# Tudor Life

## The Tudor Society Magazine

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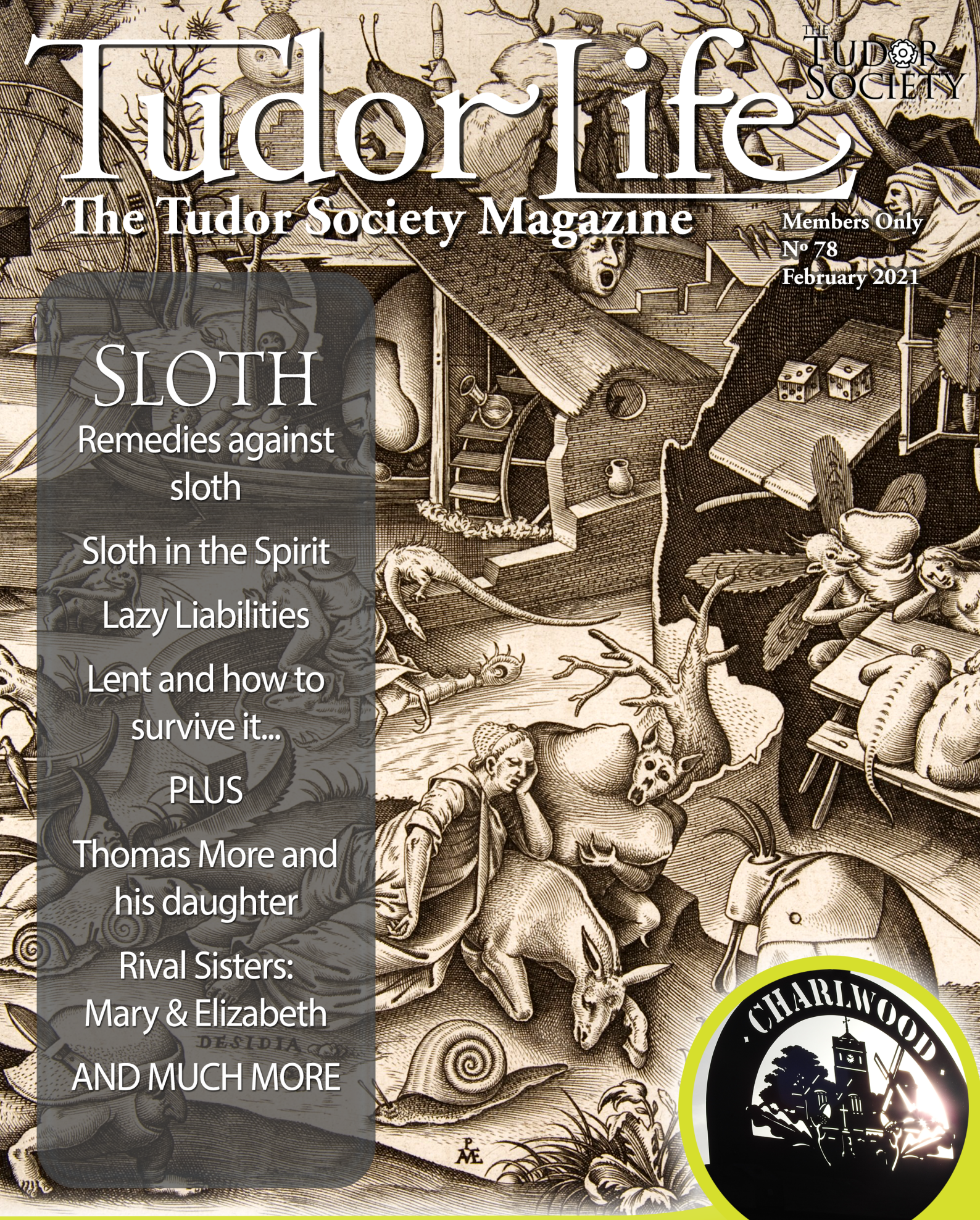


# SLOTH

Remedies against sloth

Sloth in the Spirit

Lazy Liabilities

Lent and how to survive it...

PLUS

Thomas More and his daughter

Rival Sisters: Mary & Elizabeth

AND MUCH MORE

CHARLWOOD

## Tudor Charlwood and Leigh

*by* Ian Mulcahy

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# SLOTH...

After months of enforced leisure, or diminished activity, it seems appropriate we turn to the Seven Deadly Sins' second issue of "Tudor Life". This time, sloth. Laziness. Moral stasis. Why did the Tudor era despise it so much? As James Baresel shows us in his scintillating essay, laziness had political ramifications – there were those who felt Mary I had been lacklustre in really laying secure foundations for a Catholic restoration. Passionate intention wasn't enough, because one also had to be dedicated to the mind-numbing bureaucratic work. So, sloth was both a moral and political conundrum in the sixteenth century.

**GARETH RUSSELL**
**EDITOR**

**COVER & ABOVE: Sloth (Desidia)** *by* **Pieter van der Heyen, 1558 (Met Museum)**

# Tudor Life



# JANUARY

Was MARY I really so energetic in her Catholism?

# **Sloth in the Spirit?** Mary I's restoration of Catholicism to England

## Historian **James Baresel** examines Mary I's views on religion...

For half a millennium, the nature of Queen Mary Tudor's religious orientation has proved an ironic point of agreement between Catholics and Protestants. Both have tended to see her as a woman firmly devoted to unity with the papacy who relied predominantly on legal fiat to restore England to Catholicism as she knew it in her early years while ignoring the reform movements revitalizing the Roman Catholic Church throughout much of Continental Europe—combining stubbornness, authoritarianism and nostalgia with weakness, laziness and indifference. Leading scholars including Oxford historian John Edwards (author of the Queen's most important revisionist biography) and no less eminent an expert on Tudor era religion than Eamon Duffy have, however, shown such a view to be not only false but the precise opposite of historical reality.

Despite her reputation for zealous submission to the papacy, Mary was willing to compromise on the issue, spending eighteen out of her forty-three years (most of her adult

life) and the first quarter of her time in power as a member of the Church of England. Some might stress that her conformity to King Henry VIII's church followed four years of resistance to her father's religious policies and may have been motivated more by fear for the lives of her supporters than for her own, a point only proves her undeniable preference for Catholic Church rather than the staunch allegiance of a John Fisher or a Thomas More. Her later preservation of the quasi-Catholicism bequest by her father on the grounds that no change legally binding religious change could take place during the minority of Edward VI implied (perhaps insincerely) a willingness to (reluctantly) conform to a more fully Protestant church should he later sanction one. Even more telling, however, is the fact that Mary's religious compromises were not "balanced" either by a rapid return to the Catholic Church once this became possible without danger to her life or by anything like strict adherence to its principles after her reconciliation with it.

By August of 1553 Queen Mary's accession to the throne was secure following the attempted usurpation by—really on behalf of—the firmly Protestant Lady Jane Grey. The England populace that had largely rallied to her cause knew she had more or less Catholic leanings, and was itself dominated by those at least broadly inclined in the same direction and those who put the principle of hereditary succession above religious considerations. Rebellions and attempted coups remained possible but the Queen was in a good position to resist them, as well as to make back up plans for flight into exile should circumstances turn against her. Personally returning to the Catholic Church and allowing clergy acting under Catholic jurisdiction to enter England should have been feasible enough for the Queen without requiring the change in England's official

**The vigorously protestant alternative - JANE GREY**

religious establishment that would require the building of a reasonable degree of consensus and then be sanctioned by an act of parliament.

Mary's actual approach was, instead, neither fully Catholic nor fully "legal." Without forcibly suppressing the practices authorized under Edward VI, she more or less unilaterally restored the religious establishment that had existed at the time of her father's death—bringing back many Catholic beliefs and practices, while keeping herself and her subjects separated from the Catholic Church. Her caution concerning a matter on concerning which her subjects were likely enough to be tolerant notably contrasts with her willingness to alienate not only the Protestants among them but some leading supporters of Catholic restoration by aggressively pursuing marriage to future Philip II of Spain—even facing down a rebellion against it almost a year before she allowed papal legate Cardinal Reginald Pole into her country. In the intervening months she married Prince Philip in a ceremony of what was still an English national church whose clergy had no faculties to witness marriages under Catholic canon law.

Even if it could be argued that such actions were motivated by Mary's desire to secure her political position—including through an alliance with Philip's powerful House of Habsburg—they still paint the picture of a woman who put aside her religious inclinations when it became convenient for her to do so. The impression is heightened by the fact that after England's reunion with Rome in November 1554 she not only gratuitously defied the Pope's authority in religious matter but sided against the Papal States in a war that began when Philip II (as he by then was) invaded them in retaliation for having been excommunicated, that the Queen's country could not afford, that was widely opposed by the English people, brought nothing but humiliation and undermined the Queen's position. Mary's sole concession to Catholic policy was her limitation of English participation to campaigns against the Papal States' leading ally and England's traditional enemy, France—a difference that in practical was purely nominal since it freed Spanish troops for Italian campaigns to which England would never have directly contributed anyway.

Not quite a year after England's 1556 entry into the war, Pope Paul IV recalled his legates from Philip's territories. In consideration of Cardinal Pole's holding the office of Archbishop of Canterbury and the fact that his country was not directly at war with the papacy he was allowed to remain in England while his legatine powers were withdrawn. When Pope was ordered to Rome for an inquiry into his religious orthodoxy three months later, Mary reacted with a rebelliousness worthy of her father. She began by asking the Cardinal to continuing performing a legate's functions even though these would no longer have been recognized by the Catholic Church as legitimate acts of governance. Next she denied a papal nuncio entry into Calais (at the time an English possession). She seized official papal communications to Pole, releasing them only when he learned of their existence and confronted her. Her final move was not just to forbid him to leave England for Rome but to insist that any inquiry into his orthodoxy must take place within her kingdom.

On the opposite side of the coin, however, Queen Mary was a women of intense religious devotion and whose religiosity was in most ways eminently Catholic, with the Mass, adoration of the Blessed Sacrament and other Catholic prayers central to her life. She was also strongly influenced by the Christian humanist movement exemplified by such figures as Thomas More and Erasmus. While the various strands within this movement could range from the emphatically Catholic to the emphatically Protestant, all put a strong stress on preaching and teaching that has resulted of its adherent (including Katherine Parr) to be seen either as more Protestant or as less Catholic than they actually were.

Given leading role played by a strongly Christian humanist if ambiguously Roman Catholic monarch, the leaders of England's church initiated a thorough plan a reform whose ultimate failure resulted from a change in regime half a decade later rather than from any inherent shortcomings. Central to the Marian religious program was publication and propagation of catechetical and polemical texts, including a volume of sermons that could be read by priests without the theological grounding to compose their own until such time as the reform of the universities begun under the queen's authority produced a generation of better educated clergy. Bishops were active in promoting their message throughout their dioceses and in revitalizing Catholic life. Considering the limited time frame within which this effort was made it was remarkably successful rather than a dismal failure, Mary leaving her sister a kingdom which included a small minority of committed Protestants, perhaps a higher number of truly committed Catholics and a church whose leadership overwhelmingly remained loyal to the papacy when Elizabeth reimposed Anglicanism.

Why, then, has Mary's program so often been misunderstood? One reason emphasized by revisionist historians is erroneous interpretation of the evidence provided by written texts dating from her reign—interpretations presupposing that the religious vibrancy of the two churches must be reflected by the total number of works published by members of each and by the lasting popularity of their authors. Neither is an accurate standard of measurement. Protestant writers of the era were able to maintain their popularity and even be elevated to the status of "canonical" greats of English religious and literary history due to centuries of their coreligionists' predominance among the people of their country. With Catholics soon reduced to a small minority by government pressure, the reputation of their church's religious writers faded from common memory. Catholic control over the churches and pulpits of England decreased their reliance on the written word while forcing Protestants to write and publish more. And Protestant works were often published in smaller quantities than were Catholic ones, while also including a significantly higher proportion of brief pamphlets.

Another factor, one still often overlooked, is the contrast between Catholic unity and Protestant division. Catholic literature was grounded in a single set of beliefs maintained within a single institutional church, promoted a common cause and attacked a common enemy. Protestantism was divided into a multiplicity of rival churches with rival theologies. Not

only did Protestant writers publish texts to compete with each other as well as with Catholics but even two Protestant texts containing substantially the same message on a particular topic might be written by and for individuals of differing subdivisions

within the Protestant movement. Protestant literature would necessarily have been more extensive than Catholic literature even if both religions had equal opportunities for public preaching and even if there was no discrepancy between the lengths and quantities of the writings of each.

Protestant prejudices provide the final basis for misinterpretation of Catholicism during Mary's reign. The most obvious example of this is longstanding Protestant belief that Catholic religiosity is inherently unable to be fervent, and the consequent explaining away of evidence of Catholic fervency on the basis of circular logic. A more subtle problem is a common Anglophone tendency to judge religious fervency by Protestant criteria, to judge whether or not people are religiously fervent based on whether or not they exhibit the types of behavior specific to Protestant religious fervency. Protestant religiosity is overwhelmingly instructional, manifesting itself through the spoken or written word. This means not only that the fervor of Protestants can largely be judged based on publication and circulation of books (especially during times when their religion exists underground) but also that Protestant clergy are more likely than the Catholic counterparts to devote attention to the rhetorical and literary style of their preaching and writing. Catholicism includes a strong emphasis on ritualistic and visual elements that play a much more moderate role (if any) in most forms of Protestantism.

Analysis of Catholic fervor must, therefore, take into account, take into account the frequency of religious ceremonies, and concern for the creation of religious artwork and the aesthetic quality of liturgical music, vestments, church buildings and so on. Devout Catholics may well favor taking part in a procession over attending a sermon, to whose composition the priest devoted less time than would a Protestant minister so that he could focus instead on training the parish choir. The religious commitment of Catholics during Mary's reign has been underestimated in part because it did not take the Protestant forms often used as a standard of measurement.

**JAMES BARESEL**

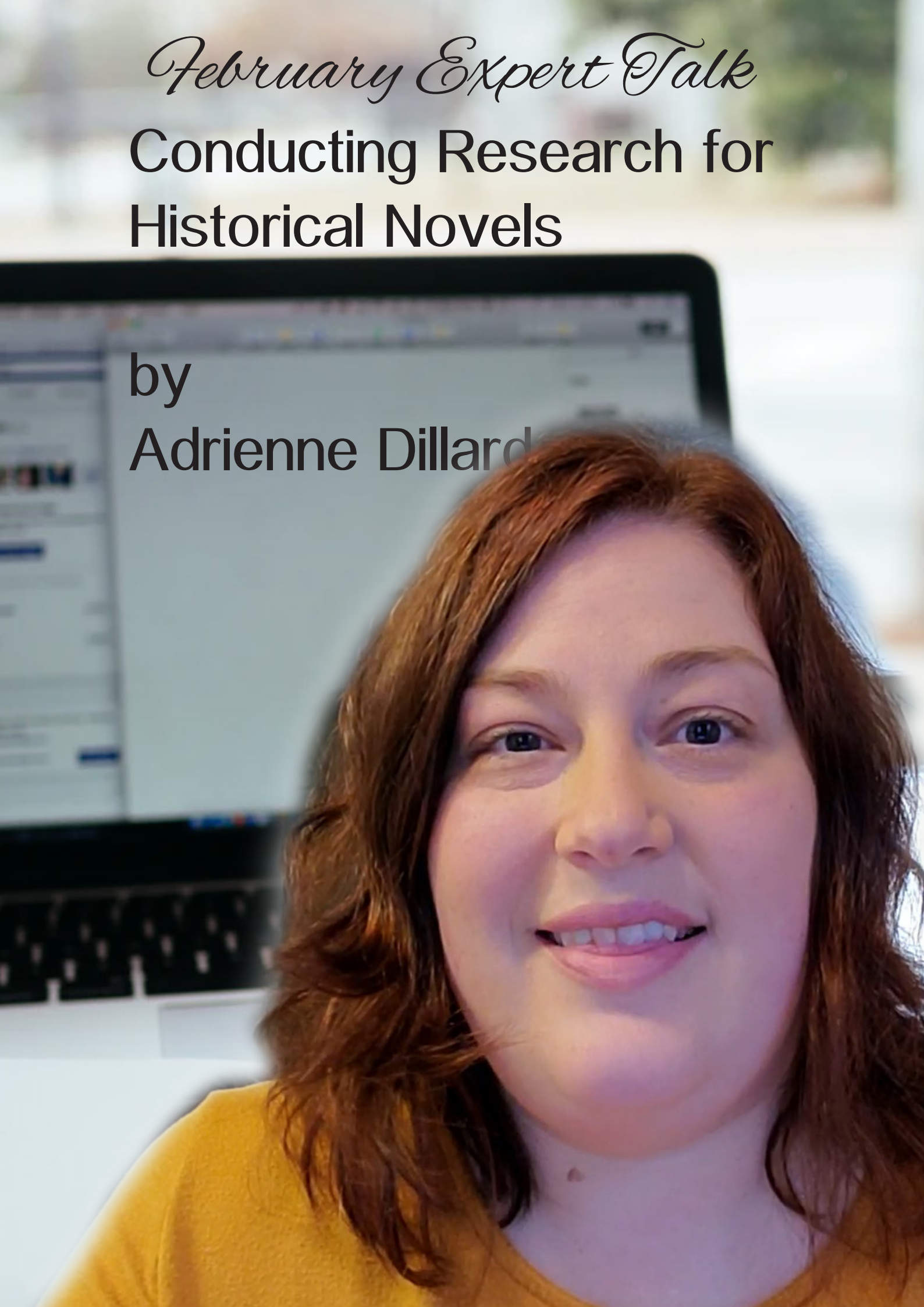
## *ABOUT JAMES BARESEL*

This is James Baresel's first piece for "Tudor Life". James holds a Bachelor of Arts in History from the University of Cincinnati and a Master of Arts in Philosophy from Franciscan University of Steubenville and has taught English, Latin, religion, and the history of art. He has previously contributed articles to "The Imaginative Conservative," "The Catholic Herald" and "The University Bookman".

*February Expert Talk*

# Conducting Research for Historical Novels

by
Adrienne Dillard



# Remedies against Sloth

## Tudor Society founder, **Claire Ridgway**, looks into a fascinating historical work on Sloth

"The devil makes work for idle hands" is a saying we all know well. It appears to originate from St Jerome's words *fac et aliquid operis, ut semper te diabolus inveniat occupatum*, which translate to "do something, so that the devil may always find you busy". Geoffrey Chaucer used them in the Canterbury Tales, in "The Tale of Melibee", writing, "Dooth somme goode dedes that the devel, which is oure enemy, ne fynde yow nat unocupied", and Isaac Watts used them in his 1715 work "Divine Songs", writing "In Works of Labour or of Skill I would be busy too: For Satan finds some mischief still for idle Hands to do."

Christians are supposed to keep busy so that Satan doesn't get the chance to tempt them and lead them astray. Sloth, which can cover idleness, indolence, indifference, boredom and sometimes apathy, is one of the seven deadly sins, a vice that leads a person to further immorality. It is dangerous and is to be avoided. But how?

Well, I found a 16th-century work "The Sinner's Guide" with a whole chapter on "Remedies against Sloth", so I thought I'd share the advice with you. "The Sinner's Guide", or La Guia de Pecadores, was published in 1555 and was written by Venerable Luis de Granada, or Louis of Granada, a theologian, writer and preacher, who started

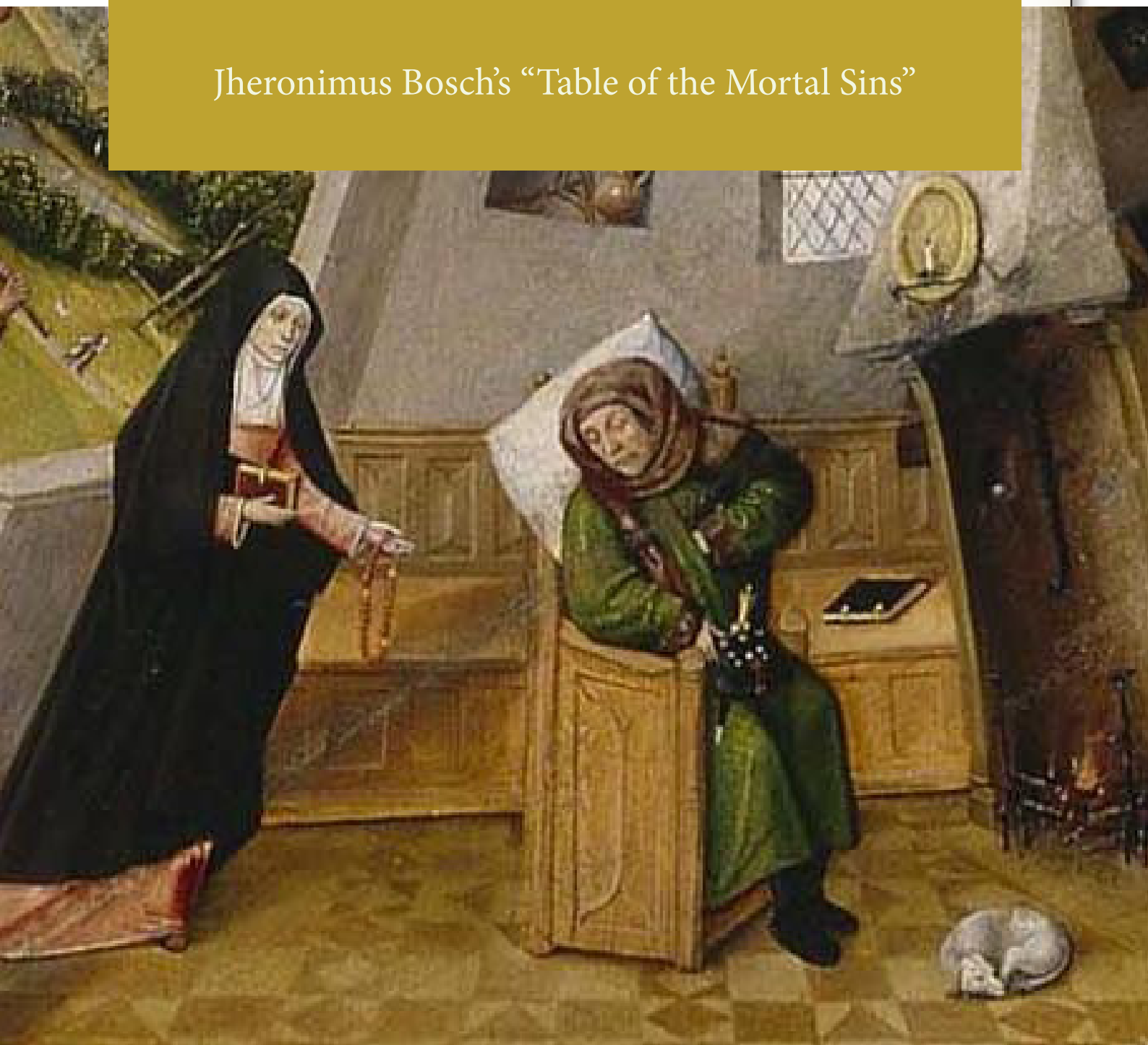
as a Dominican friar at the priory of the Holy Cross in Granada, Andalucía, Spain. He became a famous preacher and then served as confessor and counsellor to the queen regent of Portugal. He is best known, though, for his ascetical works, the most famous of which is "The Sinner's Guide".

In his chapter on sloth, Louis described the sin as "a reluctance to attend to duty" and, drawing on the words of Cassian, "a weariness or distaste for spiritual things". Louis noted the words of Christ in Matthew 7:19, "Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be cut down and shall be cast into the fire", showing just how dangerous this sin could be. Christ also advised his disciples: "Watch ye therefore: for ye know not when the master of the house cometh, at even, or at midnight, or at the cockcrowing, or in the morning", they were to be ever vigilant, to be watching and praying.

Louis wrote that the sin of sloth could be banished by thinking, but about what?

Here is what he advised:

## Jheronimus Bosch's "Table of the Mortal Sins"



- Think on the labours of Christ, what he endured for us, the nights he spent in prayer, his travels, his miracles, his suffering on the cross to free us from sin. Think also on the Apostles' labours, their work preaching, the sufferings of martyrs, the sacrifices of others so that the good news of Christ could be spread.
- Think about nature – The heavens, the sun, moon, stars and planets, the growth of plants and trees, the industry of creatures like ants and bees who are never idle, how everything is in perpetual motion.
- Strive for the kingdom of Heaven, not for "the acquisition of perishable riches", which only bring anxiety. Toil for spiritual treasures which can never be taken, instead.
- Remember that "life is short, and obstacles to good abound", and don't let sloth make you miss opportunities that may never come your way again.
- Strive now for eternal rest - "The number and enormity of your sins demand a proportionate penance and fervour to satisfy for them", so no effort should be too much to make reparation for our sins now and to have eternal rest in the next life. The effort required is only short, but the reward is eternal. We should be determined "to profit by the time which is given us to lay up works for eternal life."
- If you are overwhelmed by your labours and tempted to abandon them, remember the words of Matthew 10: 22: "He that shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved". Our labours will bear fruit if we persevere in them. Christ did not get down from the cross; he completed his work. Our reward for our labours will be eternal.
- Don't worry about the duration or difficulty of your labours, for God will give you the victory. He will help us, and he will reward us. "Place side by side the fleeting pleasure of sin and the eternal happiness of virtue, and you will see how preferable is God's service to the fatal repose to which sloth allures you."
- Don't be lulled into a false sense of security by victory. Never abandon your labours because "your enemies never sleep". There is always temptation. Never let the devil "find you unprepared, but, like a soldier in an enemy's country, be always ready for combat."
- Don't give up if you are tempted or sin – Imitate a brave warrior instead and "you will rise from a fall with new strength". However, "when you are wounded lose no time in applying a remedy; for one wound is more easily cured than two, and a fresh wound more quickly than one that has been inflamed by neglect." Deal with that temptation or sin straight away. If you resisted temptation, then don't rest, use it as an incentive to carry on resisting and being virtuous.
- Replace temptation with virtue – if you're tempted to gluttony or sensuality, then fast instead and turn your mind to your devotions. If you're tempted by avarice, then increase your giving and good works. If you're tempted by vainglory, practise humility. "Then, perhaps, the devil may fear to tempt you, seeing that

Louis of Granada

you convert his snares into occasions of virtue, and that he only affords you opportunities of greater good."

Louis concludes the chapter by saying "Above all things fly idleness" and advising that we should never be "wholly unoccupied", even when we're relaxing. However, we should never be too busy for God.

Even if you're not religious, research has shown that keeping busy is good for us. Being too busy can lead to stress and anxiety, and complete overwhelm, but simply having a busy mind can help our mental health. In the journal article "When Busy Is Less Indulging: Impact of Busy Mindset on Self-Control Behaviors", Jeehye Christine Kim, Monica Wadhwa, Amitava Chattopadhyay note that "a busy mindset bolsters people's sense of self-importance, which, in turn, can increase self-control". Being busy can distract us from our worries and negative emotions and help us be more positive. Simple things like meditation, going for a walk, meeting with friends and loved ones, can keep us busy in a healthy way.

In an article on the Daily Mail website, John Naish lists the benefits of being purposefully busy, according to research. These include better sleep and stronger mental powers, and keeping the mind busy can take your mind off any aches and pains you may have and ward off dementia too.

Avoiding sloth not only stops us committing one of the seven deadly sins, but it also keeps us healthy too!

**CLAIRE RIDGWAY**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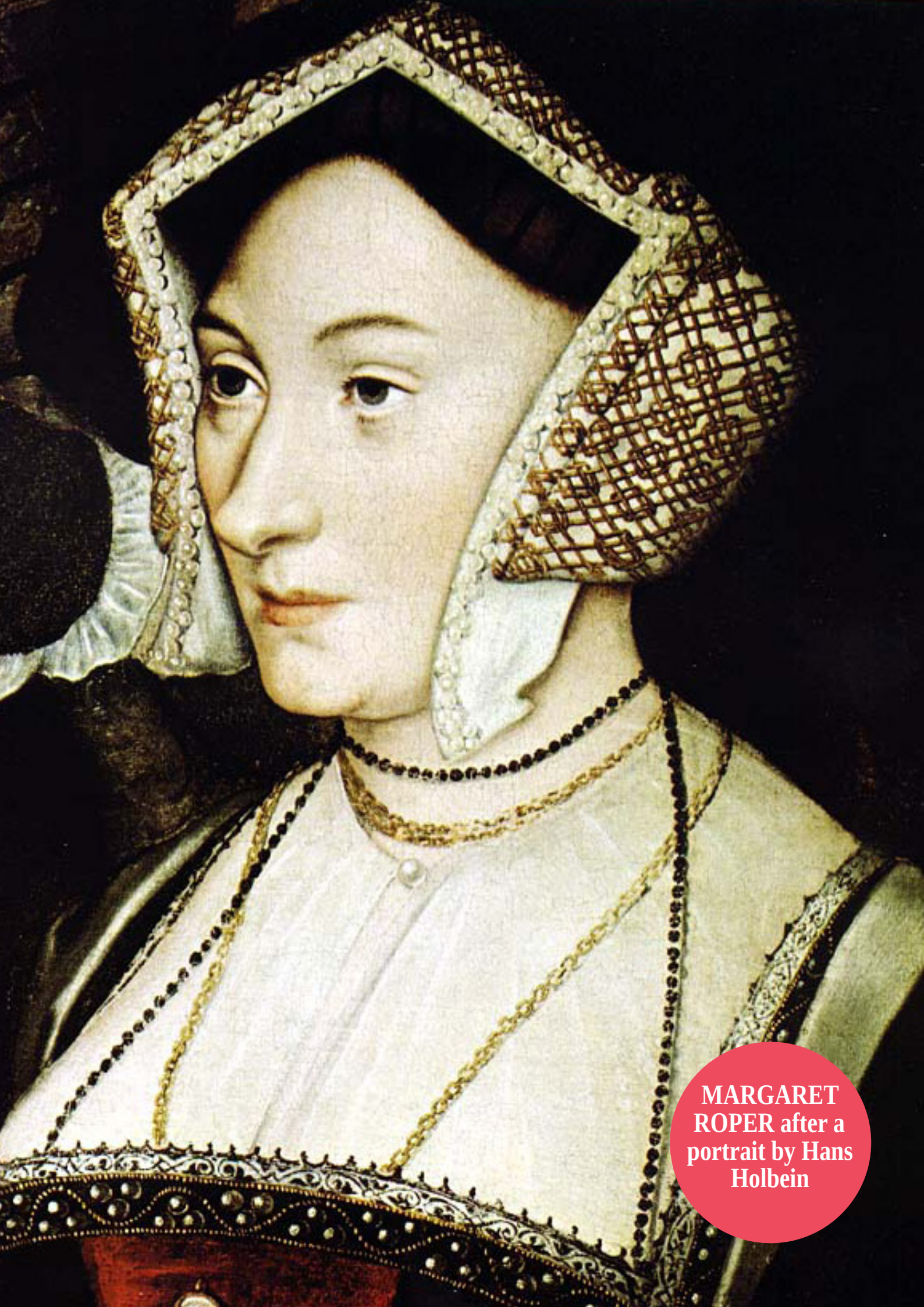


MARGARET ROPER after a portrait by Hans Holbein

SARAH-BETH WATKINS

# THOMAS MORE AND HIS DAUGHTER MARGARET

Thomas More was a great letter writer as well as being one of the Tudor age's greatest statesmen and Henry VIII's Lord Chancellor and one of his closest friends until his downfall. Erasmus described More as having a mind more present, ready, sharpsighted and subtle, or in a word more absolutely furnished with every kind of faculty than his. Add to this a power of expression equal to his intellect, a singular cheerfulness of character and an abundance of wit, but only of the candid sort; and you miss nothing that should be found in a perfect advocate

More believed children should have a solid education and unusually for the time, that daughters should also be well educated. All of his children - Margaret, Elizabeth, Cecily, John and adopted daughter, Margaret Gigs Clement, were given a humanist education that included learning Latin, Greek, Theology, Philosophy, Logic, Astronomy and Mathematics. When More was absent on Crown business and he could not teach them himself, he provided them with tutors to give them an excellent education.

More often wrote to his family especially to his eldest daughter Margaret and enquired as to their learning.

I beg you, Margaret, tell me about the progress you are all making in your studies. For I assure you that, rather than allow my children to be idle and slothful, I would make a sacrifice of wealth and bid adieu to other cares and business to attend my children and my family, amongst whom none is more dear to me than yourself, my beloved daughter

Margaret would grow up to be anything but slothful. Highly intelligent, considered to be one of the most educated women of her time, she was an author and poet and translated works including the Latin *Precatio Dominica* by Erasmus into English as *A Devout Treatise upon the Paternoster* and the Greek *Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius* into the Latin language.

But More would not live to see all his daughter's accomplishments and his family were not dear enough to be a reason to change his beliefs. In March 1534 the first Act

of Succession was passed by parliament that secured the succession on the children of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn meaning Lady Mary was declared a bastard and Elizabeth and any other heirs of this marriage would inherit the crown. People were required to swear an oath and those that refused were subject to a charge of treason under the Treasons Act 1534 which stated

*If any person or persons, after the first day of February next coming, do maliciously wish, will or desire, by words or writing, or by craft imagine, invent, practise, or attempt any bodily harm to be done or committed to the king's most royal person, the queen's, or their heirs apparent, or to deprive them or any of them of their dignity, title, or name of their royal estates … That then every such person and persons so offending … shall have and suffer such pains of death and other penalties, as is limited and accustomed in cases of high treason*

Thomas More refused to swear to the oath, no matter how much his family pleaded with him. More claimed he could not agree to 'the spiritual validity of the king's second marriage' and he refused to accept that the king's marriage to Catherine was not valid. Cromwell claimed More had also given advice to the Holy Maid of Kent, Elizabeth Barton, who had prophesied that Henry would die if he remarried. She even claimed she had seen the place in hell that was reserved for him. She was accused of treason in January along with thirteen of her supporters including More but he proved his innocence by producing a letter which clearly showed he had in fact warned her not to meddle with state affairs.

But in July 1535 More, after being confined in the Tower of London, was found guilty under the Treason Act of 1534 and sentenced to be hung, drawn and quartered. Henry agreed to commute his sentence to beheading but he would not do anything to save his once trusted friend.

Hall's Chronicle related:

About Nine he was brought out of the Tower; his Beard was long, his face pale and thin, and carrying a Red Cross in his Hand, he often lift up his Eyes to Heaven; a Woman meeting him with a cup of Wine, he refused it saying, Christ at his Passion drank no wine, but Gall and Vinegar. Another Woman came crying and demanded some Papers she said she had left in his Hands, when he was Lord Chancellor, to whom he said, Good woman, have Patience but for an

Hour and the King will rid me of the Care I have for those Papers, and everything else. Another Woman followed him, crying, He had done her much Wrong when he was Lord Chancellor, to whom he said, I very well remember the Cause, and is I were to decide it now, I should make the same Decree.

When he came to the Scaffold, it seemed ready to fall, whereupon he said merrily to the Lieutenant, Pray, Sir, see me safe up; and as to my coming down, let me shift for myself. Being about to speak to the People, he was interrupted by the Sheriff, and thereupon he only desired the People to pray for him, and bear Witness he died in the Faith of the Catholic Church, a faithful Servant both to God and the King. Then kneeling, he repeated the Miserere Psalm with much Devotion; and, rising up the Executioner asked him Forgiveness. He kissed him, and said, Pick up thy Spirits, Man, and be not afraid to do thine Office; my Neck is very short, take heed therefore thou strike not awry for having thine Honesty. Laying his Head upon the Block, he bid the Executioner stay till he had put his Beard aside, for that had committed no Treason. Thus he suffered with much Cheerfulness; his Head was taken off at one Blow, and was placed upon London-Bridge, where, having continued for some Months, and being about to be thrown into the Thames to make room for others, his Daughter Margaret bought it, enclosed it in a Leaden Box, and kept it for a Relique.

As Hall states his daughter Margaret, who married William Roper when she was sixteen, is believed to have kept his head. She is thought to have bribed the executioner whose job was also to remove and replace the heads on the bridge. Some say she was brought before the Council and charged with crimes against the state but there is no record of Margaret receiving any punishment. Instead she is supposed to have taken her father's head home, embalmed it in spices and kept it with her throughout life and even death. When she died in 1544, it was buried with her.

**SARAH-BETH WATKINS**

Susan Abernethy talks about...

# QUEEN KATHERINE OF ARAGON AS REGENT OF ENGLAND

King Henry VIII was resolved to go to France and wage war. This decision set in motion a series of significant events, none which was beneficial to James IV, King of Scots. Scotland had initiated the 'Auld Alliance' with France in 1290 and it had been regularly renewed down through the centuries. This agreement stipulated that Scotland and France would come to each other's aid if England attacked. But James had also ratified the Treaty of Perpetual Peace in 1503 with King Henry VII.

The terms of this treaty called for dire consequences if Scotland or England attacked each other. One of the more significant penalties awaiting the king who initiated the attack, was excommunication by the Pope. The Treaty of Perpetual Peace allowed James to maintain his position as an independent monarch in Europe and for Henry VII to strengthen his dynasty. For the most part, the two kings observed the treaty for as long as Henry VII was alive.

In preparation for his sojourn to France, King Henry VIII drew up grants on June 6, 1513 giving his Queen complete power as Regent before his invasion fleet left Dover for France. The first grant, by Letters Patent, granted Katherine the following powers: to make commissions of muster and array; to grant licenses to elect to the chapter of conventual churches not being cathedrals [no bishops]; to present to vacant churches, in the king's gift, rated between 20 and 40 marks; to appoint sheriffs; to issue warrants under her sign manual to John Heron, treasurer of the king's chamber, for payment of such sums as she might require; and to sign warrants to the

king's secretary, keeper of his signet, to the chancellor to use the great seal.

In a second grant, he gave her the power to issue mandates to Heron and to pay any sums of money she might appoint, for defense of the kingdom. He selected the following men to serve as her council: William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, Sir Thomas Englefield, speaker of the king's first House of Commons, and Sir Robert Southwell, chief butler of England. This small group of men were selected to give her advice but Henry made it clear Katherine's word was to be taken as his own.

The Letters Patent also included the ability "to fight and wage war against any of our enemies in our absence". She had "full power to convoke and bring together, when it seems necessary and opportune to the Queen, each and every one of our subjects who are most suitable and capable of defending and protecting our kingdom of England…to arm and equip them for war and to station, prepare and lead them…"

Henry was placing his ultimate trust in Katherine to provide additional supplies for the war in France and, as guardian of the realm, to defend England against any Scottish invasion. He was complimentary of his queen, stating in the Letters Patent that Katherine's "honor, excellence, prudence, forethought and faithfulness" could not be doubted. Katherine's loyalties were to Henry and England and Henry recognized this by giving her an extraordinary amount of authority. It is clear Katherine exercised most of these powers and usually signed off on any documents with her name alone.

Katherine had plenty of inspiration for her new role. Her mother, Isabella of Castile had demonstrated her strategic mastery and taken a leading position in conducting the decade-long war against the Moors in the Reconquista of the Iberian Peninsula and in the kingdom of Granada. Isabella acted as quartermaster, organizing the supply of men and materials. She showed a keen interest in military tactics and artillery, ordering gunpowder and setting up new forges in Spain to produce the siege artillery required for battering the citadels held by the enemy. Isabella would ride in front of the troops to boost their morale before battle.

Katherine set out from Greenwich with Henry and the army for Dover. In the castle, power was officially turned over to her and she watched Henry sail for Calais. She returned to London and took charge of the defense of the realm, aided by Sir Thomas Lovell and Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey. Henry had appointed the military veteran Surrey to take charge of the military expedition against the Scots in the event there was an invasion.

Katherine corresponded weekly

with Wolsey, at the time royal almoner. Each time she requested he send back with her courier any news about the king, especially about his health and military successes. She was solicitous and worried about the king's safety. She pestered Wolsey about Henry's health and sent him fresh supplies of linen. She pleaded with Margaret of Savoy, the Regent of the Netherlands, to send the best physician she could find to look after him.

In July, word reached Katherine that James was mustering troops for an invasion of England. Surrey began his preparations for war, recruiting men from his own household and tenants. Katherine's preparations included gathering ordinance, horses, carts and uniforms and the appropriate heraldic items. She reported to Wolsey she was "horribly busy with making standards, banners and badges".

She signed a warrant to the Great Wardrobe for two "standards of the lion crowned imperial according to the two with those of England and Spain, two with the cross of St. George, three of imagery (i.e. of the Trinity, Our Lady and St. George), one coat of arms of England for a herald and one for pursuivant, 6 trumpet banners and 100' pennants for diverse carriages." To the north she sent artillery, gunners, a fleet of eight ships, grain, pipes of beer, rope, cables and suits of light armor along with ten thousand pounds for war expenses.

Before about five hundred troops on parade in London on July 21, Katherine gave a speech. The Italian humanist Pietro Martire d'Anghiera reported: "Queen Katherine, in imitation of her mother Isabella, who had been left regent in the King's absence, made a splendid oration to the English captains, told them to be ready to defend their territory, that the Lord smiled upon those who stood in defense of their own, and they should remember that English courage excelled that of all other nations." The next day, the English forces left for the north.

The troops and artillery were headed to Newcastle. In August, Katherine and Sir Thomas Lovell were raising additional men. James was threatening to be in York by Michaelmas (September 29) and Katherine took this threat seriously. Between September 3 and 7, Lovell was raising troops in the Midlands under martial law conditions at Queen Katherine's command. Katherine was personally putting together a third force, forming a reserve army around London.

Along the roads leading to Buckingham, levies were pouring in from as far away as Wales, and from all the southern and western counties. The army amounted to about sixty thousand men which Katherine intended to lead to York by herself. In early September, she rode out of London at the head of

the reserve force of gentlemen and yeoman of the counties, a band of Londoners and the cannon from the Tower, on her way to rendezvous with the rest of the army. By September 14, she was a Buckingham, about fifty miles from London, when she received a letter from Surrey announcing the English victory at Flodden (September 9). She wrote to Henry in France:

> *"My Lord Howard has sent me a Letter, which I enclose for our Grace within mine. You shall see in detail the great victory our Lord God has given to your subjects in your absence…. and to my thinking this battle has been for your Grace and all your realm the greatest honour there could be, and more than if you should win all the crown of France. Thanks be to God for it, and I am sure that your Grace will not forget to do this, which will be the cause of sending you more such great victories."*

She also sent Henry the bloody surcoat of James IV:

> *"Your grace shall see how I can keep my promise, sending you for your banners a King's coat. I thought to send him to you in person but our Englishmen's hearts would not suffer it. It should have been better for him to have kept the peace than have this reward. All that God sends is for the best." She signed this letter as "his humble wife and true servant".*

Katherine realized England could not sustain two armies at once so began to disband the reserve army and reduce Surrey's troops. She offered to send someone to comfort the widowed Queen of Scots, Henry's sister Margaret. She assured Margaret that while she kept the peace, her brother would support her regency in Scotland for her young son, James V. The letters exchanged between Margaret and Katherine suggested they were looking for a permanent peace.

**SUSAN ABERNETHY**

Further reading

"Isabel the Queen" by Peggy Liss
"Fatal Rivalry: Flodden 1513 – Henry VIII, James IV and the Battle for Renaissance Britain" by George Goodwin
"Elizabeth of York and her Six Daughters-in-Law: Fashioning Tudor Queenship, 1485-1547" by Retha M. Warnicke
"Henry VIII and the Invasion of France" by Charles Cruickshank
"Catherine of Aragon" by Garrett Mattingly
"Catherine of Aragon: The Spanish Queen of Henry VIII" by Giles Tremlett

# THE TUDOR SOCIETY

*Members' Bulletin*

It's always pleasing to see developments in Tudor history, and this month is no exception - however this time I have some news specific to the Tudor Society to share with you ...

We're always busy working behind the scenes to make things better for all our members. This month we have something totally new for us as I'd like to officially welcome Emma and Merel to the regular staff of the society for five wonderful months. Both are university journalism students and some may know them from their wonderful video documentary on Mary, Queen of Scots when their team visited Edinburgh over a year ago. (see https://www.tudorsociety.com/?p=24153)

Emma and Merel will be putting together a brand-new documentary about Tudor journalism for two days a week, and will also be working three days a week to further the reach of the Tudor Society and to help raise the profile of the Tudor period as they do their apprenticeship with us. They are full of fresh and exciting ideas and we're looking forward to helping them to complete their journalism degrees too! They will be with us (working online of course!) from the beginning of February until the end of June, and I'm sure you'll be seeing them throughout the Tudor Society website during that time. Welcome Emma and Merel!

**Tim Ridgway**

Mary and Elizabeth from
'Henry VIII and His Successors'
*by* Hendrick Goltzius

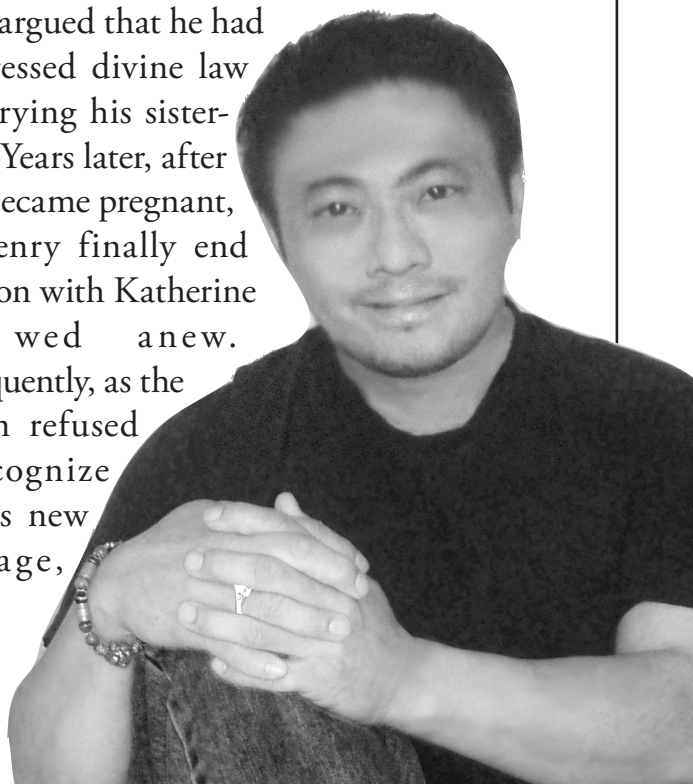
# Rival Sisters

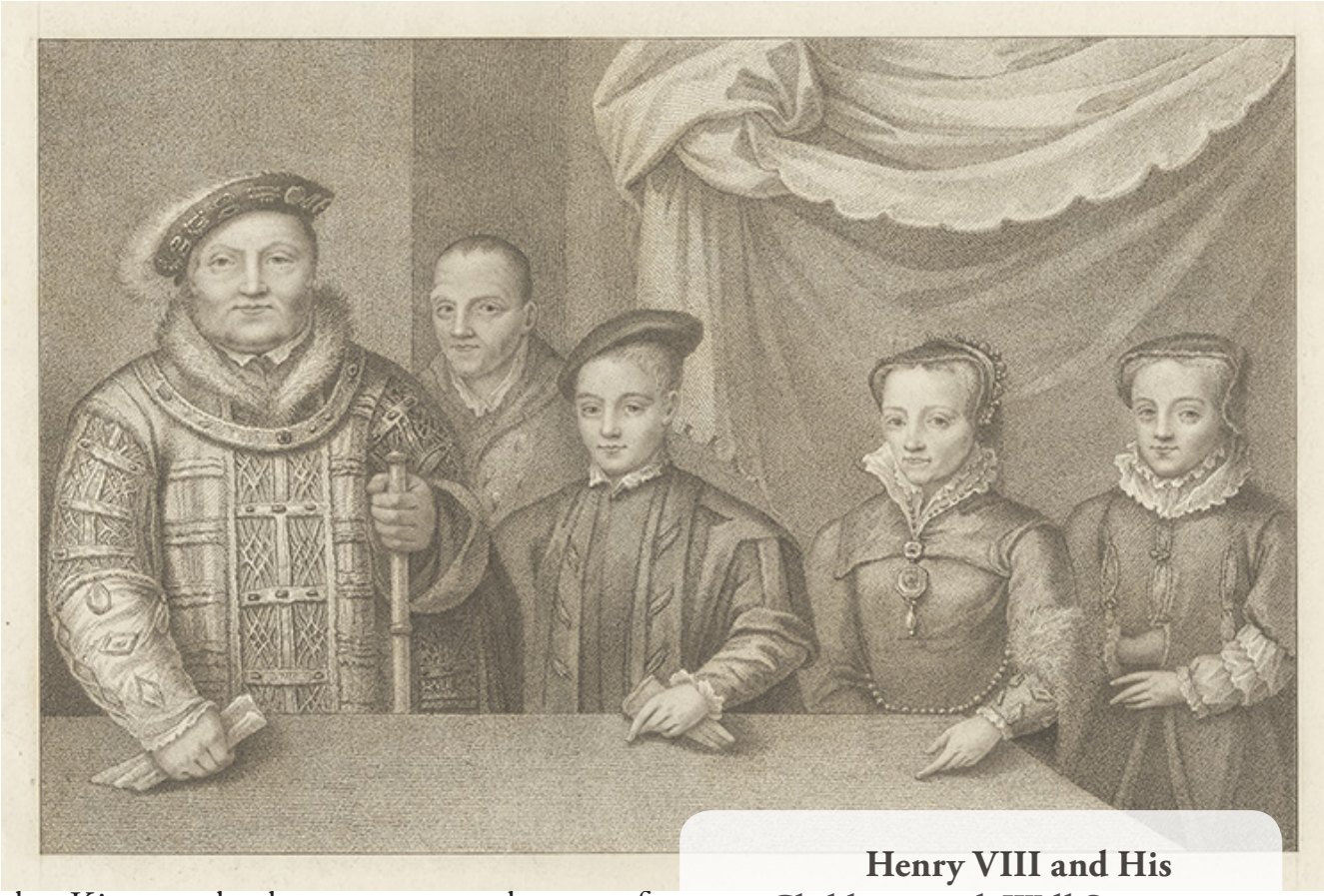
**by Roland Hui**

On a spring night in 1555 at the palace of Hampton Court, the Princess Elizabeth received an abrupt summons. Although it was quite late - 10 o' clock in fact - by order of Queen Mary, she was to appear before her for an audience. Elizabeth was so apprehensive that she told her attendants 'to pray for her, for that she could not tell whether ever she should see them again or no'.[1] As they crossed the garden to the royal apartments together, Elizabeth's servants were told to go no further; only the Queen's lady-in-waiting was allowed to take the Princess up to her mistress.

When she was finally face-to-face with the Queen - her half-sister no less - Elizabeth immediately fell to her knees. She asked that Heaven preserve Her Majesty, and that she was blameless of the Queen's suspicions of her. To this Mary grumbled, "You will not confess your offence, but stand stoutly to your truth. I pray God it may so fall out". She then accused Elizabeth of telling others that she had been wrongly punished. To this, the Princess could only say that as she had 'borne the burden', she 'must bear it', and she begged Mary to have a good opinion of her. She had never dabbled in conspiracy, and was a faithful subject 'as long as life lasteth'. Seeing that her sister would not admit to any treason, Mary dismissed her 'with very few comfortable words'. Still, Elizabeth must have breathed a great sigh of relief, knowing that she had averted danger again - at least for a time.

The tumultuous relationship between the two sisters Mary and Elizabeth Tudor was long in the making. The birth of Elizabeth in 1533 was no cause for celebration to Mary, seventeen years her senior. The mother of the new Princess of England was the hated Anne Boleyn, the second wife of Henry VIII. Well before Anne appeared on the scene, Mary was the beloved daughter of the King and his first Queen, Katherine of Aragon. Until she had a brother, Mary was heir presumptive to the English throne.[2] But her mother had a series of failed pregnancies before and after, and by the mid 1520's, it was evident that the middle age Katherine was past bearing children. Desperate for a son to secure the Tudor dynasty and having fallen in love with Anne Boleyn, Henry VIII began proceedings to have his marriage to Katherine annulled. As the Queen was previously wed to his late brother Prince Arthur, Henry argued that he had transgressed divine law in marrying his sister-in-law. Years later, after Anne became pregnant, did Henry finally end his union with Katherine and wed anew. Consequently, as the Vatican refused to recognize Henry's new marriage,





**Henry VIII and His Children, with Will Somers (by Francesco Bartolozzi)**

the King took the monumental step of breaking the English Church from the authority of Rome.

Naturally, Mary took her mother's side. To admit that her parents' marriage was never legal would mean that she herself was conceived as a bastard. Like Katherine, who was subsequently banished from court and lived on till early 1536, Mary fought tooth and nail to preserve her rights. Her relationship with her father, which was once close and loving, became increasingly strained. And when Henry had his second daughter, it worsened. Even at Elizabeth's baptism, tensions were already brewing. It was Henry and Anne's wish to christen their child 'Mary'.[3] Not only would the infant take over her sister's title of Princess, but even her very name. However, at the last minute, it was decided to call her 'Elizabeth' instead, after the King's late mother.

Demoted from being Princess, Mary was now subservient to her baby sister. As she had remained stubborn in refusing to recognize the recent turn of events, Henry and Anne were determined to bring her to heel. Mary was made to give up her own household and servants, and was forced to be a lady-in-waiting to Elizabeth. She fought back by shutting herself in her rooms and writing letter after letter to her father in protest. Henry still loved his elder daughter, yet he allowed Anne to inflict petty humiliations upon her. If the girl continued in her obstinacy, Anne told Mary's governess, she '*was to slap her face as the cursed bastard that she was*'.[4] And if she had her way, the Queen boasted, 'she will certainly cause the death of the said Princess by the sword or otherwise'.[5]

**Henry VIII and His Family (by an Unknown Artist)**
**On the left is Princess Mary, in the centre is the King with Prince Edward and the late Jane Seymour, and on the right is Princess Elizabeth.**

Mary ignored Anne's rages, and continued to preserve her dignity as best she can. On one occasion when she and Elizabeth had to travel together, Mary saw to it that she would not be shamed in public. When she was notified that the trip would be by water, Mary set out immediately for the barge so that she could occupy 'the most honourable seat in it', instead of Elizabeth.[6]

Mary's adversarial relationship with Anne Boleyn came to end in May 1536 when her stepmother suddenly fell. Unable to give the King a son, she met her end on the executioner's scaffold on trumped up charges of adultery and high treason. Eleven days after her death, the King remarried. Jane Seymour was good to Mary and did her best to reconcile father and daughter. With a new peace in her life, Mary, despite herself, was able to have pity on her little sister. Like Mary, Elizabeth was now declared illegitimate, and the throne settled on the King's children by Queen Jane instead. Mary, in a letter to her father, wrote kindly of her sibling telling him Elizabeth was 'such a child toward, as I doubt not your Highness shall have cause to rejoice of in time coming'.[7] The new harmony between the two was on display that autumn when both Princesses were seen at court together dining with the King and Queen.[8]

Mary and Elizabeth even became close in the last years of Henry VIII. Katharine Parr, the King's sixth and final wife, made it a point to bring the family together as often as possible. The two girls had attended the wedding ceremony in July 1543, and both had taken a liking to the new Queen. Katharine

had a great interest in learning, and in this she found common ground with her well educated stepdaughters. She engaged them in works of literary translation, and had them at court to keep her company, along with their stepbrother Prince Edward, the son of the late Queen Jane. That the whole royal family was together was much commented upon, even from abroad. Mary of Hungary, a sister of the Emperor Charles, once asked the English ambassador whether 'the Queen's Grace, my Lord Prince, my Lady Mary, and my Lady Elizabeth… continued still in one household'?[9]

Upon the accession of Edward VI in 1547, Mary and Elizabeth saw less and less of one another. They were no longer as close due to the new King's preference for one sister over the other. Although Edward as a child was very affectionate towards Mary, even telling her 'I love you most',[10] the two grew increasing apart because of their religion. While the Princess had always been devoted to the Roman Catholicism she had known since the cradle, Edward had been brought up in the new Protestant faith. And because Elizabeth had been as well, the two were more compatible. The boy King lovingly called her his 'sweet sister Temperance'. While Elizabeth was honoured at court, Mary became more and more estranged from her brother.

Because Mary continued to observe the Catholic Mass, instead of the recently prescribed Protestant Communion Service, she got into hot water with Edward's government. Thanks to the protection of her powerful cousin, the Emperor, Mary was able to practice her faith in private, but still she was called into account. One visit to court left both brother and sister in tears after a fruitless meeting over their respective beliefs. Mary grew so frustrated over the state of affairs in England that she even contemplated escape overseas.

But in July 1553, Mary's fortunes suddenly changed. Edward, who had become progressively sick, died. Although it was his last wish that their Protestant cousin, Lady Jane Grey be Queen, Mary, with the overwhelming support of the people, was able to wrest the crown from her. At her triumphant entry into London, Elizabeth (who had cautiously waited to see who would win - Queen Jane or Queen Mary) joined her sister in celebration.

Even though Elizabeth had proclaimed her loyalty to her, Mary remained suspicious. She was certain that her sister's displays of piety at Mass were insincere, and that she was even a traitor at heart. In early 1554, when Sir Thomas Wyatt rebelled against the Queen's impending marriage to Philip of Spain, Elizabeth was implicated in the plot. Her protestations of innocence meant nothing, and in March, she was imprisoned in the Tower of London. Happily, she was released two months later when no evidence could be found against her. However, Elizabeth remained under house arrest, that is until her meeting with the Queen that night at Hampton Court.

Mary's reason for summoning Elizabeth was to keep a close eye on her. She was now carrying Philip's child - or so she believed. But the pregnancy eventually proved false. While Elizabeth outwardly expressed sympathy for her sister, in truth, she was relieved. With the Queen still childless, Elizabeth remained heiress to the throne. This truth only aggravated her relationship with her sister even further. Mary was still convinced that Elizabeth had been in league with Wyatt, and that she was secretly a heretic. But it was through King Philip's intervention, that Mary could do nothing to Elizabeth. Besides being

infatuated with her it was said, Philip was a pragmatist. With his wife still lacking an heir, one of the strongest contenders to the English throne was Mary Queen of Scots. Although she was suitably Catholic, she was married into the family of King Henry II of France, a great enemy of Philip's. He would much prefer to have Elizabeth assume the crown, than Mary of Scotland backed by the French.

As Elizabeth was under her husband's protection, Mary was forced to be accommodating to her. When her sister was at court, Mary had to set aside her great dislike for her. According to the Venetian ambassador, the Queen 'dissembles her hatred and anger as much as she can, and endeavours when they are together in public to receive her with every sort of graciousness and honour, nor does she ever converse with her about any but agreeable subjects'.[11] Still, it was obvious to all how Mary despised and feared her sister. It was particularly upsetting to her, how many were already looking to have Elizabeth as Queen. This was not lost on the lady herself. To be the 'second person' in the realm was a dangerous position to be in, and Elizabeth had to tread carefully. Even if she avoided trouble, she could still be the focus of conspiracy by others. When Elizabeth later became Queen, she told Parliament of her past difficulties. "I stood in danger of my life; my sister was so incensed against me", she explained. "I did differ from her in religion, and I was sought for divers ways".[12]

For Mary, what was a very bitter pill to swallow was her belief that her successor was not even her real sister. As her resentment towards Elizabeth grew over the years, she had managed to convince herself that the young woman - 'the illegitimate child of a criminal who was punished as a public strumpet' - was not the daughter of Henry VIII.[13] Elizabeth's

**The Monument of Queen Elizabeth in Westminster Abbey (engraving by John Goldar)**

real father, according to the Queen, was Mark Smeaton, one of the men accused of sleeping with Anne Boleyn.[14]

Despite her personal feelings towards Elizabeth, Mary, when she lay dying from an outbreak of influenza in November 1558, did not prevent her sister's accession. Although she could not bring herself to actually name Elizabeth as her heir in her will, Mary did bow to the inevitable in settling the succession. She sent her sister a message acknowledging her as the next Queen, with requests that Elizabeth pay off her debts, care for her servants, and maintain the Catholic faith.

Although in life much had divided the two sisters, it was in death that they were united. When Elizabeth herself passed away in 1603, she was given a splendid funeral in Westminster Abbey, and was buried with her grandparents Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. It seemed fitting as they were the first of the Tudors, and Elizabeth the last of them. However, when the new Sovereign, King James, took over the English throne, he had other plans for the late Queen. He had a magnificent funeral monument made for her, but this had to be placed in an aisle nearby. Thus in 1606, Elizabeth's remains were exhumed and placed in the same vault as that of her sister Mary. That the two were together was commemorated by an inscription - *Partners in throne and grave, here we sleep, Elizabeth and Mary, sisters, in hope of the Resurrection*.

**ROLAND HUI**

1. John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, (edited by Stephen Reed Cattley), London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1839, VIII, p. 621.
2. Mary did have a half-brother, Henry Fitzroy (1519-1536), but as he was an illegitimate child of Henry VIII by a mistress, he could not be King.
3. *Calendar of State Papers, Spain* (*CSP Span.*), IV (ii), no. 1124.
4. *CSP Span.*, V (i), no. 10.
5. *CSP Span.*, V (i), no. 68.
6. *CSP Span.*, V (i), no. 86.
7. Thomas Hearne, *Sylloge Epistolarum,* Oxford, 1716.
8. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII (L&P),* XI, no. 860.
9. *L&P,* XVIII (ii), no. 501.
10. John Gough Nichols, *The Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth*, New York: Burt Franklin, 1842, I, Letter IX.
11. *Calendar of State Papers, Venice* (*CSP Ven.*), VI, no. 884.
12. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (editors), *Elizabeth I – Collected Works*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000, pp. 94-98.
13. *CSP Ven.*, VI, no. 884.
14. Henry Clifford, *The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria,* (transcribed by Canon E.E. Estcourt and edited by Rev. Joseph Stevenson). London: Burns and Oates Limited, 1887, p. 80.


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

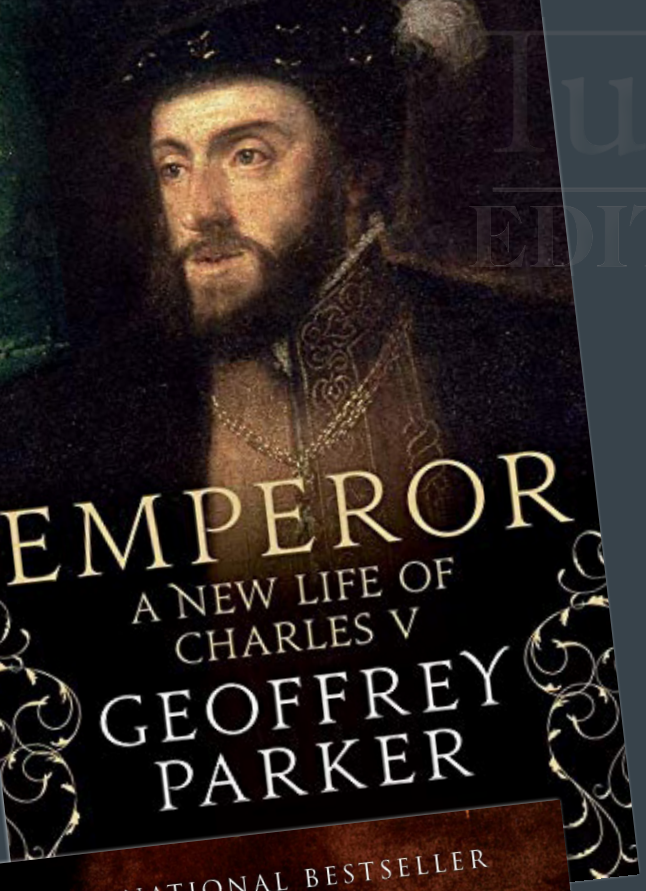
Roland has written for 'Renaissance Magazine' and regularly writes for 'Tudor Life Magazine'. He is the author of *The Turbulent Crown: The Story of the Tudor Queens* and blogs about 16th century English art and personalities at 'Tudor Faces' (tudorfaces.blogspot.com).

# In Which Year?

For this month's quiz, all you have to do is identify the year in which each of these Tudor events took place. Once you have answered each one, look to see who all the clues have been about, and if you can identify who should have been included.

1. Henry VIII becomes a father for first time
2. Henry VII becomes a widow
3. Edward VI becomes an orphan
4. Elizabeth I is quoted to have said 'This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes'
5. Mary I executes an Archbishop of Canterbury
6. Edward VI becomes betrothed to Mary Queen of Scots
7. Henry Tudor flees to exile in Brittany, with his uncle Jasper
8. Elizabeth I makes a rousing speech at Tilbury Fort
9. Henry VIII grants two Dukedoms – Norfolk and Suffolk
10. Mary I becomes Queen Consort of Habsburg
11. Elizabeth I grieves at the death of her beloved 'Frog'
12. Henry VIII is excommunicated by Pope Paul III
13. Henry VII gives Lambert Simnel a job
14. Mary I retreats to Framlingham Castle
15. Edward VI records 'The Duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower Hill between eight and nine in the morning'

Which person is missing from these questions?







For the monarchs mentioned in the featured article on sloth, I can strongly recommend Geoffrey Parker's "Emperor," the new critically acclaimed biography of Emperor Charles V, and also Leanda de Lisle's "After Elizabeth," for how mental ill health plagued the Virgin Queen's final few years in power.

Adrienne Dillard's novel "The Raven's Widow" explores mental ill health in the Tudor period, as does C. J. Sansom's, "Dark Fire," both of which profile characters dealing with issues that their contemporaries saw as stubborn laziness.

Gareth Russell

Depression in the Tudor era could often be dismissed as spiritual sloth

# LAZY LIABILITIES
## SLOTH, SIN, AND SOVEREIGNS IN TUDOR BRITAIN

Historian *Gareth Russell* contemplates this deadly sin and how it was seen in Tudor times...

Laziness, to us, might not seem like a sin, certainly not one capable of causing the same levels of harm reached by its sibling-sins like, say, anger or lust. Yet, the Tudors piously regarded it as one of the Seven Deadly Sins. Some guides to good housekeeping published in the 1520s even advised, strongly, against taking a nap in the middle of the day because they believed it dulled the wits and left the sleeper open to poor decisions after they woke up.

Keeping active was also a sign of vitality. Whether one was a farmer or a duke, your place in the God-ordained social hierarchy typically carried with it the expectations of sustained physical activity – you should be wielding a plough or a sword in order to keep society functioning. Looked at through this lens, it's easier to see why early modern Christians regarded Sloth as one of the seven categories of engendering sins.

Another problem facing our analyses of sixteenth-century sloth is that we have a greater knowledge of mental health problems. Looked at through the lens of increased medical knowledge in the twenty-first century, it becomes clear that some of those damned in the 1500s for their sinful sloth were, in fact, clearly suffering from depression, intense anxiety, or some other full nervous breakdown. A particularly relevant example is the Hapsburg Emperor Charles V, who divided his global empire between his brother and his son when he took the extraordinary decision to abdicate as emperor in 1556. The ex-emperor went into retirement in a Spanish monastery for the final two years of his life and, while later historians

Charles V, the Hapsburg Emperor who abdicated in 1556

criticised Charles V for the apparent laziness which he showed during his last few years on the throne, it is now very clear from comments made by his physicians and courtiers that Charles began to suffer intermittent depression after the death in childbed of his wife, Isabella of Portugal. These depressive cycles increased in frequency and savagery until, by 1555, the poor man quite simply no longer felt able to function, hence his abdication.

The same is also true, I would argue, with Elizabeth I in the next generation. The elderly Elizabeth was ridiculed by younger nobles in the 1590s for her pacifism and

Did Henry VIII's laziness revolutionise government?

conservatism, with some arguing the latter evolved into blinkered stasis even as her kingdoms dealt with a series of bad harvests and rebellions. In fact, there is strong evidence that Elizabeth suffered from depression after a series of bereavements, coupled by a developing symbiosis between her mental and physical health. By the calends of her life, when she was reeling from the death of her lifelong friend and Boleyn cousin, the Countess of Nottingham, the Queen's sustained grief contributed to her death. Her godson, Sir John Harington, observed that he truly believed Elizabeth could have lived for a lot longer if she had wanted to, but that the desire for longer life simply was no longer there. When the Archbishop of Canterbury called to pray with the sickly queen, she refused to hear any prayers he offered for her longer life, but instead passionately "hugged" his hand when he prayed and reflected on the peace of Heaven. Looking at the examples of Charles V and Elizabeth I, it is easy to see that traditional dismissals of 'sloth' were often misdiagnosed depressions.

However, there were tangible political dangers that could arise from a monarch who was lazy rather than melancholic. Sloth is a wide umbrella. Henry VIII's perceived indifference to the minutiae of daily government, even down to his famous aversion to writing long letters, led to several periods of political tension where those around the King feared that he was so naturally lazy, when it came to bureaucracy, that this left him worryingly susceptible to those in his court who offered to take that burden off his shoulders. This was what traditionally explained the rise to power of Cardinal Wolsey, but it was also cited by men like Cardinal Pole who felt it set a pattern whereby Henry VIII was always easily dominated by more energetic and detail-oriented personalities. Depending on how one interpreted the reign, Henry VIII's alleged laziness was the reason for the ascendancies of Cardinal Wolsey, Anne Boleyn, and Thomas Cromwell.

From its everyday to high politics, sloth was thus capable of causing chaos and inefficiency for society. Yet, it could also be cruelly misapplied to those suffering the agonies of mental anguish.

**GARETH RUSSELL**


The Church of St Nicholas

# TUDOR CHARLWOOD & LEIGH: PART 1

With

IAN MULCAHY

Charlwood is a village and civil parish in the far southern reaches of Surrey whose village church is less than a mile from the western end of the runway as the crow (or jet plane!) flies at Gatwick Airport which, until very recently, was the busiest single runway airport in the world. This proximity to London's second airport has resulted in the village living with the threat of total destruction as a consequence of airport expansion since the 1970s.

Home to a little under 2,500 people, Charlwood is a village of Saxon origin ('The Wood of the Ceorls'; a freeman with the right to bear arms) and, in common with many ancient towns and villages across The Weald, early settlers were drawn to the area by the abundance of iron ore to be found below ground and the timber, required to smelt and forge that ore, that was growing above. By Tudor times, the area was of such importance to the iron industry, particularly in the manufacture of ordnance for the Crown, that Charlwood and Leigh were specifically excluded from an act passed in 1558 for the purpose of protecting mature woodland from destruction.

With the exception of, and perhaps in no small part due to, the noisy hub of international air travel a mere stone's throw to the south east, Charlwood seems to have escaped much of the urban expansion which is prevalent across the south east of England and, as such, the wider parish is rich in ancient trackways and isolated farmsteads providing us with an increasingly rare window into our past. The Parish has 85 listed buildings – almost 10% of the total number of households – and amazingly 28 of these are of the medieval open hall type, more than in any other parish in the county of Surrey.

This makes Charlwood an ideal place for a Tudor tour and with a richness of ancient architecture dispersed over such a wide area, a single article would not do the area justice so this walk will be spread over two parts and include the neighbouring parish of Leigh, which itself has a handful of magnificent buildings surviving from the Tudor era. This rural tour has a more personal feel for me than those which I usually undertake as I discovered relatively recently that, despite neither of them being born or ever having lived in Charlwood, both of my maternal grandparents have ancestral connections to the area. These are particularly strong on my grandmother's side and my great great great grandparents, William and Ellen Edwards, are buried together in the churchyard at Charlwood.

In part two we will pull on our walking boots and visit the isolated farmsteads and the parish of Leigh, but for part one we will look at the village itself, and what better place to start than at the grade 1 listed **Church of St. Nicholas**.

The nave and lower parts of the tower of St Nicholas date back to 1080 and are of a typical Norman design, probably built on the site of a wooden Saxon predecessor. Whilst no physical evidence has been discovered, the construction of such a large Norman church so soon after The Conquest demonstrates that a well-established Saxon settlement must have existed here. An alternative theory, presented by some local commentators, is that Charlwood was a centre of Saxon resistance against the conquering Norman forces and that the church was impressively built by forced Saxon labour in order to overawe and subdue the local insurgents and to act as a defendable centre of local

Norman administration. This theory is given some credence by the omission of Charlwood from the Domesday Book, though it certainly wouldn't be the only Saxon settlement missing from the survey.

Over the following 600 years the church underwent significant expansion with the south aisle being added in 1280, the vestry in 1330 and the porch and chancel in 1480. The final change to the fabric of the church came about in 1660 when the tower gained some extra height to celebrate the re-instatement of the Royalist Rector Thomas Mulcaster following the restoration, a change clearly visible in the masonry when viewed externally.

During a mid Victorian restoration it was discovered that the southern wall hosted paintings which had been whitewashed out of sight by Sir Thomas Saunders during the reformation. The paintings tell tales of St. Margaret, St. Nicholas and The Three Princes and it has been established that they are contemporary with the construction of the south aisle in 1280. Separating the chancel from the rest of the church is a fine screen which constitutes the largest medieval wood carving to be found in Surrey. The screen, described as 'the chief glory of the church' by Ruth Sewill in her book *The Free Men of Charlwood*, was constructed in the 1480s when the chancel itself was built in order to expedite the soul of 30 year old Richard Saunders, grandfather of Sir Thomas, to heaven. Amongst the many carvings on

the screen are the initials RS, which appear four times. One can assume that the screen survived the reformation solely because it was built in dedication to the grandfather of the man charged with implementing the switch of the church to Protestantism. You will read more about the Saunders family, and their very Tudor connections, in part two. Of other antiquities within the church, the octagonal pulpit dates to the middle of the 16th century and the parish muniment chest was constructed in 1539 to house the parish registers.

During the reformation, inventories of 'church goods' were compiled, the aim of such an exercise being to identify and remove anything that could be considered 'Romish' and, of course, to fill the King's already bulging pockets. The Commission for Church Goods, Inventories and Miscellanea in Surrey, headed by Sir Thomas Saunders, visited Charlwood on 17 Oct 1552 in order to compile the inventory of the parish and the items recorded include 6 copes (a cape worn by a priest) of varying colour and material, various vestments (a clerical robe), 'other clothes', alter cloths/shrouds and their cases, sliver chalices, 1 pair of great and 3 pairs of small Latin candlesticks, a brass vessel for holy water, Pewter basins, hand bells and crosses. The inventory at Charlwood is very much in line with those taken at other churches across Surrey so this wasn't an overly wealthy parish with a church laden with valuable chattels donated by well off parishioners.

The church is unusual in that, from the time of its building until 1846 when it transferred to the Diocese of Winchester, it was an outlying parish in the Diocese of Canterbury and answerable directly


The Half Moon Pub

to the Archbishop there; a ‘peculiar’ of Canterbury. The parish must have been a rebellious one because, in 1170, the Rector of Charlwood was ex-communicated by Archbishop Thomas Becket just four days before he was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral.

As we open the 13th century oak door and step outside, we will tread upon the Tudor causeway leading from the door, through the lychgate and offering dry passage for pedestrians heading in both easterly and westerly directions through the churchyard and beyond; a path of local Charlwood stone laid, no doubt, as much for the benefit of the church cleaner as for that of the parishioners, who would have previously waded through the heavy sticky yellow clay, so predominant in The Weald, in order to reach their place of worship.

From the church we walk eastwards along the causeway and past the yew tree, which is as old as the church itself, towards the **Half Moon**. Though not listed, the older parts of this public house, which was almost certainly built on the site of a preceding hostelry, date back to 1550. Next door to the pub is **Temple Bar House**, a relatively modern looking painted brick built house, but underneath the façade is a timber framed hall house that possibly dates back as far as the early 1400s making it a possible, and certainly unexpected, contender for the title of ‘the oldest house in Charlwood’.

In 2003, a project was carried out in Charlwood to dendro-date some of the most important buildings in the parish.

Temple Bar House

The Cottage

This has provided accurate dating for some 20 properties around the area and means that I can say with certainty that the front runner for the 'oldest house…' crown is the building opposite the pub, **The Cottage**. This is the house with the oldest confirmed date of construction within the parish; the cross wing of The Cottage has been dated to 1402 and the road facing section to 1442. This suggests that the main wing was probably constructed in place of an earlier building on the site. The house was originally an open hall with a smoke bay being added in the late 16th century and the chimney was built within the smoke bay during the early parts of the 17th century. Said to be haunted by the ghost of an old lady that only children can see, the house was originally jettied, but this was underbuilt with the brick we see today during the 19th century.

From your position outside of the Half Moon facing the cottage, you can follow the narrow street either way to reach the main road through the village. Almost opposite either end of the little crescent from which you emerge is **Hunts**, the main section of which dates back the very early 17th century. The cross wing of 1620 to the right and the later cross wing to the left were both once jettied, but are now underbuilt.

From Hunts, head eastwards for 150 metres or so and then turn left into

Hunts

Sun Cottage

Rosemary Lane. If you pass the village lock up, a small 2 cell jail of the early 19th century, and continue straight ahead down the rough track you will see to your left the partially timber framed **Sun Cottage**, dating to the very end of the Tudor period. Returning back to the made up road and heading north east along Rosemary Lane you will soon come to the chocolate box **Tudor Cottage**. Built in 1550 as a 2 bay open hall, a wooden chimney was added at a later date. Unsurprisingly, the idea of using wooden chimneys as a conduit for smoke removal was soon discarded as they didn't really possess the qualities necessary for such a job, so the extant brick chimney was built inside the framework of the wooden chimney. Quite rarely, some of this framework survives within the house.

Continuing along Rosemary Lane as it becomes a footpath will lead you to Swan Lane where you should turn left into the cul-de-sac. The third building on your left, is **Mores**, a mid-16th century 2 bay open hall house with a subsequent third bay added. Mores is unusual in that first

Tudor Cottage

Mores

impressions are that the width of the house has been shortened to meet the chimney and we've lost a bay at the end of the house, but in fact the smoke bay in which the chimney resides was built outside, meaning that the house has been widened with the half hipped end section of the roof being brought up to a gable end in order to accommodate the smoke bay. Most of the house has been refaced in painted brick and tiles, but the timber framing is still visible on the southern wall. At the end of Swan Lane is **Swan Cottage**, constructed in 1460 as another 2 bay open hall. The single bay of the hall was floored over and a chimney added in the early part of the 17th century. The original partition between the open bay and the service bay is extant.

Performing an about turn and walking to the eastern end of Swan Lane will take you to Chapel Lane, where a right turn will bring you back to the main road and the common, now playing fields, will be opposite you. Turn left here and after 250 metres you will arrive at Lowfield Heath Road. To the east of the road is a pond and

Swan Cottage

Charlwood Place Farm

a collection of farm buildings, all part of **Charlwood Place Farm** which was built in 1590 with an original central chimney – a very early example of such a build which would have been cutting edge architecture at the time! To the west of the road is **Spicers Farm Barn**, an early 16th century example of a 3 bay barn with a 17th century single bay extension to the left. The barn, which is still in use, predates the current farm house building by a century strongly suggesting a much earlier farm existed here.

Turning tail once again (we shall be doing a lot of that!) you should head back to the common in the centre of the village and cross the playing field to the opposite corner where you will emerge on Ifield Road. A little way along to your left is a public footpath and immediately beyond that is **Ye Olde Bakehouse**, a large open hall house constructed between 1439 & 1469 of which 2 bays remain, both incorporated into 16th and 18th century extensions. A reformation period priest hole exists inside and views of the rear of the house can be taken in from a short way along the aforementioned footpath. A little

Spicers Farm Barn

Ye Olde Bakehouse

further along Ifield Road, on the opposite side to the Bakehouse, is **Little Dolby**, an open hall house of 1497 of which part of the open hall still exists. Also in the house are the original stairs, consisting of oak wedges nailed to sloping timbers. The original wattle and daub partition walls also remain and the partition for the smoke hood is heavily sooted. The house is end on to the road and the addition to the left was added in the mid 1700's. A further 300 metres along Ifield Road is **Fullbrook Cottage**, a well disguised open hall of 2 bays built between 1503 & 1535. A third bay, to the left of the chimney, has been removed at some point, possibly when the chimney was added to replace the smoke bay which was inserted into the open hall.

At this point we once again retrace our steps and opposite the playing fields on Dolby Green are **Mytten Croft & Vintners Wells**. Mytten Croft is a Hall house of 1600 and forms the central section of the range. It was modernised soon after construction with the addition of a chimney and the cross wing to the right is a Victorian addition. Vintners Wells consists of the adjoining tile hung cross wing to the left

Little Dolby


Fullbrook Cottage

Mytten Croft (central section)
and Vintner Wells to the left

and the attached Timber framed section, which was originally a barn and has served as the village firestation as recently as the 1940's. Immediately to the north of this range is a public footpath which will lead you back to the Half Moon, perhaps for some well-deserved refreshment.

We'll finish part one of the tour with a walk along Rectory Lane and up to Russ Hill. To get there we'll need to once again walk in the clean footsteps of the Tudor residents along their causeway through the churchyard, passing the church and a ramshackle 7 bay 18th century cattle shelter on the way. Turn left on reaching the road and you will shortly come across, to the left, **Tanyard Farm**, a timber framed late Tudor building with a square stair turret, a brick built extension dating to roughly 1800 and a barn that was constructed at around the same time as the older part of the farm. The stair turret, at the rear of the house, is best viewed from close to the cattle shelter if the trees are bare of leaves.

A little further to the south on the same side of the road, by this point named Russ Hill Road, is **Ringers**, a 3 bay timber framed farmhouse of the 16th century with a 17th century cross wing at either end and some later enlargement at the rear. The house is now clad in tiles and red brick and whilst it undoubtedly looks impressive set in large country grounds, one can't help but imagine how picturesque it would look with the timber framing exposed. The next two houses involve a two mile round trip to the top of Russ Hill and back. On your right, shortly after the eponymously

Tanyard Farm

Ringers

named Russ Hill Hotel, is **Hillands**, a 4 bay hall house of the late 1400s which was built to an almost identical plan to that of the Bayleaf Farmhouse at the Weald & Downland open air museum (see *Tudor Life*, July 2019). Most of the framing has unfortunately been hidden behind brick and tile, but the timbers are still visible on the northern end of the house. Opposite Hillands is a rough track, and if you need to catch your breath for 5 minutes after the walk up the hill, there is a splendid view point just 100 metres along that track from where you can look out across Crawley. A short way further along Russ Hill Road is **Westlands**, a three bay house with an early smoke bay, which dates it to the early to mid-16th century. The timbers of the original house are all still visible, and its south westerly aspect means it reflects the early evening summer sun perfectly. The square framed bay to the right is a 17th century addition, presumably coinciding with the chimney being inserted, and the cross wing to the left is a relatively modern extension.

Returning northwards, back down the hill towards the village, **Robins Farm** will appear on the left shortly after Ringers. A fantastic unspoilt timber framed farmhouse built in 1505, Robins was originally a 3 bay open hall house that was unique in Charlwood in having a single bayed central hall with floored bays at either end. The deep fourth bay visible today, to right of the door, is a later addition. Just to the south of the farmhouse is a small dilapidated barn that matches the house for age. Almost next

Hillands

Westlands

Hillands

Primrose Cottage

door, set back from the road, is **Primrose Cottage**, a small 2 bay medieval hall house which was possibly built as early as 1400, joining The Cottages and Temple Bar House as a front runner in that race to be crowned as the oldest house in Charlwood. When the house was first built it had no upper floor at all, meaning it was just a single room. There is a 17th century single bay addition to the right.

After passing a few 20th century builds, you will reach Glovers Road, and a short diversion along here will bring you to **Brook Cottage & Brookside**, a pair of cottages that started their life in 1547 as a two bay hall house. Another bay was added to the right, along with a chimney, in around 1600 and the left bay and cross wing were added during the 1700s. The house is positioned end on to the road, but there is a public footpath immediately before the house, and a short walk along here will afford a full view of the front of the house. Returning now to Rectory Lane, glance to your left across the upwardly sloping grass as you approach the junction and you will see **Pagewood House**, a 4 bay open hall house built in 1452 for the Saunders family. Most of the timbers have now been covered in brick and tile, but some thick square framing on the side of the house can still be seen from the public footpath next to Bristows Cottage, a small timber framed 17th century house some 200 metres along Rectory Lane.

Our final two buildings of the first part of this tour couldn't be more disparate. The first, **Laurel Cottage**, is a tiny

Brook Cottage

Pagewood House

Laurel Cottage

and picturesque open hall house of the late 1400s. A smoke bay was added in the mid-16th century and the large outside chimney followed early in the 1600s in order to house the inglenook fireplace which was too large to be accommodated within this small cottage. Like Primrose Cottage this house was originally just a single open room. At the end of Rectory Lane, on the junction with the main road through the village, is **The Manor House**. Set behind large gates and high hedges this large 4 bay open hall house, previously known as Taylors Farm, was built between 1454 and 1486 and has never actually been a manor house. Both ends of the original hall have had substantial cross wings added and the sooted rafters in them tell us that these probably date to the 16th century. Further modern additions have been made to the right and rear.

We are now close to the church once again and have reached the end of the first part of our tour of this historic area of the country. Part two will be coming to Tudor Life soon and, for the adventurous and well prepared, walking boots and bottled water will be required as we visit the dispersed medieval and Tudor farmsteads in Charlwood and the neighbouring parish of Leigh. Riding or driving is also an option for the less energetic explorer, but whichever mode of transport you choose there are plenty of beautiful Tudor buildings still to be viewed.

**IAN MULCAHY**

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# Quiz Answers

1. 1511
2. 1503
3. 1547
4. 1558
5. 1556
6. 1543
7. 1471
8. 1588
9. 1514
10. 1556
11. 1584
12. 1538
13. 1487
14. 1553
15. 1552

And the missing person is **Jane Grey...**

TONI MOUNT

# SIR THOMAS WYATT THE ELDER c.1503-42

Sir Henry Wyatt's elder son, Sir Thomas (sometimes called the Elder to distinguish him from his son who was also named Thomas and knighted), was a courtier and a poet during the reign of King Henry VIII. We aren't certain when he born but most likely in 1503, so he was at least a decade younger than the king, or more. His birthplace was Allington Castle, near Maidstone in Kent. He grew to be six feet tall and athletic and was said to be handsome.


**Sir Thomas Wyatt *by* Hans Holbein the Younger in c.1535 (NPG)**

Our American readers may be intrigued to know that Thomas had a sister, Margaret, who married Sir Henry Lee and the couple had a son, also named Henry Lee, who emigrated to the American Colonies. His descendants became the Virginia Lees, one of whom was the famous general, Robert E. Lee. Thomas Wyatt's great-grandson was the Governor of the Virginia Colony, Sir

Francis Wyatt. This branch of the Wyatt family became the ancestors of Wallis Simpson, the American divorcee who so bewitched King Edward VIII in 1936 that he gave up his throne in order to marry her. The couple was given the title Duke and Duchess of Windsor.

But back to Thomas Wyatt. His first recorded appearance at the Tudor court was the occasion of the christening of Princess Mary, Henry and Catherine of Aragon's only surviving child in 1516, when he served as a sewer-extraordinary at the feast. This would likely have required him to carry a basin, a ewer of scented water and a towel to the king and guests at the top table for them to wash their hands before the meal. He certainly came to the king's attention as a fine looking youth and there is a good story told of Thomas, that he'd saved his father's life when a pet lion turned on him. The king is said to have described young Thomas as 'a man who can tame lions'.

Thomas is thought to have attended St John's College, Cambridge, although he didn't complete his degree. This was not unusual for young Tudor gentlemen when a few years at university were regarded as a sort of finishing school, if they weren't intending to train as priests, lawyers or physicians. However, Thomas did acquire an interest in classical Greek and Latin authors who would inspire his later poetry, as well as absorbing the humanist ideas of men like Erasmus. Thomas was very much the Renaissance courtier. He was also inclined towards the new religious ideas of the Protestant reformers.

By 1520, Thomas had wed Elizabeth Brooke, daughter of Lord Cobham. This was probably arranged by his father as a means of further establishing the Wyatts as Kentish gentry. It certainly wasn't a love match. Although Elizabeth gave birth to Thomas's son and namesake in 1521, after that the marriage went downhill all the way and the couple split up. From a letter that Thomas later wrote to his son, it appears that Elizabeth had an affair. He wrote:

> *love well and agre with your wife …*
> *And the blissing of god for good agrement between the wife and husband is fruyt of many children, which I for the like thinge doe lacke, and the faulte is both in your mother and me, but chieflie in her.*

At least Thomas admitted that he too was guilty of adultery. He formed a long-term relationship with one of Queen Catherine of Aragon's ladies, Elizabeth Darrell, with whom he had at least one illegitimate son, Francis.

In 1524, Thomas became Clerk of the King's Jewels, possibly with the intention the he should follow his father as Master of the same. That Christmas, Thomas played a role in the court entertainments along with other young men, including his brother-in-law, George Brooke. The next year, Thomas became an Esquire of the King's Body and in 1526, he was sent abroad on a diplomatic mission. He accompanied his fellow Kentishman, Sir Thomas Cheney, to France to visit King Francis I but a month later, Thomas returned home to make their report to Cardinal Wolsey. Cheney reckoned Thomas was well

suited for the task, saying that he had 'as much wit to mark and remember everything he saith as any young man hath in England'.

Thomas's next journey abroad was as a member of an embassy to the pope in January 1527 but Thomas was taken prisoner by the troops of Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, despite having letters of safe conduct from the Duke of Ferrara that should have ensured his safety en route. The duke must have felt obliged to pay the 3,000 ducats ransom demanded for Thomas's release and he was freed by April and reached Rome. However, he then had another narrow escape. He left Rome at the beginning of May, just a few days before Charles's army sacked the city. Despite such troublesome brushes with the emperor, Thomas's close association with Charles's aunt, Catherine of Aragon, may have inspired King Henry to appoint him as the ambassador to the Spanish court. His other offices included a year, 1529-30, spent as High Marshal of Calais – still an English possession then – along with a lucrative licence to import wine and woad – a blue dye – from France.

Anne Boleyn

Into the 1530s, Thomas became a friend and associate of the king's new secretary Thomas Cromwell, Wolsey's replacement after the cardinal's fall from grace. Cromwell was named as the executor of Henry Wyatt's will, so was known and trusted by the family. Thomas also knew his Kentish neighbours well, the Boleyns, and was, thus, about to be close to the forthcoming turbulent events of that decade.

Although it isn't certain, it seems most likely that Thomas accompanied the king and Henry's mistress, Anne Boleyn, to Calais to meet King Francis I in October 1532, because he wrote a poem referring to the event. In high favour, he served as sewer-extraordinary once more on 1 June 1533, on the occasion of Anne Boleyn's


coronation. His connections at court allowed him to extend the Wyatt influence in Kent and Yorkshire, the county of the family's origins. To demonstrate his rise in status, in 1534, Thomas was given permission to have twenty men wear his livery – a sort of uniformed bodyguard designed to impress.

But Thomas wasn't one for the quiet life. In 1534, he was arrested and spent a short while in the Fleet prison, having been involved in a fight, during which a London officer of the law was killed. Despite this, he was knighted at Easter the following year. What with his close ties with the Boleyns and Thomas Cromwell and his continuing career as an ambassador abroad, things must have looked rosy for Thomas at the time but 1536 saw a sudden change in his fortunes. As he later wrote in a poem, at this time 'my welth and eke my liff, I say, Have stonde so oft in such perplexitie'.

On 5 May 1536 Thomas was imprisoned in the Tower of London, at the same time as Mark Smeaton, Sir Henry Norris, William Brereton and Sir Francis Weston. These four were accused of having committed adultery with the queen, Anne Boleyn. Thomas was a friend to those men, along with Sir Richard Page. John Hussee reckoned at first that Thomas was not in danger of his life, like the former four, but reported that others thought differently, believing Wyatt and Sir Richard Page were 'as like to suffer as the others'. But Thomas himself claimed that his incarceration had been engineered by malice and the 'undeservyd evyll will' of the king's brother-in-law, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

By this date, Thomas was firmly of the Protestant persuasion and certain vociferous anti-Protestants put out the rumour that Thomas had not only been Anne Boleyn's lover before she became queen but had attempted to dissuade the king from marrying her, because he desired her himself. There is

no evidence of such a relationship ever existing but the rumour alone could be damaging. It may be that Suffolk was involved in this, not because of animosity towards Thomas in person but because he detested Anne Boleyn as a relative of the Howard family, Dukes of Norfolk. Any reduction in Howard influence at court was a bonus for Brandon and a boost to his status in East Anglia where both dukedoms vied for power.

Thomas's father, Henry Wyatt, wrote to Thomas Cromwell in May, thanking him for his efforts to get Thomas released from the Tower of London. Thomas soon regained his liberty but not before he had witnessed the executions of Anne's other supposed-lovers on 17 May. He wrote:

> 'The bell towre showed me suche syght
> That in my hed stekys day and night'.

Thomas, unsurprisingly, was angered and scared by his experience in the Tower but, once at large again, he was back in King Henry's favour. Not only was he made Sheriff of Kent but also steward of Conisbrough Castle in Yorkshire, an office held previously by his father. In this capacity, during the extensive unrest and uprising in the north, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, beginning in October 1536, Thomas was commanded, in the king's name, to raise a force of 200 men to resist the rebels as they marched through Yorkshire.

In 1537, Thomas's brother-in-law, George, Lord Cobham, was writing to Cromwell, complaining that Thomas wasn't providing for his wife, Elizabeth, George's sister, as he should. A rapprochement was suggested between the couple who hadn't lived together for years but was never going to be successful while Thomas was happily co-habiting with his long-term mistress Elizabeth Darrell and their son, Francis. Divorce still wasn't an option for anyone but the king. However, in a strange twist of fate, after King Henry had executed wife number five, the teenaged Catherine Howard in February 1542, there were rumours that Wyatt's wife, Elizabeth, was fancied to become wife number six for the ageing monarch, despite the fact that she was still married to Wyatt at the time. She had a lucky escape when Henry chose to wed Catherine Parr instead.

But between 1537 and his death in 1542, Thomas still had some adventures ahead of him, as we'll see next time. In the meanwhile, for readers interested in Wyatt's poetry, I suggest:

R A Rebholz, [ed], Wyatt:The Complete Poems, [Penguin Books, 1978] ISBN 978-0-14-042227-6

And for a relatively recent biography which I haven't read but it sounds interesting:

Nicola Shulman, Graven With Diamonds: The Many Lives of Thomas Wyatt: Courtier, Poet, Assassin, Spy, [Short Books, 2011] ISBN 978-1-906021-11-5

**TONI MOUNT**

# Charlie Bunce Books

## RICHARD III: A FAILED KING?

### Rosemary Horrox

Since 2015, the publisher Penguin has been releasing mini biographies on the kings and queens of England, known as the Penguin Monarchs series, starting from William I (although with a couple of the Anglo-Saxon kings included). These are by different historians and aim to give an introduction to the monarch in question. One of the latest additions to the series is *Richard III: A Failed King?* by Rosemary Horrox. The subtle 'A Failed King?' makes it a question, although some would say that having been defeated at Bosworth does somewhat confirm his failure.

Horrox starts by quickly going through Richard's childhood and providing some context to the main events of the time. She manages this in just over 20 pages before moving onto his kingship, which is what these books focus on, as opposed to his life in general. She also attempts to justify the question mark in the subtitle of the book, stating that it 'is not, however, *entirely redundant. Richard III is unique among English medieval kings in the passion he arouses among his defenders*'. This isn't wholly satisfying and feels more like a marketing ploy than anything else, but it is good that the author has drawn attention to it instead of ignoring it.

This book takes a different view on Richard and the Princes in the Tower, instead looking more at whether his contemporaries believed the stories that he had them killed instead of whether he actually did it. Horrox takes the same line with the rumour that he planned to marry his niece, Elizabeth of York, after his wife died. It is a clever road to take, as it is all too easy to get caught up in the debates surrounding the man, and what his subjects thought of him was important to his kingship and how many subsequently backed Henry Tudor because of this. As well as this, Horrox looks at the supposed long-term rivalry with the Woodville faction, dispelling the myth that he originally left court because of their involvement in his brother, George's, death and still held that against them when he became king:

> *'It is impossible now to gauge Richard's likely reaction to his brother's execution, but his own absence from Edward's court between 1480 and 1482 can more straightforwardly be explained by his leading role in the developing war against Scotland. He had been made lieutenant-general of the army in May 1480 and was to lead the first raid across the border later that year.'*

*Richard III: A Failed King?* is a worthy addition to the Penguin Monarchs series and a good introduction to the reign of the controversial king. It may divide people, as most books on Richard do nowadays, as it is clear from the start that it thinks of him as a failure, but it is still a good, albeit brief (94 pages, excluding notes), account of his reign nevertheless.

# WOLF HALL COMPANION

## Lauren Mackay

The Wolf Hall trilogy has been one of the most popular book series in recent years and the final book, *The Mirror and the Light*, has enthralled readers. However, despite the fact that the author, Hilary Mantel, has stated previously that she has striven for historical accuracy, there are still some liberties taken. As well as this, some events and people are referred to briefly and so it would be useful to have some information on them. This is where Lauren Mackay's *Wolf Hall Companion,* released soon after *The Mirror and the Light*, comes in handy. It is a guide to the trilogy and a detailed one at that, following the structure of the books and so avoiding spoilers, for those who do not know the history involved.

The book is well made and beautiful, including some stunning prints of line drawings throughout. It is clear that a lot of thought has gone into this book and it hasn't been quickly thrown together.

Mackay's book goes through the different prominent families and their backgrounds, which is useful. This includes those like the Howards and the Percys. It also looks at some of the more minor details, like how people celebrated Christmas back then, as well as the different feast days and holy days. One of the most interesting details is about Cromwell's personal life, in which the reader is told:

> *'Cromwell also bought his wife expensive jewellery, including a sapphire ring and a gold bracelet worth £80 - or approximately £40,000 in today's currency. Both Cromwell and his wife corresponded with various merchants and hosted many suppers at their imposing home, all providing intimate glimpses of the couple, which Mantel brings beautifully to life as she conjures joyful family gatherings, loving and warm conversations between Cromwell and his wife in their bedchamber'*

One of the good things about this book is that it isn't afraid to say that Mantel is wrong about some things. One example is her negative portrayal of George Boleyn, showing him as abusive to his wife and arrogant, as there is no real evidence for it. Another instance is in how Jane Boleyn is portrayed as being involved in the downfall of Anne and George, which Mackay makes clear is a common misconception:

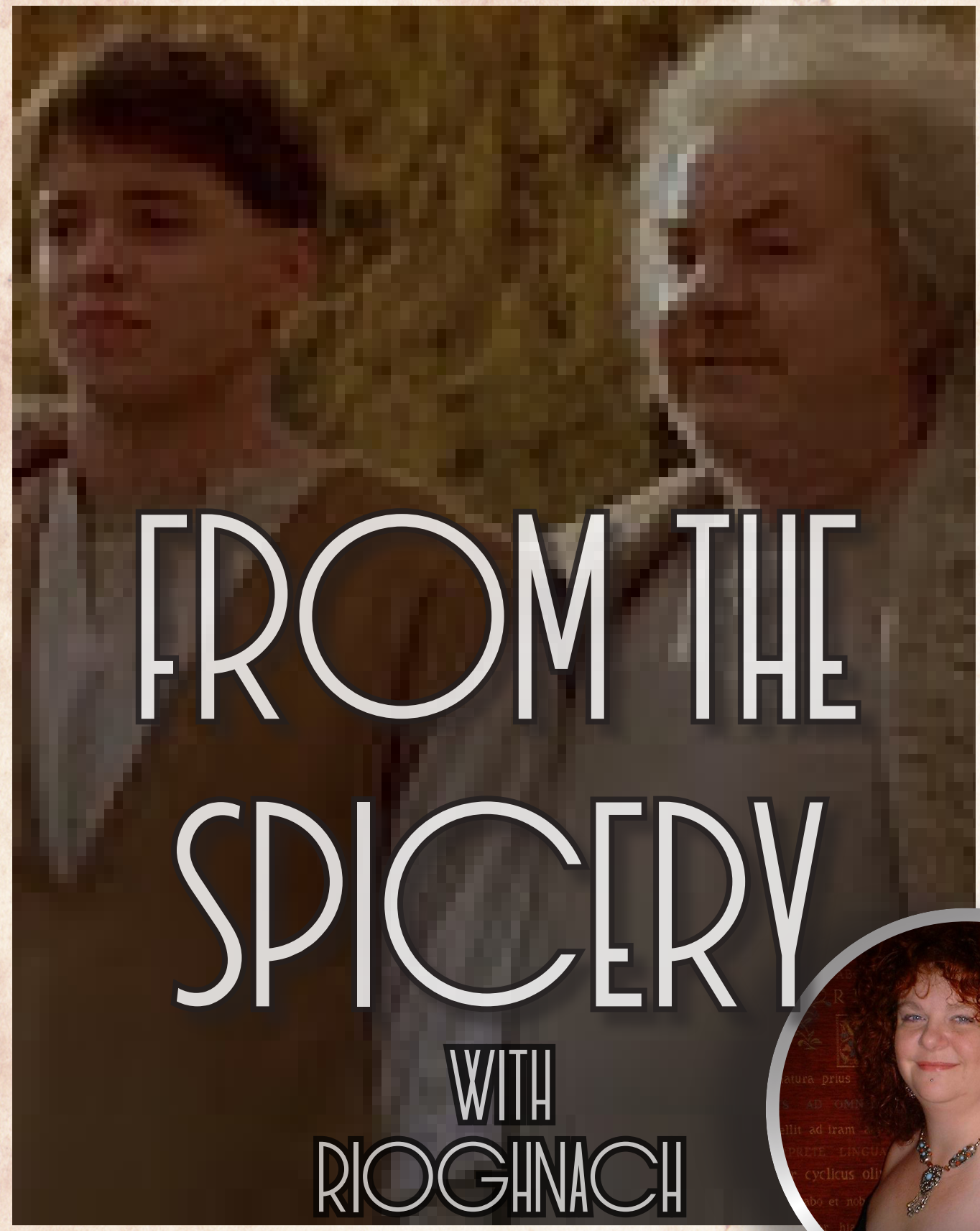
> *'Jane is usually instrumental in Anne and George's downfall in the fictional portrayals, though she makes no appearance in any of the extant records, nor is she listed as giving evidence. Jane has become a scapegoat, unfairly vilified. But in Mantel's series, she keeps the intrigue bubbling along and advises Cromwell to where to begin.'*

She also makes several good points about Katherine of Aragon, such as the fact that arguably she had a better claim to the throne of England than her father-in-law, Henry VII. She was descended from John of Gaunt and Constance of Castile, whereas Henry VII was a descendant of Gaunt's third marriage to Katherine Swynford, an illegitimate line. She praises her and explains just why Cromwell is shown as being so in awe of her:

> *'Katherine of Aragon had more royal blood than Henry and all his wives put together, a far superior royal education, and more royal dignity. Born during a military campaign, she was a woman whose military knowledge was equal to that of any prince of Europe. A woman who loved, lost, and never wavered in her determination that Henry could not dismantle her life on a whim.'*

Lauren Mackay's *Wolf Hall Companion* is a useful guide both to the Wolf Hall trilogy and the time period concerned. It is a must-have for anyone who enjoyed the books and wants to know the real history behind the fiction.

**CHARLIE FENTON**




# HOW TO SURVIVE LENT

**Imperius:** Hello! Hello! What do you want?
**Phillipe the Mouse:** I was told to bring you this bird. Its been wounded.
**Imperius:** Oh good shot! Bring it in, we'll dine together.
**Phillipe the Mouse:** We can't eat this bird.
**Imperius (*raises eyes to Heaven*):** Oh God is it Lent again already?!

Greetings All! The quote above comes from one of my all-time favourite movies, LadyHawke, and is uttered by the delightfully grumpy priest Imperius, played by Australian actor Leo McKern AO. Imperius laments the prospect of the beginning of another Lenten season and gives me an excellent introduction to this month's From The Spicery article; Lent and How To Survive It.

As we know, the season of Lent was taken quite seriously by our medieval ancestors. There are a couple of theories regarding when the tradition of Lent began. The most widely accepted appears that it was introduced around the Council of Nicea in 325. Regardless of its origins, Lent has always been a time of fasting and abstinence. During the medieval period, eggs, dairy products and meat were generally forbidden. In terms of protein, fish was considered an acceptable alternative, as were more dubious things like barnacle geese, porpoise and beaver, none of which are fish. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) had some interesting things to say on the subject of what should be given up for Lent. While he advocated abstinence from eggs, meat and dairy products (conducive to stirring lust), he permitted the consumption of sugared spices and comfits as he viewed them as medicinals.[1] I find this ironic given the excruciatingly expensive cost of both spices and sugar.

Of course, what you were prepared to give up for Lent depended on what you *could* give up. The average medieval serf in his hovel had very little of his or her own and was dependent on the goodwill of their masters. Or on their skills as poachers. Lent must have been an especially hard time for those who found themselves on the fringes of medieval society. Its also hard not to think of the waste of milk, given that it could not be drunk or turned into butter and cheese. And of all the chooks and ducks that were happily laying eggs that would not be used.

OK then.

Making the assumption that we're not serfs working in our landed master's fields, what could we substitute in our diet to ensure taste, nutrition and variety in our Lenten diet? In the case of milk, at least, the option is pretty easy and straightforward; almonds. Almond milk was something I covered in an early From the Spicery article, so I'll

1 Richardson, T. *Sweets: A History of Candy,* Bloomsbury 2002, pp146-150

not go into detail here. Of course, if you wanted to be really fancy and keep up with your posh neighbours, milk made from rice was appears in the later period. But be warned, it was comparatively expensive. Regardless of which milk substitute you choose, it would work well in almost any dish you'd use traditional dairy in. The obvious exception to this being the preparation of cheese. You could, of course, take Thomas Aquinas' decree on candies during Lent to the extreme and serve your guests' marchpane (ground almonds, sugar, spices and lemon juice in place of egg white). It is a medicinal after all :-)

*Blank Maunger* is not the same as the modern the dessert of a similar name. Both are sweet(ish), but I'd not recommend serving this up to at the end of your Lenten meal to your modern dinner guests.

*Blank Maunger (Blancmanger) - Forme of Cury*[2]

*Take Capouns and seeþ hem, þenne take hem up. take Almandes blaunched. grynd hem and alay hem up with the same broth. cast the mylk in a pot. waisshe rys and do þerto and lat it seeþ. þanne take brawn of Capouns teere it small and do þerto. take white grece sugur and salt and cast þerinne. lat it seeþ. þenne messe it forth and florissh it with aneys in confyt rede oþer whyt. and with Almaundes fryed in oyle. and serue it forth.*

The recipes given for *Ryse Lombard* or Rice Lombard do include the use of salmon, lampreys and eels, but if you wish to serve it as a simple rice dish, you can always leave out the meat. The recipes do include the use of sugar (indispensable apparently), as well as saffron from added wow factor.

*Ryse Lombard / Ryse Lumbard Rynnyng / Rise Lombard Standyng* -MS Harley 5401[3]

*Ryse Lumbard Rynnyng. Recipe ryse & pyke þam wele, & wesh þam in .iii. or .iiij. waters, & than seth þam in clene water til þai begyn to boyle. And at þe fyrst bolyng put oute þe water & seth it in broth of flesh, & put þerto sugyre & colour it with saferon, & serof it forth.*

Of course, if you have a surfeit of eels, why not make something that sounds like it should be a tart of some description, but isn't: *Eles in Brewet* (its a thickish fish soup).

*Eles In Brewet - Forme of Cury*[4]

*Take Crustes of brede and wyne and make a lyour, do þerto oynouns ymynced, powdour. & canel. & a litel water and wyne. loke þat it be stepid, do þerto salt, kerue þin Eelis & seeþ hem wel and serue hem forth.*

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2 Pegge, S (ed) *Forme of Cury*,1390, http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/8102/pg8102.html, recipe XXXVII

3 Hieatt, C & Butler, S (eds), Curye on Inglish, Oxford University Press, 1985

4 Pegge, *Op Cit,* recipe CX

*Morree* is something of an odd beast as it is both sweet and savoury at the same time. I think its more of a medicinal as the use of "aneys confyt white" refers to candied aniseed that has been crushed. If you can't find the aniseed version, Indian grocers often carry brightly coloured sugar-coated fennel seeds which will also work. Oh, and saunders is the medieval name for red sandalwood, which unsurprisingly gives a red colour to things. If you can't find it, perhaps use annatto as an alternative.

*Morree - Forme of Cury*[5]

*Take Almandes blaunched, waisshe hem. grynde hem. and temper hem up with rede wyne, and alye hem with flour of Rys. do þerto Pynes yfryed. and colour it with saundres. do þerto powdour fort and powdour douce and salt, messe it forth and flour it with aneys confyt whyte.*

To finish a Lenten meal, why not try the admittedly unappetising *Soupes Dorye*? Don't worry, its a sweet spiced bread soup that would be the perfect thing before bed - if you're so inclined. By the way, if anyone knows what 'canel' refers to, I'd love to hear from you!

*.xxvij. Soupes Dorye — Harleian MS 279*[6]

*Take gode almaunde mylke y-draw wyth wyn, an let hem boyle to-gederys, an caste þer-to Safroun an Salt; an þan take Paynemayn, an kytte it an toste it, an wete it in wyne, an ley it on a dysshe, an caste þe syrip þer-on. And þan make a dragge of powder Gyngere, Sugre, canel, Clowes, Maces, an caste þer-on When it is y-dressid, an serue þanne forth for a potage gode.*

And because I'm me, how about some *Creme Bastarde* to go with the *Soupes Dorye*? As the dish contains egg whites, I wonder if this is why it was given its unfortunate moniker. And no bastards were harmed in the making of this dish :-).

*Creme Bastarde - Harleian MS 279*[7]

*Take þe whyte of Eyroun a grete hepe, & putte it on a panne ful of Mylke, & let yt boyle; [leaf 26.] þen sesyn it so with Salt an hony a lytel, þen lat hit kele, & draw it þorw a straynoure, an take fayre Cowe mylke an draw yt with-all, & seson it with Sugre, & loke þat it be poynant & doucet: & serue it forth for a potage, or for a gode Bakyn mete, wheder þat þou wolt.*

5 Pegge, *Ibid*, recipe XXXVIII

6 Harleian MS 279, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/cme/CookBk?rgn=main;view=fulltext, recipe XXVIJ

7 Harleian MS 279, *Ibid*, recipe CLJ

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

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