Tudor Life

TUDOR SOCIETY

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№ 90
February 2022

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Protestantism in the Tudor age

Hello, and welcome to our ninetieth issue. Tudor Life now officially has only five less issues than Martin Luther had with the Catholic Church in 1517 - how's that for a segue? - because in this month's exploration of Protestantism in the Tudor age, we are spoiled for choice with essays and articles. And, if they titillate your interest, do check out my reading recommendations. At our ninetieth, I'd like to take an opportunity to say thank-you to each and every one of you, our readers, our contributors and, on a personal note, to Claire and Tim Ridgway, who are friends, colleagues, creators, and cheerleaders of this community.

GARETH RUSSELL
EDITOR

Tudor Life

2 Evangelicals, Politics and Obedience in Tudor England
by Susan Abernethy

5 Religion in the Reign of Henry VIII
by Roland Hui

13 The Protestant Castilians & The Siege of St Andrew's
by Gayle Hulme

16 Quiz - Classic Words
by Tim Ridgway

17 The Protestants of Calais
by Sarah-Beth Watkins

20 Guest Speaker for February
is Sarah Gristwood

21 Four Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I
by Ece Karadag

31 Parish Church Music in Pre-Reformation Tudor England
by Jane Moulder

FEBRUARY

43 The Lost Prince Henry Tudor
by Elizabeth Jane Timms

55 Protestantism and Women of the Royal Court
by Gareth Russell

58 Memebers' Bulletin
by Tim Ridgway

59 Rodrigo Lopez, aka Roger Lopes, the Queen's Physician – A Cautionary Tale
by Toni Mount

66 Editor's Picks
by Gareth Russell

67 The King's Painter: The Life of Hans Holbein | The York Princesses: The Daughters of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville
Reviews by Charlie Fenton

70 The Winners of the "Columbian" Exchange in Tudor England
by Brigitte Webster

Ulrich Zwingli as depicted by Hans Asper in an oil portrait from 1531

Susan Abernethy talks about...

Evangelicals, Politics and Obedience in Tudor England.

POLITICS AND THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH WERE INTERTWINED IN TUDOR ENGLAND. Evangelicals and other reformers debated the question of whether magistrates (kings, counts, dukes, etc.) should be obeyed or resisted and tyrants overthrown. For the majority of the years 1527-1553, most evangelicals adhered to the doctrine of non-resistance and obedience to magistrates although this would be moderated during the reign of Queen Mary I.

Many Evangelicals studied biblical teachings on obedience, and subscribed to the interpretation of Psalm 82 by Swiss Reformed theologians and continental Protestants. This Psalm described kings as 'gods' on earth. The shift from viewing Psalm 82 as a spiritual verse to a political verse was due to a revolution in the study of Hebrew and the reliance on word roots and their usage in scripture. This is why we hear about court elites, such as Jane Grey, studying the Hebrew language.

Ulrich Zwingli argued the Bible commands people to be obedient to magistrates because subjects may not overthrow the 'gods'. This reading of Psalm 82 was popular with Protestant ideas circulating on the continent, especially among Reformed Swiss theologians like Zwingli, Heinrich Bullinger, Martin Bucer, John Calvin, and others. In the end, the Zurich reformers developed a political application for Psalm 82. Inspired by the Swiss interpretations of the Old Testament, William Tyndale would incorporate their ideas into his political theology.

These ideas were well established before Henry VIII decided to seek a divorce from Catherine of Aragon and initially, Henry himself showed little concern with evangelical political ideas. Upon the passage of the Supremacy legislation in Parliament, evangelicals used the doctrine of obedience to ingratiate themselves with government leaders, hoping to convince Henry to pursue even further reform of the church.

In 1528, Anne Boleyn read Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man in which he* argued kings had authority over the church. Richard Sampson, the Dean of the Chapel Royal, took the book away from Anne when it was declared a banned book. Boleyn claimed it was "the dearest book that ever dean or cardinal took away". She eventually got it back and passed it on to Henry VIII with "certain passages marked by her fingernail for his attention". Impressed with the book, Henry commented that "by the help of the virtuous lady... his eyes were opened the see the truth" and pronounced it a book "for me and all kings to read".

By 1535, evangelical ideas were adopted

by Thomas Cromwell's cadre. Several evangelicals were received into the inner circle of Henry's government and others were given limited freedom to publish their works. Cromwell used evangelical teachings to carry out his propaganda campaign and, in part, to establish the Tudor cult of authority.

Tyndale also worked on a new translation of the Bible into English and advised the king that true obedience begins with the word of God. He argued only an evangelical reformation in England could guarantee Henry's quest for authority over his subjects. Miles Coverdale, in his *Great Bible*, published in 1540, places Psalm 82 at the heart of his opening argument to the king, combining it with the Supremacy, declaring divine law has placed kings over the church.

This biblical defense of obedience can be seen as the initial link between English evangelicalism and the Henrician reformation and this connection led to the publishing and distribution of many Bibles in the vernacular. Following the legislation of the Royal Supremacy, propaganda texts were published with obedience to the king combined with true faith.

During the last seven years of Henry's reign, the political state of evangelicals became dire. Cromwell had protected them but with his execution in 1540, conservatives returned to power. These leaders, with the backing of Henry, worked to reinforce the traditional elements of Catholic worship which had come under pressure in the 1530's. Evangelicals called it a 'return to Babylon' and the 'persecution of God's people'.

Conservatives rolled back many of the advances of evangelical theology, most notably restrictions on the lay reading of the Bible, as they feared it would incite sedition. Evangelicals believed that eliminating papal authority would, of necessity, eliminate papal worship. They always conceded the possibility civil government might reject their faith, even as they remained confident the king was chosen by God to reform England. Henry did not see it this way and with Cromwell gone, evangelicals realized Henry rejected their vision of an English reformed church and theologians began writing treatises in hopes of salvaging the evangelical cause in England.

Conservatives moved to root out pockets of heresy in England, including targeting the king's wife, Katherine Parr, a devoted evangelical. They failed to displace the Queen but in London, nearly two hundred evangelicals were arrested and questioned. All but two of these were cleared of any charges but it was enough to scare many others. The conservatives also focused heavily on evangelical leaders and gospel preachers found themselves accused of sedition and treason. This triggered a backlash of evangelical writings against conservative theology and practices by those who were increasingly anxious over England's opposition to evangelicalism.

It was hard for anyone to imagine Protestants would take over the Privy Council but that is exactly what happened once Henry VIII died and Edward VI ascended the throne. Evangelicalism became an exalted or glorified ideal and over the next six years, evangelicals and other reformed elites were in control of England. The King's council pursued a policy of reformation corresponding with Protestant movements in Europe. The role of the Royal Supremacy was strong during Edward's reign as the council needed to justify its actions. The rhetoric of obedience to magisterial authority was emphasized more than ever, leading to an inevitably strong opposition from the conservatives. They considered it dubious a minor could

alter the Henrician established church, something the king's heir, his Catholic sister Mary, would refer to often.

Protector Somerset committed the country to the teachings of evangelicals, leading to an increase in the number of attacks on conservative religion, particularly the mass and the real presence of Christ in the elements of communion. The council continued to enact legislation against Catholic worship. Evangelicals had reason to hope the English church would be completely reformed.

This goes a long way in explaining the enormous pressure Edward and his council put on his sister Mary to abandon hearing mass. Mary managed to stand firm but Edward attempted to work around her by preparing his 'device' for putting his cousin Jane Grey on the throne. During Edward's reign, the Swiss theologians were looking for allies as Calvin's influence began to expand beyond Geneva. Bullinger sought English friends. The growing relationship between evangelicals and Reformed leaders led to a Zurich connection in England.

Bullinger wrote that rebellion and opposition to magistrates was an offense against God and admits it is good to see a tyrant removed. But he asks two questions. First, whether a tyrant must be removed from his realm or not and secondly, how should he be removed and by whom? He argues magistrates may be removed only if they have been put in power by the assent of all the people or chosen by the election of a few princes. In this way, the tyrant is removed by the same process by which they were elected.

He qualifies this by denying anyone may overthrow a hereditary monarch, directly addressing the English. With the death of Edward and the accession of the Catholic Queen Mary I, she set out to restore the English church to Roman obedience and to eradicate evangelical influence once and for all. Evangelicals fled England and settled in the Swiss cantons or in the imperial free cities along the Rhine. These geographic areas were highly influenced by Reformed theology and their writings continued to focus on non-resistance and obedience to magistrates while refusing to commit idolatry, i.e., practicing mass.

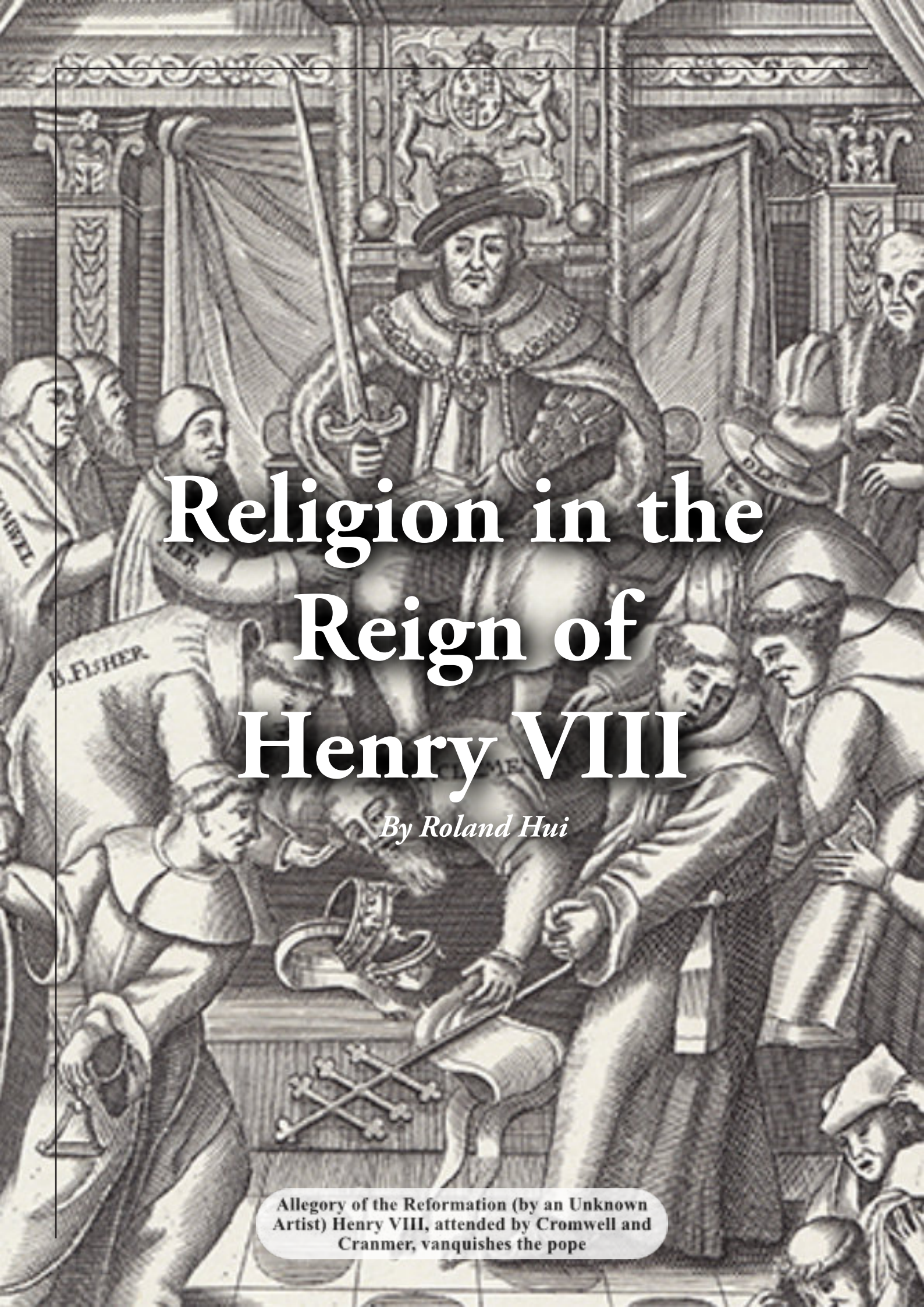
During Mary's reign, John Ponet, a graduate of Queen's College, Cambridge, wrote a treatise stating kings are but ministers of the laws, and not the laws self. His basic argument asserted that royal decrees must pass the judgement of the political body as a whole, such as through Parliament. He argued the Jane Grey conspiracy was an illegal use of royal power because altering the succession was based solely on Edward VI's will, thereby wrongfully disinheriting his sisters Mary and Elizabeth.

Upon Elizabeth's accession, evangelicals returned from exile and the argument for obedience to magistrates survived, although some questioned Elizabeth's commitment to reform. The Queen herself was hostile to the teachings of Calvin but was more open to the teachings of the reformers in Zurich. An argument over the wearing of vestments by clericals over the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign caused a rift among evangelicals. This died down after 1568 and a series of events between 1567 and 1570, most notably the Catholic uprising of 1569, took the focus off vestments and church conformity, refocusing evangelical energies on the Catholic threat of sedition.

SUSAN ABERNETHY

Further reading.

- "English Evangelicals and Tudor Obedience, c. 1527-1570" by Ryan M. Reeves



Religion in the Reign of Henry VIII

By Roland Hui

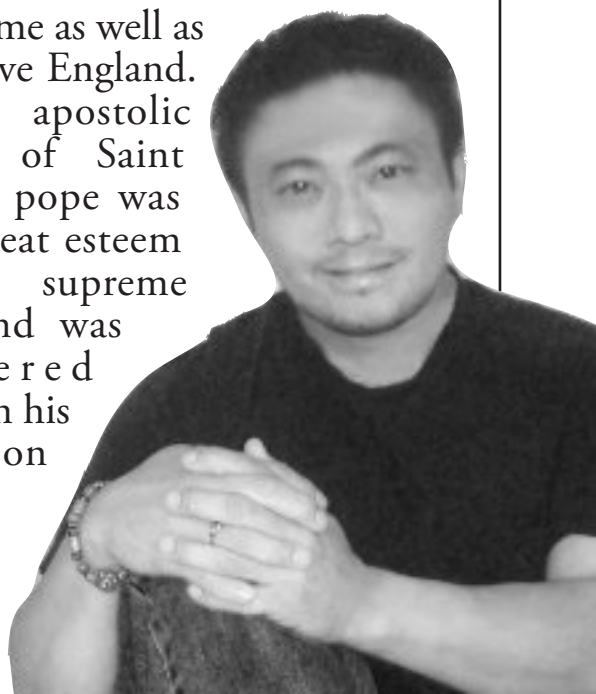
Allegory of the Reformation (by an Unknown Artist) Henry VIII, attended by Cromwell and Cranmer, vanquishes the pope

On 30 July 1540, a large crowd gathered at Smithfield to witness a grisly sight. Six prisoners were dragged upon hurdles from the Tower of London to their execution. After they were untied and brought to their feet, three of them were burnt at the stake, while the rest were hung and quartered. What was curious was that one group were Protestants and the other Catholics.[1] All six died for reasons of faith - for either having heretical opinions or for denying the royal supremacy. That they were of opposing religions said much about the conflicting and tumultuous nature of religion in the reign of Henry VIII.

The early years of the king who changed English history by breaking from the authority of Rome and establishing his own national Church gave no hint of his later actions. Born in 1491, Henry Tudor came from a devout family. His grandmother, Margaret Beaufort, was a lady of great piety, as were his parents, Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. The queen was known for her goodness, while the king always maintained cordial relations with the Church. Henry VII's faith was no doubt fortified by his belief that God had blessed his victory at Bosworth Field in 1485 allowing him to win the English crown. The magnificent Lady Chapel he later built at Westminster Abbey was both a testament to the new dynasty he founded and a thanksgiving to Heaven.

The younger Henry was raised in the medieval Roman Catholicism of his parents. He would have been taught the dogma of the faith and to respect the authority of the Church - that in Rome as well as in his native England. As the apostolic successor of Saint Peter, the pope was held in great esteem as the supreme pontiff and was considered infallible in his decrees on

Prince Henry's Prayer Roll



Rosary with the Initials of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon

ecclesiastical matters. Henry was said to be close to his mother, and he would have followed her example in his regular attendance at Mass and in making use of rosaries, Books of Hours, prayer rolls, and the like in his worship. It had been suggested that the prince as a second son was earmarked for a career in the Church, but there is no actual evidence of this.[2]

Upon becoming king in 1509, Henry married his sister-in-law Katherine of Aragon (the widow of his deceased elder brother Prince Arthur). The couple were well matched. As the daughter of the renowned Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, her royal credentials were impeccable, and Katherine, like her husband, had been well educated and was highly intelligent. She was also very pious. The queen - 'a mirror of goodness' - would habitually wear the plain habit of an ascetic under her sumptuous dress, and she was most assiduous in observing fasting days and attending prayers where she was seen 'kneeling upon her knees without cushions.'[3]

Katherine also had a zeal for pilgrimages. In 1513, in thanksgiving for the English success over the Scots at the Battle of Flodden Field, she visited the shrine at Walsingham in Norfolk, where the Virgin Mary was said to have miraculously appeared centuries ago. Two years earlier, Henry VIII had also gone to Our Lady of Walsingham in gratitude to the Mother of God. Katherine had just given him a son and heir, and the king humbly walked barefoot from the nearby town of East Barsham to the shrine where he offered up an expensive necklace to the cult statue

The Great Bible of 1539

of Mary. Henry also paid for repair work to the church there and for the maintenance of a priest who would continually pray for the royal family's wellbeing.[4]

Despite Henry VIII's grateful prayers, the child sadly did not live long, nor did his later children with the exception of a daughter named Mary, born in 1516. The king began to have doubts as to the validity of his marriage. Did he transgress holy law in marrying his late brother's wife? Henry's uncertainties - coupled with his infatuation with Anne Boleyn beginning in the mid 1520s - would convince him that he had indeed sinned and that he must end his marriage to Katherine to begin anew with Anne.

Facing opposition from churchmen, Henry became increasingly anti-clerical. His position was bolstered by Anne Boleyn's interest in religious reform. It was she who introduced him to two important works, Simon Fish's *A Supplication for the Beggars* and William Tyndale's *The Obedience of a Christian Man*. Both denounced the clergy for its corruption, while Tyndale in particular questioned the authority of the pope. Should his authority extend beyond Rome and should he have jurisdiction over foreign affairs such as that in England?

In the initial stages of his divorce from Katherine of Aragon, the king, as a dutiful son of the Church, appealed to the Vatican. But as it became increasingly clear that Pope Clement VII would not be accommodating as he was afraid of offending the queen's powerful nephew, the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry eventually broke away from Rome and established an independent nationally governed Church of his own. Parliament, led by the clever and ruthless Thomas Cromwell, even granted him the lofty title of Supreme Head of the Church of England. Ironically, Henry insisted on still being called Defender of the Faith, an honour given to him by the Vatican in 1521 for opposing the heresies of Martin Luther.

As a schismatic, Henry VIII came to vehemently hate the papacy. After

AHenry VIII, Jane Seymour, Henry VII, and Elizabeth of York (by George Vertue after Remigius van Leemput's copy of a mural by Hans Holbein)

the rupture with the Church of Rome, many images were produced denigrating the pope and showing Henry triumphant over him. In the summer of 1538, there was even a mock sea battle on the River Thames pitting the king's men against a band of sailors disguised as the pope and his cardinals. Naturally, Henry's side won.

Among the innovations of the new Anglican Church was the dissemination of the Bible in English. It was the king's edict that one be placed in each and every parish church so that 'the curates and priests should preach the Word of God sincerely and truly to the people.'[5] While there had been translations of the Bible into the vernacular before (such as that by William Tyndale in 1526), these were not officially authorized as some churchmen and scholars thought certain passages to have been incorrectly rendered in English and thus spiritually harmful. Finally in 1539, the version produced under the direction of Miles Coverdale (later Bishop of Exeter) was given the royal stamp of approval. These Great Bibles - called such due to their large size - were set

up on lecterns in local churches and made accessible to the public, thus allowing Henry's subjects en *masse* to read scripture by themselves for the first time.

Even though Parliament had permitted Henry VIII to have spiritual authority over his subjects, there were those who had been greatly troubled by the events of late and subsequently paid the price of their disapproval. Respected individuals such as Sir Thomas More, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Carthusian monks all went to their deaths for objecting to the king's new supremacy. In the north, there was further discontent - particularly over the dissolution of the monasteries - leading to the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536. United under banners depicting the wounds of Christ, thousands marched towards the south demanding an end to the suppression and the removal of men such as the reform-minded Thomas Cromwell and Archbishop Thomas Cranmer from office. The rebels gained the sympathy of Henry VIII's third wife, Jane Seymour, but she was powerless to help them. On one occasion, when she begged the king on her knees to restore the abbeys, Henry roughly told her to get up and to mind her own business.

The uprising was ultimately a failure, and the plundering of the religious houses continued. Even Walsingham, which the king himself once regarded as a holy place, fell victim to the Reformation. The shrine was razed, its treasures seized, and the land sold off. Walsingham's much revered image of the Virgin was subjected to violence too. The statue was hauled to London where it was cast into a bonfire along with other relics so that 'the people should use no more idolatry unto them.'[6]

The famous shrine at Canterbury Cathedral was subjected to iconoclasm as well. The tomb of Thomas Becket, a popular place of pilgrimage, was ransacked and the saint's bones destroyed under Cromwell's direction. Becket was particularly odious to Henry VIII as he represented defiance of royal authority; the 'turbulent priest' had made himself an enemy of King Henry II, resulting in his murder and martyrdom. Not satisfied with obliterating Becket's grave and remains, Henry VIII even ordered that his picture in all prayer books throughout the land be defaced.

The king was also determined to put down superstition. A wondrous crucifix - the Rood of Grace - from Boxley Abbey in Kent was put to inspection. The locals believed that the wooden Christ was able to miraculously move its eyes and lips before the faithful. But upon examination, it was found to be a contraption manipulated by secret gears and wires. The cross was removed from the abbey and taken to the marketplace for all to see how the monks 'had got great riches from deceiving the people into thinking that the image had moved by the power of God, which now plainly appeared to be the contrary.'[7] Around the same time, the venerated Blood of Hailes in Gloucestershire - reputed to be that of Christ's obtained at his crucifixion - was exposed to be that of a duck's.

Even though Henry VIII was keen on reform, he remained a religious conservative at heart. New fangled Protestant ideas such as justification by faith alone - the notion that salvation could be achieved merely through one's faith in Christ and not in conjunction with good works or religious rites - was anathema to him. In 1538, it was noticed how the king's 'high altar in the chapel was garnished with all the apostles upon the altar, and Mass by note and the organs playing, with as much honour to God as might be devised.'[8] Henry's reverence for the Eucharist was evident when he was heard saying, "If I could throw myself down, not only to the ground, but under the ground, I should not then think that I gave honour enough to the most Holy Sacrament."[9] He was equally deferential when it came to the old ceremonies. At Easter on Good Friday, 'the king crept to the cross from the chapel door upwards devoutly and served the priest to Mass that same day, his own person kneeling on His Grace's knees.'[10]

The Arrest of Katharine Parr (by Samuel Wale)

Henry VIII's commitment to religious orthodoxy was also made clear at a great event later that year. One John Lambert had been arrested for denying the very presence of Christ in the Eucharist. The king himself - dressed all in white as a show of purity - sat in judgment and debated with him in public. Despite his able defense, Lambert was condemned as a heretic and sent to the stake.

The king's conventional views on religion were made into law as The Six Articles in the following year, replacing the less conservative Ten Articles enacted previously in 1536. Reviled as the 'whip with six strings' by its Protestant critics, the doctrine of Transubstantiation was upheld, along with other practices such as private Masses and celibacy among the clergy. Confession, however, was no longer compulsory, as was the belief in purgatory which was left ambiguous. These concessions at least were pleasing to the more radical sects, and later they welcomed other changes. In 1546, ancient ceremonies such as bell ringing on holy days, the veiling of images

during Lent, and even 'creeping to the cross', which the king had been in favour of earlier, were considered superstitious and made to 'cease from henceforth and be abolished.'[11]

In his final years, Henry's court was dominated by faction. His sixth and last wife, Katharine Parr, was inclined to the new faith, though she took care to conceal her beliefs from her irascible husband. But traditionalists such as Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, thought her heretical, and sought her ruin. A Protestant woman named Anne Askew was arrested and tortured in the hope of her implicating the queen, but she refused to talk and was subsequently burned. Katharine was able to save herself by appealing directly to Henry VIII. As the story then went, when the guards came to take her away in the palace gardens, they were sent packing by the furious king who had reconciled with his wife.

As the king lay dying in January 1547, it was the Protestants at court who had the upper hand. Conservatives like Gardiner had fallen from favour, and it was Edward Seymour (brother to the late Queen Jane and uncle to the royal heir Prince Edward), Archbishop Cranmer, and other prominent men of the new religion who had the king's ear. Significantly, the young Edward was receiving his education by tutors committed to reform as well.

In his will, Henry VIII, despite his many innovations, clung to his old beliefs At his death, he ordered that alms be given to poor men 'to pray for his soul' and that priests be appointed to conduct Mass and other rites for him in perpetuity.[12] But as the new reign under Edward VI grew increasingly Protestant, such requests were ignored. No Masses - as they banned - were said for Henry in his afterlife, and like his order for the construction of a magnificent tomb for himself, such wishes were left unfulfilled.

ROLAND HUI

NOTES

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2. David Loades, Henry VIII: Court, Church and Conflict, Kew: The National Archives, 2007, p.
3. 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, pp. 73-74.
4. Henry Spelman, The English Works of Sir Henry Spelman, Kt, Publish'd in His Life-time; Together with His Posthumous Works, Relating to the Laws and Antiquities of England, London: printed for D. Browne, 1723, II, p. 149.
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9. Nicolas Sander, Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism, (translated by David Lewis), London: Burns and Oates, 1877, pp. 161-162.
10. L & P, XIV (i), no. 967.
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12. L & P, XXI (ii), no. 634.

The Protestant Castilians & The Siege of St Andrew's

Gayle Hulme investigates the alternative ideology of Protestantism and the possibility of sweeping away Rome's authority

For generations the accession of the Scottish crown had been plagued by tensions caused by a succession of child monarchs and the reign of Mary Queen of Scots (r.1542-1567) was to prove no different. What was different was the increasingly vocal dissatisfaction of the Scottish people against the rich, corrupt and influential Catholic Church. The alternative ideology of Protestantism and the possibility of sweeping away Rome's authority was gathering speed and momentum across Europe. To men like George Wishart, his pupil John Knox and many others the accepted wisdom that access to God's love and ascension to heaven could only be achieved via Catholic ecclesiastical intermediaries, by worshipping saints and handing over generous gifts was being publicly questioned. Instead, people were being encouraged to forge their own personal relationship with God through the reading of the gospels. Needless to say, the Catholic Church and those who profited by it were enraged that their highly lucrative customs were being abandoned.

Here we will discuss how the public burning of George Wishart a Protestant 'preacher of outstanding gentle character' (Fraser 1969) lead to the retaliatory murder of Cardinal Beaton, the siege of St Andrew's Castle and ultimately the removal of the five-year-old Mary Queen of Scots beyond the grasp of England.

George Wishart was born in 1513 in Montrose, Scotland and was educated at King's College in Aberdeen. After completing his studies at the 'University of Cambridge' (Broun 2013) he became a teacher back in his native Montrose. However, he was forced to flee to safety in England after running foul of the Bishop of Brechin for preaching the New Testament in Greek. '…to study the original Greek was to give rise to the possibility of doubting or re-interpreting the many ambiguities which had been resolved by the church and enshrined in the Latin translation' (Broun 2013) and anyone participating in such a practice would be liable to charges of heresy. Such were Wisharts's religious convictions that even after he found sanctuary in England he continued to preach the same controversial doctrines and was convicted by the English authorities of "blasphemous heresay'. His crime had been decrying the practice of offering prayers to the virgin and after completing his punishment he left the British Isles for Switzerland where he translated the Helvetic Confession of Faith into English.

When Wishart returned to Scotland in 1543 it was to the melting pot of royal, religious and political turmoil. After James V's death in December 1542 and the accession of his six-day-old daughter, the years following Mary Stuart's birth had seen Scotland being torn apart by the bitter rivalry between the unscrupulous pro-French Cardinal David Beaton and the vacillating pro-reformist Governor

(Regent) Arran. Arran had allied Scotland with King Henry VIII and the English via the Treaty of Greenwich, which required Scotland to allow their queen to marry Prince Edward of England.

It was at this time that Wishart began to move around the country accompanied and protected by his convert and friend John Knox. It is perhaps a testament to Wishart's influence that Knox would later go on to be instrumental in Mary Queen of Scots's downfall and the establishment of the Confessions of Faith in 1560, which settled Protestantism as the official religion of Scotland.

Cardinal Beaton's tolerance of Wishart ran out in January 1546 when he instructed Patrick Hepburn, 3rd Earl of Bothwell to apprehend Wishart and hand him over to the custody of John Lauder who held the terrifying position; Public Accuser of Heretics. Wishart was held at Edinburgh Castle and subjected to a show trial, where even under intense pressure he defended himself by quoting directly from the gospels. Predictably his eloquent rebuttal did not save him from a guilty verdict and he was sentenced to public burning at St Andrew's on 1 March. The manner of his passing says much about the contrast between Wishart and Beaton's characters. Wishart forgave the executioner and encouraged those assembled not to turn from the word of god because of his gruesome fate, he is recorded as saying "the true gospel, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind" (Graves 2010). While bags of gunpowder were hung around his neck and the faggots were lit the egoistical Beaton entertained his friends while they sat on velvet cushions.

The nobility of Scotland were already smarting over Beaton's role in the breaking of The Treaty of Greenwich which resulted in Henry VIII unleashing a devastating military attack on Edinburgh and authorising his brother-in-law, the Earl of Hertford, not only to sack the town but to burn the pier at Leith. The King of England was incandescent with rage after the Scots had broken the treaty which would have tied Scotland to England in marriage and put pay to the auld alliance between Scotland and France. So for nobility in an already fractious mood over the 'rough wooing' together with the amount of money and land the church was extorting from them in return for prayers to aid their passage to heaven Beaton's behaviour over Wishart was the last straw.

On 29 May 1546 around twelve to eighteen friends of Wishart entered St Andrew's Castle at six in the morning disguised as part of the workforce that had been charged with reinforcing Beaton's stronghold. 'They seized the entrance, expelled the labourers, stole the keys from the gatekeeper, Ambrose Stirling, whom they then killed, and raised the drawbridge'. (Merriman 2004). Whilst the other men secured the castle four men made their way to Cardinal Beaton's bedroom where they threatened to burn him out of his room if he did not let them in. Once inside the room, Norman Leslie, Master of Rothes, his Uncle John Leslie of Parkhill, William Kirkcaldy of Grange and James Melville exacted an act of bloodthirsty revenge on behalf of their recently executed friend. Despite Beaton's pleading and his miscalculated attempt to defend the execution of Wishart, he was stabbed repeatedly before his naked body was hung from the ramparts of the castle. Once removed, the body was put into a chest, pickled in salt and thrown into the castle's bottle dungeon.

To avoid arrest for the murder of Beaton, the Protestant Castilians as they became

known remained within the castle walls and after negotiations between them and Arran failed, parliament passed a motion to forfeit their titles and goods on 16 August. Arran laid siege to the castle, but his position was made precarious because his son James was one of the men caught inside the castle. Representations were made to Henry VIII in England and the English did send supplies in support of the Castilians, but all was in vain.

After months of siege, including the digging of mines and countermines, Arran abandoned his reformist sympathies and opened an informal negotiation known as the Convention of Monktonhall with the French. In return for French protection, Arran agreed to Mary Queen of Scots's betrothal to King Henry II of France's eldest son and to hand the French control of strategic strongholds in Scotland. Arran, always keen to exploit personal advantage, was rewarded firstly with the French Dukedom of Chatellerault and secondly with a glittering French betrothal for his son. Once the French navy had been dispatched to the aid of the government forces, it was inevitable that without English aid, the Castilians would be forced to surrender. After 20 days of sea bombardment and pummelling from guns mounted from the height of St Salvator's Tower and St Andrew's Cathedral the Castilians, beleaguered by illness and hopelessly outnumbered surrendered. Almost a year later the Treaty of Haddington was signed which granted the French the very thing the English had hoped that support for the Castilians would avoid; the French had rekindled the auld alliance with the Scots and the backdoor for a potential French invasion of England was blown wide open.

Despite the passing of Henry VIII in January 1547, the English now ruled by ten-year-old King Edward VI's fervently Protestant Uncle The Duke of Somerset, once again set to work on forcing the Scots to abandon the French marriage in favour of the original English one. The two nations faced each other at the Battle of Pinkie Cleugh in September 1547 and despite the catastrophic loss of Scottish men, the Scots would still not relent and their 'sovereign lady…being of so tender an age' was escorted under French protection from Dumbarton Castle in July 1548.

As we look at the events through the prism of religious and political upheaval in the British Isles during the first part of the 16th-century we see the seismic force of reformation and counter-reformation swing between those who wished to use religious dogma to maintain their political power and those who were willing to martyr themselves for their beliefs. George Wishart's evangelical convictions, Cardinal Beaton's ability to mobilise the power of the Catholic Church against his enemies, and the English misjudgement of Scottish resolve started a chain reaction that created an atmosphere of mistrust and animosity that was only formally resolved by the Treaty of Edinburgh in 1560.

GAYLE HULME

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CLASSIC WORDS

In the puzzles below you are given the letters of one word, from which you must subtract the letters of the second word. From these remaining letters, one letter from each line will reveal the word which is the answer.

In strange but not in tar
In classic but not in crispy
In history but not in story
In outsize but not in short
In media but not in moving
In bridge but not in project
In meaning but not in holding
In strength but not in learning
In weather but not in welcome

But who am I?

In nothing but not in complex
In billion but not in classics
In century but not in robbery
In society but not in ninety
In mixture but not in phoenix
In achieve but not in smoothies
In helping but not in counsel

But where am I?

In remains but not in romance
In diamond but not in confess
In capital but not in walk
In subject but not in suspence
In himself but not in oneself
In offence but not in evident
In security but not in murderer
In material but not in dispatch
In public but not in stricken
In standing but not in shocking

But where is your day trip going?

ANSWERS ARE ON PAGE 36

The Protestants of Calais

Calais became an English possession when it was captured after nearly a year-long siege by Edward III in 1437. Calais would remain crown property until its loss in 1558.The town as well as the surrounding area known as the Marches or the Pale came under English jurisdiction and included Guisnes, Hammes and Oye.

It covered around twenty square miles stretching from Escalles in the west to just short of Gravelines in the east and down to the border before Ardres.

Calais was a walled and moated town, on the north coast of France that housed around 4000 inhabitants. As a fortified town it was enclosed and protected by ramparts, watch towers and a series of four gates. Calais was also a military and commercial centre, home to England's largest permanent fighting force and had once been governed by the Company of Merchants of the Staple of England otherwise known as the Staplers, but it was also known to be a hotbed of religious controversy. Cranmer called it a town wrapped in 'hypocrisy, false faith and blindness of God'.

In July 1536 the Ten Articles had been agreed 'to establish Christian quietness and unity' a compromise between Catholics and the reformers but religious doctrine was still unclear. Thomas Cromwell was one of the key people pushing for reform but Henry VIII, although

having broken with the Church of Rome ,was not as enthusiastic for change as his secretary.

Cromwell's press for reform was not progressing as swiftly as he would have liked, the king would always remain essentially conservative in his views as were others of his council. In May, parliament had met and agreed that a committee should determine religious doctrine and decide on certain points that the Ten Articles had not made clear. Their decisions on each point formed the Act of Six Articles which became enshrined in law in June 1539.

The people of Calais did mostly lean towards the old religion and Cromwell was charged with dealing with those reformers who were fomenting dissent. Most of the Calais dissenters were investigated and witnesses examined.

Thomas Broke was an alderman, treasurer and a member of parliament for Calais and he had spoken out against the Act of Six Articles although he was warned not to do so 'as he loved his life'. Speaking out earnt him a place in Foxe's Book of Martyr's where his speech can be read in more detail. The Book of Martyr's or Actes and Monuments, first published in 1563 by John Day, details the sufferings of Protestants under the Catholic Church, including those in Calais.

Sir William Kingston told Broke he would happily bring a faggot to help burn him if he was executed for heresy. Broke also intervened at the trial of Ralph Hare, a soldier of Calais and another accused of heresy, and would later find himself in the Fleet prison at the same time as John Butler. Sir John Butler, commissary of Calais, was described by some as a zealous reformer. Butler was Cranmer's official representative and there had been many complaints against him but both Cranmwer and Cromwell had been loathe to do anything about him. It seems that the king however had had his fill of Calais controversy when he said 'I have more ado with you Calais men than with all my realm after'.

More information on what Foxe termed the 'persecution in Calais' of Protestant reformers can be found in his book. He lists those that were persecuted and those that were the persecutors. Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle and Deputy of Calais at the time, Foxe wrote, was 'of a most gentle nature, and of a right noble blood' so no blame for the situa-

tion was levelled at him. However it was the evil Honor, his wife, a known Catholic, who was 'an utter enemy to God's honour; and in idolatry, hypocrisy, and pride, incomparably evil.'

Cromwell once referred to Calais as having an infection of certain persons denying the Holy Sacrament of Christ's blessed body and blood, of such opinion as commonly they call 'Sacramentaries'. Cromwell's advice was to examine such people and if found guilty to punish them but to make sure that suspected persons were truly heretics and not just the victims of idle slander. There is some suggestion that he tried to put off the punishment of zealous reformers as they matched his own beliefs.

Henry's religious changes were far more conservative than Protestant reformers had hoped – Cromwell included. When prisoners were sent to England Cromwell sought to have them released and returned to Calais. Foxe's Book of Martyrs alludes to Cromwell's direct intervention to protect and free those Protestant reformers. They would indeed be released but not until some months later when the Lord Chancellor told them:

I am commanded by the Council to tell you, that you are discharged by virtue of the king's general pardon; but that pardon excepteth and forbiddeth all sacramentaries, and the most part, or all of you, are called sacramentaries: therefore I cannot see how that pardon doth you any pleasure. But pray for the king's highness, for his grace's pleasure is, that I should dismiss you; and so I do, and pity you all.

While dissent in Calais died down eventually, Cromwell would lose his life. He was accused amongst other things of being a 'detestable heretic', a 'maintainer and supporter of heretics' and a sacramentary and someone who denied the real presence of Christ in the sacrament. When he was executed on 28 July 1540, Thomas Cromwell declared 'I die in the Catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith… nor in any sacrament of the church' but it is believed he was not referring to the Roman Catholic Church, but the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of the New Testament. And he died knowing he had done his best to save those of the same faith in Calais.

SARAH-BETH WATKINS

Courtly Love with Sarah Gristwood

February's Guest Expert

FOUR PORTRAITS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH I

by Ece Karadag

QUEEN ELIZABETH I WHEN PRINCESS, WILLIAM SCROTS, FLEMISH SCHOOL, C. 1546.

The painting on the right is of a young princess Elizabeth, an oil on panel, made by William Scrots. It was made around 1546. Inscribed 'ELIZABETHA FILIA OR SOROR REX ANGLIAE', this painting is currently in Windsor Castle.

This painting is the earliest surviving portrait of Elizabeth, when she was just thirteen. It is recorded in the collection of her half-brother, Edward VI, in 1547 as a '*table with the picture of the ladye Elizabeth her grace with a book in her hande her gowne like crysmen clothe of golde with workes.*' In this portrait, Elizabeth is shown as a king's daughter, richly attired and wearing important jewellery.[1]

The fabrics are painted in a very detailed way; the artist has put dapples of yellow aiming to give the effect of gold thread on her sleeves, bodice and front and sides of her skirt. The undersleeves and matching forepart are in very rich material with a white satin ground and raised looped pile of gold thread. Faint traces of embroidery can still be seen of the red silk embroidery on the wrist ruffles and 'pulling out' of the white linen smock showing beneath the undersleeves. A band of white embroidery with fleurs-de-lis linked by a curvilinear design worked around the top of the smock emerges beneath the square neckline of the gown.[2]

The portrait is a companion piece to that of her brother; Sir Oliver Millar points out that both are by the same hand.[3] Strong suggests that both pictures are by William Scrots, who served both Henry VIII and Edward VI. The picture may have been commissioned by Henry VIII in 1546, but it also might be one that Elizabeth sent to her brother at his request.[4]

QUEEN ELIZABETH I ARMADA PORTRAIT, BRITISH SCHOOL, C. 1588.

The painting on the pages before is a stunning Queen Elizabeth I, an oil on panel, made by an unknown artist. It was completed around 1588.

The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 must have prompted a new sitting to mark the great event. The commemorative nature of these portraits is reflected in the fact that three, once identical, horizontal versions were painted in which the Armada defeat is depicted in the background. Of these, one version remains now only as a fragment with the figure of the queen, the second was substantially overpainted in the second half of the seventeenth century leaving only the third in a complete and untouched state.[5]

The queen appears as an austere and authoritative monarch, bedecked in jewels and rich embroidery as outward signs of her magnificence. Her costume, with large ruff and voluminous sleeves and skirt, both gives her presence and reflects the contemporary fashion.[6]

Elizabeth is celebrated here as a potent victorious monarch, the defender of her kingdom against Spanish aggression. The tableaux in the background show episodes from the defeat of the Spanish Armada, which sailed into the English Channel in July 1588. On the left English fire ships descend on the Spanish fleet, and on the right the fleet is dashed to pieces on the rocky coasts of Ireland and Scotland. Directly below this, forming the arm of a chair, is a carved Mannerist figure of a mermaid, whose traditional function is to lure seafarers to their doom, just as Spain had been tempted by Elizabeth. Her left-hand rests on a globe, her fingers covering the Americas, indicating England's dominion of the seas and plans for imperial expansion in the New World.[7]

In terms of long-term damage to the Spanish the destruction of the Armada actually achieved little, but at the time it was feted both by the English and the Dutch as a significant victory. Poems and pamphlets and engravings extolled Elizabeth as the vanquisher of the Catholic threat, and medals and coins were struck to commemorate the event. The 'Armada' portrait takes its place in this outpouring of eulogistic material.[8]

QUEEN ELIZABETH I RAINBOW PORTRAIT, ATTRIBUTED TO ISAAC OLIVER, 1600.

The painting overleaf is an oil painting on canvas attributed to Isaac Oliver. It had been completed by 1600. The painting is currently in Hatfield House.

The image in this portrait is one of the most outstanding representations of the queen ever produced. Elizabeth is clad in a gown embroidered with English wildflowers, symbolising the her as Astraea, the just virgin of the Golden Age from classical literature. She is wrapped in a cloak with orange lining decorated with eyes and ears, indicating fame, or knowledge conveyed to the queen by her councillors. The poet John Davies wrote: *'Many things she sees and hears through them, but the Judgement and Election are her own*'. She is heavily adorned with pearls and rubies, and an elaborate head-dress supports the royal crown; the pearls and crown symbolise virginity and royalty. Above the crown is a crescent-shaped jewel, meaning that in this instance she is Cynthia, another goddess of the moon. Framing her face is a lacy ruff to which a jewelled gauntlet is attached, perhaps a memento from a significant joust honouring the queen. Behind her head and around her shoulders is a transparent veil edged with more pearls.[9]

Coiling along Elizabeth's left arm is a serpent, which has a ruby suspended from his mouth in the shape of a heart; above its head is a celestial sphere. The serpent was the traditional symbol for wisdom; here it rules the passions of the queen's heart. The sphere also implies prudence and wisdom, and together with the serpent and the heart, complements the theme of the Astraea. In her right hand, she holds a rainbow with the motto: 'Non sine sole iris' (No rainbow without the sun); the rainbow symbolises peace. Elizabeth was in her late sixties when this portrait was made, and yet she appears as a curvaceous woman with orange-gold hair worn in ringlets around her pretty face; goddesses have an advantage over morals and their beauty is ageless.[10]


N SINE SOLE
IRIS.

QUEEN ELIZABETH I AND THE THREE GODDESSES

The painting overleaf is an oil on panel of Elizabeth I by Hans Eworth, in 1569. The painting is currently in The Royal Collection.

Inscribed '1569 /HE' lower right; IVNO POTENS SCEPTRIS ET MENTIS ACVMINE PALLS / ET ROSEO VENERIS FVLGET IN ORE DECVS / ADFVIT ELIZABETH IVNO PERCVLSA REFVGIT OBSTVPVIT PALLAS ERVBVITO VENVS' on the frame.

Queen Elizabeth, on the left, is wearing her crown and holding orb and sceptre, impassively facing three classical goddesses. They are Juno, who with her peacock behind her spins round to gaze at the Queen and loses her left shoe as she turns; the helmeted Pallas, who raises her hand in surprise; and the naked Venus who sits with her arm round her disarmed son Cupid, and her swan-drawn chariot on the path beyond. On the hill beyond Juno stands Windsor Castle, one of the earliest painted views of it. Elizabeth's dress is richly jewelled and embroidered with the Tudor rose as a principal motif.[11]

The inscription on the frame may be translated as:' Pallas was keen of brain, Juno was queen of might, / The rosy face of Venus was in beauty shining bright, / Elizabeth then came. And, overwhelmed, Queen Juno took to flight; Pallas was silenced; Venus blushed for shame.'[12]

In this portrayal, the queen plays the role of Paris, who according to classical legend had to judge which of these three goddesses was the most beautiful. Her however Elizabeth seems to cause confusion amongst the deities. The queen is seen here as both ruler and woman, combining the qualities of all three goddesses present in this painting.[13]

The monogram 'HE', right, appears in a sloping form different from the upright one generally used by Hans Eworth. As well as Eworth, Lucas Heere and Joris Hoefnagel have been suggested as the painter of this painting.[14]

ECE KARADAG

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4. Karen Hearn, Dynasties. Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1630. London, Tate Publishing, Tate Gallery, 1995, p 79.
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8. Karen Hearn, Dynasties. Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1630. London, Tate Publishing, Tate Gallery, 1995, p.88.
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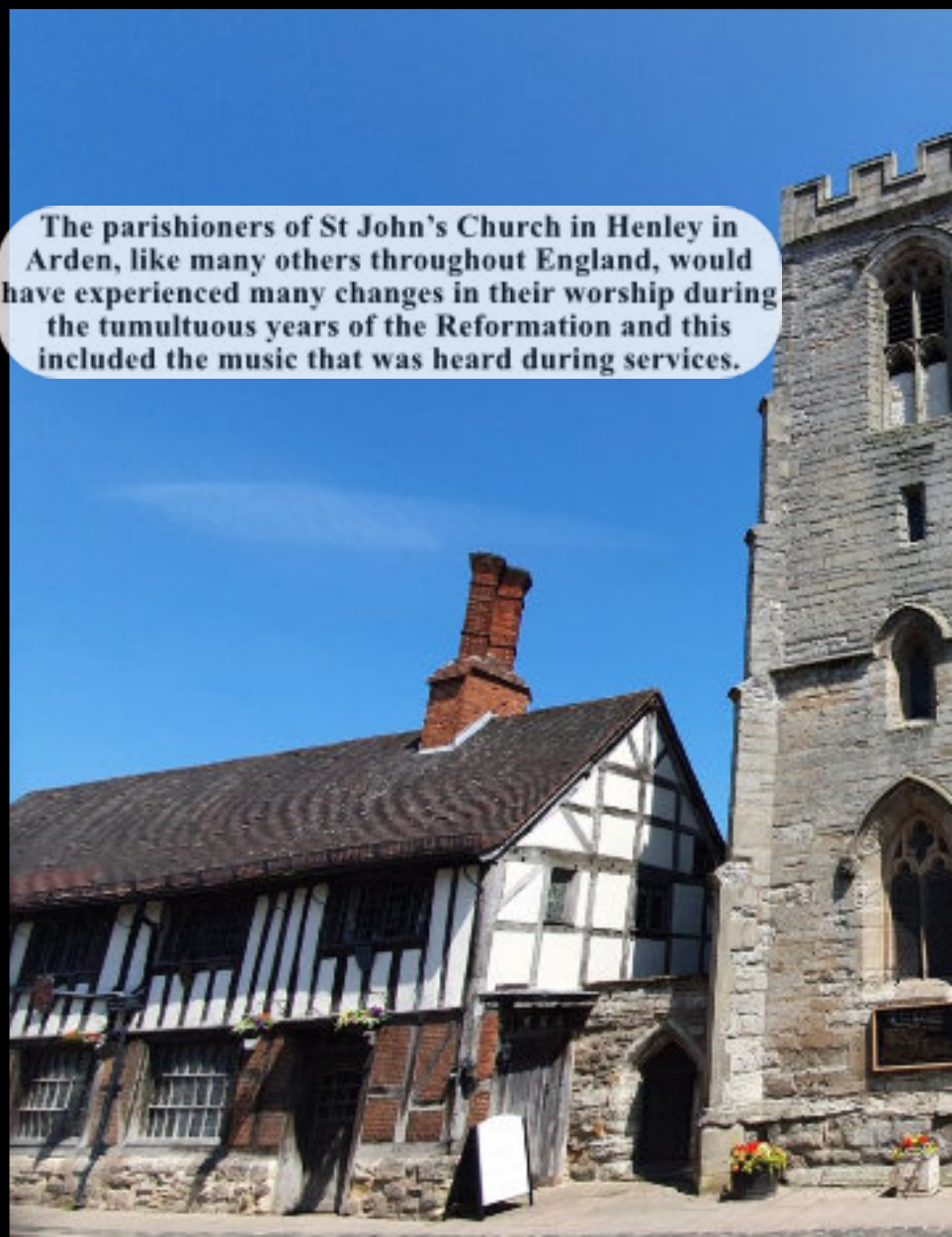
Parish Church Music in Pre-Reformation Tudor England

In the last edition of Tudor Life, I looked at the music that would have been performed in the local parish church throughout England. So often, the focus is on music of the Chapel Royal, the music performed in the great cathedrals or in the courts and little attention is paid to what the majority of people would have listened to. What we discovered was a rich musical tradition and found that the period leading up to the tumultuous years of the Reformation saw huge amounts of money being invested into relatively small religious establishments and parishes by wealthy benefactors wishing to ease their relatives and loved ones swiftly through Purgatory through sung masses by chantry choirs. There was a huge expansion in church decoration and installation of organs, chantry chapels and the upkeep of singing men and musicians. Sumptuous polyphonic music was one of the results. However, this glory period was to come to an end as a new religious order took place with the Reformation.

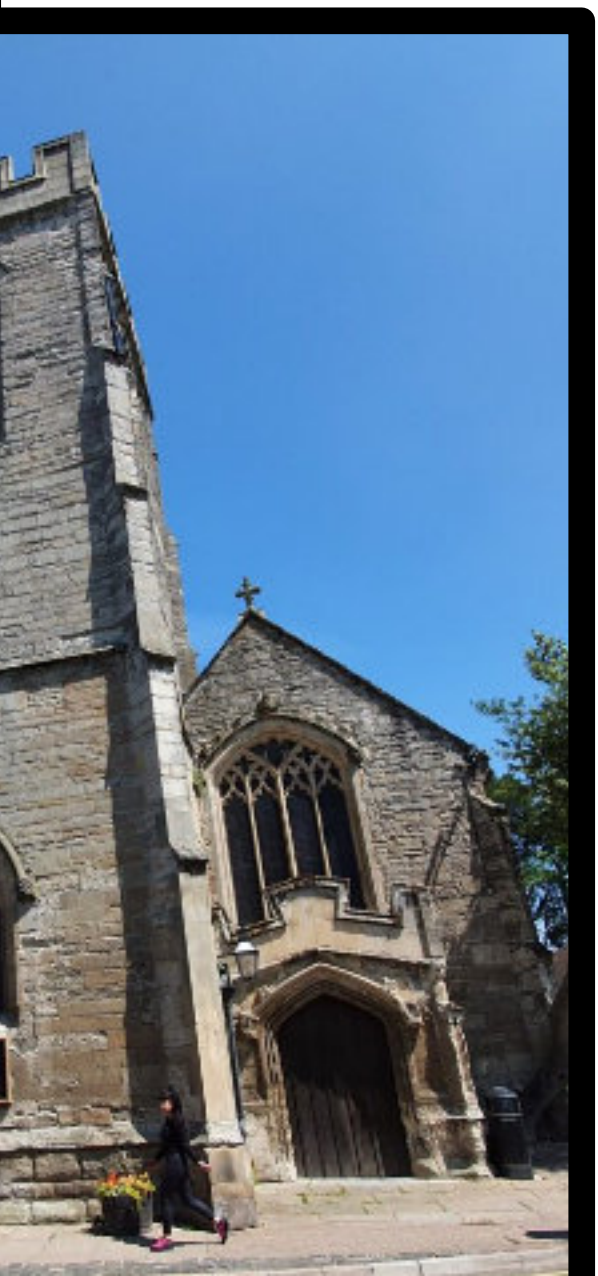
By Jane Moulder



The parishioners of St John's Church in Henley in Arden, like many others throughout England, would have experienced many changes in their worship during the tumultuous years of the Reformation and this included the music that was heard during services.

The church reformers had an issue with music being performed and sung as part of the litany. As shown in last month's article, music had been an integral part of church services, rites and rituals but it was the exclusive domain of the clergy, professional musicians and singers and, in most cases, Latin was the

text; a language that would not have been generally understood by the population. But the Reformation was to blow away these old Catholic practices and new ways sought. But whilst in Europe, changes were driven by the church, in England early Anglicanism was being determined by the reigning sovereigns and conflicting political forces. Henry VIII's driver was not the establishment of new religious practices but rather the breaking of the hold of Rome and the destruction of the monasteries was to release their wealth and weaken their political influence. The aim was certainly not to change the format and quality of English choral music. But religious reformers, influenced by Lutheran and Calvinist ideals which had taken hold in Europe, had other ideas. After Henry's death, Edward was led by influential churchmen and a strict form of Protestantism was established including the shift away from music being performed in churches. The Book of Common Prayer was introduced and for the first time, services conducted in English but the embellishment of the word of God by music was frowned upon. In its place, was the singing of metrical psalm singing/chanting (translations of the original psalms into metre/verse), usually to a single line of melody, and written in English. These changes were swept away with the rule of Mary. For her, music was not only an essential feature of liturgy, but also a crucial element for the assertion of the Catholic faith in general. Church music, thus, was once again in favour.



However, it was all to change again with the reign of Elizabeth and the move towards the protestant faith and the rise in puritanism. Often, as with so many aspects of Tudor history, when looking at music of the church during this period, the focus of attention is on the practices in the great cathedral establishments and royal courts rather than on the small civic and rural parishes. In this regard,

sweeping statements are made along the lines of: church music ceased, organs were destroyed, choirs disbanded and people began to sing metrical psalms instead. As always, when one digs a little deeper, the truth is a lot more complex than the simple picture that is portrayed and what is revealed is that a rich musical tradition continued and evolved.

The accession of Elizabeth to the throne clearly brought uncertainty to the church in England. Catholic was pitted against Protestant and Puritan against Anglican and there was considerable tension as to who would win out. To silence the disputes, in December 1558, it was ordered that the Latin services continued whilst allowing the litany, gospels and epistles, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed was to be said in English. This was a compromise situation but it was one that helped settle the disputers on either side. It is interesting to note that Elizabeth's own coronation service in January, 1559 was performed to the Roman rite rather than the new Anglican one. However, this clearly did not settle some zealous reformers who did not wait for a change in the law and introduced services according to the 1552 Prayer Book which had been issued under Edward's reign. To settle this, the new Act of Uniformity was passed in April 1559, this set forth a prayer book with was mostly modelled on that of 1552 but the vestments returned to the more Catholic approach laid down under Mary in 1549. There were several areas which were not covered under Act and these were covered under a number of clauses which built on Edward's injunctions and this included some on music. It ordered that support of church music should be maintained, including that in parish churches and the Queen permitted non-liturgical music in manner defined in a carefully worded passage:

"And that there be a modest distinct song, so used in all parts of the common prayers in the church, that the same may be as plainly understood, as if it were read without singing, and yet nevertheless, for the comforting of such that delight in music, it may be permitted that in the beginning, or in the end of common prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the

hymn may be understood and perceived".

This was a compromise to keep both sides of the church happy – conservative parties could continue to enjoy song and polyphony (albeit sung in English rather than Latin) and the Puritans were given the right to sing metrical psalms but not in such a way to disturb the liturgy. It allowed professional choirs to continue after the Reformation and in fact, many forms of music in parish churches to continue.

Other than in London and the south east, where the Protestants were a dominant force, in England the majority of the population was undoubtedly still Catholic. However, there were clearly changes from the full colourful Roman rites which Mary had restored after Edward's austere protestant services as illustrated by this quote from a homily issued in 1562:

"A woman said to her neighbour: alas gossip, what shall we now do at church since all the saints are taken away, since all the godly sights we were wont to have are gone, since we cannot hear the like piping, singing, chanting and playing upon the organs that we have before".

Whilst full Catholic rites were continued by the minority and in secret, most people had little choice but to attend their local parish church and no doubt, like the woman above, they had a sense of loss and regret of the old ways passing. But the music did hang on, choirs and organs continued to sound out. No doubt the compromise formalised in the Elizabethan Settlement was welcomed by most but certainly for the reformers the pace of change would have been too slow.

There were changes to the old ways and, yes, it is true that choirs gradually came to be disbanded and organs no longer maintained and dismantled but this was more likely due to economic changes and influences rather than puritanical zeal. The economy suffered severe inflation under the first few years of Elizabeth's reign and staples such as grain, wool and livestock saw a huge increase in their prices in the latter part of the 16th century. In forty years, from 1559 through to 1599, the price of grain doubled and the impact of these inflationary prices impacted on all aspects of daily life, including the money available to the church.

Research of churchwardens' re-

cords carried out by historians in recent years has thrown up a very interesting, multi-layered picture. These payment accounts had not been considered worth studying in the past but upon closer investigation they highlight multiple payments and provision for a number of musical activities in a large proportion of parish churches and these include direct payments for music, (known as pricksong), musical instruments (their repair and purchase) and musicians' salaries or indirect payments such as cloth purchased to make a chorister's surplice or money spent on candles for the choir to sing by. Where churches record no expenditure on such items, it would be wrong to draw the conclusion that there was no music as it was more likely that it was due to the absolute poverty of that church or parish, as it is clear that money wasn't being spent on anything else either. Of those that did spend money, records show that payments were still being made on organs and their maintenance. Also, new books of music, pricksong, were purchased, indicating choral or instrumental music was being bought alongside new books of psalms for the new type of worship.

Studying the records shows that the condition of the majority of organs in parish churches was deteriorating over the latter part of the 16th century, and the amount of expenditure on them was being reduced gradually over the period. However, by 1590, a fifth of all parishes were still managing to maintain an organ. Equally, we have no idea how long the instruments continued to be used without regular maintenance and many could well have been played for many years after the last recorded payment for repair was made. For example, Holy Trinity church in Coventry had no maintenance records but paid *"Rychard Lyuse the organ pleer"* for paper to write out music for the instrument, thus clearly showing that the instrument was still in use. In 1578, churchwardens at Halesowen in Worcestershire paid for *'mr Betts of Lychfield for hys peynes to loke* on the organs for have mended them' and in 1580 in North Walsham, Norfolk, 4d was spend on *'buying a new lock for ye orgains'*. From this, we can assume that elaborate polyphonic music, as well as the simpler unison tunes for the new psalm singing was still continuing to be performed, as organs provided the accompaniment for such arrangements.

John Day, the printer. Day published many of the early Protestant pamphlets and publications in England.

When regular annual payments made on organ maintenance suddenly stop it is probably safe to assume that the organ had been dismantled. Such as in Louth in Lincolnshire. There were 23 entries for maintenance between 1555 and 1572 and then a final payment for some *'ij sprynges'* and then no more. There is a rare record which actually shows the unequivocal sale of an organ *'the towe pare of organes shal be sold for the beste prysse they may be had ffor them'*. Sometimes the picture is a little more complicated as there are indications that a church could dismantle and sell their Great Organ (probably sitting atop the rood screen) but still retain the smaller organs that would have been in a side or chantry chapel as was the case in St James' Church in London.

With the demise of the organs, also came the demise of people who could maintain them and the churches would have to look further afield for skilled repairers. When St Margaret's in London purchased an old organ from an abbey in 1595, they had to send for John Happington in Winchester, 65 miles away, to make the journey to repair it.

During Elizabeth's reign, a tally shows that of the 101 regional parish churches known to have had organs, 48 of them were destroyed, sold or allowed to fall into disrepair and the same fate may have befallen some of the other 53. Only six new organs are known to have been built in parish churches during her

THE WHOLE BOOKE

of Pſalmes, collected into Engˢ lyſh metre by T. Starnhold I. Hopkins & others: conferred with the Ebrue, with apt Notes to ſynge thē with al, Faithfully peruſed and alowed according to thordre appointed in the Quenes maieſties Iniunctions.

¶ *Very mete to be vſed of all ſortes of people priuately for their ſolace & comfort: laying apart all vngodly Songes and Ballades, which tende only to the noriſhing of vyce, and corrupting of youth.*

IAMES. V.

¶ If any be afflicted let him praye, and if any be mery let hym ſyng Pſalmes.

COLOSS. III.

¶ *Let the worde of God dwell plentuouſlye in all wiſedom teachinge & exhorting one another in pſalmes, hymnes & ſpirituall ſongs, & ſing vnto the Lord in your herts.*

Imprinted at Lōdon by John Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate,

Cum gratia & priuilegio Regię Maieſtatis, perſcptennium.

An. 1562.

To show how Sternhold changed the language of the psalms, here is an example from Psalm 34. The original is taken from The Great Bible, which he used as his source.

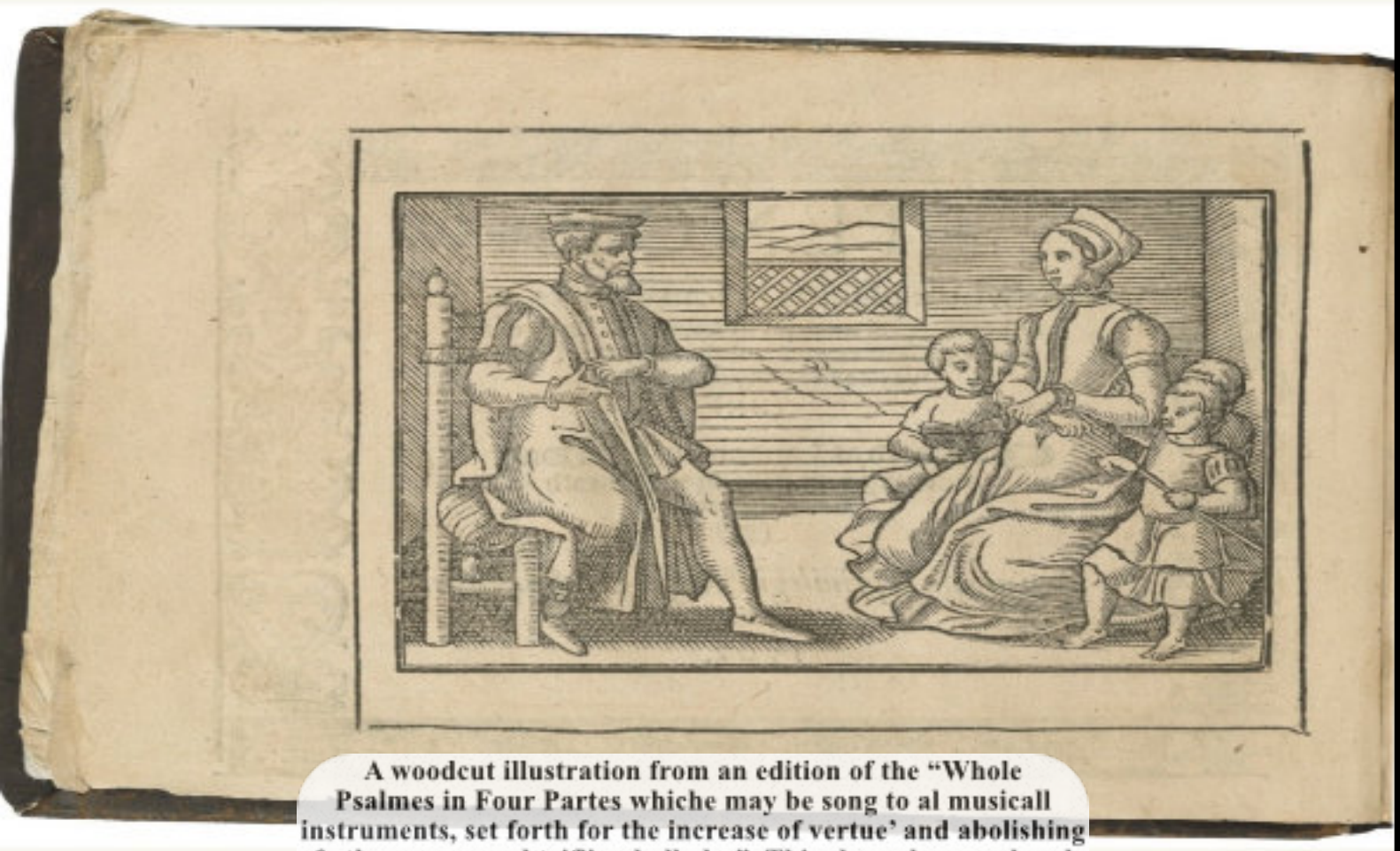
entire reign. It is likely that the main reason for the decline of organs was linked to poverty or economic factors rather than changes in musical or liturgical practices. What little money the parish churches had was being spent on other things such as maintenance on bells, which were considered to be more essential and certainly less controversial.

Whilst money on organs was ceasing, expenditure on pricksong did not decline so rapidly. This indicates that choirs and singing men were being maintained and therefore polyphonic music was still being performed in churches. Within a relatively short period of time, churches had to spend money on the maintenance of music books from the old Catholic faith, then buy more music to reflect fashions during the Marian restoration, and then from the 1570s onwards yet more music had to be purchased for the Protestant repertoire. Records show that books and music for the old Catholic rites were still being purchased in the late 1550s, such as *'ij hymnalles to syng in the queer'* and also *'for binding of one of the quire bookes'*.

In the 1560s John Day published various polyphonic settings of the liturgy including canticles for morning and evening prayers, reflecting the old type of service, and he openly advertised them as suitable *'to be song in churches, both for men and children'*. Day was clearly a canny businessman because as well as publishing music for the old service he also published the famous *'Whole Book of Psalms'* by Sternhold and Hopkins. This volume contained the single line, monodic, metrical psalms but Day also published the same repertoire but this time in *'four partes, whiche may be song to al musicall insruments'*. This would have therefore been suitable for a choir to sing and perform them in church.

He was responsible for printing The Book of Martyrs and the Whole Book of Psalms.

It is clear from payment accounts from the 1560s and '70s that some churches were using the new Protestant Common Prayer services but singing them in the old Catholic rite manner and using singers, organs and musicians to accompany them. Payments were made to freelance musicians of the civic musicians, the Waits, to play in the church to accompany the singing. No doubt churches were still finding a way to accommodate both the old and new practices and trying to



A woodcut illustration from an edition of the "Whole Psalmes in Four Partes whiche may be song to al musicall instruments, set forth for the increase of vertue' and abolishing of other vayne and trifling ballades". This shows how psalmody could be sung and performed at home and it was responsible for popularising the form. (Folger Shakespeare Library).

strike a balance between tradition and the hazy guidelines for the new ways set out by the Elizabethan Settlement.

The churchwarden records include references to 84 parish church choirs still in existence during the second half of the 16th century but 36 (26 of them in London) were disbanded, mostly before 1580.

Expenditure for music for church choirs continued into the 1570s and 1580s, although there are less records for this period. Whilst the majority of money spent was in the wealthier churches, it's impossible to say whether choral practice died out in the rural, poorer churches because they couldn't afford to pay for music or singers or because there was a shift in religious practice. The records convey the impression that some charitable churchwardens were reluctant to impoverish their singing men by withdrawing financial support but instead, waited for them to move on from the parish or die. After their departure, for whatever reason, they were not replaced. In Chudleigh in Devon

there was one such case and the church managed to scrape together just 3d as payment for 'poor Robin, the singing man'. In 1580, 79 parishioners submitted a petition to Christ's Church in London for the continuing maintenance of their five poor singing men *'in respect that they have been trayned in the science of musick all theyr life'*. Occasionally we see, like the installation of a new organ, some parishes bucked the trend and a choir was re-established such as in Kibworth in Leicestershire where they used song books which had recently been bequeathed to the parish.

As mentioned, these were harsh economic times and the decline of the choirs was probably not so much a reflection on religious objections but because metrical psalm singing, like ballad singing, was becoming a more popular activity for the population. This was a good thing for the church as psalm singing was also cheaper as no choir or organ was needed. Descriptions of its introduction in London churches shows that the style took hold very quickly as people delighted in a musical form that they could understand and enjoy but also, most importantly, take part in. Whilst listening to elaborate Latin polyphony, which they couldn't understand, may have lifted the soul, they could not join in with it. The psalms meanwhile were musically simple and sung in English. It's clear that people sang them not because they were Puritans but because they actually enjoyed singing and psalms soon entered the folk repertory alongside secular songs, ballads and dances.

However, this love of psalms wasn't shared by the social elite and even Queen Elizabeth showed her distaste by pointedly leaving when a psalm was sung at the State Opening of Parliament in 1562. The aristocracy and educated classes found the language of Sternold's and Hopkins' psalms crude and distasteful and considered them only worthy of the lower classes. This was a view shared by some of the clergy and often a psalm was sung before the sermon, thus allowing the minister to retreat to the vestry to change from a surplice to a gown and therefore not have to take part in singing it.

O taste and see how gracious the Lord is, blessed is the man that trusteth in him

O fear the Lord, ye that are his saints, for they that fear him lack nothing

The lions do lack and suffer hunger, but they who seek

the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good.

And here is his plainer metrical version of the same passage:

See and consider well, therefore that God is good and just

O happy man that maketh him his only stay and trust

Fear ye the Lod, ye holy ones, above all earthly thing

For they that fear the living Lord are sure to lack nothing

The mighty and the rich shall want, yea thirst and hunger much

But as for them that fear the Lord, no lack shall be to such.

The new practice of psalm singing meant that parishes had to find the money, even in harsh economic times, for the new service books as well as new psalm books. However, very often psalms were cheap and affordable because instead of being in large, expensive books, they were printed on in the manner of ballads, on single sheets of cheap paper.

Despite the fact that psalms could be sung in a single voice and were intended to be simple, accounts show that psalms were also being sung by choirs denoting that they were probably also being arranged in a polyphonic manner, such as those printed by John Day. Where organs were retained in churches, no doubt they would have accompanied the metrical psalm singing and therefore one cannot always assume that psalms were being sung unaccompanied.

A woodcut illustration from an edition of the "Whole Psalmes in Four Partes whiche may be song to al musicall instruments, set forth for the increase of vertue' and abolishing of other vayne and trifling ballades". This shows how psalmody could be sung and performed at home and it was responsible for popularising the form. (Folger Shakespeare Library).

The more that churchwarden accounts are studied and analysed, the clearer it becomes that there church music painted a more complex picture in post reformation Elizabethan England than originally supposed. Whilst undoubtedly psalmody eventually became the primary musical form for churches and Sternold and Hopkins' Whole Booke of Psalmes was also the focus for domestic devotions, the old ways and the old choral and musical traditions still lingered in many parishes throughout England. From the 1580s onwards, pricksong was in decline and this was undoubtedly helped by the fashion for psalm singing

within the home thus aiding the church to universalise the practice in public worship. Where once churches celebrated the Queen's Accession Day by paying singers and musicians to sing her praise, now they paid bell ringers to ring peals on the many newly installed or re-cast bells. The new reformed practices started back in the 1550s were now finally beginning to take hold.

JANE MOULDER

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CLASSIC WORDS

How did you do in this month's quiz? It was inspired by newspaper puzzles from the 1800's so a little different to usual. Here are the answers. Do let us know how you got on.

In strange but not in far — snge
In classic but not in crispy — lay
In history but not in story — his
In outsize but not in short — uhize
In media but not in moving — eda
In bridge but not in project — bidge
In meaning but not in holding — mea
In strength but not in learning — sth
In weather but not in welcome — athr

ELIZABETH

In nothing but not in complex — nthing
In billion but not in classics — bon
In century but not in robbery — cntu
In society but not in ninety — soc
In mixture but not in phoenix — mtur
In achieve but not in smoothies — achv
In helping but not in counsel — hpig

NONSUCH

In remains but not in romance — is
In diamond but not in confess — diam
In capital but not in walk — cptl
In subject but not in suspence — jct
In himself but not in oneself — him
In offence but not in evident — ofc
In securily but not in murderer — scity
In material but not in dispatch — maerl
In public but not in stricken — publc
In standing but not in shocking — tad

SMITHFIELD

A tablet listing Catherine's pregnancies from Hampton Court Palace (Photo: Claire Ridgway)

The Lost Prince Henry Tudor

by Elizabeth Jane Timms

The birth of Prince Henry Tudor - son of Henry VIII and Queen Catherine of Aragon - had been the cause of universal rejoicing. He could have been Henry IX of England. But his tragic death only weeks later, meant that the place he had filled so quickly was made vacant again and other princes were not soon born to replace him. Of course, no-one could have predicted the phenomenal female effort it would cost to try to make good that shortage, with Queen Jane Seymour finally producing a living son over twenty-seven years later, then herself dying as a result. Young at the time of Prince Henry's death in 1511, it would have been inconceivable to Henry VIII that it would take until 1537 for another living son to arrive.

CONCEIVED IN THE SAME YEAR that Catherine miscarried her first child in 1510, this child was to have been an heir male to the still relatively new Tudor dynasty. The baby boy's death marked the start of what we know would become an increasingly desperate attempt, through successive pregnancies (and queens) to provide the missing son. Had the son of 1511 – or other sons - lived, alternative history might argue a different course of events in Henry's personal reign. In short, the brief period between Prince Henry's birth on New Year's Day 1511 until his death the following month therefore have an almost idyllic quality from the point of view of later history, because the foremost duty of a queen – in this case, Catherine of Aragon – seemed quite simply fulfilled and so soon, in the early years of their marriage.

For a King whose sheer physical magnificence was the wonder of Europe, it was surely natural that he should father that miracle of manhood and monarchy: a living male heir. Yet it was not until the last years of his life that the picture of a Henrician Royal Family was actually possible for the aged King, at the side of his sixth queen Catherine Parr, surrounded by the children of his first three wives. The early loss of Prince Henry was perpetuated by the absence of any other son (until 1537) and the existence of two healthy daughters, by two separate queens. What all this meant was that the weight of royal (and English) expectations was laid heavy upon the biology of Henry's earlier wives; neither of them could relax in the knowledge that sons were already born to make the dynasty more secure. The outcome of their pregnancies was something they could not control and against Mother Nature, these royal mothers-to-be were helpless, for no one thing was such a deciding factor in their personal fates.

Perhaps understandably from Henry's point of view, stillbirths

and miscarriages meant that with each subsequent pregnancy, the royal patience grew less with each failure. It is significant that when Anne Boleyn miscarried in 1536, Henry's frustration exploded: 'I see God will not give me male children'. George Wyatt's biography of Anne Boleyn puts it even more directly, that Henry said he would have 'no more boys by her'. (1) And this miscarriage's pain was particular: devastatingly for Henry (and even more so, for Anne), the foetus was apparently male, a fact repeated by De Carles in his (1536) biography of Anne Boleyn. Across the long years of Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon, only one healthy child was produced, with the birth of the Princess Mary in 1516.

Not unsurprisingly, Henry presented an optimistic view to the world at the news, telling the Venetian Ambassador that 'sons will follow', maintaining that 'the Queen and I are both young'. It was a strange replay of the moving words spoken by his mother, Queen Elizabeth of York to Henry VII on the premature death of his elder brother, Arthur, Prince of Wales: the King and Queen were still young enough. The age gap between the young Henry VIII and his (older) Queen certainly would become important over time, for if Queen Catherine were past childbearing years by the standards of the period, the possibility of her bearing that longed-for son became increasingly remote as the years passed.

Royal fatherhood was the supreme example of the paternal necessity for sons as heirs of their powerful families; what was certainly not foreseen were much-anticipated Tudor sons that ceased to arrive. This most personal point touched Henry's kingship and his manhood, his dynasty and its future. Henry's royal contemporaries sired heirs to their thrones without difficulty; yet, Henry had been the only living son to succeed his father and remarkably also, the Lancastrian Henry had survived as the sole child of his mother, the Lady Margaret Beaufort, who conceived him at the tender age of twelve. Indeed, the 'Lost Son' finds its English parable in the earlier examples of the Yorkist so-called 'Princes in the Tower', in Richard III and Queen Anne Neville's prematurely dead son, Edward of Middleham and finally, in Henry's own elder brother Arthur. Henry VIII had himself been born as the 'spare heir', a fact underlined in his grandmother, the Lady Margaret Beaufort's beautiful Book of Hours (preserved in the British Library): her entry for his birth has the date wrong, a mistake which could not have been made on the important birth of Henry VII's heir: Arthur, Prince of Wales. (2)

The most physically perfect from among his brother monarchs, Henry's question as to why there was no son is not difficult to appreciate, because it seemed something which went against all natural reason. It was logical therefore, that Henry had to examine the state of his marriage, because the lack of sons surely implied something very wrong with it. Of course, we know that Henry was also passionately in love with Anne Boleyn, but it is not hard to see how for the deeply religious Henry, this problem could find divine explanation in 'that verse' in Leviticus. It all made wonderful sense. Because he had married his brother's wife, which the Old Testament verse decreed an 'unclean' thing (regardless of papal dispensation

and a subsequent text in Deuteronomy) and their 'childless' state was the result: God's judgement upon his marriage to Catherine. This seemingly gave Henry his answer: namely, to question his marriage.

The fact that Henry's conscience realised this 'sin' against God's law only decades afterwards could therefore be 'explained' by the fact that to date, no living male heir had been born to Catherine. Henry only had doubts about his marriage to Queen Catherine when she was all-but past childbearing age. As the words of Leviticus had it: Arthur's 'nakedness' having been uncovered would mean that his own marriage to Catherine was 'childless', whatever the real truth of her virginity. If incest was a capital offence, then clearly for Henry, it was a crime in divine eyes also. The verse in Leviticus made that clear. Perhaps this was another aside as to why Anne Boleyn's incest charge with her brother, Lord Rochford was such a shocking one: Henry considered himself as having wed his brother's wife – a woman who was his own sister by marriage: Arthur's widow. And whatever the truth of Henry's association with Anne Boleyn's own sister Mary Boleyn, there was no strong conscience-prick regarding a sister when he was in love; similarly, when the ageing Henry fell passionately for Katherine Howard, perhaps he chose to ignore in his mind that Katherine was Anne Boleyn's cousin. (The Queen who actually came to be called 'the King's sister' was of course, his fourth wife, Anne of Cleves: Henry's other 'divorced' wife, together with Catherine of Aragon.

The existence of the Princess Mary did not contradict that verse in Leviticus, because a daughter by the

The surviving Tudor Gate House at Richmond (Photo: Elizabeth Jane Timms)

The Royal Arms of England on the inner side of the Gate House (Photo: Elizabeth Jane Timms)

standards of the time still meant childlessness, as there was as yet no English precedent for regnant queens – 'Gloriana' would only come later. A daughter could be used for political purposes, but was not intended to be a ruler, although royal women proved themselves admirably capable in the role of Regent, the point again was clear: it was only until their son attained majority. 'God has forgotten him entirely' was how the Imperial Ambassador Chapuys put it, on the birth of the Princess Elizabeth in 1533. (3) When the royal marriage was on trial, Catherine made pointed reference to the fact that by her, Henry had had 'divers' [numerous] children, though it had pleased God to take them out of the world. This lack of children - and more specifically, heirs – meant that Catherine was reminding Henry it wasn't her fault, when Henry clearly saw this as the main fault in the marriage. Catherine's personal symbol was the pomegranate - to denote fertility - and this she had certainly proved, whatever the outcome of her pregnancies. Significantly for the future, Anne Boleyn wrote her own inscription to Henry in her Book of Hours beneath a depiction of the Annunciation, when the Virgin Mary was told she would bear a son.

The pattern was the same with Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn: when Henry's heart was no longer in the marriage, reasons could be found for it to be examined in detail and in both cases, there was no living son. It came as no surprise that the language of the English court was ecstatic when the baby Prince Edward was born at Hampton Court in 1537; not only was he Henry's

longed-for son and heir, but the baby had an almost biblical quality: precisely because his birth had taken that long. This time surely, God approved. Bishop Hugh Latimer's comment spoke for many: 'We all hungered after a prince so long'. (4) Yet the birth of Prince Edward was still not enough to secure the dynasty, for remarkably if not realistically, Henry's last wife, Catherine Parr was even being described in the 1540s as the Queen, 'by whom as yet his majesty hath none issue, but may full well when it shall please God'. (5)

Queen Catherine's first baby was stillborn: a daughter. She did not inform her father, Ferdinand of Aragon of this until May 1510, by which time she was already pregnant with her next child, although the 'quickening' had not yet taken place: that period after some four months, when the pregnancy was held to be assured. Catherine took to her bed at Richmond, the relatively new Tudor palace constructed by Henry VII on the site of the burned medieval palace of Sheen, which had its own set of Queen's Apartments. A baby prince was born on New Year's Day, 1511. The Venetian Calendar recorded: 'A son had been born to the King on New Year's Day, one hour and half after midnight… They went subsequently to visit the Queen and congratulated her on such noble offspring, which received the name of Henry, after his father'. (6) Henry paid the nurse the sum of thirty pounds and her name is recorded – Elizabeth Poyntz, Sir Robert Poyntz's daughter; the Lady Mistress was named Elizabeth Denton. (7)

Little Henry was appointed his own Household of some forty persons and assigned three chaplains, only days after his birth. The 5th of January was a Sunday – the day of Prince Henry's christening at Richmond. For this splendid ceremony, a special route was created 'from the Hall to the Friars', constructed with rails and strewn with rushes, some twenty-four feet wide; the southern end of this route was hung with cloth of arras, as was the entire length of the church. The 'church' referred to that of the Observant Friars in Richmond Palace. (8)

His godparents were the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham, the Earl of Surrey and the Earl and Countess of Devon. His royal sponsors were King Louis XII of France – the Lord of Winchester standing proxy - and Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Savoy, represented by the Countess of Surrey. For the christening, King Louis sent two magnificent gifts: a salt weighing 51 ounces and a cup of 'fine' gold measuring some 48 ½ oz. The midwife was paid the sum of 10 pounds. (9) The following day at Richmond, a payment was made to the Great Wardrobe for tawny cloth to one William Borow, a man of the King's Minstrels. (10). Queen Catherine wrote to Margaret of Savoy from Richmond on 8 January 1511 in French: 'Catherine mande à Marguerite qu'il lui est né un fils le premier jour de l'an; qu'il a été baptisé et a eu pour marraine ladite Marguerite, representie par la Comtesse de Surrey'. [Catherine informs Marguerite that she was delivered of a son on the first day of the year and that he was baptised, having as his godmother the said Lady Marguerite, who was represented by the Countess of Surrey']. (11) The French Ambassador thought it advisable to give a chain worth 200 crowns to the nurse and to say that the French King 'prays her to

nurse well his godson'. The Great Wardrobe had already supplied the King's Nursery the previous September some eight yards of purple velvet for a 'bearing pane' with a long train at 6l and 2 pieces of green saye for the chamber of the Lady Mistress; Queen Catherine at Richmond had been supplied with blue say, hooks and curtain rings from the Wardrobe shortly before Christmas 1510. (12)

For the Feast of Candlemas, Henry signed a warrant at Richmond on 28 January to the Great Wardrobe for purple velvet to decorate his taper and that of Queen Catherine, whilst crimson velvet was ordered for the taper of the King's 'son the Prince', to be supplied by one John Ketylby, the Sergeant of the Chaundery. The Prince was assigned four 'rockers' to 'rock' his wooden cradle, which was painted and gilded with silver, measuring roughly five feet by two; his great cradle of estate was hung with crimson cloth and had the Royal Arms of England at its head. (13)

No actual image was made of the baby prince, a circumstance unsurprising and something which in itself, testifies to the shock impact of his sudden death. We know there would be no early toddler portrait, such as that made of Edward VI as a child by Hans Holbein the Younger, with his red and gold thread plumed hat, now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington. The present author discovered an intriguing image called 'Maria with the Child' held in the collections of the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, a web search referring to it as 'Catherine of Aragon as the Virgin Mary'. The artist is Queen Isabella of Castile's court painter Michael Sittow, who is the same attributed artist of that portrait so long identified as being of Catherine of Aragon in youth, once in the Ambras collection and now at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. (14)

Researching the picture with the Gemäldegalerie – one of the Berlin State Museums, it appears that the Berlin picture dates from the 1510s, probably between 1515-1518, so too late to be an image of Prince Henry in his lifetime and a time period that dates instead to the birth of the Princess Mary in 1516. The child in the Madonna's arms is unquestionably male, and whilst no Pieta, the image shows the Madonna holding the infant Christ over an Oriental carpet, whilst the Holy Child holds a siskin in his right hand, a symbol of his Passion. It is just possible that an allusion might be made to the death of a son, if there is any link with Catherine, whom the Madonna does indeed resemble, if compared to Sittow's Kunsthistorisches portrait. The Berlin Picture Gallery states that the picture was created in the Netherlands and we know that Sittow worked in Mechelen in the service of the Archduchess Margaret - the baby Prince Henry's godmother, Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Savoy. According to the Berlin gallery, the picture formed part of a diptych and the other panel, in the National Gallery in Washington, showed the donor Don Diego de Guevara, Margaret of Austria's treasurer. There is no mention in the official Berlin listing of any link with Catherine of Aragon. (15) Another such allegorical image by Michael Sittow of Catherine is held in the Detroit Institute of Arts, which actually lists its picture as 'Catherine of Aragon as the Magdalene, between 15th and 16th century' and bought from an art dealer in Berlin, prior to 1931. (16)

The King made a pilgrimage to the Shrine of Our Lady at

Walsingham in thanksgiving for the birth of the baby prince. Queen Catherine's 'churching' now performed, a magnificent tournament was arranged to be held at Westminster, preserved in what is now known as the Westminster Tournament Roll. The Roll – sixty feet long - sets down every stage of the tournament, beautifully illuminated in gold leaf. The King took the part of Sir Coeur Loyal, Sir Edward Neville that of Valliaunt Desyre, William, Earl of Devonshire Bone Valoyr and Sir Thomas Knevet Joyous Panser. The King entered in a pageant car pulled by a symbolic lion and antelope, the vessel decorated as a mock forest with a golden castle, at whose gate waited a gentleman with a rose garland 'for the prince'. (17)

The jousts were performed between 11-12 February and records show that the prizes were worth about 200 crowns each, the Queen awarding the challenger prizes to the King as Sir Coeur Loyal on the second day.

PLAQUE ON THE GATE HOUSE RECALLING THE TUDOR PALACE AS THE RESIDENCE OF HENRY VII, HENRY VIII AND ELIZABETH I (PHOTO: ELIZABETH JANE TIMMS)

Amongst the payments to the Great Wardrobe was one on 12 February for 'fifteen banners, with tassels, for the King's trumpets'. (18) These trumpeters are shown on the Roll, their banners depicting the Royal Arms of England and France, fringed in the Tudor colours of green and white. That second evening, an entertainment was held in the White Hall at Westminster, with six ladies in green and white satin embroidered with 'H' and 'K' in gold, whilst Henry again took the part of Sir Coeur Loyal accompanied by five knights, their clothes also decorated with the royal initials, which the people hurried to pick off - at the King's invitation. (19)

Prince Henry's sudden death at Richmond Palace on 22 February 1511 meant that he became the much-mourned Prince Henry – a whole century before the premature death of the much-loved Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, eldest son of James I and Anne of Denmark (1594-1612). The vanished Richmond Palace remains as the only place associated with his short life, just as this palace itself preserves a tradition of Tudor death, with that of Henry VII in 1509 and Elizabeth I in 1603. The engraving of Richmond Palace in the 1550s made by Anton van den Wyngaerde records the appearance of one of the most important buildings of the dynasty. Today, the Tudor Gate House survives at Richmond, as well as Old Palace Yard and parts of the Wardrobe; the Green was the site of the Palace tilting yard and is still part of the Crown Estates. The Gate House conveys a powerful impression of walking through a historical portal, into a palace that has disappeared. One plaque in one of the brick walls reads: 'Richmond Palace. A Residence of King Henry VII, King Henry

VIII, Queen Elizabeth I'. Several roads bear witness to the palace's former presence: Old Palace Lane, Old Palace Place – and the path running through the gatehouse is still called The Wardrobe.

The reason for the baby prince's death was probably some unnamed illness to which child mortality fell victim. The transference from celebration to mourning is a contrast starkly evident in the foreign and domestic Letters and Papers of Henry VIII; the records of the tournament go to that of burial in a matter of weeks. It might be compared with the change of mood in ceremonies at Hampton Court Palace from the christening of Prince Edward in 1537, to the obsequies for Queen Jane Seymour following soon afterwards. Hall's Chronicle has Queen Catherine making 'much lamentation'.

The account of the interment at Westminster Abbey with expenditure across the departments of the Royal Household is set down in great detail, down to the names of the merchants from whom the lengths of black cloth were purchased. These were priced to a value of 379l. 14 d. The sum of 50 pounds was paid to the Abbot of Westminster for twelve palls and a canopy for the burial, the painters John Browne, Richard Rowndangre, John Whytyng, John Wanlasse and John Hethe, supplied banners and 974 lbs worth of wax was ordered, with 4,327 pounds worth in torches. The records show that the lengths of mourning cloth were measured precisely, 186 yards being needed to cover three barges. All those in attendance were listed by their ceremonial function on the day. These included the Mourners, Barons, Kings of Arms, Heralds, Pursuivants, Gentlemen Ushers, Groom, Knights to Bear Banners, Knights to Bear the Canopy, Knights to set the Lords and

Detail from the much-altered Wardrobe
(Photo: Elizabeth Jane Timms)

others in Order, Squires and Sergeants of Arms (among those Knights Bearers to carry the casket was named Sir Thomas Boleyn). Then there were the Bargemen, their three Masters and Ten Children of The Chapel. Dr Rawlyns was named as the Preacher. Those of the King's officers in attendance at Richmond and Westminster included the cart taker, John Sherpe and the Porter at the Gate, John Lyndesey; also listed are eight people who attended at the church doors to look after the torches and the three chandlers who had carried out their work. 327 ¾ yards worth of cloth was sent to be hung around the rails of the funeral car at Westminster and about the choir. Ralph Jenet, Yeoman of the Wardrobe of Beds, was responsible for the business of actually hanging the cloth. (20)

The tiny coffin lay under its state canopy, surrounded by wax candles until finally, the Prince's body was buried in the Abbey on 27 February by torchlight. (21) Louis XII of France – his sponsor – wrote when he heard of the death of Prince Henry, but according D'Arizolles, the French Ambassador, these letters were not shown to the King, lest these further aggravate his grief. (22)

It is touching that the Prince's Household is now detailed in its entirety, with their names and offices recorded as: 'divers persons which were daily waiters upon the Prince'. (23) These included Edward Wylloughby, Carver, Edmund Losell, Sewer, Edmund Gray, Gentleman Usher, Gentleman Waiters, William Harrys, Nicholas Wykes and Chaplains, William Underwood, Charles Browne and Thomas Pekesall, Clerk of the Closet. The Yeomen of the Chamber were George Sutton, Yeoman Usher, William Lambert, Maurice Alyde, William Bendish, William Clerke and John Smythe. There were four Grooms of the Chamber: John Cowper, William Holyns, Edward Forest and Richard Braybroke. The Counting House was overseen by John Waliston and the Bakehouse by John Downer, Yeoman. Thomas Blythe was responsible for the Pantry, whilst Thomas Parker was in charge of the Cellar. The Grooms John Appulby and John Parre looked after the Buttery and Pitcher House and Robert Spurnell, Groom and David ap John, Yeoman, oversaw the Ewery and Chamber. William Blacnall was Clerk of the Kitchen; William Bolton and William Dully were his Grooms. Thomas Skelton and Robert Lynton supervised the Boiling House and Scalding-House, whilst other servants included Thomas Raudon, William Botell and John Barnabee, Groom, the latter two of which managed the Poultry and the Scullery. One page was called Fitton. The Saucery was under the care of William Larke and Thomas Salkyll. William Benson was responsible for the Hall and Simon Symmys was the Porter. The Almoner was one John Hamlet and the Grooms of the King's Chamber were included in the list, as was Walter Foster, Clerk of the Works. (24) Elizabeth Poyntz was awarded an annuity of £20. (25)

Queen Catherine may have given birth to Prince Henry, dressed in the kind of Holland smocks and with double petticoats which were later found in Baynard's Castle in the Wardrobe, also described in the Wardrobe Stuff of Katherine, recording those essential items associated with her periods in childbirth. (26) These are contained in the inventory of Catherine of Aragon's personal items made after her death by Sir Edward Baynton

and also include 'a cloth to cover a child, fringed with gold'. We know that Prince Henry's cradle cover-cloth had gold fringing. (27) The present author thinks this precious cloth may describe what Baynton found afterwards and so movingly, might be this same cover-cloth, kept by Catherine until her death as a token of her baby son.

Prince Henry Tudor came to share Westminster Abbey as a resting place with Henry VIII's other three children – his brother Edward VI, who was buried under the original altar in the Lady Chapel and his sisters, Elizabeth I – who now rests in the monument tomb in the north aisle of the Lady Chapel, with that of his (full) sister, Mary I, whose tomb she shares. Sadly, Prince Henry Tudor shares Westminster Abbey as a burial place with many other royal infants, including the eighteen tragic babies of Queen Anne, discovered inside the crowded tomb vault of Mary, Queen of Scots during the Victorian period – children of the last monarch of that dynasty which succeeded the Tudors: the House of Stuart.

Yet there is a fascinating afterword to all this. According to information supplied by Westminster Abbey, the baby Prince Henry Tudor was buried on the north side of the Sanctuary, close to the entrance to the Chapel which contains the Shrine of St Edward the Confessor. Westminster Abbey states that at the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries – including that of the Benedictines at Westminster - the Shrine of St Edward was despoiled, at which time the Abbey relics vanished; in 1540, it is thought that the coffin with St Edward's body was placed in the same area and covered with a canopy: (28) close to the Sanctuary where Prince Henry Tudor had been buried in 1511. In the 1860s, a new High Altar by Sir George Gilbert Scott was built at Westminster Abbey and poignantly, a tiny lead coffin was discovered to the north of the step leading up to it. It is suggested that this may have been that of the little Prince Henry Tudor, as it was certainly found in this area, but the coffin was not touched and there has never been any memorial slab. (29) The High Altar is located in that sacred part of the Abbey known as the Sacrarium – so closely associated with coronations. Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon were crowned at Westminster Abbey on 24 June 1509. For the lost prince of 1511, there could surely be no more important resting place.

ELIZABETH JANE TIMMS

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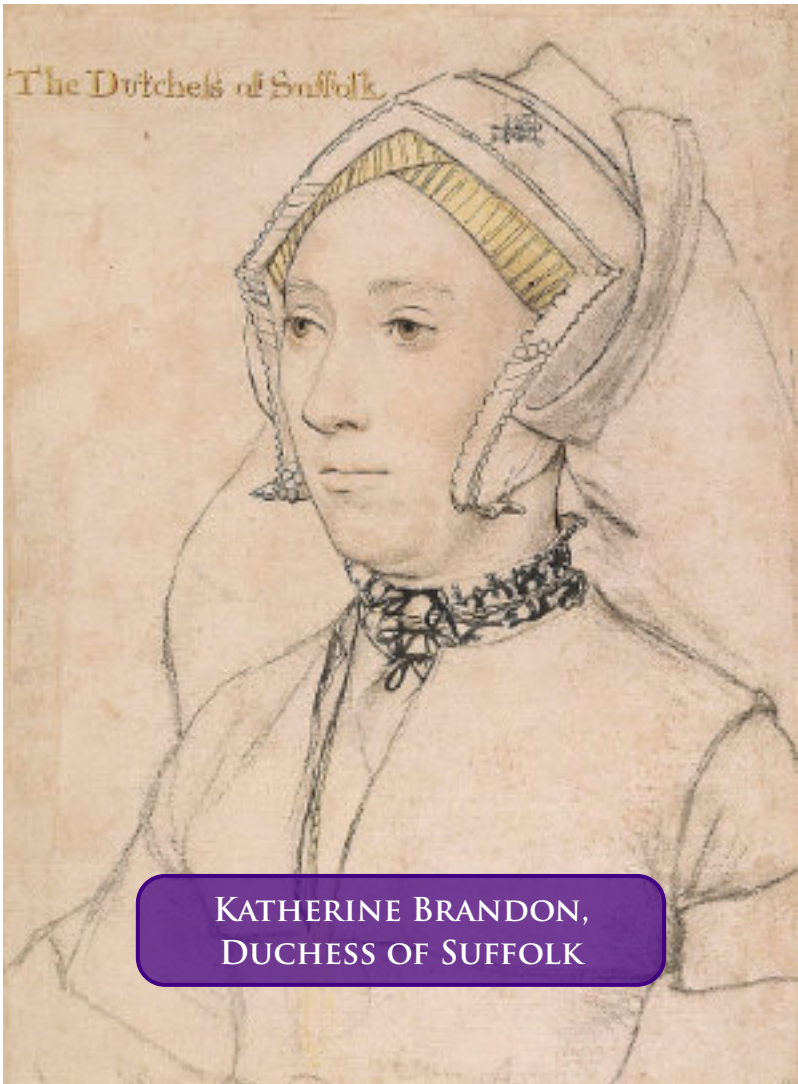
Protestantism and Women of the Royal Court: Overlooked contributions in Tudor high society to the Reformation

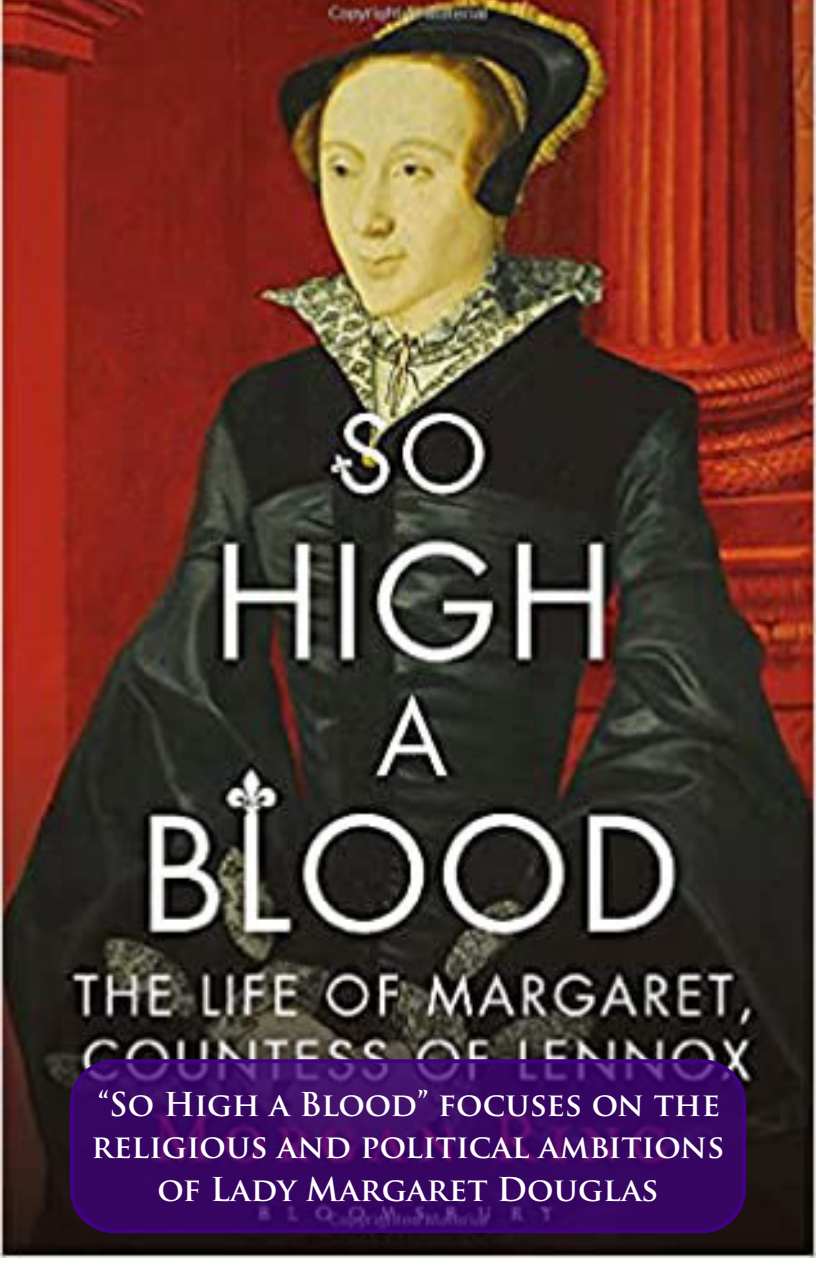
By Gareth Russell

The great personalities of Tudor history - those who receive substantial attention - are usually axiomatically considered prominent figures in the Reformation, be it in its service or in opposition to its progress. Yet there are many overlooked contributions from these generations, from female courtiers in particular, whose biographies help us appreciate the multi-faceted nature of the Protestant evolution from the 1520s until the 1590s.

Religion was, to use a modern turn of phrase, a hot topic, particularly in Henry VIII's court, when so many of these ideas were new, daring, and controversial. Lady Joan Denny, a lady in waiting to Queen Catherine Howard, is often described as being a court "belle" or beauty, but what's even more telling is that contemporaries also acknowledged her clout - intellectual and social. Lady Denny became convinced of the truth of the Protestant message through her research and through her prayers. She was married to Sir Anthony Denny, who emerged as one of Henry VIII's favourite gentlemen of the Privy Chamber in the early-to-mid-1540s. The Dennys, who had relatives in the household staff of the King's youngest daughter Elizabeth, shrewdly realised that the education of the younger Tudors was the gateway to a Protestant victory in



Katherine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk



"So High a Blood" focuses on the religious and political ambitions of Lady Margaret Douglas

the next generation. They helped promote academics and servants who would tutor Elizabeth, and her younger brother Prince Edward, with a curriculum that favoured Protestantism. Joan's sister, for instance, was Elizabeth's beloved governess, Kat Ashley.

However, it would be simplistic to think that people like Joan, Anthony, and Kat emerged, fully formed, as convinced Protestants from the moment the English Break with Rome happened in the early 1530s. The process of a new religion interacting with one that had existed for over a thousand years was, of necessity, a complex, messy, and often painful evolution for nearly everybody involved. A useful example of this is the career of Lady Margaret Douglas, Henry VIII's niece as daughter of his elder sister Queen Margaret of Scots, but born in England, and in line for its throne. After her marriage to the Earl of Lennox in 1544, Lady Margaret became a prominent figure of the English Counter-Reformation, tenaciously objecting to Protestantism and, during the reign of her cousin Queen Mary I, becoming the subject of rumours claiming that she would be the next queen instead of her Protestant cousin, Elizabeth. Lady Margaret's son, Lord Darnley, controversially married Mary, Queen of Scots, in pursuit of his mother's political agenda which her most recent biographer, Morgan Ring, has summarised as Catholic, unionist, and dynastic. Yet, during her earlier career at the Tudor court, Lady Margaret had been a favourite of Queen Anne Boleyn and a close friend of the Protestant poet, Sir Thomas Wyatt. This, tellingly, happened in the 1530s, before the divisions between Protestantism and Catholicism crystallised and Lady Margaret's evolution to pious and politicised Catholicism in the 1540s, and especially by the 1550s. reminds us that the religious identities and professions of so many courtiers in the 1530s were not so clear-cut.

The same was true, if in reverse, for Lady Margaret Douglas's one-time colleague Katherine Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk. Both had served

as ladies-in-waiting to queens Anne of Cleves, Catherine Howard and, most relevant to this discussion, Katherine Parr, a devout evangelical Protestant. Although Lady Margaret was a guest at Katherine Parr's wedding to the King, the new Queen had far more in common with the Duchess of Suffolk, as both were extremely intelligent, well-read in contemporary works of philosophy, and committed to the Protestant cause. During the reign of the Protestant King Edward VI, the by-then Dowager Duchess of Suffolk was delighted to see the Catholic Bishop of Winchester excluded from political service and then imprisoned. After remarrying to one of her servants, she and her new family had to flee to Europe after the Catholic restoration under Queen Mary I. They remained there as guests of Poland's religiously-tolerant king, Sigismund II who, although himself a practising Catholic, did not persecute his Protestant subjects.

SIGISMUND II, KING OF POLAND AND GRAND DUKE OF LITHUANIA

After Elizabeth I succeeded to the throne in 1558, and restored the independence of a Protestant Church of England, the Dowager Duchess of Suffolk and her family returned to England, where she became a champion of the emerging Puritan movement. She used her position and her vast wealth in the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I to advance the cause of more fundamentalist or evangelical Protestantism, eventually, by the time of her death in 1580, having become disaffected with what she viewed as Queen Elizabeth's 'weak' Protestantism.

Later, in the reigns of the early Stuart monarchs in England, court women surrounding Anna of Denmark, James I's wife, and Henrietta-Maria of France, Charles I's consort, would help promote and stimulate a revival of interest in Catholicism among the elite, much as their predecessors had done for Protestantism under the Tudors. All of which reminds us of the extraordinary, fascinating, complex contribution to Britain's religious evolution played by often overlooked women at the heart of the early modern royal households.

GARETH RUSSELL

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

Members' Bulletin

Hello to you!

This magazine is an incredibly special one for us – 90 editions! - I can't really believe that we've created such an incredibly legacy of work. Our combined knowledge of the Tudors is immensely more than it was when we started out in September 2014. In that time we've learned a whole lot about how to manage such a wide range of contributors too, and I have to thank each and every person who has contributed along the way.

Back in September 2014, the topic was "Henry VIII, Elizabeth I and Branding". Having looked back through it, I'm still very proud of what we created. So many of those original elements actually still remain in our latest magazines. Tudor history doesn't change, but we can always learn more about it. The Tudors are more popular now than ever, and that is in no small part due to the work of the Tudor Society. Remember that, as a member, you have access to every magazine we've ever created.

The continuation of the world pandemic is, of course, a worry for all. It has made getting new photos of Tudor buildings and exhibitions difficult for us. We are indebted to those who continue to research and write for us, and we'll get to visit all the places on our bucket-list soon, hopefully! There's nothing quite like walking in the footsteps of the people you admire and are studying.

Thank you, as always, for your support of the work we do here at the Tudor Society. If you have any suggestions for things we could/should do, please do let us know!

TIM RIDGWAY

TONI MOUNT

Rodrigo Lopez, aka Roger Lopes, the Queen's Physician – A Cautionary Tale

Nobody doubts that attempts were made to assassinate Queen Elizabeth I, usually by disaffected Catholics – sometimes in the pay of foreign powers – with the intention of replacing the Protestant monarch with her Catholic cousin, Mary, Queen of Scots. Perhaps the most outrageous attempt to kill Elizabeth is entirely a twentieth-century fiction, invented for the cinema. In the film, Elizabeth, first shown in 1998 and starring Cate Blanchett in the title role, the queen is sent a gift from France: a gown laced with poison. One of the queen's ladies-in-waiting tries on the gown and dies in dramatic circumstances while wearing it as she makes love with Robert Dudley, the queen's favourite. It's a great bit of melodrama but entirely fictitious.

However, there were a number of real attempts on the queen's life and, even at the time, others which were as fictitious as the poisoned gown. But one in particular, the case of Rodrigo Lopez, the queen's physician, was dubious indeed and the queen continued to trust her doctor until the last. This is Rodrigo Lopez's – or rather Roger Lopes' – story.

Rodrigo was born in Crato, Portugal, probably around 1517. His family were Jewish but had been forced to convert to Christianity in 1497, so Rodrigo was raised as a Christian. However, such 'Conversos' were frequently the target of prejudice, never quite trusted by the authorities, being suspected as 'Marranos' who continued to practice Judaism in secret despite being outwardly Christians.

Yet Rodrigo's father was sufficiently trusted by King John III of Portugal to serve as the royal physician. Converso doctors were known to be some of the best medical practitioners in Europe for those who saw beyond the inherent prejudice against these recent converts to Christianity. Rodrigo decided to follow in his father's footsteps. He studied at the

Dr Rodrigo Lopez (left) speaking to a Spaniard [by Dutch engraver Esaias Hulsius (1570-1624)]

University of Coimbra in Portugal, receiving his B.A. in 1540, his M.A. in 1541 and then going on to train in medicine, graduating in 1544.

For fifteen years, Rodrigo worked as a physician but little is known of his activities at this time until he came to the notice of the Portuguese Inquisition in 1559. Quite what he did to draw their attention we don't know but, once under suspicion, there was little choice but to leave Portugal. Rodrigo chose England as the place to seek refuge. In London, he succeeded in gaining a licence to practice medicine and changed his name to Roger Lopes when he was baptised into and became a member of the Church of England. After that, his Portuguese and Jewish ancestry held him back no longer, although it's possible his family continued their Judaic beliefs quietly at home. In 1563, Roger married Sarah Anes, the daughter of a fellow refugee who was prospering as a London merchant and one of Roger's brothers, finding himself in a similar predicament in Portugal, came to live with the couple. The family continued to grow as Sarah gave Roger four sons and two daughters.

There were two strings to Roger's medical practice: public and private. He became a doctor at St Bartholomew's Hospital, just north of the City of London, in 1567. There, he rose through the ranks and

Sir Francis Walsingham and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester: Roger Lopes' influential patients

became the Chief Physician, with a salary of 40 shillings a year, in addition to free lodgings and coal for his fires. He was a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, a position which required him to give occasional lectures to members. In 1570, he was supposed to give a series of talks on anatomy but he refused. Perhaps he felt his English wasn't good enough for public speaking, although the lecture itself would almost certainly have been given in Latin. Maybe his knowledge of anatomy didn't compare well with the other Fellows' and he didn't want to look foolish in front of them. We don't know why he refused but this upset some of the Fellows.

According to his colleagues, Roger's strengths lay in Galenic medicine – the idea of maintaining the four bodily humours: blood, yellow bile, black bile and phlegm in harmony and balance by means of diet, purging and bleeding. Galen had been a first-century physician and surgeon to the Roman emperors and gladiators and his numerous medical texts were still current in Elizabethan times. What most impressed Roger's patients were his prescribed potions which he made himself, using aniseed and sumac as the main ingredients. These remedies were most effective, so it was said.

With these recommendations, the private side of his practice brought some influential patients to his door, among them Sir Francis Walsingham, the queen's spy-master. Roger also became medical advisor to the royal favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Unsurprisingly, Roger's success aroused jealousy at a foreigner

Aniseed plant and seeds

prospering in England. Envious rivals said his success had little to do with his skills as a physician and was due more to his blatant self-advertisement and a knack of flattering people who mattered and were in a position to advance his career.

This was certainly true of Robert Dudley because he seems to be the most likely man to have brought Roger to the notice of Queen Elizabeth. We know she felt less comfortable with Walsingham and would probably have been wary of his recommendations.

The queen had always suffered with headaches since her youth – sometimes very conveniently – but apart from catching smallpox in 1562, her health was mostly quite good. There were always rumours of gynaecological problems and as she grew older she lost weight and developed what was most likely an arthritic limp. Feeling her age, Elizabeth had a large staff of at least fifteen doctors and seven surgeons to attend her health requirements but positions as royal medical practitioners weren't popular, despite the kudos. An ailing monarch could do untold damage to a physician's reputation and after her brush with smallpox, she was so thin and frail, it

Sumac tree and the ground berries – a lemony flavoured condiment popular in Iran today

was feared she was becoming consumptive. Of course, Elizabeth was far tougher than she looked and outlived most of those fearing for her health in the 1560s.

Most of her doctors were educated and trained at the English universities of Oxford and Cambridge including John Caius – founder of Caius College [now Gonville and Caius (pronounced 'keys')] at Cambridge – and Robert Huicke who had treated her before she became queen. Huicke became her first Physician-in-Ordinary, in overall charge of her medicinal needs. Most of the medical staff had board and lodgings paid for to the value of £100 a year with additional benefits, perks and gifts – not a bad job, if you were willing to take the risk of treating the queen. But Roger Lopes must have come so highly recommended that the queen made an exception in his case, overlooking his Portuguese training. In 1581, when Robert Huicke died, Elizabeth chose Roger to replace him as her personal physician.

In 1584, a scurrilous pamphlet was published, aimed at attacking Dudley as the queen's favourite. However, it also suggested that Roger Lopes distilled poisons for Dudley and other nobleman. The queen disregarded this nonsense written to discredit two men she trusted but it was the first time Roger's name had been linked to the idea of using poison deliberately for nefarious, rather than medicinal, reasons.

Two years later, in 1586, Roger achieved the ultimate accolade in his profession when the queen promoted him over all her Oxford and Cambridge men as her Physician-in-Chief with a pension of £50 a year. In 1589, she granted him a monopoly on importing his favourite remedial spices, aniseed and sumac, into England, along with other medicinal herbs. Estates in Worcestershire were also gifted to him by the queen.

Despite his success as a physician, it seems that Roger was also dabbling in murky waters. He could speak five languages at least – Portuguese, Spanish, Latin and English and possibly French. This linguistic skill made him the ideal intermediary between the English government and the many Portuguese refugees, a number of whom lodged with Roger at his fine house in Holborn, just outside the City of London. Roger was recruited to Walsingham's spy network and, after the latter's death, he worked for Lord Burleigh. He carried on a clandestine exchange of letters with members of the Spanish court but claimed that the spy-masters knew all about it and it was their idea to instigate it. In 1590, Roger contacted the Spanish ambassador in Paris, Bernardo Mendoza, offering his services to Philip II, England's arch-enemy, acting as a double agent in England's interest, so he insisted, later.

However, after Walsingham's death, Lord Burleigh wasn't running England's only spy network. Robert Devereux, the handsome, unruly Earl

of Essex, was also in competition, in charge of a second spy ring, reporting directly to the queen, by-passing Burleigh. Due to this situation, Elizabeth reckoned she was the best informed person in the kingdom. With both groups devising schemes involving double agents unknown to the other, it's hardly surprising if an informant fell through the gaps in between and was accused as a traitor. And that's exactly what happened to the unfortunate Roger Lopes.

In the late 1580s and 90s, England was at war with Spain which meant that any enemy of Spain was welcome here. Among these enemies was a would-be claimant to the throne of Portugal – seized by Philip of Spain after the death of King Henriques in 1580 – whose hopes were thwarted by Spain: Dom Antonio, Prior of Crato. Queen Elizabeth housed Dom Antonio close to Windsor Castle and Roger was employed as their interpreter. In 1586, one of Dom Antonio's entourage, probably in the pay of Spain, or at least hoping to be, wrote to Ambassador Mendoza in Paris with the suggestion that, if Spain so wished it, he could persuade Roger Lopes to poison Dom Antonio. The Spanish didn't take him up on this suggestion but it meant that Roger's name appeared in some very suspect correspondence.

Meanwhile, Roger was treating Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, for venereal disease. One night in 1593, Devereux threw a party at his London residence, Essex House, and Dom

Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, Roger Lopes' nemesis

Antonio, Roger Lopes and Philip II's disgraced former secretary, Antonio Perez, were guests. These three were chatting about their host and his outrageous sexual activities when Lopes let slip the fact that Devereux had contracted syphilis. Later, Perez told Devereux of this very personal breach of doctor-patient confidentiality. Devereux was livid and swore to take his revenge on Lopes.

An important asset to Devereux's spy network was Thomas Phelippes. He was another excellent linguist like Roger. He was also brilliant at cracking codes and Devereux instructed Phelippes to look into Lopes' correspondence. Roger's courier, Gomez d'Avila, was arrested and interrogated. Phelippes found a coded letter which named three

men: Estevao Ferreira da Gama, Manuel Luis Tinoco and Roger Lopes, as Portuguese in the pay of the King of Spain to assassinate Queen Elizabeth by poison.

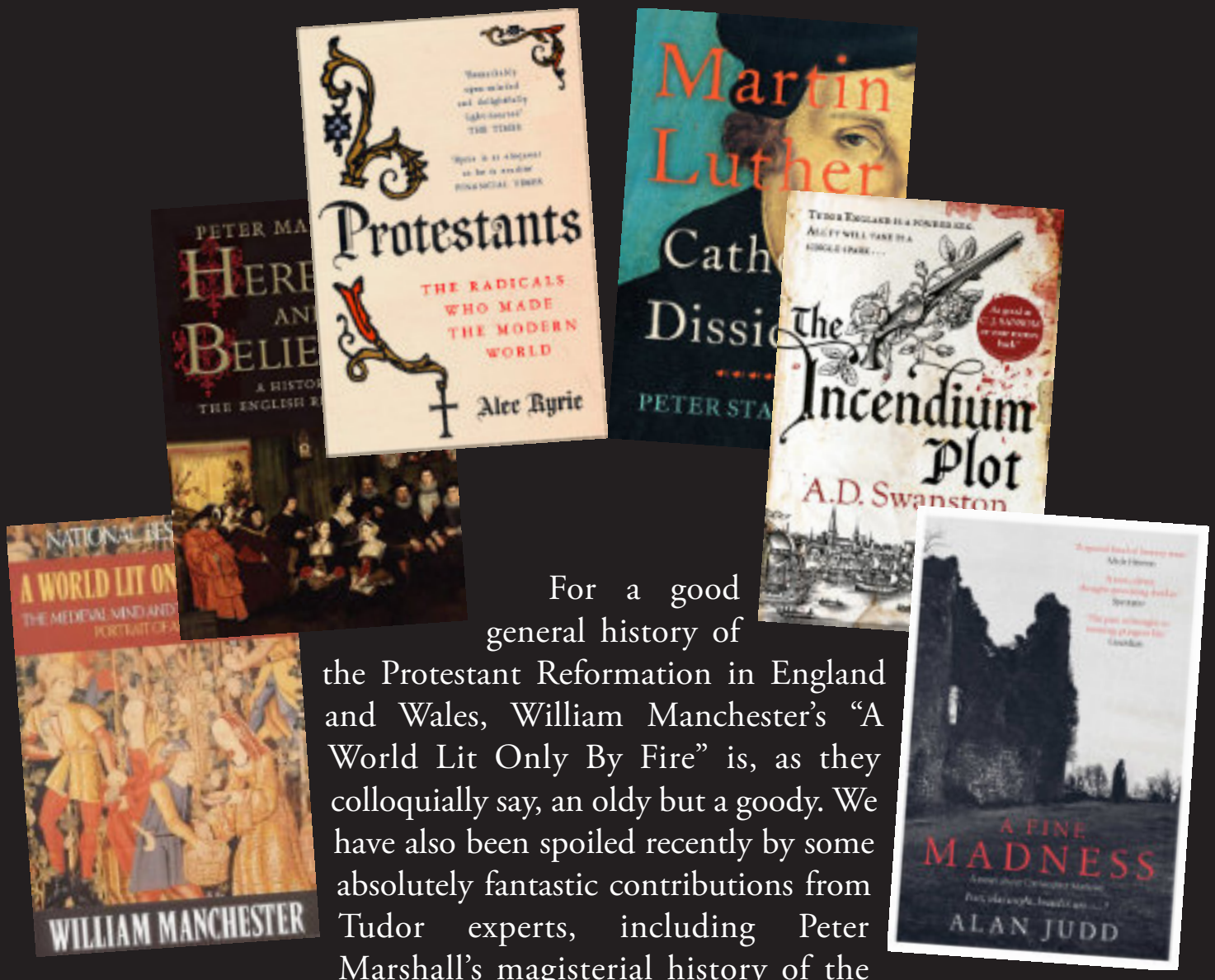
When Devereux informed the queen, she told him his evidence was 'a tissue of malicious fabrications' and called him 'a rash youth' to his face – stern stuff coming from Her Majesty. Devereux went off in a major sulk but now Lord Burleigh realised that Roger, as his double agent, was in deep trouble and knew too much which he might well reveal, if he was tortured. So Burleigh told the queen there wasn't a shred of evidence against Roger and the matter should be dropped but Devereux wasn't going to be denied his revenge. He arrested da Gama and Tinoco and had them tortured into confessing that they had conspired with Lopes to murder the queen, being paid 50,000 crowns by Philip II of Spain. Roger was then arrested and put on the rack. In agony, he admitted he had been paid to poison the queen by putting lethal ingredients into her medicine. Although he later retracted his confession, the damage was done. Suddenly, Burleigh changed his mind concerning the lack of evidence as the queen's personal physician became a weak link in his web of espionage and therefore expendable.

Roger Lopes, together with de Gama and Tinoco, was tried at Guildhall in London on 28 February 1594 with Devereux and the Queen's Magician, Dr John Dee – a supporter of Devereux – testifying against him. Lopes maintained his innocence throughout and, although he was viewed, at least outwardly, as being a dutiful, practising Protestant, suddenly his Jewish heritage was held against him. The prosecutor described him as 'a perjured, murdering villain and Jewish doctor worse than Judas himself…' Lopes was found guilty of treason as were de Gama and Tinoco.

But the queen wasn't convinced. Even after Roger was found guilty, she had him brought from his prison cell to treat her in March. She put off signing the death warrant for as long as possible but Devereux and Burleigh persuaded her that justice must be seen to be done or other would-be assassins might try their hand. Elizabeth was forced to confirm the sentence, although one source says she never did sign the death warrant for her trusted physician. Whatever the case, on 7 June poor Lopes and his supposed fellow conspirators were dragged to Tyburn Hill and hanged. On the scaffold, Roger cried out that he loved Queen Elizabeth as he loved Jesus Christ but the crowd booed and shouted him down.

The queen tried to mitigate the horror for Roger's wife, Sarah, allowing her to keep all her husband's estates. Normally, traitors had everything confiscated by the Crown but it would seem that Her Majesty never believed the charges brought against Roger Lopes, the Portuguese physician who had served her so well.

TONI MOUNT



For a good general history of the Protestant Reformation in England and Wales, William Manchester's "A World Lit Only By Fire" is, as they colloquially say, an oldy but a goody. We have also been spoiled recently by some absolutely fantastic contributions from Tudor experts, including Peter Marshall's magisterial history of the English Protestant experience in his acclaimed book "Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation" and, for a longer history, try Alec Ryrie's "Protestants: The radicals who made the modern world".

If you're looking for biographies of prominent individual Protestants from the era, why not try Peter Stanford's "Martin Luther: Catholic Dissident", Linda Porter's biography of Queen Katherine Parr, and Diarmaid MacCulloch's work on Archbishop Thomas Cranmer.

Novels focussing on the Protestant or evangelical experience include A. D. Swanston's "The Incendium Plot" and Alan Judd's "A Fine Madness".

GARETH RUSSELL

Charlie on Books

The King's Painter: The Life of Hans Holbein

by Franny Moyle

Hans Holbein the Younger is a name known by anyone familiar with Tudor portraiture, with his full-length portrait of Henry VIII being one of the most well-known of his works. There have been relatively few recent books on Holbein, so The King's Painter: The Life of Hans Holbein by Franny Moyle has naturally drawn much attention from those interested in his life and artwork. At first glance, it is a beautiful book, full colour but thankfully not glossy, so it is easy on the eyes for readers too. It is no mere coffee table book and is a must-have for anyone interested in Holbein, with the production quality being just an added bonus.

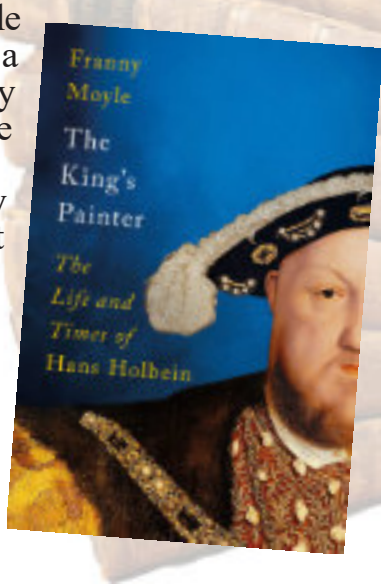
Moyle starts at the height of Holbein's career, looking at his work on Anne of Cleves, before going back in time to look at the influence of his father and moving through his life and work chronologically. This could have very well also been the end of his career, so it is an interesting place to start, before seeing how he reached such heights:

'Take the most recognised names of the Henrician moment and Holbein likely had a direct and proximate relationship with them: Henry VIII, Thomas More, Thomas Cromwell, Jane Seymour, and Anne of Cleves are but a few. His portraits of these people have become definitive. It is almost impossible to imagine Henry VIII and his entourage through anyone else's eyes but Holbein's.'

One of the most interesting parts of this book is the author's theory about a commonly accepted Katherine Howard miniature. I will not spoil this for those who do not know, although, for anyone interested, she has also spoken about it in several articles as well as in this book, but Moyle puts forward a compelling argument for the miniature being of someone else entirely.

What the author really emphasises is Holbein's ability to stay on the right side of everyone. In an age of turmoil and continuous religious change, the fact that he was commissioned by people from Thomas More to Thomas Cromwell speaks to his skill, as well as something Moyle manages to stress:

'And here is Holbein's brilliance. In an era when one's allegiance to the wrong king or the wrong religious ideology could end a career, or worse, a life, Holbein delivers an image in which the audience can see what they want to see. It would be the same deft technique he would deploy twenty years later in his portrait of Anne of Cleves. Where Henry could perhaps see sanctity, motherhood and virtue in the portrait of Anne, others saw dullness and lack of dimension. In this instance those who were pro-Luther might choose to see a hero battling his adversaries, while his critics were offered a ridiculous priest foolishly pitting himself against the establishment.'



The King's Painter by Fanny Moyle is a brilliant book that truly examines Holbein's work in depth. Admittedly, despite the subtitle 'The Life of Hans Holbein', it is less about

his life and more about his art itself, so it is a little misleading, but it is a fascinating work nonetheless and well worth a read. It is 500 pages long, so it may not be for the casual reader perhaps, although it is not bogged down by technical detail and as such is still pretty accessible. I would strongly recommend this to anyone interested in Holbein or the art of the Tudor court, it is sure to become one of the must-haves for anyone researching the amazing man's work.

The York Princesses: The Daughters of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville

by Sarah J. Hodder

The women of the Wars of the Roses continue to fascinate us, with the lives of Elizabeth Woodville, Margaret Beaufort, Anne Neville, and Margaret of Anjou, being just a select few. Some of the lesser women, however, have been neglected, despite having equally high connections. These include the younger daughters of Edward IV, who are often forgotten due to the marriage of their elder sister, Elizabeth of York, to Henry VII. In a follow-up to her previous book, The York Sisters, Sarah J. Hodder's The York Princesses examines the lives of the daughters of Edward IV and aims to bring them out of the shadows.

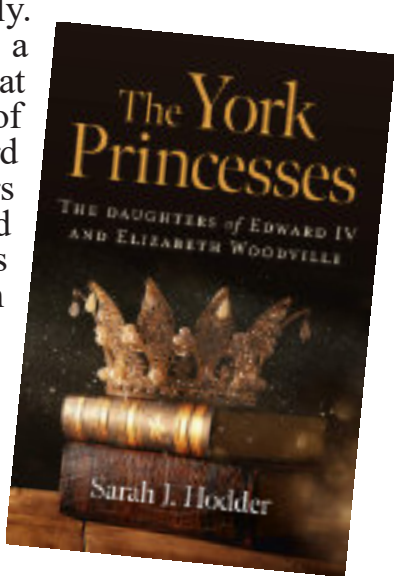
Hodder starts by looking at Edward IV's reigns (first and second) and a brief overview of the politics of the era, as well as his relationship with Elizabeth Woodville, before moving on to their daughters. She explains that this book is 'a brief discussion of each of their lives' and so some chapters are longer than others because 'some of the sisters have left only a brief mark in the historical records'. Interestingly, the author makes the decision to write a shorter than expected chapter on Elizabeth of York, due to her being the queen of England and the numerous other accounts on her.

Some of the most interesting accounts concerning the princesses are those involving love. For instance, Cecily of York, the third daughter of Edward IV seems to have followed in her parents' footsteps and married in secret:

'Sometime in 1501/2, Cecily finally chose to take her destiny into her own hands, and she fell in love with a gentleman called Thomas Kyme of Lincolnshire or the Isle of Wight. They married in secret, and when the married was discovered, a furious Henry banished her from court and confiscated her Welles lands. Thankfully for Cecily her friendship with the Lady Margaret remained steadfast and she offered the couple shelter at Collyweston. Margaret also pleaded with her son on her behalf and by 1504 she had persuaded him to return Cecily's lands to her.'

This also helps dispel some of the myths concerning the supposed bad feeling between the York women and Margaret Beaufort, as it is clear from this that Margaret supported Cecily.

The York Princesses is a short book but readable and engaging, although it may well be a little confusing for those new to the subject, as it jumps back and forth in time with looking at the lives of the women separately. It still provides a good guide to what little we know of the lives of Edward IV's daughters and, if you liked Hodder's previous work on Elizabeth Woodville's sisters, you would like this.



THE WINNERS OF THE "COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE" IN TUDOR ENGLAND

By Brigitte Webster

Tudor England was in many ways an exciting time as people's attitude towards food changed quite considerably between Henry VII and Elizabeth. The early part up to Edward VI, we refer to as 'medieval' in culinary terms and the second part 'early modern'. The early Tudor period is all about spices and meat but by the end of the sixteenth century we are beginning to witness a real change with an appreciation for greenery and sugar.

This was also the period, when most of the other powerful nations in Europe started to explore new territories in an ongoing search for riches, new land and quicker routes to the 'spice growing' islands in Asia. The discovery of America brought not just amazingly exotic plants but also new food to Europe. Spain, Portugal and Italy were amongst the first nations to adopt some of this new food and embraced them in their diet. The English on the other hand were slow

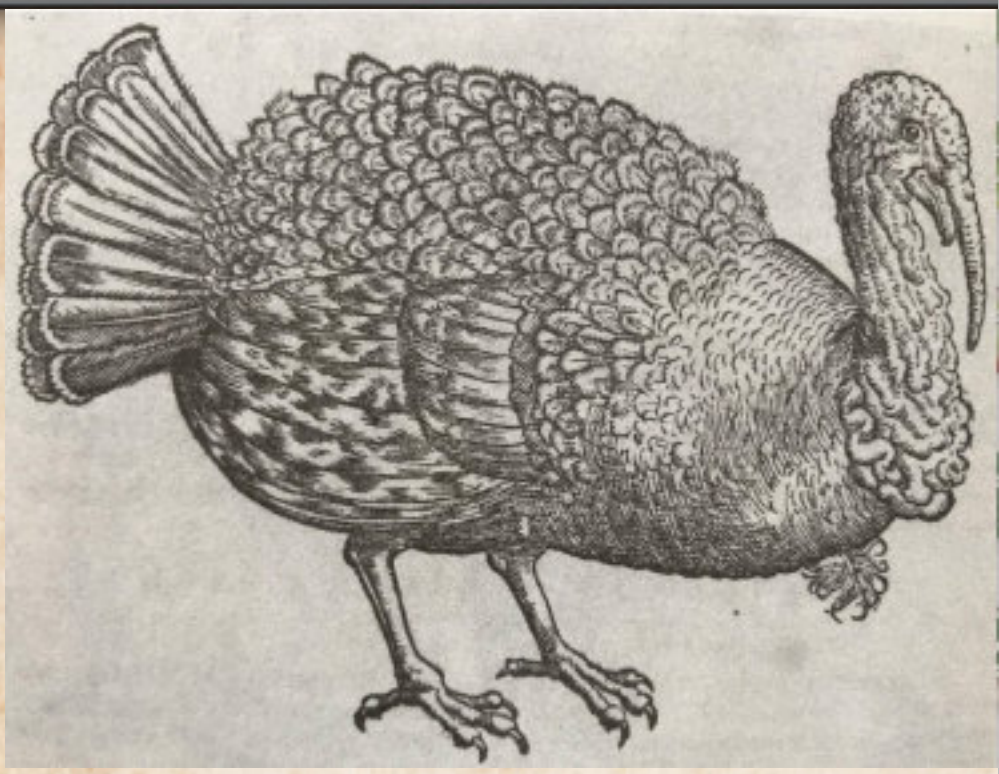
to follow suit and took considerably longer to shake off any suspicions. It is notoriously tricky to establish exactly when and how the tomato, potato, sweet potato, maize (corn), pumpkin, 'French' beans, the pineapple, bananas and vegetable peppers made it to England and even harder to define when the English actively started to eat them. I have been researching this for years now and I am still finding new material to confuse the matter even further! One of the main difficulties is the fact, that sixteenth century botanists often reported about these exciting new edible plants from 'hear-say' without having actually seen them in the flesh. To complicate it even further, they gave them the same name as food stuff that was already around and familiar. The classic example here is the exotic fruit 'pineapple' which reminded them of the pinecone kernels which they also called 'Pynapple'. It is also fair to say, that Christopher Columbus and many others like Sir Walter Raleigh would have encountered the real fruit in its native habitat but such a fruit simply did not survive the long sea journey back to England and would have rotted before it got here. These early explorers and artists left us an impressive collection of contemporary drawings showing the pineapple fruit, referred to as pine thistle, Ananas Pinia and Pinnes but as nobody in England managed to grow it then, it is most unlikely that anybody in England got to see the real pineapple fruit – not even the queen. If anybody had, the pineapple craze which happened in eighteenth century England would have set off much earlier!

But, there were two new food items that featured on the tables of the influential and wealthy – all the way from the Americas - that the English adopted during the sixteenth century without reservation or caution. This article is dedicated to the 'winners' of the 'Columbian exchange' that followed the exploration of the Americas.

TURKEY:

Were also known as Turkish chickens or Indian chickens, as any new arrival was always assumed to have come via Turkey.

The turkey arrived in Europe between 1523-24 and the first records of turkeys to arrive in England from the new world date to 1526, when six



birds imported at Bristol sold for 2d each. It soon became a domesticated fowl in the 1530s and was widely sold in markets from the 1540s and by 1555 the price of turkeys was legally fixed in the London market.

The young trader by the name of William Strickland who sailed to the New World with the Venetian explorer Sebastian Cabot is often credited with the introduction of turkey to England but this is not really possible as he was only born in around 1530 and therefore too young for having done so. However, he was granted a coat of arms that featured 'a turkeycock in his pride proper' in 1550.

Turkey was first thought of as invalid food rather than a posh feast meat and there is no record of turkey served to Queen Mary and King Philip in the 1550s. However, by the 1570s turkey featured at Lord Leicester's feast in Oxford, when seven turkeys were supplied by a local lady.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century turkey was beginning to replace peacock and swan as the centrepiece of feasts and it started to make an appearance at Christmas dinners as this poem from 1557 shows:

Thomas Tusser, Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry

Good husband and housewife, now chiefly be glad,
Things handsome to have, as they ought to be had,
They both do provide against CHRISTMAS do come,
To welcome their neighbour, good cheer to have some;

Good bread and good drink, a good fire in the hall,
Brawn pudding and souse, and good mustard withal.
Beef, mutton, and pork, shred pies of the best,
Pig, veal, goose, and capon, and TURKEY well dressed;

Cheese, apples, and nuts, jolly carols to hear,
As then in the country is counted good cheer.
What cost to good husband is any of this,
Good household provision only it is;
Of other the like I do leave out a many,
That costeth the husbandman never a penny.

In the 1560s the Duke of Northumberland household menu contained not just a swan but a goose and a 'turkie'.

The name 'Turkey' came from the widespread misapprehension that turkey came from the east, via the country of Turkey but it was indeed a different bird, the guinea fowl (from the same family) but native to sub-Saharan Africa and was re-introduced to Europe in the fifteenth century by the ethnically Turkish Mamluks. Confusingly, guinea fowl was also known as 'turkey' and indeed came via Turkey to Europe. Consequently, the French started referring to the New World turkey as 'poules d'Inde', believing that it came from India and the Dutch called it 'Bird of Calicut'.

Probate inventories usually named birds as 'pullen' but turkeys began to be itemised separately – noticeably in East Anglia and Hampshire. Anne Arminger was a widow of North Creake in Norfolk in the early seventeenth century and owned 2 turkey cocks and three turkey hens.

Turkeys were also conspicuous in Lancashire inventories. The household accounts for the Shuttleworth family shows a first reference to the purchase of two turkeys and a hen in April 1592.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, printed cookery books also start to give recipes on how to prepare a turkey like this one from 1584:

'Cleve your Turkye foule on the back, and bruse al the bones. Season it with Pepper groce beaten and salt, and put into it good store of Butter, he must have five houres baking'

The other exotic best-seller was the sweet potato, not to be mixed up with our 'common' potato, a very different plant altogether.

THE SWEET POTATO

(a vine from the morning glory family) was a straight hit with the early European explorers and Columbus took some back to Spain straight away after his landfall in Haiti. From 1493 Spanish ships transported the sweet potato back to Europe in their holds. A variety found in Darien (Panama) was brought to Hispaniola in 1508 and within eight years it reached Spain. King Ferdinand and Queen

Isabella may have liked their sweet taste enough to have them planted in their court gardens. Henry VIII was apparently quite fond of their qualities too – a delicious, exotic (supposedly) aphrodisiac! Henry preferred his sweet potatoes in heavily spiced and sugared pies, a fashion that survived long into the 1680s. The sweet potato was also cool enough to deserve a mentioning by Sir John Falstaff in The Merry Wives of Windsor when he is about to bed two women at once and he wishes for "the sky to rain potatoes".

The sweet potato (unlike the Virginian 'common' potato) came from the lush Caribbean islands and the Central American isthmus which helped its high standing in upper class social circles. Polite European sixteenth century society classified the sweet potato as 'rich man's' food being rare and expensive and hard to grow in cooler temperatures. The 'chic' sweet potato suited European tastes and John Hawkins (English mariner & slave trader) summed it up as 'the most delicate root that may be eaten'.

The earliest recipe in England for sweet potato I could find appears in The Good Huswifes Handmaide for the Kitchen, published in 1588 and The Good Housewife's Jewel by Thomas Dawson published in 1596 with the promising title: To make a tart that is courage to a man or woman!

Picture: John Gerard holding sweet potato

A whole year later, the sweet potato gets a mentioning in John Gerard's famous Herbal, where he is holding the sweet potato plant in the portrait of 1597 on the front page of his Herbal. He names the plant as 'potatus' and 'potatoes' and complains mildly that the plant in

his garden failed to produce a flower and did not make it through the winter. Gerard also mentions, that he bought his example at the exchange in London. He makes a clear distinction between the sweet potato and the Virginian potato and devotes a separate entry for each. Gerard recommends them for the use in the confectionary kitchen and for the roots to be roasted in ashes and then infused in wine or boiled and dressed in oil, vinegar and salt. In his opinion they comfort, nourish and strengthen the body, producing bodily lust and that with greediness!

Nowadays what is sometimes being advertised in the supermarkets as "sweet potato" is actually the Yam, an entirely different root which originates from Africa and not the Americas.

All the other exciting, new culinary arrivals from America had to wait at least another century to be slowly accepted by the English. Some even longer – a lot longer.

In Tudor England, it was one thing to know about the exotic food of other continents, but it was a completely different matter to transport them back home on journeys that took weeks and another still, to convince the population that it was safe to eat!

BRIGITTE WEBSTER

NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

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The Assassination of Robert Pakington

JAMES BARESEL
Did Mary Stuart kill her second husband?

GAYLE HULME
Lord Darnley

PLUS

ELIZABETH JANE TIMMS
Threads of Burning Gold

and much more...

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