Tudor Life

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ENVY

Tudor Queens and Envy

Mary, Queen of Scots and James Stewart

Katherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn

The Musical Envy of Henry VIII

PLUS

Beware the cat?!

AND MUCH MORE

A detailed historical tour of Midhurst

***by* Ian Mulcahy**

Tudor Life

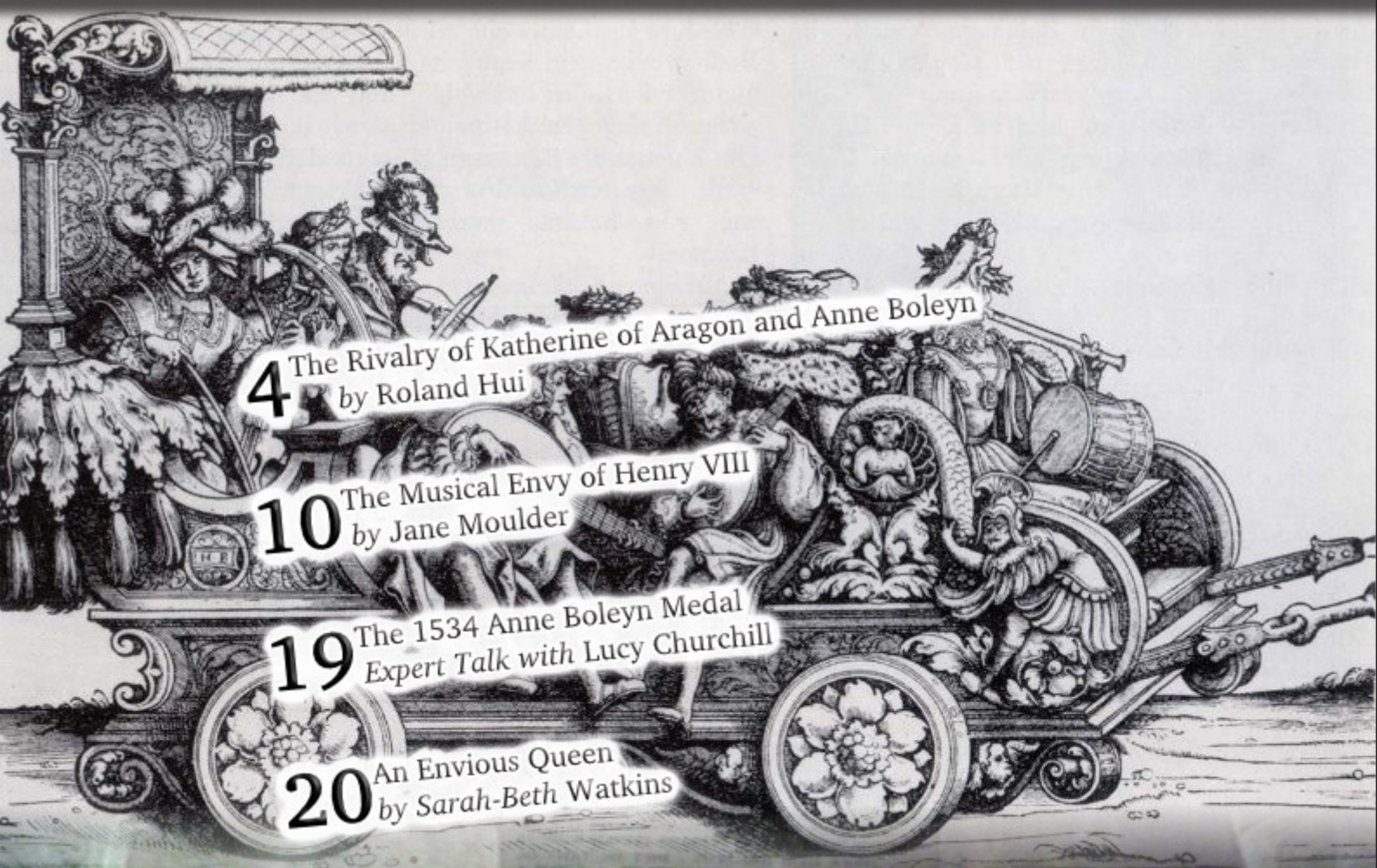
ENVY...

Continuing in our series on the Seven Deadly Sins and the sixteenth century continues with Envy and I certainly am jealous of Lauren Browne's typically superb research, which she shares with us here. We are treated to two excellent papers on how Envy shaped (and sometimes reduced) the careers of Tudor queens. In the sixteenth century, the sin of Envy was one which caused ingratitude to God, for, if one questioned one's lot in life in a malicious way, were you not also questioning the Will of God who had given that life to you? However, critiques of Envy could also be used to undermine women, dismissing their concerns as "female jealousy," or undermine disaffected noblemen, by belittling their complaints or petitions as nothing more than envious spite. It remains a fascinating exploration in sins, both real and projected.

ABOVE: James Stewart, 1st Earl of Moray and Mary, Queen of Scots.
LEFT: The Turret House at Sheffield Manor Lodge which still contains a beautiful Tudor ceiling. Mary, Queen of Scots would have regularly used this building.

GARETH RUSSELL
EDITOR

Tudor Life



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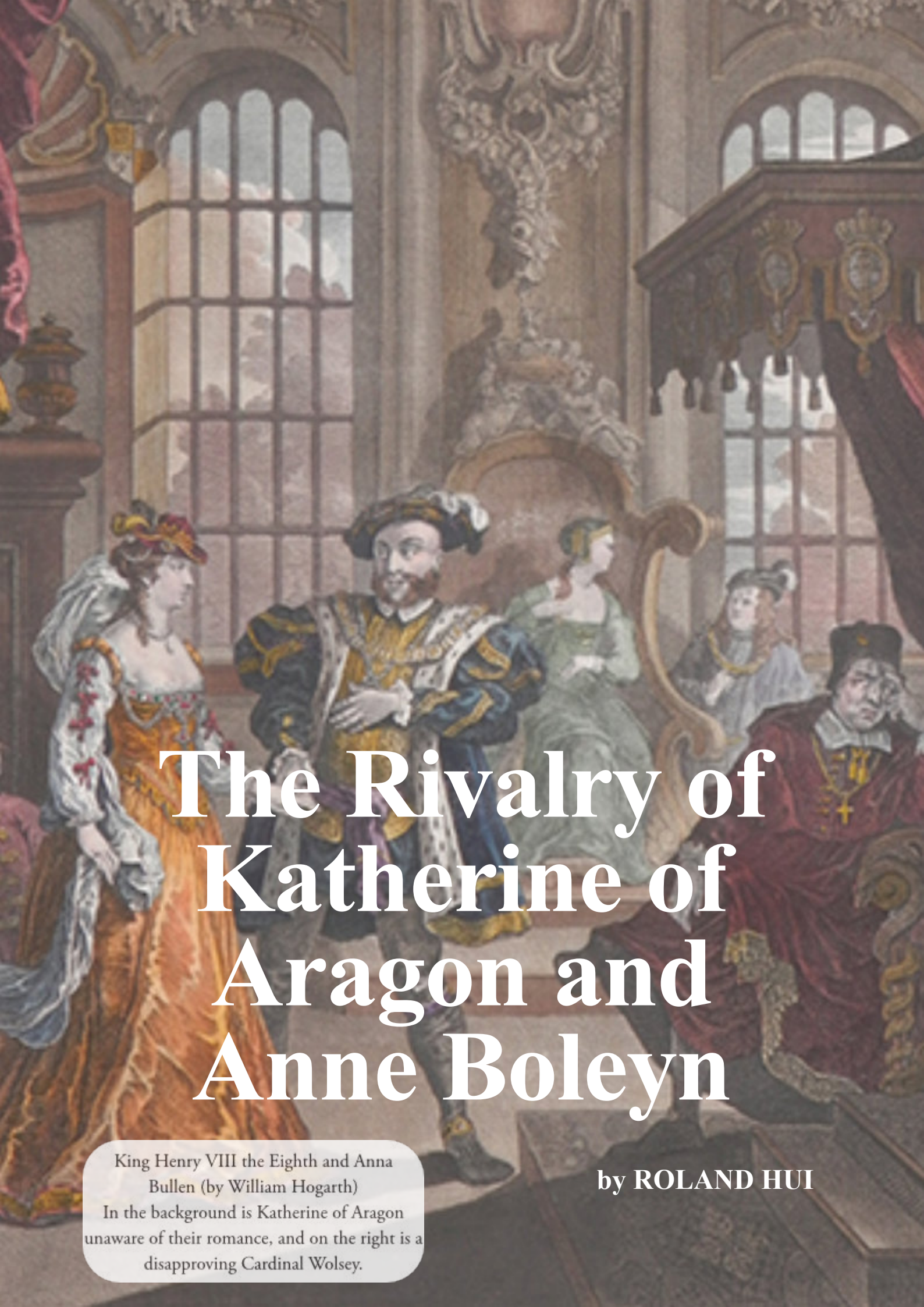
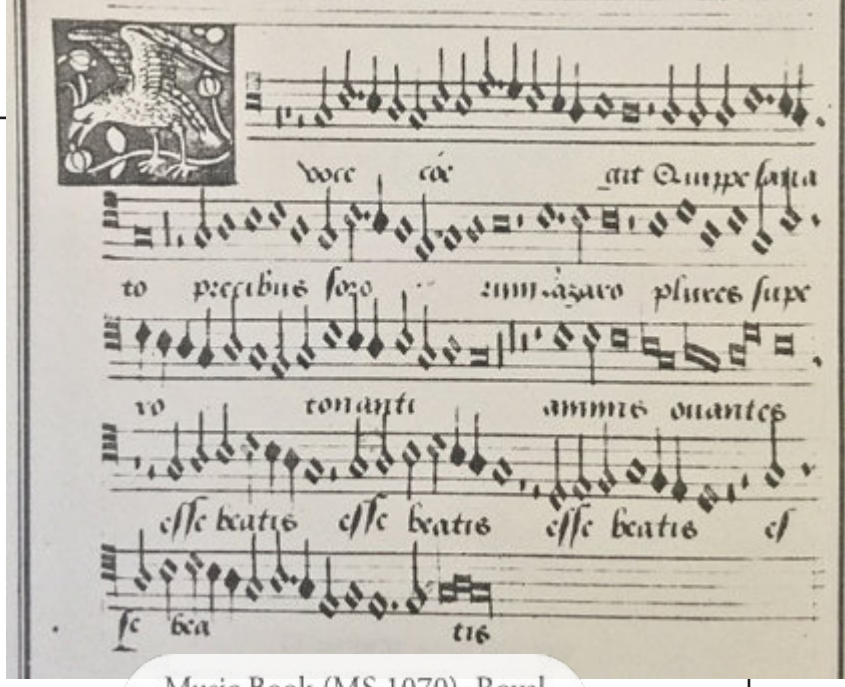


The Rivalry of Katherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn

King Henry VIII the Eighth and Anna Bullen (by William Hogarth)
In the background is Katherine of Aragon unaware of their romance, and on the right is a disapproving Cardinal Wolsey.

by **ROLAND HUI**



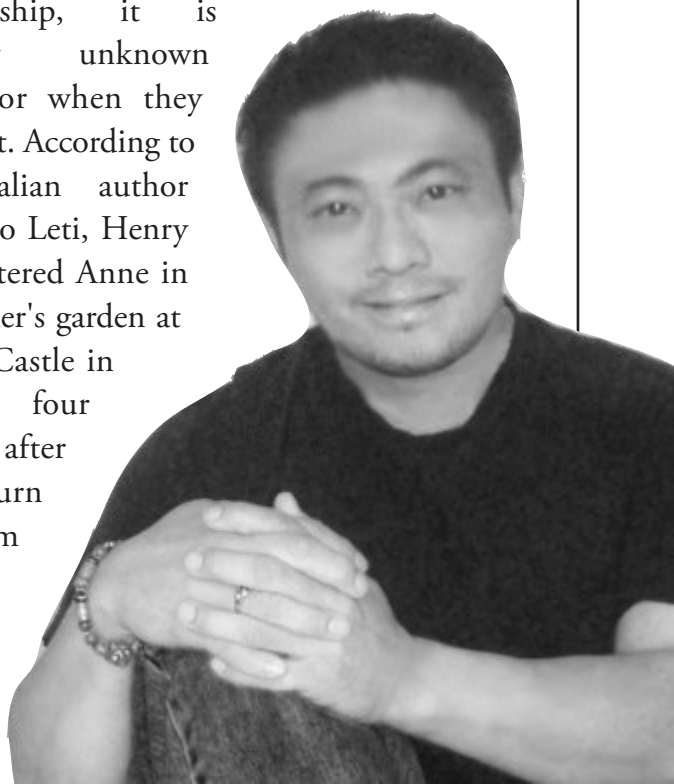
Music Book (MS 1070), Royal College of Music, London

On the page of a choir book in The Royal College of Music, there is a curious picture. A bird, which appears to be a falcon, is furiously pecking at a pomegranate. The image would seem to have been purely decorative, but given the ownership of the book, much more meaning can be assigned to it. The manuscript was compiled for Anne Boleyn, and as her personal emblem was the white falcon, the symbolism behind the illustration becomes clear. The pomegranate was the device of Katherine of Aragon, the first wife of King Henry VIII, and the woman Anne looked to displace. The picture therefore was her declaration of war upon her enemy Queen Katherine.[1] It was a battle that would ultimately be fought to the death, and one that would change the course of English history.

Of Henry VIII's six marriages, his longest lasting was to Katherine of Aragon. They were wed when Henry became King in 1509, and for years, the couple were devoted to each other. Such was his esteem for Katherine, that in 1513, when Henry went off to war to fight the French, he left the kingdom in her capable hands as Regent.

But ultimately, it was not Katherine's role to govern, but to bear children, particularly a male heir. But the royal couple was afflicted by miscarriages and stillbirths, until 1516, when a girl, Princess Mary, was born. However, no living siblings were to follow, and by the mid 1520s, it was evident that the Queen - now in her middle age - would never bear a prince. As much as he still loved Katherine, this gnawed at Henry VIII. The Tudor dynasty could not be secure, he was certain, without a future king to follow him. Even though English law allowed for a queen regnant, the Country had never had a female ruler before, and Henry could only foresee disaster if that were to happen. While he did have a son in 1519 - proving his virility - it was by another woman, his mistress Bessie Blount. In addition, the boy, named Henry Fitzroy, could not become king as he was born a bastard. To have a legitimate male heir, Henry would have to marry again, and surely, the idea was at least in the back of his mind.

What eventually pushed Henry VIII to pursue a second marriage was the arrival of Anne Boleyn on the scene. For what would be such a momentous relationship, it is actually unknown where or when they first met. According to the Italian author Gregorio Leti, Henry encountered Anne in her father's garden at Hever Castle in 1526, four years after her return from France



(that is in 1522). They conversed for an hour, and Henry was immediately besotted with the young lady, as he told his chief minister Cardinal Wolsey afterwards. She had 'the soul of an angel, and was worthy of a crown', he sighed.[2] However, Leti was writing in the 17th century, and his account was almost certainly coloured by romanticism. Actual historical records have not provided information on their initial meeting, but it is known that on Shrove Tuesday 1522, Anne Boleyn appeared in a courtly pageant, in which the King himself was a participant too.

Whether Henry took real notice of Anne that day is a mystery. It was not until the fall of 1526 that he began sending her love letters, marking the beginning of his pursuit of her.[3] Anne's own feelings are unclear about her ardent wooer, but by the time she sent the King a jewel ('a handsome diamond and ship in which the lonely damsel is tossed about') as mentioned in one of the letters,[4] she was finally prepared to accept him.

It may well have been Anne's acquiescence that prompted the King to have her as more than his mistress - he would make her Queen. In May 1527, Henry VIII made the fateful decision to seek a separation from Katherine of Aragon. According to the Spanish ambassador, Katherine herself had learnt of this through the rumour mill, and became 'full of apprehension'. From what she heard, her husband was 'so bent on this divorce, that he has secretly assembled certain bishops and lawyers that they may sign a declaration to the effect that his marriage with the Queen is null and void, on account of her having been his brother's wife'.[5] This was shocking to Katherine. Even though she had indeed been married to the late Prince Arthur when she first came to England in 1501, the match was never consummated as Katherine later swore. Furthermore, the Vatican then gave her its blessing to wed Henry Tudor.

Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn (by Jules David)

Troubled as she was, Katherine, as she had done before, turned a blind eye to Henry's latest extra marital affair.[6] Though he had always an affectionate spouse, he did stray as some husbands did. Even Katherine's own father King Ferdinand, married to her formidable mother, Queen Isabella, had had mistresses. Like that of many other women at the time, it was Katherine's lot in life to not complain, but to put up with Henry's infidelities. As such, she made no scenes about Anne Boleyn - now in her service as a lady-in-waiting - but to show that she was no threat to her, Katherine made a great show of being kind to Anne, holding her 'in more estimation for the King's sake'.[7] However, there were cracks in the Queen's cool facade. During

one incident, when the two were playing cards together, Anne won by drawing a king. Katherine could not resist a jab at her ambitious rival. "My Lady Anne, you have good hap to stop at a king", she said. "But you are not like others, you will have all or nothing". [8]

Katherine's affected aloofness could only be maintained for so long. One 22 June, the King finally dropped his bombshell on her. Because of her former marriage to his brother, Henry told Katherine, they had been living in sin according to divine law and must no longer be husband and wife. Perhaps Katherine had braced herself for this moment for months, but still, she was stunned to hear this from Henry's own lips. She burst into tears, unable to say anything. Henry - flustered and at a loss for words himself - left her to her weeping, no doubt to go see Anne.

The King's 'Great Matter' then moved from the private into the public sphere, culminating in the validity of the royal marriage being put on trial. At Blackfriars in June 1529, both Henry and Katherine pled their cases before Cardinal Wolsey, the Papal Legate from Rome, and a great assembly of nobles and clergy. Unquestionably, it was the Queen who won public support. She had always been popular with the people, and she made an impassioned speech against the annulment asking for justice. Nevertheless, the court came to no decision, and Katherine found herself increasing marginalized. Finally in the summer of 1531, Henry - with Anne Boleyn in tow - left her at Windsor Castle, never to see her again.

With the Queen out of the picture at last, Anne became increasing proud. Even before Katherine's banishment, she had been arrogant and outspoken. All Spaniards, Anne once exclaimed, should be 'at the bottom of the sea'! When she was scolded by Katherine's ladies for her audacity, Anne scoffed. She would sooner see Katherine hanged than to acknowledge her as Queen, she retorted![9]

Anne's triumph over Katherine would even be sweeter. To get French support for their marriage, Henry and his lady love planned a visit to Calais to see King Francis in the fall of 1532. In preparation, Anne was created Marquis of Pembroke. Not satisfied with her new title, she cast an envious eye upon Katherine's jewels, and demanded to have them for her trip abroad. The Queen refused. They were the property of the Crown, and also, she was loathe to give them to one who was 'a scandal to the whole of Christendom, and a cause of infamy to the King'. But when Henry himself sent an order for the jewellery, Katherine had to comply.[10]

At end of 1532 or early into the next year, Anne believed herself to be pregnant. Both she and Henry were jubilant as it was surely a sign that the Almighty was favouring their union. In that belief, and that the child - surely a boy - must be born in wedlock, the couple were secretly married on 25 January 1533.[11] To add insult to injury to the Queen, her marriage to the King was then declared invalid that May, in conjunction with England's separation from the Church of Rome. Now by English law, Katherine had never been Henry VIII's wife, nor was she ever Queen. Her only title was that of Princess Dowager, as the widow of Arthur Tudor. But to Katherine, it was an insult she would not accept. She insisted on still being called Queen, and she continued the stream of piteous letters she had been writing to the Pope and to her nephew Charles, the powerful Holy Roman

Katherine of Aragon Pleading Before Henry VIII (by William Ward after Richard Westall)

Emperor, begging for their help. But it was to no avail. The threats they made on Katherine's behalf were ignored by Henry, now eagerly awaiting the birth of Anne's child.

To further legitimize his new marriage, Henry had Anne crowned as Queen that summer. The coronation was celebrated with great pomp, and Anne had insisted upon using Katherine's barge. The boat was seized and the ex-Queen's coat-of-arms 'ignominiously torn off and cut to pieces' to be replaced by Anne's own. This act of aggression greatly angered the King. He gave Anne's chamberlain, who had been in charge of the confiscation, a good telling off, saying that there were many other good vessels that could have been used instead.[12]

Despite the King's reaction, Anne was still determined to humiliate Katherine. In preparation for the birth of her baby, Anne demanded the lavish christening cloth her predecessor had used for the baptisms of daughter Mary and some of her other children, though eventually short lived. As with Anne's request for her jewels, Katherine was livid. "God forbid that I should ever be so badly advised as to give help, assistance, or favour, directly or indirectly, in a case so horrible and abominable as this", she exclaimed. But unlike the royal jewels which she had to surrender, the cloth was the property of Katherine as she had brought it from Spain herself. When Anne's child - a

daughter named Elizabeth - was later born in September, another had to be found.

While Anne and Katherine remained irreconcilable rivals, the new Queen was willing to extend an olive branch to the Princess Mary. As Anne told the teenager, she was prepared to be kind to her, even to be a second mother to her, if she was willing to accept the new status quo. Naturally, Mary rejected the offer. Even though it would reconcile herself to her father with whom she was becoming increasingly estranged, Mary could never acknowledge herself as illegitimate and the inferior of her new baby sister. After a series of rebuffs to her stepmother, Anne, in a rage, told Mary's governess 'to slap her face as the cursed bastard that she was'.[13] In spite of Anne's intimidations, Mary, taking after her mother, remained obstinate.

Expelled from court and unable to see her daughter again, Katherine lived out her remaining years in misery. On 7 January 1536, she died at the age of fifty. Her supporters suspected poison, but there was no proof of that. Katherine had simply died of natural causes. When Anne heard the news, she rejoiced. She even gave the messenger a handsome reward. Later, she and the King celebrated by wearing joyful yellow at a court ball. But those hostile to Anne told a different story. In truth, Katherine's death gave her little comfort. Until she bore Henry VIII a son, her position as Queen remained precarious, and the King even appeared to be tiring of her. Already, he was lavishing his attentions on one of her ladies named Jane Seymour.

Indeed, Anne's elation was fleeting. Later that same month, she miscarried, and it was a boy. And this happened on the very day of Katherine's funeral. To those who hated Anne and loved the former Queen, it was seen as God's justice. More so, when in May, Anne fell; a prisoner in the Tower of London accused of high treason. On the eve of her death by execution, a strange occurrence was reported from Peterborough Cathedral. Katherine had been buried there, and about her tomb, the candles flickered on and off by themselves according to those present.[14] Surely, there was some logical explanation, or it had been a trick all along, but to those witnessing this phenomenon, it was the work of Heaven; the vindication of one by the destruction of the other.

ROLAND HUI

1. Edward E. Lowinsky, 'A music book for Anne Boleyn', *Florilegium Historiale*, edited by J.G. Rowe and W.H. Stockdale, Toronto, 1971, pp. 160-235. See also Eric Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986, pp. 295-297.
2. Gregorio Leti, *La Vie d'Elizabeth Reine D'Angleterre*, Amsterdam: Henry Desbordes, 1714, p. 48.
3. Historians have been left to guess as the letters were undated. For the opinion of fall 1526, see Eric Ives, The L*ife and Death of Anne Boleyn, Oxford*: Blackwell Publishing, 2004, p. 90.
4. Jasper Ridley, *The Love Letters of Henry VIII,* London: Cassell, 1988, p.43.
5. *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain (CSP Span.),* III (ii), no. 69.
6. Besides Bessie Blount, the King had an affair with Anne Boleyn's sister, Mary, among others.
7. George Cavendish, *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, (edited by Samuel Weller Singer), London: printed by Thomas Davison for Harding and Lepard, second edition, 1827, p. 131.
8. George Cavendish, *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey,* p. 428.
9. *CSP Span*., IV (ii), no. 584.
10. *CSP Span*., IV (ii), no. 1003.
11. An earlier date of 14 November 1532 was given by the chronicler Edward Hall. Perhaps this was a form of betrothal, or to imply that the Princess Elizabeth was properly conceived in wedlock to protect the King's reputation.
12. *CSP Span*., IV (ii), no. 1077.
13. *CSP Span*., V (i), no. 10.
14. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, Deposited in the British Museum,* 1802, p. 415, no. 22 (MS Vitellius B XIV, Fol. 220B).

The Musical Envy of Henry VIII

Did Henry VIII bringing about a new artistic and musical aesthetic to England.

By Jane Moulder

There is a popular and oft quoted trope that states that Henry VIII inherited a backwards looking medieval court but, being envious of the richness and cultural diversity displayed in the other European courts, he set about bringing about a new artistic and musical aesthetic to England. So, whilst there was undoubtedly a flourishing of the arts during Henry's reign, what is the real truth behind this statement?

It is often said during the early reign of his father, Henry VII, the focus was on establishing the hold of the throne for the Tudors. The emphasis was therefore on political issues rather than cultural ones. However, the evidence from the records does not fully bear this out and there is no doubt that music and art was important to Henry VII and the court financial accounts show clearly that he funded and supported instrumental and choral music. The Chapel Royal, the body of singers who accompanied the monarch since the early 14th century, was maintained and flourished throughout his reign. Henry also employed several important and influential musicians, such as Robert Fayrefax, an organist and the first Doctor of Music at Cambridge University. And Henry ensured that his wife, Elizabeth, and his children were also

tutored and well-practiced in music. In 1502, his wife Elizabeth bought a clavichord (a keyboard instrument) and there are records that lutes were bought for all of their children, Arthur and Henry, as well as their daughters Margaret and Mary, all of whom were given tuition in the art of music and were reportedly proficient as a result.

The various royal courts of Europe had long been keen to state their power and influence through visual displays of music and arts and there is no doubt that the various monarchies competed amongst each other to have the latest or most lavish, up to date, fashion. As the 15th century progressed and there was more stability and increased prosperity, the various courts had significantly more resources to allocate for display and ceremony. The best musicians and composers of the day became increasing mobile and were aggressively 'head-hunted' from court to court across Europe. Nowhere was this more evident than that of the Hapsburg court of the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I.

Maximilian was ostentatious in the extreme and one of his lasting legacies is the

‘Triumphs of Maximilian’: the work started in 1512 and it consisted of a series of 139 woodcut prints, stretching over 54 metres. It is one of the largest prints ever produced and was designed to be pasted to the walls of civic buildings and palaces as a way of demonstrating Maximilian’s power and magnificence. Albrecht Dürer and Hans Burgkmair were two of the principal artists and the images were designed and executed under Maximilian’s own close supervision. The result is a remarkable display of propaganda. The various woodcuts show more than 80 musicians associated with the court, although in reality he only employed about 30 of these on a permanent basis. However, this is still a significant number of musicians and some of these were personally renowned throughout Europe. He employed a full-time shawm band, a trumpet ensemble of 10 or more players, an organist and composer of great renown, Paul Hofhaimer and, most interestingly, a group of viol players. The viol, at this time, was a relatively new instrument and so to employ a permanent group of players dedicated to this instrument was quite a coup for Maximilian and certainly something that would have created envy amongst other courts. The Triumphs undoubtedly helped cement his reputation and status. Even taking into account the hyperbole and the slight exaggeration in the scale depicted in the Triumphs, it was acknowledged that the quality of his performers was unmatched by any other court in Europe at the

time.

One of the carriages in the Triumphs of Maximilian. Instruments depicted are a viol, a fidele, lutes, rauschpfeifen and a pipe and tabor.

On this carriage, the musicians play a sackbut, crumhorns and shawm.

This is a pattern displayed throughout the courts of Europe and whilst no-one could match Maximilian's resources, one person who came close was Ercole d'Este, the count of Ferrara. Whilst this was a much smaller court, d'Este certainly pulled in punched above his weight, employing during his time such renowned composers as Josquin des Prez and Jacob Obrecht. The musicians he employed included 10 trumpeters, various string players, two lutenists, a harpist, an organist and a five-member wind ensemble.

The English court of Henry VII could not match the scale or influence as depicted by Maximilian but despite the popular assertions, Henry was very influenced by the Burgundian court and associated culture and this was reflected in the fashion, music and dance styles shown and performed at his court. He employed a strong cohort of musicians and, whilst the numbers fluctuated from year to year, there was a core of nine trumpeters, a five-piece wind band and three 'string minstrels'. There was also a pipe and tabor player and various 'minstrels' who were employed exclusively for entertaining and teaching music to various members of his

family, including his wife and children. He also employed musicians of note including the famous Flemish sackbut player (and probable royal spy), Hans Nagel. The musicians at the English court were a mixture of native Englishmen but there were also many foreigners (or 'strangers') and whilst the majority of these were Flemish, there were also some who were of French and Spanish origin. The Spanish contingent included musicians who had originally accompanied Katharine of Aragon when she came to England to marry Prince Arthur.

As well as employing his own musicians, there is evidence which suggests that for special events and occasions, Henry employed a large number of especially invited foreign groups to visit and perform for the English court such as in 1506, when a total of 20s was paid to the 'King of Castelles mynstrelles'. The principal reason foreign musicians were employed was to reinforce the English court's wealth and influence to visiting ambassadors and dignitaries, rather than to simply entertain and play for listening pleasure. Music was part and parcel of banquets, funerals, executions, coronations – music was very much a political tool. This is the reason that trumpeters were so important to any court at this time; they were a means of commanding attention and their fanfares would be played to signal an entrance, a movement or statement of their patron and they were an audible as well as a visual tool of power and wealth. For this reason, trumpeters were always classed separately, and paid more, than other musicians. Trumpeters were expensive not only to employ but to clothe and keep, therefore the higher the number, the larger the statement being made.

Trumpeters of King Henry VIII, including 'John Blanke, the blacke trumpeter' who

worked for both Henry VII and Henry VIII and could have originally come to England as a musician of Katherine of Aragon. (Westminster Tournament Roll, 1511)

As part of the celebrations for the marriage between Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon in 1501, Henry VII staged a water pageant to travel down the Thames towards his palace at Greenwich. It was said that "with the most goodly and pleasant mirth of trumpets, clarions, shawms, tabers, recorders and other diverse instruments, to whose noise upon the water hath not heard the like".

A water pageant on the River Thames, in front of Whitehall Palace, one of Henry's favourite palaces – and the largest in Europe (before it was destroyed in the great fire of 1666).

So, whilst Henry VII clearly did leave a musical legacy, it was one for impressing others rather than for the glory of music itself. His son, Henry VIII was to change that.

Henry VII had essentially followed the medieval format of two broad groupings of instruments – les haut (the high) and les bas (the low). High instruments being the louder trumpets, drums, sackbuts and shawms, and the low being the quieter stringed instruments, organs, flutes, recorders and so forth. At his coronation, Henry VIII inherited these basic groupings and he set about immediately expanding them. In April 1513 he employed a group of Flemish drumslades (drummers who also could play fifes), which were used in marching bands during the war with France in that year, followed by additional Flemish sackbut players who were taken on in 1516. All the extra musicians Henry employed were foreigners and they were all well-known and established musicians from other European courts. This was not only to bring a level of musical expertise to the English court but to install a level of envy amongst his equals on the continent.

Throughout the early decades of the 16th century there was intense rivalry between the major patrons – Charles V, the Hapsburg emperor, Francis I of France and Henry VIII of England. This rivalry and envy played out on all levels, including the performance of music, and each dared to present a higher level of magnificence than the others. Whenever they

would meet, there would be opulent displays, none bettered than the meeting between Francis I and Henry VIII in 1520 – which became known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

The Field of the Cloth of Gold, oil painting of circa 1545 in the Royal Collection at Hampton Court.

For the ultimate display of 'oneupmanship', it was the possession of Italian goods and personnel that exerted the greatest prize. By the early 16th century, Italy was the fashion leader in all aspects of cultural life, whether it was art, fashion, music, cuisine or manners. The rivalry between Francis, Charles and Henry intensified and in France, Francis I embarked on a campaign to recruit Italian artists of all kinds, including musicians. The newly arrived foreigners set about changing the musical landscape in France through developments in vocal, sacred and secular music, especially dance styles. So the old fashioned Burgundian basse dance was out and the new, sexy Italian pavan was in!

Whilst the English court employed a reasonable cohort of instrumentalists, and certainly enough to impress in terms of numbers, their musical abilities may not have been so impressive. Following a visit to the Chapel Royal at Richmond by the Venetian Ambassador in 1515, his secretary, Saguino, noted that he had heard "voices more divine than human and the counter-basses probably have not their equal in the world", but he continued that having heard organists perform at Greenwich; "they kept bad time, their touch was feeble and execution poor". But he went on to note that "His majesty practices on these instruments night and day …. I enjoyed hearing the king play and sing, and seeing him dance, in all which exercises he acquitted himself divinely", and he acknowledged, begrudgingly impressed, that Henry was employing some Flemish and Italian virtuosos and gave over 300 ducats a year to the Duke of Ferrara's lutenist.

Perhaps as a result of these observations, and a year after this report, in 1516, Friar Dionisio Memo, the organist from St Mark's in Venice, was brought to England. However, it appears that he brought his own organ with him, 'an excellent instrument, at great expense". Memo was a

highly skilled and impressive musician and he quickly cemented his reputation, drawing admiration from many, including Cardinal Wolsey who insisted upon listening to various recitals by him. Henry released him from his monastic vows, gave him a chaplaincy and made him 'chief of his instrumental musicians". In fact, it seems that Memo and Henry became particularly close and had a rare, personal friendship. However, perhaps Memo had lead a double life as a spy (as many musicians did) as Guiustiniani, the Venetian Ambassador, wrote asking Memo to 'make his report'. This may have been the reason Memo made a sudden departure from England 'in fear of his life'.

Henry VIII continued to expanded his musical forces throughout his reign. He recruited 8 Italians to form the King's Vialls, seven sackbuts (two of whom were Italian), three lutenists (two from Low Countries), four flautists (three of which were Flemish), a virginalist, six 'minstrels' (4 of these were Italian), two rebecs and two harpers as well as expanding the number of Royal Chapel singers. Later there were also additional singers and Welsh Vialls. One of his greatest and most significant engagements was the employment of members of the Bassano family. The Venetian Bassanos were famed throughout Europe for their musical instrument making as well as their musical abilities, being proficient on a range of woodwind and stringed instruments. The Doge, their employer, had initially refused to release them from his employment, but Henry's Italian agent was able to secure a deal with the Doge and four of the Bassanos were paid 160 crowns, a very large sum of money, to make the journey to London. They were also granted concessions to trade in goods, including wine. A brother of theirs, Antonio, was already in England and soon afterwards all five were engaged as "The King's Majesties Musitians".

An early Tudor viol consort. Henry VIII recruited 6 viol players from Italy, as well as the Bassanos, in 1540. This included 3 brothers of the Lupo family.

This expanse of musical forces fulfilled Henry's aim of not only bringing his court in line with the Renaissance humanist thinking that was the fashion throughout the major houses of Europe, but he succeeded in his

aim of impressing foreign dignitaries and rulers. For example, in 1539, with the preparations for his marriage with Anne of Cleves, the French Ambassador noted that Henry has "of late has been solitary and pensive, but now gives himself up to amusement every night on the Thames, with harpers, chanters, drums and fifes playing and all kinds of music and pastime. He delights now in painting and tapestry work and sends agents to France, Flanders, Italy and elsewhere for masters of those arts; also for musicians and other ministers of pleasure. All his people are convinced he means to marry again."

By time of Henry's death, the 'King's Musick' totalled 58 permanent musicians. Not only was this a vast increase in the number of musicians employed by the royal court from his father's time, but the number and variety of instruments played had also increased. Henry VIII's personal musical resources definitely put him on a par with the major European courts of the time and in many cases, exceeded them. As well as employing the musicians, Henry amassed a huge collection of musical instruments some of which were for his personal use but the majority were to be played on by his musicians. The inventories of his collection describe instruments of the finest quality, made from the very best of materials.

There is no doubt that the personal musicians and musical instruments of Henry VIII became the envy of the courts of Europe. He had succeeded into making England into a powerful artistic, musical nation – one that led musical fashion rather than one which followed.

JANE MOULDER

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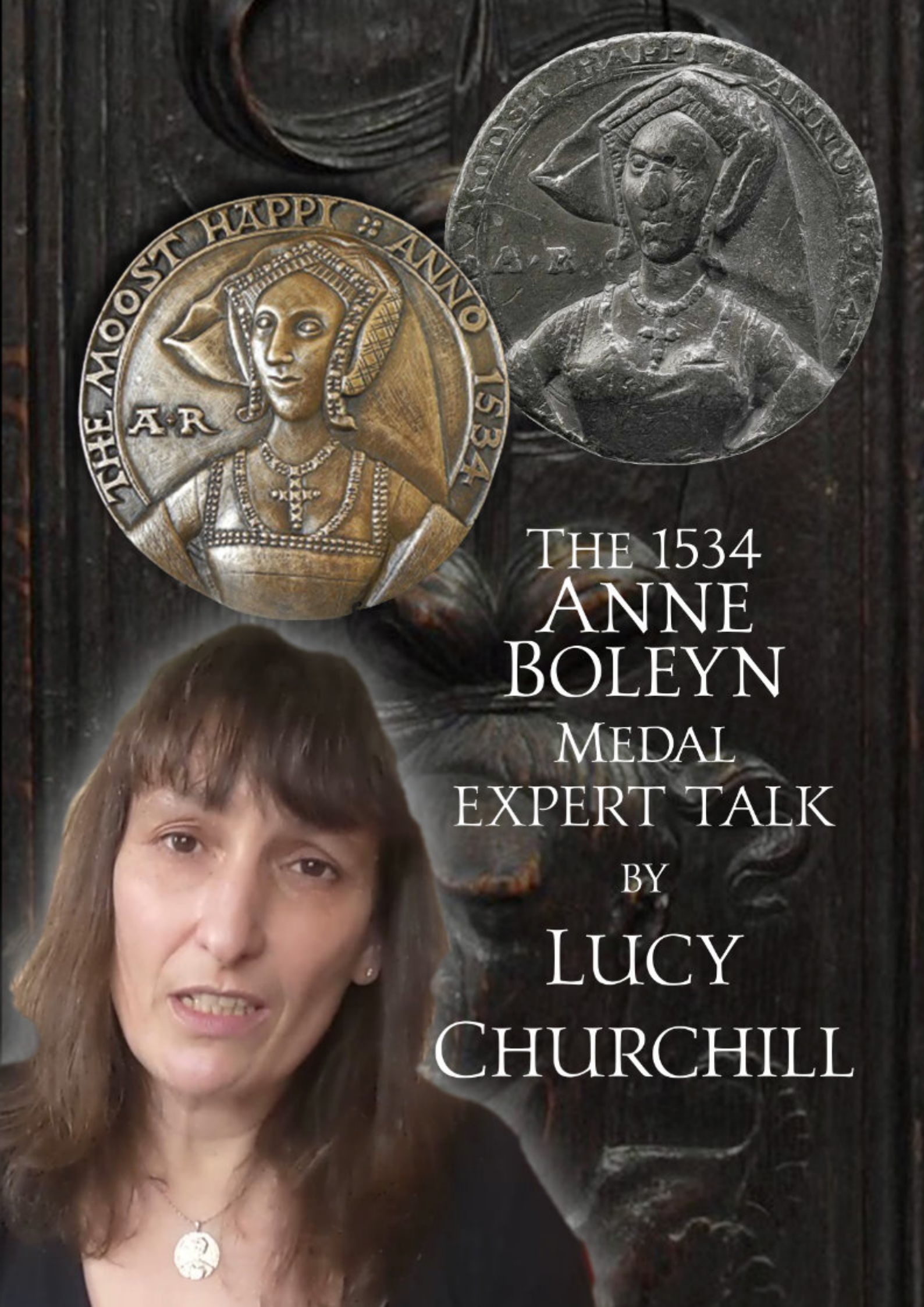


The 1534 Anne Boleyn Medal Expert Talk

by

Lucy Churchill

An Envious Queen

Elizabeth I was many things; a glorious ruler, a virgin queen and one of England's longest reigning monarchs but she also had less savoury attributes including envy.

What would a queen that had it all be envious of? It seems that Elizabeth envied her ladies-in-waiting who fell in love. So much so that if they married without her permission her rage knew no bounds and they often found themselves in the Tower.

Much has been written about Elizabeth's own relationships. She never married and it is generally agreed that Robert Dudley, the queen's favourite and the earl of Leicester was her one true love who for various reasons could never become king consort. Dudley married Lettice Knollys in a secret ceremony – secret because they dreaded the queen finding out - but when her father Sir Francis Knollys found out he insisted another wedding take place with witnesses. He didn't entirely trust Dudley and although he knew the queen would be unhappy he wanted his daughter properly wed so on 21 September 1578 at Wanstead, another clandestine ceremony took place without Elizabeth's knowledge.

Elizabeth had been playing with the idea of marrying the Duke of Alencon and the French ambassador Jean de Simier was sent to England to further his proposal. The ambassador despised Dudley and when an assassination attempt was made on Simier's life, he blamed the earl of Leicester. In a fit of spite he told the queen that her favourite had married Lettice.

Elizabeth was furious and flew into a rage. It was said the queen 'intended to have (Leicester) committed to the Tower of London, which his enemies much desired. But the Earl of Sussex, though his greatest and deadliest adversary, dissuaded her. For he was of the opinion that no man was to be troubled with lawful marriage, which estate among all men hath ever been held in honour and esteem'.

Instead he was dismissed from court and sent home. In time he would be forgiven but it was Lettice that bore the brunt of the queen's rage. There is a story that Elizabeth found Lettice at court and boxed her ears before banishing her. The queen had certainly struck her ladies before but whether she really did this time or not, Lettice was no longer welcome at court. Elizabeth envied her for having

the one thing she could never have – Dudley as a husband.

And her spite did not end there. When Leicester died he was in debt for more than £50,000, half of it owed to the crown. Elizabeth got her revenge on Lettice by calling in Dudley's debt and seizing Kenilworth Castle and other lands. Goods from several of his houses were publicly auctioned. Lettice was residing at Drayton Basset when she was forced to leave due to a dispute over Leicester's will. The queen would never forgive her even though she tried several times to gain an audience with her and send her gifts.

Katherine Grey, the sister of Lady Jane Grey, also suffered for love and the queen's envy. Elizabeth I was wary of Katherine as a potential successor and was concerned that if she married she would pose a threat to her rule.

But Katherine secretly married Edward Seymour anyway without the queen's permission and was in the later stages of pregnancy when Elizabeth found out. Seymour was away fighting in France and Katherine knew that she couldn't hide her pregnancy for much longer. She begged Dudley to help her, creeping into his room in the dead of night, but he refused and of course he told the queen.

Elizabeth exploded with rage and Katherine was taken under guard to the Tower of London the same day. When Seymour returned he also was sent to the Tower. There Katherine gave birth to her first son Edward and although she was supposed to be kept apart from her husband, soon became pregnant again. Their second son Thomas was born on 10 February 1563.

Seymour was fined with two counts of impregnating Katherine and one count of breach of imprisonment to the tune of £10,000 and was sent home to his mother's house at Hanworth with his eldest son. Katherine however would stay under house arrest for the rest of her life. She first moved to Pirgo in Essex under the care of her uncle Sir John Grey with her youngest son but she was severely depressed. Her uncle wrote to Cecil that she would not 'live long thus, she eats not above six morsels in the meal'.

In November 1564 she was moved to Ingatestone Hall in the care of Sir William Petre but was moved again to Gosfield Hall and the care of Sir John Wentworth where she stayed for the next seventeen months. She was then moved again to Cockfield Hall in Yoxford, the home of Sir Owen Hopton. All this time Elizabeth refused to forgive her or listen to her pleas for clemency.

She was ill when she arrived at Cockfield Hall and although doctors were sent for, Katherine had given up the will to live. She died on 26 January 1568 at just 27 years old, officially of consumption but many whispered she had actually starved herself to death, unable to be with the love of her life and because she

was out of favour with the queen.

Her sister Mary also fell foul of Elizabeth despite knowing her sister's predicament. On 16 July 1565, she married Thomas Keyes, sergeant porter, in a secret ceremony. Keyes was a tall imposing man, more than twice her age but Mary saw in him her chance for love and she married like her sister had done without the queen's permission. Lord Burghley commented 'The Sergeant Porter, being the biggest gentleman of this court, has married secretly the Lady Mary Grey, the least of all the court ... The offence is very great'.

As soon as Elizabeth found out Mary was confined to house arrest at Chequers in Buckinghamshire. She would stay there for the next two years until she was sent to live with her step-grandmother Katherine, Duchess of Suffolk, where she stayed for another two years. Her husband was confined to the Fleet prison until 1569 but died two years after. The couple never saw each other again.

In 1572, Mary was given permission to live where she wanted but she had no home of her own. She spent some time with the Greshams and then stayed a while with her stepfather until she found a house at St Botolph's Without Aldgate. Eventually in 1577 she was allowed to return to court as one of the Queen's Maids of Honour but she died the next year. Where Elizabeth had not given her sister Katherine a funeral befitting her status, she did allow Mary full honours and allowed her to be buried at Westminster Abbey. Elizabeth may have been a glorious monarch but being queen made her no less envious of her ladies-in-waiting. She would never had what they did, even though their love and marriages cost them dearly.

SARAH-BETH WATKINS

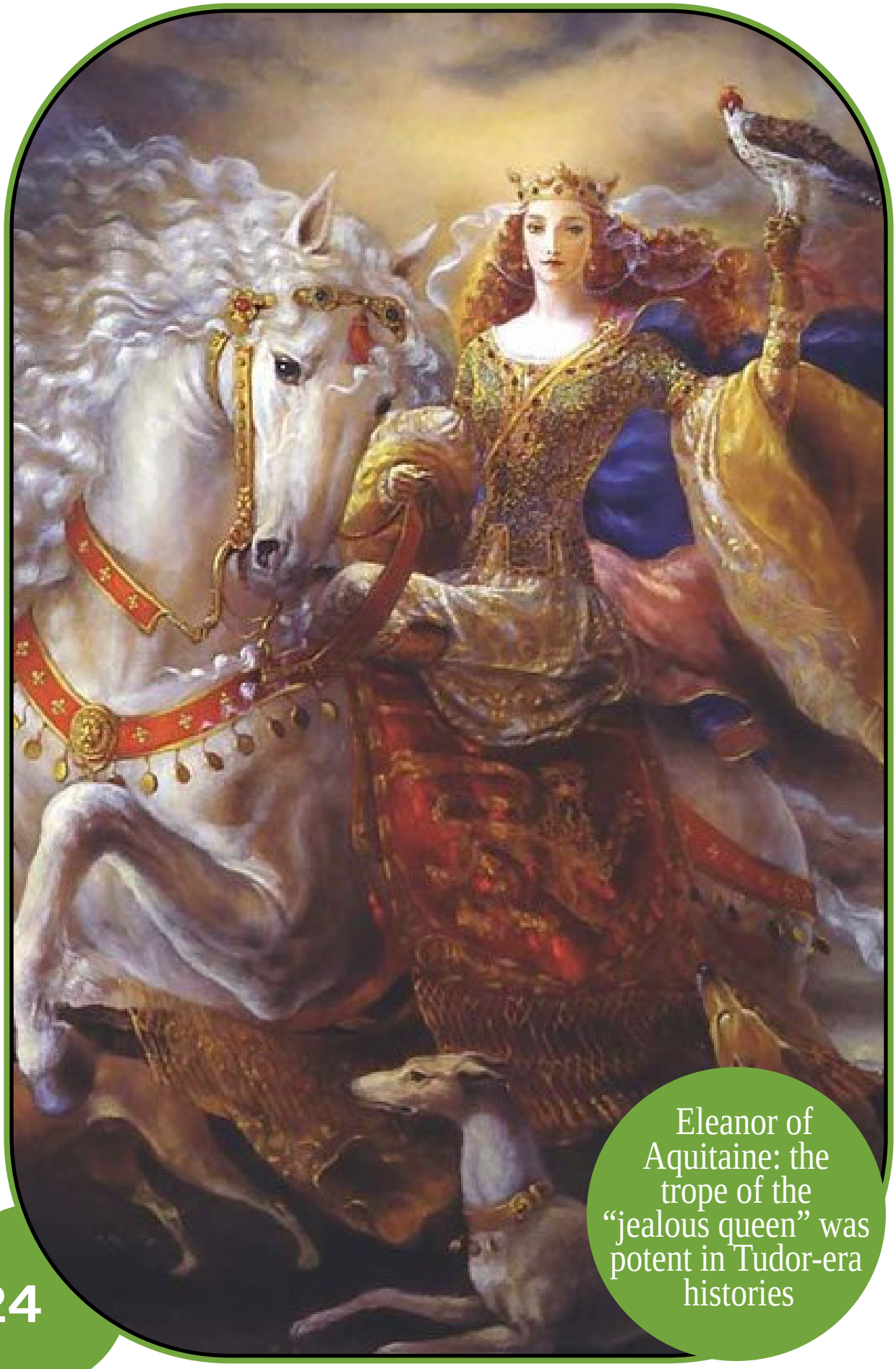
Elizabeth I

TUDOR RIVALS QUIZ

With this month's theme being "Envy", this quiz is about rivals! Each of the people mentioned has a rival which you can identify by their initials and short description. Name the rival and find their year of death in the number grid.

PERSON	RIVAL	YEAR OF DEATH
Catherine of Aragon	AB (Replaced her as queen)	
Anne Boleyn	JS (Replaced her as queen)	
Mary I	ET (Sought her throne)	
Mary I	HF (Henry's heir, despite his illegitimacy)	
Henry VIII	FA (rivalry between monarchs)	
Elizabeth I	LK (married Robert Dudley)	
Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk	TW (political rival at court)	
Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk	TC (religious rival at court)	
Elizabeth Stafford	BH (mistress of her husband)	
Mary, Queen of Scots	JS (brother)	

1	5	5	8	1	5	1	1
6	1	1	5	4	0	5	5
0	5	5	6	1	5	3	7
9	1	0	6	6	1	0	1
1	1	6	0	3	5	1	5
6	5	1	5	4	7	6	3
0	3	1	1	5	0	1	6
1	6	5	0	1	5	5	3



Eleanor of Aquitaine: the trope of the “jealous queen” was potent in Tudor-era histories

LAUREN BROWNE EXAMINES

‘Like Frantic Juno’: Jealous Queens and Their Rivals in Tudor Literature’

Throughout the course of my PhD, I have examined how the Tudors viewed the past, the ways in which they represented it, and their attitudes to historical writing. The Renaissance brought the rise of humanism, which was ‘the rediscovery and study of ancient Greek and Roman texts, the restoration and interpretation of them and the assimilation of the ideas and values that they contain.’ The rediscovery and examination of such texts came ‘to pervade… almost all areas of post-medieval culture.’ It is therefore no surprise that references to Greek and Roman poets, dramatists, philosophers, and mythology are ubiquitous throughout Tudor literature.

The proliferation of ancient mythology in Tudor culture has always fascinated me, and when tasked with writing about envy in the sixteenth century I immediately thought of Juno – the Roman goddess of marriage and childbirth. Fans of Greek mythology (or Disney’s Hercules) may know her better as Hera, the wife of Zeus king of the gods – in Roman mythology Zeus is referred to a Jove or Jupiter. From antiquity to the early modern period, Juno is typically represented as a ‘jealous and vindictive wife’. Many of the myths surrounding Juno involve her seeking revenge against the objects of Jove’s affection. In Tudor literature, she is often compared to the vengeful queens Eleanor of Aquitaine and Isabella of France – both of

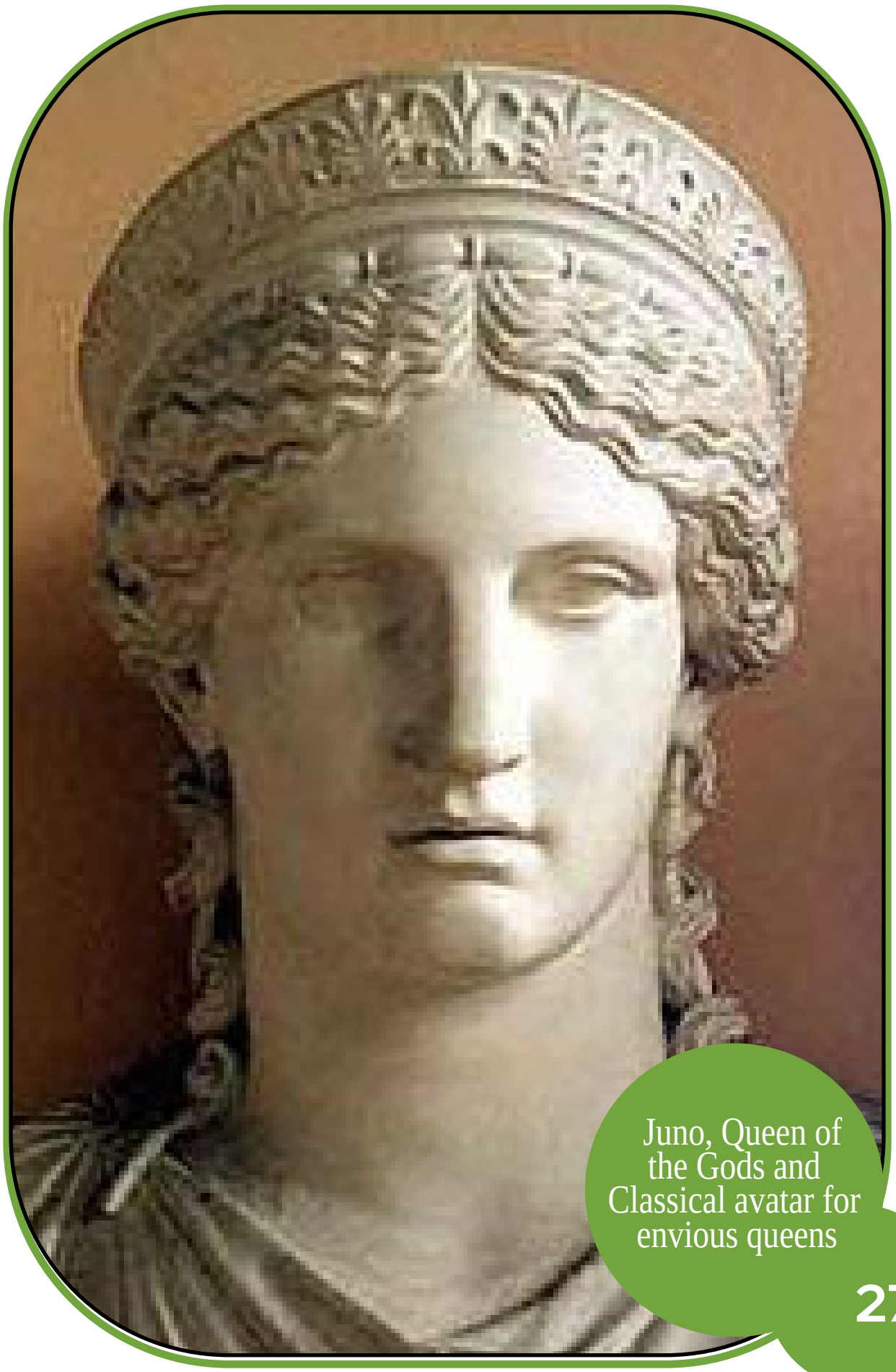
whom were displaced in their husbands' affections by his lovers.

By the sixteenth century the legend that Rosamond Clifford had been placed in a labyrinth by her lover, Henry II, to protect her from the jealous Eleanor of Aquitaine was widely accepted. In many chronicles, ballads, and poems produced throughout the medieval period and into the Tudor period Eleanor is also represented as Rosamond's murderer. In Samuel Daniel's poem The Complaint of Rosamond (1592) the royal mistress appears to Daniel and asks him to record her story. Rosamond tells us that while kept in seclusion she was presented with a casket from her lover. The gift was intricately carved with images from Greek and Roman mythology. On one side of the casket the lovers Io and Jove are depicted, and Rosamond uses this as a metaphor for her own fate.

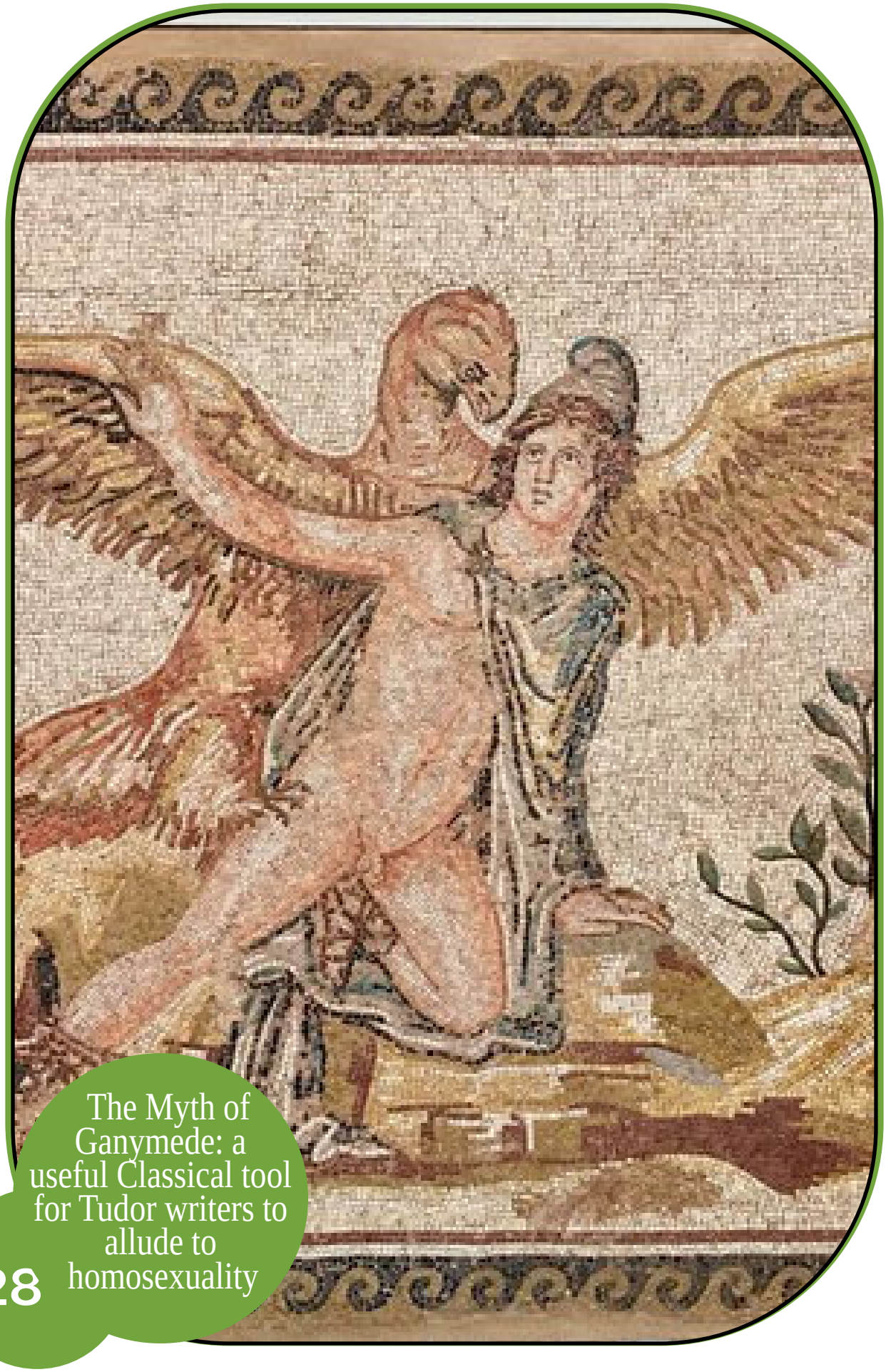
The myth of Io has many links to Rosamond's own narrative. Both were mistresses of a king who were pursued and subsequently punished by a jealous queen. Jove transformed Io into a cow in order to conceal her identity and protect her against Juno. However, Juno was aware of this plan and captured her rival. Io was guarded by the many-eyed Argus in a scared olive grove. Jove attempted to rescue his lover by sending Mercury (Hermes) to kill Argus, but Juno sent a gadfly to torment Io. The mistress, still in the form of cow, was driven mad by Juno's relentless pursuit and fled across the Ionian Sea to Egypt.

Rosamond sees in Io's myth the foreshadowing of her own demise at the

Transformed Io, Joves deerely loved,
In her affliction how she strangely fares,
Strangelie distress'd (O beautie borne to cares)
Turn'd to a Heiffer, kept with jealous eyes,
Alwaies in danger of her hatefull spyes.



Juno, Queen of the Gods and Classical avatar for envious queens



The Myth of Ganymede: a useful Classical tool for Tudor writers to allude to homosexuality

hands of an envious queen, and compares Henry II to Argus as he jealously guards her in seclusion:

She is also relentlessly pursued by her rival and is eventually murdered at the hands of Eleanor of Aquitaine.

In Christopher Marlowe's play Edward II, Isabella of France's rival for her husband's affection is Piers Gaveston. Throughout the first Act, Isabella laments her situation and is openly jealous of Edward II's favourite. She casts herself as 'frantic Juno… for never doated Jove on Ganymede so much as he on cursed Gaveston.' The myth of Ganymede was a common metaphor for homosexual love in the Tudor period. Jove was captivated by the beautiful youth from Troy and wanted him as a lover. The god took the form of an eagle and carried Ganymede to Olympos where he served as the cupbearer to the gods. In Marlowe's Edward II, our vengeful Juno (Isabella) seeks the destruction of her rival and plots with the nobles at court to murder Gaveston. Through this course of action, Isabella hopes that her husband will once more show affection to her rather than his lover. Of course, those familiar with the play – or medieval history – will know that this does not happen. 'Frantic Juno' turns away from her husband and takes a lover of her own, civil war ensues and both she and Edward II meet their downfalls.

Both of these literary examples are generally thought to have been inspired in some part by Ovid's Heroides (Heroines), which were epistolary poems 'written' by a series of women from Greek and Roman mythology to their heroic lovers. They provide a rare poetic insight from the point of view of female lovers, when their narrative is typically told from their male counterparts' perspectives. The Heroides provided

obvious inspiration to Michael Drayton's composition of Englands Heroicall Epistles (1597), but its influence is also felt in The Complaint of Rosamond and Edward II. The pictures on Rosamond's casket are 'of Ovidian love stories', as well as the transformation of Io, 'the pursuit of Amymone by Neptune' is also included. The composition of Daniel's poem and its subject also draw inspiration from Ovid. Like the women from Greek and Roman mythology, Rosamond 'is a woman responding to a text that is gendered male. In her case, however, the text in question is not a work of literature but rather a body of (primarily) historical texts.' Isabella, too, presents her version of events to the barons in Marlowe's Edward II. She feels that she has been abandoned and abused by her husband just as the women in the Heroides do.

We can see that the narratives based around these medieval queens and their love rivals have been impacted and inspired by humanistic approaches and culture. Not only were the myths of antiquity used to draw metaphors and comparisons between Juno and the jealous queens, but ancient literary works such as Ovid's Heroides impacted how the Tudor literary representations of these figures were framed.

LAUREN BROWNE

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2. Luke Roman and Monica Roman, Aphrodite to Zeus: An Encyclopaedia of Greek and Roman Mythology, (New York, 2011), p. 203.
3. Luke Roman and Monica Roman, Aphrodite to Zeus, pp. 266-267.
4. Samuel Daniel, To Delia: with the complaint of Rosamond, (London, 1969), lines 403-407.
5. The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe, (ed.) Richard Rowland, vol. III, (Oxford, 1994), p. 18.
6. Hallet D. Smith, Elizabethan Poetry: A Study in Conventions, Meaning, and Expression, (Ann Arbour, 1968), p. 107.
7. Stephen Guy-Bray, 'Rosamond's Complaint: Daniel, Ovid, and the purpose of poetry', Renaissance Studies, xxii, iii, (2008), p. 340.
8. Georgia E. Brown, 'Tampering with the Records: engendering the political community and Marlowe's appropriation of the past in Edward II', in Sara Munson Deats and Robert A. Logan (eds.), Marlowe's Empery: Expanding his Critical Contexts, (Newark, 2002), p.

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

Members' Bulletin

Things continue apace here in the Tudor Society and we're working hard to improve the visibility of the Society and the Tudor period in general. Our wonderful interns have been busy building the profile of the Tudor Society on social media including Instagram and Facebook. They have been producing all sorts of interactive and informational posts. If you are on Instagram then can we encourage you to "like" the Tudor Society and you'll see what I'm talking about. The Tudor period is full of rich, interesting facts and quotes, and these platforms seem perfect to increase the general public's interest in our period.

We're also thrilled that a recent press release launching our search for the lost Haddington plans has reached over 200,000 people and has been fully read nearly 2000 times, as well as being shared by media outlets worldwide. We hope these plans are found!
In other related matters, you should have received an invitation to join our brand-new private Facebook Group. If you haven't joined then please do, and if you haven't heard about this new development please reach out to us for help. We'll be having interactive chat sessions on the new Facebook group as well as keeping you up-to-date with events on the site and beyond..

THANK YOU!

Tim Ridgway

The Memorial to Blanche Parry
at St Faith's, Bacton

Blanche Parry Queen Elizabeth I's Loyal Servant

Queen Elizabeth I's most loyal and trusted servant was the Welshwoman, Blanche Parry. Born c. 1507/8, she was one of eight children of Henry Myles of Newcourt, Bacton, Herefordshire, and Alice Milborne of Tillington. She spoke English and Welsh and grew up in a loving household. Her family had a long history of serving royalty, and they were taught to attend to their duty to those in power with diligence and loyalty. Little is known about her life between the death of her father in 1522 and the year 1533, when there is evidence she was a nurse to the infant Princess Elizabeth. Blanche was given a solid education and her love of Wales was well known. She would always endeavor to benefit the welfare of the Welsh.

The Welsh family name was Ap Harry, which after various changes through the generations, became Parry. One of her kinsmen was principal huntsman to Queen Elizabeth. There were marriages between some of Blanche's cousins with cousins of the Cecils, the family of the Queen's principal minister, William Cecil, Lord Burleigh. This explains how Lord Burleigh aided Blanche throughout her career and became executor of her will.

As with any Tudor courtier, Blanche obtained her position in Elizabeth's household through family connections. It is likely her maternal aunt, Lady Blanche Herbert of Troy, introduced her. Her epitaph in Bacton says she rocked Elizabeth's cradle. Lady Herbert was a principal lady in Elizabeth's household in 1536. By the time Elizabeth was three years old, Blanche had reached the position of lady-in-waiting. Lady Herbert may have intended for her niece to succeed her in her own position, which eventually went to Kate Astley.

Blanche shared a love of horseback riding with Elizabeth, and it was part of her duties to ride with the princess. During the reign of Queen Mary I, Blanche attended Elizabeth when she went to the Tower of London on the suspicion of conspiring with the instigators of the Wyatt Rebellion. Blanche was with Elizabeth for her coronation. Once Queen, Elizabeth made Blanche a gentlewoman of the privy chamber, with a salary of a little over thirty-three pounds per annum.

In 1565, she succeeded Kate Astley as chief gentlewoman. Although the master of the jewel house was John Astley, the queen turned over the custody of her personal jewelry to her gentlewomen, starting with Blanche and followed by Lady Knollys and

Mistress Norris and finally, Mary Radcliffe in 1587. This same arrangement seems to have applied to the queen's library through 1569, but eventually Blanche took charge of the books presented to the Queen.

By 1568, Blanche was chief gentlewoman to the Queen and had unlimited access to her mistress, making her one of the most powerful women in the land. She would often attend Elizabeth when she met ambassadors and ministers. She was in charge of the queen's personal papers and acted as unofficial secretary to Elizabeth, drafting letters and reviewing the contents of others before they were posted.

Blanche was known for her mastery of foreign languages and keenly interested in historical and antiquarian research. She gave jewels and other costly gifts to the Queen every New Year's Day, as well as many others within and without the royal household. In return, she also received many gifts from various courtiers, including gold coin, books, cloth, a wooden coffer, pearl bracelets, a gold spoon, and from the Queen, gold and silver plate.

In reward for her loyal service, the Queen endowed her with wardships and leases on crown lands in Wales, Herefordshire and Yorkshire. Eventually, she owned considerable landed estates in Breconshire and had a very sharp eye for business. She acted as an intermediary between the Queen and the Earl of Leicester over a land grant disagreement. Due to her influence, some of her relatives assumed she could influence the Queen in political matters but, in reality, Blanches' influence remained somewhat limited.

People besieged her with requests for her help. With the aid of Lord Burleigh, Blanche brought the cause of some in want and suffering to the Queen's attention. She knew how far she could go with the Queen without causing offense. Letters exist among the Cecil papers at Hatfield from Blanche to Burleigh requesting his favor on behalf of those she found had fallen on hard times. She followed conservative religious ceremonies when she worshipped, and took steps to mitigate a blow to the family fortunes of the recusant Shellyes of Michaelgrove, Sussex.

It may be because of Blanche's intervention that Elizabeth's cousin Mary Grey was allowed back to court in 1572, following her ill-advised marriage to Thomas Keyes, Sergeant Porter to the Queen, which resulted in her virtual imprisonment. When Mary's husband died, Blanche took pity on Mary and she returned to Elizabeth's favor. The Queen allowed Mary to attend Christmas celebrations at Hampton Court in 1577 and she gave Elizabeth an expensive gift with the Queen giving her a silver cup. Mary attended court a few times before dying in April, 1578.

Blanche was friends with Dr. John Dee and obtained a grant in reversion to an ecclesiastical benefice for him. She also served as godmother for Dee's son. Dee was an Anglo-Welsh mathematician, astronomer, astrologer, teacher, occultist, and alchemist. He served as court astronomer and advisor to Queen Elizabeth and spent his career focused on alchemy, divination and Hermetic philosophy. As an antiquarian, he owned one of the largest libraries in England. As a political advisor, he advocated for the founding of English colonies in the New World to form a "British Empire", a term he is credited with coining.

Later in life, Blanche became blind, but she continued to diligently serve her beloved Queen and never married. In 1578, Blanche dictated her will to Lord Burleigh. In this document, she bequeaths her 'best diamond' to Queen Elizabeth, a table diamond to Elizabeth's councilor Sir

Christopher Hatton and her 'second diamond' to Lord Burleigh, along with other jewels to various lords and ladies. She left five hundred pounds to build an almshouse in Bacton and left bequests to every woman servant and yeoman in her service at the time and to her kinsfolk.

A witness left an account of her will, reading in part: "I have seen a copy (or rather a first draft) of her will, wrote with Lord Treasurer Burghley's own hand; in which, among many other legacies, she gave five hundred pounds for the building of an almshouse in Bacton, for the residence of four poor people. She also gave so much money as Lord T. Burghley should think sufficient for the repairing of the church and steeple there. And for the further relief of the vicar of Bacton, she gave twenty cows to be distributed to the parishioners of Bacton, and they to give to the vicar two shillings yearly for the use of every cow, etc."

She made clear she intended to be buried at Bacton, where she had already been preparing her tomb. Burghley also wrote down her final will in 1589 and acted as executor. It is believed Elizabeth was with Blanche when she died on February 12, 1590 at the age of eighty-two. Elizabeth was devasted by her loyal servant's death. The Queen allowed Blanche to be buried with all the honors due to a baroness, despite the fact she was of the gentry class. She was one of Elizabeth's longest serving attendants.

Blanche's great-niece, Lady Burgh, served as chief mourner at her funeral. She was buried at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster and her entrails were interred at Bacton. A monument to her at Bacton church had been completed in November 1578, made of stone and alabaster. It displays the figures of Queen Elizabeth with Blanche kneeling beside her, holding a book. It contains a twenty-eight-line poem, probably written by Blanche herself.

A marble and alabaster monument was erected in St. Margaret's in 1595-6. It commemorates her charity to the poor and her assistance and patronage for her kinfolk and her countrymen. She made an annual bequest of twenty-eight pounds to the parishioners of Bacton and Newton that was paid well into the twentieth century. The inscription on her tomb (transcribed) in St. Margaret's reads:

"Here under is intombed Blanche Parry, daughter to Henry Parry of Newcourt, within the county of Hereford, Esquire; chief gentlewoman of Queen Elizabeth's most honourable privy chamber, and keeper of her Majesty's jewels , whom she faithfully served from her highnesses birth; beneficial to her kinsfolk and countrymen, charitable to the poor, in so much that she gave to the poor of Bacton and Newton in Herefordshire, seven score bushels of wheat and rye yearly forever , with divers sum of money to Westminster and other places for good uses. She died a maid in the 82d year of her age, the 12 of February, 1589."

SUSAN ABERNETHY

Further reading: "Mistress Blanche: Queen Elizabeth I's Confidante" by Ruth Elizabeth Richardson, "Queen Elizabeth's Gentlewoman, and Other Sketches" by Sybil Lyttleton Cust, "Elizabeth's Women: Friends, Rivals and Foes Who Shaped the Virgin Queen", by Tracy Borman, "Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain Who Have Been Celebrated for Their Writings Or Skill in the Learned Languages, Arts and Sciences" by George Ballard, Blanche Parry, entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography written by Peter R. Roberts, entry on Blanche Parry written by Catherine Howey Stearn in "A Biographical Encyclopedia of Early Modern Englishwomen: Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts, 1500-1650" edited by Carole Levin, Anna Riehl Bertolet, and Jo Aldridge Carney

Sibling Rivalry - Mary, Queen of Scots and James Stewart

Gayle Hulme will examine when King James V of Scotland's favourite mistress Margaret Erskine was brought to bed in 1531 and no one thought for a moment that the child about to be delivered would have such a seismic role in the political and religious events of 16th century Scotland.

When King James V of Scotland's favourite mistress Margaret Erskine was brought to bed in 1531, no one thought for a moment that the child about to be delivered would have such a seismic role in the political and religious events of 16th century Scotland. All, except those who believed the rumours that James V was in discreet negotiations with the Pope to end his beautiful mistress's marriage to Sir Robert Douglas. There may have been a slight shred of truth in the whispers, but realistically there would have been "little national advantage in marrying a divorced Scotswoman whose son with the king was beyond question illegitimate"(Veerapen 2018), plus we have no evidence that Moray was the eldest son of his parent's liaisons. Still, did Margaret Erskine believe James V wanted to make her queen and does this partly account for Margaret's hostility towards her lover's second wife Marie de Guise and her harsh treatment of the royal couple's legitimate daughter, Mary Queen of Scots?

Whatever the truth of Margaret's feelings towards the King's new wife and her daughter, history has recorded that James Stewart's actions in adulthood towards his younger sister Mary Queen of Scots were motivated through envy, and on the face of it, that would ring true. However, if we probe further into some of Mary's most cataclysmic events, we see that Moray's underhand and duplicitous connivances were motivated by his unbridled desire for unopposed influence over the monarch, the state and religious policy.

During Mary Queen of Scots' 13-year absence, Scotland was governed by regents. The first to occupy the office was the vacillating Arran (Duke of Châtellerault), and the second was Mary's mother. Her seemingly loyal stepson James Stewart ably assisted Marie de Guise, but by the late 1550s, Stewart and


Mary Queen
Of Scots

other religious reformers were diligently corresponding with Elizabeth I via her senior councillors in London asking for assistance in negotiating a treaty with the French. The Scottish Lords wished to establish Protestantism in Scotland, and they were also anxious to be released from the French domination imposed on them by the 1548 Treaty of Haddington.

One of the principal points that the English wanted in return for their assistance was that "The French King and Queen […] abstain from using the arms and style of the Queen of England, and […] prohibit their subjects from doing the same." (Elizabeth: July 1560, 6-10). With Marie de Guise's health declining, Stewart and his cohorts grabbed their chance: They summoned a parliament that would curtail Marie's influence and allow the Treaty of Edinburgh to be ratified. In just one document, Scotland had re-established its own sovereignty, got rid of French troops and ensured England's military help should the French attempt to reassert themselves. They had even managed to circumvent the question of Arran and other problematic individuals by including a clause that returned "The Duke of Châtellerault and other noblemen…their estates in France." (Elizabeth: July 1560, 6-10).

At the time of the Treaty of Edinburgh, Mary Queen of Scots was Queen Consort of France, and the problems of her realm across the North Sea must have seemed worlds away. All that came crashing down on 5 December 1560 when her young husband Francis II died. As Mary had not produced an heir and was not pregnant, her mother-in-law, Catherine de Medici, made it clear that Mary and her meddlesome Lorraine relatives were not welcome at the French court. Consequently, the young childless widow who arrived at Leith on 19 August 1561 was reliant on her older and more politically astute half brother for advice. Although Mary never officially ratified the Protestant religion in Scotland, she was pragmatic enough to allow her subjects to practice their religion unmolested. As tricky as royal marriages could be, the Scottish Court could not have imagined the disaster that was on its way in the guise of an immature, egotistical, and frequently inebriated English noble: Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley.

Mary's marriage prospects were always going to cause difficulties between brother and sister. If Mary married in order to forge a political alliance, then the candidate would have to be a legitimate foreign prince who would outrank Stewart, now Earl of Moray. Should Mary wish to marry a Catholic, that could undermine Moray's position and potentially destabilise the religious settlement. In the end, the man Mary chose, she chose for love or perhaps more accurately, for infatuation. Augmenting the physical attraction was Darnley's Catholicism and his cast-iron hereditary claim to the English and Scottish thrones. Like Mary, his Great Grandfather was King Henry VII of England. They shared a maternal grandmother in Margaret Tudor, and Darnley's father, the Earl of Lennox, was a descendant of James II of Scotland through the maternal line. All of these factors were bad news for Moray.

Mary eventually married Darnley at Holyrood on 29 July 1565, but not before Moray had suffered a humiliating sting at the hands of Elizabeth I and her proclivity for dissembling. Initially sceptical of Elizabeth I's proposed marriage

between Mary and the Protestant Earl of Leicester, Moray gave the match his full backing only for the negotiations to break down. This embarrassing debacle left Moray in a humiliating bind. His distrust of the Lennox/Douglas faction was now exposed, and relations between the half-siblings further deteriorated when Moray refused a direct command to attend the wedding. Instead, he and other rebellious nobles gathered a force to take power from Mary and Darnley because they feared "the overthrow of the Kirk and a return to state Catholicism" (Ring 2017). This challenge became known as the Chase-about Raids, as the opposing forces pursued each other for three months without ever crossing swords. The rebellion floundered, and by October, it was over; Mary had Moray outlawed, and he had no alternative but to seek refuge with his allies in England.

Moray's next tactic to oust Mary and ensure the rehabilitation of his influence and the Protestant state's continuance hinged around dangling the carrot of kingship before the disgruntled and gullible Darnley. In short, the plan was for the Scottish Lords to remove Mary and elevate Darnley from the position of Mary's consort to the position of King with the authority of the Crown Matrimonial. In return, Darnley would stop all parliamentary proceedings that would lead to the banished Chase-about Lords permanently forfeiting their titles and lands. To further inflame Darnley's passion for the scheme, he was fed the story that the child his wife was carrying was not his but was sired by the Queen's Catholic Secretary's, David Rizzo. Finally, Darnley, a Catholic by birth, upbringing, and practice, would turn his back on his faith in return for the power he felt his wife had unfairly denied him. On the night of 9 March 1566, Rizzo was brutally attacked in Mary's chambers. The terrified Italian was prized from Mary's skirts before being beaten and stabbed to death. The plan was complete, but the cowardly Darnley did not have the guts to stand by his actions and escaped from The Palace of Holyroodhouse with Mary the next day. Mary eventually pardoned the Lords, but Darnley, having shown his true colours to Mary and his fellow conspirators, was now living on borrowed time.

By the beginning of 1566, it was clear that Lord Darnley was a liability and had to be dealt with, and those he had crossed did not need much encouragement to plot his murder. The Lords and particularly Darnley's maternal relations were seething over his betrayal. Although the planned explosion failed to kill Darnley, it was his Mother's relations that ignored his pleas of mercy while they strangled him. Moray was fully appraised of the plan, and according to John Guy in his book 'My Heart is My Own', "Moray prudently stood aloof-…because he knew exactly when the explosion (to murder Darnley) would take place and so made sure to be absent at his house in Fife on the night". Moray publicly outlined easily refutable charges that accused Mary of having expensive items removed from Darnley's bedroom before the explosion to implicate Mary in the crime. Here we see Moray's single-minded ambition for power as he openly lays waste to his sister's reputation with her subjects.

In the summer of 1567, "Moray eventually got what he wanted" (Guy 2004). Mary was now locked in Loch Leven Castle after giving herself up at the

disastrous Battle of Carberry Hill. Arising from her sickbed after miscarrying twins, an exhausted and petrified Mary had eventually, under immense pressure, signed a document of abdication in favour of her infant son Prince James. Her merciless jailers had threatened her with lifelong incarceration or a slit throat, and when Moray arrived from France, he ruthlessly gas-lit Mary into insisting that he become Regent until King James VI came of age.

As we can see from the examples above, James Stewart, Earl of Moray's hunger for ultimate power in Scotland, would lead him to manipulative and calculating acts, but he was careful to distance himself as the plots unfolded, and he acted out of vainglory rather than envy.

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GAYLE HULME

James Stewart, Earl of Moray

On queenly feuds that were allegedly motivated by envy – or, maybe, simply belittled as such by their critics – it's hard to beat the exquisite dual biography, "Elizabeth and Mary" by Jane Dunn. For fans of "Tudor Life" regular Roland Hui, I can thoroughly recommend his book, "The Turbulent Crown: The Story of the Tudor Queens," which is also available in audio as well as paperback.

On more personal rivalries, Julia Fox's biography of Jane Boleyn demolishes the old misogynist legend that Lady Rochford's career was motivated by spiteful jealousy. Nicola Tallis's "Elizabeth's Rival" is fantastic, as is Leonie Frieda's "Catherine de Medici," which explores not just Catherine's extraordinary tenacity as queen and later queen-regent of France but also the agony inflicted on her private life by her husband's adultery with Diane de Poitiers.

The latter is the subject of an old, sumptuous movie called "Diane," in which Diane is played by Lana Turner and Henri II by Sir Roger Moore. Not all Tudor history readers were impressed by the recent biopic in which Mary, Queen of Scots was played by Saoirse Ronan, but some loved it – Margot Robbie plays Elizabeth I and David Tennant appears as John Knox, founder of Presbyterianism.

The remains of Midhurst Castle on St.Ann's Hill

MIDHURST

WITH IAN MULCAHY

For this month's Tudor tour I'm 12 miles to the north of the Roman city of Chichester visiting Midhurst, a small West Sussex market town within the South Downs National Park that is home to approximately 5,000 inhabitants. Despite its proximity to a Roman stronghold, pre-conquest archaeology is thin on the ground here and finds are limited to a handful of pre-historic tools (including a Palaeolithic hand axe), a Bronze Age barrow and Roman coins and pottery, likely to be the remnants of an isolated Roman farm. All of these items were discovered outside of the centre of the town.

The name Midhurst was first recorded in 1186 and translates from old English as *place in the middle of wooded hills* and this reflects the position of the town at the base of the Rother valley at a point where major north-south and east-west routes cross the river. Some local historians believe that the town was founded as a subsidiary burh of Chichester by Alfred the Great in the 8th century, but with no documentary or archaeological evidence of any Saxon settlement it seems most likely that the name was given for the purposes of navigation or trade and that Midhurst started to develop as a planned town shortly after the Norman Conquest.

On conquering Southern England in 1066, William I awarded the lands on which Midhurst stands to Roger De Montgomery, one of his principal counsellors. Montgomery's development of the town started at St. Ann's Hill, a natural spur of land to the east of the town, where he erected a strategic earthwork and timber castle and this fortification was strengthened in the mid-12th century when it was rebuilt in stone. The site was abandoned in roughly 1280 in favour of the nearby Cowdray Estate and all that remains of **Midhurst Castle** are the foundations of various buildings. The ground level walls that can be seen on St. Ann's Hill today are a reconstruction, built on the original foundations following an archaeological excavation in 1913 in order to demonstrate the position of the original buildings. The 12th century version of the castle, protected by a 5ft thick curtain wall, included a tower, 2 chambers, an open hall, a kitchen, a granary and a chapel (dedicated to St. Denis) which appears to have outlived the rest of the buildings and remained in use until at least 1367.

The castles replacement, **Cowdray House**, positioned less than 400 metres to the north east of St. Ann's Hill, stands on low ground beside the River Rother and was first developed as a fortified moated manor house in the late 13th century, but was almost completely rebuilt as a semi fortified country house during the Tudor era. The rebuilding commenced in the early 1520s under the control of Sir David Owen, the illegitimate son of Owen Tudor (grandfather of Henry VII), but he sold the estate to Sir William Fitzwilliam, courtier to Henry VIII and Earl of Southampton, and it was Fitzwilliam who completed the works by 1542, creating one of the great Sussex Houses of the time in a style similar to that of Hampton Court Palace. Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth I were all entertained at Cowdray during its heyday, but the house was destroyed on 24 September 1793 during restoration work when a fire broke out in the carpenters' workshop in the north gallery and the walls now stand in a ruinous state. In a strange twist of fate, the only part of the house to survive the fire intact was the kitchen, due it being designed in such a way as to protect the rest of the house from kitchen fires!

Within the grounds of the estate can be found **The Granary**, a quaint and crooked early 17th century granary and **The Round Tower**, an octagonal stone building, contemporary with the house, which was built as a conduit to supply the house with water.

Shortly after the establishment of the castle a planned and fortified town started to form to the west within a second, outer, bailey. The river and St. Ann's Hill formed the eastern defence and a deep ditch of approximately 11 metres in width was dug around the other three sides of the fledgling town, each side being approximately 200 metres long. On a modern map, the southern flank of the ditch ran from just north of the eastern end of 'The Wharf', through the car park and Jacobean Hall at The Spread Eagle Hotel and turned north just after the hotel gardens, forming the western section between Duck Lane (derived from Back Lane; the lane at the back of the bailey) and Wool Lane before bending across to

The granary at Cowdray House

Knockhundred Row (known as 'Wildes Hill' in Tudor times) to form the northern flank which then joined up with the northern side of St. Ann's to complete the defensive structure. Visitors from the north would have entered the town along Knockhundred Row and through a gate at the point where it turns and becomes Church Hill while the entrance for those travelling from the south was roughly where the street splits into two to accommodate the central infill. There were two further entrances in the western defence, one on modern day West Street and the other into Duck Lane where it joins North Street, a road which pre-dates the town formation.

The bailey was split into three vertical strips of land by two streets, now known as Church Hill & Sheep Lane, with the outer two being allocated as burgage plots and the centre strip being a large open market place with a small chapel dedicated to St. Mary at its centre. This chapel was certainly in use and co-existing with the Chapel of St. Denis by 1216 when it was documented in a foundation charter relating to the college of priests at nearby Easebourne as a dependant chapel. In 1422 a Brotherhood of the Holy Rood was founded and this provided the chapel with a morrow-mass priest, but it remained a dependency of the church at Easebourne.

It wasn't until the suppression of Easebourne Priory in 1536 that the chapel became **The Parish Church of St Mary** and this gave rise to substantial rebuilding work which included an increase to the height of the tower, a chapel to the east, a southern aisle and, on the site of the original chapel to the north, a nave and chancel leaving us with the structure that we see today, though a significant restoration was carried out in the late 19th century. The only fabric surviving from the original chapel is thought to be the lower part of the tower.

A market was first recorded at Midhurst in 1223 when a market charter was awarded, but it

The round tower at Cowdray House

The Parish Church of St Mary

The House of Anita & Tudorcraft

jettied early 16th century timber framed house and next door is a building knowns as **The House of Anita & Tudorcraft**, a small two bayed jettied shop of the 16th century. Adjoining this is **Bird, Potter & Co and Ewen House**, a late 16th or early 17th century timber framed building, now rendered in roughcast, with an archetypal jetty and crosswing which was originally the Red Lion Inn.

In the centre of Church Hill are **The Swan Inn** and **Elizabeth House**. The earliest parts of The Swan date back to 1460 when it was built as a coaching Inn and both visible external walls of the original structure are jettied; the eastern aspect for its full length. The southern end is a 19th century addition. Elizabeth House is a narrow single bay 15th or 16th century structure with a fabulous double jetty overlooking the church and what remains of the open market square. When a previous owner died, in 1948, the house was sent for auction and the auctioneers advised potential purchasers that the property was being sold as a leasehold, with a ground rent of sixpence (2.5p in decimal currency which is about 3.5 US cents) payable each year for 10,000 years from when the lease commenced in 1760. The purpose was to retain, for the seller, the right to the parliamentary vote which was attached to the property. If this yearly ground rent had kept pace with inflation a little over £2.50 (USD3.50) would

Bird, Potter & Co and Ewen House, formerly the Red Lion Inn

The Swan Inn

be due annually. I have been unable to ascertain whether it is still payable. There were a further two adjoined cottages to the north of Elizabeth House, but these were demolished after the Great War to create a space for the town war memorial. This means that the northern wall has been an internal one for all but the last century of the building's c.500 year existence.

On the southern side of the square, is **2 Market Square**, a small jettied cottage believed to date to the 15th century and to the east, by the track to St. Ann's Hill, is **Granville House**, a large terrace of timber framed houses dating back to the 17th century or earlier that were refronted in the 18th century, though parts of the timber framing are still visible to the rear.

A short way along the west side of Church Hill, as the road starts to narrow into a single carriageway again, is an old property known as **Campbell Antiques, Old Manor Cottage, and Old Manor House Restaurant**. This was originally a timber framed open hall house, probably built in the 1500s, but maybe earlier. In about 1600 the hall was floored over and a chimney added, as was often the case with hall houses. Adjustments were made to the roof and the house was refronted during the 18th century. It is easily identified as there is a large wall mounted clock to the right.

A little further north, as we approach the position of the northern entrance to the fortified Norman Town, we find the long and wonderfully curved late 16th or early 17th century timber framing of **3 & 4 Knockhundred Row**. Opposite, and right on the edge of the old town, is **The Former Public Library**, a large quirky seven bay timber framed building with all kinds of odd angles and entrances. Built towards the end of the Tudor Period in the late 16th century, it is first recorded in 1602 when ownership of the burgage on which it stood carried voting rights. Later in the 17th century, the house was split when it was passed to the two sons of the owner in his will. A

Elizabeth House (also known as Harveys Bottle & Jug)

2 Market Square

further change of ownership saw one half become the White Horse Inn and the other living quarters before the whole building was converted into five tenements, a state in which it remained for 200 years or so. It was then bought by the future Lord (George) Onslow and became a row of commercial premises. Lord Cowdary came into ownership in 1913, when it was described as three houses and two cottages, and he removed the internal walls to create the Midhurst Working Men's Club. During World War 2 it was used as an evacuation centre and has since hosted a youth centre, a canteen for the local Grammar School and a public library. It is now the home of Midhurst Town Council.

As time progressed, Britons integrated with their conquerors from Normandy and the need for fortification to protect the town from insurgency waned. By the 13th century the northern ends of the original market place had become infilled with permanent buildings and the town was spilling out from its boundaries into the surrounding land. A secondary market had developed to the west of the fortifications in the centre of the triangular area now marked by Wool Lane, Rumbolds Hill and West Street, with burgage plots set out around the outside of the new market place. Later in the 13th century, or perhaps early in the 14th, a third market was created in North Street. Whether this was as a result of rapid infilling of the second market or booming trade is unclear.

In 1327, recorded occupations in the town included tailors, dubbers (who repaired old clothes), puffers (makers of cloth dresses), a weaver, a dyer and numerous tanners and this tells us that the town was heavily involved in the textiles trade. It was during this period that Midhurst gained representation in Parliament, sending two MPs to Westminster from 1301 out of a population of approximately 180, 46 of whom were taxpayers. By 1327 the number of taxpayers had fallen to 26 though the number was climbing again by 1332 when 32 were noted. Records show that during the Tudor period the town was home to 7 weavers, 8 fullers, 9 tailors and 4 whiteners, probably involved in the production of Guildford cloth which was a major Sussex export at the time. Saddlers and shoemakers were also prevalent during the 16th century. In 1524 103 taxpayers were recorded, suggesting that the town had recovered well from the ravages of the Black Death and the general economic recession that occurred in the early 14th century.

The defensive ditch was backfilled over hundreds of years; from the 13th century through to the 16th or 17th century. The recovered land was of course re-used and the path of the ditch was gradually lost under new buildings. In Knockhundred Row, immediately north of the old gateway

Campbell Walchli Antiques, Old Manor Cottage, and Old Manor House Restaurant

Granville House

The Former Public Library

3 & 4 Knockhundred Row

The Bloody Mary Bar and Knockhundred Market

into the town and directly over the course of the ditch, stands **The Bloody Mary Bar and Knockhundred Market**. Listed as being of 17th century or earlier, the long building was refronted in the 18th century, hiding all of the timber framing, but venture inside the market section and the building is open to the roof for the most part with the framing clearly visible. A little way down the hill on the opposite side of the road is another 17th century or earlier structure built on the infilled ditch known as **2 & 2a Knockhundred Row**, and this was also refronted in the 18th century, retaining the curved windows inserted at that time on the ground floor.

The oldest surviving building that was constructed on or outside of the Norman ditch is an old shop in West Street known as **Richard Green**. Outwardly, the rendered structure is unremarkable and the statutory listing dates it as 17th century, but the façade conceals an open hall building of the late 14th century. Almost opposite is **J E Allnut & Son**, a small refaced 15th century house/shop.

At the end of West Street on the south eastern corner of the junction with Bepton Road and just outside of the confines of the secondary market, is **Bepton Court**. The western range, fronting Bepton Road and shown in the photo, is an open hall house of the early 16th century with the eastern range on West Street being added in the late 16th century. This is another building which has been well disguised under painted masonry and render, but the distinctive shape of the hipped roof betrays its age.

A short way back along West Street, is Wool Lane and in the burgage plots to the east of the road can be found **Wool Cottage** and **3 Wool Lane**. Both are timber framed houses of probable 16th century origin and both can boast a full length jetty. The timbers are still visible on the upper floor of half of Wool Cottage, whilst the other half is tile hung and the lower floor has been rebuilt in stone. Number 3 has been plastered at the front, though some timbers are still visible on the lower floor. Adjoining 3 Wool Lane is **The Premises of Lamb & Glue**, another refaced old


2 & 2a Knockhundred Row

cottage, though this probably dates from the early 17th century.

A little further north, on the corner of Duck Lane and next to the site of one of the original gateways into the old town is **EJ Tomes Regency Building Society**, a larger, and probable late 16th century, timber framed building that has suffered from considerable modernisation over the course of its 400 year existence, though the over sailing timber frame of the upper floor can still be seen on the Duck Lane side of the building. On the opposite side of Duck Lane is **Rumbolds House**, another extensively modernised building whose 19th century exterior offers no clues to its true age except, in common with Bepton Court, the shape of its hipped roof which suggests that it too dates to the early to mid 16th century.

A further 50 metres north and we arrive at the junction of Knockhundred Row and North Street and the site of the third market opens up in front of us as the street widens considerably. Not much survives from the Tudor era here, but a little further north, on the corner with Angel Yard, is a building known as **Tudor View**. The street frontage is an 18th century Georgian addition, but look behind, in Angel Yard, and you will be rewarded with a substantial timber framed building of the 16th century. To the north of the Angel Hotel is **The Tuck Shop** which has the external appearance of an early 20th century building, but the tile cladding hides a substantial 16th century timber framed shop. The central chimney was inserted early in the 17th century and wall paintings from c.1600 survive inside. The author HG Wells lodged at the Tuck Shop whilst employed as a teacher at the nearby Grammar School in 1883/4.

Our final Tudor era building in Midhurst is a little further north and on the opposite side of the road at **65 North Street**, a late 16th century or early 17th century building that has been refaced in painted brick, though some of the framing can still be seen in the north wall.

IAN MULCAHY

J E Allnut & Son

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Wool Cottage


3 Wool Lane

The Premises of Lamb & Glue

Bepton Court

Rumbolds House

EJ Tomes Regency Building Society

Tudor View

The Tuck Shop

65 North Street

TONI MOUNT

Beware the Cat!

a Tudor novel by William Baldwin

I love a good novel and was surprised to find that one was written as early as the mid-sixteenth century. Beware the Cat! was written in 1553, when Edward VI was king. It was written by William Baldwin, a printer's assistant and a poet who had already had his sonnets published in 1547, the first known of that poetic form in English. King Edward was an enthusiastic Protestant, as was William, and the innovative book contained quite a bit of anti-Catholic satire. So, when the king died in the summer of 1553 and his pro-Catholic sister Mary became queen, the book's publication was put on hold. Editions date from 1561 (possibly), 1570 and 1584. Like William's sonnets, Beware the Cat! is thought to be the first ever of its kind in English. Today, it would probably be shelved under the 'Fantasy-Horror' category. From the title, you may guess that William's book, written in three parts, is not one for cat-lovers.

The novel begins at the royal court of Edward VI during the Christmas festivities of 1552. Baldwin was there in real life, working as an actor for George Ferrers, the Master of the King's Pastimes. The fiction unrolls as Baldwin tells how he and Ferrers are talking with Master Willot – Ferrers' astronomer – and Master Gregory Streamer about whether or not animals are able to think and reason. Streamer believes they can and sets out to convince the others. The rest of the book consists of his story, attempting to persuade Baldwin, Ferrers and Willot that animals cannot only reason but have discussions in their own languages.

In the first part of the book, Streamer tells his audience of historical instances in various parts of England and Ireland relating to a legendary cat known as Grimalkin. Grimalkin [or Grey-malkin] was an evil spirit disguised as a grey she-cat. It was also a term used for a spiteful old woman or witch. The first witch at the opening of Shakespeare's Macbeth says her name is 'Gray-Malkin'. '*Malkin*' was a female name composed of '*Mal*', a pet form of '*Maud*', and the diminutive suffix '*–kin*'.

Streamer sets the scene by describing

Woodcut of 'Grimalkin' [Dictionaryperson.wordpress.com]

his lodgings and the streets of London around John Day's printing house, where Streamer stays while overseeing the printing of his Greek Alphabet book.

I lodged within a Chamber hard by the Printing houſe, which had a faire bay window opening in the Garden, the earth wherof is almoſt as high as S. Annes Church top which ſtādeth therby. At the other end of the Printing houſe as you enter in, is a ſide doore and iij. or iiij. ſteps which go vp to the Leads of the Gate, wheras ſōtime quarters of men (which is a lothely & abhominable ſight) doo ſtand vp vpon Poles.

One problem for Streamer was that these rotting quartered bodies of traitors, besides being gruesome to see, attracted the local cats every night and they kept him awake with their caterwauling. In the first part of the story, Streamer recounts a fictional conversation he overheard in his lodgings among a group of men. A man from Staffordshire tells that forty years before, someone had heard cats talking about the death of one of their kind called Grimalkin. Another of the group, Thomas, says he was Ireland thirty-three years ago and heard a peasant telling a similar story about the same Grimalkin. Apparently, seven years earlier, an Irish man and his son had been stealing livestock and hid in a church to avoid pursuit. But a grey cat came and ate the cow and sheep they had stolen. So the thief killed the cat and escaped but a whole gang of cats came to avenge Grimalkin's death and they slew and scoffed the son as well.

They got thē out of the Church and the Kern [thief] tooke his horſe and a way he rode as faſt as he could hie. When he was a mile or two from the Church : the moone began to ſhine, and his boy eſpied the cat vpon his maiſters horſe behinde him, tolde him, whervpon the kern took his Dart and turning his face toward her flang it, and ſtroke her thorough with it but immediatly there came to her ſuch a ſight of Cats, that after long fight with them : his boy was killed and eaten vp, and he him ſelf, as good and as ſwift as his horſe was had much to doo to ſcape.

Grimalkin was probably a witch in disguise. The others agree with Thomas about the cat being a witch and Master Sherry, the scholar in the group, says that a Bishop of Alexandria once learned to understand the language of birds and wonders if the same might be possible with cats. A number of other tales of witches are exchanged: never buy a red pig in Ireland for they are conjured by witches out of hay and straw and will return to that form as soon as they cross running water. Another long story tells of a witch's curse that turns married couples into wolves, to wander in the forest for a period of seven years before returning to human shape – always supposing they haven't starved or been hunted down in the meantime.

Having overheard this conversation, in the second part of the novel, Godfrey Streamer decides he is going to attempt to find a way of understanding the language of the cats yowling outside

his window every night. Consulting a thirteenth-century 'Book of Secrets', written by the learned philosopher, Albertus Magnus, he discovers the recipe for understanding birds and thinks it might be adapted for cats. Streamer collects bits of various animals, including hedgehog, fox, rabbit, kite and cat. He combines these into food and drink of different sorts and achieves his wish.

Baldwin is quite the poet and loves using mythological references in the Tudor fashion. Here is his description of the sunrise that got him [Streamer] out of bed to begin his quest for animal ingredients for his recipe:

And as ſoon as retles Phebus was come vp out of the ſmoking Sea, & with ſhaking his golden coulored beames which were all the night long in Thetis moiſt boſome had dropped of his ſiluer ſweat in to Herdaes dry lap, & kiſſing faire Aurora with glowing mouth, had driuen frō ther h'aduoutrer Lucifer & was moūted ſo hye to look vpō Europa ye for at ye heiht of Mile end ſtéeple he ſpied mée through the glaſſe windowe lying on my bed, vp I roſe…

The recipe Streamer concocts is described in considerable detail, as are the applications of the medicines produced. As a result, his hearing becomes so acute that he can hear the music of the celestial spheres and all earthly noises are jumbled together in a deafening cacophony. However, a wife in St Albans, far from London, shouts so loudly about her husband being a cuckold, he hears that clear enough.

Cats in a Medieval Bestiary Book
[13th cent MS764, Bodleian Library]

He would like to have heard more of that, he says:

and would fain haue I heard the reſt, but could not by means of barking of dogges, grūting of hoggs wauling of cats, rumbling of ratts, gagling of géeſe humming of bées, rouſing of Bucks, gagling of ducks, ſinging of Swannes, ringing of pannes, crowing of Cocks ſowing of ſocks, kacling of hēs ſcrabling of pēnes, péeping of mice, trulling of dice, corling of froges, and todes in the bogges, chirping of crickets, ſhuting of wickets, ſkriking of owles, flitring of fowles, rowting of knaues, ſnorting of ſlaues, farting of churls fiſling of girles, with many things elſe, as ringīg of belles.coūting of coines.mounting of groines, whiſpering of loouers, ſpringīg of ploouers, groning and ſpuing, baking and bruing, ſcratching & rubbing, watching and ſhrugging, with ſuch a ſorte of commixed noyſes as would deaf any body to haue heard…

All this selection of sounds – did you ever know the Tudors had so many terms to describe noises? – is in rhyming

From The Bizarre Life of Cats in Shakespeare [History Hits]

couplets. From this we learn that 'swans' rhymes with 'pans', helping us with sixteenth-century pronunciation, and 'geese' rhymes with 'bees', softening the 's'. I never knew that girls are 'fisling' and am intrigued by 'counting of coins; mounting of groins', so there's sex and money here, too. And does the 'sewing of socks' make a noise?

The third part of the novel describes what Streamer learns from the cats having their meeting outside his window. It is a cats' court, trying a cat called Mouseslayer who has broken the feline laws concerning promiscuity. Mouseslayer defends herself, telling her life story which involves living in the houses of a number of Roman Catholics who flout the new Protestant reforms made law during Edward VI's reign. This anti-Catholic satire was the reason Baldwin dared not publish his novel when Mary Tudor was queen and attempting to revive Roman Catholicism in England.

But there are some interesting references to Tudor science in this third section too, addressed to Master Willot who, as an astronomer, will 'know these things already':

ſo caſt the Sun or a candle light vpō any round glaſſe of water that it ſhall make the light therof bothe in waring and waning counterfeit the Moon. For you ſhall vnderſtand, Maiſter Willot, you that are my Lordes Aſtronomer, that all our anceſtors haue fayled in knowledge of naturall cauſes, for it is not the Moon that cauſeth the Sea to eb and flowe, neither to nepe and ſpring: but the neping and ſpringing of the Sea is cauſe of the Moons bothe waxing

¶ Loue and Liue.

¶ To the Right worſhipfull Eſquier maiſter Iohn Yong, Grace and health.

I Haue penned for your maſter ſhips pleaſure one of the ſtories which maiſter Streamer tolde the laſt Chriſtmas, and which you ſo faine wold haue heard reported by maſter Feres him ſelfe. And although I be vnable to penne or ſpeake it ſo pleaſantly as he could, yet haue I ſo nerely vſed both the order and wordes of him that ſpake them, which is not the leaſt vertue of a reporter that I doubt not but that he and maiſter VVillot ſhal in the reading thinke they heare maſter Streamer ſpeake, and he him ſelfe in the like action ſhall doubt whether he ſpeaketh or readeth. I haue deuided his oration into three partes, and put the argument before them, and an inſtruction after them with ſuch notes as might be gathered therof: ſo making it booke like, and intituled: *Beware the Cat*. But becauſe I doubt whether maſter Streamer wilbe contented that other men plowe with his oxen, I meane penne ſuch thinges as he ſpeaketh, which perhaps hee would

A.ij.

The first page of Beware the Cat. This edition of 1570 has a woodcut illustration of the cat, a rat [?] and a hedgehog as well as the dedication to the Elizabethan courtier John Yong.

and waning. For the Moon light is nothing ſaue the ſhining of the Sun. as alſo the ſtares are nothing els but the ſun light reflectted vpon ye face of riuers & caſt vpon the chriſtalline heauen, which because Riuers always keep like courſe, therfore are the ſtarrs alway of one bignes.

There are some intriguing ideas here; that 'our ancestors' wrongly thought the waxing and waning of the moon caused the tides of the sea but it is rather the case that the sea causes the moon to wax and wane. Of course, later scientists knew the ancestors were correct. Streamer states, rightly, that moonlight is nothing but reflected sunlight but the explanation of the stars being just reflections of sunlight off rivers reflected again by the crystal spheres of the heavens, I have never come across before. It's a lovely poetical idea, if entirely wrong.

When Streamer finishes telling Mouseslayer's story, including adulterous spouses and liars, readers are returned to Baldwin, Ferrers and Willot at the royal Christmas court and Baldwin ties up the story neatly, warning readers to 'beware the cat' because cats see and hear all that goes on in privacy and will discuss it with

their fellows. Nobody wants every moggy in the neighbourhood knowing their secrets.

Baldwin's use of so many characters, each of them contributing to the narrative, is beautifully done and unusual for Tudor story-telling. The dialogue is surprisingly 'modern' once the reader is used to the print type where 'u' and 'v' are transposed and 'f' is easily mistaken for the long 's'. His description of Tudor London is quite vivid. As a satire, Baldwin criticises the Catholic religious practices which were not permitted during Edward's reign. He makes fun of the superstitious Catholic huntsmen who give Streamer the animal remains for his potion but shrink away when he mentions the 'urchin' or hedgehog, much as actors today hate any mention of 'the Scottish play' – which I've dared to name previously in this article. Baldwin also mocks the scholar and the astronomer who think they know it all, as well as those foolish Catholics who believe in witches and ridiculous magic potions.

William Baldwin may not be listed with Defoe, Austen and Dickens as great writers of their day but as England's first-ever attempt at novel writing, Beware of the Cat! is a fine piece of narrative fiction. Incidentally, if science fiction is your thing, Francis Godwin published the first novel about space travel, in English in 1638: The Man in the Moone.

TONI MOUNT.

QUIZ ANSWERS

How did you do with this month's quiz? It was actually a tricky one! Here are the answers with their death years.

Anne Boelyn DIED IN 1536

Jane Seymour DIED IN 1537

Elizabeth Tudor DIED IN 1603

Henry Fitzroy DIED IN 1536

Francis of Angoulême DIED IN 1547

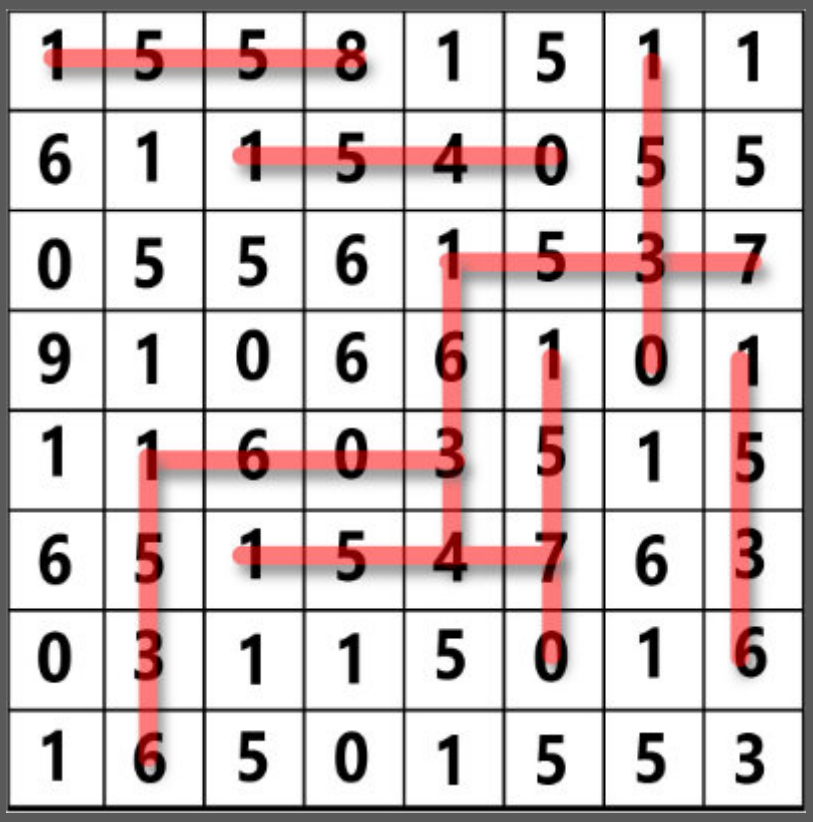
Lettice Knollys DIED IN 1634

Thomas Wolsey DIED IN 1530

Thomas Cromwell DIED IN 1540

Bess Holland DIED IN 1558

James Stewart DIED IN 1570



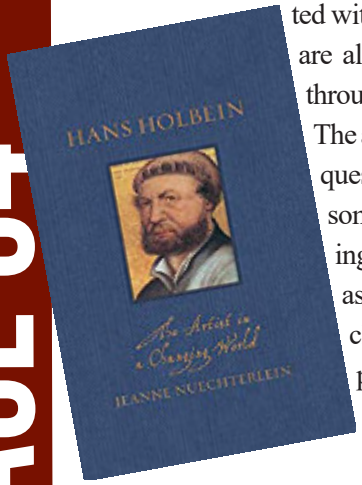
Charlie on Books

Hans Holbein: The Artist in a Changing World

Jeanne Nuechterlein

The name Hans Holbein the Younger will be familiar to anyone with an interest in the Tudors, he was the artist who painted most of the portraits we associated with Henry VIII and his six wives. There have been a few books on him but his character and background still remain frustratingly elusive. One of the latest books on Holbein is by Jeanne Nuechterlein and is part of the *Renaissance Lives* series by Reaktion Books. Entitled *Hans Holbein: The Artist in a Changing World*, Nuechterlein's work is an account of his career as an artist during a time where there was much upheaval.

Nuechterlein's book is very technical and academic, especially in the first few chapters. It is a thematic account and, as such, readers should not expect a biography of the man. It is, however, useful for those studying him and the artwork of the period. As expected with a book on an artist, there are also many beautiful images throughout.



The author raises the interesting question as to his religion, something that we surprisingly don't know about him, as he worked for all types of clients and did not make it particularly obvious. As she points out, he produced portraits *'for a range of sitters, from merchants and lowly court officials up to the high aristocracy, including many of the most powerful men of the realm'* and that *'In the end, the upheaval of the Reformation did not prevent Holbein's success as an artist, but it did propel him to diversify into new fields.'*

Nuechterlein also uses the material evidence to give us a picture of Holbein's early life, providing the reader with some insight into his relationship with his father, Hans Holbein the Elder:

'No documentation confirms the elder Holbein's training of his sons, but technically and conceptually their earliest work shows close affiliation with his. Moreover, it seems natural to infer from the two sets of early portraits the father's pride in (and affection for) his sons. In 1504, when the boys were about ages five and eight, the elder Holbein inserted a self-portrait together with the two of them as witnesses to the baptism of St Paul in the lower left scene of one of the paintings made for the Dominican convent's panel cycle'

One thing that is evident throughout is how much pride Holbein had in his work. He did not just do it for the money and refused to compromise on the quality, which tells us a lot about his character:

'In England he worked for a range of clients of different social means, but even in those paintings made for sitters with fewer financial resources, the compromise was not on artistic quality, but on the material aspects of value: size of panel (that is, degree of effort) and materials (amount and expense of pigments).'

Hans Holbein: The Artist in a Changing World is a valuable look at the life of the man through his artwork, leaving no stone unturned and providing much detail. It may not be the easiest of reads, but it is a useful book for anyone studying Hans Holbein the Younger and his work.

A History of Death in 17th Century England

Ben Norman

Death is a difficult subject and one in which is rarely focused on solely in its own right, yet it is an important part of life, as much hundreds of years ago as it is now. One recent work that delves into this is *A History of Death in 17th Century England* by Ben Norman. This looks at the different types of deaths, as well as the way people acted on their deathbeds and the different types of funerals and how they differed by social class.

The book starts by looking at the different types of deaths, including natural deaths, deaths due to war, executions etc. It starts with infant deaths under the natural death category and then goes through the years of age. Norman makes it clear that people did not live as long back then:

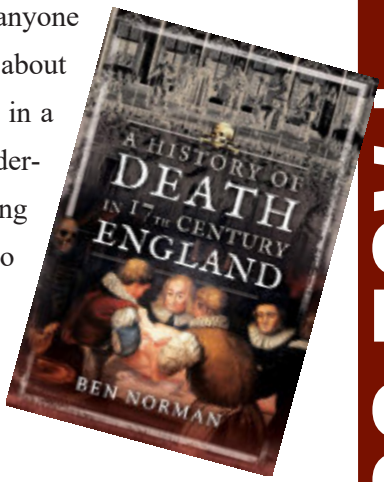
'An adult might reach the age of 60 and consider it a fortunate stroke of luck, but most people living in the 1600s could expect a lifespan of somewhere between 30 and 40 years. To the modern observer living in England in the twenty-first century, this is a startlingly young age, tantamount to dying in the prime of life.'

The plague/Black Death is obviously covered in this work and makes for interesting, albeit morbid, reading. There are also images throughout, with one of the most fascinating being a copy of a page from the Bill of Mortality for the week commencing 15 August 1665. It lists the many different causes of death in London at the time, with 3,880 dying of the plague just in that week.

One thing that really stands out is how much certain aspects of life differ by social class and what fundamentally stays the same, like how people die. Wills are one of the most obvious things to differ:

'It is important to reflect that not everybody made a will in seventeenth-century England. Possessing nothing of any great value, the very poor almost never wrote one. Only the wealthier sort had reason to formally set their affairs in order, including well-to-do yeomen, husbandmen, skilled craftsmen, gentlemen, and aristocrats. Women who predeceased their husbands were not by law entitled to make a will: their goods were legally the latter's property.'

A History of Death in 17th Century England is well-written and an easy read, even if the subject matter may not be for the faint of heart. It is an interesting work on something that affected everyone, no matter their social class or status. It covers much more than death itself, including the writing of wills, last rites and funeral practices. This book will be of interest to anyone wanting to learn more about how people lived and in a way that is easy to understand, without dumbing down the subject too much.



FROM THE SPICERY

WITH RIOGINACH

GO FISH

While researching this month's From the Spicery article, I came across a book on the weird, the wonderful, and the downright bizarre fish that were thought to populate the oceans, rivers, and streams (and the imaginations) of our medieval ancestors. It's called *The Noble Lyfe and Nature of Man, Of Beasts, Serpentys, Fowles and Fisshes Y Be Moste Knowen* by Lawrens Andrewe, written in the first quarter of the 14th Century[1]. It mentions some truly memorable 'fish' that are probably more suited to an ale-fuelled nightmare. For that reason (and that I can't find any recipes for cooking an Abremon or an Ezox) I won't' refer to Andrewe's book from this point forward. But its a very entertaining read, and you can find a link to parts of it in the footnotes[2].

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It goes without saying that our medieval forebears' diet would have been more restrictive if fish (and other aquatic foods) hadn’t been on the menu. Here, I'm speaking specifically in the context of the diet of medieval Christians. We know that eggs, fish and other kinds of seafood (say hello, Barnacle Goose) were the go-to foods for Lent and fasting days. I recall reading that approximately 45% of the year was given over to a meat-free diet. That's a lot of fish dishes, but thankfully fish etc. were in plentiful supply in the oceans, rivers, lakes, and estuaries. Or were they?

People living in coastal settlements and had ready access to the seas' bounty ate fish far more frequently than their urban-dwelling neighbours. Having said that, city and town dwellers could always go fishing in rivers and inland lakes. Or failing that, monastic houses frequently had well-stocked fish ponds.

However, surreptitiously dipping a net into one was probably frowned on. Regardless of what type of fish was caught, it was typically preserved in three ways: salted, pickled, or smoked. The humble salted herring rapidly became a lenten staple, alongside salted mackerel. As the methods of preserving fish were perfected, this created demand, which led to the development of trade. There must have been a massive amount of preserved fish being sold and shipped across to far-flung places.

Unfortunately for the fish, demand would come to outstrip supply. For example, conger eels were so popular that something of a moratorium was placed on catching. In what we'd recognise as a very environmentally friendly act, Edward I (1239-1307) issued a law(*Pro Salvatione Congrorum*, or the Saving of the Conger Eels), forbade the catching of conger eels between Easter and mid-June[3]. There's also another explanation given for why it was no longer popular to catch and eat conger eels. Someone somewhere decided that conger eels caused the Plague. While you and I know this isn't the case, Plague's mention was enough to give the conger some room to recover.

Edward I wasn't the only monarch who worried about shrinking catch sizes, Philip IV of France shared had much the same concerns. Philip laid the blame for smaller catch sizes in "each and every watershed of our realm", firmly at the feet of what he called "the evil of fishers"[4]. And like his 'cousin' across the Channel, Philip passed his own fisheries law, a first for France at that time. Alexander II of Scotland also passed his own laws regarding fishing in 1214.

Putting aside the various laws on fishing, how'd you cook your catch? Unsurprisingly there is no shortage of medieval recipes for fish, including some that attempt to pass fish off as beef or veal. Let's start with Edward I's conger eel, which is where I make an admission. I've never cooked conger eel, but I have caught and prepared native Australian freshwater eels.

Congur In Sawse The Forme of Cury, England, 1390

Take the Conger and scald hym. and smyte hym in pecys & seeþ hym. take parsel. mynt. peleter. rosmarye. & a litul sawge. brede and salt, powdour fort and a litel garlec, clower a lite, take and grynd it wel, drawe it up with vyneger thurgh a clot. cast the fyssh in a vessel and do þe sewe onoward & serue it forth.[5]

Several recipes are similar to this, and basically, it is a recipe for soused and herbed eel. Having dealt with live and wriggling eels, I find it funny that there are no instructions for dispatching or cleaning them. But then, that's what kitchen minions are for.

If that recipe for conger eel doesn't whet your appetite, how about this one:

Congour In Pyole, Ancient Cookery, England, 1425

Take almonde mylk drawen up with the brothe of congur, and put therto sugre or honey clarified ; and then take gret culpons of congur fothen, and boyle horn over the coles; and take the fame mylk and boyle hit, and cast therto clowes, maces, pynes, reifynges of corance, and streyne with a lytel

saffron, ande in the settynge doune of the pot, medel togeder verjouse, poudpr of ginger, and put therto into the same pot; and lay thre culpons in a chargeour, and the syrip above; and then take turnesole diped in vine, and wringe oute the colour, and with a feder sprinke and spot the congour, but colour hit not altogeder; and serve hit forthe.[6]

I can't say that the thought of eel served in a spiced and honey-sweetened sauce does it for me, but each to his (or her) own.

And from conger eels to herrings. Just in case you aren't overly familiar with how to tell good herrings for bad (other than by the smell), let's start with this tidbit from Le Menagier de Paris (France, 1393):

Keg Herring should be put in fresh water and left three days and three nights to soak in plenty of this water, and at the end of three days should be washed and put to soak for two days in more fresh water, and each day change the water two times. And always the small herring need less soaking, and also there are some herring which by nature need less soaking than the others.

Red Herring. You know the good ones from the thin ones by their thick backs, round and green; and the other is greasy and yellow with a flat dry back.[7]

How to Bake Watered Herrings, A Book of Cookrye, England, 1591

Let your Herrings be wel watered, and season them with Pepper and a little Cloves and mace, and put unto them minced Onions, great raisins and small, a little sweet butter, and a little sugar, and so bake them.[8]

I'm not entirely sure what is meant by 'wel watered', but I suspect it might mean putting fresh herrings into an alcohol of some sort (like a ceviche) given the lack of cooking prior to baking.

Or:

Another Sallet, The Second Part of the Good Huswiues Jewell, England, 1597

Take pickeeld herring cut long waies and lay them in rundles with onions and parsely chopped, and other herringes the bones being taken out to bee chopped together and laide in the roundles with a long péece laide betwixt the rundles like the proportion of a snake, garnished with Tawney long cut, with vineger and oile.[9]

If anyone knows what is meant by "*Tawney long cut*", could they please let me know?

RIOGHNACH O GERAGHTY

1. https://www.tudorsociety.com/noble_lyfe. The Australian National Library contains a complete version of the book in their microfiche collection, but you must be a member to access it.
2. https://www.tudorsociety.com/ffish
3. https://www.tudorsociety.com/finquis
4. https://www.tudorsociety.com/ruining_fish'
5. https://www.tudorsociety.com/forme_of_cury
6. https://www.tudorsociety.com/congour
7. https://www.tudorsociety.com/le_menagier
8. https://www.tudorsociety.com/cookrye
9. https://www.tudorsociety.com/hus-wiues

NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

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GARETH RUSSELL
Francis Dereham - How Anger Brought a Queen to Ruin

GAYLE HULME
Margaret Douglas Provokes the Wrath of Henry and Elizabeth

PHILIPPA LACEY-BREWELL
The Wrath of Mary I

PLUS

AMY LICENCE
The Tragic Fate of Honor, Lady Lisle

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and much more...

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