

# Tudor Life

THE  
TUDOR  
SOCIETY

The Tudor Society Magazine

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## PRIDE

The Pride of  
Catherine of Aragon

A Proud Spirit:  
Penelope Devereux  
De Casibus Tradition

*PLUS*

The Travels of Hans  
Holbein the Younger  
Shakespeare's Globe

Tudor Charlwood  
Part 2

AND MUCH MORE



**England's Sweet Pride is Gone**  
*by* **Roland Hui**

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## PRIDE...

The line between pride and hubris is a tipping point and, as Lauren Browne reminds us in her excellent article for this issue, it thus became an inspiration for Tudor moralists. Pride was often blamed for the downfall of great figures in the era, including the gifted poet Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and, as Roland Hui discusses here, a later earl too – the charismatic Robert Devereux, Lord Essex, in the troubled twilight of Elizabeth I's long reign. Yet, pride was not always a negative – Henry VIII's first wife was praised for her pride, as Gayle Hulme's article points out, and who wouldn't be proud of the talent shown by Holbein, the topic for Susan Abernethy's article?

**GARETH RUSSELL**  
**EDITOR**

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ABOVE: The Great Chain of Being from the  
*Rhetorica Christiana* by Fray Diego de Valades (1579)

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# THE PRIDE OF CATHERINE OF ARAGON

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**Gayle Hulme** considers whether Henry VIII's first wife's pride was her downfall in the end...

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**N**o one can dispute that King Henry VIII's first wife Catherine of Aragon was a woman full of conviction and determination. Scholars and the public agree that when pitted against the will of her implacable husband and his court, she fought to maintain her rights and the rights of her daughter, Princess Mary. Looking back with our contemporary eyes, we see a powerful female fighting for her position, however during the 1520s and 30s Catherine's husband and her opponents saw her behaviour as disobedient stubbornness. In the Tudor era society believed that wives and children should obey their husbands and fathers unquestioningly and that a subject should not dare challenge their anointed Sovereign.

So what set the previously conventional and humble Catherine of Aragon on a collision course with her husband that eventually polarised the English court and turned the Pope and most of



Catholic Europe against England? Perhaps to understand Catherine's bold stance over the 'King's Great Matter,' we must first look at her birth and early life in Spain. Why was the youngest daughter of King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile so proud and what gave her an unshakeable sense of destiny within the Divine Order; where everyone, from kings to peasants accepted that their rank in society was pre-ordained by God.

A possible explanation is a parental example imprinted on Catherine as a child. Her mother, Isabella a powerful and fervently Catholic Regnant Queen, was also a seasoned and accomplished military campaigner. She had won the crown of Castile by defeating her aunt in battle. This characteristic continued throughout her life, and she was so committed to her military goal of expelling the Moors (Muslims) from southern Spain that she spent much of her pregnancy with Catherine on or close to the battlefield. Only after achieving victory in southern Spain did she, in an advanced, and no doubt uncomfortable stage of pregnancy, travel 330 miles north to enter confinement. In an age when royal

ladies were ordinarily expected to withdraw from public life while heavily pregnant, Isabella was carving her own path.

Catherine's father, Ferdinand of Aragon was also a warrior of distinction, although he possessed a more shrewd and wily streak than his wife. As Henry VII would find out later, these characteristics made him a master negotiator when it came to the business of arranging influential marriage alliances for his children.

The young Infanta was never in any doubt over her parent's devotion to her as her mother personally attended to her education and often took Catherine and her elder sisters with her on campaign. Her father, Ferdinand, expressed his feelings for her and on one occasion showed his favouritism with the words '...she had loved me better than any of my other children...'

In the background of this idyllic family life, Ferdinand and Henry VII were engaged in unpredictable and perilous marriage negotiations that would secure the betrothal of Henry VII's son the Prince of Wales to Catherine. Ferdinand was anxious to gain an ally against the French, and Henry VII wanted to enhance his



new dynasty's prestige in England. After much wrangling over money and dower lands, the Treaty of Medina del Campo was signed in March 1489. From that moment on the 3-year-old Spanish Infanta was addressed as the Princess of Wales cementing the child's idea of her position and importance.

Years later, the young girl who left her parents on 21 May 1501 to begin the first leg of her arduous journey to her destiny in England was left in no doubt of her duty. Before she said her goodbyes, her mother gave her a christening robe

crystallising the expectation that Catherine would use it at the christenings of the princes and princesses Catherine would bear the future King of England.

After a finely orchestrated welcome to London and a spectacular wedding at St Paul's

Cathedral, all should have been set fair for Prince Arthur and his new Princess of Wales to realise both sets of parent's dynastic ambitions. However, in just five months, the dream lay in tatters. Arthur had died, Catherine was not pregnant,

and no one was even sure whether the teenagers had consummated the marriage. The arguments over the events between husband and wife over those five months would, years later, descend into a prolonged and bitter struggle between Catherine's ingrained pride and conviction

over her destiny and her second husband's longing for a male heir with another woman.

The period between Arthur's death and her marriage to Henry VIII was challenging. There were endless power struggles between Ferdinand and Henry VII

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*THIS TWENTY YEARS I  
HAVE BEEN YOUR TRUE  
WIFE OR MORE, AND  
BY ME YE HAVE HAD  
DIVERS CHILDREN,  
ALTHOUGH IT HATH  
PLEASED GOD TO CALL  
THEM OUT OF THIS  
WORLD, WHICH HATH  
BEEN NO DEFAULT IN  
ME.*

**CATHERINE  
OF ARAGON,  
BLACKFRIARS  
21 JUNE 1529**

---

over who was responsible for the now Dowager Princess of Wales's household and freedom from this wretched state of poverty and degradation only came with Henry VII's death in April 1509.

When the 17-year-old Henry VIII came to Catherine's chambers in June and proposed she took pride in the belief that with the power of prayer and divine intervention,

her destiny, firmly embedded since early childhood, would still work out. She was blessed and even through all her adversities God's plan was always that she should become Queen of England and 'gladden the king and the people with a prince'. It was not to be and after several emotionally crippling stillbirths, and a son who lived for only 53 days, Henry and Catherine were left with one living child; a daughter named Mary who was born 1516.

As the years progressed and it became evident that Catherine's childbearing days were over

Henry VIII's doubts about his marriage's validity began to resurface. Even before he had married Catherine in 1509, he had confessed doubts to his councillors that he would be 'commit(ing) a

sin by marrying the widow of his deceased brother'. Even though a Papal dispensation had been issued at the time of the marriage, the inclusion of the word 'perhaps' in relation to Arthur and

Catherine's consummation had sewn the seeds of combat between the immovable object and an unstoppable force. Henry VIII's catalyst to finally take action was his infatuation with Lady Anne Boleyn and her flat refusal to become his mistress.

In her pride, Catherine refused all offers of an honourable and comfortable retirement in a religious establishment of her choosing. She swore to all that she had never had carnal relations with Prince Arthur, that was a virgin when she married Henry VIII, and that their daughter Princess Mary

---

*PRIDE AND  
SELFISHNESS ARE  
RELATED TO EACH OF  
THE SEVEN AND ARE  
VIEWED AS THE ROOT  
CAUSES OF ALL SIN.  
ISAIAH 14:13-14*

---

could and should be her husband's heir. Where Catherine had seen her mother's successful rule, Henry believed that as the example of Queen Matilda demonstrated, a female sovereign would be a disaster for England.

Catherine's most defiant and probably most damning display in her husband's eyes came at Blackfriars on 21 June 1529. Before King Henry, the Papal Legate Cardinal Campeggio, Cardinal Wolsey and others, Catherine seized her opportunity to appeal in public to the King's mercy. She rushed to the King and knelt before him. In the speech, she appealed to him for justice and asked to be recognised as a friendless foreign woman in England. The sadness and most heart-wrenching words she left till last.

After months of waiting for a favourable verdict, Cardinal Campeggio adjourned the court and decreed that the matter must be heard in Rome. Catherine had won this round. From this point on Catherine was removed from court and in the years that followed, Henry reduced her household and moved her between castles and manor houses in increasing

states of disrepair. No matter her deprivation and failing health she insisted that visitors address her as Queen, she ignored everyone who addressed her as Dowager Princess of Wales and once locked herself in a room when the King's men were sent to remove her.

Catherine passed away at Kimbolton Castle on 7 January 1536 still adamant that she was the King's true wife. Perhaps the biggest loser in the confrontation was Princess Mary. She was allowed no communication with her mother and was not with her at her death. Mary took her mother's side forfeiting her father's love and protection. She suffered many humiliating indignities for supporting her mother's position and was only forgiven when she reluctantly signed an oath recognising that her parent's marriage was illegal and that she was illegitimate.

Catherine of Aragon is an admirable historical woman who was undoubtedly shaped by her high birth, childhood environment and widowhood. However, I wonder if the words of the bible are born out concerning the seven deadly sins.

**GAYLE HULME**



# England's Sweet Pride is gone

**Robert Devereux,  
Earl of Essex**  
*by Isaac Oliver*

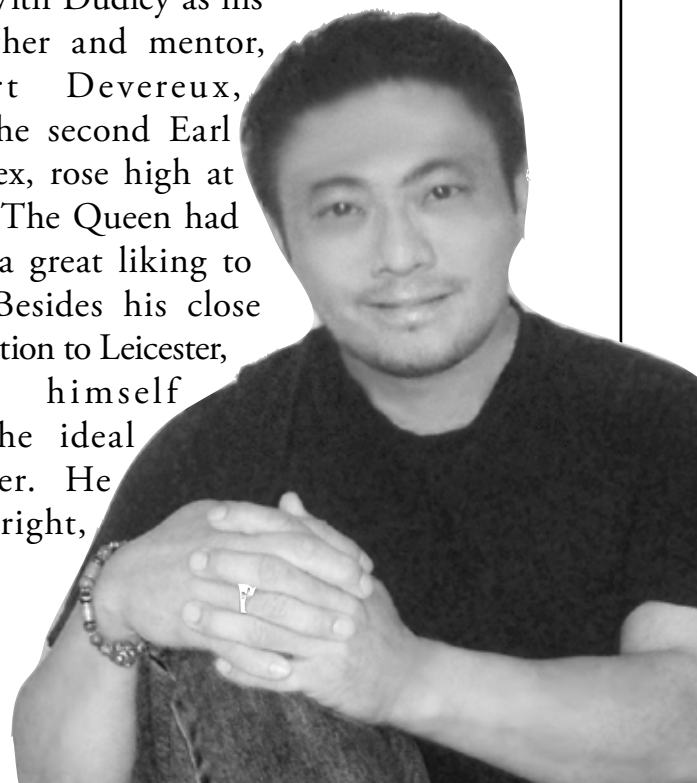
by **ROLAND HUI**

He was near inconsolable. Although England had recently won a momentous naval battle against the invading Spanish Armada, Queen Elizabeth was in deep mourning. She had learnt that her beloved Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, had died. Elizabeth had known him since they were children, and through thick and thin in the years afterwards, he had always been a source of comfort and a support to her. Even when Dudley wed her cousin Lettice Knollys behind her back, the Queen was able to forgive him that. In September 1588, the Earl, who was in declining health, was planning to go to Buxton to take the healing waters. But on the way at Cornbury Park near Oxford, he passed away. On hearing the news, Elizabeth shut herself in her room seeing no one. Fearing for her wellbeing, her officials eventually had to break her door down. The loss of the Earl of Leicester was a great blow to Elizabeth, but in time, she found consolation in a new favourite - Dudley's stepson no less. However, this relationship would prove to be disastrous.

By birth, Robert Devereux was a relation of the Queen. His mother was the aforementioned Lettice Knollys, the granddaughter of Mary Boleyn, sister of the famous Anne - the mother of Elizabeth. Lettice had been married to Robert's father, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, until his death in 1576. His demise had a hint of scandal to it as some suspected poison. The killer, it was whispered, was Robert Dudley. It was rumoured that he and Lettice were carrying on an affair, and with Essex dead, the two were able to marry in 1578. While there might have been some truth that Lettice had fallen in love with Dudley during her husband's absence in

Ireland, there is no proof that Leicester had stooped to murder.

With Dudley as his stepfather and mentor, Robert Devereux, now the second Earl of Essex, rose high at court. The Queen had taken a great liking to him. Besides his close connection to Leicester, Essex himself was the ideal courtier. He was bright,



charismatic, skilled in war, and he was handsome to boot. A contemporary of his described the young man as 'a most goodly person', possessing 'a kind of urbanity', and an 'innate courtesy' that drew the Queen and others to him.<sup>1</sup>

When Dudley died, it was not surprising that Elizabeth transferred her affections to his stepson. Owing to the differences in their respective ages - the Queen was over 30 years Essex's senior - their relationship was probably one of an overindulgent mistress towards her court favorite than a romantic one, as envisioned by works of historical fiction, and by cinema and television.<sup>2</sup> Even in their own time, there were no scandals about them. For instance, when Essex was seen leaving the royal apartments late at night, everyone knew it was only because he and Elizabeth liked to play at cards together well into the wee hours.

But for all his courtly graces, there was a dark side to his character. Essex was reckless, hot tempered, and prone to jealousy. He resented the Queen's attentions to Sir Walter Raleigh, and on one occasion, the two were to duel in a swordfight until Elizabeth put a stop to it. Essex was also envious of the Cecils. Sir William, Lord Burghley, had faithfully served the Queen since she came to the throne in 1558, and now his son Robert was a rising star in the government. Essex, who had grown up in Lord Burghley's household after his father's death, had always looked down upon his puny, hunchbacked, and bookish playmate. Now that they were both at court, it was evitable that they would clash. During the search for a new Attorney General, Essex backed his friend Francis Bacon for the position, while Robert Cecil and his father lent their support to Edward Coke. When the Queen gave Coke the position, Essex was furious.

Elizabeth would always excuse his behaviour, and she even looked the other

way in the sordid affair of Doctor Lopez. In 1594, Essex accused the Queen's highly respected physician Roderigo Lopez of being in the pay of Spain and conspiring to murder their mistress. Lopez was eventually found guilty and executed, but most probably because Essex was determined to have it so. The doctor was born Jewish, and despite his conversion to Christianity, he was still subject to anti-Semitism. Essex was able to exploit this prejudice for his own gain. By uncovering Lopez's treason - questionable though it was - he added a feather to his cap as a statesman.

In his quests for military glory, Essex also came under scrutiny. In 1596, he raided the port of Cadiz in Spain, and won himself a great victory. However, Essex had given knighthoods against orders, and much of the Spanish treasure was pilfered before it reached the shores of England. The Queen was much upset by the Earl's disobedience and his negligence, and she refused to accord him honours when he came home. Nonetheless, Essex's exploit made him very popular among the common people.

In 1599, Essex was given an opportunity to redeem himself to the Queen. There was trouble in Ireland again. For years, England had tried to assert dominance over the neighboring island but with little success. The English had always regarded the Irish with disdain. A widespread opinion was that 'the wild Irish, as unreasonable beasts, lived without any knowledge of God or good manners, in common of their goods, cattle, women, children, and every other thing, in such wise that almost there was no father which knew his son, nor no daughter that knew her father, nor yet any justice executed for murder, robbery or any other like mischief'.<sup>3</sup>

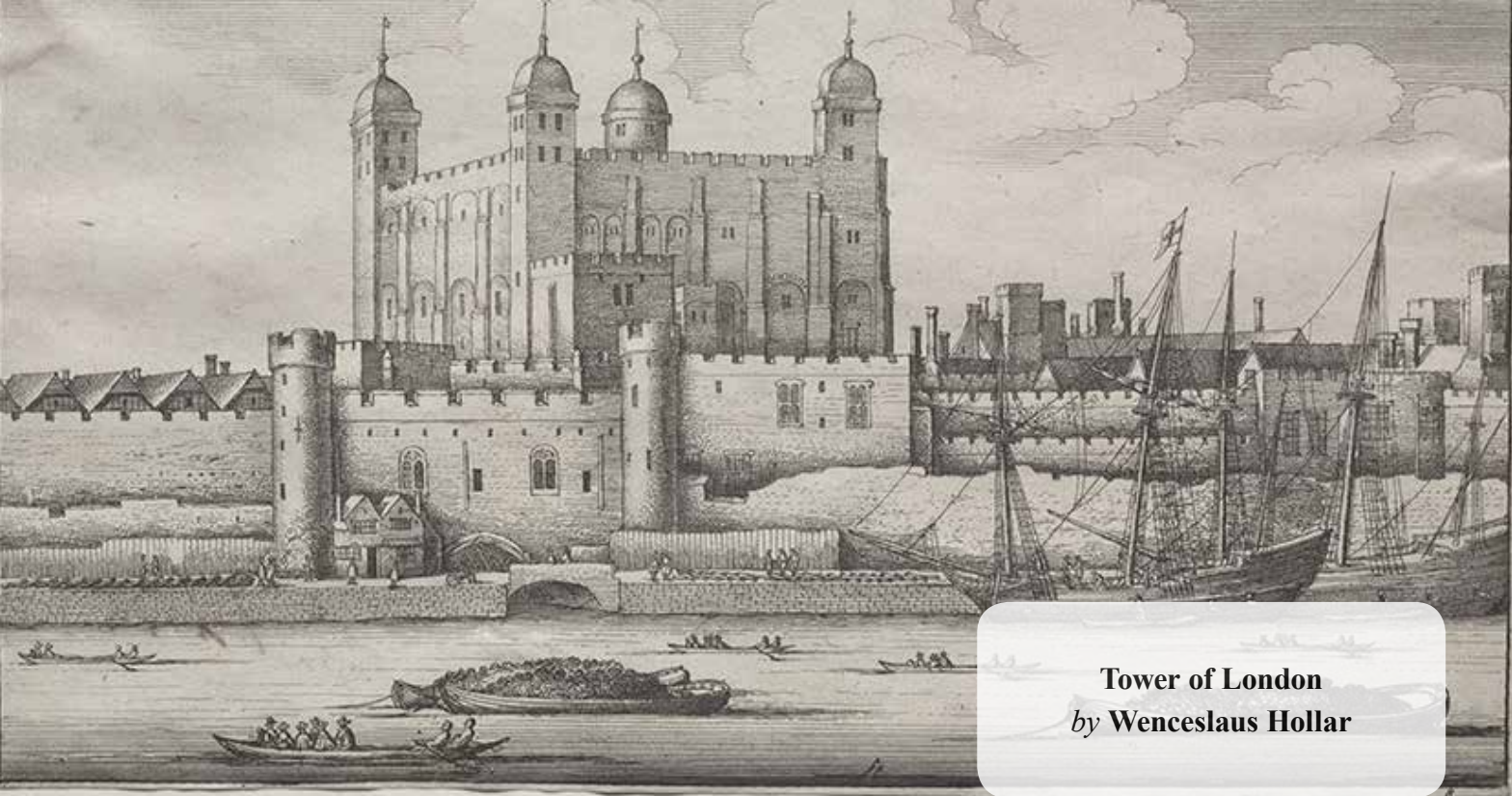
To tame the Irish, the Crown looked to appoint a new Lord Deputy. Both Elizabeth



Queen Elizabeth  
by Crispyn de Passe

ELIZABETHA ANGLIAE FRANCIAE HIBERNIAE ET VIRGINIAE  
REGINA FIDEI UNICUM PROPUGNACULUM.

*Quae sua tantum Imperium reliquit omnia regna,  
Quaeque in unum Regibus se soliquat,  
Sua propter hoc, tantum in Imperium regna,  
Tantum sibi Rex Regum, cetera regna parat.*



**Tower of London**  
by Wenceslaus Hollar

and Essex had different candidates in mind, and a furious row ensued. During the argument, the Earl contemptuously turned his back on the Queen. In a fury, Elizabeth struck him, only to have Essex turn around and reach for his sword. He shouted that he would not have endured that even from the Queen's father Henry VIII, and then left in a huff. Astonishingly, Elizabeth forgave him as she always did. Also, she needed him to go Ireland to serve as Lord Lieutenant. The Irish, under the banner of Hugh O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone, were in rebellion, and Essex was thought to be the best man to deal with the insurgents.

But Essex proved to be a poor choice. Within months, a great part of his army was killed by the enemy or by disease. Also, he disobeyed orders. As he did at Cadiz, he bestowed knighthoods without permission, and he failed to engage the Irish as told. But his greatest misdeed was to make a truce with Tyrone on his own initiative. Essex's actions earned him censure from the Queen. She was particularly offended that when he was seen speaking to the rebel Irishman, Essex was 'sometime uncovered' (that is he had

removed his hat) as if speaking to a superior.<sup>4</sup> In response, Essex wanted to justify himself to Elizabeth in person. Defying orders to stay put, he deserted his post and secretly took ship back to England.

The Queen was at her palace of Nonsuch in Surrey. She had just risen and was being attended to when a disheveled Essex, 'full of dirt and mire', suddenly burst into her room.<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth and her ladies were shocked. Not only were they surprised to see him, but had he violated the privacy of the royal inmost sanctum. He had even come upon the Queen dishabille. The old woman was barely dressed, and she was still without the cosmetics and false hair that transformed her into the great Gloriana. Hiding her terror - was the Earl armed and dangerous, and plotting a coup? - Elizabeth greeted him kindly. She welcomed him back and told him that they could talk later. Essex was relieved to find such 'a sweet calm at home', as he said.<sup>6</sup>

Elizabeth met with Essex as she had promised and she listened carefully as he defended himself. Ireland was a troublesome place, he explained, and he had done what he had thought best, even going so far as to make



peace with the Earl of Tyrone. After the Queen was assured that Essex was not planning a conspiracy with troops behind him ready to take the palace, she dismissed him graciously as she did before. However, Elizabeth's true intent was revealed later that evening; the Earl found himself under house arrest.

Rather than to put him on trial for his transgressions abroad, Essex received a formal reprimand. He was still popular with the people, and the government feared a backlash if it went too far. However, the Earl was also to be punished by a retraction of his cherished monopoly - a license to import sweet wines into the realm. Without a renewal of this gift from the Queen, Essex, who had always lived beyond his means, was bankrupt.

Hoping to crawl back into favour, he sent her loving letters. In one of them, he wrote, 'Haste paper to that happy presence, whence only unhappy I am banished. Kiss that fair correcting hand which lays now plasters to my lighter hurts, but to my greatest wound applieth nothing. Say thou camest from shaming, languishing, despairing.'<sup>7</sup> In another message, Essex again made his pleas: 'My soul cried out unto Your Majesty for grace, for access, and for an end to this exile... for till I may appear in Your gracious presence and kiss Your Majesty's fair correcting hand, time itself is a perpetual night, and the whole world but a sepulchre unto Your Majesty's humblest vassal'.<sup>8</sup> But when the Queen just ignored him, Essex was advised to debase himself further. He was heard to grumble how her conditions were 'as crooked as her carcass'.<sup>9</sup>

The Queen's refusal to restore his license drove Essex off the deep end. Certain that his enemies at court, like Robert Cecil and Walter Raleigh, were poisoning Elizabeth against him, he was determined to remove them by force. To this end, Essex solicited the help of King

James of Scotland. He told him how Cecil was planning to make the daughter of King Phillip II of Spain, Elizabeth's heir.<sup>10</sup> James, who expected to succeed after his cousin the Queen, was sufficiently alarmed. He gave the Earl his support, but in understated terms as he did not want to jeopardize his relationship with Elizabeth.

Essex also looked to his friends in England. Most of them were malcontents like his stepfather, Sir Christopher Blount (who had wed his mother Lettice after Robert Dudley's death) and Henry Wriothesley, the young Earl of Southampton, to whom William Shakespeare had dedicated poems. To fortify their courage, Essex arranged for Shakespeare's company to perform the controversial *Richard II* - a drama dealing with the King's deposition by Henry of Bolingbroke (later Henry IV). The message was clear; Elizabeth's government, like Richard himself, was corrupt and must be toppled.

The putting on of the play and the suspicious activity around Essex House got the attention of the authorities. On 8 February, 1601, officials were sent to see what the Earl was up to. Upon entering his house, they were locked inside and held hostage. Sure that all London was with him, Essex, with about two hundred supporters in tow, ran through the streets shouting - "For the Queen! For the Queen! A plot is laid for my life!" But Essex had overestimated his popularity; no one answered his call to arms. After a scuffle at Ludgate where some men were killed, Essex and his followers raced back to his house. He had hoped to bargain with the government as he still had hostages. However, by the time he got there, they had escaped. As the Queen's army surrounded him outside, Essex barricaded himself and went about destroying all incriminating evidence, including his correspondence with King James. Finally at

nightfall, with soldiers threatening to blow up Essex House with cannon, did the Earl surrender.

At his trial at Westminster Hall eleven days later, Essex pled not guilty. He claimed that he did not mean to overthrow the government, but only to stop the intrigues of men such as Cecil and Raleigh against him. He also stated that the former was in league with Spain. At this, Cecil himself appeared from behind a curtain. He totally denied the accusation and called the Earl a liar. "The difference between you and me is great", Cecil exclaimed, "I have innocence, conscience, truth, and honesty to defend me against the scandal and sting of slanderous tongues, and in this court, I stand as an upright man, and Your Lordship as a delinquent"<sup>11</sup> A witness was then summoned who swore that Cecil had never favoured the Spanish Princess as the next Queen of England.

Essex had put up a spirited defense, but in the end, he and the Earl of Southampton, who was on trial with him, were both found guilty. The dreadful sentence of death was then pronounced. The pair were to be 'drawn upon a hurdle through the midst of the city, and so to the place of execution, there to be hanged by the neck and taken down alive, your bodies to be opened, and your bowels taken out and burned before your face, your bodies to be quartered, your heads and quarters to be disposed of at Her Majesty's pleasure'<sup>12</sup>

When it came for Elizabeth to do her part, she could not afford to be merciful. As she was heard to say, "I had put up with but too much disrespect to my person, but I warned him that he should not touch my sceptre"<sup>13</sup> However, she did allow her former favourite an easier death. As stated in the warrant for his execution, upon which the Queen's bold signature appeared at the top, 'our pleasure

is to have the head of the said Robert Earl of Essex cut off at the Green within our Tower of London'.<sup>14</sup> It was also her command that two headsmen be present, 'because if one fail, the other may perform'.<sup>15</sup> As for Southampton, he was to be spared. His sentence was commuted to imprisonment instead.

On 25 February, Essex stood upon a scaffold erected upon Tower Green. Around it was a small group of witnesses. As a precaution, the execution was to be within the walls of the Tower, and not upon the great public space of Tower Hill outside. It was feared that the citizens might rise on his behalf. Even though Essex was to die more privately, his jailers were told that they must nevertheless 'contain his speeches'. He was not to say anything provocative, but to only make 'confession to his great treasons... his hearty repentance for the same... and his earnest and incessant prayers to God'.<sup>16</sup>

The authorities need not to have worried. Essex was most contrite. Before the onlookers, he admitted that he was 'a most wretched sinner', and that his faults were more in number than the hairs of his head. Therefore, he was deserving of death as he had been 'puffed up with pride, vanity, and the love of this world's pleasures'.<sup>17</sup> Essex then placed his head upon the block. The executioner was evidently nervous. His victim, lying upon the straw and waiting for him to do his duty, had to encourage him to strike. It took three blows of the axe till Essex's head fell. When news was brought to the Queen, tradition had it that she was playing the virginals. She stopped for a moment, and then without having said a word, continued where she had left off.

Above right, you can see a ballad sheet of *A Lamentable Ditty, Composed Upon the Death of Robert, Lord Devereux, Late Earl of Essex*, printed between 1640 to 1665. In the upper left corner is a depiction of his execution.

Although the people had failed to rally to him, and he was condemned as a traitor, Essex never lost his appeal to them. He remained a popular hero - the victor of Cadiz and the ornament of the Elizabethan court - and his memory was preserved in song. Even long after his death, a ballad entitled *A Lamentable Ditty, Composed Upon the Death of Robert, Lord Devereux, Late Earl of Essex*, was still in circulation:

*Sweet England's pride is gone,  
Welladay, welladay,  
Which makes her sigh  
and groan,  
evermore still.  
He did her fame advance,  
In Ireland, Spain, and France,  
And now by dismal chance,  
Is from her tane.*



*He was a virtuous peer,  
Welladay, welladay,  
And was esteemed dear,  
Evermore still,  
He always helped the poor,  
Which makes them sigh full fore.  
His death they do deplore,  
In every place...<sup>18</sup>*

## ROLAND HUI

1. Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia*, 1641, p. 51.
2. For example, Maxwell Anderson's play *Elizabeth the Queen*, later made into a motion picture and a television presentation.
3. William Thomas, *The Pilgrim: A Dialogue of the Life and Actions of King Henry the Eighth*, (edited by J.A. Froude), London: Parker, Son, and Bourn, 1861, p. 66.
4. Felix Pryor, *Elizabeth I - Her Life in Letters*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, pp. 120-121.
5. Walter Bouchier Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux Earls of Essex, in the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I*, London: John Murray, 1853, II, p. 78.
6. *ibid.*
7. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Elizabeth, 1598-1601*, no. 61. See also: Neville Williams, *All the Queen's Men - Elizabeth I and Her Courtiers*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972, p. 235.
8. Robert Lacey, *Robert, Earl of Essex*, New York: Atheneum, 1971, p. 259.
9. Lytton Strachey, *Elizabeth and Essex - A Tragic History*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1928, p. 237.
10. Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566-1633) was a descendant of King Edward III, and thus a possible contender to the English throne.
11. David Jardine, *Criminal Trials*, London: Charles Knight, Pall Mall East. etc., 1832, I, p. 353.
12. David Jardine, *Criminal Trials*, I, p. 365.
13. Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, From the Year 1581 till Her Death*, New York: The AMS Press Inc., 1970 (reprint of 1754 edition published in London), II, p. 505.
14. Felix Pryor, *Elizabeth I - Her Life in Letters*, pp. 124-125.
15. David Jardine, *Criminal Trials*, I, p. 373.
16. David Jardine, *Criminal Trials*, I, p. 374.
17. David Jardine, *Criminal Trials*, I, p. 377.
18. *A lamentable dittie composed upon the death of Robert Lord Devereux late Earle of Essex who was beheaded in the Tower of London, upon Ashwednesday in the morning. 1601. To the tune of Welladay*, London: Edward Allde for Margaret Allde, 1603. For the full lyrics: <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/A20378.0001.001>

# A PROUD SPIRIT

Penelope was the eldest sister of Robert Devereux, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex born before him in 1563. When their family was split up after the death of their father, Penelope, and her siblings Dorothy and young Walter were housed with their father's cousin the earl of Huntingdon as their father had stipulated in his will, whilst Robert was sent to be schooled in Lord Burghley's household. Penelope would stay in touch with her brother throughout her life and be proud of the man he became – even though he would die a traitor's death.

Penelope married Lord Rich in November 1581. Her father Walter had wanted her to marry Philip Sidney, poet and scholar, writing to him on his deathbed of his wishes but it was not to be. Sidney would go on to marry Frances, Sir Francis Walsingham's daughter but he would regret his missed chance with Penelope and immortalise her as Stella in *Astrophel and Stella* (1591). Against her wishes, she would have to marry a man that was 'rough and uncourtly in manners and conversation, dull and uneducated' and it was said 'being in the power of her friends, was by them married against her will unto one against whom she did protest at the very solemnity and ever

after'. The marriage would always be an unhappy one.

After the queen's favourite, the earl of Leicester died, Leicester House was left to the earl's illegitimate son and Penelope's brother leased it from him later calling it Essex House. Penelope had her own apartments there and would use them to meet up with her lover, Charles Blount. Essex became friendly with Blount and supported their relationship as Penelope supported him.

On 9 April 1591 Essex entertained the French ambassador, Beauvoir la Nocle, to the cost of £53 at Wanstead and assured him of his assistance. Penelope played host eager to be by his side. She also loaned him £1,600 for a 1000 year

lease for Alderney, one of the Channel Islands, and its castle and contents. Penelope was proud of how far her brother had risen, how close he was to the queen and how well he composed himself but Essex was beginning to show signs of instability and a rash and dangerous temper.

When Essex was sent to Ireland in 1599 his behaviour there really signalled his ultimate downfall, Penelope met him at their family home of Chartley to say their goodbyes before he took up his position of Lieutenant and Governor-General. But his term there was disastrous and against the queen's express permission he left and returned to court where



he burst into Elizabeth's apartments whilst she was undressed, scaring and humiliating the queen. Essex was placed under house arrest at York House while the Privy Council built a case against him.

After the Essex rebellion, Penelope angered the queen by writing to her in support of her brother.

... whom all men have liberty to defame as if his offence was capital and he so base dejected a creature

that his love his life his service to your beauties and the state had deserved no absolution after so hard punishment, or so much as to answer in your fair presence, who would vouchsafe more justice and favour than he can expect of partial judges or those combined enemies that labour on false grounds to build his ruin, urging his faults as criminal to your divine honour, thinking it a heaven to blaspheme heaven; whereas by their

own particular malice and counsel they have practised to glut themselves in their own private revenge, not regarding your service and loss so much as their ambition and to rise by his overthrow; and I have reason to apprehend that if your fair hands do not check the courses of their unbridled hate, their last courses will be his last breath...

Penelope was kept under house arrest and called before the Privy Council to answer for her boldness but she stood her ground out of concern for her brother. A postscript she added to her letter at the time read 'I meant what I wrote and I wrote what I meant'. Her pride in supporting her brother shone through.

When Elizabeth relented a little and let him return to Essex House, where Penelope, her mother and her brother's wife Frances joined him, he should have given up gracefully. Instead he



Thought to  
be **PENELOPE  
DEVEREUX**  
by  
**Nicholas Hilliard**



Possibly  
**PENELOPE**  
and **DOROTHY**  
**DEVEREUX**

planned to take Whitehall and speak to the queen who was refusing to have anything more to do with him. His rebellion was a disaster and he returned to Essex House knowing his time was up. When the house was surrounded, he agreed to surrender on three conditions; that he would have a fair trial, that he would be treated civilly after his arrest and that a priest be made available to him. Terms agreed Essex was taken to the Tower.

During his trial he tried to point the blame at others and surprisingly this included his sister Penelope whom once he

had been so close to. 'I must accuse one who is most nearest to me, my sister, who did continually urge me on with telling how all my friends and followers thought me a coward, and that I had lost all my valour. She must be looked to, for she hath a proud spirit'.

Penelope wrote to Lord Nottingham 'it is known that I have been more like a slave than a sister, which proceeded out of my exceeding love rather than his authority ... so strangely have I been wronged, as may well be an argument to make one despise the world, finding

the smoke of envy where affection should be clearest'.

On 25 February 1601 Essex was executed. Life went on and Penelope's husband divorced her. She was not allowed to remarry but she and Blount, whom by now she had four children with, were wed in 1605. Their defiance earned them banishment from court in the reign of James I. Penelope outlived the brother she had been so proud of and used that pride against her by only six years.

**SARAH-BETH WATKINS**

The terrifying  
lives of priests and their  
**PRIEST HOLES**  
*with*  
**Phil Downing**



March  
Guest  
Expert



Boccaccio and  
Fortune's Wheel,  
reminding readers  
of the  
dangers of pride



# Pride before the Fall

## Tudor exemplary literature and the De Casibus Tradition

“Pride goeth before destruction,  
and an haughty spirit before a fall’.

King James Bible, Proverbs 16:18

In the medieval and early modern periods, this ‘fall’ referred more to the damnation of the soul than an arrogant person’s comeuppance. The importance of humility and the ever turning nature of Fortune’s wheel were persistent themes throughout the middle ages and beyond. In particular, a form of exemplary literature termed ‘Complaint poetry’, persisted in popularity throughout these periods.

Perhaps the most influential example from the medieval period, was the *De casibus virorum illustrium (On the Fates of Famous Men)*. It was written between 1356 and 1360, by the Florentine poet Giovanni Boccaccio. In the text, Boccaccio narrates a dream-vision in which he meets famous men and women of history, including Adam and Eve, ‘who had fallen on Fortune’s wheel’.<sup>1</sup> Other medieval examples of the genre include Chaucer’s *The Monk’s Tale*, and John Lydgate’s *The Fall of Princes*.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, William Baldwin and George Ferrers

began to compile complaint narratives, contributed by a number of authors, to form a continuation of *The Fall of Princes*. Their work, *A Mirror for Magistrates*, was first assembled in 1555 and was due to be published by John Weyland. However, it was suppressed by the Lord Chancellor Stephen Gardiner, and only the title page remains today. It was eventually published by Thomas Marsh in 1559 and republished in 1563, with addition of eight extra lives. The 1563 edition was the first to feature a complaint poem from the perspective of a woman, a practice which would become extremely popular in the 1590s.

Both Jane Shore – this mistress of Edward IV – and the infamous Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, were included in the collection for the revised edition. The principle theme of *The Mirror for Magistrates* is ‘the perilous turning of Fortune’s wheel and of the all but inevitable disaster of the man who proudly climbed’ to the top.<sup>2</sup> The format also remained

1 Paul Burda, *A Mirror For Magistrates and the de casibus Tradition*, (Toronto, 2000) p. 5.

2 Hallett D. Smith, *Elizabethan Poetry: A study in conventions, meaning, and expression*, (Ann Arbor, 1968), p. 102.



**Rosamund de Clifford, Henry II's most famous mistress and a beloved tool of later moralists**

In-keeping with the literary tradition, Daniel's Rosamond is full of shame and grief at her condition. She serves as an example of how sin follows one into the afterlife; lamenting that her 'soule is nowe denied, Her transport to the sweet Elisean rest.'<sup>5</sup> Themes of memory, infamy, sin and regret are consistent throughout the narrative. Rosamond fears that shame will follow her reputation due to the restlessness of Fame. Her treatment is more in line with typical complaint narratives, and shows how vanity and pride can lead to sinful actions and exclusion from 'sweet Elisean rest' – essentially, Heaven.

Following on from Daniel's *Complaint*, the genre was picked up by the prolific Michael Drayton, who wrote complaints from the perspectives of Piers Gaveston, Matilda, Margaret of Anjou. Drayton's *The Legend*

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5 Samuel Daniel, *To Delia: with the complaint of Rosamond*, (London, 1969).

*of Piers Gaveston* (1594) was heavily influenced by Samuel Daniel, as well as Marlowe and Shakespeare. The structure of the poem follows Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond*, and Drayton borrows the romantic elements of the poem from all three of his influences.<sup>6</sup> The poem was not originally a success, and when it was republished in 1596 Drayton added stanzas which stress the didactic element. This suggests that this aspect particularly appealed to the Elizabethan audience, and demonstrates the popularity lessons through negative examples during the period.

The relentless nature of Fortune's turning wheel was intended to remind princes and paupers alike that pride precedes the fall. And by looking to historical figures' experiences, poets sought to emphasise the circuitous nature of time – just like Fortune's wheel.

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6 Hallett D. Smith, *Elizabethan Poetry*, p. 111.

**LAUREN BROWNE**

Marcus Stone's painting of the proud and tragic Piers Gaveston with Edward II



DANNES HOLPENIVS BA

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Æ. XLV



Susan Abernethy talks about...



## THE TRAVELS OF HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

There's a reason why we know who the principal players were on the stage of the court of King Henry VIII of England and what they looked like. Hans Holbein the Younger, the principal portraitist of early Tudor England, was an artist extraordinaire. He traveled near and far in Europe, learning his craft and realistically documenting the faces of many people.

Hans was born in the free imperial city of Augsburg sometime in the winter of 1497-8. Holbein's father, Hans Holbein the Elder, was an accomplished artist himself of the Late Gothic period. In Holbein's home town of Augsburg, the Elder Holbein had a studio that took commissions for various works of art. The Elder Holbein was not good at managing money and Hans Holbein and his brother Ambrose (Ambrosius) were enlisted at a young age to work in the studio and help out their father. This is where he obtained a complete grounding in the technical processes of art and was encouraged to develop his extraordinary gift of portraiture, a talent he demonstrated from a very early age.

Holbein the Elder's financial mismanagement got him into trouble in Augsburg and so the entire family was compelled to move away. They ended up in Basel in what is now Switzerland. In 1515, Hans and Ambrose were apprenticed to Hans Herbster, the leading painter in Basel. The humanist Erasmus was by that time a famous and revered personality in Basel, a kind of superstar. He was like a magnet, attracting many other humanists into his circle of friends.

Young men from Augsburg were rapidly accepted into this humanist fellowship of Basel. Hans, in particular, made many friends among the avant-garde because of his obvious intellect and virtuosity, as well as his sympathy with advanced

ideas, especially the reformation of the Catholic religion. Erasmus enjoyed having his portrait painted and giving copies as gifts to friends. Hans' famous portrait of Erasmus, probably painted from life, was most likely paid for by Erasmus.

Hans would later move to Lucerne where he painted murals and religious works and designed stained glass windows. Hans traveled to Italy in the winter of 1517 to study the Italian masters. When he moved back to Basel in 1519, he rapidly established himself with his own workshop. He joined the painter's guild and married Elsbeth Schmid, a widow with an infant son. Hans became an official citizen of Basel on July 3, 1520. By now he was prolific in a variety of mediums. He was commissioned by a local theologian to do pen drawings for the margin of a copy of Erasmus' "In Praise of Folly".

Some of Hans' biographers believe he may have traveled to France in 1523. Due to his official citizenship, he was required to request permission from the government of Basel for extended visits out of the city with the proviso that he come back to either stay or request further time abroad. The portrait of Erasmus discussed earlier, from the beginning, was in the possession of Bonifacius Amerbach. Amerbach was Hans' greatest patron and friend in Basel.

In 1523, Amerbach had traveled to France and was studying law

in Avignon and later Montpellier. Paul Ganz, Holbein's biographer, speculates that Holbein traveled with the Erasmus portrait, tagging along with some friends to Montpellier to deliver it to his friend and patron. After this time frame, Ganz claims it is evident the graceful and refined architecture in some of Hans' drawings resembled the fine buildings of the French Renaissance in Besancon, Dijon, Lyon and elsewhere.

Ganz also makes the argument that Hans may have studied the work of Jean and Francois Clouet, the great portrait painters at the court of King Francois I. There is some speculation he may have even met Leonardo da Vinci, who was living in France at the time. However, Hans had every intention of returning to Basel where he was a confirmed citizen and where his reputation and patronage were strong.

In 1526, Hans decided to travel to England in search of patrons and came highly recommended by Erasmus to his fellow humanist intellectual and good friend, Sir Thomas More. Sir Thomas warmly welcomed Hans, giving him commissions and finding patrons for him. Hans would cultivate contacts with the Boleyn family during this sojourn to England. Records show that as early as 1527, Hans was paid as a decorative painter at court, for festivities at Greenwich.

In 1528, Hans returned to Basel and bought a house. He painted

some frescoes and portraits but his commissions began to dwindle and he returned to England in 1532. The political climate had changed, due to Henry VIII's break with the Catholic Church to marry Anne Boleyn. Hans' patron Sir Thomas More had fallen out of favor.

After More's downfall, he recognized the need to make the most of his Boleyn contacts and he hurried to court to pay his respects. He brought with him letters, portraits, messages and mementoes from Erasmus to friends and patrons in England. Erasmus was also diligently cultivating Anne's family and friends. So, it is clear there is a tangible link between Erasmus, Holbein and the Boleyn faction at court.

The king's principal secretary Thomas Cromwell became one of Hans' greatest patrons. Accounting records indicate Hans was clearly on the payroll as an established court painter at a salary of £30 per annum. (A little over £13,000 in today's money.) This was the era when Hans painted the portraits of many of the merchants of the Hanseatic League in London, ambassadors, Cromwell, Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn (none of which survive), Jane Seymour, the future King Edward VI and other courtiers and administrators of the government.

In 1539, after the death of Queen Jane Seymour, Thomas Cromwell was in discussions for an alliance with a Protestant leaning entity and

for a wife for the King. Holbein was commissioned and traveled to paint Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan. In addition, he journeyed to Le Havre to paint two potential brides. He was sent to Burgundy to depict three other candidates. None of these portraits survive. The possibility of a marriage with the Duke of Cleves sisters was raised and the reports on the attractions of these women were varied and disparate. The idea of obtaining a reliable portrait was discussed and in July, it was decided Hans would be sent as he was the only artist Henry trusted and he painted the now infamous portrait of Anna of Cleves.

Henry chose Anna, Duchess of Cleves to be his fourth wife and an alliance was made with her brother the Duke. Anna arrived in England and was married to Henry but only for a few short months. The political situation in the Low Countries dictated that the English alliance with Cleves was no longer justifiable. In addition, by this time, King Henry VIII had met his future fifth wife Catherine Howard and sought an annulment of his marriage to Anna so he could marry Catherine. Hans remained in royal favor and kept his job as a court painter. Henry did not blame Hans for the debacle of the Cleves alliance and marriage. The courtiers who had written flattering reports about Anna were held responsible by the King. In fact, Hans painted his

charming portrait of the future King Edward VI and presented it to King Henry as New Year's gift in 1540.

After the fall of Thomas Cromwell, who was blamed for the ill-advised alliance with Cleves, Hans had a hard time finding benefactors. He eventually procured a patron in Sir Anthony Denny who took control of Henry's government after Cromwell's ouster. There is some evidence Hans visited his wife and children in Basel in 1540. There is much speculation about his marriage to Elsbeth as historical records indicate Hans had a mistress and family in England. But there is no question who took care of the family in Basel. When Elsbeth died in 1549, she was wealthy and owned some of Hans' fine clothing.

Hans was a prolific artist and worked in many mediums. He painted houses and murals, worked in interior design, invented layouts for jewelers

and goldsmiths, made drawings for books, painted secular and religious pictures, designed woodcuts, engravings and stained glass, as well as triumphal arches and façades for buildings. Surviving works in Basel include drawings for his interior wall paintings of the town hall along with much of his original work now in the Amerbach family collection. Many drawings, paintings and portraits reside in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle.

Hans appears to have become suddenly ill and hastily wrote up his will. It may have been an infection of some kind or possibly the plague. Hans' grave may never have been marked as he was considered a foreigner. There are two churches in Aldgate claiming to be his burial place, both of which survived the Great Fire of 1666 and were near where Hans lived. One is St. Katherine Cree and the other is St. Andrew Undershaft.

## SUSAN ABERNETHY

"Die Handzeichnungen Hans Holbein der Jüngere" by Paul Ganz, 1937

"The Paintings of Hans Holbein" by Paul Ganz, 1950

"Hans Holbein the Younger in Two Volumes" by Arthur B. Chamberlain, 1913

"Hans Holbein the Younger: Portrait of an Unknown Man" by Derek Wilson, 1996

"Hans Holbein the Younger", entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography written by Susan Foister, 2009,

"The Tudor Court" by David Loades, 1986



# THE TUDOR SOCIETY



*Members' Bulletin*

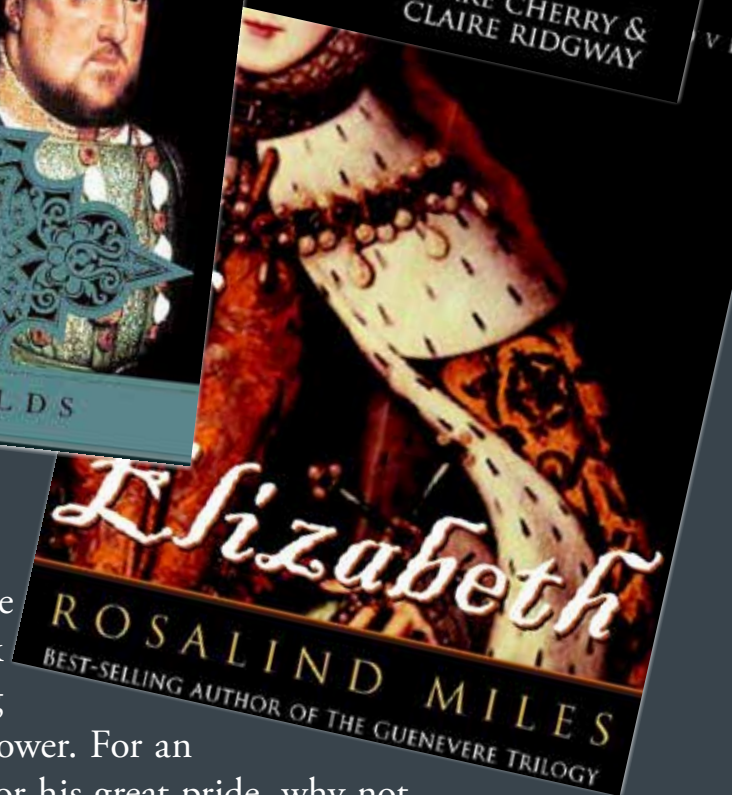
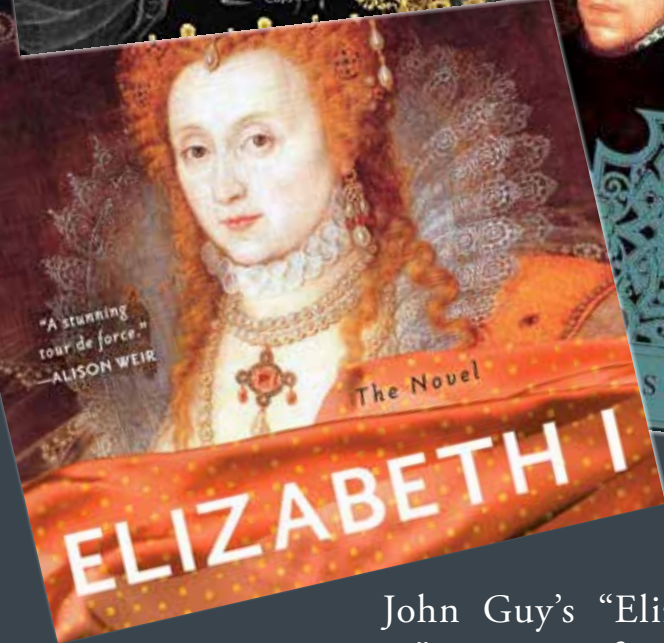
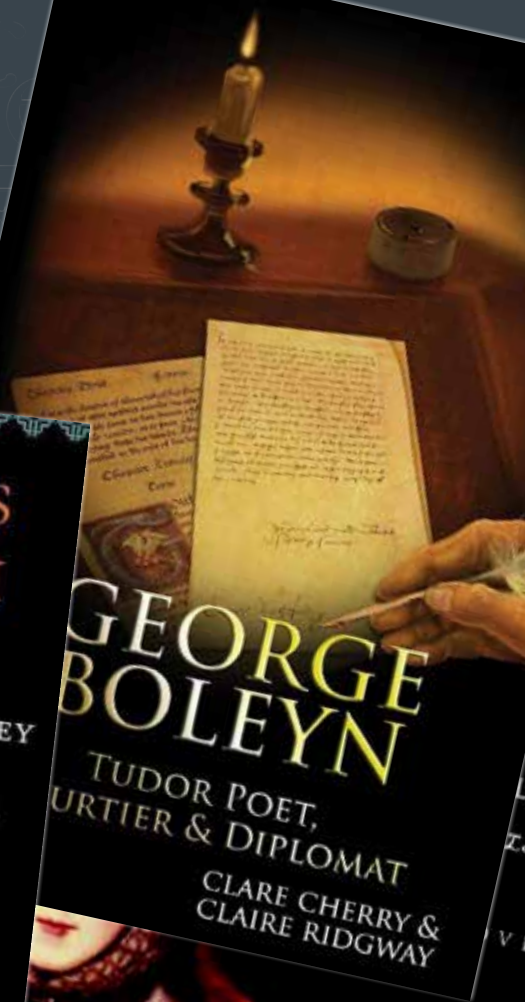
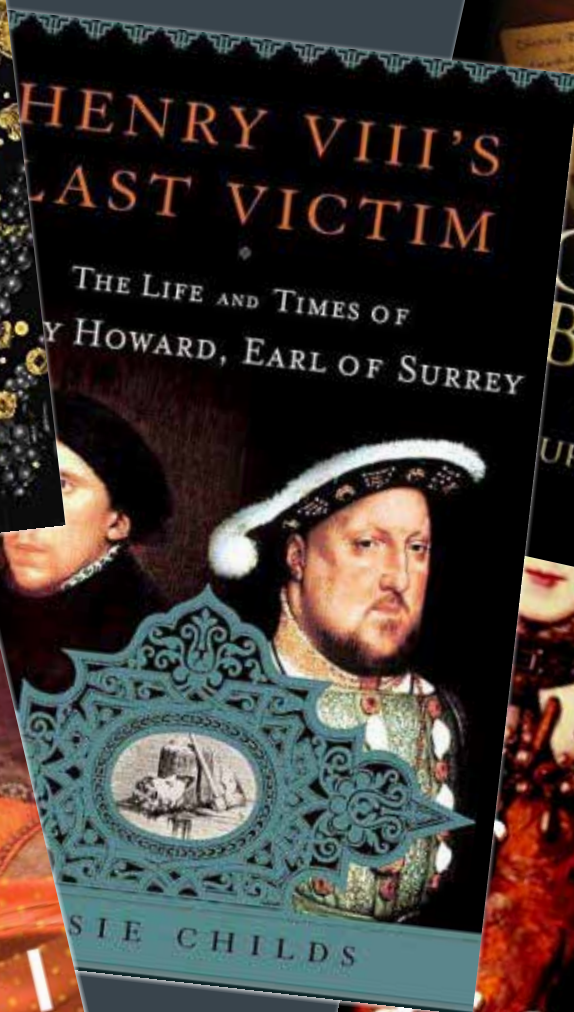
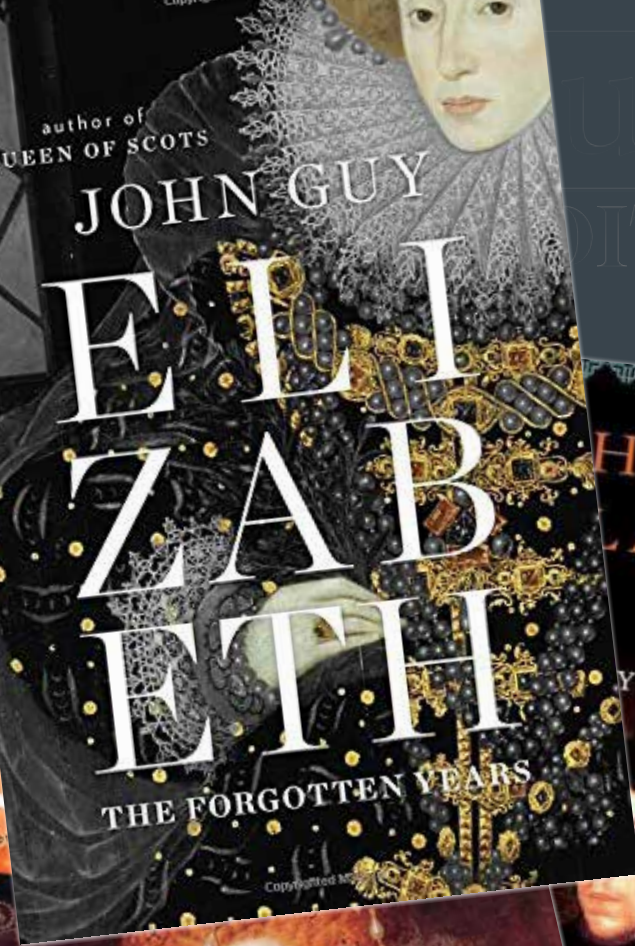
This month I'd like to thank all those who contribute to the Tudor Society website and to this magazine. I was looking through the past magazine articles and having a look at all the amazing experts we have seen on these pages, plus all the experts we've had making videos for us.

I would, however, also like to give a massive thank you to all the regular writers and contributors. It is the sustained research and hard work that is most amazing to me. Special mention must go to Roland Hui and Charlie Fenton who have actually been writing for us since our very first magazine in November 2014! If that doesn't show amazing dedication and exceptional knowledge, I don't know what does!

It's also exciting that we keep having new contributors too! This month's guest expert on the website, Phil Downing, has created a fascinating video and has gone to amazing lengths to show us how priest holes worked. Through these newer historians we really begin to discover Tudor history and see things anew.

Well done to all the wonderful contributors we've had and will have in the coming months and years!

**Tim Ridgway**



John Guy's "Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years" gives an unforgettably bleak portrait as pride turned to hubris in the young men around Gloriana during her final years in power. For an excellent biography of a man criticised by some for his great pride, why not pick up a copy of Clare Cherry and Claire Ridgway's "George Boleyn"? Jessie Child's biography of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, George's similarly proud and similarly unlucky cousin, is also superb.

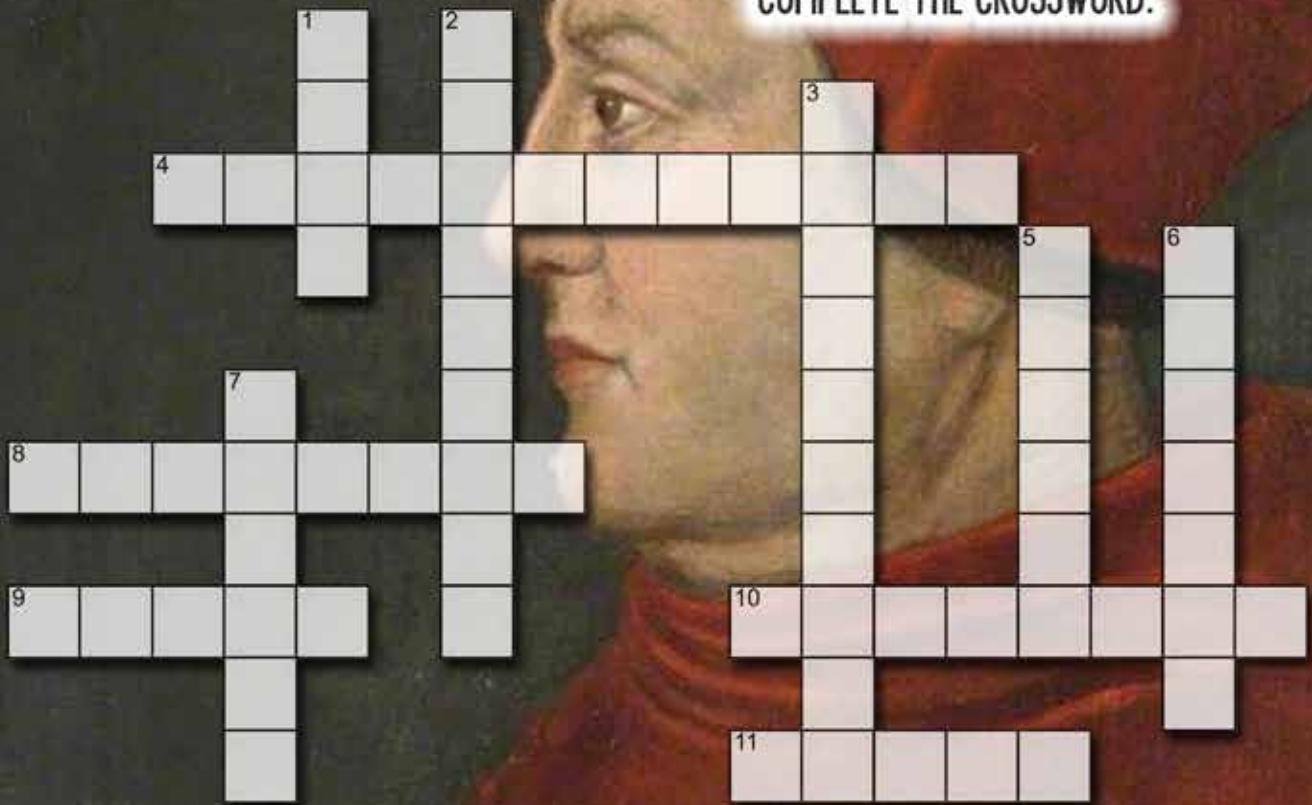
The Essex rebellion formed the inspiration for "Sweet England's Pride," the superb final episode of the BBC series "Elizabeth R," and a less accurate but equally beloved 1939 movie "The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex," in which Elizabeth was played by Bette Davis and Essex by Errol Flynn.

For novels, I love Rosalind Miles's "I, Elizabeth," and there have been some brilliant reviews for Margaret George's "Elizabeth I," set in 2011, which is firmly on my to-read list!

GARETH RUSSELL

# WOLSEY.

SOLVE THE CLUES RELATING TO THE DOWNFALL OF THOMAS WOLSEY AND USE THE ANSWERS TO COMPLETE THE CROSSWORD.



## ACROSS

- 4 Wolsey founded Cardinal College, Oxford, which Henry VIII renamed Henry VIII College. What is it now called? (two words)
- 8 The 29th day of which month saw Wolsey's death in 1530?
- 9 Gentleman who, along with Northumberland, went to arrest Wolsey on November 4th, 1530 was called Walter \_\_\_\_\_
- 10 Which William was Constable of the Tower and was sent to Sheffield to escort Wolsey to London?
- 11 Surname of Henry, 6th Earl of Northumberland, who some believe had a precontract with Anne Boleyn, who it has been suggested bore such huge displeasure with Wolsey for ending their relationship, she vowed to take him down.

## DOWN

- 1 The name of which Place would 'become' Whitehall Palace, and had once been a proud residence of Wolsey's
- 2 Wolsey's health failed him on his journey to London. What illness had he contracted?
- 3 What was Wolsey charged with on the 9th October 1539?
- 5 The name of the Abbey where Wolsey passed away, in Leicester was called St Mary de \_\_\_\_\_
- 6 Despite temporarily finding favour with the king again, Wolsey's correspondences with Catherine of Aragon led him to be arrested and condemned on what charge?
- 7 Wolsey had commissioned for himself an impressive black marble sarcophagus, from Benedetto da Ravezzano. Henry VIII took this for himself, but who now rests beneath it in St. Paul's Cathedral?

# SHAKESPEARE'S GLOBE AS A STUNNING MODEL



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# This model is part of the “Famous Historic Buildings Range”, created by David Gilbert of Autocraft Models.

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Having had a love of making models since a very young boy after WWII, Dave has turned his passion into a career spanning more than five decades, and his creations are endless. Now, at nearly eighty years old, Dave is still producing models, and supplies various museums around the country.

In the 1980s, Dave’s love for creating inspired him to purchase all the original Micromodel artwork, including that for the original Globe Theatre. Micromodels was a card model manufacturer that was very popular in the austerity years after the Second World War, and as the name suggests, these models are very small.

This purchase, coupled with the fact that Dave lives close to Stratford upon Avon and has, over the years, been a regular visitor to the area, inspired him to redesign, elaborate and enlarge the artwork, that he had already purchased many years prior, to better suit the modern market.

Luckily with the advantage of the internet, further research was conducted, resulting in the A5 model he produces today, which has been



well received globally. As a result Dave expanded his card model range with, amongst others, Shakespeare's Birthplace and Anne Hathaway's Cottage, and is presently working on a model of Shakespeare's Schoolroom.

The models and more are available from [www.budgiemodels.com](http://www.budgiemodels.com) or contact Dave directly at [sales@autocraft.plus.com](mailto:sales@autocraft.plus.com)

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# TUDOR CHARLWOOD & LEIGH: PART 2

With  
IAN MULCAHY



In part one we explored the village of Charlwood and in this part we will be walking along ancient trackways, many of which appear just as they did 500 years ago, looking at the dispersed farmsteads of the parish and those in neighbouring Leigh (with a little dip into Sidlow too, as a narrow finger of this parish penetrates into the two). This is the longest and most challenging walk I have shared with Tudor Life readers by far, and anyone who wishes to follow in my footsteps should be well prepared with footwear and attire suitable for the season and with plenty of water.

We finished part one close to the centre of Charlwood and this is where we shall start from, initially heading north on the Norwood Hill Road. Our first building of interest is close by and is known as **Spottles**, a 4 bay open hall house and another building which, whilst not having been accurately dendro-dated, could possibly date back as far as the early 1400s. A modern gabled crosswing has been added to the left of Spottles which can be found a short way along Pudding Lane, so named many centuries ago as that is what the surface of this unmade ancient

trackway resembled in winter; a sticky pudding. And it still does once you have passed Spottles! Pudding Lane is the right turn at the crossroads 350 metres into our walk and in the north-west corner of this crossroads is the beautiful **Dormers**, a much extended 4 bay open hall home of 1412 and the only remaining thatched cottage within the parish. Almost opposite Dormers is **The Cottage** (Norwood Hill Road, not to be confused with the building with the same name in The Street), another old open hall house, this of 1435 and three bays originally. The smoke hood survives within the building and the house remained thatched as recently as the 1970's, though the roof is now tiled. Most of the timber framing is now hidden behind tiles and an apparent full length jetty has been underbuilt in brick and stone.

A further stone's throw away is **Charlwood Place**, which provides us with a plethora of Tudor Stories, most of them surrounding the life of one man. First documented in 1314, Charlwood Place was the Manor of Charlwood and surrounded by a moat, part of which survives. Most of the original house was burnt down during the

Spottles





The Cottage (Norwood Hill Road)

civil war and a document of 1673 describes it as ‘the site and remaining part of the late capital messuage called Charlwood Place’. The house was rebuilt later in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and, despite one wing incorporating some remains of the original medieval building, it wouldn’t ordinarily warrant a mention in these pages, but it is the story

of the past occupants of the Manor, and one in particular, which brings us to its door. In part one we learnt about Richard Saunders who died in 1480 aged 30 and in whose memory the chancel and screen at the parish church were erected. Richard was the owner of Charlwood Place and on his death it passed to his eldest son Nicholas



Charlwood Place

Saunders. Nicholas lived an uneventful life and when he died in 1553, the ownership passed to his eldest son Thomas.

The exact year of Sir Thomas Saunders' birth is not recorded, but he was born at Charlwood Place sometime before 1500. The well-educated young man became a lawyer, entering the Inner Temple in 1527, and on the 5 January 1540, the day before her wedding to a middle aged man named Henry, he was appointed as solicitor to Anne of Cleves. Having negotiated the divorce settlement on the annulment of Henry & Anne's marriage just 6 months later Thomas then became solicitor to Catherine Howard.

Clearly the King was satisfied with the work of Saunders for in 1541 he became a 'Commissioner of the Peace in the County of Surrey'. Commissioners were personally appointed by Henry and only his most trusted aides would be considered for the role. It was a position that Saunders held until his death in 1565. He was also the High Sherriff of Sussex and Surrey during 1553 & 1554 and a Member of Parliament for various local constituencies as well as holding the

advowson of Charlwood. In 1552 he led The Commission for Church Goods, Inventories and Miscellanea in Surrey when they visited Charlwood to collate the church inventory (see part one).

On 4 February 1545 he was appointed as the King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer in reversion after Sir Christopher More. This position, one which still exists today, was one of the most important offices in government and gave the holder responsibility for the recovery of debts due to the Crown and to remind the King of such debts. In practice, 'debts' constituted any revenue that was owed to the King and 'reminding' him translated as collecting for him. There was also a responsibility to attend the 'Trial of the Pyx', a judicial ceremony performed in order to maintain the standard of the nation's coinage. Saunders assumed this office on 29 August 1549 on the death of More by which time, of course, he was answerable to Edward VI. This office was also held until his death.

In his personal life, Saunders married Alice Walsingham, daughter of Sir



Stan Hill Cottage



Highworth Farmhouse

Edmund Walsingham who was Lieutenant of the Tower of London during the reign of Henry VIII. Sir Edmund had charge of those held in the tower, including Anne Boleyn and Sir Thomas More. Saunders was a fine and trusted servant to the House of Tudor, displaying full allegiance to all monarchs he served; Henry VII, Protestant Edward VI, the Catholic Queen Mary and the Protestant Queen Elizabeth.

We shall now start our walk in earnest and in the first instance we shall head back to the crossroads next to which Dormers stands and turn right into Stan Hill. A short way along, on the left, is **Stan Hill Cottage**, a timber framed building of 1575 with an original chimney stack. The house is unique within Charlwood in that it's the only timber framed house to have its lower walls built from local stone. The road facing aspect is actually the rear of the house and old maps show that the road was originally routed around the other side

of the property. The sunken lane can still be seen.

A further mile along Stan Hill is **Highworth Farmhouse**, an open hall house built between 1510 & 1530. The original structure of this still working farm is particularly unspoilt. Turning tail once again and then turning left into Norwood Hill (not to be confused with Norwood Hill Road, from where we first joined Stan Hill) we will, after a mile, arrive at the crossroads atop Norwood Hill. You should turn right here and temporarily back towards the village, perhaps taking in the view across Gatwick Airport now some two and half miles to the south east. As you reach the foot of the hill, **The Morgans**, a lovely little cottage which was built as a two + smoke bay timber framed house in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century will be on your right and after the sharp left bend in the road, but before the sharp right, **Brittleware Farm** will be to your left. Built in 1555,



Morgans



Brittleware Farm with its bee hives.  
The original build of 1555 is in the foreground.



Collendean Farm, covered in tiles and brick

Brittleware is a large and tall farmhouse that incorporated a grain store in the attic and it is said that the grain bins are still in situ. The attic was accessed via a stair turret, sadly out of view from public land. The substantial rear wing, visible to the left as you view, was added in the 1700s.

We now go off road for a while, and having retraced your steps for just under 100 metres, look for a gap in the hedge and a public footpath sign on your right which will take you across fields to Collendean Lane and a brief foray into the parish of Salfords & Sidlow. When you reach the road, turn right and after 500 metres or so **Collendean Farm** will be on your left, set back from the road. Built in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the timber framing is now sadly hidden between tiles and brick. A further half a mile along the lane and the timber framing at the rear of **Horse Hill Farm**, an early 16<sup>th</sup> century hall house, will be visible across the fields to your right.

The front of the house, an early 19<sup>th</sup> century whitewashed extension, can be viewed by turning right at the end of the lane into Horse Hill.

Heading north along Horse Hill for a mile will bring you to Deanoak Lane in the parish of Leigh. Leigh, pronounced 'Lie', is a small parish by population; home to around 1,000 people, but covers a wide rural area. The parish church is four and a half miles from its equivalent in Charlwood. The area was undoubtedly inhabited prior to The Conquest; the name is a Saxon word for 'clearing in the woods', but like Charlwood, the village does not appear in the Domesday Book. The Church of St Bartholomew is first recorded as being in existence in 1202 and the iron industry was also clearly important here during the Tudor era as, in common with Charlwood, the parish was specifically excluded from an act passed in 1558 to protect ancient woodland from destruction. Ewood



The very pretty rear of Horse Hill Farm

Furnace and Forge (pronounced ‘yew wood’) was a large dual purpose ironworks in operation between 1553 & 1582 and the surviving pond bay at the site is 2 miles from the village green at Leigh as the crow flies. This falls in the neighbouring parish of Newdigate, so perhaps we will visit on a future tour. A small forge with a hammer pond, in operation for 12 years from 1551, was sited a little way south of the village, but no trace of this remains besides the odd piece of waste in the stream. Otherwise, little of much historical importance seems to have happened here.

As with Charlwood, I have a family connection to Leigh and my great great great grandparents, James and Elizabeth Edwards (parents of John Edwards, who is interred in Charlwood) who lived to the ages of 80 & 90 respectively; an unusual age for labourers and servants to see during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, are buried together in the churchyard with an old wooden grave

marker indicating their final resting place.

Whilst Leigh may have been a tranquil, uneventful parish, it does have some splendid Tudor houses to see and we start our tour of the parish by turning left into Deanoak Lane and travelling for roughly half a mile until we come across a gap in the hedge and a public footpath sign, just after an ‘s’ bend in the road. This path takes you across a field towards **Dene Farm**, a large late 15<sup>th</sup> century open hall house with a crosswing. The outside was clad in brick to the lower floor with tiles above during the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century, but combined with the modern tiled roof, looks as though it could have been built 30 years ago meaning the house is visually disappointing, from a Tudor point of view at least. The inside of the house is said to be considerably more original and aesthetically pleasing. To the south of the house is a late 15<sup>th</sup> century barn.

Having passed Dene Farm, we follow



Dean Farm has now lost its Tudor look



Old Swaynes Farm



the public footpath along a shallow incline to the peak of a ridge from where we can enjoy views northwards across the Surrey countryside towards the North Downs before reaching **Old Swaynes Farm**, a lovely timber framed farmhouse of the 16<sup>th</sup> century set in splendid isolation on the side of the ridge. This ridge has clearly attracted humans for a considerable time as in 2004 a hoard of Roman coins, dated between 31bc and 180ad, were discovered in a field just above the farm. From Swaynes the bridleway that leads to the Charlwood to Leigh Road is mostly made up and this should be followed, taking a right turn towards the village when you reach the road.

On reaching the village green you won't fail to notice **The Priest's House** to your right. A long timber framed range with a core dating to the 15<sup>th</sup> century and a 16<sup>th</sup> century extension. Further additions were made in the 19<sup>th</sup> & 20<sup>th</sup> century

using old materials, the source of which is unknown. In my opinion this is one of the finest medieval/post medieval era houses, certainly amongst those NOT built for the nobility, in Surrey. Immediately behind the Priest's House is the **Church of St Bartholomew**. First documented in 1202, the current church is of 15<sup>th</sup> century origin, but had a major refurbishment in 1890 which included the replacement of the old tower and the addition of a spire. A short way to the north of St Bartholomew's, along Church Road, is **Leigh Place**. Leigh Place is a rare medieval moated site where both the house and the complete moat are still in existence and is a grade 2\* listed building and a scheduled monument. The site was first documented in 1281 (and likely pre-dates this mention), but the current building was raised in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Extensive remodelling in around 1810 means that none of the timber framing is visible, giving the building a





The Church of St. Bartholomew



An aerial view of Leigh Place, showing the moat.

more modern look than it perhaps warrants.

From Leigh Place you should head northwards to the T junction and turn left into Flanchford Road. This will bring you to Dawes Green, a small linear settlement west of the village. Turn right and then almost immediately, at the Seven Stars, right again and **Dawes Mead**, a 16<sup>th</sup> century timber framed house, now rendered, can be seen to your right. Back to the main road and heading west you will reach, just before the playground and cricket field, a public footpath on your left. After half a mile this path will cross a road and you should continue to follow it, over the Hammer Bridge (on the site of the small forge, previously mentioned) and onto **Rigden Farm**, some two thirds of a mile

on, which will come into view just after you leave the woods known as Ridgen Rough. The sections to the left of this somewhat unique build are the oldest, dating back to the mid-16<sup>th</sup> and very early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, whilst the 2 parts of the range seen to the right are 18<sup>th</sup> & 19<sup>th</sup> century additions.

From here, we can walk down the gentle hill to **Heron's Head Farm**, which will be visible to your right as you descend. An early 16<sup>th</sup> century hall house with 19<sup>th</sup> century additions, this is another timber framed house which has unfortunately had its timbers hidden by cladding. At the front of Heron's Head is a bridleway and if you follow this for half a mile westwards it arrives at the entrance to the attractive **Park House Farm**, a 3 bay hall house of



Daws Mead



The rear of Rigdens Farm

the 1300s at the front with a 15<sup>th</sup> century 2 bay hall to the rear, set at right angles. To the left at the front is a single bay 17<sup>th</sup> century addition and the whole house benefited from a sympathetic refurbishment in the 1930s, which included the addition of the 2 storey porch.

Turning back towards Herons Head and continuing straight on, for a mile in total, will bring you back to the Charlwood to Leigh Road and turning right here will bring you to **Little Mynthurst Farm**, a further half a mile along the road. This is a house of the late 16<sup>th</sup> century which has been greatly increased in size by a series of modern infillings linking it to the barns that surround the farm. Our final two buildings are close together along a bridleway a third of a mile closer to Charlwood. **Little Chantesluer**, back in the Salfords and Sidlow parish, is a house of roughly 1400 with a crosswing added to the right some 300 years later, replacing the eastern bay of a 4 bay hall house. The

western bay has been demolished. The timber framing is said to be very visible inside the house, but externally it is hidden under painted brick. Less than 200 metres westwards along the bridleway and we are back in Charlwood parish looking at **Chantesluer**, an open hall house of 1508. The main house was previously jettied and the cross wing to left, along with the refronting which hides the timbers of the house, is Victorian. The name is derived from 'Chantry Silver', as the rent from this farm was to be paid to the Church to maintain the chantry chapel built in honour of Richard Saunders (see Charlwood Place for the Saunders Family) in 1480. This suggests that the current building, constructed over 25 years after Saunders Death, sits on the site of an older farm.

We are now at the end of our Tudor tour and all that remains is to return to the main road, turn right and follow the road for a little over 2 miles back into Charlwood village.



Herons Head Farm



Park House Farm



Little Mynhurst Farm



Little Chantesleur



Chantesleur



Another view of The Priest's House in Leigh



Front view of the Priest's House. What a property!

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**QUIZ ANSWERS**

1 Y  
2 D  
3 P  
4 CHRISTCHURCH  
5 TREASURY  
6 PERCY  
7 NOVEMBER  
8 WALSH  
9 KINGSTON  
10 PERCY  
11 PERCY



TONI MOUNT

# SIR THOMAS WYATT THE ELDER – THE STORY CONTINUES

In my previous article, we followed Sir Thomas Wyatt's adventures up until 1537, his fallings in and out of favour with King Henry VIII, his unhappy marriage and periods of imprisonment. But, in the last five years of his eventful life, Thomas still had some significant adventures to come and most of the action would take place beyond England.

As a result of King Henry's divorce from Catherine of Aragon, the king's relationship with her powerful nephew, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, had been chilly, to say the least. Worse still, Charles was negotiating peace terms with King Francis I of France and an alliance of these two enemies of England could spell disaster for the home team. So Henry wanted to persuade the emperor away from making any deal with the French. As a result, the king decided to send an ambassador to Charles's court and he chose Sir Thomas Wyatt to go out on this hopeless errand.

On 12 March 1537, Thomas received his instructions not only to repair and improve relations with the emperor but to negotiate a marriage between the Princess Mary and the Infante of Portugal – the Portuguese Crown Prince. However, his secret mission was to sabotage any alliance between the French king and the emperor that didn't include England. Thomas Cromwell also wanted any information Wyatt could discover concerning the emperor's personal intentions towards England. In other words, Thomas was to be a spy. Henry's greatest fear was the possibility of these two major Catholic nations, with the pope's backing, combining forces to launch an invasion of Protestant England.

Wyatt sailed in April 1537 with John Briarton as his assistant and secretary. During May and June, they journeyed via Paris, Lyons, Avignon, Barcelona and Saragossa, where John noted that they were not only





Cardinal Reginald Pole c.1500  
National Trust Collections]

## TONI MOUNT

roughly treated ‘as if we were Jews’ but were forced to pay import duty on the clothing in their baggage. A further brush with authority resulted with Thomas being questioned by the notorious Inquisition regarding some ‘heretical’ Protestant books he had brought along. Despite these difficulties, Thomas had a friendly audience with Emperor Charles on 22 June – the first of a number of meetings – but any efforts to change the emperor’s mind about making peace with the French were a waste of time and doomed to failure. Charles and the King of France both wanted to come to terms, their coffers empty and their armies worn out by war. Henry was worrying needlessly – his Catholic enemies didn’t have either the resources or the inclination to invade England, at least for the present.

Wyatt’s other key intention as ambassador – to arrange the Princess Mary’s marriage – also came to nothing because of a significant event back home. In October 1537, Queen Jane Seymour gave birth to a prince, Edward, Henry’s longed-for son and heir. Princess Mary was declared illegitimate and was, therefore, no longer such a prize in the marriage market and certainly not a desirable wife for a Crown Prince. Meanwhile, the emperor went to Nice in the south of France to meet with King Francis I to discuss their alliance and Thomas went too, desperately attempting to thwart it.

Edmund Bonner and Simon Heynes were sent out from England to Nice, supposedly as Thomas’s assistants but, in fact, to spy on him. Thomas came up with an idea which he hoped would cause animosity between Charles, Francis and the pope, suggesting they questioned the papal legate, the Englishman, Cardinal Pole, hoping to learn about the negotiations

from the other side, without success. While negotiations continued, the emperor sent Thomas home to England with terms for an agreement between Charles and King Henry. But those terms were so unfavourable to Henry they were certain to be refused. While Thomas was in England, Charles and Francis concluded their treaty while he was out of the way. Henry was so angry with Thomas he said he was more the emperor’s ambassador than his.

But Henry wasn’t so displeased as he made out because he sent Thomas to re-join the itinerant imperial court in July 1538 in Barcelona, then in Toledo. Edmund Bonner, no friend to Thomas, wrote a malicious letter to Cromwell, claiming that Thomas had been in treasonous contact with Cardinal Pole and had declared a desire for King Henry’s death. Cromwell ignored Bonner’s spiteful correspondence but, unfortunately for Thomas, kept the letter. It would be used against Thomas after Cromwell’s execution in 1540.

By January 1539, Charles and Francis were the best of friends and Thomas wrote home to Cromwell, saying he could do no more and was desperate to return to England, as the king had promised he should. The following month, Cardinal Pole, as the pope’s representative, was received by the emperor and an air of animosity towards King Henry was growing. Desperate to do anything to prevent a tripartite agreement between Charles, Francis and the pope – any alliance that included the pope was regarded by Catholics as adding ‘spiritual legitimacy’ to a resultant act of war, making it more of a crusade – Thomas tried to persuade the emperor to extradite Pole as an English traitor.



When this failed, he became involved in a conspiracy to assassinate the cardinal. We know little of this plan; the evidence in coded letters gives only a few hints but Thomas did discuss the possible use of a quick-acting Spanish poison with his mistress, Elizabeth Darrell, during his brief return to England in June 1538, and had asked if the king wished to obtain any. Whether these discussions related to Cardinal Pole isn't certain but the cardinal heard rumours which caused him to fear he was in danger of his life. Nothing came of this scheme but Pole remained convinced that Wyatt was still out to get him more than a year later, in September 1539. But, by that date, Thomas was home at Allington Castle in Kent, trying to unravel his financial issues and pay off some of the huge debts he'd incurred as ambassador, amounting to the incredible sum of £3,090 3s.

By November 1539, Thomas was yet again sent to the emperor who was now in Blois, in northern France, making for the

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Allington Castle near Maidstone, Kent. Sir Thomas Wyatt's home, now a popular wedding venue.

Spanish Netherlands to put down a revolt. Again, Thomas was instructed to find a way to cause a breach between the emperor and the French king even while congratulating them on their new-found friendship. His efforts were devious, to say the least. He arrested an English traitor in Paris, Robert Brancetour, who was believed to be encouraging Englishmen to support Cardinal Pole. Confusingly, Brancetour was with the emperor but under the jurisdiction of the French king, so the arrest offended both sides. Overall, Thomas's actions as Henry's ambassador had achieved nothing but a mountain of debt with no marriage negotiated, Cardinal Pole safe and Charles and Francis allied with papal support. He was relieved to be recalled in April 1540 and spent May at home. But a new storm was brewing.

On 10 June, Cromwell, his patron and protector, was arrested and executed on 28 July 1540. His death had serious consequences for Wyatt who had been



closely associated with Cromwell for a decade. So Thomas withdrew to Allington and kept his head down, spending time modernising the castle. However, Edmund Bonner's accusations came to light among Cromwell's papers. Bonner claimed that Thomas had communicated with Cardinal Pole and in 1540 King Henry's hatred of Pole – once a close companion – had reached its most deadly. Bonner reported that Wyatt had said the words: *By goddes bludde, ye shall see the kinge our maister cast out at the carts tail, and if he soo be served, by godds body, he is well served.* Saying the king deserved to be punished like a common thief was dangerous talk, inferring that he ought to be hanged. No wonder Thomas was arrested and taken under guard to the Tower of London on 17 January 1541.

Three days later, all Thomas's valuables, including his horses, were confiscated

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Aylesford Priory, Kent – still a monastic retreat and wedding venue today

by the Crown from Allington Castle and the servants paid off, no matter that

Elizabeth Darrell, his pregnant mistress, was living there. Things looked bleak and Cromwell was no longer available to smooth matters over with the king.

But Thomas made a spirited defence, refuting the charges [British Library, Harley MS 78], insisting he had never treasonably wished for the king's death and that his contact with Cardinal Pole was in order to spy on him, not to conspire with him. This defence was probably the basis of the later full confession he is supposed to have made but which is no longer extant. On 19 March, Queen Catherine Howard interceded with the king on Thomas's behalf and he was spared the execution and released. Henry must have had a soft spot for Wyatt to let him off yet again.



Sherborne Abbey where Sir Thomas Wyatt's burial is commemorated by the brass plaque

Once more, Thomas was back in royal favour. Within a month of his release, he was in command of 300 horse in Calais. Grants of land and offices quickly followed and by December he was appointed Knight of the Shire and MP for Kent. In March 1542, he was made Steward of the Manor of Maidstone and was granted various dissolved monastic properties, including Aylesford Priory in Kent, not far from Allington.

In August, the king was intending to appoint Thomas as Vice-Admiral of the Fleet for a campaign at sea against the French but he wasn't well enough, having suffered severe headaches for some years. His health was such that he had written his will in June 1541, making his son Thomas by Elizabeth Brooke his chief heir but also providing land in Dorset and Somerset for his mistress,

Elizabeth Darrell, and her son Francis.

But retirement was not an option when King Henry demanded your services. On 3 October 1542 Thomas was instructed to escort the Irish Earl of Tyrone to the king but he was already busy on a diplomatic mission at Falmouth in Devon. He had been sent to meet and greet the Spanish envoy Montmorency de Courrière on the king's behalf. However, on the return journey to London, Thomas developed a fever. He took refuge at Sir John Horsey's house in Sherborne, Dorset, but his condition deteriorated rapidly and he died there three days later on 6 October. On 11 October, Thomas was laid to rest in the Horsey family vault in Sherborne Abbey Church. He was only thirty-nine but had fitted so many adventures in his life.

# Charlie Brown Books

## FORTUNE'S HAND

R.N. Morris



The life of Sir Walter Raleigh has been told in non-fiction many times but has not often been told in fiction. He appears in passing in many novels but seldom as the main character. In *Fortune's Hand: The Triumph and Tragedy of Walter Raleigh*, R.N. Morris remedies that with a novel from the point-of-view of Raleigh, one that starts from the beginning of his career until his execution in 1618.

The book is written in first-person, which is unusual for historical fiction novels but works for the most part. There are short chapters

throughout with no dates or much of a sense of time, but this is a good technique as it is a reminder of how easy it would have been to lose track of time with his travelling and sea voyages. A lot of

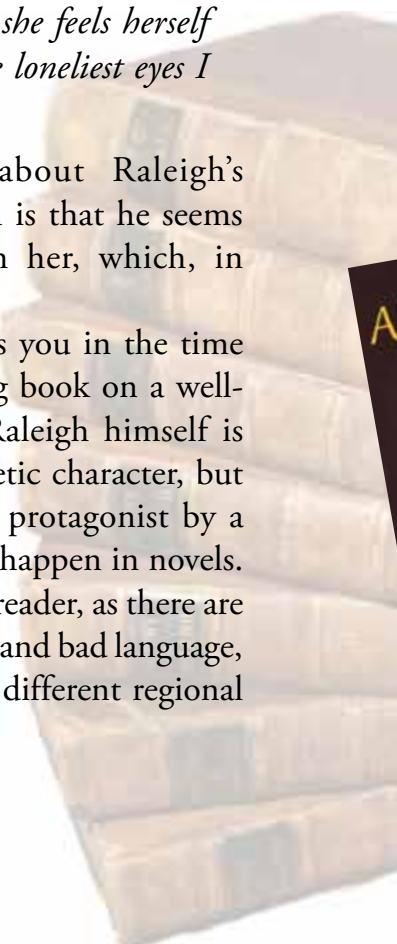
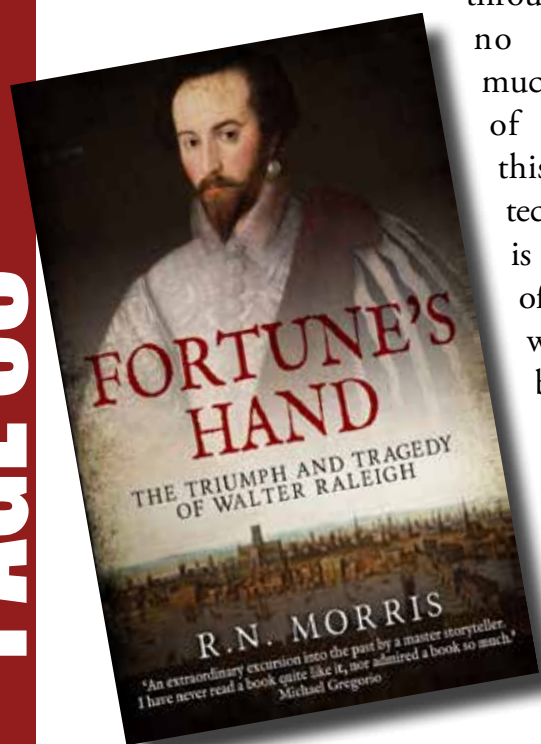
research has obviously gone into life at sea back then, with the use of provisions and relationships between the different members of the crew being explored in-depth here.

The one thing that seems unusual about this version of Raleigh is his relationship with Elizabeth I. The characterisation of Elizabeth is good, with one of our first glimpses of her providing much insight into her character:

*'Her gaze is bold. In any other woman, you would call it brazen. But she is our Queen. And yet I see the flicker that betrays an inner conflict. Between doubt and decision. Between what the world expects of her and what she feels herself capable of... Hers are the loneliest eyes I have ever seen.'*

The unusual thing about Raleigh's relationship with Elizabeth is that he seems genuinely infatuated with her, which, in reality, is unlikely.

*Fortune's Hand* immerses you in the time period and is an interesting book on a well-known historical figure. Raleigh himself is not a particularly sympathetic character, but it is good to not have the protagonist by a saint for once, as can often happen in novels. This is not for the younger reader, as there are quite a few sexual references and bad language, which works well with the different regional dialects used.



# ALL MANNER OF THINGS

Wendy J. Dunn



Wendy J. Dunn has written several books on the Tudor period, with her last one being *The Duty of Daughters*, which showed Katherine of Aragon's childhood through her tutor's eyes. Now the sequel has been released, entitled *All Manner of Things*, covering her time in England from the point of view of María de Salinas this time, her close friend and cousin. It is a worthy successor and well worth the wait, with this one being just as enthralling as the last.

The book starts with Katherine and María arriving in England and preparing for her marriage to Prince Arthur. We quickly get a feel of the court and María overhears much, being in the background a lot of the time. For instance, there is a conversation about Prince Henry, in which Elizabeth of York talks about sending him to a religious order:

*"A life devoted to God will encourage the flowering of all that's good in Harry, and stamp out those parts of his character causing me many sleepless nights. Please don't mistake me. My Harry has much good in him. We have perhaps spoilt him; he is easy to spoil. He has all the gifts of my family, but all the flaws as well."*

This is an idea that has been mentioned in other works and, in having this conversation, it

also reveals much about Henry's character. Elizabeth hints at what the young Prince Henry will become and the reader can feel a sense of dread in this. Later on in the novel, we also see a repeat of what Henry would later do when courting Anne, with him and Katherine passing love notes to each other in a book of prayers.

Throughout the novel, there is the overwhelming sense of guilt Katherine feels for the death of the Earl of Warwick. He was supposedly executed to seal the deal for Katherine of Aragon to marry Prince Arthur. Katherine worries that she is cursed by this, a theme that has appeared in other works. It is hard to disagree with her, as she seems to bounce from one misfortune to another, especially in the early years after Prince Arthur died:

*'At nineteen, Catalina had learnt hard lessons. One of the hardest had been whatever power she possessed could disappear on the whims of two kings. Her mother's death had brought with it not only more heartbreak, but the knowledge the Tudor King regarded her as less of a prize. King Henry left her with little money, her father ever less. She was simply a pawn in a power game between two kings; a too often cruel game.'*

The reader cannot help but feel sorry for Katherine, as she tries to control her own life, despite it ultimately being in the hands of the men around her. She is determined and manages to get back up again every time she falls down, which both María and the reader can admire.

*All Manner of Things* is another excellent work by Wendy Dunn, it is well-researched and it is good to have a book on Katherine from a different point-of-view for once. María and Katherine's relationship is a lovely one to see unfold and grow as the years pass, one that Dunn captures beautifully. I would recommend this book to anyone interested in Katherine of Aragon or who just wants a good novel to read.

CHARLIE FENTON





*Catherine Interviews...*

# Living the Tudor Experience

*This month's interview is with Brigitte Webster,  
who runs the amazing '  
Tudor & 17th Century Experience'.*

**Hello, Brigitte, and thank you so much for joining us here at the Tudor Society! To start with, please tell us a little bit about yourself.**

My professional background is in teaching – history, cookery, sewing and embroidery. I grew up in Austria but after I married Tom, who is English, I moved to the UK in 1989 and started to teach German and some cookery but sadly no history.

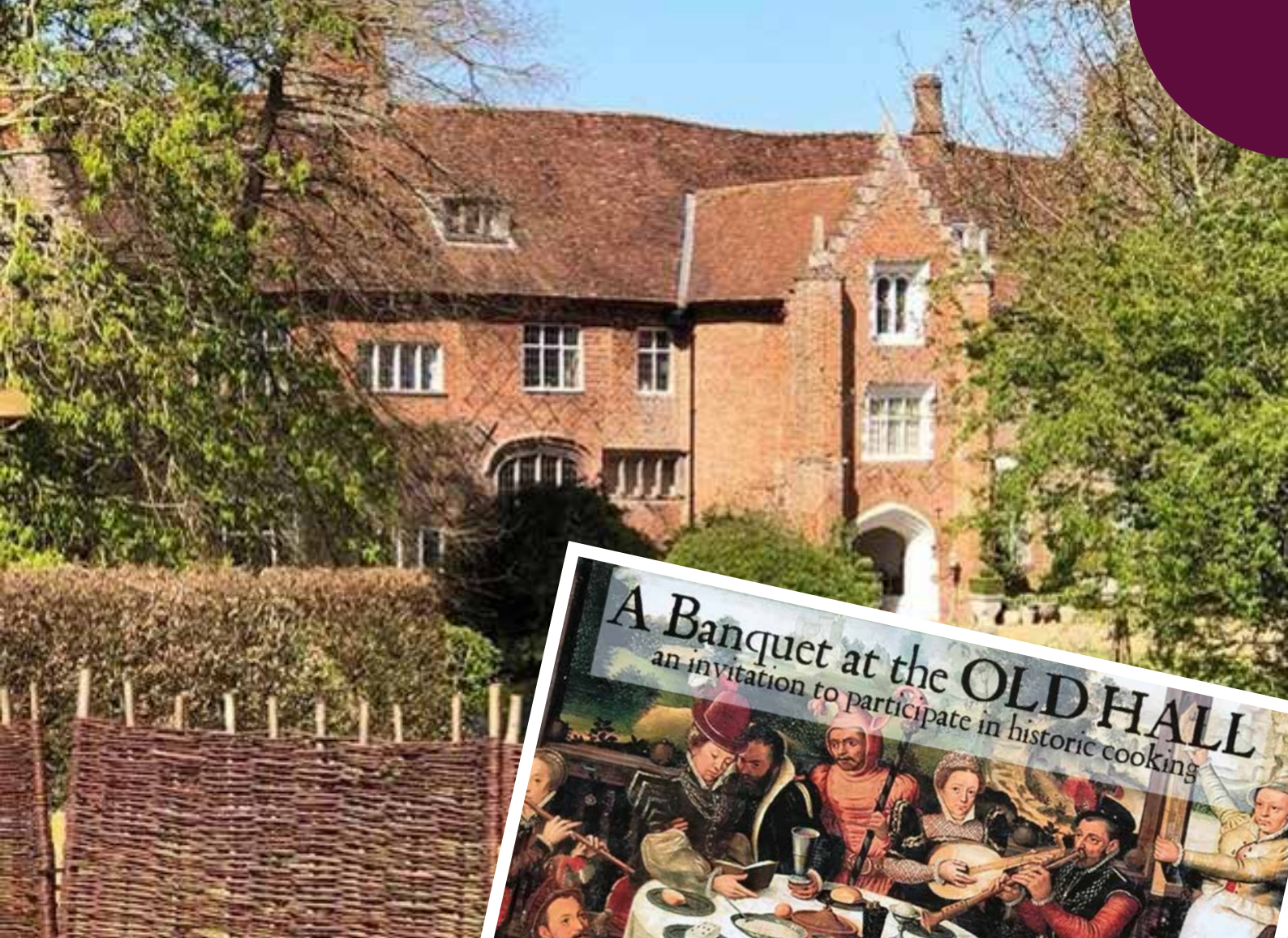
**What it is that drew you to Tudor history? And are there any other periods of history you like too?**

So, unlike many other Tudorholics, I have come to the party fairly late, but about 15 years ago I started a furniture restoration class and that was my ticket to Tudor history obsession. Needless to say, those last 15 years have had a lot packed in and have been a life changer.

I have always liked all periods of history but have generally been more drawn to the earlier times. Now I specialise in late medieval, Tudor and the 17th century.

**First of all, let's talk about your cooking! You recently published a wonderful book entitled 'A Banquet at the OLD HALL: An Invitation to participate in historic cooking' –**

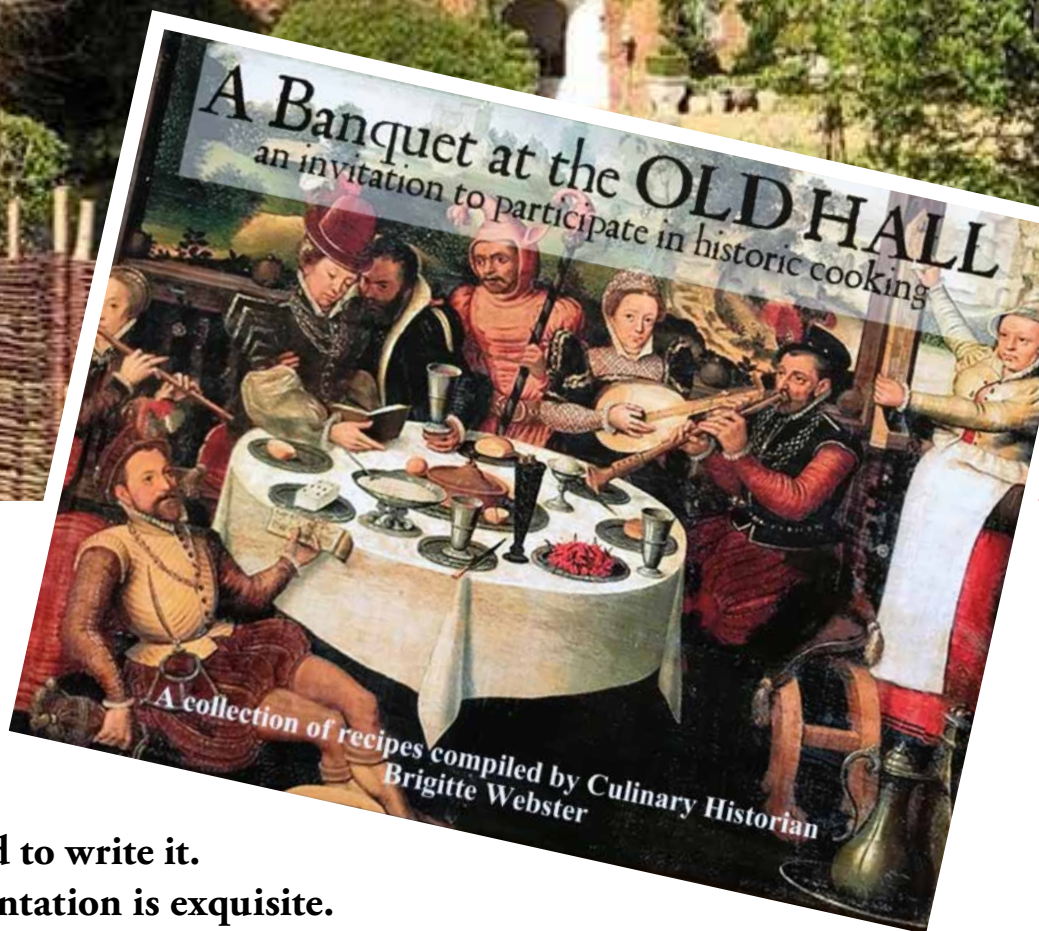




**which sold out!  
An absolutely  
perfect  
combination  
for you. Tell us  
all about it and  
why you decided to write it.**

**Your presentation is exquisite.**

About twenty years ago I co-wrote books about teaching A-level German but never thought about writing a book on Tudor cooking. However, in autumn 2019 I gave a talk about Tudor food at the world's first Tudorcon in Pennsylvania, and I just thought it would be cool to have a few book copies to take there. So, I went through my years-worth of collected recipes and photos and collated them as a book. It was self-published because it had to be printed within a few months. Not in my





wildest dreams did I ever anticipate that all copies would be gone within such a short time.

I believe you have another book on the way? The problem with self-publishing books is that the inclusion of photos makes the printing very expensive. So, I was very excited when Pen & Sword Books Publishers approached me. For the re-creation of Tudor recipes from original texts, it is paramount to show people what the end result may look like, so photos are very important, and P & S Books have acknowledged that and are allowing me 100 photos with my recipes so that is fantastic. Apart from recipes, there will also be a good amount of food history all linked to sixteenth century England and Europe. The layout will be based on the seasons so that people can cook along to seasonal produce from the garden or shops and will be ready for serving up a Tudor feast by Christmas!

**In 2019, you acquired ‘The Old Hall’, a small Tudor manor. Tell us a little bit about it and how you came to purchase it.**

Indeed, but the process actually started in 2018, when the house found us - we had absolutely no plans about moving. It all started to

## *Catherine Interviews...*

unroll when my husband was searching the internet for a friend who was potentially going to move. And then the Old Hall somehow appeared on his screen. I remember him showing it to me and wanting to go and have a look at it. Something like “we are not going to waste people’s time” was my reply. Well, Tom went and made an appointment anyway and then gave me the option to come along or stay at home. Right up to pulling up at the Old Hall, I was convinced that this was just one of Tom’s crazy ideas. But even before we entered the house, I had this intense feeling of having come home. Well, our viewing went on for hours and by the time we left, we knew that this was the time to take a huge gamble that would make Tudor history our focus and change our life. It took over a year to secure a mortgage, but the Old Hall was patiently waiting for us and in November 2019 we finally got the key!

**I have been following your progress in renovating and decorating the Old Hall, and it’s fair to say it’s had its ups and downs, especially when the weather is bad! What are some of the highlights and some of the less cheerful experiences you’ve had along your journey?**

We have lived in an ancient house before, so we knew to be prepared and spend a lot of our finances on repair and maintenance. The Old Hall was built in the early 1500s and survived the test of time but there are some areas on the roof that need fixing as in heavy down pours we do experience leaks in some places. Covid has not helped as we can’t get workmen to come inside and fix problems. So, once it is safe to allow people into our home, we will get the process going, but in the meantime, we just keep it all together as best as we can and keep monitoring cracks on the walls and amounts of water coming in through the ceiling. The house is Grade I listed which means all work needs to be approved first. That is frustrating but necessary to protect ancient building from rogue developers. To live in an ancient house comes at a price and is not all a romantic walk in the park. However, for us it is a dream come true and we enjoy it with all those quirks.

## *Catherine Interviews...*

**Tell us about how you and Tom have decorated the rooms – they are stunning!**

My main interest in Tudor history is how people have lived, their homes and houses. So I have had a pretty clear vision of how I wanted the rooms to look. We have decorated the rooms as closely to an authentic Tudor interior as possible using genuine Tudor and some 17th century furniture which I have collected and often restored over the past fifteen years. The final, homely touch, is achieved by genuine Tudor everyday objects like candlesticks, cushions, books, pictures and sculptures placed in all the rooms. My sewing and embroidery skills have helped enormously to keep costs down and with 2020 spent at home without guests, I have had sufficient time to work myself from room to room. I now only have one more bedroom to finish and there is still a bright red carpet to be ripped out of the staircase.

**Now the Old Hall is not just about the recreation of this beautiful Tudor Manor. It can be an all-encompassing experience. I know there's a lot to tell, but please let everyone know what they can do and/or experience if they visit you.**

As a former teacher, I totally believe in 'immersion learning' when you engage all senses to help you absorb new information but most of all, fire up your interest and motivation to find out more. This is the very concept of what we offer to our guests here, basically an opportunity to step back into Tudor England and become a Tudor for the period of your stay. On arrival, you leave behind the world as you know it and enter Sir Edward Chamberlayne's home, where you will be treated to homemade Tudor food, engage in Tudor activities such as boardgames, dance or perhaps archery. Weather permitting you can stroll around the Tudor gardens or take a boat ride on the moat to one of the islands. At night-time you retire to your room and dream in a genuine Tudor bed.

**Final question, which I ask everyone: Which three history books do you recommend the most (they don't have to be Tudor)?**

My three regular 'go to's' are:

Cooking & Dining in Tudor & Early Stuart England by Peter Brears,

A Day at home in early Tudor England by Tara Hamling & Catherine Richardson, material culture and domestic life between 1500-1700

The Description of England, a classic contemporary account of Tudor social life by William Harrison

**Thank you so much, Brigitte, and good luck for the future!**

You can find Brigitte and The Tudor and 17th Century Experience here:

Website: [www.tudorexperience.com](http://www.tudorexperience.com)

Facebook: Tudor & 17th century Experience

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# FROM THE SPICERY

WITH  
RIOGINACH



## FANCY A TIPPLE?

Greetings! As some of you might know, I'm fortunate to live in the heart of Australia's premier winemaking region: the Barossa Valley. As such, I thought it about time I wrote an article on medieval winemaking. So, anyone fancy a tippie?

At the moment in the Barossa Valley, the vines are green and are covered with health clusters of grapes. The weather has been so good that vineyards are already harvesting some varieties of white grapes; a good couple of months ahead of schedule. But before we delve into medieval winemaking, some wine-related trivia for you. For thousands of years, our ancestors saw the transformation of grape juice into wine as an unknowable and magical transformation. This, and the fact that wine has long established credentials as a medicinal and antiseptic, elevated it to something that came from the Gods themselves.<sup>1</sup> Drinking it was supposed to be one closer to one's God/Gods; to be able to commune with them. This is still reflected in the use of wine as part of the Communion Mass, where it spans the gap between the heavenly and the earthbound; the immortal and the mortal. Remember that next time you partake of the blood and body of Christ; you are

in effect continuing a practice that spans from pagan belief to modern Christianity.

All we need do is simply pick, crush, cork and rack, right? Wrong. The most significant variable is the one winemakers since time immemorial haven't been able to control: Mother Nature herself. So if modern vintners still have to prepare for whatever nature throws at them, how did medieval winemakers cope?

Turning grapes into wine has never been a simple task. No frosts during the early stages of growth; rainfall at the right times and low humidity are all needed to grow fat, juicy grapes. Too much humidity and you run the risk of downy mildew (*Plasmopara viticola*) infecting and ruining the developing grapes. Ironically, higher levels of humidity are needed if you want to develop 'noble rot' (*Botrytis cinerea*) to create sweet and sticky dessert wines. Of course, this says nothing of the back-breaking physical labour of tending the vines. Nor scaring the birds away from the developing fruit - I've just discovered the local blackbirds and sparrows

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<sup>1</sup> <https://theinquisitivevintner.wordpress.com/2014/09/22/ancient-wines-not-very-tasty-but-full-of-meaning/>

raiding my own vines :-(. So much is left to chance that medieval winemakers must have torn their hair out at times!

Providing your grapes haven't been ravaged by the local wildlife or microbiological flora, the next step down the long road to something drinkable (maybe) is harvesting. From personal experience, harvesting is best done in the hours immediately before dawn and definitely before midday. While I may be making the invalid assumption that this has always been the case, I'll stick with what I can personally vouch for.

After harvesting comes crushing, and please, make sure your feet are clean - only one type of yeast is wanted! While researching this article, the jury appears to be out on the subject of feet vs basket press vs on-skin fermentation. Typically, freshly harvested grapes (and bits of grapevine) were emptied into a large barrel, and a couple of lucky serfs spent hours happily squashing grapes. The Romans invented technology using mechanical pressure to crush grapes into juice. This developed into the basket press (think a barrel with a disk-shaped weight to press the juice of the grapes out and between the staves). The basket press still remains a popular method of pressing grapes. I guess whether or not the typical medieval vintner used a basket press depended on how rich he or his master was. On-skin

fermentation involved (and still does) simply leaving the grapes and their juice in a cask. In modern terms, it is done to allow the colour of the grape variety (usually red) to infuse into the juice. Remember that not all red grapes produce red wine!

Regardless of how you extracted the juice from the grapes, it was then poured into barrels and placed in storage; usually in a place where the ambient temperature didn't vary much, e.g. a monastic cellar. But without preservatives or similar things, there was no guarantee that you'd end up with anything drinkable. And as the grapes weren't washed before crushing, who knows which varieties of yeast were on the skins?

The burning question is, of course, other than getting as drunk as a lord, how did early wine taste? In all honesty, probably pretty bad. The cynic in me says that so long as the alcohol content was high enough, no one probably really cared - until the morning after the night before. If you've ever sampled Greek Retsina (a wine to which pine resin has been added as a preservative), you've probably come close to tasting what our forebears had. I once watched a documentary which recommended the addition of water (including seawater), spices, sugars of lead, and other additives to fresh grape juice for a truly 'authentic' medieval drop. Needless to say, the presenter's expression was priceless (he was a



professor of archaeology, and he did leave the sugars of led out - thankfully - having substituted cane sugar). If the additives weren't bad enough, olive oil was frequently be poured on top of the wine as a preservative before sealing the amphora/urn/cask/bottle.<sup>2</sup> I don't know about you, but questionable wine with a layer of olive oil floating on top doesn't do it for me. In terms of wine from the Tudor era, we're lucky enough to have a couple of examples still left to us, the 1472 Strasbourg Wine Barrel (the contents of which was sampled as recently as 2014), and 1650 bottle of Tokay from royal cellars of

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2 <https://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/worlds-oldest-wine-speyer-bottle>, Gastro Obscura, January 2018

Augustus II.<sup>3</sup> An image purportedly of a bottle of the 1472 Strasbourg white wine appeared in my Instagram feed of an Austrian wine a few days ago (see perlesmedievaes on Instagram if interested), giving the following description of the barrel/bottle's contents: "This wine was analysed and tasted in 1994 by an oenological laboratory. Despite its age, it presents "a very beautiful, very amber dress, a powerful nose, very fine, very complex, flavours reminiscing vanilla, honey, wax camphor, thin spices, hazelnut and the fruit liquor." I somehow doubt this would have been one that ended up in the taster's spit bucket!

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3 <https://www.oldest.org/food/wines/>.

## **RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY**



NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

# Tudor Life

## REGULAR CONTRIBUTORS

Charlie Fenton  
Riognach O'Geraghty  
Roland Hui  
Toni Mount

Lauren Browne  
Sarah-Beth Watkins  
Susan Abernethy

LAYOUT Tim Ridgway

VIDEOGRAPHER Tim Ridgway

## MAGAZINE EDITOR

Gareth Russell

[info@tudorsociety.com](mailto:info@tudorsociety.com)

## CONTACT

[info@tudorsociety.com](mailto:info@tudorsociety.com)

Calle Sargento Galera, 3

Lucar 04887

Almeria

Spain

## ONLINE

[www.TudorSociety.com](http://www.TudorSociety.com)

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out every month for  
**ALL MEMBERS.**

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