

Tudor Life

THE
TUDOR
SOCIETY

The Tudor Society Magazine

Members Only
No 77
January 2021

LUST!

Lusty Sons

Is it good for you?

The Sins of Youth

Henry VIII's Declining
Manhood

Sins of the Flesh

PLUS

Fortifications... lost
without a trace?

What did the Tudors
look like?

AND MUCH MORE



Is this Part of the Lost Tudor
Crown? *by* Leanda de Lisle

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LUST...

The Seven Sins may be deadly, but they are certainly interesting and this issue marks our first in a heptarchy loosely held together by the vices. This issue takes lust to be our theme for our regular contributors, with Roland Hui tackling “lusty sons,” while Lauren Browne plunges headlong into troubled Tudor teens. I hope 2021 has begun for you all with a lust for living, which seems a decent pun to express a genuine new year’s best wish to each one of our readers.


GARETH RUSSELL
EDITOR

ABOVE: Gianciotto Discovers Paolo and Francesca
by Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres,
Musée Bonnat-Helleu

Tudor Life



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Can we ever know what the Tudors looked like?

Nathen Shipley is the Director of Creative Tech at GS&P in San Francisco, and is an immensely talented visual artist and programmer. He is a creative technologist, visual effects supervisor, and motion graphics artist with over a decade of experience. Currently exploring the intersection of art and artificial intelligence (AI).

EXCLUSIVE

The Tudor Society found Nathen because of a stunning recreation he'd made of The Mona Lisa image ... it got us thinking about whether this technology could be used to "bring Tudors to life". It seems that it can! We will never truly know what these people looked like in person, but

the application of state-of-the-art technology really does help you to imagine them as real people. Nathen can be found on his website <http://www.nathanshipley.com/> Over to Nathen for a quick description of what he does...



“Not one of the handsomest women in the world; she is of middling stature, swarthy complexion, long neck, wide mouth, a bosom not much raised and eyes which are black and beautiful.”

Venetian ambassador.

Here, Nathen has used the National Portrait Gallery image of Anne Boleyn, and is demonstrating some of the flexibility in his AI imaging system.

Every modern image you see below is **completely generated**. These images are created using a library I've assembled that uses the structure of an input image, for example an original painting of Anne Boleyn, combines a library of facial features from the GAN project, and then applies different, adjustable colors of skin, eye, hair, and lighting to create different realistic outputs - the recreations that you can see here. At the moment, the AI doesn't handle headwear or most clothes so I'm adding the originals back on top. Maybe I should work with a costume designer for those elements!

There is some user input required and here I've tried to match the images but also bring in some elements of contemporary descriptions of the real people. After all, my images are only really as good as the original portraits.

Thanks to Claire Ridgway at the Tudor Society for her articles about Anne's appearance, and for suggesting I try these in the first place! Thanks also to Susan Bordo for her informative writing at The Creation of Anne Boleyn blog.

This has all been fascinating to learn about and think about the ways we can use machine learning to make history feel real!

NATHEN SHIPLEY

About the technology behind the images

StyleGAN is a novel generative adversarial network (GAN) introduced by Nvidia researchers in December 2018. In February 2019, engineer Phillip Wang used the software to create "This Person Does Not Exist", which displayed a new face on each web page reload. Wang himself has expressed amazement, given that humans are evolved to specifically understand human faces, that nevertheless StyleGAN can competitively "pick apart all the relevant features (of human faces) and recompose them in a way that's coherent". A second version of StyleGAN, called StyleGAN2, was published on 5 February 2020 which removed some of the characteristic artefacts and improves the image quality.

Nathen Shipley has combined this technology with his own software to be able to take original images and create lifelike recreations.



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NATHEN SHIPLEY



“of a stature somewhat below the middle height, pale-faced with grey eyes, a grave aspect, decorous and handsome...”

Hieronymus Cardano, 1551.



“His Majesty is the handsomest potentate I ever set eyes on; above the usual height, with an extremely fine calf to his leg, his complexion very fair and bright, with auburn hair combed straight and short, in the French fashion, and a round face, so very beautiful it would become a pretty woman, his throat being rather long and thick.”

Venetian ambassador, 1515



“Her face is comely rather than handsome, but she is tall and well-formed, with good skin, though swarthy; she has fine eyes.”

Venetian ambassador, 1557.



“She was a lady, upon whom nature had bestowed, and well placed, many of her fairest favours; ... her hair was inclined to pale yellow, her forehead large and fair, a seeming seat for princely grace; her eyes lively and sweet, but short-sighted; her nose somewhat rising in the midst; the whole compass of her countenance somewhat long, but yet of admirable beauty, not so much in that which is termed the flower of youth, as in a most delightful composition of majesty and modesty in equal mixture.”

Sir John Heywood.



“...her face oblong, fair, but wrinkled, her eyes small, yet black and pleasant; her nose a little hooked, her lips narrow and her teeth black; her hair was of an auburn colour, but false; upon her head she had a small crown ...stature neither tall nor low; her air was stately, and her manner of speaking mild and obliging.” **Paul Hentzner. 1598**



Her eyes are so piercing that they inspire not only respect, but fear in those on whom she fixes them, although she is very shortsighted, being unable to read or do anything else unless she has her sight quite close to what she wishes to peruse or to see distinctly.”
Venetian ambassador, 1557

1536: HENRY VIII'S DECLINING MANHOOD

Riding in his tiltyard at Greenwich Palace on the 24 January 1536, the forty four year old Henry VIII was thrown from his horse, which in turn fell upon him, causing a two-hour loss of consciousness. Henry had taken a huge blow to the head and badly injured his legs. The Imperial Ambassador, Eustace Chapuys reporting

back to Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor on 29 January 1536 wrote that: 'the King being mounted on a great horse to run at the lists, both fell so heavily that every one thought it a miracle he was not killed'. Though Henry was lucky to be alive, his subsequent failing health was problematic for his image of medieval manhood, as it affected his ability to perform in the tiltyard, which was such a vital arena for proving knightly accomplishments.

In his early years, tournaments were Henry's only opportunity to display himself as the medieval knight. He would take on the role of chief challenger leading his team of knights into the lists to perform feats of arms. Henry competed in all the major tournaments in his reign, first at Richmond in January 1510, then at Westminster in February 1511, and at Greenwich in 1516. The surviving score cheques held in the College of Arms reveal that Henry was a skilled jousting regularly making hits on the body and head of his opponents. From the start of his reign Henry had demonstrated his physical strength and manly courage by competing in jousting competitions alongside his hardy companions, and until 1536, this was where his masculinity had been most dominant.

It was not just his skill in the tiltyard that was remarkable, Henry also possessed the body of a sporting champion, well suited to the demands of the tiltyard. The Field armour of Henry on

display at the Tower of London is dated c.1515, when Henry was only twenty-four years old and is the earliest surviving armour of the king's. As the armour would have fitted Henry's body closely, it illustrates his athletic physique at the start of his reign. The armour shows that Henry's waist measured 34.7in and his chest 41.7in, it is also apparent that the king was over six-feet tall. Thus Henry's ability to literally embody the knightly model of manhood is evident from his impressive physique. This was an appearance that was remarked on by the Spanish Ambassador Dr Roderigo de Puebla, who told the King of Aragon in October 1507: 'there is no finer youth in the world', 'he is already taller than his father and his limbs are of a gigantic size'. The long hours that Henry had spent training for jousting contests from the start of his reign had honed his body making it ready for this extreme form of manly competition.

In contrast, after the fall in 1536 his inability to pursue

such activities marked the decline of Henry's masculinity, as he could not maintain his manly physique. Henry's expanding body is observable from one of his last suits of field and tournament armour, dated 1540, it reveals that the king's waist now measured 51in and his chest 54.5in. It is very possible that Henry had this grand garniture made for the May Day 1540 tournament held at the Palace of Westminster. It was one of the last tournaments staged by the king, and although he could no longer compete, Henry wanted to convey a splendid jousting appearance. Yet in reality by 1540, the forty-nine year old Henry presented a complete loss of manhood; he was no longer the fit, handsome man who had championed the tiltyard in his youth.

It is no surprise that Henry's addiction to rich food combined with his lack of exercise and physical training caused him to become extremely overweight. In a letter to Henry

from Richard Pate, the Archdeacon of Lincoln, dated 4 October 1540 reporting European gossip from Brussels, he was asked by Fredrick, the count of Palatine: 'if Henry were not waxen fat'. Having viewed a recent portrait Fredrick thought he saw a change for the worse in the king: 'his majesty, since being in England, was becoming much more corpulent'. In failing to embody the ideal physique that elite masculinity required it is apparent that Henry could no longer lay claim to his knightly status.

These circumstances also help to explain why Henry returned to his youthful preoccupation of war with France in his last years, as a final attempt to recapture his manhood and to prove himself as a medieval knight. Henry's last surviving armour c.1544 is displayed in New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art. According to the dimensions of the Field Armor its height including the king's helmet was 72.5ins and it weighed 22.91kg. Henry's greatly expanded body shape at age fifty-three is apparent from the size of the armour. Constructed for use both on horse and on foot it was worn by Henry during his last military campaign, the siege of Boulogne in 1544, where he commanded his army personally. Shortly before he landed at Calais to lead the siege of Boulogne, at the age of fifty-three, Chapuys said that: 'besides his age and weight, he has the worst legs in the world'. Yet Henry took a central role in the siege of Boulogne supervising every move, which was particularly important as now being unable to take part in jousts, it was his only opportunity to display those attributes that were associated with knightly masculinity.

By taking a lead role in the Boulogne campaign Henry had demonstrated that, unlike the tournament, warfare was an activity that could be continually exercised by men as he could still function as a general, even if he did not take part in the actual fighting. Henry had regained his vigor by involving himself in the war campaign; to some extent he had overcome his aged and overweight body and proved that he was still capable of manly activity: just not in the tiltyard.

EMMA LEVITT

RIGHT: Henry VIII's armor on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art





IS THIS PART OF THE LOST TUDOR CROWN?

Leanda de Lisle takes us on an intriguing journey to discover a precious Tudor relic

On 30 January 1649 parliament cut off Charles I's head. A year later the 'king's crown', dating from the early Tudors, was 'totally broken and defaced'. Charles's father King James had called it 'the symbol of a people's love'. Parliament valued it at £1,100. The jewels were sold. The gold sent to the mint to be melted down for coin. Nothing survived – or so it was thought.

In the vaults of the British museum lies a treasure handed over by a 49 year old metal detectorist, Kevin Duckett. He had flipped a clod of earth in a Northamptonshire field on a sunny day just like many others spent pursuing his hobby of twenty years. What he saw had made him drop to his knees. Poking out, 'like a partially unwrapped present' was, he recalls, the gold figure of a king.

And quite a present it has proved to be, for this could be a remnant of Christmas past: the crown Henry VIII wore for processions on the feast of the Epiphany, which celebrates the Magi visiting the Christ child.

The gold king stands on an antelope, the heraldic beast of the Lancastrian kings.





He bears the remnants of *ronde-bosse* enamelling – an expensive technique used in the fifteenth and sixteenth century and of which there are few surviving examples. They include the Dunstable swan, a badge, which is in the British Museum, and a virgin and child from a miniature devotional altarpiece in the V&A. Both are dated c 1400.

The king's features indicate it is Henry VI, who inherited the throne as a baby in 1422. Pious and studious, he founded Eton College. But his bouts of mental illness and failed rule led to the period of civil strife we know as the Wars of the Roses. In 1471 Henry VI was murdered in the Tower on the orders of his victorious rival, the Yorkist king Edward IV. But the English in their wisdom, decided that while Henry VI had been a bad king, he was a good man, and declared him a saint. The base of the gold figure is marked SH –

for Saint Henry.

Prayers to the king led to miracles. When, during the early 1480s, Thomas Fuller of Hammersmith was hanged on a false charge of stealing cattle, he prayed to the king, whom he said kept him alive for a whole hour by thrusting a hand between the rope and his windpipe until he was cut down. Images of Saint Henry appeared in churches and prayer books. Edward IV tried to suppress the cult, then his brother Richard III tried to control it, moving Henry VI's body from Chertsey Abbey in Surrey to St George's chapel at Windsor. But the cult was to prove extremely useful to his half nephew, Henry Tudor.

The first Tudor King had no blood claim to the throne, since he was only of illegitimate Lancastrian descent. But after he defeated Richard III, at the battle of Bosworth in 1485, he declared

that his holy uncle had prophesised his rule as divinely ordained. Henry VI, encouraged the cult to his uncle and the tomb of Henry VI at Windsor became the most popular pilgrimage site in England: greater even than that of Thomas Beckett at Canterbury, which was the third most popular pilgrimage site in Europe.

The fixing at the back of the gold figure suggested it was attached to something. The British museum have listed it a pilgrimage badge – other survivals are all made of lead or pewter (left) so this would have been a very special one. It was found near a pond. Many such badges have been found near water as if thrown in water as an offering. Yet this is gold! Could it have fallen off a girdle belt known as a surceinte? Or might it have been part of something more significant like a reliquary? (see example of St Catherine below left) Visitors to Windsor revered relics like Henry VI's hat, spurs, and a piece of his bedstead. Or was it pinned on a miniature altarpiece, like the V&A's virgin? Over 90% of all religious art was destroyed after the Reformation so this would be a rare survival.

But earlier this year Kevin came across a still more startling possibility. Historic Royal Palaces had made a video about a replica they had made of Charles I's crown. There were crosses and fleurs de lys encrusted with jewels. There were also indistinct figures of three kings. They were attached to the crown with a similar fixing to the gold figure he had found. He went to see the crown exhibited at Hampton Court and saw, to his shock, staring back him, a cruder version of his gold king.

So what evidence is there to support Historic Royal Palaces' reconstruction?

The 1649 crown was first described

during the reign of Henry VIII in an inventory of 1521. On the fleur de lys, were fixed three figures of Christ, one of St George and one of the Virgin and child. A later inventory made on Henry VIII's death in 1547, gives a slightly different description. The figures of Christ have been replaced with three kings. It is possible one or both of the scribes made an error in the description but there were also good reasons to exchange the images of Christ. Three identical images of Christ in close proximity would be highly unusual, even controversial. Was it a poor representation of the Trinity? This would be a reason for their removal. But there is also a positive reason to replace them with three kings.

Henry VI used to wear his crown for processions on at least six Holy days. In the Tudor Ryalle Book of



household regulations it was decreed that the king should be processed in his crown on only one: the feast of the Epiphany. This commemorated when the Magi – that is the three kings – visited the Christ child. Historic Royal Palaces believe these would have been depicted as the three saint kings of England: St Edmund, Edward the Confessor - and Henry VI. They suggest this is a choice Henry VIII might have made to highlight his authority over the church. If that was the case, however, he was surely have been more likely to choose King Arthur? Henry VIII believed that Arthur had been emperor and wielded an ‘imperium’ over church and state. This gave him his right to a ‘royal supremacy’ over the church in England.

Henry VIII showed little respect for Edward the Confessor or King Edmund after the Reformation. Edward’s tomb in Westminster Abbey was desecrated and Edmund’s shrine in Bury St Edmund’s was destroyed during the dissolution of the monasteries. It is possible, however, that three English saint kings had been added to the crown between 1521 and 1533 – the year of the break with Rome. And although the Reformation brought an end to cult of saints, Henry VIII remained attached to the memory of his great uncle, Henry VI.

At Henry VIII’s funeral in 1547 the king’s coffin was surrounded by the same banners carried at the processions of earlier kings: those of the Trinity, of St George and of the Virgin (a reason that such images may have appeared on the crown). The one innovation was a newly made banner of the standard of Henry VI. But by the end of the Tudor period, however, only the standard remained in the chapel: the relics and ‘riches’ that once adorned the altar

dedicated to Henry VI were all gone, and the tomb was so decayed that it was cleared away by 1611.

The Stuart King James VI&I – who was then on the throne – called Henry a ‘silly, weak king’. When Charles I inherited the throne in 1625 Henry VI’s name was no longer associated with piety, but with failed rule and civil war. This being so, a contemporary report that a prayer was said at Charles’s coronation in 1626 for the first time since the reign of Henry VI, signalled something amiss.

The prayer in question drew attention to Charles’s spiritual role as King. The Royal Supremacy over the church had always been a double-edged sword for English Protestants. A monarch could use it to advance the Reformation - or to send it into reverse. Charles preferred a more ceremonial form of Protestantism than



many of his subjects, who thought his reforms of the Church of England to be 'Popish'. These concerns had even been expressed in his first parliament in 1625.

Charles had worn the Tudor crown at the opening of that parliament, when he was described as doffing it to MPs, as if he was tipping his hat. It was to be the highpoint of his relationship with his parliaments which broke down entirely in 1629 to be followed by 11 years of personal rule. The replica at Hampton Court is based on a portrait of Charles painted by the artist Daniel Mytens two years later, in 1631. He stands in a velvet suit alongside the crown. You can see the figure of the Virgin and child on the front fleurs de lys.

Charles's court was enjoying what the poet Thomas Carew called its 'halycon days', a time of idyllic peace while Europe was convulsed by the horrors of the Thirty

years War. Charles's enemies looked back on it as the 'eleven years tyranny'. There is a very different image of Charles and his crown painted by Van Dyck, in the latter part of this period, as he faced a Scottish rebellion against his religious reforms.

Charles had attempted to impose an English style Prayer Book on the Presbyterian Scots who considered it 'Popish'. It had triggered a riot and now, in 1639, war. As Charles prepared to go to battle Van Dyck painted the king in armour, with his crown – but this time it was painted from the back. It is evident it has been cut down: Henry VIII's successors were all much smaller people than he had been. It is an ugly view. So why use it?

You cannot see the Virgin fixed at the front. Was Charles anxious to avoid any suggestion of Popery? It is also notable there are no visible figures of kings. Had they been removed, even before the civil war broke out in England in 1642? And if so, where were they?

In 1644, parliament began to melt down royal plate to pay for their armies. This was despite objections that its antiquity, 'the fashion of it, the badges on it' made it 'more worth than the plate itself'. But for 'hot Protestants' any religious imagery remained idolatrous. In the Garter Chapel at Windsor items made for Henry VIII tomb were broken up. A pair of angels ended up on the gates of Harrowden Hall in Northamptonshire. Perhaps items from Henry VI's tomb had also remained in a back room and were now broken and dispersed. The Tudor crown, kept in the Tower, remained intact. Or as intact as Charles had left it before the war.

Had Charles kept the three saint kings with him? Did he feel some connection



Charles I after Anthony Van Dyck

to Henry VI? It was now being claimed that Charles was the first king to be crowned in white since the reign Henry VI and that like that doomed king, he would fulfil the prophecy of ‘the white king’ being destined for a violent death. Charles never seems to have mentioned Henry VI in any of his writings and the figure of Henry VI would be a strange talisman to have kept, except for one thing.

Charles’s chaplain Henry Hammond was born at Chertsey – Henry VI’s original burial place – and educated at Eton, the school he founded. Charles was haunted by the belief that all his misfortunes were God’s punishment on him for signing the death warrant of his unpopular servant Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, a man Charles believed to be innocent of the treason he was accused of. Henry VI had once saved a man from a hanging. Did Hammond, to whom Charles had grown very close, encourage Charles to see a connection?

There may be a thousand reasons why the gold figure of Henry VI ended up in a Northamptonshire field. But it is striking that the find site is exactly on the route Charles fled from the battle of Naseby in 1645, and in a place that saw extreme violence. At one point Charles had to break through a group of Oliver Cromwell’s cavalry to escape. Cromwell had ordered them not to stop to plunder under the king was caught. It was said the pistols ‘that he did charge himself’ were lost as he charged through the roundheads, jumping a stream as he did so. Perhaps it wasn’t all he dropped.

Many royalists followed in the Charles’s wake. Several were killed at a spot known as Bloodyman’s ford. The king’s baggage

was captured and there was a massacre of up to 400 women in the baggage train. Many of those not killed were mutilated, their faces slashed in the ‘whores mask’, noses cut off, mouths sliced into a terrible grin.

The dead included members of Charles’s household, like the old woman who had arranged flowers in the palaces since the days of King James. This ‘middling sort’ had fled in wagons ‘full of money and rich apparel’. Seven had reached Market Harbough before they were caught. The find site is near the main road to Market Harbough, east of East Farndon – a name associated indelibly with the massacre – and south of Bloodyman’s Ford.

Naseby marked a turning point in the civil war that Charles was destined to lose. Like Henry VI he would die violently and go on to be declared a saint. This image was in part crafted by the king. Before Charles’s execution he had defended his actions in a work of propaganda that declared him a martyr for his people and the Church of England. It was being sold in London on the very afternoon of his death. The cover of the Eikon Basilike – or ‘Royal Portrait’ - depicted Charles carrying a crown of thorns. His earthly crown lies at his feet, and he looks up to the heavenly crown he will wear in heaven. It was an international best seller by the time the orders were made for the coronation regalia to be destroyed.

The Tudor crown was weighed at 7lb, six ounces. The stones were bagged up and sold over the next two years. The emeralds for £5, 28, the diamonds for £191, 10 shillings and 6 pence, and so forth. There was no mention of a figure of Henry VI. It may have been stolen. The Keeper of the King’s Jewel house, Sir Henry Mildmay



The 12th century coronation spoon held at the Tower of London

who had always hated Charles, and sat in judgement on the king at his trial, was later caught concealing £1800 worth of royal plate. This was nearly half the value of all the recorded discoveries. But perhaps it was already lying in the mud and blood in Northamptonshire.

The true story of the gold king remains for the British Museum to unravel pending valuation and reward consideration

according to the treasure process. Was it a part of a girdle belt, or worn as a talisman in battle, had it been the adornment on a reliquary – or could it even be the last magi, a survival of the Tudor crown lost forever in 1649? The only intact item of the ancient coronation regalia is in the Tower. A twelfth century anointing spoon it was used at the coronations of both the Lancastrian and the Stuart ‘martyr’ kings.

LEANDA DE LISLE





January's Guest Speaker

is

HEATHER DARSIE

on

ANNE OF CLEVES





LOUIS XII
painted around
1514

LUSTY OLD LOUIS



On 7 August 1514, England signed a peace treaty with France. It came at a price for Mary Tudor –for she would have to marry the aging and ugly King Louis XII and become Queen of France.

Louis XII was in his fifties, toothless, gouty, with a scurvy-like skin condition, and rumoured to have syphilis and leprosy. He had already been married twice. The first time in 1476 to Joan of France - but wanting to marry his second wife, he sought an annulment. He declared that Joan was malformed and that he had been unable to sleep with her. Joan countered his claims by producing witnesses that had heard him boast he had mounted her three or four times a night. He then tried the witchcraft card. He said he had been unable to consummate their marriage as it had affected his sexual performance. To which Joan asked him how he knew his sexual performance was affected if he hadn't slept with her. Louis grounds for annulment

were tenuous but the pope agreed to the annulment for political reasons allowing Louis to marry his next wife, Anne of Brittany. After her death,

he turned his sights onto the young and vivacious Mary Tudor.

On 13 August 1514, Mary's proxy marriage to Louis was held at



**MARY
TUDOR**
drawn while she
was Queen of
France

LA ROYNE MARIE

Greenwich. Her brother King Henry and his wife, Queen Katherine escorted Mary and her ladies to her wedding ceremony. Afterwards Mary was led to a chamber where she changed into her nightdress and lay on a bed. Louis' proxy, Longueville, took off one boot and lay beside her while the gathered dignitaries watched on. He then touched her with his bared foot, skin to skin, whereby Archbishop Warham pronounced that their marriage had been consummated. After attending Mass, they retired to the banqueting hall for feasting and dancing.

The lusty French king was eager to take Longueville's place and anxious for Mary to come to France as soon as possible. On 2 October Mary left Dover and set sail for Boulogne, with fourteen ships to escort her to France. As she said her goodbyes to her brother, Mary took the opportunity to remind him of his promise – that she could marry whom she may after King Louis' death. You

can imagine that Mary hoped she would not have long to wait.

Mary's ship sailed straight into a storm and was run aground. Sir Christopher Garnish had to unceremoniously carry her ashore. Soaked to the bone, dishevelled and unhappy at such a disastrous start to her life in France, Mary had to endure the welcome of the French dignitaries all the while wishing she could just go home.

Once rested, she continued on her twenty-five mile journey. Louis was so anxious to hear news of his nubile bride-to-be that he sent his men out to greet her near Anders forest and send him back news of her arrival. A little while later, Louis arrived on the pretext of being out hunting with his hawks. Mary made to dismount her horse to curtsy to him but he bid her stay. She blew him a kiss but this was not a gesture he understood however he 'kissed her as kindly as if he had been five and twenty'.

On the 9 October and

the Feast of St Denis, Mary married King Louis XII of France. She looked beautiful, a true Tudor rose, with her hair flowing over her shoulders and down her back and dressed magnificently in gold brocade trimmed with ermine. Louis kissed her and seated her on a dais under a canopy held by four of France's greatest nobles while the ceremony took place.

An evening of feasting and dancing was held to celebrate their union and the aging king was reported to have danced like a young man, until it was time for them to retire to their marriage bed. Mary can only have been dreading the attentions of this old man but she was the new Queen of France and had to endure for the good of their countries.

Louis boasted the next morning that he had 'crossed the river three times that night and would have done more had he chosen'. In an echo of his previous boasts, we can only hope that he was lying. Mary could never have said otherwise but

the king was so ill after their wedding, it is highly unlikely he performed quite as lustily as he said.

Mary started her married life feeling miserable on the inside but showing herself to be a true and loyal wife on the outside. When Louis was bed-ridden with an acute attack of gout she sat by his side. But during this time the man she truly loved, Charles Brandon, arrived in France.

Once Louis was recovered, the royal couple set off for St Denis, where she was crowned on 5 November. The Bishop of Bayeaux officiated and invested Mary with the ring, rod and sceptre of justice. The Dauphin had to hold the crown above her head, due to its weight, while she heard mass

sitting on a throne in the sanctuary.

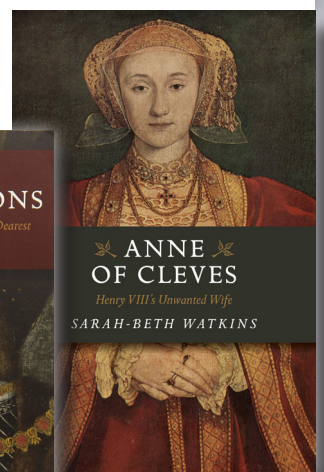
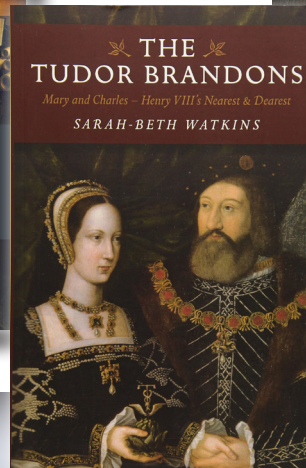
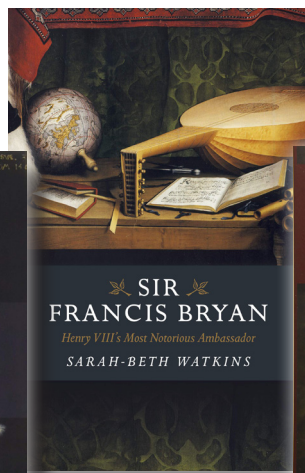
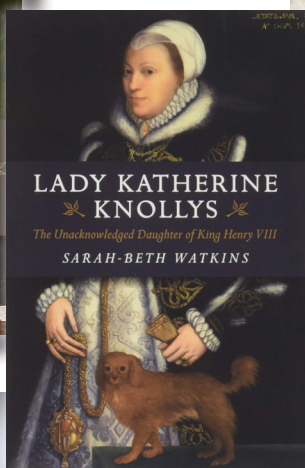
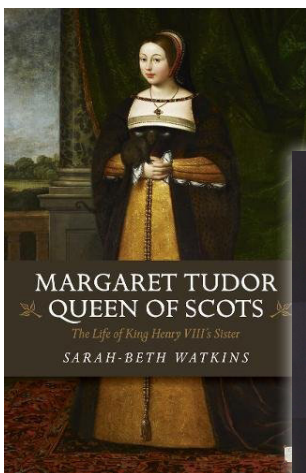
After Mary's coronation, preparations were made for her state entry into Paris. A joust was held in her honour to which an English team had been invited, Charles Brandon included. As Mary watched the man she truly loved, she sat caring for Louis who was ill again with gout. The once lusty king was rapidly aging although many rumours abounded that it was his exertions with Mary that was wearing him out.

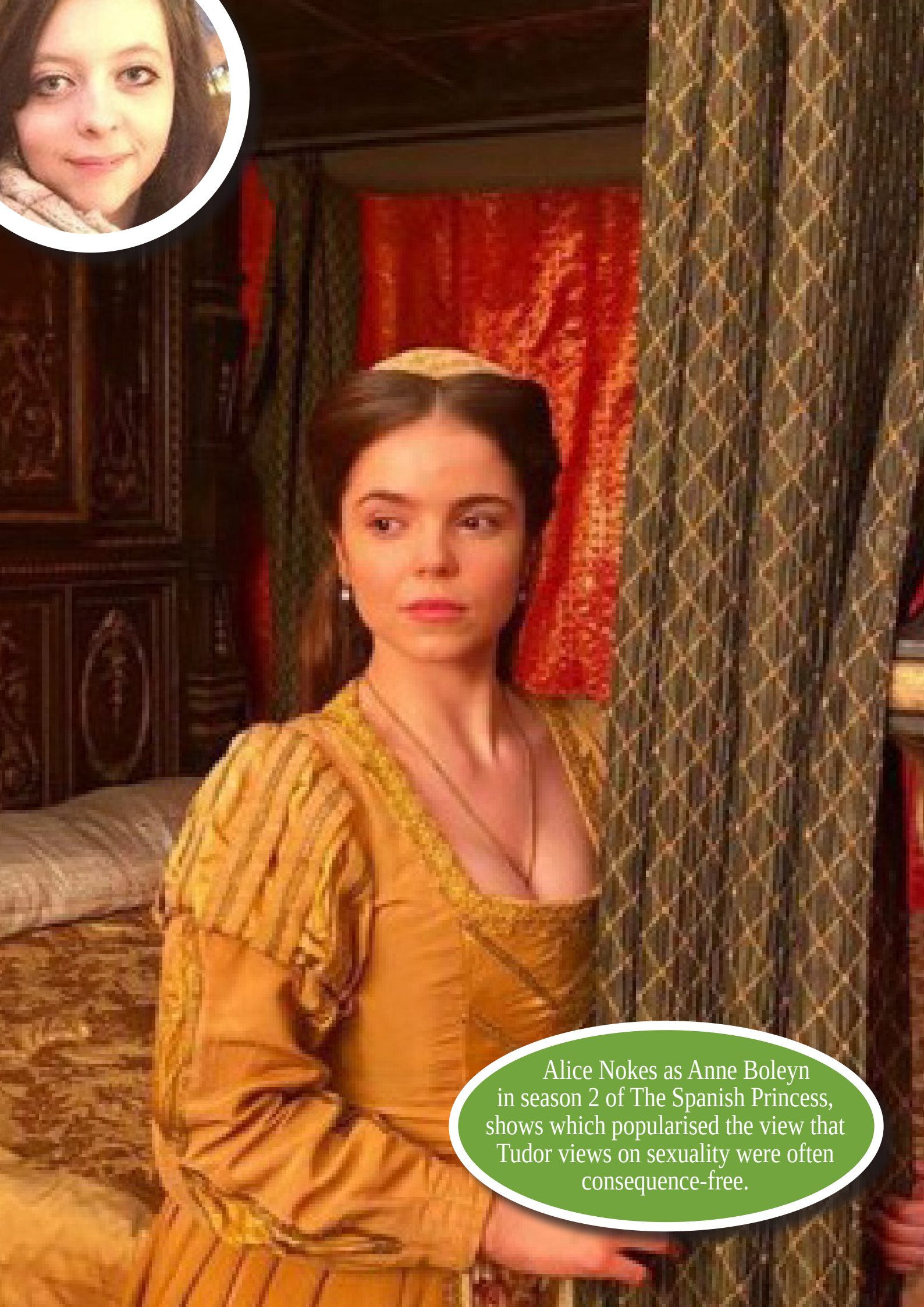
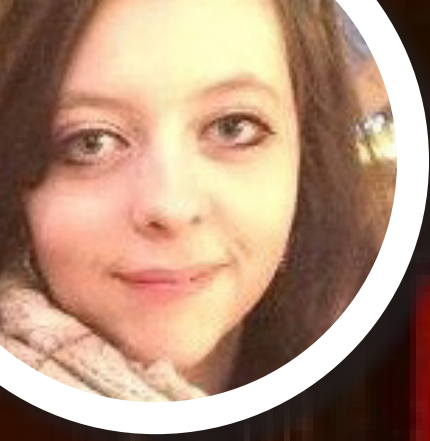
Charles excelled at the joust. Young, dashing and handsome - he was everything the king was not but after the celebrations he had to return to England and Mary had to settle into her life as Louis' queen. Still

delighted with his bride, Louis wrote his last letter to Henry on 28 December praising how Mary 'has hitherto conducted herself, and still does every day ... in such a manner that I cannot be delighted with her, and love and honour her more and more each day'. But his days were numbered. On 1 January 1515, Louis XII, King of France, died and again there were rumours that his bedroom escapades with Mary had hastened his death. In truth he had died from chronic gout.

Mary had endured eighty-two days of marriage but now she was free. Soon she would marry her Charles and it would be she who would become the lusty one!

SARAH-BETH WATKINS





Alice Nokes as Anne Boleyn in season 2 of *The Spanish Princess*, shows which popularised the view that Tudor views on sexuality were often consequence-free.

LAUREN BROWNE EXAMINES

The Sins of Youth

Society's mistrust of young people and youth culture is not a modern phenomenon. We are not the first generation to declare 'back in my day we had more respect for our elders', or who eye a group of teenagers warily as they loiter on the footpath outside our house. The social issues of teenage rebellion, promiscuity, and pregnancy were also a concern in the Tudor period. Although the 1950s is the often-decade associated with the development of the 'teenager', there existed a distinct life-phase of 'youth' centuries before the drive-in movie and Elvis Presley captivated youth culture.

While the concept of the 'teenager' is a recent invention, 'youth' in the medieval and early modern periods was typically identified as the period between puberty and marriage (14–28). This is a much longer period than we might first imagine but marriage, for those outside the nobility, was delayed until the couple could establish their own independent household. This stage in the lifecycle was often called the 'choosing time', a crossroads where the young person could choose between a good or evil life.

Much like today, the typical 'evils' of youth were thought to be slothfulness, insubordination, and lust. Phrases such as 'hot', 'wet', and 'slippery' were used to describe young people. Moralists writing in the Tudor and Stuart periods were particularly concerned about the 'lustie'

nature of youth.¹ William Higford, in an allusion to youthful passions, said that their 'pots were boiling', and the moralist Philip Stubbes complained about the 'smouching', 'slabbering', and 'filthie groping' commonly found among Tudor youth.² Richard Greenham portrayed youth as 'the dangerous season'.³ Advice books, plays, and ballads also explored the sins particularly associated with the young. The tales usually featured a wayward young man who had given into the temptations of alcohol, gambling, premarital sex and promiscuity. They were held up as negative examples, and typically featured their repentance at the end of the story. Shakespeare's old shepherd in *The Winter's Tale* echoed moralists when he wished that 'there was no age' between ten and twenty-three, 'or that youth would sleep out the rest' for it involved nothing but 'getting wenches with child, wronging the ancestry, stealing, and fighting'.⁴

1 Anon., *The Office of Christian Parents*, (London, 1601), p. 43

2 William Higford, quoted in Paul J. Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560 – 1640*, (Oxford, 1996), p. 37; Philip Stubbes's *Anatomy of Abuses in Shakespeare's Youth*, (ed.) Frederick J. Furnivall, (London, 1877-79), xi, p. 155.

3 *The Works of the Reverend and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ Mr Richard Greenham*, ed. Henry Holland, (1602), p. 262.

4 Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, Act III, Scene III.

Court records reveal the common crimes of youth included dirty dancing, gathering in intimidating groups, running away from masters, and excessive drinking. The majority of these sins could be committed during periods of festivity, most notably during the spring and summer months. May Day was strongly associated with youth, as well as Hocktide, where women caught men, bound them and would release them for a fee paid to the church. These types of ritual capture were also common amongst parishes at other times of the year. While philanthropic by nature, these events were sometimes associated with 'every dissipation and vice which it was possible to conceive...'⁵ However, these events were special occasions, and young people could get up to mischief at any time.

When they reached puberty, many young people were sent from the family home to become apprentices, domestic servants, or farm labourers. The majority of households, perhaps a third, had live-in servants whose positions were typically arranged between kin networks and friends. Service was used a method of social control, a way to occupy young people and teach them skills required for running their own households or businesses. Farm labourers, dubbed 'servants in husbandry', and maids usually held one-year contracts. Apprentices were indentured for around seven years and held more formal contracts with their masters. For both groups, their masters and mistresses were responsible for their

religious and moral instruction during the period of service and took on the responsibilities of parents.

But even under the watchful eye of the master, young people found ways to get into trouble. There are numerous accounts of masters administering corporal punishment to their apprentices who had been caught in bed with a domestic servant. In an extreme case of 1534, an apprentice called John Rolles was brought before the court of the Drapers Company. It was stated that John had 'grevously mysused hymself' with a maid living in the household, and that his master had caught the young couple in bed together. He had also been bragging about his conquest amongst the other apprentices of company. John Rolles was made an example of, and in the parlour of the Draper's hall he was stripped naked and beat with birches by two men of the company.⁶

Many ballads warned young women about the dangers of accepting gifts from suitors and stressed the importance of chaperones and parental involvement in courtship. *The Nightingale's Song*, which is full to the brim with inuendo, details the plight of a young woman who is enticed by a soldier to have sex with him. He presents her with gifts of a dress and a ring, which were typical tokens involved in courtship at the time. She mistakenly assumes this is a form of pre-contract, and when he reveals he does not intend to marry her she warns other maidens

5 Malcomson, *Popular Recreations in English Society*, (Cambridge, 1979) p. 25.

6 Martin Ingram, *Carnal Knowledge: Regulating Sex in England, 1470 – 1600*, (Cambridge, 2017), p. 286

'addicted to pleasure' to take heed of her tale. The social problem of unmarried mothers was of deep concern during this period, and illegitimate children were seen as burden on the parish. Much of the advice literature aimed toward young women frequently emphasised the importance of chastity. Although young men were also reminded of the dangers of premarital sex, advice was typically more focused on good conduct during apprenticeships and the dangers of alehouses. This double standard was a common thread throughout the Tudor and Stuart periods.

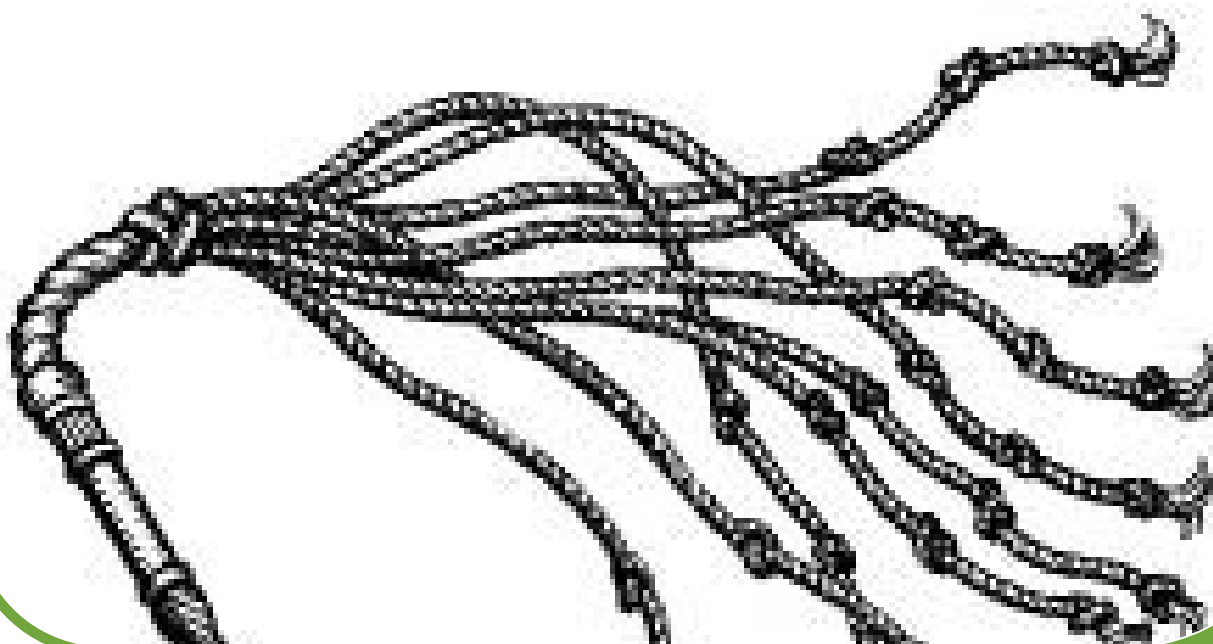
My students are often surprised to discover that around 25% of early modern brides may have been pregnant on their wedding day, given the importance placed on sex within marriage.⁷ However, many

couples began sexual relations after they had become betrothed and before the formal solemnisation of the marriage. This is why there was a relatively low rate of illegitimate births during the period – around 1 in 40. Although this practice could occasionally give rise to single mothers – whose betrothed had broken off the contract – or clandestine marriages – because of pregnancy – the system generally worked.

Much of youth culture during the early modern period was geared toward the preparation for marriage. The moralists' despair over youthful promiscuity and sexual sins, and popular representations of lusty maidens and gallant young men, may lead us to believe that the Tudor period was a precursor to the free loving teens of the 1960's, but this was an exaggeration. As with modern attitudes toward youth, the perception is usually much worse than the reality.

⁷ Hanawalt, *The Ties that Bind: Peasant Families in Medieval England*, (Oxford, 1986) p. 196

LAUREN BROWNE





Gareth Russell takes a brief look at some of the raucous and dangerous impacts of lust to Tudor high society.

RICHARD III: Incest, Poison, and Plots?

King Richard III had to undergo the extraordinary humiliation of publicly denying the widespread rumour that he poisoned his wife, Queen Anne Neville, to pave the way for a marriage to his beautiful niece, Elizabeth of York. To say that uncle and niece's relationship was complicated is an understatement – Richard had previously disinherited Elizabeth and her siblings; taken the crown from her brother, King Edward V, who had since disappeared; and forced her mother to seek sanctuary with the Church before he stripped her of title as queen dowager. Incredible as it may seem, however, Richard III may have considered marrying his niece – although there's no evidence whatsoever he hastened Queen Anne's death to achieve it. By early 1485, many Yorkists were considering deserting Richard to pledge allegiance to his Tudor enemies, if Henry Tudor promised to marry "the White Rose" Elizabeth; therefore, by marrying Elizabeth himself, Uncle Richard would have removed a threat to his reign. The Battle of Bosworth had other ideas, with Elizabeth becoming queen by marriage to the new Tudor king.

KATHERINE OF ARAGON: And the Tudor Rasputin?

As a young widow, Katherine of Aragon found great comfort in her religion but after her re-marriage there were concerns at court that the new Queen was too dependent on her confessor, Fray Diego Fernandez. The Spanish monk was even rumoured to have an eye for the ladies which flew in the face of his vows of chastity, although there were no rumours suggesting he had made a move on Queen Katherine. She refused to listen to criticisms regarding Fray Diego's morals, but, eventually, he had to leave court on King Henry VIII's orders.

LORD HUNGERFORD: Same-sex sorcery?

Lord Hungerford's death was overshadowed by sharing his final earthly stage with his former patron, Thomas Cromwell. Both men were beheaded on 28 July 1540, with the infamous politician's demise understandably garnering most of the attention. Lord Hungerford was one of the very few men who ever suffered through Henry VIII's notorious decision to introduce the death penalty for homosexuality after 1533. The baron had allegedly enjoyed affairs with two of his male servants. He was also accused of remaining privately loyal to the Pope and of consulting a witch to guess the date of King Henry's death. Rumours that he had abused his wife and daughter were added by his enemies, although widely disbelieved.

Charlotte Hope as a young Katherine of Aragon
in *The Spanish Princess*



JOAN BULMER: Secrets, sex, and social climbing

Fun-loving and determined, Joan Acworth came from a moderately well-to-do background which saw her win a place in the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk's household. There, she had several beaux, including Francis Dereham, a lover whom she eventually lost to the Duchess's ward and step-granddaughter, Catherine Howard. Joan bore no ill will and seemed to get on quite well with Catherine. She moved north to marry a Yorkshire landowner from the Bulmer family, but the marriage was miserable and when she reunited with an old friend, Sir George Sleaford, he told her the incredible news that Joan's friend Catherine was about to become England's next queen. Joan's letter begging for a place in Catherine's household is notorious, but Joan ended up permanently estranged from her husband when she was imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1541 due to Queen Catherine's downfall. The story did have, for her anyway, a happy ending – she was pardoned and, when she became a widow, she married Francis Dereham's former friend, the courtier and landowner Edward Waldegrave. They lived a life of peace and prosperity well into the reign of Elizabeth I.

KING JAMES: Legs of the throne

As King James VI in Scotland, he did his duty by fathering children with his glamorous queen, Anna of Denmark, but his true love affairs seem to have been mostly with men. As a young man, he had even been kidnapped to force him into abandoning his cousin and rumoured lover Esmé, Duke of Lennox. In middle-age, King James's letters to the indisputably handsome Duke of Buckingham leaves no doubt about the nature of their relationship. Buckingham refers to the King as his "dad," while James jokes about the muscular beauty of the Duke's legs. Buckingham referred to himself as James's dog and perhaps no letter is more unambiguous than when the Duke reminisces on a recent visit with the King "which I shall never forget at Farnham, where the bed's head could not be found between the master and his dog".

GARETH RUSSELL

THE TUDOR SOCIETY



Members' Bulletin

We've got some wonderful names lined up for you this year as expert speakers, including Heather Darsie, Adrienne Dillard, Phil Downing, Nicola Tallis and Lucy Churchill who will take us into the summer months. If you have particular favourite historians that you think we should approach, please do get in touch and say so!

Tudor Life magazine is still going from strength to strength with strong articles coming up across our new "style" of themes. This is the Lust edition, and then we have sloth, pride, greed, envy, and wrath... I bet you can imagine some of the strong Tudor personalities who suffered from any number of combinations of these issues!

We're also continuing to roll out our new Friday videos though it has been taking a little longer than we hoped. It is important to us that we present wide and educational material to you so if you've got ideas, again, please do let the team know so we can set about making things happen. This is YOUR society and so we really do want to make things as perfect as possible for you.

Here's to a wonderful 2021 for you and all our members!

Tim Ridgway



Henry VII and His Family at Worship
(by an Unknown Artist). On the left,
behind the King, are his sons Arthur,
Henry, and Edmund. On the right is
Elizabeth of York with her daughters

Lusty Sons

by Roland Hui

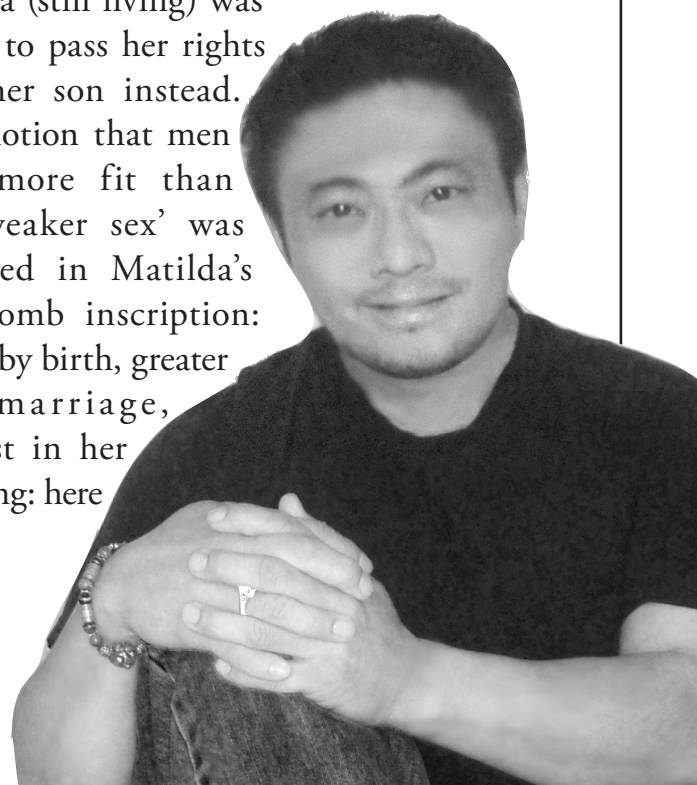
In a scene from the 1969 motion picture *Anne of the Thousand Days*, Cardinal Wolsey has been summoned to the royal palace in the middle of the night. There, Henry VIII wants him to settle an argument between him and his mistress Anne Boleyn. Could he as King, Henry demands of the Cardinal, make legitimate *any* offspring of his born out of wedlock? Wolsey says certainly. But then, Anne interjects. Such a child, she says, would surely inherit the crown *before* her own. “You may not be capable of a son, Madame”, replies the Cardinal, who is no friend to Anne. To this, she angrily retorts, “I’ll give the man that marries me a houseful of lusty sons”!

‘Lusty’, in the 16th century sense of the word, implied strong and healthy. In the film, Anne Boleyn’s rejoinder was meant to convey how vital sons were to the royal succession. They were so important to the survival of the Tudor dynasty that Henry VIII would change the course of English history to have a male heir, and others in his family would go to lengths to achieve this as well.

Henry VII, the first of the Tudors, was made well aware of how valuable sons were even before he became King. In 1484, Prince Edward, the heir of Richard III died suddenly. Richard and his wife Anne Neville were plunged into great sorrow. It was reported how ‘on hearing the news of this... you might have seen his father and mother in a state almost bordering on madness, by reason of their sudden grief’.¹ Not only had they lost their only child, the future of the royal House of York was now in jeopardy. Without a successor, there would be less support for Richard, and already his enemies were proclaiming Henry Tudor as the rightful ruler of England.² With Richard’s authority weakened, Henry was able to invade England in 1485, slay him in battle, and take the throne.

To reconcile the warring Houses of Lancaster and York, and to secure his new

dynasty, Henry married Richard’s niece, Elizabeth of York. As the daughter of King Edward IV, some thought that she ought to have been Queen Regnant (that is Queen in her own right). But such a notion was not widely supported. In the 12th century, Matilda (also called Maude) was supposed to be the heiress of her father, King Henry I, after the death of her brother William in a shipwreck. But it was her cousin Stephen who ascended the throne instead. This led to civil war, and in the aftermath, it was decided that Matilda’s son Henry (later Henry II) would rule after Stephen. At the time, there was no confidence in a woman’s rule, and thus Matilda (still living) was forced to pass her rights onto her son instead. This notion that men were more fit than ‘the weaker sex’ was reflected in Matilda’s own tomb inscription: ‘Great by birth, greater by marriage, greatest in her offspring: here





**Henry VIII Jousting Before
Katherine of Aragon
(by an Unknown Artist)**

lies Matilda, the daughter, wife, and mother of Henry.³

In 1486, Henry VII and Elizabeth of York had their first child and it was a boy. As the King believed he was a descendent of the legendary Kings, Cadwallader and Arthur, he had arranged for the birth to take place in Winchester, a city associated with these heroes. Later, the royal couple were blessed with more children, but only three of them would live to adulthood - Henry, Margaret, and Mary. Among their offspring who did not live long was a son named Edmund.

Sadly, Henry and Elizabeth would know the pain felt by their predecessors Richard and Anne. In 1502, Arthur (who had recently married the Princess of Spain, Katherine of Aragon) died unexpectedly. The King and Queen mourned together. The only comfort Elizabeth could offer her husband was that they were still blessed with 'a fair prince' and 'two fair princesses', and that Henry being an only child himself, was able to become King.⁴ Still, to safeguard the succession, the royal couple planned for another child. In 1502, the Queen became pregnant, but after she gave birth, Elizabeth passed away. The child, a daughter named Katharine, did not live long either.

When Henry VIII assumed the throne in 1509, he was only 17. He married his

brother's widow, Katherine of Aragon, and in 1510, they had a girl, but she was stillborn. The couple remained optimistic, and in the following year, on New Year's Day, they were blessed with a son 'to the great gladness of the realm'.⁵ In thanksgiving, Henry made a pilgrimage to the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham in Norfolk. He was described as going *nudis pedibus* (that is barefoot) like many of the faithful as an expression of humility. There, before the cult statue of the Virgin, he left a valuable necklace as an offering.⁶ Henry also showed his happiness through the grand tournaments held in honour of the new Prince. He adopted the guise of *Coeur Loyal* (*Loyal Heart*), and he adorned himself and his horse with golden hearts and H's and K's (for 'Henry' and 'Katherine') as he jousted before his adoring Queen. But then the unimaginable happened. The little Prince's life was cut short in February.

In the years to follow, Katherine would be pregnant again several times, but only a girl named Mary, born in 1516, would live. The Queen suffered miscarriages or had babies who died soon after birth. From Henry's point of view, it was certainly not his fault. It was Katherine who had a defective constitution. This was evident to him when his mistress Bessie Blount presented him with a son, named Henry Fitzroy, in 1519. To the Queen's

further dismay, the boy was later given the lofty titles of Duke of Richmond and Somerset. There were even rumours that his father was grooming him to be King, setting aside the Princess Mary, whom Katherine imagined might rule one day. Even though Matilda had been rejected as Queen, there was nothing to prevent Mary from assuming the throne. The laws of England, unlike those of countries such as France, allowed for a female sovereign.

Henry VIII, on the other hand, was not as progressive as his wife. As much as he loved his daughter, he did think she could be Queen, and so began the long drawn-out process of the 'Great Matter'. To have a son, Henry would have his marriage annulled - Katherine was past her childbearing years - and take another wife. As he had wed his late brother's spouse, he had committed a sin, Henry believed. Waiting in the wings to become Queen, was his current mistress, Anne Boleyn.

It was not until 1533 that Henry's separation from Katherine was finalized. Even before then, he and Anne had begun sleeping together, and in spring that year, she was with child. In June, Anne was solemnly crowned, and at her procession around London, numerous references were made as to the future Prince. At one of the tableaux set up to praise Anne, there was this message written upon a 'long roll' - 'Queen Anne, when thou shalt bear a new son of the King's blood, there shall be a golden world unto thy people!⁷ But as fate would have it, the child born that September was a girl, named Elizabeth. Letters which had been prepared announcing the birth of a prince, had to be changed to 'princess' instead.

Despite the great setback, Henry and Anne were still hopeful. In 1534, Anne was



Henry Fitzroy
(attributed to Lucas Horenbout)

supposedly pregnant again. Unfortunately, she subsequently miscarried, or there was no baby at all being a phantom pregnancy. More is known about Anne carrying a child in the later part of 1535. In January 1536, a boy of about three months old was born dead. The King, in his anger, was said to have muttered that he would have no more children by Anne.

Sure enough, Henry's ever wandering eye caught a new love. Before the end of May 1536, Anne Boleyn was dead (executed on dubious charges of high treason) and her place was taken by one of her ladies-in-waiting, Jane Seymour. Jane had come from a large family, and there was every expectation that she would succeed where Henry's two previous Queens had failed. In October 1537, she was delivered of a son, and England went wild with joy. Church bells were rung continuously, bonfires were lit, and the people celebrated in the streets with drink, toasting to the health of the new baby, named Edward. The festivities

ended less than a fortnight later when the Queen died of puerperal fever.

Henry VIII would go on to marry three more times. Not only did he need companionship, but also to hopefully have another boy. Henry remembered how his two brothers, Arthur and Edmund, had passed away early on, leaving only himself as his father's successor. As well, the recent death of his own son, Henry Fitzroy, in 1536, was another reminder of the fragility of his line. But with the King's fourth wife, Anne of Cleves, there would not be the possibility of children. Henry had taken a great dislike to his German bride from the get-go, and he claimed to have been impotent with her. Six months after the wedding, their union was annulled. Henry could have experienced fatherhood again with wife number five, Katheryn Howard - in fact she was thought to be pregnant at one point, but it was a false alarm - if she hadn't followed her cousin Anne Boleyn to the scaffold in 1542. In truth, it was unlikely that the King in his old age was still capable of fathering another heir. His final marriage to Katharine Parr proved childless.⁸

Edward VI looked to have a long reign ahead of him. He was only nine years old when his father died in 1547. Even in his youth, marriages had been arranged for him. Among the candidates for his hand were Mary Queen of Scots and Elisabeth of Valois, the daughter of the King of France. Closer to home, there was his cousin Lady Jane Grey, whom his uncle, Thomas Seymour, tried to match him to. But Seymour's execution on charges of treason put an end to that.

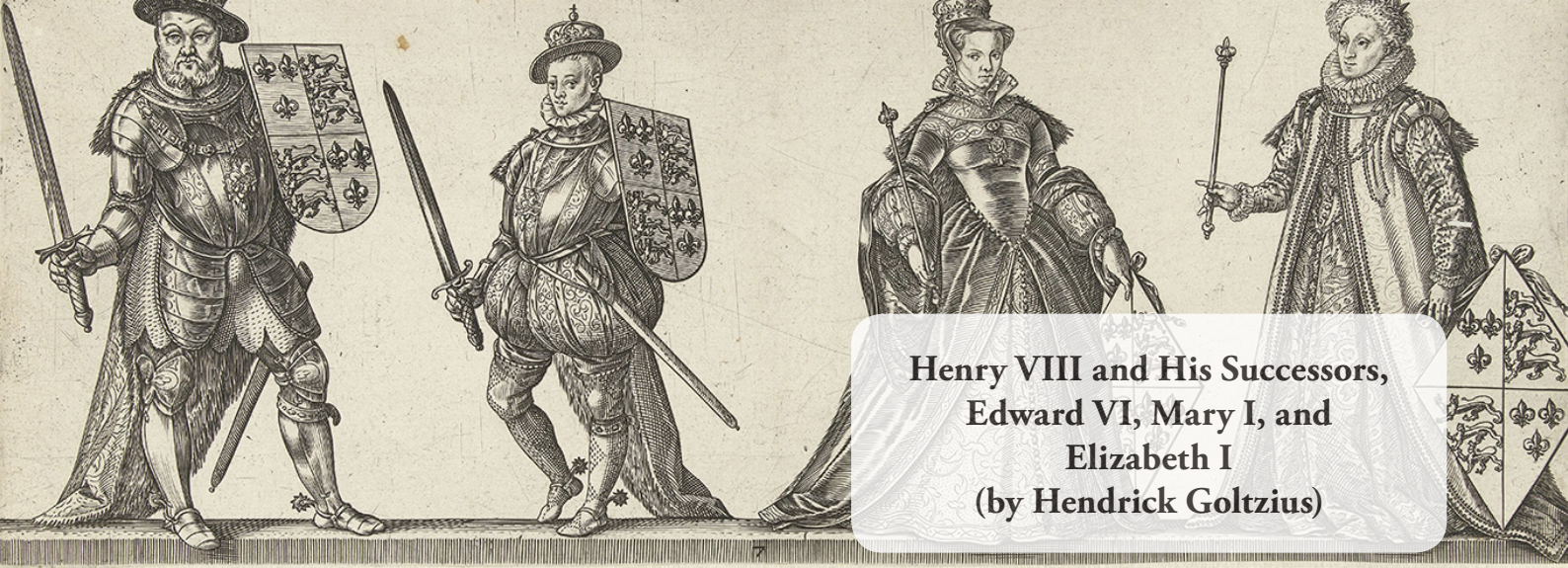
The boy King would never marry as he would die of consumption in 1553. But before he finally succumbed to his illness, he had made a will (his 'Device for the Succession') overriding his father's. It had been Henry



Edward VI as a Child
(by Hans Holbein)

VIII's intention to make Mary and Elizabeth - though both were considered illegitimate - heirs to the throne in their turn if their brother had no children. But Edward, fearing a female succession (not to mention Mary's Catholicism as he was a fervid Protestant) disinherited both his sisters,⁹ and appointed the male children of his cousin Frances Brandon, or of her daughter Jane Grey, as his successors. But as neither Frances, nor Jane, had sons, the Device was ineffective. Edward then changed the wording to 'to the Lady Jane and her heirs male', ensuring that a king would eventually sit on the English throne. But Edward's Device would be overturned. Jane Grey, after a brief nine days 'reign', was deposed by Princess Mary.

Although Mary had expressed her desire to remain single as she had long been



**Henry VIII and His Successors,
Edward VI, Mary I, and
Elizabeth I
(by Hendrick Goltzius)**

a spinster, it would be impossible for her to not have a spouse as Queen. Convention and religion dictated that it was a woman's place to be a wife and a mother, and as sovereign, it was assumed that no female could possibly bear the burden alone without a man at her side. Mary herself came to share this opinion, and in 1554, she married Philip of Spain. Mary, it was said, was madly in love with her younger husband (she was older than him by eleven years), though Philip was much less enthusiastic. Still, he did his duty in the bedroom, and Mary announced her pregnancy in September. But no child appeared, despite her symptoms of motherhood. By summer 1555, all the court knew the Queen had never been actually pregnant, and even Mary had to admit that to herself too. Sometime at the end of 1557, Mary thought she was actually going to have a baby, but again, it was a delusion. In 1558, she died, along with her efforts to fully restore the Catholic faith in England, as she had no children to carry on her goal.

Although she is known to posterity as 'the Virgin Queen', during her reign, Elizabeth was constantly pressured to marry. As soon as she came to the throne, the Spanish ambassador remarked that 'everything depends on the husband this woman may take'.¹⁰ Even the Queen's own subjects hoped that she would wed to safeguard the kingdom and to provide for England's future. However,

she proved difficult. In 1559, in answer to Parliament's request that she must marry, Elizabeth answered, "This shall be for me sufficient; that a marble stone shall declare that a queen, having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgin".¹¹

Still, Elizabeth was obliged to give the impression that she was interested in marriage as a matter of statecraft. Faced by the threat of her former brother-in-law King Philip of Spain and of her cousin Mary Queen of Scots, she had to make alliances against her enemies. Of her foreign suitors, there were King Eric of Sweden, King Frederick of Denmark, and the Archduke Charles of Austria. But the most serious match was with Francis, Duke of Alençon, brother of the French King. In 1579, he actually crossed the Channel to woo Elizabeth in person. Although the Duke was twenty-two years younger than her and not that attractive, he was full of charm, and Elizabeth liked him very much. So much, that one day, in the presence of her courtiers, she made a startling announcement. "The Duke of Alençon", the Queen declared, *shall* be my husband"! She then placed a ring on his finger and gave him a big kiss.

But there were to be no nuptials. The majority of Elizabeth's subjects were against her marriage with a Catholic, and the Queen herself was conflicted. Perhaps the tragic fates of her mother Anne Boleyn and of

her stepmother Katheyn Howard had made Elizabeth wary of marriage. Also, she was reluctant to accept another as her equal. It was as the Scottish ambassador had once told her, “Your Majesty thinks if you were married, you would be but Queen of England, and now you are *both* King and Queen. I know your spirit cannot endure a commander”.¹² Whatever her reasons, Elizabeth eventually ended her courtship with the Duke and sent him packing.

Just as she had expected to die a virgin, Elizabeth passed away unmarried and without children in 1603. With her was the end of the Tudor dynasty. But the crown would be passed on to a male successor as her father Henry VIII had always wanted it to be. However, it was in the person of King James of Scotland, and with him was the establishment of a new royal House - that of the Stuarts.

ROLAND HUI

1. Henry T. Riley (editor and translator), *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland*, London: H. G. Bohn, 1854, pp. 496-497.
2. Richard III did have an illegitimate son, John of Gloucester, but he could not inherit as a bastard.
3. Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English*, London: Basil Blackwell, 1991, p. 191. The reference to her great marriage was that Matilda's first husband was Henry V, the Holy Roman Emperor.
4. John Leland, *Antiquarii Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, London, 1770, V, pp. 373-374.
5. Edward Hall, *The Triumphant Reigne of Kyng Henry the VIII*, London: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1904, I, p. 22.
6. 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. Ironically, Henry VIII later ordered the Shrine to be destroyed during the Dissolution of the Monasteries.
7. Wynkyn de Worde, *The noble tryumphaut coronacyon of quene Anne, wyfe unto the moost noble kynge Henry the viii*, London, 1533.
8. Interestingly, Katharine Parr became pregnant after she married again after Henry VIII's death.
9. Edward disinherited Elizabeth as well on the grounds that her mother's marriage to Henry VIII was later declared illegal.
10. *Calendar of Letters and State Papers, Relating to English Affairs (CSP Span. Eliz.)*, 1558-1567, no. 1.
11. John Gough Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, London: John Nichols and Son, 1823, I, p. 65.
12. James Melville, *Memoirs*, London, 1683, p. 49.

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

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



TUDOR TITLES CROSSWORD



This month, we look at something that often gets confusing – titles. Below are some titles held by various noblemen in the Tudor period. Can you identify which person held each title and fill in the crossword?

Across

- 2. 2nd Duke of Norfolk: Thomas
- 4. Earl of Hertford and Duke of Somerset: Edward
- 5. Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond: Boleyn
- 6. Earl of Nottingham and Duke of Richmond & Somerset: Henry
- 8. Earl of Essex and then Marquis of Northampton: William

Down

- 1. Duke of Suffolk: Charles
- 3. Earl of Southampton: William
- 4. Duke of Buckingham: Henry
- 7. Earl of Pembroke: William





James IV (inset) and Margaret Tudor
Both are by Daniel Mytens

*Margaret, in the first part
of the history of the
Scottish Kings*

Susan Abernethy talks about...



MARGARET TUDOR'S JOURNEY TO SCOTLAND

The Treaty of Perpetual Peace between England and Scotland was signed in May of 1502. This agreement was a three-party pact between Henry VII of England, James IV, King of Scots and Pope Alexander VI, (Rodrigo Borgia). It was binding not only on the kings who signed it, but also on their successors in perpetuity. The terms provided England would not make war on Scotland, Scotland would not attack England and the Pope had the ability to take extreme action, including excommunication, on any king who broke the treaty. The treaty was to be solemnized by the marriage of James to Henry's eldest daughter, Margaret. For James, the peace treaty enabled his long-sought definitive recognition of Scotland's independent kingship. For Henry VII, it sealed the permanence of the Tudor dynasty.

At the time the treaty was ratified, Margaret was thirteen and James was twenty-nine. Although Margaret was of canonical age for marriage, her mother and grandmother petitioned the king to delay her journey to Scotland. As Margaret Beaufort knew full well, thirteen was too young to withstand the rigors of sexual intercourse, let alone childbirth. James IV was

a known womaniser with several illegitimate children. King Henry took their pleas under advisement and he promised James Margaret would arrive in Scotland sometime before September 1503 when she would be nearly fourteen.

The betrothal ceremony was performed the day after the treaty was signed. A solemn High Mass was

celebrated at Richmond Palace with the Earl of Bothwell acting as proxy for King James. Three archbishops, Blackadder, Deane and Thomas Savage of York, along with three bishops officiated the ceremony. All those who signed the treaty were in attendance along with the King and Queen of England, their children (except Arthur), the greater nobility, the higher clergy and the ambassadors of Europe. It was a magnificent state occasion with the Mass being followed by a procession to Queen Elizabeth's Great Chamber where the vows of betrothal were spoken. This was followed by a state banquet.

It would be seventeen months before Margaret left for Scotland. During the interim, Margaret's brother, Arthur Prince of Wales had died in April 1502 and in February 1503, her mother died. Her mother's account books demonstrate they were very close during the last year of Queen Elizabeth's life. Both mother and daughter shared a mutual interest in music. Account books show the Queen paid Giles the luter for strings for the Queen of Scots lute and she bought a pair of clavicles (an early form of keyboard instrument). Shortly before her death, the Queen paid 10s to Margaret's minstrels.

One of the Queen's last presents to Margaret was the trimming of a crimson velvet gown with pampilyon, a costly black fur resembling Persian lamb's wool. This type of fur was

exceedingly rare so it was only worn by the very rich or royalty. Their time spent together probably consisted of lessons in queenship for Margaret. When her mother was gone, her paternal grandmother, Margaret Beaufort took over these motherly duties.

The English court set out on June 27, 1503 for Margaret Beaufort's house of Collyweston in northern Northamptonshire where they arrived on July 5. The house had recently been renovated to accommodate this royal visit. After resting for a few days, Margaret said farewell to her father and grandmother and left for Scotland with a cavalcade of English courtiers led by the Earl and Countess of Surrey who acted as her chaperones. It would be a thirty-three-day trek and the journey was not to be just a matter of taking Queen Margaret to her new kingdom. This was a royal progress through England and southern Scotland, planned with military precision and funded at enormous expense.

The cavalcade was choreographed to be a clear show of magnificence and to demonstrate the permanence and power of the Tudor dynasty, according to the king's orders. Nobles would join the procession and then leave as the group made its way along the Great North Road. Sheriffs would provide a ceremonial escort through their entire county right up to the northern border where they would hand the entourage

over to the neighboring sheriff. The plans for the journey called for a mixture of administrative pomp as well as religious ritual at every place Margaret stopped.

Margaret appeared astride a 'fair palfrey' for most of the journey. As she rode, every few miles, there were equestrian displays for her enjoyment. A litter accompanied her which she could use for grand entrances to towns or if she was tired. Her clothes and those of the attending lords, ladies and footmen, were embroidered with the Beaufort portcullis. There were heralds, sergeants at arms, banners and trappings for the horses. It must have been a sumptuous display.

The baggage wagons came first in the parade, followed by Margaret's litter. This was covered in the Tudor colors of green and white, decorated with the arms of Scotland and England combined with the red roses of Lancaster and the Beaufort portcullis. Even the lords and ladies escorting her had their coats of arms displayed. Many of the people along the way lined the road to see the new Queen of Scots. It was a must-see spectacle for all of the king's subjects. Bells were rung as she passed by. Minstrels, drummers and trumpeters supplemented the visual display with music.

The route went from Collyweston to Grantham, on to Newark and then to Tuxford, followed by a night stop in a country manor belonging

to the archbishop of York. Next up was Doncaster, then Pontefract and Tadcaster, finally arriving at York, which at the time was the second largest city in England. She was greeted by the Mayor who was dressed in crimson satin. His aldermen wore scarlet gowns with their chains of office around their necks.

After greeting the Queen, they made their way to the Minster. The respectful crowd watched from the street and from the windows. The streets were so packed, it took Margaret two hours to make her way from the gateway to the Minster. Then she took a short ride to the Archbishop's palace for a rest.

The next day was a Sunday. She attended High Mass at the Minster followed by a procession. First came the Archbishop and bishops, earls and lords, heralds and sergeants at arms. Margaret came next, dressed in a gown of cloth of gold with a collar of precious stones and a girdle made of spun gold that reached to the ground. The Countess of Surrey carried her train with a gentleman usher to help her.

Following the Countess were the ladies and gentlewomen who were dressed in rich gowns, great collars, burnished chains, girdles of gold and other riches. No effort was spared in creating an impression in York. The city had been the powerbase for Richard, Duke of Gloucester and later when he became King

Richard III. Henry Tudor had captured the throne from Richard and his life had been taken at the Battle of Bosworth. Henry VII's intention was to signal the Tudor dynasty was here to stay.

After the procession, Margaret attended a banquet at the Archbishop's Palace. The officials of York joined Margaret the next day and saw her back on the road north with the entire entourage. They rested at Newburgh Priory that night, then moved on to Northallerton, then Darlington and on to Durham. She spent three days in Durham lodging in the castle, hosted by the Bishop. Her journey was scheduled to coincide with the formal enthronement of the new bishop William Senhouse so she could attend the event. Among the festivities was a double dinner and a double supper for all worthy attendees.

She moved on to Newcastle. At the gates of the city, children sang cheerful hymns and she was welcomed by immense crowds. She spent the night at the Augustinian monastery. The next day the Earl of Northumberland gave a banquet that

lasted until midnight and consisted of games, dances, songs and sports. The journey continued to Morpeth and then Alnwick where she hunted in the park and killed a buck with her own bow.

The next night was spent in Belford and then she finally arrived in Berwick. To announce her entrance, there was gunfire and two days of festivities and sports, including bear baiting. She was joined by Thomas, Baron Dacre, the Warden of the West March and on August 1, the entire party of between eighteen hundred and two thousand crossed the border into Margaret's new country and home. The Archbishop of Glasgow welcomed Margaret and her entire party on behalf of the king at Lamberton Kirk. He was attended by a huge company of Scottish lords and gentlemen. On Monday August 7th, Margaret and James made a state entry into Edinburgh, both of them dressed in cloth of gold trimmed with black velvet or black fur. They were married on August 8 in the chapel of the Royal Palace of Holyroodhouse.

SUSAN ABERNETHY

Further reading:

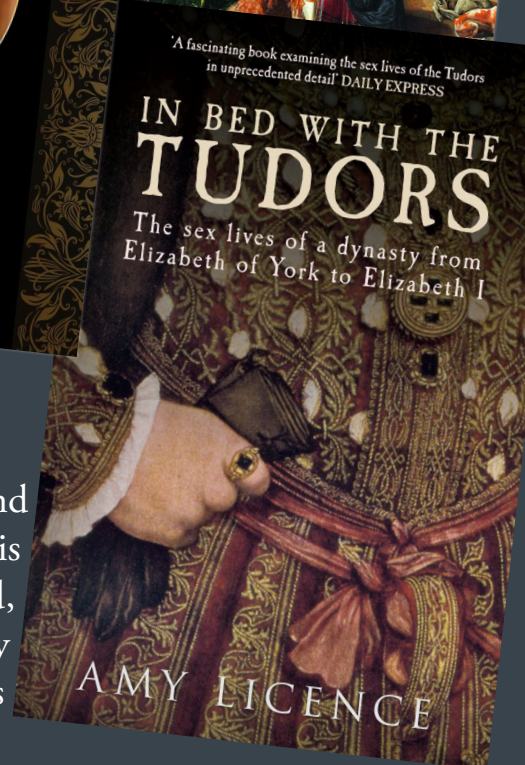
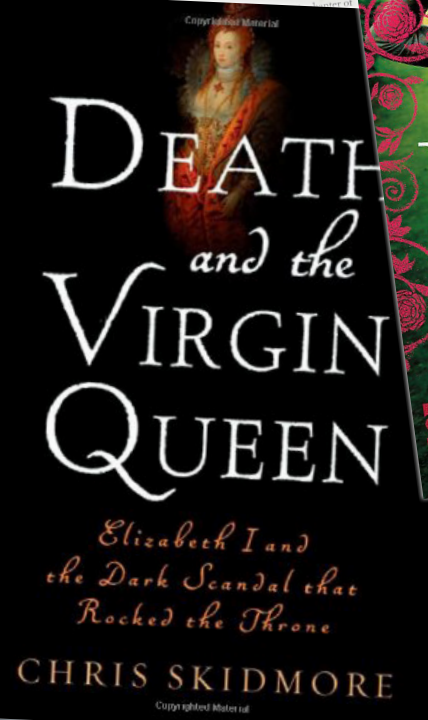
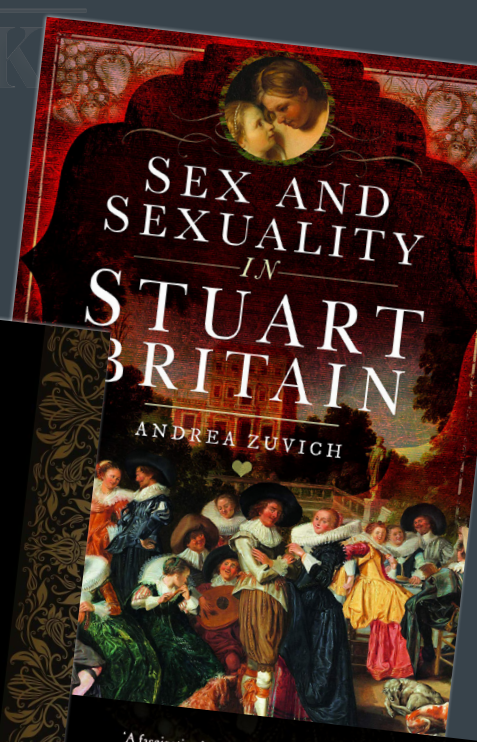
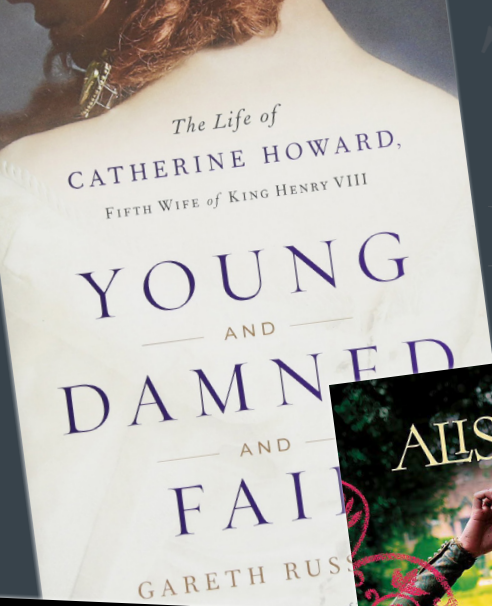
"Fatal Rivalry: Flodden 1513- Henry VIII, James IV and the Battle for Renaissance Britain" by George Goodwin

"The Sisters of Henry VIII" by Maria Perry

"Elizabeth of York: A Tudor Queen and Her World" by Alison Weir

Tudor Life

EDITOR'S PICK



I discuss sixteenth century attitudes to sex, sin, and confession in my book “Young and Damned and Fair”. Chris Skidmore’s “Death and the Virgin” is also recommended, but for two great overviews on lust at the time, try Amy Licence’s “In Bed with the Tudors” and Andrea Zuvich’s new book “Sex and Sexuality in Stuart Britain”.

For novels, Alison Weir’s latest, “The Tainted Queen,” looks at Catherine Howard’s life, while Adrienne Dillard’s “The Raven’s Widow,” offers a beautifully revisionist picture of the Boleyns.

The BBC series “The Shadow of the Tower” and Channel 4’s “The Devil’s Whore” can both also be recommended for an unflinching portrayal of sexual attitudes at the time. Although viewers with an eye to strict accuracy may balk at the former’s insinuation, in episode 10 “The Man who never was,” of an affair between Perkin Warbeck and the 8th Earl of Kildare, Henry VII’s Lord Deputy of Ireland; it’s a rare moment of (subtle) speculation from an otherwise impeccably proper and consistently atmospheric drama.

GARETH RUSSELL



JOUSTING STILL HAPPENS!

PHOTOS BY TIM & CLAIRE RIDGWAY
Taken at Hever Castle & Warwick Castle













Music for Elizabeth I.
Court music from her reign

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**MUSIC FOR
ANNE BOLEYN**

*COURT MUSIC FROM HER
RISE AND REIGN*

HENRY VIII • DE SERMISY • CORNYSH
MILÁN • DES PRÉZ • ASTON
MOUTON • SUSATO • TAVERNER • TYE
VERDELOT • TALLIS • ATTAIGNANT

ROBERTO LORENZ RECORDS

**A New Tudor
Music
album from
Roberto
Lorenz...**

Composer and music producer Roberto Lorenz's album "Music for Elizabeth I" was released on 21st November 2020. It's a compilation of 26 musical treasures that this queen would have heard during the course of her reign. Besides popular dances and motets from her lifetime, it includes love songs and hymns that were especially written in honour of this last Tudor monarch.

The album is available to download and stream everywhere. It really is beautiful.

Roberto's previous album "Music for Anne Boleyn – Court music from her rise and reign" is well worth a listen too. It includes popular court dances, ballads, and sacred pieces, mostly from Anne's adult years, as well as four pieces penned by Henry VIII himself.



SIR HENRY WYATT 1460-1537

I live in Gravesend in Kent but, to be more precise, back in Tudor times, my house (had it existed) would have been in the village of Milton-next-Gravesend. Milton's parish church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul dates from medieval times and still stands looking out across the River Thames. I recently discovered that Sir Henry Wyatt, the father of the poet Sir Thomas Wyatt, was buried in Milton Church after his death in 1537. I knew nothing about Sir Henry and wondered how he was connected to Milton, so I decided to do a bit of digging into Wyatt's story. I was in for a shock.

Before I tell you of my findings, I have to make a confession: I'm a Ricardian and, in my humble opinion, Richard III was an OK guy, by no means an angel, but definitely not the monstrous villain of Shakespeare's drama. So you can imagine my horror when I first looked at the archive entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*¹ by Sir Sydney Lee, written in 1900:

Henry Wyatt resisted the pretensions of Richard III to the throne, and was in consequence arrested and imprisoned in the Tower for two years. According to his son's statement he was racked in Richard's presence, and vinegar and mustard were forced down his throat.

In all the books, articles and state papers I've read in the past forty years about the life and times of King Richard III, no mention has ever been made of such an event nor of Henry Wyatt being locked in the Tower of London. This required further investigation.

The current edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* has an updated entry about Henry Wyatt, written by Colin Burrows in 2004. Having given Wyatt's family details that he was a younger son of Richard Wyatt of Yorkshire, and Margaret, the daughter and heir of William Bailiff of Reigate, his skills as a soldier and financier are cited as the reasons why he became one of the longest-serving courtiers of Henry VII and Henry VIII. Burrows

TONI MOUNT

then ventures into less certain terrain, stating *His [Wyatt's] support for Henry Tudor began before 1483, and he probably participated in Buckingham's unsuccessful revolt against Richard III in that year.*

In her blogspot about cats at the Tower of London, Grace Elliot elaborates further: *Born in 1460, Sir Henry Wyatt was a Yorkshireman and attended Eton with Henry Tudor.*

In fact, there is no evidence for Wyatt's schooling, nor for his having taken an active part in the so-called Buckingham's Rebellion of October 1483, just three months into the reign of Richard III. However, it seems likely that Wyatt did support Henry Tudor in the period before the battle of Bosworth because he received rewards for his faithful service to the new king, Henry VII, immediately after the victory and defeat of Richard. In 1485 he became a Privy Counsellor, Keeper of Norwich Castle and before September 1486 he was made Clerk of the King's Jewels and Master of the same in June 1488, combining that office with the Clerkship of the King's Mint.

Elliot tells us that Wyatt suffered greatly for his loyalty to the Tudor:

Unfortunately for Wyatt at the time of our story, it was not Henry Tudor on the throne but Richard III, and the later [sic] was distinctly twitchy about anyone who might support the Tudor line of accession. Richard decided to limit any damage Wyatt might be tempted to do by imprisoning him in the Tower of London. Just to make sure he felt completely unwelcome, Wyatt was tortured, and kept in squalid conditions sleeping on straw on a stone floor and

with his clothes in rags. Given very little food, he was also starving.²

Even more unfortunately for Ricardians, this story has been perpetuated in what should be a reliable guide to history, a book published in 2004 by the Royal Armouries, *The Tower of London prisoner book: a complete chronology of the prisoners known to be detained at their majesties' pleasure, 1100-1941*, by B. A. Harrison. But Richard is exonerated by the words of Wyatt's own son, Thomas the Elder, to his grandson, Thomas the Younger (of Wyatt's Rebellion fame) in 1538:

God preserved him [Henry] in prison from the hands of the tyrant that could find it in his heart to see him racked, from two years and more [im]prisonment in Scotland in irons and stocks.

Henry Wyatt was incarcerated in Scotland, not at the Tower of London, and whoever the 'tyrant' was who tortured him, it wasn't Richard who never went north of the border during his two year reign. Richard III is never named by the Wyatt family in their correspondence. The assumption is derived later from the word 'tyrant' being applied to Wyatt's gaoler. In the sixteenth century, the term meant 'anyone who acts in a cruel, violent, or wicked manner' so it seems likely that it refers to the Scottish baron who had Wyatt in custody. This reasonable idea was proposed by Agnes Conway.³

What we do know is that Wyatt was ransomed and released from the Scottish dungeon soon after Henry Tudor's triumph at Bosworth and that a first grant of office was made to Wyatt on 11 October 1485. Whatever services he



Portrait of Henry Wyatt
by Hans Holbein [c.1537]



A posthumous portrait of Henry Wyatt based on his picture by Hans Holbein but with the pigeon-supplying cat added.

had carried out for the Tudor, they must have been of considerable importance. Perhaps he had been spying, assessing the possibilities for alliance or enmity with James III, King of Scots, whether the Scots would support or oppose a new monarchy on the English throne. His activities there during Richard's reign are likely to remain forever secret but his torture by a Scottish tyrant seems to have been real. The details are precise and do not sound like an invention, though the claim that he was 'racked' may have referred to a state of mind – that was the original meaning of the word – rather than a physical assault because the rack as an instrument of torture was a new introduction to Britain. However, Wyatt described having horse barnacles used on him and vinegar and mustard poured down his throat. Horse barnacles were a pinching device used on a feisty horse's mouth to control the animal and it could have been a means of pulling Wyatt's mouth open while the vinegar concoction was poured in – nasty.

Family legend has it that during his imprisonment, Wyatt was

given very little food and he was fed on pigeons brought to him daily by a cat from a nearby dovecot, saving him from starvation. This incredible source of fresh meat may be a later embellishment to the story because the earlier references in the family papers only tell of a friendly cat that lay with him and kept him warm in his cold stone cell. The 'improved' version tells of the gaoler promising the prisoner that if he could supply his own meat, the gaoler would see it was cooked for him. The cruel joke rebounded when fresh pigeons were produced, courtesy of the cat, but the gaoler kept his word. Apparently, Wyatt became a cat-lover ever after and a fictitious posthumous portrait was painted of Henry Wyatt with a cat to maintain the legend.

From the grants and offices that Wyatt received he became wealthy enough to buy Allington Castle near Maidstone in Kent in 1492. At the same time, he maintained his northern Yorkshire links, becoming Bailiff and Constable of Conisborough Castle in Yorkshire in March 1487 at the time of the Lambert Simnel Rebellion. In

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June that year he fought at King Henry's side against the Yorkists in the last battle of the Wars of the Roses at East Stoke by Newark beside the River Trent.

At this point, Burrows, in his *OEDNB* entry, confuses the issue. Firstly, he states that the battle against the pretender Lambert Simnel occurred at Stoke-on-Trent. Some road atlases make the same mistake. Then we are told that Wyatt was made Governor of the City and Castle of Carlisle in 1494 and it was at this point that he was captured and held to ransom by the Scots. So, according to Burrows, the 'two yeres and more prisonment in Scotland' could have occurred a decade after Bosworth, between 1494 and 1496. Wyatt was still paying off his ransom years later when he was reimbursed with a grant from the king (now Henry VIII) on 22 August 1515. By June 1496, however, Wyatt wrote to Henry VII from Carlisle concerning the defensive preparations being made against the expected rebellion and invasion of Perkin Warbeck – another Yorkist claimant to the throne. In June 1497, Wyatt was present at the battle of Blackheath, south of London, putting an end to the Cornish Rebellion.⁴

Wyatt was one of Henry VII's executors when the king died and was soon appointed to the Privy Council of the new king, Henry VIII, in April 1509, becoming a Knight of the Bath before the coronation. In 1511, he was appointed joint Constable of Norwich Castle with Sir Thomas Boleyn. Wyatt and Boleyn were friends, being distant neighbours in Kent with their castles at Allington and Hever an easy ride distant. Wyatt married Anne Skinner from Reigate in Surrey,

probably in 1502, and they had three children: Thomas who became a courtier and poet; Henry who died as a child and Margaret who wed Sir Anthony Lee by whom she had Sir Henry Lee who became Queen Elizabeth's official Champion.

Wyatt continued to serve his king, accompanying Henry VIII to Calais in 1513 and bringing an impressive retinue of more than a hundred men. After demonstrating courage in the vanguard at the battle of the Spurs that August, the king promoted him to a knight-banneret. In 1520, as part of his duties as Master of the King's Jewels, Wyatt was responsible for the safe-keeping and shipping of the vast quantities of gold and silver plate for the feasting and entertainment of King Francis of France at the Field of Cloth of Gold. Still moving among the celebrities of the day, as Sheriff of Kent, Wyatt attended King Henry at Canterbury during his reception of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V (Queen Katherine of Aragon's nephew) in May 1522. He also had the king and Cardinal Wolsey as his guests at Allington Castle. After Wolsey's fall from grace, Wyatt was a close friend of the king's new secretary, Thomas Cromwell, who became one of the executors of his will.

By now, Wyatt was in his sixties and retired as Master of the King's Jewels in 1524. In gratitude for his long years of loyal service, the king granted him the manor of Milton-next-Gravesend in Kent and the avowson (the right to appoint priests) of the church and recently-dissolved chantry there, which Wyatt re-founded soon after. Here at last is Wyatt's connection to Milton



Milton Chantry, Gravesend, today – now a Heritage Centre
[English Heritage]

Church which I was searching for, although the medieval chantry and church are quite separate entities some distance apart.

Wyatt had retired from court by 1533 and withdrew to Allington. His health was deteriorating when his son Thomas deputised for him as Ewer – in charge of hand-washing facilities, towels and napkins – at Anne Boleyn’s coronation feast. How devastated he must have been when he received news that Thomas was imprisoned in the Tower of London – without doubt in this case – in May 1536 at the time of Anne Boleyn’s arrest. Fortunately, it seems Thomas was a witness rather than a suspect but he was in the Tower at the time of the executions of the queen who had been their neighbour and those found guilty of involvement in her supposed adultery. Wyatt later

wrote to the king and Cromwell, thanking them for his son’s release.

Henry Wyatt died on 10 November that year, aged seventy-six. His will requested his burial at Milton Church *nerre unto dame Anee my wyfe* and for the continuation of prayers to be said for their souls at the chantry.⁵

St Peter’s & St Paul’s Church, Milton-next-Gravesend

In 1540/41, Sir Thomas Wyatt returned the manor of Milton and the right to appoint the priests at both the church and the chantry to King Henry VIII. He may have been re-buying the king’s favour having spent another period in the Tower of London before being released after Queen Katherine Howard pleaded for him with the king.

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The myth that Henry Wyatt was imprisoned in the Tower of London and tortured by Richard III in person first appeared in 1702, inscribed on a stone tablet put in Boxley Church, near Maidstone, Kent, by Henry's great-great-great-grandson Edwin Wyatt. Despite there being no evidence in any records, including those of the Tower of London itself, it may be that Edwin was confusing other family history events involving Henry's son, as above, and his grandson, each of whom spent time in the Tower under the Tudors. The marble plaque contains information on the Wyatt family [Wiat] up until Edwin's day. Here is the relevant section on Henry:

To the Memory of Sr HENRY WIAT
of ALINGTON CASTLE

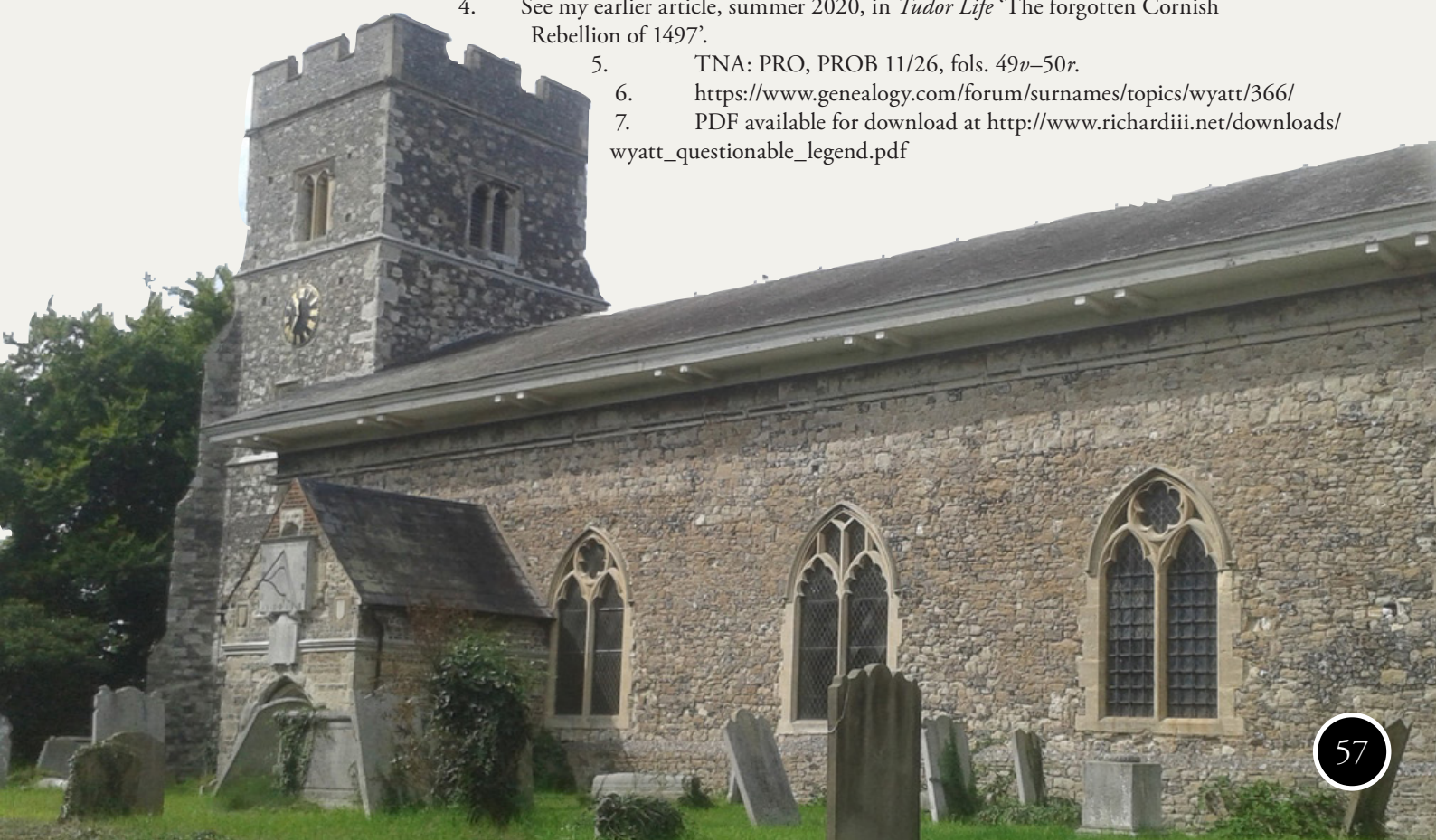
Knight Bannert descended of that
Ancient family who was imprisoned
and tortured in the Tower in the reign
of KING RICHARD the third
kept in the Dungeon where fed and
preserved by a Cat⁶

I am indebted to Annette Carson's work, 'The Questionable Legend of Henry Wyatt' (an extended version of an article originally published in the *Ricardian Register*), from the US Richard III Society, Inc., 17 February 2012, for some of the more interesting facts included here.⁷

In my next article, I shall be looking at the adventures – and misadventures – of the two Sir Thomas Wyatt's, the Elder and the Younger during the reigns of the Tudor monarchs.

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1. For both articles taken from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, the search for Sir Henry Wyatt takes you to a blank page. The search for 'Sir Thomas Wyatt – poet', will take you to his father, Sir Henry's, biography.
2. <http://gracealliot-author.blogspot.com/2015/07/cats-of-tower-of-london-sir-henry-wyatt.html>
3. Agnes Conway, *Henry VII's Relations with Scotland and Ireland, 1485-1498* [Cambridge, 1932].
4. See my earlier article, summer 2020, in *Tudor Life* 'The forgotten Cornish Rebellion of 1497'.
5. TNA: PRO, PROB 11/26, fols. 49v–50r.
6. <https://www.genealogy.com/forum/surnames/topics/wyatt/366/>
7. PDF available for download at http://www.richardiii.net/downloads/wyatt_questionable_legend.pdf





Wide ranging
history
knowledge ...
and diet coke?

Catherine Interviews...

This month's interview is with another member of the Tudor Society team, our editor Gareth Russell. Gareth is a historian and author, and is best known for his highly acclaimed biography on Catherine Howard, 'Young and Damned and Fair', and his 2019 release on the Titanic, 'The Ship of Dreams: The Sinking of the Titanic and the End of the Edwardian Era' (previously published in the UK as 'The Darksome Bounds of a Failing World').

Hi, Gareth! Thank you so much for taking the time to do this for our members today. So, first thing's first: Tell everyone a little more about yourself outside the history world.

Catherine, I apologise for this answer in advance, as this sounds perilously like "tell the group an interesting fact about yourself." A moment at which my mind typically seems to utterly wipe itself of any and all interesting facts. I'm from Belfast, Northern Ireland and, until the merry mayhem of Covid19, I split my time between my home city and New York. I've written six books, maybe six and a half if one counts a short guide called "An Illustrated Introduction to the Tudors". My favourite novels are "Brideshead Revisited," "The Song of Achilles," and "The Leopard." And I need to stop with the Diet Coke.

Where did you get your love of history from? Did history feature strongly in your life and education as you were growing up?

It did by proxy through my Sunday School lessons. I was obsessed with the Bible, its people, and its stories. So, I think I was predisposed to History. I also was lucky enough to have my great-grandparents with us

Catherine Interviews...

here for the majority of my childhood, which meant I grew-up hearing stories of Edwardian and post-partition Belfast. I was incredibly lucky to have done so!

Your first published works were the two novels forming the ‘Popular’ series, which I believe have been made into stage production. That’s a real honour and I’d love to see it! How did that come about and how does it feel to see your work played out to a live audience?

That’s so kind of you to say. Honestly, it was one of the most unutterable and complete joys of my life. A theatre company in Belfast reached out when “Popular” was published in 2011 and from then, until the final run of the sequel in 2016, I had the thrill to see my characters brought to life, audiences roar with laughter, sell-out runs, and many more friendships made. I can’t describe, truly, the happiness it brought into my life.

Have you written any further fiction books, or did you move straight from there into non-fiction work, and what made you decide you wanted to move into writing both history and non-fiction books?

Greed and self-confidence, I suppose. I think life’s rather dull if we stick to one lane for the whole journey. I hoped I was good at both and my degrees – under- and post-graduate – were history. So, it seemed like a natural evolution. I would return to fiction though, for some projects in the future, I loved it.

You are very well known in the Tudor community and your biography on Catherine Howard, ‘Young and Damned and Fair’ has been successful all around the world. So why Catherine? What pulled you to her?

I’m not really sure. I was interested in her when I was younger, but picking her household for my MA thesis was, almost, a process of utilitarian logic at the time. For me to study the household in transition and as many different guises as possible, Catherine’s queenship offered

Catherine Interviews...

the best umbrella, for want of a better word. Yet, as I researched that household in 1540 and 1541, I realised that so much of what we know – or think we know – about Catherine’s rise and fall is fundamentally wrong. Luckily, I had a professor who pushed me to consider a full-length biography of Queen Catherine and I was put in touch with the fantastic woman who would later become my new agent and, now, a very dear friend. She invited me to have lunch with her the next time I was in New York and the rest is history, quite literally in this case. I pitched the idea of a new biography of Catherine Howard and she loved it.

It’s wonderful that in more recent years that we have seen Henry VIII’s wives (and other historical women), having their stories told. It has helped people to see them as real women rather than simply as bit parts in his life story. But all the myths and negative viewpoints surrounding them all still swirl all around us. Catherine is still often seen as silly, stupid, and a girl with no morals. Who is the Catherine you found, and how can we protect her reputation?

In a nutshell: by not going so far in the other direction that any reasonable criticism of her is shouted down. Catherine is frequently presented as a bimbo party girl who brought it all on herself, but almost in retaliation to that she’s also being held up in contrast to that as a passive victim, manipulated by everybody around her, with no agency and, frustratingly, no personality. My advice to history readers and commentators, in general, is: don’t let one strong yet wrong view push you into the opposite extreme in defiance. Catherine made many mistakes, she was also surrounded by those who made more, and she was full of personality. There were negative traits to her character – I don’t know if she was always particularly kind or considerate to her maids, for instance – but she was also vivacious, elegant, generous, and she had such life to her. She loved life and so let’s not take that fantastic spark of personality from her.

Catherine Interviews...

**You are a great fan of Anne Boleyn as well.
Would you like to tell her story one day?**

That really depends on the market, which isn't a very romantic answer, but one does also have to factor in that there are a lot of biographies of Anne, some of them very good indeed, and it's now at the point that not everyone's keen to see another one published. I would only publish one if I felt I had something new to say to warrant it. I find her utterly fascinating, but writing her biography may be a few years away!

**What moved you away from Tudor history to tell
the tale of the Titanic?**

I always oscillated between the Edwardians and the Tudors, my two passions, and I grew up on stories of the "Titanic" from my great-grandparents, who saw her in Belfast. My great-great-grandfather helped with her construction, so in many ways, having been fascinated in childhood, it felt like something which I would be compelled to tackle as a writer eventually!

**Your current project is a book on Hampton Court Palace,
which you are taking a rather different approach to.
What can you tell us about that?**

I'm excited about this one. I am using the palace – wonderful, sprawling, inchoate Hampton – as an Ark of Britishness. The monarchy and the nation's stories plays out in different chapters, focusing on a different figure living there in a different decade when something significant was happening. Right now, I'm looking at a jester and a midwife, after an ambassador and a queen. I love it.

**Lastly, if you could recommend any three history books (they
don't have to be Tudor), what would you choose and why?**

Great question! "Midnight at the Pera Palace" by Charles King is stupendous. It uses 20 years in the career of a luxury Istanbul hotel to tell a wider story about Turkish history from the exiling of the last Sultan to the start of the Second World War. It was sent to me by a friend in New York and I remain grateful for that generosity, because I adore it.

Catherine Interviews...

“The Lost King of France” by Deborah Cadbury is a harrowing and sensitive account of what happened to the Royal children during the French Revolution. And “Byzantium: The Early Years” by John Julius Norwich, an epic history of the fall of Rome and the rise of the Christian empire in the East; history at its best-written.

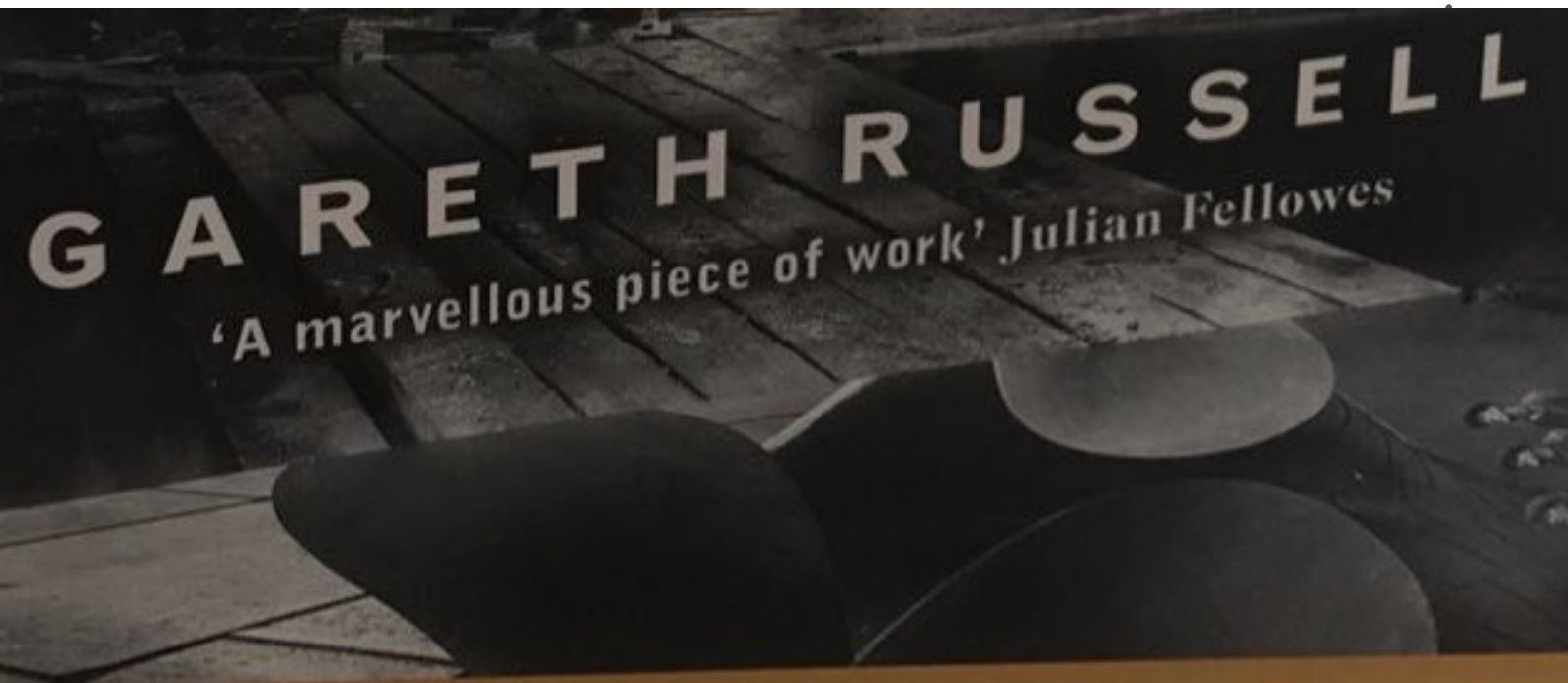
Thank you so much Gareth Russell!

You can find Gareth at the following:

Facebook - Gareth Russell - Historian/Author

Twitter - @garethrussell1

Instagram - _garethrussell



WORKSOME BOUNDS OF A FAILING
GARETH RUSSELL

SOME BOUNDS OF A FAILING WO

Lost without a Trace


The search for a plan of the 'Lost' 16th Century fortress at Haddington

When Sir Thomas Palmer and Lord Grey of Wilton surveyed the town of Haddington in April 1548 they did not like what they saw. The two men had been tasked by Edward Seymour, the Duke of Somerset, and Lord Protector of England, to create a fortress in the very heart of enemy territory capable of withstanding anything that the enemy may throw at them. This place was devoid of all defensible buildings. The town wall was partially built and the ports in poor repair. It was the nearest thing to a greenfield site that you could find in the war-torn landscape of East Lothian. Their only hope was the latest designs for forts sent over from Europe would prove as easy to build and as resilient to siege as the Italian designers claimed. Only time would tell.

The Englishmen were not unfamiliar to the countryside of East Lothian. They had accompanied Seymour only the previous year on his campaign to Edinburgh which ultimately led to the crushing defeat of the Scottish army along the banks of the River Esk at Pinkie Cleuch. The English victory that day, termed 'Black Saturday' by the Scots, was emphatic. Over 10,000 Scots had been killed. It remains the largest and bloodiest battle on Scottish soil.

However, the victorious English army

had ultimately been forced to retire back to the English border as the battle had been fought at the end of a very tenuous supply line. Ultimately nothing had been achieved by the victory. The young Mary Queen of Scots had not been bequeathed to the young Prince Edward of England. Far from it. Plans were underway to send her to the French court in preparation for her marriage to the Dauphin. Her mother, Mary of Guise, remained firmly in control of the Scottish lairds, a regime backed up



A 3D model of the supposed layout of the fort at Haddington transposed onto an old plan of the town and set onto a virtual landscape. This model can be considered the best guess. Only the discovery of one of the missing plans and a comprehensive archaeological study will confirm how accurate this reconstruction is. (Images courtesy of Paul O'Keefe)

by the promise of French troops should the English ever invade again.

It was clear to Somerset, now Protector of the English throne and guardian of the young King Edward since the death of Henry VIII, that a new plan would be needed to persuade the Scots to break the shackles of the French control and align with the English. The wooing of the Scottish princess and her court could not be achieved by force of arms alone. It would take a permanent presence in Scotland to persuade the local lairds of the benefit of the English intentions. A garrison of English troops on the very doorstep of Edinburgh would assure the Scots that the English plans were beneficial to all parties.

Haddington was perfectly located to allow the garrison to apply military

pressure on the Scots in Edinburgh. English horsemen could raid as far as the outskirts of the capital destroying mills, livestock and crops as well as fostering loyalty with threats and blackmail. East Lothian at the time was also considered to be the 'breadbasket' of Edinburgh, supplying much of the wheat and cloth to the city. Any garrison stationed in the burgh town would affectively dictate terms for the provisioning of the capital. On paper, Haddington looked to be the prime-time location for the English garrison.

Haddington, however, was not best suited for a new fort. Nestling in the crook of the bends of the shallow running River Tyne, the town lay at the centre of a low-lying flood plain surrounded by prominent hills. Lord Grey and Palmer noted in their early correspondence to the



ATATIS. SVÆ. 32

MINNI 1547.

HADDINGTON TOWN

Taken and defended agaynst two besages of the Scotis of the Trenchie by the valoure of the Englishe men this Knight being theyre Capteyne.

Sir James Wilsford by unknown artist, dated 1547. Tantalizing Evidence - Sitting in the top right corner of a portrait of the English general and commander of the garrison of Haddington, Sir James Wilford is a miniature supposedly depicting a view of the west port of the fort. As to how accurate this depiction is remains unclear.

Protector that the town was overlooked on all sides and there were no significant buildings which could be used as temporary fortified accommodation. The town had no castle or burgh walls. There was no prominent high ground onto which to build a citadel and the roads to the coast and border along which supplies could be transported were difficult to guard. To compound their worries, the English had only 2,000 soldiers with which to build a fortification from scratch and many of these were Spanish mercenaries who were unwilling to act as labourers. The garrison would have to depend on the cooperation

of the local lairds and artisans to help build a fort and house the workforce during the construction.

Sir John Brende and Sir Thomas Palmer, the English engineers, set to work the day after their arrival, pegging out the foundations for their new fortification. They did not know it at the time, but they had only 60 days before the Scots with their French allies would appear on the crest of the Garleton Hills to the west and the great siege of Haddington would begin. Time and resource were in short supply and any new build would have to be completed as quickly as possible.

‘Leaving Nothing but the Plague’

Fast forward to September 1549 when the Earl of Rutland arrived at the gates of the beleaguered fort with a relief column. The garrison was on its last legs; food was scarce and disease rife, however, the fortifications had not been breached. They had withstood everything the Scots and their French allies had been able to throw at them over the past 15 months. The main French assault had been attempted in the first few months of the siege but had failed when the Scottish contingent had returned to their homes at the end of their enlistment. Subsequently, the French had dragged many of their heavy siege guns back to Edinburgh and notwithstanding the odd surprise attack, had settled down isolating the town and preventing stores and supplies entering the beleaguered fort.

However, it was not starvation and disease that would ultimately decide the fate of the English in Haddington. In the early months of 1549, Protector Somerset

had fallen from grace and was later to be executed. The new regime in London had decided that the expensive and costly maintenance of the garrisons north of the border could not continue. The whole point of the strategy was to bring Queen Mary into the English court, but she had already been taken to France and betrothed to the Dauphin. Now the troops north of the border had been bottled up in their forts and castles and were in no position to influence the local Scottish lairds and threaten the minority of Mary of Guise.

The Earl of Rutland loaded the sick and wounded survivors of the Haddington garrison into carts, levelled the fortifications and returned once more to the English border. By the end of the year, all the English garrisons had been withdrawn. The invaders left the Scots to the custodianship of the French. Ironically, it would be a decade before the Scots called upon the English to kick out their Gallic

overseers.

No Trace to be Found

When Mary of Guise visited Haddington soon after the English departure, she commented on the fact that the English had left '*nothing but the plague*'. Many historians have subsequently agreed with her, stating that there are no signs left of the redoubtable fortifications. But how could such an impregnable fortress simply disappear from the landscape?

Well, the secret is in its construction. Haddington was for the time a state-of-the-art fortification. It was the first 'Trace Italienne' fort to be built in Scotland. The advent of gunpowder and the development of artillery on the battlefield meant that castles had to be radically redesigned to withstand the bombardment of the heavy siege guns. Whereas in the early Middle Ages the tendency was to build castle walls taller and thicker to withstand attacks by catapults and siege engines, this design was susceptible to sustained bombardment from artillery and could not be quickly repaired should it collapse.

Artillery by the middle of the 16th century may not have been that accurate, but it could certainly hit the metaphorical 'side of a barn' or in this case the high castle walls. It was, therefore, necessary to reduce the profile of the fortifications and use a material which would absorb the impact of the artillery shot. The Italian engineers came up with the idea of dropping the fortification into the ground with a series of deep ditches surrounding earthen walls. This not only provided a minimal target

for the besieging artillery to aim at but also maintained a series of high walls, deep ditches and ramparts lined with cannon and shot which would still require ladders to scale. Also, such fortifications were laid out to ensure that every foot of the perimeter wall was covered by the defenders' guns. Ensuring this enfilade proved to be a mathematical and architectural quandary. However, the Italian engineers created a series of angular bastions which sheltered defensive gun positions from enemy fire and established a killing zone along the length of each wall.

The early Trace Italienne fortifications were made primarily from digging ditches and piling up the spoil. For want of a better description, these were the equivalent of 'flat-pack' 'popup' fortifications which could be quickly built and hastily repaired when damaged by bombardment. The French at Haddington would spend all day bombarding the English fort only to find by the following morning all the ramparts restored.

Trace Italienne fortresses were to become the dominant feature in European warfare for centuries thereafter. Complicated geometric designs incorporating ramparts and ditches circumvallated the smallest of outposts to the largest cities. The designs went around the world as Europeans colonized other continents. These 'pop up' fortresses could be used to house a garrison, protect trading hubs and guard communication networks in quick time.

However, such fortifications could

also be levelled as fast as they could be built. It was simply a matter of casting down the ramparts and refilling the ditches, leaving the ground available for future development. It is not uncommon for the sites of old fortifications to be defined in the modern urban sprawl by the line of the surviving network of streets which had been built within the confines of the old fort before it was demolished. The distinctive sharp angles of the lost bastions and bottlenecks of the old city ports can still be traced within the street plans of many European towns and cities today.

And this is the problem for any archaeologist trying to locate the fortifications at Haddington. Things would be made much easier had a plan of the town survived to the present day. Investigations to date have been unable to locate one of the many engineering plans known to have being drawn up during the time of the siege. For example, Odet De Selve, the French ambassador to Somerset's court in London, writes of one meeting with the Protector where he was shown a plan of the fortifications. Undoubtedly Somerset knew the conversation would be reported back to Scotland so whether this image was a true representation of the fortifications or a deliberate exaggeration of the actual layout we do not know, but this plan and

others similar would provide a starting point for any archaeological survey. What is annoying is that we have found plans for many of the other forts built during the campaign in the Belvoir House Collection, but Haddington is not among them.

In the meantime, we are solely dependent on the number of written descriptions of the fortifications, the odd passing comment in letters and diaries and tentative images seen in the background of portraits and woodcuts. The only way to prove the actual location of the walls and ramparts is to either find them in the archaeological record or recover an accurate and reliable plan from the archives.

And so we would like to issue a call to arms and ask all archivists, historians and interested parties who have access to 16th Century archives to undertake a search of the hidden records and forgotten manuscripts to see if one of these plans can be unearthed. Armed with such intelligence our search for the archaeological evidence could be shortened by many years and at considerably less cost.

For more information about the search for the lost fortifications of Haddington please visit our website, Facebook page and blog detailed below. we look forward to hearing from you especially if you have found that missing plan!!

So please take up the challenge and help us find that missing plan of Haddington... it just has to be out there!!! It could well be in your collection.

JON COOPER

Links - <https://www.facebook.com/SHRG1548>



Haddington Today. A panoramic aerial view of Haddington taken above the church of St Mary's. The church was left upstanding outside the fortifications during the siege and as such was located in no man's land between the two lines. It became a regular target for English and French gunners. The church was left in a ruinous state for many years after the fighting and is still today covered in cannon blasts and arquebus shot holes.

The Nungate Bridge (centre right) was also left standing during the siege and similar battle damage can still be seen.

This image shows Haddington from the south looking towards the Garleton Hills and the gun positions and camp of the besieging Scots. The fortifications were built around the old medieval town and are now lost beneath the subsequent urban expansion. (Image courtesy of Alex Giesser, Dig It!)



Quiz Answers

How did you do with this quiz... possibly better than usual? Maybe not?! Let us know in the comments on the Tudor Society website how you do with these quizzes!

T

Charlie on Books



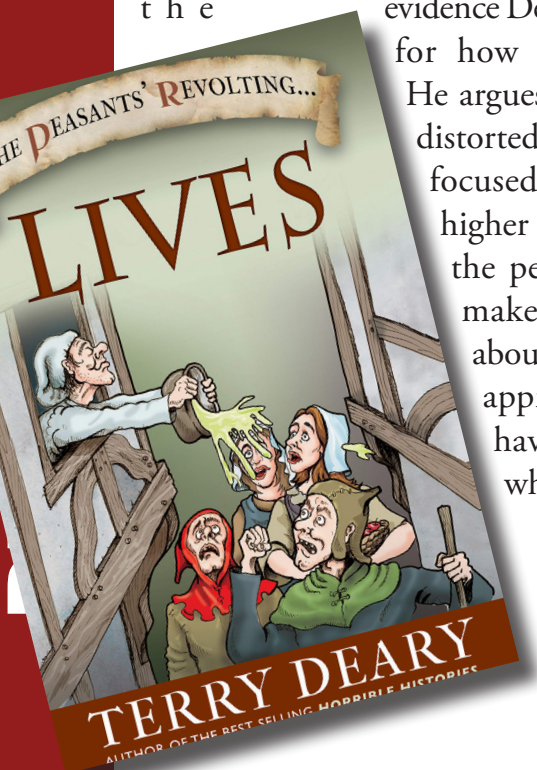
THE PEASANTS' REVOLTING LIVES

Terry Deary



One of the most popular book series for children is the *Horrible Histories* series by Terry Deary, who has recently turned his skill towards history books aimed at adults. His latest work, *The Peasants' Revolting Lives*, is part of a new series looking at ordinary people throughout history. It is engaging and includes his usual *Horrible Histories* humour, as well as fairly well-researched for a book of its type.

Throughout the book there are interesting quotes from different sources, helping support the evidence Deary is presenting for how peasants lived. He argues that we have a distorted view of history, focused on those of a higher class rather than the peasants. He also makes a good point about how we should appreciate what we have compared to what they had:



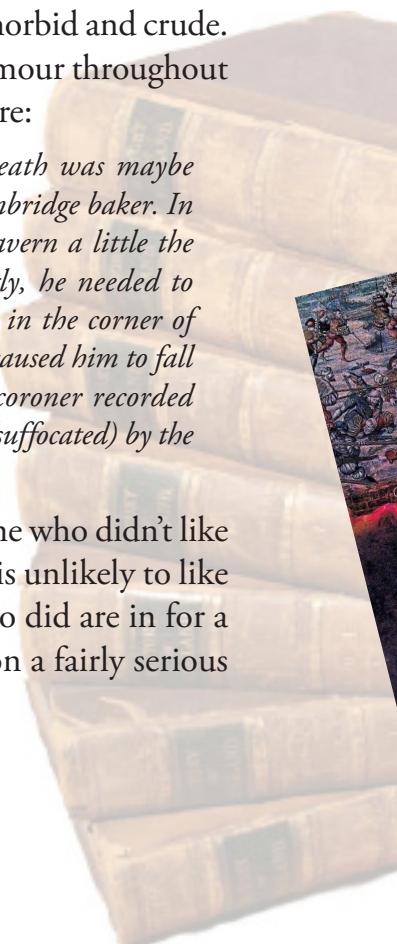
Just for a change, and just for a while, consider the life of the peasant rather than the life of a king or a conqueror. You may be inspired by the courage and fortitude of our fellow humans. And, when someone asks you, 'Which era in history would you choose to live in?' you might just answer with one word. Now.'

The layout of the book is simple, making it an easy one to pick up and put back down whenever. It is divided into different sections depending on what aspect of life is being looked at, which would allow the reader to pick and choose what they want to read about at a certain time.

It also includes the usual *Horrible Histories* humour, which can be a bit morbid and crude. An example of the typical humour throughout the book is demonstrated here:

'But the most ignominious death was maybe that of George Dunkyn, a Cambridge baker. In 1523, he returned from the tavern a little the worse for wear. Unsurprisingly, he needed to relieve himself into the cesspit in the corner of his garden. The demon drink caused him to fall backwards into the pit. The coroner recorded that George was 'queasomed' (suffocated) by the stink. What a way to go.'

This also means that anyone who didn't like the *Horrible Histories* series is unlikely to like this book, but any adults who did are in for a treat. It is a humorous take on a fairly serious subject and it works well.



The Peasants' Revolting Lives in an entertaining look at the lives of those often neglected in other history books. It is engaging and will appeal to anyone who read or watched the *Horrible Histories* series growing up. It does not just focus on the Tudors, but there is a lot to interest those who are interested in the period. I would also recommend it to anyone who enjoyed the previous book in the series, *The Peasants' Revolting Crimes*.

AN ALTERNATIVE HISTORY OF BRITAIN: THE TUDORS

Timothy Venning



When reading about certain events in history, we often imagine what would have happened if things had gone differently, if someone had not died or a different choice had been made. There is a series of alternative history books that look at this, with one such book

being on the Tudors. The author, Timothy Venning, writes this one and it is an interesting look at how easily things may have changed.

Venning dives straight in with looking at the early Tudors, starting with the death of Prince Arthur and what might have

happened had he lived for longer. The author provides context for each situation before looking at alternatives and what could have changed. His arguments are very well-thought and explained, as well as being very detailed.

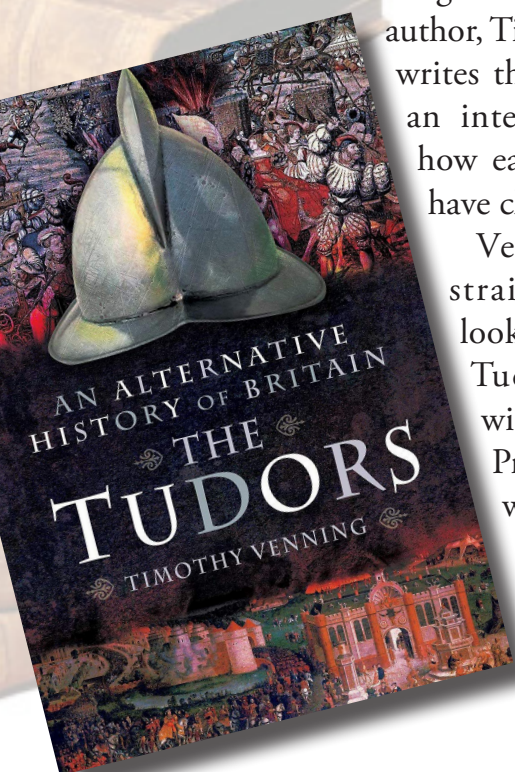
The book looks at what might have happened had the situation in Europe been different in the 1520s and, as such, if it would have been easier for Henry VIII to get an annulment. It soon moves on to one of the most well-known events, Henry's jousting accident of 1536. It examines the possible actions of those in power and what might have happened had he died:

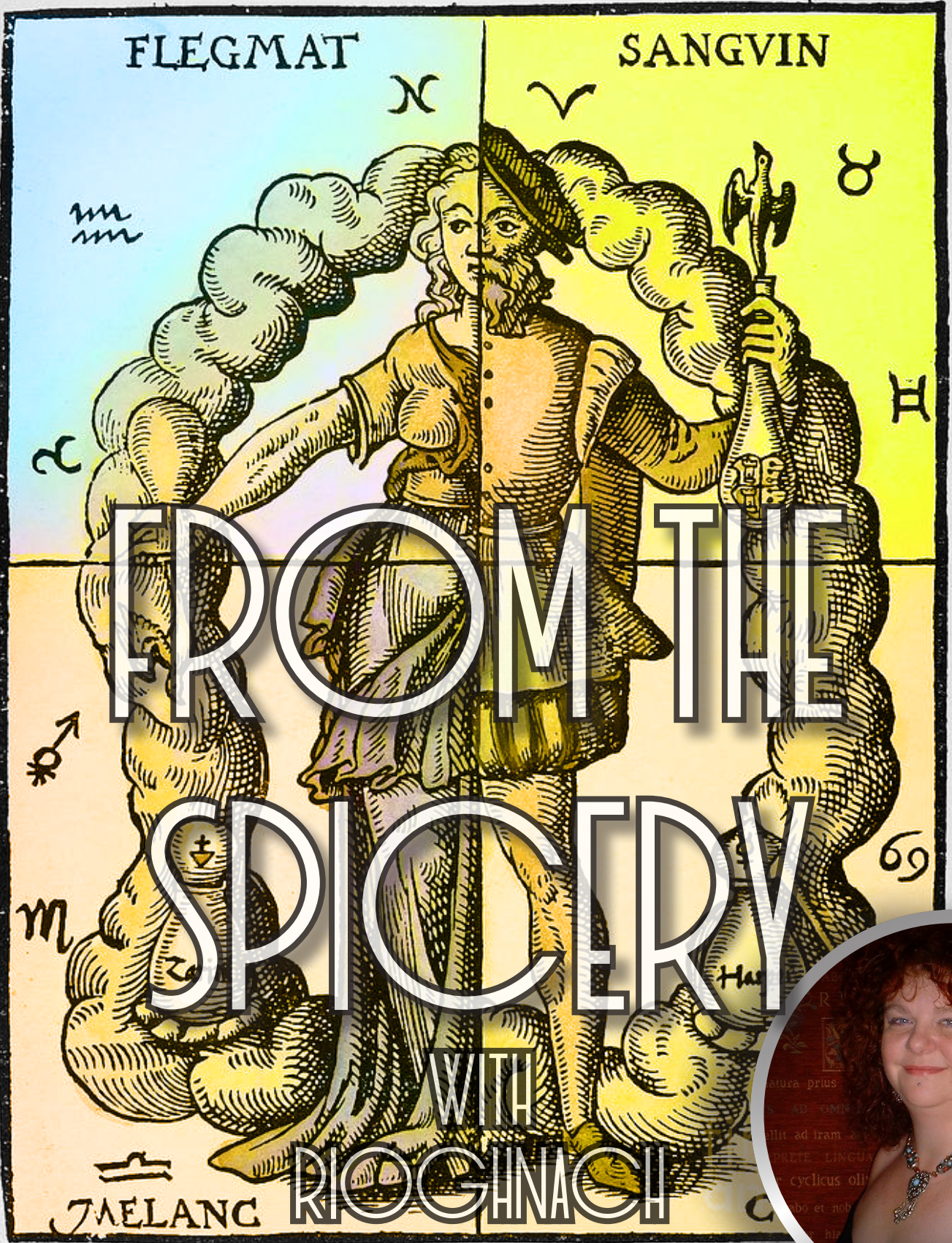
'Probably Norfolk and Anne secure the person of Henry's disinherited elder daughter Mary (aged nineteen) to prevent a conservative revolt on her behalf by the partisans of Catherine of Aragon and opponents of the break with Rome. Again, it was lucky that the discarded but popular Catherine had died a few weeks before; if Henry had been killed in her lifetime her past decades as queen, her public support, and the number of noble courtier families whose members had served her meant that there would have been wide support for reinstating her and Mary and every chance of a rebellion or a coup.'

As well as some of the more obvious ones, there are some unusual scenarios included, such as 'What if Henry had not been warned about Catherine Howard's affairs with Culpeper and Dereham in October-November 1541 and had her tried and executed?' Venning really looks at all angles and all different possibilities for change. It is also well-referenced throughout, which is surprising considering the type of book it is, looking at alternative history. This really helps support the author's theories and ideas.

An Alternative History of Britain: The Tudors is an excellent book looking at the Tudor period and the opportunities for change. It poses many interesting questions and I would recommend it to anyone interested in the period, although it may suit those who have at least some background knowledge of the events involved, due to the amount of detail included.

CHARLIE FENTON





**BUT IT'S GOOD
FOR YOU**

Hello and welcome to another Tudor Life/Form the Spicery year! May it be less ‘exciting’ than 2020 proved to be. Given its still technically the festive season, I thought it could be interesting to take a look at the role food played in terms of medicine.

If you’re anything like me, you more than likely have memories of a parent trying to spoon conventional medicines into you with the utterance of “But its good for you”. And as a good friend of mine quips “Yes, and it tastes like it too” - mean it tastes disgustingly awful. That sentiment certainly holds true for some medieval medicines, but not necessarily all of them as we shall see. Being good medieval types, you are more than likely already familiar with the concept of humorism. However, I’ll briefly recap for those who may not be so familiar with it.

Humor	Organ	Temper	Season	Element
Black bile	Spleen	Melancholy	Cold / dry	Earth
Yellow bile	Lungs	Phlegmatic	Cold / wet	Water
Phlegm	Head	Sanguine	Warm / wet	Air
Blood	Gallbladder	Choleric	Warm / dry	Fire

Table of Humors and Correspondences.¹

The theory of humorism underpins medieval medicine and owes its origins to the ancient Greeks, and Hippocrates in particular. Essentially, every person had four humors that determined their overall health: sanguine (blood), choleric (yellow bile), melancholic (black bile), and phlegmatic (phlegm). Each of the humors had a direct elemental correspondence: sanguine related to air, choleric related to fire, melancholic associated with earth, and phlegmatic related to water. The diagram at the beginning of this article illustrates how each humour related to the others.² These humors were thought to determine every person’s health, personality, and behaviour. While these humors remained balanced, the body was considered to be healthy. However, when things became unbalanced, it was time to address the imbalance, and often through foods. I say through foods; however, this was not always the

1 <https://www.medicalnewstoday.com/articles/323533#middle-ages>

2 Medieval Life Project. <https://sites.google.com/site/medievallifeproject/>

case. Indeed the preferred method of treatment may be bleeding or purging the patient in an attempt to rebalance the humors.

Perhaps the simplest humor to begin with, is choleric or yellow bile, and its elemental association of fire. Someone suffering from an overabundance of yellow bile might be more restless or aggressive than usual. As such, the patient may be prescribed a calming draft of lemon balm (*Melissa officinalis*) or valerian (*Valeriana officinalis*), or skullcap (*Scutellaria baicalensis*) to correct this imbalance. It is interesting to note that a calming cup of chamomile or lemon balm tea is still recommended to help people unwind from the stresses of modern life.

The next simplest humor would be black bile, and it is from this that we get the modern words for melancholia and melancholy from. An excess of black bile was thought to stem from digestive issues. Where a purgative might fail, an appropriate alternative treatment might involve a diet of bland tasting foods such as plain gruels, or other simple and unspiced foods. As with the simple herbal teas used to us unwind and destress, so bland foods would be prescribed by modern doctors to soothe an upset stomach.

A patient suffering from an overabundance of blood and who had a fever or was sweating may well have been initially bled to correct the humors. If bleeding failed, then a diet of cooling foods may have been used to reduce the patient's temperature. No spicy foods for the patient either! However, if the patient presented with a respiratory complaint without a fever, then they were considered to have an overabundance of phlegm. To counter this, they may be encouraged to drink more fluids and may be where the saying to starve a cold and feed a fever comes from.

One of the earliest medical books that included references to herbal treatments (also known as *simples*) is Bald's Leechbook (also known as *Medicinale Anglicum*) which dates from the time of Alfred the Great.³ Incidentally, the term 'leechbook' doesn't refer to leeches at all, but is taken from Anglo Saxon English meaning a book of medical prescriptions. Unfortunately, I'd not recommend any of the simples described in Bald's Leechbook as they're more likely to do more harm than good. The same can be said for the Red Book of Hergest written in the late 1300's. The Red Book is written in Welsh and among other things contains a collection of herbal remedies and simples. Like Bald's Leechbook, much of what is included in the Red Book is not to be trusted. Having said that, if you're giving a talk on medieval medicine to early high school students, it contains

3 Ker, N. R. Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon, Oxford: 1990, Item 264.

some genuinely gut-churning prescriptions. Among the more gut-churning include the Some of the contents of the Red Book were accurate for their time, such as the use of marrow or gourd seeds (modern day pumpkin seeds will suffice) as a treatment for intestinal worms. By far the most well known of medicinal books of the Tudor/Elizabethan period is Nicholas Culpepper's *The English Physitian* of 1652 (later entitled *The Complete Herbal*).⁴ Like Bald's Leechbook and the Red Book, Culpepper's work contains many recipes and recommendations that are not to be trusted, but also some that are right on the money.

A personal favourite of mine is an oil that was thought to prevent plague. Known as Thieves Oil, it has its roots in good luck, more than good judgment. Four thieves were captured and convicted of robbing plague victims; however, the judge was curious as to why the thieves appeared to be untouched by the disease. The judge asked the thieves this question, and the thieves thinking they'd escape punishment (being burned alive) were only too happy to oblige the curious judge. It turns out that the four men were spice merchants and perfumers who were out of work due to French ports being closed because of the plague. They concocted an oil made from rosemary, cinnamon, cloves and lemon, and applied it to their hands, ears, temples feet, and face masks to keep them safe. Unfortunately for the thieves, the judge still consigned them to the flames.

So now onto the best bit; the recipes. I've chosen 4 recipes for food that may well have been served up to a patient who was ill form an imbalance of one or other humors. I am not claiming any particular knowledge as to whether these recipes would have been used to heal a patient. Still, it remains within the realms of possibility that they may have.

If you have a patient who is obviously suffering from too much yellow bile, you could do worse than try to tempt them with a tea made from *lemon balm* or *chamomile*. I'd be inclined to stay clear of things like valerian and skullcap, passionflower and hops as these herb are known to interact with modern medicines.

4 <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/49513>

For a patient presenting with an obvious imbalance of phlegm, we could try them on a soup, especially one that stimulated both the appetite and the body's desire to heal itself.

*Cinnamon Soup. Cut up your poultry or other meat, then cook in water and add wine, and fry: then take raw almonds with the skin on unpeeled, and a great quantity of cinnamon, and grind up well, and mix with your stock or with beef stock, and put to boil with your meat: then grind ginger, clove and grain, etc., and let it be thick and yellow-brown.*⁵

I can personally vouch for this soup as its very much the cure all for coughs, colds and flus in my house. However, I'd be wary of adding 'a great quantity of cinnamon' to the soup as it will overpower the other ingredients, and will cause the patient to feel hot and uncomfortable. The reference to 'grain' refers to Grains of Paradise, a member of the pepper family. If you can't find Grains of Paradise, I suggest you leave it out.

For the patient complaining of an overabundance of black bile, they could be tempted to try a dish of Appulmoy, which can be found in *Forme of Curye*.⁶

Appulmoy

Take Apples and seep hem in water, drawe hem thurgh a straynour. take almaunde mylke & hony and flour of Rys, safroun and powdour fort and salt. and seep it stondyng

This is little more than an apple sauce that contains almond milk (no dairy so all good for a delicate stomach), honey, rice flour (also good for 'binding' things up), and saffron. However I'd leave out the Poudre Douce as it contains ginger among other spices which might upset a sensitive stomach.

For the patient suffering from too much blood, we could try a simple salad of cooling herbs, avoiding such herbs as dandelion which is used in modern medicine as a digestive stimulant. A potential candidate recipe for an early medieval salad or salat can also be found in *Forme of Curye*.⁷

5 <http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/Cookbooks/Menagier/Menagier.html>

6 http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/pgs_folio_41-42

7 http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/pgs_folio_40-41



Salat

Take parsel, sawge, garlec, chybollus, oynons, lek, borage, myntes, porrettes, fenels and towne cressis rewe rosmarye, purslary, lauen and waische hem clene pyke hem pluk hem small wip byne hond and mynge hem wel wip rawe oyle. lay on vyneger and salt and surve hem forth.

The only changes I'd make to this would be leaving out the garlic, onions, and leeks (all known to heat the body), and probably the vinegar as well (for the same reason)

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

Tudor Life

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