

# Tudor Life

THE  
TUDOR  
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## WRATH

How Anger Brought  
a Queen to Ruin

Margaret Douglas  
Provokes  
the Wrath of  
Henry and Elizabeth

The Wrath of Mary I

PLUS

The Tragic Fate  
of Honor,  
Lady Lisle

Thomas Norton,  
Rackmaster

AND MUCH MORE



**How to Draw the Tudors**  
**By PJ Scribbles**



Henry by the Grace of God King of England &c







# WRATH

As we approach the end of our Seven Deadly Sins series, ironically here at Tudor Life we are dealing with some celestial good news. Our regular columnist, Lauren Browne, who is taking this month off to complete her doctorate, has also announced the happy news of her engagement to her boyfriend - now fiancé - a fellow historian. We wish them both our best in the years ahead and congratulations in the present. This happy news contrasts dreadfully with the theme of this month's issue, which is Wrath, the dread and terrible impact of anger, which we'll bring to you now with our usual mixture of excellent contributors.

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**FRONT:** James Butler, the 9th earl of Ormond, was once considered a possible husband for Anne Boleyn.

**LEFT:** Detail of King Henry VIII from The Procession of Parliament 1512, showing the king aged 21.

**ABOVE:** An etching of Ely Palace from the 16th Century.

**GARETH RUSSELL**  
**EDITOR**



# Tudor Life



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# THE TRAGIC FATE OF HONOR, LADY LISLE

AMY LICENCE

**H**onor Grenville, Lady Lisle, is best known for the remarkable collection of Lisle letters, revealing details of domestic life in Calais in the 1530s. They are full of descriptions of her children and pets, her shopping lists, clothing, gifts, as well as the touching love between herself and her husband, that draw the reader straight into the heart of Tudor family life. However, there is a much darker side to Honor's story, of which few are aware. From her privileged position as a Viscountess, married to the king's uncle, the Constable of Calais, her life unravelled into a mire of intrigue, disgrace and loss, and the death of her beloved Arthur in the Tower of London.

Just how far was Honor responsible for these events? In 1533, soon after her marriage, Thomas Cromwell wrote to Arthur, Lord Lisle, advising him against being governed by his wife, "for although... my lady might be right honourable and wise, yet in such causes as longeth to your authority, her advice and discretion can little prevail." [1] Later, the Protestant martyr collector, John Foxe, described Honor as "the wicked Lady Honor... an utter enemy to God's honour, and in idolatry, hypocrisy and pride, incomparably evil," [2] words which appear harsh, and must be taken in the context of her continuing Catholicism amid rapid religious reform. Victorian biographers were uncertain about her influence, with Mary Anne Everett Green concluding that it was "difficult to judge what Honor's religious character really was," [3] and Emily Holt believing that "she

did evil that good might come: and the evil came after all." [4] So what exactly went wrong for Honor, and how far was she responsible for her fate? Was this a fate uniquely deserved, or can we read her downfall in 1540 as part of Henry VIII's wrath-filled campaign against former family and friends that characterised the final decade of his reign?

Honor was born into a gentry family in the south-west, two hundred miles away from London and the centre of court. Arriving in 1493, in one of the two Grenville family seats, of Bideford in Devon or Stowe, just over the border into Cornwall, she was one of the last in a long line of children. Her mother, Isabel, died soon after her birth, and her father Thomas remarried and sired more children. Thomas proved a good servant to the new Tudor dynasty, appointed in 1485 as Esquire of the Body, helping Henry VII suppress the uprising of rebels under Perkin Warbeck in 1497 and serving as Sheriff locally, in both Cornwall and Devon. The arrival of Catherine of Aragon in 1501 provided him with another opportunity, landing on the Devonshire coast at Plymouth, where Thomas would have hurried to welcome her. His efforts were rewarded upon her marriage to Arthur that November, with the prestigious reward of Knight of the Bath. Upon his death in 1513, Honor was the only Grenville daughter unmarried, so her brother arranged her match to a member of the Devonshire gentry network, Sir John Basset. She was aged twenty and he was a widower of fifty-three, with four daughters from a previous marriage. Honor





A  
MEMORIAL  
BRASS OF  
LADY LISLE

bore him seven more children, before he left her a widow in her mid-thirties.

Until this point, Honor's life had been predictable enough. She had followed the same trajectory as her sisters, marrying and raising a family within the south-west, never travelling far from Bideford and Stowe. Yet in the next five years, she made an extraordinary leap, a fortuitous match that brought her into the royal family. At some point before October 1532, she married Arthur Plantagenet, the illegitimate uncle of Henry VIII, son of his womanising Yorkist grandfather, Edward IV. Arthur had been raised at Edward's court before joining the household of his half-sister, Elizabeth of York in 1501, then moving into the king's service upon her death in 1503. Although he was potentially as much as thirty years older than the young Prince Henry, the pair became close, and Arthur rose with the youth's succession in 1509. His first wife was Elizabeth Grey, widow of one of Henry VIII's first victims, his father's financial wizard, one of two agents behind the unpopular tax system, Edmund Dudley. Arthur's career flourished. He became Vice-Admiral of England, Privy Councillor, attended the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 and three years later, was appointed Viscount Lisle. Elizabeth bore him three daughters before her death in 1529.

Exactly where and when Honor and Arthur met is unclear. Her ties to the south-west suggest that business may have taken him to her part of the world, instead of her presence in London, or attendance at court. The attraction appears to have been genuine, and their subsequent letters indicate a love match with a strong physical element, expressed in their affectionate greetings, and yearning to be together at night. She is first listed as his wife, "Lady Lisley" on October 29, 1532[5] among the party who accompanied Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn to the English territory of Calais, to meet with Francis I, whose approval Henry wished to

obtain for his desire to replace his long-standing wife, Catherine of Aragon, with the younger, hopefully more fertile, Anne. Honor was one of seven masked ladies including Anne, Mary, Duchess of Suffolk and Jane Boleyn, who danced at Staple Hall, following a dinner Henry hosted for the French. Afterwards, the king removed their masks and the ladies partnered the guests for an hour. Also while they were in Calais, Arthur was elected to the Order of the Garter, in a ceremony attended by both Henry and Francis.[6] It would be Honor's first taste of the town and province of Calais, the final piece of England's dwindling territories in France, and her home for the next decade. Upon the death of Lord Berners in March 1533, Arthur was appointed Lord Deputy of Calais, and the Lisles moved into Staple Hall, where Honor had danced.

Over the following years, Honor's sphere was primarily domestic. Although she could not write, she dictated a number of letters to various clerks and scribes, that outline her concerns about her children's education, her attempts to place her Basset daughters at court, and her interactions with the family's London agent, John Husee, for items such as caps and nightgowns, lengths of cloth, Avignon waters, wine and herrings, the gifts of dogs, birds and a monkey. In 1537, at the age of forty-four, Honor believed herself to be pregnant, with Husee writing in encouragement that February "I have good inspeculation to know that your ladyship hath a man child." She took to her chamber in June, but either lost the child, or had been mistaken, as that August, Husee referred to having "heard of divers that your ladyship weepeth and sorroweth with comparison," and urged her to put her trust in God "and leave these sorrows, for he will never disdain you." [7]

Honor's world began to unravel early in 1540. The problem began within their household, with one of the Lisle chaplains, Sir Gregory Botolf, who had entered their



employ in 1538, and a handful of servants. At the end of January, they were granted permission by Lisle to visit England, but instead went to Rome, from which Henry had broken, in order to marry Anne. Later rumours circulated the chaplain, known as Gregory Sweetlips, was Honor's lover. At the same time, Honor's daughter Mary Basset was being courted by a French Catholic, who wrote her a number of love letters. When Botolf's trip to Rome was discovered, Mary panicked and threw these letters into a cess pit, which added to the suspicion that the Lisles were engaged in a plot to betray Calais and return it to the French. An enquiry was launched in February, led by the Duke of Norfolk, with the result that Arthur was recalled to England to explain himself. When he arrived, he was imprisoned in the Tower of London. In May, the Council paid a visit to Honor at the Staple, and interviewed her, after which she was imprisoned in one room of the house and her daughters were removed, and incarcerated in different locations in the town. On June 1, Honor was taken to the Calais home of Francis Hall, where she remained locked up for two years. The couple's home was stripped of all their worldly goods, which were confiscated by the Treasury. The hostile John Foxe claimed that Honor became "distracted of mind" as a result, and remained so for years, which was corroborated by Elis Gruffydd, a Welsh soldier and chronicler resident in Calais.

So what, exactly, were the charges against Honor? Was there any degree of guilt in her behaviour, or were these by association with Botolf? A well-known Catholic, it would have been easy for her enemies to imply that she had sanctioned his secret trip to Rome, or that she was plotting an unsuitable marriage for Mary, or even scheming with France, but no evidence supports this. Rather, it seems that a whispering campaign, exacerbated by distance, fuelled the extreme paranoia Henry VIII was experiencing that led him to see enemies everywhere: Anne in 1536, his

cousin Henry Courtenay in 1538, his old friend Nicholas Carew in 1539, his York relative Margaret Pole in 1541. Calais was an extremely Protestant town, and the Lisle's religious practices, against the changing reformation climate, singled them out as targets. It is no coincidence that the next Deputy, the Earl of Arundel, was a committed Protestant.

The most convincing evidence regarding the Lisle's innocence is their joint release, in March 1542, two years after the nightmare began. Nothing had been discovered to incriminate them, so Honor was allowed to return to her bare home and await Arthur. Honor's husband must have been in his late sixties, or even seventies, when he learned that he had been pardoned and was a free man. However, fate cruelly intervened, and he died in the Tower, of an unknown illness, before he was able to depart. Honor left Calais for good after learning the news, and retreated back to the familiar territory of the west country, living out her final years in the Basset property of Tehidy. She died in 1566. Her desperately sad story, often overlooked by Tudor scholars, illustrates just how rapidly fate might turn against the successful, mirroring the lives of many of her contemporaries. The Lisles were victims of religious change, of the plots of their enemies, and the suspicious mind of a wrathful king.

## AMY LICENCE

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**W**hat is wrath? Before embarking on an article regarding wrath, I thought it worthwhile to define what I have taken to be the meaning of wrath. The definition, according to Dictionary.com, is 'Strong, stern, or fierce anger; deeply resentful indignation and indignation, in turn, as 'Anger, or annoyance provoked by what is perceived as unfair treatment'. TheFreeDictionary.com includes vengeful and vindictive in their definition.

After reading these definitions, it didn't take me long to settle on the candidate from Tudor England I wished to write about regarding 'Wrath', Mary I.

Mary I has gone down in history as "Bloody Mary", and it can be argued that this is a somewhat unfair and reductionist term. Despite the unquestionable death toll, amassed as part of her absolute conviction for returning England to the Catholic religion, the Pope in Rome, and destruction of those who did not comply, she was by no means the only Tudor monarch to have put to death a large number of people ostensibly for disagreeing with them.

However, in terms of wrath, I would argue Mary displayed this in abundance, for it is not just what she did but how it was done.

Foxe's Book of Martyrs, or 'Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perilous Days, Touching Matters of the Church' records the deaths of Protestants executed for their faith under Mary I's Catholic regime. It was published during the reign of Mary's Protestant half-sister, Elizabeth I, and cemented Mary in the collective consciousness as intolerant of those who went against her beliefs. In this, we know she was not alone, and that leads me to wonder that if Foxe's book and its numerous iterations and editions had not existed, would her reputation have been one so unfavourably compared to that of her father and siblings?

Even so, someone else's wrongs are not an excuse for one's own.

Mary's childhood had been stable and happy. Doted on by her parents, she was one of the most eligible women in Europe, and as Princess of Wales, heir to her father's throne in her own right.

Perhaps the first cause for unease came when, in the same year that the 9-year old Mary was sent to Ludlow as Princess of Wales, her 6-year old illegitimate half-brother, Henry





Fitzroy, was elevated to the Peerage as Duke of Richmond and Somerset. It was 1525, and although Mary may not have been fully aware, her 40-year-old mother, Katherine of Aragon, would have been all too aware that Henry had given up thinking that she would bear him the much longed for and needed male heir.

Mary's perfect world was, imperceptibly, for now, beginning to turn upside down.

By July 1531, Mary, now aged 15, would be all too aware of the change in her circumstances when her beloved mother, Katherine, was banished from court. The devoted mother and daughter were barred from seeing each other or even corresponding by letter directly. In April 1533, her father,

having cast her mother, his wife of over 20 years, aside, was now having their marriage finally annulled and announced that he was now married to Anne Boleyn.

Of course, more pain was to come for Mary when Anne Boleyn gave birth to the baby Elizabeth in September of the same year. The 17-year old Mary now ranked below her new half-sister as only The Lady Mary and a lady-in-waiting to the young Princess Elizabeth. To add insult to already significant injury, Anne did not act well toward Mary and encouraged the use of corporal punishment against her if she shouldn't do as she was told in her daughter's household.



It's difficult to overemphasise just how much Mary's life changed in a few short years. Her family life and her whole belief system, so important to Mary, were uprooted for her once-doting father to annul his marriage to her mother and remarry. Mary held on to the belief, as did her mother that her parent's marriage was true and valid. But at threat of physical harm, and definitely, in light of intense psychological pressure, Mary was forced to capitulate and formally agree that her parent's marriage was never valid and she was illegitimate, although her private feelings never changed.

As opposed to cold, calculated anger, Wrath is stern and fierce and comes from deep resentment. It is clear that there are many things that happened to Mary to create resentment in her. Her life changed so much as to be unrecognisable from where she had been only a few years earlier during her teenage years. Not only did she hold this resentment, but it would show in vengeful actions against those involved.

When Mary became Queen of England and Ireland after successfully overthrowing her cousin, Jane Grey, in 1553, she quickly began asserting the power she always believed she was destined for. Her self belief and determination led her to act swiftly and decisively at the news of the death of her brother, Edward VI, and overthrow the usurper, as she saw her, Jane. She would be just as steely in her determination that she would punish those who had supported Jane's claim.

Two events, the executions of John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester and Archbishop Cranmer, ably demonstrate Mary's wrath.

On the 9th February 1555, John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester during the reign of Edward VI, was burned at the stake for not renouncing his faith and returning to Catholicism.

Hooper had not supported the move to replace Mary in the succession in favour of Lady Jane Grey, but this didn't help him avoid

the wrath of Mary. His form of Protestantism was seen as radical, and he was the first Protestant Bishop to be burned. He was kept in disgusting conditions in Fleet prison for 17 months and grew so ill he almost died. However, his belief was never shaken, and so he was brought to Gloucester Cathedral to be executed.

It will not be a surprise that Mary had him burned at the stake, but what I think is surprising is the details around the execution, which were indicative of a vengeful person in power. Bishop Hooper was loved and respected in his diocese, and over 7,000 people crowded, weeping, in the area outside St Mary's Gate, Gloucester Cathedral, to which he was brought. Even the man in charge of lighting the fire asked him for forgiveness, which he duly granted. The long protracted horror that ensued, caused by rushes which were too green and winds which blew the flames in the 'wrong' direction, was out of the authorities' control. The most chilling detail to note here is that the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral were forced to watch him burn, slowly and painfully, at the stake from a window in St Mary's Gate.

A particular form of wrath was saved for the man who'd arguably, after her father perhaps, done the most wrong to Mary; Archbishop Thomas Cranmer.

In May 1533, Archbishop Cranmer had pronounced the judgement that Henry's marriage to Katherine of Aragon had been unlawful and against God. For good measure, he had thrown in a threat of excommunication if Henry went near Katherine. Cranmer had been a key player in having her mother banished from court and her demotion to a royal bastard. Later, in Mary's half-brother Edward VI reign, he had supported supplanting her in the line of succession with Jane Grey.

Archbishop Cranmer was tried for treason for his part in elevating Jane to the succession and throne. At his trial, he defended himself admirably, but of course, the outcome was a



foregone conclusion. Cranmer was formally stripped of his offices. Mary and her council were not done with Cranmer yet and were determined to force his punishment based on his faith rather than a legal issue. A behind-doors court case was not enough; the 'arch heretic' needed to be used in a public propaganda campaign.

His colleagues and one time cellmates, Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley, were burned on 16th October 1555 in Oxford. Latimer, overcome by smoke, had died quickly. Ridley had not been so fortunate, as the wood had been piled higher above his head, and so the smoke rose above him, and he cried out as he burned. Cranmer was forced to watch.

Mary was determined to break Cranmer's spirit and body, and it was working. Whilst imprisoned, Cranmer had signed five documents asserting that whatever was decreed by monarch and Parliament must be followed by all Englishmen. These would have to include Mary and the Marian government and was, by association, seen as a recantation of his Protestant faith. His sixth recantation, in broken spirit, was a direct and whole renouncement of his beliefs.

Despite a faint hope of mercy from Mary, Cranmer was to be shown none on account of his recantation. Every drop of public humiliation for this once highly influential man of the reformed Church in England was to be wrung out. Nothing but the annihilation of the man, his beliefs, spirit, and legacy would do for Mary as she felt so personally wronged by him.

One should never underestimate their enemy, however, for even as the former Archbishop Cranmer stood on the specially erected stage within St Mary's Church, Oxford on 21st March 1566, tears streaming down his face and listening to the confirmation that he deserved a public death by burning, he rallied. His address to the congregation was not what had been expected by his enemies. They had

hoped and anticipated a public recantation, but this is what he said:

"And now, I come to the great thing which so much troubleth my conscience, more than anything that ever I did or said in my whole life.

I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death and to save my life, all bills and papers which I have written or signed with my own hand since my degradation. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore; for when I come to the fire it shall first be burned."

Before he could say more, the 66-year old Cranmer was dragged outside of the Church to the spot on which he had seen his friends burn five months earlier. The damage, however, was done. As the flames grew, Cranmer carried out his promise, thrusting his right hand into the flames.

As with all actions born of bad feeling, even when dressed in a veil of striving for a better world, true motivations are impossible to hide and eventually, the veil falls, and people react accordingly. Mary I had shown her hand and, of course, Foxe would go onto record these events for posterity.

So it is not for her actions, per se, that I would argue Mary earns her epitaph of 'Bloody Mary' but the wrath by which she carried them out.

## PHILIPPA BREWELL

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Research visit to Gloucester Cathedral.



# The Musical Instruments of Henry VIII

Did Henry VIII bring about a new artistic and musical aesthetic in England.

By Jane Moulder

In the previous edition of Tudor Life, I discussed how Henry VIII expanded the musical life of the Tudor court. I looked at how Henry increased the number of permanent musicians employed by the royal purse through his reign and he equally amassed a huge collection of musical instruments. However, there was not the space to look in greater detail about the number and type of instruments he owned.

There is no doubt that Henry VIII was a great lover of music and he was also a skilled musician. Henry not only played music but he was a composer – but how technically skilled he was in this aspect is the subject

of another article entirely! Throughout the Tudor court, music would have been the background soundscape for all sorts of activities: for feasting, dancing, entertaining, for the enhancement of prayer and the glory of God or simply for enhancing quiet contemplation. Music was not there just for entertainment; it also fulfilled an important ceremonial role and was an integral part of the proceedings for impressing guests and visiting ambassadors. And, of course, you can't have music without the instruments!

There is plenty of evidence to support Henry's famed love of music, including first

hand accounts describing his abilities. For example, Edwin Hall, a chronicler, having seen Henry in 1510 described him as *"exercising himself daily in shooting, singing, dancing, wrestling,*





*casting of the bar, playing at the recorders, flute, virginals, and in setting of songs, making of ballads, and did set two goodly masses....”*

Also, Sebastian Giustinian, the Venetian Ambassador, mentions that Henry “*played on almost every instrument performing well on the lute and virginals*”. There is pictorial proof in the wonderful picture of Henry playing a harp, in the presence of his fool, Will Somers, which was in Henry’s own Psalter. (British Library Royal MS

2 A XVI)

Not only did Henry enjoy and actively participate in music making but we know that all his children received lessons in the skill of music. This included his illegitimate son, Henry Fitzroy, for whom he bought a lute in 1531. Gaining the skill of music was considered an essential attribute for any courtier or well-bred person in the Tudor period and was ranked to be as important as the skills of swordplay, diplomacy and literacy and denoted that they had good manners, education and, above all, status. Therefore, it’s not surprising that Henry brought instruments for those closest to him and ensured they had a musical education and could play their instruments well. This is borne out by the records in the Privy Purse Accounts noting purchases of instruments for both himself and his household. (The Privy Purse records what was bought personally by and

for the King as opposed to goods and services for his court). His wives and children were all taught to play an instrument – other than Anne of Cleves who was not taught to play herself as in Germany it was considered unbecoming for a young woman to play an instrument. This fact, apparently, help Henry’s criticism of Anne as “*she cannot sing nor play any instrument*”. Not a good match for a music loving husband!

It wasn’t only Henry that encouraged his wives and daughters to become skilled in music; Thomas More encouraged his second wife to take up in middle age, ‘*to learn to play upon the gittern, the lute, the clavichord, and the recorders, and to give up every day a prescribed time to practice*’. This was no doubt to achieve social and courtly standing rather than for her to enjoy herself.

Whilst there are records that all the royal children were given lessons, it seems clear from the from

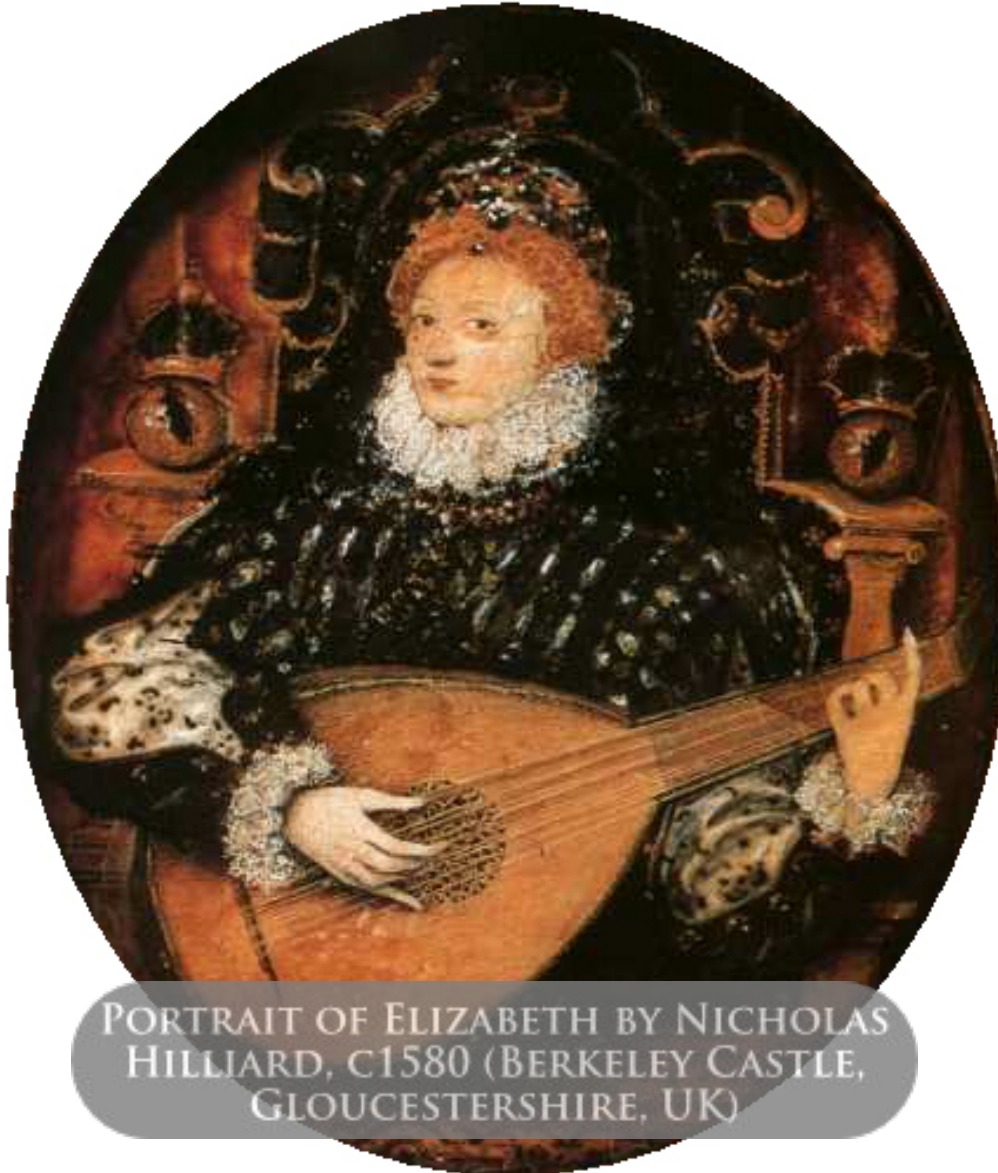




many contemporary accounts, that Elizabeth inherited her father's love and ability in music and she was as skilled a musician (if not, more so) as Henry and her love of music and dancing was almost as legendary. Elizabeth also expected her ladies to be "*ready to entertain their mistress by their singing and playing*".

Portrait of Elizabeth by Nicholas Hilliard, c1580 (Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire, UK)

But whilst we read about the many references to music how often do we stop to think about the instruments that were owned by the royal household: exactly what instruments were in the collection. And what did they look like? I think most people would recognise a harp and a lute, as shown in the portraits of Henry and Elizabeth above, but they maybe would not know what a sackbut or a regal was. Henry is described as playing the recorder but was this the same



instrument that we know today?

To be exactly sure of what the Henry's court owned, there is no better place to start looking than at the inventories of the royal household. Two inventories were made of Henry VIII's belongings, one in 1542 and the other, which is the better known and made just after his death, dated 1547. This is the more comprehensive inventory and gives us an amazing picture in to the

vast collection of instruments held both by Henry himself and by his court.

The 1542 inventory records only what was contained at the Palace of Westminster, Henry's principal residence, whilst the one made in 1547 is more extensive and lists instruments contained at all of Henry's various palaces. It seems, from studying both documents side by side, that the inventory made in 1542

## 206

The Guardroole at thonor of Hampton  
Courte in the countie of Surrey in the Charge of  
David Ducrest

**B**angmeyer

[illegible]

One harrow the border  
will do for a hundred  
The second  $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards do  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards in  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   
The third  $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards do  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards in  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   
The fourth  $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards do  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards in  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   
The fifth  $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards do  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards in  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   
The sixth  $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards do  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards in  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   
The seventh  $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards do  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards in  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   
The eighth  $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards do  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards in  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   
The ninth  $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards do  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards in  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   
The tenth  $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards do  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$  in yards in  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$

Item your pett of. Sotten figured in that  
 a couple being your ple. having murder great and wrong  
 doled together in a bundle of rumpen that embraced  
 in carnes and the bodies spred in the house of the. whereof  
 One your son was leaping my garden and in the place my word of god.

### A PAGE FROM HENRY VIII'S INVENTORY

was simply copied across and added to in 1547. The main difference between them is that 35 instruments listed in 1542 are missing from the later inventory but there are a further 105 instruments listed in the second inventory not mentioned

in the first – a huge increase and the total number of instruments owned by Henry VIII is simply staggering.

I will start by giving a summary of this huge collection – I won't give the full list as that would take up the full article and

would not be the most  
exciting of reads!

Keyboard instruments:

## 7 Double Regals

17 Single Regals - plus  
one broken one

## 1 Single Virginal and Regal

## 1 Double Virginal and Regal

## 6 Double Virginals

27 Virginals, plus 2 old  
Virginals and 1 broken  
and old Virginal

## 2 Clavichords

### 3 Portative Organs

### 3 Great Organs

Finally, an instrument listed with the keyboards but described as being one that “*goith with a whele withowte pleyeng vpon of wodde ....*” This is most likely to be an instrument that we know today as *ahurdy gurdy*.

### Wind Instruments:

## 21 Horns

## 16 Cornetts

## 71 Flutes

## 25 Crumhorns

## 76 Recorders

## 1 Pipe and Tabor

## 17 Shawms

## 5 Bagpipes

## 7 ‘Pipes’

### 13 Dulceuces (?)

## Stringed Instruments



4 gitterns (also known  
as Spanish Vialles

1 gittern

25 Viols

25 Lutes plus one old  
one

As you can see, this is a staggering collection and the sheer number of instruments indicates that they could not possibly have only been for the royal family's use. I have only listed the numbers of each type of instrument whilst the inventory also includes a brief description of them, indicating what they were made from, any adornments, such as gold, silver or enamel and also if they were in cases. Here are a few examples (I have modernised the English and the spellings for ease of reading):

Item: A pair of double Regals with 3 stops (ranks) of pipes, of wood varnished yellow and painted with antique work, having the King's arms and Queen Jane's arms, with two playing upon a lute and a harp and two singing, painted upon the same, standing upon a foot

of wainscot painted yellow with antique work wherein lies the bellows.

Item: two pairs of single Virginals, one of them having keys of ivory and the other of box [wood] with two cases, with red leather, partly gilded and lined with black velvet.

Item: four ivory flutes, tipped with gold, in a case covered with green velvet.

These are clearly high-quality instruments, decorated or cased in expensive fabrics and with gold or silver embellishments.

There are several things I find interesting about this inventory of instruments. I love the fact that even in Henry's collection there are old and broken instruments - so clearly even the richest of households had some less than perfect examples. The inventory shows the vast array and variety of instruments, especially keyboards, available at the time and it is clear from the descriptions that as much attention was paid to the

casing as to the actual instrument itself. But what stands out for me are the instruments which aren't on the list. The clear obvious omission is a harp.

We have a picture of Henry VIII playing the harp, shown above and dated 1540 - just two years before the first inventory - and there are records of both Henry VII and Henry VIII having employing a harper, so it would be expected to find at least one harp in the inventory. There are possible explanations for its omission. It is probable that the harpers would have owned their own instruments and not relied on the court ones. We know that at least two of the royal harpers were blind and therefore having their own instrument, which they would know intimately, would be important for them. However, whilst there are first-hand accounts, such as in Edwin Hall's, above, of Henry playing lute, recorder and virginals, there is no mention of him



REGAL ORGAN, C1575, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK. THE SOUND WAS PRODUCED BY AIR FROM THE BELLWS PASSING OVER A SINGLE REED OPERATED BY ONE OF THE KEYS. THE SOUND PRODUCED IS RICH AND NASALLY, RATHER LIKE A CRUMHORN. AS YOU CAN SEE, THE TOP OF THE BELLWS CASING ALLOWS FOR DECORATION AND DESIGN.

ever actually playing the harp. I therefore suspect that the painting, which in his own private devotional psalter is allegorical and there are indications that Henry could have been liking himself to King David, a person who reputedly played the harp. The other omission from the list is a violin. There is a simple explanation for this – the violin was not a

common instrument in England during Henry's reign and even if known, it would have been very rare and in the hands of professional musicians only. The violin was developed as a new instrument in Italy at the beginning of the 16th century and it was not really until the mid-1500s, well towards the end of Henry's reign, that it

began to be played and known in England. There are also other instruments which are not in the inventory despite clear evidence that they were played by musicians in Henry's court. These include trumpets and sackbuts (early trombones) and the only assumption is that these instruments would have been in the personal



possession of the players. Another mystery, is the reference to the instruments listed as Dulceuces. The full description is “Item: viii Dulceuses covered with black leather, some of them having tippings of silver”. These are most likely dulcians (or

curtals as they were often known in England) the forerunner of today’s bassoon. Surviving examples show that this instrument was sometimes covered in leather and whilst brass keywork would have been normal, it’s not unknown for silver to be used.

Looking at the inventory, readers may also be intrigued by the fact that bagpipes are listed. Bagpipes are not normally thought of as a court instrument but one more likely to be played by the village musician. Also, there is an

assumption that bagpipes are Scottish. But at this time, bagpipes were ubiquitous across the whole of Europe and England and they would have probably been the instrument that most common folk would have heard above all others. They would have sounded nothing like today’s Great Highland Bagpipe – much quieter and sweeter. However, the bagpipes described in Henry’s inventory would not have been played by a common piper! They are described as being made from ivory and the bag covered with

purple velvet. These would have been expensive instruments and been played by the bagpipers who Henry employed. We know of three royal bagpipers throughout his reign– William Kechyn, Andrew Newman and Richard Woodward.

With this vast array of instruments, the next question is who would have played them as there are clearly more than could ever have been played by Henry and immediate members of his family. There’s no doubt that some of the



A DOUBLE VIRGINAL BY HANS RUCKER, 1581 – METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, NY.





A PAIR OF VIRGINALS – IOWES  
KAREST, 1548, BRUSSELS MUSEUM  
OF INSTRUMENTS.







DETAIL FROM "PROCESSION IN HONOUR OF OUR LADY OF SABLON" PAINTED BY DENIS VAN ALSLOOT IN 1616.. (PRADO, MADRID)

instruments were for the royal family's personal use, in particular the keyboard instruments. Henry, his wives and children are noted as having played or been taught the virginals and Henry, in particular, was a clearly good organist, inspired and taught by Benedict de Opitus from Flanders and Dionysius Memo from Venice, musicians he had sought out and employed at great cost, to come to his court. In fact, the number of

keyboard instruments, including organs is quite remarkable. Organs and Regals (a type of keyboard instrument - see later) were in several locations, such as Greenwich, Westminster, Hampton Court, Windsor, Newhall, Nottingham and Saint James House. There were several keyboard instruments were at a single location, so at Greenwich there was a regal and/or virginals in Henry's Privy Chamber, the Withdrawing Chamber

and in the King's Gallery.

Even taking into account that Henry would have wanted instruments for his personal use at each of his palaces, there are still many more instruments in the inventories that he could possibly have played himself.

There's no doubt that some of the instruments would have been played by the employed court musicians. In fact, one of the reasons that there is such an increase in the

five years between the 1542 and the 1537 inventories is the appointment to the court of the Bassano family. The Bassanos were six Italian brothers who were not only skilled musicians but were also instrument makers of great renown and reputation. The vast collection of woodwind instruments would have been predominantly for the use of the professional musicians. In this period, woodwind instruments were rarely played by amateurs or courtiers due to the fact that in order to produce a sound, the player needed to distort their face – something considered unseemly by the perceptions of the day and definitely not courtier like!

As wind instruments were usually played in consorts, or groups, of maybe 5 or 6 instruments, they would have needed to be matched and played together as sets. Whilst some musicians owned some of their own instruments, on their wages they could not





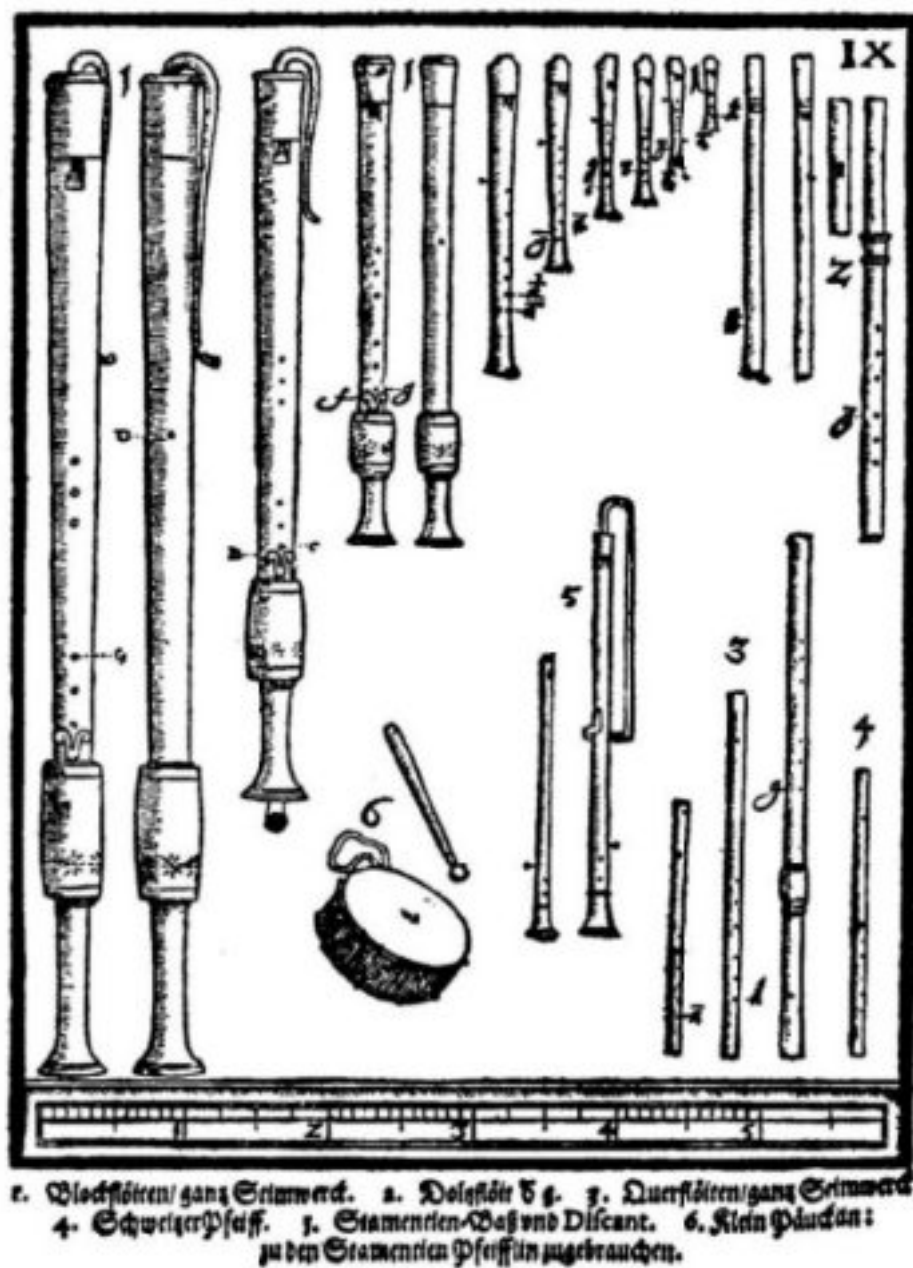
possibly have afforded to own the vast quantities of instruments required by the repertoire demanded of them. Crumhorns, for example, were extremely expensive to make and buy and were only ever played at court and would probably not have been privately owned. Viol music also demanded matched consorts of instruments and again, this may explain the large number of viols noted in the inventory (25).

The 1547 inventory indicates that 35 of the instruments were either out on loan at the time or missing. It was noted that seven recorders had been loaned out to Henry 'for his own use' at the time of his death and that Mary and Edward had borrowed a lute and Elizabeth, a virginal. This is a definite confirmation that they were actively playing music as a regular activity. There is also a note in the margin that Edward Seymour, the Lord Protector, was in possession of 8 crumhorns, 8 recorders

and one sackbut and it has been supposed that the instruments were being borrowed by him to help promote his own status. However, notes in the margins indicate that instruments were regularly loaned out to various close associates of the king and that the instruments were well used.

It was noted, sadly, that

a lid for a pair of regals and a great shawm was missing at the time the inventory was taken. Considering the vast array of instruments, spread out over a number of locations, I actually think this is a minimal loss! The person who had the majority of the instruments under his care at the time of Henry's death was, not



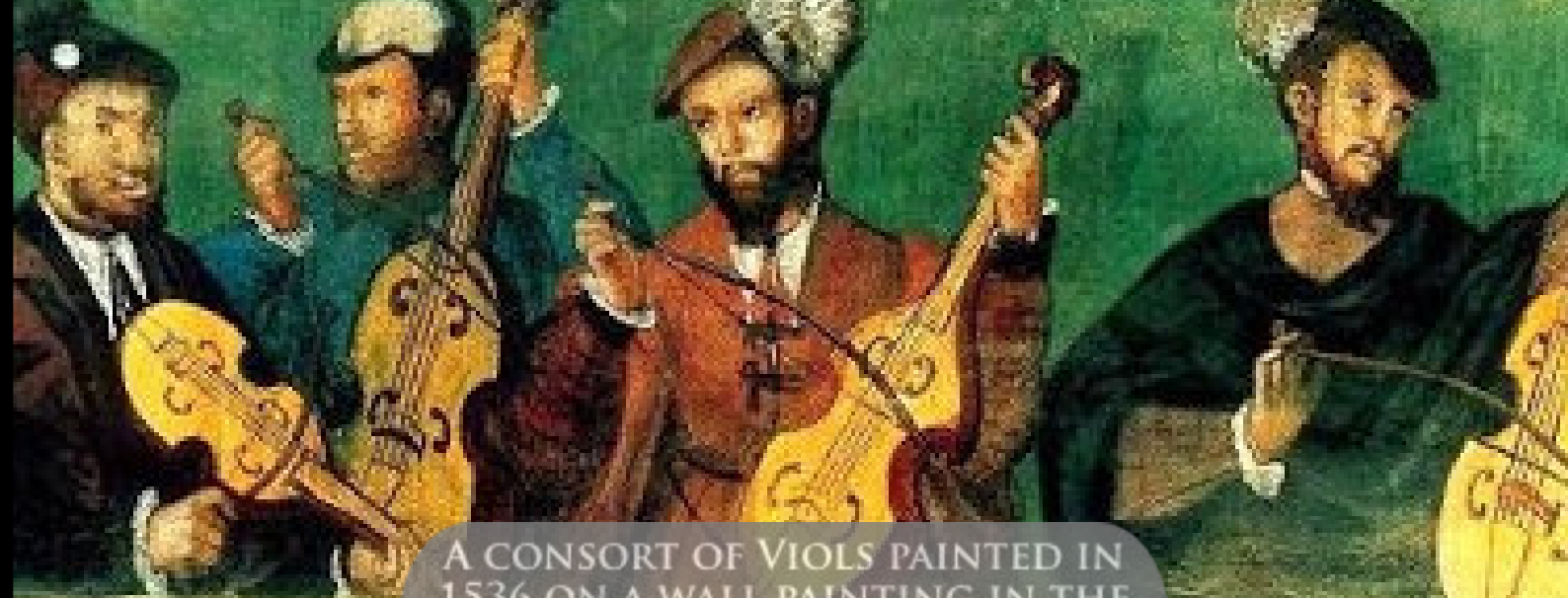




surprisingly, Philip Van Wilder. Philip was a lutenist, teacher to the royal household and also keeper of the King's instruments and he had seven viols (*both great and small*) in his possession.

Whilst we may all be used to seeing the names of these instruments listed, what exactly were they like? Each of the instruments deserves a feature in its own right! In fact, in previous editions of Tudor Life, I have written in detail about the recorder (April 2015), the viol (September 2015) and the harp (December 2017) and all of these features can be found in





A CONSORT OF VIOLS PAINTED IN 1536 ON A WALL PAINTING IN THE KNIGHT'S HALL OF GOLDEGG, AUSTRIA.

the Tudor Society archive on the website. I plan to write further detailed articles on some of the instruments in future editions so for now I will simply give some illustrations of some of them.

Virginals – this was the instrument of choice for many courtiers and the aspiring middle classes. It was an instrument beloved of Elizabeth I and she gained a high degree of proficiency on it.

It is easy to understand why the one instrument is called a double virginals – as there are two keyboards but it is less obvious why one often sees a reference to a ‘pair of virginals’. It was a common attribution to keyboard instruments

of the time – a pair of regals, a pair of organs – but the term referred to only one instrument with one keyboard. The term ‘pair’ most likely derived from the organ terminology, the earliest of keyboard instruments, which were powered by a pair of bellows (see the picture of the regal above) and the early instruments were sometimes referred to as ‘organa’, meaning more than one and somehow the plural term for some keyboards seems to have stuck. To complicate matters, term for double virginals or double regal could mean the instrument had two keyboards but not exclusively! There were also single virginals and

single regals as can be seen from the inventory listing. These terms could help indicate the range of the instrument with a single regal or virginal having a limited compass whereas the double instruments had a much larger range. This would tie in with some references to a ‘double curtal’ – as the bass curtal, being the early bassoon, had an extended range over some other sizes of wind instrument, including the smaller curtals.

The instrument described as one that ‘*goith with a wheel*’ is probably a hurdy gurdy, an example of which is beautifully depicted in the painting by Hieronymus



Bosch, The Garden of Earthly Delights, c1490, Prado Madrid. The sound is produced by turning a wheel, over which gut strings are stretched. The different notes are produced by pressing keys to 'stop' the notes, and it is easiest to think of this instrument as a mechanised violin. The wheel is the bow and the keys are the fingers. The detail from the painting also shows a harp, a lute and a shawm.

Cornetts, Shawms, Dulcians (curtals) and Sackbuts were the instruments of the civic bands of the 16th and 17th century. They were also played at court and the inventory indicates that the King owned a large collection of these woodwind instruments. Below is a splendid illustration of a typical line-up. The cornet is the black, curved instrument played by the musician in the middle and it is an extremely difficult instrument to play well but it capable of producing a beautiful



A LUTE BY SIXTUS RAUCHWOLFF OF GERMANY, DATED 1596, IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM, WAS MADE FOR THE FUGGER FAMILY OF AUGSBERG. WEALTHIEST CITIZENS IN EUROPE AND THE MUSICAL INSTRUMENT INVENTORY OF RAYMOND FUGGER (1528-1569), INDICATES THAT HIS COLLECTION WAS LARGER THAN HENRY'S. HE OWNED A STAGGERING 141 LUTES!

bright tone.

At this time, the term 'flute' was used equally for a recorder or a flute but as they are clearly listed separately in the inventory, then we know that Henry owned large numbers of both instruments – 147 in total! These would have been different sizes and

matched to play in consort together. The Renaissance flute is an unassuming instrument to look at but it produced, in a skilled player's hands, one of the largest ranges of the time for a woodwind instrument. It sounds clear and bright but not overly loud.

Illustrated: Renaissance

flutes. A woodcut illustration from Michael Praetorius's *Syntagma Musicum* (1619) showing the different sizes of recorders and flutes. Some of my own instruments, based on those made by the Bassanos who were instrument makers to Henry VIII.

The inventory lists instruments in their cases and one of the entries is a for a case with fifteen flutes in it and there's another noted as being a recorder case containing eight instruments '*both small and large*', which was '*covered with black leather and lined with cloth*'. Very few instrument cases of the period have survived but those that have can be fascinating. One of the best examples is a case in Augsburg, Germany which could house a huge

number of woodwinds.

There are three types of tubes, flared, cylindrical and conical. They were probably meant to house three groups of instruments: a recorder consort of 16 instruments, a flute consort of six instruments (two basses, four tenors), and three pairs of cornetts in different sizes or pitches, six in total

A large collection of crumhorns is noted in the inventory and this double reed woodwind instrument is instantly recognisable due to its distinctive curved shape.

The gittern's heyday was in the 15th century and was falling out of fashion during Henry's reign but he still had one in his collection. It is played with a plectrum. This fine example dates to around 1450 and is in the

Wartburg Museum and was made by Hans Oth or Nuremburg.

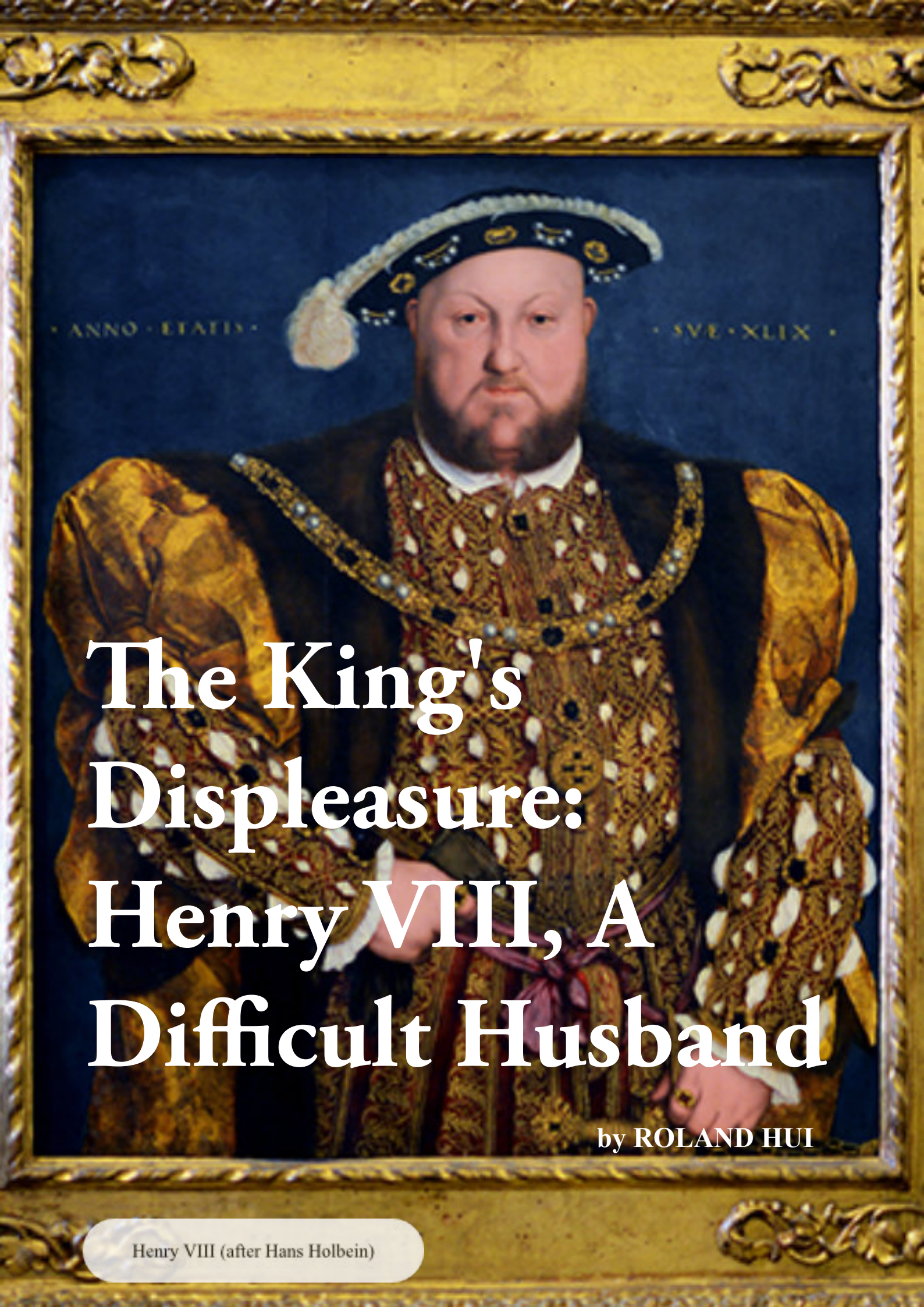
This could only ever be a brief overview of the instruments which belonged to Henry VIII and would have been familiar to all at the Tudor Royal Court. I am very envious of his collection and as an instrument maker and musician specialising in instruments of this period, I would love to have a time machine to go back to study them. I often think I have far too many instruments but my collection is nothing when compared with Henry's but I can take comfort in the fact that I do own more bagpipes than he did!

**JANE MOULDER**

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# The King's Displeasure: Henry VIII, A Difficult Husband

by ROLAND HUI

Henry VIII (after Hans Holbein)





A Victorian impression of Henry VIII with his last wife Katharine Parr

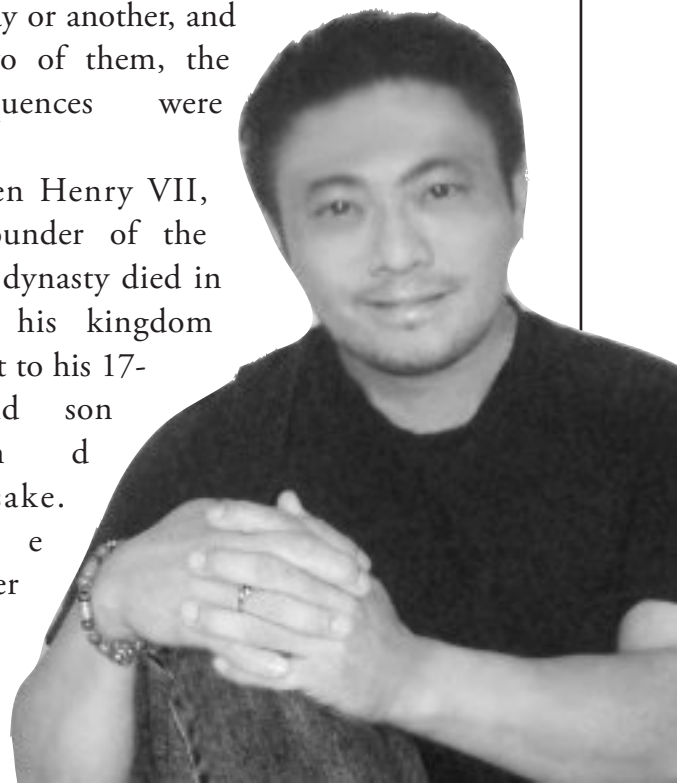
*'Sir, Your Grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant...'*

(From a letter supposedly written by Anne Boleyn to Henry VIII from the Tower of London, May, 1536).<sup>1</sup>

In 1538, the teenage Christina of Denmark was considered as a bride for Henry VIII of England. Although she expressed her willingness to marry the King if her uncle, the Emperor Charles V, wished her to, Christina had doubts. In reviewing Henry's deceased three wives - one of whom was a relation of hers - she thought how 'her great-aunt was poisoned, that the second was innocently put to death, and the third lost for lack of keeping in her childbed'. Christina was also said to have joked that 'if she had two heads, one of them would be at His Majesty's disposal'.<sup>2</sup> Christina's remark reflected the common

opinion of Henry VIII as a husband. Beneath the prestige and glamour of being Queen of England, it was a dangerous position for a woman to be in. The King was notorious for his unpredictable and volatile behaviour. Each one of Henry VIII's six wives would come to experience his displeasure in one way or another, and for two of them, the consequences were fatal.

When Henry VII, the founder of the Tudor dynasty died in 1509, his kingdom was left to his 17-year-old son and namesake. The younger







Henry was very different from his father. He was outgoing, extravagant, and aggressive. Henry VII, despite bringing peace to the realm after decades of war between the rival Houses of Lancaster and York, had not been popular. His subjects thought him cold, repressive, and miserly, and when he passed away, they joyfully looked to a bright fresh future for England. The *new* King Henry, as a courtier gushed, 'does not set his heart on gold or jewels, but on virtue, glory, and immortality!' <sup>3</sup>

One of Henry VIII's first priorities was to settle his marriage. As the most eligible and handsome bachelor in Europe, he could have had the pick of any of the young ladies put forward, yet he chose the Princess of Spain, Katherine of Aragon. For years, she had been living in England as the widow of his brother, Prince Arthur, who died in 1502. Unable to

return home or to marry Prince Henry as it was subsequently decided, Katherine had been miserable. But now that Henry was King, he would make her his Queen at last. They were married in June of 1509, and were crowned together amidst the cheers of the people.

For Katherine, a great part of her marriage was blissful. Henry VIII was a loving and attentive husband, and he was demonstrative in his affection for her. When their son, named Henry, was born in 1511, the proud father celebrated by jousting in his wife's honour. At the tournament, Henry's armour and his horse were decorated with golden hearts, and with letters of 'H' and 'K', and the King called himself 'Coeur Loyal' ('Loyal Heart') in his devotion to the Queen. But sadly, the little Prince died soon after.

The death of their son and of their other children over the years (except for the Princess Mary born in 1516) put a strain on the royal marriage. As with all wives, Katherine's most important role was to provide children for her husband. As a queen, there was an even greater expectation upon her to do; England required an heir - and a male one at that. Without a proper successor, the Tudor dynasty which Henry VII had worked so hard to establish, and Henry VIII to maintain, would fail. But until it was clear that Katherine could no longer bear offspring, the couple still hoped for the best.

In the meantime, Katherine had to deal with Henry's occasional infidelities. Like some husbands, including the Queen's own father, King Ferdinand of Spain, Henry had a wandering eye. One of the earliest rifts between them concerned the Duke of Buckingham's sister. The King was in pursuit of her when she was in the Queen's service as a lady-in-waiting, and Katherine reacted in jealousy. Ultimately, she decided that it would be best to just turn a blind eye. It was she who was Queen, not one of the King's fleeting

mistresses. They would come, and they would go, but it was she whom Henry truly loved, as Katherine would reassure herself. In that resolve, she was able to tolerate the attractive Bessie Blount when she had her turn as the King's latest love. But it was not always easy for Katherine to maintain her composure. When Bessie gave birth to the King's bastard son, Henry Fitzroy, Katherine must have been hurt, perhaps even envious. Later, when the boy was made Duke of Richmond and given other important titles, she could not help but voice her unhappiness. She and the King quarrelled, and it led to two of her ladies, whom the King thought were encouraging his wife's disgruntlement, being dismissed from the court.

Henry and Katherine's inability have a living and thriving son would lead to a complete breakdown of the royal marriage. By 1526, the King had fallen in love with another of Katherine's ladies, a young woman named Anne Boleyn, whose sister had also been in the royal bed. Anne had an allure which Henry found irresistible, and he was determined to make her more than his mistress - he would make her his Queen. For some years, Henry had had doubts about his marriage. As Katherine had been his brother's widow, surely he had contravened Divine law in taking her as his wife. When Henry finally summoned up the courage to tell Katherine that their marriage must ended, it was reported that she burst into passionate tears.

For what Henry and Anne assumed would take a short time to resolve, would drag on for years. Katherine put up a fierce fight refusing to be called other than Queen of England. To say otherwise would be to admit that she had never been the King's wife, and that their daughter Mary had been conceived illegitimately, thus losing her place in the succession. Katherine tenaciously held on to



Anne Boleyn (attributed to Lucas Cornelli)

her position, and continued to do so even when the King finally abandoned her in 1531.

As he no longer considered her his wife, Katherine was ordered to leave court. Initially, she was sent to the royal residence of The More. But even in exile, Katherine refused to back down. She continued to appeal to the Pope and to her mighty nephew, the Emperor Charles, for help, and she went on as if she were still Queen. It was reported from The More, how Katherine was still attended to by a swarm of servants, and when she was seen in public, she always appeared cheerful. But in reality, Katherine was extremely sad, especially since she was not allowed to see her beloved daughter. Henry, who had once loved Katherine so much, had come to hate her.

There was more sorrow for Katherine when she received news in early 1533 that Henry had wed Anne Boleyn in secret. To Katherine, the marriage would have meant nothing as it was done without the approval of the Vatican. But Henry had broken away from the Papacy, and with the English Church now under his authority as its Supreme Head, it dutifully pronounced his union to Katherine null and void. Henceforth, she must accept the humiliating title of Princess Dowager, as the



widow of Prince Arthur. But Katherine remained obstinate, and she continued to sign her letters as before. But when she did, it was sometimes as 'Katherine, the *unhappy* Queen'.<sup>4</sup>

With Katherine in exile, Anne Boleyn rejoiced. In June, she was crowned, and it did not go unnoticed that she was pregnant with the King's child. Henry and Anne, both strong willed individuals, had a tempestuous relationship, and they had a row during her pregnancy. Henry had dallied with a young lady of the court, and Anne was not pleased. But when she gave her husband a piece of her mind, he warned Anne that 'she must shut her eyes', and that it was 'in his power to humble her again in a moment, more than he had exalted her'.<sup>5</sup>

Anne's child turned out to be a daughter, and her position was weakened. In the summer of 1534, after she had apparently lost her second child, the King indulged in another love affair. Thankfully for Anne, it was short-lived, and in the beginning of 1536, she was hoping that her new pregnancy would be successful, and that she would at last give Henry his longed for male heir. With a son on her lap, even her bitterest enemies would have to acknowledge her as Queen, especially with the recent death of her rival Katherine of Aragon. When she died on 7 January, Henry and Anne celebrated by wearing bright yellow at a ball. Even the whisperings that the former Queen had been poisoned and that they were to blame, did not distract them from their happiness.<sup>6</sup>

But tragically, the child was born dead. When the sorrowful Henry finally came around to see Anne, he had few words of comfort. He was heard muttering how 'God did not wish to give him male children'. Later, he supposedly even went as far as to say that he been enticed into his marriage with Anne through her 'sortileges and charms'.<sup>7</sup> That



Henry VIII was intent on ridding himself of his second wife became evident that May when Anne found herself a prisoner in the Tower of London. The charges against her were incredible. The Queen was accused of adultery and high treason with five men, one being her own brother. The precise reasons for Anne's dramatic fall are murky, but it seemed that Henry was genuinely convinced - or at least gave the impression that he was - that Anne had been unfaithful to him, and that she even had murder on her mind. As he told his son Henry Fitzroy upon her arrest, he and his half sister Mary 'ought to thank God for having escaped from the hands of that

woman, who had planned their death by poison'.<sup>8</sup>

As Anne awaited trial, Henry VIII caroused on the Thames in his barge late into the night. To anyone who would listen, he accused his wife of being a whore with 'upwards of a hundred gentlemen'. According to the Imperial ambassador, Henry, it seemed, took perverse pleasure in being a cuckolded husband, so much that he even wrote 'a tragedy' about it.<sup>9</sup> Henry had come to despise Anne as he had Katherine of Aragon. But interestingly, when Anne was finally condemned, and her death - by burning or by decapitation - was to be determined by the King, he chose the latter. In a legal writ covering the manner of her execution, Henry declared that 'we moved by pity, do not wish the same Anne to be committed to be burned by fire'. Instead, more mercifully 'upon the Green within our Tower of London aforesaid, the head of the same Anne shall be caused to be cut off'.<sup>10</sup> It was a final gesture of kindness to the woman he had once loved.

After the death of Anne Boleyn on 19 May, Henry VIII married Jane Seymour, a former lady-in-waiting to the Queen, in less than a fortnight. Plain, quiet, and unassuming, Jane did not possess Anne's looks, sparkle, and vivaciousness, but still, it was said that the King had 'come out of hell into heaven for the gentleness in this, and the cursedness and the unhappiness in the other'.<sup>11</sup> Yet beneath her mousey exterior, Jane was a determined woman in her own way. She was not afraid to speak up when it mattered. During her courtship by the King, she had spoken kindly of the Princess Mary. It was a subject best not to be broached as she and Henry had become estranged over his treatment of her mother Katherine. Henry scolded Jane saying that instead of advocating for Mary, she ought to be thinking of the future children they would have together. In response, Jane insisted that



she was only trying to restore harmony into Henry's life and to his kingdom.

Jane also butted heads with her royal husband over the dissolution of the monasteries. After he had assumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, it was ordered that certain religious houses be suppressed, and their lands and riches surrendered to the King. Many of his subjects were appalled, especially those in the North who were conservatively religious. In the fall of 1536, a great rebellion, called the Pilgrimage of Grace, was raised intent on forcing the King to reconsider his despoiling of the Church, among other things. Jane, who was sympathetic to the rebels and considered the uprising as a sign of Heaven's displeasure, went to Henry on her knees begging him to restore the abbeys. The King was enraged, and he ordered Jane to get up. He cautioned her 'not to meddle with his affairs, referring to the late Queen, which was enough to frighten a woman who is not very secure'.<sup>12</sup> That Jane



was not in a safe position was in reference to her still not being pregnant yet. However in the spring of 1537, she was with child. The infant was born on 12 October - a boy named Edward. Tragically, Jane died just days afterwards.

Of Henry VIII's six marriages, his time with Anne of Cleves was the shortest. For reasons that remain mysterious, he took an instant dislike to her when they met on New Year's Day 1540. Anne had arrived from her native Germany, and was settled at Rochester Abbey waiting to be taken to her fiancé the King. But Henry, 'sore desired to see her', went to welcome her immediately.<sup>13</sup> According to depositions taken later, the King was much put off by her appearance, even though he had seen her pictures beforehand and thought her attractive enough to marry. After some brief awkward pleasantries, Henry left in a huff without giving Anne a gift of furs which he had brought for her. In private, he complained that she was 'nothing so well as she was spoken of', and that 'if he had known before as much as he then knew, she should never have come within the realm'. Still, Henry was obliged to marry Anne, and on his wedding day, he grumbled, "If it were not to satisfy the world and my realm, I would not do that I must do this day for none earthly thing".<sup>14</sup> Their wedding night did not change Henry's mind. He claimed to have found Anne unappealing in the flesh too, and he could not make love to her.

Was Anne of Cleves really unattractive? Her portraits (a panel and a miniature by the famed Hans Holbein) were said to be a good likenesses of her, and they do not give that impression at all. For whatever reason, the King failed to hit it off with her, and he did Anne the unkindness of slandering her, telling others how she must not be a virgin by the looks of her breasts and belly. Thankfully, Anne apparently never knew the things said



Katheryn Howard (by Wenceslaus Hollar after Hans Holbein)

about her, due to her lack of English and that Henry's cutting remarks were made behind her back. Thus when she was told that that King was ending their marriage that summer, she was very upset. Curiously, Anne seemed to have been fond of Henry VIII, and she wanted to remain Queen. Nevertheless, their union of only six months was annulled, and Anne had to be satisfied with a handsome 'divorce' settlement.

In contrast to Anne of Cleves, Henry was besotted with his next wife, Katheryn Howard. Young, pretty, and high-spirited, it was said that the King - her senior by some thirty years - could not keep his hands off of her. As the French ambassador observed, Henry VIII was 'so amorous of her that he cannot treat her well enough, and caresses her more than he did the others'.<sup>15</sup> But even with the King's lust for her, Katheryn may not have always felt secure as Queen. She showed no



signs of pregnancy, and in the fall of 1540, there was even a rumour - completely unfounded - that Henry was tiring of her, and wished to take back Anne of Cleves.

Katheryn remained in the King's affections until a year later when it was revealed to him that prior to their marriage, Katheryn, as a girl living with her step grandmother the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, had been intimate with two men. Then as Queen, she was suspected of infidelity with a courtier named Thomas Culpepper. At first, the King thought they were all lies. Still, he did order Katheryn to keep to her rooms while an investigation was launched. But once the sordid details came out, Henry was shattered. In a rage, he 'called for a sword to slay her he had loved so much', vowing that 'that wicked woman had never such delight in her incontinency as she should have torture in her death'.<sup>16</sup>

At Katheryn's fall, her disgrace was made clear by the loss of her trappings of queenship. All her jewels were confiscated, with some pieces 'taken by the King into his own hands'.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, she was banished to Syon Abbey to await her fate. During her detention, it was ordered that her clothes and accessories be plain in appearance, and that there was not to be a royal Cloth of Estate above her chair as usual. When death finally came for Katheryn on 13 February 1542 at the Tower, she was beheaded with an axe by the common executioner. There was no fine sword wielded by an expert from France, as had been accorded to Anne Boleyn.

By many accounts, Katharine Parr, whom the King married in July 1543, was an ideal wife. She was kind and intelligent, and she did her best to make Henry VIII comfortable in his declining years. She was also a loving stepmother to his three children Mary, Elizabeth, and Edward. The King's esteem for Katharine was obvious when he appointed her Regent of the kingdom (an honour he had only given to his first wife so many years ago) when he went to war in France in the summer of 1544.

Even with Henry VIII's high regard for his sixth wife, Katharine Parr too would fall afoul of him. In her attempts to soothe the King's oftentimes bad temper, Katharine, a woman with strong religious opinions veering towards Protestantism, engaged him in religious discussion. However, Henry became irritated by her opinions, and Bishop Gardiner, a conservative who disliked Katharine's outspokenness, tried to have her brought down for heresy. Gardiner was able to convince the King that the Queen needed to be 'examined', and a warrant was prepared for her arrest.

Whether Henry actually intended for his wife to be taken to the Tower, and then possibly executed as a Protestant heretic



remains unclear. Was only trying to teach her a lesson? Whatever his reasons, the Queen was terrified when she discovered what was afoot. Knowing that none of Henry's previous victims (including Anne Boleyn and Katheryn Howard) were able to plead for themselves by reaching him beforehand, Katharine made her way to Henry on the night before her arrest. She gently apologized for upsetting him with her talk, and she insisted that she had merely debated religion with him so that she herself might learn from him. By admitting to her so-called 'womanly weakness and natural imperfections', Katharine was able to save herself. Henry was pleased by her turn around. "Then perfect friends we are now again", he told Katharine, "and ever at any time heretofore". On the following day, when an official came to arrest his wife, an angry Henry

shouted at him, ordering him out of his sight.<sup>18</sup> As Henry assured Katharine, all was well with them again, and it was so when he died on 28 January 1547. While she had been a good and dutiful wife, and had loved her husband, even Katharine might have felt a new lightness when he passed away. Before she had promised herself to the difficult and complex Henry VIII, Katharine had been in love with Sir Thomas Seymour, a brother of the late Queen Jane. But as she felt it was her duty to marry the King, she had let Seymour go. But now, Katharine was swept off her feet again by her former flame. Sometime in the spring, they were married.

**ROLAND HUI**

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16. *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, XVI, no. 1426.
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# Dress, Dazzle & Display

## June's Guest: Siobhan Clarke





# Death by Banquet!

**T**he Tudors were notorious for their lavish banquets and sumptuous meals. It is often said Henry was a glutton gorging himself until his waist measured 54 inches. Whether that was actually due to medical reasons is a matter of debate but banquets were held with regularity especially when there were visiting ambassadors and dignitaries to entertain.

In 1527 Lady Mary Tudor presided over an extravagant banquet with the king and queen at Greenwich. Almost every food imaginable was cooked for the feast. Fish included congers, bream, tench and salmon. Meat and poultry included lambs, rabbits, veal, cranes, herons, pigeons, pheasants and peacocks with a nod to the 'salads' of lettuce, spinach and carrot tops. The sugar course included 'a subtilty, with a dungeon and a manor place, set upon 2 marchpanes, garnished with swans and cygnets swimming about the manor'.

But not every meal was such a pleasurable dining experience and danger lurked at the table. On 18 February 1531 Bishop

Fisher sat down for a meal with his guests but one Richard Roose, of Rochester, Cook, also called Richard Cooke, did cast poison into a vessel, full of yeast or baum, standing in the kitchen of the Bishop of Rochester's Palace, at Lambeth March, by means of which two persons who happened to eat of the pottage made with such yeast died. The Bishop himself had not eaten the pottage that was served but around 16-17 of his guests were violently ill and well as two beggars who had come looking for food at the kitchens and given a portion.

Roose, the cook, was arrested immediately and sent to the Tower of London to await one of the most horrific deaths. Whilst there he was tor-

tured on the rack and admitted to poisoning the meal but only with a laxative intending it to be a joke. Many thought there was more to it but Roose never stood trial. Chapuys wrote:

*They say that the cook, having been immediately arrested... confessed at once that he had actually put into the broth some powders, which he had been given to understand would only make his fellow servants very sick without endangering their lives or doing them any harm. I have not yet been able to understand who it was who gave the cook such advice, nor for what purpose*

Roose was boiled to death – something took



two hours - at Smithfield on 15 April 1532. The *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London* described how he was first tied up in chains, gibbeted and then dipped in and out of the boiling water three times 'tyll he was dede'. His punishment was seen to either symbolise his occupation as a cook or his act of boiling poison into the pottage but it wasn't a sight that the public who did love an execution were impressed with. As he died he roared mighty loud, and divers women who were big with child did feel sick at the sight of what they saw, and were carried away half dead; and other men and women did not seem frightened by the boiling alive, but would prefer to see the headsman at his work

This case led to the Act of Poisoning being enshrined in English law. The crime of poisoning becoming one of petty treason when a subordinate person be it a servant or wife attempts to kill or kills their superior be it master or husband.

Poisoned pottage or porridge was also the cause

of death for James IV's mistress Margaret Drummond and her two sisters Eupheme and Sibylla. The sisters all shared the same meal whilst they were staying at Drummond Castle. James IV's wife and Henry VIII's sister, Margaret Tudor believed that the sisters were poisoned by Lord Fleming, Eupheme's husband stating 'For the Lord Fleming, for the evil will that he had to his wife, caused to poison three sister, and one of them his wife, and this is known of truth in all Scotland'.

In 1546 Henry VIII recalled James Butler, the 9th Earl of Ormond and 2nd Earl of Ossory, once considered a possible husband for Anne Boleyn and Sir Anthony St Leger, Lord Deputy of Ireland, to answer for their continuous feud. St Leger is said to have remarked that only one of them would survive the investigation which turned out to be true.

On 17 October the Earl of Ormond and his household were invited to dine with the 1st Duke of Northumberland at Ely Palace in Holborn. A sumptuous

meal of several courses was served but something had been laced with poison. The earl, his steward, James Whyte, and 16 of his household were affected but no investigation was made into their deaths. It took nine days for Ormond to die – an excruciating death.

Surprisingly no investigation was held into the poisoning and no one was ever charged with their deaths. The finger of suspicion was pointed at St Leger but no charges were ever laid against him. John Dudley, 1st Duke of Northumberland, the host of the dinner had no motive for the crime and the authorities were at a loss for who else to blame.

Sumptuous dining came with its own risks and many cases of possible poisoning may have just been down to poor hygiene but safe to say staying away from the pottage was always a safe bet!

**SARAH-BETH  
WATKINS**



# SORE FULL, OF WRATH: AGENTS OF ANGER IN THE TUDOR WORLD

BY GARETH RUSSELL

Wrath, or anger, is one of the most obviously lethal engendering sins, by which theologians mean a sin capable of generating multiple others. It is an origin of dangerous, immoral thought, leading us further into Temptation. Anger in moderate forms is an excusable or understandable vice, of course, but what about the more lethal examples of Wrath and its victims in Tudor high society?

## 1. THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S RESENTMENTS

Edward Stafford, 3rd Duke of Buckingham, was King Henry VIII's cousin on his mother's side. Or, technically, he was his cousin once removed, since the Duke's mother Katherine had been Queen Elizabeth Woodville's sister. While he had enjoyed royal favour in the reign of his cousin, Elizabeth of York, or more specifically her husband Henry VII, the fabulously wealthy Duke struggled to hide his growing rage against the regime of the young Henry VIII. He resented the new King's attempts to seduce one of his sisters and the increasing power of Cardinal Thomas Wolsey. The Duke was charged with treason and executed in May 1521. Even though the evidence against him plotting to kill his cousin-king was unconvincing, his open anger against Henry VIII was used to convince people of the Duke's guilt. The shaky subterfuge used to bring the Duke of Buckingham to the scaffold is often used by historians as a rebuttal of the theory that Henry VIII did not become tyrannical until after a fall from his horse, fifteen years later.

## 2 HENRY VIII AGAINST HIS OWN PEOPLE

We're so distracted in our fascination with Henry's private life that his anger against anyone who disagreed with him often gets overlooked. In fact, in Henry's own words, he wanted to rain bloody vengeance down on any of his subjects who so much as "murmured" against his policies. When, in 1541, he was told that some of his people lamented his recent reforms, he screamed that he would make them all so poor that they wouldn't have time to complain about him in the future. He also sent an army north in 1536-7 with instructions that it should slaughter anybody, regardless of gender or age, to terrify the northern provinces into loyalty. In the same year, he congratulated his cousin Lord Leonard Grey on the massacre of an entire Irish town that had just been near to a rebellion against him.

## 3 FRANCIS DEREHAM'S DANGEROUS ANGER

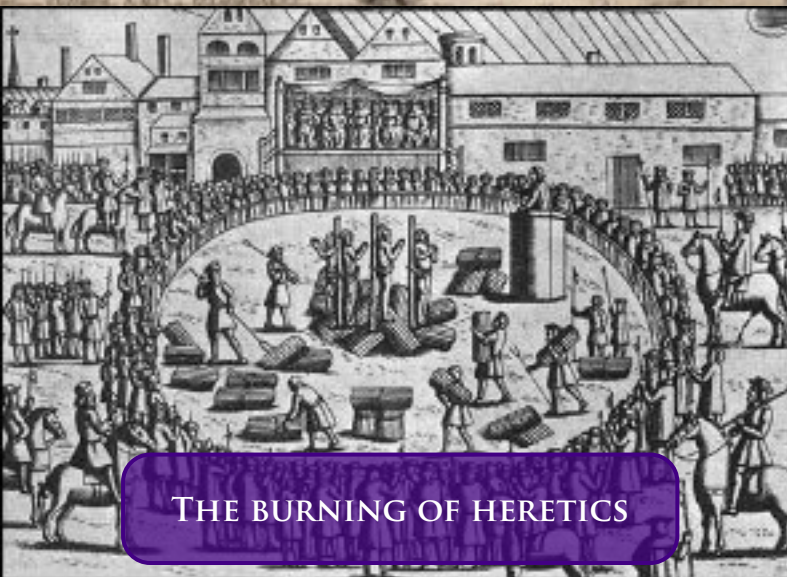
Well-born Francis Dereham was charming, on the surface. Many people were taken in by Francis' superficial manipulations and good looks when they first met him, but it didn't take long for his entitled anger to show, as it did in 1540-1 when he felt his former fiancée Catherine Howard was eluding him. Dereham's anger at being rejected was so unhinged and so self-absorbed in its idiocy that he didn't seem to realise the risks that came with still pursuing Catherine even after she married the



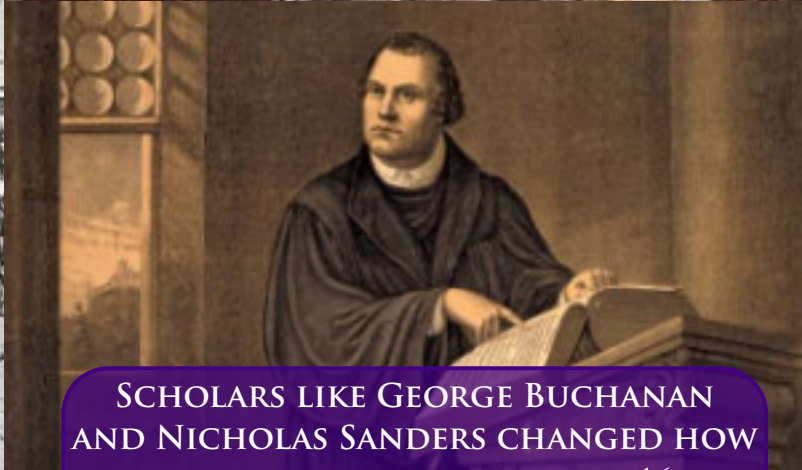
THE 3RD DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM



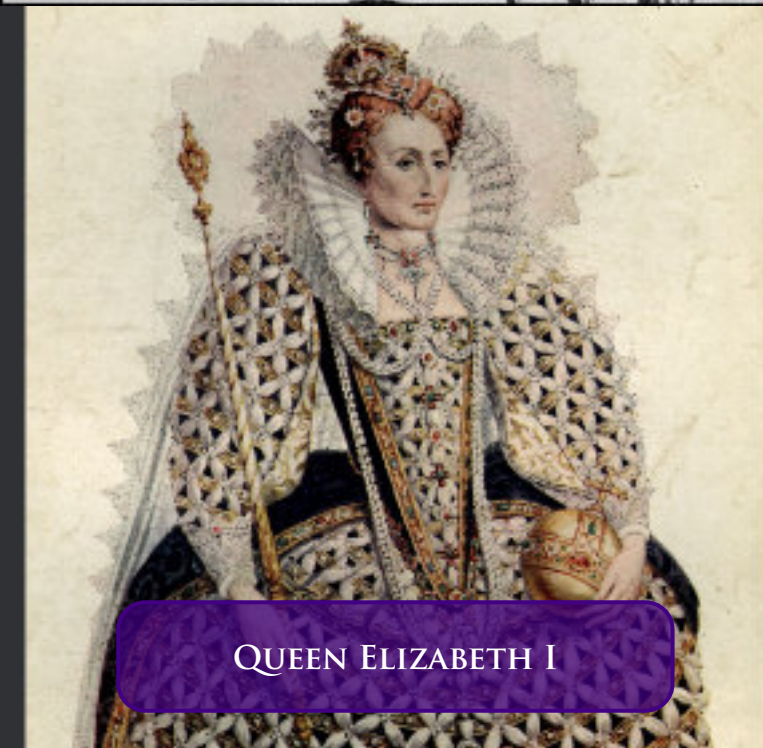
KING HENRY VIII



THE BURNING OF HERETICS



SCHOLARS LIKE GEORGE BUCHANAN AND NICHOLAS SANDERS CHANGED HOW FUTURE GENERATIONS SAW THE 16TH CENTURY



QUEEN ELIZABETH I



DOWNTON ABBEY STAR ALLEN LEECH AS FRANCIS DEREHAM IN "THE TUDORS"



the evangelical Anne Askew refused to testify against her high-born patrons, who possibly included Queen Katherine Parr and certainly some of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting, the conservative courtier Thomas Wriothesley became so angry he began turning the wheels of the rack himself, even after the professional torturers at the Tower of London refused to keep going. Similarly un-Christian levels of anger were shown to imprisoned heretics by Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, during the reign of Mary I, whose viciousness to the prisoners earned him the nickname, "Bloody Bonner". When she succeeded her sister as queen, Elizabeth I was so revolted by reports of Bonner's cruelty that she had him stripped of his bishopric and hurled into Marshalsea Prison, where he died in custody in 1569.

## **5. ELIZABETH I: GUILT AND ANGER COLLIDE**

Gloriana was no stranger to anger, either. It's unsurprising that so much of her worst anger was vented against her cousins, given the insecurities of her childhood and the hair-raising moment in 1553 when she, along with her elder sister, were nearly permanently put in harm's way by the Grey family's coup. Elizabeth never fully recovered from that fear. Plots by her cousins were thus usually greeted by truly terrifying anger from the Queen. She imprisoned both Lady Katherine Grey and Lady Mary Grey for marrying without her permission. She sent another cousin Margaret, Countess of Lennox, to the Tower for secretly marrying her son to Mary, Queen of Scots, the kinsman whose death warrant Elizabeth signed in 1587. However, Elizabeth suffered a nervous breakdown after Mary's execution, venting her rage on the councillors who she felt had pressured her into ordering her cousin's death in the frightening aftermath of the Babington Plot.

## **6. GEORGE BUCHANAN AND NICHOLAS SANDERS: ANGER IN THE INK**

As the Reformation created new religious and political tensions, the intellectuals of the Tudor period became increasingly inventive in their invectives. Mark Twain's observation that history was often written in the ink of fluid prejudice was certainly evident in Protestant and Catholic polemics in the 1500s. George Buchanan, the Scottish academic, eviscerated his former queen, Mary Stewart, for her licentiousness and Catholicism, portraying her in his epic histories of Scotland as a manipulative liar and adulteress. That was nothing compared to the rage that crackles off the pages in Father Nicholas Sanders' history of the creation of the Church of England. He almost wrote with bile rather than ink when he blamed the whole schism on Anne Boleyn. As a Catholic so devout he had chosen exile over living under the rule of Anne's daughter Elizabeth, Sanders invented the legend of Anne's six fingers, adding in multiple warts, third nipples, and deformed lips, all of which he used to supplement his claim she had been a satanic witch who was secretly Henry VIII's biological daughter and who seduced her (legal) father's servants as well as her (half-)brother, George. Anger didn't just lead to a lack of charity, it could also clearly lead to demented lies.

**GARETH RUSSELL**

# Crown Jewels

Answer each question, and then fill the answers into the grid. At the end, every square will be filled except the one highlighted. The letters could fit in up, down, left, or right! The first word has been entered for you to show you how it works, and then you also have the first letter of each answer to guide you through. The last letter of each word you enter must be next to the first letter of the next word.

Good luck!

1. The objects made after the restoration of the monarchy for the Coronation of Charles II in 1661, are the Coronation \_\_\_\_?
2. Which crown, only used for the crowning of the monarch, was made of solid gold, and to replace the medieval crown melted down in 1649.
3. Which Coronation object is a symbol of the Christian world, with a cross atop a globe?
4. What is the name of the crown worn by the monarch as they leave Westminster Abbey after their coronation ceremony?
5. What is the name of the building that houses the Crown Jewels?
6. Who were the group victorious in the English Civil Wars, in 1642-9, who ordered the destruction of the original crown jewels?
7. Made in 1661, the Sovereigns Sceptre is topped by an enamel Dove with open wings, perched upon a cross, What does the dove signify?
8. The jewel in the back of the Imperial State Crown, said to have been smuggled out of the country by James II when he fled in 1688, is called the Blue \_\_\_\_?
9. Initials of a style used to refer to some members of the royal family.

Start

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Gumeracha 2021

# MEDIEVAL FAIR®

Sat 8<sup>th</sup> &  
Sun 9<sup>th</sup> MAY



Federation Park, Gumeracha SA  
[www.medievalsa.org](http://www.medievalsa.org)

Now on  as "Gumeracha Medieval Fair Inc"

Email: [gum.med.fair.info@gmail.com](mailto:gum.med.fair.info@gmail.com)



# Member Spotlight

## Birdwood to Gumeracha

**A long time ago, in a country far away, on a fine and sunny mid-morning, the Baron and Baroness of Innilgard, Toyve and Ashlinn, looked out over their assembled court and general population in the small Adelaide Hills township of Birdwood. The year is 1996. The event is the inaugural Birdwood Medieval Fair, which would undergo several reincarnations before eventually becoming the Gumeracha Medieval Fair.**

Yours truly was part of the assembled Innilgardian court gathered on the green lawns at the old mill complex on Birdwood's main street. Approximately 150 members of the Barony of Innilgard, each dressed in his or her's grandest finery, were surrounded by a somewhat bemused-looking crowd of 'mundanes', slang for non-reenactors. Baron Toyve and Baroness Ashlinn gave a speech welcoming everyone to the event, briefly describing the many and varied pleasures and amusements of the medieval period. Inside red, white, and blue striped Baronial pavilion, ladies of gentle birth spent their time embroidering and chatting. There were also armoured fighters who would willingly allow small children (and the not so small) to beat them up with thickly padded 'boffer swords'.

To one side of the rich and noble was a long table where the not-so-rich and

maybe not-so-noble demonstrated the everyday necessity of cooking. I was part of that group, merrily pounding up rock sugar, cinnamon, cardamoms, cloves and a host of other spices to make poudre douce. And all while keeping an eye on over-excited Master Four and Master Eighteen Months, who'd try to keep up with his brother just as fast as his chubby little toddling legs would allow.

From little things, big things grow, and that far of day in 1996 was the beginning of Spice Alchemy and its long association with the Gumeracha Medieval Fair.

Between then and now, the medieval fair moved from Birdwood to the historic homestead and grounds of Carrick Hill, then to the southern wine region of McLaren Vale, before finally arriving in the Adelaide Hills hamlet of Gumeracha in 2006. Spice Alchemy (then Spice for All Seasons) began trading at the fair way back in 2008 when a good friend and





# Member Spotlight

fellow merchant offered me the very front of her stall for my spices. We started with four spice blends, each thoroughly researched, documented and made by hand the hard way. To my great surprise, the blends sold, and the ball started rolling. As the fair grew and its popularity increased, so did Spice Alchemy's range of spice blends on offer.

The 2021 Gumeracha Medieval Fair will be the first such event in Australia following Covid, with last year's event being cancelled for obvious reasons. The 2019 fair saw 30,000+ people come through the gates over the weekend. Visitors are encouraged to dress up in their medieval best (its a requirement for all merchants to be garbed up) and were treated to everything from wandering minstrels and mummers, knights on horseback and marauding Vikings, coopers and blacksmiths, falconry displays, several living history encampments, and a fully functioning trebuchet (watermelons make brilliant live firing projectiles). There were costume competitions and Punch and Judy shows, jugglers and magicians, costume guilds and traditional Scottish and Irish dancers, medieval archery and more food than you could poke a stick at, especially at the feast on Saturday night! Then there's my particular favourite - Merchant's Lane. If you can't find something that takes your fancy on Merchant's Lane, then you're not looking hard enough! The Lane plays host to

maille makers and reproduction weapons merchants (aka the Purveyor of Sharp Pointies), leather smiths and bookbinders, and several very, very good costumers and jewellers. Oh, and Spice Alchemy :-). We've grown from our original four spice blends to a range of twenty-four, including middle Eastern sweet/sour cordials called sekanjabins, the latest addition.

We all know that this year's fair will be different because of Covid, but that isn't stopping merchants, reenactors and living history types, and visitors from all eagerly anticipating the gates opening on Saturday the 8th of May. While, unfortunately, some interstate groups and merchants won't be with us this year, there is still a fantastic array of medieval treats on offer, straight out of the annals of history. Interested in learning more about the Gumeracha Medieval Fair? Wander over to the website: [medievalsa.org](http://medievalsa.org), and see what's on offer this year, as well as a rogue's gallery of photos from previous events. If you're curious about Spice Alchemy, we can be found at:

[www.facebook.com/SpiceAlchemist](https://www.facebook.com/SpiceAlchemist), ETSY (SpiceAlchemyShop), and Instagram ([spicealchemistau](https://www.instagram.com/spicealchemistau)). Now you must excuse me; my mortar and pestle feel lonely and want me to make more spices.

**RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY**



Desmond Seward's "The Last White Rose" and J. J. Scarisbrick's "Henry VIII" deal with the impact of anger in government decisions under Henry VIII, both in how he treated his subjects and his closest relatives. On the mistreatment of heretics, try "The Queen and the Heretic" by Derek Wilson or "Bloody Mary's Martyrs" by Jasper Ridley, who is also author of a biography of Queen Mary I.

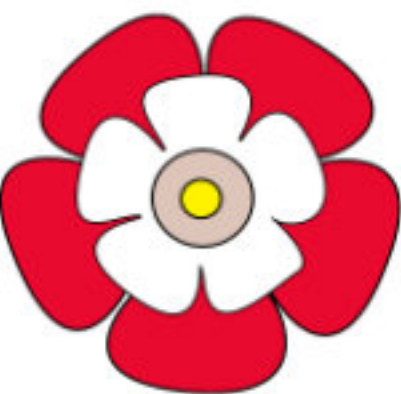
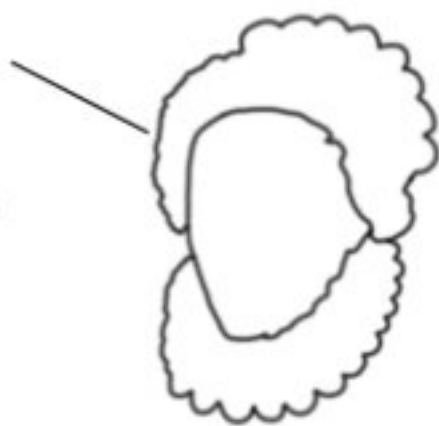
For a full analysis of Nicholas Sanders' lies and their influence, check out Retha M. Warnicke's "The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family politics at the court of Henry VIII".

In terms of fiction, C. J. Sansom's thriller "Lamentation" is a great read, while the downfall of the Duke of Buckingham inspired part of the narrative in 2003's "Henry VIII," in which the Duke was played by Charles Dance (Tywin Lannister in "Game of Thrones" and Lord Mountbatten in "The Crown".) The chaotic anger of Francis Dereham and the brutalisation of Anne Askew are both covered in a fictional lens through Season 4 of Showtime's "The Tudors".

**GARETH RUSSELL**



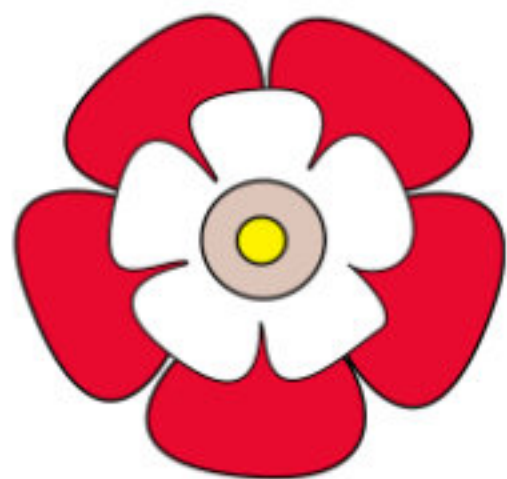
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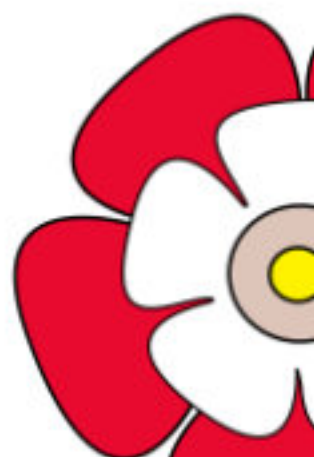
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NEXT, DRAW  
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AND DRAW HIS  
CHAIN



NEXT, DRAW  
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ONTO THE  
BOTTOM HALF OF  
HENRY'S BODY,  
INCLUDING HIS  
KNIFE AND HIS  
LEGS





# The Tudors "How to Draw book"

PJ Scribbles have created a selection of fascinating digital art applications which can be opened on smartphone, tablet or computer. We've included two example images from the "How to Draw the Tudors" book. From within the application, you can view, colour or even print the images. On the previous pages, we see one image of Elizabeth I and one of Henry VIII.

These are digital-only products which can be bought from the PJ Scribbles website. With every digital purchase you get a guide on how to use products on your smartphone, tablet or computer. The link to the "How to Draw The Tudors" book is:

<https://www.tudorsociety.com/draw-the-tudors>

There is also a digital book where you can learn to colour the Kings and Queens from 1066 to the present:

<https://www.tudorsociety.com/kings-and-queens-book>  
Enjoy learning to draw!

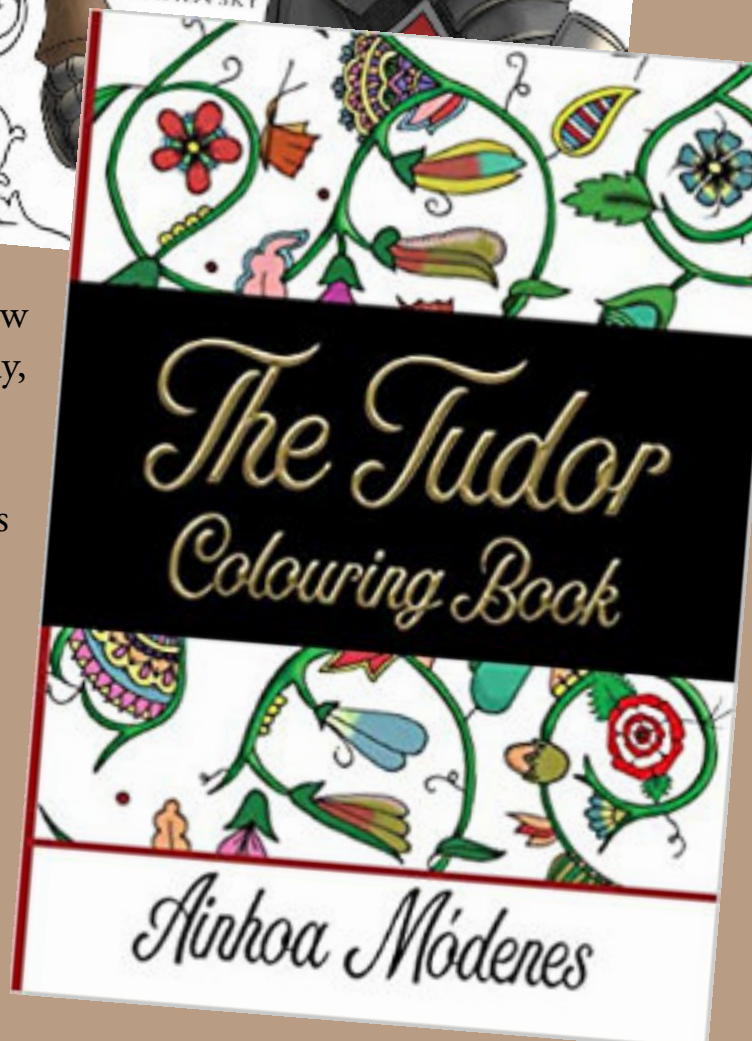
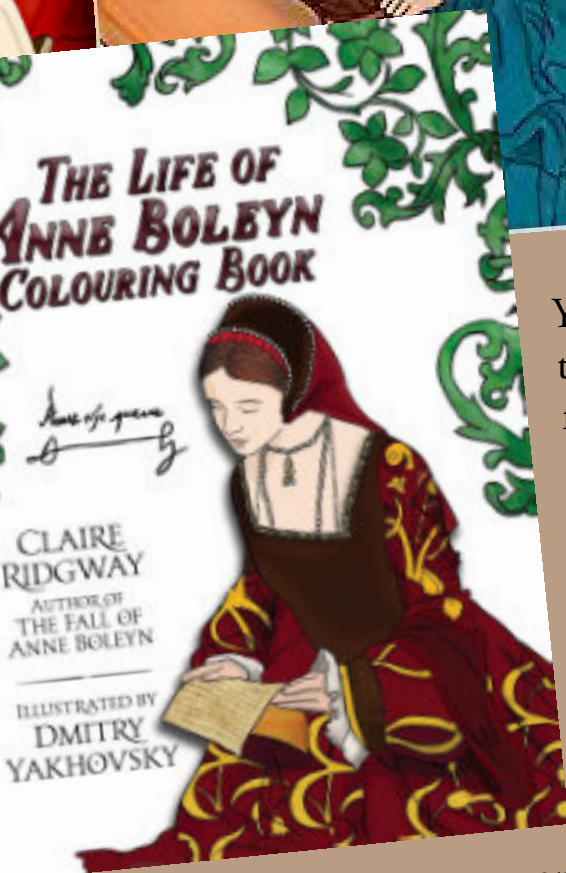
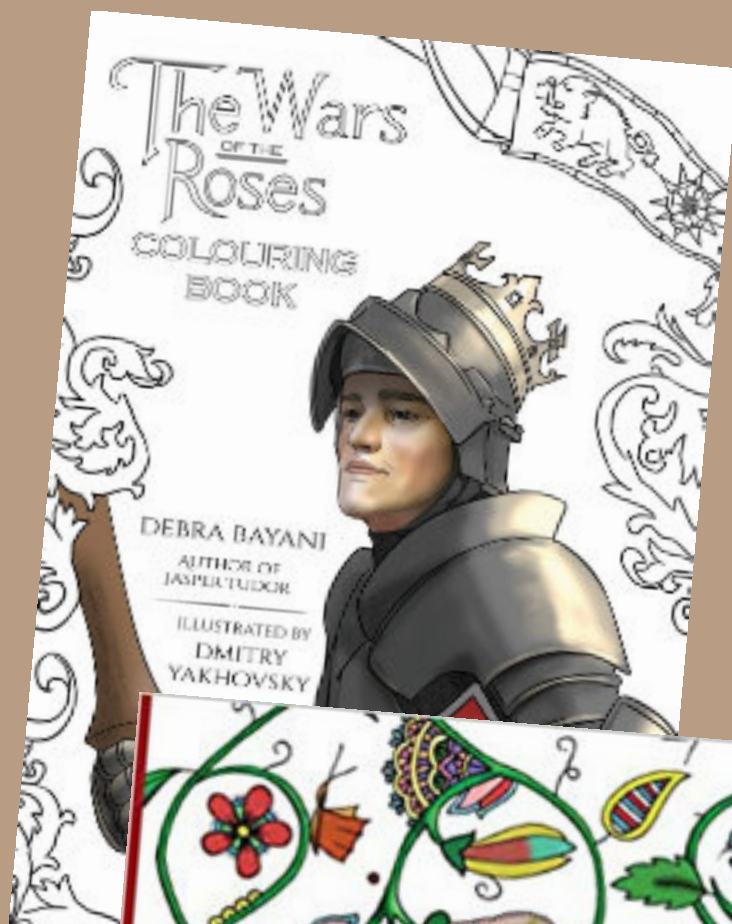


## QUIZ ANSWER

Start

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B	R	O	S	T	A	<sup>8</sup> S	T	U	A
<sup>4</sup> I	I	A	L	E	T	T	S	G	Y
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O	U	S	E	<sup>6</sup> P	A	R	R	I	A





You may not know that Tim Ridgway, founding member of the Tudor Society, is the owner of MadeGlobal Publishing. Many of the books are non-fiction and fiction

Tudor history books, but there are also a few fun books in the line-up too. There are currently four historical colouring books - The Wars of the Roses Colouring Book (Debra Bayani), The Life of Anne Boleyn Colouring Book (Claire Ridgway), The Mary, Queen of Scots Colouring Book (Roland Hui), and The Tudor Colouring Book (Ainhoa Modenes) and they all try to give a little historical background along with the stunning illustrations which are ready for colouring. We hope you enjoy them.



# Sibling Rivalry - Mary, Queen of Scots and James Stewart

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**Gayle Hulme** examines why being on the receiving end of a Tudor monarch's wrath was an unenviable position to be caught in, and why few came to know this better than Margaret Lennox (née Douglas).

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**L**ady Margaret was Henry VII's granddaughter, a niece of Henry VIII, a cousin of Elizabeth I and therefore a legitimate heir to England's Crown.

Given her place in the succession, we could safely assume that Lady Margaret would have been warned of the dangers of romantic dalliances with ambitious courtiers and would know that her hand in marriage was a political bargaining chip to be used at the discretion of the sovereign. In Lady Margaret's case, as we will see from her behaviour, she wilfully ignored any warnings regarding the consequences of secret assignations and dynastic meddling. During her lifetime, she found herself imprisoned on three separate occasions by her powerful relatives, once by Henry VIII for love and twice by Elizabeth I for contracting her sons into unambiguously forbidden marriages.

Lady Margaret Douglas was born to Margaret Tudor (Dowager Queen of Scotland) and Archibald Douglas, 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Angus, on 8 October 1515. Her parent's marriage was forged during the struggle for political supremacy during the reign of her half-sibling James V of Scotland. James V became king at 16

months old when his father, King James IV, was killed 'a spear-length away from (the Earl of) Surrey' (Ring 2017) at the Battle of Flodden. His mother was appointed to act on his behalf, but the arrangement failed when the duplicitous Scottish nobles encouraged the French Duke of Albany to usurp The Scottish Queen's position.

In September 1515, the situation had deteriorated to such an extent that Margaret, then heavily pregnant, had no choice but to take flight from Stirling Castle, hurry south, and seek her older brother Henry VIII's protection. No sooner had the party crossed the border than they were forced to stop when Margaret went into a long and life-threatening labour. They eventually reached the sanctuary of the English court, but it was a short-lived respite before heading back to Scotland. By all accounts, it seems Lady Margaret permanently returned to the English court by the age of 15, where she was regally accommodated at her Uncle's expense within the household of her cousin Princess Mary.

After the king's annulment's tumultuous controversy, Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn were eventually married in 1533, and Lady Margaret moved seamlessly

Lady  
Margaret  
Douglas





into the new queen's household as Lady-in-Waiting. Whilst serving the queen, she and the rest of the court eagerly anticipated the arrival of Henry's longed-for male heir. However, after years of miscarriages and whispers of an unannounced stillborn son, the royal nursery was still unoccupied by a Prince of Wales. More importantly, by the time the younger half-brother of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Norfolk, Lord Thomas Howard and Lady Margaret's yearlong romance and betrothal had been relayed to the King in July 1536, Queen Anne Boleyn was dead, Princess Elizabeth had been disinherited, and Lady Margaret was Henry VIII's unofficial heir presumptive.

Up until the exposure of Lady Margaret's secret pre-contract Henry VIII was not adverse to touting his beautiful and popular niece around the European marriage market, remarking to the French Ambassador that although his eldest daughter was no longer available due to her bastardy and disobedience, he still had a niece who was treated 'like a queen's daughter'. So when the news of the couple's binding promise to marry reached the king's ears in July 1536, Henry VIII was 'incensed' that one so close to him in blood should have given a commitment to marry without his direction or consent.



Henry VIII

The timing for the couple could not have been worse; just two months previously, Anne Boleyn had been tried, convicted and executed for the crime of High Treason. Anne, the Duke of Norfolk's niece, had in the king's eyes been a wanton and cunning harlot who had jeopardised the succession by committing multiple acts of adultery. To now have the much-admired child of his sister deliberately flout his authority provoked Henry into a fury. Already obsessed about the frailty of his dynasty, this new revelation heightened his paranoia. The king knew that until his new wife Jane Seymour produced a living son, the succession would be just as insecure as it had been when he first embarked on the campaign to dissolve his first marriage.

Within ten days of the couple's arrest and confinement within the Tower of London, Lord Thomas was accused in Parliament of being 'seduced by the devil'. Indeed we need to look no further than the Act of Attainder that convicted him to understand how serious a matter this was in terms of the succession. The Act convicted Lord Thomas of attempting 'by reason of marriage' to obtain the 'imperial crown of this realm'. To further quash the threat, a clause was inserted that denied Lady Margaret's legitimacy, thus barring her from the succession altogether. The Act also made it treason for any of the king's female relatives to marry without the monarch's consent. Condemned to death at the king's pleasure, Lord Thomas became ill and died at The Tower in October 1537. With the bridegroom dead and with the birth of Prince Edward on 12 October 1537, the threat of a union between Thomas and Margaret was nullified.

The evidence suggests that Margaret was at liberty by June 1538, nevertheless her loss of freedom while in the Tower

and later at Syon Abbey had not left enough of a lasting impression for her to forego a second unacceptable Howard entanglement. Her partner in this clandestine affair was Queen Catherine Howard's brother, Charles Howard. The affair may have come to light in November 1541 while members of the queen's household were being examined over the young queen's alleged adulterous indiscretions. The extent or progression of Lady Margaret's liaison was unclear. Still, according to historian Alison Weir, it was severe enough for Charles Howard to make a hasty escape to France via Flanders. This left Margaret behind to face a stinging rebuke for 'demean(ing) herself against the King's Majesty...[her] overmuch lightness [and] to beware a third time'. Unlike Anne Boleyn's fall, this time, the king's anger and devastation over his wife's betrayal coupled with the existence of a thriving male heir had probably saved his niece from more severe punishment.

Lady Margaret Douglas's next romance took place with her Uncle's full blessing when she married Matthew Stewart (Stuart), 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Lennox, at the Chapel Royal of St James's Palace in 1544. It was now Margaret's dynastic ambitions, first for her son Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley and subsequently his much younger brother, Charles Stuart, that would bring the full force of Elizabeth I's anger down on Lady Lennox's head. As Elizabeth had no children, the old question of the succession had resurfaced, and just as her father had done, Elizabeth protected her rule by insisting on absolute obedience from those closest to the throne.

When the Earl of Lennox travelled to Scotland in 1564 to have his previously forfeited Scottish estates returned to him, his 18-year son Lord Darnley accompan-



Elizabeth I





ied him. Whether by luck but more likely by design and manipulation, Mary Queen of Scots was immediately infatuated with Darnley, who she described as 'the finest long man she had ever seen. On hearing the news that marriage was on the cards between two legitimate Catholic heirs to England, Elizabeth flew into incandescent fits of temper. The pair ignored her direct command to return to England, and when the marriage finally took place, Elizabeth refused to acknowledge it and 'confiscated the Lennox properties in England' (Williams 2020). Physically unable to get her hands on the Earl of Lennox or Darnley, she vented her wrath on the only adult Lennox left in England; Margaret. The match was an unmitigated disaster, and no one profited from it. Lady Lennox languished in the Tower once more. Darnley's own maternal Douglas relations murdered him in February 1567 while he was escaping from an assassination attempt, and Mary Queen of Scots was forced to abdicate in favour of her infant son.

However, even the callous murder of her eldest son and the killing of her husband when serving as Regent in Scotland did not deter Lady Lennox from conspiring with Bess of Hardwick to see her only surviving child Charles, now 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Lennox, married to Bess's daughter Elizabeth Cavendish in 1574. Queen Elizabeth was intuitive enough to see through Lady Lennox's request for permission to visit her imprisoned daughter-

in-law Mary Queen of Scots at Chatsworth House in Derbyshire. So in a bid to outmanoeuvre Elizabeth's refusal of consent, the two women brought their offspring together 20 miles away from Chatsworth at Rufford Abbey. The couple were married within days, and soon afterwards, Elizabeth's pregnancy was confirmed. Although Bess escaped unscathed, Margaret found herself again residing at the queen's pleasure within the Tower walls.

For all Henry VIII and Elizabeth I stormed and boiled with rage at Margaret's flagrant intransigence, perhaps the anxieties and imprisonments were not in vain. In 1603, 25 years after her death, Margaret's dynastic ambitions were finally realised when her Grandson James VI of Scotland, became King James I of England.

Family ties or loyalty were disregarded after the battle. Catherine of Aragon was acting as regent and wished to send James V's corpse to her husband Henry VIII, who was then fighting in France.

Showing a cold, vengeful streak in her character, James V's aunt by marriage Catherine of Aragon, who was Regent of England at the time, wished to send James V's corpse to her husband Henry VIII, who was fighting in France.

**GAYLE HULME**

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# Thomas Norton, the 'Rackmaster'

Unexpected revelations of research.

In a recent edition of the American version of *Who do you think you are?* on TV, someone discovered that they had an ancestor called Thomas Norton who was known as the 'Rackmaster' during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. With a nickname like that, I thought Norton might be worth investigating and, sure enough, Wikipedia says 'his punishment of the Catholics ... led to his being nicknamed 'Rackmaster-General'. Since nobody else was given this by-name, it suggests that Norton must have been the queen's most enthusiastic torturer of Roman Catholics, particularly skilled in using the rack as a means of extracting information from the unfortunate victim. This turned out to be not entirely true but Norton's life was fascinating in other ways.

Thomas Norton was born in London in either 1530 or 1532. His father, also Thomas, was a member of the powerful Grocers' Company and owned considerable estates in Bedfordshire. Young Thomas's mother, Elizabeth, died when he was young and his father remarried Widow Osborne. We don't know the widow's first name but she may have been raised in Sir Thomas More's household. She had three sons by Norton senior but seems to have suffered from depression because she committed suicide. An unsympathetic individual,

William Fleetwood described her death

in December 1581 as caused 'by evell spirettes some tyme to hange herselff and some tyme to drowne herselff'. (She had drowned, not hanged, herself.) Fleetwood claimed the poor woman was a 'necromancia' because in Thomas More's household she had learned, along with the trappings of Catholicism, to speak with the dead.

Hardly inconvenienced by his second wife's suicide, so it seems, Thomas's father swiftly wed a third time but Fleetwood



Thomas Norton [1532 – 84]



Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury [1489-1556]

thought young Thomas's inheritance might be in jeopardy from his step-brothers and asked Francis Walsingham to speak with the Remembrancer of the Exchequer, Peter Osborne, who was a family friend and possibly, also a relative. If Osborne was a relative, to judge from his name, he was likely closer connected to the step-brothers than to young Thomas so would appear to be an odd choice – unless Walsingham was to deliver a warning not to attempt to disinherit the eldest son.

Young Thomas Norton went to Michaelhouse, Cambridge, in 1544 but didn't get his Master's degree until 1570.

This wasn't because he was a poor student but because from 1550 he was secretary to Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, and tutor to the duke's children. While in the duke's household, Thomas met William Cecil, a future patron, Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and got to know the archbishop's daughter, Margaret. Both Somerset and Cranmer were ardent Protestant reformers and Thomas was of the same turn of mind after working alongside these men, if not before. Unfortunately, Thomas's patron, Seymour, was executed in 1552.

With Mary Tudor's accession to the throne in 1553, Protestantism was suddenly suppressed and Thomas was living dangerously, allying himself with the out of favour ex-Archbishop Cranmer. In March 1556, Cranmer was burned at the stake in Oxford for his Protestant beliefs but, at about that date, Thomas married the archbishop's daughter, Margaret. The same year, Thomas's close friend and printer of Protestant tracts, Edward Whitchurch, wed the archbishop's widow.

In 1555, with his secretarial and tutoring duties ended, Thomas Norton enrolled at the Inner Temple in London to study common law. The law students were as interested in poetry and drama as much as they were in the subject they were supposed to be studying. Thomas had already contributed a number of Psalms, translating them from Latin into English, for publication by Whitchurch but it was safer to write non-religious literature with a Catholic monarch on the throne. So Thomas tried his hand at being a playwright – with some success. The oddly named



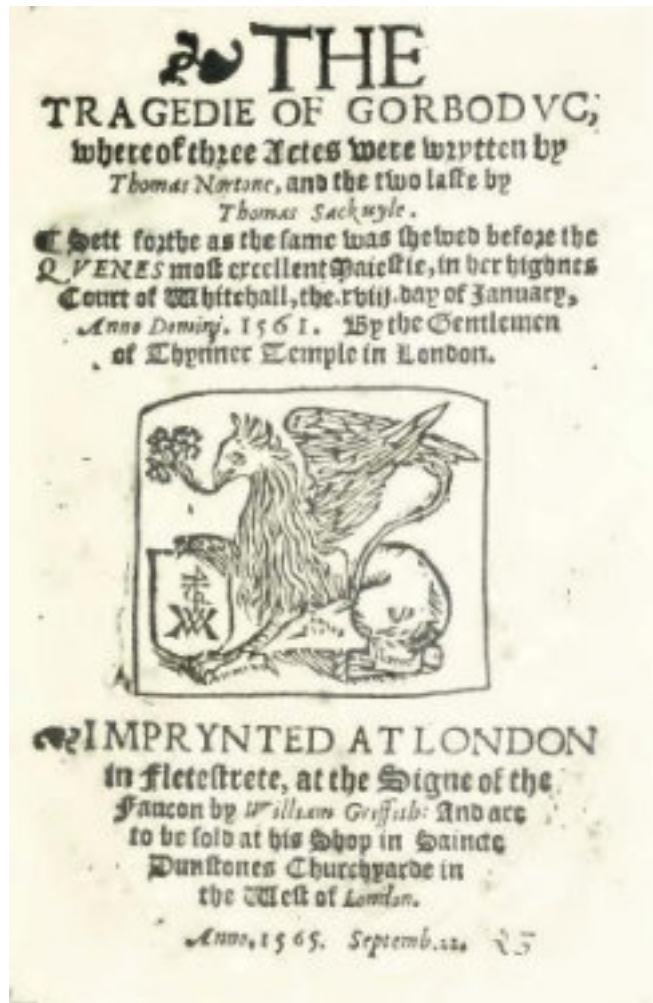
five-act play, *Gorboduc*, was the first to give England's earliest history a classical slant. Thomas wrote the first three acts, leaving his associate at the Inner Temple, Thomas Sackville, to finish it off by adding the final two acts. Such collaborative writing was not unusual – Shakespeare is known to have done the same.

In 1561, Queen Elizabeth saw the play performed by the students of the Inner Temple at the royal court in Whitehall more than once, so must have approved of the drama.

Now that England was Protestant once more, Thomas's career took off in directions other than literary. In 1558 he was sworn a freeman of the Grocers' Company – his father's guild – and was called to the bar in 1563, now qualified to practise law. He and his wife, Margaret Cranmer, had been living with Margaret's mother and step-father, Thomas's dear friend, Edward Whitchurch. When Whitchurch died in that same year, Thomas was the executor of his will and had this to say of his father-in-law:

*Her Maiesties Printer of the bookes of common Prayer ... a man well knowen of upright hearte and dealing, an auncient zealous Gospeller, as plaine and true a friend as ever I knewe living and as desirous to doe any thing to common good, specially by the advancement of true religion.*

Thomas was moving up in the world. Appointed as 'Counsel' for the Stationers' Company, it was his job to vet books as suitable or otherwise and in 1581, with the Bishop of London, he became Licensor of Books and received an appointment from the queen's Privy Council to investigate the privileges of the Stationers' Company



The front page of *The Tragedy of Gorboduc* by Norton and Sackville, 1565 edition

which seems odd, he being an insider. He also became an active Member of Parliament and Remembrancer to the Lord Mayor of London – i.e. informing the mayor of what went on in Parliament – and serving on no fewer than eighty-four parliamentary committees. That's an awful lot of meetings but somehow he also found the time to be a commissioner to examine Catholic prisoners.

Catholic plots were on everyone's minds between 1578 and 1583 when Thomas was a commissioner. Threats to the life of Queen Elizabeth and the possibility of a Catholic monarch organising an invasion of England were high on the list of

concerns. Thomas was sent to check out the Channel Islands, the English territories closest to France which were a possible point of entry for foreign invaders. But the activity which earned him the misnomer 'the Rackmaster' was the part he played in the interrogation of two Catholic priests and a third conspirator. The first was Cuthbert Mayne, sent to England by Pope Gregory XIII with a bull – a papal document – permitting English Catholics to foreswear their allegiance to the queen. Mayne was tried, found guilty and executed.

The second Catholic was the Jesuit priest Edmund Campion. London-born Campion was famous for his daring in defying capture by the English authorities but he was arrested in 1581. Before the trial, the Privy Council decided that there should be a religious debate held between Campion and some Anglican clerics. Quite what the purpose was, I haven't been able to discover. The chance to demonstrate to the young Jesuit the errors of his doctrine seems to be the only possibility, in which case it was time wasted.

Although Thomas Norton didn't think the debate was worthwhile, even so he was given the task of organising the event and providing Campion with any reference books the Jesuit requested. Since these were likely to be books banned in England, as Licensor of Books and Counsel to the Stationers' Company, Thomas was the man most able to get hold of the required volumes. During the theological disputation itself, Thomas was taking the minutes and making notes of the arguments on either side. It was said that Campion was

being 'unjustly treated' but Thomas appears to have done what he could to counter the rumours on that score. He was a witness at the Jesuit's trial but he avoided Campion's execution at Tyburn on 1 December 1581. Thomas played a more active part in putting the questions to the Catholic conspirator Francis Throckmorton but I could find no evidence for him carrying out any tortures in person.

The by-name 'the Rackmaster' was given him – without justification, as far as I can discover – by the Catholic pamphleteer Robert Parsons and pamphlets were, of course, the social media of the day and if the news could be 'sensational', then far more copies were sold. 'Fake news' made money for the pamphleteers. But Thomas's views on Catholics were surprisingly moderate. He said he was of the opinion and publicised his thoughts that English Catholics should be tolerated, despite their 'heresies', so long as they maintained 'the allegiance and loyal affections for the Queen and Crown'. Despite this, Thomas was later imprisoned for a few weeks and obliged to write to Walsingham, reminding him that everything he had done as a commissioner had been authorised in advance by the council. He was soon released, having served as a scapegoat, I suspect.

Thomas died rather unexpectedly on 10 March 1584, having made a 'nuncupative' will – that is one recited verbally, rather than drawing up a legal document. His brother-in-law Thomas Cranmer was his executor and his will was proven in London on 15 April, so the hasty nature of it doesn't seem to have caused any difficulties. His children – Anne,





Henry, Robert and Elizabeth – all did well for themselves, though the youngest, Alice, simply gets a mention as ‘being cared for by the Coppyn family’ in 1602.

As a footnote to this article, I want to return to Edmund Campion. If Thomas Norton’s appellation ‘the Rackmaster’ has been revealed as undeserved, a second misnomer applies to the Jesuit priest. I was searching online for an image of Edmund Campion and found this portrait of him, supposedly, on a number of Catholic websites. Campion, as an English Catholic martyr, was canonised a saint in 1970 by Pope Paul VI and this image of him is shown on the Independent Catholic News, Catholic Saint Medals and catholictradition.org websites. But I recognised it as a work of the Italian artist, Titian. The second image in its grand frame says [top right] ‘Painted by Titian’ and is labelled beneath on the web page as ‘Edmund Campion: Priest and Martyr.

It is true that Campion was in Italy, briefly, visiting Rome during Titian’s lifetime [1488/90-1576] and this portrait is said to be of ‘a Young Englishman’. Whether the Venetian artist was in Rome at the same time, I haven’t discovered.

My problems with the Catholics claiming this as a likeness of their martyred hero are twofold. Firstly, in Catholic Italy and Rome in particular, Catholicism was the only legal religion and Jesuits were well respected, so why does this young man not advertise his religious beliefs? He has nothing but a gold chain and a pair of gloves when I would expect a crucifix to appear on his person or some Catholic iconography in the background.

Secondly, although there is no doubt the painting is by Titian, art experts date its execution to between 1540 and 1545. Campion was born in 1541. I rest my case.

**TONI MOUNT**

# THE TUDOR SOCIETY



## *Members' Bulletin*

Hello members,

I do hope that things are improving where you are in the world. As I write this bulletin, we are slowly moving towards summer, and all the flowers are in full bloom. I'm always reminded of the beauty of the gardens at Hever Castle this time of year. I have been there many times around the build-up to Anne Boleyn's execution (May 19) and then again and again throughout the year. Of course, the gardens are a much more recent addition than when the Boleyns and Henry VIII knew the castle. It's still wonderful to be walking in the footsteps of the Tudors.

Leading on from this, I expect that very soon we'll all be allowed to go back to public and historic buildings. As we've highlighted in the past, many of these wonderful attractions rely exclusively on the income from visitors and it's been a tough time for so many Tudor places. If and when you are able to, can I ask you to get to your local historical sites and give them support? Can I also encourage you to take photos of your visit and maybe share them with us. You could even write an article which we could put into our "members' spotlight" section. It's always great to see people enjoying our rich history.

While on the thought of supporting history, why not buy a book from your favourite historian or historical fiction author and then let them know you appreciate them by leaving a review at the place you bought it. We're doing our best to support historians in their work through the Tudor Society, so thank you on their behalf for your support of our work. A review is worth so much for a historian and you'll be encouraging them to keep researching and writing. Thank you in advance!

**TIM RIDGWAY**



# Charlie

## The Heretic Wind

Judith Arnopp



Mary I's reputation has undergone a transformation in recent years, with the view of her as 'Bloody Mary' now being seen as outdated. In this attempt at redeeming her reputation, Mary has become the focus of more and more historical novels. One of the most recent works is by Judith Arnopp and is from Mary's point of view, starting with her deathbed and looking back at her life from a young age and how she got to where she was. Arnopp is known for her sympathetic and largely accurate portrayals of historical women, including the likes of Margaret Beaufort and Anne Boleyn.

Throughout Henry VIII's lifetime, the reader follows Mary as she navigates the many setbacks and tragedies she has to endure. One thing that is nice to see is some of the tender moments between Mary and Elizabeth, as, with the benefit of hindsight, it is easy to forget that they were close when they were younger. Arnopp portrays the complex relationship between the two sisters well:

*'When nobody is looking, I take her on my knee to let her tug my hair; pull my nose and dribble on my gown. She is as fat and warm as a tabby cat and in my greatest torment, I find my only comfort. Whenever she sees me, she holds up her fat arms to be held. I think Elizabeth is the only person in the house who likes me.'*

One of the stumbling blocks for anyone writing historical fiction can be figuring out how much the character knows of what is going on around them and not giving them too much outside knowledge. This the author has navigated before and she does so expertly again here, yet still managing to keep the story engaging throughout the novel. This also works well within the framework Arnopp has set for herself, in which Mary is recounting her story to one of her servants, so some degree of hindsight can be sensed.

*The Heretic Wind* is a brilliant novel exploring the difficult life of Mary I. Arnopp manages to balance making her appear sympathetic but also not white-washing the more controversial parts, such as her burning of Protestants. The author produces a complicated protagonist and one that manages to stay faithful to the historical record. The book is easy to read and is one which is hard to put down once started. I would recommend this to anyone wanting to read a good historical fiction novel or just wanted to read something about Mary I's life.



# The Castle in the Wars of the Roses

Dan Spencer

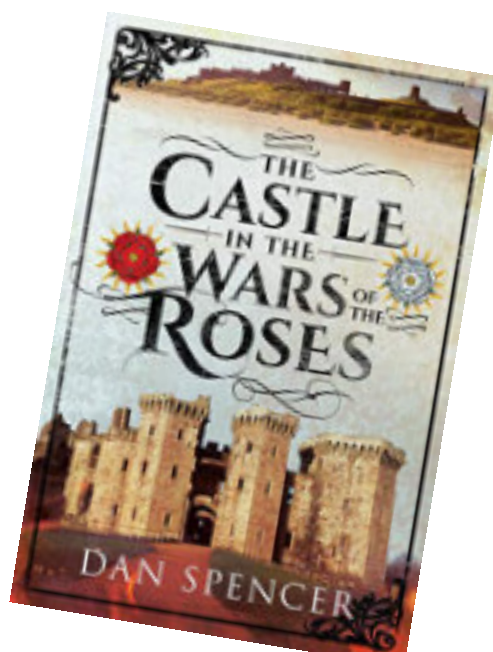


The complicated royal and family dynamics behind the Wars of the Roses has always been of interest to historians, yet that has been to the detriment of other aspects involved in the conflict, such as the castles the prominent figures held. In his recently released book, Dan Spencer turns his attention to the role of the castle during the Wars of the Roses and its importance to both the houses of York and Lancaster. The author starts with a history of castles in general; how they changed over the years and their purpose. He then looks at them during the Wars of the Roses, arguing that their role has been neglected, which is likely to be true (with the possibly exception of the Tower of London). Spencer states that he looks at *'their role as fortresses, mustering points and as secure headquarters for planning and conducting operations'*. There are some battles discussed in this book, but only in so far as they concern nearby castles. There are also some little-known fortresses mentioned, with one of my favourites being Harlech, due to it being one of the few to stay in Lancastrian hands: *'As explained by the Warkworth chronicler, the capture of Bamburgh meant that all of England (and Wales) recognised the authority of King Edward. Except, as he went on to add,*

*for a castle in north Wales called Harlech. This was now the only part of the realm that remained under the control of the supporters of Henry VI. Safe in their remote fortress in the wilds of Snowdonia they remained defiant, even after the rest of Wales had long since submitted to the Yorkists.'*

As well as being well-referenced throughout, it includes several interesting appendices, which include one with brief biographies of key figures, recorded and possible sieges, as well as recorded garrisons. This leans the book more towards those researching the period and would be good for those looking into the military side of the Wars of the Roses. *The Castle in the Wars of the Roses* has an interesting premise and solid argument for its focus on castles during that time period. However, it does struggle at times to not just retell the struggle between the houses of York and Lancaster. It tends to repeat what the target audience would probably already know, as it mostly seems to be more of an academic book, which explains why it can be a little dry in places. This identity crisis lets it down, as it is neither purely aimed at general readers or those with knowledge of the events involved. It is still worth a read for those with an interest in castles or the time period, but it is hard to recommend whole-heartedly.

CHARLIE FENTON







**FEASTING PARIS**



Welcome friends to my humble home! I apologise in advance that the floor rushes haven't been adequately changed, but good help is so hard to find these days, is it not? Do allow me to introduce myself: I am Duc Etienne Anselme Giroux, and I shall be your most attentive host this evening. I am most excited to share some of the exquisite recipes found in *Le Viandier de Taillevent* and *Le Menagier de Paris* with you. I had hoped that my good friend and somewhat reclusive author of *Le Menagier* might join us this evening. However, it seems that he has discovered his young wife's delights and has, unfortunately, other plans. He does assure me that we will find the menu he has set out to be an excellent meal and fit for gastronomes such as ourselves.

But first, I simply must insist on some Rules of Etiquette.

As you are all no doubt aware, we find ourselves at war again with the English. *Mon Dieu*, why they can not live in harmony with us, their cousins across the narrow sea confounds me! So I forbid any discussion of the war or the politics behind it. I find such discussions greatly disturbs my bowels, which at my age is a terrible terrible thing.

Secondly, you will note I have not succumbed to the vulgar Italian affectation called, what's the word, forks! If the good Lord had intended us to use them, he'd have replaced our fingers with them, don't you agree?

And finally, please refrain from blowing your noses or wiping your fingers on the table linens. My servants shall provide you with bowls of scented water (rose water for this evening, I believe) for your fingers and handtowels of the most expensive Flemish linen and trimmed with the most delicate lace the good sisters from a silent and contemplative order have spent days making. Oh, and please, I implore you, no shedding of blood. My washerwoman complains loudly and bitterly that it is so hard to remove from fine linens.

So to our meal, and I do hope that you are hungry. As its not Lent, even our honoured guest, the



good Cardinal Beauchene, can enjoy himself without the slightest feeling of guilt (smiles benignly at the good Cardinal).

For your first remove, I have planned a mere thirty-one dishes in six platters.<sup>1</sup>

The first platter shall consist of a Grenache wine of incomparable vintage with toast rounds, delicate suckling veal pies, lightly spiced black puddings, and some of those tiny sausages I so adore.

The second platter comprises a rich hare stew with new season's peas, salted and 'coarse' meats ( I don't like the word, but my good friend assures me this is the correct word in this context), eels smoked over a juniper fire and other fish.

The third and following platter my chef assures me is one of his *pièce de résistance* for this evening: roasted coneys, partridge, gilded capons, eelpout, brill, and a soup of chopped meats.

The fourth platter will be waterfowl *a la dodine*, smothered rice, and a delectable mold of eels with a piquant hot sauce.

The fifth and sixth platter will tempt even the most delicate of stomachs: sugared milk,

sugared flans, saffron-spiced pears, sugared almonds, perfectly ripe medlars, and dishes of shelled nuts. All served with my master sommelier's secret spiced hypocras and heavenly wafers.

After a brief interlude during which my young niece will entertain us by playing a piece of her own composition on the virginals, we shall resume our gastronomic journey with the second remove.

Our first platter will comprise pies of fine pies of veal chopped small in grease and marrow of





beef, pompano pies, Italian black-puddings, sausages, forcemeat, and rich pies *de quibus*.<sup>2</sup>

This will be followed by a second platter of hare soup and eel broth, strained beans, salted meats, coarse meats, which is to say beef and mutton.

The third platter will be my chef's second *pièce de résistance* for the evening: roasted swan, a peacock in its plumage, an assortment of chopped and browned vegetables, roasted river ducks *a la dodine*, and tench, both as a soup and molded with hot sauce, followed by fat capons in soup with dumplings made of chicken-fat and parsley.

The fourth platter will tempt us with a common bacon gruel, smothered rice, jellied eels, rissoles, and thin crepes with much excruciatingly expensive fine sugar. After such extravagances, several types of little sugared tarts will be offered with sugared milk, delicate saffron wafers, and more outstanding hyppocras.

For our final remove, I have arranged a mere twenty-one dishes to be presented on three platters. As you have no doubt gathered, I have spared no expense for you, my dear and esteemed guests.

The first service shall comprise strained peas, salted eels and

herring, leeks with almonds, a game stew, sea fish, and a delectable oyster stew.

This shall be followed by a second service of roasted freshwater fish, saltwater fish, a Savoy broth, and a larded gruel of jellied eels. The third service and the final *pièce de résistance*: caponized falcon, jelly, portioned fricassee, plaice in water, turbot with cypress herb, cream tarts, lampreys in hot sauce, a salad of browned vegetables, and smothered rice.

A final remove of quince marmalade (made from quinces from my own garden), red sugared almonds, figs, cherries and delicately candied roses and violets will then be served.

And I would be the most neglectful of hosts if I did not provide each of you with armed men to escort you home. One can never be too careful when travelling at night, even in our great city of Paris. I do hope you'll come to my next humble dinner, for I fear we have only barely begun to sample the culinary delights of our great empire.

## RIOHNACH O'GERAGHTY

1. Hinson, J. *Le Menagier de Paris* <http://www.davidfriedman.com/Medieval/Cookbooks/Menagier/Menagier.html>
2. Hinson, *Op Cit*



**NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR**

# Tudor Life

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