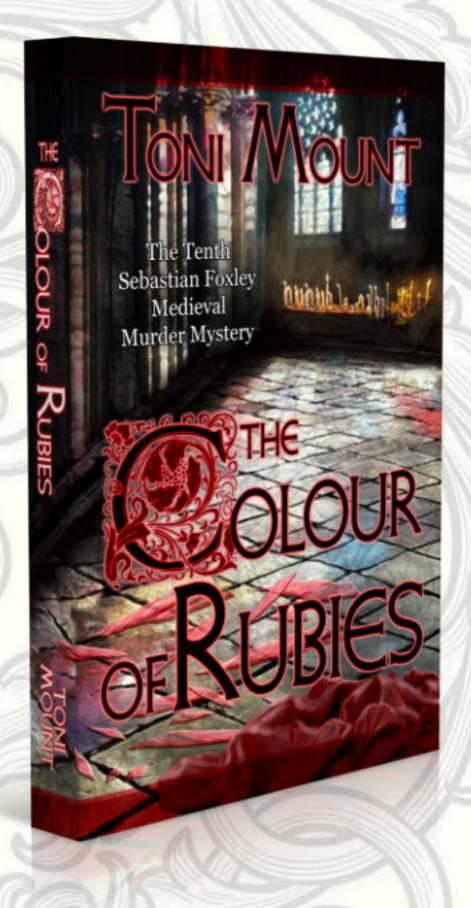


BY EMMA CASSON & MEREL DE KLERK



"An evocative masterclass in storytelling."

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TUDOR Travel & Summer

Travel took longer and thus meant more in Tudor Britain. Slower means of transport meant more distinct local identities. After all, for many living in the countryside, a person in the neighbouring county might be as alien as someone living on the other side of the North Sea. In Ireland, a resident of the northern provinces of Ulster might regard a denizen of the southern province of Munster with as much curiosity - or hostility - as they did an Englishman or Scot. This, of course, was less true for members of the elite, who were often united by centralising institutions, like the court. The northern Earl of Northumberland would be for familiar with the southern Marquess of Winchester because of this. In this issue of Tudor Life, we look at travel in times of danger, leisure, and necessity.

GARETH RUSSELL EDITOR



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THE TRAVELS OF AN ELIZABETHAN SPY

By Timothy Ashby PhD

William Ashby (1536-1593) have accompanied the future combined career as an Elizabethan secret agent with that of a diplomat. He epitomised the Elizabethan 'gentleman spy' well-educated, socially-connected began in the late spring of 1554, adventurers who merged espionage and diplomacy. For at left least a quarter of a century, Ashby of spymaster and secretary of state Sir Francis Walsingham's most trusted protégés; Walsingham wrote that he had 'declared my mind and pleasure to master Ashby', and towards the end of both men's careers Walsingham wrote to Ashby expressing 'the particular love' he had for him.

Ashby was as an "intelligencer" and courier for Walsingham in 1572 when the latter was ambassador to France, but was probably recruited as a spy a decade earlier. There is evidence that both Ashby and Walsingham (who was knighted in 1577) were Sir **Nicholas** Throckmorton's delegation to Edinburgh in 1567, and he may

of secretary state diplomatic mission to France in 1570.

Ashby's European when at the age of seventeen he Peterhouse College. Cambridge, and fled to the Continent with other young gentlemen as a "Marian exile" after the accession of Queen Mary I. Like Walsingham, another refugee from "Bloody Mary's" reign, Ashby visited 'many foreign countries whose manners, laws, languages and policies he accurately studied and critically understood'. He spent two years at the Collège Royal in Paris, becoming fluent in French, as well as German, Italian and Latin. He also read and wrote ancient Greek and Hebrew.

William Ashby carried out numerous intelligence missions across Europe in the decades of the 1570s and 1580s. His role as Walsingham's agent during this



modern terms. He was far more than a mere courier, but not yet tormally accredited as diplomat. He served as both a freelance intelligencer and senior agent of influence. Most importantly, though, employed by a chief who placed great value on loyalty and diligence, Ashby had Walsingham's trust.

He was present at the Siege of La Rochelle in 1573 and was at Strasbourg in 1576 serving as Walsingham's intelligencer and courier where he met with Johannes Sturmius, a leading Protestant humanist educator and theologian as well as the chief English agent in Germany described by the Spanish as 'one of the heresiarchs of Germany'.

During 1577, William Ashby travelled frequently between London, the Low Countries and various German cities. His work was focused on helping to foster the formation of a 'league of the princes of Germany, professing Christian religion, against the Pope' to counter a Catholic league.1

Throughout this time, Ashby developed his 'tradecraft' - the techniques, methods and early technologies used in espionage. He was also recruiting a network of agents and informers. In Frankfurt he met with Frederic, Baron von Ruissingen, who was a double agent. Ruissengen wrote to Walsingham saying that he

period is not easily defined in would use 'the opportunity of the coming over to England of Mr. Asheby' to carry a letter, and that he had 'communicated matters of importance' to Ashby, who would provide report'. It is possible that Ashby carried a cypher from Ruissingen Walsingham; the nobleman referred to this in a letter in which he asked Walsingham 'still has duplicate of the cipher which he sent to him ... in which case he can write freely'.

After leaving Frankfurt, Ashby travelled to London via Brussels, where he met with Dr Thomas Wilson, Special Ambassador to the Low Countries charged with finding a peaceful solution to the chaotic political and military situation in the Netherlands. A few days earlier, Don John of Austria, an illegitimate son of the Emperor Charles V, and therefore the half-brother of Spanish King Philip II, arrived in Brussels to serve as Governor and Viceroy of the Low Countries. William Ashby witnessed Don John's ceremonial entry to Brussels. Wilson told Walsingham that Ashby 'is able to declare of the receiving of Don John with great solemnity' and the inhabitants' thankfulness general common quietness' – peace.

In June 1578, Queen Elizabeth Walsingham sent to Netherlands to negotiate peace with Don John. Sir Francis was

accompanied by Ashby, who was one of six intelligence operatives tasked to 'learn to understand the state and force of the country' if they failed to mediate 'a peace and good agreement ... betwixt the States and Don John'.

Soon after they landed, Ashby set off with two professional soldiers - the Queen's cousin, Sir George Carey (whose father, Lord Hunsdon, was rumoured to be the son of Henry VIII on the wrong side of the blanket) and Sir Nicholas Malby, professional soldier-of-fortune. Ashby was to serve Walsingham's 'eyes and ears' for the crucial social and political aspects of the expedition, whereas the soldiers focused on military matters. Heavily armed and accompanied only by three equally well-armed servants, Ashby and his comrades rode a wide circuit through what is now French Flanders, surveying St. Omer, Hesdin, Arras, Douai, Cambrai, Mons and other cities and towns. Their journey was dangerous; the loyalties and religious affiliations populace were divided. At Arras, they found '200 harquebusiers lying about the town in villages; they be on horseback'.

After the reconnaissance mission, Ashby remained with Walsingham for several months before Sir Francis persuaded the Queen that the peace mission was hopeless and she allowed him to

return home.

The best source of primary information William about Ashby's personal life and professional activities can be found in the diaries kept by his closest friend Sir Throckmorton from 1578 1595, which have been aptly called 'the fullest extensive and revealing of all Elizabethan diaries that remain'.²

In May 1579, Throckmorton recorded that Ashby was to go to France with Henry Middlemore, Groom of the Queen's Privy Chamber, who served as a courier and emissary. During this period, Ashby worked for Walsingham as freelance a intelligencer, spending his time between missions in gentlemanly pursuits. Ashby and Throckmorton left London in July 1580 on a lengthy continental tour which combined pleasure intelligence with collection. Reports were made to Walsingham of military capabilities and defences as well political religious and affiliations. Traveling by boats, wagons and rented post-horses, the two men meandered through the Holv Roman Empire. Attacked by Spanish mercenaries trying to take them hostage while traveling by boat on the Rhine, they successfully fended off the assault with swords and guns.

Voyaging up the Rhine through Bonn, Andernach and Coblenz, they stopped in Frankfurt for the autumn fair, where Arthur bought books which he shared with Continental William. Ashby used the large Walsingham stock of paper brought in their baggage to write to Walsingham, merchant and reporting that Frankfurt was 'a 'bagman' free town of the Emperor's, distributing standing in champion country, with liberties a mile about, the town ditch [moat] forty paces political in broad with plenty of fish, and 'numerous with its double walls'.

In Nuremberg they lingered for several weeks, having met with a group of other Englishmen. In November, Throckmorton moved to Prague. Ashby remained in Nuremberg for another two weeks on Walsingham's orders before joining Arthur in Prague, were the Englishmen boarded with 'Signor Scipioni of Ferrara ... paying 20 dollars a month' between them.

Throckmorton recorded that at the end of November Ashby wrote to Walsingham railing against Mary Queen of Scots, and was corresponding with Giacopo Castelvetro Horatio and Palavicino. Ashby's correspondence is evidence that he was communicating with - as well as recruiting and managing other members of Walsingham's intelligence international network.

Castelvetro was an Italian exile who was employed in Edinburgh as Italian tutor to King James VI. He served as a spy within the Scottish court for four years and

became a Continental for courier Walsingham and Burghley. Palavicino Genoese was a merchant and banker who was a 'bagman' for Walsingham, distributing funds intelligencers Northern in France. He was 'a collector of intelligence' political 'numerous commercial correspondents' and was 'often employed furnish to intelligence from abroad'. Palavicino provided information to Walsingham about Sir Edward Stafford's treasonous dealings with the Spanish.

Throughout the winter, both men punctuated intelligence gathering about Jesuits, Emperor Rudolf and foreign envovs with reading sampling local cuisine and wine. Throckmorton avid was an collector of books, which were generally unaffordable to Ashby. Arthur purchased a three-volume set of Suetonius's Lives of the Emperors, Vitruvius' Architecture, and works Euclid, Piccolimini and Horace, all of which were devoured by William.

Throckmorton left for Vienna, while Ashby remained in Prague for several more weeks before returning to London. Ashby may have accompanied Walsingham to France for nearly two months from July to September 1581 in another of a series of foreign



and effort.

Ashby's status diplomatic and apparatus changed in 1582. Since to gather intelligence during the the inception of his service for Imperial Diet, the Reichstag or Walsingham his role had been deliberative body of the Holy

diplomatic missions which the amorphous, inhabiting what has Secretary considered wasted time been described as 'the grey area diplomat, between agent, within the intelligencer and spy'. In June, intelligence Sir Francis sent him to Augsburg Roman Empire, presided over by French from concern that they Emperor Rudolf II and attended Germanic empire's by the leading nobles.

a As result both of his knowledge of northern Europe and connections at Elizabeth's court, William Ashby's role had been upgraded from a courier and agent to that of an accredited diplomat. During the Diet's twomonths convocation, Ashby sent Sir Francis a series of detailed reports, ranging from an analysis of the Empire's policy towards 'the Turk' - which Ashby called 'a mighty and puissant enemy of theirs and all Christendom'- to descriptions of imperial banquets, where he said there 'was plenty of dainty dishes, plate curiously wrought, and heavenly music during the feast, but no drinking alla tudesca' [in the German manner.

His letters to Walsingham contain pithy observations about his hosts which would seem familiar to later diplomats. Ashby warned that the Hapsburgs, due to 'hatred to the French, as their ancient enemies and competitors', would 'favour the cause of Spain', but could be relied on to support whichever ally offered the most money, 'for the German is indifferent on what side it falleth, readiest to help the party that is best able to entertain him, and mercenary in all causes German states were hostile to the

'should grow so great, for that in unquiet time they will be neighbours, as always, they say, it hath been the humour of that nation'.

In August 1582. Ashby received letter from a Walsingham asking him negotiate the release of Daniel Rogers, an abducted diplomat. Rogers, a former student of Sturmius. had been Walsingham's staff in the Paris embassy. Like his colleague Ashby, he was engaged coordinating a Protestant League and played an important role in diplomatic and intelligence operations in the Netherlands. In 1577 Rogers had forwarded secret information Walsingham about a Spanish plot to invade England using the subterfuge of seeking haven from a storm. Rogers was described as 'an evil tool' by the Spanish, who considered him a particularly troublesome enemy agent.

Nearly two years previously, while en route to a meeting in Nuremburg with the Imperial Diet and Emperor Rudolf, Rogers had been captured by a warlord in the pay of the Spanish. Now, Ashby travelled by boat along the Rhine to the Duke of Cleves' summer court at Hambach Castle where 'he delivered to the Duke the Emperor's letter, requesting without respect of religion'. The in his Majesty's name that he would vouchsafe his good favour and help for the delivery of the gentleman.³

Despite the annulment of his sister's marriage to King Henry VIII over forty years previously, Duke William was friendly towards England. He sent Ashby with a letter to his chancellor in Cleves. 'recommending' (Ashby's word) that he assist. By now, Ashby was aware of the tangled web of politics venality that ensnared Rogers, and therefore had 'small hope that any good will be done in this cause'. 4

Ever mindful of the attack that he had fought off and the one that cost Rogers his freedom, Ashby set sail on the Rhine again with the hope that 'with God's help [to] make such haste as this dangerous passage will give me leave; for ... these parts were never more dangerous to pass'. Ashby unsuccessful was freeing Rogers; however, the captive diplomat praised him for persuading the Duke of Cleaves to arrest and execute one of his abductors. The 'brigand ... was beheaded in the marketplace at Cleves, and afterwards his head and body put upon a wheel' outside the town.

By 1583, relations between England and Scotland were at a nadir. In early August, Queen Elizabeth resolved to send Walsingham to Scotland to 'endeavour to stay the dangerous effects' of King James's return to power before it was too late and he succumbed to the wiles of the Spanish and French as well as his Catholic lairds. At Walsingham refused to believing that Anglo-Scottish relations were so bad that the diplomatic mission would be a failure, for which he would be blamed, as had been the case in previous diplomatic missions. His colleagues admonished him for refusing an order from the notoriously vindictive Queen. Summoned to Greenwich Palace. Walsingham threw himself at Elizabeth's feet and swore by 'the soul, body and blood of God that he would not travel to Scotland, even if she ordered him to be hanged for it, as he would rather be hanged in England than elsewhere'.

Fearing the loss of his head, Sir Francis reluctantly agreed to go, although he said that his mission would 'be with as ill a will as ever he undertook any service in life' because the Scots' resentment had 'grown into so bad terms that he fears he will be able to do little good there, and therefore would most willingly avoid the journey if by any means he might do it without her majesty's extreme displeasure'. The Secretary was also ailing and feared that an arduous trip by land would further damage his health.

Walsingham asked Ashby to accompany him. After arriving in Edinburgh, Ashby was involved in meetings with English agents household Castelvetro named Kate was paid "a new plaid and six pounds" to sit outside the walls of Perth and curse the English delegates. Ashby was sent back to London early to personally brief the Queen and her privy council on calamitous diplomatic mission.

In July 1588, as the Spanish Armada neared England, Ashby was sent to Scotland as English ambassador with a mandate to keep the Scots "in amity" with England to prevent a Spanish landing and operational base. Traveling on horseback with a staff of nine, including two bodyguards, Ashby passed through towns villages and convulsed by uncertainty and near panic as rumours spread of pending invasion. The Spaniards were said to be 'bringing cargoes of scourges and instruments of torture, all adults were to be put to death, and seven thousand wet-nurses were coming in the Armada to suckle the orphan infants'. 5 A somewhat contradictory report stated that the enemy 'meant to carry off the English women to Spain and that the King's commission instructed them to massacre everyone they in England, even children'. Spanish noblemen were reported to be casting lots for confiscated English estates.⁷

servants, and mustered, although the 'number recruiting new spies. A witch of shot, corslets, bows and bills' alarmingly limited. was Surrey, 1,500 men were reported to be 'trained and furnished with arms', while another 300 could be available if armed with bows.8 One of Walsingham's spies, who had been 'racked and tormented' by the Spanish, escaped to bring bad news that the Armada had been augmented by 'ships of Italy with five thousand sailors'. However, the good news was that the Italian mariners were said to be 'verv simple and feeble creatures'.

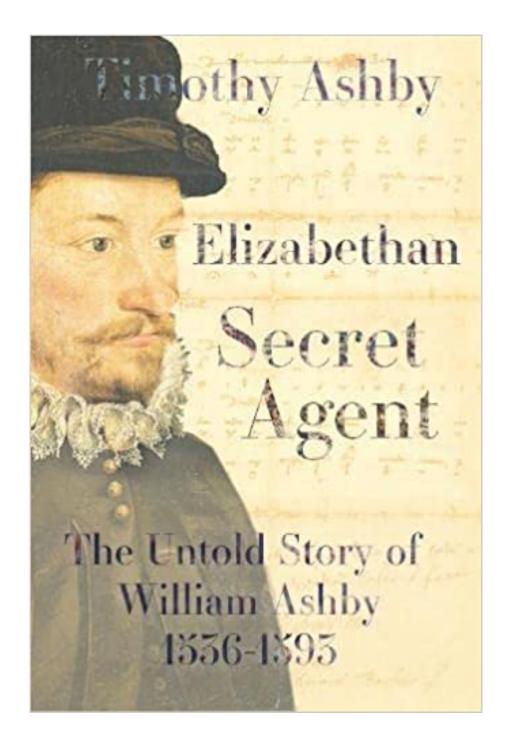
> succeeded Ashby mission by offering a series of inducements the to Scottish King. After the "defeat" of the Armada, Queen Elizabeth and her chief advisors repudiated Ashby's promises. Respected by King James and his courtiers, Ashby continued as ambassador and played an important role in the repairing of frayed diplomatic relations that led to the accession of James to Elizabeth's throne in 1603 and the union of the Scottish and English crowns.

He returned in London in 1590 and served on Burghley's staff at court, dealing with matters relating to Scotland and, to some extent. France. He was referred to as 'Her Majesty's Servant' as late as July 1593 and was appointed to Parliament as MP for Chichester. There is no record Men of all ages, including of his traveling abroad again.

Ashby died of the plague in London on Christmas Day, 1593, at the age of fifty-seven.

Timothy Ashby PhD

- 5. Martin Andrew Sharp Hume, Philip II of Spain (London 1897), 215.
- 6. Henry Killigrew to Walsingham 'News of the Spanish Fleet', 31 July 1588, 92 CSP-F.
- 7. The declaration of John Bonde, of Kenton near Exeter, 5 June 1588, 486 CSP-D.
- 8. The Deputy Lieutenants of Surrey to the Council, 9 July 1588, 26 CSP-D, 500.
- 1. Daniel Rogers to Walsingham, 20 July 1577, CSP-F, 38.
- 2. Alfred Rowse, Ralegh and the Throckmortons (London 1962), 58.
- 3. William Ashby to Walsingham, 8 September 1582, Cologne, CSP-F, 316
- 4. Ibid.



Susan Abernethy talks about...

Queen Elizabeth I's Summer Progress of 1591

In the spring of 1591, Queen Elizabeth I began preparing for her most splendid and elaborate summer progress since her tour with the Earl of Leicester in 1578. Her principal aim was to make an appearance before all her people, friends as well as foes. The tour would also incorporate leisure and recreation and save the Queen money. It was considered an honor and a privilege for the host to entertain the Queen, even though it might impoverish the poor nobleman. During the progress, those privy councilors who accompanied her could investigate in person and up-close issues of concern at each location as well.

In the tradition of summer progresses, the tour would begin shortly after the hay harvest in May, allowing the cavalcade to travel on dry roads and ensuring there would be enough food for the queen, her entourage and for the horses. The progress would end in mid-September, just before the law courts opened for business in early October. Distances traveled during the progress were usually limited for practical reasons. Queen Elizabeth never crossed the river Trent on any of her summer visits.

Elizabeth followed a policy of staying in the houses of the nobility and gentry. On this particular progress, she departed for William Cecil, Lord Burghley's estate at Theobalds where she stayed for ten days. Burghley was in his seventies, more than ready to retire and anxious to promote his son Robert

as his successor, giving this visit extra significance. Upon her arrival, she witnessed a pageant consisting of a poet dressed as a hermit, reciting lines to the effect that he couldn't greet her majesty himself as he had retired to a cave. The hermit yielded pride of place to his son Robert whom he hoped would serve her majesty for many years, just as his own grandfather (Burghley's father) had served Elizabeth's ancestors.

Elizabeth had fair warning of this scene and prepared a speech in answer to the poet. She also had a migraine causing her to be less than gracious. She had no intention of allowing Burghley to retire. However, on the last day of her stay at Theobalds, a ceremony where she knighted Robert Cecil took place. This was a clear sign of favor for the Cecil family, even if she didn't give Robert any significant office

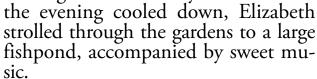
at the time. As a prelude to this ceremony, a short pageant was staged with a postman bringing letters for the Queen from the Emperor of China. When the postman appeared, knocking at the door, he asked for 'Mr. Sectors Cocil'

retary Cecil'.

The rest of this particular tour would cover the neighborhoods of Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire with an anticipated rendezvous with King Henri IV of France at Portsmouth, if Burghley could arrange it. On July 19, she visited Lord Burghley's house on the Strand in London in order to watch the Earl of Essex parade his cavalry before departing for France to join forces with Henri IV to fight for the Huguenots. Following this visit, the court moved to Nonsuch before leaving for more extended visits for the rest of the summer.

On August 2, they departed Nonsuch for Sir William More's house at Loseley in Surrey, then made a brief stop at Farnham. Her first major destination was Viscount Montague's house at Cowdray in Sussex. Montague was Catholic, pro-Spanish and a critic of the Dutch. Elizabeth had marginalized him early on in her reign and after the Catholic Northern rebellion of 1570 and her ensuing excommunication by the Pope, she was highly suspicious of the Catholic peers of the realm. The royal entourage arrived at Cowdray at eight o'clock in the evening, just in time to interrupt the illicit mass Montague observed in his private chapel for the Catholics in his household and for those who lived nearby.

Elizabeth was greeted by loud music and a pageant. On Sunday morning, Elizabeth enjoyed a hearty breakfast and on Monday, she hunted in the park with the Viscount's sister Mabel. The women stood in a fenced enclosure while deer were herded in, shooting the animals with a crossbow while being serenaded by singers and the recitation of verses flattering the Queen. But the high spot of the visit occurred later in the week starting on Wednesday. As



Here she came upon two actors representing an 'angler' and a 'fisherman', debating about the evils of society. The fisherman broke into praise of the queen and laid all the fish from the pond at her feet. On Thursday, they all had a feast in the gardens and after the plates had been cleared, some 'country people' – most likely Montague's tenants – danced until dusk. Elizabeth would leave Cowdray on Friday and head to Portsmouth, where she arrived in the evening on August 26.

She awaited the arrival of Henri IV for two whole days and then rode in her coach to view the Downs before moving on to Southwick. Elizabeth viewed the fortifications at Porchester Castle. Realizing Henri would not show, she went on to Southampton where she declared she would sail the rough waters to visit Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight before changing her mind, much to her privy councilors' relief.

The Earl of Hertford had been given a short six weeks' notice of the Queen's visit to his house at Elvetham in Hampshire but he still managed to put on a princely show after hurriedly performing last minute renovations to the manor. This was the same Earl of Hertford who had secretly married Elizabeth's cousin and nemesis Lady Katherine Grey in 1561. Katherine died in 1568 and Hertford married again to the sister of Lord Admiral Howard.



The couple built twenty-two temporary structures to accommodate the courtiers, including a large hall for entertaining and a walled annex just for the queen with a courtyard and a separate wardrobe building. Outdoors there was a pastoral scene with landscaping and illusion. The laborers had made a large artificial lake in the shape of a crescent moon, edged with potted trees and foliage. The five hundred feet wide lake included three islands, a pinnace and several smaller boats.

Following her dinner, the Queen came down to the lake to witness a spectacle in the honor of Cynthia or Phoebe, alternative names for the moon goddess Diana. Cynthia was commonly represented as a crescent moon, therefore the shape of the lake. There were actors dressed as gods of the woods and waters who recited sycophantic verses and engaged in a nonsensical mock battle where the players either somersaulted into the lake or were dunked. They called Elizabeth 'sacred Sybil' and urged her to christen a ship destined to sail in Her Majesty's name in an attempt to find the golden fleece.

On the Wednesday morning near the end of her stay, three musicians in rustic attire sang a May Day greenwood ditty outside her window to awaken her. That afternoon, she watched a five-on-five game of volleyball and in the evening, there was a tremendous firework display, followed by an opulent serving of white wine and sugar candy in the gallery of the garden lit by one hundred torches.

On Thursday, once the Queen was fully dressed, actors performed a mesmeric masque in the privy gardens below her apartments. This masque was possibly the inspiration for Titania's scenes in "A Midsummer Night's Dream" by William

Shakespeare. Following a fanfare of cornets, the Fairy Queen and her attendants entered, dancing before Elizabeth. They offered their homage and then sang a six-part song while accompanied by a lute and viols. Exceedingly delighted by this exhibition, Elizabeth asked for it to be repeated twice.

The Queen climbed into her carriage and departed for the capital with the entire entourage. As they passed the lake, a poet spoke verses of farewell, lamenting the departure of the sun as summer faded away. These pageants at Elvetham were the most extravagant of any during the Queen's reign, barring those put on by Leicester at Kenilworth. The hospitality and building works cost the Earl of Hertford over six thousand pounds (about six million in today's pounds). They certainly were a triumph. Elizabeth promised Hertford that his entertainments were honorable and he would find reward and special favor.

However, he gained nothing for his troubles. In fact, Hertford ended up in the Tower of London four years later, much to Lord Burghley's dismay, when the Queen suspected him of renewing his claim to the throne. This left the earl's wife Frances destitute and without proper attire. She nearly went mad begging Queen Elizabeth for mercy at the outer door of the privy lodgings at Whitehall Palace, where she was repeatedly denied an audience. Elizabeth did eventually write her a letter professing she didn't find her husband's claims pernicious but this was far from comforting to the poor lady.

Susan Abernethy

Further reading: "Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years" by John Guy, "Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I" by Stephen Alford

Children's Games and Midsummer Celebrations

I remember, very clearly, the entrance hall to my junior school which was housed in an old Georgian building. It was a large, open space with doors leading off and a grand staircase rising opposite the front door. Two large pictures hung in the hall: on the left, the famous portrait of Elizabeth II by Pietro Annigoni, which was then relatively new (that ages me!) and the other was a painting by the Flemish artist, Pieter Breughel, entitled Children's Games.

By Jane Moulder

I can remember loving this picture as a child and looked at it often, seeking out a figure or a game I had not spotted before. Some games were familiar to me as a young person in the early 1960's, such as playing leap frog, walking on stilts or riding a hobby horse but the majority were not and I was fascinated by the multitudinous figures and

tried to work out what they were all doing.

Decades later, I still love this painting and continue to find new aspects to it even now, especially with the benefit of having studied both the artist and the times in which it was painted so that I have a deeper understanding of its context and meanings.

The painting dates from 1560 and is dis-

played in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. The scene in front of us is completely dominated by children, hardly any adults are present and, in this aspect, the painting is unique both before and since. There are approximately 230 children and they are involved in more than 90 different games. Some activities are quiet and contemplative whilst oth-



ers verge on outright brawling – with one woman throwing a bucket of water on to two fighting boys in an effort to break them up.

with As many paintings by Breughel, there is most likely to be an underlying moral lesson to the seemingly innocent picture of children playing. can, of course, be seen simply as depicting the numerous and varied games that children play and show re-enactment of

some folkloric traditions of the time. Art historians and commentators over the years have put forward various theses as to the potential of meanings painting. These range from being an allegory for the Ages of Man, the transience of life, the futility of life's endeavour and also, the different aspects and impact of folly – a moralistic warning to adults not to fritter their lives away as it were a game. Erasmus, the

great humanist scholar, who was such an influence on educational ideals and beliefs during the Tudor period, considered playing games as a vital component of childhood and a positive force which would encourage children to love learn-"I'm not sure ing. anything is learned better than what is learned as a game" was his philosophy.

Whilst it's possible to view this painting in a number of ways, I simply take great joy



in the images and study it to see what it can tell me about how people lived and played in the mid-16th century. It offers the social historian much information about daily life and attitudes of the time.

The scene is clearly taking place in summer as the trees are in full foliage and it's warm enough for some children to be swimming in the river. One child has an inflated ox's bladder as a float, en-

abling him to swim. But there are also other clues to help indicate that this is taking place at midsummer, the main one being the bonfire which can be seen in the far distance. in the middle of the street right-hand on the side. The practice of burning bonfires in the street is closely associated with celebrations for Midsummer or St John the Baptist's day on 24th June. However, there are also some other

depictions with associations at different times of year, such as the distinctively shaped duivekater loaf, a bread that was traditionally baked in winter between the Feast of St Nicholas on 6th December and Epiphany on January. Likewise, three children wear paper crowns, another tradition associated with Epiphany. Despite this, the picture main impression is certainly of warm days with children

playing outside in the sunny weather.

The action takes place in a town where the principle building in the centre of the painting is a large structure which could be a town hall or even a guildhall and the architecture reflects the style of official civic Flemish buildings of the period. It is of stone construction, large windows and has crenelations and, whilst not a copy, it reflects depictions of Antwerp town hall seen in other paintings of the period. In Flanders, the election of magistrates took place on St John's Day so perhaps this is another clue as to the timing of the scene. There is an urban street leading off the square and one can make out trap doors, cellars which would have been used for storage of food and wine, porches and even a torch to light the street. The frontages provide perfect obstacles for the children to run up, hang off and spin counters against. To contrast this, there is an ideal-



ised rural scene in the upper left, showing a and stream, grass with trees some idvllic half-timbered domestic houses in the background. This is the perfect setting, suggested as Erasmus, for developing physical strength and dexterity.

Costumiers can glean details and vital information on clothing and accessories for common folk of the period, who are rarely depicted in art. It has been said that the figures are actually 'mini-adults' and not children at all. But closer observation shows that this is

not the case. One can even estimate the age of the various boys playing are simply by looking at whether they wearing a frock open at the front, with stockings or socks, or, for those over the age of 11, a short jacket with hose like their adult counterparts. Up until the age of 5 both boys and girls were dressed the same and wore dresses with aprons and bibs and they even had loops sewn on the shoulders attaching lead for strings to. So, the boy on the hobby horse is aged between 5 and 10 as is the boy on the right with the hoop (below). The boy on the left is clearly older as he is now wearing adult clothing. The girl shouting into a barrel is younger than 6 as she still is wearing staps.

Children are particularly adept at mimicking their elders and picture shows some important adult social ceremonies are being acted out by the This inchildren. cludes a baptismal parade and a wedding party, and again, this affords a fascinating glimpse at these important ceremonies so



rarely shown in art of the period. The baptismal parade shows how the baby was carried out front by the midwife with the 'baby' tightly swaddled, as was the practice of the day, and then covered with a cloth. There was a

fear that evil spirits could enter the child before it was baptised, so covering it from harm whilst out in the open, on the way to church, was essential. One of the children carries a type of sugared bread roll which were especially





baked for the occasion. These rolls were either thrown to onlookers or distributed to guests as keepsakes.

The wedding group shows the 'bride' with long loose hair over a black dress, the same as depicted in other wedding scenes painted by Breughel. She is escorted and surrounded by others, again to avert misfortune whilst processing to the church flowers and and petals are spread in front to line the path. It's interesting that one of the few adults

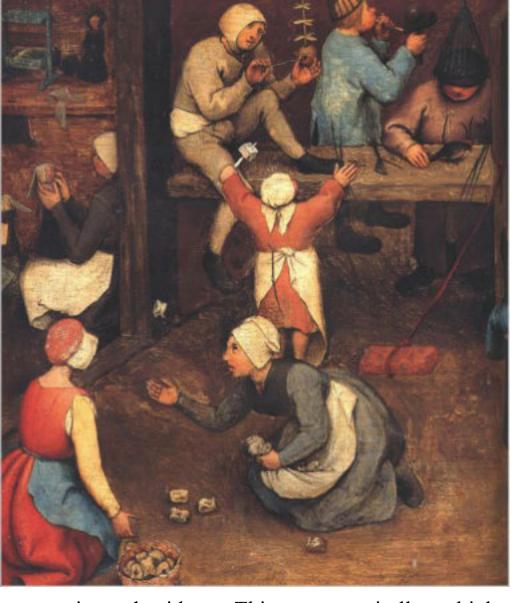
in the painting is with the wedding party, clearly helping the youngsters enact their game.

One of the aspects I love about the games shown is that where needed. props are they are simple toys or objects which are easily obtainable nothing fancy or complicated is required. Many of the games are played without equipment at Sticks, stones, a rag doll, a yo-yo, a scarf for blind man's buff. There's a game of knucklebones being played in the lower

left corner and the girl is shown looking at the bone she's just tossed, looking to see how it falls.

It's interesting that this game is depicted and there are many different ways it can be played. Erasmus wrote a tract about the game, tracing it back to the ancient Greeks, but said that 'it's only a girl's game now'. Depending on which side the bones landed, scoring varied the with 'Venus' being a winning move – this was the most difficult to throw and it's when the bone landed on its





inward side. This throw could also portend good fortune in love and marriage. The player in the painting has thrown 'dogs' indicating that she's going to be unlucky in love - she needs to change her The snapfortune! shot above also shows a girl playing with a ragdoll, a boy with a whirligig (a saying of the time was 'he is as foolish as a whirligig') and a young girl with a teetotum, a four sided dice, stuck

on a spindle, which was used to decide who would win money in gambling games.

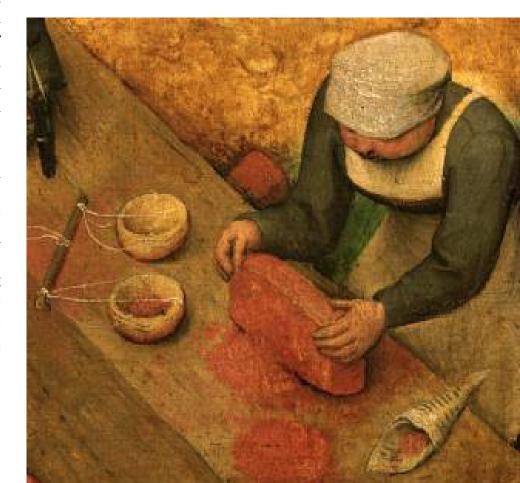
Other games illustrate that no props are needed at all for a good game! Rock, paper, scissors shown and it's a game still beloved today. Sitting on a fence pretending to ride a horse, or running the gauntlet, avoiding the kicks from fellow children as you run over the legs, and simply giving some poor soul the bumps are as familiar to children today as they were in the 16th cenall tury _ that's needed is a good imagination!

One of my favourite depictions is of a young girl playing shop – something I loved to do when I was that age. She is down in the bottom





right of the painting and she is shown scraping bricks for pigments. A leaf from a manuscript is folded up, ready to contain the dust once it has been weighed out. Antwerp was known throughout Europe as being the best source for high-quality red pigment and it's particularly telling that Breughel's signature is on the end of the beam just below the girl.





In the far distance, at the top end of the street there is a bonfire – the indication that this is St John's Day. Children are knocking at doors further down, asking for for the fire, fuel singing to get atten-Whilst Pieter tion. Breughel was depicting the customs and games in his native Flanders, one wonders what was happening in Tudor England and did they also have the same traditions for midsummer?

In England, midsummer was, similarly, a time for bonfires. John Stow, the commentator in his Survey of London, mentions bonfires

"In the months of June and July, on the vigils of festival days, and on the same festival days in the evenings after the sunsetting, there were usually made bonfires in the streets, every man bestowing wood or labour towards them: wealthier the sort before also. their doors near to the said bonfires, would set out tables, furnished with sweet bread and good drinks and on the festival days with drinks and meats plentifulls, whereunto

they would invite their neighbours and passengers also to sit and be merry with them in great familiarity. Every man's door being shadowed with green birch, long John's fennel, St Wort, Orpin, white lilies and such like, garnished upon with garlands of beautiful flowers, had also lamps of glass with oil burning in them all night."

Bone-fires were thought to be good luck and the tradition was to throw old bones into the fire to scare off dragons.

Whilst John Stowe can get a little bit carried away with himself, and give slightly romantic view of life, the above description follows an account of a midsummer celebration held in 1526 for Henry VIII. Again, it describes bonfires in the street, with children sitting around them wearing garlands of flowers. Minstrels were playing music nearby and people were drinking together, whilst the parish constables, wearing their best finery, kept an eye on things. Another account from a monk at Winchcombe Abbey has him railing against "vain, stupid, profane games" occurring at midsummer and then going on to complain about the putrid smell from bones being placed on the fire. (If fresh bones are burnt, they really do smell – old, dry bones are the best bet!)

There was a belief that the bonfires gave protection and the same applies to the and flowers mentioned by John St John's Wort, it was believed, protected cattle and the lilies were associated with the Virgin Mary. All herbs collected at midsummer were thought to be extra potent and with plague and disease rife at this time of year, this protection was much needed. It wasn't just domestic dwellings that were decorated for protection, churches were Accounts from various churches dehow scribes birch boughs, mixed with

fennel and flowers, were fixed in the porches, fresh rushes strewn on the floor as well as extra candles being lit in the church. In Breughel's painting, there are what were known as "St John's Baskets" hanging from windows of the central building - these would have been filled with herbs believed to bring good fortune and repel evil spirits.

Midsummer was also a time when the spirit world came very close to the real world and spirits were abroad – a belief captured by William Shakespeare in Midsummer Night's Dream with Titania, Oberon and the other faeries.

In London. the Midsummer Watch was a grand affair with as many as 4000 people taking part in it. It consisted of a series of pageants, morris dancers, hobby horses and processions. Music was played and one procession, in 1521, even had a model serpent which spat fireballs

into the crowd. The London Guilds took an active part and in 1541 the Drapers' Guild seems to have gone the extra mile! Their procession included a wooden giant, a morris side (well trimmed after the gorgeous fashion), twelve mummers, eight players with two handed swords, banner bearers and, finally, a dragon, aqua vitae (unrefined alcohol), burning in its mouth.

Midsummer festivals, although falling on the feast of St John the Baptist, were not necessarily religious events and from the descriptions were clearly more secular, although sometimes the processions and

pageants had a religious theme. The marches and processions took place in other town and cities in England but certainly not on the grand scale of London's. Henry VIII tried to stop the marches from happening as he thought, surprisingly for him, that they cost too much money. But Elizabeth wanted them to continue even when the city officials tried to stop them because of the expense. However, cost constraints won the day and so, by the beginning of the 17th centhe tury, grand parades and marches through London did not take place.

It seems that midsummer was celebrated throughout Europe during the 16th century and today some still mark the summer solstice. But for me, the lasting impression I have of this period, will be 230 children having playing fun and games in a Flemish town square.

If you want to see the picture in close up detail, it can be viewed here: https://bit.ly/3IOYzxP I encourage you to view it, go in close, and spend many a happy hour studying the picture in details and revelling in the art of Pieter Breughel.

Jane Moulder

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IT'S A BIG **BIG WORLD** OUT THERE

You may know your TUDOR MONARCHS, BUT WHAT ABOUT THE MONARCHS OF OTHER TERRITORIES! ALL OF THESE PEOPLE WERE RULERS OF THEIR TERRITORY IN 1550. MATCH THEM UP TO COMPLETE THIS MONTH'S QUIZ...

CHARLES IX CHRISTIAN III EDWARD VI **G**ALAWDEWOS

GUSTAV I

IVAN IV

JOHN III

Julius III

Міснініто

Рипль II

Suleiman I

TAHMĀSP I

Viswanatha Nayak

ZHU HOUCONG

CHINA **J**APAN

Portugal DENMARK

ENGLAND Russia

SPAIN ETHIOPIA

SWEDEN FRANCE

INDIA TURKEY

IRAN VATICAN CITY

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Members' Bulletin

Summer is nearly here (in the northern hemisphere) and for us it's a time to have holidays, to enjoy the longer evenings, use our local outdoor swimming pool and to wear summer clothing. People definitely see the summer as a time to enjoy after the cold of winter and the re-awakening of spring. The same was true for the people of the Tudor times. There was less need to bring in wood for the fire, other than for cooking, and it wasn't yet time for the hard work of the harvest.

For the royal household it might have been a time to go off on progress. Visiting your country, letting your people get a glimpse of the splendour of your entourage, and gracing the nobles with your presence. I suppose this could be seen as the Tudor equivalent

going on holiday!

I love the painting that Jane Moulder wrote about in this magazine, I've seen it online many times but never really taken the time to look at the wealth of information in there. Some games remind me of my childhood, others are nothing like what we did as children. But one thing continues - kids still like to get out and do things when the weather allows.

As we move toward the warmer months, people spend less time indoors staring at their computer screens and more time outdoors. Are you going to visit any Tudor historical sites this summer? If so, we know that the places you go to will be very appreciative of your visit. For us, it seems like a very long time since we've been able to go to a palace or smaller Tudor property. We hope it won't be long for you!

Keep well and keep learning about Tudor history.

TIM RIDGWAY

Elizabeth I Travels to Kenilworth

Gayle Hulme looks at this iconic progress to the Midlands - was it true love?

Kenilworth Castle in the heart of England has a long and illustrious royal association. Originally built by Geoffrey de Clinton on land granted by Henry I (r.1100-11.35) in 1120, its walls have stood witness to royal acquisition, siege, abdication, rebellion and magnificent palatial renovations. Naturally for those interested in the history of the Tudor court Kenilworth's most significant moments occurred over 19 days in 1575 when the then owner, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, a favourite of Elizabeth I (r. 1558-1603) lavishly entertained his sovereign in a last-ditch attempt to have

the 42-year queen marry him.

During Edward VI reign (r. 1547-1553) Kenilworth had been in the hands of Robert Dudley's father, the Duke of Northumberland. The castle then reverted the crown to Northumberland masterminding the plot to place his daughter-in-law, Jane Grey on the throne. It wasn't until 1563 that the castle made its way back into Dudley's hands when Elizabeth granted the castle to her favourite. It seems from the beginning Dudley had intended to renovate the castle back to its glittering best. Spending £60,000 on refurbishment he envisioned 'a magnificent pleasure house where Elizabeth and her court could be brought to take their ease and to be diverted with a great variety of entertainments' and this was never more true than for Elizabeth's fourth and final visit to Kenilworth in 1575. It seems as well as Kenilworth being an endeavour

to impress the queen it was also a labour of love 'I was never more in love with an old house, nor never knew work could be better bestowed' (Morris 2009).

On the evening of the 9th of July, Elizabeth, accompanied by Leicester arrived at Kenilworth to the sight of fireworks and the sound of cannon fire. They proceeded over a 160ft bridge towards the castle which had been illuminated with sparkling candles and tapers. The sight of Kenilworth lit up in this way would have created an almost mythical atmosphere and to add to the drama the clock was stopped at the exact moment of the queen's arrival. To augment the ethereal theme further nymphs were accompanying the Lady of the Lake on floating islands.

Elizabeth's private apartments were located in the Leicester's Building; a fivestory structure created especially for her visits and made up of five private rooms. On the lower floors, rooms were provided for the queen's servants and wardrobe. According to English Heritage who now care for the castle the principal floor is indicated by the tallest windows. The equally large windows in the queen's bedchamber would have afforded her a stunning view over the lake and the lands beyond. In the 16th century putting glass into windows was extremely expensive. Over and over again we see Leicester using expense and opulence to convince the gueen that he was devoted to her comfort and wealthy enough to be her husband.

The decoration of the queen's existing previously been apartments had furnished in splendid style, but in anticipation of this visit, they had been further upgraded with the finest materials available at the time. Cloth made from crimson, purple and peach silver were liberally used throughout the queen's rooms. Costly tapestries of the finest quality were held by pegs a third of the way down from the ceiling and in an act of pure decadence carpets were put on the floor instead of over furniture or on the walls. The bed hangings were richly embroidered 'all over with satin or velvet, crimson, green or blue...with gold twinkling or silver...their counterpanes of satin to match the Scattered throughout curtains. chambers were the bear and ragged staff from the Dudley coat of arms. Emphasis was drawn to Leicester standing at court by the display of the mottoes and badges of the Order of the Garter of which Elizabeth had appointed him six months into her reign.

The details of the queen's visit to Kenilworth Castle come from the writings of Robert Langham who was Leicester's 'Keeper of the Council Chamber door' (Stedell 2020). From his writings, we have descriptions of 'bushes that burst into song...pillars that grew fruit...trees decked in costly gifts.' The queen was often surprised by orators that would appear out of nowhere to give her a recital of verse. He also describes how the rarest and costliest of ingredients were provided at mealtimes. Leicester ostentatiously using prohibitively expensive foodstuffs, such as sugar, spices and wine to once more convey his wealth and status. Indeed at 'a most delicious ambrosial banquet' three hundred sweet dishes were presented, together with other culinary items 'thought to inflame lust' (Gristwood 2007). Not that these impressed the queen who ate 'smally or nothing'.

The outside of the castle was no less spectacular than the inside. Elizabeth and Leicester's close relationship allowed Leicester to plan every aspect of the outside space to suit Elizabeth's passions. There were hunting grounds stocked with red deer and other game animals, seats so that Elizabeth could watch the hunt and he even had trees planted so that Elizabeth could sit in the shade. However, the crowning glory of the castle was the garden which was designed for Elizabeth and her intimate's private use. We are perhaps fortunate that a gardener named 'Adrian' (Morris 2006) conveniently left the garden door open so Langham could look round. What he described in a letter to his friend Humphrey Martin was so specific that it was used along with 'archaeology and research' by English Heritage to recreate the garden in 2009.

'A garden so appointed to feel the pleasant whisking wind above or delectable coolness of the fountain spring beneath, to taste delicious strawberries, cherries, and other fruits...to smell such fragrancy of sweet adores, breathing from the plants, herbs, and flowers, to hear such natural melodious music and tunes of birds

(Extract from Robert Langham's letter published in English Heritage's Kenilworth Castle Guidebook)

Elizabeth and her courtiers would have accessed the garden from Leicester's Buildings via the Inner Court, through the Forebuilding and throughout onto a raised terrace above the garden, with arbours to the east and west of the archway. Once upon the terrace, the garden could be properly seen from above. It was split into eight squares, which were separated into beds where fragrant flowers had been planted. The walkways were carpeted with smooth sand and Langham reported them as being similar to sandy beaches 'green by



grass...and some with sand smooth and firm, pleasant to walk on like a sea-shore. There were pear trees, obelisks, athletic statues, an aviary to favour the queen's love of birdsong and of course the Dudley Bear and Ragged Staff in abundance.

After nineteen days of hunting, feasting and merriment it was finally time for the gueen to take her leave of Kenilworth for the last time. Interestingly as Elizabeth left Kenilworth she was followed by the talented Tudor poet George Gascoigne who had dressed as 'god of the woods' (Gristwood 2007). Noted at court for his wordsmith skills Gascoigne had been engaged by Leicester provide all the to entertainments for the queen's visits. of these Most masques and entertainments were themed, usually towards the advantages of matrimony and Gascoigne's last recital followed this thread. As he ran alongside the queen's horse he regaled the queen with a mythical story of Zabetta (yes a play on Elizabeth's name) a nymph who had spurned marriage for 17 years, the length of Elizabeth's reign so far. Zabette had turned all of her suitors to trees and rock and even turned her potential lover Deep Desire into a holly bush. In a reveal that would have pleased Elizabeth's father, a holly bush appeared and addressed the queen begging her to stay at Kenilworth, where she was amongst her friends.

This was not the original format for the telling of Zabetta's story. The original

mask had been due to be performed in front of the queen, but as happens frequently now in the UK the weather intervened and the masque was cancelled. Presumably, Leicester hoped it would soften the queen's stance on marriage and finally persuade her to accept him.

As Elizabeth rode away Leicester was left to reflect that despite all the effort and near bankruptcy he was no closer to achieving his aims. In the opinion of some historians, he now considered himself at liberty to seek another match and father legitimate heirs. This he eventually did three years later when he married Lettice Knollys. Leicester knew the gueen would not approve of his match to Lettice who was a close maternal relative and so the pair married in secret. Predictably when Elizabeth found out she was furious. The pair were banished from court and Lettice never appeared there again

It perhaps shows an inkling of the dichotomy of Elizabeth's character and her position as monarch that she did not wish to share her throne with a foreign prince, she did not want to raise her 'sweet Robin' above her other subjects, but she did not want anyone else to have him. Elizabeth, until her death in 1603 did exactly what she said she would: she lived and ruled her realm with 'one mistress...and no master'.

Gayle Hulme

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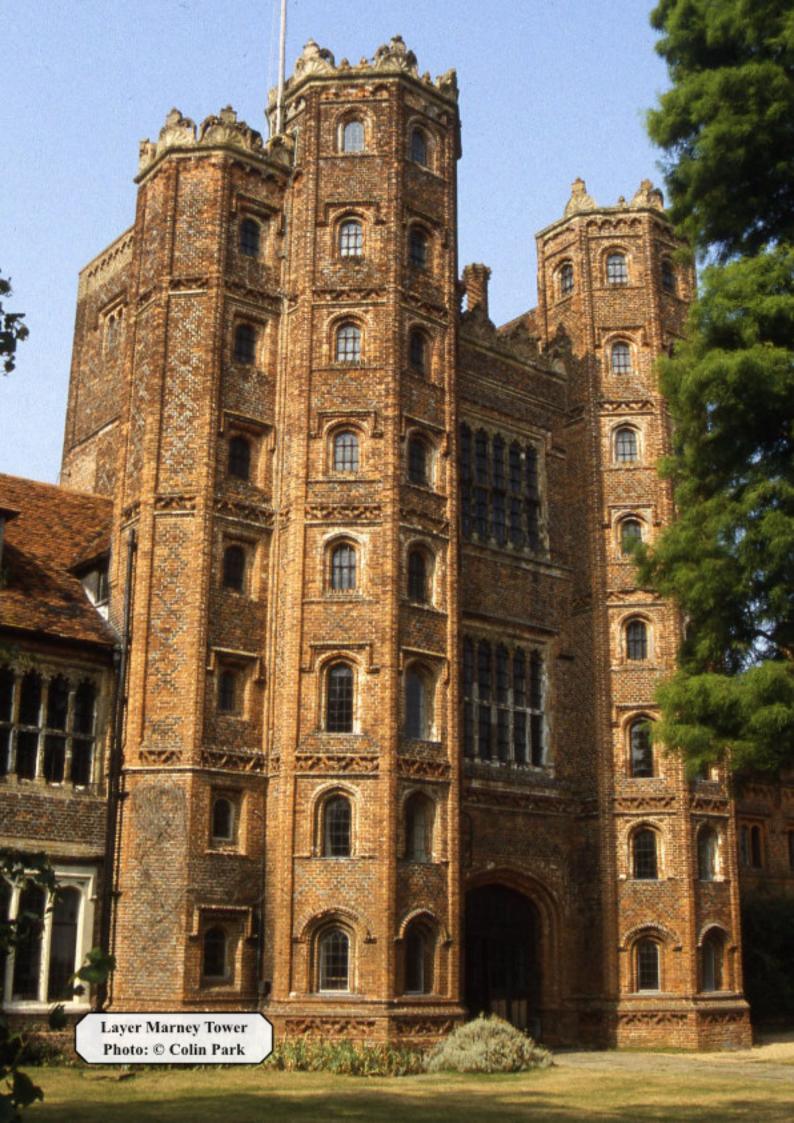
'THE TRAVELS OF ELIZABETH I – A QUEEN ON SUMMER PROGRESS'

by David Lee.

Throughout her long reign, Elizabeth I took many summer trips within her kingdom. She often travelled for the entirety of the summer, hauling her whole court, all her servants and her vast wardrobe with her. What would now be referred to as a vacation or summer holiday was called the 'royal progress'. Essentially, the summer provided the queen with freedom from the stuffv and often daunting realities of her duties and court life. The queen's trips often took her to southern or northern England or to the midlands. This was not only a way for the queen and court to take a break, but also allowed for a change of scenery. Elizabeth's father Henry VIII was also fond of taking progress during the summer months, but Elizabeth used it as a of perfecting relationship with her subjects. By the end of her long life and reign, 'Gloriana' had taken almost twoprogresses, and

bankrupted many nobles in the process.

During the final years of her life, Elizabeth endured much heartbreak. Many of her closest friends and advisors had long passed. In early 1601, her favourite, Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex led a Rebellion against the government. This led to his arrest, trial and execution. The virgin queen never married, nor had any children of her own. Therefore, she depended on the young, vivacious new men and beautiful women of the court to keep her going through hard times. Though it is often stated that the queen entered into a deep depression after Essex's death, nonetheless thought summer progress was just the thing to raise her spirits. The planning of a summer progression was no simple task. Hundreds of servants, supplies, carts and horses were required. Not to mention the furniture, equipment and living





space for her staff, advisors and friends. The queen often stayed in the grand homes of her nobles. For example, in 1575, she stayed at Kenilworth which belonged to her favourite and rumoured lover, Robert Dudley. Playing host to the queen was an honour, but an expensive one which often bankrupted even the wealthiest of nobles.

During a royal tour through Essex in 1579 for example, Elizabeth stayed at the beautiful Layer Marney Tower, and the year previously she had stayed in Kirtling Tower Cambridgeshire, the home of Lord North. He apparently spent a total of £762 in preparations – a small fortune for the time! Feeding and lodging the queen and her court was not an easy or cheap task. If one was inclined to think the queen herself would foot the bill, that would be a Elizabeth mistake. expected her hosts to pay for the expenses during her stay, which included banquets, feasts. musical entertainment and fireworks.

The Earl of Hertford spent a fortune building and renovating rooms, kitchens and even an artificial lake, all to impress the queen. When she visited or travelled through a town, she was met by many of her loyal subjects, eager to get a glimpse of their queen. During times of political strife danger, or Elizabeth avoided taking progress during the summer months. However, during the summer of 1588 when the threat of the Spanish Armada loomed, queen rented Amberley Castle in Sussex along the coast. Making a public progress during a political crisis was risky, but Elizabeth knew that strong public relations was absolutely necessary in consolidating public morale. Not only did it suit her personally to take respite during a time of anxiety, but it put her people's minds at rest to see their queen amongst them. This was as much a typical Tudor propaganda stunt as it was a holiday on the coast.

Though it was costly to host the queen and her entourage, the benefits mostly outweighed the disadvantages. If a nobleman wished to make an impression on the queen and pursue his own agenda, whether it be political or otherwise, there was no better way to reach the queen's ear than in his host her home. queen often However, the reminded her courtiers nobles that their land, lavish homes and great fortunes actually belonged to her. In contrast to entertaining their queen, many nobles ruffled more than a few of her feathers. Over the entirety of her forty-four-year reign, she had to take the good with the bad. Her life was by no carefree. means easy or Conspiracy and plots surrounded her from every viewpoint, and

she was disobeyed or betrayed by a courtier or favourite. She was quick to lose her temper, and the consequences could be dire. Only three years after Elizabeth visited Kenilworth, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, secretly married her kinswoman and a maid of the bedchamber, Lettice Knollys. The queen eventually forgave her favourite, but Lettice was banished from court, and would not return for decades. Elizabeth never forgave her and never visited her in her London or country residences.

Elizabeth eventually considered that she herself could make a good marriage. In July of 1578, when the Duke of Anjou sent envoys to discuss a possible match, the queen seemed genuinely interested. The next month, she found herself on progress again to Suffolk and Norfolk. Here she was greatly entertained by Masques and pageants. She even discussed the possibilities of the Anjou match with the magistrates of Norwich, whom were only too pleased to give their advice on the match. However, it seems that the magistrates were already made of the negotiations by none other than Robert Dudley. Therefore, there was a hint of political theme added to the masques pageants whereby the queen's virginity was glorified. Whether Elizabeth noticed or not is unknown, but this shows that no

matter where she went, political conspiracy was never far away.

Though Elizabeth travelled frequently, much of her people and realm remained unknown to her, and vice versa. Out of her 53 counties, it is believed that she visited at least 25. The queen had to be careful wherever she went. Conspiracy was around every corner and therefore she avoided the Catholic northern counties and was weary to travel too far north in general. She also never visited Wales despite it becoming a part of England during her father's reign. In general, she toured as far as security would allow. measures Generally, it was felt that staying in close proximity to London was safer but it was also practical as hauling whole her household and wardrobe was such a daunting task. With even the largest entourage of her progress the reign, barely managed to get through twelve miles a day. Clearly, the summer progress was not just a PR stunt for the queen. This was a time when she could reflect and take time for herself. However, it presented utter drudgery for her courtiers, and many disliked the idea of travelling for weeks on end.

The purpose of her visits to noble households and their surrounding estates was also a way of ensuring that her subjects, whether of noble or low birth, were loyal to the Protestant faith



of which her supremacy over the Church of England represented. Indeed, on numerous occasions, a visit from the queen and her posse exposed Catholics opposed to the Protestant regime. Her progressions also allowed her in later years to visit friends, such as Nicholas Bacon or her trusty old secretary and Lord Treasurer, William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Burghley had faithfully advised the queen for most of his political career. she and depended on his support. When his health began to decline and he semi-retired, often retreating to his country residences, it gave Elizabeth the opportunity to visit her old friend who she called her 'spirit'. The longer Elizabeth's progress lasted, the more expensive it became. The longest recorded progress undertaken by the queen lasted for 139 days. Another saw her stay with a minimum of thirty-five hosts.

Elizabeth's journeys throughout her kingdom did not lesson as she aged. On the contrary, the queen was quite the traveller. In 1600, she attended the wedding of Lord Herbert at Black Friars. which followed by a masque with music and dancing. Her final progress has rarely been discussed in any depth. Indeed, there is little evidence to go on, as the year it took place in particular, was one

of her most difficult. So, other events often take precedence in the historical record. In 1601, Elizabeth would experience another crisis. Her favourite, Robert Devereux had been executed following his rebellion. The plot failed but left Elizabeth shaken. By this time, she had lost many of her close friends, advisors and confidantes. Though she continued to dance, ride and showed great energy for approaching woman seventies. many people surrounding the queen were eager for change. Despite the shock of Devereux's rebellion and execution. the queen continued on. However, she often complained of headaches, and soon she grew weaker in mind and spirit. Insomnia had plagued Elizabeth for decades. Still, she began her progress of 1601 by visiting Bishop Bancroft at his home in Fulham Palace. From there she continued on in Surrey, Hampshire, Wiltshire and Berkshire. With her mental health in decline and loneliness setting in, it is no wonder that the queen decided a summer progress would allow her to get away from court, politics and Many courtiers conspiracy. lacked the enthusiasm for yet another progress, and to haul household staff furnishings with them seemed nightmarish. Despite the court's feelings towards the queen's travel plans, she allowed those

who were too old to stay where they were. The younger courtiers were obliged to travel with her. Whether this was the ailing queen's attempt to lighten her spirits or feel more youthful is anyone's guess.

Elizabeth was more than able to keep up with the younger generation of her court. During this last progress, she even stopped off to take part in a hunt at Castle Ashby in Northampton. She remained active during this vacation and despite her age, melancholic state and declining health, she was well able to ride up to ten miles a day. She continued on her final progress before returning back to court at summer's end. Clearly, the virgin queen played just as hard as she worked. Towards the final months of her reign, Elizabeth's health plummeted, and most were aware that she would not see another summer. The queen on the other hand, was eager to get away again but it was not to be. Elizabeth I died on March 24th 1603, before any plans for the next progress could be put into motion.

The queen's demise had prevented what would have been her 1603 summer progress. She was greatly admired and revered by her people, and their grief for her death was genuine. However, as one sun set, another was rising. Elizabeth refused to discuss the succession towards the end of her life, but as she lay

dying, she gestured that she wished the crown go to King James VI of Scotland, the son of her lifelong enemy and rival Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. James set off for England in April of 1603, just weeks after the queen had died. As he travelled from Edinburgh to London, stopping off in York to hear the Easter service in the minster, he embarked on what was his de facto first public relations campaign and royal progress. The procession from the Scotland to England gave the new king an opportunity to predecessors' his mirror propaganda strategy - and it worked!

Elizabeth I remains the greatest representative of the royal progress and what it means for the Monarch to be seen by their subjects. The virgin queen

not only used these tours as a form of respite and escape from daily life at court, but also used the opportunity to get to know her country and her people. The special relationship the monarch has with their people, and the importance of being seen as our current queen, Elizabeth II has so vehemently expressed, began with the first Elizabeth and her love of summer travel. extravagant, expensive and long processions of courtiers, nobles, animals and carts is something of a by-gone age that unfortunately we can only imagine. It is clear that courtiers and nobles would go to extreme lengths to impress their travelling queen – and her summer progressions are part of the reason why we call her reign the 'Golden Age'.

David Lee

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Spending Tudor Summers

By Elizabeth J Timms

expenditure rivate **L** revealing of both and tastes interests, priorities. What at first glance can look like mere lists payment can reconstruct our movements and tell us much about how choose to spend our time and what we consider important, much like a modern bank statement. Contained within the now digitised Letters and Papers of Henry VIII are numerous examples of what is known as the King's Book of Payments, which act as a kind of paid logbook for the King's life, recording the yearly expenses of the Royal Household, written down by the Treasurer of the Chamber.

A particularly revealing cache within the *Letters* and *Papers* are the *Privy Purse Expenses* which begin

in November 1529 and conclude December in These 1532. published in full and with extensive commentary by Sir Harris Nicolas; the present author is drawing on the copy of the *Letters* and Papers for the years 1531-32 in which the Privy Purse Expenses were printed, edited by James Gairdner and published in London in 1880. ¹

To figuratively open the private purse of Henry VIII during the summer months of this time span is to gain a wider insight into the King's life during this otherwise crucial period, 1529 being the year that the marriage of Henry VIII and Queen Catherine was tried at Blackfriars, right up to the close of 1532: heralding a New Year would see coronation



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HENRY VIII ET ANNE DE BOLEYN

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Boleyn. For this, I have worked with assumption of summer roughly covering a period June between September. Mirroring the of how quickly personal fates could change, one of the former Keepers of the Privy Purse was none other than Sir Henry Norris; ² Henry Norris would be executed on Tower Hill, together with the four other men who were found guilty in Anne's downfall. And of course, alongside these turbulent events, carousel of the Tudor court carried on turning. Events of course, happened at the same time - great as well as minute. As an example, we see that at the dinner on St Andrew's Day, November 1529 at which Catherine Queen memorably criticised Henry for no longer dining with her privately, there are payments in the Expenses entered of some five shillings to a servant for bringing cheeses and over six pounds to the Keeper of the King's mastiffs. Life

carried on externally.

The *Expenses* record not only private payments but also inevitably, a large number of rewards for well services, as monetary gifts of charity, acknowledging even the most humble presents from Henry's subjects. Painstakingly, these record payments everything done in the King's service and whilst we expect nothing less than exactness in the keeping of the royal accounts, there is something touching about the inclusion of such sums as over four shillings paid to a poor woman who asked a favour from the King in the name of St George. Because these were the King's rewards, everything had to be documented as a matter of course by the royal administration, yet what is immediately striking about these payments is spectrum of occasions that they cover, from twenty shillings for losing shooting, to six shillings to the Windsor choristers: a reward for the King's spurs.

It is by scanning the royal during these accounts summer months than we can learn about how the King enjoyed his leisure hours, as retold through his spending. Outdoor exercise came as a natural enthusiasm in youth to King of whose physique contemporary Europe was in awe: the Venetian Ambassador Giustinian's words virtually shine from his reports over five hundred years later, writing of how 'his fair skin [was] glowing through a shirt of the finest texture' and that he was 'extremely fond of tennis'. 3 When older, Henry ordered construction of an indoor real tennis court and two new bowling alleys. Here was a King who loved to dance, to ride, to hunt and importantly also, to joust.

Hawking was a luxury sport reserved for royalty and the aristocratic elite who alone could afford these birds and the cost of their maintenance. Henry's love of hawking only came much later, but it is certainly reflected in the

Privy Purse Expenses in the numerous rewards given to those servants that had conveyed the royal hawks to him across any distance, costs with the for their separately provisions: recorded in the Expenses as meat. There is also a sense of the King appropriating what should belong to him as the supreme authority in the land: there is a payment of over six shillings paid for a hawk that was 'taken' near Northampton. All this provides good evidence that the King was quite frequently enjoying this costly sport in the summer, because of the amount of the hawks times mentioned in his Expenses. Hawking, like clothing, was status-restrictive and the right to own the birds at all would rest on royal doeskin approval; a hawking glove which once belonged to Henry VIII, survives at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. 4

Over these months of outdoor pursuits, the armourer at Windsor was paid for keeping the King's

harness clean, in readiness for Henry to ride. One Master Walshe was given the sum of 6s 4d for sending books from Greenwich to Hampton Court during the summer. In this we see Henry's clear wish to read in his spare time at the palace.

Reading was enthusiasm of Henry VIII, whose interests included a favourite love of theology. The King is actually depicted reading whilst sat on what looks to be a blue velvet X-chair with gold fringing in bedchamber: an illustration which adorns the King's Psalter, kept in the British Library. But where would Henry have read in the summer at Hampton Court?

Little survives of the guest apartments built by Wolsey at Hampton Court for King Henry and Queen Catherine and most of Henry's private chambers were swept away. The socalled Wolsey Closet is a restored representation of how such closets may have looked and whilst the

leather maché and wooden detail is authentic to the period, its present appearance dates from the Victorian era, when other decoration was added. 5 This remarkable room nevertheless, adjoins part of Henry's lost private apartments at Hampton Court and is a lavish example of the colour and sumptuousness of vanished Tudor interiors. Today's visitor to Palace's Great Watching Chamber will see a pair of doors, marking the former entrance to the private apartments.

Fortunately, the adjoining Bayne Tower has survived. Formerly accommodation staff, the Tower occupied until recently, the Fountain Court Café at Hampton Court, since closed. Just off of Fountain Court, this was where Henry's private apartments and those of his queen(s), were located: an area massively rebuilt as part of William and Mary's baroque transformation of the palace between 1689

and 1694. 6 Henry's library at Hampton Court was held within Tower, aforementioned which also contained his bedchamber, private bathroom, study and jewel-house. 7 The King's private library was on the second floor of the Bayne Tower. It is fascinating to consider that from this simple entry in the Privy Expenses, books brought by one Master Walshe to Hampton Court probably ended up being read here, in the King's private chambers.

of glimpse surviving Bayne Tower may be gained from the windows of the present Cumberland Art Gallery at Hampton Court, which occupies part of the historic Cumberland Suite; the Wolsey Rooms had at one time, been refurbished to contain accommodation for the Princess Mary. 8 The Cumberland Gallery also includes the now accessible, Wolsey Closet, part of the former Wolsey suite. The Bayne Tower's original Tudor windows were replaced in the nineteenth century. 9

On the site of the present-day Privy Garden at Hampton Court was Henry's Mount Garden, in which stood his domed banqueting house with its wine overlooking the Thames. The ancient royal love of hunting certainly was expressed at Hampton Court. The King enclosed Home Park and as if to confirm Henry's ongoing presence at this palace which he loved, the three hundred fallow deer that roam in the park today are direct descendants of the herd he introduced.

Everyday delicacies are alongside documented Henry's movements: payments at five shillings the servant of the provost of Eton, for bringing cakes to the King'. Then there are the wages for the watermen who were for waiting Windsor and at Hampton Court: the sum of 8*d* each, with 6s 8d paid to the ferryman at Hampton Court. There is also

information as to Henry's personal luxury objects: a jeweller named Leugar was paid handsome sum supplying two clocks, four glasses, fifteen swords and three turkasses. Nor was this the only mention of clocks in Henry's private spending for this period: a Mr Anthony Anthony was paid for a clock in a gold cases and the clockman at Westminster given twenty shillings to mend the clock - 'the' clock as opposed to 'a' clock, should refer to magnificent astronomical clock at the heart of Hampton Court and 15*l* was given to a Frenchman from whom Henry purchased clocks at Oking.

The quarterwages of the royal gardeners and their rewards tell us about the summer dishes that the King was enjoying during the hot months: there is an entry for Jasper, the King's gardener at Beaulieu in payment of his bringing Henry a plentiful supply of artichokes, cucumbers and herbs. We also see

for payments summer such refreshments glasses or rosewater and orange water, whilst the sum of 12d given to one Roger, hints instead at the King's spiritual needs: this amount was paid to the King's servant transporting a glass of relic water from Windsor to Hampton Court Palace.

There are rewards for a pack of greyhounds which were brought to Hampton Court and money given for finding those hounds which had gone missing in Waltham Forest. Henry loved his hunting hounds, which came under the department of the Royal Household known simply the Kennels: department was presided over by the Master of the Privy Hounds, Humphrey Rainsford. 10

As a true testament to royal summer pleasures, there are pleasant references in the *Expenses* to show us that the King was fishing: there is an example payment to one Jas. Tylson of Westminster, who brought angling rods

to Hampton Court for Henry's use. The lovely Pond Gardens at Hampton Court once teemed with fish, which were later used in the Tudor kitchens.

Ιt particularly fascinating to see the way that payments are listed alongside, illustrating the huge expenditure that inevitably had to exist to make up the King's daily life. There is a payment given to a servant of the Closet on his forthcoming wedding against the cost of two fire-pans and eleven pairs of gloves. In 1531, one Peter Scryvener was paid 4*l* for vellum for the King's books. The King's purse would pay for the friars at Guildford and even the the sum of 3l 6s 8*d* to the Deptford hermit, to help with the repair of his chapel. There entries for frequent rewards to the Keepers of the Parks, including Ditton Park, Easthamptstead Farnham. A servant of the Lord Chamberlain was given ten shillings because he brought a stag which

the King had felled all the way to the Vyne: so Henry again, had been hunting. And as if to illustrate how completely everything had always to be kept in readiness to supply the royal need, there were payments to Roger Basyng of 1000*l* for Henry's wines and for the cart that had to transport the King's dogs from Ewelme and two shillings spent for four yards of cotton purchased at Woodstock.

There are touching sums of money listed amongst all this, which testify to Henry's devout obligation to make gifts of simple charity, such as the four shillings which were given to a poor woman that gave the King a present of pears and nuts in a forest and the woman who gave the King apples at Waltham. Such payments can appear quite casually next to an order for the making of the King's Arms, showing us the diversity of the great (and small) world that existed inside Henry's privy purse.

The summer of 1532 begins with fascinating details as to royal pastimes. We can see that there was shortage in entertainment: one Dompne Peter Tremezin was given 100 crowns for horses riding two simultaneously and Master Lee constructed a bowling alley Eltham. at watermen were paid because they waited whilst the King fished Greenwich and over five shillings were paid for 'pelletts' for bows, suggesting that archery was enjoyed that June - as was coursing in Eltham Park where later, a black gelding was also brought to the King. A servant of the Mayor of London brought the King an offering of sturgeon: a fresh catch for the royal kitchens. The sum of 7s 6d was given to the King's locksmith and 8*d* per day given each to the ten men who helped to drain the King's ponds. Ten shillings was given to the servant who brought nightingales to the King.

Palaces in their great plenty of provisions, of course also, bred vermin: thirty shillings were recorded in the summer *Expenses* as paid to the ratcatcher at Greenwich.

By August 1532, we see that the King was still enjoying his leisure time with fishing, because fifteen shillings was rewarded to a servant that brought the King angling rod at Grafton. In early August, the King was playing dice for 100 crowns at Woodstock and Langley; the same amount was given to the courtier at Woodstock who won it off the King. Henry with out greyhounds at Ewelme by late August and then there the rather exotic of the recorded visit 'Italian' at Abingdon, who was given five shillings because he presented Henry with a melon. By September 1532, the King was out shooting and two days later, there is a payment to a Frenchman for dart-heads and ten shillings paid to a French minstrel. Henry must have again wanted to spend summer time reading, as there is a payment of two shillings for books to be sent to the King's binders.

One of the most marked references throughout the privy expenses is to that of fruit. Henry loved fruit and it is clear that the royal gardeners went to special efforts to supply the finest summer fruits to the King at this time of year, also a symbol that the kingdom was prosperous under the monarch it served. The Expenses record the Keeper of the Garden at York Place bringing cherries to Hampton Court Palace in June 1530 and following month, gardener at Hampton Court supplying the King with pears, whilst the royal gardener at Richmond Palace delivered damsons. A James Hobart was paid twenty shillings for the oranges and lemons which he took to the King at Hertford that September. Chapman, the gardener at

Hampton Court, brought the King pears at Windsor for six shillings in August 1532, whilst Welshe, the gardener royal Greenwich, brought Henry cucumbers Windsor. Long before 'Capability' Lancelot Brown's Great Vine at Hampton Court Palace, it is interesting to see that the gardener at Richmond brought the King grapes (and pears) in September 1532 for 7s 8d.

Fruit is another way in which Anne Boleyn is introduced into the King's Expenses, because actually features in this period of their courtship. Of significance are the payments in the royal accounts for Anne Boleyn, which continue until the record closes at the end of 1532. Of course, we know that the year 1533 would see Anne finally marry the King and achieve the apogee of her turbulent life spectacular her coronation – again: summer event. We see in Expenses, that the

servant of the Mayor of London was given a reward 'for bringing cherries to lady Anne' in June 1530. Orange trees would come to Hampton Court later, but Henry had certainly been enjoying exotic fruits in his reign such as the orange, which he loved. 11

Payments concerning Anne Boleyn continued in Henry's personal expenses. Four bows also were purchased for her, suggesting shared archery. More than most records, these expenses illustrate just how important feature Anne is in Henry's private life: in September, 10*l* was paid 'for linen cloth for my lady Anne' 12 and ten shillings laid out for a cow that got killed, because Anne's greyhounds had attacked it. By June 1532, the payments becoming more suggestive of things getting more serious: twelve yards of satin for a cloak for Anne and for black velvet to edge her robes, with black and Bruges satin for lining. Thirteen yards of black

satin were bought at eight shillings for a nightgown for Anne, as well as taffeta, velvet and buckram. All this and 16 ½ yards of green damask 'at 8s. a yard' were sent to John Skut, 'for lady Anne's use'. 13 By August, there was a reward of forty shillings for a stag and greyhound which Anne gave to the King and in September to Mr Parker of the Robes, for wardrobe stuff 'for my lady margues of Pembroke' 14 - Anne's new title in her own right.

Yet there is a darker side to the royal accounts, as Anne's story unfolds. The poignancy of Anne's rise and fall is particular, when read as amounts documented without emotion on paper. The Royal Household accounts show that even just prior to her fall, Anne was purchasing luxury materials such as orange ilk be made into nightgown, for 'garnish of Venice gold, wrought with chainwork' and 2s 8d for ribbon. hair

Holbein drawing on pale pink paper held in the Royal Library, Windsor is by tradition, thought to depict Anne Boleyn and it shows a woman in a furred nightgown, in left profile and looking downwards. It has been suggested that if this does indeed show Anne, that in the drawing, she may be wearing that nightgown' 'black satin given her by the King which dates from their courtship. 16 The Holbein drawing is catalogued as 'Queen Anne Boleyn' and on its verso, has the coat of arms of the Wyatt family. Dated between 1533 and 1536 – the years that Anne was Queen of England - it an interesting graceful image.

It would be appropriate to pause to consider the history of this drawing, so familiar to us. According to information supplied by the Royal Collection, the Holbein drawing passed into the great Arundel collection. The present author could find no work by Holbein there identified

as depicting Anne Boleyn in the Arundel inventory 1655, although Holbein's important paintings of Jane Seymour in Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) and Anne of Cleves (now in the Louvre) are recorded as such. for lack of reason identification may lie in the fact that the greater majority of artworks owned by Thomas, 14th Earl of Arundel and his wife, Aletheia, Countess of Arundel were taken with them to the Netherlands in 1641 and as a note on a later published copy of the inventory (1921) makes clear, there are numerous works known to have been owned by the Earl which are not listed in it. 17

Admittedly, the inventory lists Holbein paintings, yet it makes clear in the inventory which artworks were in fact drawings; there are numerous works of art listed of which the artist remains then unidentified. The Royal

Collection record for the Holbein drawing makes clear that this image is by tradition, thought to be of Anne Boleyn: inscription on it of 'Anna Bollein Queen' however, date back no earlier than the eighteenth century. Prior to Arundel provenance, the Holbein drawing owned by Henry VIII, from whom it passed to Edward VI in 1547. It then entered the collection of Henry FitzAlan, 12th Earl of Arundel, who passed it to John, Lord Lumley in 1580. Information in the Royal Collection suggests that the drawing may have been bequeathed to Henry, Prince of Wales and if so, then transferred to the art collection of Charles I. It thereafter was owned by Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke, by whom it was gifted to Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel. By 1675, it was back in the English Royal Collection.

We return to Anne in the

royal accounts. Of course, the court carried on. On the date of 19 May 1536 – Anne's execution – the royal accounts show their lowest annual sum: £44 12s. 19

As with any debts and liabilities after death. Anne's life (and afterlife) is duly entered by the royal administration. debtors and appointments are blankly recorded a week after her death, 20 almost as if her demise had been due to natural causes. After the execution, there are a number of pathetic paragraphs of debts due to Anne Boleyn. These included gold and silver plate, a gold chain, candlesticks, knives trimmed with gold, with bedding and hangings at Greenwich. The so-called 'book' of Anne Boleyn's debts, is fascinating in itself: all these came to 934*l*. 7s. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d and covered the Queen's wardrobe of beds, her stable and her wardrobe of robes, naming Mrs Curtes, Mrs Kelinge and Mrs Phillips, her 'silkwomen' and Arnolde, the shoemaker.

Of particular interest are the items which Anne Bolevn had been purchasing ('The Queen's reckoning') as they tell us about her *Privy Purse* Henry's. Expenses, not Examples include a purple satin cap with 'a rich caul of gold' for Princess Elizabeth, crimson fringing for the head of her cradle, a white satin cap gold worked in another in crimson for Princess Elizabeth; gold and silver buttons for the Queen's saddle and ten shillings for 'rich tassels of Florence gold for Your Grace's beads'. 21

We return to the Expenses to close the purse for 1532. There are payments to 'Geo Taylor' for silks for the 'lady marques of Pembroke' and for furs, in anticipation of the King's travelling to Calais and a payment to Lord Rochford, for a wager won with a pack of greyhounds. Henry was now en route,

with over seven shillings paid 'to the keeper of the house at Canterbury where the King lay'. 22 There are payments which tell us what the King and Anne were eating on their way to Calais: porpoise, carp, pasties of venison and summer fruits: 'grapes and pears to my lady Marques to *Calais*'. ²³ Perhaps the weather was poor November, for there were 15 shillings paid losing at cards in Calais to Anne and later, at Pope July; alongside one of the King's sacred offerings - Our Lady in the Wall at Calais – was recorded the King's offering of 11s 3d at 'Our Lady of Boleyn'. 24

By December, the King was back in England, busy at cards and dice indoors, as well as playing bowls at Greenwich, with the sum of forty shillings made over to Ansley, for 'tennis balls six times, at Calais and Greenwich'. ²⁵

Summer was finally over. **Elizabeth Jane Timms,**

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- 2) Antonia Fraser, The Six Wives of Henry VIII, Phoenix, 1992, p. 299.
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- 4) Neville Williams, Henry VIII and his Court, Macmillan, New York, 1971, p. 91; Alison Weir, Henry VIII: King & Court, Vintage, 2008, p. 111.
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- 7) Ibid, p. 28.
- 8) Ibid, p. 16.
- 9) Weir, p. 542.
- 10)Ibid, p. 110.
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- 12)'Henry VIII: Privy Purse Expences', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 5, 1531-1532*, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1880), pp. 747-762. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol5/pp747-762 [accessed 15 February 2022].
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- 19) Williams, p. 149.
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- 24)'Henry VIII: Privy Purse Expences', in *ineLetters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 5, 1531-1*, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1880), pp. 747-762. *532British History Onl* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol5/pp747-762 [accessed 16 February 2022].
- 25) 'Henry VIII: Privy Purse Expences', in *ineLetters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 5, 1531-1*, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1880), pp. 747-762. *532British History Onl* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol5/pp747-762 [accessed 16 February 2022].





For novels with a good sense of what it was like to travel in Tudor England, C. J. Sansom's Sovereign, set in 1541, and Alan Judd's A Fine Madness, set in the 1580s and 1590s, are both excellent and detailed.

"With Knot of Secret Might" Catherine Grey, Robert Dudley and Elizabeth I

An episode from The House of Dudley by Joanne Paul

It was the dead of night on Sunday, 10 August 1561. The weather for the preceding weeks had been a mix of oppressive heat and fierce storms, as the court partook in the Queen's progress. Elizabeth I had been queen only a few short years and much of the talk in that time had been focused on the question of the queen's marriage. Although many held a foreign prince to be the most suitable choice, the wisest court observers were sure she would choose a man much closer to home, as scandalous as that choice might be. Robert Dudley, the queen's Master of the Horse, was clearly a favourite, and they had shared intimate dinners, personal gifts, and perhaps much more. But on that night in August, as the moon waned and the court rested at Ipswich, it was Catherine Grey who had secreted herself to Robert Dudley's bedside.

Catherine was Robert's sister-in-law, or at least had once been. Her elder sister, Jane, had been married to Robert's younger brother, Guildford, and for a short time in 1553 they had reigned England, before being deposed by Queen Mary I, and later executed. Catherine herself, only 12 at the time, had been married in the same ceremony, to the young Henry, Lord Herbert, son and heir of the Earl of Pembroke. This marriage, however, had been quickly dissolved. Nevertheless, as Catherine awoke her one-time kinsmen, she wore an ornate wedding ring on the finger of her left hand; five circles of gold with an inscription:

As circles five by Art compact
Show but one ring in sight
So trust unity the faithful minds
With knot of secret might
Whose force to break but greedy death
No Wight possesseth power
As time & sequel well shall prove
My Ring can say no more

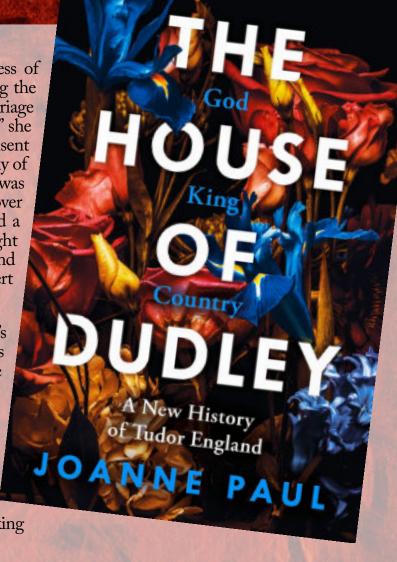
Catherine had secretly married Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, almost nine months before and had managed to keep it a secret, along with the fact that she was carrying their child. Seymour was the son of the executed Duke of Somerset, an erstwhile friend-turned-enemy of Robert's father, and uncle to the late King Edward VI. While this was surely scandalous in itself, what really endangered the twenty-year-old Catherine was her own inheritance. She was the granddaughter of Princess Mary Tudor, and thus had a claim to the throne in the event of Elizabeth I's death. That royal Tudor blood was sure to be spilled if Elizabeth discovered Catherine's marriage and child. In marrying Seymour, Catherine had committed treason.

On discovering she was pregnant, Catherine had made fraught appeals to her husband, now abroad, but to no avail. Desperate, she next attempted to renew her marriage to Henry, Lord Herbert, hoping she might pass of the child as his, if they reunited quickly enough. But he had become suspicious, and rebuked her for her 'whoredom', which he threatened to expose. She was running out of options, and time.

The day before her midnight appeal to Robert Dudley, she had confessed her situation

to Lady St Loe, known to history as Bess of Hardwick. Bess had broken down weeping the moment Catherine had revealed her marriage to her, "I am very sorry you had so done," she told the younger woman, "without the consent or knowledge of the Queen's Majesty or any of your friends". By the next day, Catherine was convinced the court was beginning to discover her secret. She needed an ally; she needed a champion. She needed someone who might be convinced to defend her to the queen, and who might have a chance at success. Robert Dudley was her only hope.

Sneaking unnoticed from the Queen's apartments to Robert's nearby lodgings was not difficult – a fact which might raise eyebrows, then and now. Once there, Catherine broke the matter to Robert, desperate in her appeal for his help. Unsurprisingly, Robert was shaken and terrified for his own standing, should they be overheard, and he rushed her back out as quickly and quietly as he could. The night was spent agonising over this shocking information, and what to do with it.



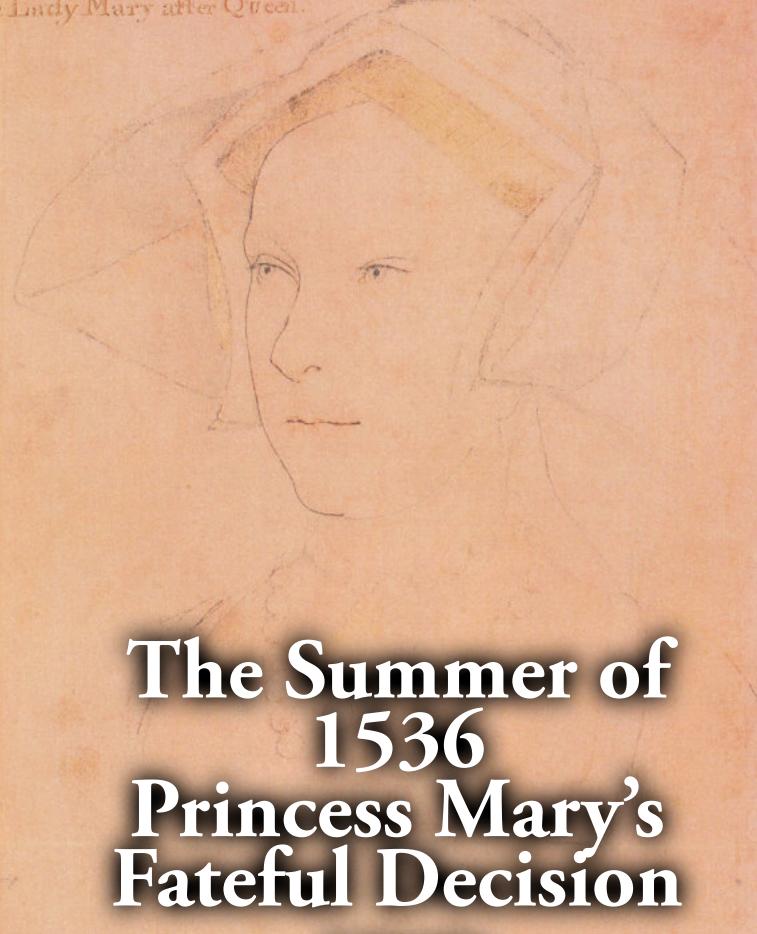
The next morning Robert informed Elizabeth. Whether or not he begged for mercy, as Catherine surely bid him, it did no good. Catherine Grey – now revealed as Catherine Seymour – was committed to the Tower, and months of interrogations began. She would be imprisoned the rest of her life, and she died only seven years later, not yet thirty.

For Robert Dudley, it was a near miss, but one that had the potential to benefit his own suit. By the end of the year his elder brother was made Earl of Warwick, and there were once again rumours that Robert had wed the queen in their own secret wedding.

It is a little-known episode that raises intriguing questions. Was Catherine Grey yet another sacrifice to Dudley ambition, or did Robert really try to save his former kinswoman? Did Catherine's secret visit to Robert's bedside mean that the queen, too, could have easily made such a midnight visit? It sheds light on the depth of secrecy and scandal in the Elizabethan court, and the fierce, merciless, battle for power in which the court – and the House of Dudley – was engaged.

Dr Joanne Paul is the author of The House of Dudley which was published by Penguin Michael Joseph and is available in all good book shops and on Amazon.





By Roland Hui

Princess Mary (by Hans Holbein)

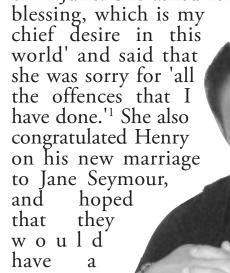
Mary Tudor, unbelievable news. Anne Boleyn, the second wife of her father, King Henry VIII, had been arrested. For nearly three years, her hated stepmother had called herself Queen of England, displacing her mother, Katherine of Aragon. Not only that, Anne had subjected Mary to a series of humiliations seeing to it that she was no longer called 'princess', but a subordinate of her own daughter Elizabeth. Anne even swore to have Mary put to death should the opportunity come Thankfully, her wild boasts were just that. After Anne was sent to the Tower of London in May 1536, she was condemned on charges of high treason and was executed.

When she received word of Anne Boleyn's death, Mary's first reaction was to get a letter to Thomas Cromwell. Even though the king's chief minister had been instrumental in making Henry VIII Supreme Head of the Church of England - a result of his divorce from Queen Katherine and his break from Rome - Cromwell still had a soft spot for Mary. On 26 May, just a week after Anne's head fell on the scaffold, she told Cromwell how she would have written to him sooner, 'but I perceived that nobody durst speak for me as long as that woman lived, which is now gone; whom I pray our Lord of His great mercy to forgive.' As this was a common expression for those departed, Mary was not being spiteful in saying that Anne's soul needed pardoning. But despite her Christian charity, Mary's bitterness towards her late stepmother was still evident. Now that she was dead, it was Mary's hope that Cromwell would act as an intermediary

between her and her father the king. For years they had been estranged as Mary had adamantly refused to acknowledge that her parents' marriage had been unlawful (her mother Katherine was previously married to Henry VIII's brother Prince Arthur) and thus she was illegitimately conceived. As far as Mary was concerned, she was the rightful Princess of England, especially now that her half-sister Elizabeth had been declared a bastard as a result of the fall of her mother Anne.

When Cromwell received Mary's letter, he was willing to be her 'suitor' to the king. It was his intention to improve diplomatic relations between England and the Holy Roman Empire again after Henry VIII's quarrel with the Hapsburgs over his divorce from Katherine of Aragon. It would be most pleasing to the emperor Charles to have his cousin Mary - Charles being Katherine's nephew - reinstated to royal favour and to be acknowledged once again as heiress to the English crown.

After Cromwell received the king's permission, Mary wrote to her father on 1 June. She asked for his 'daily



son soon.



IOHANNA SEYMOVR REGINA, HENRI

Jane Seymour (by Wenceslaus Hollar)

Holbern praxit, W: Hollar fecit aqua forti, ex Collectione Arundeliana, 1548.

Additionally, Mary expressed her desire to see him again after their long separation, which 'shall be the greatest comfort that I can have within this world.'2 But Mary received no reply, not even to

another letter written nine days later in which she reiterated her love and loyalty to her father in the abject most terms - 'most humbly prostate before your noble feet, vour most obedient subject and humble child.'3 This too fell on deaf ears.

Though Mary was clearly submissive, she

had failed to concede to her own bastard status and to the king as Head of the English Church. By merely apologising for her offences in general, this was not enough for Henry VIII. He insisted on more from his daughter. It was decided that a deputation, headed by the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Sussex, would be sent to Mary at her residence at Hunsdon House to interrogate her. That she was still in the bad books of the king was obvious in the wording of the noblemen's commission. princess was described as having of long continuance, showed herself so obstinate towards the king's majesty, her sovereign lord and father' that she seemed 'a monster in nature'. Therefore, Mary must be examined,

and if she wished his 'clemency and pity', she must fully surrender to the king's demands.4

When the delegation arrived at Hunsdon, the councillors asked that Mary admit to her illegitimacy

and renounce the pope.

She refused despite her 'wise prudent and answers', they continued harass her. Mary was accused of being SO unnatural as oppose to the king's will obstinately, that they could scarcely believe she (by Hans Schwarz) his was bastard,

and if she was their daughter, they would beat her and knock her head so violently against the wall that they would make it as soft as baked apples, and that she was a traitress and should be punished, and several other words.'5

Henry VIII

Still, Mary held her ground and hoped that Cromwell and Queen Jane would soften the king's anger towards her. Jane, Mary knew, had been a friend to her even before she married her father. She had once been a lady-in-waiting to Katherine of Aragon, and when she attracted Henry VIII's attention during his marriage, she conspired against Anne Boleyn. Jane had always spoken well of Mary, and now that she was queen, it was her tervent wish to have the young

woman with her at court. But with the princess still refusing to give in entirely to her father, Jane was powerless to help her. Mary's other triends were also in a quandary, finding themselves in danger for her The Marquess Marchioness of Exeter, for example, who had long championed Mary and her late mother, were now suspected of treason. Even Cromwell was in great fear, 'considering himself a lost man and dead' for his efforts to make peace between Mary to the king.6

Henry VIII was so exasperated by Mary's stubbornness that he decided to proceed against her and her supporters by law despite the pleadings of Queen Jane. Lady Hussey, a friend of the princess, was thrown in the Tower, and others were sure to follow. At the same time, security around Mary was increased, with her governess, Lady Shelton, ordered to 'never lose sight of her day or night.'

In light of these events, Cromwell was no longer friendly to Mary, and he made his position clear in a stinging letter to her. He scolded her saying, 'how great so ever your discomfort is, it can be no greater than mine.' Mary, he exclaimed, was an ingrate for the help he had given her - 'with your folly you undo yourself, and all who have wished you good... it were a great pity ye be made example an punishment, if ye will make yourself an example of contempt of God, your natural father, and his laws, by your own only fantasy, contrary to the judgments and determinations of all men... as God is my witness, I think you the most obstinate and obdurate all woman,

considered, that ever was, and one that is so preserving deserveth the extremity of mischief.' All he can do for her now, Cromwell went on, was to send her a 'book of articles' to which she must set her name, surrendering herself to the king. But if she failed to do so, the minister warned Mary, 'I take my leave of you forever, and desire that you will never write or make means to me hereafter.'8

Despite Lady Shelton's precautions, Mary, as she had done many times before, was able to sneak out a message to her good friend, the Imperial ambassador, Eustace Chapuys. The envoy had always looked out for her, especially in the difficult years of late, and Mary greatly valued his friendship and advice. What was she to do now, she asked him desperately?

Chapuys was a practical man. To save her own life - the king was already consulting the justices of the realm to see if he could put his own daughter on trial for high treason - Mary must give in, the envoy told her. Even if she admitted herself illegitimate and repudiated the pope, it would mean nothing as she was forced to under duress. Furthermore, Chapuys said, if she was back in Henry's good graces, 'she would by her wisdom set her father again in the right road.'9

Mary made her decision. Without even reading the contents of the hateful articles Cromwell had sent her, as Chapuys later told the emperor, Mary put her signature to them. Firstly, she submitted herself to the king and to 'all and singular laws and statutes of this realm as becometh a true and faithful subject.' She then recognized her



father as the Head of the Church and refused 'the Bishop of Rome's pretended authority, power, and jurisdiction within this realm.' Finally, she conceded that 'the marriage heretofore had between His Majesty and my mother, the late Princess Dowager, was by God's law and man's law, incestuous and unlawful.'10

After her capitulation, Mary was described as being very sad needless to say. But Chapuys assured her that no one blamed her, least of all the

emperor and the pope who both understood the terrible position she was in. Sure enough, Henry VIII's attitude towards his daughter immediately changed. The king sent Mary a kind message along with his blessing, and on 6 July, he and his wife paid her a visit. Both father and daughter put the past behind them though Mary in secret applied to the Vatican for the pope's forgiveness and they were finally reconciled. At their reunion, they talked for awhile with Henry showing 'every sign of attection, and with ever so many fine promises' made to Mary. Queen Jane was just as kind, and she gave her stepdaughter a handsome jewel, along with her promise that she will soon have her at court. 11 To celebrate Mary's rehabilitation, Cromwell had a special ring made for her. On it were miniature portraits of her and the king and queen, including a poem celebrating the merits of obedience.

In short time, Mary's spirits were lifted. She was welcomed back at court, and despite her status as the king's illegitimate daughter, she was

still accorded the respect due to a princess and was the second lady in the kingdom after the queen. In her new happiness, Mary even had good words about her half-sister Elizabeth whom she had once greatly resented, telling their father that the little girl was in good health and that he would rejoice in having 'such a child toward'. 12 In October 1537, Mary was given the honour of being godmother to her new half-brother, Prince Edward. Sadly, the baby's mother, Queen Jane, died soon after, and Mary acted as chief mourner at her funeral.

By making the decision she did in the summer of 1536, Mary preserved herself for the great destiny in store for her. As fate would have it, her brother as king would die young, and Mary took the throne in 1553. Her right to the crown - despite the many challenges she had faced - was exemplified in the motto Mary adopted as Queen of England - Truth is the daughter of Time.

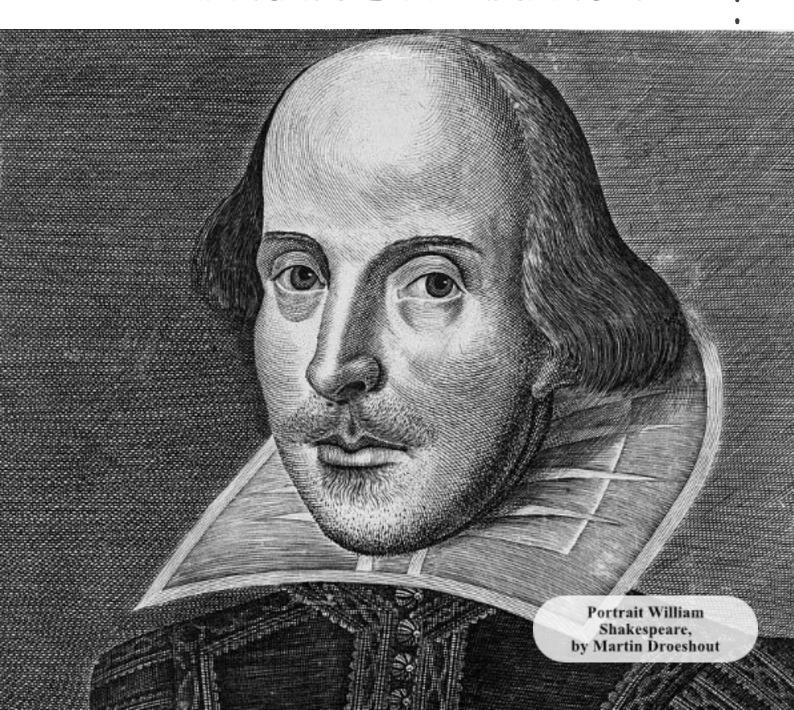
ROLAND HUI

- 1. Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, X, no. 968.
- 2. Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea, 1856, V, p. 128.
- 3. Agnes Strickland, Lives of the Queens of England, V, p. 129.
- 4. Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, X, no. 1021.
- 5. Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, XI, no. 7.
- 6. Ibid. Also, according to historian Eric Ives, Cromwell, despite the help he gave to Mary, was actually no friend to her religiously conservative supporters. After Mary was back in favour, Cromwell, a proponent of religious reform, showed his true colours. See: Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004, pp. 361-362.
- 7. Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, XI, no. 7.
- 8. Agnes Strickland, Lives of the Queens of England, V, p. 133.
- 9. Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, XI, no. 7.
- 10. Agnes Strickland, Lives of the Queens of England, V, p. 134.
- 11. Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, XI, no. 40.
- 12. Agnes Strickland, Lives of the Queens of England, V, p. 136.



1 Member Spotlight

SHAKESPEARE & THE **NETHERLANDS** TO BE OR NOT TO BE? BY EMMA CASSON & MEREL DE KLERK



William Shakespeare is one of the most famous names in theatre. In his time, the sixteenth century, the playwright had already made a name for himself and was adored by Queen Elizabeth I and the English people. His work remained of great importance throughout the centuries and was spread globally. Since we are two Dutchies, we looked into the influence of Shakespeare in our country, the Netherlands.

Act 1. 1600s & 1700s

At the start of our investigation we came across an interesting book by R. Pennink, called 'Nederland en Shakespeare. Achttiende eeuw en vroege romantiek', which translates to 'The Netherlands and Shakespeare. Eighteenth century and early romance'. She begins her 300 pages by explaining how the continent first heard about the playwright. Pennink briefly describes that Shakespeare's work first began to spread through France and Germany before arriving at the borders of the Netherlands.

This already started at the end of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth century, when English comedians travelled around our small country. Although it is likely that this is correct, since comedians also performed in Germany, Pennink does not back this

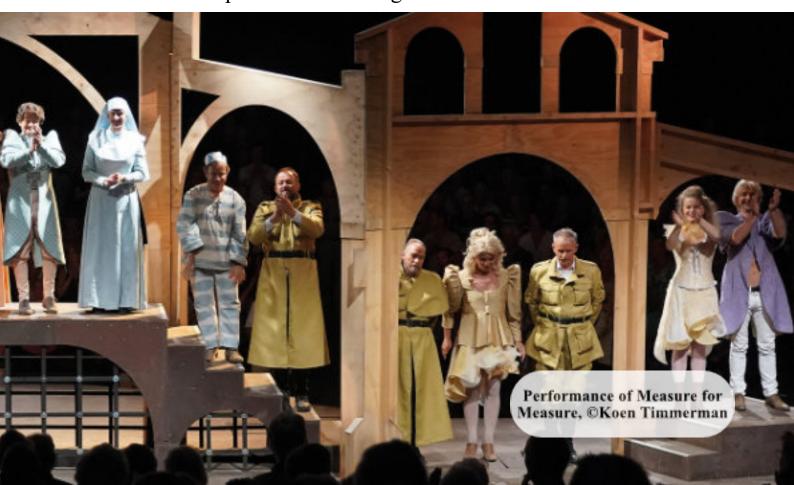


statement up with any sources. What she does know for certain however, is that Shakespeare's name was mentioned in literature in Dutch:

"Voor mijn part, ik verwondere mij niet.... dat veele Menschen door de droevig eindende speelen van Shakespear weenen, en traanen storten"

Meaning: "For my part, I wonder not.... that many people weep and shed tears over Shakespeare's sad ending plays". Which can be found in the 1695 published book 'Miscellanea of verscheide Tractaten zoo Staatkundige als andere', second edition, by William Temple.

But literature was not the only thing in which Shakespeare's legacy could be found. At the start of the eighteenth century, translated spectatorial writings appeared. These were mainly in essay form and dealt with social, religious and literary matters. One of the first translators was Pieter le Clercq. He made sure that Addison and Steele's 'The Spectator' (1711) could be read in Dutch. His version 'Spectator of Verrezene Socrates' (1720-27) included nods to William Shakespeare. Quotes and verses of 'Hamlet', 'Othello', 'Lear', 'The Tempest' and more could be enjoyed by the Dutch readers of the spectatorial writings. It is one of the earliest known





proofs of the playwright's name being mentioned. As Pennink said: "Le Clercq..., is, on a modest scale, our first Shakespeare translator." With this, le Clercq may have given a small jolt to Shakespeare's name becoming known in the Netherlands.

However, le Clercq was not the only one who was inspired by the works of English writers. Two dictionaries in 1730 described Shakespeare as "a good poet, who wrote excellent tragedies". The authors used T. Fuller's 'The History of the Worthies of England' and G. Langbaine's 'Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets' to help them with their short biographies on the playwright. Although this sounds as if Shakespeare was a household name, his work did not gain much significance until quite late in the eighteenth century.

The first attempt to reveal entire plays of Shakespeare to the Dutch, was made between 1778-82. 'William Shakespear, Toneelspelen' consisted of multiple volumes which were all bound in half leather, had marbled front and back covers, a spine with raised bands, gilded title and decorations. These volumes included plays such as 'Hamlet', 'Macbeth', 'Richard II' and 'The Merry Wives of



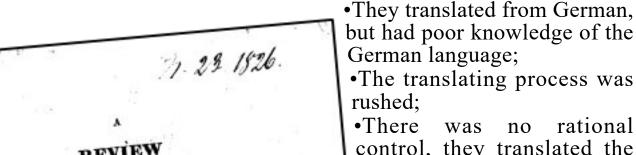




Member Spotlight

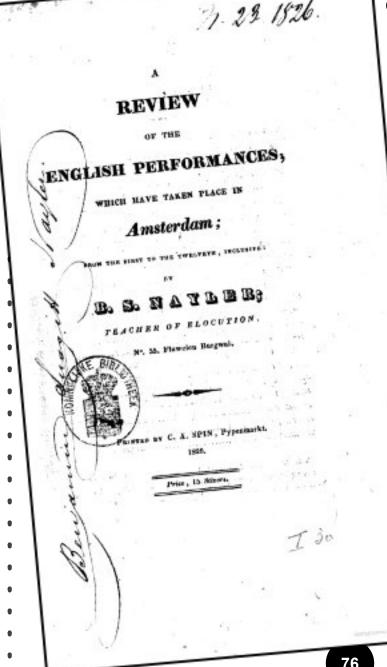
Windsor'. The stories were accessible to all Dutch people, all ranks and classes ordered them from boekhandelaren (booksellers): the merchant, the consul, the surgeon student, the lieutenant at sea and some well-known names.

• Having said that, not all stories were as well-received. Pennink wonders if perhaps the quality of the translation had anything to do with this and believes there were four mistakes made: Although the authors wrote prose, they lacked the ability of being poetic;



control, they translated the plays to what they thought it said.

Sometimes it was stated on the title page that they translated from English as well. This can be deduced from the fact that 'Pinch' is referred to by his English name in 'The Comedy of Errors' in contrast to the 'Zwick' in name German text. If only the translators had looked at original English the often. versions more many mistakes could have been avoided. Albeit it cannot have been easy to convert Elizabethan English to eighteenthcentury Dutch. They also lacked sensitivity to the theatrical illusion



Shakespeare's mythical world and made it more crude. The fairies became ghosts, a Welch fairy became a sorcerer, elves became spirits and the fairy queen became a warrior queen or field goddess.

Perhaps this and all the other translations in the 1600s and 1700s started to set the wheels in motion. Pennink concludes that 'Hamlet' and 'Othello' were probably the poet's best-known plays here back in the eighteenth century.

Act 2. 1800s & 1900s

The first few decades of the nineteenth century were somewhat of a glorious era for the Amsterdamse Schouwburg, a theatre in Amsterdam. In this theatre many great actors performed the tragedies of Jean François Ducis. The French playwright was an adapter of Shakespeare, who had written many books including 'Hamlet: Tragedie: Imitee de L'Anglois'. It was in 1816 that this exact tragedy appeared in the theatre. Over the following years 'Othello', 'Lear', 'Macbeth' and other plays appeared on various stages in the country.

Besides the performed tragedies of Ducis, the Dutch people could enjoy some of Shakespeare's plays carried out by foreign actors. One person in particular was not afraid to share his opinion on these performances. The Englishman Benjamin Suggitt Nayler was a teacher of elocution in Amsterdam and held literary meetings in his home on the Fluweelen Burgwal. It was there that he wrote critically about the English ensembles. In 'A Review of the English Performances, which Have Taken Place in Amsterdam' (1826) you can view all the comments he made on the plays, but we have highlighted several of these.

Othello

Letter I, April 3rd, 1826

"Mr. S. Chapman personated Othello, and though he did not equal my expectations, he surpassed the expectations of the Public; and that, you know, was everything. Happily, for him, the auditory before whom he acted, had not read Othello so often as I have done, consequently, they were not aware of the numerous passages he forgot to deliver, nor of the mistakes he made in those which he did pronounce."



Hamlet

Letter X, May 1st,

"Julius Cesar was cruelly butchered, last Saturday Evening - This was the most absurdest play of all. Fancy but Shakespeare's Julius Cesar burlesqued, and you may have an excellent idea of the performance we witnessed."

Director



Jember Spotlight

It was not for another 40 years until the complete works of Shakespeare were translated into Dutch. In the 1870s and 80s Abraham Seyne Kok and Leendert Alexander Johannes Burgersdijk dared to take on this task. Kok was the first to translate them all into seven volumes called 'Shakespeare's Dramatische Werken'. Burgersdijk did this a short amount of time later in 12 volumes named 'De werken van William Shakespeare', but he also translated all of Shakespeare's sonnets. What Kok and Burgersdijk did, could be seen as a great accomplishment for their time.

Something else of importance for the influence of Shakespeare in the Netherlands, was established by Dirk Broekema. The doctor had come to the village Diever to be a general practitioner and was a lover of theatre. So, in 1946 he started the theatre company 'Toneelvereniging Diever' to forget the Second World War. It was in the same year that the company performed their first Shakespeare play: 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'. They did try to stage 'Peer Gynt' by Henrik Ibsen, but Ibsen's work required a lot of props and stage changes. Director Broekema did not have the ability to do this all by himself however, so in his urge to have complete control, they returned to Shakespeare's plays in 1950. From that moment on they only performed Shakespeare at the Shakespeare theatre in Diever. It was his plays that Broekema had a preference for. Some say that his love for the playwright was encouraged by his English teacher, whom he fancied in his younger years.

In the early years of the theatre they did not have much available to them. Plays were performed on a sandy platform in the forest and as there was no dressing room, actors had little choice but to cycle to rehearsals wearing their costumes. In 1953 the situation got a bit better though, because the theatre had installed wooden benches. Nevertheless, Broekema did the makeup of his actors himself and sometimes even designed the costumes. He used, for example, the gauze from his practice to make the wings for the angels in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'. In his desire to supervise everything, he would ride around at night on his motorcycle to drop notes with commentary in the letterboxes of the actors. The contents of which were not always as friendly.



Julius Caesar

Nowadays, more than three quarters of a century later, the Shakespeare theatre in Diever is still running. Each year, the performances are enjoyed by more than twenty thousand visitors from all over the country. In addition to the open air theatre, they opened a replica of Globe London's 2016. in differences between the two can be counted on one hand. The Globe in Diever for example is much smaller and can house a mere 200 people, whereas in Shakespeare's Globe 1.570 people can watch a play. Unlike the Globe in London, the one in Diever does have a roof of glass, which means that in the colder plays can still months appreciated. This November 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' will Spel der vergissingen



be staged for the thirteenth time and in December 'The Merry Wives of Windsor' can be seen on the podium. And the ones who fancy the full open air experience in the forest, can go to 'The Merchant of Venice' this summer. Warning: the performances are in Dutch.

Despite the theatre in Diever being the epicentre of Shakespeare in the Netherlands, there are and have been others who were inspired by the playwright. One of those was the 28 year old filmmaker Zara Dwinger. She

of those was the 28 year old filmmaker Zara Dwinger. She transformed the original 'Romeo and Juliet' into 'Yulia & Juliet' (2018). In this short film two girls are in a juvenile detention centre and find refuge in each other. More recently 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' was modernised by Vera Morina. At the end of March this year the play premiered, bringing Theseus and Hippolyta as a queer couple. The Shakespeare classic also appeared as an opera at Opera Zuid in Maastricht by composer, pianist and conductor Benjamin Britten in May.

But perhaps a large amount of the influence Shakespeare has had on this country is something far more simple. In our day to day life, we seem to quote him quite often without even noticing. Many of his sayings have seeped through to the Dutch language, such as hart van goud (heart of gold - Henry V), liefde maakt blind (love is blind - The Merchant of Venice), het ijs breken (break the ice - The Taming of the Shrew) and te veel van het goede (too much of a good thing - As You Like It).

It seems that the poet did not only become a household name in the Netherlands, its people have embraced his work and are keeping his legacy alive. So, it is safe to say that Shakespeare and the Netherlands were to be.

Act. 3. 2000s

Openluchtspel

De Vrolijke Vrouwijes

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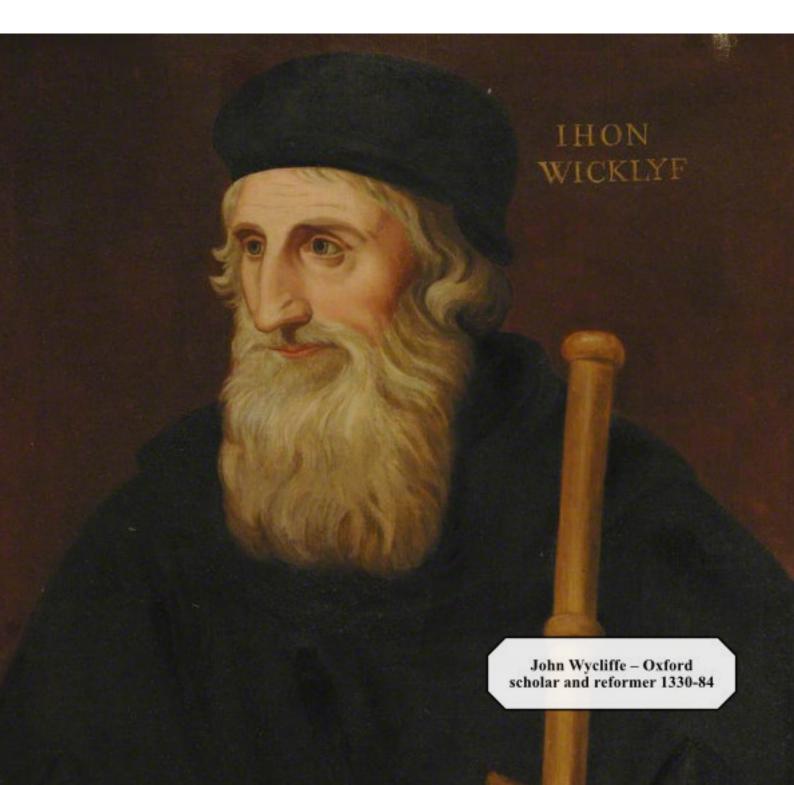
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Richard Hunne and his influence on Henry VIII



I recently learned of Richard Hunne, a rich London tailor who found his life torn between two jurisdictions Church and State – during the reign of Henry VIII and thereby, possibly, hastening the Reformation. I was especially intrigued by Hunne's story because of my work as a novelist, writing my Sebastian Foxley murder mysteries set in the later fifteenth century. I found close parallels to two of my tales both of which were written some years ago before I ever heard of Richard Hunne who was accused of being a Lollard – a member of an early Protestant group.

The Colour of Cold Blood [MadeGlobal Publishing, 2017] the hero succeeds in rescuing a Lollard heretic from the 'Lollards' Tower' in St Paul's Cathedral. There were two towers with this name in the late medieval and Tudor periods; the other was at Lambeth Palace, the town house of the Archbishop of Canterbury, across the Thames from Westminster, but Hunne was imprisoned in the tower at St Paul's, as in my novel. My subsequent novella, The Colour of Betrayal [MadeGlobal Publishing, also in 2017] comes even closer to Hunne's story but was based on true events concerning a London goldsmith, Lawrence Duket, back in 1284 but I won't tell you his story yet. Instead, let's look at what happened to Richard Hunne in 1511.

Before there were those who called themselves Protestants i.e. people who protested against various aspects of the Roman Catholic Church, whether it was its wealth, the luxurious lives of many churchmen, belief in transubstantiation, having the Bible in Latin and services conducted in this language few could understand or anything else they wanted reformed, there were Lollards. Lollards dated back to the late fourteenth century and were followers of the Oxford scholar, John Wycliffe, who first translated the Bible into English. He believed ordinary folk had the right to this direct connection with God without any need of a priest as the middle man in their relationship with the Almighty.

Wycliffe not only thought that every literate man – and woman! – could 'be their own priest', he insisted that the Catholic belief Roman 'transubstantiation', that the bread and wine of the Eucharist were literally transformed into the flesh and blood of Christ, was nonsense: they were merely symbolic of Christ's body and blood and remained unchanged by any miracle. Another of Wycliffe's beliefs was that only God can forgive sins, not priests nor even the pope, and that confession was just a way of church officials checking up parishioners' immoral thoughts and behaviour. You can understand why both Church and State were keen to suppress Lollards with their heretical ideas in case they influenced society in general.

Richard Hunne's father-in-law was definitely a member of London's Lollard community and Hunne certainly held Lollard ideas too. The trouble began with a family tragedy. Hunne, along with friends, neighbours and some of his fellow merchant-tailors, had stirred up minor troubles with various parish priests previously but the sad occasion of the death and burial of Hunne's five-week-



old son, Stephen, set him on the road recently-used to disaster. Another Lollard objection to the Church of Rome was that of the payment of 'mortuary' fees: the priest's charge for conducting the funeral and usually comprised a valuable possession of the deceased, rather than money. The priest might choose whatever he liked and for poor families the object demanded could be devastating: the loss of a blacksmith's anvil or a carpenter's tools, for example, could rob the family of its livelihood. In the case of a tiny baby like Stephen Hunne the deceased had few, if any, possessions the priest could demand but the Church reckoned that the

recently-used christening gown belonged to the child. That was the item demanded by Thomas Dryffeld, the priest at St Mary Matfelon Church in Whitechapel, just east of the city, where the baby's funeral was held on 19 March 1511. But the child's father refused to hand over the gown.r

As a merchant-tailor, Hunne had an expensive garment made for his son and it was valued at half a mark or six shillings and eight pence and intended to become a family heirloom, passed down the family to future generations. It was also an extortionate price to be demanded for a baby's burial. Hunne's argued that, under civil law, an infant





belonged to him and not his dead son. Thomas Dryffeld thought otherwise and reported Hunne to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a view to having him excommunicated.

Richard Hunne was summoned to appear the Archbishop Canterbury's residence, Lambeth Palace, on 13 May 1512. Usually, a London matter would be examined by the Bishop of London's Court at St Paul's but Dryffeld had insisted on 'special circumstances' to have the case heard at the higher court of Archbishop William Warham. Dryffeld was probably disappointed when Cuthbert Tunstall¹, the archbishop's auditor, sat in judgement and made little of the matter. Hunne was required to pay the value of the christening gown, not the garment itself, and no mention was made any possibility excommunication. left Hunne Lambeth a free man but courted trouble again.

Just after Christmas 1512, on 27 December, Hunne went to attend evensong at St Mary Matfelon. It wasn't his parish church but, as we know, his son was buried there, so maybe he wished to remember the child at the Christmas season. Or he might have had less righteous motives because he was with some of his Lollard friends. Whatever his purpose, the moment Henry Marshall, Thomas Dryffeld's chaplain, spotted him, the priest ended the service and ordered Hunne to leave the church. According to Canon or Church law, there was only one circumstance in which a religious service could be stopped before it was completed: if an

cannot own any property, so the robe excommunicated person entered the church. Of course, Hunne hadn't been excommunicated – this would have made him a religious and social outcast. This meant Dryffeld was slandering Richard Hunne's good name so this time he sued the priest for ruining his reputation at the state Court of King's Bench.

Now things were becoming very serious with the jurisdiction of the King and State clashing with that of the Pope and the Church of Rome. When the slander case opened, the judges of King's Bench adjourned the case to allow investigation and before it resumed Richard Hunne was in fact formally excommunicated. desperate, Hunne took an enormous risk by bringing a writ of Praemunire.

The Great Statute of Praemunire was drawn up in the fourteenth century in the reign of Richard II to ensure that didn't churchmen escape authority. It made it a treasonable offence to appeal to a higher power than that of the king i.e. to attempt to have the pope override the king. Anyone who did this could be stripped of his titles, properties and wealth, imprisoned for life and, since he had himself beyond the protection, murdered with impunity. Hunne's writ against a number of clerics would have dire consequences and it seems unlikely he had thought the matter through to its possible conclusion. He cited the names of those he believed guilty of Praemunire: Thomas Dryffeld, although on his deathbed, headed the list as he had cited Hunne at Lambeth in the first place. Henry Marshall, Dryffeld's chaplain, Charles Joseph,



bishop's summoner and Cuthbert Tunstall were next. But the big name was that of William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury and Papal Legate in England. Warham

not only represented and enforced the pope's authority in the realm (which the pope always claimed was higher than any king's) he was also Henry VIII's own Lord Chancellor and thus in charge of appointing the judges who sat in the King's Bench Court as well. Serving two masters, Church and State, Warham's activities as papal legate, under the Great Statute, could well be regarded as treasonable.

When Hunne's slander case resumed just after Easter 1513, he presented his writ of Praemunire, shocking the court, claiming (rightly) that the Church, in the persons listed, had transgressed the royal prerogative as defined in the Great Statute and all 'prosecutors, maintainers, abettors, supporters and counsellors' of such traitors 'should be

placed outside the Lord King's protection and forfeit their lands and tenements, goods and chattels ... and should be arrested', etc. This put the King's Bench judges in an impossible situation. If, as servants of the king, they upheld Hunne's claim of slander under civil law, they would be denying the Church its alleged right to try cases involving churchmen in the spiritual court and the pope's authority as head of the Church in England. Worse still, they would be aiding and abetting a man now excommunicated by the



Church and, under canon law, could now be excommunicated themselves.

However, if they upheld the pope's side – and Pope Leo X, in person, had just waded in to support his side of the case – then the judges would be guilty of treason under the Great Statute for allowing an appeal to a higher authority than that of the king, putting royal power beneath that of the pope. Unsurprisingly, the judges further civil adjourned the case November. What else could they do but hope Hunne would drop the case? He didn't.

But in October 1514, before the November hearing, Richard Hunne was arrested on the instructions of Richard FitzJames, the Bishop of London, charged with heresy and imprisoned in the Lollards' Tower' beside St Paul's Cathedral. His housed was searched and a copy of Wycliffe's English Bible had been found, along with other heretical writings. King Henry got to hear of the whole matter and summoned Parliament to debate the on-going problem of churchmen being tried under canon, not state, law.

On 1 December, John Enderby, a friend of Hunne's, met John Spalding, one of Hunne's gaolers, in the street and asked after the prisoner's health. Spalding's reply was anything but reassuring: 'There is ordained for him so grievous a penance that when men hear of it they shall have great marvel thereof.' Two other friends of Hunne overheard these words and one of them, John Rutter, a scrivener, noted what was said. Elsewhere in London, people were saying that Hunne wouldn't live to see Christmas.

The next morning, Hunne was

taken to the Bishop of London's palace at Fulham to be questioned. The charges brought against him were –

• That he denied the clergy's right to tithes (the tax paid to your parish church) and called them 'Pharisees', stating that priests 'took all and gave nothing'.

• That he had previously spoken out in defence of the damnable opinions of his Lollard neighbour, Joan Baker, saying the bishop was 'more worthy of punishment than she'.

• That he kept certain English books, such as Wycliffe's damnable works and the Apocalypse and Gospels in English containing infinite errors, which he read and studied daily.

But no mention is made about the payment of mortuary fees – the subject which caused the trouble in the first place – nor of Hunne's writ of Praemunire. The fact that the statute was currently being discussed by the king in Parliament made the bishop wary of bringing this latter charge. Hunne admitted the charges and put himself under the bishop's correction. A period of penance would be required and he'd be released, no longer excommunicated.

However, the bishop knew that once Hunne was free he would likely revive the Praemunire writ so, despite his willing submission to the bishop, the prisoner was returned to his cell in the Lollards' Tower by four o'clock the same afternoon under the supervision of John Spalding. The prisoner was to have no contact with anyone else but his gaoler without the permission of the bishop's chancellor, William Horsey. At five o'clock, Spalding gave Hunne salmon for his supper.



Before dawn on Sunday morning, Charles Joseph, the bishop's summoner listed by Hunne in the writ, made a lot of noise and wore a vivid orange cloak as he made a very conspicuous exit through the city gates. Odd things were happening in the Lollards' Tower too: William Horsey visited the prisoner and went on his knees, begging forgiveness for what 'he had yet to do.' Hunne was told he could choose whatever he wished for Sunday dinner – a final meal? – but declined to eat. A priest also visited to read the gospels and offer 'holy water' and 'holy bread' which amounted to giving Hunne the last rites. After dinner, Hunne was visited by Charles Joseph's son-in-law, then Spalding locked him into the stocks in his cell for hours, until six that evening when William Sampson, another gaoler, came with ale and chatted for a while. Then, with his hands tied. Hunne was left to lie on his bed.

Shortly before midnight, Charles Joseph returned to the city, quietly and secretly. At the Lollards' Tower he met up with Horsey and Spalding. On Monday morning 4 December, Richard Hunne was found hanging in his cell.

Joseph later testified in the case of Hunne's death that the three of them entered his cell where he lay, hands bound and defenceless, intending to use a long needle, heated to red-hot in a candle flame, and force it up the prisoner's nose, into his brain and kill him without leaving any marks on his body. But it didn't work and resulted in a terrible nose-bleed, blood soaking the prisoner's jacket. The prisoner struggled and a violent attempt by

Spalding to hold Hunne's head still broke the prisoner's neck. Hunne was dead and his murderers had to improvise. They washed the blood from his face, dressed him in a clean shirt and then used his belt to hang him from a hook on the wall. They combed his hair, replaced his hat and closed his eyes. The prisoner had taken his own life, hadn't he? But nobody was fooled.

In their hurry, Joseph, Horsey and Spalding had botched it. Hunne's blood-drenched coat was left on the floor alongside a considerable pool of blood which they hadn't noticed in the dark. William Horsey left his fine furred gown behind and the stool on which the prisoner had supposedly stood to hang himself was up on the bed. Replacing the dead man's hat was another mistake as it wouldn't have fitted through the improvised noose, so it must have been put on after. Finally, as they left the cell, one of them thoughtfully blew out the candle, something a hanging man cannot do. Joseph was seen by a number of witnesses stealing away from St Paul's after seven the next morning before sneaking out of the city, retrieving his horse and bright cloak before reentering the gates, hoping the gatekeeper would give him an alibi.

John Enderby, Hunne's friend, happened to meet Spalding again on that Monday morning and asked how the prisoner was faring. Spalding said – probably truthfully – that Hunne was alive and well between five and six that morning but, within hours, London was afire with the news of Richard Hunne's death. The Church announced that he had hanged himself

but this wasn't believed, and a coroner's with the Church of Rome, the inquest was held the following day. realisation that the question of divided

When the sheriffs and jurors were taken to the cell, Hunne's body was undisturbed. thorough there, Α investigation began, detail no overlooked. Shocked by the reaction of Londoners to the prisoner's death, FitzJames took action, continuing the heresy trial with the corpse in the dock. Found guilty, the deceased was burnt at the stake. The coroner's court brought in a verdict of unlawful killing and in February, Joseph, Horsey and 'another', probably Spalding, went on trial for murder. FitzJames appealed to Cardinal Wolsey, saying London was so against the accused, particularly his chancellor, Horsey, they wouldn't get a fair trial.

When Wolsey attempted to get Horsey's trial conducted in Rome – a treasonous act of Praemunire if ever there was - King Henry intervened, ordering his attorney-general to see that Horsey's case was dismissed, citing lack of evidence. Horsey was set free but public opinions ran high Parliament became involved as the crisis grew. The Richard Hunne affair highlighted for everyone, including the king, the legal conundrums raised by the clash of Church and State law and what could happen when members of the clergy held responsible civil posts. Although the case didn't lead directly to Henry VIII's Reformation and break

with the Church of Rome, the realisation that the question of divided loyalties among the clergy had to be resolved could well have lain dormant in the minds of the king and his secular ministers, rising to the surface as extra arguments when other needs prompted the idea of having the monarch as head of the Church in England, instead of the pope.

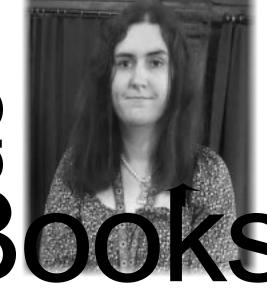
But Hunne's story has a close parallel to the case of Lawrence Duket back in the thirteenth century, used as the basis for my novella, *The Colour of Betrayal*. Lawrence was involved in a fight and knocked his opponent to the ground, seemingly dead. Thinking he would be accused of murder, Lawrence rushed to seek sanctuary in a nearby church. Friends of his opponent also believed the victim would shortly die of his injuries, broke into the church that night and hanged Lawrence, making it look like suicide. But the botched attempt - including blowing out the candle – was witnessed by a young lad who, eventually, came forward to tell his story. Lawrence's body was removed from its suicide's grave in unholy ground and given a Christian burial. The victim of the fight even recovered but his friends were tried for murder. You may read of the escape from the Lollards' Tower and Lawrence Duket's tale in The Colour of Blood and The Colour of Betrayal

TONI MOUNT

Notes:

1. Cuthbert Tunstall later became Bishop of London 1522-30, then Bishop of Durham.

Charlie





The Killer of the Princes in the Townever fails to fascinate people, with subject being covered by numer historians over the years. Recently, a crime writer has attempted to tackle subject, looking at it from a difficangle than we traditionally see. I Trow's latest work, The Killer of Princes in the Tower, looks at bo historiography surrounding disappearance, with what historia investigations have found, as wellist of possible suspects.

Trow starts by looking at the caccounts that are often cited and like those by William Shakesp Thomas More. He very quickly the conclusion that the princes of Tower of London and, in all pwere murdered, as evidenced of the book and the word 'kille look briefly at the stories of Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, 'For all the unanswered quecases of Simnel and Warbec evidence whatever that ei who they claimed to especially Ricc much likel 'vir tim

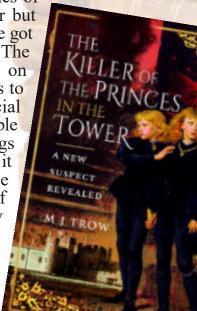
that there is as much likelihood that the princes survived their time in the Tower as that they died there. This simply is not The murder of the princes, depending on how it was done and by whom, was the work of minutes, perhaps seconds. Disposal of their bodies would have taken hours. Contrast that with

years of lies, obfuscation, difficulty. Even assuming that the brothers were separated to avoid people asking too many questions, the sudden appearance of an English boy in, say, a European household, perhaps Burgundy Portugal, would raise too many questions; tongues would wag. '

Despite the doubt he throws on Simnel and Warbeck, the author seems to have an agenda from the start against Henry VII. He makes several criticisms about him, seemingly with little to explain why he feels that way. It doesn't help that Trow provides no references for any of the sources he mentions, just a bibliography. This means the quotes and claims he makes are harder to believes as they can't be checked.

The Killer of the Princes in the Tower is an interesting book, with a compelling theory as to who may have murdered the two young boys, however it falls down at some crucial hurdles. It provides detailed accounts of the opening of the urns that

supposedly hold the bones of the Princes in the Tower but doesn't cite the sources he got the information from. The author relies heavily on multiple sources but fails to this information. It is a readable book and certainly brings up some good points, yet it doomed is be to remembered as one of many popular history books on the Princes in the Tower.



The Boleyns of

by Claire Ridgway & Owen Emmerson



People will never get enough of the Boleyn family, their role in Henry VIII's break from Rome and the sudden fall of Anne Boleyn has gripped people's minds for years. Hever Castle, their family seat, has also drawn similar interest, yet there are few books on the subject. Owen Emmerson and Claire Ridgway's new book, The Boleyns of Hever Castle, aims to fix this, looking at the relationship the Boleyns had with the castle and the impact they had.

The book starts by setting the scene, telling us what the area would have been like in 1513, when Thomas Boleyn's fortunes were with him having acquired soaring, prestigious positions for his daughters at two European courts. The authors paint a vivid picture of what life at the castle would have been like, helped by the beautiful illustrations and reconstructions accompanying the text, as well as floorplans. It is lavishly illustrated with drawings, portraits, and images of items, such as Anne Boleyn's Book of Hours, currently held at

Emmerson and Ridgway are keen to emphasise the family's personal relationship with the castle, that they chose to stay there. They say that:

Hever was situated at the epicentre of the social worlds of the Boleyns, and the evidence points to Thomas and Elizabeth's family often frequently the property. It was their closest property to London. Geoffrey Boleyn had created a family seat for the Boleyns at Blickling Manor. Thomas Boleyn made Hever the Boleyn familv headquarters.'

One of the great things about this book is Hever Castle that it provides a more positive view of the Boleyn family overall. In recent years, several historians have tried to rehabilitate the reputations of some of the family members, including Thomas, George, and Jane Boleyn. However, it has been an uphill battle, so it is good to see another positive account of them, dispelling the popular myths, including the one that George and Jane's marriage was unhappy:

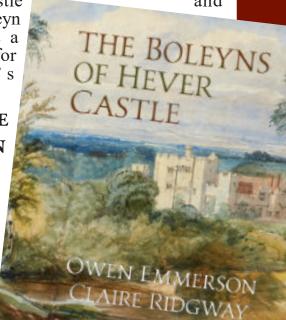
> 'Although George's marriage was an arranged one and was childless, we do not have any evidence that it was an unhappy one. Several authors and historians have successfully challenged the idea that Jane Boleyn helped bring down the Boleyn siblings in 1536 out of hatred and jealousy.

> After examining the Boleyns' time at Hever in-depth, the book then gives a good overview of the afterlife of Hever Castle, looking at happened to it after the last of the family left. It also discusses some of the portraits of Anne Boleyn which are currently on display at the castle, which is fascinating to read about.

> The Boleyns of Hever Castle is an important work in the study of one of the most important families in Tudor England, viewed in relation to their family home, Hever Castle. It looks at the work they did to the castle and the lasting impression they left on the place, including new illustrations of what the place would have looked like. It is very well-referenced, just like Ridgway's previous books, so would be of use to both researchers and casual readers alike. I would recommend this to anyone interested in

Hever Castle the Boleyn family, it is a must-have for anyone's collection.

CHARLIE FENTON



PICNICS AND AL FRESCO DINING IN TUDOR ENGLAND

By Brigitte Webster

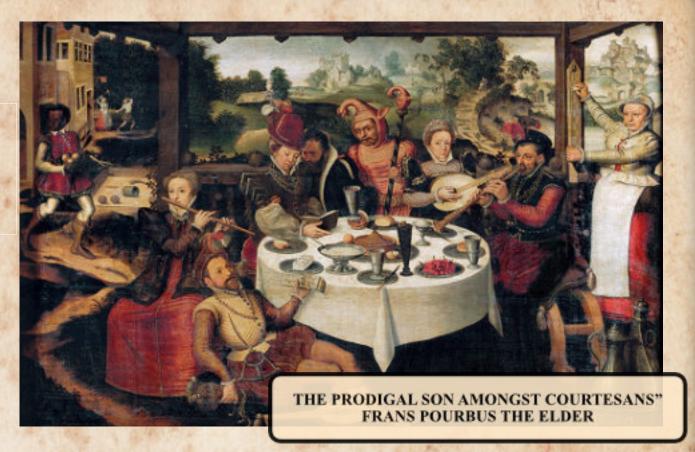
People have always enjoyed eating outdoors but it was the sixteenth century that made eating in the garden and outside in the banqueting house really trendy for the affluent class..

The banquet in the garden was a distinctively Tudor social institution that began at the highest level at Court and soon filtered down as a new fashion for all well-to-do families in England. This fashion spread rapidly down the social scale and took the hearts of the English by storm.

Its popularity was aided by the increased quantity of sugar that became available in England and the introduction of the banqueting house - a place specifically designed for eating portable banqueting food in a pleasant but private surrounding away from the main house.

Banqueting houses arose from the growing desire for more privacy and less ceremony.

Eating in a purpose-built house in the garden away from prying eyes of servants in a romantic setting appealed to the Tudors as much as it

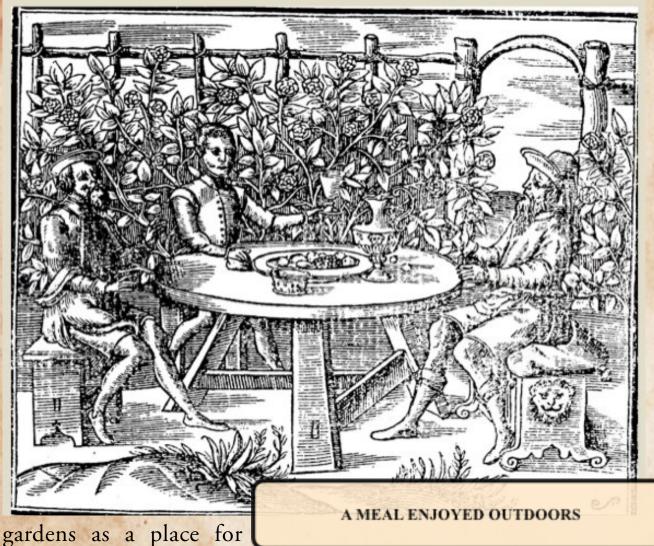


does to us. Banqueting food served in such places could easily be transported there and servants dismissed entirely. The food was intended to be eaten cold and often was of an aphrodisiac nature.

For the perfect location, a viewpoint with a vista – built at an elevation giving deep spiritual and physical pleasure was paramount. Enchanted settings gave a new awakened sense of self-awareness and could be staged in grottoes, water houses, fishing lodges, hunting lodges, towers, pavilions and belvederes. Banqueting houses were often erected within the sight and sound of water as in 1583 Sir Philip Sidney's recorded of having visited one. The sounds of birdsongs, splashing water mixed with the fragrance of flowers and spring air was to refresh the mind and stimulate lust, much aided by sugary treats and spiced drinks.

The Renaissance garden idea was to represent paradise on earth, where senses, intellect and spirit were enhanced. Banquet food served in the garden was food for the mind and its taste heightened the sense of reality. The very nature of the banquet in the garden was not to satisfy the stomach but to delight the eye and all other senses.

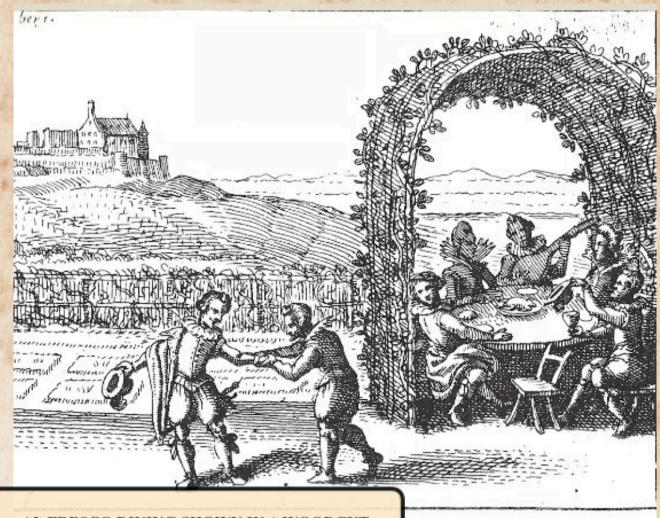
Banqueting houses were often designed by the aristocrat or gentlemen themselves using French or Flemish pattern books with the help of 'artificers' such as Robert Smythson. The boom in banqueting houses in the Elizabethan era went alongside the new craze for



entertainment and their

owners needed to show off their creations to their guests. The location of the banqueting house enabled the guests to stroll through the gardens after the feast in the house. No longer hungry, they would enjoy the walk to the exciting venue for the dessert course to be taken at the banqueting house and take in the beauty of the garden on the way.

The first examples of banqueting houses were of a temporary structure only as the one erected in 1581 at Whitehall Palace. These temporary banqueting houses could be made wholly of green and living stuff. Queen Elizabeth had one erected in Greenwich park in 1560. It was made entirely from fir poles and decked with birch branches and roses, July flowers, rushes and marigolds. One of the first specific references to an outdoor banqueting house dates to 1535 by Miles Coverdale. In 1533, a wooden arbour was erected on top of a mount at Hampton Court and we can assume, that it was another early banqueting house. Sadly, none of these early wooden



AL FRESCO DINING SHOWN IN A WOODCUT

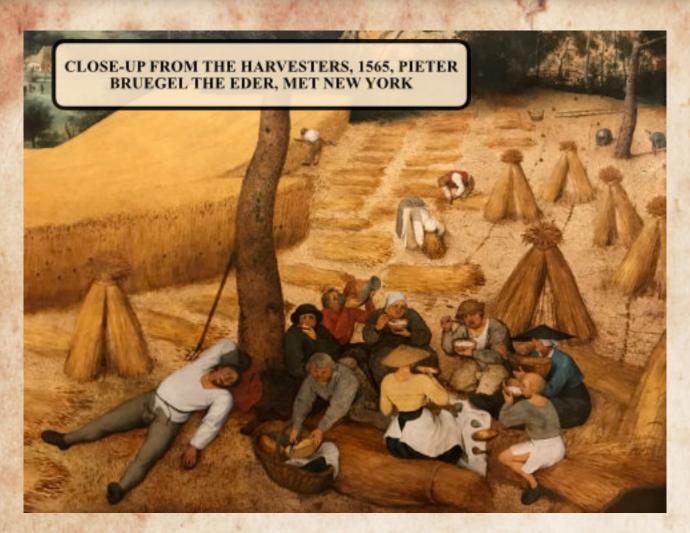
banqueting houses have survived for us to see but

there are others, that have stood the test of time. Some were disguised as a grotto made from stone.

Not all banqueting houses shared the same, elegant and exquisite reputation. A more 'shady' example features in Shakespeare's *Measure to Measure* from 1604 where the Duke's deputy Angelo lusts after the innocent Isabella and blackmails her into promising to spend a night with him in the garden house.

Food also featured in annual outdoor celebrations, much enjoyed by the common people.

Country people gathered at various festivals that filled the calendar, many of which were accompanied by abundant eating and drinking outdoors. Agricultural labourers sometimes took hearty meals in the fields, especially at busy times of the year. As suggested by Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Harvesters at the MET in New York. These breaks also offered a chance to sit and talk enjoying the warm weather in pleasant company.



The wealthy took such opportunities at a more leisurely pace. Elite families could stroll into the grounds and orchards of their large estates and picnic in picturesque settings.

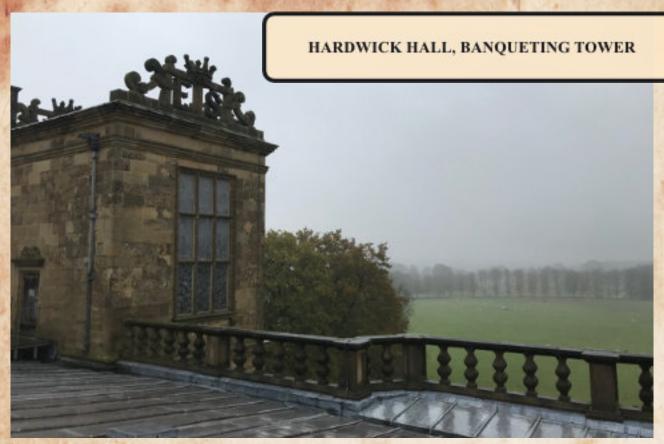
Hunting parties took breaks to refuel for later pursuits and a late sixteenth century woodcut by George Tuberville from 1575, provides us with a good insight in what sort of picnic food was provided. Several recipes from this period provide food suitable for picnics: All kinds of pies, tarts, jellies, salads and 'cold meat'.

Sadly, the most impressive examples of buildings that once housed the most lavish outdoor dining extravaganzas have not survived for us to admire.

William Cecil's Wimbledon Hall had a wooden banqueting house at the east end of the long terrace. At Theobalds in Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, he had a banqueting house with fish tanks and bathing facilities.

Nonsuch was started by Henry VIII in 1538 and its banqueting house was three storeys high, half timbered, on the highest hill with round turrets at each corner. On the ground floor there was a hall, eight rooms, all oak panelled and expensive glass windows all around.





The turrets were furnished with balconies.

We are extremely lucky in that several locations showing such unique places of Tudor outdoor feasting have survived for us to visit:

Sir William Sharington's banqueting tower at *Lacock Abbey* in Wiltshire was built between 1549-53 and still features the original banqueting furniture in Italianate design inside the octagonal lookout tower comprising two banqueting rooms.

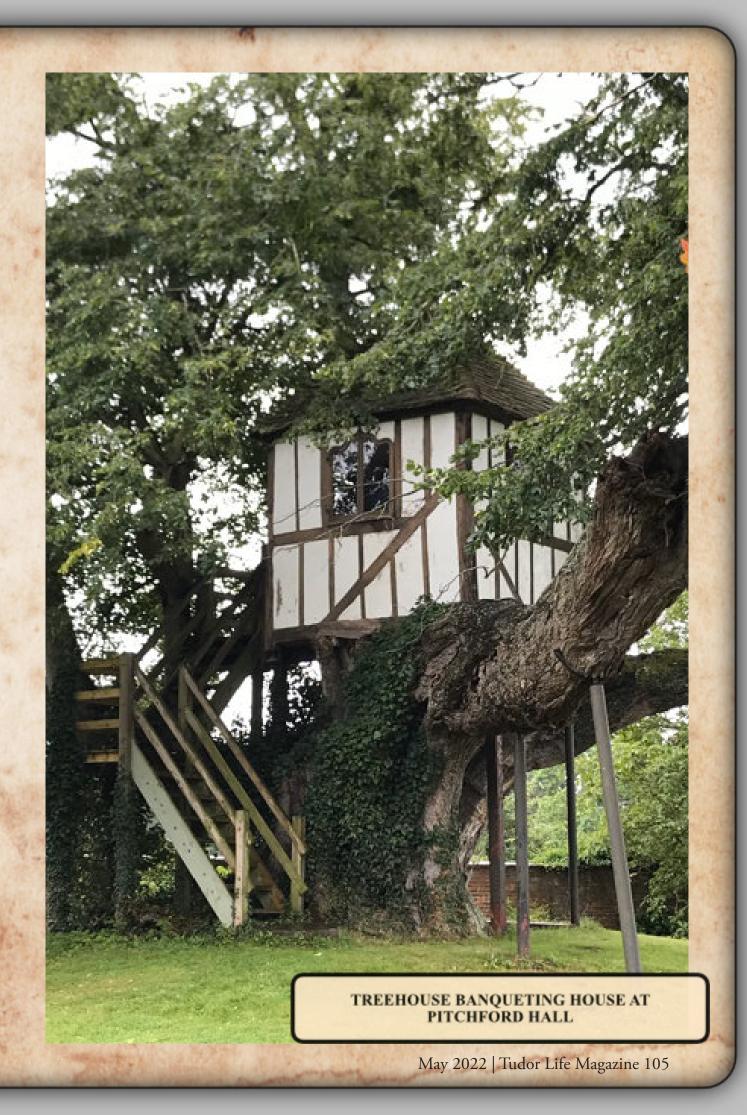
A spectacular roof top example can once more be visited at *Hardwick Hall*, built by Beth of Hardwick between 1590-97.

Longleat can prize itself for having a 'roof scape', the earliest known by Robert Smythson. Other roof located banqueting houses have survived at Wollaton Hall in Nottinghamshire.

A stunning shell work grotto survives at *Skipton Castle* in Yorkshire, attributed to Lady Anne Clifford and nobody who has been up the tree-top banqueting house at *Pitchford Hall* in Shropshire will ever forget the experience!

Next time you enjoy a lovely meal with friends outdoors, remember that it was the Tudors that introduced this way of appreciating the warmer seasons here in England.

BRIGITTE WEBSTER



NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

ludor life

REGULAR CONTRIBUTORS

Charlie Fenton
Brigitte Webster
Roland Hui
Toni Mount
David Lee
Susan Abernethy
Gayle Hulme
Elizabeth Jane Timms
Jane Moulder

LAYOUT Tim Ridgway
VIDEOGRAPHER Tim Ridgway

Careth Russell

VIDEOGRAPHER Tim Ridgway

MAGAZINE EDITOR
info@tudorsociety.com
Calle Sargento Galera, 3
Lucar 04887
Almeria
Spain

CONTACT

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POPULAR CULTURE & THE TUDORS TODAY

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Mary, Queen of Scots
On Screen

GAYLE HULME
Katherine of Aragon and
Anne Boleyn, STILL

polarising opinion today!

PLUS

David LeeMary I: Victim or Villain?

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