Tudor Life

The Tudor Society Magazine

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

Members Only
No 49
September 2018

THE DUDLEYS

Enjoy our
HUGE FOUR YEAR
ANNIVERSARY EDITION

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

There is still time to book and join other Tudor history lovers on an amazing trip-of-a-lifetime in 2019 - **NOW OPEN TO ALL**!

The Anne Boleyn Experience

Staying at Hever Castle is something that all Tudor fans would want to do, and this tour gives exclusive use of the Astor wing for the whole trip. With experts along with you for the experience, visting all the places that you'd associate with Anne, this really is a historical vacation you don't want to miss.

Spaces are likely to sell very quickly so do secure your place soon by going to https://www.britishhistorytours.com/history-tours/anne-boleyn-2019

Executed Queens

Focussing on the lives of the executed queens, Anne Boleyn, Mary, Queen of Scots, Lady Jane Grey and Catherine Howard, this trip is based in dual locations so that you can walk in the footsteps of these famous women. The expert talks and your daily guides will ensure you get the most from this fascinating topic.

This tour is selling quickly already so do book as soon as you can at

https://www.britishhistorytours.com/history-tours/executed-queens-2019

Visit https://britishhistorytours.com/history-tours/ to book NOW

Tudor Life

The Dudleys

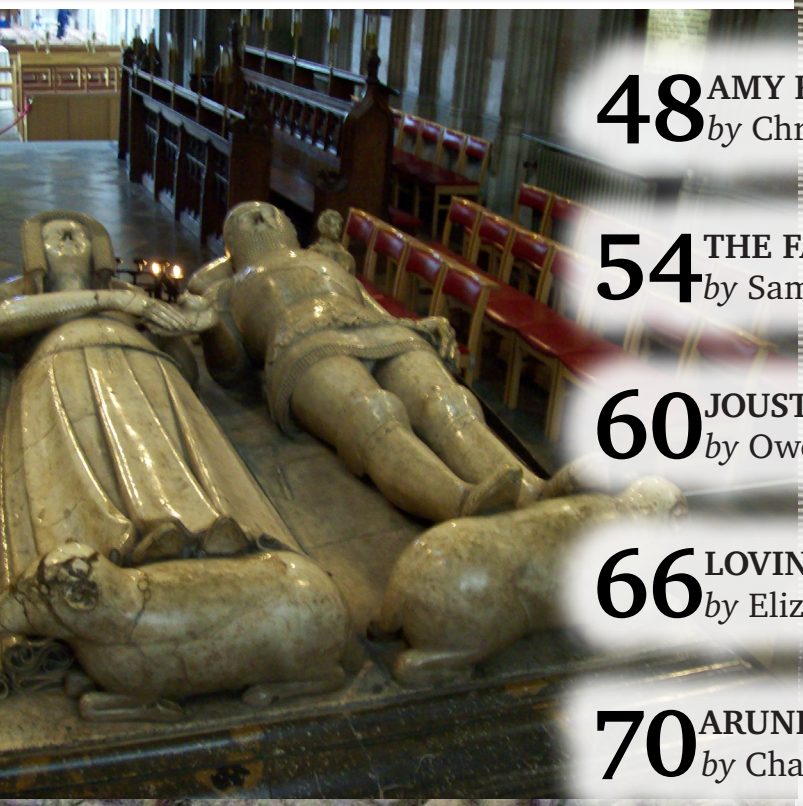
CONTINUING ON OUR series on the other dynasties of Tudor England, the Dudley family offer a fascinating mirror to the era. Unlike the Seymours, the Dudleys were not strictly a Tudor phenomenon. The family had an antique lineage as members of the gentry when they were first admitted to the peerage as barons by King Henry VI. The peaks and troughs of the Dudleys' sixteenth century rivals the dramatic tribulations of a Greek tragedy. One of our regular contributors Lauren Browne, an expert in Elizabeth of York, turns her eye on the court of Elizabeth's husband, Henry VII, and the favour he showed to Edmund Dudley. Within two generations, Edmund's grandson Robert was considered a potential consort in his own right to another royal Elizabeth - Gloriana, Elizabeth I. The Dudley story is a fascinating, torturous one which continues to excite interest.

GARETH RUSSELL
EDITOR

Image above and cover: The Dudleys - John Dudley, Duke of Nurthumberland and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Drawn by Dmity Yakhovsky. Copyright

Tudor Life

SEPTEMBER



Henry VI, the pious King who gave the Dudleys their first aristocratic title.

THE DUDLEYS AND THE ROYALS THEY SERVED

Historian **Gareth Russell** looks at the relationship the Dudley family had with the Tudor monarchy...

THE DUDLEYS WERE, like the Boleyns, the Howards, and the Seymours, vines woven around the Tudor throne or, depending on how hostile your interpretation, weeds. They had a solid lineage in the gentry before they first rose to national prominence under King Henry VI who made John Sutton, one of his favourite advisers, the 1st Baron Dudley. As a tribute to both his original surname and their new title, Lord Dudley's second son took the name of John Sutton Dudley and it was his son, Edmund Dudley, who flourished at the court of Henry VII, becoming one of his most trusted if notorious confidantes.

Today, Edmund Dudley is generally favourably praised for policies that helped financially stabilise the Crown after over a generation of extravagance, mismanagement, and chaos. At the time, however, he was loathed. Dudley was increasingly identified both in the palace and with the public as one of Henry VII's most rapacious henchmen. It is worth remembering that the first Tudor monarch's taxes were so unpopular that they actually provoked rioting in parts of the country like Yorkshire, with the Earl of Surrey sent to prove his loyalty to the new regime by crushing them.

Edmund Dudley was also a prominent defender of absolute monarchy, even writing a book in praise of absolutism called "The Tree of Commonwealth". This may be a clue to his mounting indifference to parliamentary procedure. Either way, it

did not save him when Henry VII died in April 1509 to be succeeded by his teenage son, Henry VIII, who, greedy for even more public applause, had both Dudley and his colleague, Sir Richard Empson, executed. It was the first legally dubious act of Henry's blood-soaked reign.

Edmund's son John managed to rebuild his family's courtly prestige, eventually rising to even greater heights of influence, and sinking to greater depths of unpopularity, than his father. An athletic and confident man, John served as Master of the Horse to two of Henry VIII's queens, Anne of Cleves and Catherine Howard, with his wife, Jane, serving as one of their ladies in waiting. However, politics and tangible power were John Dudley's main goals and he cleverly aligned himself with the reformist faction in the dying days of Henry VIII, perfectly positioning himself to support the coup that put them in charge once Edward VI became child-king of England and Ireland.

John Dudley certainly had a ruthless streak, something belied by his idyllically happy family life. The earldom of Warwick, awarded to him for his loyalty to the evangelical clique that came to dominate young King Edward's government, did not stop him turning on his one-time patron, the King's uncle and protector Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset. Dudley sided with Somerset's enemies when he fell from power and cunningly replaced him as the King's mentor. He rewarded himself with the dukedom of Northumberland.

However, as the teenage Edward's health began to fail, Northumberland panicked at the prospect of the throne passing to the King's elder, and devoutly Catholic, half-sister, Mary, who loathed Northumberland, having identified him as the chief cause of many of the policies she had detested most in recent years. He married one of his sons, Lord Guildford Dudley, to Edward and Mary's kinswoman, the precocious and fanatically Protestant Lady Jane Grey, who Edward intended to leave the throne, disinheriting his own sisters in the process.

Famously, Jane Dudley, as she was on the day she was proclaimed the first Queen regnant of England and Ireland, lasted about nine days, before Mary swept into London at the head of an army and cheering crowds. Northumberland was arrested and convicted of treason. Some saw his last-minute recantation of his Protestant faith as an attempt to secure a pardon from the new Queen. If so, it was a failed gamble. He was beheaded on 22nd August 1553. His son Guildford and daughter-in-law Jane met a similar fate six months later.

Mary I's death in 1558 brought reprieve to the Dudleys, most of whom had been imprisoned as a consequence of their father's disgrace. They were also lucky that their widowed mother, the Dowager Duchess of Northumberland, had set herself out to win the sympathetic friendship of Queen Mary's consort, King Philip II of Spain, which doubtless helped prevent the Dudleys suffering further. The succession of Mary's half-

Edmund Dudley (right) was eventually destroyed with his colleague, Richard Empson (left) for their unpopular advice to King Henry VII.

In 1540 and 1541, John Dudley was advancing his career while serving as Master of the Horse to Queen Catherine Howard.

sister as Queen Elizabeth I inaugurated an era of splendour, wealth, and influence for the Dudleys, particularly through her life-long friendship with Guildford's brother Robert Dudley, who Elizabeth eventually made Earl of Leicester.

Rumours of a love affair between Queen Elizabeth and the earl she nicknamed "Sweet Robin" abounded at the time and they continue to excite the imagination. The suspicious death of his wife, Amy, fuelled rumours that she had been murdered to pave the way for her husband to marry the Queen, although suicide was also suspected. Either way, Elizabeth was so aghast at the scandal that she attempted to permanently quash

The Dudley monarchy?: Queen Jane with her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley. (BBC)

rumours of a wedding with Robert. He remained one of her closest advisers to the end of her life, even though she was exasperated by his increasing support for Puritanism and enraged by his secret marriage to her cousin once removed, Lettice Knollys. After his death, she became close to his stepson, the Earl of Essex, though any suggestion of a romance between the Queen and Essex is almost certainly nonsense. The relationship seems to have had a more maternal tone. She was heartbroken but resolute when Essex rebelled against her and she was forced to order his execution. It was a fittingly painful, dramatic, contested, and tragic end of the Tudors' relationship with the Dudleys.

GARETH RUSSELL

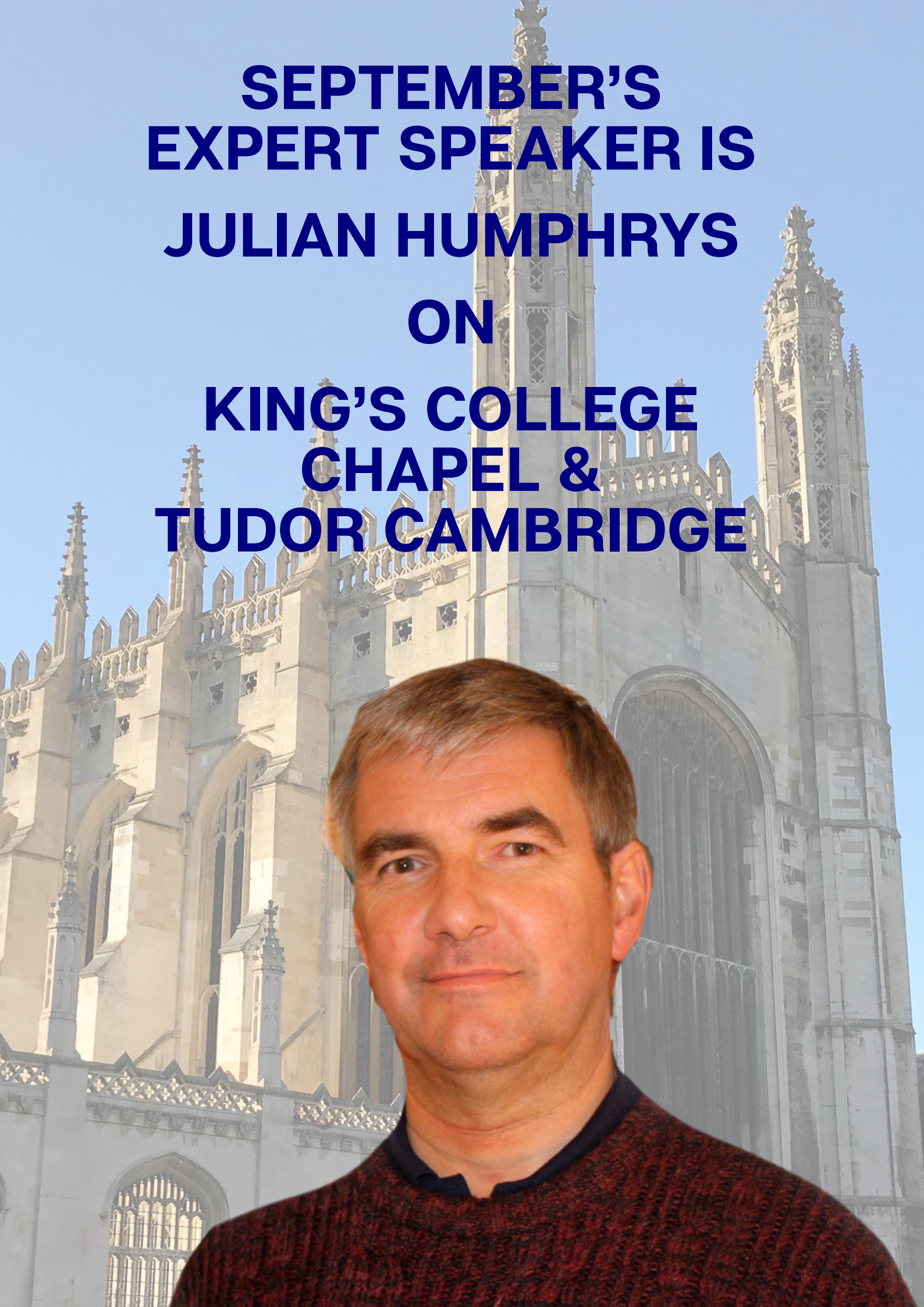
Robert Dudley's closeness to Elizabeth I was a source of gossip but, more importantly, of significant political influence. (BBC)

SEPTEMBER'S EXPERT SPEAKER IS

JULIAN HUMPHRYS

ON

KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL & TUDOR CAMBRIDGE



EDMUND DUDLEY: HENRY VII'S HENCHMAN?

BY LAUREN BROWNE

When we consider the Dudley family, a variety of familiar names and events spring to mind. The execution of John Dudley and his involvement, along with his son, in the installation of Jane Grey are perhaps the most infamous events in the Dudley family history. However, this was not the first time members of the family were perilously embroiled in the political manoeuvrings of the Tudor period. John's father, Edmund Dudley, also met his end at Tower Hill, after a successful political career under Henry VII. In this article, we will explore Edmund Dudley's career through the lens of Henry VII's court, as well as his trial and execution in the early reign of Henry VIII.

Edmund Dudley was the eldest son of the Sussex gentleman and Justice of the Peace John Dudley of Atherington and his wife Elizabeth, the daughter and co-heir of John Bramshott. Though Edmund's grandfather was John Sutton, 1st Baron Dudley, and his uncle William had been a bishop of Durham, 'his own father had been a younger son, meaning that for Edmund nobility, spiritual and temporal, had remained tantalizingly close but just out of reach.'[1]

Edmund was born around 1462, and we know that he began his studies at Oxford around 1474. However, four years later he was at Gray's Inn, one of the four Inns of Court which remain the only bodies legally allowed to call a barrister

1 Thomas Penn, *Winter King: The Dawn of Tudor England,* (London, 2012), p. 158

Henry VII, Edmund Dudley's patron and master. (BBC)

to Bar. It is not known when exactly Gray's Inn was established, as the records are lost until 1569, however it was certainly there from at least 1370, and is named after Baron Grey of Wilton. It appears he was very successful at Gray's Inn, and distinguished himself by speaking on matters which established king's rights. In 1495, the same year in which Henry VII started to seriously consider his prerogative rights, Dudley 'had displayed his aptitude in a series of forensically brilliant readings.'[2] According to Steven Gunn, this issue 'was to be a hallmark of his career.'[3]

From this, Dudley's career seemed to take off. In 1491-2, he was elected to Parliament, and represented Lewes, Sussex, and in 1495 he was elected again, this time as a knight of shire for Sussex. Throughout the course of 1494 to 1502 Edmund Dudley held numerous posts, including a position on the commission of the peace for the country, one of the two under-sheriffs of London, and the commission to investigate infringements upon the king's feudal rights and prerogatives in Sussex. Dudley's rise to prominence in this period was remarkable, and a testament to his networking and social skills. Despite the fact that he did not possess the 'wealth needed to maintain the dignity of such an office', the city managed to overlook the fact, as one chronicler put it, he was but a 'poor man'.[4] In October 1503, he was about to take the next step in his legal career through promotion to serjeant-at-law, the penultimate position held before judge. However, Dudley suddenly changed direction, essentially turning down the promotion.

Instead of holding the position of serjeant-at-law Dudley was instead earmarked, by Henry VII himself, as the Speaker of the Commons, a mark of great favour by the king. He acted in this position during the troubled session of January – April 1504, not only a watershed for Henry

The dead Prince Arthur featured as justification for a dubious Tudor tax hike. (Houses of Parliament)

2 *ibid.,* p. 158
3 S. J. Gunn, 'Dudley, Edmund, (c. 1462-1510),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* (accessed 18/07/18).
4 Thomas Penn, *Winter King: The Dawn of Tudor England,* p. 158

Henry VII showed himself increasingly willing to circumvent Parliament to get what he wanted and Edmund Dudley supported his king. (Wriothesley Garter Book/SchoolsOrg)

VII's reign, but also the last Parliament the king would ever call. It was during this Parliament that Henry revealed his plans for taxation, 'in a way that involved a sweeping extension of royal power into the lives of his subjects.'[5] And it soon became clear why Henry VII had chosen Edmund Dudley, a man with a history of speaking on the prerogative rights of the king, to be the speaker of the Commons.

According to Thomas Penn, the relationship between kings and taxation was complicated. Taxes, as they can often do today, provoked widespread resentment. Unlike modern society however, taxation was often generally only 'granted in and for exceptional circumstances: for the defence of the kingdom, or for war.'[6] The public's resentment of taxation, which historically had led to periods of unrest, was heightened if it was implemented during peacetime and reflected poorly on the king's financial prudence.

Henry VII already had a less than glowing history with taxation. From early in his reign he had implemented a new, invasive system of assessing individual wealth, and had levied a tax for a war (in 1495) which he never fought. Despite Henry having returned home with a substantial French pension gained through the Peace of Étaples, his commissioners had continued to collect money. This had led to the Cornish uprising in 1497 which had all but toppled his rule.

It was in this context, then, that 'Henry dusted off an ancient prerogative right called feudal aid.'[7] This was a sort of "goodwill" tax which was to be given to the king by his subjects to cover the expense of major royal events. Henry VII wanted to use it to cover the costs of Prince Arthur's knighting in 1489, and Margaret's marriage to James IV. It should be noted that Arthur's knighting had taken place fifteen years ago, and by this stage he was already dead! Henry VII was the first king to use feudal aid in a century, and when it had been levied in 1401 it was for the first time in living memory and met with widespread anger. The implementation of feudal aid was only part of Henry VII's plan, the other part was that he was essentially asking Parliament's permission to send out his agents to regather information needed to levy the tax - information which could be used in all manner of ways in the future. Unsurprisingly, Parliament was concerned. They said that the feudal aid 'should be to them doubtful, uncertain and great inquiteness.'[8] In the end, Parliament granted the king the tax, however they did provide a crucial caveat. It was to labelled a defence tax as opposed to a feudal aid, and it was to be gathered in the usual way - therefore preventing the king's financial agents from their new information-gathering. Henry went along with Parliament's demands, and when it drew to a close he announced that he would not call another one 'for a long tract of time', no doubt much to the relief of the commons.[9] However, they should have been wary of this announcement. For it revealed that Henry VII had realised that Parliament would not give into his system of extracting additional sums from his subjects, and so by announcing he would not call another Parliament 'for a long tract of time', he was essentially announcing that he would find a means to circumvent it.

In October Edmund Dudley 'began to receive a fee of £66 13s 4d. as a retained councillor of the king.'[10] According to Dudley, Henry VII wanted 'many persons in danger at his pleasure… bound to his grace or others in his vse for great sums of money.'[11] Essentially, Dudley was to 'sniff out every and any legal infraction,

5 *ibid.,* p. 160
6 *ibid.,* p. 160
7 *ibid.,* p. 161

8 Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, XVI, item II, see also Cavill, *The English Parliaments of Henry VII,* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 210-11
9 Thomas Penn, *Winter King: The Dawn of Tudor England,* p. 163
10 S. J. Gunn, 'Dudley, Edmund, (c. 1462-1510),' (accessed 18/07/18).
11 C. J. Harrison, 'The Petition of Edmund Dudley,' *The English Historical Review,* lxxxvii, cccxxlii, pp. 86- 87

any opportunity for applying the law "to the king's advantage.""[12] As punishment for such infractions Dudley was then to enforce 'a simple and absolute bonde payable at a certayne day, for his grace would haue them soe made.'[13] Therefore, Henry had made Edmund his financial enforcer, he would operate on his own and report to the king directly. We can see here that Henry VII was skirting around Parliament in order to raise sums of money for his revenues. And using Dudley to do the dirty work for him.

Dudley was given access to 'assorted books, parchment rolls and bundles of indentures detailing old debts and fines, bonds taken over years, decades, long-forgotten and never chased up'.[14] Dudley often worked alongside the king, who signed every page of his account book, and proved to be an invaluable yes-man. Unlike Henry VII's other advisors, Dudley had been catapulted to this position from relative obscurity, and he was not about to jeopardise his newfound prominence by advising the king or telling him which lines he would be wise not to cross. This is not to say that he did not work his position to his own advantage. Edmund Dudley worked zealously to pursue the king's interests, and in doing so his own.

The way in which Dudley worked typified the other aspects of Henry VII's councils, the way in which they functioned was entirely legal, but it was not customary or indeed normal. Henry exploited legal technicalities, suspended due process and implemented all manner of financial penalties to line his coffers. This system depended solely on the king's control, and thus it became unpredictable, punitive, unchallengeable, and deeply unsettling.

Over the next two years, Edmund Dudley pleased Henry VII so much that by July 1506 he had rose to president of the king's council, and was the first layman to hold this position. Steven Gunn describes this position as one 'of central importance in the council's growing judicial function rather than one of wider political pre-eminence. He does not seem, for example, to have taken much part in dealings with foreign ambassadors. None the less, his rise to power had been real and rapid.'[15] Edmund Dudley's meteoric rise can be mapped alongside Henry VII's campaign of 'extraordinary justice'. In the same year Dudley became president of the king's council, Robert Fabyan, author of the Great Chronicle of London, 'much sorrow' spread 'throughout the land'.[16] He tells us that many 'unlawful and forgotten laws', many of them from the earlier medieval period, were used to the 'great inquiteness' of the people of England.[17] He states that this had been going on for some time, but 'since Epson and Dudley were set in authority', the situation had deteriorated exponentially.[18] Henry VII's implementation of the law was boundless, it relied on informers and was meted out to all members of society. Informers were often bribed, or had turned informer in order to mitigate their own financial penalties.

By 1506 Dudley and Henry VII had established an intimate relationship, and he had become the king's 'go-to man for legal and financial matters… of all Henry's counsellors, Dudley understood his system best- he even talked of knowing the king's inward mind on the subject.'[19] His fortunes were tied closely with the crown's and through his campaign of meting out Henry VII's 'extraordinary justice' his status and power grew. For example, when Roger Lewknor, a Sussex gentleman, was imprisoned on a charge of murder, Dudley *sold* him a pardon

12 Thomas Penn, *Winter King: The Dawn of Tudor England,* p. 167

13 C. J. Harrison, 'The Petition of Edmund Dudley,' p. 87

14 Thomas Penn, *Winter King: The Dawn of Tudor England,* p. 167

15 S. J. Gunn, 'Dudley, Edmund, (c. 1462-1510),' (accessed 18/07/18).

16 Robert Fabyan, *The Great Chronicle of London,* eds. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley, (London, 1938) p. 332-3

17 *Ibid.,* pp.332-3

18 *Ibid.,* pp. 322-3

19 Thomas Penn, *Winter King: The Dawn of Tudor England,* p. 262

in change for the deeds to Lewknor's estates. According to Steven Gunn, by 1509 Edmund Dudley 'had built up a landed estate in sixteen counties, worth some £550 a year gross, plus £5,000 or more in goods.'[20] His power over the booming city of London grew as exponentially as his wealth. Using his experiences as under-sheriff, Dudley exercised great financial and political control over the city, and knew exactly which pressure points to push in order to bring Henry VII's will to fruition.

Dudley went as far as meddling in the city's municipal elections on the king's behalf. In 1506 the king's preferred candidate for sheriff, William Fitzwilliam, lost the election. So Dudley simply walked into Guildhall, annulled the results and called a new election- which Fitzwilliam subsequently won. Of course, the king was rewarded for Fitzwilliam's successful election, and the new sheriff payed him £100 for the king's 'gracious favour for being sheriff.' Fayban noted Dudley's immense control in London, stating that it made no difference who the people of London voted for because 'whoo soo evyr hadd the sword born beffore hym, Dudley was mayer, and what his pleasure was, was doon'.[21]

With Edmund Dudley's meteoric rise came just as an impressive fall. He had enemies everywhere, in the aristocracy who were forced to give up lands and money to him, in Londoners who had had their electoral rights essentially stripped by him as well heavy customs tariffs (among others) enforced, and in the clergy who were certainly not exempt from his enforcements of fines, licences and confirmations of privileges- all of which came at a hefty price. Indeed, preachers castigated him at St Paul's Cross and elsewhere. It surely comes as no surprise then that when his protector, Henry VII, died in 1509 Edmund Dudley was in a precarious position.

Funding Princess Margaret's marriage to the King of Scots was a cause for another of Edmund Dudley's tax inspections.

Tensions in London had been mounting as it became clear that the king was ailing. Dudley and, another of Henry VII's right hand men who would meet his end on the scaffold, Epsom had noticed unusual activity around their respective London residences and began to assemble armed retinues. Although they may have justified these actions as them acting in the regime's security, they were also positioning themselves for a potential struggle over the influence of the seventeen-year-old prince Henry.

Henry VII died on 21st April, however it was not announced until the evening of the 23rd. During the political manoeuvrings over the course of these few days and after Dudley and Epsom's fates were decided by the chief executors of Henry VII's will, as well as some of his veteran councillors. 'In the sun of Henry VII's favour they had risen far and fast, but now he was dead – and they were intimately associated with the repressive activities of his regime… Epsom and Dudley had to go.'[22] The old king's two most trusted advisors would be offered up as scapegoats in order to shore up support for the 'prince called king' and to indicate that the new regime would not be like the old.

20 S. J. Gunn, 'Dudley, Edmund, (c. 1462-1510),' (accessed 18/07/18).

21 Robert Fabyan, *The Great Chronicle of London,* p. 348

22 Thomas Penn, *Winter King: The Dawn of Tudor England,* p. 346

On 24th April as the sun rose upon London, Dudley and Epsom's houses were surrounded by armed guards and they were quickly arrested and taken to the tower. It was only later that morning that Henry VII's death was announced to the city and the succession proclaimed. In the first piece of legislation passed by Henry VIII he proclaimed a general pardon, that justice would prevail, that he himself would be as accountable to the law as his subjects, that everyone could now work and trade 'freely, quietly and peaceably', with no fear of 'untrue informations'.[23] There was to be no settling of scores, no secret informers and Henry VIII would provide 'reformation of the rigour wherewith they [his subjects] have been vexed.' Along with copies of this proclamation, rhymes, tales and other print works detailing the crimes of Dudley and Epsom in lewd terms were copied, scrawled and otherwise passed around the city. The floodgates which held back the ill-will and resentment toward the old regime were well and truly opened, and swept Dudley's fortunes away with them.

In July Dudley was brought before a panel of judges in the same Guildhall where he had once overturned a municipal election. This time, the dynamic of power had dramatically jolted away from him, and his trial began in earnest. Any financial or legal offences committed under Henry VII were not mentioned at all, and instead circumstantial pieces of evidence were banded together to form a very tentative charge of treason. While Henry VII had lain on his deathbed, Dudley and Epsom had conspired 'with a great force of men and armed power' to manipulate the succession to their own advantage – according to the charge sheets at least. Indeed, the private retinues of armed men the royal favourites had gathered together in order to protect themselves from rising tension in the city, became their very downfall. They were accused of plotting to take control of the young king, of conspiring to strip him of his rights and liberty and to rule through him. Although he pleaded not guilty and attempted to explain away his actions, it was no use, and Dudley was sentenced to the traitor's death of hanging, drawing and quartering, and then taken back to the Tower to await his death.

It was during his time in the Tower that Dudley penned his petition and went through all of the account books to draw up a list of victims of the old regime. He continually asserted his innocence of the charges and stated that his actions during the reign of Henry VII were a result of simply following orders. Although, from his writings, it appears he was still holding out for a pardon, he recognised he was 'a dead man by the king's laws.' He also composed *The Tree of Commonwealth* during this period, a treatise of advice on government, a gesture toward Henry VIII and his councillors who had condemned him.

Both Edmund Dudley and Richard Epsom met their ends in the summer of 1510. The story goes that Henry VIII had met some disgruntled locals whilst on procession through Surrey, and they told him of their grievances under Dudley and Epsom. Whether this was simply a cover story to hide the mounting pressure placed upon Henry VIII by city politicians is beyond conjecture, however the end result was the same. A warrant was sent to the earl of Oxford, constable of the Tower, that both men should be executed immediately. On 18th August 1510, amongst jeering crowds, Dudley and Epsom were beheaded upon the scaffold at Tower Hill, and their meteoric rise to power was thus ended with downward swing of the axe.

LAUREN BROWNE

23 Robert Fabyan, *The Great Chronicle of London,* p. 365

'LADY JANE' - THE FILM

BY ROLAND HUI

Cary Elwes as Guilford Dudley and Helena Bonham Carter as Jane Grey

Apart from historians and Tudor enthusiasts, the life of Lady Jane Grey (1536/7-1554) is not one that is familiar to the public at large. Nonetheless, she was the subject of three cinematic treatments of her life.[1] The first was a silent picture made in 1923, *Lady Jane Grey* (also called *The Court of Intrigue*).[2] This was followed by *Nine Days A Queen* (also known as *Tudor Rose*) released in 1936. While both films are virtually forgotten today, the latter was well received at the time, and it was lauded for the performance of its lead actress Nova Pilbeam. Subsequently, other than brief appearances in film and television adaptations of Mark Twain's *The Prince and the Pauper*, and in the BBC series *Elizabeth R* (about the far more famous Queen Elizabeth I), Jane Grey was absent from the screen. It was not until 1986 that attention was given to her again in the form of the movie *Lady Jane*.

Helena Bonham Carter as Jane Grey

The film, made by Paramount Pictures, was put together by Trevor Nunn, the Artistic Director of The Royal Shakespeare Company. In assembling his cast, Nunn recruited members from the prestigious ensemble including Patrick Stewart and Sara Kestelman as Jane's parents the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, Jane Lapotaire as Mary Tudor, and John Wood as the Duke of Northumberland. As the historical Jane was only 16 at the time of her death, a young actress was needed for the principal role. A newcomer Helena Bonham Carter, 20 years old at the time, was cast. As her husband Guilford Dudley, actor Cary Elwes was given the part.

The film is broadly accurate in depicting the life of Lady Jane Grey, a descendant of Henry VII, who is unexpectedly made Queen of England upon the death of her cousin King Edward VI. Jane's reign is short - a mere nine days - before she is dethroned by the rightful claimant, the King's half-sister Mary Tudor. Although promised clemency at first, Jane is later executed when she remains too great a threat to Queen Mary's authority.

As the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I were troubled by religious tension - the New versus the Old Faith - *Lady Jane* as a film, interestingly enough, did not shy away from this contentious subject. Because of the sensitivity of spiritual issues, they are seldom given much attention in historical pictures. Take *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) for example. It was far more interested in depicting the love life of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn than in addressing the English Reformation. But in *Lady Jane*, the controversies over faith are brought front and center, even as the picture begins. When Doctor Feckenham, a cleric in the service of Princess Mary, arrives at the Grey's home to present letters to the visiting King Edward, a servant reviles him as a papist. The deep divide over which faith - Catholic or Protestant - is the right one is then argued by Feckenham and the Lady Jane whom he comes upon in the empty house. Unlike her parents who are out hunting, Jane, a teenage bluestocking, prefers to cuddle up indoors with a volume of Plato - in Greek no less. She is reading a passage describing the death of Socrates: 'The soul takes flight to the world that is invisible, but there arriving she is sure of bliss and forever dwells in Paradise'. When Feckenham asks Jane for what would *she* die for, she answers to free all people from 'the chains of bigotry and superstition'. Brought up in the Reformed Faith, Jane means the Catholic religion. Intrigued rather than appalled, Feckenham then debates the divisive nature of the Eucharist with the young woman. She utterly denies the doctrine of transubstantiation (that the bread and wine truly becomes the body and blood of Christ at the Mass), and she mockingly chews on a piece of bread while addressing the old priest with a contemptuous *'Father'*. Luckily for Jane, she and her co-religionists live under a Protestant regime and could get away with saying such things. Feckenham, who cannot help but admire the precocious though opinionated girl for her candour, agrees to disagree with her.

Sara Kestelman and Patrick Stewart as Jane's parents, the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk.

Jane's devotion to her religion is referred to in another scene. Upon a visit to her cousin Mary, she sees the Princess' serving woman genuflect before a monstrance bearing the consecrated Host. Jane scoffs and attempts to goad the lady into a religious debate until they are interrupted by Mary herself. The Princess, a middle-aged conservative, makes a great show of curtsying to the Eucharist as well. As a further warning to Jane and her folly of youth, she advises her to 'take care, *little* cousin Jane'.

Both scenes (more or less taken from actual historical sources) demonstrate Jane's strength of character. She is highly intelligent and extremely pious. But she is also highly intolerant. She is disdainful of Feckenham because of his beliefs, as she is of Princess Mary's servant. Jane's tendency towards wilfulness is recognized by her parents leading to tension in the family. They are evidently not close. Jane becomes anxious and withdrawn when in their presence. It is clear why. The Duke of Suffolk is a bully. In front of his guests, Henry Grey humiliates Jane by scolding her that she would do better to learn how to please her future husband than to devote herself to books. Her mother Frances is equally unsympathetic. She resents Jane, viewing her as a disappointment; another child of hers, a cherished boy, had died in infancy leaving Jane as the family heiress. The Duchess is vocal in her frustrations and she does not hesitate to brutally beat her daughter when she proves defiant.

As strong willed and feisty as Jane can be, there are moments in the film when she is unsure of herself. Jane's afterlife as a martyr for her faith often neglects her as the young girl she also was. In a scene where the mortally ill King Edward suddenly collapses in front of her, Jane is given a fright. "What do I do? What do I do?" she mutters over and over. Her alarm foreshadows her reaction upon the execution scaffold much later.[3] As calm and prepared as she is to die, Jane again is thrown into a panic when after being blindfolded, she cannot find the block. "What do I do?" she cries out until a compassionate Feckenham gently guides her foreword, relieving her agony.

While Jane Grey is presented as a Protestant heroine in the movie, she is a romantic one as well. This was undoubtedly because of box office considerations; a love story was necessary to attract

ticket buyers. That said, *Lady Jane* was as much about Jane's love affair with her husband Guilford Dudley, as it was about her life as a young lady of great piety. But historically, the couple was not known to have been close. Their marriage was an arrangement, and the pair actually spent little time together after their nuptials. When they were thrown into each other's company upon Jane's accession as Queen, they famously quarrelled. Guilford insisted on being made King, and his wife absolutely refused. Later, just before their executions, Jane even denied her husband's request for a last meeting. It would upset her composure in preparing for her death, she said. When she did see Guilford, it was only when his corpse was brought back in a cart passing beneath her window. A mournful cry of pity, rather than love, was Jane's only tribute to him.

However, in the alternate universe of movie moviemaking, Jane and Guilford were passionately in love with one another. The tagline for the film's advertising even proclaimed: 'Forced to marry. Forced to rule. Their story became a legend'. Although Jane and Guilford do not take to each other at first - she thinks he is an immature drunk, and he imagines she is a bookish prig - they later bond over the injustices done to the poor. Much suspension of disbelief is necessary to accept that Guilford, so given to drinking and whoring, has a social conscience as

the film wants its audience to believe. Evidently, life as the son of the rich and powerful Duke of Northumberland has its drawbacks, and Guilford was rebelling through his bad boy behaviour! Still, in his concern for the disadvantaged, he finds a soul mate in his new bride. She too is dismayed by society's wrongs, though there is no evidence of the historical Jane Grey ever harbouring such feelings. To the young couple, the Church is corrupt, the poor are abused, and a shilling - much debased - is worthless. When Jane becomes Queen, she pardons all prisoners and gives away the royal treasures. She even has a new shilling minted with its true value intact. Jane Grey and Guilford Dudley as England's first socialists was a great stretch of the imagination, but filmmaker Trevor Nunn was not interested in making 'a historically accurate depiction of Lady Jane', it was reported. According to the movie's historical consultant Frank Prochaska, Nunn and screenwriter David Edgar intentionally wanted '1960s socialism writ 1550s'. Thus, there was a deliberate agenda to turn 'Lady Jane into a proto-socialist feminist, a strange amalgam of Robin Hood and Beatrice Webb.'[4] With Jane and Guilford rebelling against oppression by the elite, Nunn and Edgar were vicariously having their say against Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan.[5]

Upon its release, *Lady Jane* was met with mostly negative reviews. While the production design of the film was commended, as was the performance of Helena Bonham Carter, there was much criticism of its romantic arc. One reviewer called it 'a simpering love story', while another dismissed it as a 'silly love story of Old England.'[6] While most critics were probably unaware of the historical nature of Jane and Guilford's relationship - they were hardly lovers - their complaint was not with its inaccuracy, but rather with it being over sentimentalized. Scenes such as the happy couple romping through the countryside accompanied by a blaring musical score, Guilford kissing Jane's toes with relish, and the two pledging their undying love to one another while in the nude, came across as excessive, befitting a romance novel. Even at the end of the movie, it is Guilford, not God, who is on Jane's mind. As the axe falls upon her neck, her last utterance is the name of her beloved.[7]

Due to poor reviews and the indifference of audiences to Tudor themed pictures at the time, the movie was not a money maker for Paramount Pictures. It would take more than a decade with the release of Shekhar Kapur's acclaimed *Elizabeth* (1998) for the genre - which had its heyday from the mid 1960s to the early 1970s - to catch on with moviegoers once again.

ROLAND HUI

NOTES

1 There is actually also a short film entitled *Forgotten Martyr: Lady Jane Grey* (2012) released on DVD, aimed for an evangelical Christian audience.

2 Sue Parrill and William B. Robison, *The Tudors on Film and Television*, London: McFarland & Company, 2013, pp. 132-133.

3 The frequent use of foreshadowing as a storytelling device is evident in the film. Jane's reading from Plato about the immortality of the soul is repeated by Feckenham after her death in reference to Jane herself. In another scene, Edward VI presents Jane with a gift of a marionette. This suggests her future as a puppet queen.

4 'Lady Jane Grey in Film' by Carole Levin in *Tudors and Stuarts on Film - Historical Perspectives* (edited by Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman), New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 82.

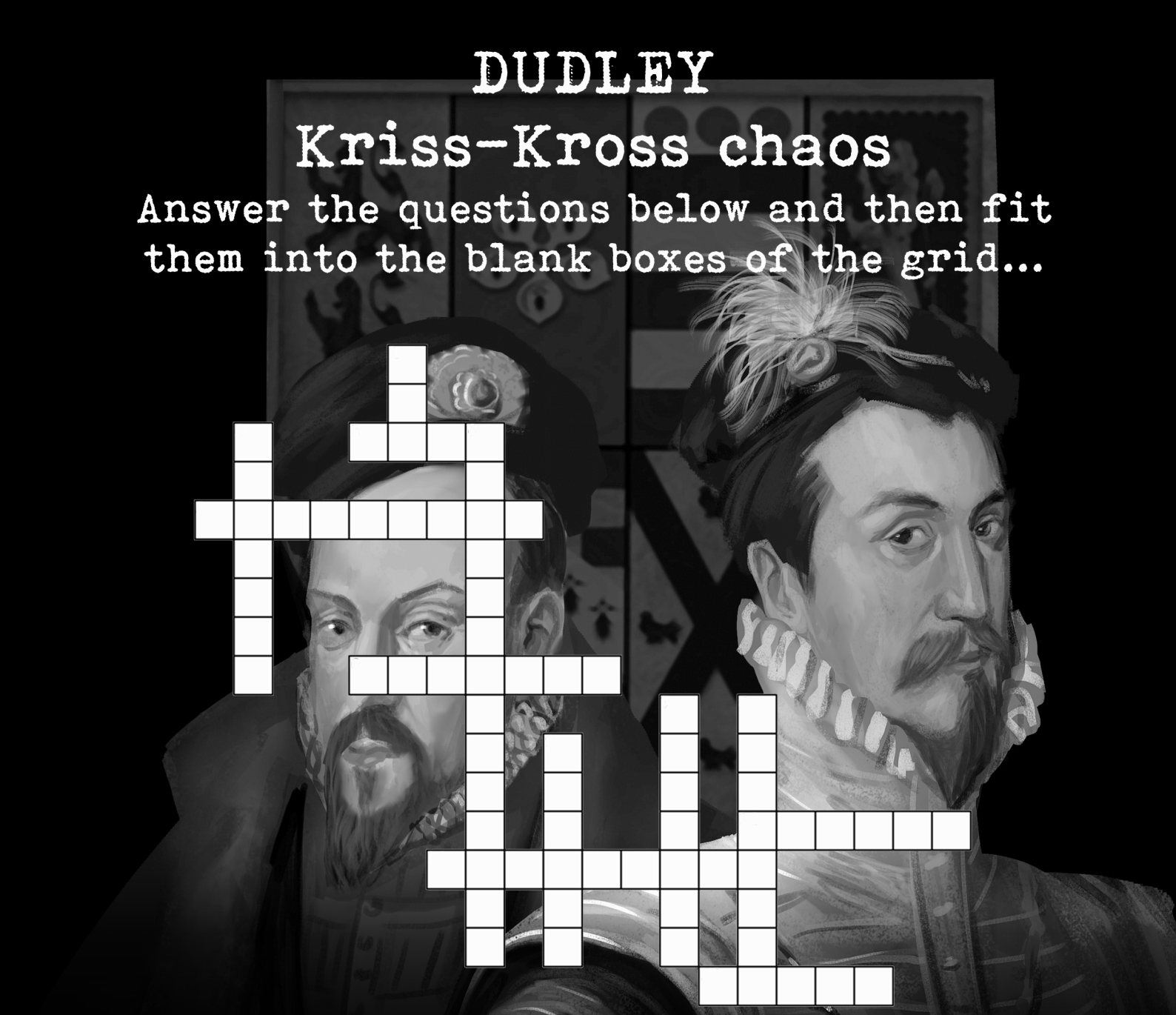
5 'Lady Jane Grey in Film' by Carole Levin, pp. 86-87.

6 'Lady Jane: Grey matter neglected in a simpering makeover' by Alex von Tunzelmann, *The Guardian*: https://www.theguardian.com/film/2010/aug/26/reel-history-lady-jane-grey (accessed July 2018), and 'A silly love story of Olde England' by Bruce Bailey, *The Montreal Gazette*, February, 1986.

7. The original movie script had Jane entirely at prayer upon the scaffold as historical sources state. See: *Lady Jane* (a novel by A.C.H. Smith from the screenplay by David Edgar), New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985, p. 184. Evidently, during the actual filming of *Lady Jane*, Jane's romance with Guilford Dudley was given greater prominence.

DUDLEY
Kriss-Kross chaos

Answer the questions below and then fit them into the blank boxes of the grid...

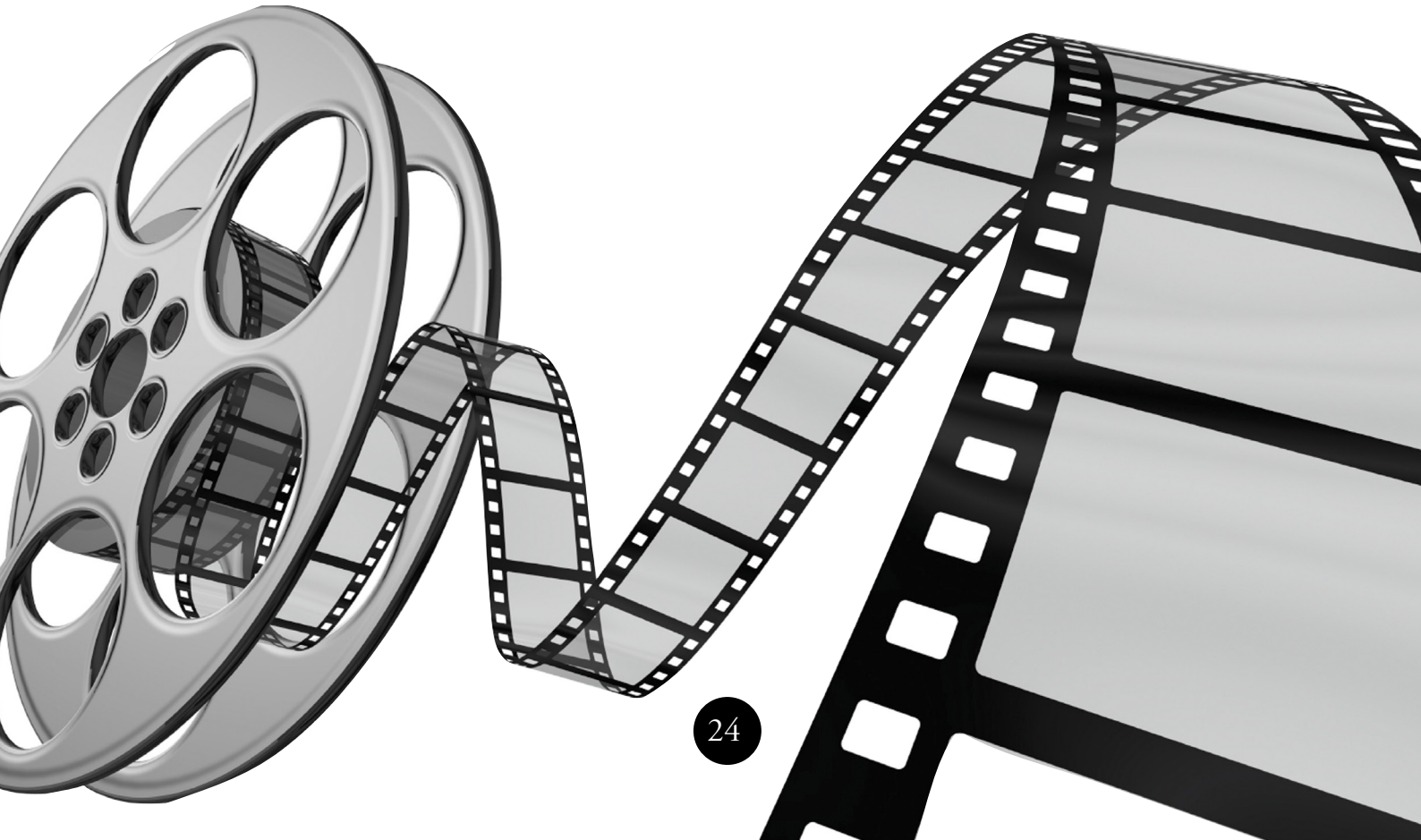


1. The Duke of which county was heavily influential over Edward VI during his reign
2. Name of the Duke's son, married to Jane Grey, said to have been given to him as his mother's favourite, as it was her maiden name
3. On the 21st of which month in 1553 did Jane Grey marry this eldest Dudley son?
4. On the same day as Jane and Dudley's wedding, the Duke also gave his daughter of what name to Henry Hastings, heir of the Earl of Huntingdon
5. Which house was the home of the Dudleys before and during Jane's reign?
6. Property owned by the Dudleys that Jane was summoned to and told that she was queen
7. On which date in July (written in letters, not numbers), did Jane and her husband travel by barge to the Tower of London for Jane to take possession of it?
8. First name of Jane's Dudley brother-in-law, sent by his father with 300+ horsemen to try and capture Mary Tudor after Jane had been proclaimed queen
9. Title given to her husband by Jane when she refused to make him king: Duke of _____.
10. Which Earl was sent by Mary, upon her proclamation as queen, to apprehend John Dudley, as the troops he had assembled to fight Mary's army deserted him?
11. Despite his failed efforts to take Mary down, John Dudley proclaimed her queen. However he planned to flee with his son John, Earl of ____?
12. Mary believed Jane's marriage to Dudley was never legal, as she had been previously contracted to which Edward, the son of the late Lord Protector?

Answers on page 65

THE ONE THAT GOT AWAY: QUEEN ELIZABETH I AND ROBERT DUDLEY

By Emma Elizabeth Taylor



Elizabeth I, the last of the Tudor monarchs, is without a doubt one of the most famous royals in world history. Known interchangeably as 'Good Queen Bess', 'Gloriana' and famously, 'The Virgin Queen', Elizabeth was then one of the longest ruling monarchs in English history, reigning for 45 long years. She never married, insisting that she was married to her subjects and to her kingdom, and refused countless suitors, never relinquishing her sovereignty or political power to a husband. However, that is not to say that Elizabeth cut herself off from human emotions and desire. For many years, one man held precedence in Elizabeth's affections above all others; Robert Dudley, the 1st Earl of Leicester. A long-time friend, Robert was loyal to Elizabeth above all others, and rumours swirled for years around the nature of their relationship, be it platonic or sexual. There were even rumours that the Queen bore Robert children in secret; gossip, to be sure, but gossip that, at the time, could have been hugely detrimental to Elizabeth's fledgling rule. The relationship between Elizabeth and Robert, with its many highs and lows, is fictionalised in the 1998 film *Elizabeth,* starring Cate Blanchett and Joseph Fiennes. *Elizabeth* was a critical success, earning Cate Blanchett a BAFTA for her portrayal of the young Queen Elizabeth, and was nominated for the coveted 'Best Picture' Academy Award.

Cate Blanchett was widely praised for her performance as the young Elizabeth I. (Channel 4)

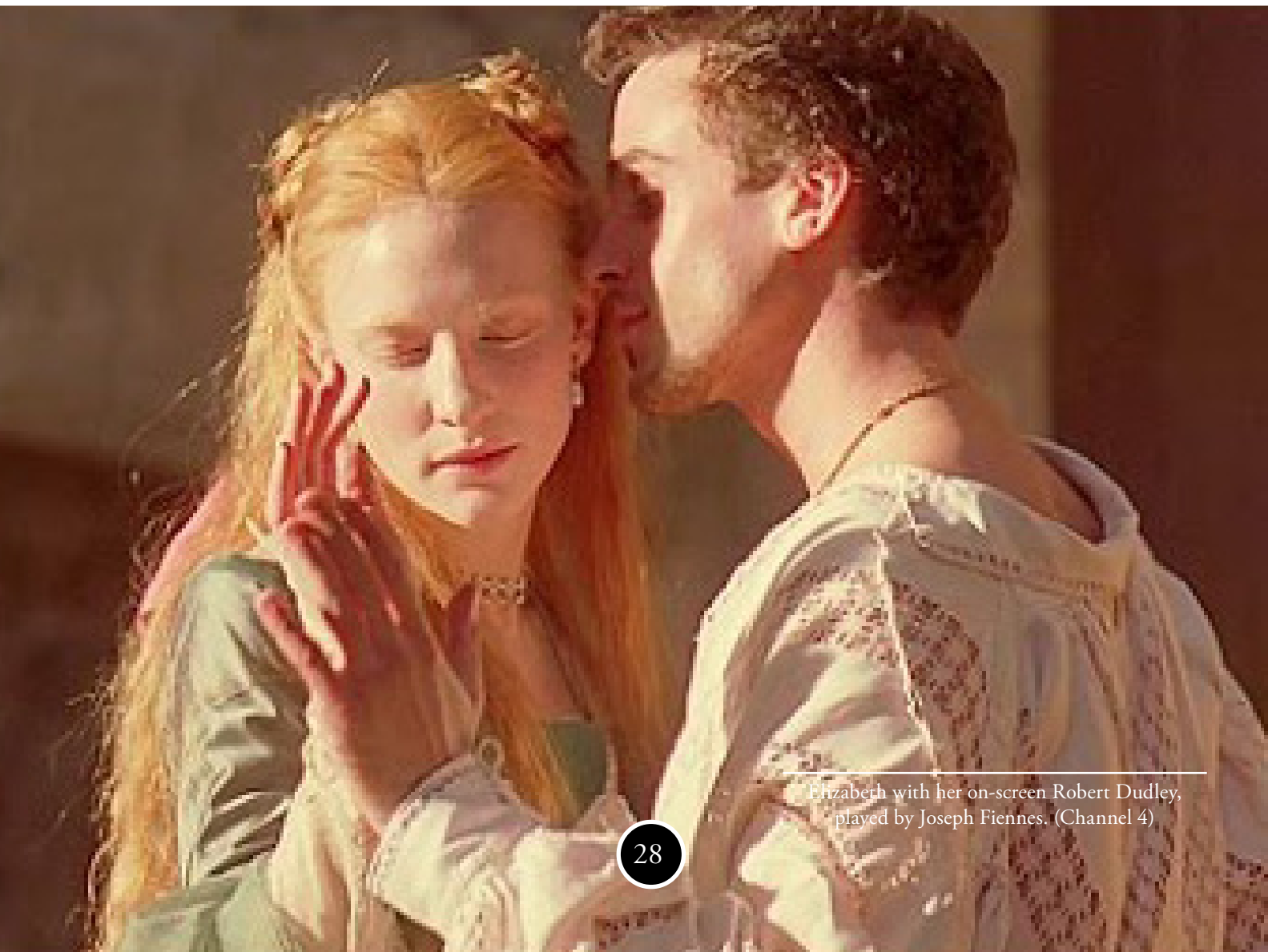
However, as is the case with many fictionalised versions of history, the film tends to take liberties with timelines and historical accuracy, taking events from throughout Elizabeth's reign and placing them within the frame of the first few years of her rule. Historical figures, such as the Duke of Norfolk and Francis Walsingham, are changed almost to the point of non-recognition. However, when considering a two-hour adaption of Elizabeth's early reign, certain elements and characters may need to be changed to provide the audience with clear heroes and villains, as well as a clear narrative arc. *Elizabeth* is more accurate to the period in terms of costume and production design, with lavish sets and beautiful costumes befitting a monarch to whom visual splendour was so important. Many of the costumes in the film are direct reconstructions of Elizabeth's actual gowns, including the cloth-of-gold coronation dress portrayed in the 1559 Coronation Portrait. The men of the film, including Dudley, are dressed in stylised versions of Elizabethan menswear, including the male trunk hose; a much shorter version of the hose worn in previous eras. It has been argued that in a court ruled by Elizabeth, a notably flirtatious Queen, male courtiers became more daringly dressed; peacocks vying for the attention of the female ruler. This, of course, is just a theory, but we do see Robert Dudley wearing some aspects of this stylized, flamboyant style.

Robert Dudley, as a character in *Elizabeth,* is something of an enigma. While it seems like he genuinely loves Elizabeth and cares for her, we also see that he is something of a rouge; he lies about

being married and continues to have affairs with Elizabeth's ladies-in-waiting while courting Elizabeth. Elizabeth attended the wedding of Robert and his first wife, Amy; their marriage was no secret to Elizabeth. However, in the context of this story, Robert's function as a character is Elizabeth's temptation; the dream that she can have love and keep her crown, that policy need not dictate who she can and can't marry. Robert is, visually, temptation personified, played by a young, handsome, Joseph Fiennes. He is dashing, well-dressed and broodingly intense, common features of a male love interest. The film does tend to rely on the physicality of the actors to portray the romance, as we are introduced to Elizabeth and Robert as established love interests, and the audience are to infer that these two people are attracted to each other by the sensual way in which their early scenes together are framed. Their scenes rely on physical, sexual tension, rather than conversation, giving their romance a dream-like, sensual quality. Close-up shots of body parts emphasise this physicality and closeness, with shots of hands brushing waists, foreheads touching and hands touching faces. These shots highlight the physicality of their relationship, making the sexual tension almost palpable for the viewer. This helps the viewer understand the magnitude of the decision that Elizabeth must make, to give up love for her country, and makes her final transformation into the Virgin Queen a bittersweet moment for the audience. We see the consummation of their relationship quite early in the context of the film, the scene taking place within the

first act. A sexual relationship between Dudley and the Queen has never been proven; but this consummation gives an emotional weight to their relationship later in the film and makes Dudley's eventual decision to betray Elizabeth that bit more devasting for the audience.

Throughout Robert and Elizabeth's relationship, costume is used to great effect to highlight the physicality and sexual attraction evident in their relationship. Colour is paid attention to, which is important when considering Elizabeth's relationship to colour and the semiotics of dress, which she understood innately. In the Elizabethan court, colours held particular significance; red representing blood and power, yellow representing fruitfulness and the sun and green denoting youth and hope. When we are first introduced to Elizabeth, she is wearing a pale green gown, indicative of her unique place as the future hope of England. This dress, is, however, accompanied by a striking red sash, accented with a plume of fabric at her right shoulder. This sash singles Elizabeth out amongst the young women, but also provides us with a message; red is the colour of passion and power, which we see played out with Robert. He arrives on horseback, wearing a billowing white shirt, unbuttoned halfway down his muscular chest. This would have been wholly inappropriate in the context of the period; but it immediately singles out young, handsome Robert as a potential romantic interest for the



Elizabeth with her on-screen Robert Dudley, played by Joseph Fiennes. (Channel 4)

young Queen. Indeed, throughout the film, Robert and Elizabeth's costumes often compliment each other's in fit and colour, presenting Elizabeth and Robert as two halves of a whole; the perfect pair. Elizabeth's other suitors, particularly the Duke of Anjou, are given garish and outlandish costumes by comparison, presenting a jarring visual when placed beside Elizabeth in-shot.

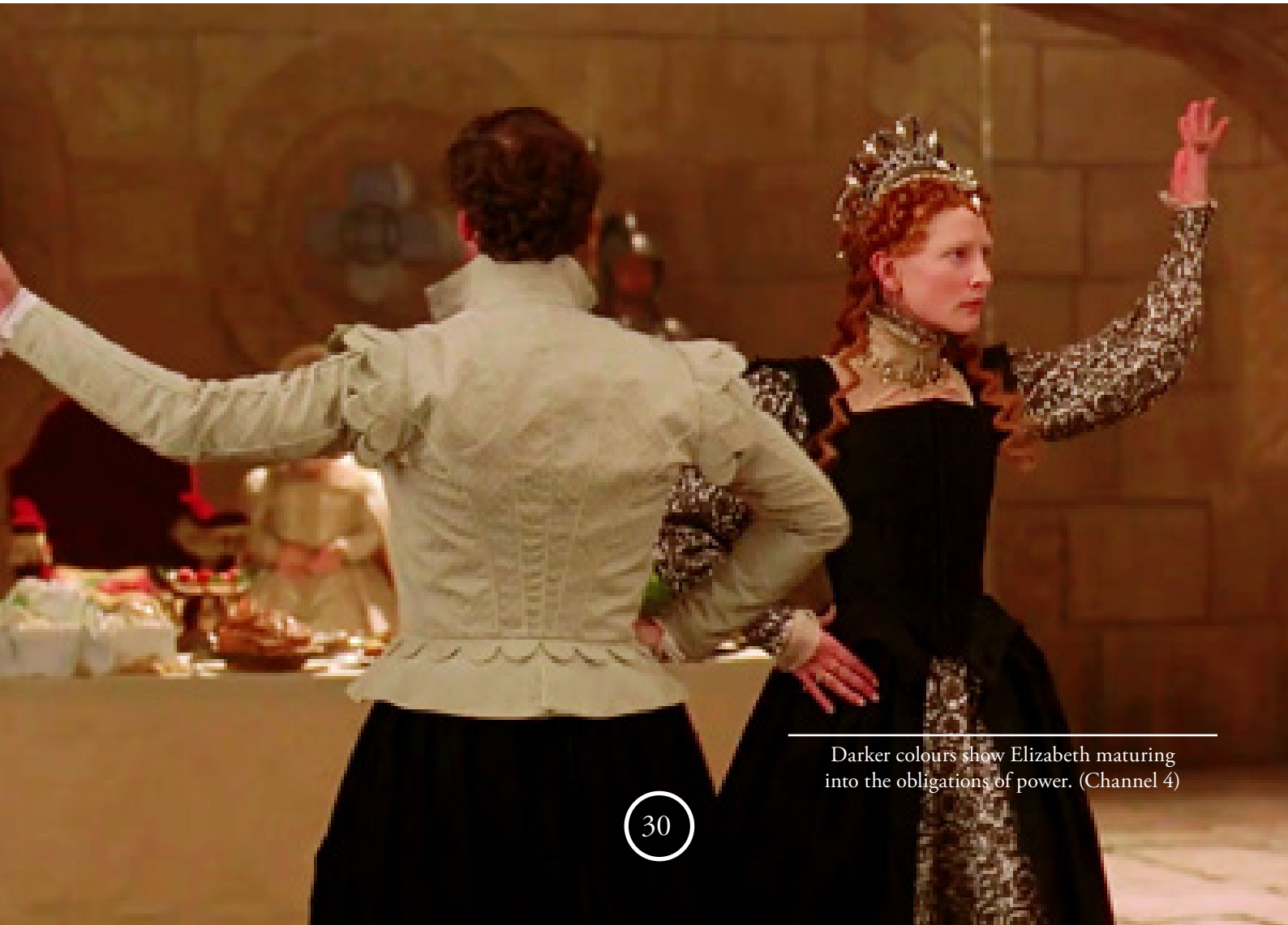
Costume is also used to demonstrate the shifting tides and power balance of the relationship between Robert and Elizabeth. In their early relationship, when marriage seems somewhat plausible, both Elizabeth and Robert wear costumes that are physically more open and inviting; Robert's plunging shirt necklines display his chest, and Elizabeth's gowns are low-cut, emphasising her feminity and sexuality. Early in their relationship, deep red and scarlets are frequently worn by both Robert and Elizabeth, again emphasising the power and passion within these young characters. However, as the story progresses, and Elizabeth begins her transition into the 'Virgin Queen' of legend, she begins to reign this youth and sexuality in, wearing dresses of muted colours, high collars and ruffs, covering her hair with hats and headdresses. It is the 16th century equivalent of 1980's power-dressing; Elizabeth reigns in her femininity and youth, replacing it with a strong, powerful image of an almost-mythological figure. This transformation coincides, in part, with the discovery that Robert is married; something that he had been hiding from her. Immediately, her costumes begin to signify that she is moving on; gone are the low-necked scarlet gowns and red sashes; they are replaced by whites, creams and pastels draped with embroidery and pearls. White represented purity and black denoted constancy; two attributes that contributed to the creation of the myth of Elizabeth. Pearls also held a particular significance to Elizabeth, as they were associated with purity; between 1566 to 1596 she used over 520 pearls just to trim her partlets and ruffs. To complete this mythologized image, Elizabeth also sheds her hair in a transformative moment at the end of the film. Long, unbound hair is a symbol of feminity, but also of sexuality, and a drastic haircut in cinema is often symbolic of an internal transformation as well as a physical one. Elizabeth is reborn as a virgin, a mythologized version of herself who would become the Elizabeth of legend. It is the transformation of girl into woman, and a woman into a Queen; Elizabeth raises herself above the desires and callings of a normal woman to serve a higher purpose of serving her country.

The relationship between Queen Elizabeth and Robert Dudley continues to be of interest today, with speculation and research still taking place amongst historians and history fans alike. *Elizabeth* ends claiming that Elizabeth never met Dudley in private again; luckily, history provides us with a much happier ending to their tale. The suspected treason of Robert in *Elizabeth* never actually took place, and the Queen remained close to Robert Dudley until his death in 1558.However, factual inaccuracies aside, it is easy to see how *Elizabeth* captivated viewers at its release. It is, at its heart, a story of love

The movie's depiction of a sumptuous ball to celebrate Elizabeth's coronation. (Channel 4)

and loss, and how one woman gave up her personal desires and life to become one of the greatest rulers that England, or indeed, the world, has ever seen.

EMMA ELIZABETH TAYLOR



Darker colours show Elizabeth maturing into the obligations of power. (Channel 4)

Tudor Life

EDITOR'S PICKS

For a good overview of the Dudley family in the Tudor era, "*The Uncrowned Kings of England*" by Derek Wilson is a great read. Wilson is also the author of "*Sweet Robin*", a biography of Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester.

For an excellent account of the world and career of Edmund Dudley, Steven Gunn's "*Henry VII's New Men and the Making of Tudor England*" is by far and away the best academic assessment, full of ground-breaking research. Thomas Penn's award-winning "*Winter King*", narrating the last years of Henry VII's rule, is also a compelling read, though very expensive to buy. There are several biographies of Edmund's son, the Duke of Northumberland; the late David Loades wrote an excellent one, but it is out of print, so it is perhaps best to search in a library or second-hand store if you want to know more about this divisive figure.

The "Dudley queen", Lady Jane Grey, is well-served by biographers. In fact, she's inspired some of the best Tudor biographies in recent years from Leanda de Lisle, Eric Ives, and Nicola Tallis. Chris Skidmore's "*Death and the Virgin*" is a revolutionary and impeccably researched examination of the Amy Dudley case.

For fictional takes on the Dudleys and their kin, Jean Plaidy's classic novel, recently republished in the UK as "*Lord Robert*" and as "*A Favorite of the Queen*" in the US (first published in 1955 as *Gay Lord Robert*) and Alison Weir's "*Innocent Traitor*" on Lady Jane Grey are both hugely enjoyable.


Quinneys
of
Warwick
Antiques
FINE
ANTIQUES
&
FURNITURE

THE DUDLEY TOMBS AT WARWICK

by Claire Ridgway
photos by Tim Ridgway

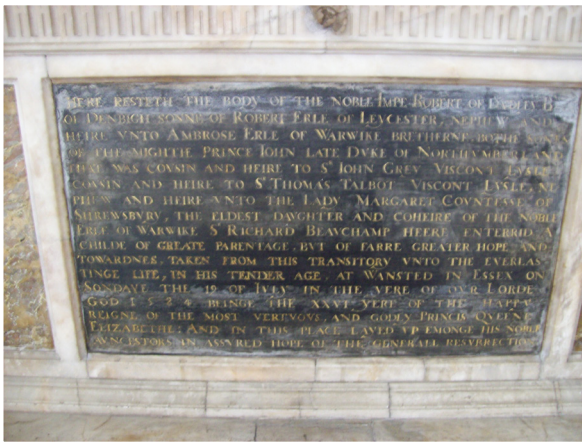
The Beauchamp (pronounced Beecham) Chapel of the Collegiate Church of St Mary in Warwick is the resting place of several members of the Dudley family:

Ambrose Dudley, 3rd Earl of Warwick, Master of the Ordnance, privy councillor and fourth son of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.

- Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Elizabeth I's favourite and Master of the Horse, and fifth son of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.
- Robert's wife, Lettice Knollys, daughter of Catherine Carey and Sir Francis Knollys, granddaughter of Mary Boleyn.
- Robert and Lettice's son, Robert Dudley, Lord Denbigh, "the noble impe", who died at the age of three.

Tim and I visited the chapel a few years ago and took these photos (*left and over*). If you're in the area, perhaps visiting Warwick Castle, then do visit St Mary's as it's well worth it, and it is very near the castle, as is Lord Leycester's Hospital, a group of medieval buildings that became under the patronage of Robert Dudley in Elizabeth I's reign and which were used as a retirement home for soldiers of the Tudor campaigns.

You may be wondering why Ambrose and Dudley are crowned. Well, they're not royal crowns, they are earls' coronets.


HERE RESTETH THE BODY OF THE NOBLE IMPE ROBERT OF DUDLEY
OF DENBIGH SONNE OF ROBERT ERLE OF LEYCESTER, NEPHEW AND
HEIRE VNTO AMBROSE ERLE OF WARWIKE BRETHERNE BOTHE
OF THE MIGHTIE PRINCE JOHN LATE DVKE OF NORTHVMBERLAND
THAT WAS COVSIN AND HEIRE TO S^R JOHN GREY VISCONT LYSLE
COVSIN AND HEIRE TO S^R THOMAS TALBOT VISCONT LYSLE NE
PHEW AND HEIRE VNTO THE LADY MARGARET COVNTESSE OF
SHREWSBVRY, THE ELDEST DAVGHTER AND COHEIRE OF THE NOBLE
ERLE OF WARWIKE S^R RICHARD BEAVCHAMP HEERE ENTERRID A
CHILDE OF GREATE PARENTAGE, BVT OF FARRE GREATER HOPE AND
TOWARDNES, TAKEN FROM THIS TRANSITORY VNTO THE EVERLAS
TINGE LIFE, IN HIS TENDER AGE, AT WANSTED IN ESSEX ON
SONDAYE THE 12 OF IVLY IN THE YERE OF OVR LORDE
GOD 1584 BEINGE THE XXVI YERE OF THE HAPPY
REIGNE OF THE MOST VERTVOVS AND GODLY PRINCES QVEENE
ELIZABETHE: AND IN THIS PLACE LAYED VP EMONGE HIS NOBLE
ANCESTORS IN ASSVRED HOPE OF THE GENERALL RESVRRECTION

THE TOMB OF ROBERT DUDLEY AND HIS WIFE, LETTICE. (ABOVE AND TOP LEFT)

LORD LEYCESTER'S HOSPITAL

THE DUDLEY CARVINGS IN THE TOWER

The Beauchamp Tower of the Tower of London is home to a vast collection of stone carvings, pictures and words that have been carved into the stone walls of the tower by its prisoners – the Tudor version of graffiti.

There are two carvings that are linked to the Dudley family. They were carved in 1553 after the fall of Lady Jane Grey when John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and his sons were imprisoned in the Tower of London. They are believed to have carved the word "IANE" (JANE) for Lord Guildford Dudley's wife, the fallen Queen Jane, or Lady Jane Grey, and a beautifully detailed carving of the Dudley coat of arms. Traditionally, John, son of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, is said to have carved the arms, but it seems more likely that a skilled stoneworker did it on their behalf. It features the bear and ragged staff (the badge of the Earls of Warwick), the double-tailed lion rampant (the badge of the Dudley family) and a floral border with oak leaves and acorns for Robert Dudley (Quercus robur is the Latin for English oak), roses for Ambrose Dudley, honeysuckle for Henry Dudley (Lonicera henryi) and gillyflowers for Guildford Dudley.

"You that these beasts do wel behold and se, may deme with ease wherefore here made they be, with borders eke within [there may be found] 4 brothers names who list to search the ground."

JANE GREY, QUEEN OF BRADGATE

by Michele Smith – Visitor Experience Manager at Bradgate Park Trust

WHILST LADY JANE GREY the 9-Day Queen is on the radar of history & Tudor enthusiast circles, in Leicester she is hardly mentioned, referred to on blue badge walks or acknowledged …. That was until 2 years ago.

I arrived at Bradgate Park as the Visitor Experience Manager on the 1st June 2016 having worked in a variety of historic venues in the Midlands , I was now about to open the new Visitor Centre.

I have had a long association with the Park visiting regularly throughout my life. I always loved history so working at Bradgate with its heritage and deer herd was just spot on for me.

I am also a paranormal investigator with www.hauntedheritage.co.uk...

Besides my full-time job, I have co-owned a ghost Events Company called Haunted Heritage with my best friend Gill since 2008, specialising in museum and historic ghost walks. We have been running historic ghost walks at Bradgate Park since June 2015 which have been well received and sell out months in advance. We recount published stories and include staff stories too, along with guests using ghost detection equipment; we are also joined by a medium and historian. We make nothing up.

However, there is one particular ghost walk at the Park which had a huge impact on me, the date of which was Thursday 14 July 2016.

It was a typical ghost walk until we reached the chapel…

Something was very different: All the equipment was going crazy, a guest was saying that they had an overwhelming sensation, and then Gill my Medium friend, knelt down and frantically starts whispering 'She's here, it's her, she's here'.

On debriefing with the team, we realised that the Walk had fallen on the days when Jane Grey had been Queen of England. At that point, I wanted to do more to get Jane recognised.

On 12th February 2017, I laid a few white tulips at the gates of the Bradgate House ruins and put posters up across the Park saying 'On This Day in History, Lady Jane Grey

the 9-day Queen was executed'. Unbeknown to me, there had been visitors to the Park who made the journey each year to pay their respects, saw the flowers and posters and shared on social media. By the afternoon the local newspapers and TV came to the site to do a feature.

Encouraged to do more I then planned the Queen of Bradgate week covering the 9 days (yes, I know 13 days), when Jane was on the throne of England.

I scheduled daily Queen of Bradgate walks from the Visitor Centre. The Director of the Park, Peter Tyldesley, did an evening supper, talk & walk across the Park. We also had Dusk Walks & a Ghost Walk but the highlight of the week was a service in the chapel in the ruins.

The local Rector was keen to assist and approached the Bishop of Leicester seeking permission to read from the old bible which Jane would have read on that day in 1553. I called it the Rose Petal Service which we held on a Sunday 16 July at 6.30pm. We were joined by two marvellous period musicians and their harpsichord and Tamise Mills from the Lady Jane Grey Reference Guide kindly came and gave Jane a eulogy. Rose petals were scattered all over the floor.

Following the service, guests exited the chapel between a Guard of Honour from the Visitor Centre and then were escorted to the lakeside by an executioner carrying a very large basket of white rose petals. At the lakeside, the Rector gave a final blessing and the executioner then offered the basket of petals to a guest who then stepped forward and threw them into the lake. It was stunning and very atmospheric.

The feedback we had was excellent.

Unbeknown to us at the time the Delaroche painting was going on tour to Asia and we were visited by various TV crews …and then there was the Dr Helen Caster documentary.

Jane's story was growing momentum.

For the 12 February 2018, I wanted to do something a bit more special.

I wanted to do a procession and approached a local horse drawn carriage company. They were delighted to be able to help and bring along their white horse Lulu, a local florist wholesaler then offered their support and supplied hundreds of white tulips, some which were turned into a wreath which Lulu carried in the procession. She looked stunning.

I was hoping that maybe 20 – 30 people might show. We are not sure of the numbers that came that day to join the procession, but it was somewhere between 400 and 500.

I still get a lump in my throat thinking about it.

What was a revolution to me was the number of young teenage girls that came to the procession to lay flowers. To appeal to these girls and make history inspiring was an absolute joy. The local TV and newspaper did some major coverage.

As I write this piece, it is now July 2018 and Queen of Bradgate Week is here again, this year we were joined by Nicola Tallis, author of 'Crown of Blood, the Deadly Inheritance of Lady Jane Grey' for the Rose Petal service and she also gave an outdoor talk in the ruins – beautiful and tranquil.

I was also delighted to learn that the Tudor Society visited the Park – Thank you.

So, what started out as my ghost story is now a key part of the Parks events programme and will continue to be so. The quest continues to get Jane recognised as Leicester's Queen of England, (it's not all about Richard III) until then let the rest of the world celebrate her.

This was my ghost story…what's yours?

Amy Robsart and Leicester at Cumnor Hall
by Edward Matthew Ward (1816-1879) 1866

AMY ROBSART

BY CHRISTINE HARTWEG

Most people, if they hear the name Amy Robsart (and it is always her maiden name, though she signed herself Amye Duddeley), imagine a tragic and romantic figure. And indeed this image of the first wife of Elizabeth I's favourite, Robert Dudley, was created in the Romantic era. In 1821 Sir Walter Scott wrote a bestseller, *Kenilworth*, and Amy soon became highly popular with artists and novelists, and also historians. Victor Hugo wrote a play about her, Donizetti an opera, and the art salons exhibited innumerable paintings depicting Scott's version of events. The Earl of Leicester's (i.e. Robert Dudley's) secret wife in the novel, Amy loses her life through an intrigue by the earl's wicked servant, Varney, who arranges her fall downstairs at her house; meanwhile her admirer, Tressilian, tries to rescue her in vain; the story unravels during the great 1575 festival at the castle of Kenilworth, in the presence of Queen

Elizabeth.

The real Amy Dudley fell down the stairs 15 years earlier, on 8 September 1560. She had sent away all her servants, so there were no witnesses to what happened. Many people believed, and many still do, that she was pushed or that she did not fall at all. There was reported "great murmuring" in the country and the diplomatic host of a tavern explained that "some are disposed to say well and some evil."

Robert Dudley was also shocked about his wife's sudden death; events appeared to him "as it were in a dream", and he worried about "how this evil should light upon me". He was right to do so. A few months into Elizabeth's reign rumours had started that he and the queen were only waiting for Amy to die (for she was "very ill in one of her breasts" and been "ailing for some time", according to Spanish and Venetian diplomats). With time, the rumours turned more sinister and it was said that the queen and Robert were planning to do away with his wife, the method of choice being poison. Two newly arrived Habsburg ambassadors (of the Holy Roman Emperor and the King of Spain) were especially interested in such talk as they were planning to wed Elizabeth to a prince of their house, the Archduke Charles of Austria. In their view, Robert Dudley was definitively an obstacle, for the queen obviously loved him and was disinclined to get serious about marriage to a foreign prince. The French ambassador, who had no candidate on offer, was less interested and so he never wrote anything about poison (or Amy's impending death for that matter).

Robert and Amy had married on 4 June 1550 at the palace of Richmond, a day after the wedding of Robert's eldest brother, John, and the Duke of Somerset's eldest daughter, Anne. While this was a highly political match, Robert and Amy's was a love match according to the wedding guest William Cecil. In an agreement of 24 May 1550 their respective fathers concluded details of who should have what when in a lengthy document. Amy was the only legitimate child and heiress of Sir John Robsart of Syderstone, Norfolk, while Robert was the third surviving son of John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and Lord President of the King's Council. Robert and Amy had almost certainly met in the summer of 1549 in Norfolk, when the Earl of Warwick and his sons led a military force to subdue the rebels around Robert Kett. It turned out to be a bloody business, but Sir John Robsart was firmly on the king's side and hosted the royal officers overnight.

The career of Amy's father-in-law as England's chief minister came to an unexpected end in the summer of 1553, with the death of the young King Edward VI and the very short reign of Lady Jane Grey. Robert Dudley was now a prisoner in the Tower of London, while his wife was allowed visits. In late 1554 he was released. Both Robert and Amy lost their parents between 1553 and 1557, and they thankfully received the support of other relatives, like Robert's surviving brothers and Amy's half-brother John Appleyard. In early 1558 parliament restored all the Dudley siblings "in blood" and in the summer of that year Robert and Amy were looking for a suitable residence in the country. It is not quite clear whether they had found it by 17 November, the day Elizabeth acceded to the throne.

Everything would now change. It seems that so far Robert and Amy had been residing in London at the house of the Duchess of Norfolk (the widow of Robert's younger brother Henry) and also at the house of William Hyde at Throcking in Hertfordshire. Hyde was one of the gentlemen enjoying the patronage of Robert Dudley and even named one of his daughters Dudley. Now, Amy continued to stay at his house while Robert was with the court. He was made Master of the Horse by Elizabeth and thus his regular duties brought him in close contact with the queen.

Amy travelled to Lincolnshire for the Christmas season and at Easter Robert visited her at the home of William Hyde, with whom he played cards or dice. In May and June 1559 Amy visited London, though not the court; she also travelled to Sussex and then moved to Warwickshire, to the house of Sir Richard Verney. Verney had served Robert Dudley's father and now hoped to continue in Robert's service. Thus he became host to his wife; though only for a few months if not weeks, for before December 1559 Amy had moved to Cumnor, Berkshire, three miles from Oxford.

The house at Cumnor consisted of four wings around a courtyard and opened onto a terrace garden and a deer park. Amy's chamber was the best in the house, with a separate staircase leading up to it and a large window in the Late Gothic style. Amy maintained her own little household of about ten people, receiving the proceeds of her

Amy Robsart by Charles Robert Leslie (1794-1859) 1833

inheritance directly into her hands. She was thus relatively independent of her husband. Several other people lived at Cumnor: There was Sir Anthony Forster with his wife and children; Forster had rented the house from the son of Henry VIII's court physician, Dr. George Owen. George Owen's widow still lived in the house, and there was also Mrs. Odingsells, another widow.

Anthony Forster had served Robert Dudley's father as an estate manager, and he transacted important business deals for Robert. He was a man much trusted by Robert. Also at Cumnor lived the wives of the other gentlemen of the village, as well as several widows, with all of whom Amy would have socialized. It is often claimed that she never saw her husband again after her London visit in June 1559, and this may be true; however we cannot be certain: Robert Dudley dined with Anthony Forster at Cumnor sometime between 20 December 1558 and 20 December 1559, and it is quite possible that the meeting took place when Amy was already living there.

On Sunday 8 September 1560 she got up early and, as her servants reported, "she would not that day suffer one of her own sort to tarry at home, and was so earnest to have them gone to the fair [at Abingdon], that with any of her own sort that made reason of tarrying at home, she was very angry". She also quarrelled with Mrs. Odingsells (who did not want to go out on a Sunday) but then agreed that Mrs. Odingsells could do as she pleased. But the others should go. When asked who would keep her company at dinner, she said she would dine with Mrs. Owen.

As soon as he heard of his wife's death, Robert Dudley sent his steward, Thomas Blount, to inquire what had happened. Blount had been on his way to Cumnor anyway and had also met the servant who brought the news to Robert (who was then staying at Windsor). It is from Blount's letters to Robert and Robert's letters to Blount that we know most of the details about Amy's death. As it appeared she had died "from a fall". A coroner's jury had already assembled when Blount reached the scene. They were all local gentlemen and, as Blount reported, some were not well disposed towards Anthony Forster. Robert also sent Amy's half-brother John Appleyard and "other of her friends" to Cumnor. As Blount investigated on his own, he noticed things "that maketh me to think that she had a strange mind in her". Talking to Picto, Amy's devoted maid, he suggested that Amy "might have an evil toy in her mind", to which Picto answered that she was sorry she said so much if he gathered from her words that Amy had killed herself.

Picto had described how Amy had daily prayed "upon her knees" and that "divers times … she hath heard her pray to God to deliver her from desperation." After a few days Blount had changed his mind, writing to Robert about the jury: "They be very secret; and yet do I hear a whispering that they can find no presumptions of evil. And if I may say to your Lordship my conscience: I think some of them be sorry for it, God forgive me. And if I judge amiss [sic], mine own opinion is much quieted, the more I search of it, the more free it doth appear to me. I have almost nothing that can make me so much [as] to think that any man should be the doer thereof, as when I think your Lordship's wife before all other women should have such a chance. The circumstances and as many things as I can learn doth persuade me that only misfortune hath done it and nothing else." – He still thought that it was all very strange and wrote that on his return to Windsor he would "say what I know".

Meanwhile, the jury concluded that Amy, on stepping out of her chamber, had fallen "to the very bottom" a flight of stairs, sustaining "two injuries at her head", but also that "the same Lady Amy there and then broke her own neck, on account of which certain fracture of the neck the same Lady Amy then and there died instantly; and the aforesaid Lady Amy was found then and there without any other mark or wound on her body; and thus the jurors say on their oath that the aforesaid Lady Amy in the manner and form aforesaid by misfortune came to her death and not otherwise, as they are able to agree at present." – The verdict was given at the local assizes in August 1561 and then lodged at the Court of King's Bench, as was the normal procedure.

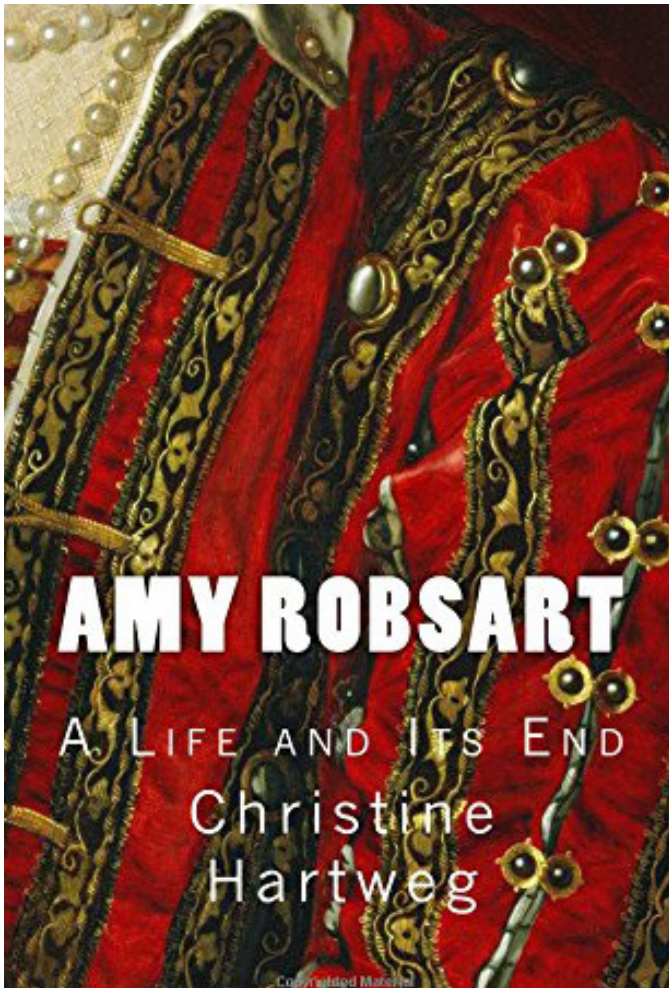
London gossip, meanwhile, had it that Sir Richard Verney had been to Cumnor and/or Abingdon on the day Amy died and there waited impatiently for "his man", "whilest the deed was doing". Another version involving Verney appeared 24 years later in Leicester's Commonwealth, a vitriolic attack on Robert Dudley published anonymously but probably written by exiled English courtiers. In this book, Verney forcibly sends away Amy's servants before having her killed (and, by implication, placed at the foot of the stairs). Leicester's Commonwealth became hugely influential with later writers and was also the ultimate source of Walter Scott's Kenilworth.

The real Richard Verney died in 1567; never being molested by the authorities, he had always

Amy Robsart by Sir William
Quiller Orchardson (1832-1910)

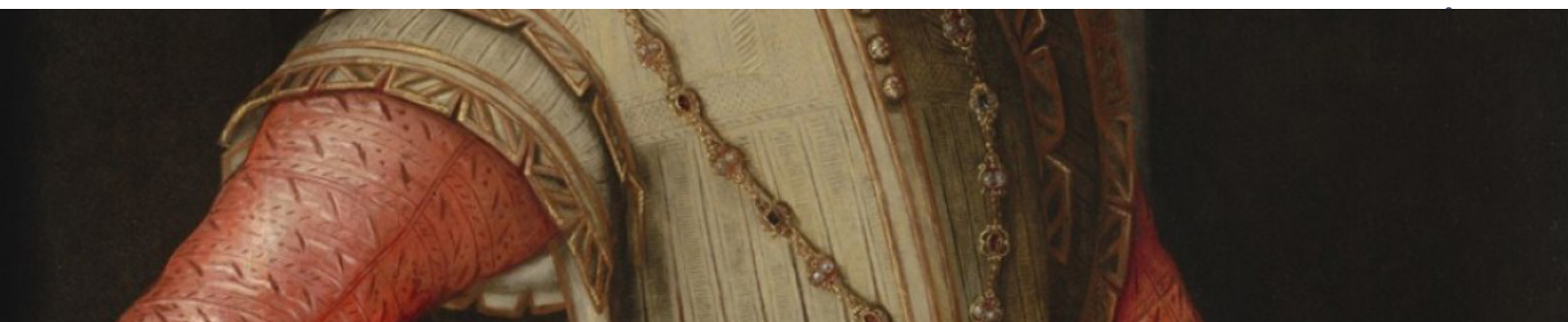
been on good terms with Robert Dudley, who years later was very concerned to secure Verney's orphaned little grandson his patrimony and a good education. It seems not very likely that Richard Verney was Amy's killer. It seems more likely that she simply tripped and and fell down the stairs. The fact that she sent away all her servants is certainly ominous, and the possibility that she threw herself down should not be dismissed outright. Her death will remain a mystery.

CHRISTINE HARTWEG



"Christine Hartweg lives in Berlin and was born in South America in 1972. She has researched the Dudley family of Tudor England since 2008 and has advised the BBC and other TV channels. She wrote "John Dudley: The Life of Lady Jane Grey's Father-in-Law", and her new book is "Amy Robsart: A Life and Its End". Christine runs the specialist blog www.allthingsrobertdudley.wordpress.com"

Christine's latest book is entitled "Amy Robsart: A life and its end" - you can get it from Amazon: https://www.amazon.co.uk/Amy-Robsart-Life-Its-End/dp/1548783609/



THE FARNESE POPE

Author and historian **Samantha Morris** looks at the life of the Catholic pope during the times of great religious change in England...

Born in 1468, Alessandro was the oldest child of Pier Luigi Farnese and Giovanna Caetani. He was a true child of the Renaissance and was educated both at the University of Pisa and at the court of Lorenzo the Magnificent in Florence. Indeed, by the time he received his cardinal's hat at the age of twenty five, he had fathered a number of illegitimate children – somewhat of a norm with men of the Church during the Renaissance. He was initially trained as an apostolic notary and was raised to the College of Cardinals by Pope Alexander VI in 1493. Alessandro's sister, Giulia Farnese, was the mistress of Pope Alexander VI and many believe that it was her influence that secured Alessandro his Cardinal's hat. His appointment to the Cardinalate led the way for Alessandro to be given disparaging nicknames such as the 'Petticoat Cardinal', or rather more rudely "Cardinal Fregnese". But after meeting and working with the vicar-general of Parma, Bartolomeo Guidiccioni (where Alessandro held the post of Bishop), Alessandro began to see the error of his ways – thanks to Guidiccioni, Alessandro gave up his mistress and committed himself entirely to Church reform. Under the pontificate of Pope Clement VII he became dean of the College of Cardinals, a post which he held until 1534 when he was elected as Pope Paul III. And it was as Pope Paul III that Alessandro Farnese proved himself to be more than the fun loving and rule breaking young man he had once been – rather he was a man of strong morals and a keen reformer.

As Pope, Paul III did what every Pope before him had done and concentrated on family ambitions – the Farnese family were an old one with an incredibly noble heritage. Like many Italian families at the time they began as condottiere – but unlike other families such as the Orsini they were not part of the aristocracy. But that mattered little to Paul III – one of his first appointments was to raise his son, Pierluigi, as Captain General of the Church. In 1535 Paul sent Pierluigi to the Court of Charles V and told his son that he was to avoid the sin of sodomy. Pierluigi's son, Ottavio, was created Duke of Camerino in 1538 and then married to the widow of the murdered of Alessandro de' Medici, Margaret of Austria. In 1545 he created Pierluigi as Duke of Parma and Piacenza.

Pope Paul III *by* Titian

Pope Paul III had started a dynasty and the family would hold on to the power given by him for well over two centuries.

But securing a dynasty, no matter how important it was to the Farnese Pope, was not as important as other issues that were besetting the Christian world. One of the biggest issues that Paul faced was the emergence of Protestantism. This new form of Christianity had swept through Europe and sucked so many people into its embrace that Pope Paul III was finding it incredibly difficult to keep things in check. It didn't help that King Henry VIII of England had broken from the Catholic Church by passing a number of acts of Parliament, including the 1534 Act of Supremacy, to do so. The Act of Supremacy was the document that declared Henry VIII as "the only Supreme head in Earth of the Church of England" (Bernard 2007, 70) – Henry had been on the wrong side of a Pope before when he was initially excommunicated by Pope Clement VII in 1533, following Henry's marriage annulment from Katherine of Aragon and his subsequent marriage to Anne Boleyn. Henry VIII would prove to be a thorn in Paul III's side and, in 1535 following the executions of both Sir Thomas More and Bishop John Fisher, Paul tried to pass a bull which would oust Henry VIII from the English throne. The bull was never enforced, however, thanks to the dithering of Francis I of France and Emperor Charles V.

With everything going on in England Paul III began to patronise Reginald Pole, a man who was an outspoken enemy of King Henry VIII. Pole had exiled himself following the King's divorce from Katherine of Aragon as he had been unwilling to publically denounce the divorce. But following More and Fisher's executions he felt unable to hold himself back – he sent a long denunciation titled 'De unitate' personally to the King in the spring of 1536. Paul III made Pole a Cardinal in 1536, and also made him Papal Legate to England in the February of 1537 and sent him off to Flanders as a negotiator for any representatives that King Henry sent over there. Henry was furious over Pole's involvement and his attempts to goad Francis and Charles into helping fight against the schismatic King of England and demanded that Francis I send Pole back to England immediately. All efforts, including an attempt on Pole's life, failed. But Pole's mission also failed and he told the Pope on 18 May 1537 that the cause was hopeless – Henry had his Church of England and would not be moved. When Pole returned to Rome in the October, Henry VIII declared Reginald Pole a traitor. On December 17 1538, Paul III fully excommunicated King Henry VIII of England – Paul had repeatedly warned Henry that his actions would end up in his excommunication but it was Henry's constant attacks on the religious houses of England that finally caused Paul to make the final decision. Up until that moment, Paul III had been willing to try and have Henry come back to the fold, hoping that his threats would bring the errant English King to heel. Unfortunately for Paul, King Henry VIII was far too stubborn a man. The below excerpt states just one example of the crimes which caused Pope Paul to excommunicate the King:

"Bull against Hen. VIII., renewing the execution of the bull of 30 Aug. 1535, which had been suspended in hope of his amendment, as he has since gone to still further excesses, having dug up and burned the bones of St, Thomas of Canterbury and scattered the ashes to the winds, (after calling the saint to judgment, condemning him as contumacious, and proclaiming him a traitor), and spoiled his shrine." (*Henry VIII: December 1538 16-20* in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII. Vol XIII part II*, 455-466)

Meanwhile, Paul III was trying desperately to limit the damage caused by the sudden surge of Protestantism and called together a General

Council whose aim was to reform the abuses of the Church that had been put forward by the new Protestant movement. Of course, many Cardinals were unhappy with this and believed that it would prove to be a threat to their ways of high living. Even Charles V had a problem with it, believing that the Council would take an incredibly rigid stand on doctrine and mean that he would be unable to compromise with his own Protestant subjects. The Lutheran contingent, who had been invited to the Council, stated that they would not attend anything that was held on Italian soil and presided over by the Pope. All the while Francis I was happy just sitting back and watching as Charles got himself tangled up in religious affairs. But Paul persisted and even went as far as summoning a commission that would report on every single ill that had been committed in the Church and recommend what could be done to remedy them. Part of the commission was the very same Reginald Pole, the Cardinal who was such a problem for King Henry VIII of England. In the March of 1537 the commissioners presented Pope Paul III with their findings – the Church was in utter disarray with all the abuses such as the buying and selling of offices, the dynastic ambitions and giving offices to family members. The report came to the conclusion that all of these things had caused the Protestant Reformation. And it wasn't long until a copy of the report leaked out and was circulating around all of the Protestant and Lutheran churches in Europe. Yet Paul did his best to encourage reform within the Catholic Church – he worked with Fillipo Neri to uncover the ills that happened within the seedy Roman underworld and even gave approval to the Society of Jesuits in a bull of 1540. The Jesuits had the message and idea that Paul wanted so badly to give to his own church – they dressed simply and had no fixed abode. All they concentrated on was strict discipline and obedience, and would be the main attack force in the Counter Reformation.

Paul summoned the Council of Trent in December 1545. It had been long delayed but finally there would be solid discussion on the ideals of reform, transubstantiation and doctrine. But there was no discussion of actual Papal reform and really the only thing it truly did was discuss the Counter Reformation and the ways in which they could re-Catholicise the whole of Europe. And they would do it by force if they had to. And this force was used in the years to come – eight civil wars would happen in France between the Catholics and the Huguenots including the horrendous St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572 for which Queen Catherine de' Medici was blamed.

In September 1547, tragedy struck for the aging Pope Paul III. The people of Piacenza rose up against Paul's son Pierluigi – unhappy with the firm rules and high taxes that Paul had bestowed upon them, they sought help from Emperor Charles V. Charles wanted Piacenza for himself, to unite Piacenza into the Duchy of Milan. A conspiracy was born and Pierluigi was viciously stabbed to death by Giovanni Anguissola, governor of Como, and a group of others. One Pierluigi was dead they hung his body from the window of Piacenza's palace. Once the dirty deed was done the citizens of Piacenza sought protection from Charles, which he of course granted. With the city under his wing it all but belonged to him. Paul, already heartbroken from the brutal murder of his son made to angrily take back Parma and bring it back under the umbrella of the Papal states but Ottavio, Pierluigi's son completely refused to give up his territory. Paul's other grandson, and a Cardinal to boot, took Ottavio's side. Paul's trust in his family was utterly broken and he called his Cardinal grandson to his presence, angrily snatching the red hat from his head and throwing it an-

grily to the ground at his feet.

Pope Paul III, in his eighty second year, passed away on November 10 1547. The brutal murder of his son and the betrayal from his grandsons had broken the aging pontiff completely. He was buried within the basilica of St. Peter's in Rome and his body was interred within a magnificent bronze tomb, which can still be seen today, by Guglielmo della Porta.

SAMANTHA MORRIS

Sources and further reading

"Henry VIII: December 1538 16-20," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 13 Part 2, August-December 1538*, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1893), 455-466. *British History Online*, accessed July 7, 2018, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol13/no2/pp455-466.

G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (Yale, 2007)

Johan Huizinga, *Erasmus and the Age of Reformation* (Phoenix, 2002)

John C. Olin, *The Catholic Reformation: Savonarola to Ignatius Loyola* (Fordham University Press, 1992)

John Julius Norwich, *The Popes: A History* (Vintage, 2012)

Leonie Frieda, *Catherine de' Medici* (Phoenix, 2005)

Peter Burke, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy* (Polity, 1986)

Reginald Pole (1500-1558), artist unkown

Samantha Morris studied archaeology at the University of Winchester where her interest in the history of the Italian Renaissance began. Since graduating University, her interest in the Borgia family has grown to such an extent that she is always looking for new information on the subject as well as fighting against the age-old rumours that haunt them. Samantha describes herself as an accountant by day, historian and author by night. Her first published book is Cesare Borgia in a Nutshell, a brief biography which aims to dispel the myths surrounding a key member of the Borgia family. She runs the popular Borgia website https: //theborgiabull.com/

JOUSTING AT HEVER CASTLE

Join Owen Emmerson in this sensory journey into the past

Jousting at Hever Castle is a sensory overload for those of us who like to 'feel' history; the sound of 16-foot wooden lances shattering on metal; the smell of horse sweat; the tremor in the soil beneath your blanket as hooves thunder towards each other. Just as it must have five hundred years ago, the crowd share the feelings of anticipation as they cheer on opposing knights in both a Joust Royal – the famous horse-mounted charge with lances - and in stomach-churning foot combat. If you arrive at the Castle Forecourt before 2pm, you can meet Anne Boleyn and King Henry VIII on the castle drawbridge, flanked by the Knights of Royal England, who then process the heaving crowds to the jousting field. Above all, the sense of excitement transcends the ages, and you can sit and imagine the pleasures and pains of the past at a Tudor pageant the likes of which Anne would have attended on a regular basis. The heritage industry facilitates these emotionally stimulating experiences because its visitors have long sought after the experience of walking back in history. Across time, visitors have walked in Anne's footsteps, and their visits could well have shaped the way Anne Boleyn has been remembered in history.

In 1834, Queen Victoria visited Hever Castle to see the 'curious old place' where 'poor Queen Anne Boleyn' had once resided. She visited 'the room where she used to live' and sat on a 'seat on which King Henry… used to sit'. Victoria would go on to challenge the reputation of the notorious Queen, marking both her grave in the Tower of London's Chapel Royal, and the site on Tower Green which was then thought where she died. It is possible that Victoria's idea of Anne was shaped by the feelings she experienced while visiting her childhood home. Visitors in their thousands still

Henry VIII Jousting in 1511,
Westminster Tournament Rolls

come to the picturesque Hever, as Victoria did, to learn from and feel the history of perhaps the most divisive queen consort in history. In contrast to Victoria visiting what was then an occupied home, Hever Castle now offers visitors access to a stunning variety of period furniture, artefacts, and an impressive array of Tudor portraiture. David Starkey was by no means exaggerating when he stated that Hever had one of the finest collections of Tudor portraiture outside of the National Portrait Gallery.

As people increasingly seek to walk in the footsteps of historical characters like Anne Boleyn, Hever Castle offers visitors the unique opportunity to inhabit the very spaces between the crenellated walls that Anne knew intimately in her formative years. As a young child, Anne would have known every inch of Hever and its vast estate. You can't help but wonder as you run your fingers across the stonework of the nearly 750-year-old Castle Keep if any of the three Boleyn children had done so centuries beforehand. If such imaginings do not quite make the hairs on your arms stand on end, then Hever offers visitors the unique prospect of viewing two of Anne's hand-illuminated books of hours, both inscribed and signed in Anne's hand. As steward and guide, Iain Smith says, they have 'Anne's DNA all over them'.

Although we have no historical reference to a joust at Hever, we do know that they were often held at short notice and in unlikely places, such as when the relatively modest parade ground in the Tower of London was utilised as a tiltyard; the still unmarked site when Anne would eventually face the executioner's sword. Jousts often marked special occasions, such as marriages and births, as well as acting as markers for seasonal and spiritual events, such as the May Day joust. As one watches Anne sitting in the Royal Box at the joust that Hever offers, we can imagine the joys Anne must have felt as the central figure of Queen at many of the jousts she attended. Not all the jousts that Anne experienced were wholly pleasurable, however. Indeed the May Day Joust of 1536 was a turning point towards the end of her 'thousand days' as Henry's queen consort.

Anne's last joust was the first public warning shot to the court that signified Anne's downfall. Unbeknownst to Anne, Mark Smeaton, her musician, had been interrogated the night before the May Day joust by Cromwell: the politician late-

ly of *Wolf Hall* fame who had risen with Anne and who now orchestrated her downfall. Smeaton confessed, perhaps under torture, and Henry seems to have learned of the confession while enjoying the May Day joust with Anne. He abruptly left the side of his queen and rode to Westminster. Anne would never see Henry again; eighteen days later she was dead. It was a joust with no winners: many of the gentlemen who participated in the joust that day would also lose their heads, accused with Anne.

Thankfully in 2018, the audiences of the Hever joust are safe enough from the executioner's weapon of choice, although many such examples are on display in the oldest room of the Castle, the medieval Council Chamber. For the more squeamish amongst us, the Water Maze offers a refreshing soak on a hot summer's day, the vast gardens provide a breathtaking feast for the senses, and for the younger visitor, the must-see Tudor Towers and Acorn Dell play areas will entertain for hours. There is something for everyone at Hever Castle & Gardens: prepare for your senses for a journey into the past.

Jousting tournaments take place throughout the summer, every summer, at Hever Castle and there are lots of other events to enjoy throughout the year.

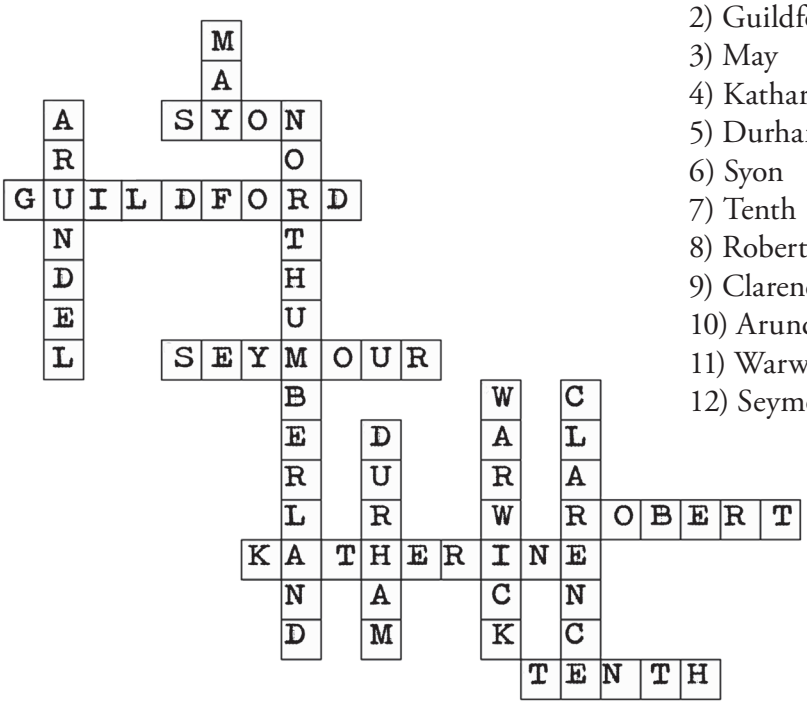
OWEN EMMERSON

For further information, please visit the website: hevercastle.co.uk or call Hever Castle on 01732 865224.

Gardens open at 10:30 am; Castle opens at 12 noon. Last admission 4:30pm; final exit 6pm.

Owen Emmerson is a social and cultural historian. He works at Hever Castle as a castle supervisor, and his next project will be a collaborative study with Claire Ridgway on the history of Hever Castle from 1271 to the present day.

Quiz Answers



1) Northumberland
2) Guildford
3) May
4) Katharine
5) Durham
6) Syon
7) Tenth
8) Robert
9) Clarence
10) Arundel
11) Warwick
12) Seymour

LOVING AND MOURNING QUEEN JANE

by Elizabeth Timms

The death of Queen Jane Seymour on 24 October 1537 turned her hour of greatest achievement into one of mourning, although this is to view her triumph through that all-too-natural tragedy. The circumstances of the queen's death suggest puerperal fever, although interesting alternative new theories continue to emerge. The phoenix emerging from a castle from which Tudor roses grew - her badge - meant that Queen Jane did indeed rise in apotheosis from a royal castle, Hampton Court Palace, having fulfilled the wishes of the king and the hopes of the nation, something that had taken nearly thirty years to achieve. After her death, the Registrar of the Order of the Garter wrote of her: '*Mater in caelo gaudeat*' ['Let the mother in heaven rejoice']. As the joyous birth of a prince was followed so swiftly by the death of the queen, I wanted to explore how these two events – which tugged at both opposite poles in the heart of Henry VIII within a space of twelve days – influenced how he came to regard Jane as having been his *'true'* wife and queen, Henry being a man whose mind and heart worked together in a union of such straightforward accord, unlike most of his marriages.

It was inevitable that Henry would come to view Jane as having died giving him the son he had so desperately craved; in the language of sacrifice, it was merely an extension perhaps of her personal motto, '*Bound to obey and serve'*, which featured twice on the gold cup which Holbein designed for her. No healthy male heir had been properly born to Henry VIII since the death of the baby Prince Henry, born on New Year's Day 1511 to his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, whose birth was greeted with a glorious joust. The dynastic anxiety over male heirs was of course part of the tormented inheritance of Henry VII, who out of the cluster of sons he had had by Queen Elizabeth of York, was left with only his second son to stand between him and the possibility of the extinction of the new dynasty he had founded in the wake of Bosworth, and dying with no living male heirs to succeed him - perhaps a good reason why he had guarded Henry as a young man so closely.

It had taken three marriages to finally grant Henry his longed-for desire; his love of his bastard son Henry Fitzroy is a case in point. Both of Henry's first two marriages resulted in two living daughters; the fall of Anne Boleyn was unquestionably accelerated by both the death of Catherine of Aragon and the miscarriage of a child who

had just been identifiable as a boy, resulting in Henry's attributed words to Anne that '*he would have no more boys by her*.' Henry's first marriage and own rendering of that problematic verse in the Book of Leviticus meant that he would come to interpret the lack of male heirs as being proof of God's disapproval of his marriage to his dead brother's widow, as has been seen. The birth of Princess Mary in 1516 caused the king to remark with fresh hope that '*sons would follow'*. Anne Boleyn's much-expected son in 1533 meant that the birth of the future Queen Elizabeth I instead caused an extra 's' to be added, to turn '*prince*' into '*princes'*. [sic] The fact that Jane Seymour presented the king first time with a healthy baby boy would almost certainly have led the king to assume that there indeed was divine approval in his third choice. And importantly, there had been no miscarriages.

The mild and servile character of Queen Jane Seymour represented a perfect contrast to Anne Boleyn's almost disturbing sexual appeal by the standards of the time; this is even evident in Holbein's prim portrait of Jane Seymour, whose pale fairness could not have been more different to Anne's black-eyed, swarthy appearance.

It is possible that Henry VIII may have in some ways have associated Queen Jane Seymour with that other paragon medieval royal consort, his mother. There is no direct evidence for this, but it is perhaps significant that the little boy believed to represent Prince Henry in the French manuscript 'Vaux Passional' shows him lost in grief, upon a bed draped in mourning; for Queen Elizabeth of York had of course been another queen who had died following childbirth.This could have helped further enshrine Jane Seymour in Henry VIII's mind as having died giving birth to his longed-for son in turn, being in no doubt that it was to her that he owed the fulfilment of his desires, writing to King Francois I of France: *'Divine Providence has mingled my joy with the bitterness of death of her who brought me this happiness'*. Perhaps significantly, the wording on the tomb of Henry's parents, King Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, refers to Queen *wife… chaste and fruitful'*; the sarcophagus featured winged angels at each corner and cherubic figures stand either side of the royal arms of England.

Jane Seymour was referred to by the king in

a letter to the Duke of Norfolk as '*our most dear and most entirely beloved wife, the Queen, now quick with child'* even before the birth, although as before, national optimism ensured that again a male child was, of course, to be expected, just as the draft proclaiming the birth of Queen Anne Boleyn's first child had been drawn up in full expectation of a prince. The Convocation of Oxford University proclaimed that '*Queen Jane… King Henry the Eighth's wife, had conceived… like one given of God…'* The assumption was in fact, a miracle of simplicity. Customarily, Queen Jane herself gave the announcement that she had been '*brought in childbed of a Prince conceived in most Lawful Matrimony between my lord the King's Majesty and us'*. The allusion to the fact that the union was '*lawful'* reinforced its being '*true'*; her marriage to the King, an example of her willingness to 'obey and serve' him as a subject.

The fact that Queen Jane died at the apogee of her greatest achievement in personal terms also meant that nothing could further diminish her achievement or blight her in the king's affec-

tions. She died as he would remember her and importantly, the child she left behind her did not die. Gone forever it seemed were the chilling recollections of the Pilgrimage of Grace when Queen Jane had 'begged' for the restoration of the abbeys. Jane Seymour received well-wishes after the birth, as had Queen Elizabeth of York on the birth of her firstborn son Arthur, at the so-called royal *relevailles*, sat up in her bed. Interestingly, Jane Seymour's death occurred at the end of October, the time of year for which her coronation had originally been planned.

Queen Jane Seymour's body was buried royally; she was in fact, the only one of his queens to be buried as such in his lifetime. Her body was embalmed, '*leaded, soldered and chested'* and taken to a '*chamber of presence'* lit by twenty-one wax tapers. Hampton Court Palace's chapel royal was hung with mourning; Jane's body remained here, watched over day and night until 12 November when it was transferred to Windsor, pulled by six horses. Queen Elizabeth of York's body had lain in state at the Tower of London, by the light of 800 candles; her funeral oration had contained a reference to the nation's loss of '*that virtuous Queen, her noble son, the Prince Arthur…'*

Elizabeth of York had been mother to a son, just as Jane had been. Henry VIII wore *'mourning apparel'* for the Christmas of 1537; just as Henry VII had worn blue mourning for Elizabeth of York, although of course, this was merely follow-

ing the established laws for such things as set out in the series of household ordinances and it was the deaths of Henry's two previous queens that were the royal anomalies in this case.

In fact, orders were given to the Garter Herald for the study of '*precedents*' as to the obsequies of English queens, because the last 'normal' burial of a queen had been that of Queen Elizabeth of York, whose funeral had formed a magnificent procession through the City of London in 1503. For Jane's funeral, a banner that bore the arms of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York was also carried.

Other possible comparisons to Jane Seymour and Henry VIII's mother Elizabeth of York could also be seen in the famous 'Whitehall Mural' (or 'Great Picture') of which now only copies exist; the figure of Jane Seymour stands directly beneath that of Henry's mother; both Queens forming the female part of two royal pairs. Henry VII isolated himself at Richmond after Queen Elizabeth of York's death, just as Henry VIII '*retired to a solitary place to see to his sorrows'* when Jane died.

Henry's ultimate tribute to Jane was surely the fact that he desired his own body to be placed next to hers at St. George's Chapel, Windsor when he died. (In St. George's Chapel, Henry VIII had a Garter stall built for their son, Edward). The planned tomb would feature a recumbent statue of Queen Jane in slumber but not in the '*death-sleep'* alluded to in the popular ballad '*The Death of Queen Jane'*. There were to be sweet figures of children at each corner, with baskets of Tudor roses. But the magnificent tomb did not happen; instead, a simple slab placed there by the orders of King William IV in 1837 marks the vault containing the coffins of the king, Queen Jane, Charles I and an infant child of Queen Anne. The vault was opened in 1813, but the coffin of Queen Jane left unopened. Quietly, she continues to be dominated by her awesome husband even in death. The inscription which King William IV had engraved on the slab is a telling one, for it only tells part of the story: '*Jane Seymour, Queen of King Henry VIII'*. As Antonia Fraser has observed in her composite biography of Henry's queens, this is an accurate but not full rendering of the truth, for there is no mention of his other five wives.

Maybe in Henry VIII's case, this would have been how he viewed the matter of his six marriages and that Jane, as mother of his sole surviving (legitimate) male heir, had been his '*true, humble and obedient wife'*, ironically words which Catherine of Aragon had spoken to reassert her belief that *her* marriage to Henry VIII had been genuine, during the famous trial of its validity.

A final comment on Henry VIII's feelings for Jane is to be found in the large painting by an unknown artist ca. 1545, 'The Family of Henry VIII', which hangs at Hampton Court Palace, where Jane died. Although Catherine Parr was Henry VIII's queen at the time of its painting, it is Queen Jane at his side and not Catherine Parr, for to Henry's (right) side is their son, Prince Edward. The daughters of Henry's first two marriages are relegated to the outer ranks of the painting, flanking the central, patriarchal unit. This underlines Jane's dynastic importance in the matter of the English succession, seated on the other side of the longed-for son that she gave him; a secondary allusion could also be that she continued to remain in his mind, his one '*true*' wife. The private love for her was therefore inextricably bound up with the very public importance of her as the mother of his 'heir male'.

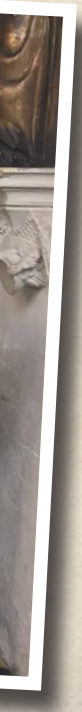
ELIZABETH JANE TIMMS.

Elizabeth Jane Timms is a royal historian, freelance writer and research professional, specialising in British and European Royalty. She is the resident historian for Royal Central, the web's leading independent news site on the Royal Family and the Monarchies of Europe.

ARUNDEL CASTLE

Follow **Charlie Fenton** as she shows us around Arundel Castle, a beautiful castle in West Sussex. The castle has been owned and lived in by the same family since 1138 and has been the seat of the Dukes of Norfolk and their ancestors for over 850 years. This castle was notable during the Wars of the Roses and Tudor period, even if the dukes did only visit the Castle occasionally due to owning several other places in Norfolk and Surrey.

THE EARLS OF ARUNDEL



The 7th Earl of Arundel's tomb is one of the many in Arundel's amazing Fitzalan Chapel. He was made a Knight of the Bath and Lord Maltravers by Henry VI in 1526, as well as Duke of Touraine in France soon after by the Regent Duke of Bedford. After a leg injury and subsequent amputation at Beauvais in 1435, he died aged twenty-seven. His tomb shows him in full armour and, in the typical style of the later Middle Ages, his cadaver lies underneath. **(see left)** His son died at the age of ten and so the Earldom passed to his uncle, William, a Yorkist. He was rewarded for his loyalty to the Yorkist regime by being made a Knight of the Garter, Governor of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports. He even married Lady Joan Neville, sister of the infamous 'Kingmaker'. The couple has a fine gothic chantry with stone effigies on the south side of the Fitzalan Chapel. The lasts Earls of Arundel had close ties to Henry VIII, with the 11th Earl being a close friend of his and supporting the King in his attempt to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, and the 12th Earl being a godson of the King as well as

a Knight of the Garter, Deputy Governor of Calais and a participant in the Siege of Boulogne in 1544. On his death, Arundel Castle passed to his grandson, Saint Philip Howard, 13th Earl of Arundel and the eldest son of the 4th Duke of Norfolk.

The Castle passing onto the Norfolk family was made possible by a strategic marriage between Mary FitzAlan, daughter of the 12th Earl of Arundel, and Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk. As her brother predeceased her, both she and her sister were co-heiresses to the earldom of their father. Mary and Thomas married in 1555 and they had one son, Philip Howard, born the following year. Sadly, Mary died eight weeks after his birth. Thomas remarried several times after and notoriously tried to arrange a marriage to Mary Queen of Scots in 1569. For this, he was imprisoned and executed. However, a rosary and prayer book belonging to Mary Queen of Scots are still housed at the Castle and the rosary is currently on view for visitors. The rosary beads are of gold and enamel and were carried by Mary at her execution at Fotheringhay castle and bequeathed by her to Anne, Countess of Arundel, wife of Saint Philip Howard. Her prayer book was given to Lord Herries by Mary after the Battle of Langside in 1568 when she sought refuge in his house at Terregles. **(see left)**

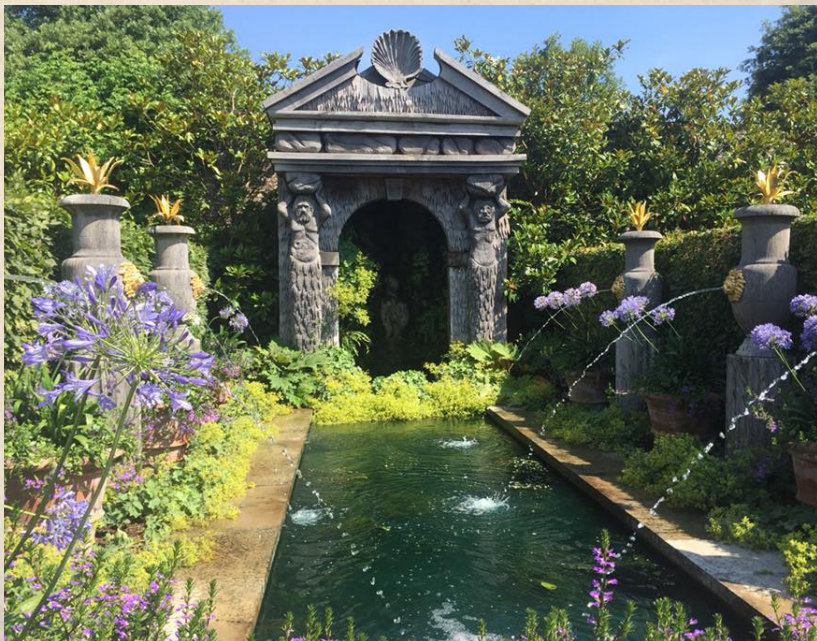
The 13th Earl of Arundel was a staunch Catholic, not an easy position to be in at this point in Elizabeth I's reign, and tried to leave the country without her permission. However, he was soon captured and imprisoned in the Tower where he died of dysentery ten years later. He was canonised by Pope Paul VI in 1970 and his remains are now enshrined in Arundel Cathedral, just down the road from Arundel Castle.

The 14th Earl of Arundel is also known as the 'Collector Earl' due to his fondness for collecting art, furniture, tapestries and many other things. This is evident as you walk around the Castle, with artwork covering nearly every wall and there being many examples of 16th-century religious items, as well as heraldic items from the Norfolk collection on display.

THE BUILDING AND GROUNDS

Arundel Castle is a great example of both a medieval castle and a stately home, with the oldest feature being its 100-foot motte, constructed in 1068, followed soon by the gatehouse in 1070. Henry II built most of the stone castle, although it was badly damaged during the Civil War. The building has since been repaired and restored, but thankfully there is still much of the old castle to see. One of my favourite parts of the building is the stunning library, which is worth a trip on its own and is one of the most impressive I have seen. **(see above)**

The grounds at Arundel cover over 30 acres and the main attraction is the historic garden, something that is worth a wander through even if you are not usually interested in it. One part of the garden that may be of interest to most readers is the Collector Earl's Garden. It was opened by the Prince of Wales in 2008 and is a tribute to the 14th Earl of Arundel. It is in the style of a Jacobean formal garden and a recreation of what the Earl's garden may have been like at Arundel House, his town palace near the Thames in London.



THE FITZLAN CHAPEL

The Fitzalan Chapel is another place in the grounds of Arundel Castle that is worth a visit. It was founded in 1380 by the 4th Earl of Arundel and was originally a collegiate chapel with secular priests. However, in the reign of Henry VIII the college was dissolved and so the chapel was returned to the family and has been the private property of the Earls of Arundel and the Dukes of Norfolk ever since. It is one of the few to remain Catholic after all this time. The chapel is still used as the burial place of the Dukes of Norfolk and several masses are said there every year for their souls in the accordance with the intention of the founder.

I would recommend visiting this castle to anyone who has a chance. It can be a little expensive, especially if you want to see everything as you have to pay more to see things like the main bedrooms, however, it is worth it and you can easily spend four or more hours there on a nice day.

CHARLIE FENTON

Bibliography

- Arundel Castle Guidebook
- The Fitzalan Chapel Guidebook
- Dukes of Norfolk by John Martin Robinson

Charlie Fenton is the tireless book reviewer for the Tudor Society, and is also the author of "*1066 in a Nutshell*", a book which tells of the build up to the battle of Hastings, a moment which changed the history of England forever, and saw the building of castles across the land, including the Tower of London.

Henry VIII the tax-man cometh.

Recently, in a brief bout of madness, we decided to move house. Fortunately, the moment passed but not before we had had some estate agents come to value our home of forty years. Eager to impress, one agent – noting the hundreds of history books on the shelves: an excellent reason *not* to move – informed me that it was Henry VIII who introduced stamp duty on property sales. The reminder that a large chunk of tax would have to be added to our financial arithmetic swiftly made us reconsider our rash idea. In fact, we changed our minds about moving, which was never the agent's intention, I'm sure. However, I decided to look into whether Henry VIII really was the guilty party in this and discovered that he wasn't. Stamp duty was introduced in 1694, so King Hal was off the hook – well, almost.

Apparently, Henry in his later years was reluctant to discuss financial matters with anyone. Living lavishly meant his coffers were usually empty and, like many people with cash-flow difficulties, he didn't want to talk about it. So he came up with an idea that he could increase the rate of taxes already on the statute books, or invent new ones and apply them retrospectively if he wanted to, all without consulting anyone else. Shockingly, the legislation for this undemocratic method of raising taxes, 'The Statute of Proclamations' of 1539, remains current and is still known as 'Henry VIII's clauses'.

What is more, the British government continues to use these clauses, particularly to put up the rates of existing taxes, often on things that Henry could never have dreamed of using as a means of making cash. Value Added Tax (VAT), tobacco products duty, fuel duty, air passenger duty, landfill tax and gaming duties can still be changed at the government's whim and so can Stamp Duty Land Tax (SDLT), as it is termed today. A decade ago, there was a half-hearted attempt to remove the possibility of retrospective charging from the clauses, but the government made vague promises, to the

effect that it wouldn't do that anyway, and that worrying option, invented by Henry, still remains open.

Despite Henry's innocence of the invention of stamp duty, he did come up with one idea which, with the present fashion trend, could reap huge benefits for the Treasury: a tax on beards. In 1535, a sliding tax was introduced on any man with a fortnight's growth of facial hair or more. So the designer stubble look would have been exempt, as was the king's own chin adornment, of course. The payment due was related to the wealth of the bearded man, not to the bushiness or overall length of growth – a relief for poor men who couldn't afford a barber's attentions or even a decent razor. However, it was noted at the time that the enforcement of this bizarre tax was difficult to achieve and frequently lapsed. This didn't prevent Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia, from introducing a similar tax on beards on his hirsute countrymen in the later 1600s.

Henry himself had little liking for the tax-man. He commenced his reign in 1509 with a flourish, condemning on trumped up charges and executing his father's two most efficient tax-men. By this means, he delighted his subjects but must have made anyone wary of taking on the job in future. Edmund Dudley and Richard Empson paid the ultimate price for their efficiency in replenishing the royal treasury for King Henry VII. Succeeding to the throne with such extensive wealth as his father had accrued, the new king probably assumed he would have no further need of such men, but his spendthrift ways soon proved that assumption wrong. Like it or not, taxation is the lifeblood of government, as young Henry soon realised.

Edmund Dudley had been educated at Oxford and studied law at Gray's Inn in London. Born in Sussex sometime between 1462 and 1472 – sources vary – he was Member of Parliament for Lewes, became a Privy Counsellor, served as Speaker of the House of Commons and President of the King's Council during the reign of Henry VII. Dudley and his colleague, Richard Empson must have been loathed by the English aristocracy because their most important service to the first Tudor monarch was to collect debts and fines owed to the king. They made sure that every man of consequence in the land had to pay exorbitant sums for maintaining liveried servants, men-at-arms or improving their castles and manor houses. They were even required to pay surety, to guarantee their own good behaviour towards the king. Henry Tudor would not be plagued by rebellious nobles as his predecessor Richard III had been. While collecting these dues, Dudley also made certain that a fair proportion of them went into his own purse.

Richard Empson was older than Dudley, born in Northamptonshire c.1450. Like his colleague he studied law, was also an MP as Knight of the Shire of Northampton and Speaker of the House of Commons. In his fifties, Empson was knighted on the occasion of young Prince Henry (the future Henry VIII) being created Prince of Wales in 1504, after the death of Prince Arthur. Continuing in Tudor favour, Empson was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster – another lucrative financial office – and High Steward of the University of Cambridge. But the king who had made Dudley and Empson so wealthy died in April 1509 and within days the two were under arrest by the new monarch. They were charged with the

crime of 'constructive treason', but rather they were being punished for their rigorous and unpopular methods of tax-collecting. The action also meant that the nobility was grateful to Henry VIII for the removal these intimidating officials – at first, at least.

Richard Empson was tried and convicted at Northampton in October 1509 and was later attainted by Parliament. That meant all his property, wealth and titles went to the Crown and couldn't be inherited by his heirs after he was beheaded on the 17th August 1510. However, since it was a trumped up charge, Parliament eventually reversed the attainder and Empson's son Thomas was permitted to inherit in 1512.

Edmund Dudley was also tried and convicted and kept imprisoned at the Tower of London. He was planning some method of escaping from the fortress, but when he wasn't immediately attainted, he hoped he might be pardoned and put his escape on hold. But there was no pardon. Like Empson, he was attainted and beheaded on Tower Hill on the same day as his one-time colleague. However, the name of Dudley lived on and his descendants led far more colourful lives than Thomas Empson seems to have done.

Edmund's eldest son by his second wife Elizabeth Grey did extremely well. John Dudley became Earl of Warwick and then Duke of Northumberland. When Edward VI's uncle and Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset, fell from favour, John replaced him and after young Edward died in 1553, John hoped to keep England Protestant by putting his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, upon the throne. So, for nine brief days her husband Guildford Dudley, Edmund's grandson, was in effect King of England. Of course, Mary Tudor had other ideas and the whole affair ended in tears and a number of beheadings, including those of John, his son Guildford and the unfortunate pawn, Lady Jane.

But the Dudleys weren't finished yet. Another of John's sons, Robert, was imprisoned in the Tower of London at this time and so was the queen's sister, the Princess Elizabeth. Somehow, the pair communicated and must have formed an affectionate friendship, a bond based on the likelihood for either or both of them of an imminent appointment with the executioner. Yet they survived Mary's turbulent reign. Elizabeth became queen with her intimate Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, at her side as her Master of Horse. Despite the fact that he was already married, he and the queen were rumoured to be lovers. Maybe they were, or perhaps Elizabeth remained forever the Virgin Queen. We'll never know for sure but she certainly kept Robert on tenterhooks. He even imagined the prospect that he might one day be king. It was not to be. When his wife died conveniently in suspicious circumstances, Elizabeth had to distance herself from her lover, for fear of implication in a case of murder.

The Dudley family, whether tax-gatherers or would-be kings, never fully recovered from the smear upon their name.

Yet, as Benjamin Franklin once said: 'in this world nothing can be said to be certain, except death and taxes'. So if we ever change our minds and move house, I suppose we will have to resign ourselves to paying stamp duty, although a king other than Hal is to blame for its invention.

TONI MOUNT

COPERNICUS
AND ASTRONOMY

"Not from the stars do I my judgement pluck, And yet methinks I have astronomy; But not to tell of good or evil luck, Of plagues, of dearths, or seasons' quality."
- Shakespeare – Sonnet 14

Summertime is often a busy time for stargazers. The warm evenings mean that it's easier to spend long hours outside gazing towards the heavens, and there are often events like the recent lunar eclipse and opposition of Mars, that make stargazing even more fun. Plus, some of the most popular constellations take center stage.

But what of our Tudor Stargazers? What did our friends in the sixteenth century make of the bright lights up above?

The sixteenth century was a head-spinning time to be alive, in so many ways. Changes in religion, economics, and deep societal shifts could lead to dizziness for many. What then, of the consolation of looking upwards, and seeing these same bright beams of light that had provided direction and solace for millennia?

Well, this was also a head-spinning time in the world of astronomy as Copernicus and his heliocentric view of the earth took center stage. This literally turned the world upside down for people who were able to understand and comprehend its implications. No longer did the sun revolve around the earth, but now the earth revolved around the sun.

Our small planet, and by extension humanity - made in the image of God - was no longer the center of the Universe. Instead, a ball of light was the center of the solar system, and we rotated around it. The other planets also rotated around it. We were just one more spinning ball of rock and gas, along with the other ones, spinning around our own sun.

You couldn't be blamed for having an existential crisis if you pondered that one too much.

Several medieval astronomers who had access to some of the mathematics from the Arab world had thrown around the idea of a solar system with the sun in the center, but they were unable to justify it with logic and calculations. It crashed up against their Platonic view of the universe, where everything was orderly and made sense, with the earth at the center. And while they could see that there was, in fact, a mathematical possibility that the earth rotated around the sun, they just couldn't square it with their belief systems.

Copernicus published his landmark work, *On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres*, in 1543.

Newton would finally prove it 150 years later, but even written as a hypothesis it had the effect of shaking the foundations of belief, and was another blow to the Catholic church and the old order of the world. Thanks to a perfect storm, the new ideas could be disseminated easily because of the printing press, and for the rest of the 16th century astronomers and mathematicians would be occupied with proving or disproving the Copernican model.

Let's step back before 1543, though, shall we? Medieval astronomy started to take off in the 11th century as the astrolabe hit the European circuit. It was taught at universities in Europe, but in a way that was influenced by Plato and Aristotle. The Aristotelian view of the universe is that the Earth is an unmoving sphere that sits at the center of the universe. The planets and fixed stars move uniformly around the Earth.

During the Renaissance, in addition to the ancient Greek discoveries, Europeans also discovered the Arabic medical texts. The Arab physicians had studied astronomy extensively because the movement of the stars was useful in medical predictions since they used astrological forecasts. Additionally, every organ in the body had an associated planet that ruled it. This wasn't that different than in some European teachings, but the Arabic doctors had written it all down with precise mathematical calculations.

It's important to put these changes into the context of two major events.

The first is the black death of the 14th century. While on the surface it might not seem like an obvious connection between nearly half the population dying of the plague, and the developments of Copernicus, the immediate effect was that there was a massive labor shortage. People developed new labor-saving technologies that helped alleviate some of the stress associated with the lack of workers.

So we see a great number of new technologies culminating in the printing press. The printing press would be key in disseminating information between scientists around different universities, and in the various responses to Copernicus. It's impossible to underestimate the role of the printing press in fueling the scientific advances of the 16th century.

The next major event that puts this into context is the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453. Constantinople was a Christian refuge surrounded by the Ottoman Turks, and as the city was lost, many Christian scientists fled to Italy. They brought with them original Greek and Roman texts that had been in the enormous libraries in the city. Previously, many of these volumes had only been available through Arabic translations. Suddenly there was this huge influx of Christian scholars to the European universities carrying with them original source material.

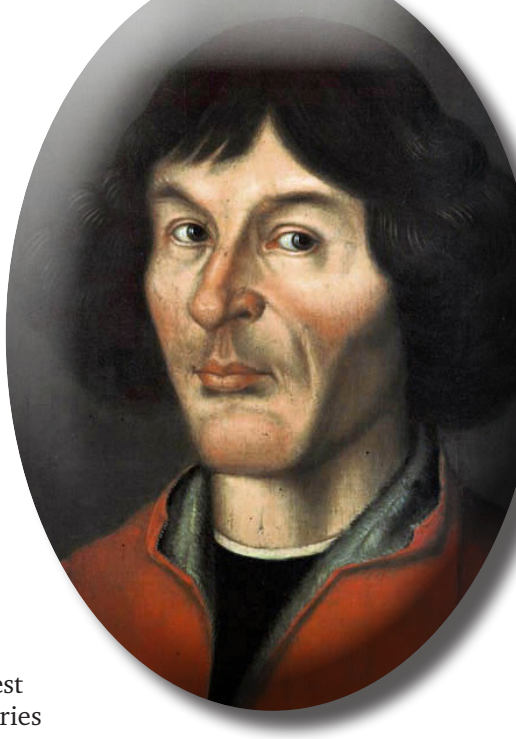
So that brings us to the early 16th century. Both France and Spain had consolidated their smaller kingdoms into larger, centralized nation states that we would recognize today. We see stability after the end of the Hundred Years War, and the Spanish Reconquista. And rather than spending our money on war, we can spend it on things like exploration, books, and learning. We have universities that are teaching material that is literally a thousand years old, but with new information coming in at a much faster pace than people can really keep up with thanks to these new Greek and Roman texts.

The general consensus is that the earth is fixed. It does not move. All of the planets, the sun, the other stars, all circle around the earth on fixed planes. If the earth was moving, surely you would be able to feel it? Also, a major argument against the movement of the earth was that if you shot an arrow straight up into the air, if the earth was moving the arrow would be expected to land in a different place. But it never did. So therefore, the earth wasn't moving. This was, of course, before Newton proved the existence of gravity, and confirmed the Copernican view.

People had questioned Aristotle from the beginning, but the problem with that is that once you start to poke holes in Aristotle, you poke holes in everything. The lovely thing about Aristotle is that he provides an answer to everything. It's like a puzzle that fits neatly together, and if you say that one piece is incorrect, pretty soon you're rearranging the entire picture. The earth, the planets, everything fits in Aristotle. But as soon as you pull one piece out, the whole piece collapses. This had always made people nervous when they started poking holes in Aristotle.

So along comes Copernicus.

His teachings found a home in England thanks to the unique situation of the English church. The Lutherans hated Copernicus. The Catholics hated Copernicus. But England and Tudor Astronomy had something no one else had. England had John Dee. John Dee is a curious person. He was a mathematician, scientist, and occultist. He was one of the last great men of this generation before the scientific revolution where scientists could be expected to study the stars in order to cast horoscopes. Where the hunt for the Philosopher's Stone was a major impetus in scientific advancement. The occult and hard science were intertwined in ways that we would find difficult to believe. John Dee had one of the



largest libraries in Europe. He also had a conjuring table.

In many ways, England was unique in astronomy because England had John Dee, who was open to these new ideas. The entire way that people understood their relationship with God was that humans were God's unique creation. Humans were made in the form of God, to represent God. Humans were special. Therefore, everything revolved around this special place that God created just for humans. The stars were permanent and fixed, and ruled by God alone. What did it mean for humanity to know that this place, created by God especially for humans, was just one more planet in a grand universe?

It took someone like Dee, who was open to thinking about these new ideas, to bring them into England, and it was a student of Dee's who was the first to publish the Copernican theories in England. I'll talk more about that student, the surveyor Thomas Digges, and how surveyors studying the land of dissolved monasteries affected astronomy in England, in a future column. For now, take a moment to go outside and look up at the night sky, and consider those constellations that have so hypnotized people for centuries.

HEATHER TEYSKO

Charlie Tudor Books

MARGARET TUDOR

by Sarah-Beth Watkins

Margaret Tudor has always tended to be neglected by historians, with many favouring her brother, Henry VIII, or her sister, who is known for falling for and marrying Charles Brandon. Sarah-Beth Watkins, having covered her sister and brother-in-law, has recently turned her attention to Margaret herself in this engaging new biography of the woman whose marriage and issue would eventually give us the Stuart kings and queens.

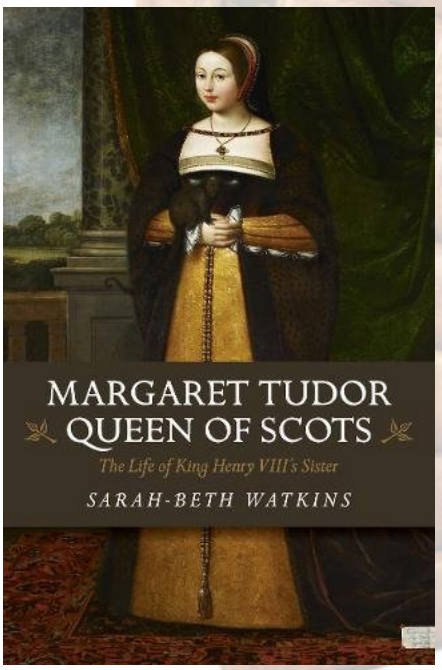
One of the most interesting parts of this book is seeing Margaret's relationship with her father. When we do hear about Margaret, it is generally in connection with her brother, so it is fascinating to see more on the father-daughter relationship. Margaret Tudor was, after all, Henry VII's favourite daughter, so the author tells us:

> *'She was his favourite daughter and at their final parting, he gave her his blessing and a beautifully illuminated Book of Hours. Inside he had written 'Remember yr kynde and loving fader in y good prayers'. Then further in the book, on the blank page opposite prayers for December, he wrote 'Pray for your louving fader, that gave you thys booke, and I gyve you at all tymes godd's blessyng and myne. HENRY R'.' - p19*

I had heard of this gift he gave her before but not the actual words he wrote in it. I think it tells us a great deal about Henry VII and Margaret's relationship and just how close they really were. Many imagine him and other kings as a distant father who just wanted to sell their children to the highest bidder, but this gift shows us this isn't true.

One problem with this book is that the referencing is not exactly consistent. It can be very well referenced in places but in others just cite things like 'CSP Spain' and not give more detail or page numbers. It is clear that Watkins has done her research and it is a shame that we cannot see more evidence of this, especially as she includes some primary sources in full, such as the marriage vows Bothwell said on behalf of James IV and what Margaret responded with. However, I still like that the reader is being able to read these for myself and come to my own conclusions about certain events.

I am glad that we finally have a readable and interesting biography on Margaret Tudor's life. It is fairly short at around 170 pages, however, this works in its favour. It enables the author to tell the story fairly quickly and not bog down those new to the subject with unnecessary details. It also allows Watkins to explain the ever-changing political situation in Scotland clearly, which is useful as trying to understand exactly what happened can get a little confusing. I would recommend this book to anyone who wants to know more about Margaret Tudor's life and wants a readable biography on this fascinating woman.



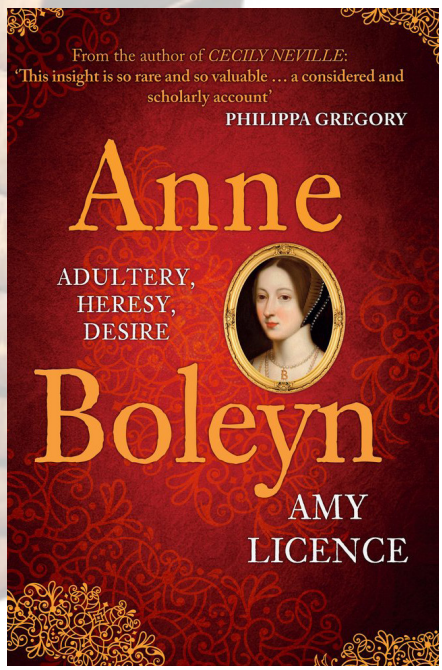
ANNE BOLEYN

by Amy Licence

Anne Boleyn – Amy Licence

Anne Boleyn is still one of the most popular of Henry VIII's wives, with new documentaries, fiction and non-fiction on her being released regularly. With many books already published on her and the lack of new information, we could wonder if there is any point in releasing another book on the ill-fated queen. However, Amy Licence's book *Anne Boleyn: Adultery, Heresy, Desire* comes as a breath of fresh air, with the author providing a readable yet substantial biography on Anne.

Licence's first port of call is Anne's birthdate, something that historians still haven't quite decided on, with some arguing for a 1501 birthdate and others for 1507. She explores the possibility of both, looking in great detail at what indicators we have for either of them, before arguing for a 1501 birthdate. She also explains why there may have been some confusion, as Cecil wrote down her date of birth, but his handwriting does make 1s look like 7s, before looking at other possible indicators of a 1501 birthdate, such as Anne complaining to Henry about wasting her childbearing years, which would have been odd if she was 21 or 22 when she married him.



Unlike some other historians, Licence does not completely dismiss Cavendish's version of events in regards to Anne and Henry Percy. Cavendish suggested that Henry VIII was already interested in Anne, which many dispute due to their relationship not beginning for a few more years, and that is why Wolsey had to intervene. I am glad that she has at least explored the possibility that he may have been correct, even if she still came to the conclusion that he probably was wrong.

> *'This comment is often dismissed as incorrect, as Anne Boleyn's relationship with Henry did not begin for at least a couple more years, around 1525 or 1526, but we should be careful not to reject this entirely... Yet Henry was not committed at this stage. The timing was not right... If he did intervene in the Percy-Boleyn betrothal, it would have been primarily to restore the Butler match for its political usefulness and preserve the Percy-Talbot connection.'*

There is a lot of detail about Anne's early life abroad, although of course Licence has to speculate with a lot of things, but she gives the reader some good background knowledge as to the workings of the foreign courts.

This book includes many interesting documents, including an interesting appendix detailing Anne's bills and debts. Licence also included large parts of Henry's love letters to Anne while analysing them, so the reader can see her points and make up their own minds too.

One of the best biographies on Anne Boleyn, it is readable yet well researched. It explores her early life in great detail, which is no easy feat and suggests new theories and ideas in regards to her relationship with Henry VIII and other men. I would recommend this book to anyone interested in the second queen of Henry VIII or who enjoyed Licence's other book on Catherine of Aragon.

CHARLIE FENTON

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

MEMBERS' BULLETIN

WOW!

This magazine is our fourty-ninth edition, and it marks our fourth anniversary! I can't believe how fast those four years have flown past. We've had magazines with topics as far ranging as ghosts, all of the Tudor monarchs (and even Richard III!), we've focussed on Henry VIII's wives, art, religion, music, sex, the Tower of London, health, wealth, science, propaganda, childhood, death, everyday people, ladies in waiting, myths, mysteries and more.

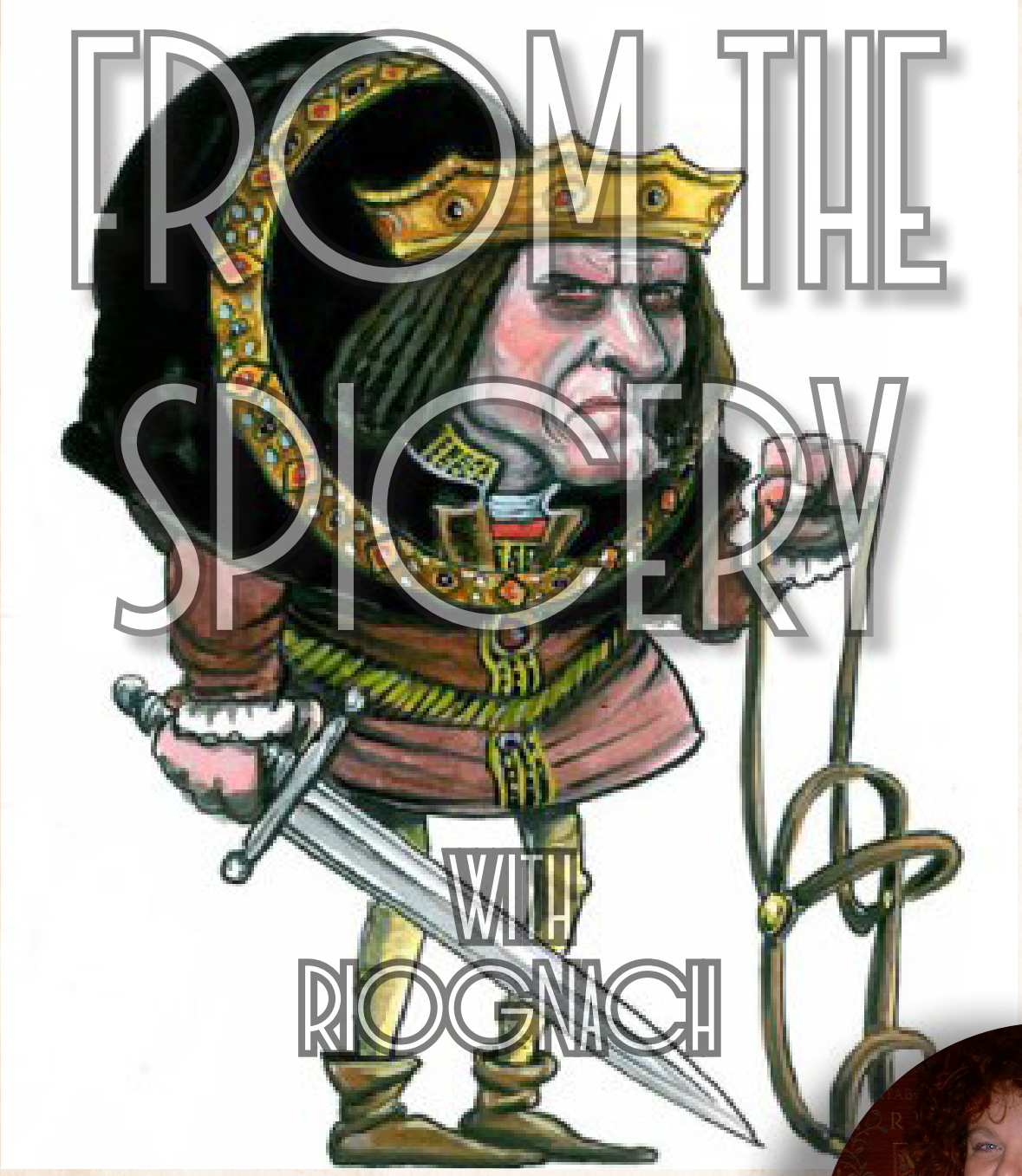
It's genuinely humbling to know that over 4000 pages of the magazine have already been created and enjoyed by our members. And we're all set to keep the magazine going.

I would like to personally thank every contributor to the magazine, past, present and future, for the amazing research you do, the incredible writing that you create and the unbeatable way that you have chosen to share your knowledge with the members of the Tudor Society.

Of course, no magazine can run without its regular contributors and team, so an extra special thanks goes out to our editor, Gareth Russell, to Catherine Brooks for her work in the background of the society, and also to all the month-in-month-out people who contribute their articles.

And, last, but not least, I would like to thank YOU, our member, for your continued support of the Tudor Society. We are working to help historians continue their research into the topic you love so much. Your membership money goes to keeping the website running, to paying for our monthly guest experts, to paying for the contributors to this magazine, paying for the time to lay it out and so many more things. Thanks to your support, we're able to continue to bring the best possible articles and information to the world.

Tim Ridgway



ON FIFTEENTH CENTURY FEASTING

A 'typical' (reproduction) 14th Century dining setting

This is the first of three articles dedicated to the changing tastes of feasting from the perspectives of Ricardian, Tudor and Elizabethan periods of history. But, before my inbox runneth over with outrage, I am aware that Richard III may not be particularly popular with this Society. Regardless of your personal opinion (I'm an ardent Yorkist– so bite me ☺), everything has to start somewhere; and for me at least, Richard III is as right a place as any. It is also worthwhile remembering that the Tudors were exposed to what happened within the European courts, and would have brought in-fashion trends back to England in a perpetual game of keeping-up-with-their French relatives.

Fifteenth Century England found itself in a rapidly changing world. This period of history is widely acknowledged as an integral period between the late Middle Ages to the early Renaissance period. Society and technology were evolving at a rapid pace, and changes in the religious world were not far behind. The fall of Byzantine Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks forced many European nation states to find alternative trade routes, resulting in a golden age of discovery. New trade routes were discovered by Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch explorers, with the French not too far behind.

Amongst the wars, technological changes (Johannes Guttenberg's invention of the moveable typeface; easily the most important) and societal development (including the establishment of purpose-built psychiatric hospitals) came more formalised banking and finance structures. Once an occupation no one readily admitted to engaging in, banking and commerce families financed wars, exploration and trade. It is through the hunt for new trade routes that we can see the beginning of changes in what people ate, and how they ate it. Exploration and trade brought all manner of new and exotic things into the European market, some of which were treated with amusement or

suspicion. Everything from Australasian cockatoos, to Iranian saffron, was now available to the discerning connoisseur. Provided said connoisseurs were wealthy enough, that is.

Spices were perhaps the most public and ostentatious display of wealth one could aim for. Being able to afford the latest in spices indicated that one had money to burn, and had a reliable network of connections to exploit. Despite their hideously expensive price tag, spices don't appear to have been used with any great restraint. Sandalwood (aka Saunders) and saffron were frequently used to colour and perfume everything from savoury pastries to delicate wafers and marchpanes (aka marzipan). Black pepper and cinnamon, cloves and ginger, and the fantastically-named Grains of Paradise (aka Aframomum melegueta or Malabar Pepper) were all used with gay abandon, and frequently took centre stage at any grand feast. However, when it came to the use of more locally sourced (and therefore more 'humble') items such as parsley and sage, rosemary and thyme, they appear not to rate much of a mention at all. In fact, they seem to suffer from the same image problem as pulses, legumes and vegetables.

An excellent source of extant information is provided by the fifteenth century ledgers of King's College in Cambridge, known as the "Common's Books of King's".[1] The ledgers contain details of what was consumed by the staff and students at King's on a weekly basis. Amongst the listings are the usual suspects of meat and fish, various condiments, sauces and available beverages, but curiously, fruits and vegetables don't appear to rate a mention.[2] I suspect that this is a reflection of the general attitude towards fruits and vegetables at the time; this being that they were common and thus didn't rate a mention. This is not to say that vegetables and fruits, pulses and grains were not part of the medieval diet. We know for extant cookbooks of the time (of which *Forme of Cury* and *Le Managier de Paris* are excellent examples) that these items were most certainly eaten. However, foodstuffs that grew directly in the earth appear to have suffered from an image problem.

Unsurprisingly, fish and seafood featured prominently in the daily diet of the residents of King's College. The King's ledgers cite eel as the most common type of fish eaten at the college.[3] Eels were incredibly common around the waterways of Cambridge, and as anyone who has ever spent time catching them knows, eels are easily caught; if rather slippery. Various varieties of fresh and saltwater fishes are listed in the ledgers, but curiously 'seafood' (other than shoreline molluscs such as oysters and whelks) does not. I did find the distinction in the ledgers between 'fresh' fish and 'non-fresh' fish to be unintentionally quite humorous.[4] I don't suspect that the college staff were trying to pull the wool over anyone's eyes with this reference, as it is pretty obvious when fish is off. I suspect this is more to do with the difference between freshly caught fish, 'preserved' fish (being pickled or dried) and the Icelandic 'treat' that is *Kæstur hákarl*, or fermented Greenland shark.

---

1 Soyer, F *Dining at Kings in the Fifteenth Century*, pg 1 (http://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/sites/default/files/archives/dining-fifteenth-century.pdf)

2 Soyer, *ibid*, pg 1

3 Soyer, *ibid*, pg 2

4 Soyer *Ibid*, pg 2

We know from the existing evidence the feasts given by Richard III that fish does not feature a great deal. Obviously, if a feast were held on a Friday or a Sunday, or on Lent, then fish would have to have featured quite prominently. Having said that, I would suggest that if Richard was the less-than-pious king (as he is frequently portrayed), then he could have potentially used the 'royal prerogative' and decided that venison was indeed a very rare fish. I have found more than one reference arguing that animals for the order *Cet*acea (whales, dolphins and their kin) were thought of as fish because they lived exclusively in the sea. Similarly the Barnacle Goose (*Branta leucopsis*) was considered to be the spawn of the Goose Barnacle, and thus a weird type of mollusc. So much so that Giraldus Cambrensis recorded Irish monks partaking of Barnacle Geese during Lent.[5] Obviously, those particular Irish monks had had enough of a pescetarian diet!! On that note, I find the reference to the monotonous diet of Lent 1467 being joyously broken at King's with a 'celebratory dinner of 5 calves heads'[6] to be rather funny (if slightly gross to this modern medeivalist's taste buds).

Regardless of station, both Richard and his court, and the staff and pupils of King's enjoyed a significant amount of meat in their diets. The King's College ledgers indicate that the college owned several productive landholdings and employed at least one butcher on a semi-permanent basis, and that a 'nose-to-tail' usage philosophy was used employed[7]. This is mirrored is the Ricardian feast dish of a boar's head; typically garlanded with bay and laurel[8], and perhaps served with a piquant sauce. The fact that there are references to the more humble parts (and potentially less desirable to the modern medievalist) of an animal being eaten, such as *'umbles*, restores my faith in medieval culinary habits. The concept of 'waste not' is anything but new in the medieval world; a percentage of each meal's *remove* being given away for alms (in some unscrupulous incidents, being sold), and even the gravy-soaked bread trenchers being given to the poor. Modern images of breathtakingly elaborate and equally wasteful medieval feasts come to us courtesy of Hollywood and are an excellent example of never letting the facts get in the way of a good story.

It goes without saying that tastes change over time. What was popular for dinner in the Fifteenth Century (like the aforementioned calves heads) may not be so appealing to modern diners. Some typically medieval foods include lampreys and eels (I am very partial to smoked eel served with lemon and grainy bread), peacocks and swans, and all manner of other smaller and frequently overlooked songbirds. It almost seems that our Fifteenth Century ancestors shared a similar food philosophy with the Romans, who we know regularly ate the very smallest of wrens, through to the largest ostriches. But I digress. Dairy products were frequently served, but almost always as part of something else. There was no such thing a 'cheese course'

5 Wilkins, J. Tales of the Barnacle Goose, (http://scienceblogs.com/evolvingthoughts/2006/08/15/tales-of-the-barnacle-goose)

6 Soyer, *Op Cit*, pg 3

7 Soyer, *ibid*, pg 3

8 Grey, O. *A Christmas Feast in the Court of Richard III (http://nerdalicious.com.au/history/a-christmas-feast-in-the-court-of-richard-iii)*

as cheeses, and their kin were thought to be too lowly in the overall culinary status of things. This is another example of the sort of culinary snobbery that existed during the Middle Ages. Smallgoods such as sausages, pates and terrines are another example of foods that would not have been served at a royal feast. Again, this is due to their lowly status of being considered a peasant staple. However, I have seen it argued that because the wealthy upper class had relatively easy (and legal) access to fresh meat, there was no need for them to resort to serving sausages, which were preserved (usually by brine or by smoking).

One of the best-preserved examples of a Fifteenth-Century feast is the description of sumptuous meal given by the Count of Anjou in 1455. The Count, apparently out to impress served up a feast of six removes, which contained the following delectable edibles:

> *"a civet of hare, a quarter of stag..., a stuffed chicken, and a loin of veal. The two last dishes were covered with a German sauce, with gilt sugar-plums, and pomegranate seeds... an enormous pie, surmounted with smaller pies ... each (pie) contained a whole roe-deer, a gosling, three capons, six chickens, ten pigeons, one young rabbit, and as seasoning or stuffing, a minced loin of veal, two pounds of fat, and twenty-six hard-boiled eggs, covered with saffron and flavoured with cloves."*[9]

And that was just the first remove! The remaining removes included dishes of:

> *"roe-deer, a pig, a sturgeon cooked in parsley and vinegar, and covered with powdered ginger; a kid, two goslings, twelve chickens, as many pigeons, six young rabbits, two herons, a leveret, a fat capon stuffed, four chickens covered with yolks of eggs and sprinkled with powder de Duc (a sweet spice blend, also known as Poudre Douce) a wild boar, some wafers (darioles), and stars; a jelly; cream with Duc powder, covered with fennel seeds preserved in sugar; a white cream, cheese in slices, and strawberries; and, lastly, plums stewed in rose-water."*[10]

A final course comprising "prepared wines", fruit preserves, and sweet pastries further tempted the Count's already

9 http://seducedbyhistory.blogspot, *Op.Cit*
10 http://seducedbyhistory.blogspot. *Ibid*

well-fed guests.[11] Note that the fruit was not served in raw or *au naturel*. This is in keeping with the western European belief that everything needed to be cooked; failure to do so may result in the accidental death of one's guests.

And just in case the Count's guests weren't wholly sated, a digestive known as *hypocras* was served at the end of the meal. *Hypocras* is still made by modern medievalists by the cold infusion of spices in white wine. The name if the beverage refers to the conical sieve used it its making, the *manicum Hypocraticum*[12], and is a direct nod to the Father of modern medicine.

The Count of Anjou, Rene of Anjou

If the details of the feast held by the Count of Anjou don't overly impress you, I'll leave you with a little gem (an awful pun) I came across concerning a feast given by Amadeus VIII, Duke of Savoy in roughly the same time period. The Duke's master chef, *Maistre* Chiquart, recorded in his cookbook, *Du Fait De Cuisine* (On Cookery), circa 1420, a recipe for a 'restorative broth' that could be served on the morning after the night before. To achieve this miraculous curative, *Maistre* Chiquart is recorded as having boiled a chicken in a "special glass container" with gold and jewels.[13] Now do you understand my awful pun? This recipe really does sum up the sort of completely over-the-top ostentatious nature of feasting during the Fifteenth Century.

As I noted earlier in this article, the Tudors paid close attention to the fads and fancies of the European court, and frequently stove to outdo them. But will Henry VII and Henry VIII do the same? Find out in the next article in this series; *Feasting the Tudors*.

11 http://seducedbyhistory.blogspot. *Ibid*

12 Braeger, A. *The Taste of Medieval Food (*http://www.medievalists.net/2014/12/medieval-food-taste/

13 Freedman, P. *Some Basics of Medieval Cuisine*, in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica*,Vol.11:1 (2007) pg 47.

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

SEPTEMBER'S "ON THIS

1 Sept 1532
Henry VIII made **Anne Boleyn** Marquis of Pembroke, a title in her own right.

2 Sept 1591
Naval commander and explorer Sir **Richard Grenville** died at sea from injuries sustained while commanding his ship, *The Revenge*, in the *Battle of Flores* in the Azores.

3 Sept 1557
News had reached London that the English and Imperial troops had been successful in storming St Quentin. Bonfires were lit, bells were rung and there was singing. The good news was marred, however, by news of the death of **Henry Dudley**.

8 Sept 1560
Amy Dudley (née Robsart), wife of **Robert Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, died at her home, Cumnor Place in Oxfordshire. Her servants found her body at the bottom of the stairs when they returned from "Our Lady's Fair" at Abingdon, and it appeared that she had fallen down the stairs.

9 Sept 1543
The infant **Mary, Queen of Scots**, daughter of James V, King of Scotland, was crowned queen at Stirling Castle.

10 Sept 1515
Thomas Wolsey was made Cardinal.

11 Sept 1561
Mary, Queen of Scots began her first royal progress

15 Sept 1514
Thomas Wolsey was appointed Archbishop of York after having been elected in the August.

16 Sept 1519
Death of **John Colet**, scholar, humanist, theologian, Dean of St Paul's and founder of St Paul's School

17 Sept 1563
Death of **Henry Manners,** 2nd Earl of Rutland, courtier and soldier, during an outbreak of the plague.

18 Sept 1535
Birth of **Henry Brandon**, son of **Charles Brandon**, Duke of Suffolk, and his wife **Katherine** (née Willoughby).

19 Sept 1551
Birth of **Henry III** of France. He was born at the Château de Fontainebleau

22 Sept 1569
Burial of **Amy Dudley** (née Robsart), wife of **Robert Dudley**, Earl of Leicester, at St Mary's, Oxford.

23 Sept 1568
Battle of San Juan de Ulúa, Mexico, between the Spanish forces and English (led by **John Hawkins**). The Spanish won.

24 Sept 1589
Executions of **William Spenser**, Roman Catholic priest and martyr, and layman **Robert Hardesty** at York.

29 Sept 1564
Robert Dudley was made Earl of Leicester, an earldom which had been planned earlier in the year to make him more acceptable as a bridegroom to Mary, Queen of Scots. This earldom was important one. As the Queen put the chain of earldom around Dudley's neck, she "could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck to kittle him smilingly." A loving gesture and perhaps one that was meant to reassure Dudley that he was still hers.

30 Sept 1544
Henry VIII returned to England after his victory in Boulogne.

Robert Dudley

Background image: Kenilworth Castle © Ian Taylor

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY"

4 Sept 1588
Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester died at his lodge at Cornbury, near Woodstock in Oxfordshire.

5 Sept 1548
Early on the morning of 5th September 1548, **Catherine Parr**, Queen Dowager, wife of **Thomas Seymour** and widow of **Henry VIII**, died aged around 36 at Sudeley Castle.

6 Sept 1506
Death of Sir **Richard Guildford**, courtier in the reign of Henry VII, in Jerusalem on pilgrimage.

7 Sept 1533
Anne Boleyn gave birth to the future Queen **Elizabeth I** at Greenwich Palace.

12 Sept 1555
The trial of **Archbishop Cranmer** began in the University Church of St Mary the Virgin at Oxford.

13 Sept 1520
William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley and **Elizabeth I**'s chief advisor, was born

14 Sept 1585
Sir **Francis Drake** set sail from England on a mission to raid Spanish ports.

Sir Frances Drake

20 Sept 1586
Executions of **Anthony Babington**, **John Ballard**, **John Savage**, **Chidiock Tichborne** and three other conspirators near St Giles-in-the-Fields in London. They were hanged, drawn and quartered for plotting to assassinate Queen **Elizabeth I** in the famous Babington Plot.

21 Sept 1578
Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, married **Lettice Devereux** (née Knollys) at his house in Wanstead, Essex.

25 Sept 1534
Death of Pope **Clement VII** in Rome from eating a death cap mushroom.

26 Sept 1592
Burial of **Thomas Watson**, poet and translator, known for his unusual eighteen line sonnets and his Latin works.

27 Sept 1501
The fifteen year-old **Catherine of Aragon** left the port of Laredo in Spain bound for England

28 Sept 1553
Mary I travelled in a decorated barge to the Tower of London to prepare for her coronation.

TUDOR FEAST DAYS

Harvest Home - a moveable feast
Michaelmas - 29 September

Tudor Life

NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

Tudor Life

THE TUDORS AND THE SUPERNATURAL

EMMA TAYLOR
Historical accuracy in "The Witch"

TIM RIDGWAY
Most Haunted Tudor Places

ROLAND HUI
Anne Boleyn and Witchcraft

LAUREN BROWNE
Queens, Poison and Paranoia

PLUS

GARETH RUSSELL
The downfall of Lord Hungerford

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

REGULAR CONTRIBUTORS

Charlie Fenton
Emma Taylor
Heather Teysko
Rioghnach O'Geraghty
Lauren Browne
Roland Hui
Toni Mount
Debra Bayani

LAYOUT Tim Ridgway

VIDEOGRAPHER Tim Ridgway

MAGAZINE EDITOR
Gareth Russell

info@tudorsociety.com

CONTACT

info@tudorsociety.com
Calle Sargento Galera, 3
Lucar 04887
Almeria
Spain

ONLINE

www.TudorSociety.com