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TUDOR COUSINS Arbella & James VI **The Plantagenet Cousins of Henry VIII** Margaret Clifford and her sons Henry Courtenay William Seymour PLUS Vowesses Fried Delights and **MUCH MORE**

> The Bayne Tower at Hampton Court by Elizabeth J Timms

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Tudor Cousins

As Lauren Browne and Roland Hui remind us in their respective articles on Henry Courtenay and Frances Brandon, proximity by blood to the throne in the 1500s was a poisoned chalice. In such a tumultuous century, royal cousins often became liabilities rather than allies. Some were corrupted by ambition, others divided by principles, and a few were victims of paranoia either from themselves or their Tudor cousins. We remain intrigued by their intrigues, impassioned about their passions, and divided over their guilt. The story of royal cousinhood is central to the many dramas of the Tudor monarchy.

GARETH RUSSELL EDITOR

ABOVE: The famous Darnley portrait of Elizabeth I, who was cousin to Mary, Queen of Scots.

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REGINALD POLE: "A LUTHERAN IN ROME, IN GERMANY A PAPIST"

Writer and blogger **Samantha Wilcoxson** has a particularly detailed knowledge of this fascinating man, a man who almost became Pope...

Pole was "considered a Lutheran in Rome, in Germany a papist." This assessment left Pole in a dangerous position in the sixteenth century and meant that he was not completely trusted by those on either side of the Reformation. What is curious is that Reginald Pole almost became Pope in the Conclave of 1550, and he served as England's last Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury, so how could his faith have been in question?



Living from 1500 to 1558, Reginald Pole's life is a fascinating snapshot of the Reformation. The early 16th century saw an explosion of new religious ideas, or, if not new, ideas that were proclaimed loudly and publicly for the first time. Pole's faith is a reflection of his time and his character as a scholar and critical thinker. Although he remained a devout Catholic his entire life, Reginald Pole was open to discussion of Protestant tenets of faith and agreed that corruption ran rampant in the Catholic Church creating great need for reform.

As a scholar, Reginald Pole left vast writings, enough for one biographer to insist that "his pen was his sword," by which we may attempt to determine the accuracy of Carnesecchi's statement. Some of it might surprise one who anticipates staunch Catholic rhetoric, but if Pole's faith is difficult to define, his devotion is not in doubt. When encouraged that the papacy would be his if he would only campaign for it as others did, he refused, insisting that the choice was God's alone.

His fellow Cardinals even tried to convince him to accept election "per adorationem," a not uncommon method at the time. This practice took place when a papal candidate was just short of the required two-thirds vote, which Reginald was in several of the ballots cast. His supporters came to him in the middle of the night, ready to seat him on the papal throne. They would show him homage, swaying the needed majority in an impromptu ceremony. Pole refused to be elected this way, and the conclave eventually selected Cardinal Del Monte who became Pope Julius III.

Was Pole's reluctance solely due to his insistence that the choice should be God's, or did he believe himself unworthy of the position? His faith was strong but not quite orthodox. He had also delayed taking holy orders until promoted to the position of Cardinal, but in both circumstances, his reasons are not completely clear, even with almost 500 years of hindsight and pages of written evidence.

Reginal Pole exhibited the rare talents of listening to understand and discussing without animosity. His interactions with Catholics and reformers alike are a testament to his sincere desire to see Christians united. It, therefore, seems fitting that he selected Matthew 10:16 as his motto, "Be as wise as serpents, and as simple as doves."

It is no wonder that reformers who did not personally know him would consider Pole an enemy. He was a Cardinal of the Catholic Church. He represented Rome at the Councils at Trent and Regensberg. After refusing to fight for the papal crown in 1550, he became Queen Mary I's Archbishop of Canterbury during the bloody attempt at Counter-Reformation in England.

However, Pole had also held his own informal court at his estate in Viterbo outside of Rome with friends that included known reformers Vittoria Colonna and Michelangelo Buonarroti (yes, that Michelangelo). Pole's refusal to insist upon complete repentance of the reformers at council also left some in doubt of his devotion to the Catholic faith. Whispers and later roars would call him a Nicodemite.

Reginald Pole is probably most widely known for his book, *Reginaldi Poli ad Henricum octavum Britanniae regem, pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione*, or as it is more commonly referred to, *De unitate*. Opinions vary on whether it was courageous or foolish for Pole to speak out in such a manner against the King of England while his mother, brothers, and sister still lived within Henry VIII's realm. The bold work demonstrates Pole's Catholic faith and how much he was willing to risk to express it. Pole unreservedly called Henry VIII to repentance for splitting his kingdom from the Catholic Church and for abandoning his wife, Katherine of Aragon. However, even within this work, one sees reformist ideas. When Pole states that those in power are meant to serve those over whom they rule in a Christlike manner, he sounds a little like Martin Luther.

Pole kept strict monastic hours within his home, which is no great surprise for a Catholic Cardinal. However, he also read controversial books by scholars such as Albert Pighe and was close friends with Gasparo Contarini, another Cardinal who was an early and vocal proponent of unity with Protestants. Biographer Thomas Mayer states, "Contarini and Pole constantly discussed their theological beliefs and how to propagate them."

At the Colloquy of Regensburg in 1541, Pole wrote the opening sermon, encouraging attendants not to act out of "our ambition, our avarice," through which church leaders had "wrought all these evils on the people." He did not single out the reformers as one might expect, but he called Catholics and Protestants alike to examine themselves. "How will the Holy Spirit guide us if we do not admit that our shameful faults merit the just judgment of God? With our prayers and a humble voice and contrite heart let us invoke the Holy Spirit to illumine our hearts."

The quest to restore unity between

the Catholic Church and Protestants at Regensburg failed after a series of theological debates seemed to broaden the divide rather than bridge it.

Pope Paul III had observed the church's need to restore and reform from within. He recruited reform-minded Cardinals like Reginald Pole to help him in his quest to restore Christian unity and Papal authority. In this capacity, Pole was appointed to attend the Council of Trent. With memories of Regensburg discouraging him, Pole was hesitant to hope for better results five years later in Trent. Would other moderates help arbitrate the reunion?

The Council of Trent failed to bring reconciliation but did earn Pole accusations of heresy for his appreciation of some Lutheran points-of-view. Some saw this willingness to consider the ideas of the reformers as heterodoxy. Cardinal Giovanni Pietro, who became Pope Paul IV in 1555, aimed the Inquisition's efforts toward Pole and others, accusing them of being secret Lutherans. It wasn't until Pietro's death in 1557 that Pole was no longer pursued by the Inquisition. The fact that he was in England at that time, serving as Queen Mary's Archbishop of Canterbury, had made him difficult to prosecute.

It is a challenge to apply traditional labels to the faith of Reginald Pole. In fact, recent biographies portray him quite differently, despite his extensive writings. He was intelligent enough to take great care in everything he put to paper, knowing that revelations could mean his death. However, there are good reasons to believe that he was not entirely orthodox, but certainly as wise as a serpent.

SAMANTHA WILCOXSON





DR ESTELLE PARANQUE is this month's Guest Expert Speaker talking on ELIZABETH I and the FRENCH

COUSINS AS THE GREAT OTHER

Historian *Gareth Russell* invites us to consider why so many people are fascinated with what *could* have been if things were different in the Tudor period

I'm occasionally slightly perplexed by our interest in counter-factualism, because, often, it becomes an "if only," rather than a "what if". I see that frequently in our discussions of the Tudor era – if Katherine of Aragon or Anne Boleyn had produced a healthy son; if Jane Seymour hadn't died in childbed; if Jane Grey-Dudley had held onto the throne in 1553, or Mary Stewart had managed to seize it in 1558. Generally, the world we imagine when we discuss these hypotheticals are ones in which the world was less monstrous; some insist that Henry VIII would have been less cruel, for instance, had he been happier as a father.

There's an element of that, too, I think, in our fascination with the Tudors' cousins and in-laws. Mary Boleyn stands in for many people nowadays as an icon of romantic love, of choosing rustic simplicity over courtly grandeur – but this is only possible by ignoring the fact that, after her marriage to William Stafford, Mary Boleyn's surviving letter to Thomas Cromwell is full of insistence that Stafford was nowhere near as "lowly born" as her opponents been suggested. Boleyn's entire letter is aimed with the intention of getting herself back at court at her royal sister's side.

We tend to imagine the successful Tudors as hard-hearted politicians, while their cousins seem in contrast to be romantic possibilities. Hopeless yet glorious failure is very much how we divide the two queens, Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stewart, with the old dichotomy that Elizabeth ruled by her head, while Mary ruled from heart. As if something as protean and complex as a monarch's reign and political record could so easily be reduced.

Yet, I think the cousin as "the other" speaks to our love of the Tudor story – both what it was and what it might have been. Frequently, our wanderings up the path of might-have-been are wish fulfilment or projection and yet, for all that, they keep the brain turning on the improbabilities and spectacle of the early modern monarchy – of the Tudors, on the throne or near it in in blood, who benefited from that century yet also suffered much because of it.

Cousins: Mary, Queen of Scots and Elizabeth I, who never met in real life

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SARAH-BETH WATKINS

A TALE OF TWO COUSINS



rbella Stuart married her cousin William Seymour in 1610 and it would lead to her falling out with another of her cousins, King James VI and I, and her untimely death.

Arbella was Margaret Tudor's great granddaughter (the sister of Henry VIII) and the niece of Mary, Queen of Scots. She was raised to believe she would be queen of England. Unlike her cousin, James VI of Scotland, she had been born in England and her family felt that she had more right to the throne than a 'foreign' born king as did many others.

William's great great grandmother was Mary Tudor – so their distant grandmothers were sisters and as their descendants, royal blood ran through their veins and placed them in the succession. His grandmother was Lady Katherine Grey who had also suffered from a clandestine marriage.

By the time Arbella met William Seymour, she had already been through much in her life from arguments with her grandmother and



the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth to many plots and intrigues including marriage proposals but she had never married.

Arbella had been imprisoned by Queen Elizabeth and placed under house arrest at her grandmother's house but after her death, when James VI and I was named the next king of England, her life dramatically changed. She had refused to be chief mourner at the queen's funeral 'since her access to the queen in her lifetime might not be permitted, she would not after her death be brought upon the stage for a public spectacle'.

But she would soon return to court. James laid Henry VIII's will aside and restored Arbella to the succession. He granted her an allowance and she even became godmother to the king's daughter, Mary. But James' reign was thwart with conspiracy from the Bye and Main plots to the infamous Gunpowder plot and he never truly trusted her.

William Seymour may have met Arbella as early as 1605 but it was in February 1610 that he proposed to her at Whitehall. Both William and Arbella were called before the king – as claimants to the throne that were not allowed to marry whomever they wanted and would need James's permission. Arbella launched into a lengthy diatribe denying her guilt but also begging for forgiveness. It seemed as though the matter was ended. They had been betrothed not married and the king was happy that the affair was over.

But by May William was telling his friend and cousin Edward Rodney that he was resolved to marry and in June William asked him to be a witness. The ceremony was conducted in secret at four or five in the morning of the 22 June. Two weeks later King James found out. The knowledge came at a time when he was unwell and his temper short. James felt he had been 'unworthily provoked'. He could not allow a marriage of two rival claims to his throne and they were dealt with swiftly.

Arbella could have asked James I for permission to marry. She had managed to get him to agree that she could marry whomever she chose but to do so in the dead of night without permission was only going to bring trouble. Perhaps Arbella saw it as her last chance, fearing that if the king said no, she would remain a maid for the rest of her life.

William was sent to the Tower of London in the custody of Sir William Waad, Lieutenant of the Tower, and Arbella was placed under house arrest at Copt Hall, Thomas Parry's house in Lambeth.

In July, the couple were examined. The Venetian ambassador reported that William had first denied any wrong doing but Arbella 'freely confessed it and excused the denial of her husband on the score of fear. She endeavoured to demonstrate that neither by laws divine nor human laws could she be prevented'.

Arbella spent her captivity stitching embroidery and writing letters to the king and queen. James left her petitions unanswered. It didn't help that she had signed her name Arbella Seymour or that she was not particularly repentant. She wrote to him 'The love of this gentleman that is my husband, and my fortune, drove me to a contract before I acquainted your Majesty... It was impossible for me to imagine it was offensive to your majesty having a few days before given me leave to bestow myself on any subject of his Majesty'. William did not petition the king but wrote to the Privy Council begging their intercession.

As the days wore on with no forgiveness from the king, William became more comfortable in the tower. He had rooms in St Thomas's Tower, over Traitors Gate overlooking the river. He was allowed to furnish the apartments with items from Arbella's home in Hackney and his grandfather, the earl of Hertford, made sure he had money for his needs. He was at liberty to walk around the tower, a freedom at least for him but for Arbella, things were about to change.

Arbella's plight was a popular topic of discussion with the common people but she had very few supporters at James' court. Some believed she had brought this trouble on herself and she should have consulted with the king. James for his part said she had violated the duties of rank as a member of the royal family. He was adamant that she should have asked for permission. In January 1611, the king became aware that Arbella's captivity at Copt Hall wasn't as strict as he would like. Sir Thomas Parry, it was said, had allowed her to leave at times and she may have even visited William. He planned to curb the movements of his wilful cousin but as he was deciding what to do Arbella was demanding her case be heard.

She wrote to Sir Thomas Fleming, Lord Chief Justice of England and Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas to formally ask for a trial. If she had committed so heinous a crime, why had she not been charged? To keep her imprisoned without charge was not lawful and Arbella wanted to know 'by a Habeas Corpus or other usual form of law, what is my fault?' Her plea went unanswered.

In March 1611, the king decided Arbella should be moved to Durham. Rumours abounded that the couple had still managed to meet and she had suffered a miscarriage. The Privy Council were afraid that Katherine Grey's story would repeat itself with children born to an incarcerated couple and it was deemed wiser to move Arbella north where she could have no contact with her husband.

She was moved in stages, ill health delaying her travels. She first moved to Highgate and was then relocated to Barnet on her move north. James knew she might cause trouble and instructed the bishop of Durham to move her 'by the strength of men's hands' if she refused to go. But she was seriously ill and begged to stay at Barnet for a time.

Arbella's letters and petitions to James had not softened him to her. She was rundown and exasperated at their situation. It was here she was began to plan her escape to France. Then dressing herself as a man, she slipped into the night to make her way to London to meet with William at Blackwall, Arbella waited two hours for William to arrive but when he still failed to show up, she was persuaded to start her journey. William's plan was to make it look like he had gone to bed with a toothache but then to disguise himself as a carter's labourer 'in a perugue and beard of black hair' and when the carter made a delivery of wood for his fire, to slip out after him. The carter had been late and so William waited for his chance while Arbella made her way to the French ship. William eventually escaped the tower and headed off down the Thames.

When news of William's escape reached the king, it was the first he knew of Arbella's escape too and he immediately ordered their capture.

William had arrived at Leigh to find the French ship with Arbella on it had sailed. He moored at Harwich for the night and then sailed away but the winds were so bad, he arrived not in Calais as planned but instead in Ostend. No one followed him.

James may have felt no loss at William's escape but he wanted Arbella back. Several boats were sent after her and the *Adventure*, after firing shots at the French boat, came alongside and finding Arbella on board, forced it to return to England. Arbella was escorted to the tower and those that had helped her were incarcerated in prisons across London.

After a time, Arbella was

moved from the Lieutenant's Lodgings (once also the rooms of her grandmother) in the Tower to the Bell Tower to prevent any more escape attempts. In a fateful coincidence, these were the rooms that Katherine Grey, William's grandmother, had occupied. But she was losing the will to even make another attempt.

In March 1613 the doctor found her to be 'out of frame' – mentally unwell. Seeing her life being one of eternal imprisonment, Arbella found the strength and courage to consider one last escape attempt. Her servant, Crompton, began selling her jewels to raise funds.

She sent a final letter to James, smudged with tears:

In all humility, in most humble wise, the most wretched and unfortunate creature that ever lived prostrates herself at the feet of the most merciful king that ever was, desiring nothing but mercy and favour, not being more afflicted for anything than for the loss of that which hath been this long time the only comfort it had in the world, and which if it were to do again, I would not venture the loss of any other worldly comfort. Mercy it is that I desire and that for God's sake...

Somehow her plan was found out and Crompton was sent to the Tower. Arbella was distraught and realised that she would never be free, never see her husband again and never return to favour. This once sparkling, precocious woman was reduced to a despair that she would never shake off.

In 1615 Arbella took to her bed refusing food or physicians and died on 25 September. Poisoning was suspected as was common but a post-mortem conducted by six of the most eminent physicians ruled she had died from a long illness and malnutrition that had affected her liver. She had starved herself waiting for William's return and her release from the Tower.

Arbella was buried in Westminster Abbey in the dead of night with only a short ceremony to mark her passing. She was buried in the same tomb as Mary, Queen of Scots with nothing to mark her resting place.

SARAH-BETH WATKINS



ACROSS

- 3. Margaret's resting place is St____ ad Vincula
- 5. Margaret's father, before his execution was the Duke of _____?
- 6. Margaret's eldest son, Henry, was given the Neville title Baron ____?
- 8. Margaret was born in _____ Hungerford castle?
- 9. Margaret's son's first name was _____, and he became Archbishop of Canterbury 11. Margaret's husband was Richard ____, who she married in 1491 DOWN
- I. Margaret was housed with her brother Edward, in Sheriff _____ by Richard III
- 2. Margaret became Lady in Waiting to Catherine of _____
- 4. Margaret's Maternal Grandmother was Anne ____?
- 5. Margaret's parents were first ____?
- 7. The first name of her daughter was _____, Baroness Stafford
- 10. Pope _____ XIII beatified Margaret in 1886



The Black Book of the Garter, c1536 showing Henry Courtenay second from the left



Plantagenet Cousins of King Henry VIII

The

by Kyra Kramer

eople often forget that King Henry VIII was very good to his maternal Plantagenet cousins for several decades ... right up until he slaughtered them on trumped up charges. As a younger man, King Henry VIII had considered his father's distancing of the Plantagenet cousins to be too harsh. Henry Courtenay, the son of William Courtenay, 1st Earl of Devon and Princess Catherine of York, was forbidden from inheriting his father's titles after the earl was attainted for suspected treason in 1504. Obviously, the wise King Henry VII was taking steps to make sure none of King Edward IV's other grandsons would become too powerful to challenge the rule of his own son, but Prince Henry didn't see it that way. The future king thought that this treatment of his little cousin was unfair. Courtenay was only a few years younger than Prince Henry and had grown up in the royal nursery with him. Prince Henry therefore saw Courtenay as a beloved kinsman rather than as a threat to his crown.

When King Henry VIII came to the throne he took steps to raise his cousin to a status befitting someone with royal royal blood. In the early years of his reign, the new King Henry reversed the attainment of 1504, allowing Courtenay to become the 2nd Earl of Devon. King Henry also conferred multiple honors upon Courtenay, making him one of the Gentleman of the Privy Chamber and a member of the Privy Council. When the king executed Edward Stafford, 3rd Duke of Buckingham, for what appears to be legitimate treason in 1521, many of Stafford's former offices and properties were given to Courtenay. The king's cousin was made a Knight of the Garter, and was even elevated to the rank of Marquess of Exeter.

King Henry was nearly as generous to his more distant cousin, Henry Pole. Although Pole was the grandson of George Plantagenet, 1st Duke of Clarence, and arguably had a better claim to the throne than Henry VIII, the king never punished him for his bloodlines. Instead, the king knighted Pole, and made him 1st Baron Montagu. Moreover, the king reversed the attainment against Margaret Pole, allowing her to become the Countess of Salisbury, which meant her son would become the Earl of Salisbury after her death.

For more than twenty-five years, King Henry VIII advanced his cousins without any fear of their nearness to his throne. In turn, his cousins gave every appearance of loyalty to him. So why did he turn on them so violently in 1538?

The short answer is -- paranoia.

Some historians argue that there was a method in Henry's madness, and he was just doing what any king would do to keep his heir's legacy. Some historians argue that Henry was a narcissistic monster who killed those he used to love because he enjoyed his megalomaniacal power. There are other historians who think that there may have been medical reasons why the king became so paranoid, and the murders he committed while mentally ill were not entirely his fault. However, what nearly every historian can agree on was that Henry VIII became obsessed with unproven conspiracies and threats to his crown during the last fifteen years of his reign.

By 1538 the king had alienated half of Europe, broken England's ties to Papal authority, become increasingly ill, and had a son who was only a toddler. He had legitimate reasons to be anxious for his throne. Would his Catholics subjects rebel against him and put his daughter, or a Catholic cousin, on the throne? What would happen to the prince if Henry died while Edward was too young to be an effective king? Would Edward VI disappear from the Tower the same easy Edward V had done? The king began to look at his Courtenay and Pole cousins, both of whom had healthy older sons, with a cold and suspicious eye.

The royal cousins should have been extra careful not to spook Henry ... but they carelessly mistook him for the same man who had always loved them and put family ahead of practical politics.

Both Courtenay and Pole were foolish enough to disagree with the way the Dissolution of the Monasteries was being handled, and foolish enough to assume their relationship with the king gave them the upper hand in their battle with the king's chief minister, Thomas Cromwell. When the people of Cornwall and Devon rose in rebellion (mainly against Cromwell), it was clear that Courtenay sympathised with his tenants' views. Cromwell took this opportunity to move against the royal kinsmen. Both Courtenay and Pole looked down on Cromwell, and had tried to influence the king to make choices Cromwell didn't want. Cromwell therefore arrested and interrogated Pole's youngest brother, Geoffrey, who was soon convinced to offer up evidence against his older brother and Courtenay. Geoffrey swore that both Courtenay and Henry Pole were in contact with Cardinal Reginald Pole (who was actually treasonous). Then Cromwell's agents found 'copies' of letters in the possession of Courtenay's wife which outlined a plot to overthrow King Henry VIII in favour of his daughter, Princess Mary.

This shady so-called evidence was all that the paranoid king needed to sign off on the execution of his cousins, who were duly beheaded in December of 1538. Worse, the king ordered the arrest of Courtenay and Pole's young sons, who were only about ten years old. (Only Edward Courtenay would live to survive his imprisonment, and was finally freed by Queen Mary in 1553). Now the only one of the king's old cohorts left alive to influence Henry away from the course Cromwell was steering him on was Charles Brandon, and that duke was easily distracted by wine, women, and song.

To me, the death of Henry Courtney is arguably the grimmest betrayal of Henry VIII's reign -a greater injustice than even the judicial murders of Anne Boleyn and Margaret Pole. Courtenay had been the king's playmate as a child, and his friend from their youth. They had gone from games of tag to hunting companions. Their relationship would have been as close as siblings. It is almost certain that Courtenay had idolized Henry as a child the way the prince had idolized Charles Brandon. They had loved each other, and they had trusted each other. Then, in the space of only a few months, the king who had lifted Courtenay up to a Marquisate threw him down on a scaffold block. How must it have felt for Courtenay? Did he think back on carrying a sword of state at the king's coronation? Did he think of how many times he and Henry had joked and cried together? Did he wonder, in shock, how the man he had thought of as an older brother had become the tyrant ordering his death?

What an unhappy ending for two cousins who had shared toys with one another as children.

KYRA C KRAMER



Susan Abernethy talks about...

MARGARET CLIFFORD, COUNTESS OF DERBY AND HER SONS FERDINANDO AND WILLIAM STANLEY

In his will, King Henry VIII passed over the children of his elder sister Margaret Tudor in favour of the heirs of his younger sister Mary Tudor, Duchess of Suffolk. Mary and her husband Charles Brandon had two surviving daughters. Frances Brandon was the mother of the three Grey sisters, Jane, Katherine and Mary. Eleanor Brandon had surviving daughter, Margaret.

MARGARET CLIFFORD, COUNTESS OF DERBY

Margaret was born in 1540 to Eleanor and her husband Henry Clifford, 2nd Earl of Cumberland. She was later known for her love of letters (literature) and music. Upon the death of her mother and the accession of King Edward VI, Margaret was considered sixth in line to the throne. While Edward VI was in his minority, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland acted as regent. Due to the terms of Edward's 'Devise', there was a rush to marry the Grey sisters and Margaret Clifford so they could begin having sons. Northumberland considered Margaret as a bride for his fourth son Guildford due to her considerable inheritance.

Margaret's father had no desire to marry his daughter to a fourth son as she was a great-granddaughter of King Henry VII. He made excuses to turn down the match but Northumberland would not take no for an answer and even involved the king in the matchmaking. The Earl held firm and eventually Guildford Dudley married Jane Grey. King Edward died in the summer of 1553. During the reign of Queen Mary I, an agreement was made to marry Margaret to Henry Stanley, Lord Strange, the heir of the Earl of Derby. The wedding was celebrated in the Chapel Royal of Whitehall Palace on February 7, 1555.

Margaret and Henry had four sons. Edward died in infancy. Ferdinando Stanley and William Stanley would survive and succeed their father as Earls of Derby. The last son Francis died young. Henry Stanley was a loyal servant to Queen Elizabeth I and espoused Protestant theological views while Margaret remained a Catholic her entire life. The relationship between Margaret and Henry Stanley would be stormy and difficult.

The couple would have what Margaret described as several "breaches and reconciliations". The Earl was a notorious spendthrift, always short of money. Margaret was equally reckless, squandering many pounds. In 1567, the Earl was forced to sell lands worth £1500 to pay Margaret's debts. He transported all of their goods and plate to London to sell and raise funds to pay her creditors. That same year, when he filed for a separation, one of the reasons given was Margaret's inability to run their household.

The separation was finalized leaving Margaret with many debts. The Earl of Derby made a commonlaw marriage around 1570 to an acquaintance named Jane Halsall of Lancashire. Eventually, in 1582, Queen Elizabeth permitted Margaret to sell her inheritance to help alleviate her debts. With the death of the last Grey sister, Margaret became Queen Elizabeth I's heir, pursuant to the will of King Henry VIII.

In 1578, Margaret was overheard criticizing the proposed marriage of Queen Elizabeth I with the Duke of Anjou, brother of the French King Henry III. Margaret was opposed to the union as it threatened her own possible accession to the crown. By April of that same year, Margaret was accused of employing a magician to cast spells on the Queen, as well as plotting to poison her.

At the time, even predicting the death of the sovereign was a capital offense, so Margaret was put under house arrest. The so-called magician was a well-known physician named Dr. William Randall. Margaret wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham claiming that Randall was, in fact, her doctor. He had been staying with her for several months in an effort to cure her of a weakness of her body. Randall was tried and executed.

Margaret was never charged but Elizabeth banished her from court. Margaret petitioned the Queen's ministers repeatedly in an attempt to regain favor with Elizabeth. As ever, she was hounded by her creditors. It was rumored that Margaret harbored Catholic sympathies. Queen

Elizabeth finally had her placed in the custody of a series of jailors and she remained in this state until her death in Cleveland Row, Middlesex on September 29, 1596.

FERDINANDO STANLEY, FIFTH EARL OF DERBY

In 1572, at the age of twelve, Margaret's son Ferdinando graduated from St. John's College, Oxford. That same year, he took on the courtesy title of Lord Strange when his father became fourth Earl of Derby. His schooling over, he was summoned to court by Queen Elizabeth to learn courtly ways and good manners. He spent these years as a squire in the royal household.

In 1579 or 1580, Ferdinando married Alice Spencer, daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorp. It was a happy marriage and they had three daughters; Anne, Frances and Elizabeth. Ferdinando was never appointed to a major position in Elizabeth's government. He spent his time being groomed to succeed his father as administrator of the Derby estates. In 1589, he was called to the House of Lords and he received an honorary MA from Oxford.

Ferdinando was a prominent lover of poetry and drama. From 1570, he was known for his patronage of his own troop of actors, Strange's Men, and his tumblers, who performed and presented the plays of William Shakespeare and other playwrights at court and in theaters. He also wrote poetry of his own.

When his father died in September 1593, Ferdinando succeeded him as fifth Earl of Derby



Ferdinando Stanley

and he assumed his father's duties governing the Derby patrimony. Most of Ferdinando's followers as a nobleman were Catholic but he made an effort to remain neutral and not offend anyone, either Protestant or Catholic.

All candidates for the throne of England were under some kind of surveillance at this time and almost as soon as he became Earl, Catholic plotters in exile on the Continent endeavored to persuade Ferdinando to claim the crown, sending a messenger named Richard Hesketh with letters. Ferdinando prudently turned Hesketh

William Stanley



over to Queen Elizabeth's officers. Hesketh was executed in November of 1593.

Although Elizabeth did not pursue any charges against Ferdinando, his power and influence began to be curtailed. He became violently ill in April 1594 and died after eleven days. There were rumors of poisoning as there usually was when someone died unexpectedly. But the actual cause of death was most likely a burst appendix which led to acute peritonitis. Ferdinando was survived by his daughter Anne.

WILLIAM STANLEY, SIXTH EARL OF DERBY

Margaret's son William attended St. John's College, Oxford and was a member of Gray's Inn until he departed for an educational tour of the Continent in 1582. He traveled for three years, mostly in France. When his visa expired, he stayed in Italy and Spain illegally and returned to England in May 1587. He would divide his time between London and the family home in Lancashire for several years and then became governor of the Isle of Man.

By April 1594, both William's father and brother had died, resulting in him becoming the sixth Earl of Derby. Ferdinando had named his wife and daughters as his heirs and William contested this, resulting in a long, drawn-out and expensive lawsuit that wasn't fully settled until 1610. In 1595, he was married to Elizabeth de Vere, a grand-daughter of Queen Elizabeth's principal advisor, William Cecil, Lord Burghley. They were married in the royal palace at Greenwich with the Queen in attendance.

William and Elizabeth had five children, three of which survived childhood: James, Robert and Anne. His estates were finally settled and prospered. Following in the tradition of the Stanley family, William demonstrated artistic tendencies. He patronized his own troupe of players, Derby's Men, who toured the provinces and also played in London. He wrote his own comedies for public theaters and helped finance the launch of the Boar's Head playhouse.

It is believed he was accompanied

by the poet John Donne during his illegal foreign travels. He exhibited a passion for bridges, alchemy and horse-racing. He built stables for a racecourse and founded the 'Derby' race. The term 'derby' actually dates back to him rather than, as previously believed, to the twelfth earl. He was tolerant of both Protestants and Catholics. In 1626, satisfied with the state of his affairs, he turned over control to his son and heir, James Stanley. His wife died in 1627.

Thereafter, he retired alone to a small house and lived on a modest fixed income. He had always demonstrated reclusive tendencies. He died at home in Chester on September 29, 1642. There was no question William was a legitimate heir to the throne and people did try to convince him to make a claim for the succession. Prudently, he declined to get involved.

SUSAN ABERNETHY

FURTHER READING

"Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years" by John Guy

Entry on Henry Stanley, fourth earl of Derby in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography written by Louis A. Knafla

Entry on Henry Stanley in the Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Volume 54 written by Albert Frederick Pollard,

Entry on Ferdinando Stanley, fifth Earl of Derby in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography written by David Kathman

Entry on William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography written by Leo Daugherty

Elizabeth of York, Cortenay's royal aunt

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LAUREN BROWNE EXAMINES

A rise &

fall...

Henry Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter

In the late fifteenth century, the Courtenay family's star was rising. In 1485, Edward Courtenay was rewarded with an earldom for his desertion of Richard III, by Henry VII. The newly created Earl of Devon was given a ceremonial position. carrying the second sword, at the coronation of Henry VII. During this time Edward's son, William, was also rising up the social ladder. In 1487, he was made knight of the Bath during the coronation of Elizabeth of York and in 1495 he married the Queen's younger sister Katherine. The couple welcomed two sons, Henry, born around 1498, Edward who died in childhood, and a daughter, Margaret. William and Katherine were regulars at court, and he participated in jousts in 1501 and 1502. He was also awarded an annuity from March 1501, 'for his daily and diligent attendance on the King^{'.1} However, his rise in prosperity came to a rapid halt in April 1502, when William was accused of conspiring against



Henry Courtenay's coat of arms

Henry VII with the Yorkist pretender Edmund de la Pole, duke of Suffolk.

J. P. D. Cooper notes that Henry Courtenay's first memories were most likely of his father's disgrace, and imprisonment in the Tower. William's lands were seized in 1504, and he was later imprisoned in

S. J. Gunn, 'Courtenay, Edward, first earl of Devon', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (2008), (<u>https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6448</u>).



Calais, under constant threat of execution.² Elizabeth of

Ruairi O'Connor and Charlotte Hope as the young Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon in "The Spanish Princess" who taught French to all of Henry VII's children.

York, Henry's aunt, ensured that her sister and children were provided for. The Courtenay children were placed under the care of Margaret, Lady Cotton, and lived in Essex before being brought to London in December 1502. Elizabeth of York's Privy Purse Expenses reveal payments for coats, gowns, petticoats, shoes, medicine, and other necessities for them.³ Henry was also tutored by Giles Duwes, Courtenay and his cousin, the future Henry VIII, seem to have had a close relationship. During Henry VIII's reign, Courtenay was described as 'the King's neer kinsman, and hath been brought up of a childe with his grace in his chamber.'⁴

Upon the death of Henry VII in 1509, William Courtenay's fortunes were reversed. Henry VIII released him from the Tower, and on 24th June 1509 he carried the third sword at the young King's

J. P. D. Cooper, 'Courtenay, Henry, Marquess of Exeter', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (2008), (<u>https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6451</u>).

³ Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York: Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth, With a Memoir of Elizabeth of York, and notes, (ed.) Nicholas Harris Nicolas, pp. 189

⁴ State Papers: Henry the Eighth Parts I and II, Great Britain Records Commission, Vol. I, (London, 1830), p. 302.



coronation.⁵ Though he was back in favour with Henry VIII, it took another two years for William's attainder to be reversed, and his lands restored to him. However, he was unable to enjoy this reinvestiture for long as he died a month later, on 9th June 1511. Although William's death meant that Henry Courtenay became the second Earl of Devon, he did not receive his full inheritance, as the substantial estates were granted to his mother for life. Henry had to

5 George Edward Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage* of England, Scotaland, Ireland and Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Second edition, Vol. IV, (1892), p. 330. rely on the generosity of his cousin until his mother died in 1527.

During this time, Henry began his career as a courtier, and appeared to be in great favour with the King. 'By 1519 he was one of the select band afforded daily livery and apartments within the royal household, and his accounts record the winter sport of the court at Greenwich: indoor tennis and shuffleboard, and a snowball fight with the King.'⁶ It was also during this year that he married his second wife, Gertrude Blount,

J. P. D. Cooper, 'Courtenay, Henry, Marquess of Exeter', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (2008), (<u>https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6451</u>).

the daughter of William Blunt, fourth Baron Mountjoy and his first wife, Elizabeth. Courtenay had already married Elizabeth Grey the daughter of John Grey, second Viscount Lisle, around 1515.⁷ However, Elizabeth died 1519, probably aged fourteen.

In 1520, Courtenay came of age and was appointed a gentleman of the privy chamber, was also sworn of the council, and attended Henry VIII at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. In 1521 he became a knight of the Garter.⁸ Four years later, he was further rewarded by his cousin when he was appointed Constable of Windsor, and at Corpus Christi was created Marquess of Exeter. Courtenay was awarded his full inheritance upon the death of his mother, which increased his land holdings in the west-country substantially.

Henry Courtney was present for all of the major events at court during the ensuing years. He supported Henry VIII's attempt to procure an annulment of his marriage to Katherine of Aragon, despite his wife's close relationship with the Queen. Gertrude Courtenay was described by the imperial ambassador Eustace Chapuys as 'the sole consolation of the Queen and Princess [Mary]'.⁹ Because of this intimacy, Gertrude was compelled to act as one of Princess Elizabeth's godmothers. by means of Henry VIII to force the Courtenays to demonstrate 'their allegiance to the new order.'¹⁰ When the 'new order' changed the Courtenays changed with it; Henry was a commissioner at the trial of Anne Boleyn, and when Henry VIII's long-awaited-for son was born, Gertrude carried Prince Edward at his christening. Despite their political gymnastics, the Courtenay's remained close with Princess Mary, and Gertrude often corresponded with her.

Henry Courtenay's position as preeminent force in the privy chamber, and his close relationship with the King, led to a fraught relationship with Thomas Cromwell. So much so, that in 1537 a rumour began circulating in Somerset that Courtenay had been sent to the Tower for stabbing Cromwell with a dagger. Although the men worked together to bring about the downfall of Anne Boleyn, their tense truce ended when Cromwell accused Courtenay of favouring Princess Mary as Henry VIII's successor. This may have led the King to force Courtenay to prove his loyalty by appointing him vanguard of cavalry which was sent to quell the Pilgrimage of Grace.

Although the Courtenays remained in favour during 1537, exemplified by Gertrude's role in Prince Edward's

⁷ Elizabeth was the ward of Henry Courtenay's mother, Katherine, and held her father's lands in her own right after his death.

⁸ George Edward Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, Vol. IV, p. 330

⁹ Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, vol. VI, no. 1125.

¹⁰ J. P. D. Cooper, 'Courtenay [née Blount], Gertrude, marchioness of Exeter, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (2008) (<u>https://</u>doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6450).

baptism, and Henry's position as attendant in the King's absence, their downfall came swiftly the following year. Henry was arrested for treason, along with his alleged accomplices Sir Edward Neville and his cousin Henry Pole. They were charged with conspiring with Henry Pole's exiled brother, Cardinal Reginald Pole, desiring the King's death and to deprive him of his title as supreme head of the church. Gertrude and their son, Edward, were also imprisoned in the Tower.¹¹

During the ensuing investigation much was made of talk between those loyal to Courtenay in Devon and Cornwall, in 1531, who had claimed he was heir apparent to the throne. At the time, this had sparked the ire of the King, who ejected Courtenay from the privy chamber. The so-called 'Exeter Conspiracy' was chronicled by the Tudor propagandist Richard Morison, in his Invective Avenste the Great and Detestable Vice, Treason (1539), which also exaggerated the 1531 incident. Morison claimed that Courtenay and his alleged coconspirators were embroiled in a plot with Reginald Pole to return papal rule to England. Modern historians are quick to note that there was no evidence of plans for an armed insurrection at any point in the 1530s, and that Courtenay may have had difficulties in raising supporters in the west-country given that he was an absentee



landlord. But Henry and Gertrude's Catholic sympathies, his apparent correspondence with Reginald Pole, and his animosity with Cromwell were enough to spark allegations of treason, and Henry's fate was sealed.¹²

Henry Courtenay was found guilty by his peers at Westminster Hall on 3rd December 1538, and he was beheaded on Tower Hill shortly after. His lands had been seized by the crown and absorbed into duchy of Cornwall or redistributed. Although this attainder was reversed by Mary I, and Henry's son Edward assumed the earldom of Devon, the story of the Courtenays did not come full circle. Edward died aged 29, with no heirs, and after his death, the title was considered extinct signalling the end of the direct family line.¹³

Lauren Browne

¹¹ J. P. D. Cooper, 'Courtenay [née Blount], Gertrude, marchioness of Exeter, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (2008) (<u>https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6450</u>).

J. P. D. Cooper, 'Courtenay, Henry, Marquess of Exeter', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (2008), (<u>https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6451</u>).

¹³ George Edward Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, Vol. IV p. 332

Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk

by Roland Hui

Frances Brandon as Duchess of Suffolk, was one of the highest noblewomen of England in the mid 16th century. Not only was she a great peeress, she was also the granddaughter, daughter, niece, cousin, and mother to many a king and queen. But despite Frances' great lineage, it was also a dangerous inheritance, one that would cause much unhappiness to her and her family the Greys.

Frances' parents were a glamorous couple, the beautiful Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VII and sister of Henry VIII, and the handsome Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Their marriage had the makings of a fairy tale. Forced to wed the ageing King of France, Mary was then freed by his death allowing her to marry her true love Charles. The couple braved the wrath of Henry VIII who had wanted his sister to take a foreign husband again. But in the end, they were forgiven and allowed to return to court. Happy together, they raised four children two boys who would sadly die young, and two daughters who would live into adulthood, named Frances and Eleanor.

As the niece of the King of England, and as the daughter of the former Queen of France and one of England's premier noblemen, Frances had been given a lavish christening.¹ Two days after her birth on July 16/17, 1517, she was carried into the parish church at Bishop's Hatfield. In honour of the child, its walls were hung with luxurious tapestries and shimmering cloth of gold, while the altar was decked in 'rich cloth of tissue, and covered with images, relics, and jewels'. At the font were her godfather the Abbot of Saint Alban's, accompanied by Lady Boleyn and Lady Elizabeth Grey standing in for her godmothers, Queen Katherine and her daughter Mary.

Even though Princess Mary was only a year older than her new cousin, she was still appointed one of Frances' godparents. Their bond would be an affectionate one as later in



The tomb effigy of Frances Brandon (Engraving by James Cole)

life, the two often exchanged gifts.² At New Year's 1543, Frances sent Mary a smock and six handkerchiefs, and later, another smock and a pair of fancy sleeves. In 1546, Mary gave Frances 'a pair of beads' - perhaps rosaries - 'of crystal trimmed with gold'.

As a teenager, Frances suffered the loss of her mother. In June 1533, Mary Tudor passed away from some wasting illness. Charles Brandon did not stay a widower for long as he remarried in September. The match raised some eyebrows at court. It was not so much that the bride Katherine Willoughby was significantly younger than the Duke - she was fourteen and he about fifty - as such marriages did occur, but that the girl was originally intended for Brandon's ten year old son Henry. Perhaps the boy was deemed too young, or too sickly. Tragically, he died six months after his father's wedding.

1533 was significant for Frances in that she too had married. Just before the death of her mother, Frances was wedded to the sixteen year old Henry Grey, Marquess of Dorset. Henry, like his new wife, could claim a connection to royalty. His greatgrandmother was Elizabeth Woodville, Queen to King Edward IV. Henry's family sprang from her first marriage to Sir John Grey. Records do not indicate whether Frances and Henry's marriage was a happy one or not, but they were compatible enough to have children, though only three survived: Jane born in 1537, Katherine in 1540, and Mary in 1545. The gaps between the births suggest that the couple had trouble conceiving or that some unrecorded stillbirths occurred. By the time her last child was born, Frances was still only 28, but she is not known to have been pregnant again during her marriage to Henry Grey.

When they were not at court, the Marquess, the Marchioness, and their three daughters spent their time at the family estate in Leicestershire. Bradgate was the seat of the Greys since Henry's father, Thomas Grey, the second Marquess of Dorset, built himself a fine palatial home in the 1520s. With its fresh air and picturesque countryside, Bradgate was a pleasurable and peaceful retreat from the hustle and bustle of London. The manor house in which the family lived was built on a lavish scale in fine brick and stonework. The property



Mary Tudor and Charles Brandon (by an Unknown Artist)

was situated near Charnwood Forest, which provided ample game for the Greys and their friends devoted to the chase. After a day of hunting, the River Lin, with its cooling waters, provided a welcome respite for them, as did the inviting gardens around the house.

Besides hunting, Henry and Frances enjoyed gambling. The two were apparently so compulsive that it aroused the censure of their chaplain, the stuffy James Haddon. He complained that although noblemen such as Grey practised 'recreations as refresh both the body and mind after a godly manner', they were also given over to pastimes resulting in 'idleness and ungodliness - of this kind are games of cards and dice'. While Dorset did forbid his servants to gamble, 'he himself


Bradgate House in 1700 (by Leonard Knyf)

and his most honourable Lady with their friends, not only claim permission to play in their private apartment, but also for money', Haddon sighed. He was willing to tolerate their amusements, but he was aghast when bets were placed. To the Greys' excuses that their diversions were but harmless fun even when money was won and lost, Haddon was unmoved. No good would come of them, he said disapprovingly, but the 'coveting of another's property, anger, envying, strife, etc.' At his urging, Henry and Frances agreed to stop one Christmas. But it was a promise hard to keep. Very soon, the couple and their guests were playing 'games of hazard' once again.³

Henry Grey has often been dismissed as a feckless individual, 'a senseless creature' even, said one of his critics,⁴ especially in regards to his later treason against the Crown. Yet the Marquess was highly regarded by religious reformers. The esteemed Swiss theologian Heinrich Bullinger went so far as to call Dorset a 'vigorous maintainer of real godliness'.⁵ After his death, the French pastor John Calvin referred to him as 'the most illustrious Duke', and he also made reference to the 'triumphant' state of his and his daughter Jane's souls.⁶

His wife's piety, on the other hand, is harder to gauge. Throughout her life, Frances uttered no religious opinions, and she abided by the religion of the State however it changed. From what we can gather, she appeared to have been inclined towards the New Faith. Her Book of Hours, consisting of the traditional offices and prayers of the Church,



Jane Grey (by an Unknown Artist), Katherine Grey (attributed to Levina Teerlinc), and Mary Grey(?) (by an Unknown Artist)

still exists and may offer some insight into Frances' beliefs. A gift from her mother Mary Tudor, the book was subjected to an attack of iconoclasm during Frances' ownership. All references to the Popes were expunged, and an image of Saint Thomas Becket at his martyrdom was rubbed out, as commanded by her uncle the King.⁷ Henry VIII had an especial hatred for Becket who had dared defy the royal authority of his ancestor Henry II. If Frances was not merely following orders, she might well have shared the King's views. It should also be mentioned that during a spell at court while Katharine Parr was Queen, Frances and her sister Eleanor were said to be sympathetic to the martyr Anne Askew.⁸ If this were true, she was disposed towards Protestantism, but apparently not fervidly so. None of the reformers who lavished Henry Grey with praise, did so with Frances. As well, a letter from her daughter Jane to Heinrich Bullinger (dated July 1551) is telling. While Jane thanked the pastor for a religious composition that she and her father found most edifying - 'a most beautiful garden' from which the 'sweetest flowers' sprang, she wrote

- Jane made no mention of her mother having read it too.⁹

Frances' relation to her children, particularly her eldest Jane, has been controversial. Tradition has it that she was a cruel mother. Her reputation as such was certainly bolstered by the 1986 film Lady Jane. In it, Frances (played by actress Sara Kestleman) has an antagonistic relationship with Jane (Helena Bonham Carter) and tolerates no disobedience from her. When Jane refuses to wed as her parents wish, she is savagely beaten by Frances. This movie, and comparable histories and works of fiction, have contributed to a very negative impression of Frances. And of course there is the wellknown statement attributed to Jane herself. One day when she was visited by the scholar Roger Ascham, she supposedly lamented how she must always be on her best behaviour, otherwise her parents 'so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea presently sometimes with pinches, nips and bobs and other ways' ... that Jane thought herself to be in hell.¹⁰ This is at variance with the apparent good relationship she had with her father Henry Grey, and some historians have questioned the

authenticity of Jane's statement as recounted by Ascham. As a teacher - he was an instructor of classical languages to Jane's cousin the Princess Elizabeth - who favoured a more kindly approach to educating the young, perhaps Ascham was using an invented or embellished scenario to make a point against using corporal punishment to instill learning.

If Frances was not a terror of a parent, it could be said instead that she was a woman of ambition. In 1548, in hopes of marrying Jane to her cousin Edward VI, the Greys sold her wardship to the King's uncle Sir Thomas Seymour. Seymour had made 'fair promises' to use his influence upon his nephew to wed him to Jane, thus making her Queen.¹¹ However it came to nothing when Seymour was convicted of high treason and executed in 1549. Although their plans were thwarted, the Greys were delighted by their elevation up the social ladder two years later. Upon the unfortunate death of Frances' younger halfbrother Charles (the son of Charles Brandon and Katherine Willoughby), she and her husband Henry inherited the young man's title. Hence the Dorsets were now styled as Duke and Duchess of Suffolk.

By 1553, the prospect of Jane marrying the King was dim. Edward was observed as being increasingly sick. Though a horoscope cast for the young monarch indicated that he would live well into his 50s, John Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland who headed the government, was nervous. By the will of Henry VIII, should Edward die without a successor, his half-sister Mary would inherit. Committed to the Protestant cause, Northumberland not to mention Edward himself - dreaded Mary becoming Queen. Even with the recent radical changes to religion in the kingdom, Mary had never abandoned the Catholicism in which she was raised. She made no secret of Die alber erbelfte / machtichfte Loninck Colward bie. bi, by bie 27



Edward VI (by Cornelis Anthonis)

her disdain for the New Faith, and as Queen she would surely return worship to the way it was and return England to Papal authority. But if Mary's claim could be voided as she was declared illegitimate by Henry VIII, the next heir (following the Princess Elizabeth that is, also made a bastard) would be Frances Brandon.

With this in mind, Northumberland arranged a marriage between his son Guilford and the Lady Jane Grey. The intention was that should the King die, it was Jane who would succeed, not her mother. John Dudley, as father-in-law to the new Queen, would effectively be in control of England. By what persuasion or coercion was Frances made to give up her own claim is unclear. The French ambassador, Monsieur De Noailles, heard that the Duchess was indignant at first, and had to be won over by her husband.

Disagreement surrounds Frances' role as to Jane's marriage. According to a Venetian account, she and Henry Grey were enthusiastic about it and had to force it upon a reluctant Jane. However, an English remembrance of the events had Frances, who harboured a dislike for John Dudley, being against the match.¹² Whatever her feelings, the young couple were wed in May 1553. On the same day, alliances between the Suffolks' two other daughters and Dudley's supporters were also made. Katherine was married to Lord Herbert, while Mary was betrothed to Arthur, Lord Grey.¹³

As Northumberland had suspected, Edward VI was gravely ill, and he died on July 6. The Lady Jane was quickly summoned, and in the presence of her parents, proclaimed Queen of England. Four days later, when she processed to the Tower of London to take up residence as according to custom, Frances bore her train. That the Duchess was reduced to being her daughter's attendant went against all the rules of propriety, wrote an amazed Italian envoy. It was astonishing 'to see a child Queen, [who] by certain reason came from the mother, father and mother living, and neither [one of them] King nor Queen'.¹⁴

Jane's queenship was short-lived. As soon as she learnt of her brother's death, Mary Tudor raised the people against the unpopular John Dudley and her 'usurper' cousin. When she sent a message to the Tower proclaiming her right and demanding the nobles' allegiance, Frances and the Duchess of Northumberland were reported as being terrified, and 'began to lament and weep'.¹⁵ They had good reason to. By July 19, Jane Grey's nine days as Queen were over.



Queen Mary (by Francis Deleram)

Relying upon her cousin's affection for her, Frances made her way to the newly proclaimed Queen to seek mercy. Mary, convinced that Frances had no part in Northumberland's coup, pardoned the Duchess and even allowed Henry Grey to return home with her. As for Jane, it is not known whether Frances made any efforts to plead for her release as well. Perhaps it was too much to ask, and so Jane remained a prisoner in the Tower.

The Suffolks could have prospered in Mary's reign if not for the rebellion against the Crown. In January 1554, Thomas Wyatt led an insurrection against the Queen's plan



to marry Prince Philip of Spain. Foolishly, the Duke of Suffolk

The Execution of Lady Jane Grey (by Jan Luyken)

throne, but instead to prevent England from being under foreign

joined. It was not his intention, as popularly influence. The revolt was a failure which believed, to put his daughter back on the sealed Henry Grey's fate as well as Jane's.

Certain that her authority would never be safe should Jane remain alive, Mary had the young woman put to death in February. Her father followed her to the block shortly afterwards.

Frances' reactions are not recorded. Whatever grief she felt was set aside for the raising of her two remaining children. Both Katherine and Mary were sent to court to be ladies-in-waiting to the Queen. If the two girls felt any resentment towards Mary Tudor for the deaths of their sister and their father, they kept their silence. Their service was apparently temporary. In May 1557, the sisters were described as 'living with their mother'.¹⁶ Not only were Katherine and Mary with Frances, but also with their new stepfather. Although there had been rumours that Frances was to wed the Earl of Devon in the spring of 1555, she had actually settled her heart upon one Adrian Stokes (or 'Stock' as it was also spelt). Their marriage was much commented upon as the bridegroom had been a mere servant in the Greys' household. Still, they were wellsuited to one another. In February 1556, Frances - bearing no more children with Henry Grey after their daughter Mary - gave birth to a baby girl, named Elizabeth. Sadly, the infant died. There were supposedly two more children, but they did not survive either.

Having found happiness in being with a husband of her own choosing - evidently, Frances had learnt from her mother to marry the one she loved - the Duchess lived on into the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign. One of Frances' last endeavors was to lend her support to her daughter Katherine's desire to marry Edward Seymour, a nephew of the late Sir Thomas.¹⁷

Frances Brandon died on November 20/21, 1559. As she had been a duchess and a relative, the Queen gave her cousin a great funeral befitting her rank. On December 5, Frances, attended by 'many mourners', was buried under a magnificent monument bearing her likeness. ¹⁸ This can still be seen today in Saint Edmund's Chapel in Westminster Abbey. Inscribed on the tomb is a valedictory:

Dirge for the most noble Lady Frances, onetime Duchess of Suffolk: naught avails glory or splendour, naught avail titles of kings; naught profits a magnificent abode, resplendent with wealth. All, all are passed away: the glory of virtue alone remained, impervious to the funeral pyres of Tartarus. She was married first to the Duke, and after was wife to Mr Stock, Esq. Now, in death, may you fare well, united to God.

ROLAND HUI

- 1 *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, II, no. 3489. Although Frances was said to be born on July 17, the birth could have occurred some hours earlier as she was also mentioned as being named as she was, being 'born on St. Francis's day' (that is July 16; the anniversary of the canonization of Francis of Assisi). It is not certain which Lady Boleyn was present; the wife of Sir Thomas Boleyn or one of Thomas' female relations. The Queen's absence may have been due to her being sick that summer. As for the Princess, at barely eighteen months old herself at the time, she was undoubtedly too young to take part.
- 2 Frederick Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, Daughter of King Henry the Eighth, Afterwards Queen Mary, With a Memoir of the Princess, and Notes,* London: William Pickering, 1831, p. 96, p. 143, and p. 197.
- 3 Henry Ellis, *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, London: printed for Harding, Triphook, and Lepard, 1824, I, pp. 281 288.
- 4 *Calendar State Papers Spain*, X, p. 6.
- 5 The Decades of Henry Bullinger (The Fifth Decade), Parker Society, Cambridge, The University Press, 1852, Appendix I.
- 6 Henry Ellis, Original Letters Illustrative of English History, I, pp. 715 717.
- 7 Frances' Book of Hours (MS 349) is in the collection of The Queen's College Library, Oxford. See: https://www.queens.



I only get a shorter space today for my bulletin as I'm interviewed later in the mag! This month I'd like to thank the regular contributors to Tudor Life magazine. You're amazing at producing such unique articles every month and many have been writing with us since the early beginnings of the Society. Thanks for your diligent and tireless work!

Tim Ridgway

ox.ac.uk/sites/www.queens.ox.ac.uk/files/349.pdf. I am grateful to Dr. Martin Spies (Justus Liebig University, Giessen) for referring me to this, and for the engraving of Frances' tomb effigy from his collection. For Becket, see also: Susan Doran (editor), *Henry VIII: Man and Monarchy*, London: The British Library, 2009, p. 205.

- 8 That Frances and Eleanor Brandon were in the Protestant circle of Anne Askew: Robert Parsons, *A Treatise of Three Conversions of England from Paganisme to Christian Religion*, 1604, second part, p. 493. Eleanor died in 1547 at about the age of 28.
- 9 Hastings Robinson (editor), Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary, Chiefly From the Archives of Zurich, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (for The Parker Society), 1846, first portion, pp. 4-7.
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HARVINGTON HALL

Phil Downing from Tudor Travel Tours takes us to a unique building you may not know about...

Tucked away in a small pocket of the Worcestershire countryside is one of England's most unique and untouched Elizabethan houses. A house that many Tudor lovers have never even heard of! Now, why is that? They're a few possible reasons; possibly poor marketing? Its secrecy? Or is it the fact that the darker side of the Elizabethan age isn't normally taught at school? A combination of all three has kept it out of the public eye...until now!

Harvington Hall is arguably the rarest surviving house of the Elizabethan age, with 7 remaining priest hides (which is more than any other house in England), a rare collection of Elizabethan wall paintings, and original floorboards and panelling. Harvington's neglect for over 200 years has saved many original features making it a bit of a time capsule. Harvington to this very day can't be seen from the main road or seen from any direction. As you travel up a winding lane from the village pub, there are a few houses and a field with sheep, then around a tight chicane and bam, it hits you! A beautiful pile of red brick chimneys and gables, rising from a 13th-century moat that is overhung by trees.

Harvington may look peaceful and tranquil now, and in its day would have been a lovely family home. However, it was a home that would have been on high alert; there would have been a nervousness about it. The family would have been all too aware of a potential threat of the pursuivants (priest hunters) knocking at their door.

The hall that can be seen today dates back to the 1580s and was built by the owner, a wealthy Catholic gentleman named Humphrey Pakington. However, the origins go back much further. To find an Elizabethan house on a moat is a



rare thing in itself, (google it - you won't find many) you normally find them on medieval or earlier Tudor houses. The moat and artificial island date back to the 13th century. Parts of the hall itself date back to the 14th century; the original medieval house was probably of an H-shaped, timber-framed construction, with a section in the current tearoom, showing the original wattle-anddaub walls. The earliest surviving records show that the De Herwyntons (Harvington) were at Harvington from the 1270s. However, when Adam De Herwynton died in 1344 the land passed into the hands of the Earls of Warwick until John Dudley leased Harvington to a man named John Pakington, who,

in 1529, bought it outright.

The Pakingtons took their name from the Staffordshire village of Packington. One such Packington, William De Packington, was secretary to the Black Prince in the 1360s. However, the Packingtons made their wealth during the reign of Henry VIII; John was a wealthy lawyer of the inner temple and became solicitor to the mercers' company in 1512. John Pakington, who was later knighted, was given a grant by Henry VIII in 1528 and he was allowed to wear his hat in the King's presence! In 1578 Sir John's great-nephew Humphrey Pakington inherited Harvington after the death of his father, another John Pakington. Until



now the Pakingtons appeared to comply with the new reformed faith. However, Humphrey was Catholic.

Harvington Hall has a unique atmosphere that can't really be explained until you have experienced it first-hand. Many of Harvington's volunteers say that as soon as they walk down the path all their worries and troubles drift away and they feel a sense of calm. You enter the hall walking down the red brick path between two rows of yew trees and cross the uneven red brick bridge probably dating to the 17th century. The moat grows water-lilies and sweet flags with which the floors of the halls were once strewn. In the inner courtyard, much of the building is to the left. However, in Humphrey's time, the hall would have been on all four sides. Two wings of Harvington were demolished in c1700 and unfortunately, there are no surviving drawings or records of what the other wings looked like. However, we do know there would have been a great hall and family bedchambers.

On the ground floor of the hall, things are much more basic. The shop was once the buttery and the great kitchen has a Dairy and Brewhouse situated off of it. The kitchen looks pretty much in its original state with the original stone flooring, a working well, two large fireplaces and a bread oven above which lies one of the original priest holes. This hide is entered from the garderobe (toilet) off the south room above. The original floorboards demonstrate they made the floorboards thicker so a priest hunter walking on the boards won't hear the hollow space below. Before leading up the back stairs is a door that can be easily missed and leads to a small knot herb garden. The herbs are those mentioned in Humphrey's, sister's prescriptions between 1590 and 1605.

The first-floor décor becomes much more lavish with original panelling and some of the rarest and probably most fragile Elizabethan wall paintings in the country. The Elizabethan suite,





as it is known, consists of the great chamber, withdrawing room, and the best bed-chamber and something that is common of houses of the period. The withdrawing room, previously known as the vaulted chamber, houses another priest hide next to the fireplace where we still have the original ladder (only 3 original ladders still exist in England). Again, its design is not that ingenious but would hopefully keep the priest safe in the event of a raid. Searches from the priest hunters could come at any time. As far we know the hall was never raided as there is no evidence, and if the searchers found a hide they would have destroyed them. From 1585 it was made illegal for a priest who had been ordained abroad to set foot on English soil. The Catholic recusants (people who refused to attend a Church of England service) paid fines of £20 a month (the equivalent of £4,000 today), and would build hiding places for the priest.

Through the original painted door in the great chamber, you find the mermaid passage named after the wall painting. The passageway's paintings date to probably the 1580s and would have adorned every last inch of the walls and continued up the adjoining Newel Staircase. They are in an arabesque style and probably the work of immigrant Flemish or German artists. The twotailed mermaid straddles a scallop shell and has a frieze of cherub heads, vases and floral scrolls.

Harvington's most impressive and memorable feature for visitors is in the smallest room known as Dr Dodd's library, named after a priest living at the hall during the 18th century. There is a small book cupboard now without any door or books. However, in this space is one of the most ingenious priest hides in England. Originally the 3 sides of the cupboard would have been lined with panelling, if you strip back the panelling on the south wall you'll find a vertical oak beam that swings open, revealing a hide that is 8ft long, 3ft wide and 5ft high. It really is the best house for hideand-seek, but of course, this was very real, as the builder of this particular hide found out. We believe that the





more ingenious hides at the hall were installed c1600 by master carpenter Nicholas Owen. Unfortunately, Owen was tortured to death at the Tower in March 1606. Owen was canonised in 1970 and now is known as St Nicholas Owen.

The top floor is where you really where you feel you're on an old ship as the floorboards are very uneven. The nearest comparison would be that of Little Moreton Hall in Cheshire. The upper floor has 2 chapels, both with original wall paintings. In the event of a raid, the altars would have had to have been stripped. An original vestment hide can still be seen under 2 oak boards in the large chapel. You won't find chapels on the lower floors in Catholic houses, as the higher they are the further priest hunters have to travel giving the priest and families more time. Nearby are 3 priest bed chambers and the nine worthies passage consisting of almost life-size wall paintings, of figures such as David and Goliath, and Samson and Joshua. The great staircase, which is at the end of the nine worthies, was installed to disguise the fact the hides were being built and if you lift two of the five steps leading to the staircase, you'll find another Owen hide. The walls around the staircase again are full of Elizabethan wall paintings, mainly the shadow painting of the stairs.

Harvington is the kind of house you could only imagine in children's books with secret hiding places and escape routes. It's a house that allows your imagination to run wild!

PHIL DOWNING







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ELIZABETH JANE TIMMS ON

THE BAYNE TOWER: HENRY VIII'S PRIVATE SUITE AT HAMPTON COURT



It is often forgotten that what once contained Henry VIII's vanished private suite of apartments at Hampton Court Palace is still in existence. Commissioned by the King, it is believed to have been built in 1529. The so-called Bayne Tower (from the French for 'bath') survives, which at one time contained a luxurious set of new private lodgings for the King, including his Bathroom, (hence, *Bayne*) which was usually close to Henry's Bed Chamber. The year 1529 would certainly be an interesting one for their construction, for it was the pivotal year that the Legatine Court convened to test the validity of Henry's marriage to his first wife, Catherine of Aragon. The Bayne Tower was built for the King's exclusively private use, all the more fascinating when considered alongside the very public architecture of the formal Tudor apartments, which were intended to reinforce the cult of Henry's personal magnificence and the power of display.

The Bayne Tower forms part of the premises of the outdoor Fountain Court Café, the upper rooms of which are not currently accessible. The ground floor room of the Tower may be viewed from the outside in the summer months when the café is open. This level once contained an office and strong-room, with a room at the front for those items of the King's Wardrobe, fittingly located beneath the floor where he slept. The first floor was where his Bathroom, Bed Chamber and Study were situated. The second floor housed the King's library and jewel room. The present-day visitor is permitted a glimpse of these floors at the upper level from the windows of the now accessible Cumberland Suite [Hampton Court's Cumberland Art Gallery], designed by William Kent in the 1730s for Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, with its adjacent, so-called Wolsey Closet. Prior to its opening in 2013, the precincts of the Fountain Court Café were part of

a former private apartment at Hampton Court, Apartment 15.

Even though the Tudor interiors are lost, the Bayne Tower permits a rare architectural insight into this surviving part of Henry's private world, all the more astonishing when we consider the lost royal apartments at the Palace of Greenwich, the Tower of London, Richmond Palace and the Palace of Whitehall. The choice and sequence of rooms are in itself suggestive, as it tells us what Henry required a luxurious royal suite to contain. Clearly, an office and strongroom were considered important for the ground floor. The first and second floors tell us that Henry desired the comfort of a Bath Room, Bed Chamber and Study in close proximity, preferring that his library and jewel room should be on the floor above. We thus have a Renaissance prince's perfect surroundings, private spaces which included a place for his books. Interestingly, the rooms also show us how Henry intended to spend his private time in what was by 1540, the most modern and magnificent of all his royal residences.

The location of Henry's luxury suite of privy apartments was in easy proximity to the chapel royal at Hampton Court, which had begun to function as a royal chapel in 1528. Perhaps importantly, the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII for 1530 reveal that a certain number of books were being transferred to Hampton Court¹. In June, one Master Walshe brought them to the palace from Greenwich and was paid six shillings for his pains. Later in November, a Joly Jak was paid five shillings for bringing books to Hampton Court. The next day, an abbot of Reading's servant was paid five shillings for bringing an inventory of books to Hampton Court. Books were brought again by the abbot's servant two days later for which he was paid forty shillings and a waterman was paid five shillings for bringing books from York Place to Hampton Court. It is just possible that some of these may have reached the King's private library on the second floor of the Bayne Tower if 1529 is indeed the year of its construction. In December, the King's printer was paid 8l. 11s. 8d for printed books delivered to both Hampton Court and York Place.

Royal architecture was designed to filter the importance of courtiers and visitors through the sequence of rooms on the ceremonial route which was accessed according to right of entry. Few courtiers would be permitted entry to the holy of holies, the private apartments of the monarch and if they did, their mere ability to do so was a sign of high favour. By the early Tudor period, the room comprised of Guard Room, Presence Chamber and Privy Chamber, using the blueprint of Henry's maternal grandfather, Edward IV who devised this pattern for the royal lodgings known as the Chamber. In Henry's reign, the latter had developed to include an ultramodern suite within his privy apartments, designed to luxuriate his intimate rituals. The pattern of a Guard Room, Presence Chamber and Privy Chamber continued to be replicated and adapted by later monarchs, as may be seen in the sequence of Charles II's surviving rooms at Windsor and the State Apartments of William III at Hampton Court, the latter of which culminated in the King's Great Bedchamber, Little Bedroom and Study. The Bayne Tower was Henry's realm far from the Great Watching Chamber and the timbered glory of the magnificent Great Hall.

We know that Hampton Court's highly sophisticated conduit system, introduced first by Cardinal Wolsey and continued by Henry VIII, was built so skilfully as to still be used until as late as 1871, its water having supplied both the King and Queen's private apartments. A ready-made water supply not only guaranteed a supply for the royal apartments but made it possible also for the greater houses of the monarch to be properly cleaned, especially when the mobile royal court moved on to another of the King's residences, following the established medieval pattern. When King John travelled, he took his bath-tub with him and he also engaged a bath-man. The first water pipes were introduced into an English royal residence as early as 1234, whilst Edward III purchased taps for his bath chamber in the Palace of Westminster in 1351, which were duly supplied with hot and cold water². The distinction of hot and cold flowing water for the monarch was something repeated from then onwards. His successor, Richard II had hot and cold running water in his bathroom in the palace of Sheen, fed from large bronze taps³. Such luxury should rather illustrate the rarity of such features, given the fact that even in the royal residences of the period, this was not yet typically the case.

According to the author and historian Alison Weir, no documented references to Henry VIII bathing exist in the Household Ordinances⁴, something which shows us that Henry was in the end, successful in keeping this most intimate of his functions private. Henry seems to have been highly particular when it came to matters of his personal hygiene and the careful design of the King's comparative bathing facilities across his residences certainly suggest that he enjoyed the use of them. How regularly he did so, we do not know. Recent evidence reveals that medieval attitudes to cleanliness were in fact surprisingly modern as to the benefits of bathing; too much of it seems to have been regarded as paying excessive attention to the needs of the body. Catherine of Aragon's mother, Queen Isabella of Castile was rumoured to have bathed only twice in her lifetime⁵ and one of these was her wedding day. If this was indeed so, this should perhaps point more to the fact that this was a chosen exception as opposed to the royal norm.

As part of the ceremonies which attended the three-and-a-half-year-old Henry, Duke of York being made a Knight in the ancient Palace of Westminster - an experience which stayed with him for the rest of this life - he was ritually undressed and put in his bath⁶. This had been set up in the Parliament Chamber with other decorated baths placed there for the occasion. This was, of course, part of a unique ceremonial and not a daily ritual for the boy Henry. But later as King, Henry also used wooden tubs in which to bathe⁷, presumably in those of his lesser houses when the court was travelling and in which there were no dedicated bathing facilities installed.

The King's Bathroom was located on the first floor of the surviving Bayne Tower. We know that it had a gold batten ceiling on a white background and was fitted out with window seats. The King's Bath would have been fitted to the wall, whilst separate two taps supplied the King with both hot and cold running water. Hot water was heated by way of a coal-stove in an adjacent room. The water itself would have been fed into Henry's Bathroom from a cistern which itself was linked to the conduit. Interestingly,

the prospect towers at Henry's fantastical palace of Nonsuch seem to have contained a similar water system which would enable water to be piped into the royal apartments.

Glazed tiles bearing Henry's monogram were recovered during the excavations at Whitehall in the 1930s. Such tiles would have decorated stoves designed to heat the King's apartments. Two large fragments are kept in a green crate in the attic at Hampton Court, the palace storeroom. Believed to be from a stove which once heated the King's Bathroom at the lost Palace of Whitehall, it would have presumably stood in a small room adjoining the actual bathroom like at Hampton Court, to heat the water for the King's hot tap. The King's Bathroom at the Palace of Whitehall was recorded as being decked out with some thirty-five towels of Holland linen, whilst the actual bath was supplied with its own sheets, sponges, cloths and bathing robes⁸. The surviving Tudor-green fragments stored at Hampton Court reveal such delicate details as a winged cherub and an eagle, showing us that fascinatingly, away from his public image and even in the intimacy of his own bathroom, Henry demanded (and expected) magnificence.

Bayne (or French 'bath') might invite comparative French examples. There was a sunken bath at Fontainebleau and in the next century, the future Louis XIV of France enjoyed the famous *Appartement des Bains* [Bathing Apartment] of his beloved mother Queen Anne, which contained a great marble bath, with attendant curtains and pillows and its own wood-burning stove to provide hot running water⁹. Later, Henry himself began to like sunken baths. He had a bath-tub and bathing room at Woodstock with a square leaden basin in which he bathed in water either hot or cold supplied from the Rosamund spring¹⁰, which may survive in what is now known as Fair Rosamund's well, close to Blenheim Palace's Grand Bridge.

Today, the first floor of the Bayne Tower can be reached by way of a later staircase and leads to the rooms which once contained the King's Bed Chamber, Bathroom and Study, an astonishing survival. Now in its modern configuration, the room which in part contained Henry's Bed Chamber, is believed to still have Tudor wall paintings underneath the early Georgian panelling¹². Clearly, the space has been adapted countless times over the centuries. Seen in 2014 and in the process of redecoration, it was empty but for a large, rolled-up green carpet. What might these Tudor wall paintings have been, in Henry's Bed Chamber? We know that at the ancient Palace of Westminster, Henry VIII's Bed Chamber was decorated with a surviving thirteenth-century mural depicting the coronation of St Edward the Confessor, as well as with scenes of Old Testament battles. This was, however, the Painted Chamber of Henry III and the mural was not of Henry's choosing but rather allowed to remain in its historic setting. Any surviving decoration of Henry's Bed Chamber at Hampton Court would be surely far more revealing because its designs would have been approved by the King for his private sphere and therefore, highly personalized.

I have taken part in carol-singing at Hampton Court and stood in the courtyard of the Bayne Tower at night. Dimly lit, one could be forgiven for imagining Henry VIII in the upper rooms of this tower. Because of the type of rooms he chose, we now know that Henry VIII would have used this onceprivate suite as a refuge in the midst of his

public palace, as a place in which to read, write, bathe and sleep. As such, the Bayne Tower is a quite extraordinary relic.

ELIZABETH JANE TIMMS

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QUIZ ANSWERS



Vowesses – A way of for widows

In medieval and early Tudor England, if a woman lost her husband, she might actually gain a degree of freedom unknown to unmarried daughters and wives. However, for young widows with children to care for or poor women with no way of making a reasonable living, the loss of a spouse could be devastating, not only emotionally but financially. In such cases, marrying again was probably the best option. But widows with an independent income might well enjoy a life in which they were their own mistress. Yet these same women would also be desirable brides, if they could bring wealth to a marriage.

If a widow wished to maintain her new-found freedom and was convinced she would never want to marry again, there was a way of deterring wouldbe annoying suitors. She could become a vowess. A vowess swore a holy oath of perpetual chastity before a bishop, although not of obedience and certainly not poverty, promising never to take

another husband. They were wedded

to Christ, just like nuns in the cloister, but remained in the world, able to conduct business, have an income and socialise. They dressed rather like nuns, wearing a wimple and veil and plain dress but this wasn't very different to the widow's weeds they were expected to wear anyway. They were given a plain mantle or cloak and a ring to signify their marriage to Christ. They were supposed to observe the religious offices of the day, like nuns, but at home and in their parish church, not in a convent. Vowesses were given the honorary title 'dame'. Older, wealthy widows in particular sometimes chose this means to maintain their independence.

Others who had risen high, like Cecily, Duchess of York and mother of kings, could only have been reduced to a lower status had she remarried after her husband was killed in 1460, so her vows preserved her position. But hers were no empty gesture: she spent much of the remainder of her life – over thirty years and more – as a virtual nun in her

own castle at Berkhamstead, hearing mass numerous times each day, spending hours in contemplation or reading and discussing religious matters with her priests. Occasionally, her royal sons required her presence at court but she took her betrothal to Christ seriously. Not everyone did.

Sometimes, young widows, bereft at their loss, took the vows in a state of grief and then regretted it. For example, Eleanor Plantagenet, the daughter of King John, was born c.1215. At the age of nine, she was married to thirty-fouryear-old William Marshal junior, Earl of Pembroke. It was a purely political union. The earl's father, William Marshal senior, had arranged the marriage when he was Regent of England to John's young son, King Henry III, in 1224. However, as Eleanor was so young, the couple lived apart for most of their marriage. Pembroke died in 1231 when Eleanor was probably sixteen. Newly widowed and persuaded by her influential governess, Eleanor took a vow of chastity before the Archbishop of Canterbury, promising to devote the rest of her life to Christ.

Yet seven years later, in 1238, she secretly married Simon de Montfort, the ambitious claimant to the earldom of Leicester. The union seems to have been a love match but was considered bigamous since Eleanor was already married to Christ in the eyes of the Church. Privately though, the wedding received her brother's, Henry III's, blessing. But it was a secret impossible to hide indefinitely. When she became pregnant and the truth leaked out, it caused an outcry. Churchmen and nobility were disgusted to the extent



A vowess, Susan Kingston in her appropriate garments. A church brass of 1540 Buckinghamshire

that Henry himself claimed publicly that Simon had seduced Eleanor, something that might or might not be true. Either way, their marriage was the only decent solution to their illicit relationship. Their marriage proved successful, although both parties had to perform a penance by way of recompensing the Church, founding religious houses. Eleanor's only failing – and perhaps an understandable one, since she was of royal birth and her husband wasn't – was an inclination to be a 'tempestuous' wife, requiring an official Church warning to obey her husband in future. I doubt that was appreciated by a Plantagenet princess.

Ordinary girls – as opposed to princesses – tended to be wedded in their mid-twenties to older

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husbands whom they often outlived. As wives, London guilds recognised them as members with all the rights to carry on their husband's business, if he died. Joanna took over her third husband Robert Large's mercery business in Catte Street when he died in 1441, including taking on his apprentices, one of whom was a youthful William Caxton. Her husband bequeathed her the generous sum of 4,000 marks and named her as one of his executors. She ran the business until she married John Gedney three years later, at which time she would have forfeited her widow's rights as a freewoman of the city, unless Gedney was also a freeman of a guild, which he was. According to London custom, once his debts were paid off, a citizen's widow received one-third of her husband's estate; one-third went to the children and one-third paid for the funeral and masses to be said for his soul and to charity. If there were no children, the widow and the church had half each.

However, Joanna's marriage to John Gedney was not straight forward. After Robert died, as a widow for the third time, Joanna became a vowess, making her vow before Robert Gilbert, the Bishop of London, soon after April 1441, when her husband died, swearing this oath:

I, Johanna, that was sometime the wife of Robert Large, make mine avow to God... to live in chastity and cleanness of my body from this time forward as long as my life lasteth, and never to take other spouse but only Christ Jesu.

But John Gedney, twice Lord Mayor of London, a close friend and also an executor of the late Robert Large, persuaded the widow out of her vow and married her. A London chronicle of 1444 notes the scandal:

John Gedney, draper alderman of London [and she] which was Robert Large wife... which was sworn chaste and had take the mantel and ring and should have kept her a godly widow time of her life. And anon after the marriage done they were troubled by holy church because of breaking of her oath and were put to penance both he and she.

Despite the restrained wording of the chronicle, the marriage of these two Londoners of high social standing was considered the scandal of the year and gave the gossip-mongers something they could get their teeth into. Both John and Joanna profited by their marriage, combining the estates each of them owned in Tottenham, Middlesex. By the time of her fourth widowhood, in 1449, Joanna was referred to as lady of the manor of Tottenham, although she lived in London at 'Le Ledenporche' on Threadneedle Street. She was now so well off that she lent the king £200 which, surprisingly, was actually repaid in cash in 1451.

When she died in 1462, she left the manor of Tottenham to her son by an earlier marriage, Richard Turnaunt, but most of her wealth was intended for his two-year-old daughter, Joanna's only grandchild, Thomasina. When she should marry, with approval, Thomasina was to have 600 marks, half Joanna's jewellery and other valuables. Joanna was buried beside John Gedney in the church of St Christopher le Stocks in Broad Street, but she remembered her first three husbands as well, leaving 100 marks for a priest to say masses for their souls for the next ten years.

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Both Eleanor and Joanna must have regretted their hasty vows, although the Duchess Cecily did not and diligently kept hers. However, even she didn't take the ultimate step of actually becoming a nun and withdrawing from the world, into the cloister. But one who did so was Joan FitzLewes. Born a contemporary of Richard III but out-living him by decades, in December 1511, aged fifty-nine, Joan drew up a testament, a sort of living will. It was written in English, not Latin, and Joan signed it with a somewhat shaky, but quite legible, hand and appended her seal to it in red wax.

This was not a document to take effect after her death but at the time of her entering the Franciscan abbey at Aldgate, just outside the city of London, known as the Minories. Also known as the Abbey of the Minoresses of St Clare without Aldgate, among various names, this was a convent of the enclosed order of the 'Poor Clares', the female equivalent of the Franciscan order of monks. It had been established in the late thirteenth century by Edmund of Lancaster, on a site outside the medieval walls of the City of London at Aldgate.

By birth, a FitzSimond of Barling in Essex, Joan had been married three times. Robert Tymperley had been her first husband, recorded as such when the couple jointly sold a property in Fenchurch Street, London, in 1476. There then followed a brief marriage to Henry Wentworth who died in 1483. Joan had children although how many isn't certain. Some may have predeceased her because she says in her testament that she wants their names mentioned on her monument, along with those of her parents and all three husbands but her son, Nicholas Wentworth, is named as still living in her testament when she bequeaths him £13 6s 8d.

Her third husband, Philip FitzLewes, provides the connection to the Franciscan Minories. Philip was the abbey's steward, the senior lay officer, between 1487 and 1490. His niece Alice was one of the nuns there, as was a granddaughter. For a time Alice FitzLewes was the abbess there (c.1494-c.1501) and this may have been Philip's niece. For a while, Philip and, presumably, Joan as his wife, rented a house at £2 per annum within the abbey precinct, so Joan knew the place well and would have felt she was among friends. Her own great niece, Anne Tyrell was also a sister there. This makes her decision to become a nun at the Minories in her later years quite a logical step. But it seems probable that she had already become a vowess after Philip's death in 1492 because, in her testament, she gives her name as 'Dame Johane ffitzlewes'. She also states that she is heiress to the FitzSimond estates in Essex.

As with a normal will and testament, Joan's dealt with arrangements for her burial and commemoration after death and made bequests to family and friends. It required her debts to be paid and any owed to her collected. Since she was a wealthy widow, the value of her bequests was considerable. But this document differed from other wills in two particular points. Firstly, in the arrangements for her memorials and, secondly, in dealing with the monies owed to her. To take the second point first: three men of standing (possibly relatives) were indebted to her for sizable sums. She stipulated that when these debts were

paid, her executors were to give the money to the abbess on her behalf. When a woman became a nun, it was required that she or her parent/guardian should pay a dowry to the convent for the costs of her future bed, board and clothing. It was not unlike the bridal dowry a husband expected to receive. But in Joan's case, this dowry was to be paid out of money owed by others and it wasn't just to pay the new nun's expenses. Joan wanted something to show for it, specifying that half the total sum of £26 13s 4d was bequeathed 'towards the buyldyng of the cloyster of the said abbey'. Joan wished to leave her mark on the abbey itself

To make certain she wouldn't be forgotten, as I've said, Joan's arrangements for after death were also unusual. Nuns were supposed to be humble and almost anonymous in death, buried beside their sisters in the communal plot. Not Joan. The Minories was the last resting place of a number of noblewomen, most illustrious and recent among them Elizabeth Talbot, late Duchess of Norfolk (d.1506). The duchess was buried before the high altar in the choir of the Lady Chapel - although the layout of the medieval building is uncertain today and Joan gave instructions that she was to be laid at the feet of the duchess. The choir of any abbey was usually the resting place of the abbots or abbesses and people of the highest degree, yet Joan expected her wishes to be respected. And once interred, she wanted a stone laid upon her grave with her coats-of-arms inscribed. In

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Ruins of the Abbey from an etching of 1797

addition, on the wall nearby, she desired a brass plaque with a scriptural text, herself and her family members to be named and commemorated.

Joan may have professed herself a nun with good heart but she had no intention of becoming a reclusive, unremarkable, cloistered sister. Joan was determined to stand out from the rest and be remembered. Unfortunately, her monuments, along with the abbey itself, fell victim to the Reformation when the Minories was surrendered in March 1539. The abbess, Dame Elizabeth Salvage, received a life pension of £40 a year, four nuns received life pensions of £3 3s 8d each, ten nuns received £2 13s 4d. nine nuns £2 and a novice £1 6s 8d. No provision was made for the six lay sisters. Sadly, Joan's name was all but forgotten along with those of her sister nuns.

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NICOLA TALLIS

LETTICE KNOLLYS

Countess of Leicester

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Jane Dunn's "Elizabeth and Mary" is an exquisitely good account of what cousin-rivalries did at the heart of the British monarchies. The same can be said of Leanda de Lisle's "The Sisters Who Would be Queen," on the Greys' tragedy. For individual biographies of royal cousins, Nicola Tallis's "Elizabeth's Rival," about Mary Boleyn's granddaughter Lettice, and Morgan Ring's "So High a Blood," about Mary Tudor's charismatic cousin Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, both have my recommendation. For the earlier half of the period, try Desmond Seward's

Times Top 10 bestseller

"The Last White Rose: The Secret Wars of the Tudors."

If you're looking for fiction, Margaret George's epic novel "Mary, Queen of Scotland and the Isles" and Alison Weir's "Innocent Traitor" dramatize the lives of the Tudor cousins who paid for that genetic proximity with their lives. Adrienne Dillard's lovely debut "Cor Rotto" focuses by contrast on the life of loyalty led by a Boleyn cousin, Katherine Knollys, at the court of Elizabeth I.

Gareth Russell

When technology and history collide.

WARD

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This month's interview is with Tim Ridgway, a name I'm sure you will all recognise! Tim is CEO of MadeGlobal Publishing and does the technical side of the Tudor Society plus laying out and publishing the magazine. I know many of our members are interested in writing, so I hope you will find this useful and enjoy it.

Hi Tim! Thank you for taking the time to be my interviewee this month. Firstly, please tell everyone a bit about yourself now, and what you did before you became a publisher.

Hi Catherine. It's very strange to be on this side of the interview! Normally I'm laying out other people's interviews in the magazine. As your introduction says, I am very involved in the day-to-day running of the Tudor Society, dealing with technical questions, memberships, the magazine and the website. It keeps be busy! I also own MadeGlobal Publishing which works well because the focus of our book publishing is also history. On top of all of this, I record and edit the "On this Day in

Tudor History" videos for Claire (Ridgway) which we make every day. There's never a dull moment!

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Before I was so deeply involved in Tudor history, I was a freelance website designer, which obviously comes in very helpful for the Tudor Society now. As an example, I set up Claire's website The Anne Boleyn Files back in 2009, and have probably made well over 100 websites in my time. Before that I worked as an electronic engineer designing audio mixing consoles for people like Sting, Madonna and Peter Gabriel. And before that, military radar design. It's an interesting life.

So, what led to your decision to set up a Publishing company and why did you choose to call it MadeGlobal?

That's a great question. Life leads you in very interesting directions and you can never really plan what you'll be doing in even one year's time! Claire had been incredibly successful with The Anne Boleyn Files website and someone suggested that she should take the most popular articles from the website and turn them into a book. We'd never published a book at this point but we're always up for a challenge. After lots of research on how to publish, this turned into our first book "The Anne Boleyn Collection" and it sold over 100,000 copies really quickly. As you can imagine, we're all for capitalising good luck, so Claire quickly wrote and published more books (three that year, I think?) which were also really successful. Once you've had success, people tend to flock to you and we quickly took on other historians and authors to publish their works and the rest, as they say, is history (pun intended!). So over the space of about a year, my online website business, MadeGlobal, became a publishing business, MadeGlobal Publishing. As I've said, life takes you on many unexpected journeys...

As a publisher, what advice can you give to people who have a manuscript they would like published, and also to budding authors?

As you can imagine, I've seen a LOT of manuscripts. It's continually amazing how interested people are in history, and how passionate people are about a wide variety of topics. Some people are more natural writers

than others, some people are full of amazing ideas but find it hard to write them down. Some people like non-fiction, others like fiction. Everyone is different, and every manuscript is different. There is the saying that "everyone has a book in them" and I'd agree with that. It's the wide range of interests that allows publishers to continue publishing. So I'd say ... if you feel led to write a book, write it! And if you haven't started yet ... read on in this interview! But I'd also say that not everyone is cut out to be a successful author. It's not as easy as it seems. Publishing a manuscript is so much more than just writing a book.

What do you look for in a manuscript? What makes one stand out?

There are so many factors that I am looking for in a manuscript but actually it's NOT the manuscript which is of the highest importance, it is the *author* who is way more important. I am always looking at the person behind the manuscript. Do they have an audience? Do people know who they are? Are they hard-working and dedicated to becoming well-known in their "zone"? Do they have a following on social media? A website? Are they already known in their field of expertise? Are they in a suitable mental position to deal with the ups-and-downs and stresses of being published. In general, if the author is known and active and already in the public eye, the book is much more likely to be a success.

Of course, the manuscript needs to be good too. I look out for a manuscript which has an "edge" or "new take" on a subject. Biographies of all the major historical characters have generally been done already. I'm looking for a new perspective, for example looking at a well known figure from the people around them. In a novel I look more for a gripping story. It's all about the story. Just as in non-fiction, the stories of those major characters have generally been told and re-told many times, so I'm looking for something new. If it's a page turner for me, it'll be a page turner for others too.

I'd also say that I'm looking for someone with more than one book in them. MadeGlobal takes on authors who are less well-known. It takes time and effort (and money) to build up an author. To do it for a oneoff isn't generally good for us. If there is a trilogy then it's a lot more interesting.

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What challenges are facing the publishing industry at the moment?

We live in strange a rapidly changing times. When the Amazon Kindle was first introduced there was a huge explosion of people reading books. I think MadeGlobal was very lucky to be able to ride that wave. Amazon have been incredibly successful at getting books into people's hands. I would say, however, that they are now a victim of their own success, and it is publishers, bookshops and authors who are suffering. If you're like me, you've currently got access to more free or discounted books than you could ever read in a lifetime. Some will be good, others not so good. People are encouraged to stuff their Kindle with hundreds of books. You'll get around to reading them one day ... only you never do. As everyone is now used to reading for free, and as more and more people self-publish their books of all levels and qualities, it becomes increasingly difficult to break through the continuous noise with a professional book. MadeGlobal will only take on excellent books from excellent authors, and the problem then becomes how to get a new book noticed. This problem gets more difficult every year. This is why I'm always looking at the author more than their manuscript. Copy editors and hard work can make a manuscript better, but nobody can make an author connect to their readers better!

A few years ago, audio books were being praised as the new growth area, and I understand why that was the case. People don't seem to have the time to read as much as they used to. We were told that audio books would allow people to do other things while still enjoying a book. I'm not sure it's happened that way in reality. People still seem to prefer books, whether paperback or e-books. With a book in *any format*, it really comes down to whether the topic is good, the manuscript is good and whether the author can connect with their readers.

In the "good old days" a publisher would be able to take an author and hold their hand through everything from concept to launch and the whole bandwagon of touring with the book. Those days are well

and truly gone for everyone other than the top superstars. Actually, if you think about top authors today – JK Rowling, Dan Brown, Stephen King, Philippa Gregory, Alison Weir and whoever else you want to add to the list – they are ALL out there on social media anyway. No rest for the wicked. These top authors post online continuously, they connect with their readers, go to talks, pro-actively search for readers and media outlets and so on. It falls increasingly on any successful author to be able to sustain a connection with their readers. It falls on the publisher to support them in these actions, and that's something I love doing, but we can't magic something from nothing. With so many books being published every minute of the day, only with the teamwork of a great author, a great publisher and a great book can achieve success.

I was amazed at how many different steps there are involved in publishing a book. Can you give us an overview of that process?

Wow, you're right, there are many stages to getting a book to market, and then many more afterwards. What most authors don't initially appreciate is that there is as much work to do *after* publication as there was before!

When we receive a new manuscript it heads off to one of our readers who looks at it for whether its a fresh idea or not, a plagiarism check, and whether it reads well. We look at the author at this point to see what they've done in the past. If the manuscript and author are looking like they will be a success, we offer a publication contract and, assuming we'll move forward, we then suggest ideas for adjustments or changes. It's important to say that we do not look at "ideas for books" at all. We are looking for a mostly finished manuscript. If you want to be an author – write a book!

Once the finished manuscript has been accepted, we send it to our copy editor who goes through the manuscript numerous times, looking for grammar, spelling, general errors, correct names and places, consistency, repetition of phrases and so on. This is a vital part for any book, and sadly many self-published authors skip or don't do this stage properly. It shows

when a book is professionally edited! It is absolutely NOT something you can do yourself. You can't see your own errors.

At the same time, cover design is discussed with the author and our artists create the cover artwork ready for when the book is back from the copy editor. This can be used in early publicity. We also consider setting up a website for the author if they don't already have one.

The copy-edited book is checked through by the author to accept changes and make any alterations required and then returned to us. At this point the manuscript is 99% of the final masterpiece.

The manuscript is laid out for paperback using professional layout software and skills. It's interesting that you can tell when a self-published book layout was done in "Word" or done properly, it's not as good as a professional layout. This takes time and skill to do properly.

After the paperback is laid out, final work can begin on the cover – at this point we know how many pages the book will be and know how thick the spine is. The "blurb" gets added into the mix at this point. Further pre-marketing happens with this.

Once layout is accepted, the book is then converted into e-book ready for simultaneous publication in both formats. This is quite technical and once again, you can easily tell when a book has been done automatically compared to one being hand-crafted by an expert.

At this point, the book is signed off or approved by the author. We get it into pre-order online in places like Amazon but also other book shops worldwide. Orders can then be taken and so more marketing happens.

And now the real hard work happens as the author goes into overdrive on connecting with their lists and social media. Review copies go out so that there can be reviews online soon after publication. Pre-order success can make or break a book when it hits the market.

And finally, launch day arrives and the hard work just keeps on keeping on! More marketing, more connecting, more marketing, more connecting ad infinitum.

Now moving away from publishing books, tell us what you do for us here at the Tudor Society.

There are always things to be done!

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Catherine Interviews...

Firstly I spend time dealing with members of the Tudor Society. New members often have with questions about how to use the site, old members sometime have lost their login or can't find something they were looking for. I answer their questions as best I can. Most days there is someone wanting help. For example, before answering this interview I was re-igniting the membership of a past member (hi Ada!) which was really nice to do.

I also work on the monthly magazine, with me doing the layout and publication, gathering articles from our regular contributors, designing the cover, writing the monthly members' bulletin and putting it together for the paper versions once each quarter. It's a big job!

Then there is checking and maintaining the website, updating software in the server and on the website itself, checking and re-checking security on the site and that we have good backups of everything. The website is everything for our members and so it's vital it runs smoothly.

I edit and put together Claire's "Claire Chats" videos, the videos from our monthly expert speakers and the roving reports from the lovely Philippa Lacey Brewell. Videos are a large part of my life at the moment.

We're always looking for new contributors for the magazine and website, so some of my time is spent contacting potential experts and seeing if they'll write or record for us, and helping them from a technical perspective to actually produce their content. This is a great part of the job and it's always thrilling when an expert wants to do something for the Tudor Society.

All of the core team of the Tudor Society are always looking at ways to improve the website and what we do for ongoing and new members. Marketing, planning, and "blue sky" thinking are vital to ensure that everyone continues to enjoy the website. We're blessed with so many years of amazing articles in both the website and the magazines and it's important to highlight those as well as our new content. Something new is always around the corner.

I love the work – it's continually a challenge and there are always new things to be done to make things better for the members.

Catherine Interviews...

Now the Tudor period is not your favourite period in history (but we'll let you off as it's you!). So, what do you enjoy the most and why does it fascinate you so much?

History was not something that I am naturally drawn to – I'm an engineer by training and into music technology by interest – but I've always had a fascination with Egypt and the Egyptians. I'm an avid watcher of YouTube videos on that period of history, and I'm amazed that new findings and theories are still coming out. The technology which now allows us to see right through the pyramids, look under the desert from satellites and to see behind brick walls is incredible. I think we're on the cusp of discovering all sorts of things about the Egyptians that we never new before. When Gantenbrink's robot went up the ventilation shafts in the great pyramid and showed the world a copper handle which hadn't been seen for over 4000 years, my mind was blown! That's what I call history in the making! Will they find the tomb of Nefertiti behind a hidden wall in the tomb of Tutankhamun? Is Khufu still to be found in the Great Pyramid? I live in hope...

I've also recently discovered an interest in ancient Indian history. They have some immense, intricate and really old structures which are only now being examined and explained to the western viewer. I've found that there is as much history in India as there is in North Africa, Europe, Australia, North and South America too. It is truly amazing that we're only just learning about it all. Oh, and don't get me started on the Inca, Mayans and Olmecs, that's another whole interview.

And do you now consider yourself an expert in Tudor History? I think you do pretty well!

Ha! No, not in the slightest. I take a great interest in the daily videos we make and the articles in Tudor Life, and I'm always learning something new. It was amusing when I used to go as a leader on our historical trips around the UK as people naturally asked me questions about what we were seeing. Don't ask me about history! I taught myself to be an expert on Bradgate Part and the Tudor history there, and I know bits and pieces about lots of Tudor things ... but nothing cohesive, and almost no dates of events at all! When I am asked a question I inevitably have to pass it

Catherine Interviews...

on to a real expert like Gareth Russell or Claire. I wouldn't trust myself to give the right answer, and the answer always has to be right.

Last of all, if you could recommend any 3 history books, any periods, what would they be?

You know that this is a really difficult question for me. Though I've published over 80 books, I rarely read at all! Strange but true. I suppose it's like the typical builder who never gets around to finishing his own house. When you work in the industry it's the last thing you want to do to relax. I'd recommend Graham Hancock and his "Magicians of the Gods" book. It was an eye-opener for me on early human history. I'd also always recommend the thinking and writing of Richard Buckminster Fuller and I think you could call "Critical Path" a history book as it takes the reader through the whole of human civilization in his keenly critical way. In the Tudor era I would recommend my wife's "The Fall of Anne Boleyn" as a gripping read – it shows how quick and brutal the downfall of Anne Boleyn was. Poor, poor Anne.

Thank you so much for interviewing me. I could talk until the cows come home on publishing so I hope this taster is useful and interesting to someone.



Charlie RICHARD III Matthew Lewis

In recent years, there have been many new biographies released on Richard III, the infamous 'car park king'. Most of them have just been rehashing information that we already knew and do not provide much of a new insight into the controversial figure, which is why Matthew Lewis' new biography on Richard III stands out. Lewis is openly a Ricardian, so it is easy to go into the book expecting an overly biased account, but this was a pleasant surprise.

Matthew Lewis succeeds in where many other historians have failed, in that he really seems to gets into the psyche of the maligned king, as much as possible anyhow, and how Richard may have thought and felt. This is particularly prevalent as Lewis looks at the approximate time when Richard's scoliosis began to manifest itself:

> One of the greatest disappointments for Richard as the condition began to manifest itself would have been the loss of any hope that he would become a physical match for his oldest brother... For a small boy, it must have seemed that Edward was an heroic figure from Grecian myth and Richard could have harboured a legitimate hope of reaching the same striking stature and prowess as the king. The pain taking hold in his back would bring an end to any of those dreams



and leave Edward as representing something unattainable that Richard had been denied by a twist of fate and a curve of his spine.'

The author also shows the reader how Richard learnt from his brother's, Edward IV's, successes and mistakes. An example of this is shown in Edward's dealings with their other brother, George, and the difficulties he faced in regards to him. Lewis tells us how difficult it must have been for him, as they were most likely the closest of the three:

'Whatever may be guessed, the suggestion in Richard's letter that George's death had been contrary to his own wishes is clear. How he might have rationalised this and expected Edward to continue to indulge George's treachery is hard to imagine. Richard and George seem to have been close, whatever disputes they took up against each other, and it seems reasonable that Richard would not be happy to see one brother killing another. However necessary it might be, it rocked the unity of the House of York and deprived him of the brother he had grown up alongside. It is possible he blamed the queen and her family, but impossible to show with any certainty amidst the later assertions that he was bent on revenge.'

The author makes it clear that Richard was no angel nor devil, but something in between, and is clear to state this when moving into controversial territories, such as the usurpation. Lewis' theories in regards to Richard are convincing, being all the more so as the book is well-referenced and the sources used are cited throughout.

Matthew Lewis' biography is groundbreaking and one that anyone interested in Richard III and the Wars of the Roses should read. It is one of the most important biographies on the king in recent years and looks at all of the different angles and possibilities, especially concerning the Princes in the Tower, but doesn't fully discount any. It is an engaging and readable biography, one that will interest general readers and researchers alike.

THE QUEEN'S SISTERS

Sarah J. Hodder



The Woodville family has been fascinating historians for many years, with Elizabeth Woodville's rise to become Queen of England having attracted attention in both fiction and non-fiction. Elizabeth's sisters have been mentioned in passing, generally in regards to the marriages that were made for them once Elizabeth married Edward IV, but have never been the sole focus of any book until now. Sarah J. Hodder's book *The Queen's Sisters* is a short book, only 100 pages long, that looks at what we know of the lives of Elizabeth's sisters for the first time.

Each sister has her own chapter, including Martha Woodville, the one sister we cannot be sure actually existed. There is unfortunately very little to go on for each sister and, in some cases, we can't even be sure of their names either, as Hodder explains:

Jane is unquestionably one of the more mysterious of the Woodville sisters, with even her Christian name varying from source to source. Sometimes referred to as Joan, and oddly other times as Eleanor, she was the second youngest Woodville girl to be born, sometime around 1455 to 1456.'

The lives of the sisters are patchy at best and, in the majority of cases, sound unhappy. However, the author does suggest there were some potentially happy marriages made for the sisters, such as the case for Margaret Woodville:

'The exact date of Margaret's death is unknown, but it is believed to be around 1490, aged around thirtyfive. Whether Margaret and Thomas had a happy marriage or not can only b e guessed at. It is enticing, however, to imagine that the fact that Thomas never remarried, even though he outlived her by thirty-four years, illustrates the love they had for each other in his choice to not take another wife.'

This book also gives readers a good look at how Elizabeth Woodville's social standing changed through the types of marriages her sisters made and how their lives changed as a result. Her sisters make more advantageous marriages as Elizabeth status changes, from a widow of a Lancastrian knight to the wife of Edward IV.

What lets this book down is that the research the author did is evident throughout, especially with such a tricky subject, however, the attempt at referencing is poor. There is some referencing but the page numbers are sadly absent, so it is of little use to someone who wants to research the subject.

This is an interesting book that gathers together what little information we know on Elizabeth Woodville's sisters, although it is a difficult subject to write on and there is a lot of guesswork involved. Hodder has a great skill for deduction, however, which shows in some of the conclusions she comes to in this work. Hopefully, her next subject will be on a work with more material to hand and so show off her skills more to the reader.

CHARLIE FENTON



WENDY J. DUNN ON WRITING

What ignites Writing?

My dear Reader/ Writer,

I have just sent off an article proposal for an academic paper. It has been some time since I last wrote an academic paper. I am somewhat uncertain if I really desire to flex my academic writing voice at all – but the theme for this particular journal caught my interest. So much so. I reminded myself that writing means pushing yourself out of your comfort zone. So, I decided to take up the challenge and write an abstract. The academic creative writing journal calling out for papers may knock it back. But if they do like it, then I will have the opportunity to explore in depth 'the search image'. And I

thought the subject is so interesting, I have decided to write about *the search image* for readers of this column. So – what is 'the search image'?

I first came across the term in the midst of completing my PhD by exegesis and creative artefact. That almost four-year journey birthed The Light in the Labyrinth, my second published Tudor novel. Four years? My goodness, is it four years since I gained my doctorate? Time does rush by... But back to the search image, a term discussed by Parini in his essay Delving into the World of Dreams by blending fact and fiction. A search image is term used often by field naturalists. It means you see

what you are trained or disposed to see, that is, "our experiences in life has shaped us, so that we react differently to the same phenomena" (Parini 1988, p. 2).

We react differently to the same phenomena...reading that set me off on burrowing down to find out more about 'the search image'. I wanted to know more because I realised how vital the search image was for my own writing practice. Dear Heart, How Like You This? and The Light in the Labyrinth were both inspired by the painting Anne Boleyn in the Tower by Edouard Cibot. The Light in the Labyrinth was also inspired by the painting used for its cover, Head of a Tudor girl (Fortescue-Brickdale



1899). this work by the time I had completed my first draft. I loved it so much I bought a copy so my Tudor girl could inspire me as I completed my novel about a Tudor girl. Paintings also inspired Pomegranate Falling Seeds: The Duty of Daughters (2019) and

I discovered Falling Pomegranate Seeds: All Manner of Things, my two novels which recount the of Aragon Katherine story. I use these paintings for the covers of both novels. Painted by the Renaissance artist Michael Sittow, these painting are believed to use the young Katherine

of Aragon as their model.

My PhD research illuminated that I am one of many fictional writers who begin the creative process through the inspiration of an image. This image results in an idea, the dark hole - the chaos that leads to knowledge - dived into by writers. Sandra Worth's dark hole opened for her on the day she stood before the portrait of Richard at the National Gallery of London. His portrait, seeming to her to be at odds to that of a child murderer. inspired her novel trilogy about Richard III (2012) Elisabeth Storrs discovered "a photo of a C6th BCE sarcophagus of a man and woman lying on their bed in a tender embrace" and it inspired her to write her novel The Wedding Shroud (Storrs 2012). Markus Zusak came to write his novel The Messenger after seeing a fifteen-minute parking zone sign in front of a bank (Zusak 2013) Eco's The Name of the Rose was inspired by a mental image the author had of a monk's murder, likely originating from his teenage memory when he spent time at Benedictine monastery (Eco 2005). That images spark ideas in creators seems a natural progression when we reflect that idea itself originated from the Greek 'to see' (Carter 2005?).

In my own writing practice, there is not only that first image spurring

the long process of novel writing, but also more images adding fuel along the way to keep inspiration burning bright. One such image happened at the beginning of writing The Light in the Labyrinth, when I sat waiting for a bus. Before my eyes, a white feather drifted in a gentle wind. Mulling about the construction of an angel voice, an important part of the first two drafts of The Light in the Labyrinth, I also drifted, but in a waking dream. Later, I wrote this in my journal:

Do all creators begin with a dream, an image so strong that it won't leave them alone? A dream that haunts and stalks them – like the dream-like memory narrated in Sir Thomas Wyatt's poem, the poem that I think of as Dear Heart, How like You This?, the title of my first Tudor novel.

Α waking dream clearly stalked Sir Thomas Wyatt — SO powerfully the that image inspiring him transferred to my imagination, and planted the seed to flourish into my first novel.

Now I am haunted by a new image, a new

waking dream. A white feather floats and drifts in the air, falling from a leaden sky, pregnant with unfallen snow.

The feather is easily explained. Easily? It does seem the opening image, vision, daydream for me to seize on and begin my journey into imagination. An angel narrator? Perhaps.

I thought more about the search image, and how it ignites inspiration. In my journal, I ended up setting out the process for my writing practice:

- » The image
- » The Idea
- » The Dream's Arrival
- » The Awakening
- » The Insight
- » Standing on the
- sacred threshold
- » The First Surrender
- » Directed Daydream
- » Directed Thinking
- » The Deeper
- Surrender
- » The Obsession
- » Actualisation
 - of the Dream
- » Letting Go

Moving on – Grown Now I see my response to the feather was the response to the "search image" – which returns me to "our experiences in life has shaped us, so that we react differently to the same phenomena" (work cited). My lifelong obsession with the Tudors has shaped and trained me as a writer who reacts to search images that awake ideas for Tudor narratives. Once again this returns us to idea as a way of seeing - "the stuff of visualization" (Carter 2005, p. 27). Idea and historia stem from the same ancient Greek root eidenai, but in this instance historia bespeaks of the eyewitness.

Eco discusses in On Literature (2005) in a chapter entitled "How I write", the intellectual

processes he take before he writes fiction. He decides on his subject. He draws pictures of his characters and maps of their world. He researches - books, maps, places. He times how long it takes his characters to go from point A to point B. He writes notes and uses a digital recorder. Research opens the door to his imagination, and adds to his 'writerly compost'. Compost constructed in similar ways to mine. Like Eco, I dig from it for writing.

must Accessing this compost vrites makes it possible for me s on to write fiction.

> It is through reflecting upon the handling of my craft I can see how the "search image" inspires me to write. It acts as the catalyst and engages me in the act of writing by germinating an idea. It demands me to write and engage in the waking dream of deep writing. Finally, it calls me to act as a witness to the human experience through the crafting of a novel.

Are you inspired to write by a search image? Please email me at wendyjdunn1533@gmail.com and tell me about it please! And please do not forget I would love to hear from you if you have a writing subject you would like me to cover in this column.

WENDY J. DUNN

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FRIED DELIGHTS

Greetings, All!

At first glance, there doesn't appear to be a common thread between medieval food and doughnuts (donuts for our American friends). Before you ask yourself "Has she lost her mind (again)", or "Is this article going to end up like the ones on kefir and garum?" the answer to both is a resounding NO! I can assure there is a vibrant, shared history between the medieval foods, religion and doughnuts.

So why, doughnuts? It all started at an SCA event in 2016 called the Great Southern Gathering. The GSG is a highly popular annual event featuring masterclasses in various medieval arts and sciences. One such event was Medieval Master Chef, featuring fried balls of deliciousness; krapfen, or 15th-century German doughnuts. The recipe that was used during the competition came from the German cookbook Kuchenmeisterei (Mastery of the Kitchen) printed in 1485.1 The rest, as I'm fond of saying, is history the evidence of which has undoubtedly settled on my waistline.

The earliest recorded English language recipe for a fried pastry dough appears in The Forme of Cury as cryspels.² Cryspels are described as small round pastries lovingly basted in spiced honey syrup. A thin sheet of sweet pastry was cut into circles, then fried in hot grease or oil. When the cryspels were cooked, they were drenched in a honey syrup and served forth to doubtless appreciative diners. While 14th-century crispels may have lacked a typical doughnut shape, I'm pretty sure that they were as popular then as their in modernday equivalents are now. Who knows, perhaps Richard III enjoyed a dish of piping hot and sweet cryspels before he led his troops forth to the Battle of Bosworth (you all know I'm a Yorkist at heart :-))

Cryspels and faschingkrapfen, cheekily named Pets de Soeur (Nun's farts) and olibollen and other fried delights also feature in the religious celebration of Carnival. Traditionally Carnival takes place on the weekend before Lent with festivities beginning on Thursday night and finishing on the following Tuesday night before Ash Wednesday. The eating of krapfen during Carnival is a medieval tradition. The idea is that Fat Thursday (the Thursday before Lent begins) was the last day people could eat meat. People would typically slaughter their animals and use the fat to make baked or fried

Ehlert, T. Küchenmeisterei: Edition, Übersetzung Und Kommentar Zweier Kochbuch-Handschriften Des 15. Jahrhunderts, Solothurn S 490 Und Köln, Historisches Archiv GB 4° 27; Mit Einem Reprographischen Nachdruck. N.p.: Peter Lang Group, 2010.

² The Forme of Cury, 1390, Cryspels XX. VIII. III http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/8102/ pg8102.html

sweet treats.³ As all good Catholics know, you sin before your repent. As a result, krapfen have become a Carnival staple.

Similarly in medieval England, the tradition of eating fried delights is represented in the humble pancake. The best way to use up milk, eggs, honey and, if you were wealthy enough to afford it, sugar, before the season of Lent was to make pancakes. As a piece of pancake trivial, the modern idea of pancake races is thought to have originated in 1445, when a Buckinghamshire housewife was caught out making pancakes by the sound of church bells. Rather than waste a pancake, our inventive housewife decided to run from her home to the church carrying her griddle or pan, flipping the pancake on the run to prevent it burning.⁴ Surprisingly, there is mention of a fried delight in the Book of Leviticus, specifying "cakes mingled with oil, of fine flour, fried" as an offering worthy of God.5

Other contenders for medieval fried delights include Dutch poffertjes and oliebollen, also known as smoutebol in Belgium.

- 3 Faschingskrapfen A Medieval Doughnut, Vienna House, February 2017 https://blog.viennahouse.com/en/ faschingskrapfen-a-medieval-doughnut/
- 4 https://inews.co.uk/light-relief/offbeat/ pancake-day-2020-when-date-shrove-tuesdayuk-lent-pancakes-1385078
- 5 Krondl, M. Donut Planet, March 2013. https://www.saveur.com/article/Kitchen/ Donut-Planet/

Poffertjes, meaning "brothers" stem from the Dutch Catholic tradition. The legend goes that the brothers of a particular religious house found their sacramental host to be rather dry and unappealing. They decided to experiment with different recipes and ways of cooking the Host, finally settling upon a small light and fluffy pancake typically made from fermented buckwheat flour.

The origins of oliebollen are more obscure, though no less delicious. One school of thought argues that oliebollen were originally eaten by Germanic during the dark of winter. Another school of thought says that oliebollen were introduced to the Dutch by Sephardi Jewish immigrants during the 1400s, and are in fact related to the Jewish dish sufganiyah, a small fluffy and spherical treat eaten on Hanukkah.⁶ The earliest reference to oliebollen can be found in the 17th-century Dutch cookbook De Verstandige Kock, or The Competent Cook. De Verstandige Kock provides a recipe for oliekoecken, or oil cookies, which is the culinary precursor to oliebollen.⁷ The primary difference between Dutch oliebollen and Flemish smoutebol is that the Flemish version is usually cooked in animal fat and is not usually filled.

7 http://www.kookhistorie.nl/

⁶ Liphshiz, C. How Hanukkah Sufganiyot Became a National Treat in The Netherlands, December 2016

https://www.jta.org/2016/12/14/lifestyle/howhanukkah-sufganiyot-became-a-national-treatin-the-netherlands

Who knows, perhaps Anne of Cleves sought solace in a plateful of smoutebol, or oliebollen, or krapfen after Henry's rejection of her ...?

Krapfen (Küchenmeisterei 102 A)8

Bring honey in wine to the boil, as much as you need. Take a large bowl and stir the wine with white flour until it resembles a puree. Beat an egg yolk, which ought to be red in colour, in another bowl with a little saffron. Blend this very thoroughly with the preprepared honey-wine mixture and bring together. Mix it very thoroughly and incorporate additional flour - little by little until you have a smooth dough. Then spread out a clean cloth, and roll the dough out with a

Ehlert. Op Cit

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rolling pin until it is suitably thin. Then cut it into large or small pieces, depending on how you want your krapfen, then fill with their respective stuffings.

Krapfen made with Apples or Pears (Küchenmeisterei 100)9

Bake apples or pears in advance, then put in a mortar and pestle. Beat through one or two eggs and a little salt, pound well and spice it well, then use the mixture to fill the doughnuts. If you want to make another type of doughnuts with eggs, you can chop parsley and marjoram or other good herbs, knead these with a raw egg, then spice and salt the mix, then fill the doughnuts.

Rioghnach O'Geraghty

Ehlert. Ibid

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AUGUST'S "ON THIS

r Abbey	1 August 1556 Burning of Joan Waste, a blind woman, in Derby for heresy after she refused to recant her Protestant faith.	2 August 2 1553 Elizabeth greeted her half-sister, the newly proclaimed Queen Mary I, in London.	3 August 3 1558 Burial of Thomas Alle and benefactor, at St Church, Stevenage, A for his support of edu financing of schoolma tuition he arranged for	4 August 1557 Burial of Anne of Cleves, fourth wife of Henry VIII, at Westminster Abbey.	
Allie of Cleves Tolilo at Westininster Abbey					P August 556 Funeral of Sir William Laxton, Lord Mayor of London, one of the wealthiest London merchants.
	13 August 1514 Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII, married King Louis XII by proxy at Greenwich Palace.	14 August 1513 William Parr, Marquis of Northampton and brother of Queen Catherine Parr, was born.	15 August 1551 Robert Dudley, was appointed as a Gentleman of Edward VI's Privy Chamber.	16 August 1533 Death of Thomas Skevington, Abbot of Beaulieu and Bishop of Bangor.	177 August 1510 Henry VII's chief administrators, Sir Edmund Dudley and Sir Richard Empson, were beheaded on Tower Hill.
and the second se	200 ^{August} A thanksgiving service was held at St Paul's in London to give thanks to God for England's victory over the Spaniards	21 August 1535 King Henry VIII and his wife, Queen Anne Boleyn, visited Sir Nicholas Poyntz at his home, Acton Court.	222 August 1485 In rural Leicestershire near Market Bosworth, the armies of King Richard III and Henry Tudor faced each other.	23 August 1535 Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII visited the Walsh family at Little Sodbury Manor.	24 August Death of Cecily, Viscountess Welles, third daughter of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville.
Add Verdand Bartha	28 August 28 1588 Execution of William Dean, Roman Catholic priest and martyr, by hanging at Mile End Green, Middlesex.	29 August Arrest of Geoffrey Pole on suspicion of being in contact with his brother, Cardinal Reginald Pole, who had denounced the King and his policies in his treatise, <i>Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione.</i>		30 August 1548 Mary Seymour, daughter of Catherine Parr, and Thomas Seymour, was born at Sudeley Castle in Gloucestershire.	31 August 31 1545 A contagious disease known as the 'Bloody flux' hit Portsmouth, killing many men serving on the ships there.

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY"

5 August 1600 Deaths of John Ruthven, 3 rd Earl of Gowrie, and his brother, Alexander Ruthven, at Gowrie House near Perth. The brothers were killed as they tried to kidnap James VI. They were posthumously found guilty of treason and their bodies hanged, drawn and quartered in Edinburgh.		GAugust Joeath of Anne Hathaway, wife of William Shakespeare. Anne was buried next to her husband.	7 August 1549 The five year-old Mary, Queen of Scots set sail from Dumbarton, Scotland, for France.	8 August 1588 Elizabeth I decided to accept the Earl of Leicester's invitation to visit the troops he had gathered near Tilbury Fort.	
10 ^{August} Mary I held an obsequy or requiem mass for the soul of her late half-brother, Edward VI.	11 August 1581 Death of Sir Maurice Berkeley, Gentleman Usher of Henry VIII's Privy Chamber.	12 August Burial of Henry Carey, 1 st Baron Hunsdon, in Westminster Abbey at the expense of his cousin Elizabeth I.			
18 ^{August} The first European C in the New World. V the daughter of Anar wife, Eleanor, daugh White. She was borr colony, in what is no	⁷ irginia Dare was nias Dare and his ter of Governor John n in the Roanoke	1921531 The burning of Thomas Bilney, Protestant martyr, at Lollard's Pit just outside Bishopsgate.			
25 August Death of Thomas Cawarden, courtier and Master of Revels to Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary I.	26 ^{August} 7 The Earl of Warwick received 1,000 mercenaries as reinforcements to fight the rebels of Kett's Rebellion.	277 August The storming of St Quentin by English and Imperial forces. Admiral de Coligny and his French troops, numbering only a thousand, were overcome by around 60,000 soldiers, and St Quentin fell. Henry Dudley, the youngest son of the late John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, was killed by a cannonball during the storming.			

TUDOR FEAST DAYS

1 August - Lammas 15 August - Assumption of Our Lady 24 August - St Bartholomew 29 - Beheading of St John the Baptist

NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

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FRANCE AND THE TUDORS

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