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ALL ABOUT ANNE **Geneviève Bujold** The Head of Anne Boleyn Anne Howard, Tragic **Countess of Oxford Anne Shelton PLUS Tudor Godalming** The Hautes at Igtham **AND MUCH MORE**

> Katherine Grey and Edward Seymour By Sarah-Beth Watkins

THE BOLEYNS OF HEVER CASTLE

OWEN EMMERSON CLAIRE RIDGWAY

OUT

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Hever Castle is a picture-postcard fortified manor house nestled in the Kent countryside. It is, of course, famous for its links with the Boleyns, an East Anglian gentry family who rose and fell dramatically at the court of King Henry VIII.

In The Boleyns of Hever Castle, historians Owen Emmerson and Claire Ridgway invite you into the home of this notorious family. Travel back in time to those 77 years of Boleyn ownership. Tour each room just as it was when Anne Boleyn retreated from court to escape the advances of Henry VIII or when she fought off the dreaded 'sweat'. See the 16th century Hever Castle come to life with room reconstructions and read the story of the Boleyns, who, in just five generations, rose from petty crime to a castle, from Hever to the throne of England...



ALL ABOUT ANNE

It's a recurring joke among Tudor historians about the paucity of names. Thomas garners gold medal for its popularity in the sixteenth century - be it Boleyn, Wolsey, More, Cromwell, Howard, Wriothesley, Heneage, Knyvet, Culpepper, Fitzgerald, or Seymour, to name a few who achieved prominence in one reign. A brief glance at Henry VIII's queens shows the Tudor penchant for uniformity with three Catherines, a Jane, and two Annes, the latter of which forms the theme for this month's issue of "Tudor Life". Tracing the Annes, famous in their time and some still in ours, who lived and died in the dramatic Tudor era.

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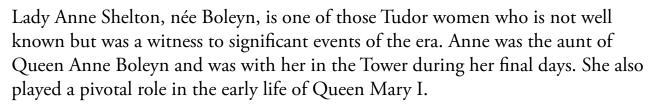
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Anne Boleyn

Lady Anne Shelton, Tudor Noblewoman



Anne was born in 1475 at the Boleyn family home of Blickling in Norfolk, the daughter of Sir William Boleyn and Lady Margaret Butler, who was the daughter of Thomas Butler, 7th Earl of Ormond. She was the sister of Thomas Boleyn who would become an eminent courtier at the court of King Henry VIII. We know little of Anne's childhood but she would have been given an education worthy of her rank. Sometime before 1503, Anne married Sir John Shelton, a courtier of the Norfolk village of Shelton near Norwich.

John Shelton was appointed High Sheriff of Norfolk in 1504 under King Henry VII and served in several offices during the reign of King Henry VIII. The Sheltons did not play a large role in the early years of the court of Henry VIII. Their home of Shelton Hall in Norfolk served as their base and the marriage appears to have been a loving one. The couple had three sons and seven daughters and Lady Anne had her hands full with all these children and running a household.

Lady Anne and her husband began to take a more prominent role at the court of Henry VIII when the king married Anne's niece, Anne Boleyn in 1533. When Queen Anne gave birth to Princess Elizabeth in September of that year, Lady Shelton and her sister Alice Boleyn, Lady Clere were appointed to the household of Princess Elizabeth at Hatfield House on the orders of the Queen. Shortly after this household was launched, the Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, joined the establishment.

Mary had been declared illegitimate and was no longer allowed use the title 'Princess' and was required to be subservient to the Princess Elizabeth. Lady Shelton and Lady Clere were specifically put in charge of Mary and commissioned with enforcing the king's orders of compelling Mary to use the title 'Lady', make her yield completely to her father and to recognize Anne as Queen. Mary refused to submit to any of the humiliations perpetrated against her.

Whenever someone called her 'Lady' she would remind them she was 'Princess'. She remained isolated at Hatfield, having been given the worst lodgings in the house. She would eat a large breakfast so she could avoid eating later in the day in the hall with the others. When Queen Anne heard of this behavior, she messaged Lady Shelton saying if Mary continued in this manner, she was to be starved into going to dinner in the hall, and if she tried to use the title 'Princess', she was to have her ears boxed. Evidence that Lady Shelton was physically abusive to Mary is scant but she could certainly be verbally abusive.

In February of 1534, Lady Shelton was chastised by the Duke of Norfolk and George Boleyn, being told she was too sympathetic and should treat Mary as the bastard that she was. According to the Imperial ambassador Eustace Chapuys, Lady Shelton replied "even if it were so, and that she was the bastard daughter of a poor gentleman, her kindness, her modesty, and her virtues called forth all respect and honor". Lady Anne was between the proverbial rock and a hard place. While she was exasperated by Mary's conduct, she didn't want to be too harsh with her. On the other hand, she had to follow the orders of the king and queen.

Mary's continued defiance of her treatment resulted in her belongings being confiscated and reducing her to beg for money. In March of



1534, when the household moved to a new residence, Mary refused to follow behind Princess Elizabeth in the cavalcade. Lady Shelton ordered Mary be forcibly and bodily lifted into the carriage behind that of Elizabeth for the journey. In September of 1534, the Act of Succession was passed requiring an oath to be sworn that Mary was no longer Princess and her mother was no longer Queen at the risk of being put in the Tower of London or even death.

Thomas Cromwell was pressuring Mary to swear. The king inquired of Lady Shelton if Mary was still being obstinate. When confirmed Mary had refused, the king thought there must be someone who was encouraging her and passing on information from her mother. Lady Shelton suspected one of Mary's maids, Anne Hussey, and the maid was promptly dismissed.

Shortly after this, Mary became seriously ill due to the severe strain, complaining of headaches and indigestion. Lady Shelton called in an unfamiliar apothecary who prescribed pills which exacerbated Mary's condition. Although this may have been an allergic reaction or a psychosomatic response, Lady Shelton was terrified she would be accused of poisoning Mary. The king's physician, Dr. William Butts, intervened to treat Mary and she recovered, allowing Lady Anne to retain the king's trust.

The conditions of Mary's house arrest became more severe. Her visitors dwindled and the names of those who came were reported to the Privy Council. When visitors arrived to see Princess Elizabeth, Mary was restricted to her room where the windows were nailed shut. Lady Shelton tormented Mary, saying if she were the King, she would throw her out of the house for her disobedience. She told Mary the king had said Mary would lose her head for violating the laws of the realm and stated Mary was regarded as the king's "worst enemy".

When Catherine of Aragon died, Lady Shelton waited four days, coming to Mary without ceremony or preparation and told her that her mother was dead. Anne Boleyn instructed Lady Shelton to tell Mary she was ready to reconcile, promised to be her best friend, like another mother and would give her whatever she asked. Lady Shelton reported Mary continued to be intractable. Not long after, Queen Anne was pregnant again and asked Lady Shelton to ease the pressure on Mary. The Queen knew Mary's fate if she gave birth to a son.

Anne Boleyn miscarried this child and Lady Shelton released some of the restrictions on Mary and reduced the harshness of her treatment. Due to bribes from ambassador Chapuys, Lady Shelton even allowed ambassadors to see Mary without the counter-signature required by the king. On May 2, Queen Anne was arrested and put in the Tower, where Lady Shelton was one of five ladies who greeted her. These women were charged with spying on the Queen and compelled to report on every move the she made and word she said.

The Queen was tried and convicted and executed on May 19. Several women accompanied Queen Anne to the scaffold but they are not named. There is a possibility Lady Shelton was one of them but we will never know for sure. For five weeks after the fall of Anne Boleyn, the most extensive pressure yet was placed on Mary to submit completely to her father. After Cromwell's first unsuccessful attempt, the Duke of Norfolk told Lady Shelton to put Mary under constant surveillance day and night and allow no one to talk to her.

Sir John Shelton was made Steward of the Household of Mary and Elizabeth, essentially in charge of the domestic guard. Sir John and Lady Shelton were given the title of Governor and Governess of the Princess Elizabeth after Queen Anne's execution. Their responsibilities included the upbringing and education of Elizabeth. Lady Shelton and her daughters befriended Mary and seem to have treated her fairly. By this time King Henry had married Jane Seymour and Jane was Mary's primary advocate with the king. Mary eventually made a complete and total surrender to her father and went to live at court with him and his new queen. There is evidence that Mary exchanged gifts with the Shelton women in her accounts, indicating Mary retained them in some favor, despite their exacting treatment of her.

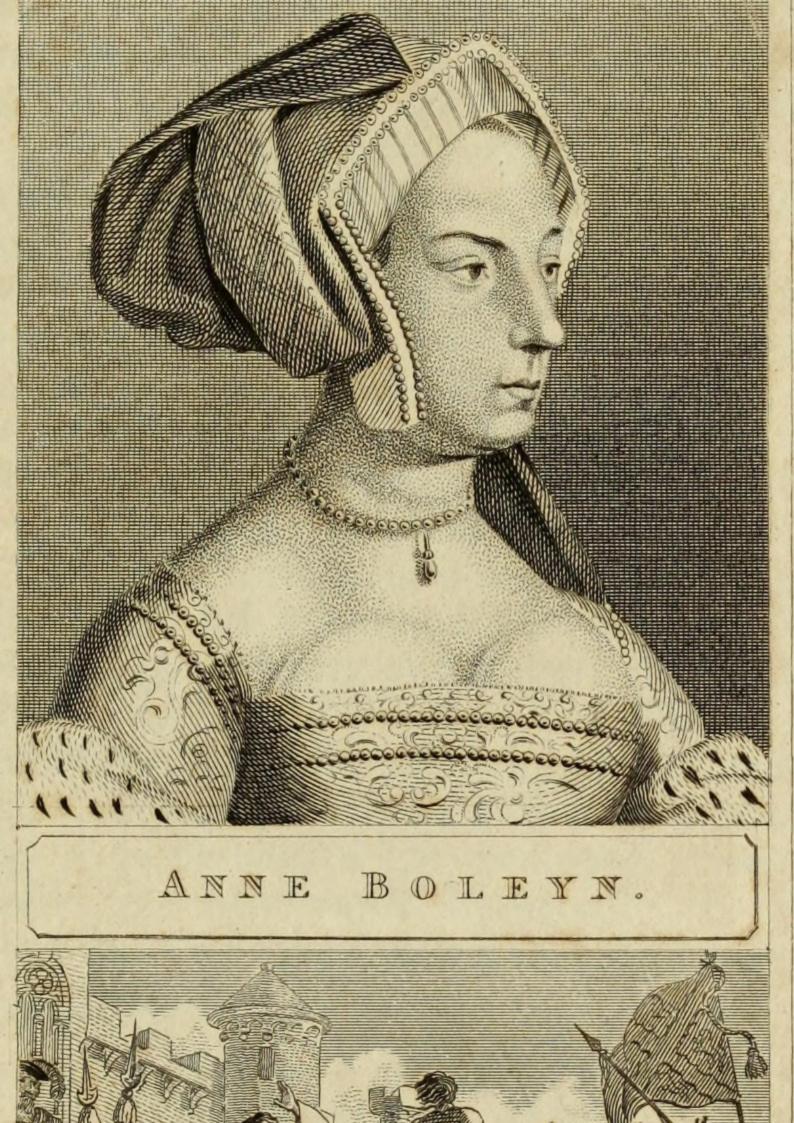
On November 22, 1538, Sir John Shelton was granted the site of the dissolved Benedictine nunnery at Carrow just outside Norwich which became the family home. Sir John died in 1539. Lady Shelton's son John joined Mary's household and was knighted when Edward VI came to the throne. He was one of the first men to declare for Queen Mary at Kenninghall when she was fighting against Lady Jane Grey and her supporters in July of 1553.

When Queen Mary quarreled with her sister, Princess Elizabeth fled to the Shelton family for protection. When Elizabeth became Queen, she summoned the Shelton family to court, where they eventually played an important role. Lady Shelton made her will on December 19, 1558 and it was proven on January 8, 1557, indicating her death was sometime between these dates.

SUSAN ABERNETHY

Further reading:

"The Boleyn Women" by Elizabeth Norton, "Mary Tudor: Princess, Bastard, Queen" by Anna Whitelock, "The Six Wives of Henry VIII" by Alison Weir, "Bloody Mary" by Carolly Erickson, entry on the Shelton family in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography written by Joseph S. Block



The Head of Anne Boleyn

by Elizabeth Jane Timms

'Anne sans tete'. Anne 'without' ('sans') a head is a powerful description of the manner in which she died; poignantly too, the phrase is in French, that language which played its own part in her life story right up until its tragic end.

W^E **KNOW** there must have been a nightmarish parallel for Anne between her arrival at the Tower of London prior to her coronation and her arrival in May 1536. Anne had been given her crown when she was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer in Westminster Abbey; three years later in the Tower, she confessed to Cranmer, and he is alleged to have said on the morning of 19 May 1536 (her execution) that Anne would surely soon become 'a Queen in Heaven'.1 Anne's celestial royalty, as Cranmer saw it, had already been alluded to in her 1533 coronation pageantry: her heraldic falcon appeared crowned, and an angel succeeded the Boleyn falcon, carrying a crown.² Anne Boleyn's badge featured a crowned falcon with a flaming torch in its claw and Tudor roses at its feet. In its grim opposite to her coronation, her execution had all the theatre of spectacle, yet none of its glory. When Anne walked towards the scaffold on Tower Green, she was wearing a gown of grey damask beneath a mantle of ermine, itself a trimming, ever associated with regal coronations. Always a man who first served his King, Cranmer had declared Henry's marriage to Anne invalid on 17 May, and if the story is true, a mere two days later pronounced Anne Boleyn's queenly status in heaven on the morning of her execution. Presumably, for

him, Anne's death would take her up and above any consideration of her legal status into a purely spiritual realm.

The most recognisable portrait of Anne Boleyn is undoubtedly that beautiful picture in the National Portrait Gallery collections, seventeenth-century copy of an original since lost. Around Anne's neck is a string of pearls, with its prominent 'B' and three small pendant pearls. At the time of her coronation, the literal 'crowning moment' of her career, Anne is recorded as having around her neck pearls the size of chickpeas³ and diamonds. Of course, the National Portrait Gallery copy was painted in the century after her execution, so it is poignant to look at Anne's neck in the picture and recall its ultimate fate. Three years later, according to Sir William Kingston's letter to Cromwell, Anne exclaimed that she had but 'a little neck' and circled it with her hand as if already anticipating the moment of her execution.⁴ On 19 May 1536, stripped of all worldly riches, it was Anne's linen coif which held up her hair to keep her neck free, as she awaited the stroke of the executioner's sword. A letter in the Vienna archives describing the execution (though wrongly dated to 16 May 1536) records that Anne's mantle was apparently removed before she was beheaded, as was her English-made hood (interesting, if we consider that the 'French' hood has historically been so closely associated

with Anne Boleyn). The Vienna letter, in Spanish and from a modern copy, alternatively has the linen cap offered to Anne only after her hood had been removed.⁵

Anne's death sentence is thought to have been commuted from the capital penalty for treason for a woman - (burning) to the alternative (beheading) - by none other than the King himself. Another version of this apparent 'mercy' is that Henry is said to have allowed the beheading to be performed not in the English manner (with an axe) but the French fashion (with a sword). Historic Royal Palaces, the independent charity which maintains the Tower of London, repeats the story that Henry permitted this act of mercy to Anne by allowing her to die by the sword instead of the axe.⁶ In a long communication to Charles V, Eustace Chapuys, the Imperial Ambassador relates for his part that Anne Boleyn was pronounced at her trial to be either burned or beheaded at the pleasure of the King; the aforementioned letter in the Vienna archives repeats the tradition that it was apparently the King who commuted her penalty to the latter.⁷ As the axe did not always perform its appointed job at the first stroke - the two attempts necessary to sever the head of Mary Queen of Scots, then a third to cut the remaining sinew, not to mention the ghastly ordeal undergone by Lady Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, being just two examples - it is notable that Anne Boleyn was allowed to die by the sword, which had a better hope of success. Henry's fifth wife, Queen Katherine Howard (and Anne's cousin), would later order that a block be brought to her in the Tower of London so that she might practise upon it before the day came. The block used for Mary Queen of Scots' execution was burned afterwards - as was anything else that bore the Scottish Queen's blood - the same red, liturgical colour of martyrdom she had so controversially worn that morning. In fact,

Anne Boleyn's name was mentioned in Foxe's famous *Book of Martyrs*, but not in

the context of martyrdom. The book was, of course, published during the reign of Anne's daughter, Elizabeth I (1563) and so intended for a Protestant readership.

There is something poignant about the fact that Anne Boleyn was beheaded in the 'French' fashion with a sword, given the fact that to the English, the fascinating young woman from Kent who had arrived back in England fresh from the court of Archduchess Margaret, had appeared far more French than English in her tastes. The sword - essentially a sharp, doubleedged blade - fulfils the same purpose as the early forms of the garrotte and its later development, the (French) guillotine, the blade being understood to be a quicker, more humane form of execution: the guillotine did not have to be used twice at any one time. So, the implication is the same: a sharp blade ensured a merciful speed. At the Tower, Lady Jane Grey would beg her axeman to 'despatch me quickly'.

Given Anne's awful replay at the Tower of London between her coronation and her arrival as a state prisoner, it is interesting that this parallel continues in the symbolism of a sword. The sword, whilst also a weapon, has ancient ceremonial purposes, not least at coronations. At the Restoration, with the re-introduction and recreation of the Crown Jewels, swords were again to be used in regalia as they had been historically; the Jewelled Sword of Offering is offered to the monarch at that part of the coronation ceremony known as the Investiture. (Anne Boleyn, of course, had experienced her own coronation in 1533). Yet there is another point here. If it was understood that the sword was, in fact, Henry's sign of 'mercy' towards the woman he once loved so passionately, there is a ceremonial sword in the Jewels which traditionally Crown was associated with such a virtue, namely, the Curtana. Sometimes called the Sword of Mercy, it has usually been historically associated with coronations. It is so named because its point is deliberately blunted. It was carried between the

two other swords: the Sword of Spiritual Justice and the Sword of Temporal Justice, the latter of which had a sharper end. The present Curtana in the Crown Jewels dates from the early seventeenth century. (Today, the Crown Jewels are housed in the Tower of London in the Waterloo Barracks; Anne's scaffold is alternatively suggested as having stood somewhere in front of this present building). If Anne was being executed symbolically by a Sword of Temporal Justice, she might indeed hope for Spiritual Justice as Cranmer's 'Queen in heaven'. And unlike the Curtana, Anne's sword was presumably not blunted at its tip: the point of its particular 'mercy'.

When Anne Boleyn was executed, it has been suggested that her head was placed upon London Bridge; Chapuys certainly repeated that this was being said at the time, in his letter to the Emperor Charles, dated from London on the very day of Anne's execution.⁸ This was not an unnatural expectation of Londoners, given the fact that it was, after all, traditional practice to spike heads on its southern gatehouse. The (wrongly dated) letter in the Vienna archives describing the execution of Anne Boleyn argues the exact opposite, stating that her head was collected by one of her women in a white cloth and that both it and Anne's body were taken away for burial,⁹ in the 'church' - the Chapel Royal of St Peter ad Vincula within the Tower of London. It does seem reasonable to assume that Anne's head was indeed buried with her body, for whilst spiking the heads of those found guilty of treason was common practice upon London Bridge, the attitude at the time of Anne's death seems rather to have been one of erasure than display. It seems logical to argue that Anne's head belonged back with its body, in a quiet grave within the precincts of the Tower and not on such a public stage as London Bridge, especially when Henry VIII presented Jane Seymour to the capital only weeks later, travelling by barge down the Thames. Heads could usually remain on London Bridge for up

to a month. The private execution of Anne Boleyn within the precincts of the Tower ensured in fact, that she somehow 'disappeared' into the Tower walls, never to reemerge; just like the so-called 'Princes in the Tower' – Edward V and Richard, Duke of York – had in the previous century, but of course, their deaths were not execution upon a scaffold. Anne was buried afterwards.

Sir Thomas More had been beheaded more publicly on Tower Hill, and it is thought that his head was later recovered from London Bridge by his daughter Margaret, who preserved it until the day she died. More's head is now believed to lie buried in the Roper Chapel crypt of St Dunstan's Church in Canterbury, the spot marked by its own slab and inscription, close to the tombs of Margaret and her husband, William Roper.¹⁰ An alternative theory had the head buried in Chelsea Old Church. Like Fisher's body, that of Thomas More lies in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London. According to a Yeoman Warder at the Tower of the London in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula, the present author learned that access to the tomb of Thomas More requires special permission from the Catholic Church. This is presumably because Thomas More was beatified by Pope Leo XIII on 29 December 1886, as was John Fisher on the same date. Both were canonised on 19 May 1935 by Pope Pius XI. Fisher's head was spiked on London Bridge and attracted so much public curiosity because of its fresh appearance that it was apparently cast into the Thames after two weeks. However, it is worth noting that it was customary to boil the executed heads to preserve them from the weather, presumably to make the point of their deaths last longer to an observing populace.

What then, of the executioner of 19 May 1536? His apparent anonymity was supported by the customary mask worn by an executioner at the event: his face remaining secret, like his name. The 'anonymous' identity of the executioner who beheaded King Charles I in 1649 importantly remained so; it has been suggested¹¹ that this is because of the concerns of possible future retribution for his deed - the killing of an anointed king.

Anne was a (former) queen. The contemporary sources indicate that Anne's executioner was a 'swordsman' and expert in his task, sent for especially from France and, more specifically, from Calais. Anne Boleyn had herself made a dark reference to this man, at least according to Sir William Kingston, who reported she had said that she had heard the executioner was 'very good'. Anne would, of course, have seen the figure of this man before her eyes were blindfolded, but she would not have seen the sword itself¹² because it would have been hidden in the straw strewn upon the scaffold at executions. This should lend a tragic (French) note to that language which Henry and Anne had used to communicate in their courtship, reminding us that it could even have been in Calais itself on their way back to England in 1532, that their relationship was at last consummated. Now her 'swordsman' came from Calais. The scaffold became Anne Boleyn's last scene on the English stage. With all the theatre that always attended executions, there were at least far fewer spectators there than at her coronation, thanks to the relative privacy inside the Tower walls.

Researches have enabled the present author to discover a few items of information contained in the published *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* that relate to Anne's 'swordsman' from Calais. Under dockets for sums headed 'Gostwick's Disbursements' is a list of payments. It begins quite normally and then clinically records amongst its more regular entries, a payment to Sir William Kingston of 100*l*, to compose together those jewels and items of clothing which belonged to the late Queen [Anne Boleyn] in the Tower of London, with a payment of 20*l* to Kingston for alms given her to dispose of before her death and one further payment to Kingston of 251 for Anne's meals when she was in the Tower.¹³ Looking in the Letters and Papers between May and July 1536, there was no mention of Anne's executioner. Finally, three months later and contained in the aforementioned volume of Letters and Papers for August 1536, there is one single reference within the same paragraph of payments made out to Sir William Kingston. It directly concerns Anne's executioner from Calais: he was paid the sum of 100 crs 23l 6s 8d for both his services and – for his apparel.¹⁴

When Mary Queen of Scots was beheaded in 1587, her executioner was not sent for from France, as might have been poignantly appropriate for a Scottish Queen who was also a former Queen of France and one whose first language had always been French. By contrast, also, his name is recorded, whatever his public anonymity at the actual event. His name was Bull, and he was paid ten pounds for the job.¹⁵ This was much less in money than had been paid to Anne's executioner, but unlike the quintessentially English Bull, the Calais 'swordsman' had, of course, come from abroad. Today's visitor to the Tower of London's White Tower's top floor is presented with an executioner's block and axe, displayed behind glass. It inevitably attracts a small crowd of its own, just as the Tower's sense of the macabre had appealed to the Victorian tourist with a growing interest in the Gothic. The sight of them powerfully conveys a human impression of how it feels to encounter these death instruments at close quarters; moreover, they are not mocked-up. The block and axe are last thought to have been used for the execution of Lord Lovat in 1747, whose sentence of a public traitor's death was commuted to beheading another apparent sign of the King's 'mercy' - in this case, the Hanoverian King George II. Lovat was also buried in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula. By the end of the 1890s in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula, the coffin plate of Lord Lovat was mounted on one of the walls of the chapel royal, next to the brass memorial tablet listing: '*Buried in this Chapel*'. The executioner's block dates from the eighteenth century, but the axe may even date to the Tudor period;¹⁶ both were once wrongly displayed as having been used for Anne Boleyn's execution. Like so many nineteenth-century plaques, it is a quiet and discreet version of history, with no hint of the human dramas behind its words.

The second entry for 1536 on the memorial tablet, beneath the listing for '*George Boleyn; Viscount Rochford*,' reads simply: '*Queen Anne Boleyn*'.¹⁷ The altar area at St Peter ad Vincula is

- 'Henry VIII: June 1533, 1-5', in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 6, 1533, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1882), pp. 262-275. British History Online http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol6/pp262-275 [accessed 10 January 2021]; cit., Antonia Fraser, The Six Wives of Henry VIII, Phoenix, 1992, p. 314.
- 2. Fraser, p. 238.
- 3. Ibid, p. 237.
- 4. Ibid, p. 312.
- 5. 'Henry VIII: May 1536, 16-20', in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 10, January-June 1536, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1887), pp. 371-391. British History Online http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letterspapers-hen8/vol10/pp371-391 [accessed 9 January 2021].
- 6. https://www.hrp.org.uk/tower-of-london/historyand-stories/anne-boleyn/#gs.po9u9u [accessed 10 January 2021].
- 7. 'Henry VIII: May 1536, 16-20', in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 10, January-June 1536, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1887), pp. 371-391. British History Online http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letterspapers-hen8/vol10/pp371-391 [accessed 10 January 2021].
- 'Henry VIII: May 1536, 16-20', in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 10, January-June 1536, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1887), pp. 371-391. British History Online http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letterspapers-hen8/vol10/pp371-391 [accessed 10 January 2021].
- 9. 'Henry VIII: May 1536, 16-20', in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume

Anne's place of burial, unearthed when the chancel was excavated during the repair works of 1876. The remains identified as Anne's were commemorated by a Victorian plaque bearing her name and coat of arms in the new marble floor laid by the architect Anthony Salvin.

It is here that the body of Anne, presumably with and not without her head ('*sans tete*'), was brought the short distance from the scaffold for burial.

ELIZABETH JANE TIMMS

- 10, January-June 1536, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1887), pp. 371-391. British History Online http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letterspapers-hen8/vol10/pp371-391 [accessed 10 January 2021].
- 10.https://www.dunstanmildredpeter.org.uk/ fellowshipofstthomasmore.htm [accessed 10 January 2021].
- 11.Antonia Fraser, King Charles II, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2002, p. 98.
- 12.Fraser, p. 316.
- 13.'Henry VIII: August 1536, 21-31', in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 11, July-December 1536, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1888), pp. 138-157. British History Online http://www.british-history.ac.uk/ letters-papers-hen8/vol11/pp138-157 [accessed 10 January 2021].
- 14.'Henry VIII: August 1536, 21-31', in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 11, July-December 1536, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1888), pp. 138-157. British History Online http://www.british-history.ac.uk/ letters-papers-hen8/vol11/pp138-157 [accessed 10 January 2021].
- 15.Antonia Fraser, Mary Queen of Scots, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969, p. 659.
- 16.https://www.hrp.org.uk/tower-of-london/whatson/white-tower/#gs.rgwin3 [accessed 23 January 2021].
- 17.Royal Collection, RCIN 2102187.
- 18.https://thechapelsroyalhmtoweroflondon.org.uk/ welcome/the-chapel-of-st-peter-ad-vincula/ [accessed 28 February 2021].

THE TRAGIC COUNTESS: ANNE HOWARD, COUNTESS OF OXFORD by gareth russell



ANNE'S FATHER, THE 2ND DUKE OF Norfolk, worked hard to rebuild Their glory after Bosworth

There were nine countesses of Oxford over the course of the sixteenth century, two of who were called Anne. The first Anne is the focus of this article, daughter of a disposed duke and wife of a dissolute earl, with a story that typifies the problem-prone privilege experienced by many women born into great families in the early modern period.

We do not know when Anne Howard was born, although it was some point in the first decade of the sixteenth - like her Boleyn niece with the same name, that is all of which we can be certain. Her parents Thomas and Agnes

were married in 1497 and there seems to have been several children before Anne was born. Her future husband, John de Vere, was born in 1499 and it's reasonable to assume that Anne was born a few years later. She seems to have been the eldest of her sisters, or her full sisters to be more specific, since we know that she was married by the time of their father's death in 1523, as was her sister Elizabeth, while Katherine was betrothed and Dorothy, the youngest, was unattached. (She later married the Earl of Derby.)

Anne was born into the House of Howard at a point in their history when they were slowly rebuilding their greatness after backing the wrong King at the Battle of Bosworth. Anne's grandfather, John, Duke of Norfolk, had lost his life at that battle; her father Thomas lost his title and his freedom. As a prisoner in the Tower of London, he wisely refused to communicate with rebels, which increased Henry VII's trust in him after the rebellion collapsed. Received back into royal favour, Thomas was given permission to use one of his family's lesser titles - the earldom of Surrey. Anne was thus born to an Earl and a Countess, giving her the right to be referred to as Lady Anne from birth.

The Howards' wealth and prestige had been clipped but not extinguished by their loyalty to Richard III. They were a tenacious and large family; Anne was still a child when her father was restored to the Norfolk dukedom as a reward for leading the English armies to victory against an invading Scottish army in 1513. A dukedom was, and is, the highest title available in the British aristocracies, putting the Howards on par with the King's cousin, the Duke of Buckingham, then later in the reign with his brother-in-law, the Duke of Suffolk, and his bastard, the Duke of Richmond (a second dukedom was added to Rich-

THE FORMER CHURCH OF SAINT MARY'S-AT-Lambeth where Anne, Dowager Countess of Oxford, was buried

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3

mond's, Somerset, so that he definitively outranked them all).

The Howards had an ancient and respected title, however, they were not the most ancient family in the English nobility. They had originally inherited it in contested circumstances when their kin, the House of de Mowbray, became extinct in the reign of Edward IV, Henry VIII's grandfather. To add antiquity to their grandeur, they had negotiated marriages with older families in the aristocracy. Anne's elder half-sister Elizabeth had married the diplomat Sir Thomas Boleyn who, yes, on his father's side came from an upwardly mobile landowning family but, crucially, on his mother's side he was a grandson of the House of Butler, a family in the Irish aristocracy so old and respected that it could be traced back to the Plantagenet conquests and the ancient kings of Ulster. More obvious was the union of Anne's eldest brother, the future Duke, when his first wife was a princess of the royal House of York and his second the daughter of the Duke of Buckingham.

Anne's marriage was certainly part of this process for the Howards because her parents arranged her marriage to the young Earl of Oxford. He was the fourteenth member of his family to hold that title in a line of succession that ran back to the reign of King Stephen in the twelfth century when a de Vere had first been invested as Oxford's earl. The Earl had the rather uninspiring name of "Little John," which some historians assume was cruel commentary on his height, although it seems more likely it referred to his inheritance of the earldom from his uncle and namesake. (Of the five de Veres to be earls of Oxford in the sixteenth century, all bar one were called John.)

The House of de Vere had been Tudor loyalists even before the Battle of Bosworth, so in many ways a match with such conspicuous supporters of the new dynasty was a shrewd move by the once-Yorkist Howards. The aristocracy mattered greatly to Tudor politics, because the landowning classes were the focus and locus of local government - they implemented the capital's orders, as well as preserving peace and justice in their domains. That was the theory and the importance of it is shown by the actions the young Henry VIII took against Anne's new husband. Henry VIII's court in the early days was a place of ribaldry and merriment, but within reason; Lord Oxford's hedonistic penchant for a good time soon saw him attracting the wrong kind of royal attention. Concern grew that John had perhaps come into his earldom so young without receiving adequate training for the role. As he drank more and more, Henry VIII and his chief minister stepped in to make Anne's father, the Duke of Norfolk, a sort of conservator for Lord Oxford, who was placed in his father-in-law's household until his behaviour improved.

Anne Howard, or Anne de Vere as she was after her wedding, had made a good match on paper but a terrible one personally. Who knows what trajectory her life might have taken after her elderly father's death in 1523 the chances of her husband ruining himself, his name and her lifestyle were high. Lord Oxford was received back at court, where once again his love of fashion, hunting, and drinking were obvious. Even darker rumours swirled this time, not just about his high spending and alleged promiscuity, but about his cruelty. Anne herself later told Thomas Cromwell that her husband's servants had tried to poison her in the years after her father's death. She is not clear, however, if this was done with her husband's connivance or from the servants' own maliciousness towards her. Time was not on the young Earl's side and he died, aged 27, four years later in 1526. The exact cause is unknown. He and Anne had no children, so the earldom passed to his second cousin, another John.

Anne de Vere, Dowager Countess of Oxford, carried great and justifiable resentment for the misery she endured during her marriage. She did not re-marry. Attractive, determined and relatively wealthy, she remained an active figure in Tudor high society surviving to see her great-niece succeed to the throne as Queen Elizabeth I, dying in February 1559, 32 years after her incompetent and cruel husband. Anne's life is a terrible warning, in that we can only imagine what she would have endured - as many women of her class did endure - had Little John, Earl of Oxford, not drunk himself into the grave three decades early.

GARETH RUSSELL

Tudor Anne Crossword by Catherine Brooks

ACROSS

- 3. She had a sister named Amalia, and her portrait led to a rumour (untrue) that Henry VIII fired Holbein, saying he had misled him.
- 4. Born in 1475 at Blickling, she was the mother of 'Madge', said to have been a mistress of Henry VIII
- 6. Her great grandfather was a humble hatter, and she almost died of Sweating Sickness in 1528
- Mother of another Catherine Howard, this one Countess of Nottingham, who was a Lady in Waiting to Elizabeth I
- 8. Competed with Dowager Queen Katherine Parr for the position of the premier lady of England after the death of Henry VIII. Her husband was executed in January 1552

DOWN

- Countess of Arundel, daughter-in-law of Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, who converted to Catholicism in 1582
- 2. First wife of Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk, and niece of King Richard III
- 5. Wife of the l4th Duke of Oxford. Her brother, Thomas, died in the Tower following his secret marriage betrothal to Lady Margaret Douglas.

Geneviève Bujold

"She's one of the great actresses. She's smart, sexy, and although she doesn't genuinely believe it, she's also a real star". (Director Alan Rudolph on Geneviève Bujold)¹

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In a career spanning over 50 years, Geneviève Bujold has created a body of work that would make any actress proud. She has starred in several acclaimed films, and along the way, has picked up a Golden Globe Award, nominations for an Emmy and an Oscar, and has won several honours in France and in her native Canada. Bujold has also co-starred with many great names including Katharine Hepburn, Vanessa Redgrave, Charlton Heston, Richard Burton, Jack Lemmon, Christopher Plummer, Clint Eastwood, Alec Guinness, Michael Douglas, Christopher Reeve, Donald Sutherland, and Jeremy Irons.

Geneviève Bujold was born in Montreal, Canada in 1942. Before the 'Quiet Revolution' twenty years later which transformed the province of Quebec in a more secularized and modern society, Bujold's early years were conventional and traditional. The Roman Catholic Church still had a profound and powerful sway over the lives of French Canadians, and as a girl, it was not surprising that Bujold was educated in a Years convent school. later. she reminisced about her mixed emotions of her upbringing. "I was walled-in by fear on all sides. I was brought up to fear God, the Church, priests, nuns, religion".² Nevertheless, despite the restrictive and even oppressive atmosphere in which she was raised, she did find solace in some of it. "I loved the chapel the best. It was so beautiful and quiet, and the polished floors, and the gardens and the lilacs in the spring. There are of course some negative aspects to a religious education, but I remember the beautiful things, and I think it was probably those things which made becoming a nun cross my

mind".³ But joining a spiritual sisterhood was not in the cards for Bujold, especially when at 16, she found herself expelled for reading plays deemed objectionable by the nuns.

Bujold had always been attracted to dramatics. As a young girl, she liked to write and act in plays of her own making. Even at the convent school, her talents were recognised when she was often called upon to give speeches. Still, Bujold had to pay her dues. After leaving school, she worked as an usher in a theatre, and she enrolled in the *Conservatoire d'art dramatique de Montréa*l for her training.

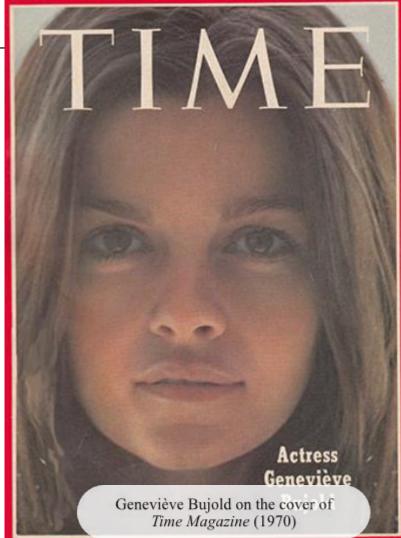
For the next few years, Bujold honed her craft working on stage, radio, television, and in a handful of French Canadian movies. Her biggest break came in 1966 in France. The esteemed director Alain Resnais wanted Bujold to appear in his film *La Guerre est Finie* upon the advice of his mother (she had admired the upcoming actress in one of her film roles). As Bujold later told it, "Suddenly, I got a call. I met him. He had a little camera, and we talked. And he told me something that to this day I try

and practice - always go to the end of your movement - meaning follow through on everything you do. Even if I was young and not wise, I thought, oh, I like that. I am gonna r e m e m b e r that".⁴

Bujold received positive notices for her portrayal of a young radical, and in the same year, she worked with director Philippe de Broca in the cult classic King of Hearts, opposite English actor Alan Bates. Broca was extremely impressed with Bujold and spoke of her in glowing terms. "Geneviève and the late actress Françoise Dorléac are the only two actresses I've ever come across with this special quality. Geneviève played the part of a little girl with the lucid intelligence of a mature woman. Lucid intelligence behind a mask of complete naiveté - she leaves me speechless".⁵ In 1967, Bujold then appeared in Louis Malle's Le Voleur, which was a box office hit in France.

Despite Bujold's growing fame in Europe (she was even a popular pin-up in film magazines which hailed her as 'the girl for today')⁶, she returned to Canada, where she met her soon-to-be-husband, filmmaker Paul Almond. Together, they formed an artistic partnership where he directed her in television, and then in three works: Isabel (1968), The Act of the Heart (1970), and Journey (1972). Bujold's strengths as an artist, Almond wrote in an essay about his wife, were 'the great power, the dedication, and the total giving of herself to the camera, to the audience'.7 Donald Sutherland who was with Bujold in The Act of the Heart was equally complimentary. "Geneviève's like fire and brimstone", he said. "She constantly reminds me of the phoenix coming out of its own ashes because she has this fierce kind of energy".⁸

While Almond's films were mostly targeted towards the 'art house' crowd, *Isabel* nonetheless caught the attention of Hollywood. The famous producer Hal Wallis had acquired the rights to Maxwell



Anderson's *Anne of the Thousand Days*, a play about the ill-fated romance of Henry VIII and his second wife Anne Boleyn. The great Richard Burton had already been cast as Henry, but now Wallis needed an Anne who had the intelligence and feistiness to stand up to this most notorious of kings.

But when Wallis came calling, Bujold turned him down. As she recalled it, she and Paul Almond were living a happy life together in Canada, and she was indifferent to the Hollywood scene. "I was young, independent, and opinionated. I got a call saying that Hal Wallis, the *great* Hal Wallis, wanted to talk to me. He wanted to give me the role of Anne and asked me for a screen test. Me, in my kitchen in the east end of Montreal, said, no, I don't want a screen



test". Not one to take 'no' for an answer, Wallis persevered, and eventually Bujold relented. He was in fact impressed by her boldness, as it was evocative of how Anne Boleyn herself might have reacted, Wallis thought.⁹

Once filming began, Bujold came to identify with the renowned Tudor queen. "Day by day, I discover more about Anne Boleyn, until by now, I know her very well. I like Anne very much. If we had been able to know each other, I feel we would have been good friends. She was an extraordinary, brave person who lived her destiny completely to the full, without accepting things as they were. It's a marvelous role for an actress because there is so much to her, so many different facets".¹⁰ Bujold was also drawn to Anne because of her 'immense willpower and instinct for survival'. As she described her character, "she was all of a piece, lived according to her own rules, keeping Henry out of her bed for five years before he played things her way. She was very fast minded, ten moves ahead of everyone else. When she first meets Henry, she hates him, but hate is close to love. She comes to love him for what he is, which makes her fascinating"¹¹

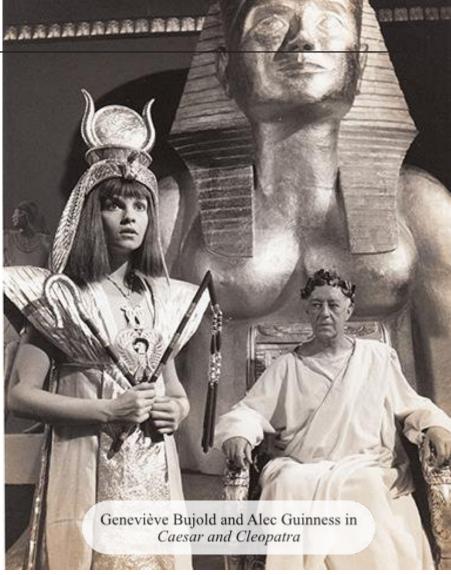
Wallis' instincts proved right. Bujold was a powerful and unforgettable Anne Boleyn. The highly charged scene where Anne confronts Henry VIII on the eve of her execution was especially memorable. According to Wallis, Bujold gave 'a display of acting skill I have seldom seen equalled in my career'.¹² Many critics agreed. Bujold won a Golden Globe Award, and she received an Academy Award nomination as well.

Although Wallis was complimentary of Bujold in his autobiography published in 1980, there was some friction between the two of them after the release of Anne of the Thousand Days in 1969. Shortly afterwards, Wallis had signed on as producer to another historical picture Mary Queen of Scots. As Mary Stuart herself, like Anne Boleyn, had spent her early years in France, Wallis probably thought that this was another role tailor-made for the French Canadian Bujold. But true to her commitment not to roles that she accept was uninterested in, Bujold declined. Perhaps she did not want to be typecast as beheaded 16th century

queens! The part went to Vanessa Redgrave instead.

Bujold's refusal to accept the role led to threats of a lawsuit by Universal Pictures. Eventually, she agreed to star (with Charlton Heston) in the studio's disaster movie aptly entitled Earthquake (1974). It was a money maker, but to Bujold, it was simply something she did to fulfill her contract. Much more satisfying was The Trojan Women (1971) where she played doomed prophetess the Cassandra, opposite Katharine Hepburn as Queen Hecuba, Vanessa Redgrave as Andromache, and Irene Papas (who had appeared in Anne of the Thousand Days) as Helen of Troy.

Throughout the 1970s, Bujold starred in a number of projects, the most noteworthy were the Canadian-made



Kamouraska (1973), which nabbed her a Canadian Film Award; a television adaptation of George Bernard Shaw's Caesar and Cleopatra (1975); and director Brian De Palma's Hitchcock-inspired Obsession (1976). Bujold's biggest hit would be the medical thriller Coma (1978) which co-starred popular actor Michael Douglas. As the movie's producer explained, Bujold was well suited to the part as she 'is both young and old emotionally and in ability. She was the one woman who could do all that on screen'.¹³ Bujold ended off the decade by returning to Canada to work with Christopher Plummer in Murder By Decree (1979), a Sherlock Holmes picture in which her character was the key to solving the mystery of Jack the Ripper. Bujold's appearance was brief, but it was





enough to win her a Canadian Genie Award.¹⁴

Among Bujold's more prominent films in the next two decades were Tightrope (1984) with Clint Eastwood, Choose Me (1984) and The Moderns (1988) for director Alan Rudolph, and The House of Yes (1997). What certainly brought back poignant childhood memories to Bujold was the movie Monsignor (1982), where she played a nun. "I wore a uniform almost identical to the one I wear in the film", Bujold recalled, "all black and white with the itchy stockings. So I certainly didn't feel unfamiliar with the clothes or with the conscience struggle about whether to devote one's life to God".15

But the role that attracted the most attention was one that didn't happen. In



1994, Bujold was hired to be in the television series Voyager, part of the Star franchise. Initially, she was Trek enthusiastic to take up the part of Nicole Janeway, captain of a Starfleet star ship. But as shooting was underway, Bujold had second thoughts. She deemed the production too demanding, and after just a day and a half of work, she quit. In the years since, there has been speculation as to what really happened - was Bujold indeed overworked, or as some of the Voyager producers claimed, she was not a good fit after all. Whatever the case, Bujold had no regrets about leaving, and she returned to motion pictures, a medium she was more comfortable in.

In the new millennium, Bujold continued to work, though in more low key productions. She found greater satisfaction in the roles offered to her in independently made films. Her biggest success was in Still Mine (2012). Bujold played an ailing woman whose husband (James Cromwell, whom royal enthusiasts will recognize for his role as Prince Philip in 2006's The Queen) fights the government in order to build a house suitable for her special needs. Both the film and its leads were given much praise. *The Washington Post* wrote 'Cromwell and Bujold deliver a pair of superb performances'xvi, while Maclean's *Magazine* mentioned that both actors are 'a treat, and they have genuine chemistry together'.17

Bujold's long and impressive career has been recognized by the Canadian government. In 2018, she received the prestigious 'Lifetime Artistic Achievement Award' at the annual Governor General's Performing Arts Awards. As part of a special tribute, there was a musical presentation in her honour, and she was presented her prize by her *Still Mine* co-star James Cromwell.

Earlier, when she was given her medal at a special ceremony, Bujold was humble spoke of the grateful. She and inspirational forces that have always guided her. "Artists live in their interior life", she said in her speech, "and they travel to their sacred space with the influence of the Eternal that guides us and nourishes our creative energy... the arts have the power to heal".¹⁸ To those who are admirers of Geneviève Bujold's work, and have been moved by her performances, they were words well spoken.

ROLAND HUI

1.'Bujold back and packing a 1-2 wallop' (by Bill Brownstein), The Montreal Gazette, 1984.

2.'Geneviève Bujold: The Flame Within', Time (Canadian edition), September 28, 1970.

3.'Bujold Acts Out' (by Jane Huwtin), 1982.

4. 'Classic Hollywood: Geneviève Bujold learned about movies (and food) from the masters' (by Susan King), *Los Angeles Times*, March 8, 2018.

5.'Geneviève Bujold: The Flame Within'.

6.'Geneviève Bujold - To stardom on a cool new path' (by Peter Gzowski), *Maclean's Magazine*, December 15, 1965.

7. 'Geneviève Bujold: In Transition' (by Paul Almond), *Close-Ups: The Movie Star Book*, (edited by Danny Peary), New York: Workman Publishing, 1982.

8.'Geneviève Bujold: The Flame Within'.

9. 'Classic Hollywood: Geneviève Bujold learned about movies (and food) from the masters'.

10.'Geneviève Bujold: Rare Bloom in a Royal Garden', 17 Magazine, November 1969.

11. 'Anne of the Thousand Days - The 1970 Royal Film' (by Betty Jennings), PhotoPlay, March 1970.

12.Hal Wallis (with Charles Higham), Starmaker: *The Autobiography of Hal Wallis*, New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1980.

13.'Off the Screen - I'm Insecure but Strong, Says Geneviève Bujold' (by Robert Windeler), *People Weekly*, March 20, 1978.

14.Although Bujold had no scenes together with them, two of her co-stars were Anthony Quayle from *Anne of the Thousand Days*, and Donald Sutherland from *The Act of the Heart*.

15. 'Bujold Acts Out' (by Jane Huwtin), 1982.

16.Still Mine review (by Michael O'Sullivan), The Washington Post, July 18, 2013.

17. Still Mine review (by Brian D. Johnson), Maclean's Magazine, May 3, 2013.

18.Geneviève Bujold at Rideau Hall, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada (Aug 13, 2018): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=edJdGxo9LkU

Henry VII The Man by Nathen Amin

Anne Seymour, nee Stanhope.

Gayle Hulme uncovers the story of Anne Seymour (nee Stanhope) The Duchess of Somerset and who was the wife of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset

art of our fascination with the Tudor period must surely be the tales of villains and heroes, warrior princesses and scheming nobles.History has judged the personalities of those who walked the halls of power, fought in great battles or struggled for survival, sometimes fairly, sometimes unfairly. In this piece, we will look at The Duchess of Somerset. who, through the intervening centuries, has been seen as both an upstart and a fiercely supportive wife.

Anne Seymour (nee Stanhope) The Duchess of Somerset was the wife of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, for 17 years before his execution for High Treason in January 1552. She was at the heart of court life for most of that time, serving all six of Henry VIII's queens. She bore eleven children (Scard 2016, pp. 313), twice suffered imprisonment in the Tower of London and during Edward VI's reign, she jostled and manoeuvred to be recognised as the highest-ranking female in England.

Born in 1510, she was the only child of Sir Edward Stanhope (1474-1511) and Elizabeth Bourchier (1474-1557). Although Anne could not claim to have rights to the English throne, she was descended from King Edward III through his 7th son Thomas of Woodstock, 1st Duke of Gloucester (1355-1397). Unfortunately, her father did not live long after his daughter's birth, and the only siblings Anne had were from her father's first marriage and her mother's subsequent marriage to Sir Richard Page.

Anne married Edward Seymour in March 1536. The couple had probably been familiar with one another for some time before their marriage as both served at the court of Henry VIII. This was not Edward Seymour's first marriage as he had previously been married to Katherine Fyloll who had died in a convent years earlier. Edward married Katherine when he was 14, and the marriage had not been a happy one. When their relationship broke down completely, Katherine's father agreed her removal to a convent was necessary after it was scandalously alleged that Katherine had been unfaithful and that Edward was not the father of Katherine's eldest son. These doubts over paternity could cause future difficulties for any children that Anne and Edward had together, as, under English law, no illegitimate person could inherit titles, lands or property. There were even suggestions years later that Edward's father, John Seymour, had fathered the boy, but author Susan Higginbottom





disputes this, saying that 'father and son were (not) estranged.'

The solution to any messy disputes and to prevent any dubiety, a private Act of Parliament named 'Assurance of Lands to the Earl of Hertford' was placed before Parliament and passed in 1540 (32. Hen. 8.). The Act ensured that on the Duke's death (then Earl of Hertford), only his children by his second wife would inherit his goods and property. Of course, this was good news for Anne as in the event of Edward predeceasing her, she would not have to rely upon, as so often happened, the generosity of an heir with no blood ties or loyalty to herself.

Immediately after the marriage, Anne became a Countess when Edward was created Viscount Beauchamp. Unfortunately, their honeymoon did not endure, and they had only been married for two months when the scandal of Queen Anne Boleyn's downfall came knocking on the door of the Countess' family. In the spring of May 1536, Henry VIII, irritated and frustrated in his current marriage, began to court Lady Jane Seymour, sister-in-law of Anne. When Jane coyly insisted, perhaps under instruction from her brothers, that she would take no gifts or tokens of affection from the king, the Seymour relatives were employed by Henry as chaperones. With her family members, including Anne, in attendance, Jane's honour would be preserved, and no stain of impropriety would attach to her character.

Due to the combination of Anne Seymour's place within the Seymour family, her presence within Queen Anne's household, and her intermediary role between the king and her sister-in-law, it is reasonably safe to assume that she was fully aware of the seriousness of the king's intentions and the dire implications for the current queen.

The legitimising of the king's visits to Jane was mild compared to the other ghastly spectre that would soon hang over Anne's stepfather, Sir Richard Page. Just days after the queen and her brother arrest's, he found himself a prisoner in the Tower of London accused of unlawful carnal relations with the queen. Although Page was recognised as 'one of her (Anne Boleyn's) loyal supporters' (Ives 2005), no evidence has been uncovered that would link Page to the queen's alleged infractions. It could be argued that since most of the charges have since been debunked, Page's inclusion may have been a smokescreen designed to give the appearance of a thorough and fair investigation. After two months of worry, Page was released on the 12 July 1536 but banished from the king's presence. Could his stepdaughter's familial connection to the new Queen Jane have been the reason why the king saw fit to, as Page put it in a letter, 'give me (him) liberty'?

Perhaps the most well-known slight against Anne Seymour was her 'aggressive behaviour...[and] avarice' (James 2019) towards the Dowager Queen Katherine Parr following the succession of her young nephew, Edward VI (1537-1553). After Henry VIII's death in January 1547, Katherine Parr should have been the premier lady in England, followed by the king's daughters and his quasi sister Anne of Cleves. However, the popular narrative is that when The Duke of Somerset inveigled the position of Lord Protector of England, his Duchess assumed this entitled her to the precedence, clothes, and jewels that were reserved for Queens of England.

The altered dynamic between the two women remained unaffected 'until news of Catherine's clandestine marriage' (James 2019) came to the attention of the king and the Somersets in mid-1547. Not only was the marriage contracted with what was seen as indecent haste, 'before the end of April' (Weir 1997), it was to the dashing, ambitious, but frequently reckless Sir Thomas Seymour. The marital aspirations of the Protector's brother had already landed him in hot water as the council had previously had occasion to upbraid him for attempting to marry the king's half-sister Lady Elizabeth. This marriage was probably exactly what it looked like; by marrying the late king's widow, Thomas was preparing to challenge the new and fragile Protectorate.

Several other factors made the marriage a sore point with both Duke and Duchess. Not only were there running battles between the brothers and sistersin-law over who controlled the young king and, in turn, the kingdom, there were also controversies over the appropriation of Katherine's jewels which Somerset felt should be worn by his wife as they were 'crown property

.' (Scard 2016). For Thomas and Katherine, this was effrontery of the highest degree. Additionally, there were wrangles over properties left to Katherine in Henry VIII's will, and these continued even after Katherine died in 1548. We can perhaps surmise that the real enduring animosity was between Anne, previously Maid of Honour turned premier Duchess and her socialclimbing brother-in-law.

If Anne was tired of Thomas's royal pretensions and wanted him out of the way, she did not have to wait long. In January 1549, Anne's stepbrother, Sir Michael Stanhope, was awoken by 'frantic barking outside the king's chamber' (History Extra 2016). In defence of his master, the king's spaniel had interrupted Thomas's plan to kidnap Edward VI, and Thomas had killed the little dog in the process. Charged and convicted of High Treason, Sir Thomas Seymour was executed on Tower Hill on 20 March 1549.

As always in Tudor politics, when one rival is dealt with, another one quickly appears. In this case, it was in the guise of John Dudley. John Dudley did everything he could to undermine the power of the Somersets, and he finally succeeded on the second attempt to have Somerset confined, convicted and executed. Anne and her brother did not remain unscathed during the fall of Somerset. Dudley, now Duke of

James S. E. (2019) https://www.tandfonline.com/ doi/full/10.1080/23311983.2019.1664863 (accessed 19 June 2021)

Scard, M. (2016). *Edward Seymour, Lord Protector: Tudor king in all but name*. Stroud, UK: The History Press. Northumberland, believed that Anne and her stepbrother Sir Michael Stanhope were heavily involved in Somerset's policy and governance of England. On 26 February, Sir Michael was executed with many believing that "Somerset's spouse, will soon go the same way" (James 2019).

After her first husband's death, she was eventually released from the Tower and married her husband's former steward Francis Newdigate. She died at Hanworth Palace in 1587.

Unlike some widows, Anne remained a wealthy woman. She inherited her second husband's estate on his death in 1582, and on examination of her will and her tomb at Westminster Abbey, we see she was a woman of means. Items bequeathed in her will include expensive items of jewellery such as diamond rings, several chains of pearls, and large sums of money. The imposing momentum erected by her son in 1588 in the St Nicholas Chapel of Westminster Abbey has an effigy of the Duchess in crimson and ermine lined robes and wearing a cornet.

The funerary image of the Duchess would not have been lost on the Tudor world. According to Sumptuary Laws passed by both Henry VIII and his daughter Elizabeth I, ermine was for the exclusive use of royalty, and only those occupying the very top positions in society could wear crimson garments.

GAYLE HULME

https://www.historyextra.com/period/tudor/tokidnap-a-king-the-foiled-plot-to-abduct-edwardvi/ (accessed 19 June 2021) Weir, A (1997). *The Six Wives of Henry VIII.* London, UK: Vintage.





THE HIDDEN LIVES OF

LUDOR WOMEN

The Boleyn Inheritance

GRE

AFTER ÉLIZABETH

HOW TO

BE A

RUTH GOODMA

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IRWIN

Anne of the Thousand Days: The Making of an Epic



For a great look at life in the Tudor period, why not try Ruth Goodman's astonishing "How to be a Tudor" and Elizabeth Norton's "The Hidden Lives of Tudor Women".

Elizabeth Norton is also the author of a biography of Anne of Cleves, as is our contributor Heather Darsie, who looks at Anne in her continental context. For a biography of the other queen Anne in the period, try Eric Ives' or Claire Ridgway's account of her downfall. For the queen Anne whose arrival marked the end of the Tudor period, James I's Danish wife, Leanda de Lisle's "After Elizabeth" is hard to beat.

There have been some great films about Anne Boleyn, with my personal favourite being "Anne of the Thousand Days". 1953's "Young Bess" features a fantastically unlikeable Anne Seymour, Duchess of Somerset, played by Kathleen Byron. (Zinger line? Anne says to Elizabeth I, "Don't try to confuse me by using words I don't understand." Elizabeth's response? "Forgive me, madame, but they're hard to avoid.") In terms of novels about other Annes in the period, there is Philippa Gregory's "The Boleyn Inheritance," which features Anne of Cleves as a lead character, and Peter Hildebrandt's "The Rest is Silence," inspired by the life of Anne Cecil, Countess of Oxford.

GARETH RUSSELL

Katherine Grey and **Edward Seymour**

atherine Grey's life has been overshadowed by her infamous sister, Lady Jane Grey, who died tragically at the end of an axe after just a short reign in 1554. Katherine's tale however is just as tragic. She married twice, was loved by one queen and hated by another, and spent much of her life imprisoned in the Tower or under house arrest.

She married twice, was ladies of the loved by one queen and chamber along with her hated by another, and mother and sister Mary. spent much of her life Katherine would often see imprisoned in the Tower her ex-husband at court as or under house arrest. Her second husband was the love of her life and the reason why she was incarcerated for so many years, until her early death.

When Lady Jane married Guildford Dudley, son of the Duke of Northumberland, on 25 May 1553, Katherine, at the tender age of 12, also made a political marriage to Henry Herbert but after her sister's execution, the marriage was annulled. Mary I came to power and Katherine was sent back to live with her mother until the queen gave her a position as one of her

privy he served Philip as one of the gentlemen of the king consort's privy chamber.

Katherine Grey

Around 1558 Katherine met the dashing Edward Seymour. He was the brother of her friend Lady Jane Seymour, daughter of the Duke of Somerset. When Katherine went to for care her

during her illness. s h e

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SARAH-BETH WATKINS

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Edward Seymour

became closer to Edward and Jane encouraged the couple, messages passing between them. Edward asked his sister to find out what Katherine felt about marrying him and she was smitten. As their love blossomed they considered asking Queen Mary for her permission to marry but their plans came to nothing when the queen died in November 1558.

Although Edward Seymour's family were against the match, Katherine had her mother Frances Brandon's blessing but her stepfather Adrian Stokes advised them both to gain support from members of asked the new queen Elizabeth I's permission. Stokes helped her sickly mother to draft a letter to the queen but it remained unsent as it was deemed not the right time to approach Elizabeth and Katherine's mother, Frances' health declined rapidly.

The young couple could not wait any longer and in December 1560 they secretly married at Edward's house in Cannon Row. Lady Jane Seymour was their only witness. There was no celebration as Katherine had to hurry back to court. Not long after Edward was sent abroad and Katherine was left

alone. Scared а n d unhappy with no one talk to to about Edward but Jane, Katherine soon realised she was pregnant. She took some comfort in the fact that Edward had left her a document to prove the marriage and provide for her should he die whilst he was away. But as the days turned into months, Katherine lost the document and she lost Jane when she died of tuberculosis.

Katherine was reaching the final stages of pregnancy and she knew that she couldn't hide her condition for much longer. She begged Robert Dudley, the earl of Leicester to help her, but he refused and of course he told the queen.

Elizabeth had never entirely trusted Katherine and knew she had supporters at court that would happily see her take her place. Not only that but Elizabeth always became absolutely furious one she heard that those of noble blood had married without her permission.

She ordered that Katherine be taken under

guard to the Tower of London the same day she heard the news. When Seymour returned from abroad he also was sent to the Tower. There Katherine gave birth to her first son Edward on 24 September 1561. That might have been the end of their relationship but Sir Edward Warner, Lieutenant of The Tower, allowed them to meet and the inevitable happened – Katherine became pregnant again and her second son Thomas was born on 10 February 1563.

Edward got off fairly lightly. He was sent home to his mother's house at Hanworth and allowed to take his eldest son with him. He was also fined with two counts of impregnating Katherine and one count of breach of imprisonment to the tune of £10,000.

Katherine however would stay under house arrest for the rest of her life and never see her beloved 'Ned' again. The Archbishop of Canterbury declared there was no proof of marriage and that their children were illegitimate. The one witness to their marriage was dead and the couple Lady Jane Grey

n o proof to

had

show. Elizabeth never relented in her treatment of Katherine even though she was often petitioned to release her. Katherine was sent to Pirgo in Essex under the care of her uncle Sir John Grey with her youngest son. She had some comforts her furniture and tapestries – and а household of three ladies. three man servants, a lackey, a nurse and two washer women but what she didn't have was her husband and eldest son and she was severely depressed. Her uncle wrote to Cecil that she would not 'live long thus, eats n o t above six morsels in the meal'.

she

In November 1564 she was moved to Ingatestone Hall to the care of Sir William Petre where she would stay for the next two years. Not much is known of her time here and when Petre fell ill in 1566 she was moved again to Gosfield Hall and the care of Sir John Wentworth.

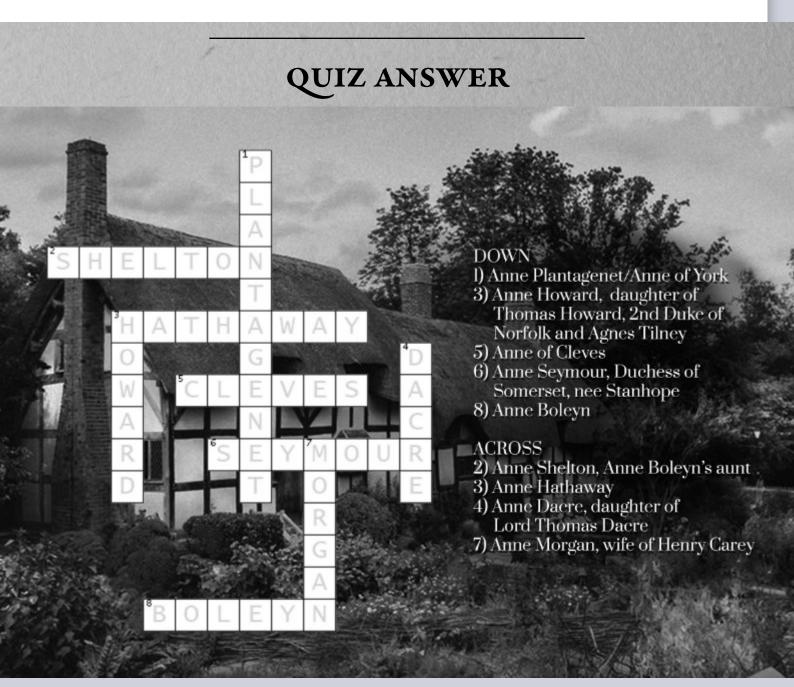
She was then moved again to Cockfield Hall in Yoxford, Suffolk, the home of Sir Owen Hopton. All this time Elizabeth refused to forgive her or listen to her pleas for clemency.

She was ill when she arrived at Cockfield Hall

SARAH-BETH WATKINS

although and Dr. Symonds, the Queen's physician, attended her twice, there was nothing to be done. Katherine had fallen so deeply into despair and had rarely eaten for months. However she wanted to ensure her children were well looked after and asked that the queen would be begged to forgive her and to be good to her children. She arranged to have three rings sent to Edward. These were her betrothal ring, her wedding ring, and a memento mori ring engraved with the words 'While I Lived, Yours.' She died on 26 January 1568 at just 28 years old, officially of consumption but many said it was really of a broken heart. Edward would live for nearly fifty years more and make two other secret marriages. Katherine was originally interred at the Cockfield Chapel in Yoxford Church. Her grandson William would later have her reinterred next to Edward at Salisbury Cathedral in 1621. Finally she would lie next to the man she had tragically loved all her life.

> SARAH-BETH WATKINS





GODALMING with Ian Mulcahy

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This month's Tudor tour takes us to the small medieval market town of Godalming in Surrey. Home to a little under 25,000 inhabitants, Godalming is located some 4 miles south west of Guildford, the county town of Surrey, and 30 miles from Central London.

Two tranchet axes, a thumbscraper and other flint implements and flakes dating back to the Mesolithic period have been within the immediate found area providing evidence of human activity stretching back almost 12,000 years and artefacts including a polished flint axe, various types of flint arrowheads and an antler pick are consistent with a Neolithic settlement, though no clues as to its location have ever been found. Bronze Age finds include an axe, pottery and a form of wood chisel known as a gouge. The earliest irrefutable evidence of a settlement is on a promontory in the north of the wider parish close to the world famous Charterhouse School where evidence of a late Iron Age and Romano-British settlement has been found. Among the coins, pottery, quern stones, bricks and tiles found were a set of urns containing the remains of human cremation.

The name Godalming derives from the

Saxon Godhelms Ingus, which translates as 'The Clan, or Family, of Godhelm'. It can be assumed that Godhlem was a Saxon chief who had control of the area, quite probably overseeing the manor from a 7th or 8th century Saxon settlement located at the eastern end of the modern High Street, which was discovered site a by archaeologists during a pre-development excavation in 1991. A church has existed on its present site, 400 metres to the north-west of the settlement, since the 9th century and it is probable that another small settlement was clustered around the church, though no evidence from this period has been found. It's easy to draw the conclusion that the archaeology lies underneath the 15th-19th century buildings which now fill the space. Godalming is mentioned in the will of Alfred the Great in 880 and, just as he did with Steyning in West Sussex (see Tudor Life no.74, Oct 2020), Alfred bequeathed the manor to his nephew, Æthelwold. The Domesday Book of 1086, where the name is recorded as Godelminge, tells us that there were 98 households, including 2 of slaves, and that the manor was held by William the Conqueror himself. Ownership was retained by The Crown

until 1221 when the Kings Manor was granted to the Bishop of Salisbury.

With the town an already well developed trading post on the main London to Portsmouth route, the Bishop was awarded a charter to hold a weekly market in 1300, though this merely formalised an already long-standing event. Ownership returned to The Crown in around 1541 as a result of the Dissolution and in 1575 Queen Elizabeth granted Borough status to the town by way of a Charter of Incorporation. During the Tudor era Godalming was, like Midhurst in West Sussex (see Tudor Life no.81, May 2021), dependent upon the textile trade for its wealth and it was said at the time of the Queens charter that trade was flourishing. It was during this period that several fine buildings, many of which still stand today, were constructed along both Church Street and the High Street.

Godalming has long since been bypassed by the multi lane A3 and a relief road around the southern and western sides of the town centre means that the medieval core of the town is relatively traffic free. It was in South Street car park, adjacent to the relief road, that I left the car and started my Tudor tour of Godalming by entering the High Street via a small alley called Oglethorpe Court.



HAIR DESIGN

112 High Street

ENZOROS



To my right as I walk along the alley, and to my left when I face them from the High Street, are the conjoined 99-103 High Street and 105 High Street. 99-103 is probably my favourite of all of Godalming's buildings; a large imposing double jettied three storey timber framed house of 1570 that originally served as an inn. Number 105, end on to the High Street and at a slight angle to its much larger neighbour, is of the late 16th century. To the other side of the alley is 107 & 109 High Street, a timber framed house with wattle and daub infilling that has been dated to 1446. The age of the building, which is now home to Godalming Museum, is well disguised by a mid-18th century refronting, though some

of the original fabric remains visible from the alley way.

These two buildings face directly onto the Medieval and Tudor market place and behind the 'Pepper Pot', the Market Hall built in 1814 to replace an earlier 15th century structure, is 112 High Street, a shop of the 2nd half of the 16th century which was refronted in the early 1700s. To the west of here is 1 Church Street, a late Tudor house with intricate timber framing on its jettied first floor. In common with many houses of the era, the timber framing had been plastered over during the 18th century, but during late 19th century repairs a piece of this plaster fell off and revealed the delights that were hidden underneath, prompting the owners



of the property to restore the upper floor to its former glory. Next door is **3 Church Street**, a typical narrow 3 storey double jettied shop of the late 1500s.

As we walk towards the church the early 17th century 11 Church Street is on the corner of Mint Street, an area in which 12th and 13th century pits, discovered during the construction of a car park, provide the earliest actual evidence of occupation in the area around the church. Opposite is 6-8 Church Street, a late Tudor timber framed building with an unusual painted rubble infill whose left bay, above the archway, is a later addition. Next door is 10 Church Street, a mid-16th century house with a 19th century reface whose central bay was originally constructed as a smoke bay, prior to the later insertion of a chimney stack. 12 Church Street is its late 16th century crosswing.

16-20 Church Street is an interesting mix of three different timber framed buildings of the 1500s with wattle and daub infill. To the right is number 16 which was formerly an open hall and number 18, in the centre, is a jettied crosswing addition. Number 20, to the left, is the latest of the three parts and much of its timber framing is hidden behind a painted brick dressing. On the opposite side of the street are the conjoined **29-31 Church Street**. Number 29 is a 15th century open hall with 16th century additions and wattle and daub infilling. Number 31 is slightly later, dating to the late 1500s, with painted brick infilling. The whole range is jettied, though this is much shallower than would have originally been seen due to a 19th century shop front being inserted.

Opposite once again is 26 Church Street a late 16th century house whose ground floor was rebuilt in stone during the early 20th century. The house was originally much larger, but was chopped in half in order to accommodate the substantial, mid-19th century, Deanery House to the south. A little way to the north and guarding the western entrance to the churchyard is 30 Church Street, a large house of the 16th century with 17th century additions and many later alterations. The street side timber framing is well hidden by 19th century refacing, but the front jetty survives and some of the timbers are still visible from the car park at the rear of the building. It is said that the stone fireplaces are of Tudor

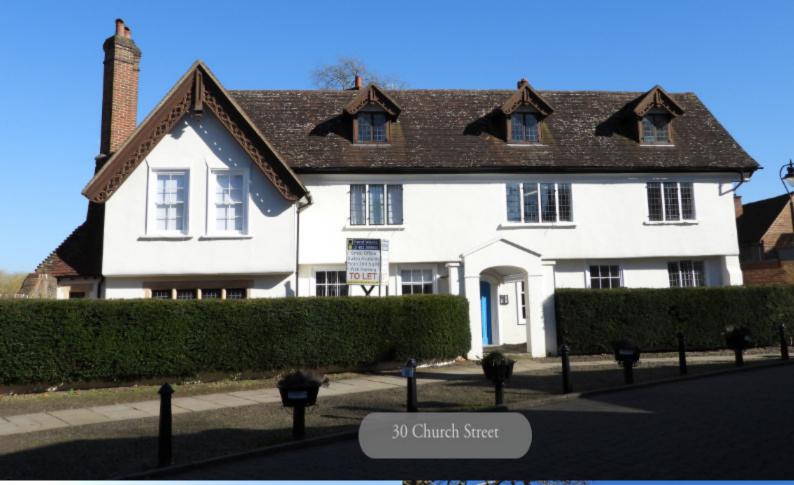




origin and are particularly elaborate in the crosswing. Immediately opposite on the corner of Church Street is **7**, **8** and **9 Deanery Place**, a 15th century hall house which, once upon time, boasted a pair of jettied end bays in typical Wealden style. A 19th century refurbishment which included refronting and the removal of the jetties has sadly rendered the building, no pun intended, as completely unrecognisable as a Wealden example.

Our last structure of interest at this end of the town is the **Church of St Peter and St Paul**. The church has pre-conquest origins though most of the Saxon fabric has been hidden or rebuilt during the course of an estimated twelve phases of significant work at the church. Some of the Saxon masonry work remains visible from inside the church around the tower area. The first major work occurred in the early 12th century when a Norman nave, chancel, transepts and the lower part of the tower were built and in the late 12th century the aisles were added. In the 13th century came the lead coated spire; a rare example in the south east of England. The Tudor period saw minor additions and alterations, including the construction of the extant Elizabethan pulpit which, unfortunately, I was unable to see as the church was closed during my visit. At this point of our tour I would normally share with you details of what happened to the church as a result of the dissolution, but it seems that there is nothing of note to tell you about or, if there was, it was not recorded. Significant restoration work was carried out in 1840 and again in 1879, of the architecturally when some unsympathetic work of 1840 was undone.

From the far north-west of the





medieval town boundaries we are now going to head to the eastern end. You could simply retrace your steps along Church Street and turn left at the market place, following the High Street into Bridge Street, but there is a far more pleasant, albeit longer, riverside route to be taken from the north-west corner of the churchyard and past the Phillips Memorial Cloister. The Cloister was constructed in **Bridge Road**, a timber framed house of the early 17th century with painted brick infill, and **39 and 40 Bridge Road**, a 3 storey 16th century grain store built with the same materials as its neighbour. The rear of both of these buildings can be seen from Fry's Yard, accessible to the side of 37 & 38, where the grain store presents a quite different appearance. A little further towards the market place, and at the junction with the High Street, is The very late Tudor 37-38 Bridge Road



The rear of 39-40 Bridge Road

47 Bridge Road, a late 16th century house that has been refaced to the road, but retains its timber framing to the rear. Inside, the partition to the smoke bay is said to be the original wattle and daub walls. This house is adjacent to the site of the Saxon settlement at the eastern end of the High Street which was discovered in 1991.

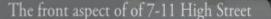
As we make our way into the High Street, set back to the south is 7-11 High Street. To the right it takes the form of a 15th century hall house, refaced in 18th century, and to the left is a cross wing of the early 1600s. To the rear, where the 47 Bridge Road. The timber framing is visible to the rear

The 17th century rear cross wing of 7-11 High Street with the 15th century hall visible to the left

shape of the hall is considerably clearer, is a further early 17th century two bay crosswing with a third bay to the right which was added later in that century. One hundred yards further west, and back on the northern side of the High Street is **Crown Court**, a picturesque courtyard of 16th and 17th century timber framed buildings. The courtyard was originally enclosed on all four sides, but the High street facing range was sadly demolished to facilitate a car park. The rear archway range was carefully rebuilt in the 1950s using the original 16th century materials.

Another hundred yards along, and back on the southern side, is **53-55 High Street**, a low 16th century commercial premises whose large modern shop frontage makes the building look slightly odd and out of proportion. Next door is **57-59 High Street** which is formed of a late 16th century structure to right and a 17th century addition, with later alterations, to the left. No. 59 has an unusual jettied timber framed first floor with no windows. To the rear, accessed via the carriageway underneath the end of no.55, is an early 16th century hall with wattle & daub filled timber framing. Our final building of interest in the centre of the town is 77 **High Street**, a much restored timber framed house of the late 1500s with a cross wing to the left.

We are now almost back to where we are started, but there are still some more Tudor buildings to see! Walking past the market place we pass by Church Road and instead, just before the old Post Office building, branch right into Mill Lane which, until the relief road was built in the 1990's, was the main route to the towns railway station. The lane is now cut in two by the new road, with the High Street end pedestrianised and the western end having



Crown Court_

3-55 High Street. An odd looking commercal building

The eastern side of Crown Cour



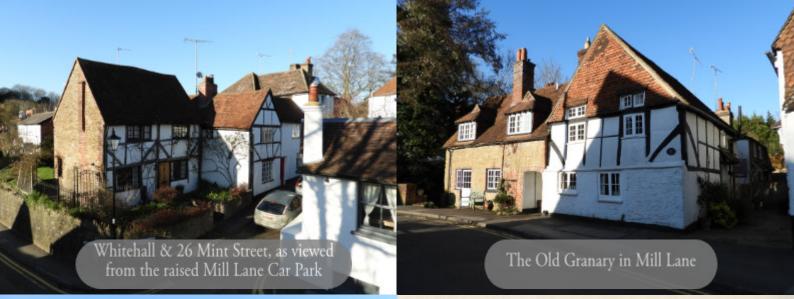
the air of a quiet country back lane. Having crossed the relief road and continued along Mill Lane, on the corner at the other end of Mint Street is The Rose and Crown Public House, a hall house of around 1500 with additions made in every century since. The original hall was floored over and had a chimney added in the second half of the 16th century and the building is now mainly refaced, though some timber framing remains visible at the rear. Pottery finds on the site dating from the 13th to 19th centuries show continuous occupation of at least 800 years. Prehistoric flint flakes were also found here.

On the opposite corner of Mint Street is **Whitehall**, an early 17th century cottage with wattle and daub infill on the first floor which, together with the adjoining and contemporary **26 Mint** **Street**, makes for a pretty Tudor era street scene, especially when viewed from the raised Mill Lane car park to the south.

Mill Lane is, unsurprisingly, so named because a mill was located here and it was one of three Saxon mills in the Godalming area that are noted in the Domesday survey. The Saxon mill is of course long gone and the current structure, being of the early 1700s, now serves as offices. Next to the bridge which crosses the mill race is the 17th century timber framed **Old Granary** which has now been converted into a house.

Before returning to the car I wanted to take a quick walk along the busy Ockford Road, the main road out of the town to the south west, where a fair number of Tudor buildings survive. First is 10-18 Ockford Road, more popularly known as **The Waggoners**, a sprawl of early 17th







century brick filled timber framed homes which have previously served as both a pub and a stocking (as worn on the leg) factory! A further two hundred and fifty yards along the road is **68-72 Ockford Road**, a large late 16th century building with 17th century additions. Hidden behind a 19th century refacing of render and painted brick is a wattle and daub infilled timber frame.

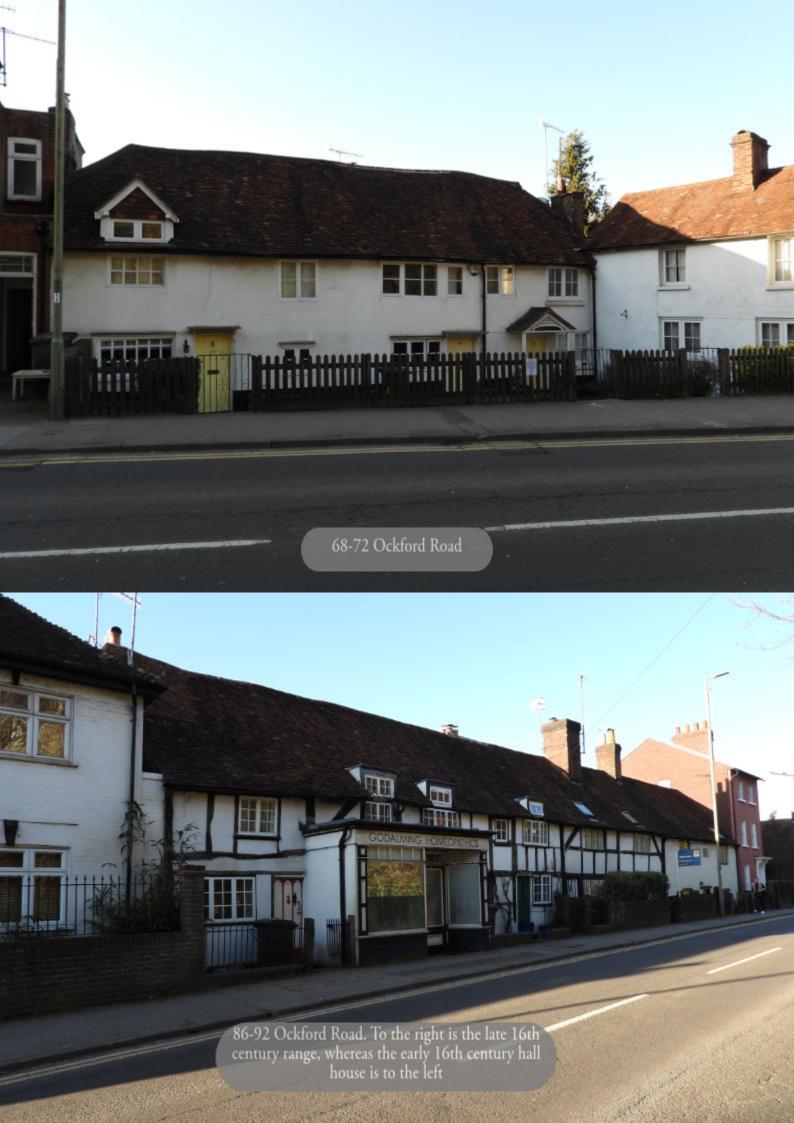
86-92 Ockford Road is a long range of Tudor cottages. Numbers 86 & 88 are of the late 16th century and are constructed with painted brick in a timber frame. 90a, 90 and 92 form an open hall house from the early 1500s with a wattle and daub infill of its timbers. The hall was floored and a chimney added in the late 16th century, presumably when 86 & 88 were added. **104-108 Ockford Road** is a late 16th century timber framed house which has now been split into three homes and **120-122 Ockford Road** are two late 16th century houses, with additions made a century later, which have now been converted into one residence. The house is built on a steep hill and the huge rubble and brick plinth to the left forms the walls of an above ground basement.

With the 4 hour time limit on the parking ticket almost up, it was now necessary to make the brisk 5 minute walk back to the car. I hope you enjoyed this Tudor tour of Godalming as much as I did.

IAN MULCAHY

Sources

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- •https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/surrey/vol3/ pp24-42
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Catherine Interviews...

Reading the past

This month's interview is with Dr. Kat, a researcher and lecturer specialising in early modern literature and culture. You may know her from her Youtube channel "Reading the past"

Hello, Kat, and welcome to the Tudor Society. Thank you so much for joining us here. First of all, please tell us a little bit about yourself outside of the history world.

I'm almost always hanging out with my husband and son, usually while watching/reading/listening to true crime content.

So, what drew you to study history, and do you have any favourite eras? I believe you're a real Tudor lover!

I'm an early modern literature scholar by trade, so the Tudors have always been a big focus for my interest but I am also really interested in women's history and the history of martial arts, which transcends specific periods.

Your YouTube channel, 'Reading the Past', is achieving huge success. Tell us about it and how it come into being.

Around the time I was finishing up my doctorate I got really into watching YouTube – mostly because I was trying to learn how to do makeup that wasn't for the stage! I thought and continue think that it's a really interesting platform, especially when you consider the immediacy with which you can put out content. It soon became clear to me that this was a way to express my passion for history and, hopefully, build a community of fellow history lovers. Luckily, "Reading the Past" has done just that for me.

Do you have any videos that stick in your mind for any particular reason – most fun to do, things you thought would be fascinating but ended up disappointing you, or maybe topics that elicited really extreme responses?

I'm really pleased that I made the decision to make a video on my experience of being diagnosed with dyslexia because it elicited, and continues to elicit, the most wonderful response. Reading that a child was made to feel more positive following their own, similar, diagnosis is one of the best experiences!

Catherine Interviews...

Are there topics or areas that you haven't even touched yet that you are dying to get your teeth into? How do you choose what you are going to do each week?

I'm really keen to do a video, or even a series, on the history of medicine, especially in relation to obstetric and gynaecological knowledge. I do have a massive – and ever-growing – list on my phone for future video topics. Lots of these topics on this list come from audience suggestions so I'm looking forward to working through them all too.

Are there any particular events or people you wouldn't go near, and if so, are you feeling brave enough to say why?!

I think this is more of a timing thing for me, there are topics that I avoid because of the contemporary landscape – so, during the last year or so, I've been asked to make videos focusing on the plague or the sweating sickness. These are really interesting topics, which I'd be keen to cover at another time, but now, the thought of making these videos makes me feel uncomfortable. I don't want to create a video that might further raise the temperature on a fraught issue.

Tell us about the other things you do and have done in the history world. What have you missed most during lockdown?

Before lockdown I was lecturing to university students at Shakespeare's Globe and working as a live costumed historical interpreter at the Kensington Palace, the Tower of London or Hampton Court Palace. In fact, the day before the palaces closed in 2020, I was representing Queen Caroline of Ansbach at Kensington. This job and the people I got to work with while doing it are what I have missed the most.

In your experience, what are the advantages and disadvantages of running a YouTube channel? This is a huge area now, and people are always looking for information and advice on being successful on YouTube. Do you have any general advice for our members?

I think YouTube is great because I am able to have complete control over the content that I put out and I am putting it out to my, almost exclusively, supportive community. I do miss working in person with people, but that's a pandemic thing rather than a YouTube thing. As things are opening up I am already finding ways to collaborate in person and YouTube has provided most of these opportunities.

Success on YouTube, I think, is about creating content that you are genuinely proud of and interested in, uploading it regularly and engaging with

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comments from your audience – also, it helps if the luck of the algorithm falls in your favour more often than not!

As someone whose presence in the history community is so visual (online and in person), what have you learned over the years that would help us inspire more people, especially younger people, to study history, or even simply enjoy being immersed in it at historical locations?

I think the person trying to inspire a love of history needs to be flexible in how they present that history, offer as many "ways in" as possible. Be prepared to switch it up – try an art gallery, a castle, a museum, a church, a podcast, a walking tour, a classical play, a 19^{th} century novel, historical fiction, documentaries... basically, throw it all at the wall, see what sticks and drill down from there.

And finally, if you could recommend 3 history books (any era) to our members, what would they be and why?

There are so many I could suggest, but here are the three that I don't think get the love they deserve:

A New World: England's First View of America by Kim Sloan beautifully presents and explores the watercolours of John White, who would later become the leader of the lost colony of Roanoke; it also includes the engravings by Theodore de Bry that were based on White's images to show how the "New World" project was sold.

Shakespeare's Restless World: An Unexpected History in Twenty Objects by Neil MacGregor is probably my favourite example of the power of engaging with material culture. He links real, extant objects to a number of Shakespeare's plays and so offers a visceral way to understand his drama within its historical and material context.

Labors Lost: Women's Work and the Early Modern English Stage by Natasha Korda excavates just how dependent Shakespeare and his contemporaries were on the skill, work and even finances of women.

Thank you so much to Kat for joining us. You can find her here:

- YouTube: Reading the Past
- **Twitter**: Kat_Marchant

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Instagram: katrina.marchant

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Summer is well and truly here and, thanks to so many factors, public attractions are now opening up again. We've heard that Lil has visited Kenilworth and her next book review will be from within the castle grounds. Julian Humphrys is out and about with his historic battlefield tours and is filming bits and pieces for the Tudor Society on his travels. Toni Mount has also been out visiting dissolved monasteries and is in the middle of her series on Igtham. Charlie Fenton has been out all over the place visiting historical sites too, and we know it's going to help her with her post graduate studies.

You may not know, but Claire and I live in Spain, and it's obviously more difficult to get to the UK than it used to be. However, Claire is jetting off to speak at the Hever Castle Festival Theatre alongside Owen Emmerson on 1 August. It's going to be an event filled day as it is one of Hever's famous jousting days. We've heard that a growing number of Tudor historians and friends of the Tudor Society will be going on that day too. There's still time to get a ticket (but not much time!) and you can find out more about the event here:

https://heverfestival.co.uk/index.php/the-boleyns-of-hever-castle/

We are so glad that restrictions are now easing and finally people can get out to support Tudor sites around the country. Do share with us if you're going anywhere.





TONI MOUNT The Haute Family at Ightham Mote

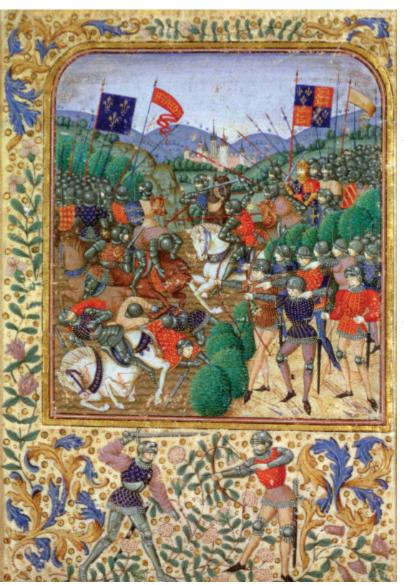


Ightham Mote showing Tudor-style chimneys [photo by GM April 2021]

Ightham Mote in Kent, Sir Thomas Cawne, died in 1374, the property was inherited by Sir Thomas's eldest son, Robert Cawne and his wife Margery who outlived him. When Margery died, it was

When the first recorded owner of Cawne. Alice was married to Sir Nicholas Haute who survived her, bringing the Mote firmly into the Haute family's portfolio of properties by 1400.

Sir Nicholas' son, William, inherited the Mote when his father died in 1416 and inherited by Robert's sister Alice would own it for forty-six years until his



Medieval illustration of the Battle of Agincourt [Stapleton Historical Collection/Heritage-Images]

death in 1462, although he probably lived for much of the time at Bishopsbourne, a property near Canterbury. Both Sir Nicholas and William had accompanied Henry V on the famous Agincourt campaign of 1415.

Because of the fact that William gained his inheritance the following year, it is possible that Sir Nicholas was a casualty of that battle, either killed in action or dying of his wounds later.

The Hautes were already a prominent Kentish family when William wed Margaret, daughter of Sir Hugh of Berwick in 1419, bringing wealth and further properties as her dowry. The couple had a daughter before Margaret died in 1427 but it was William's second marriage in 1429 that made Haute a name of national consequence. William's second wife was Joan Woodville, sister of Richard Woodville [variously spelled Wydeville, Wodeville, Wydevyll]. This Richard was a humble esquire in the household of Henry V's brother, John, Duke of Bedford.

However, John had an illustrious young wife, Jacquetta, a princess of Luxembourg. When Duke John died, Jacquetta took a fancy to the lowly Woodville lad and secretly married him sometime around 1437. Still calling herself Duchess of Bedford, her marriage to a nobody was frowned upon by the nobility but, by 1448, Jacquetta had persuaded her nephew King Henry VI to promote her husband just a bit. Richard Woodville had the title Earl Rivers created especially for him. Whereas Jacquetta and the duke had been childless, she and Earl Rivers produced a large family of at least fourteen children, all but one of which grew to adulthood. These Woodvilles certainly had ambitions and the Hautes, their cousins by marriage, rose with them in the turbulent politics of the 1460s, 70s and 80s.

When William Haute wed Joan Woodville in 1429, her father, also Richard, had just been appointed as Lieutenant of the Calais garrison in northern France, then an English stronghold. The nuptial agreement signed by William and Joan's father still exists. In it, William agrees to disinherit his daughter from his previous marriage to Margaret – she could only have been seven years old at the most – in favour of any children Joan might have, although he insists the little girl must not be forced into a

convent simply because her marriage dowry will be negligible as a result. William also agrees to give his new wife lands to the value of 100 marks [if my maths is correct, that equals £66 13s 4d] per annum and a dower of lands worth £40 per annum. A dower is a kind of widow's pension given by the husband when they first marry, just in case, which the heir can't inherit until the widow dies. Unlike the dowry, given to the husband by the bride's father which can be inherited straightaway, unless stipulated otherwise in the nuptial contract. [Sorry if this is rather complicated but that's how it was.]

In exchange, as Joan's dowry, William receives from her father 400 marks and Richard Woodville agrees to pay for the wedding in Calais and see to it that Joan's chamber is 'furnished according to her estate'. Obviously, the Woodvilles were self-important some years before son Richard found himself a royal bride.

As regards Ightham Mote during William's ownership, nothing definite is known. No rebuilding or redesigning projects are known to date from this time but William and Joan had four sons, William, Richard, Edward and James, and five daughters, Anne, Joan, Elizabeth, Margaret and Alice. When the elder William died in 1462, there were properties enough for all four sons to have a sizeable inheritance. The eldest, William, received the more important estates but it was Richard who inherited 'le Moote' along with two other manors. In his father's will, bequests to Richard included:

one bed, viz. a canopy tester, three curtains and one coverlet of worsted, one featherbed, a transom [a bolster], two pairs of

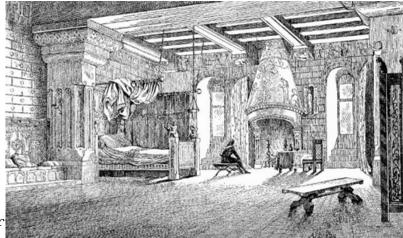
sheets, one pair of fustians, and two pillows,... a long gown of violet, furred

with beaver, ... one great rose covered [cup] with a gilt knob, six silver spoons and one pair of sheets of Raynes [i.e. good quality linen from Rennes in Brittany].

Old William died two years before his family's fortunes really flew high. It began in 1464 when, upon a whim, the playboy king and Europe's most eligible bachelor, King Edward IV

married the Hautes' cousin, Elizabeth Woodville, and made her Queen of England. When fate favoured the Woodvilles, they made certain the entire family benefitted and that included the Hautes. On the eve of Elizabeth's coronation in 1465, now the head of the family, Richard's eldest brother, William, was created a Knight of the Bath. Richard wed Elizabeth Tyrell in 1469, adding the manor of Danbury in Essex to his estates but this year witnessed upheavals in England and the Haute-Woodville kinship put them all in jeopardy.

When the Earl of Warwick and the king's brother, George, Duke of Clarence, rebelled against King Edward, they were in control of the country for a while, capturing and executing the queen's father, Earl Rivers, and her youngest brother, John. In 1470, Warwick set old King



A medieval bed, though lacking a canopy (tester), like that inherited by Richard Haute in 1462



The south wing – timber-framed but without the ornate chimneys added later – provided luxurious guest accommodation [photo by GM]

Henry VI back on the throne and King Edward fled to Burgundy where his sister, Margaret, was duchess. But all was not lost. Edward won back his crown in 1471 and his enemies were no more, dying one way or another, with the exception of the Duke of Clarence who was restored to favour, if never entirely trusted again by Edward – he would be executed by the king in 1477.

Richard Haute was restored to royal number service, given а of royal commissions, often accompanying his cousin, Sir Anthony Woodville, the queen's eldest brother, now Earl Rivers. Richard also held a position in the household of little Edward, Prince of Wales, (born while the king was in exile in 1471), at Ludlow Castle. The young prince was firmly under the influence of his mother's family. Anthony Woodville was the prince's governor and tutor; Richard Grey, one of the queen's son's by her first marriage, was his counsellor and by 1483 his mother's cousin, Richard Haute, was Controller of the Household. It's hard to know how much time Richard spent at Ludlow because he also served at Sheriff of Essex in 1474 and Sheriff of Kent in 1477 and 1481 but we have evidence that he was living at Ightham Mote as his main residence from 1478, if not earlier.

The south wing – timber-framed but without the ornate chimneys added later – provided luxurious guest accommodation

[photo by GM]

The manor house had to look the part as the home of a distinguished courtier and Richard set about making some major improvements to the property. South and north ranges were added and the western range extended to the north, enclosing the inner courtyard on all sides. The new buildings included grand reception rooms on the first floor of the north wing with a great chamber in what would later become the new chapel. The south wing provided fashionable

accommodation for guests. The Hautes seemed set for a prosperous future when it ended over night. King Edward died suddenly on 9th April 1483 and their world turned on its head. The king's death was a shock to everyone and matters were thrown into confusion.

Apparently, Edward named his onlyremaining brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, as Lord Protector – virtually the regent – to govern England and guide the new king, twelve-year-old Edward V, tutoring him until he was of age to rule alone. But Gloucester was somewhere in the distant north of England and knew nothing of the king's death for weeks. Young Edward, as Prince of Wales, was at Ludlow Castle in the Welsh Marches. The Woodville faction – no friends of Gloucester's – could see themselves out of favour if Gloucester took charge, so they determined to seize power before



Beneath the Gate Arch with a view through to the Courtyar [photo by GM]

he arrived in London. They planned to bring young Edward from Ludlow, have him crowned immediately so he could declare himself of age to govern alone, choosing his Woodville, Grey and Haute relatives as his advisors. There would be no need for a Lord Protector nor any place for Gloucester in the new regime.

To cut a long story short, Gloucester finally heard of his brother's death and arranged to come to London in no great hurry and unaware of the Woodvilles' schemes. Young Edward V had already set out for the capital, escorted by his maternal uncle, Anthony Woodville, his halfbrother Sir Richard Grey, his cousin

Richard Haute and Sir Thomas Vaughn, his chamberlain, along with was also on his way south, arrangements were made for the two parties to meet at Northampton. When Gloucester arrived with his retinue of gentlemen-mourners, only Anthony Woodville came to meet him, saying the young king had gone on ahead to Stony Stratford (in strongly Woodville territory). Realising all was not as it should be, Gloucester had Woodville detained. First thing next morning, Gloucester rode to Stony Stratford, finding the king about to depart at the head of an army. He arrested Edward's escort, including Richard Haute, dismissed the army and escorted the king to London. The hasty coronation was postponed and Gloucester took over as Lord Protector, as

3,000 armed men. Knowing Gloucester

the old king had appointed him.

Woodville, Grey, Haute and Vaughn were tried for treason, found guilty and their properties confiscated. Ightham Mote was seized by Sir Thomas Wortley on Gloucester's order on 14th May. Woodville, Grey and Vaughn were eventually executed but Richard Haute was not, although he was imprisoned for a while. Anthony Woodville made Haute the executor of his will before he was beheaded. Haute was released from custody in June, bound over to keep the peace for the price of 700 marks, payable to Gloucester's associate, William Catesby. But Haute hadn't learned his lesson.

In October that year, Haute was involved in the Duke of Buckingham's rebellion against Gloucester – now King Richard III. The rebellion was thwarted, partly by bad weather, partly by mismanagement and partly by King Richard's prompt response. Yet again, Haute got off lightly although Ightham Mote was given to his brother, James Haute, who had remained loyal to the king. Why was King Richard repeatedly merciful to Haute? We don't know but historian Rosemary Horrox puts forward an intriguing suggestion in her book A Study of Service Richard III: [Cambridge, 1989]. In 1470, as Duke of Gloucester, the future king had stipulated that yearly the sum of £5 was to be paid to Katherine Haute, a kinswoman of the queen. He makes no other similar grants anywhere in the surviving records, so who was Katherine? Rosemary wonders if she might have been Gloucester's mistress but for no other reason than his illegitimate daughter was also called Katherine [p.81].

I'm not convinced, particularly as the historian later suggests that Katherine was

the wife of younger brother, James Haute [p.173], so unless she was already wed to James in 1470 (James would have been about 25), she was neither a Haute nor a kinswoman of the queen and Gloucester was not known as a philanderer of other men's wives. But there must have been some special connection between King Richard and the Hautes for him to be so lenient with a member of the family that betrayed him. We may never know the truth.

In 1485, Richard Haute was pardoned and his lands, including the now impressive residence of Ightham Mote, returned to him by the Tudor king, Henry VII, after Richard III was slain at the battle of Bosworth on 22nd August. Any opponent of Richard III was taken to be a Tudor supporter, although we don't know if Haute took an active part in the battle or not. In either case, he didn't have long to enjoy his return to favour.

On Palm Sunday 1487, Richard Haute died and his eleven-year-old son, Edward, inherited Ightham Mote. Edward Haute so mismanaged his affairs that he fell into debt and in 1514 some of his properties were confiscated, others had to be sold off. At first, Edward only mortgaged the Mote but, eventually, he had to sell it to Thomas Welles in 1519. Even so, Edward was still in debt and spent time in Ludgate debtors' prison in London. He managed to escape to Ireland but that was the last of the Hautes at Ightham Mote. In 1521, the property was bought by Sir Richard Clement and its fortunes rose once more, as we'll see in my next article.

TONI MOUNT

TUDDR SOCIETY BOOK REVIEW PAGE 5

Charle Katharine Parr

Alison Weir





Originally started in 2016 with *Katherine of Aragon: The True Queen*, the final book (not including the short stories) in Alison Weir's *Six Tudor Queens* series has recently been released. *Katharine Parr: The Sixth Wife* takes the reader through the life of Henry VIII's last queen, looking at her multiple marriages and how her faith developed over time. It is not the most imaginative title, admittedly, and it is a little sad that she is just known as being the sixth wife.

The book starts with the death of Katharine's father in 1517, which also serves as a way to tell her backstory, including who she was named after:

'On top of them all, she laid her most cherished possession, a fine cloth given to her at her baptism by the Queen for whom she had been named, and who had herself embroidered on it, within a circle of gold, the initials K.I.P. which, Mother had explained, stood for 'Katherine, Infanta, Princess' - and the motto Plus Oultre. That meant 'Further Beyond', and was the motto of Spain, whence the Queen hailed, but Mother thought it was apt for Katharine, who, she felt sure, would go further beyond what was expected of her. The cloth had been precious to the Queen because her own mother had made it for her. She must think highly indeed of Mother to give her child such a treasure.'

Weir explores Katharine's different marriages, not just her later ones to Henry VIII and Thomas Seymour. This makes a nice change, and it is good to see her earlier life before marrying Henry covered for once.

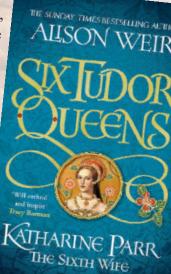
There are some pretty obvious hints of her emerging Protestant faith throughout the early part of the novel. This becomes even clearer once the Pilgrimage of Grace occurs, which directly involves her second husband, Lord Latimer:

'She burned with hatred for them and for the faith they were defending. Would Christ condone their threatening behaviour, their refusal to understand that His way was not violence? This rebellion was meant to be a peaceful protest, but, so far, it had looked anything but. More and more, she was beginning to see the light. Religion must be reformed. Why defend an old order that was rotten to the core? A good start had been made. Why try to turn the clock back?'

However, this seems to suggest that her faith had already developed further than many recent historians have argued. On the other hand, the good thing about historical fiction is that we can imagine how people felt and thought in the past, so it isn't too much of a problem.

The novels in Alison Weir's *Six Tudor Queens* series have been of varying quality, with *Katharine Parr: The Sixth Wife* being one of the better ones, but not quite the best. Weir tells Katharine's story well but struggles to make the

reader interested in her life or feel her passion for reform. Once again, some of the author's theories are debatable, but she does explain them at the end of the book to some extent and historical fiction is generally more forgiving than non-fiction. It is a solid ending to Weir's long-running series on Henry VIII's six wives.



The Death of Amy Robstart Sarah-Beth Watkins



Sarah-Beth Watkins has written numerous books on the Tudor period, with her most recent work being the first the *Chronos Crime Chronicles* series. This is *The Death of Amy Robsart: An Elizabethan Mystery* and is a short work, only 60 pages long, that focuses solely on the death of Robert Dudley's first wife. It is an incident that many will have heard of and have opinions on, but Watkins looks at it in a clinical manner and approaches it like a real investigation.

The first chapter of the book is a brief one on Amy's life and her marriage to Robert Dudley. Watkins pulls no punches and makes it clear that Amy had to come second to Elizabeth I, whether Robert wanted that or not:

'Dudley didn't often have time for his wife. The court and the queen commanded his attendance almost constantly but that did not mean that he forgot about Amy. He tried to visit and sent gifts of clothes, money and jewels. Elizabeth was wildly jealous of any of her favourite's relationships and commanded Dudley to say he did nothing with his wife. It was not overtly stated but Amy was not welcome at court and when she travelled to London to see Robert she stayed in other accommodation.'

When the author turns to focus on Amy's death, she is methodical and looks at it from every angle. There are different chapters on the ambassadors' reports about her death, the aftermath, the coroner's report and so on. Watkins also includes some interesting

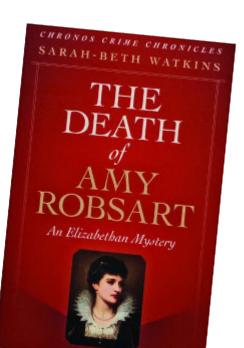
statistics, such as this one on the likelihood of death from falling down a set of stairs:

'In fact deaths from falling down stairs are more common than you would like to think. It is estimated that someone falls down the stairs in the UK every ninety seconds and while most accidents are not fatal, in 2015 787 deaths in England and Wales were caused by such a fall. Hitting your head is also one of the most common injuries sustained from such an accident.'

The one problem with this book that is immediately apparent is the lack of proper footnotes. There are no page numbers for any of the references and this greatly lets it down, especially as the author uses quotes from contemporaries and large extracts from different sources throughout. It is hard to be completely convinced by any 'investigation' that cannot produce any evidence to back up its work.

The Death of Amy Robsart is a good introduction to the case that caused a scandal in the late sixteenth century. It has a few short-comings and there may be some better books on the subject that provide a more in-depth examination of the fate of Robert Dudley's first wife, but, for a short read, it is worth a look. As always, Watkins' style is easy to read and engaging, so if you enjoyed her past works then you will enjoy this one.

CHARLIE FENTON





FORKS

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Forks are a staple of our mealtimes (bad pun intended). Forks for meats and fish, for cheese and oysters. Forks for fruits, asparagus, berries, and for granny. Forks for cakes and pastries, suckets and ice creams. There are several unique fork-hybrids: the spork (spoon and fork), the splayd (spoon, fork and knife), and the spife (fork and knife), to name a few. In fact, we're so accustomed to having a fork or several on our dining room tables that it's hard to imagine life without them. But eat without forks we did, and they're the subject of this month's From the Spicery article. So hold tight to your favourite eating iron as we explore the evolution of the fork from Italian affectation to global phenomena.



argent, three forks sable

The word 'fork' stems from furca, Latin for a pitchfork, and forks have been known since antiquity but seem to have never really caught on. The story goes that silver forks were included goodies the amongst that Byzantine princess Theophania brought with her when married Holy Roman Emperor Otto II in 972AD. Now Theophania didn't like how things were done in Otto's court and refused to eat with her hands as was the norm. So instead, she proceeded to outrage the Viennese establishment by cutting her food into small pieces and them with the eating aforementioned silver forks. A member of Otto's clergy is alleged to have commented:

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"God in his wisdom has provided man with natural forks: his fingers. Therefore it is an insult to Him to substitute artificial metallic forks for them when eating."

From Otto's court, the next reliably documented appearance of appears forks church in correspondences to the enlightened French king and patron saint of France, Louis IX, during the thirteenth century. Oddly enough, some of the letters sent to Louis detailed the use of a specific type of fork amongst various Turkic ethnic groups. I find this to be interesting extremely as it demonstrates that non-European peoples were most definitely not barbarians! The letters describe the use of forks as utensils for eating sweet and sticky foods and not necessarily savoury dishes. This, too, makes a lot of sense. If one has spent a lot of time and effort on one's appearance, trying to eat a sweetmeat dripping with sugary deliciousness without a fork was something to probably be avoided. Now I'm wondering if the use of forks when eating suckets stems from Turkic fastidiousness.

There's a fascinating piece of trivia about sticky and sweet delights, courtesans, and a church ban on forks too. The early church determined that as courtesans were the primary users of forks for

sweets, forks were obviously just as immoral as the courtesans. Women obviously had diverse and interesting ways of introducing sin into things! Maybe it was the concept of associated sin, but forks were slow to catch on in Europe. Like Theophania, forks were amongst Catherine de Medici's belongings when she travelled to France for her wedding to Henry II. Alternatively, Catherine's son, Henry III, allegedly come across forks gracing a Venetian table and found them indispensable for keeping the ruffs of his clothes out of the sauces. Trendsetters of the middle ages were the Italians!

Despite the best attempts of the the fork remained Italians, something of culinary curiosity, a status symbol made of precious metals to be admired but frequently unused. It seems that forks were used for everything other than their intended purpose. European royalty and elites frequently engraved their coats of arms on their cutlery sets which were often carried around with them as they travelled. Probably made the identification of stolen property easier too. Forks also featured as heraldic devices for the upwardly mobile of the middle ages, as the arms of the Worthington family at the top of this article clearly show. Other families whose heraldry features



forks include Sherley (or Shorely), Pyke, Walley, and Chorley.

By the time the Armada set sail May 1588. forks were in something used by the Spanish upper classes. Consequently, they included among the were provisions on at least one of the warships, specifically the illfated La Girona. The La Girona carried Don Alonso de Leiva and his entourage, who it seems liked to travel prepared for every eventuality (except shipwreck). When the ship sank off the Irish coast during a gale, she went down with almost all hands, as well as a large number of gold and silver forks. These and other treasures of the La Girona are now on permanent display at the Ulster Museum in Belfast. I don't know if Don Alonso or any of his companions survived the sinking. From what I've been able to find

out about the treasure, the sheer number of forks recovered from the wreck (both incomplete and intact) is disproportionately large. Recovered items included forks with between two and five tines, flat, straight and slightly splayed tines. Some have simple straight stems, some end in stylized hoofs, while others sport intricately designed serpents or anthropomorphic designs. I wonder what Don Alonso and company needed so many different forks for?

In England, the fork was slow to gain acceptance as it was still considered a tool of feminine vice. The exception was the 'sucket' fork, a utensil used to eat food that might otherwise stain the fingers. A typical sucket fork had two tines at one end of the stem and a bowl at the other. Sweet and sticky suckets were harpooned with the tines, with the bowl conveying the gooey syrup to the diner's mouth, hopefully sparing their expensive clothes and jewels. I'm led to understand that a large number of sucket were included spoons VIII's among Henry personal items.

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

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