

# Tudor Life

The Tudor Society Magazine

THE  
TUDOR  
SOCIETY

Members Only

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## TUDOR MURDERS

Singing of  
Murderous Wives

Anne Boleyn  
- A Judicial Murder

Threads of Burning Gold

**PLUS**

The Assassination of  
Robert Pakington

**AND MUCH MORE**



**TWO MURDERS IN TUDOR IRELAND**

**BY GARETH RUSSELL**



OUT SOON

# The Colour of Rubies

The Tenth Sebastian Foxley  
Medieval Murder Mystery  
from TONI MOUNT







# TUDOR MURDERS

I must admit that I love a good whodunnit, especially when it comes to my recreational reading. I've re-read *Murder on the Orient Express* by Agatha Christie about once a year since I was a teenager and it's lost none of its power to delight me. Of course, in the sixteenth century, we have an embarrassment of riches in murderous mysteries - many with historical importance. I hope you enjoy this issue of *Tudor Life* in which we look at some of the unresolved, and solved, murders of the 1500s.

**GARETH RUSSELL**  
**EDITOR**



# Tudor Life



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# Christopher Marlowe and his violent death

By Claire Ridgway

One controversial death from the Tudor period is that of the famous Elizabethan poet, translator and playwright Christopher Marlowe, who was fatally stabbed on 30th May 1593.

Before I move on to his death, let me tell you a bit about Marlowe.

Christopher Marlowe was born in February 1564, being baptised at the Church of St George the Martyr in Canterbury, Kent. He was the eldest son and second of nine children born to John Marlowe, shoemaker, and Katherine Arthur. He was educated at King's School in Canterbury before studying at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, on a Parker Scholarship, a scholarship endowed by Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, for gifted King's School students. He graduated with a Masters in July 1587.

Marlowe was a gifted man, and his works are still enjoyed today. They include the plays "Tamburlaine", "Dr Faustus", "The Jew of Malta", "Edward II" and "Massacre at Paris", and the poems "The Passionate Shepherd to his Love" and "Hero and Leander". Tamburlaine was first performed in summer 1587 by the Admiral's Men, the company of actors whose patron was Charles Howard, 1st Earl of Nottingham and Lord High Admiral. The famous Elizabethan actor Edward Alleyn played lead parts in "Dr Faustus", "Tamburlaine", "The Jew of Malta" and "Massacre at Paris".

Marlowe courted controversy during his short life. At the end of June 1587, when Marlowe was just twenty-three and was about to graduate with his Masters, Queen Elizabeth I's Privy Council was recorded as discussing the case of a "Christopher Morley", a

Cambridge student whose MA was being called into question because of defamatory reports. According to the council minutes, it was reported that Marlowe was planning to go to Rheims in France, the location of an English seminary for Catholics defecting from England. However, their investigations showed that Marlowe “had no such intent” and that “in all his accions he had behaved himself orderlie and discreetlie, wherebie he had done her Majestie good service, & deserved to be rewarded for his faithfull dealinge.” The council went on to recommend that Marlowe should be awarded his MA “because it was not Her Majesties pleasure that any imployed as he had been in matters touching the benefit of his country should be defamed by those who are ignorant in th’affaires he went about.”

This Privy Council report has led to the suggestion that Marlowe was working as a spy for Elizabeth I’s spymaster, Sir Francis Walsingham, and deliberately moving in Catholic circles to feed back information to the government. Marlowe’s biographer, Charles Nicholl, writes that “Four men later associated with Marlowe—Richard Baines, Robert Poley, Thomas Watson, and Thomas Walsingham—were all involved in intelligence work in

France during the 1580s” and that Marlowe appears to have been absent from his studies in Cambridge on various occasions.

As well as reports regarding him being a Catholic, Marlowe was also accused of being a heretic and atheist. Just a few days before Marlowe’s death in 1593, Richard Baines, who’d been a close friend of Marlowe, delivered to the authorities a list of 19 instances of Marlowe’s atheistic and seditious talk, and fellow playwright Robert Greene accused Marlowe of saying “there is no God”. Marlowe was also accused of blasphemy, allegedly saying that “Christ was a bastard and his mother dishonest” and “that the sacrament ... would have bin much better being administred in a tobacco pipe”. Not only that, but he also said that Jesus had had a sexual relationship with St John.

But these allegations were not the only trouble Marlowe courted; he also appears to have been a magnet for violence. In 1589, he was in a fight with William Bradley, the son of an innkeeper, armed with his sword and dagger. This led to Marlowe and his friend, Thomas Watson, being committed temporarily to Newgate Prison. They were released after the coroner recorded a verdict of self-defence. Three years later, Marlowe was recorded as assaulting a tailor in a streetfight with a staff and

dagger. Marlowe appeared in court, but the case was adjourned and eventually came to nothing.

However, Marlowe's luck ran out on 30th May 1593, when he was stabbed to death at a house in Deptford Strand, London. Although it is often said that he was killed in a tavern brawl, Marlowe was killed in a private room. It was said that Marlowe had argued over a bill with a man named Ingram Frizer (or Frazier) when Marlowe grabbed Frizer's dagger and struck him twice about the head, inflicting shallow wounds. The two men fought, and Frizer went on to stab Marlowe above his right eye. Marlowe died instantly.

On 1st June 1593, an inquest was held into Marlowe's violent death. The coroner was William Danby, coroner of Queen Elizabeth I's household. Danby recorded what had happened on that fateful day based on witness accounts and the injuries suffered by Marlowe and Frizer. Here is his record (I have modernised the spelling to make it easier to read):

"When a certain Ingram Frizer, late of London, Gentleman, and the aforesaid Christopher Morley [Marlowe] and one Nicholas Skeres, late of London, Gentleman, and Robert Poley of London aforesaid, Gentleman, on the thirtieth day of May in the thirty-fifth year above named, at

Deptford Strand aforesaid in the said County of Kent within the verge, about the tenth hour before noon of the same day, met together in a room in the house of a certain Eleanor Bull, widow; & there passed the time together & dined & after dinner were in quiet sort together there & walked in the garden belonging to the said house until the sixth hour after noon of the same day & then returned from the said garden to the room aforesaid & there together and in company supped, & after supper the said Ingram & Christopher Morley were in speech & uttered one to the other divers malicious words for the reason that they could not be at one nor agree about the payment of the sum of pence, that is, the reckoning, there, & the said Christopher Morley then lying upon a bed in the room where they supped, & moved with anger against the said Ingram Frizer upon the words as aforesaid spoken between them, And the said Ingram then & there sitting in the room aforesaid with his back towards the bed where the said Christopher Morley was then lying, sitting near the bed, that is, near the bed, & with the front part of his body towards the table & the aforesaid Nicholas Skeres & Robert Poley sitting on either side of the said Ingram in such a manner that the same Ingram Friser in no wise could take flight:





Portrait of a man thought to be  
Marlowe, Corpus Christi College,  
Cambridge



it so befell that the said Christopher Morley on a sudden, & of his malice towards the said Ingram aforethought, then & there maliciously drew the dagger of the said Ingram which was at his back, and with the same dagger the said Christopher Morley then & there maliciously gave the aforesaid Ingram two wounds on his head of the length of two inches & of the depth of a quarter of an inch; where upon the said Ingram, in fear of being slain, & sitting in the manner aforesaid between the said Nicholas Skeres & Robert Poley so that he could not in any wise get away, in his own defence & for the saving of his life, then & there struggled with the said Christopher Morley to get back from him his dagger aforesaid; in which affray the same Ingram could not get away from the said Christopher Morley; and so it befell in that affray that the said Ingram, in defence of his life, with the dagger aforesaid of the value of 12d. gave the said Christopher then & there a mortal wound over his right eye of the depth of two inches & of the width of one inch; of which mortal wound the aforesaid Christopher Morley then & there instantly died.”

After hearing the accounts of those present, having viewed Marlowe’s remains and taken measurements of the fatal wound,

and having seen Frizer’s wounds, the jury ruled that Frizer had acted “in the defence and saving of his own life, against the peace of our said lady the Queen, her now crown & dignity” and noted that he had not tried to flee the scene. Danby ruled that Frizer had killed Marlowe in self-defence after Marlowe attacked him because of an argument over a bill. On 28th June 1593, Frizer was pardoned for breaching the peace.

But was Marlowe’s death really a case of self-defence?

Charles Nicholl doesn’t believe so and thinks there is far more to the story, and I must admit to being rather dubious. Nicholl notes that the witnesses called at the inquest were both known liars, a spy who worked for Sir Francis Walsingham and a known swindler. In his book on Marlowe, Frederick Boas wonders if the jury was prejudiced against the colourful Marlowe, knowing that he was alleged to be an atheist and had been recently arrested by order of Elizabeth I’s privy council, or whether they’d been misled by witnesses giving false statements. Was Marlowe really the aggressor, or was he the intended victim? It’s impossible to know now.

Apart from an argument and brawl, there are several other theories regarding Marlowe’s death

Murder because of his alleged homosexuality and jealousy. Either



his death was arranged by Audrey Walsingham, the wife of Marlowe's friend Thomas Walsingham, who was jealous of her husband's close relationship with Marlowe, or Frizer, a servant of Walsingham, who killed Marlowe to protect Walsingham's reputation.

- Murder because of his religious views. Some saw his plays as Catholic propaganda, and he was also accused of atheism.
- Assassination – He was killed to prevent him from naming men close to the Queen, members of her Privy Council members, who were atheists.
- Sir Walter Raleigh, who was also linked to atheism, plotted his death so that he would not be implicated by Marlowe and get into trouble.
- Queen Elizabeth I ordered his assassination because of his atheism
- Whatever the truth of the matter, Marlowe died a violent death, and the life of a gifted

literary figure was cut short. He was laid to rest at St Nicholas's Church, Deptford, on 1st June 1593.

Marlowe's own words in his play *Dr Faustus* seem rather appropriate given the way he lived his life and how it ended:

*"Till swollen with cunning, of a  
self-conceit,  
His waxen wings did mount  
above his reach,  
And, melting, Heavens conspir'd  
his overthrow."*

or:

*"If we say that we have no sin,  
We deceive ourselves, and there is  
no truth in us.  
Why, then, belike we must sin  
And so consequently die.  
Ay, we must die an everlasting  
death.  
What doctrine call you this? Che  
serà, serà?  
What will be, shall be? Divinity,  
adieu!"*

**CLAIRE RIDGWAY**

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# Singing of Murderous Wives

*Methinks the heavens cry vengeance for my fact  
Methinks the world condemns my monstrous act  
Methinks within my conscience tells me true  
That for my deed, hellish fire is my due.*

**The Lamentation of Mr Page's Wife (1591)**

**By Jane Moulder**

Murder sells.... it always has done! There is a popular curiosity about murder; people want to know the gory details, the background story, the events leading up to it, how the deed was committed. Today, newspapers cover murder stories in big, bold headlines, often showing a mugshot of the recently caught suspect on the front cover, accompanied by loving tributes to the victim. This is a deliberate ploy to sell more copies and it works! And nothing creates

more interest than a murder, is a murder committed by a woman. It is the case today and it was also the case in the past.

Newspapers did not exist in Tudor England and people got their news from various sources but in most cases, it was by word of mouth, especially for those living in the provinces and rural communities. The majority of people heard about events, plus a fair share of gossip, from travelling chapmen, traders and others en

route who would bring the news of events and happenings to the places they visited. Another popular vehicle for spreading stories was the production of pamphlets and ballads. The prevalence of these increased as the century progressed due to the expansion of printing thus making the products more accessible and affordable. Ballads became a popular format for transmitting news and not just because a song sounded better than a wordy pamphlet! It has

been estimated that there was a minimum of 600,000 broadside ballads in circulation during the second half of the 16th century and the truer figure might be closer to three or four million. Ballad sheets were cheap to produce and register with the Stationer's Company and cheap to buy – they were ephemera.

Ballads were popular songs which contained an element

of a story, told in simple and easy to understand language, and there was often a recurrent refrain, perfect for getting people to sing along with it. The tunes were simple and easily passed on from one to another, and with many ballads being set to the same melody, helping in the ease of repetition. People would hear the ballad seller perform it, drawn in by a 'come all ye'

or 'hear this', they would buy their copy for half a pence and take it away to sing to others. Thus, stories were disseminated.

At this time, treason laws prevented

free speech and information that was spread via topical ballads was banned. But where the content of ballads or songs verged on the libellous, balladeers would often use a subtext to hide the meaning of the words but those in the know would understand and pick up the meaning. Those not in the know, could find out by asking those that did. Thus, seditious news could be spread and this helped to cement the ballads impact as well as popularity. But as well as political and religious thought, ballads were written specifically to titillate, horrify and intrigue their public. Tales of monsters, disasters and murders all written down and sung about and all guaranteed to be a best-seller.

Pamphlets and ballads describing murders were sold in their thousands and



Inigo Jones's depiction of a ballad seller





A woodcut illustration accompanying two ballads from the early 17th century about two women put to death by fire for murdering their husbands – Anne Wallen in 1616 and Alice Davies in 1628.

were, unsurprisingly, popular with the public. The authors of the ballads were often professional writers, even clergymen were amongst the authors, but their audience was broad, ranging from the educated to the semi-literate and they were equally popular with and bought by both men and women. Sometimes when the story of the murder was recounted in a pamphlet,

where there was more room to discuss the issues concerned, the text could sometimes cover the legal, theological and social implications but more often than not, the murder ballad and pamphlet's appeal was the story of violence, sex and cruelty all wrapped up and designed to deliver shock value.

Whilst ballads and pamphlets had already been a popular format from the

early-mid 1500s, it was from the 1570s onwards that ballads first started recounting the stories of what were to become notorious female killers. The first was Alice Arden and her story is told in 'A View of sundry Examples' (1580) and 'The Adultresses Funerall Day' (1635). Sometimes the murderess became a celebrity because of the way they were depicted, especially

when their story was told in ballad form by a skilled writer, such as Mrs Page in Thomas Deloney's "The Lamentation and the Complaint of Mrs Page", 1591.

The sometimes graphic horror of the stories was usually justified later in the ballad by the introduction of biblical quotations and then prayers and repentance. The killer always repented and asked for their sins to be atoned.

But it is said never let the truth get in the way of a good story! That adage is certainly true for the ballad and pamphlet writers and often the events were never conveyed exactly as they occurred but instead they were narrated with the benefit of hindsight. By the time the stories were published, the offenders had been arrested, tried and, in most cases, confessed before being executed, the story

could therefore be told to justify the outcome. Often the writer put their take on the motive rather than it being the actual facts as presented in the court. Then of course, there was some embellishment of the character – as they had sinned once, then inevitably there would have been other examples of poor behaviour cited. So, whilst the greatest sin was murder, the stories often go to lengths to list all the other, lesser sins that gradually built up to the big one (whether they did or not!). For example in Anne Welles's "The Trueth of the murdering of John Brewen" (1592), Annis Dell's "The Horrible Murther of a young Boy" (1608) amongst others, the authors fictionalised events leading up to the murder with the aim of impugning the woman's character as deeply reprob-

ate and therefore showing that the inevitable execution was more than warranted.

What runs through these pamphlets is an underlying misogyny and only very rarely do the writers express any sympathy for the condemned woman or consider that there were any mitigating factors. Or even challenge the guilty verdict.

Was it not the same for male murderers? Quite simply put – no! Men, it seems, were driven to murder because of a breakdown of rational control or a dereliction of male authority, whereas the roots of a woman's motives were usually driven by unregulated sexuality and rebellion against male domination. They were usually described as devils, beasts and whores – even though it's clear from that they were probably not. Reading into the stories



and then comparing them with the actual court records and other more factual accounts, there is normally some hint that the women were driven to murder due to domestic abuse or harsh treatment.

One thing that could save a woman from execution having been found guilty of murder was to plead clemency on the basis that they were pregnant. Known as ‘pleading their bellies’. Sometimes the judge could simply agree to their release, but more often than not the convicted woman had to be physically examined by juries of up to twelve local women who might know the accused or the circumstances of her life. This process could offer clemency but it was not always granted. For example, a little after our period in 1628, Alice Davies was arrested for the murder of her husband,

Henry, a locksmith, in Westminster. Alice seemingly stabbed Henry with a kitchen knife in a dispute over a shilling and in her subsequent trial, she pleaded the belly. It was recorded that ‘a jury of matrons found her not pregnant’ and she was burnt to death at Smithfield just three days later. Her story was immortalised in two popular ballads, “A Warning for All Desperate Women” and “The Unnatural wife”. In the latter ballad, the voice of Alice is highly contrite and repentant and declares herself unruly and unnatural.

The sentence of burning to death seems extreme, especially considering the fact that the majority of murderers (i.e. men) were hung rather than burned. For other offences, such as theft, murder, and witchcraft, English women were hanged but

burning was the usual mode of inflicting the death penalty on women who charged and convicted of petty treason – a charge normally metered out for traitors against the state. If a woman killed her husband, the charge was always petty treason rather than murder. To understand why this was the case, it is necessary to know how the position of women were viewed legally. During this period, on marrying, wives in effect became one with their husbands and had no legal standing or status on their own. They, in effect, became the property of their husbands and the term an ‘unnatural wife’ refers to this breaking of the law between the two, and it was not a comment on or description of her behaviour. It is for this reason that a woman murdering her husband was ac-

A  
WARNING  
for Faire Women.

Containing,  
*The most tragicall and lamentable murder*  
of Master George Sanders of London  
Marchant, nigh Shooters hill,

Consented vnto  
By his owne wife, acted by M. Browne, Mistris  
Drewry and Trusty Roger agents therein  
with their severall ends.

As it hath beene lately diuerse times acted by the right  
Honorable, the Lord Chamberlaine  
his Seruantes.



Printed at London by Iohn Iamies for William Aspley

1599.

1154  
The frontispiece of the play *A Warning for Faire Women* which was based on the account of the murder of George Saunders/Sanders whose murder was aided by his wife, Anne. British Library.



cused of the more serious, petty treason, rather than simply murder. It did not work the other way round as a husband who killed his wife would be charged with capital murder. This difference dates back to Edward III's reign and in 1352 it was declared that where a servant killed his master, or a wife their husband, this was a treasonable offence and thus the more severe punishment of burning to death was imposed. Lucy Cole, for example, who poisoned her master, Anthony Trott in November, 1605, was acquitted on the charge of petty treason, which would have resulted in burning, but instead convicted of murder and sentenced to be hanged. Strangulation may sometimes have preceded the actual burning, but was not (if ballads and

pamphlets can be trusted) the rule.

The steps involved in burning a woman to death are graphically described in a pamphlet printed by Henry Gosson in 1608, titled, 'The Araignment iff burning of Margaret Ferne-seede, for the Murther of her late Husband Anthony Ferne-seede, found deade in Peckham Field neere Lambeth, hauing once before attempted to poyson him with broth, being executed in S. Georges-field the last of Februarie'. Mrs Ferneseed, who vehemently denied her guilt and against whom the evidence now appears very dubious, was burned on Monday, 28th February. "She was stripped of her ordinary wearing apparel, and upon her own smock put a kirtle of canvas pitched clean through, over which she did wear a white sheet, and so was by the keeper delivered

to the Shreue, on each hand a woman leading her, and the Preacher going before her. Being come to the place of execution, both before and after her fastening to the Stake, with godly exhortations he admonished her that now in that minute she would confess that fact for which she was now ready to suffer, which she denying, the reeds were planted about, unto which fire being given she was presently dead."

The case that gained the most notoriety and caused the greatest sensation at the end of the 16th century was that of the killing of the wealthy London merchant, George Saunders (or Sanders as he is referred to in the ballad). The case produced two lurid pamphlets, two ballads (only one survives) and a melodramatic play, 'A Warning for Fair



Women'. The case was also written about by the chroniclers and observers, Raphael Holinshed and John Stow.

The facts of the case are quite convoluted but I will try and put them clearly! In March, 1573 George Sanders, the merchant was murdered by George Browne because he had fallen in love with Sanders' wife and intended to marry her. Browne also murdered the servant of one of Sanders' business associates, John Bean, who was with him at the time of the crime. Browne was assisted in his plot to murder Sanders by Anne Drurie, a widow, and one Roger Clement, Drurie's servant. Mrs Drurie encouraged Anne Sanders to engage in a sexual relationship with Browne in exchange for money that Browne was paying her. Roger followed Sanders and sought

the right time and place in which Browne could murder him and escape unseen. Roger discovered that Sanders would be staying with a business associate, Mr Barns, at his home in Woolwich. Drurie related this vital information in a letter to Browne a day before the murder was committed. Roger accompanied Browne and watched out for any possible witnesses to the murder. Anne Sanders was an accomplice in the plot to murder her husband as she not only knew of Browne's intent to murder her husband but also did nothing to prevent the murder. She also encouraged Browne's advances towards her and concealed Browne's identity as the murderer once the crimes were committed. George Browne murdered George Sanders and

wounded John Bean so badly that he died of his wounds a few days later. After the murder, Browne fled to Rochester and stayed with a butcher who shared the same surname (how confusing!). Browne was apprehended there and taken back to Woolwich by the Mayor of Rochester and Master James: a key witness. Once identified as the murderer, Browne was tried at Westminster where he confessed to committing double murder and named Anne Drurie and Roger Clement as his accomplices. However, Browne professed Anne's innocence and asserted that she knew nothing of the plot to murder her husband. Browne was found guilty and was executed on Monday the 20th April at Smithfield. It was claimed that Anne Sanders had been recently given birth

before she was also arrested, tried and condemned to death on the 6th May. Anne Sanders, Drurie and Roger all confessed to being Browne's accomplices and were executed on Wednesday the 13th May at Smithfield. The final twist was the George Mell, the spiritual advisor to condemned prisoners in Newgate Prison,

pleaded clemency for Anne. It seems that Mell had fallen in love with Anne Sanders and wanted to marry her and so sought her release. He failed and it resulted in his public humiliation as he was placed in the pillory.

In the ballad, Anne makes her own conventional lamentation at the end of the

story, and confesses to the 'blodie facte' and adds the obligatory pathos with reference to her 'babes and children deare'. She attributes her state and her crime to the evil influence of Drurie. She confesses to the crime and speaks to Satan, her co-conspirators and warns 'tender mothers', 'honest wives' and 'finest

### Anne VVallens Lamentation,

For the Murthering of her husband *John Wallen* a Turner in Cow-lane neere Smithfield; done by his owne wife, on Saturday the 22 of Iune. 1616. who was burnt in Smithfield the first of Iuly following. To the tune of *Fortune my foe*.



**G**reat God that first of things that here are done  
Winding thy Court with the redoubt of  
There her command that hath to her offered,  
Pleasing my fact before my life is ended.

Oh on the same into all women kind,  
Do harbour such a thought within my mind:  
That now hath made me to the world a foe,  
And makes me curse the time that I was boyne.

O death to God my mothers happy tombe,  
Before my birth has bene my happy tombe:  
Do would to God when first I did take breath,  
That I had suffered my painfull death.

If ever dyed a true repentant soule,  
Then I am she, whose name are blacke and foule:  
Then take downe me to your husbands burye,  
And beare this lesson to all your kinde.

Let not your tongue as mine was true reprove my name,  
Which in your rage your bloodie heart full faine:  
It meanes that is to be your husbands praye,  
Whose wretchedly he her tooke to praye.

Oh would that I had thought of this before,  
Which now to think on makes my heart full of sorrow:  
Then should I not have bene this bad soule,  
The which hath stained my innocent face.

Was not to be that thou dost thus me grieve,  
I am now willing far to see thee live:  
But tis for black which is content to the white,  
And to the boyne time, I am now to live.

My dearest husband I I would to death,  
And now the cause is lost his sweetest breath:  
But yet I trust in God in heart both dead,  
And none without Gods mercy likes to hell.

In London nere to Smithfield do I dwell,  
And among my neighbours as I was before:  
All that the world brought me this sorrowful night,  
That all their lives are now to be in hell.

John Wallen was my loving husbands name,  
Which long hath bene in London in good fame:  
His trade a Turner, as was his name full well,  
His name An Wallen, full well to tell.

### Anne wallens Lamentation,

Or the second part of the murther of one *John Wallen* a Turner in Cow-lane neere Smithfield; done by his owne wife, on Saturday the 22 of Iune 1616. who was burnt in Smithfield the first of Iuly following. To the tune of *Fortune my foe*.



**M**y husband having bene about the tolme,  
And coming home, he on his bed lay downe:  
To rest himselfe, which heere I did see,  
I fell to rayling most outrageously.

I said him blasphe, and curse, and all to naught,  
Repeating the worst language might be thought:  
When drunken blasphe I said, and earnest set,  
Thy minde to set on nothing but the pet.

Shoold heart he said I praye that hold thy tongue,  
And of thou dost not, I shall see thee to my song:  
At which, straight way I grew in my rage,  
And on his body came my tongue a throng.

He then arose and stroke me on the eare,  
I was at him begin to curse and sweare:  
Then presently one of his tales I got,  
And on his body came my tongue a throng.

Among his strokes I this Christlike stroke,  
Where as his Candle came out, so which I got,  
Which he then saw, I praye him to be,  
Then hee lay downe, for then hee had no more.

When this was done the neighbours they ran in,  
And to his bed they straight conveyed him:  
Where he was dyed and hee till now next day,  
Yet he forgave me and so; for his praye.

So now I have his blood from my body,  
That now I have the right way they are led to:  
Where I will be with the world to come,  
Which was before I there had bene.

Whether in hell, forgive me I you praye,  
For I have made your church to be my praye:  
Even all you know; my selfe made horrible,  
My life and all, cause I was to be praye.

He was his tongue to say in his life,  
That hee too much was to say to his wife:  
Then now hee is dead, I praye him to be,  
Whose great he may that such a one may be.

My judgement then it was upon my name,  
Because my bloodie husband I was to name:  
In burning flames of fire I should be,  
Because my bloodie husband I was to be.

FINIS.

To Please

Printed for *Henry Giffes*, and are to be sold  
at his shop on London bridge.



London Dames' to hear and learn from her sad story. The ballad frames her not as a sinner but as a tragic victim.

The different versions of this real life murder appear in various guises over the years with some of the characters missing and others telling a slightly different version of events. In one, Mell doesn't feature at all and in another he bribes Drurie to take full blame to release Anne. It was a popular story and one can see why. The story hit the heights though with the publication of the play *A*

*Warning for Fair Women*, in 1599. The play was performed by Shakespeare's company, the Chamberlain's Men.

It seems that women murdering their husbands was definitely worth singing about as when research into ballads began in the early 20th century, the impression the early collectors got was the 16th century was a dangerous time to be a husband! However, despite the prevalence of ballads with female killers as their subjects, a study of prison and legal records of the

period shows that there wasn't necessarily an increase in violent crimes or an increase of women murdering their husbands. In Essex, for example, of the 131 murder cases brought to trial, only three were committed by women and in each case, the women were acquitted. It is clear that there was far more domestic violence perpetrated by men against women than the other way round. It seems that in that fact, nothing much has changed in 500 years.

**JANE MOULDER**

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# TWO MURDERS IN TUDOR IRELAND

By Gareth Russell

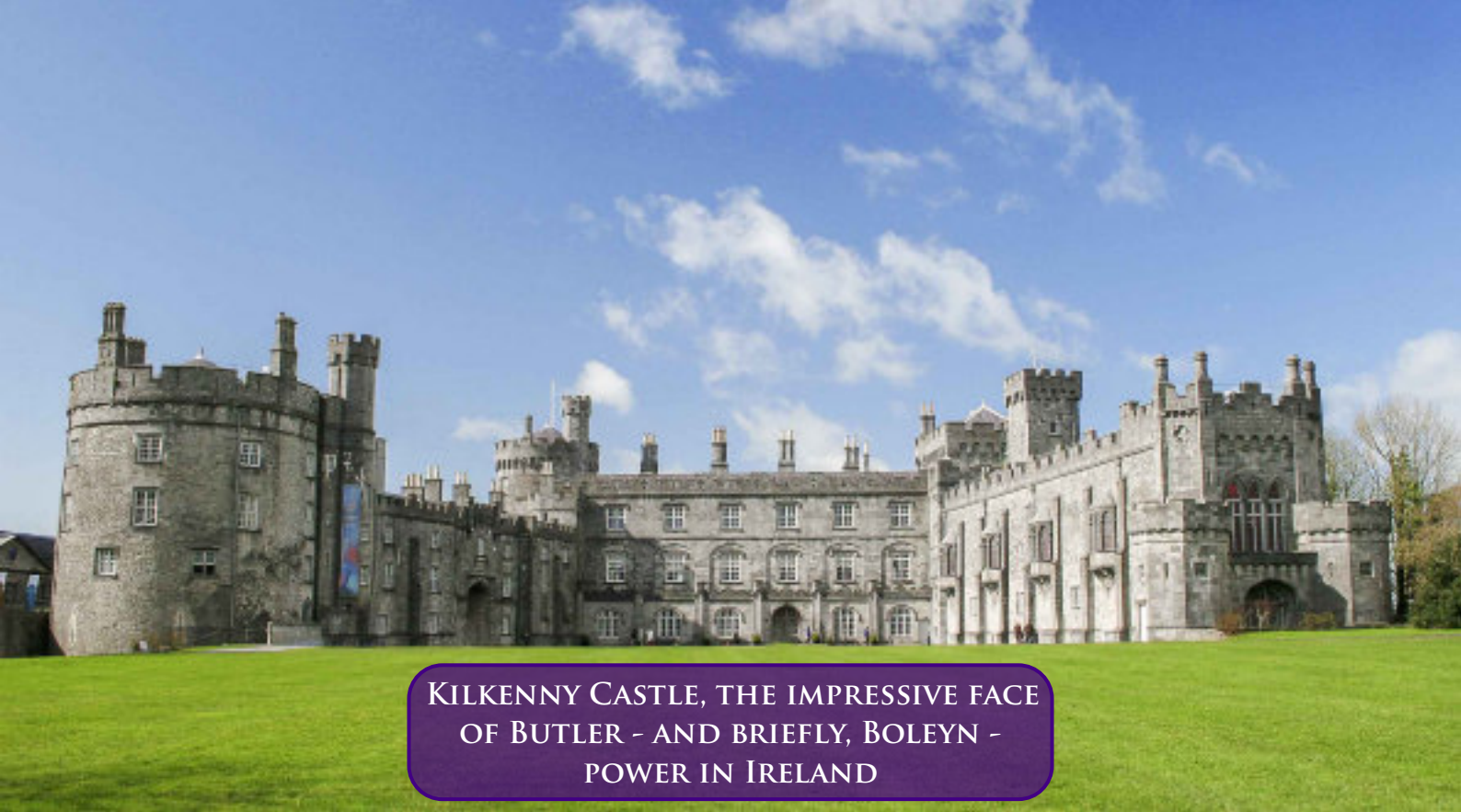
In the pantheon of the Irish Tudor-era nobility, few families were greater than the House of Butler. Indeed, they were arguably the greatest when it came to land held (200,000 acres in the eastern province of Leinster) and influence wielded, for at least two centuries. The head of the family was traditionally the hereditary Earl of Ormond, a title which briefly fell to Henry VIII's father-in-law Thomas Boleyn in the 1520s and 1530s after the death of his grandfather, the previous Earl, whose daughter and co-heiress Margaret was Thomas Boleyn's mother. After the execution of the next heir, George Boleyn, in 1536, and then his father's death three years later, the title passed to a cousin, James Butler. It is this James whose portrait is often mistaken for Thomas Boleyn's, since it was labelled as the Earl of Ormond. As a young man, there had been talk of marrying James to his cousin Anne Boleyn, although of course both of them had ended-up marrying other people. In Anne's case, the King, and in James's, a fellow Irish aristocrat, Lady Jean FitzGerald, the Earl of Desmond's daughter.

James Butler was fluent in Irish and English, strong, handsome, intelligent, and confident. Tudor

Ireland was as fraught with aristocratic tensions as Tudor England, although perhaps even more stressfully so given Henry VIII's increasingly erratic errors in judgement there, first in the 1520s and then in the 1540s. As Earl of Ormond, James weathered feuds with other Irish noble families and rival landowning dynasties, like the Fitzpatricks, in neighbouring counties like Laois and Offaly, the boundaries of which lay next to the Butlers' vast estates. Arguably, however, the person who caused James Butler more difficulty was Henry VIII's Lord Deputy in Dublin, Sir Anthony St. Leger.

It's unfair to paint Anthony St. Leger as a ham-fisted enforcer of a subpar Irish policy from Henry VIII. In fact, contemporary documents indicate that St. Leger attempted to soften Henry VIII's more divisive policies in Ireland. For instance, we know that it was St. Leger who unsuccessfully urged Henry VIII to try to win the support of sceptical members of the Irish nobility through the politics of consensus, rather than of coercion. In this conciliatory mood, St. Leger's time as his king's Lord Deputy in Dublin saw him win support from several important aristocratic families, principally the





KILKENNY CASTLE, THE IMPRESSIVE FACE  
OF BUTLER - AND BRIEFLY, BOLEYN -  
POWER IN IRELAND

aforementioned Fitzpatricks and their neighbours, the O'Briens. However, when conciliation failed, St. Leger was prepared to be brutal, which has led to the suspicion that he was quite prepared to murder opponents in secret, rather than risk civil disobedience from their supporters if he moved against them publicly.

We know that, given the extent of their wealth and the antiquity of their lineage, the Butlers were a rival source of authority and loyalty in Leinster and, while St. Leger had won over old, respected, but politically minor families like the O'Briens and the Fitzpatricks, he continued to struggle with getting the mighty Butlers to fall in line. Earl James in particular was a rival for St. Leger's influence in Leinster and there were rumours that when the Earl of Ormond was appointed to lead a military squadron sent to the southernmost Irish province - Munster - that St. Leger had done

that deliberately to put the Earl's life in danger, in the hope he would be killed in battle. This plan failed and the Earl of Ormond returned victorious, in an even stronger position than before the military expedition to Munster. As the Earl's rivalry with St. Leger escalated, the Earl went to London with a large entourage, perhaps hoping to ask Henry VIII to recall St. Leger to England. Before he had a chance to do so, the Earl of Ormond fell ill at a dinner and died. One of his retinue showed the same symptoms leading to the same painful death, while sixteen guests round the table fell terribly ill for days after, but eventually recovered. No investigation was ever ordered, despite the fact that James Butler had been among the highest-ranking nobles anywhere in the British Isles and his death occurred in extremely dubious circumstances. The suspicion that Sir Anthony St. Leger



Ormond



JAMES BUTLER,  
9TH EARL OF ORMOND



had paid someone to poison the Earl of Ormond's food was current at the time and, while it likely will never be proved, it understandably still has some support among modern scholars.

There was mystery but no revenge for Lord Ormond's death; there was no mystery and much revenge at play in another murder caused by Tudor-era political tensions in the kingdom of Ireland. By then, Ireland's monarch was Elizabeth I, crowned as such in London at the same time she was crowned England's queen in January 1559. While the Butlers were the greatest presence in Ireland's east, and south, in the northern province of Ulster, the greatest and oldest noble family was House O'Neill, who, by the Tudor era, had been the dominant aristocratic force in Ulster for an incredible one thousand years. ("O'" in Irish aristocratic heritage referred to an abbreviation of "of," so we don't tend to write it as House of O'Neill.)

The power of the O'Neill dynasty was concentrated mostly in the west of Ulster. If one is looking on a modern map, their estates lay in what is today western Northern Ireland and in the north-western counties of the Republic of Ireland. Their ancestral heartlands were in County Tyrone, but they had such influence throughout Ulster that some members of their family were even referred to as the Princes of Ulster. Their influence often outstripped that of the monarchy, by quite a considerable extent. Even under Elizabeth I - after her grandfather,

father, and sister's policies of political centralisation in Ireland - many in the north still regarded Séan O'Neill as their rightful Prince of Ulster.

No great aristocratic dynasty is without certain rivals, and, in the O'Neills' case, it lay elsewhere in the north - to the east, along the eastern seaboard and the rugged northern coast, where much of its culture was often as much a product of Scotland as it was of Ireland. In ancient times, the north-east of Ireland had been part of a kingdom called Dalriada, which also had land on what is now western Scotland. So, for as long as the O'Neills had held power in the north-west, the ties between the north-east and Scotland had been strong, even after the kingdom of Dalriada had faded from politics into history.

The O'Neills had not enjoyed a good relationship with Dalraida, in fact, it had been through a battle against Dalriada that House O'Neill had first established their greatness in the 6th century, meaning that the feud between the two regions was a thousand years old by the time of Elizabeth I and Séan O'Neill. By then, the strongest noble house in the north-east was the Clan MacDonnell. Séan O'Neill, Prince of Ulster, loathed them. He had even gone to London to ask for Queen Elizabeth's support for the O'Neills in Ulster at the expense of the MacDonnells, who he feared were plotting to increase their power further than it had been for centuries and to do so at the O'Neills' expense. As well as





A LATER IMAGINING OF SÉAN O'NEILL'S  
AUDIENCE WITH ELIZABETH I

being a gifted negotiator and effectively brutal soldier, Séan O'Neill was a successful dynast, something which mattered greatly in sixteenth-century politics. He was the father of eleven children - a daughter, Rose, and her ten brothers, Séan, Henry, Conn, Turlough, Hugh, Niall, Art, Brian, Edmund, and Cormac. It should be understood that Séan did not resent the MacDonnells because of their Scottish heritage, nor for their continued ties to their clan relatives in Scotland. Married three times, Séan's first wife was Catherine MacDonald, daughter of Séamus MacDonald, Lord of the Isles and Lord of Dunnyveg; like the MacDonnells, the lordship of Dunnyveg was Scotch-Irish. His



SÉAN O'NEILL, PRINCE OF  
ULSTER'S, CREST

third wife was a Scottish noblewoman, Katherine Campbell, Dowager Countess of Argyll, and a daughter of Hector the Great, Chief



*Anna Bullen*



THE "ONE WHO GOT AWAY": ANNE  
BOLEYN, A BUTLER ON HER  
GRANDMOTHER'S SIDE





THE CREST OF THE  
MACDONNELLS OF ANTRIM





### THE RUINS OF CARRA CASTLE TODAY

of the Scottish clan MacLean. It was not, as was later claimed, a tension between ‘Gaelic Ireland’ and ‘Scotch-Ireland’; those were quarrels for later centuries projected backwards to the sixteenth. It was an age-old quarrel between two mighty families and Séan saw the MacDonnells of the north-east as his natural political rivals in Ulster.

Tensions boiled over into civil unrest and Séan led the O’Neill forces to victory against the armies of the MacDonnells the Battle of Glentaisie in 1565. However, Séan suffered a defeat at the next battle, the Battle of Farsetmore, a humiliation augmented by the fact that it was deep in O’Neill territory in the north-west. Séan thus went to the

MacDonnells to negotiate, in talks that were held at the MacDonnells’ castle at Cashendun, a town on the very farthest north-eastern coastline. Called Carra Castle, it is now a ruin, but it was the site of intense negotiations and even more intense feasting for several days after Séan O’Neill, joined by a few elite soldiers who formed his bodyguard, arrived there in the summer of 1567.

As a result of one particular feast, Séan and his men were grappling with a brutally strong hangover when, the morning after, the Prince realised the whole thing might have been a trap. An altercation took place at Carra Castle, in which Séan, Prince of Ulster, and his men, were murdered. The MacDonnells claimed

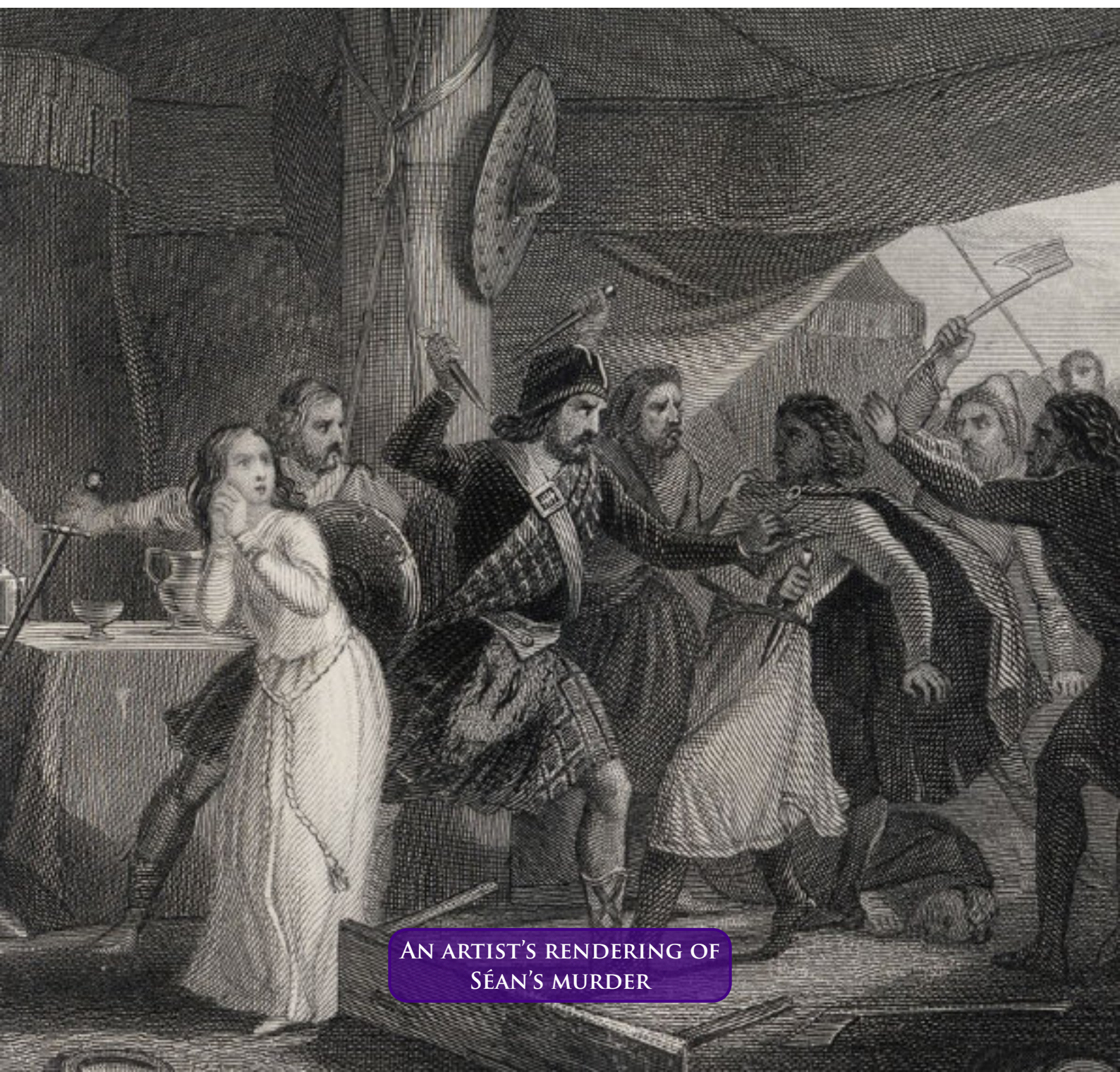


later it was a drunken brawl, gone awry with malice in the moment but no premeditation. However, looked at objectively, it seems more likely that the MacDonnells and their men always planned to attack the Prince and stabbed him, to which a hungover Séan was so tired that his usual skills were muted and he was unable to offer an adequate defence. After his death, the MacDonnells' men hacked Séan's head from his

shoulders to send to their allies as a trophy, which further undercuts their later claims that it was all a tragic accident.

These two aristocratic deaths - one certainly a murder, the other possibly - give us a window not just into the overlooked politics of sixteenth-century Ireland, but the risks and stakes played for that could lead to murder.

**GARETH RUSSELL**



AN ARTIST'S RENDERING OF  
SÉAN'S MURDER



# THE TUDOR SOCIETY



## *Members' Bulletin*

Earlier this month we had some problems with our internet connection – all data didn't work on phones or computers for a couple of hours. As you can imagine this instantly stopped us working on most of our day-to-day activities. It's amazing how much modern life revolves around the internet – you want to know something or share something so you go online, but of course we couldn't! These things always get me thinking about how life was in the Tudor period. Just like today, communication and information were vital for entertainment and even for survival – it just went a little bit slower than today! I found myself thinking about the thousands of letters criss-crossing England and the Continent at the time. Of course, only the rich and powerful really had any need to write to people in other countries, but the fact that their letters had to be carried by horse and ship and through so many people over hundreds or thousands of miles is simply incredible to consider. In some ways, though, we are really blessed today that letter writing was the principal mode of long distance communication. Letters were precious even back then, many were treasured and kept safely. That means that we can see and interpret them today. The Paston Letters, the Lisle Letters, Henry VIII's love letters to Anne Boleyn and so many more gems... how lucky we are! I don't expect that people 500 years from now will even be able to read our tweets and facebook status updates, even if they wanted to. The Tudors truly blessed us with their writing.

Let's hope that at least one copy of Tudor Life magazine gets passed down through generations and generations and becomes a useful snapshot of our understanding of a time much before our own. It could happen!

**TIM RIDGWAY**



QUEEN CATHARINE PARR.

*from a fine Miniature by Holbein. at*

*Strawberry Hill.*

QUEEN CATHERINE PARR, HENRY VIII'S  
LAST WIFE. STIPPLE PRINT AFTER THE  
MINIATURE BY H. HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER,  
6 APRIL 1799. CREDIT: WELLCOME  
COLLECTION. PUBLIC DOMAIN MARK



# Threads of Burning Gold

by Elizabeth Jane Timms

Tudor hair is a fascinating new angle for study. It is one of countless human examples of how the King or Queen had to navigate the eternal royal divide between the private and the public, the domestic and the dynastic, because of the position that they occupied. Brushing or combing our own hair allows us to appreciate this intimate ritual purely for ourselves. Whilst the arranging of royal hair was also part of the personal toilette, it also became a miniature act of state because of whose hair it was, with the dressing of the King or Queen in their respective apartments. All this became formal practice in the morning and evening ceremonies of the Lever and Coucher, adopted in Stuart England from the court of Versailles, where the French King's Bedchamber was also called 'the room in which the King dresses'. This clearly shows how court ritual in fact made everything, to a varying degree, public: even so-called 'privacy' had to involve a great deal of people and in reality, rarely existed: the security surrounding the King's person and rank meant that he had to be attended.

**H**AIR USUALLY FEATURES somewhere in the stories of royal individuals and is described for example, at key events such as weddings, coronations, deaths and even beyond: locks of hair came to outlive their owners and remarkably, a number of rare Tudor examples survived. Hair was often included in memorial jewellery and the Victorians in particular, were romantically fascinated by the Tudors, so it is perhaps unsurprising that examples of their preserved hair were exhibited during that era.

Hair needed dressing and the job of doing this was given to the royal barber, whose position made it natural for him to enjoy a close and trusted access to the monarch. When hair naturally greyed, it came to be replaced by false tresses; these were

expensive, yet practical: in the seventeenth century, the diarist Samuel Pepys found it far easier to wear the fashionable periwig and keep his own hair short underneath; his diary for 1665 reveals his anxiety to wear a wig which he had bought in a part of London already afflicted with the Great Plague.

Regal hair had also, like the individual, to conform to the rigorous demands of ceremony and lead the changing fashion style of the period, the Tudor English gable hood for example, differed markedly from its French counterpart. Hair could make immediate statements of its own and carry the weight of huge symbolic meaning; how it was worn could also reflect important circumstances in a royal individual's life (or death). Tudor hair was no

exception.

Tudor hair is red in the historical imagination. We would probably be correct in assuming that this finds its origin in the maternal ancestry of Henry VIII; the figure of his mother, Elizabeth of York can be seen with her long golden hair in the Royal Window in the northwest transept of Canterbury Cathedral, kneeling in prayer with the other four daughters of Edward IV. And Queen Elizabeth Woodville's high hairline was plucked in keeping with the fashion of the period. Long gold hair can also be seen flowing from the figures of two of Elizabeth of York's daughters, in the Flemish painting of the Family of Henry VII with St George and the Dragon, in the Royal Collection and now hanging in the so-called Haunted Gallery, at Hampton Court Palace. (1) A possibly sixteenth-century portrait of Queen Elizabeth of York by the British School shows a hint of red hair in a centre-parting, just visible beneath her gable hood; it is likely that her son, Prince Henry's hair was of a similar, rich auburn.

The young Henry VIII's handsomeness astonished contemporary Europe and even allowing for diplomatic flattery, it is clear that what the ambassadors reported from England was probably the truth because all the sources agree, as do the portraits. The latter could of course be manipulated in the politicising of the royal image but the King's looks are nonetheless striking, even in pictures that are not necessarily dynastic. Henry's beard was red-gold. The fine portrait of the King in his forties by Joos van Cleve in the Royal Collection confirms the fact that here was a monarch who wore on his head, his own version of cloth of gold. In 1515, the Venetian

Ambassador Giustinian thought the King 'much handsomer than

any sovereign in Christendom'.

He would sum up his opinion in a yet more memorable phrase: 'Nature could not have done more for him'. (2)

Never has it been more important to superimpose the young Henry VIII onto his later image, to appreciate the awe in which his physical magnificence was held in his early reign; the disturbing engraving of the King towards the end of his life by Cornelius Matsuy shows a beard jutting out beneath the square chin, a sad relic of that same beard which Giustinian had once called 'of a bright gold colour.' (3) The Venetian Ambassador spoke of that same King whose joyful accession was thought to herald in a New World: or as George Cavendish put it writing later, 'a golden world'. (Henry's portrait in around 1509 shows that at the time of his accession, he had as yet, no beard).

According to Giustinian, Henry had grown a beard himself, 'on hearing that Francis I. wore a beard'. Catherine of Aragon seems to have disliked Henry's choice of no longer wanting to go cleanshaven and Henry re-grew his beard again for the magnificent occasion of the Field of Cloth of Gold, to meet his brother sovereign, the bearded Francis I of France, a personal illustration of the dual rivalry at play beneath the golden surface. According to a letter from Thomas Boleyn in late 1519 to Wolsey, there had been talk about how the King had 'put off his beard' and that 'the King's grace hath worn long his beard' and the Queen [Catherine] 'desired him to put it off for her sake'. Boleyn added that the King 'promised to wear his beard until the meeting' [Field of the Cloth of Gold]. (4) Perhaps significantly, Henry coiffure was combed in the French style and movingly, the red-gold hair of Henry proved to





BARBER SURGEONS COMPANY

ACHIEVEMENT OF ARMS OF THE LONDON  
BARBER SURGEONS COMPANY. COLOURED  
PENCIL DRAWING. CREDIT: WELLCOME  
COLLECTION. PUBLIC DOMAIN MARK

be no artistic legend, for when the King's skull was later examined in 1813, strands of his hair were still of this colour. (5)

As might be expected for someone in the Royal Household with such an important position, the name of the King's barber is recorded. His name is listed in the original sources as Master John Penne (biographies have rendered this as Penny) and he was a member of the Privy Chamber. (6) A fictional scene of what could be Master Penne at his morning work can be seen in the 1933 British film directed by Alexander Korda, *The Private Life of Henry VIII*; the royal barber chatters away to the King much as would any present-day hairdresser, unthinkably repeating to him the gossip of the Barber's Guild on a possible re-marriage. The historical Penne was an extremely important feature as part of Henry's personal regime, arriving each morning to trim him with his instruments; these included combs and a cloth for wiping.

According to the historian Neville Williams, Penne's own personal hygiene had to be most strictly observed because of the close physical proximity which he had to Henry. The King's hair had to be combed before bed, before his velvet 'nightbonnet' was placed on his head. (7) Interestingly after the mention of a barber's instruments, an item identified by Williams as Henry's own pair of scissors survived. Bearing the Royal Arms of England with a star at their join and looped metal handles, they were recorded in the collections of the British Museum in 1971. The present author has been unable to confirm their current location or any further details as to their possible royal ownership; an example reference in the 1547 Whitehall inventory lists a pair of sisorres [scissors]

and a pen knife as being inside one of the writing-boxes on the desks of the King's Privy Chamber at Greenwich Palace. (8)

Catherine of Aragon's hair was a darker shade of auburn than Henry's own and described in Hall's *Chronicle* as being 'of a very great length, beautiful and goodly to behold'. The red-blond hair of what is almost certainly a young Princess Catherine of Aragon in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum portrait by Michael Sittow, shows us the lovely impression which would have greeted a critical Henry VII when her Spanish veil was lifted at that first meeting at Dogmersfield. Significantly for Catherine's marital history, she wed the young Henry VIII with her beautiful long hair worn loose, a style permitted only for queens or unmarried women; indeed, it has been suggested that this may have served to emphasise her (still-intact) virginity, the point on which so much of her later life hung. (9) Her hair is of a deeper red in the portrait considered to show her as a Spanish Infanta by Juan de Flandes in the Thyssen-Bornemisze collection in Madrid; it confirms the darker colour we also see later in the miniature of her attributed to Lucas Horenbout in the National Portrait Gallery. For the occasion of her coronation - as might befit a queen who was permitted this singular style - Catherine's hair was recorded as 'hanging down her back'. (10) Much later, we find Catherine combing her hair herself at Kimbolton: she 'combed and tied her hair and dressed her head' as Chapuys wrote emotionally to Charles V, commenting that she did so 'without any help'. (11) It was as if her hair had become a defiant symbol of that virginity she had so vehemently protested throughout the whole Great Matter. And we can



imagine the physical effort it must have cost the dying Catherine to dress her own hair, because she did it despite her weakness.

Anne Boleyn's hair also reflected her turbulent life. Her hair was long and lovely - dark in symbolic contrast to Catherine of Aragon and that at a time when the outer appearance was held to be a key to the inner character, just as Jane Seymour was blonde and 'fair' and Anne's exact 'opposite'. The sensual appeal of Anne's looks, unconventional for the period, were an asset which startled and shocked, much like her bold personality. Her dark hair was thick and beautiful and like Catherine of Aragon, it 'hung down' her back during the pageantry prior to her own coronation; Cranmer wrote memorably that Anne '[sat] in her hair'. Historically, coronations are often linked with royal pregnancy or birth and we know of course, that Anne was pregnant at the time. Later, Anne's thick hair took its own part in her execution on the morning of 19 May 1536: for it too, had to be prepared. Her marriage to Henry had been declared null and void by Cranmer two days previously, so ironically, Anne's lost queenly status was a regaining of that long hair also associated with unmarried women. Her lustrous tresses were pinned up to leave her neck free, fastened under a hood and surmounted by a coif of white linen. In 1890, a surviving gilt toilet set was recorded as having by tradition, belonged to Anne Boleyn: the set included four combs and a brush-handle. (12)

Jane Seymour's blonde hair certainly underlined her 'fairness', exemplifying the ideal of the period, for fair hair and a pale complexion. Henry's marital game of opposites clearly showed that here was a young woman who was no Anne

Boleyn. Jane's hairline is a mere shadow in the Kunsthistorisches portrait, a fact made more plain by the heavy English hood which she wears and which she insisted on as court dress for her ladies. The 'French' hood was - tellingly - associated with Anne Boleyn, yet it was less severe and allowed the hairline to be seen. Jane's insistence on the wearing of the English hood allows us to have an insight into her own interpretation of her motto: 'Bound to obey and serve': her meekness allowed for no allure.

Anne of Cleves wore headdresses from her native Germany which obscured her hair entirely, yet she too was described at her wedding (like Anne Boleyn at her coronation) as 'being in her hair', (13) a phrase which means that her hair was worn loose (with all that this symbolised). The Hans Holbein the Younger portrait considered by some to show Katherine Howard records hair of a rich, brown colour, falling beneath her fashionable hood: her appearance is in direct contrast to the stiff hoods of Catherine of Aragon and Jane Seymour and she resembles far more Henry's second queen, Anne Boleyn, who was after all, her own cousin.

Henry VIII's younger sister, Princess Mary Tudor, Queen of France and later, Duchess of Suffolk had a delightful appearance and her beauty was much admired by her contemporaries. As we have seen, the Tudor age favoured above all, fairness in colouring, not least because it still believed the medieval idea of the outer appearance giving clue to the inner character. And Mary's blonde hair was extremely beautiful: it emerges in all its loveliness in the anonymous wedding portrait of her and her husband Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Remarkably, several examples of Mary's hair survived. Currently, a single lock of hair of



KING HENRY VII. PRESENTING THE CHARTER OF INCORPORATION



TO THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF BARBER-SURGEOONS

FROM THE LARGE TONNEL AT TOWER, OF THE COLOURED BY ENRIQUE III OF BURGUNDY, ORIGINAL DESIGN

**KING HENRY VIII GRANTING A ROYAL CHARTER TO THE BARBER-SURGEOONS COMPANY. WOOD ENGRAVING BY H. D. LINTON AFTER H. HOLBEIN. CREDIT: WELLCOME COLLECTION. PUBLIC DOMAIN MARK.**

Princess  
Mary

Tudor is held in the collections of the Moyse Hall Museum in Bury St Edmunds. (14)

The present author discovered that this was not the only recorded relic of Mary's hair, although the Moyse Hall Museum sample is the better known. A lock of her hair was exhibited in 1890, with a fascinating provenance. According to the exhibition catalogue, the hair was loaned from the very individual who cut it – a named Alderman of Bury. Mary Tudor was originally buried in the Abbey of St Edmund in 1533, but her coffin was transferred to St Mary's Church, Bury St Edmunds five years later, where her tomb can still be seen on the north side of the altar. Mary's tomb was opened in 1784 and her hair was found to be in a remarkable state of preservation, still beautiful and

nearly two  
feet long. A

sample of her hair was also owned by the Dowager Duchess of Portland, who apparently was given it by Sir John Cullum, an eyewitness in 1784; this lock of hair was subsequently owned by the Marquess of Chandos and sold in 1848, as part of the collections of the Duke of Buckingham. Moyse Hall Museum could not confirm the provenance of its lock of hair of Mary Tudor, though it is possible that it may have been one of the two examples mentioned above.

According to the Dictionary of National Biography, Horace Walpole – with his love of curios – also owned a lock of Mary Tudor's hair. (15) The present author then referred to the catalogue of the Strawberry Hill sale of 1842, in which the Walpole collection was auctioned and



found it was indeed listed in the catalogue: under the heading, 'Relics of singular interest'. It read: 'The hair of Mary Tudor, Queen of France, cut from her head, Sept. 6, 1784, when her tomb at St Edmundsbury was opened. A present from Miss Fanquier'. The hair of Mary Tudor was listed beneath no other than a lock of hair of her maternal grandfather, Edward IV: apparently cut when the Yorkist King's tomb was discovered at St George's Chapel, Windsor in 1789. (16)

The hair of the future Elizabeth I was red-gold: in this as in all things, her father's daughter. The exact shade of (original) red is well captured in the circa 1546 portrait of an around thirteen-year-old Elizabeth attributed to William Scrots, in the Royal Collection and hanging in the Queen's Drawing Room at Windsor Castle. In all likelihood, the picture was painted for Henry VIII and it is listed in the Whitehall Palace inventory of 1547.

The twenty-five-year-old Elizabeth's hair can be seen flowing long in the picture known as her 'Coronation Portrait', in fact a copy from around 1600 of an original now lost, and today to be found in the National Portrait Gallery. It testifies to the fact that in her gorgeous coronation robes and cloth of gold, her own hair was literally also, her crowning glory. As queen, Elizabeth sometimes wore her hair loose; symbolically, we might see this as emphasising either the Virgin's Queen's unmarried state, or the fact that since her Coronation, Elizabeth was wedded to England and wore the Coronation Ring. Later of course, Elizabeth wore wigs.

Shakespeare first uses the word 'periwig' in Act IV, Scene IV of the 'The Two Gentlemen of Verona', probably written between 1589 and 1593. Fittingly, this play was

written as the Elizabethan era was gradually drawing to its end and by now, 'Gloriana' certainly depended on her wigs.

Elizabeth I wears her staple auburn wig in the sardonyx cameo bust of her within the so-called 'Essex Ring'. The special envoy *Sieur de Maisse* recorded that a much-aged Elizabeth was wearing a 'great reddish wig' with two long curls, dressed with pearls and when the Venetian envoy saw her for the last time, the Queen was described as having hair the shade of which was 'never made by Nature'. By this period, hair could be dyed or even bleached. The recognisably red hair of Elizabeth featured on her lifelike funeral effigy in 1603 and the assumed ringlets that she loved to wear are reproduced well on her tomb figure at Westminster Abbey. Poignantly, we might recall the notorious episode when Essex returned to England and burst into the Queen's bedchamber at Nonsuch, to find her without her wig, or as the courtier Rowland Whyte wrote, with 'her hair about her face'. (17)

A sample of Elizabeth's own ringlets may have survived. In the late nineteenth century, the Earl Pembroke lent a lock of what was by tradition, some of the Queen's hair, to an exhibition. It came with this description: 'THIS LOCK OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S OWN HAIR was presented to Sir Philip Sidney by her Majesty's own fair hands, on which he made these verses [quoted], and gave them to the Queen on his bended knee, Anno Domini, 1573". (18)

A more tragic Elizabethan echo was to be found in the hair of Mary, Queen of Scots. The present author saw a sample of what is by tradition, the Scottish Queen's hair in the so-called 'museum' of Stuart relics at the Palace of Holyrood House,

Edinburgh. It is red-blond with faint traces of white, a moving reminder of how this queen, like her cousin Elizabeth Tudor, later had to wear wigs to regain the appearance of her own natural colour. Mary, Queen of Scots had of course, a very different story regarding her own wig at the last: at Fotheringhay in 1587, her auburn tresses were by now false. Mounting the scaffold which was her stage in that great 'theatre of the world', the Scottish Queen was an actress and her death was the stuff of theatre. Pointedly, Mary, Queen of Scots was dressed in crimson-red: the Catholic liturgical colour for martyrdom, as she gave her last public appearance.

The auburn wig was obscured by the white cloth which Jane Kennedy used to blindfold the Queen's eyes before she was beheaded with the axe. When the head was severed (after three blows of the axe), it was met by the stunned silence of onlookers, because the executioner (John Bull) raised up the head aloft for the traditional cry of 'God Save the Queen' and the wig was left in his hands. (19) This horrifying spectacle meant that Mary's actual hair was visible: grey and short. The beautiful length of hair now at the Palace of Holyrood House is contained in a square case and labelled as the 'Hair of Mary, Queen of Scots, presented to Queen Victoria in 1868', as seen by the present author.

The tomb effigy of the Queen of Scots shows a mass of curled hair beneath that same white peaked coif worn on the morning of her execution and is probably taken from a death-mask or an effigy made at the time; the Westminster Abbey effigy lies as if in sleep, a peaceful evocation of how the Scottish queen was recorded on the last evening of her life, laid upon her bed, fully dressed.

Incidentally, an exquisite enamelled gold brooch given by Mary, Queen of Scots to one of the 'Four Maries', Mary Seton was displayed at the Palace of Holyrood House in 2019; according to the English courtier Sir Francis Knollys, it was Mary Seton who would 'set such a curled hair upon the Queen... every other day she hath a new device of head dressing.' (20)

Wigs were of course, no Elizabethan phenomenon. They had been used in the reign of Henry VIII, although perhaps importantly, most references to false hair in the original sources seem limited to entertainment and their use at court revels. An example of this is when the court was at Greenwich in December 1534; at the first contest, knights appeared in silver beards, whilst two choristers from the Chapel Royal dressed in wigs obtained from one Mrs Pike of Cheapside. (21)

Catherine Parr's hair was auburn. It can be seen framing her face in the lovely portrait attributed to Master John in the National Portrait Gallery, which modern scholarship has identified as showing Henry's sixth queen, thanks to the jewellery she is wearing. Poignantly, it is possible even today to admire the hair of Catherine Parr. No less than five locks of what was identified as her hair were exhibited in the late Victorian era and significantly, all of these were lent by Lady Emma Dent, the great custodian of Sudeley Castle. The first of these was in a plain, round golden locket containing the Queen's hair, taken when the coffin was disturbed in the summer of 1782; sadly, it was again opened in 1784 and on several further occasions. The second lock of the Queen's hair was apparently taken in 1792, mounted in a brooch and movingly, the hair worked to read the letters 'Q.C.P' [Queen



Catherine Parr' and the whole jewel framed in pearls. The third sample was preserved in a heart-shaped locket, the fourth in a crowned frame of silver filagree. The fifth lock was presented to Sudeley Castle in a black oval frame by one John Hopton Esq in 1880. A lock of Queen Catherine's hair can be seen today in the Castle exhibition at Sudeley. (22)

According to her own writings, the author and historian Agnes Strickland also owned a lock of hair of Queen Catherine Parr. Strickland wrote in her *Lives of the Queens of England From the Norman Conquest*, in the volume which dealt with Henry's wives: 'A lock of her [Catherine Parr's] hair was most courteously presented to me in a handsome locket, by the late Thomas Turner, Esq., the antiquarian banker, of Gloucester. The hair is of the most exquisite colour and quality, resembling threads of burnished gold, though it had lain for nearly three centuries in the dust...' (23)

We return to Henry VIII. The Worshipful Company of Barbers in London has an archive and library containing fascinating material. An instrument case identified by the author and historian Neville Williams as having belonged to Henry's barber surgeon recorded it in 1971 as being in the collections of the Barber Surgeons' Company. This ornate and intimate object was decorated with the Royal Arms, so if it was ever used for the King, it may even have been used by Penne himself.

The present author wrote to the Archives of the Worshipful Company of Barbers, who were able to send over their own information about this precious object, which the Company identifies as a 'surgical instrument case', or, a set of surgical instruments dating from the

reign of Henry VIII. The Archives kindly supplied information from its so-called 'Green Book' to the present author about this object, which is believed to have been presented by Henry VIII to the Company. The Worshipful Company of Barbers also owns amongst its prized silver collection, the Grace Cup which Henry VIII presented. (24)

The instrument case is of enamelled silver gilt and its decoration full of rich, symbolic detail. According to information from the Company Archives given to the present author, the figures on the front of the case represent St Cosmos and St Damian, who flank the Arms granted to the Barbers' Company by Edward IV in 1462; the saints are duly depicted as the patron saints of the Fellowship of Surgeons. The present author was informed that Henry VII granted the cognisance of the Fellowship of Surgeons in 1492 and the presence of the greyhound and dragon on the case date the Royal Arms to around 1528. The instrument case bears the figures of St Catherine of Alexandria and St John the Evangelist, whilst the back of the case is decorated with scenes of the figure of St George slaying the dragon, as well as the murder of St Thomas a Becket.

Information supplied to the present author by the Company Archives suggest that the case must have been made before 1540, when the arms of the Barbers' Company and the Fellowship of Surgeons was united. It is even thought that the case could have been given to the Company because it may have been an object carried at Henry's coronation procession. According to the Company Archives, the instrument case was sold at a London auction in 1922, was sold again and finally, was purchased by Viscount Lee of Fareham. Viscountess Lee of

Fareham later presented the case to the Worshipful Company of Barbers in 1955.

Of particular historic significance is the Holbein painting that has come to be known as 'King Henry VIII and the Barber Surgeons', one of the earliest treasures of the Company. Thought to have been painted in 1542, it was damaged in the Great Fire of London and put into the Anatomy Theatre, which mercifully, enabled it to survive. Information supplied by the Worshipful Company shows that the painting was transferred to the National Library of Wales during the Second World War, a similar act to ensure its preservation.

The painting commemorates the union of the Company of Barbers and the Guild of Surgeons and shows Henry VIII presenting the Charter, with a Latin hymn of praise to the King from his physicians. Fascinatingly, the King's surgeons and barbers are actually depicted in the painting and they have been identified. His barbers can be named: Nicholas Simpson, Edmund Harman and finally – John Penn. (25) The last must surely refer to Penne (or Penny) and so we know that among the faces of those painted to the King's left, is almost certainly, Henry's barber.

The present author checked for any further mention to any of the King's barbers in the accounts. Penne's name occurs in the accounts of The King's Payments for 1539 under John Penn, barber, the sum of 66s. 8d. These

Household expenses were paid by the Treasurer of the Chamber on royal warrant. These include even a payment of 20d to a 'maid of Edmondes, [Edmund Harman?], the King's barber', the sum of 20l. There are example payments of 6s 8d and 3s 4d o the barber and three further sums paid to the barber at Mortlake for October of the same month, 1539. (26)

In the Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, there are other interesting references on false hair. For example, prior to the revels of 1519, there was a payment for 'dyed horsehair', 1 ½ pounds worth at 16d and black horsehair 'pryllyd' at 1 ½ pounds for 10d. (27) In November 1527, the court was at Greenwich and payments for the revels include 40 ounces of silver damask at 4s 8d, used to make 6 beards for visors and '3 heads of hair'. The sum of 14 shillings was paid to make 14 beards, 8 of gold and 6 of silver; 21 ounces of gold damask was used to 'pipe' the cauls, with 14 shillings paid to hire 'hair-wigs' for the ladies. (28)

It is fitting if gold was used for hair at revels, that the natural hair of so many of the Tudors was also referred to as being either red-gold, auburn, 'bright gold' or in Catherine Parr's case, as Strickland wrote: 'threads of burnished gold'.

And as such, the hair of the Tudors tells its own stories.

**ELIZABETH JANE TIMMS**

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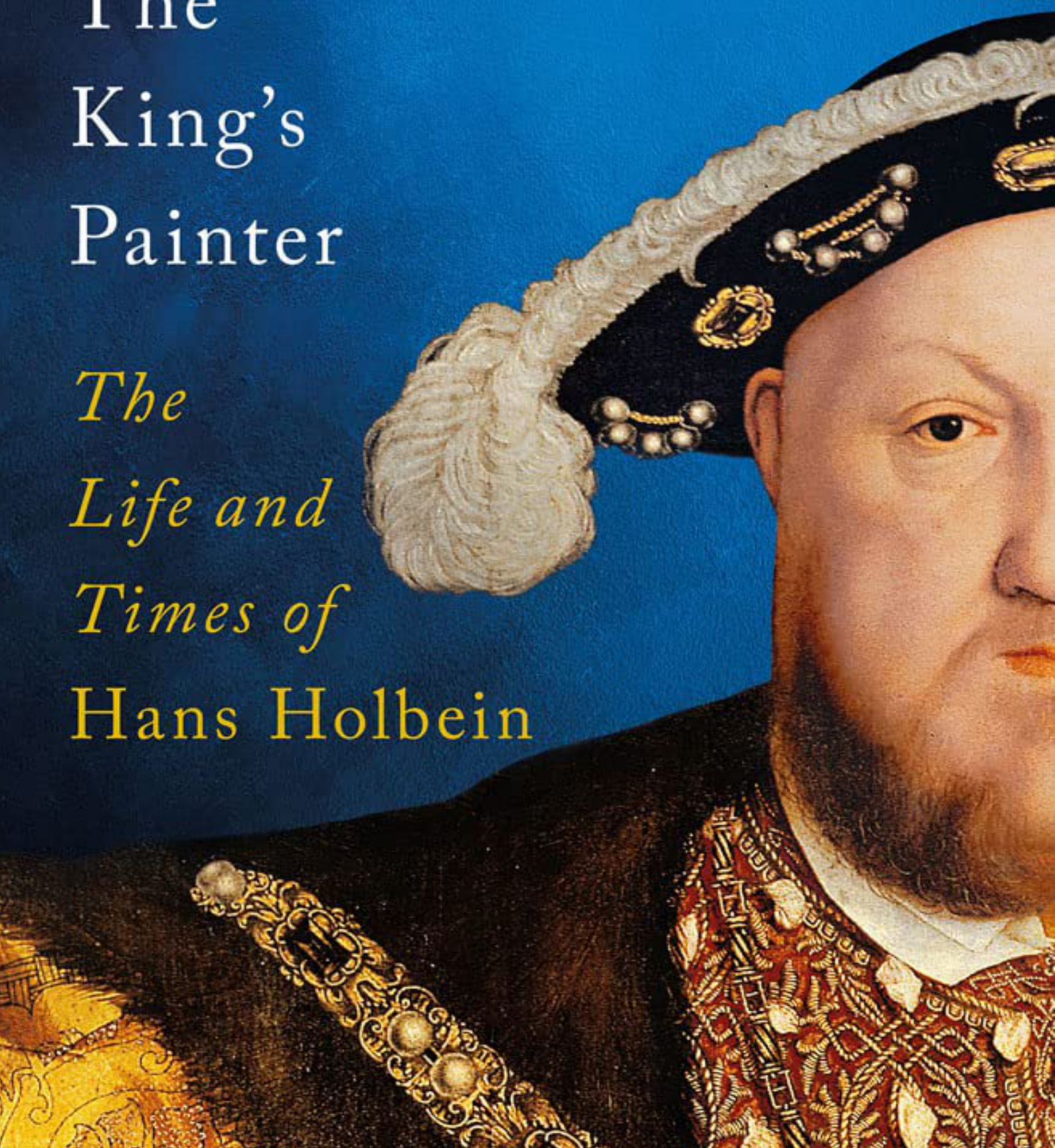
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Franny  
Moyle

The  
King's  
Painter

*The  
Life and  
Times of*  
Hans Holbein







FRANNY MOYLE is an author who has recently published a book on Hans Holbein. Here's a quick article from her:

# THE KING'S PAINTER

By Franny Moyle

When I was thinking for a title for my biography of Hans Holbein, I was quite tempted to call it “The King’s Wizard” rather than “The King’s Painter”. My thinking behind this was to emphasize the amount of wonder and novelty associated with his work. Holbein was praised by poets of the Tudor court for his magical ability to make portraits that appeared to be alive. But his innovative brilliance as a painter of exceptional verisimilitude went beyond capturing the likenesses of people, and extended to his un-matched ability to create astonishing trompe l’oeil.

Born in 1497 in Augsburg, Germany, Hans Holbein the Younger was the son of an eminent painter, Hans Holbein the Elder. If you visit that city’s Staatsgalerie in der Katharinenkirche you can see a great many of Holbein the Elder’s religious paintings, two of which feature portraits of his son Hans, smuggled into the narrative, perhaps suggesting that little Hans’ talents were already well noted by the local community.

But it was in Basel in Switzerland that Holbein the Younger made his name. Within a year of arriving in the city in 1515, not yet twenty years of age, he found himself painting the city’s mayor and being commissioned by the good and great to deliver substantial religious paintings. And it was here that he began to establish a reputation for not only delivering portraits of remarkable likeness and credibility, but also creating often huge scale decorative schemes for the exterior of buildings that transformed flat facades into intricate architectural fantasies with balconies and promenades, staircases, decorative pilasters and arches.

One house he decorated, the Haus Zum Tanz, became a tourist sensation for those visiting the city.

By the time he reached London in 1526, introduced to key courtiers by the famous scholar Erasmus, with whose letters of introduction he travelled, people wanted a Holbein spatial ‘conceit’ as much as they wanted a good resemblance. Two major works involving such a conceit have been lost, though descriptions, copies and preparatory sketches allow us to imagine their original proposition. One, a portrait of the family of Sir Thomas More, sat around two metres high and three metres wide, stretched across the width of More’s home, extending his main hall by several imagined feet to accommodate the counterfeit figures – who would surely startle any guest who momentarily mistook the work of art for the real thing. The other was the magnificent life size portrait of King Henry VIII placed in his privy chamber at Whitehall Palace, which reduced visitors to trembling wrecks.

But nothing matched the astonishing display of anamorphic perspective that appears in Holbein’s portrait of two French Ambassadors. Now in London’s national gallery, this mysterious and puzzling work offers the viewer a strange piece of brown sludge in the centre of the composition. Only when he or she moves right, and stands at 45 degrees to the work, does a skull appear to float forth, in an entirely new dimension, placing all the worldly goods and achievements of the men portrayed into appropriate, mortal, perspective. And that is wizardry indeed.

**FRANNY MOYLE**



# Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot

*By Roland Hui*

An imaginary meeting between Elizabeth I and  
Mary Queen of Scots (by Friedrich Bruckmann  
and Wilhelm von Kaulbach)

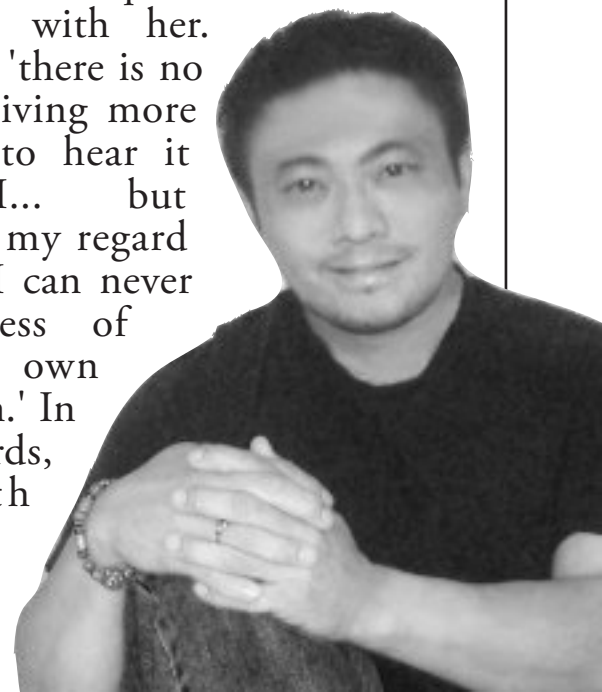


When Mary Stuart stepped foot on English soil in the spring of 1568, she had every reason to be optimistic. Even though she had lost her kingdom and the custody of her son, Prince James, to the Protestant nobles of Scotland, she expected a swift reversal of her fortunes. Mary pinned her hopes on her cousin, Queen Elizabeth of England. Admittedly, the two had had an uneasy relationship over the years. As a descendent of King Henry VII as Elizabeth was too, Mary had a claim to the throne of England; one it was supposed was even stronger than the Protestant English queen's. Some of Elizabeth's Catholic subjects had never accepted the marriage of her parents, Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, as the king was still married to his first wife, Katherine of Aragon. Thus Elizabeth was deemed illegitimately conceived, and the rightful queen ought to have been her cousin Mary; a Catholic no less.

Still, when Mary sought refuge in England, it was not to take Elizabeth's crown - she did not have the means even if she had wanted to - but to ask her cousin's help in restoring her to the Scottish throne. Initially, Elizabeth was sympathetic. As a fellow monarch, she was appalled that Mary's enemies had forced her abdication, and she was even willing to receive Mary in person. But Elizabeth's first minister, William Cecil, who had never liked the Queen of Scots, perceiving her as a threat to national security and to the Protestant religion, cautioned his mistress against a show of solidarity. Best that no aid be given to her rival, he advised, and that for the time



being, she be kept under house arrest as a 'guest' in the north. In the summer, Elizabeth wrote to Mary in answer to her requests to speak with her. Although 'there is no creature living more desirous to hear it than I... but whatever my regard for you, I can never be careless of my own reputation.' In other words, Elizabeth



could not yet associate herself with someone of bad reputation; Mary had been accused of murdering her second husband Lord Darnley.

As she settled into her detention, it dawned on Mary what a mistake she had made in coming to England. Despite Elizabeth's assurances of help, none came. Instead, Mary found herself in perpetual custody, and she was even insultingly made to publicly defend herself against the charge of killing Darnley. Even though no verdict was reached, her situation in England did not improve. Elizabeth showed herself friendly to the Scottish rebels instead, and even though she did not formally recognize Prince James as the new King of Scots, she nonetheless treated him as such, to Mary's infuriation as she still considered herself Scotland's rightful queen.

William Cecil's fear of Mary Stuart was justified. In the years to follow, she was the focus of Catholic discontent against Elizabeth's Protestant regime. In 1571, a Florentine banker named Roberto Ridolfi hatched a plot to put Mary on the English throne with the Duke of Norfolk as her husband. When the conspiracy was uncovered, Norfolk was executed and there were demands for Mary's blood as well by many of the Protestant members of Parliament. It was by Elizabeth's intercession that her cousin was spared. She had no love for Mary and probably thought her guilty despite her declarations of innocence, but still the sacrosanct nature of monarchy had to be upheld.

By the 1580s, Mary was still in confinement. Over the years, she had lost her famous beauty due to lack of exercise and ill health, but the passing of the years had not diminished the fascination she held over others. Even those who were not prepared to like her had succumbed to her charms. Earlier, when Elizabeth's trusted courtier Sir Francis Knollys - an avowed Protestant even - visited the Queen of Scots - he could not help but find her 'a notable woman; she seems to regard no ceremonious honour beside the acknowledgement of her estate regal. She shows a disposition to speak much, to be bold, to be pleasant, and to be very familiar.'





Among those who also admired Mary were Catholic gentlemen coming of age in the later part of Elizabeth's reign. Despite the increasing intolerance of their religion by the authorities, they still adhered to the old faith and in that regard, some maintained the view that Elizabeth was a heretical bastard usurper who had imprisoned and persecuted the rightful Queen of England. While many merely pitied Mary Stuart, these young men were prepared to do something about it.

In 1583, one Francis Throckmorton, in his zeal to restore the Catholic faith in England, entered into a conspiracy with Henry, Duke of Guise, a French

relation of Mary's. It was the duke's intention to invade the country with the help of Spain and put his Scottish cousin on Elizabeth's throne. But Throckmorton, who acted as a messenger between Mary and the Spanish ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza, was caught by Sir Francis Walsingham. Devoted to Queen Elizabeth and to the Protestant religion, Walsingham was in charge of an elaborate intelligence network of spies, informants, and double agents. After the plot was uncovered thanks to him, Throckmorton suffered the death of a traitor, and Mendoza was expelled from England. Mary, who of course denied any knowledge of the scheme, was left unharmed as Elizabeth still refused to prosecute her troublesome cousin. Even when another conspiracy - the so-called Parry Plot of 1585 - involving Mary assuming her cousin's crown after she was killed, did not convince Elizabeth to move against her.

Cecil and Walsingham were determined to have Mary implicated for high treason, and in 1586, an opportunity came their way. A Catholic named Gilbert Gifford who had been arrested for his suspicious behaviour - he was supposedly conspiring with his co-religionists while abroad - was turned. Walsingham promised Gifford his freedom for his cooperation in entrapping the Queen of Scots. Gifford was instructed to go to the French embassy in London and offer his services, particularly in forwarding letters to the imprisoned Mary. Since the detection of the plots against Elizabeth, security





around Mary had been increased, and her letter writing - one of the few comforts left to her - was curtailed. Such measures were strictly enforced by Mary's most recent jailer Sir Amyas Paulet. A dour by-the-book Puritan, Paulet had no liking for his charge and was openly contemptuous of her and her papistry.

As an agent provocateur, Gifford was given access to Queen Mary. Unaware that he was in the pay of the English government and that her every action was being watched, she came to trust Gifford and allowed him to act as her intermediary between the French embassy and her other supporters. In order for Mary to send and receive letters, a clever idea was proposed in which messages were concealed in a waterproof container put inside the bungs of the beer kegs going in and out of Chartley Hall in Staffordshire where Mary was staying. To further ensure secrecy, all of the correspondence was written out in elaborate code. Letters were substituted for one another, symbols employed instead of words, and even sheets of paper punched with holes were used to reveal relevant text. The decoding keys were known only to Mary and her two secretaries and to her recipients.

Once the messaging system was set up, in order to ensnare Mary, Walsingham needed her approval for any plot against Elizabeth. It was not enough for others to act on her behalf - there were plenty of those - but Mary herself must give her consent. This would smear her reputation and convince the overly



Sir Francis Walsingham  
(by Pieter van der Gunst)

merciful Elizabeth that her cousin must be properly dealt with.

Gifford was also gaining the trust and support of Mary's circle of admirers - a priest by the name of John Ballard, a willing assassin called John Savage, and one to whom they both looked to as their ringleader, Anthony Babington. Babington was a young man of means who had once served in the household of the Earl of Shrewsbury, a former gaoler to the Queen of Scots. More recently, Babington had come into contact with Mary again through mutual friends, and he became devoted to



her cause. With his 'enchanting manners and wit', Babington soon drew others to him who were equally enamoured with the piteous queen.

Determined to be Mary's champion and liberator, Babington smuggled a letter to her in July 1586. Addressing Mary as 'the most mighty, most excellent, my dread sovereign lady and queen unto whom I owe all fidelity and obedience,' Babington swore to put in motion 'the deliverance of our country from the extreme and miserable state wherein it had too long remained.' He aimed to free Mary with the help of ten friends and an additional hundred armed men, while six others committed themselves to 'the dispatch of the usurping competitor.' If this was all agreeable, Babington inquired, would Mary give her approval and offer him advice?

Her reply came soon after. In a long letter likewise transcribed into code by her secretaries, Mary gave her endorsement and was full of suggestions. Her escape, Mary proposed, could be done in one of three ways: when she was allowed to go riding outside, Babington and his men could overpower the guards and spirit her away; alternatively, the barns and stables near her lodgings could be set on fire one night and during the confusion, have her taken away; or lastly, when cartloads of provisions were brought in through the gates early in the morning, the conspirators could sneak in and take Chartley by surprise making themselves 'masters of the house'. Whatever the means, Mary continued, they must all be vigilant;

even this very letter, she warned, must immediately be destroyed after it was read. Should Elizabeth and her ministers know of the plot, it would be 'sufficient cause given to that queen in catching me again, to enclose me forever in some hole, forth of the which, I should never escape.'

Even though Mary did not make specific mention of Elizabeth's assassination in her choice of words, it was clear that her getaway depended upon it. Whereas Babington was explicit about the English queen's 'tragical execution', Mary referred to it in ambiguous terms. Was this to protect herself if she was caught? In her response to Babington, Mary wrote that when all was ready, 'then shall it be time to set the six gentlemen to work, taking order, upon the accomplishing of the design, I may be suddenly transported out of this place.' Also, she warned Babington that he and his companions must rescue her before Paulet knew of 'the execution of the said design.' The 'design' was obviously the murder of Elizabeth.

How did Mary justify killing Elizabeth? While it is true that she had come to hate her cousin for her captivity and for what she perceived as her double dealing, probably when it came to the Babington Plot, she was emotionally indifferent. Nearing twenty years of confinement, Mary was desperate to be free, and her liberation could not be achieved without Elizabeth's death. Furthermore, as the Vatican had excommunicated her cousin and deprived her of her authority in 1570, from Mary's point-of-view as

a Catholic, it would be no sin to take her life and to seize her throne as the rightful Queen of England.

As Mary and Babington's letters had been intercepted and read all along, Walsingham knew when to pounce. In fact, when Mary's fateful reply was received, Thomas Phelippes, Sir Francis's code breaker, sardonically drew a gallows on his deciphered copy, signifying that the conniving Queen of Scots had at last doomed herself. Walsingham even had Phelippes jot in a fake addendum to Mary's original letter in which the names of the six assassins were requested from Babington. This was a risky trick, Walsingham himself later admitted to Phelippes, as it might actually tip off the assassins. 'I am grieved,' he said, 'with the event of this cause and fear the addition of the postscript hath bred the jealousy (suspicion)'.

Apparently, Babington did not know that the addition was forged, but his fears were later aroused when John Ballard was arrested. He himself was soon taken as described by a ballad celebrating the discovery of the plot:

*Their treasons once discovered, then  
were the traitors sought,  
Some of them fled into a wood, where  
after they were caught.  
And being brought unto the Tower, for  
joy the bells did ring,  
And throughout London bonfires  
made, where people psalms did sing.  
And set their tables in the streets with  
meats of every kind,  
Where was prepared all signs of joy that  
could be had in mind.*

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	X	Y	Z	W	E	A	oo	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56
57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84

*Nether . . . X . X . F . F . 4 . N . 4 . 2 . ff . 4 . 7 . 10 . 13 . 16 . 19 . 22 . 25 . 28 . 31 . 34 . 37 . 40 . 43 . 46 . 49 . 52 . 55 . 58 . 61 . 64 . 67 . 70 . 73 . 76 . 79 . 82 . 85 . 88 . 91 . 94 . 97 . 100 . 103 . 106 . 109 . 112 . 115 . 118 . 121 . 124 . 127 . 130 . 133 . 136 . 139 . 142 . 145 . 148 . 151 . 154 . 157 . 160 . 163 . 166 . 169 . 172 . 175 . 178 . 181 . 184 . 187 . 190 . 193 . 196 . 199 . 202 . 205 . 208 . 211 . 214 . 217 . 220 . 223 . 226 . 229 . 232 . 235 . 238 . 241 . 244 . 247 . 250 . 253 . 256 . 259 . 262 . 265 . 268 . 271 . 274 . 277 . 280 . 283 . 286 . 289 . 292 . 295 . 298 . 301 . 304 . 307 . 310 . 313 . 316 . 319 . 322 . 325 . 328 . 331 . 334 . 337 . 340 . 343 . 346 . 349 . 352 . 355 . 358 . 361 . 364 . 367 . 370 . 373 . 376 . 379 . 382 . 385 . 388 . 391 . 394 . 397 . 400 . 403 . 406 . 409 . 412 . 415 . 418 . 421 . 424 . 427 . 430 . 433 . 436 . 439 . 442 . 445 . 448 . 451 . 454 . 457 . 460 . 463 . 466 . 469 . 472 . 475 . 478 . 481 . 484 . 487 . 490 . 493 . 496 . 499 . 502 . 505 . 508 . 511 . 514 . 517 . 520 . 523 . 526 . 529 . 532 . 535 . 538 . 541 . 544 . 547 . 550 . 553 . 556 . 559 . 562 . 565 . 568 . 571 . 574 . 577 . 580 . 583 . 586 . 589 . 592 . 595 . 598 . 601 . 604 . 607 . 610 . 613 . 616 . 619 . 622 . 625 . 628 . 631 . 634 . 637 . 640 . 643 . 646 . 649 . 652 . 655 . 658 . 661 . 664 . 667 . 670 . 673 . 676 . 679 . 682 . 685 . 688 . 691 . 694 . 697 . 700 . 703 . 706 . 709 . 712 . 715 . 718 . 721 . 724 . 727 . 730 . 733 . 736 . 739 . 742 . 745 . 748 . 751 . 754 . 757 . 760 . 763 . 766 . 769 . 772 . 775 . 778 . 781 . 784 . 787 . 790 . 793 . 796 . 799 . 802 . 805 . 808 . 811 . 814 . 817 . 820 . 823 . 826 . 829 . 832 . 835 . 838 . 841 . 844 . 847 . 850 . 853 . 856 . 859 . 862 . 865 . 868 . 871 . 874 . 877 . 880 . 883 . 886 . 889 . 892 . 895 . 898 . 901 . 904 . 907 . 910 . 913 . 916 . 919 . 922 . 925 . 928 . 931 . 934 . 937 . 940 . 943 . 946 . 949 . 952 . 955 . 958 . 961 . 964 . 967 . 970 . 973 . 976 . 979 . 982 . 985 . 988 . 991 . 994 . 997 . 1000 . 1003 . 1006 . 1009 . 1012 . 1015 . 1018 . 1021 . 1024 . 1027 . 1030 . 1033 . 1036 . 1039 . 1042 . 1045 . 1048 . 1051 . 1054 . 1057 . 1060 . 1063 . 1066 . 1069 . 1072 . 1075 . 1078 . 1081 . 1084 . 1087 . 1090 . 1093 . 1096 . 1099 . 1102 . 1105 . 1108 . 1111 . 1114 . 1117 . 1120 . 1123 . 1126 . 1129 . 1132 . 1135 . 1138 . 1141 . 1144 . 1147 . 1150 . 1153 . 1156 . 1159 . 1162 . 1165 . 1168 . 1171 . 1174 . 1177 . 1180 . 1183 . 1186 . 1189 . 1192 . 1195 . 1198 . 1201 . 1204 . 1207 . 1210 . 1213 . 1216 . 1219 . 1222 . 1225 . 1228 . 1231 . 1234 . 1237 . 1240 . 1243 . 1246 . 1249 . 1252 . 1255 . 1258 . 1261 . 1264 . 1267 . 1270 . 1273 . 1276 . 1279 . 1282 . 1285 . 1288 . 1291 . 1294 . 1297 . 1300 . 1303 . 1306 . 1309 . 1312 . 1315 . 1318 . 1321 . 1324 . 1327 . 1330 . 1333 . 1336 . 1339 . 1342 . 1345 . 1348 . 1351 . 1354 . 1357 . 1360 . 1363 . 1366 . 1369 . 1372 . 1375 . 1378 . 1381 . 1384 . 1387 . 1390 . 1393 . 1396 . 1399 . 1402 . 1405 . 1408 . 1411 . 1414 . 1417 . 1420 . 1423 . 1426 . 1429 . 1432 . 1435 . 1438 . 1441 . 1444 . 1447 . 1450 . 1453 . 1456 . 1459 . 1462 . 1465 . 1468 . 1471 . 1474 . 1477 . 1480 . 1483 . 1486 . 1489 . 1492 . 1495 . 1498 . 1501 . 1504 . 1507 . 1510 . 1513 . 1516 . 1519 . 1522 . 1525 . 1528 . 1531 . 1534 . 1537 . 1540 . 1543 . 1546 . 1549 . 1552 . 1555 . 1558 . 1561 . 1564 . 1567 . 1570 . 1573 . 1576 . 1579 . 1582 . 1585 . 1588 . 1591 . 1594 . 1597 . 1600 . 1603 . 1606 . 1609 . 1612 . 1615 . 1618 . 1621 . 1624 . 1627 . 1630 . 1633 . 1636 . 1639 . 1642 . 1645 . 1648 . 1651 . 1654 . 1657 . 1660 . 1663 . 1666 . 1669 . 1672 . 1675 . 1678 . 1681 . 1684 . 1687 . 1690 . 1693 . 1696 . 1699 . 1702 . 1705 . 1708 . 1711 . 1714 . 1717 . 1720 . 1723 . 1726 . 1729*

*January . February . March . April . May . June . July . August . September . October*

*X . 2 . F . N . 4 . 6 . 8 . 10 . 12 . 14 . 16 . 18 . 20 . 22 . 24 . 26 . 28 . 30 . 32 . 34 . 36 . 38 . 40 . 42 . 44 . 46 . 48 . 50 . 52 . 54 . 56 . 58 . 60 . 62 . 64 . 66 . 68 . 70 . 72 . 74 . 76 . 78 . 80 . 82 . 84 . 86 . 88 . 90 . 92 . 94 . 96 . 98 . 100 . 102 . 104 . 106 . 108 . 110 . 112 . 114 . 116 . 118 . 120 . 122 . 124 . 126 . 128 . 130 . 132 . 134 . 136 . 138 . 140 . 142 . 144 . 146 . 148 . 150 . 152 . 154 . 156 . 158 . 160 . 162 . 164 . 166 . 168 . 170 . 172 . 174 . 176 . 178 . 180 . 182 . 184 . 186 . 188 . 190 . 192 . 194 . 196 . 198 . 200 . 202 . 204 . 206 . 208 . 210 . 212 . 214 . 216 . 218 . 220 . 222 . 224 . 226 . 228 . 230 . 232 . 234 . 236 . 238 . 240 . 242 . 244 . 246 . 248 . 250 . 252 . 254 . 256 . 258 . 260 . 262 . 264 . 266 . 268 . 270 . 272 . 274 . 276 . 278 . 280 . 282 . 284 . 286 . 288 . 290 . 292 . 294 . 296 . 298 . 300 . 302 . 304 . 306 . 308 . 310 . 312 . 314 . 316 . 318 . 320 . 322 . 324 . 326 . 328 . 330 . 332 . 334 . 336 . 338 . 340 . 342 . 344 . 346 . 348 . 350 . 352 . 354 . 356 . 358 . 360 . 362 . 364 . 366 . 368 . 370 . 372 . 374 . 376 . 378 . 380 . 382 . 384 . 386 . 388 . 390 . 392 . 394 . 396 . 398 . 400 . 402 . 404 . 406 . 408 . 410 . 412 . 414 . 416 . 418 . 420 . 422 . 424 . 426 . 428 . 430 . 432 . 434 . 436 . 438 . 440 . 442 . 444 . 446 . 448 . 450 . 452 . 454 . 456 . 458 . 460 . 462 . 464 . 466 . 468 . 470 . 472 . 474 . 476 . 478 . 480 . 482 . 484 . 486 . 488 . 490 . 492 . 494 . 496 . 498 . 500 . 502 . 504 . 506 . 508 . 510 . 512 . 514 . 516 . 518 . 520 . 522 . 524 . 526 . 528 . 530 . 532 . 534 . 536 . 538 . 540 . 542 . 544 . 546 . 548 . 550 . 552 . 554 . 556 . 558 . 560 . 562 . 564 . 566 . 568 . 570 . 572 . 574 . 576 . 578 . 580 . 582 . 584 . 586 . 588 . 590 . 592 . 594 . 596 . 598 . 600 . 602 . 604 . 606 . 608 . 610 . 612 . 614 . 616 . 618 . 620 . 622 . 624 . 626 . 628 . 630 . 632 . 634 . 636 . 638 . 640 . 642 . 644 . 646 . 648 . 650 . 652 . 654 . 656 . 658 . 660 . 662 . 664 . 666 . 668 . 670 . 672 . 674 . 676 . 678 . 680 . 682 . 684 . 686 . 688 . 690 . 692 . 694 . 696 . 698 . 700 . 702 . 704 . 706 . 708 . 710 . 712 . 714 . 716 . 718 . 720 . 722 . 724 . 726 . 728 . 730 . 732 . 734 . 736 . 738 . 740 . 742 . 744 . 746 . 748 . 750 . 752 . 754 . 756 . 758 . 760 . 762 . 764 . 766 . 768 . 770 . 772 . 774 . 776 . 778 . 780 . 782 . 784 . 786 . 788 . 790 . 792 . 794 . 796 . 798 . 800 . 802 . 804 . 806 . 808 . 810 . 812 . 814 . 816 . 818 . 820 . 822 . 824 . 826 . 828 . 830 . 832 . 834 . 836 . 838 . 840 . 842 . 844 . 846 . 848 . 850 . 852 . 854 . 856 . 858 . 860 . 862 . 864 . 866 . 868 . 870 . 872 . 874 . 876 . 878 . 880 . 882 . 884 . 886 . 888 . 890 . 892 . 894 . 896 . 898 . 900 . 902 . 904 . 906 . 908 . 910 . 912 . 914 . 916 . 918 . 920 . 922 . 924 . 926 . 928 . 930 . 932 . 934 . 936 . 938 . 940 . 942 . 944 . 946 . 948 . 950 . 952 . 954 . 956 . 958 . 960 . 962 . 964 . 966 . 968 . 970 . 972 . 974 . 976 . 978 . 980 . 982 . 984 . 986 . 988 . 990 . 992 . 994 . 996 . 998 . 1000 . 1002 . 1004 . 1006 . 1008 . 1010 . 1012 . 1014 . 1016 . 1018 . 1020 . 1022 . 1024 . 1026 . 1028 . 1030 . 1032 . 1034 . 1036 . 1038 . 1040 . 1042 . 1044 . 1046 . 1048 . 1050 . 1052 . 1054 . 1056 . 1058 . 1060 . 1062 . 1064 . 1066 . 1068 . 1070 . 1072 . 1074 . 1076 . 1078 . 1080 . 1082 . 1084 . 1086 . 1088 . 1090 . 1092 . 1094 . 1096 . 1098 . 1100 . 1102 . 1104 . 1106 . 1108 . 1110 . 1112 . 1114 . 1116 . 1118 . 1120 . 1122 . 1124 . 1126 . 1128 . 1130 . 1132 . 1134 . 1136 . 1138 . 1140 . 1142 . 1144 . 1146 . 1148 . 1150 . 1152 . 1154 . 1156 . 1158 . 1160 . 1162 . 1164 . 1166 . 1168 . 1170 . 1172 . 1174 . 1176 . 1178 . 1180 . 1182 . 1184 . 1186 . 1188 . 1190 . 1192 . 1194 . 1196 . 1198 . 1200 . 1202 . 1204 . 1206 . 1208 . 1210 . 1212 . 1214 . 1216 . 1218 . 1220 . 1222 . 1224 . 1226 . 1228 . 1230 . 1232 . 1234 . 1236 . 1238 . 1240 . 1242 . 1244 . 1246 . 1248 . 1250 . 1252 . 1254 . 1256 . 1258 . 1260 . 1262 . 1264 . 1266 . 1268 . 1270 . 1272 . 1274 . 1276 . 1278 . 1280 . 1282 . 1284 . 1286 . 1288 . 1290 . 1292 . 1294 . 1296 . 1298 . 1300 . 1302 . 1304 . 1306 . 1308 . 1310 . 1312 . 1314 . 1316 . 1318 . 1320 . 1322 . 1324 . 1326 . 1328 . 1330 . 1332 . 1334 . 1336 . 1338 . 1340 . 1342 . 1344 . 1346 . 1348 . 1350 . 1352 . 1354 . 1356 . 1358 . 1360 . 1362 . 1364 . 1366 . 1368 . 1370 . 1372 . 1374 . 1376 . 1378 . 1380 . 1382 . 1384 . 1386 . 1388 . 1390 . 1392 . 1394 . 1396 . 1398 . 1400 . 1402 . 1404 . 1406 . 1408 . 1410 . 1412 . 1414 . 1416 . 1418 . 1420 . 1422 . 1424 . 1426 . 1428 . 1430 . 1432 . 1434 . 1436 . 1438 . 1440 . 1442 . 1444 . 1446 . 1448 . 1450 . 1452 . 1454 . 1456 . 1458 . 1460 . 1462 . 1464 . 1466 . 1468 . 1470 . 1472 . 1474 . 1476 . 1478 . 1480 . 1482 . 1484 . 1486 . 1488 . 1490 . 1492 . 1494 . 1496 . 1498 . 1500 . 1502 . 1504 . 1506 . 1508 . 1510 . 1512 . 1514 . 1516 . 1518 . 1520 . 1522 . 1524 . 1526 . 1528 . 1530 . 1532 . 1534 . 1536 . 1538 . 1540 . 1542 . 1544 . 1546 . 1548 . 1550 . 1552 . 1554 . 1556 . 1558 . 1560 . 1562 . 1564 . 1566 . 1568 . 1570 . 1572 . 1574 . 1576 . 1578 . 1580 . 1582 . 1584 . 1586 . 1588 . 1590 . 1592 . 1594 . 1596 . 1598 . 1600 . 1602 . 1604 . 1606 . 1608 . 1610 . 1612 . 1614 . 1616 . 1618 . 1620 . 1622 . 1624 . 1626 . 1628 . 1630 . 1632 . 1634 . 1636 . 1638 . 1640 . 1642 . 1644 . 1646 . 1648 . 1650 . 1652 . 1654 . 1656 . 1658 . 1660 . 1662 . 1664 . 1666 . 1668 . 1670 . 1672 . 1674 . 1676 . 1678 . 1680 . 1682 . 1684 . 1686 . 1688 . 1690 . 1692 . 1694 . 1696 . 1698 . 1700 . 1702 . 1704 . 1706 . 1708 . 1710 . 1712 . 1714 . 1716 . 1718 . 1720 . 1722 . 1724 . 1726 . 1728 . 1730 . 1732 . 1734 . 1736 . 1738 . 1740 . 1742 . 1744 . 1746 . 1748 . 1750 . 1752 . 1754 . 1756 . 1758 . 1760 . 1762 . 1764 . 1766 . 1768 . 1770 . 1772 . 1774 . 1776 . 1778 . 1780 . 1782 . 1784 . 1786 . 1788 . 1790 . 1792 . 1794 . 1796 . 1798 . 1800 . 1802 . 1804 . 1806 . 1808 . 1810 . 1812 . 1814 . 1816 . 1818 . 1820 . 1822 . 1824 . 1826 . 1828 . 1830 . 1832 . 1834 . 1836 . 1838 . 1840 . 1842 . 1844 . 1846 . 1848 . 1850 . 1852 . 1854 . 1856 . 1858 . 1860 . 1862 . 1864 . 1866 . 1868 . 1870 . 1872 . 1874 . 1876 . 1878 . 1880 . 1882 . 1884 . 1886 . 1888 . 1890 . 1892 . 1894 . 1896 . 1898 . 1900 . 1902 . 1904 . 1906 . 1908 . 1910 . 1912 . 1914 . 1916 . 1918 . 1920 . 1922 . 1924 . 1926 . 1928 . 1930 . 1932 . 1934 . 1936 . 1938 . 1940 . 1942 . 1944 . 1946 . 1948 . 1950 . 1952 . 1954 . 1956 . 1958 . 1960 . 1962 . 1964 . 1966 . 1968 . 1970 . 1972 . 1974 . 1976 . 1978 . 1980 . 1982 . 1984 . 1986 . 1988 . 1990 . 1992 . 1994 . 1996 . 1998 . 2000 . 2002 . 2004 . 2006 . 2008 . 2010 . 2012 . 2014 . 2016 . 2018 . 2020 . 2022 . 2024 . 2026 . 2028 . 2030 . 2032 . 2034 . 2036 . 2038 . 2040 . 2042 . 2044 . 2046 . 2048 . 2050 . 2052 . 2054 . 2056 . 2058 . 2060 . 2062 . 2064 . 2066 . 2068 . 2070 . 2072 . 2074 . 2076 . 2078 . 2080 . 2082 . 2084 . 2086 . 2088 . 2090 . 2092 . 2094 . 2096 . 2098 . 2100 . 2102 . 2104 . 2106 . 2108 . 2110 . 2112 . 2114 . 2116 . 2118 . 2120 . 2122 . 2124 . 2126 . 2128 . 2130 . 2132 . 2134 . 2136 . 2138 . 2140 . 2142 . 2144 . 2146 . 2148 . 2150 . 2152 . 2154 . 2156 . 2158 . 2160 . 2162 . 2164 . 2166 . 2168 . 2170 . 2172 . 2174 . 2176 . 2178 . 2180 . 2182 . 2184 . 2186 . 2188 . 2190 . 2192 . 2194 . 2196 . 2198 . 2200 . 2202 . 2204 . 2206 . 2208 . 2210 . 2212 . 2214 . 2216 . 2218 . 2220 . 2222 . 2224 . 2226 . 2228 . 2230 . 2232 . 2234 . 2236 . 2238 . 2240 . 2242 . 2244 . 2246 . 2248 . 2250 . 2252 . 2254 . 2256 . 2258 . 2260 . 2262 . 2264 . 2266 . 2268 . 2270 . 2272 . 2274 . 2276 . 2278 . 2280 . 2282 . 2284 . 2286 . 2288 . 2290 . 2292 . 2294 . 2296 . 2298 . 2300 . 2302 . 2304 . 2306 . 2308 . 2310 . 2312 . 2314 . 2316 . 2318 . 2320 . 2322 . 2324 . 2326 . 2328 . 2330 . 2332 . 2334 . 2336 . 2338 . 2340 . 2342 . 2344 . 2346 . 2348 . 2350 . 2352 . 2354 . 2356 . 2358 . 2360 . 2362 . 2364 . 2366 . 2368 . 2370 . 2372 . 2374 . 2376 . 2378 . 2380 . 2382 . 2384 . 2386 . 2388 . 2390 . 2392 . 2394 . 2396 . 2398 . 2400 . 2402 . 2404 . 2406 . 2408 . 2410 . 2412 . 2414 . 2416 . 2418 . 2420 . 2422 . 2424 . 2426 . 2428 . 2430 . 2432 . 2434 . 2436 . 2438 . 2440 . 2442 . 2444 . 2446 . 2448 . 2450 . 2452 . 2454 . 2456 . 2458 . 2460 . 2462 . 2464 . 2466 . 2468 . 2470 . 2472 . 2474 . 2476 . 2478 . 2480 . 2482 . 2484 . 2486 . 2488 . 2490 . 2492 . 2494 . 2496 . 2498 . 2500 . 2502 . 2504 . 2506 . 2508 . 2510 . 2512 . 2514 . 2516 . 2518 . 2520 . 2522 . 2524 . 2526 . 2528 . 2530 . 2532 . 2534 . 2536 . 2538 . 2540 . 2542 . 2544 . 2546 . 2548 . 2550 . 2552 . 2554 . 2556 . 2558 . 2560 . 2562 . 2564 . 2566 . 2568 . 2570 . 2572 . 2574 . 2576 . 2578 . 2580 . 2582 . 2584 . 2586 . 2588 . 2590 . 2592 . 2594 . 2596 . 2598 . 2600 . 2602 . 2604 . 2606 . 2608 . 2610 . 2612 . 2614 . 2616 . 2618 . 2620 . 2622 . 2624 . 2626 . 2628 . 2630 . 2632 . 2634 . 2636 . 2638 . 2640 . 2642 . 2644 . 2646 . 2648 . 2650 . 2652 . 2654 . 2656 . 2658 . 2660 . 2662 . 2664 . 2666 . 2668 . 2670 . 2672 . 2674 . 2676 . 2678 . 2680 . 2682 . 2684 . 2686 . 2688 . 2690 . 2692 . 2694 . 2696 . 2698 . 2700 . 2702 . 2704 . 2706 . 2708 . 2710 . 2712 . 2714 . 2716 . 2718 . 2720 . 2722 . 2724 . 2726 . 2728 . 2730 . 2732 . 2734 . 2736 . 2738 . 2740 . 2742 . 2744 . 2746 . 2748 . 2750 . 2752 . 2754 . 2756 . 2758 . 2760 . 2762 . 2764 . 2766 . 2768 . 2770 . 2772 . 2774 . 2776 . 2778 . 2780 . 2782 . 2784 . 2786 . 2788 . 2790 . 2792 . 2794 . 2796 . 2798 . 2800 . 2802 . 2804 . 2806 . 2808 . 2810 . 2812 . 2814 . 2816 . 2818 . 2820 . 2822 . 2824 . 2826 . 2828 . 2830 . 2832 . 2834 . 2836 . 2838 . 2840 . 2842 . 2844 . 2846 . 2848 . 2850 . 2852 . 2854 . 2856 . 2858 . 2860 . 2862 . 2864 . 2866 . 2868 . 2870 . 2872 . 2874 . 2876 . 2878 . 2880 . 2882 . 2884 . 2886 . 2888 . 2890 . 2892 . 2894 . 2896 . 2898 . 2900 . 2902 . 2904 . 2906 . 2908 . 2910 . 2912 . 2914 . 2916 . 2918 . 2920 . 2922 . 2924 . 2926 . 2928 . 2930 . 2932 . 2934 . 2936 . 2938 . 2940 . 2942 . 2944 . 2946 . 2948 . 2950 . 2952 . 2954 . 2956 . 2958 . 2960 . 2962 . 2964 . 2966 . 2968 . 2970 . 2972 . 2974 . 2976 . 2978 . 2980 . 2982 . 2984 . 2986 . 2988 . 2990 . 2992 . 2994 . 2996 . 2998 . 3000 . 3002 .*

*And praised the Lord most heartily,  
that with His mighty hand,  
He preserved our gracious Queen and  
people of this land.*

The conspirators were put to death on 20 September. It was said that Babington watched the execution of Ballard - by the terrible means of hanging, drawing, and quartering - without expression. When it came to his turn, Babington was just as stoic, and he was only heard to cry out when the executioner cut into him, but it was in prayer. One of his companions, Chidiock Tichborne, was resigned as well. On the night before he was to



die, Tichborne set down his thoughts  
in verse:

*My prime of youth is but a frost of  
cares,  
My feast of joy is but a dish of pain,  
My crop of corn is but a field of tears,  
And all my good is but vain hope of  
gain;*

*The day is past, and yet I saw no sun,  
And now I live, and now my life is  
done.*

*My tale was heard and yet it was not  
told,  
My fruit is fallen, and yet my leaves are  
green,  
My youth is spent and yet I am not old,  
I saw the world and yet I was not seen;  
My thread is cut and yet it is not spun,  
And now I live, and now my life is  
done.*

*I sought my death and found it in my  
womb,  
I looked for life and saw it was a shade,*

*I trod the earth and knew it was my  
tomb,*

*And now I die, and now I was but  
made;*

*My glass is full, and now my glass is  
run,*

*And now I live, and now my life is  
done.*

As for Mary Queen of Scots, she did not escape punishment either. A month before Babington and his crew were led to the scaffold, she was formally charged with conspiring her cousin's death. Ironically, Mary was out riding, and the band of men approaching her whom she thought to be her liberators, turned out to be Cecil's men. Mary was brought back to Chartley, and later taken to Fotheringhay Castle in Northamptonshire where what remained of her restless and controversial life would meet its end.

**ROLAND HUI**

## NOTES

1. Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots. 1547-1603 (CSP Scotland), II, 1563-1569, no. 692.
2. CSP Scotland, II, 1563-1569, no. 697.
3. Susan Doran, (editor), *Elizabeth – The Exhibition at the National Maritime Museum*, London: Chatto & Windus, 2003, p. 220.
4. Antonia Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots*, London: Methuen, 1985, p. 573.
5. J.H. Pollen, *Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot*, Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 3rd series, 1922, pp. 18-22.
6. J.H. Pollen, *Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot*, p. 44-45.
7. J.H. Pollen, *Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot*, p. 42.
8. J.H. Pollen, *Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot*, p. 41.
9. Susan Doran, (editor), *Elizabeth and Mary: Royal Cousins, Rival Queens*, London: The British Library, 2021, p. 221.
10. Charles Harding Firth, *The Ballad History of the Reigns of the Later Tudors*, London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1909, p. 93.
11. *Verses of prayse and ioye written vpon her Maiesties preseruatioun. Whereunto is annexed Tychbornes lamentation, written in the Towre with his own hand, and an aunswere to the same*, London: Printed by John Wolfe, 1586.



# HAMPTON COURT PALACE ARTISAN FESTIVAL

**Immerse yourself in the rich history of Hampton Court Palace this spring at the Hampton Court Palace Artisan Festival!**

From 13th-15th May this summer, a hustle-and-bustle of food and drink, exquisite hand-crafted gifts, and arts & crafts workshops will flock to the Hampton Court Palace Artisan Festival for a three-day celebration in a classic Tudor setting. As well as sampling yummy treats and bites, visitors can get stuck into workshop sessions on everything from metalwork to candle making and explore the artisanal wares of makers local and far-flung. Exhibitors dotted around Hampton Court's East Gardens will be offering everything from oils, vinegars and other kitchen goodies to homeware, lampshades and candles – not to mention trendy clothes, exclusive artworks and paintings or beautiful jewellery and gifts!





As well as indulging in delicious food and drink and picking up wonderful hand-crafted products, visitors to the Artisan Festival will also get the chance to explore inside the Palace rooms, included in entry to the festival. There'll be the opportunity to roam the banquet halls, kitchens, drawing rooms and bedrooms, not to mention trying your hand at authentic Tudor board games and absorbing the rich history of the Palace. See if you can spot the initials of Henry's wives marking the stonemasonry, and marvel at the only surviving example of a Tudor theatre, the Palace's Great Hall.







Plus, if you're in the mood to sample the delights of Bushy Park next door, with its deer and wide-open spaces, attendees can catch a carriage ride driven by the Shire Horse, a designated rare breed and one of the largest horses in the world, whose breeding was first encouraged by King Henry himself for the sake of creating an optimum beast for joust and war – though today they're much better suited to petting!

Tickets to the Hampton Court Palace Artisan Festival will be on sale soon, so keep your eyes peeled! To find out more, head over to <https://www.hrpfestivals.com/artisan-festival>. Palace members enjoy free entry – find out more here.





Tudor  
Chainy  
Words

Each answer starts with the last letter of the answer before.

Can you make your way from top to bottom of this word chain?

BY TIM RIDGWAY

H

First name of the Famous Court painter \_\_\_\_ Holbein

Company who created the TV series  
"The Tudors" Time

First Name of Henry VIII's Fool,  
Somers

Although she was briefly queen,  
we know her as Jane Grey

Elizabeth of \_\_\_\_\_, wife of  
Henry VII

If Perkin Warbeck's claim was legitimate  
he would have been

Family name of the owners of the  
16th Century Bradgate House was \_\_\_\_\_

The tilt \_\_\_\_\_ was where people would joust

Edward Seymour, 1st \_\_\_\_ of Somerset,  
Lord Protector of England

Henry Howard was the  
of Surrey

Contributing reason for Anne Boleyn's fall was a \_\_\_\_\_ of a male heir

The county which holds  
Deal Castle is

The Henry VII Lady Chapel  
contains Henry's

October 12, 1537 was the date  
of Edward VI's

A \_\_\_\_\_ from Thomas Cranmer to Henry VIII  
shed doubt on Catherine Howard

The Tudor story is predominately based in the South- of England

T

# Anne Boleyn: A Judicial Murder

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**Gayle Hulme** investigates the arrest, conviction and execution of Queen Anne Boleyn.

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Executions were not uncommon in the 16th century, with vast numbers of citizens gathering at Tyburn, Smithfield or Tower Hill to witness the passing of those convicted of capital crimes. However, a few months after the death of Katherine of Aragon at Kimbolton Castle and Queen Anne Boleyn's final miscarriage in January, an altogether more insidious use of the king's judiciary was being contemplated; judicial murder. The Collins English Dictionary defines judicial murder as 'the unjustified execution of the death penalty', and it can be convincingly argued that the arrest, conviction and execution of Queen Anne Boleyn was just that. It is unclear exactly when Henry decided to free himself of his second wife. Still, we know that contrary to accepted procedure, special investigations into the queen's conduct took place by 24 April. Eric Ives writes in his book 'The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn' that Thomas Cromwell set up the investigations and therefore was using the sovereign's own judiciary, not only to ingratiate himself with his master by freeing him from an unsatisfactory wife, but he was also permanently neutralising any opposition from the queen's powerful and influential faction. The task was not without its risks, but within the space of just twenty-one days, Cromwell had successfully engineered the execution of the six people leaving the path clear

for Henry VIII and Lady Jane Seymour to become betrothed.

Anne was arrested at the Palace of Placentia (Greenwich Palace) and committed to The Tower of London on 2 May 1536. But the machinations of Henry VIII and his chief minister had begun long before Anne was questioned by 'her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk; Sir William FitzWilliam [...] and Sir William Paulet' (Weir 2010). Several occurrences point to the fact that Anne's arrest was carried out with strategic speed, efficiency and maximum public exposure. At the moment of her arrest, only hours after being told she was under suspicion of adultery, she was apprehended in her private chambers, denied the time to pack or even arrange the attendance of her ladies for her journey to the Tower. It was common practice for the prisoner to be 'isolate(d) immediately...to prevent access to the king' (Ives 2004), and this was particularly significant in Anne's case; if she was given an opportunity to plead her innocence to the king, either in person, as Catherine Parr successfully did in 1546, by letter or via one of her ladies, the consequences for her accusers could have been calamitous. Anne was not afforded the custom of conducting prisoners to the Tower under the cover of darkness. Instead, she was taken down the Thames from Greenwich in broad daylight. The journey of five miles from Greenwich



to the Tower, which today takes about sixteen minutes, took between three and four hours. It was made even more tortuous by Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk, 'tut, tut, tut(ing)' and by the 'large crowds[...] flocking to the river banks to see her conveyed to prison' (Weir 2009).

By the time the Tower cannon had fired at almost five o'clock, Anne had reached the end of her physical and emotional tether. Fearing she would be moved from the royal apartments to a dungeon, she broke down in front of Sir William Kingston, Constable of the Tower 'weeping a great pace' and in the next instance 'fell into a great laughing'.

The policy of isolation, uncertainty and confinement employed by her accusers had, at points, pushed Anne beyond the bounds of psychological tolerance. A further ploy to unsettle Anne's fragile nerves was surrounding her with 'those I (Anne) never loved'. Rather than allowing her own ladies to care for her, she was waited on by women who had either been sympathetic to Katherine of Aragon or who bore familial grudges, such as her aunt, Lady Boleyn. Little did she know that in her sporadic fits of hysteria, every word she uttered out with the presence of Kingston, incriminating or otherwise, was being fed back firstly from Lady Kingston to her husband and then on to Cromwell. Ultimately, the comments Anne made in the Tower, and the confession extracted by either physical or psychological torture from the lowly musical Mark Smeaton would be used by Cromwell to build the case against Anne. In the case of Mark Smeaton, Cromwell would no doubt have told him that if convicted, there be no quick clean beheading but the full horrific traitor's death.

On 15 May, guards escorted Anne from the royal apartments to the King's

Hall a few hundred yards away. To today's Tower of London visitor, this building would have stood where the Raven's Lodgings stand today. The choice of venue and the staging of this show trial were no accident. The crown's physical possession of the queen and her brother would not be comprised by transporting them downriver to Westminster Hall, where the other four men accused with the queen had been tried and convicted on 12 May.

Even though the queen had regained her composure and answered firmly, 'not guilty', the result was a foregone conclusion. The queen must have known that since the men co-accused with her had already been found guilty, then surely her conviction would follow. As Anne was not allowed to speak in her defence, it made no difference that she was often in different locations, giving birth to Princess Elizabeth or in confinement on the dates some of the incidents were said to have occurred. So it followed that the 2,000 spectators inside the hall witnessed the 17 peers of the realm unanimously pass a guilty verdict. It was not in their interest to do otherwise. According to Claire Ridgway of 'The Anne Boleyn Files', most of the men who sat on the jury were either supporters of Lady Mary, personal friends of the king, or wished to curry favour with him. From a distance of 486 years, we must understand that the king was the font of all political advancement and to cross him was a sure-fire way to halt your career and possibly worse.

Perhaps the most ironic detail of Anne's judicial murder is that Archbishop Cranmer came to tell the queen that her marriage to the king was invalid two days after her conviction. We have no evidence that tells us on

what grounds Anne agreed to this, but it does beg the question - how can a woman be accused and convicted of committing adultery against a man she was never married to? Once again, there would not be a courtier or lawyer in the land who would risk the king's wrath by stating such a fact.

There is another chilling fact in the death of Anne Boleyn. The king had decided that she would be beheaded not with the traditional English axe but by a sword. The swordsman, known as the hangman of Calais, was to be charged with the duty of beheading the first Queen of England ever to be executed. The chilling detail lies in the timing. Anne was tried on 15 May, and her original execution date was set for the 18th. This meant that the executioner was probably summoned well before the trial, and the verdict was reached. In our age of digital communication and airline travel, it is possible to send correspondence within minutes and travel internationally within hours. However, in the 16th century, messengers would have had to be dispatched, horses changed, the weather for a channel crossing would need to be favourable, and of course, all of this would have to happen in return. Communication in some cases took weeks, and continental travel was fraught with many variables. The truth, therefore, must be that Queen Anne Boleyn did not receive a fair trial and that her death sentence was sealed long

before her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, pronounced that she would be 'burned here with the Tower of London...or else have thy head smitten off, as the King's pleasure shall be known...'

When Queen Anne Boleyn's decapitated remains were buried in The Chapel Royal St Peter ad Vincula, on the afternoon of 19 May 1536, it was the bloody and brutal culmination of what Anne's biographer, Eric Ives, described as a political 'coup' (Ives 2004). She had never been popular with the English people, and to them, her fall from grace was perceived as just retribution for supplanting the much loved Queen Katherine. However, the general public was unaware that within the corridors of Whitehall Palace at Westminster, the cogs of Henry VIII's judiciary had been manipulated to leave an indelible and 'infamous slander' on the late queen. Henry VIII expunged all trace of his former wife from his palaces; cyphers and portraits had been removed. Then just 20 days after Anne's execution, Henry VIII's daughter by Anne Boleyn, Princess Elizabeth, was declared illegitimate and removed from the succession by the Second Act of Succession. With the stubborn Katherine of Aragon and the adulterous Anne Boleyn now dead, the king prayed that God would grant him the sons he had spent the last twenty-seven years denying him.

**GAYLE HULME**

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- Vasoli, S. (2005) *Anne Boleyn's Letter from the Tower*, Oxford: Madeglobal Publishing
- Weir, A. (2009) *The Lady in the Tower*, London: Vintage
- <https://www.theanneboleynfiles.com/the-trial-of-anne-boleyn/> (accessed 23 January 2022)
- 'Henry VIII: May 1536, 11-15', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 10, January-June 1536*, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1887), pp. 349-371. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol10/pp349-371> [accessed 23 January 2022]





It would be hard to start any recommendation list in this category without picking books associated with the eras two greatest whodunnits - Edward V and Amy Robsart - so why not try Alison Weir's *The Princess in the Tower* or Chris Skidmore's *Death and the Virgin*?

Novel-wise, our regular columnist Toni Mount has written a fantastic series of mystery novels beginning with *The Colour of Poison*, while C. J. Sansom's Matthew Shardlake series follows a series of fictitious murders, beginning with a case in a snow-trapped monastery in its first novel, *Dissolution*. I also enjoyed C. W. Gortner's *The Tudor Secret* and can recommend it.

In terms of something to watch, the 1998 movie *Elizabeth* featured many a murder, some of decidedly questionable historical veracity! The Amy Robsart case was dramatised in the second episode of the BBC series *The Virgin Queen*, in which Elizabeth is played by Anne-Marie Duff, Lord Leicester is played by Tom Hardy, and Amy Robsart by Emilia Fox.

**GARETH RUSSELL**

Susan Abernethy talks about...

# The Assassination of Robert Pakington, MP

**IN THE EARLY HOURS OF DAWN, ON NOVEMBER 13, 1536**, as a wealthy merchant and member of Parliament was on his way to mass, the unthinkable happened. He was gunned down by a mysterious perpetrator in the mist. How did this happen? Who wanted the man killed?

Robert Pakington was born c. 1489 to John Pakington and Elizabeth Washborne in Stanford-on-Teme, Worcestershire. He had three brothers: John, Augustine and Humphrey. By 1510, Robert had completed his apprenticeship with The Worshipful Company of Mercers, one of London's livery companies. The Company was first formed as a trade association for general merchants and this particular company ex-

ported clothing in velvet, silk and other luxurious fabrics and imported various wares.

The worshipful guilds often originated from parish church fraternities and were endowed with religious tendencies and sentiments. When Robert's apprenticeship ended, he joined his elder brother John in the Inner Temple in London, although he had no intention of becoming a lawyer. He would remain



A Weelock pistol, the type of gun used to shoot Robert Pakington





employed by the Company of Mercer's for many years. Robert married Agnes Baldwin, the daughter of Sir John Baldwin, chief justice of common pleas. With this marriage, Robert came into possession of the Manor of Aylesbury along with other properties. Together the couple had three daughters and two sons.

In 1516, Robert Pakington was one of the 'worshipful commoners' present during the general court of the Merchant Adventurers, a pre-cursor to the English East India Company. In 1523, he was chosen by the Mercers to receive a commission to produce articles in support of their interests for presentation to Parliament. In effect, he acted as the sixteenth century version of what we would call a lobbyist today.

He served as warden for the Mercers from 1527-8 and presented more articles to Parliament in 1529. Protestant sentiments were taking root as Henry VIII sought to divorce Catherine of Aragon. In order to marry Anne Boleyn, the king planned to break with the Roman Catholic Church of Rome. One of the articles authored by Robert was extremely anti-clerical. He would be very outspoken against what he viewed as the covetousness and cruelty perpetuated by the clergy, recounting complaints of ordinary citizens being robbed by the clergy who probated testaments and oversaw mortuaries (a funeral gift to the parish priest). Pakington's writings did not go unnoticed. As a result of his efforts, the Commons passed statutes restricting mortuary and probate fees.

Despite his concerns about the clergy, Robert attended mass daily at the Mercers' chapel of St. Thomas of Acre, across the road from his home. Robert's views were perhaps influenced by his close friendship with Thomas Cromwell. Cromwell was Catholic at the time

but he held reformist views. Cromwells' evangelical man of business Stephen Vaughan commissioned Pakington to report to Cromwell on affairs in Flanders. He began to carry messages between Cromwell and evangelical activists in Antwerp. Vaughan believed the king had no truer subject than Robert Pakington. At this point, Pakington's appetite for religious reform surpassed the king's. Protestant sympathies and anti-clerical attitudes did not sit well with conservative bishops and soon, church leadership began to take notice.

Pakington ran for Parliament and won in a by-election in October 1533 and would be re-elected for a full term in 1536. Some time between 1533 and November 1535, Robert married for a second time. His new wife was Katherine, a widow of Richard Collier. By now he was described as a 'man of substance', having been assessed at a worth of five hundred marks in 1534. In 1535, he exported 75 long cloths and 168 short cloths to the summer mart in Antwerp.

When he wrote his will on November 23 in that same year, his bequests amounted to over 300 hundred pounds. Other wording in the document provided evidence of his sympathy for protestant and reformation views. It stated he trusted to find his salvation only by the merit of Jesus Christ. By now, because of his outspokenness, it was believed he had abjured the Catholic faith.

But this wasn't all. He was importing English bibles from beyond the sea. We know this because Rose Hickman, the daughter of Sir William Locke, attested to this fact. Locke was a mercer with ties to Antwerp and served as a gentleman usher to King Henry VIII himself and provided English bibles and other re-

formation literature to Queen Anne Boleyn.

Copies of William Tyndale's "Translation of the New Testament" were arriving from Antwerp in large quantities. Cuthbert Tunstall, the former Bishop of London, now Bishop of Durham, grew concerned and wanted to suppress the Testament. He consulted with Robert Pakington regarding his contacts in Antwerp. In fact, Pakington was a friend of Tyndale, and knew he had numerous copies of the Testament and needed money. Pakington told Tunstall he would buy all the unsold copies of the Testament. It was a win-win situation for all parties. Tyndale had the money, Pakington gained the appreciation of the bishop, and the bishop had copies of the book suppressed.

However, printers in Holland immediately printed another edition and these copies came to England in even greater numbers than before. Tunstall blamed Pakington for not buying all the books. Robert told the bishop, in order to stop the supply, he must buy the type and the presses. The bishop, amused by this answer, dropped the matter.

By the fall of 1536, there were increased tensions in the City of London as the Pilgrimage of Grace played out in the north, with rebels protesting against the religious changes inaugurated by the King and Cromwell. Rumors spread that the rebels would come south and blood would run in the streets.

On the fateful day, a Monday morning around 6:00 am, Robert crossed Cheapside, just around the corner in Sopers Lane. He was on his way to early mass at St. Thomas of Acre Chapel. It was still dark and the air was thick with smoke from the chimneys, mixed with a mist from the Thames. Those in the neighborhood, as well as some laborers standing at the end of Soper's Lane,

heard a shot as it rang out. Wounded in the head, Pakington died instantly.

According to an article written by Derek Wilson, most of the firearms at the time were matchlock arquebuses, which were about a meter long and required a match to light the powder. No witnesses mentioned a match being lit, leading to the conclusion that a smaller wheellock pistol was used by the killer, making Pakington the first person in England to be killed by a handgun. Wheellock guns were more widespread on the continent and still rare in England. The circumstances of the location, the weapon and the timing all indicate the assassination was not accidental.

Because of the dense fog at the scene of the murder and the fact no one could see the perpetrator, speculation and conspiracy theories abounded. A reward was offered for any information leading to an arrest and neighbors filed various reports. The use of a weapon well-known on the continent led people to assume a foreigner was responsible. It was also widely believed Pakington's death was due to Catholic reactionaries and conservative bishops.

The sermon preached during Pakington's funeral on November 16 was read by a Lutheran activist, Robert Barnes. Pakington was laid to rest in his parish church of St. Pancras, where they later erected a monument in his memory. According to the custom of the time, his children became orphans of the City of London. On November 20, 1537, the Court of Aldermen entrusted the eldest child to his maternal grandfather.

Protestant reformers came to believe his murder signified Pakington's martyrdom leading to theories of religious controversy regarding his death. In 1545, Protestant reformer John Bale suggested the conservative Catholic bishops were responsible for Pakington's death. Ed-



ward Hall, one of Pakington's colleagues in Parliament, shared these sentiments. John Foxe attributed the murder to the clergy, relating contradictory theories regarding the crime.

Numerous ideas were put forth. John Foxe reported rumors circulating in 1559 that the former Bishop of London, John Stokesley, paid a priest sixty gold coins to commit the murder. Stokesley was responsible for having heretics burned at the stake. And he had publicly argued with Cromwell, in particular objecting to the promotion of the English bible. Then in 1563, in a new edition of his "Actes and Monuments", Foxe claimed he had credible information that John Incent, the retired Dean of St. Paul's, had arranged the shooting and confessed to it on his deathbed.

Foxe's other story claimed the assassination was carried out by an Italian.

Chroniclers John Stowe, Raphael Holinshed, and Richard Grafton did not subscribe to the allegations of Foxe. Holinshed came up with another version entirely, claiming a certain felon had been sentenced to hang at Banbury and while on the gallows, confessed to Pakington's murder. The killer has never been identified and the entire incident remains a mystery to this day.

**Further reading:** "Worthies of Buckinghamshire and Men of Note of that County" by Robert Gibb, entry on Robert Pakington in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography written by Peter Marshall, entry on Robert Pakington at History of Parliament Online, "Actes and Monuments" by John Foxe, "On This Day in Tudor History" by Claire Ridgway, "The hunt for the Tudor hitman", article in History Extra written by Derek Wilson

SUSAN ABERNETHY



# *Tudor Chain Words Answers*

How did you do in this  
month's quiz?  
Fancywriting one for us?  
GET IN TOUCH!

Hans  
Show  
Will  
Lady  
York  
King  
Grey  
Yard  
Duke  
Earl  
Lack  
Kent  
Tomb  
Born  
Note  
East

TONI MOUNT

# Going to the Loo in Tudor Times

Everybody needs the loo, even royalty, so what were the kinds of facilities available to Tudor folk when nature called?

Out in the countryside, agricultural workers probably nipped behind a convenient hedge or tree for a few moments of privacy and this is the derivation of the medieval and Tudor word for the lavatory: 'the privy'. Medieval folk sometimes referred to an indoor ensuite loo as a 'garderobe', like the modern word 'wardrobe', because it

was where you hung your Sunday best to keep the moths away. If a Tudor house had its own facility, either indoors or out, that was quite a mark of social standing but, in the crowded towns, not every home had the luxury of a privy but everyone would have a chamber pot. And when the pot required emptying, throwing the noxious contents out of the window with a shout of 'Gardy-loo!' was the quickest and easiest means of disposal, if not the most hygienic or considerate



Woodblock image showing an incident of 'Gardy-loo!' [top centre], a gong- or dong-farmer [lower left] and a woman caught short [lower right].  
[[http://gallery.nen.gov.uk/asset56685\\_873-.html](http://gallery.nen.gov.uk/asset56685_873-.html)]



of your neighbours and passers-by. ‘Gardy-loo!’ is a corruption of the French phrase ‘Regardez l’eau!’ or ‘Watch out for the water!’ and is the origin of our modern euphemism, ‘loo’.

If folk were caught short in the street, as in the image above, there was nothing ‘privy’ about it. Hopefully, most would make it to the nearest public ‘house of easement’ where nature took its course communally. London’s famous Lord Mayor, Richard [aka Dick] Whittington had built what became known as the Longhouse in the 1420s with 120 privy seats – 60 for men, 60 for women – and it continued as a public toilet into the eighteenth century, being rebuilt after it was burnt down in the Great Fire of London.<sup>1</sup> The Longhouse was in Vintry Ward, close by the River Thames, so the effluent ran away into the river through a sluice which was washed clean at every high tide. Above the toilet facilities, Whittington built the upper storey as five or six almshouses for the elderly of St Martin’s, the local parish church, but it can’t have been the sweetest place to retire to.

For Londoners, there was another public house of easement just outside the city walls, built to overhang the River Fleet. But this river was far shallower and narrower than the River Thames and was often blocked by the effluent with unpleasant consequences.

London wasn’t the only city with a problem. In 1495, John Myn of York was fined for emptying his chamber pot out the window, being forced to pay 2s



A communal privy like those in the Longhouse

for throwing human urine and other sordida into the street at night. Some private properties which backed on to a river or ditch had a latrine, or a ‘jakes’, built out over the water but all too often the excrement piled up and blocked the flow of water. In 1579, the Dean of York was threatened with a huge fine of £3 if he didn’t remove the jakes he’d had constructed over the Queen’s Dike, an important water course that ran through the city.

### **Waste-disposal**

So who was responsible for clearing the waste and ordure in towns, cities and even palaces? This was the task of folk known variously as gong- or dong-farmers, gong scourers, scavengers, scawagers or, more politely, night-soil men.

Whatever their job title, they had the most revolting career imaginable. They dug out and carried away the human excrement from privies and cesspits during the night and removed public rubbish heaps, midden heaps or muckhills. The filth and garbage – this latter specifically referred to the waste from slaughter houses and butchers’ businesses – was taken away beyond the town or city boundary



An indoor ensuite privy at Bayleaf house  
which probably emptied straight onto a cesspit,  
the effluent then used to fertilise the garden.  
[GRM 21] <sup>2</sup>



where it could be 'dumped' officially, although what we would see as the 'compostable' waste was sold to farmers and market-gardeners as fertiliser, making extra income for the gong scourers. Householders would be fined if they didn't use the official public muckhill and in 1552, the town council of Stratford-upon-Avon fined Shakespeare's father for making his own midden heap beside his house in Henley Street, instead of using the proper place.

Gong scourers usually worked as teams, including young lads who could squeeze into tight spaces. No member of the public wanted to see sewage being dug out, removed and carted away, so the scourers worked at night, from 9 pm to 5 am, with only candles to see by. By Tudor times, households were having their indoor privies empty into brick-built cesspits in the garden instead of using earth-closets outside. Earth closets were simply holes dug in the ground with a stool or bench above with a suitable hole in it within a rough sort of shed to shelter the occupant. Some of these privies were one-and-a-half-seaters, designed to be used by a mother and child together. When the hole was full, a new one was dug nearby, the earth being used to cover the old one. The bench and shed were moved to the new site and the sewage left to rot down and fertilise the garden. These facilities didn't require a gong scourer but as the population of London increased by 400% in the sixteenth century, the green option of



an earth closet wasn't always possible with gardens being built over and multiple-occupancy tenements becoming the commonest dwellings.

Gong scourers had to work waist-high, or worse, in sewage. Buckets were used to remove the liquid but the sludge below had to be shovelled out. It wasn't unknown for these brick cesspits to leak into a neighbour's cellar, leading to law suits and court cases. The gong scourers also got into trouble. One was made to stand neck deep in the filth he'd collected in his great barrel or 'pipe' because he was caught tipping the muck into the gutter instead of disposing of it properly. Another died while working, overcome by the poisonous gas hydrogen sulphide. Unsurprisingly, because of the stench, gong scourers were among the first Elizabethans to take up tobacco smoking.

But there were a few perks, apart from selling the muck as fertiliser. It was a well-paid job, as much as ten-shillings being paid by rich folk to have their grand houses cleansed and the servants' communal privy cleared. There was also extra money to be made from what the scourers might find among the muck – lost jewellery

## TONI MOUNT

and even the remnants of gold leaf. This latter was used to decorate posh food and is edible, passing through, unchanged, and could fetch a good price if washed and sold to jewellers for re-beating into gold leaf again. Sadly though, it wasn't unheard of for dead bodies to be found, particularly those of babies who had died at birth.

### All at sea

One place where you might think there would be no problem disposing of waste is at sea but researchers have made a study of the facilities on board King Henry's flagship, the Mary Rose, raised from her watery grave in The Solent and now preserved in a dedicated museum in Portsmouth, Hampshire. Apparently, ship's toilets, known as the 'heads' are traditionally at the front or bow of the ship and that part of the Mary Rose is missing but there is some evidence of other toilet arrangements.<sup>3</sup>

For certain, one officer had his own pewter chamber pot and it was probably the lowly cabin boy's job to empty it. Surprisingly, only one such convenience had been found but since other pewter ware has barely survived among the wreckage, there were likely to have been others. This one was preserved in the scour-pit or cesspit at the bottom of the stern, protected by layers of muck.

On the upper deck, sheltered by the sterncastle, numerous personal items were discovered, suggesting this was where the crew relaxed when they weren't on duty. Here there is a gulley, known as a 'dale', and experts think this was used as a 'piss dale' or toilet trough, the urine channelled away, over the side of the ship. This

would have been a very public convenience for the crew but for larger matters, they would have to use the heads, likely situated at the bow.<sup>4</sup>

### Royal conveniences

When Henry VIII acquired Hampton Court from Cardinal Wolsey, the palace was ultra-modern and at the height of luxury. Even so, its toilet facilities were very basic and unable to cope with the demands of the huge royal household. Of course, the king himself had his personal loo in the 'stool room' and portable ones which his servants would have to fetch and carry as required, if his majesty had urgent need and couldn't be bothered to traipse all the way to the stool room. His loo was a commode known as a close stool: a box consisting of a padded seat set over a chamber pot or bucket. It





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was described as 'covered in sheepskin, black velvet and ribbons', although the one in the image below appears to be of red velvet.

The Groom of the Stool was in charge of the stool room and all that happened there. This was an office created by Henry VII who obviously thought he was too grand to wipe his own behind and, incredibly, this was a sought-after position at court. The privilege of being alone with the monarch and knowing his most intimate habits made the groom a man of considerable influence. He had keys to the royal apartments, assisted the king in dressing and was well paid for the less pleasant aspects of the job. He was responsible for the safe-keeping of the king's valuables and even determined who else could have access to the monarch.

Toilet paper hadn't been invented yet – paper was too valuable anyway – and while common folk used moss, hay or

leaves to wipe their backsides, the king had to have the best 'diaper', a type of thick, soft and absorbent linen.<sup>5</sup> It was the groom's task to wipe and wash the royal behind with scented water and dry it before rearranging the king's clothing. Sir Henry Norreys, who was executed in 1536, accused of having committed adultery with Anne Boleyn, had held the post of Groom of the Stool at the time.

Norrey's successor, Sir Thomas Heneage, was also required to administer laxatives, if the king became constipated. In September 1539, Heneage duly reported to Secretary Thomas Cromwell that at 2 am in the morning 'His Grace rose to go upon his stool which, with the working of the pills and enema, had a very fair siege'. Nothing was private, even for the king.

Important courtiers would have chamber pots in their rooms and servants to empty them but what of these lesser servants at Hampton Court? Henry VIII had a 'Great House of Easement' built for the lowlier servants but with only two floors having fourteen holes each, this was hardly enough to cater for the hundreds working in the royal household and servants didn't have time to spare for comfort breaks. Convenient corners in corridors or even cooking hearths were used. The most popular places must have reeked of urine and the king ordered crosses to be chalked on the walls in the hope that the religious symbol would deter users. Later on, because the practice continued, spiked railings were put around the most used corners and are still there today. The Great House didn't change things very much because the waste ran



Sir John Harington  
[1560-1612]

## TONI MOUNT

down chutes into a brick cesspit without any means of flushing it away into the nearby River Thames. By the time the king and his household had been resident for a month, the pit was full and the gong scourers had to go in and deal with it.

### Queen Elizabeth's toilet arrangements

Of course, a queen couldn't have a groom attending to her intimate needs, so Elizabeth employed a Lady of the Bedchamber to deal with her privy requirements. Like her father, she used a commode but her godson, Sir John Harington, presented her majesty with the gift of a self-contained water closet with a cistern and flush. He'd invented the system himself and wrote a booklet all about its function, complete with woodblock illustrations, titled *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*, Ajax being an Elizabethan pun on 'a jakes', meaning the loo.

You may think the queen would be delighted with this brilliant invention, start a new fashion and everybody would want one. Not a bit of it. Some sources say her majesty didn't like Sir John's gift; others that she did, if only because she 'liked the foolish fellow' himself. But Elizabethan technology wasn't ready for flushing toilets. Piped

water was a rare luxury, even in royal palaces, so buckets were needed to refill the cistern and, since sewage systems were equally rare, removing the soiled water also had to be done with buckets. This meant Sir John's convenience was far from, well, convenient, even if it did smell better than other facilities.

Sir John eventually fell from royal favour and was banished from court, not because of his new toilet but because of his toilet humour. His hobby was translating dirty poems. Here's his English translation of a Latin poem by the not-so-saintly-after-all Sir Thomas More:

*If leaks you leak but do their smell  
disleeke,*

*Eat onions and you shall not smell the  
leek.*

*If you of onions would the scent expel  
Eat garlic; that shall drown the onion's  
smell.*

*But against garlic's savour, if you smart,  
I know but one recipe. What's that? A  
fart!*

[I have modernised the spelling where possible.]

I hope you have enjoyed this brief exploration of Tudor loos.

TONI MOUNT

### Notes:

1. <https://guildhallhistoricalassociation.files.wordpress.com/2017/01/21-whittingtons-longhouse.pdf>

2. Taken at The Weald and Downland Living Museum, Singleton, West Sussex.

3. <https://maryrose.org/blog/historical/museum-blogger/spending-half-a-groat-toilets-on-the-mary-rose/#:~:text=Everybody%20goes%20to%20the%20toilet%2C%20even%20in%20Tudor%20times%2C%20but,we%20sadly%20don't%20have.>

4. The Poop Deck, a small deck forming the roof of an aft cabin which the *Mary Rose* may or may not have had, was nothing to do with toilets; it comes from the French *la poupe*, or stern. In any case, the word poop only started being used as a verb in its modern sense in the early 1900s. [Taken from the website above.]

5. Great mullein, a plant with large, soft leaves, was often grown in Tudor gardens for use as toilet paper.



CARDINAL DE LENONCOURT.  
DE METZ. L'AN. 1550.

# March's Guest Adam Pennington

## Talking about The Pole Family



# Charlie

## The Tudors in Love

by Sarah Gristwood



# On Books



The phrase ‘courtly love’ and the Tudors has been thrown around from time to time by many historians, especially in connection to the courts of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. It is seldom explored in any depth, it being a medieval concept and not one always associated with the Tudor period. Sarah Gristwood examines the idea of the Tudors and courtly love in her latest book *The Tudors in Love*, looking back at the medieval period with its invention and the inspiration for the Tudors’ obsession with it.

I would warn readers not to go in expecting a book just about the Tudors, as it starts by looking at Eleanor of Aquitaine, Henry II and Chaucer, but that is necessary, even if it is a very different way to look at them. It provides a unique perspective on the dynasty and some much-needed context. Gristwood explains the various definitions of courtly love and how the views of it have changed over time:

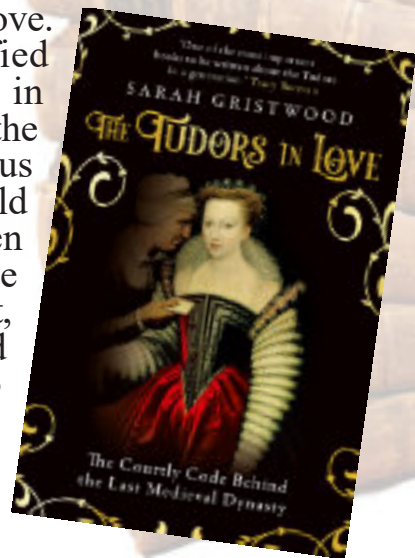
‘Courtly love grew out of the conditions of the age in which it was born. (What is interesting here is that some of those conditions would once again find echoes in the Tudor century.) The service a lover owed his lady was modelled on the feudal contract that laid down what a villein owed his lord, or a knight his king. C.S. Lewis pointed out that, etymologically, ‘midons’, a lover’s address to his courtly lady, meant not ‘my lady’ but ‘my lord’. Bernart de Ventadorn, the troubadour who followed Eleanor of Aquitaine to England, promises in one poem to serve his lady ‘as I would a good lord’.’

One of the most iconic moments in

Henry VIII’s reign happened early on and would have seemed straight out of a medieval fantasy. This is immediately after Henry found out his father had died and he was now king and, playing the chivalrous knight, he decides to ‘rescue’ Catherine of Aragon and marry her:

‘But we may indeed see this as a gesture from the realm of fantasy. The prince, in best tradition, rescuing at a stroke the Spanish princess who had spent seven years in penurious uncertainty. There was no reason Catherine would not love the tall, fair young giant who saved her from an uncertain and humiliating future, and whose looks foreign envoys noted in almost erotic terms. His face was so beautiful it would become a pretty woman, one wrote; while in Flanders they would hear that the young king’s ‘nobleness and fame’ was greater than any prince since King Arthur.’

One of the good things about Gristwood’s work is that she doesn’t limit it to just the English monarchs, she also looks at the relationships of Margaret and Mary Tudor, Henry VIII’s sisters, with Mary’s marriage to Charles Brandon being another homage to tradition of courtly love. Mary and Charles defied Henry and married in secret, knowing that the difference in status between the two should have been insurmountable. Once Henry got over the slight, he must have understood it was playing to





everything he valued.

The Tudors in Love is an excellent work that explores the many ways the monarchs and their family used courtly love to great effect. Sarah Gristwood explains the

origins of the tradition and how integral this was to the image they wanted to project, especially for the likes of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I.

## Sudeley Castle: Royalty, Romance & Revival

by James Parry with Elizabeth, Lady Ashcombe



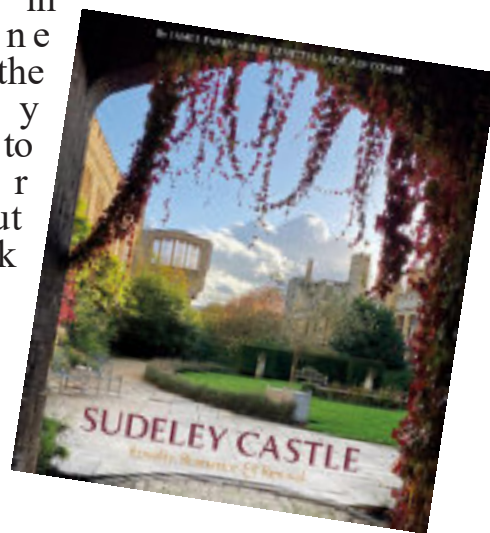
There are very few books on Sudeley Castle, the stunning building that Katherine Parr briefly called home. It is mentioned in many works, as Katherine now rests in the chapel in its grounds, but until now there hasn't been a recent work on the castle. Thankfully this has been remedied by James Parry and Lady Ashcombe, the current custodian of the castle, in their book *Sudeley Castle: Royalty, Romance & Revival*. This large coffee table type book covers the history of the castle from its earliest beginnings to the present day, interspersed with Lady Ashcombe's recollections of her time there and key memories from the past few years.

The book starts with a brief history of the land and what the archaeological surveys have found, telling the reader what was there before the castle. We are told how the oldest surviving part of the castle dates back from 1440 and that it was later improved by Richard III and, as such, fell into royal ownership. The part that will probably be of most interest to readers is Katherine Parr's time at Sudeley. This is one of the most detailed sections, explaining the various modifications and expenses made during her stay:

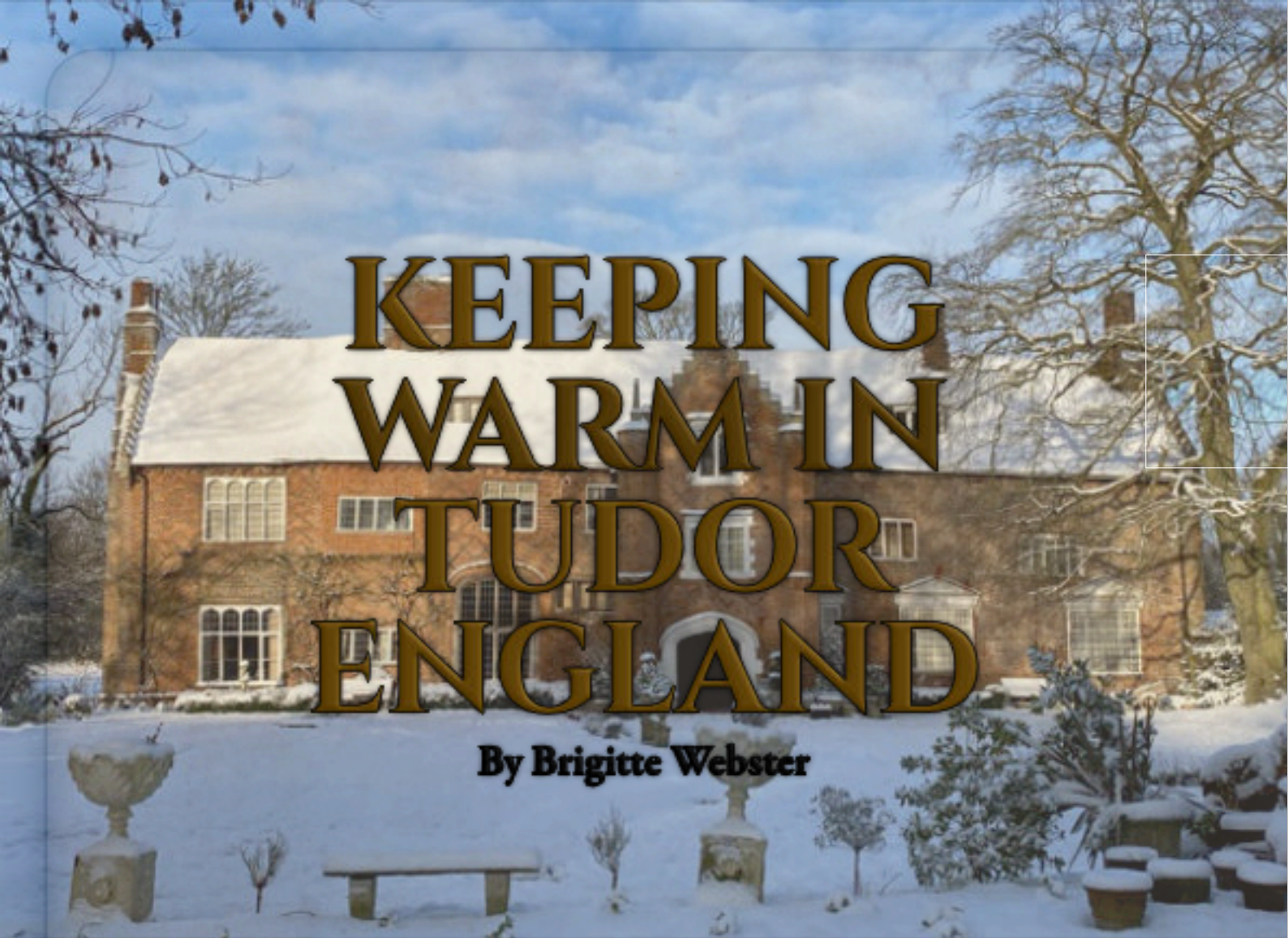
'The expense of bringing Sudeley up to the required standard would have been prodigious, with Sir Nicholas Throckmorton (Katherine's cup-bearer) remarking how Thomas 'spared no cost his lady to delight, Or to maintain her princely royalty.' Particular attention was paid to the furnishing of the nursery for Katherine's imminent baby, with Strickland noting how expensive tapestries, silks and taffetas were deployed throughout, that the furniture included a gilded bedstead, elaborate cradle and chair of state, and that a 'goodly store of costly plate ... was also provided for the table service of the anticipated heir.'

Katherine's story feels like one that runs throughout much of Sudeley Castle's history. Later on, the tragic tale of how Katherine Parr's resting place was continuously disturbed and decay was subsequently allowed to set in to her previously immaculate body. Lady Ashcombe will then recount how her time at the castle was turned into one of the first exhibitions after they opened Sudeley to the public.

Sudeley Castle is a beautiful book, with many full colour images throughout and a full history of the castle to accompany them. The inclusion of memories by Lady Ashcombe adds a personal touch and breaks up the different chapters well. It is well worth having if you are interested in the history of the castle or even just interested in Katherine Parr, as the many references to her throughout the book show.







# KEEPING WARM IN TUDOR ENGLAND

By Brigitte Webster

**W**hen we moved into a small Tudor Manor without modern central heating in November 2019, most of our friends and family thought we were mad but were we? In many ways, to us it was an adventure, walking back into Tudor England to live as closely to Tudor standards as one possibly could in twenty-first century Norfolk. Admittedly, the knowledge, that the previous owners raised a family without heating here, assured us that we would not freeze to death. Three winters later, we are still here, no frostbite or modern heating and we love living here – even in the midst of winter! We have four fireplaces which we do use, and they are our comfort for body and soul, but we also make full use of all the means the Tudors had available in order to stay moderately warm during the winter months.



## KEEPING THE HOUSE WARM IN WINTER

The Tudor's most significant innovation to comfortable living was doubtlessly the chimney. Before the arrival of the chimney, the only fire to heat any house was the hearth in the center of the largest space, the great hall. Any smoke would have risen to the top and eventually escaped through gaps in the rafters making it a rather smoke filled, unpleasant room to be in. The introduction of chimneys with their projecting stacks beyond the outside wall, not only allowed the smoke to escape efficiently but it also freed up valuable space in the center of the hall. The stack took the width of the hearth and it was this discovery which removed the fire from the center of the need no



hall and meant that the hall itself longer rise to roof height. In old houses the hall could now be floored halfway up to make an upper storey. In time it was also discovered that with the flue taken up vertically a fireplace need no longer be placed on the outside wall but could be built into an interior wall, which made more fireplaces possible. These fireplaces had a brick interior and a simple, flattened, four-centered arch of stone, ornamented with restrained carving. By the late sixteenth century, fireplaces became rectangular and their chimney breasts became highly ornamented.

William Harrison,  
rector at Radwinter in



Essex, regarded too many fireplaces as a threat to the health if not the morale of the nation. 'Now have we many chimnies, and yet our tenderlings complain of rheumes, catarrhs and poses' he reports in 1587. He goes on to say 'the multitude of chimneys lately erected, whereas in the old men's young days there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish towns of the realm'.

The Tudors' key to staying fairly warm was to prevent the little heat created by the fire, from escaping. Things we take for granted such as glass in our windows, were still an enormously expensive luxury in Tudor England and could be removed and taken when the owners moved. In 1493, the sum of 5s. 4d. was paid for 'glaying the King's chambre'. A hundred years later, glass was beginning to be used on a wider scale, supplanting oiled linen, canvas, panels of horn and as William Harrison in his Description of England, published in 1587, observes, 'lattice made from wicker or fine rifts of oak chequerwise'.

The external walls and window frames in a Tudor house can get very cold and drafty. Walls in principal rooms were therefore often wainscoted (paneled) and covered with huge wall hangings to better





retain the warmth within.

William Harrison describes both as follow: 'The walls of our houses on the inner sides... be either hanged with tapestry, arras work (tapestry with gold threads) or painted cloths... or else they are ceiled with oak of our won, or wainscot brought hither out of the east countries, whereby the rooms are noy a little commended, made warm, and much more close than otherwise they would be'

Like the glass in the windows, the paneling was considered part of the furniture and so often 'travelled' with the house owners from place to place.

## KEEPING WARM DURING THE NIGHT

English physician Andrew Boorde recommended a fire in the bedroom, but many bedrooms must have lacked such comfort as he warns against the dangers of lying in 'old rooms' already occupied by rats, mice and snails! In such bedrooms, lacking adequate heating, it was vital to keep the drafts out of bed by pulling heavy curtains made from thick velvet. A bed warming pan was used by a servant to take off the chill before the lady or the lord went to bed. This warming device

consisted of a

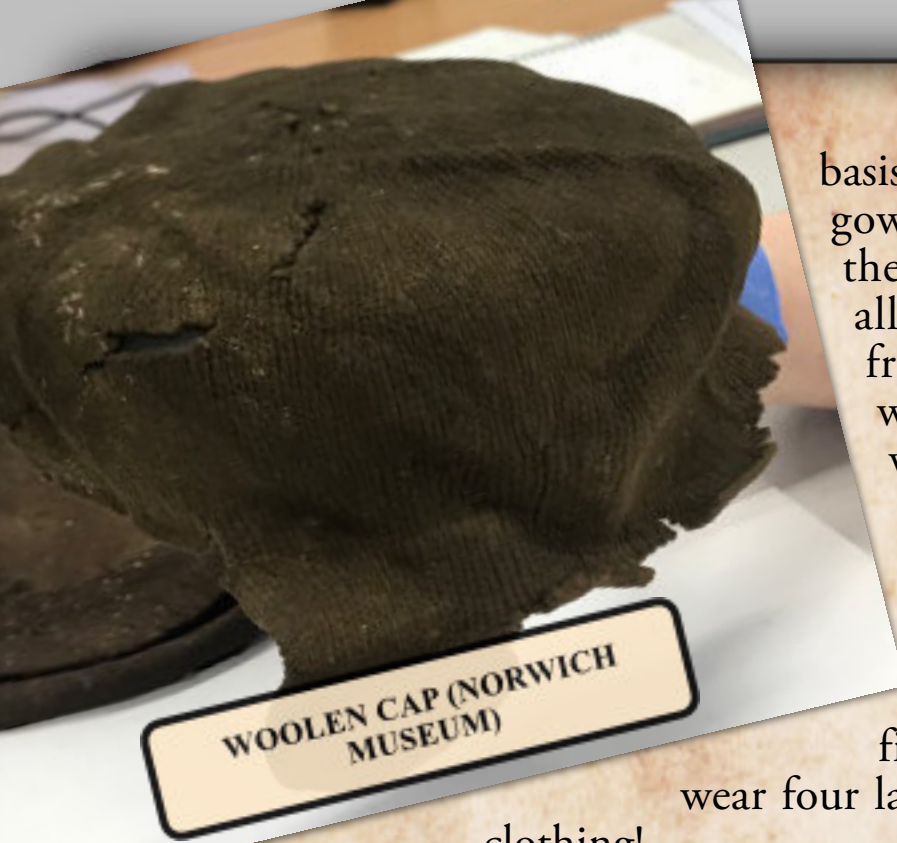
lidded bowl on a long iron handle. Inside hot embers were placed, and this was rubbed over the bedlinen. We have opted for electric blankets as the risk of setting the bed on fire was just too great and not worth the insurance claims. In Tudor England, to keep the head warm during the sleep, night caps were worn too.

## KEEPING WARM DURING THE DAY

People are generally amazed about the fact, that the Tudors wore at least four layers of clothing on a daily







WOOLEN CAP (NORWICH MUSEUM)

basis: Smock, petticoat, kirtle and gown. Only the smock next to the skin was made from linen, all the other layers were made from velvet, satin or wool which are some of the warmest materials you can use in the cold season. I don't wear petticoats, kirtles and gowns anymore but during the day, when I work some distance away from the fireplaces I still do choose to wear four layers of thermals and woolen

clothing!

During the late 1400s knitted items of woolen clothing are beginning to appear in England: Hats, mittens, sleeves, stockings and scarfs. In 1561, Mrs Montague, the Queen's silk woman gave her a pair of black knitted stockings which the queen 'liked so well that she never wore cloth hose again'. In 1588 a Mrs Vaughan gave the queen a pair of stockings and garters of white cypress and a Mrs Elizabeth Brooke gave the Queen a 'skarffe of knitworke



WOOLEN SLEEVE AND STOCKING (NORWICH MUSEUM)



MITTENS (NORWICH MUSEUM)

florished – which the Queen did not warm to as she passed it straight on to Jane Brisselles. By the time William Harrison started to write his





book, he tells us that knit hosen had become so common that even countrywomen wore them and dyed them black with alder bark.

The stocking knitting frame was an invention by

William Lee of Calverton

near Nottingham in 1589. However, the

Queen refused him the patent fearing the effects on hand-knitting, an essential cottage industry for the poor.

## KEEPING THE BODY WARM FROM WITHIN

In a century before the introduction of tea, coffee and hot chocolate, to make a cold winter's day more bearable and to 'comfort the stomach', Tudors who could afford the purchase of expensive spices such as cinnamon, ginger, nutmeg, cloves and mace would put those to good use in their food and drinks as all spices were believed to warm and dry the body.

And I can confirm, the consumption of some hot hypocras (=spiced wine) by the fire is one of the highlights we get to enjoy almost daily. It does not just comfort the stomach but also relieves stress, strengthens the social ties of the people gathering around the fire and generally makes you forget the cold, the turmoil left outside and any other worries you might have encountered throughout the day.

Like the Tudors before us, we need to find wood to burn on our own land. As my husband keeps telling me: wood gives you four times the heat:

- heat generated collecting it
- heat generated cutting it
- heat generated slitting it

And heat generated burning it!

It is a task that never stops and at times is physically exhausting, but would we consider returning to a twenty-first century central heated home? Absolutely not – we are staying.

BRIGITTE WEBSTER



**NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR**

# Tudor Life

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**ROLAND HUI**  
Stephen Gardiner - Bishop  
and Lord Chancellor

**PLUS**

**DAVID LEE**  
Lord Burghley  
and much more...

**THIS MAGAZINE**  
comes out *every month* for  
**ALL MEMBERS**  
We hope you enjoy it!

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