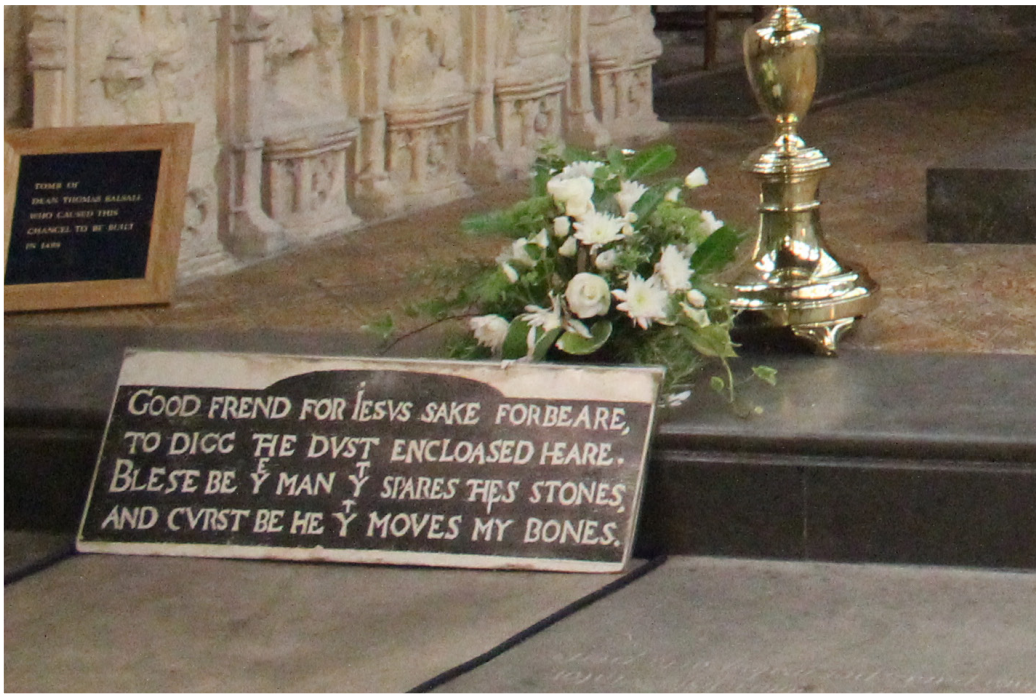
There are few Tudor personalities who are known and loved worldwide as William Shakespeare. But who was he? **Anne Barnhill** takes us on a brief history of the man behind the pen.

Perhaps you've heard it said that 'all that glitters is not gold.' Or maybe you've talked about waiting for something with 'bated breath.' Surely, you've heard the sage advice, 'neither a borrower nor a lender be.' These familiar sayings—cliches, if you will—came from the pen of England's (and some would say, the world's) greatest writer—William Shakespeare.

Besides giving us such well-known phrases as 'dead as a doornail,' 'elbow room,' 'devil incarnate,' and 'it was Greek to me,' Shakespeare also added around 1700 words to the English language. Not only did the great playwright craft stories that continue to challenge and echo through the ages, he actually created words when it suited him. Barefaced, amazement, madcap, cold-blooded, buzzer and generous are only a few of the words we now use for which we can thank Mr. Shakespeare.

But who WAS this man? What do we know about William Shakespeare, poet and playwright?

Sadly, we don't have a great deal of information about the man himself, though he has been studied and written about more than any other English writer. We know he was married and had children; we know he was involved in several civil legal affairs; we know he left is 'second-best' bed to his wife, Anne; we know he was educated in the town of his birth, Stratford-on-the-Avon; and we know he moved to London to ply his craft. We also know his father, John, had dreams of rising, at one point, after having become



essentially mayor of Stratford-on-the-Avon. He applied for a coat of arms. However, later, John had a fall from grace and abandoned his quest. However, his son pursued and was granted a coat of arms for the Shakespeare family.

What we do know of Shakespeare is that he came to London as a young man, eager to make his way in the world of the theater. It's likely, given his father's position while Shakespeare was a boy, that he had seen players coming to town to entertain the people. In the pastoral city of Stratford, this would have been quite an event, and perhaps, inspiring to a literate young lad.

We don't know why Shakespeare didn't follow his father's craft (glover and leather-worker) which was considered quite respectable. Respectability is not a word one would use to describe the theater of Shakespeare's day. Banned from the city of London and forced to set up shop across the Thames, the theater of the day was also a prime place for cutpurses, pickpockets, dollies (prostitutes) and swindlers. Many religious leaders had a low opinion of the make-believe world where the word of God

was not necessarily reinforced. The theater was a shady business and those involved of questionable character. At least, that was the public's perception.

Luckily, Queen Elizabeth I seemed to enjoy attending plays and under her patronage, players prospered. Shakespeare was among those favored by Her Majesty, as well as having the patronage of Henry Wriothesly, Earl of Southhampton. Many of Shakespeare's early poems were dedicated to Wriothesly, prompting some later scholars to question Shakespeare's sexual preferences. However, though the language of the dedication is almost lurid in its admiration for the earl, this formal way of speaking reflects the desire to please the man paying the bills perhaps more than revealing any secret romantic affection.

Shakespeare began his career as an actor and poet. According to Bill Bryson's Shakespeare, his early start may have been due to a lucky (at least lucky for Shakespeare) break. While at the town of Thame, a fight broke out among two of the main players in the Queen's Men. John Towne stabbed William Knell in the neck, leaving the man dead. No charges were filed as it was self-defense and was witnessed by the crowd. With one of their leading actors out of the picture, the Queen's Men had a place for Shakespeare. This 'in' is as plausible as any other, especially when you consider that Knell's young widow remarried, her new husband, John Heminges, would become one of Shakespeare's best friends as well as one of the men who produced the First Folio.

However he got his start in the theater (and it's unlikely we will ever discover anything more regarding his beginnings) Shakespeare was working at the time of the defeat of the Spanish Armada. This defeat was the source of a great deal of national pride and, over the next decade, Shakespeare wrote his history plays, detailing the rise and fall of English kings. This collection of historical plays helped the English continue to develop a sense of national pride.

Theaters flourished in that same decade, though not all of them were equally successful. Most had to use their space for such things as bear baiting, as well as theatrical performances. The Elizabethans were unlike folks in the 21st century. Bear baiting, monkey's riding horses, dogs fighting—these were common entertainments of the day. Hard for us to imagine a person who could enjoy the torture of animals, then cry at the tragedy of a play like King Lear. But that was the audience of the day.

By the time end of Elizabeth's reign, a segment of the Protestants had become what we think of as Puritans. This group of people did not approve of anything sensual or pleasing, unless it was the study of God's word. The Puritans considered playhouses true dens of iniquity. After all, the theaters were in close proximity to other 'sinful' pleasures. Plays were filled with cross-dressing men who were surely sodomites, according to the Puritans. And, as if this were not enough, the plays were filled with often-vulgar puns.

Over four hundred years have passed since Shakespeare's plays first appeared at the Globe Theater. In that time, language has changed immensely, especially slang terms. And yes, Shakespeare did use the slang of his day in his plays, usually with a humorous if vulgar meaning.

Audiences of the day were good at hearing these obscene puns—after all, they referred to going to 'hear' a play, rather than our current going to 'see' a play. And, though some of the puns are course, they do reflect the sensibilities of the day. Audiences, especially

the groundlings, who paid only a penny to stand through the entirety of a two-three hour long play, faced a rough life filled with poverty, disease and famine. A rough world needed rough language. And, in a world where death loomed large (plague, famine, homelessness) playgoers most likely took their pleasures where they could. The average life expectancy of a man has been estimated at 30-35 in wealthy London districts, 20-25 in poorer areas. Cheap distractions of all kinds helped people face what to us, must have been very bleak lives.

However, many did not approve of the suggestiveness found in the plays of the day. One Puritan, Phillip Stubbes said:

Mark the flocking …to the theatres…daily and hourly….to see plays
and interludes where such wanton gestures, such bawdy speeches, such
kissing and glancing of wanton eyes and the like is used.

There are many examples of Shakespeare's sexual puns and innuendos. Here's one: the word 'nothing' was often used to depict female genitalia. But not every use of the word would necessarily be a naughty pun. Shakespeare depended on his audiences to know the difference between punning and using the actual meaning of a word.

Because we know very little about the real Shakespeare and because his work continues to be the defining achievement in English literature, countless books have been written about The Bard. Also, endless theories continue to pop up regarding the identity of Shakespeare. Some say there was no William Shakespeare at all, that he was, instead, the pen name of Edward DeVere, the Earl of Oxford. Others say Sir Francis Bacon is the man who wrote MacBeth. Yet another theory, recently proposed in a film, is that Shakespeare was the secret son of Elizabeth I. Some readers see a Catholic conspiracy in the words of the plays. Others see secret code used to send messages to the Catholic priests invading the country from the Vatican. In reality, we don't know Shakespeare's religious beliefs any more than we can ascertain his food preferences. He shall remain a cypher, for the most part--the shadowy figure who penned the greatest plays of all time.

ANNE BARNHILL

SOURCES

Shakespeare by Bill Bryson, William Collins Books, 2007.
Filthy Shakespeare by Pauline Keirnan, Gotham Books, 2007.
The Complete Pelican Shakespeare, Penquin Books, 1969.

ANNE BARNHILL

Anne Barnhill has been writing since she was small. She fell in love with Tudor England in her early teens when she discovered she had ancestors (The Sheltons) who were very active in Tudor times. Her favourite characters from the Tudor court include Anne Boleyn and Elizabeth I. She is the author of *At the Mercy of the Queen* and *Queen Elizabeth's Daughter.*

Literature, FILM & TV

Tudor Monarch Quiz

Henry VII

Literature: Which two Shakespeare plays feature Henry VII in his role as the Earl of Richmond?

Film: What is the name of the actor who played Henry VII in the 2005 film 'The Princes in the Tower', about Perkin Warbeck

TV: Luke Treadaway played Henry VII in which TV series?

Henry VIII

Literature: What is the title of David Starkey's 2008 book on Henry VIII?

Film: Who is the actor who played Henry VIII in the 1971 film 'Carry on Henry'

TV: Who played Henry VIII in the two-part British TV series of the same name in 2003

Edward VI

Literature: Edward VI was the central character in which Mark Twain novel

Film: Warren Saire played Edward VI in which 1986 film?

TV: Which two actors played Edward VI in The Tudors?

Queen Jane

Literature: Who is the author of the 2005 book 'Nine Days a Queen'?

Film: Who played Jane in the 1986 film 'Lady Jane'?

TV: Sarah Frampton played Jane in which 1971 BBC TV series?

Mary I

Literature: Who is the author of the trilogy on Mary, which comprises the following books:

1) I am Mary Tudor (1971)

2) Mary the Queen (1973)

3) Bloody Mary (1974)

Film: Nicola Pagett played Mary in which 1969 film?

TV: Which two actresses played Mary in 'The Tudors'?

Elizabeth I

Literature: Who is the author of the 1821 novel 'Kenilworth', which features Elizabeth?

Film: Who won the Academy Award for Best Supporting Actress for her role as Elizabeth in the 1998 film 'Shakespeare in Love'?

TV: Miranda Richardson played Elizabeth as 'Queenie' in which 1986 BBC Comedy?

Henry VII

L: Henry VI Part 3 and Richard III

F: Paul Hilton

T: The Hollow Crown

Henry VIII

L: Henry: Virtuous Prince

F: Syd James

T: Ray Winstone

Edward VI

L: The Prince and the Pauper

F: Lady Jane

T: Eoin Murtagh and Jake Hathaway

Queen Jane

L: Ann Rinaldi

F: Helena Bonham Carter

T: Elizabeth R

Mary I

L: Hilda Lewis

F: Anne of the Thousand Days

T: Blathnaid McKeown and Sarah Bolger

Elizabeth I

L: Sir Walter Scott

F: Dame Judi Dench

T: Blackadder II

HOW TO SLEEP

LIKE A TUDOR

The Tudor Group visited Little Moreton Hall to put the house to bed. Some members of the group gather in the Hall prior to commencing their night-time routines.

"The commoditie of moderate slepe, appereth by this, that natural heate, whiche is occupied about the matter, whereof procedeth nouryshement, is comforted in the places of digestion and so digestion is made better, or more perfite by slepe, the body fatter, the mynde more quiete and clere, the humours temperate: and by moche watche all thynges happen contrarye"

This short extract from Thomas Elyot's The Castel of Helth (1539) sums up succinctly in one sentence the importance of sleep to the Tudor outlook on life. A good night's sleep was considered to restore and feed the body as well as the mind.

Throughout 2017 Little Moreton Hall, a National Trust property in Cheshire, has been working alongside Manchester University investigating how the Tudors viewed sleep and looking whether we today can learn any useful tips for a good night's sleep today. It has been a fascinating few months working at the Hall and I have been constantly amazed at how the efforts to achieve a good night's sleep infiltrated so many aspects of a Tudor person's life.

Our guide throughout the year has been the research of Dr Sasha Handley from Manchester University and we have been translating her work into a range of activities, events, talks, training, and even artistic installations, for staff and visitors alike. We have dedicated a bed in the garden for growing soporific inducing plants, we have installed a "dream library" where people can log their dreams and nightmares and there is a trail throughout the Hall which takes people on a journey through early modern sleep beliefs. The most recent addition is a sound installation by the internationally famous artist, Robin Rimbaud (aka Scanner). The soundscape he has created mimics the sounds that a Tudor visitor to the Hall might have experienced whilst being in a dreamlike state.

Thomas Elyot's view of the importance of sleep linked in to the Tudor manner of healthcare based on the four humours (blood, choler, melancholy and phlegm) and the 'six non-natural things'. These were a set of environmental and dietary rules that related to fresh air, food and drink, sleeping and waking, motion and rest, excretion and retention, and the passions of the soul. If one wanted to have a healthy and long life then one needed to carefully manage all six categories. The result was that the Tudors developed had a holistic approach to healthcare which they believed should be in balance with the natural environment and sleep was integral to this outlook. Getting a good night's sleep ensured both bodily health and spiritual well-being, so people went to great lengths to make sure they slept well.

In order to support overall good health the body needed a good digestive process and for that a sound night's sleep was essential. During the 16th century it was thought that digestion occurred whilst asleep during the night and that the ensuing 'concoction' released vapours which rose up through the body to the head, not only refreshing the brain but also producing blood which would lead to good health.

It was therefore essential to adopt the correct sleep posture in bed and most health guides of the time, such as Thomas Cogan's Haven of Health, suggested that people should sleep 'well bolstered up', or with their heads slightly raised. The slope created between the head and stomach was believed to speed the process of digestion as

well as stopping food being regurgitated during the night. (This is why some Tudor beds appear to be very short when compared with a modern bed.) It was also advised that one should lie on one's right hand side for the first part of the night and on the left side during the second half of the night. This was because the right hand side was thought to be hotter, thus aiding 'concoction', or the heating of the food in the stomach, and the cooler left hand side would not only encourage the vapours to spread the heat more evenly through the body but also keep the body at a lower temperature which aided sleep. If one woke up in the morning having had bad dreams or if one was in poor humour, then perhaps you had 'got up on the wrong side of the bed'.

> *"Slepynge after a full stomacke doth ingendre diverse infyrmyties, it doth hurth the spleen, it relaxeth the synowes* [sinews], *it doth ingendre the dropsyes and the goute and doth make man loke evil coloured. Beware of veneryous actes before the fyrste slepe, and specially beware of such thynes after dyner or after a full stomacke, for it dothe ingendre the crampe, the goute and other displasures"* Andrew Boorde, A Compendyous Regyment or a Dyetary of Healthe (1547).

Many visitors to Little Moreton Hall have found this approach to sleep somewhat amusing or intriguing but everyone has been interested to learn more about the other Tudor practice of bi-phasic, or 'segmented' sleep. This was the habit of sleeping in two separate cycles during the night which were referred to as the 'first sleep' and 'second sleep'. Between the sleeps, the Tudors would get out of bed and carry out various tasks. The waking period between sleeps could last for an hour or more and there was a range of activities which could be carried out to fill the time. This included things such as sewing, spinning, turning the malt for beer, praying or, not surprisingly, having sex. One of the consequences of bi-phasic sleep was that the person had two periods of really deep sleep and whilst this practice seems

Preparing the gentleman for bed. The man is shown wearing his fine linen shift. His main clothing has been removed and his head is now ready for his nightcap.

strange to us today, it is actually a natural process for human beings. Changing social attitudes, the introduction of electricity and artificial light and, more recently blue light via mobile phones and tablet, has helped erase this natural sleeping pattern for us in the modern era. However, since the start of this project some of the Little Moreton Hall staff have adopted bi-phasic sleep, especially some who usually have trouble sleeping. One of my colleagues has adopted segmented sleep as a matter of course and she even gets jobs ready before she goes to sleep, such as the ironing, so that she can complete them during her waking period. She says that this routine has transformed her life; she not only sleeps better but she gets loads more done!

The material that one slept in was also considered to be of utmost importance. Linen sheets were prized for their coolness and it was believed that they would help regulate the heat of the body's internal organs, help absorb nocturnal excretions and also helped to close the pores against dangerous pollutants which were believed to exist in the night air. It was a common practice

for people to take their own bed-sheets with them when they travelled as this reduced the risk of having to sleep beneath unclean sheets but it also promoted familiar scents and sensations at bedtime. This helped to offset the feelings of vulnerability that were associated with sleeping in an alien environment. Sheets and covers were also decorated and embroidered with motifs such as natural flora and fauna or religious imagery, as it was thought that they would aid sleep and bring comfort. The embroidery group associated with the Hall have been working on decorating a gentleman's night cap and a woman's coif (a close fitting head covering) to help demonstrate some typical nightwear and we are also about to begin a project of embroidering a cover for our wonderful Tudor bed.

The regulation of body heat was considered central to the onset of good quality, restful sleep. It was thought that the body should be kept cool as if it was too hot during the night, sleep would be interrupted and the body prematurely awoken. Without the requisite amount of sleep, food would remain undigested, the nerves would become disorderly and the body's spiritual and physical health would be thrown into disarray. Therefore remedies, plants and tinctures which would keep the body cool and encourage sleep

Writer and broadcaster and all round Tudor, Ruth Goodman, paying a visit to the Hall and inspecting the bed in the Great Chamber.

were very popular. Many of the activities at Little Moreton Hall have reflected this aspect.

Chamomile, cucumbers, poppies, lettuce, and eringo roots (sea holly) were just some of the plants used to aid sleep. Other ingredients believed to dissipate excess heat in the brain and stomach, and therefore treat sleep loss, included violet, lavender, dandelions, and onions. As well as their cooling properties, many of these ingredients were also prized for their scent and calming effect on the mind: roses, rose petals and rose water, in particular, were commonly used in various remedies and recipes. The plants were either grown by the householder or bought in the local market or apothecary. Little Moreton Hall's sleep bed, containing many of the more common plants used, has been a particularly colourful addition to the project.

Whilst sleep was viewed as a means of balancing or restoring health, it was also considered to be a time of vulnerability and danger; a period where natural and supernatural threats could be encountered. Dreams and, in particular, nightmares, played a central role

Concocting sleep remedies at the Hall

in this. Dreams could not only give a potential insight into a person's life but they also revealed the state of one's bodily and spiritual health. Nightmares were believed to be caused by supernatural forces and could be a symptom or sign of demonic possession, witchcraft or ungodliness so people did what they could to try and avoid them. This was another reason why sleeping in a prone or semi-prone position was preferable. Sleeping on one's back was believed to draw the toxic humours to the base of the brain, thus causing nightmares or, even more dangerous, could invite the incubus, or devil, to sit on one's chest with the result of impeded movement and breathing. Night- times could be very scary indeed! Dreams were regularly analysed and dissected for possible clues and they were linked to portents and signals of real future events.

The Sleep Project at Little Moreton Hall is nearing its end and will culminate at the end of October with that scariest of all times, Hallowtide. If you can make a visit to the Hall then it would be great if you could perhaps lodge your dream in the library, maybe help make

The Dream Tent and dream 'tags' wafting in the breeze

a sleepy potion or even discover more about a recipe for a good night's sleep.

Thanks to Dr Sasha Handley, Rachel Winchcombe and Anna Fielding for, amongst many other things, providing the source material for this article.

If you would like to find out more about the project or the views on early modern sleep, then there are plenty of sites, resources and books to dip into including there:

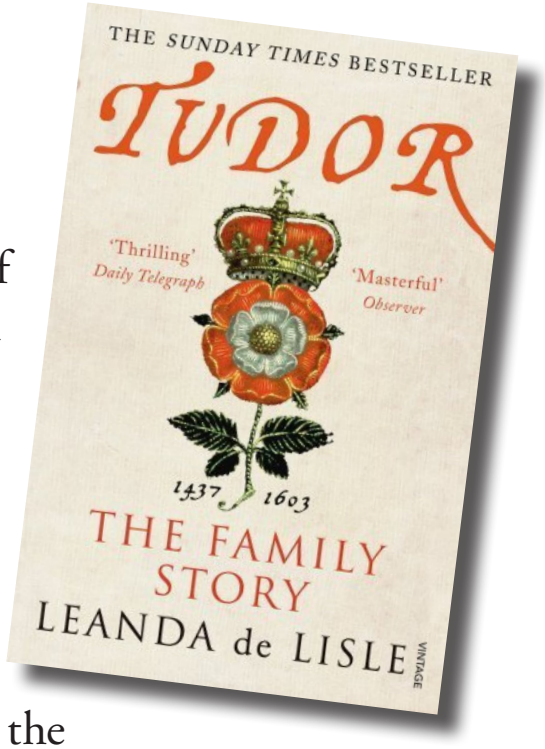
* Sasha Handley, *Sleep in Early Modern England*, Yale University Press, 2016
* http://www.historiesofsleep.com/
* https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/little-moreton-hall

JANE MOULDER

Jane Moulder not only researches and writes about 16th century music but she plays in the renaissance music group, **Piva**, and works alongside her husband, making reproductions of historical double reed woodwind instruments. So that she doesn't get bored, Jane also works for the National Trust as a historical interpreter at the iconic Little Moreton Hall.

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

MEMBERS' BULLETIN



Hello there, Tudor fan!

We announced a competition on the website a little while ago for **full members** to send in photos of themselves with their member Pin Badges (like the one in the image above). We've had lots of entries - thank you if you were one of those who sent in a photo - but we've also had people saying that they've only just started to get them through the post. That's why the competition is open until 20 October, 2017.

There are more details about the competition here:

https://www.tudorsociety.com/tudor-pin-badge-competition/

EMAIL YOUR PHOTO TO BE IN WITH A CHANCE TO WIN A SIGNED COPY OF **TUDOR BY LEANDA DE LISLE**

Please get involved with the Tudor Society WE RELY ON YOUR ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP and you can WIN PRIZES!

The Sam Wannamaker Theatre at The Globe. A modern reconstruction of a Hall theatre.

How to go to the theatre, the 1590s' way!

by Jane Moulder

Speak gentlemen, what shall we do today?
Or shall we to the Globe to see a play?
Or visit Shoreditch for a bawdy house?
Samuel Rowlands, 1600

FOR me, going to the theatre to see a play always summons up a sense of occasion. I like to dress up, perhaps arriving early enough to take in a meal, and I almost certainly will indulge myself with a tasty treat or snack to accompany my interval glass of wine! What would it have been like for me 450 years ago had I visited the Globe or the Rose theatre? There is no doubt that some of my preparations were replicated in the 16th century, especially if I had been a young gallant wanting to impress my friends with my new clothes or hat, but for the majority of Elizabethan London theatre goers, a trip to the Globe would have been a commonplace occurrence, with many apprentices regularly sneaking time off work to attend. The one thing that contemporary accounts tell us is that going to the theatre was an incredibly popular pastime.

Up until the early 17th century, other than one provincial theatre in Bristol, all the purpose built playhouses were in London. That's not to say that the rest of England did not have the opportunity to enjoy plays and entertainments: in the provinces troupes of travelling players would have performed in pub courtyards, on temporary stages, in town halls and the such like.

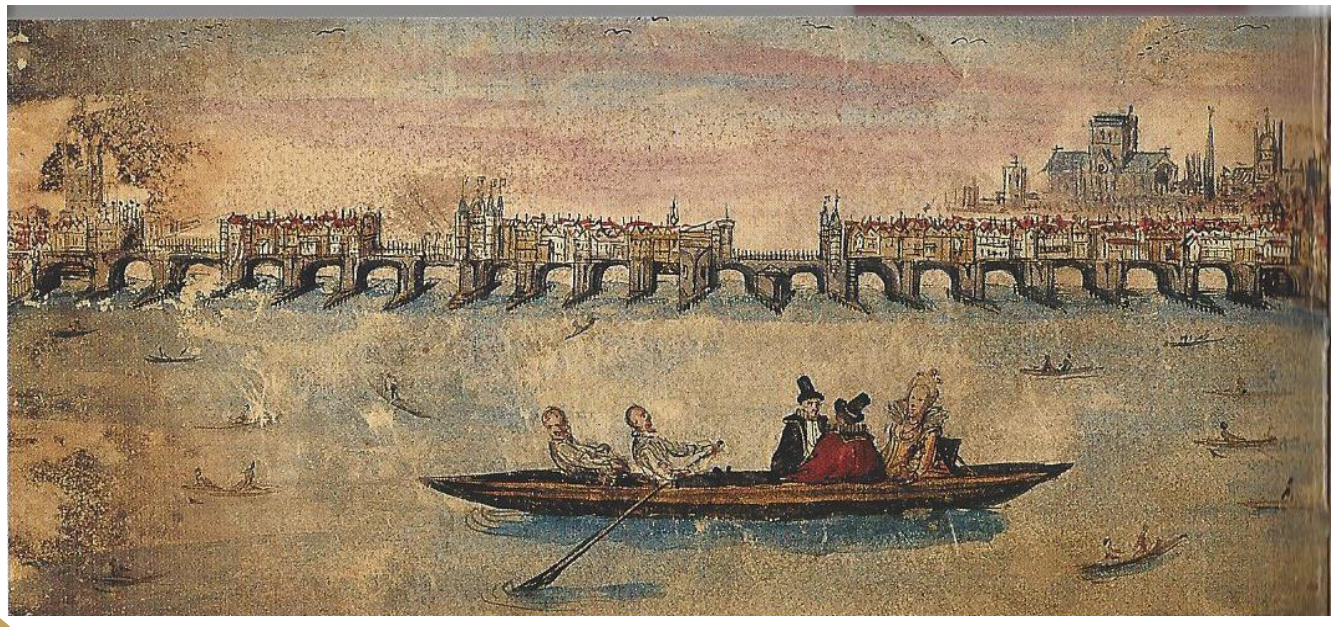
The first purpose built theatre was constructed in London in 1576 and it was imaginatively named The Theatre. It was built by James Burbage on land leased in Shoreditch, on the north side of the Thames. The presence of The Theatre in that particular neighbourhood was always contentious and it will come as no surprise to learn that the locals did not want to have such a venue in their district. The area near a theatre must have been uncomfortable and very noisy affair for those living nearby as they attracted a plethora of people and not just those keen to see the plays. Hawkers, peddlers, thieves and prostitutes were all part of the throng around theatres as well as heavy traffic, bustling crowds, noise and lots and lots of rubbish.

The situation got to such a bad state that in 1597, the Lord Mayor and Alderman had to petition the Privy Council requesting the introduction of controls on the playhouses and the environment. In this document they cited various inconveniences that occurred in and around the theatres. They said that the playhouses corrupted the youth due to various lewd and ungodly practices that took place inside but also courtesans, vagrants, coney-catchers (tricksters) and thieves were known to gather to the vicinity. But mainly it seems that they were concerned that the plays would take hardworking servants and apprentices away from their duties and stop people going to church. Whilst not closing down the theatre, the various petitions

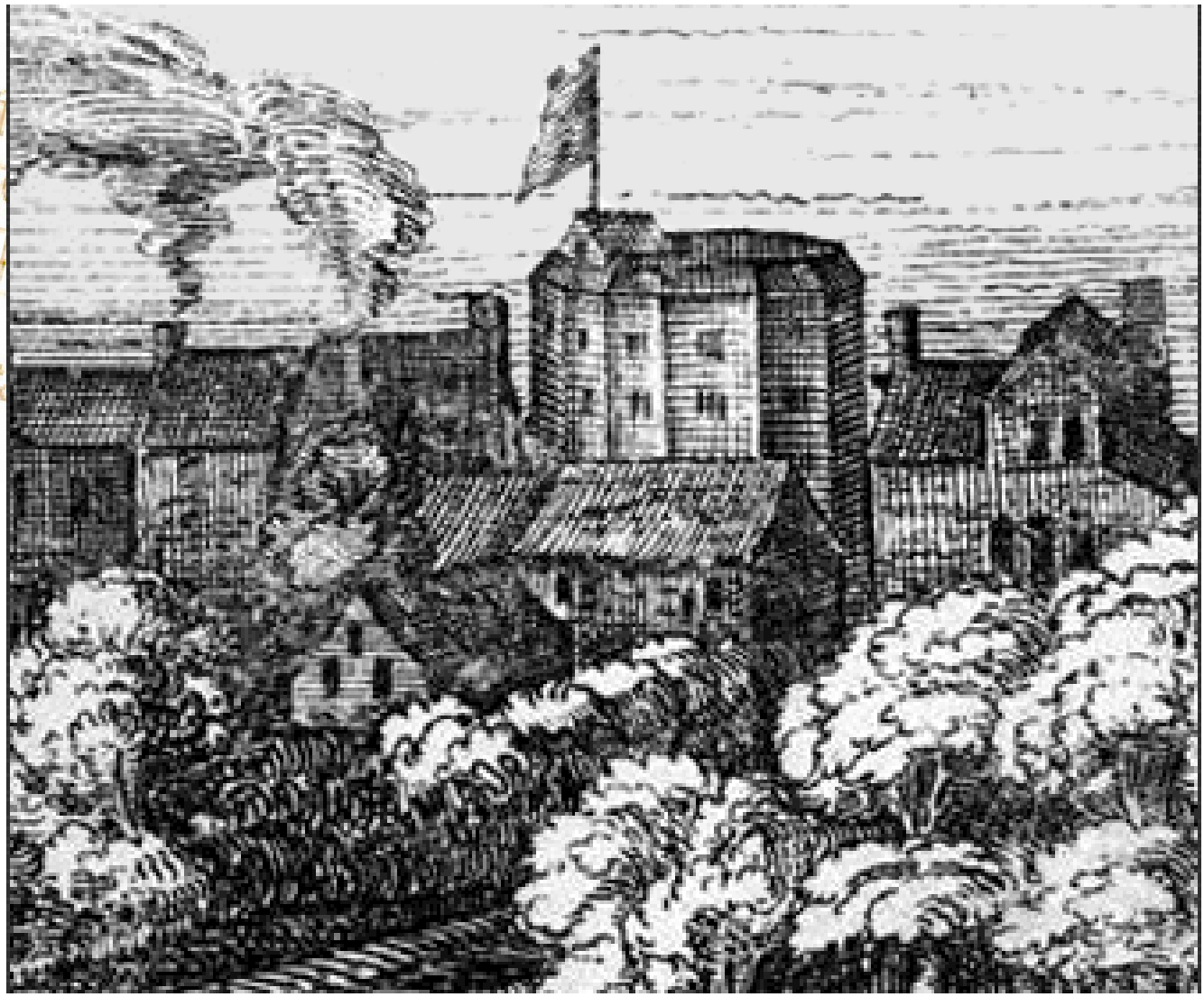
did have the effect of restricting the performance of plays to just six days a week, with no plays being able to be staged on a Sunday or during Lent. The Privy Council however stood firm against Puritan pressure to close the theatres down entirely stating the *'Her Majesty sometimes took delight in these pastimes'*.

Therefore, when the leasehold of The Theatre was due for renewal, the landowner refused to renew it and Burbage effectively dismantled the building and reconstructed it on the south side of the river. This new building opened in 1599 and was renamed The Globe and today's namesake is built in more or less the same location as the original. By this date, the south side of the river had already established itself as the pleasure seeking district of Elizabethan London. The Rose Theatre had been built in 1587 and the Swan which was constructed in 1595. No doubt the City officials were relieved with the development of the south bank of the river as it meant that they no longer had to deal with many of the problems they had been encountering. It was a win:win situation for both sides as the theatres owners were no longer in the jurisdiction of the city of London, the owners had less restrictions on opening hours, more freedom of performance and far less censorship – all in all it created a mix for a vibrant theatre land and entertainment centre. For the citizens of London there were now plenty of amusements to attract them to the south bank: as well as a good choice of theatres, there were bear pits, taverns, alehouses, brothels and markets.

To reach this entertainment required a bit more effort from the Londoner as they needed to get across the river and this could be done by one of two ways. The first was to cross the bustling London Bridge where the many houses and shops built across its wide expanse would have sold plenty of tempting wares for the theatre goer. It was a bustling and very crowded thoroughfare making it difficult to ride a horse across as it was full of carts, traders, hawkers, shoppers, beggars and, of course,

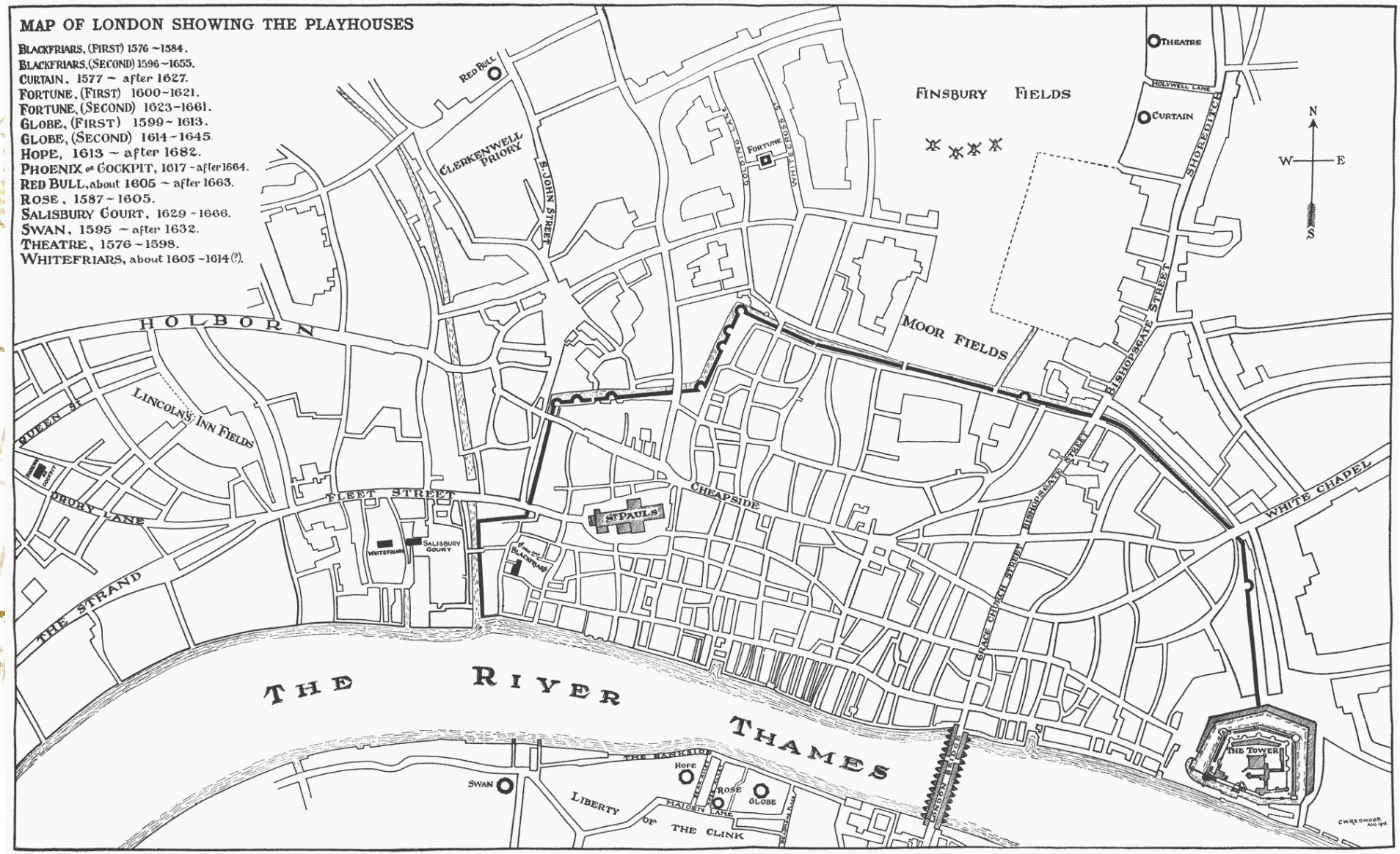


Being rowed across the Thames to the playhouses on the South Bank.



The Swan Theatre

livestock. Walking across meant you had to run the gauntlet of pickpockets and thieves, all waiting to take advantage of the unsuspecting tourist and visitor. The other, and probably more popular way of crossing the Thames was to take a ferry boat although, by all accounts, the river must have been just as chaotic as the bridge. According to William Harrison's Description of England, written in 1587, there were over two thousand small boats plying their trade it addition to the plethora of other large boats and barges which were carrying passengers and goods. The small, hand rowed ferry boats charged a penny for taking people across and all the fares were controlled by law. However, it seems that customers were advised to ensure that they gave the ferryman a tip upfront if they wanted to ensure that they arrived on the other side, dry and in good shape. There is also a story (which may be apocryphal) of the ferryman who would stop in the middle of the river and proceed to start singing all the verses of the ever popular All in a Garden Green unless another penny was given to keep him quiet and keep rowing. The song was eighteen verses



A map of London showing the location of the theatres.

long and probably everyone was fed up of hearing it! It seems that the wily ferrymen found a way to circumvent the restrictive charges imposed upon them.

Elizabethan theatres were constructed in two principle forms: the Hall theatre, such as Blackfriars in the north of the city, and amphitheatres such as the Globe and Rose on the south bank.

The hall theatres were rectangular and fully enclosed which meant, in theory at least, that plays could be performed throughout the year as well as in the evening. The modern day Sam Wannamaker Theatre is a reconstruction of a hall theatre (see photo at the start of this article) and loosely based on the layout of Blackfriars. This type of theatre was lit by candles which, when moved up and down, could help give different lighting effects. The introduction of candles also meant that intervals in the play's performance had to be introduced to allow for the trimming of the wicks or the replacement of spent candles. These intervals also provided an opportunity for drinks and refreshments to be sold and music to be performed.

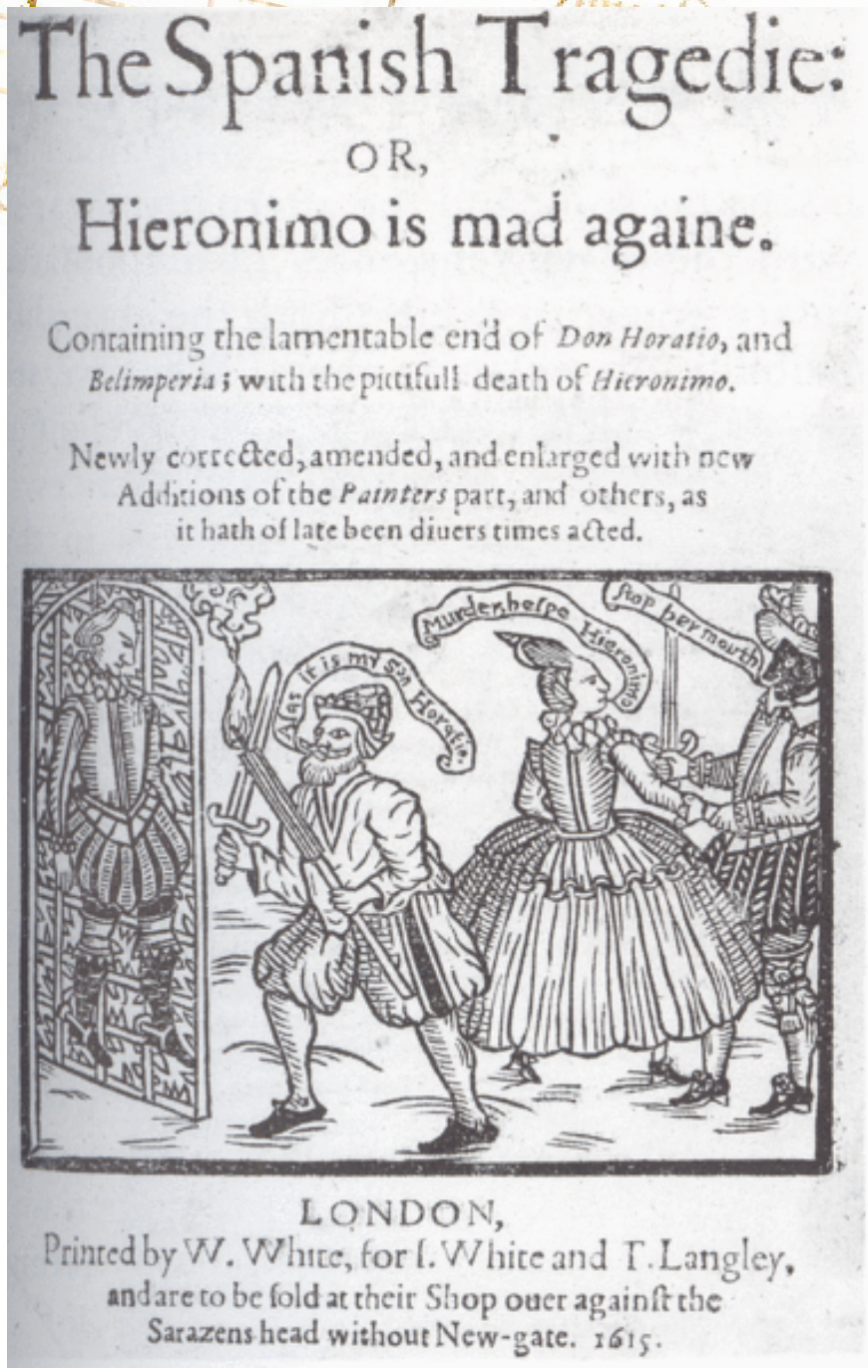
Amphitheatres were round or polygonal and had a canopied stage coming our into a central courtyard which was normally open to the elements. Surrounding the courtyard were covered galleries on two or three levels. This structure could not only hold a large number of people but could happily accommodate a wide mix of social classes with different levels of society paying varying rates.

The Globe was unusual for a theatre because it staged plays and operated throughout the year whereas the indoor Blackfriars was open only from May to September. This is the opposite from what one would expect – but Blackfriars only operated when the court was in residence in London. Just like today, some theatres had a better reputation than others. The view of a theatre was judged not only by the plays and performances it staged but by the area that it was in. The Red Bull and Fortune theatres were considered to be a bit downmarket, maybe because they were further out from main centre of the city and that they had both been converted from pubs rather than being purpose built theatres.

At least three theatres would be staging a play each day so there was usually a good choice of programme for people to see. Handbills were printed and distributed in the street to help publicise the performance and attract an audience. Whilst today we are used to a play's run lasting for at least two to three weeks, Elizabethan audiences would have expected to see a different play every day and according to the records left by the Admiral's Men, in just one season they staged over thirty eight plays and put on a show six days a week. In that time twenty one of the plays were completely new to them and for any actor, that's an awful lot of lines to learn! It must also have been quite a feat of production as not only all the staging needed to be organised and built, costumes and props made and the play rehearsed. Plays would have been rotated and staged several

times but even the most popular ones were only performed about once a month.

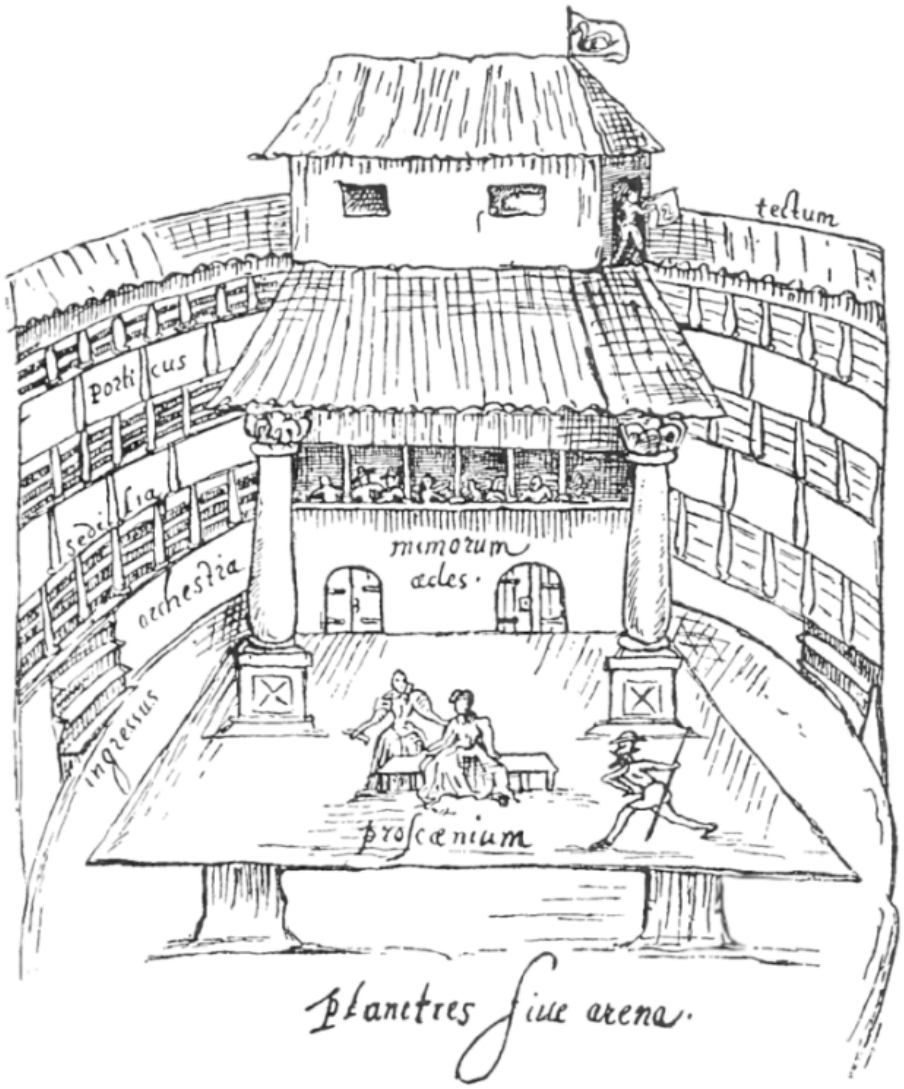
In much the same way that today we might download or buy a DVD of a film that we have particularly enjoyed, scripts of the most popular plays were printed and sold to an eager public as a souvenir. Two plays in particular caught the public's imagination - Marlowe's Tamburlaine (1587) and Thomas Kyd's Spanish Tragedy (1589) and there's no doubt that they were the big hits of the day.


The Spanish Tragedie:
OR,
Hieronimo is mad againe.
Containing the lamentable end of *Don Horatio*, and *Belimperia*; with the pittifull death of *Hieronimo*.
Newly corrected, amended, and enlarged with new Additions of the *Painters* part, and others, as it hath of late been diuers times acted.
Murder, helpe Hieronimo
Stop her mouth
Alas it is my Son Horatio
LONDON,
Printed by W. White, for I. White and T. Langley, and are to be sold at their Shop ouer against the Sarazens head without New-gate. 1615.

Tamburlaine was performed by the Admiral's Men, based at the Rose Theatre, and was loosely based on the life of the Asian emperor, Timur, who had died in 1405. The first performance of the play did not get off to an auspicious start as a child and a pregnant woman were killed by a firearm accidently going off during the proceedings. The Spanish Tragedy was probably the most popular and influential play of the time as it established a new genre of 'revenge tragedy'. Its appeal to the London audience may have had something to do with the several violent murders and a ghost intent on vengeance. It launched many other works of a similar genre and it has been argued that it was a primary source for Shakespeare's Hamlet. Having first been performed in the early 1590's, it was still popular and being printed as late as 1633 – quite a remarkable run!

Plays traditionally started at 2.00pm each afternoon and a fanfare of trumpets would signal that the

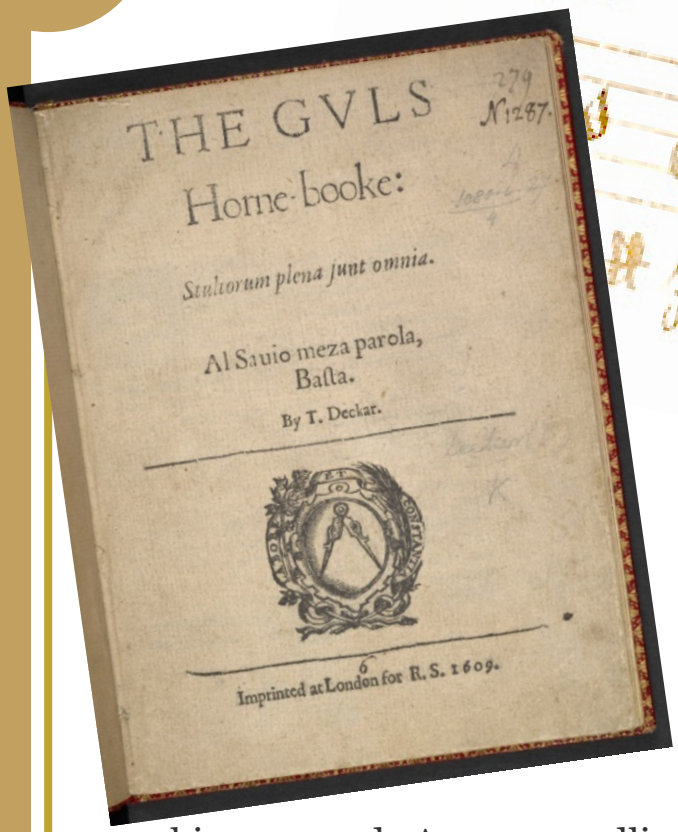
event was about the start. However, an afternoon at the playhouse did not just mean watching the play itself, there was a whole afternoon's entertainment in store lasting sometimes for as long as four hours. Firstly, there may have been a musical entertainment by the musicians, then there was the play itself and the afternoon ended with a 'jig' – a comedic musical entertainment which often proved to be more popular that the play itself.



A drawing of the Rose Theatre

The theatres would have been very crowded and by all accounts, very uncomfortable. It's been estimated that a typical Elizabethan theatre such as the Globe could hold up to 3000 people with as many as 800-1000 squeezing into the pit. To accommodate this number of people, that amount of bench space per person has been estimated to have been eighteen inches – something of a tight squeeze! 'The Schoole of Abuse', printed in 1582, described the audience scrum once the gates were opened as everyone rushed in to get a good seat – a scene that may be familiar to a modern day theatre goer. The author also recounted having to push and shove to get to sit next to a woman and how care must be taken with one's clothes so that they didn't get spoilt or trodden on. However, the best advice was, and I endorse this as someone who has sat on the seats in the Globe and the Sam Wannamaker theatres, to ensure that one took a pillow to help support one's back.

The price for seeing a play was consistent across all the theatres in London. The cheapest entry was one penny to be a 'groundling' to stand in the open-aired amphitheatre pit. To be undercover was 2d, to have a seat was 3d and to have a seat with a

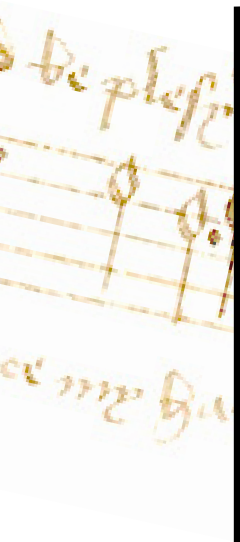

THE GVLS
Horne-booke:
Stultorum plena sunt omnia.
Al Sauio meza parola,
Basta.
By T. Dekar.
Imprinted at London for R. S. 1609.

cushion was 4d. As a groundling the crush in the pit must have been quite unpleasant. In fact the sheer physical closeness of all theatre goers had its drawbacks as the bad breath and dirty clothes of other audience members was often remarked upon. *"A man shall not be choakte with the stench of garlicke, not be pasted to the barmy jacket of a beer brewer"* . The most expensive seat in the house was for the Lord's Room; the area of the balcony above the stage canopy. For this high price one didn't get to see the play because the view of the stage was severely restricted – but everyone attending the theatre got to see you and this is what you paid your money for! 6d was also the price of a seat in the indoor hall theatres such as Blackfriars. This entrance price was unaffordable for many of the population but as the indoor theatres could only hold about 600 as opposed to 2,500-3,000, then the higher price needed to be charged. If one was really wealthy though, extra money could be paid to get a seat actually on the stage – that really was the best seat in the house.

Our understanding of how theatres worked and how audiences reacted is gained from numerous contemporary accounts. One of the most succinct descriptions was by Thomas Platter's 'Travels in England' written in 1599. He very neatly summed up the whole experience and below is a short extract:

"Thus daily at two in the afternoon, London has two, sometimes three plays running in different places, competing with each other and those which play best obtain most spectators. The playhouses are so constructed that they play on a raised platform, so that everyone has a good view. There are different galleries and places, however, where the seating is better and more comfortable and therefore more expensive."

Perhaps the best guide to being a theatre goer was written by the playwright and pamphleteer Thomas Dekker in 1609. Entitled The Gulls Horn-Booke, it was an ironic and humorous book designed to give the young, fashionable man about town, (The Gull) tips on how to behave in various social situations, including going to the theatre. The hornbook, so named after the children's alphabet and number primers which usually covered with a protective layer of horn, gave misleading guidance designed to expose the aspiring gallant as a 'gull' or credulous fool. The passages paint a vivid picture of the theatre, public



William Fennor wrote, in 1616, of an audience he had witnessed at the Fortune Amphitheatre:

When wits of gentry did applaud the same
With silver shouts of how lowd sounding fame:
Whilst understanding grounded men contemn'd it
And wanting wit like fooles to judge condemn'd it.
Clapping or hissing is the onely meane
That tries and searches out a well write scheme,
So it is thought by ignoramus crew,
But that good wits acknowledges untrue;
The stinkards oft will hisse without a cause,
And for a baudy jest will give applause
Let one but aske the reason why they roare
They'll answere – cause the rest did so before!

houses and city life in general and Dekker describes how the playhouses were a great social leveller which provided entertainment for the lowly, smelly 'stinkard' through to the 'sweet courtier'.

However, if the aspiring gentleman could only afford the single penny to be a groundling, he offered advice on how he could still make himself known to society. He suggested entering the theatre once the prologue had just got underway , then forcing ones way through the crowds holding a stool aloft. He advised to ensure that this wasn't done in front of a crowded pit otherwise one's fashionable clothing could not be seen and appreciated. The stool should then be placed on the edge of the stage and from this position one should give a running commentary of the play, with various asides, to the crowd below. For example, Dekker suggested that the aspiring gallant should laugh out loudly during the saddest scenes and pass loud comment on the actor's 'supposed' ability.

From this and other descriptions, one gets the picture that audiences were not as quiet and well behaved as they are today and it seems it was normal practice to shout, jeer and hiss out loud during the performance. Sometimes the shouting was directed towards the actors rather than the action: a visitor to the Rose theatre recalled how there were *"showtes and claps at ev'ry little pawse"*

It has been suggested that the only women who attended the theatre were whores and prostitutes. Whilst it is probably true to say that there would have been more men than women, there's no doubt that respectable

women did go to the theatre but they would, most likely, have been accompanied by men; contemporary accounts considered it either dangerous or unseemly for a woman to go to the theatre on their own or with other females. In the play, 'The Knight of the Burning Pestle' , the citizen's wife had been nagging her husband for twelve months before successfully persuading him to accompany her to the playhouse. Likewise, Henry Peacham, writing in 'The Compleat Gentleman', recounts how the wife of trader working from the Royal Exchange persuaded her husband to allow her to go to the theatre, something she had not done for seven years. However, as the husband did not want to go, he instructed his apprentice to accompany her.

Despite the evidence that respectable women attended and enjoyed the theatre for entertainment purposes, there was an automatic assumption that those attending were either up to no good or intent on alluring men:

Whosoever shal visit the chapel of Satan, I meane the Theater, shal finde there no want of yong ruffins, nor lacke of harlots, utterlie past al shame: who presses to the fore-front of the scaffolds, to the end to show their impudencie and to be as an object to al mens eies.

Whilst going to the theatre was probably not considered to be a family destination, children must have gone to the theatre as shown by the fact that a child was killed at the opening of Tamburlaine. Also Edmund Spenser, the poet, mentioned the *"troublous noyes of womens cries and the shouts of boyes, such as the troubled Theaters oftimes annoyes"*, showing , if nothing else, that noisy audiences were as irritating in the 16th century as they are today!

Refreshments, snacks and drinks were sold at the theatre and the evidence suggests that, just as today, buying them was an integral part of the experience. For the majority ale, nuts, apples and oysters were the snacks of choice but the wealthy would have been able to afford imported delicacies such as wine, apricots and prunes. Having drunk some of the beer or wine on sale, and after a four hour performance, a visit to a privy must have been required. However, none of the surviving plans for theatres show any provision for public toilets and this must have caused a problem for some of the 3000 people attending the play. It is still not clear how such large crowds of people relieved themselves. There is a record of a public toilet in the pedestrian precinct in the St Paul's area but the description of the facilities suggest that it was probably for male use only. However, it seems that it did *"give a pleasant odour for passers by"* , which I suppose was written with a hint of irony! Buckets were probably used but there is no mention of what women would have done and where or how the waste was disposed of at the theatre.

Buying a pipe full of tobacco for a penny and smoking it was also very popular pastime but this gave rise to something of a problem for the managers at the theatres. The foul

smelling, thick smoke annoyed people and also, at times, made it difficult for people to see the stage, which resulted in the practice being banned at some theatres.

If one's view was not obscured by smoke, then there was also a danger that the new fashion for high hats and feathers could make it difficult to see. For the young gallants and gulls, the higher the dome on the hat then the more of a fashion statement was being made. It wasn't only sufficient to have a high dome, it also needed to be decorated with feathers - and the more ostentatious the better. These young men about town were nicknamed "*plumed dandebrats*" by a contemporary commentator. In the indoor theatres, with their raked seating, the line of sight problems may have been less but seeing the action on the stage must have been difficult for those in the tightly packed amphitheatres. It was noted that *"in publike Theaters, when any notable shew passeth over the stage, the people arise in their seates and stand upright with delight and eagernesse to view it all".*

Having researched numerous accounts of visiting the theatre in the 1590's I'm struck by the number of similarities experienced by the modern day attendee. I may not be bothered by foul tobacco smoke but I have sat next to annoying seat shufflers, had my view obscured by hats, got frustrated with the lack of toilet facilities and been distracted by people talking and passing commentary on the play. I'm sure if they had been around at the time, the Elizabeth audience would also have experienced problems with mobile phones ringing just at the critical moment in the play!

JANE MOULDER

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THE PORTRAITURE OF KATHERINE HOWARD

Conor Byrne discusses the media's portrayal of Katherine Howard throughout history...

The visually stunning cosmetics and costumes of television productions such as *The Tudors*, *The Other Boleyn Girl* and *Wolf Hall* lure viewers into believing that they "know" what Henry VIII and his six wives looked like. It is "known", for example, that Anne Boleyn was of a sallow complexion, with long dark (usually black) hair and dazzling brown eyes, as represented by a number of actresses including Genevieve Bujold, Charlotte Rampling, Dorothy Tutin, Natalie Portman and Natalie Dormer. That this cultural archetype is so embedded in modern understandings of Tudor history became clear when author Susan Bordo questioned whether Anne was, in fact, auburn-haired or even a redhead, for "brunette", as Anne was known, could mean anything in the sixteenth-century that wasn't blonde.

A Victorian imagining of Queen Katherine Howard, based on the Holbein miniature of her. (Public Domain)

Katherine Howard's hair colour was never specified by the contemporaries that documented her appearance, but it is interesting that modern television and film productions have usually presented her with a variety of hair colours

including auburn, chestnut brown, and blonde. The vagueness of contemporary descriptions of her appearance, moreover, provides directors and costume designers with an element of freedom in their fashioning of her appearance on the film set. While Tamzin Merchant represented her as a childlike, thin and red gold-haired courtier in *The Tudors*, Emily Blunt displayed a more voluptuous blonde in the television film *Henry VIII*. By contrast, both Angela Pleasance and Lynne Frederick were brown-haired in their representations of Katherine.

The vague descriptions we have of Katherine's appearance, none of which specified her hair colour, eye colour or facial features – in contrast to contemporary accounts of Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour – in part accounts for the controversy surrounding her reputed portraiture. Currently there are a number of alleged portraits of the queen, none of which have been conclusively identified as genuine likenesses. Historians disagree on whether any represent Katherine. Perhaps the most well-known is a portrait miniature by Hans Holbein dating to circa 1540, traditionally identified as a portrait of the queen created either shortly after her marriage to Henry VIII or during her first Christmas as royal consort. A number of years ago, David Starkey concluded on the basis of the sitter's jewellery that the miniature is undoubtedly a portrait of Katherine dating to her period as queen. Most historians have agreed with his finding, although Katherine Parr's biographer, Susan James, disagreed with Starkey's theory, and instead indicated that it is likely to be a portrait of Henry VIII's niece, Lady Margaret Douglas, undertaken in around 1538 when her hand was sought in marriage by a foreign power. There was no queen consort at court between Jane Seymour's death in the autumn of 1537 and Henry's marriage to Anne of Cleves in early 1540; certainly a number of royal women, including the king's daughter Mary and his niece Margaret, might have been permitted to wear the royal jewellery. However, James' theory has received little support from most historians, and the portrait miniature continues to be associated with Katherine Howard.

In the early twentieth-century, a half-length portrait attributed to Holbein was identified as a likeness of Katherine, and gained widespread support from contemporary historians and biographers, including Lacey Baldwin Smith, whose *A Tudor Tragedy* was published in 1961 and which featured the portrait in the images section. Three versions of the portrait exist; one is currently housed at the Toledo Museum in Ohio and another later version at the National Portrait Gallery in London. The portrait displays a woman aged in her twenty-first year, in a lavish black gown with a French hood that sits fairly far back on the head, requiring a band to secure it under the chin. The sitter wears jewellery as a sign of her wealth, including a gold necklace and a gold medallion, as well as a number of rings. Her facial features include dark eyes, a pale complexion, a prominent chin and chestnut-brown hair. Certainly the lavishness of the costume and the jewellery indicate that the sitter was a woman of high social status, probably a member of the nobility. However, in its association with the Cromwell family, there is nothing to link it with Katherine, as noted by Gareth Russell in *Young and Damned and Fair*. Other possible sitters include Elizabeth Seymour, younger sister of Queen Jane,

Claire Foy as Queen Anne Boleyn in "Wolf Hall". (BBC)

and wife of Gregory Cromwell, Thomas' son, or one of the king's nieces, including Margaret Douglas, Frances Grey and Eleanor Brandon. Another reason to doubt the identification of the sitter as Katherine is the sitter's age, recorded as twenty-one at the time the portrait was executed. And yet, the likelihood is that Katherine was executed before her nineteenth birthday.

More recently, a portrait currently housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has been associated with Katherine. The portrait dates to c1540-45 and features a young woman aged seventeen, or in her seventeenth year. She wears a lavish black and red gown with puffed sleeves in the French fashion, along with a bejewelled French hood that rests on her auburn hair, the black veil hanging behind. Her jewellery includes a pendant necklace with pendant pearls and a cameo brooch perhaps representing a classical or mythological scene, as was then the fashion. A similar cameo brooch features in the Toledo portrait discussed earlier on. Possibly some of the jewellery, including the brooch, were designed by Holbein. Susan James and Jamie S. Franco have argued that the sitter is probably Katherine Howard during her tenure as queen. Whether or not they are correct is uncertain,

Is this the face of Katherine Howard or Elizabeth Cromwell?

A copy of the miniature, one owned by Her Majesty The Queen and the other by the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry. (Alchetron)

but certainly the age of the sitter, the dating of the portrait and Katherine's reputed love of French fashion – as noted appreciatively by Charles de Marillac, the French ambassador at Henry VIII's court – are reasons to believe that the portrait may well be a contemporary likeness of Katherine. Certainly there is more to recommend this portrait's identification as Katherine than the Toledo portrait.

Given the brevity of her tenure as queen consort, and in view of the circumstances in which her queenship ended, it is unsurprising that historians are uncertain about whether any contemporary portraits of Katherine Howard survive. There are no extant likenesses of Anne Boleyn; most of the surviving portraits of her date to Elizabeth I's reign, at least forty or fifty years after Anne's execution. It is unlikely that portraits of disgraced courtiers and queens featured prominently in the galleries of noble Tudor residences. Those of Anne and Katherine may have been hidden away or destroyed. By the time that Elizabeth became queen, in 1558, there were no contemporary portraits of Anne in existence, or if there were they no longer survive today. Some, at

Now held in New York, this portrait has been suggested as a likeness of Queen Katherine (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

least, of Elizabeth's subjects continued to regard their queen's mother as a convicted traitor, but it became fashionable for chroniclers and playwrights to refashion Anne as a charitable and pious queen, a devoted mother of their own religious and favoured Queen Elizabeth. By contrast, there was no need for the Elizabethans to turn their attention to Anne's cousin and successor, Katherine Howard. It is therefore unsurprising that any portraits of Katherine were hidden or destroyed and therefore may not survive today. The portraits under discussion here have all been associated with Katherine, but there are reasons to doubt all of them as contemporary likenesses. The possibility that there are no extant portraits of her perhaps explains the attraction of film and television as a way of "knowing" what Katherine looked like and as a means of appreciating the beauty that attracted Henry VIII.

CONOR BYRNE

THE ARTIST GERLACH FLICKE: AN OVERVIEW

The art of portrait painting exploded in England in the sixteenth century as a result of the Protestant Reformation and the associated decline in religiously-themed art. **J. Stephan Edwards** discusses a little known artist...

Henry VIII seems to have taken a strong personal interest in portraiture, leading courtiers and the wealthy to emulate his interest. Hans Holbein remains the best-known Tudor-era portraitist, but there were certainly other artists of great skill working in England in the first half of the century. One such artist was Gerlach Flicke.

Little is known about Flicke, in part because so few works that can reliably be ascribed to him have survived. He came to England from Osnabrück in Lower Saxony. The date of his arrival has long been a matter of speculation among art historians, though his earliest known work is dated 1547. But his few surviving works, with one exception, depict members of the very highest ranks of English society, and it would have taken him a few years to establish himself after arriving in London. Because Osnabrück shared a border with the United Duchy of Jülich-Cleves-Berg and is a mere 90 miles from Cleves itself, it is quite possible that Flicke came to England as early as 1540 in the wake of Henry VIII's fourth wife, Anne of Cleves.

The art historian Ellis Waterhouse stated in 1953 that Flicke was a Roman Catholic but offered

Figure 1: Thomas Cranmer (1489-15560, Archbishop of Canterbury. National Portrait Gallery, accession number 535.

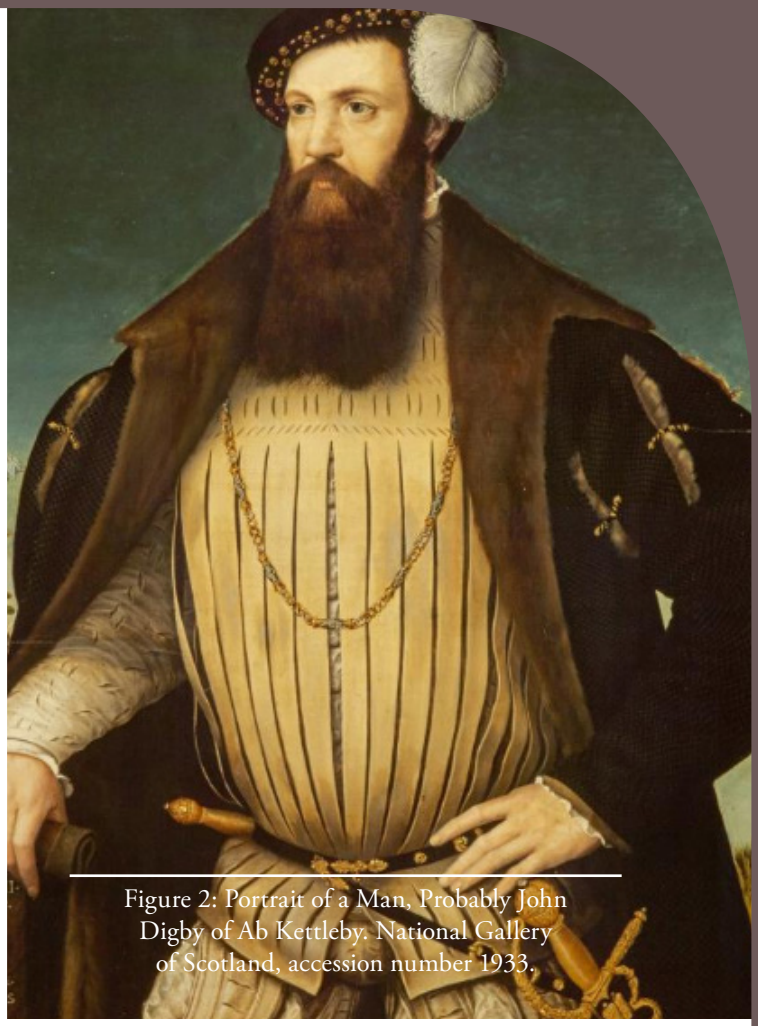


Figure 2: Portrait of a Man, Probably John Digby of Ab Kettleby. National Gallery of Scotland, accession number 1933.

Figure 3: Gerlach Flicke (d. 1558) and Henry Strangways/Strangwish (d. 1562). National Portrait Gallery, accession number 6353.

Figure 4: Queen Mary Tudor (1516-1558). Durham Cathedral.

no basis for that assertion.[1] Half a century earlier, Mary Hervey interpreted phrasing in Flicke's English will as an indication of Catholic beliefs, but subsequent scholarship on wills and the coded ways in which they reflect the religion of the testator brings this interpretation into question.[2]

Other circumstantial evidence suggests that Flicke may have been either non-observant or a Lutheran sympathizer. The largest church in his home city of Osnabrück began using the Lutheran service in 1543, and much of the surrounding territory, including Jülian-Cleve-Berg, likewise adhered to the Lutheran faith. Certainly Flicke's English patrons were reformist, beginning with Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, whom Flicke depicted in 1547. His other known clients included Sir Thomas Darcy, Lord Darcy of Chiche, who was Lord Chamberlain of the Household to Edward VI from 1551 to 1553, as well as John Digby of Ap Kettleby, first cousin by marriage to Queen Katherine Parr. That all of his known clients were Protestants suggests that Flicke was himself a Protestant, or at least religiously neutral.

As noted, a mere handful of works that can reliably be assigned to his hand have survived. It was relatively uncommon for artists of the early Tudor period to sign the works they produced, often making attribution very subjective. Holbein, for example, only occasionally signed his works using "Holbein pinxit" ("Holbein painted it"), while Hans Eworth sometimes expressed his own authorship by applying his monogram to the paintings and drawings he produced. In noteworthy contrast, all three of Flicke's fully authenticated surviving works include the artist's original identifying inscription. The most conspicuous example of this is again the portrait of Cranmer (Figure 1). The words "Gerlacus flicus Germanus faciebat"(Gerlach Flicke the German made [this]) are inscribed on the window-jamb in the upper left corner. A nearly

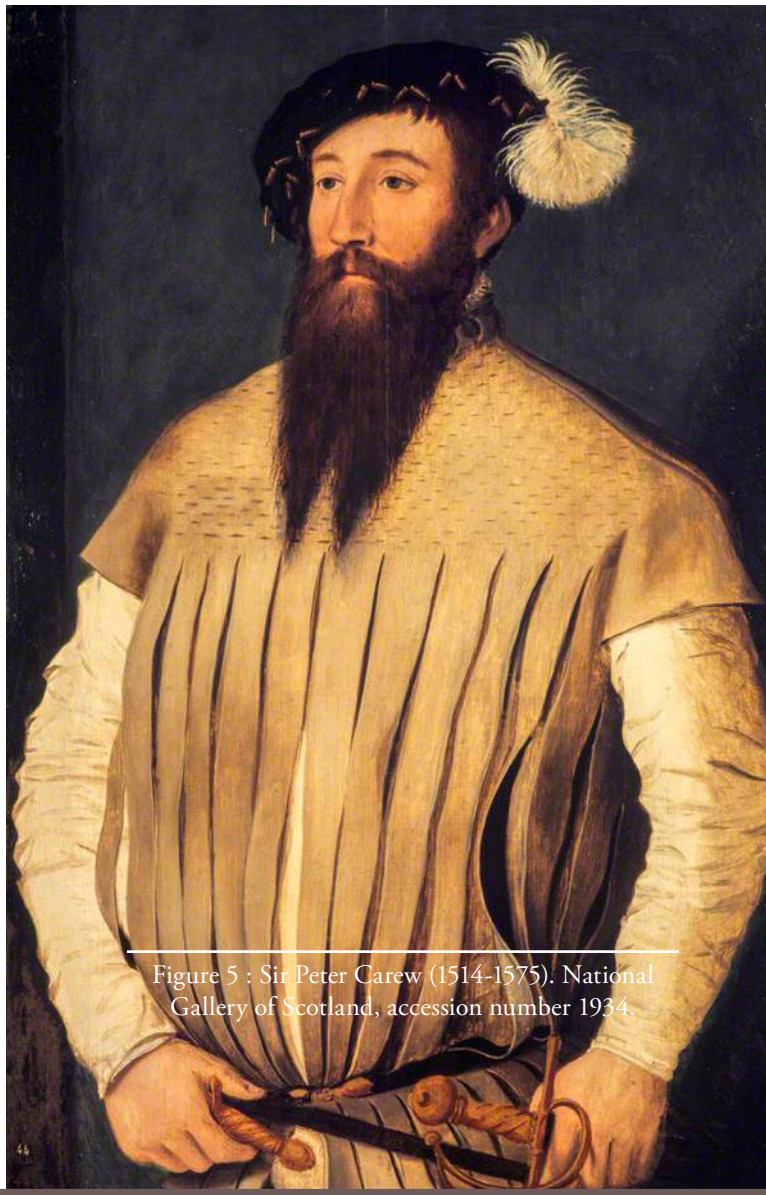


Figure 5 : Sir Peter Carew (1514-1575). National Gallery of Scotland, accession number 1934.

1 Ellis K. Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain, 1530-1790* (1953, reprinted by Yale University Press, 1994), 27.

2 Mary F.S. Hervey, "Notes on a Tudor Painter: Gerlach Flicke – I," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 17:86 (May 1910), 71-77. It must be noted that Hervey's attributions of works to Flicke are exceedingly problematic. Among the nine items on her list, two were lost prior to the compiling of her list, one has since been re-attributed, and one item (two ink drawings) are known only from vague mention in a catalogue dated 1815.

Figure 6: Member of the Palmer Family, Probably William Palmer. Royal Armouries, Tower of London.

Figure 7 : John Isham (1525-1595), Mercer and Adventurer, Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire.

identical inscription appears on his *Portrait of a Man* (Figure 2), thought to depict John Digby of Ap Kettleby: "Gerlaceis fliccus Germanius faciebat."[3] A self-portrait included in a double miniature portrait of the artist and his friend Henry Strangways bears a somewhat lengthier inscription (Figure 3), the beginning of which reads, "Talis erat facie Gerlachùs Flicci: ipsa Londonia qua[n]do Pictor Urbe fuit Hanc is ex Speculo p[ro] charis pixit amici" (Such was the face of Gerlach Flicke when the same was a painter in the City of London; he painted this from a mirror for his dear friends). Notably, all three of these works are also explicitly dated by the artist, though the date in the portrait of Cranmer is expressed in terms of the sitter's age at the time the painting was created rather than as the year. These three paintings are, however, the sum total of Flicke's confirmed output.

A fourth work can reasonably be attributed to Flicke, though it is unsigned and undated. It is a roundel portrait of Queen Mary now held by Durham Cathedral (Figure 4). The portrait bears a trompe-l'oeil cartellino identifying the sitter, and that cartellino is entirely consistent with similar devices used by the sixteenth-century collector John Lumley, Baron Lumley (d.1609). An inventory of his collection taken in 1590 includes a "scantlinge" (i.e., a small painting) of Queen Mary "drawne by Garlicke," presumably Gerlach Flicke.[4] The portrait of Mary is acknowledged to be a copy of a pre-existing work by Antonio Mor, however, rather than a commission directly from Flicke.[5]

The aforementioned portrait of Thomas Cranmer is the best known from among Flicke's works. Photographs of the portrait usually fail to convey the fine technical detail that rank this painting among the best of the period. While viewers can often detect, for example, the shadow of beard growth when examining a photograph of the work, it is only on close first-hand viewing that one can appreciate the painstaking way in which Flicke created that shadow: each tiny hair of the beard was individually painted. Similarly, the backs of the hands reveal the use of pigment washes applied in thin layers to create the ghostly appearance of bluish veins beneath pale translucent skin. Even the "crows-feet" at the outer corners of the eyes are meticulously portrayed.[6] Similar fine detail work is seen in the *Portrait of a Man*/John Digby and in the miniature paired self-portrait. Together, these three works all firmly assignable to the hand of Gerlach Flicke suggest an artist of extraordinary technical skill.

Two other portraits have been tentatively attributed to Flicke. First among these is an unsigned and undated portrait of Sir Peter Carew (Figure 5), who served as High Sheriff of Devon in 1547, but who is perhaps best known today as the younger brother of George Carew, commander of the *Mary Rose* when that ship sank in 1545. The portrait, now in the National Gallery of Scotland, was attributed to Flicke by Mary Hervey in 1910 on the remarkably flimsy grounds that the costume is strikingly similar to that worn by the sitter in the signed and dated *Portrait of a Man*/John Digby mentioned above. But as though arguing against herself, Hervey noted that the portrait of Carew was "simpler and less ambitious, as though unfinished,"

3 The sitter was formerly identified as William Grey, 13th Baron Grey de Wilton.

4 "The Lumley Inventories," *The Sixth Volume of the Walpole Society, 1917-1918* (London: Oxford University Press, 1918), 22.

5 Personal correspondence, Gabriel Sewell, Head of Collections, Durham Cathedral, 19 February 2013.

6 For detail images of the portrait, see: http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitConservation/mw01563/Thomas-Cranmer?

when compared to *Portrait of a Man*.[7] Careful study of very-high-resolution digital images of the portrait of Carew do reveal a finish that is technically vastly inferior to that seen in Flicke's signed works, calling the attribution into question. Dr Tico Seifert, Senior Curator of Northern European Art at the National Gallery of Scotland, indicated support in 2012 for this present author's conclusion that the portrait is by some artist other than Flicke, but the Gallery's catalogue continues to show as attribution to Flicke.[8]

The second portrait tentatively attributed to Flicke is believed to depict William Palmer (Figure 6), a member of the Gentleman Pensioners during the reign of Henry VIII.[9] This painting, like the portrait of Carew, entirely lacks the high level of technical skill and the refined detail seen in Flicke's signed works, however. It may therefore be dismissed as the work of a lesser artist.

One further portrait (Figure 7) has sometimes been described as "circle of Gerlach Flicke," but once again it completely lacks the refinement of Flicke's authentic work. Now held at Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire, it is a depiction of John Isham, a London mercer and adventurer. The sitter appears to be of middle age, yet Isham was only 33 years old when Flicke died in 1558. It is therefore unlikely that the portrait of Isham has any association whatsoever with Flicke.

At least two other works attributed to Flicke are now lost. The first is a portrait of Sir Thomas Darcy, Lord Darcy of Chiche, Lord Chamberlain to Edward VI and a maternal first cousin of that king's mother, Queen Jane Seymour. The portrait reportedly bore Flicke's inscribed name and was dated 1551, and it was included in the Lumley Inventory of 1590.[10] The portrait of Lord Darcy vanished from the historical record in the nineteenth century.

The second lost portrait is likewise mentioned in the Lumley Inventory and depicted Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk. Since, however, Howard was imprisoned in December 1546 and remained there until the accession of Mary I in July 1553, and since he was a Roman Catholic, we must view the attribution of this painting with some degree of skepticism. Flicke is unlikely to have received a commission from the premier duke of the realm immediately upon his arrival in England (circa 1540-1547), and Howard is equally unlikely to have offered a commission to Flicke in the last months of his own (Howard's) life.

Flicke died in London early in 1558 and was buried in the Church of St Giles-without-Cripplegate, in the area now known as The Barbican. St Giles was a prominent parish church and many wealthy people worshipped there, indicating that Flicke was a person of some means.[11] In his will, he left his property in Osnabrück, including some land, to a former servant still living in that city. He left the "residue of [his] goods moveable and immoveable" to his wife Katherine. No children or other relatives are mentioned in the will.[12]

7 Hervey, "Notes," 76.

8 The painting has been in storage for over a decade and is thus a low priority for the Gallery. It must be noted that a second version of the SNG's portrait of Carew is now in the Royal Collection (RCIN 403917), where it is described as a copy, i.e., "after Flicke." That version is unsigned, but bears an inscription identifying the sitter, and that inscription is itself dateable to after Carew's death in 1575.

9 Christie's London, Sale 6053, 24 November 1998, Lot 3, as "attributed to Gerlach Flicke."

10 Hervey, "Notes," 72; "Lumley Inventories," 22.

11 Others buried at St Giles include successive Earls of Kent, the martyrologist John Foxe, the cartographer John Speed, and the poet John Milton.

12 National Archives (UK), PRO 11/40, Last Will and Testament of "Garlick"/Gerlach Flicke.

J. STEPHAN EDWARDS

J. Stephan Edwards earned his PhD in British History as a mature student in 2007 for his dissertation on Lady Jane Grey. He has since published several articles on scholarly subjects as varied as the ancient origins of the acrostic puzzle and the identification of female sitters in early modern portrait paintings. His book on portraiture of Jane Grey, entitled *A Queen of a New Invention*, was published in 2015 and was followed in 2016 by a study of her prayer book. He is currently in the final stages of preparing a biography of Jane Grey that will focus on the gender issues surrounding the English succession crisis of 1553. Dr Edwards will also appear as an expert commentator in a three-part documentary series on Jane Grey that is scheduled to air in the UK on BBC4 in the autumn of 2017.

The Tudor Housewife Childcare, pt 2

Children's Education

In the last magazine, I looked at caring for babies: how to swaddle and feed them. In this article, I shall be finding out what was thought to be the correct way of raising and training children in the sixteenth century. Thomas Tusser, the Tudor commentator who generally gave housewives good and sensible advice, had this to say [I've modernised the spelling]:

We find it not spoken so often for nought,
That children were better unborn than untaught,
Some cockneys with cocking are made very fools,
Fit neither for prentice, for plough, nor for schools.
Teach child to ask blessing, serve God, and to church,
Then bless as a mother, else bless him with birch.
Thou housewife thus doing, what further shall need?
But all men to call thee good mother indeed.

This fascinating passage covers all that was required in educating a young child – a task undertaken most usually by its mother or, perhaps, by its nurse, if the mother wasn't around.

Cockney. We all know the word and these days we often use it to describe a Londoner. It used to be a little more specific, applying only to those born within hearing distance of the bells of St-Mary-le-Bow church in the city. However, as you'll realise from Tusser's instructions above, a 'cockney' was originally something very different and nothing to do with being born in London. A cockney was a boy-child, spoilt and coddled and therefore effeminate. 'Cocking Mams' were over-indulgent mothers whose children would be unsuited in future to being apprenticed, working the land, or even going to school. So Rule no.1 was 'Do not indulge the child.'

The first thing a child had to learn was the Lord's Prayer or *Paternoster,* the Creed or *Credo* and, until the Reformation, when England became Protestant, the Hail Mary or *Ave Maria.* The Creed was the litany recited at mass, beginning 'I believe in one God...' At a baby's baptism, the godparents had to promise, not only to keep their godchild safe 'from the perils of fire and water' but to teach him these basic recitations of the Christian faith. Since medieval times, these words, originally in Latin and often together with a basic ABC and numbers, were written on horn books. These weren't really books at all but a sheet of parchment (later paper), covered with a transparent layer of horn to protect it, put in a wooden frame, shaped like a small, square table-tennis bat, complete with a handle, so the child could hold it easily. By Tudor times, they were more often written in English but these hard-wearing teaching aids often passed down the generations and were still popular in the eighteenth century.

Incidentally: a few words about godparents. From medieval times, child-birth had been a women-only

affair – as we'll see in a future article. The mother might be in labour for days and need every encouragement from her female relatives, friends and neighbours. These women also had to be on hand to stand as godparents at short notice, if the baby seemed unlikely to live and required immediate baptism. Godparents were also known as 'godsibs' or siblings in God. As you can imagine, a group of women, sitting around, waiting for days, perhaps, with not much to do, did a great deal of chatting and, as they ran out of relevant topics to discuss, probably resorted to exchanging rumours. This activity became known as 'godsibing' or – as we would call it – gossiping.

Children as young as three or four would be expected to attend church and to understand when to bow their heads or kneel in prayer and to reverence God. They would also join in family prayers with the household as often as the religious faith of the head of the house required. Many Protestant families took the act of reading aloud from the English Bible very seriously. It might be done daily or else, most certainly, on the Lord's Day – Sunday. Thus, Rule no.2 was 'Teach the child to respect God and the Church'.

Thomas Tusser's final instruction would not be appreciated today: the use of corporal punishment. Beating children is now unlawful in most modern societies but the Tudors would have been dismayed by our idea. 'Bless him with birch', as Tusser said. In other words, a good thrashing never did anyone any harm and to 'spare the rod' was to 'spoil the child', as the Bible said. In the Book of Proverbs 13: 24, it states: 'He who spares the rod hates his son, but he who loves him is careful to discipline him'. The Tudors certainly believed this. Physical discipline was thought vital to achieving both learning and good behaviour and children were expected to take it with good grace, even welcoming it as just one aspect of the best educational methods. It would teach them to respect authority. If a child misbehaved, there was no point in trying to reason with him because children were illogical creatures, as yet incapable of rationalising what was good conduct and what was bad. So Rule no.3 was 'Do not be lenient: a beating does far more good than harm and is vital to a child's education.'

One last thing: a Tudor parent would never have told a child that it was naughty. In those days the word meant you were 'as nothing' (naught), so bad you were less than human. It was a term applied to murders. Shakespeare's Macbeth was naughty; unruly toddlers were not.

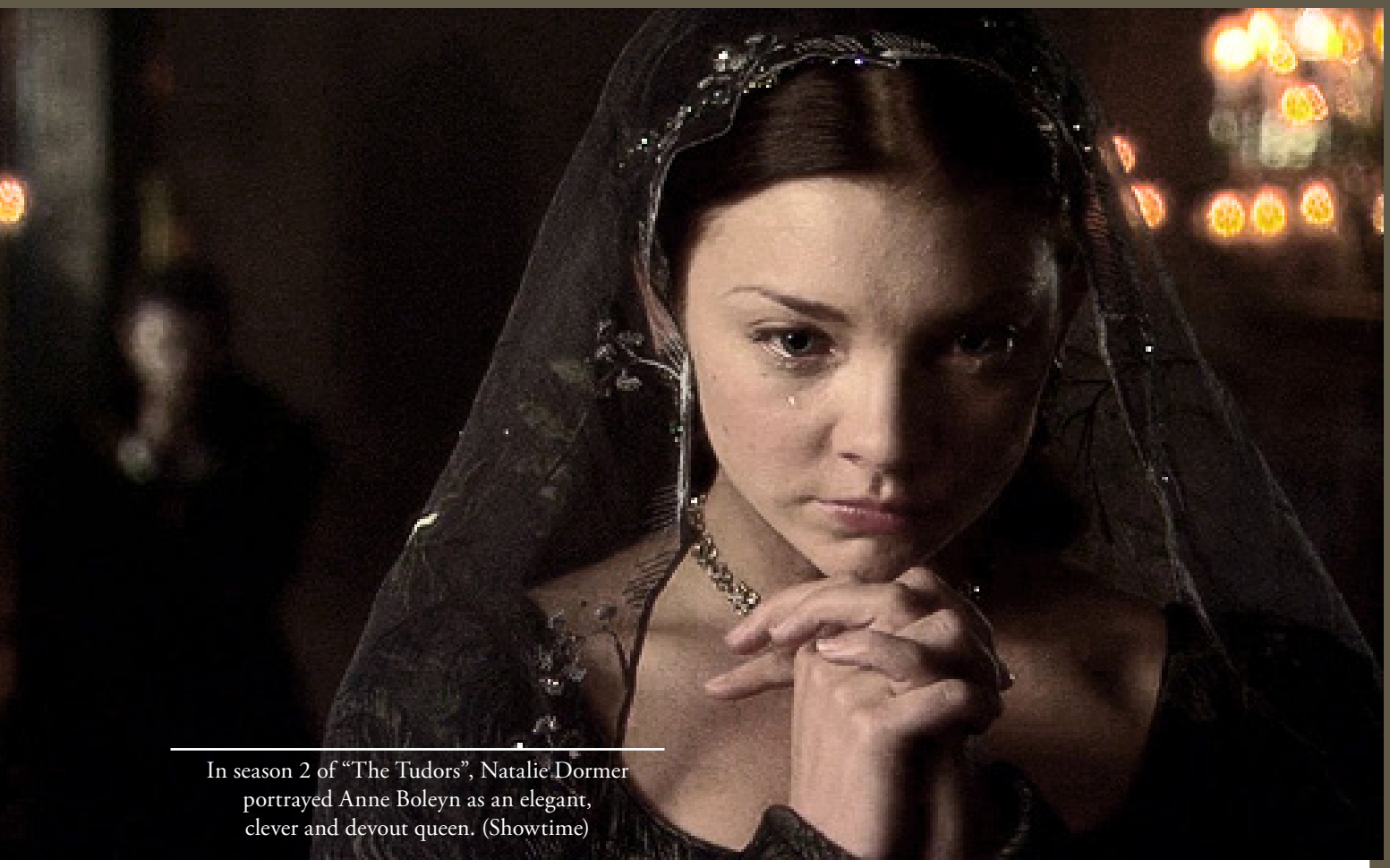
TONI MOUNT

FURTHER READING:

Elizabeth Norton's *'The Lives of Tudor Women'* Head of Zeus, 2016.

THE LEGACY OF THE BODICE RIPPER: COSTUMING SEXUALITY IN TUDOR MEDIA

By Emma Elizabeth Taylor



In season 2 of "The Tudors", Natalie Dormer portrayed Anne Boleyn as an elegant, clever and devout queen. (Showtime)

Sex sells. Just one glance at the television schedule will tell you this, with popular programmes such as *Game of Thrones* and *Westworld* making headlines for their graphic depictions of sexuality and nudity. More recently, this abundance of sexual content has become apparent in almost every area of television and film, with popular history being no exception. It is easy to see why Tudor history has been so widely covered in popular media; the King with six wives, is, after all, still hugely interesting to the modern viewer, both in Britain and overseas. However, many of the more modern adaptions surrounding the Tudor Era are steeped in sex, intrigue, sensuality and nudity. I'm going to explore how and why this phenomenon has affected the Tudors, and why audiences are so enamoured with the 'bodice ripper' genre, specifically looking at how this phenomenon has affected the presentation of the female body.

In Tudor television and film, it is rarely the men in a state of undress; it is always the women, and this distinction creates a power dynamic and a sexualisation that is unfairly balanced between the sexes. It's a trend that's hard to ignore, and one example I'd like to focus on is the marketing of the Showtime television series, *The Tudors*. In the promotional material for the first season, King Henry VIII, played by Johnathan Rhys Meyers, sits on his throne in a billowing white shirt and black trousers, a large Chain of Office and a sword. He sits with his legs spread, sword placed between them, and is surrounded by three women; but we can't see their heads. we can see only their costumes, and even these are obscured by the chair. Besides the obvious phallic implications of the sword between

Henry's legs, we see only the women's breasts, highlighted with lavish jewelled necklaces and a low-cut neckline. Another promotional image features Charles Brandon, played by Henry Cavill, in a similar position; except he is surrounded by women dressed only in their stays, or corsets. Once again, these women are headless, faceless; they're essentially reduced to their body parts. In marketing material for the shows second season, Anne Boleyn, played by Natalie Dormer, is heavily featured alongside Henry. While her face is, at least, shown, Anne is consistently in a state of undress; reclining on a bed, on Henry's lap; while Henry is fully clothed. While this was a time where a woman's role was restricted in many ways, this presentation reads a little uncomfortably for the modern viewer. These were queens who influenced power where they could, and women who helped to shape England and thus Great Britain's future. Here, they're simply objects; reduced to their body parts to sell a show. While the show does have some flattering, caring representations of Henry's wives and mistresses, especially Natalie Dormer's later portrayal of Anne Boleyn, there are many times when the female body is used for little else other than sexposition; a way to keep viewers interested amid the politics and religious upheaval of the Tudor era.

Historical inaccuracies have plagued many a historical film, and the Tudors are no exception. However, it appears many television shows and films simply disregard certain historical facts to make the costumes 'sexier', for want of a better phrase. A Tudor lady of the court would be wearing at least three layers of clothing on her top half; and this is a conservative estimate. Firstly, a lady would wear a fine linen shift, with a petticoat on top of that. She would then wear her kirtle, which was often stiffened to streamline her silhouette; and this is all before her farthingale looped skirt, her forepart, and her over-gown, which featured elaborate sleeves bedecked with heavy jewels and brocade. We see very little of this, especially scenes in which either party is getting undressed. In *The Tudors,* Catherine Howard surprises Henry with a gown that slips off to reveal nothing underneath; in the context of the scene, this makes sense, but historically speaking, this would have been impossible; as dresses were not one piece, but rather a collection of parts. Conveniently, women in Tudor film and television never seem to struggle to undress, despite the fact this would have taken at least one other person to help with. Clothing, and the removal of clothing, has a powerful effect in cinema; nudity and nakedness are an act of baring yourself before another person. The abundance of female nudity and the relative lack of male nudity speaks of a power imbalance in terms of sexuality, which is indeed true of the Tudor times. However, in modern cinema, this speaks more to a voyeuristic sensibility rather than a historical one; naked female bodies will sell television shows and movies, and so scenes involving sexuality, relationships, and nudity will keep viewers glued to their screens for the next episode or scene. It's a cheap, easy way to keep newspapers and views talking about the show; one needs only to look at the scandalised reaction to the drama *Versailles,* aired on BBC 2. The trailers teased 'corruption' and 'temptation', and prompted complaints after viewers were shocked by the sheer amount of sex and nudity. Despite this, the show was hugely popular, and has been recommissioned for 2 more seasons. Sex definitely sells, and this isn't completely limited to female nudity. After all, when considering casting Henry VIII, few productions choose to use a historically accurate red-haired, ruddy Henry, opting instead for the dark handsomeness of actors such as Eric Bana and Jonathan Rhys Meyers. While the sexual power imbalance remains in the masculine court, casting attractive actors to play the King ensures that the sex scenes are always palatable for an audience, rather than the grim realities of Henry VIII later in life; an ageing, obese tyrant.

The phenomenally successful "Game of Thrones" tells a story of sex, magic, and treachery at the heart of a fictional monarchy. (HBO)

Costume primarily functions as a narrative device; it tells the audience certain things about the character's motivations, personality and place within the story. Costuming Tudor women seems to follow a certain trend within the realm of film and television; and this is a story told with dresses, hoods, and part-

"Versailles" takes bodice-ripping to the heart of Louis XIV's court. (BBC)

lets. In *The Other Boleyn Girl,* for example, Katherine of Aragon is shown with her ladies, all in dark, rich colours, high necklines, and heavy gable hoods, which hide their hair. By way of contrast, Mary and Anne Boleyn arrive in gowns of pale pastel, with sheer partlets showing their bosom, and with French hoods set far back on their head, displaying their obvious youth and beauty. Woman is pitted against woman by way of appearance; Anne and Mary's costumes and looks are immediately more visually appealing, not only to Henry, but also to the audience. This aspect of sexuality that is represented is somewhat relevant to the story, in that Katherine and Anne are competing for the affections of the King; however, *The Other Boleyn Girl* places woman against woman, sister against sister, rather than examining the various personal and political reasons behind Katherine and Henry's annulment and his subsequent remarriage to Anne Boleyn. This event, which was obviously seismic for Tudor England, is examined in a movie that deals primarily with what happens in the bedrooms of the Tudor court. Henry is romancing Anne as her sister Mary gives birth to Henry's child; it's a film which places heavy emphasis on the romance and sex lives of the court, rather than the very real political and religious turmoil of the 16th Century.

Using sexuality within film and television is not inherently bad, by any stretch of the imagination. Sex, relationships and sexuality are all essential parts of the human experience, and thus, their inclusion onscreen is essential in any realistic or nuanced portrayal of a character. However, sex and sexuality become troublesome when their presentation becomes the backbone of a characterisation. These characters of the Tudor court that grace our screens were real, living people, and using Queens of England simply as bodies, pretty but irrelevant distractions, sits uncomfortably with myself and many others. For example; *The Tudors* representation of Catherine Howard wouldn't exist without constant sexposition or nudity. Her role in the story is Henry's young, flirtatious, beautiful distraction; hardly a nuanced or interesting presentation of Catherine. The real Catherine, despite any of her perceived flaws, was a woman who ruled as Queen of England; the wife of one of England's most famous monarchs. There is a certain nuance that is simply missing in many presentations of famous Tudor women throughout history; and shows such as the hugely successful *Wolf Hall* should prove this.

Wolf Hall, an adaption of the political thriller by Hilary Mantel, averaged around 4.4 million viewers per episode, and was the most the BBC's most successful historical drama since ratings began in 2002. This should go a long way to show that the modern audience doesn't need sex or nudity to stay interested in a show, as Tudor history is chock full of fascinating characters, events and political turmoil. Costume is one of the best ways to visually illustrate any story; so maybe it's time to leave the clothes on and let their stories speak for themselves.

EMMA TAYLOR

EMMA ELIZABETH TAYLOR works for costumes for television in her native Northern Ireland. As an actress, Emma also played feisty socialite Imogen Dawson in every theatre adaptation of the "Popular" novels, published by MadeGlobal, between 2011 and 2016. She has costumed theatre productions set at the court of Marie-Antoinette and runs the blog, "Liz Taylor Talks Costume", about her love of period and modern costumes.

Tamzin Merchant as Queen Catherine Howard. (Showtime)

Charlie Loud Books

CROWN OF BLOOD
by Nicola Tallis

Lady Jane Grey's image has recently undergone a transformation, with her starting out as an often-overlooked figure in English history and becoming a wronged queen in the eyes of the public, with Mary I being the villain of the story. Nicola Tallis tackles the challenge of documenting Jane's life in *Crown of Blood* while avoiding the common pitfalls that often befall authors writing about the later part of her life, and does so remarkably well for a first-time author. Tallis succeeds in bringing Jane to life like never before.

The first chapter of *Crown of Blood* explores Jane's family, focusing mainly on her mother's side and how her she was related to Henry VIII through his sister, Mary. Tallis doesn't dwell long on Henry VIII's Great Matter or his life; she instead just gives the reader a short background and how it would have affected Jane's life. For example, how Jane was made the heir-apparent after both Mary and Elizabeth were declared illegitimate (and before Prince Edward was born).

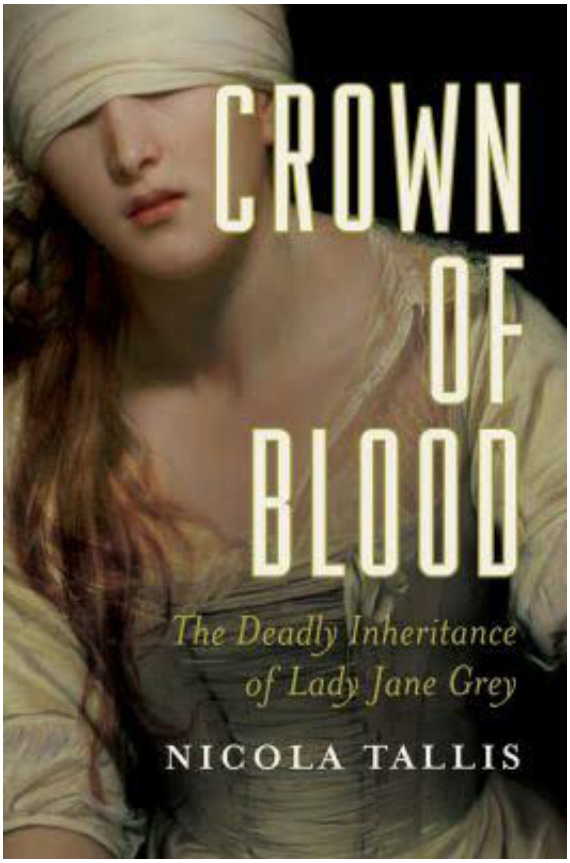
The author alternates between Jane's actions and Mary's, giving two different sides for the reader to consider. For instance, she starts by focusing on Jane becoming queen, going to the Tower of London, up until she receives a message from Mary. Tallis then retraces Mary's steps up until that point. This is both a good and a bad thing; it can be a little repetitive and confusing, however, it is an interesting approach to the subject. She does not go easy on Jane and present her as a saint, as many do in contrast to Mary, both are compared fairly evenly:

> *'it was perfectly clear that in general the people were 'discontented with the election of Jane', and at eight o'clock on the morning of 11 July, Gilbert Pott, a young man who had spoken 'seditious and traitorous words' against Jane 'was set on the pillory, and both his ears cut off'. Although the example of Pott's was a singular occurrence, it was not a good start to the new reign.'*

This includes making it clear that Mary did not want to execute Jane and had managed to avoid being pressured into it by her advisors for a long time. Unfortunately, the actions of Jane's father effectively signed her death warrant. He rebelled against Mary and tried to place his daughter back on the throne, but he failed in the process and was quickly executed. This convinced her advisors that Mary would not be safe while Jane was allowed to live, as well as Philip's ambassadors that he could not marry her until she was executed. Mary did not have a choice and had to sign Jane's death warrant:

> *'Queen Mary had made a decision. Agonising though it had been for her, she now realised that while Jane lived, she could potentially form a focal point for future dissenters.*

She had done all that she could in order to preserve the life of the young girl, but she could do no more... The actions of her father had effectively signed Jane's death warrant. More specifically, it was his cries for Jane's restoration as he rode through Warwickshire that 'determined the queen to sacrifice her to her own safety'.'



There were precedents for rulers dispatching rival claimants to the throne due to them being focal points for discontent, with notable cases including Edward III and Edward II, as well as Henry IV and Richard II. Most of these rulers have not been vilified for their actions, yet Mary has been in recent years. This makes Tallis's work an important one, as she successfully dispels the myth of Mary being determined to execute Jane. It is impressive how well she manages to write a balanced account, something that many prominent historians still struggle with after years of working in the field.

Despite most of the content being familiar to those who know Jane's story, Tallis does makes a good case for Jane's date of birth, which we have only been able to speculate on due to her relative unimportance when she was born. She suggests that Jane was born in the latter half of 1536, citing her tutor's notes as evidence:

'If Aylmer was correct and Jane was fourteen on 29 May 1551, then a date in the latter half of 1536 seems probable. Certainly, Aylmer was in a good position to know the truth of the matter, as someone who knew Jane well and who could 'look upon [her] with affection as a pupil'.'

Sometimes the book can be a little imaginative in trying to figure out how Jane was feeling at the time of certain events. However, all of Tallis's conclusions are explained and evidence is provided, with much of the primary sources being included in full. Even some of Jane's letters are included in full, which strengthens most of the author's cases and connects the reader to Jane on a personal level. This includes her letter to Thomas Seymour upon her return home after Katherine Parr's death, in which she thanks him for taking her, as *'you have become towards me a loving and kind father'*. The book also includes three very interesting appendixes; one on the portraits of Lady Jane Grey, another on Jane's debate with John Feckenham and the last on places associated with Jane.

A lot of the book will be familiar to those who know Jane's story, there isn't much new information here, but the information it does provide is compelling. The author presents with a highly intelligent girl who stuck to her faith until the end and had the makings of a great queen. Lady Jane Grey wasn't just a pawn who was manipulated by her father and betrayed by her cousin, she knew her own mind and ultimately took responsibility for her actions. This book will be helpful for those who are new to the subject or those who want a light but readable biography on Jane's life. It is hard to believe that this is Nicola Tallis's first book, considering how well written it is. I look forward to reading more by her in future.

CHARLIE FENTON

ON SALEP

37. To make Salop.

To a Quart of Water, put an Ounce of Salop, ſtir it 'till it is thick; then add to it Orange-flower-water, or Roſe-water, or Canary; you may, if you pleaſe, add a little Juice of Lemon and Sugar.

"Of crow-flowers, nettles, daisies and long purples that liberal shepherds give a grosser name"

Sometimes, a tankard of warm cider, a glass of mulled wine, or a cup of hot chocolate doesn't quite warm us up when the weather outside is cold. So what else did our medieval forebears drink to warm up when the weather turned?

Sachlav, sahlab, salep, or *saloop* (depending on which part of the medieval world you found yourself) was the quintessential warm winter drink of the medieval eastern Mediterranean. *Salep* is a thick, milk-based drink traditionally made with the dried and ground tubers from the *Orchis* species of orchids, particularly *O. militaris* and *O. mascula*. The preparation of varied from country to country. Some recipes call for rose or orange blossom water (like the one by John Nott given at the beginning of this article), while others called for saffron and cinnamon, or nuts and raisins. In some regions, *salep* was made into a thick milk-based drink often drunk from saucers. In the Ottoman Empire, *salep* was cooked until it formed a sweet pudding that could be eaten with a spoon.

Like many medieval foods, *salep* had something of a reputation as a curative. Gerard of *Gerard's Herbal* fame makes reference to use of the young tubers. The great physician Maimonides believed that *salep* was an aphrodisiac (medieval Viagra), and the sovereign cure for venereal diseases. Many medieval scholars and physicians believed that the cure for a specific illness would be found in foods that resembled that afflicted body part. For example, walnuts were thought to be good for conditions of the brain, as they closely resembled looked a brain. But I digress.

The drinking of *salep* dates back to Roman times. Whilst there is some dispute over the where the *O. mascula* and *O. militaris* orchids originated from, the plant was firmly established in the eastern Mediterranean by the Middle Ages. Regardless of its true botanical origins, medieval Arabs and Turks quickly adopted this culinary tradition. *Salep*, or *saloop* as it became known, made its grand entrance into north eastern Europe in the 1600's. Salep predates the arrival of tea and coffee in England, but only by a matter of some decades. People in Tudor and Elizabethan England quickly adapted the traditional recipe for *salep* by replacing the milk with water and changed the name to *saloop*.

Salep was sold in the streets by men whose job it was to carry brass and copper samovars on their backs. These *salep*-men would stop at open-air markets, and for a few pennies, shoppers could buy a saucerful of warming *salep* to ward off the cold of late winter. The late 16th Century essayist Charles Lamb makes reference to *salep* as a "delicacy beyond the China luxury". *Salep* was an inexpensive drink during the Tudor period. For the sum of three halfpence, a chimney sweep could buy himself breakfast consisting of a 'basin' of salep and for an additional halfpenny, a slice of bread and butter to accompany it.

Unfortunately (or fortunately) *salep* fell out of favour in Europe relatively quickly. I say 'fortunately' as *O. militaris* and *O. mascula* have become increasingly endangered due to the popularity of the drink, both under the Ottoman Empire and through to the current day. This, coupled with the fact that one needed 1,000 – 4,000 tubers to create one kilogram of the flour, *salep* is pretty much cost prohibitive for the everyday reenactor on the streets.

However, if you are in southern Australia, it might be possible to forage tubers from *Disa bracteata* (formerly *Monadenia bracteata*), an introduced species also known as the African Weed Orchid. The tubers from *D. bracteata* are processed in the same way as those of *O. militaris* and *O. mascula*. Bearing in mind one kilogram of the flour requires a huge number tubers, this is the process that you would need to follow in order to make the flour. Firstly the translucent grey tubers would be thoroughly cleaned of all soil and dirt. Once cleaned the tubers were then sliced into wafer thin rounds and spread out dry. Next, the dried slices were gently toasted and finally ground to a fine powder. This process is not dissimilar the

one used to 'cook' raw coffee and cocoa beans.

Thankfully, pre-made *salep* power can now be bought from continental and middle eastern importers, although it is often cut with rice, corn or potato flour. Having said that, it is possible to make a pretty decent interpretation of *salep* at home, without the need for the 4,000 tubers. Like all things culinary, the quality of homemade *salep* depends on the quality of the basic ingredients used to make it. I've included a much-loved reenactment recipe for "*salep*" which uses rice flour as the base. To me, salep made with rice flour produces a better result and I've been reliably informed that it tastes closer to the original. Don't be too concerned about the garnishes and flavourings as they're (like all things) open to personal preferences and interpretation. And before you ask, yes it's my recipe. (see box beside)

Other flavour combinations include saffron (added to the cooking milk) and cardamom (as roasted and ground cardamom seeds), orange blossom water in place of vanilla (which goes very nicely wcrushed dried rose petals; just perfect for Saint Valentine's Day.

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

NOTES

1. Shakespeare, W.. *Hamlet*, Act IV, Scene VII (Gertrude), in *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, Michael O'Mara Books, 1988
2. http://www.botanical.com/botanical/mgmh/o/orchid13.html
3. Lev, E & Amar, Z. *Practical Materia Medica of the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean According to the Cairo Genizah*, Chapter 7, p476, Leiden, Boston, 2008
4. botanical.com, *op cit*
5. botanical.com, *ibid*

Lady Rioghnach's Salep

(serves 3-4 people)

4 Cups full-fat milk (or almond milk if you happen to be dairy intolerant).
½ Cup (or less) of very fine rice flour.
1/3 Cup sugar.
2 whole vanilla pods cut lengthways and scraped.
1 – 2 tsp freshly roasted and ground cinnamon.
OPTIONAL ITEMS
Toasted and chopped almonds, pistachios
Deseeded and chopped raisins

Add the rice flour to ½ cup of milk and whisk to avoid any lumps.

Pour the remaining milk into a heavy bottom pot and add the sugar. Heat gently over a low heat and allow the sugar to dissolve.

Add the rice flour and milk mixture to the pot, stirring constantly.

Bring the mixture to a boil and allow to cook for 2 to 3 minutes. As the mixture thickens pretty quickly, it is a good idea to keep stirring it with a wooden spoon to prevent it from sticking to the bottom of the pot.

Remove the pot from the heat and add the split vanilla pods and seeds.

Divide the almonds, pistachios and raisins equally between the serving cups. Pour in the salep and top with the ground cinnamon. Do not stir.

Serve with spoons and allow guests to stir their own cups.

OCTOBER'S ON THIS

1 October 1553
Mary I was crowned Queen at Westminster Abbey by **Stephen Gardiner**, the Bishop of Winchester.

2 October 1501
Catherine of Aragon arrived in England, landing at Plymouth in Devon. She had come to England to marry **Prince Arthur**, the heir to the throne of England.

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

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

9 October 1514
The eighteen year-old **Mary Tudor**, sister of **Henry VIII**, married 52 year-old **King Louis XII** of France.

10 October 1588
Funeral of **Robert Dudley**, Earl of Leicester. He was buried in the Beauchamp Chapel of the Collegiate Church of St Mary, Warwick.

Robert Dudley

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

12 October 1537
Jane Seymour finally gave birth to the future King **Edward VI** after a long and tiring 30 hour labour.

17 October 1586
Poet, courtier and soldier, Sir **Philip Sidney**, died as a result of an injury inflicted by Spanish forces.

18 October 1555
Elizabeth Tudor, the future Elizabeth I, was given permission to leave court and travel to her own estate at Hatfield, rather than return to house arrest at Woodstock.

22 October 1554
Death of **John Veysey** (born John Harman), Bishop of Exeter, at Moor Hall, Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire.

23 October 1545
Death of Sir **Humphrey Wingfield**, lawyer, Speaker of the House of Commons, at Ipswich.

24 October 1537
Twelve days after giving birth to the future King **Edward VI**, **Jane Seymour**, died of suspected puerperal fever.

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

28 October 1571
Death of **William Parr**, Marquis of Northampton and brother of Queen **Catherine Parr** at **Thomas Fisher**'s house in Warwick.

29 October 1586
Four days after a commission had found **Mary, Queen of Scots** guilty, Parliament met to discuss Mary's fate.

30 Oct 1485
The founder of the Tudor dynasty, **Henry Tudor**, was crowned **King Henry VII** at Westminster Abbey.

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

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

5 October 1518
Formal betrothal of **Princess Mary**, daughter of **Henry VIII** and **Catherine of Aragon**, and the Dauphin of France.

6 October 1536
The traditional date given to the execution of reformer, scholar and Bible translator, **William Tyndale**.

7 October 1589
Death of **William Hawkins**, sea captain. In 1580, he led a successful expedition to the Caribbean.

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

13 October 1534
Alessandro Farnese became **Pope Paul III**.

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

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

16 October 1555
The burnings of two of the Oxford martyrs: **Hugh Latimer**, Bishop of Worcester, and **Nicholas Ridley**, Bishop of London took place on this day in 1555, in the reign of the Catholic **Mary I**.

Mary, Queen of Scots

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

20 October 1536
Thomas Maunsell, **Robert Aske** and the rebels of the *Pilgrimage of Grace* threatened an assault on Pontefract Castle.

21 October 1449
Birth of **George, Duke of Clarence**, son of Richard, Duke of York, and brother of **Edward IV**

25 October 1529
Sir **Thomas More** became **Henry VIII**'s Lord Chancellor.

26 October 1538
Geoffrey Pole, son of **Margaret Pole**, Countess of Salisbury, was interrogated in his prison at the Tower of London.

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

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