

# Tudor Life

THE  
TUDOR  
SOCIETY

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THE  
GREYS

MARY GREY

KATHERINE GREY

THE PLACES  
KNOWN TO  
JANE GREY

BRADGATE  
PARK

THE PORTRAITURE  
OF JANE GREY

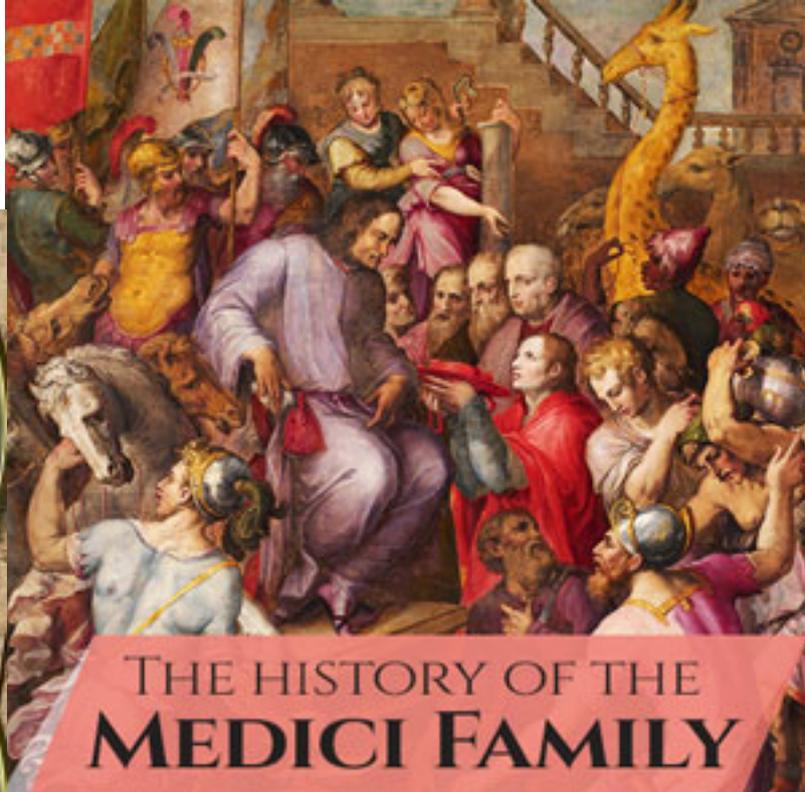
*plus*

LINCOLN  
CATHEDRAL AT  
CHRISTMAS

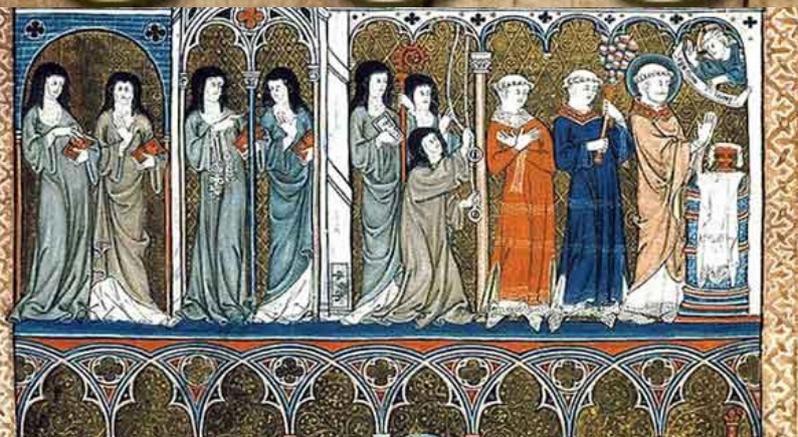


## SHADES of GREY

# Medieval COURSES

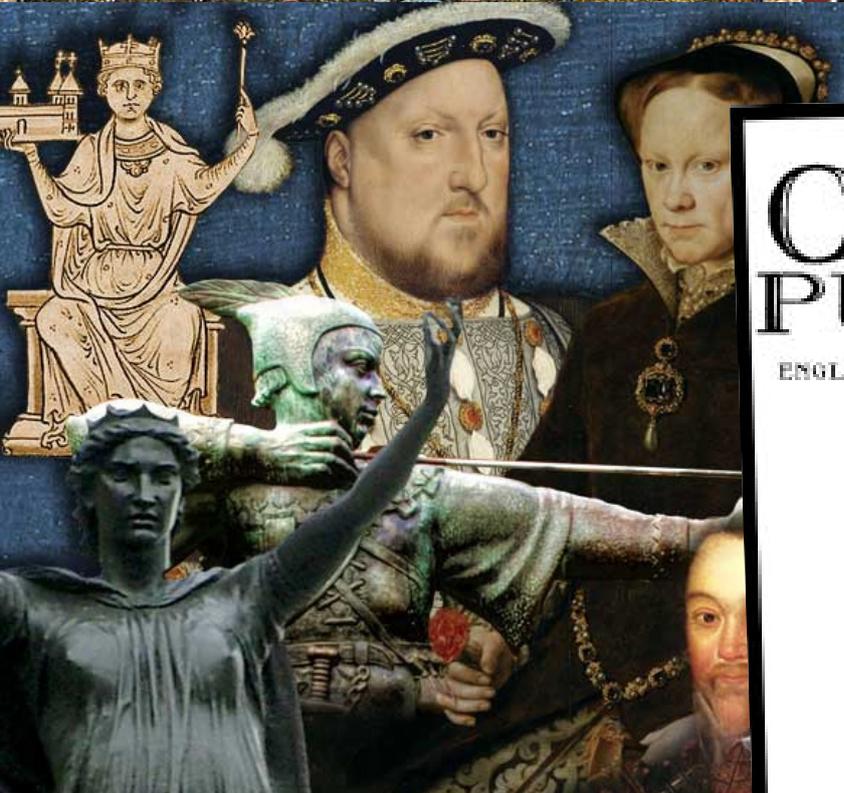


## THE HISTORY OF THE MEDICI FAMILY



## Medieval COURSES

## The life of Anne Boleyn



# CRIME & PUNISHMENT

ENGLAND'S CRIME AND PUNISHMENT THROUGH THE AGES





## THE GREYS

**T**HIS MAGAZINE'S series on the great houses of early modern Britain moves to the Grey family, who were first catapulted into national prominence through Elizabeth Grey or, as History prefers to remember her, Elizabeth Woodville, the widow of a Grey knight who fell in service to the Lancastrian monarchy during the Wars of the Roses. When she married the new king, Edward IV, her Grey sons benefited from the largesse of their royal stepfather, although one lost his head in Richard III's 1483 coup. They endured further fluctuations of fortune common to mighty noble clans under the early Tudors, with Lady Jane Grey and her two sisters paying heavy prices for standing too close to the throne and the altars refurbished by the Reformation. On a happy housekeeping note, I am thrilled to announce that our former regular contributor, Lauren Browne, will be returning to these pages as of next month. Lauren's pursuit of her Ph. D. in early modern presentations of queenship and power progresses well, so we are delighted to welcome her back!

**GARETH RUSSELL**  
**EDITOR**

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by an unknown artist

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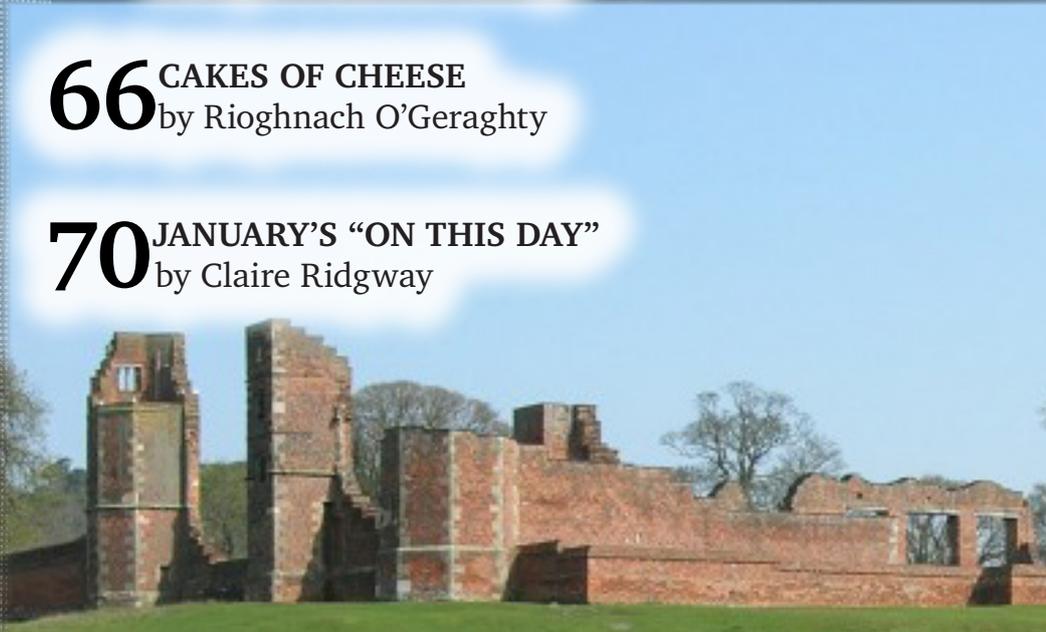
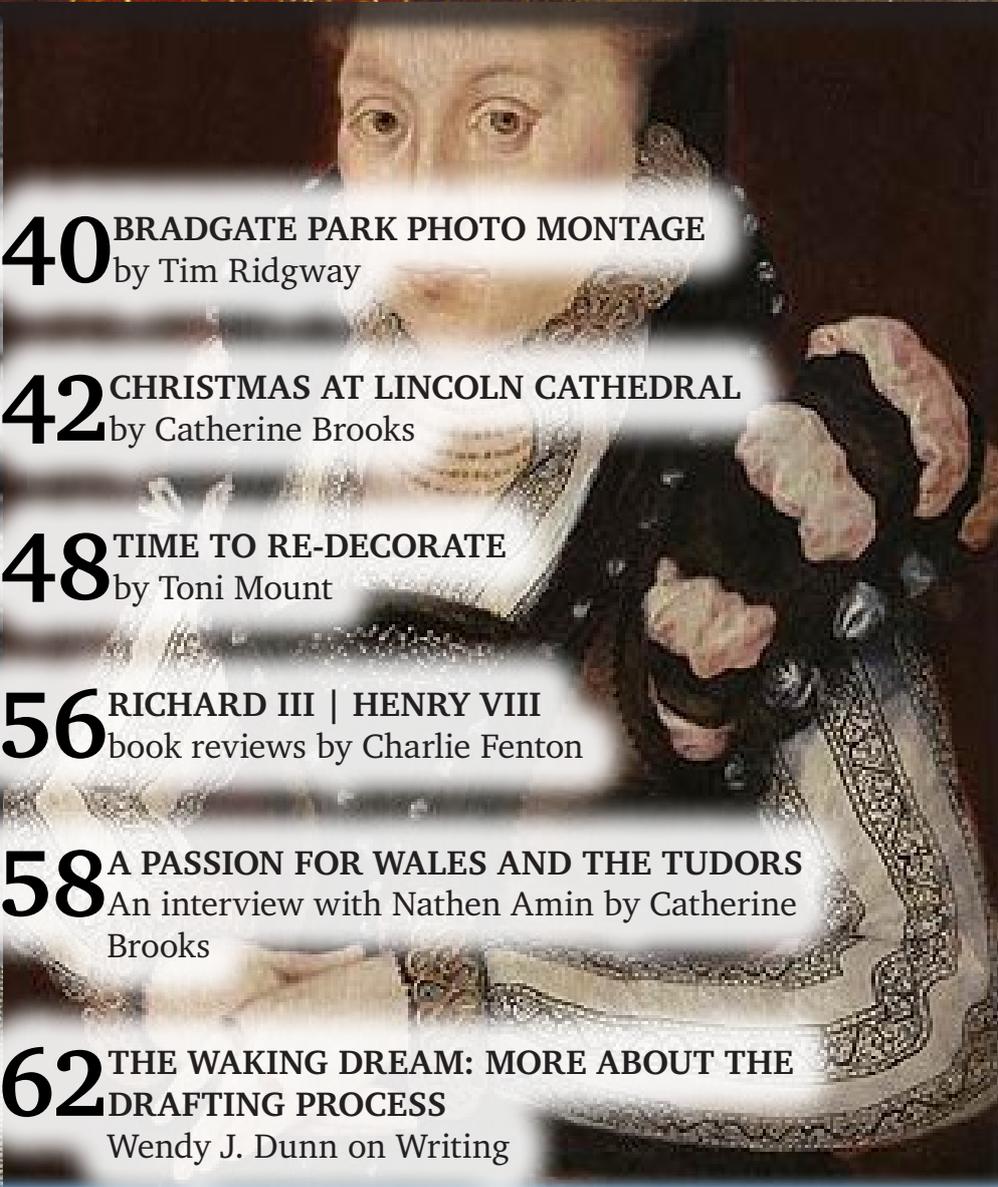
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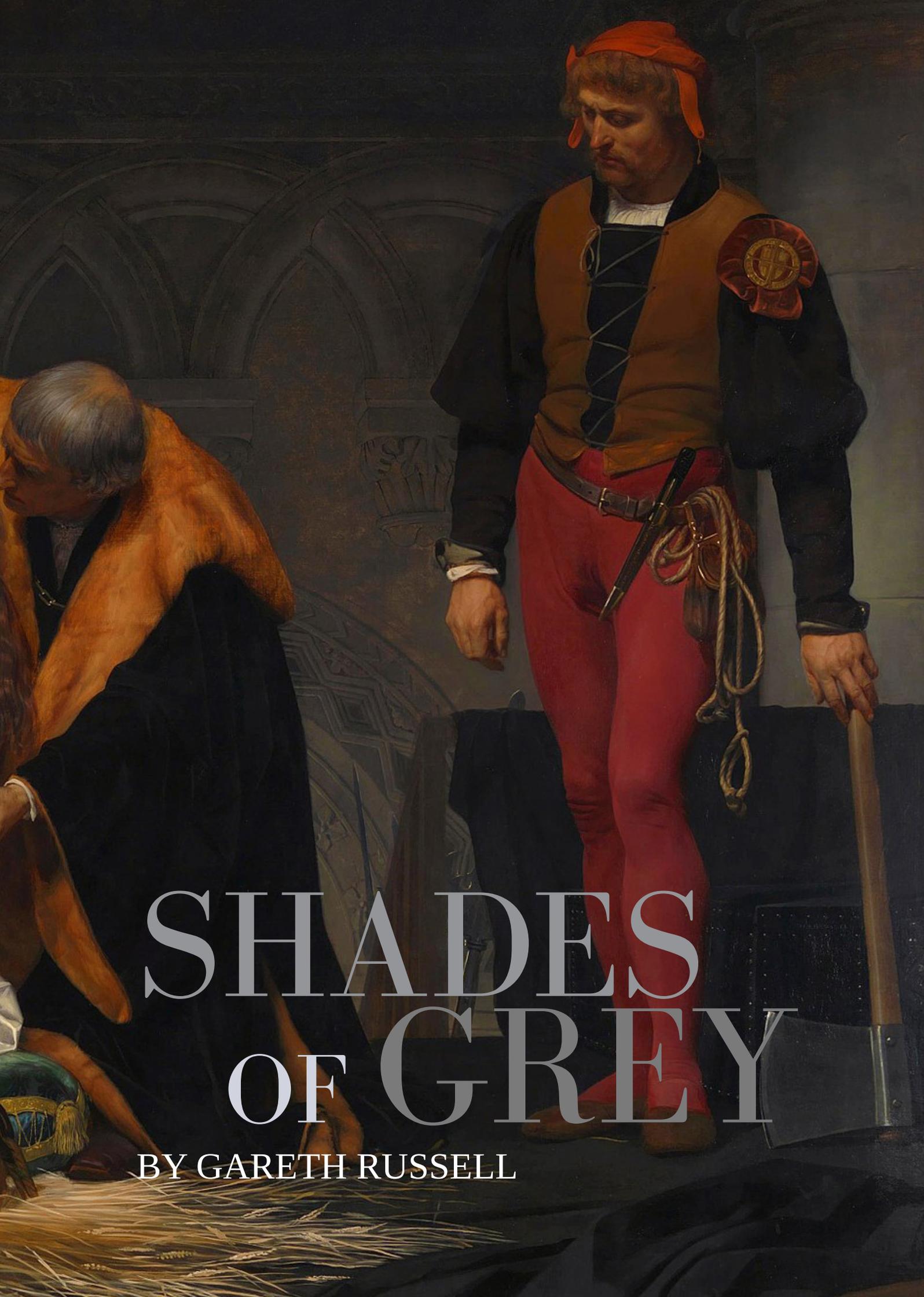
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# SHADES OF GREY

BY GARETH RUSSELL

It has hard for me to put into words why Paul Delaroche's painting of Lady Jane Grey's final moments moves me so very deeply. I am mesmerised by the scale of its talent and the emotion it conveys. It pulsates with anguish. No discussion of this icon of nineteenth-century Romanticism would, however, be complete without acknowledging that it bears almost no physical similarity to Jane Grey, or Jane Dudley's, execution in February 1554.

But does that matter? I cannot help but feel that, no, it does not. We know Jane was not in white, most likely she was in a dark dress as Catherine Howard had been to meet her end twelve years earlier and Anne Boleyn six years before that, although Jane avoided Anne's defiant gesture of trimming her farewell gown with ermine, a fur legally reserved solely for royalty. We know, too, that Jane was executed outside, not in the dungeon depicted by Delaroche's brush.

The painting arguably tells us more about the context of its creation than the source of its inspiration. Creating his masterpiece in a France still reeling from the divisions inflicted by the revolution and the Napoleonic empire, a country in which the tensions between royalism and republicanism split families and ended friendships, some have surmised if Delaroche's decision to garb his Jane Grey in white was a nod – conscious or unconscious – to the colour famously worn by Marie-Antoinette at the height of the Reign of Terror. The painting captures, too, the early nineteenth-century's fears about tyranny and



the desecration of innocence – Jane, here, is apolitical and virginal. She is referred to by her maiden name of Grey, not her marital name of Dudley. She is a martyr of innocence, quite literally sacrificed upon the altar of political expediency. The darkness of the dungeon in contrast to the radiant purity of the princess-victim conjures primal images of sacrificed maidens; it is the substance of fairy tale and myth, repackaged as an historical scene and a political warning.

Nonetheless, I still cannot help but feel that the painting does give us something of Jane's tragedy. It may as well give us something of Catherine Howard's or Marie-Antoinette's. It captures something repugnant yet heartrending. It punches



us with the emotion, the salient message, of Jane's death. It overpowers us with the tragedy, it conveys a crucial dynamic of the incident, in ways in which other works of art inspired by Jane Grey's life quite simply, for me, have not. When I was watching the Broadway musical take on "Anastasia", there was a moment in which, as the on-stage Grand Duchess sang "The Neva Flows" opposite the character of Communist secret police officer, Gleb, the actors playing the Imperial Family and the younger Anastasia were marched back across the stage by actors brandishing guns. The Tsar was in his uniform, the Tsarina in an awe-inspiring recreation of a ballgown worn by the original for an official portrait in 1903, the Grand Duchesses wore their kokoshnik tiaras and formal

Court gowns, while a young Alexei was dressed as he might have been for the celebration of the Romanov tercentenary in 1913. In reality, of course, the Romanovs were not wearing uniforms, medals, tiaras, and ballgowns on that wretched night they were murdered in 1918. The Grand Duchesses were wearing plain skirts and blouses; the Tsar was in patchwork khaki; they had been under house arrest for over a year. Their former splendour was long gone, snatched from them. So as a recreation of the Ekaterinburg massacre, "Anastasia" fails just as spectacularly as Delaroche does for his death of Jane. For jolting the audience with an artistic spectacle that forces home the shuddering horror of the past, they are, for me, second to none.

**GARETH RUSSELL**



# LADY MARY GREY



BY SUSAN ABERNETHY

Mary Grey was the youngest of the three Grey sisters, the other two being Jane and Katherine. Jane would reign as Queen of England for about nine days and Katherine would make an ill-fated love match that resulted in her imprisonment and early death. Although Mary was short of stature, she was as well- educated as her sisters, intelligent and resolute. Because of her physical smallness and possible deformity, she was not considered a serious threat to the throne. She may have considered using this to her advantage.

Mary was born c. 1545. Her father was Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk and her mother was Frances Brandon, niece of King Henry VIII. This relationship made Mary and her sisters' potential heirs to the throne of England. Mary never fully grew to normal size. She may have been a dwarf because later in life, she was described by a chronicler as crook-backed and

ugly. But she did display a warmth of personality and a strong will. Mary grew up in the Protestant religion and was taught cooking, sewing, dancing, music and how to run a household. Female education was encouraged and popular in the Tudor era and the Greys gave their girls the finest humanist education.

In 1553, King Edward VI was so ill and it was apparent

he was dying. Edward drew up a “Device” which aimed to overturn King Henry VIII’s stipulations for his succession. Edward was Protestant and was concerned his Catholic sister, the Lady Mary, would return England to Catholicism. In an effort to avoid this, he changed the succession to fall to the heirs of Frances Brandon. In Edward’s mind, Jane was his successor followed by her sisters Katherine and Mary.

Arrangements were made between the Grey family and the Duke of Northumberland for a series of eight marriages. These included Jane’s marriage to Northumberland’s son Guildford, Katherine Grey to Lord Herbert and on May 21, 1553, Mary was betrothed to her much older relative, Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton. The first two marriages did take place but Mary’s didn’t. King Edward died in July and Northumberland, Mary’s father, and others proclaimed Mary’s sister Jane, Queen of England. But the Lady Mary had something to say about this. In a bloodless coup, Mary was proclaimed Queen of England and Jane became a prisoner in the Tower of London.

Mary’s mother Frances went to Queen Mary and begged forgiveness for her family and the Queen was inclined to be lenient. Jane languished in the Tower, hoping for a pardon. She may have eventually been released but her father joined a rebellion against Queen Mary, sealing his fate and that of his daughter. Jane and Henry Grey were both tried, found guilty and

executed. The attainder and execution of her father brought Mary’s betrothal to an end, ruined her marital prospects and put her inheritance in jeopardy. Frances lost all her property and she and the girls went to live at Beaumanor in Leicestershire.

Within six months, the Grey women were back at court with property and income restored. Sometime in the first half of 1555, Frances married a man of the gentry named Adrian Stokes and left the court, taking Mary with her. From the age of ten until she was twenty, there is very little in the historical record about Mary.

In November of 1558, Queen Mary died and her sister became Queen Elizabeth I. At this point, Mary’s sister Katherine was considered by many as a potential successor to Queen Elizabeth. But Katherine made an ill-advised, secret marriage to Edward Seymour, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Hertford in December 1560 without the Queen’s permission. The Queen was furious and separated the couple, keeping them in the Tower at first and later under house arrest. Katherine managed to have two children, making the Queen even more outraged. Due to Katherine’s separation from her husband, she fell into a depression and died in January of 1568. Katherine’s death put Mary one step closer to the throne.

Mary may have taken a cue from her sister Katherine. When Mary’s mother died in 1559, she walked in the procession during the funeral. She co-inherited several of her mother’s

baronies, giving her an income of £20 per annum. She also became a maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth and earned £80 per annum. And she fell in love with Thomas Keyes.

Keyes was a former soldier and held the post of Sergeant Porter at court where he would have been in charge of palace security. He was twice her age and had several children from a previous marriage. He was also of above-average height, maybe as tall as six feet, eight inches. Mary would have seen him frequently at the gates of the palace.

Keyes courted Mary in a conventional manner, giving her gifts of jewellery. All this was conducted without the Queen's knowledge. Mary may have hoped she could marry a man of lower rank like her mother did when she married Adrian Stokes. As her sister Katherine languished under house arrest, the couple waited for the perfect moment to marry.

Mary and Keyes were married in secret on August 10 or 12 of 1565 in front of a few friends. It wasn't long before Queen Elizabeth learned of the marriage. In her anger, she ordered Mary and Keyes be interrogated and imprisoned. Keyes was held in London. Mary was put in the guardianship of Sir William Hawtrey who had just completed construction on his new home at Chequers where she was kept in a twelve-foot room, still called "the prison room" to this day.

Revenues from Mary's properties were confiscated. She was given a

small allowance that wasn't enough to cover her expenses. Mary was not permitted to see anyone and was only rarely allowed out into the garden. She had two servants and was given what would be considered prison food for her diet. Mary implored Sir William Cecil for help in restoring her to the Queen's favour.

Keyes had the worst of the punishment. He was sent to the notorious medieval prison, the Fleet, and put in solitary confinement. Keyes agreed to an annulment of the marriage, possibly at Mary's prompting. He only asked to be allowed to retire to his home in Kent. But the Bishop of London refused seeing no need to make the marriage invalid due to the presence of so many witnesses.

The Bishop requested Keyes be released from the Fleet and allowed to take the country air. When this was denied, he asked if Keyes could walk in the gardens of the prison. Elizabeth agreed but soon after, he was forced back into his small quarters. Keyes was released from prison in November 1568 and was given a job at Sandgate Castle near his home in Kent. He sent requests to the Queen for permission to live with Mary, but Elizabeth refused.

By August 1567, Mary was sent to live with her step-grandmother Katherine Willoughby who reported Mary was depressed and was refusing to eat. Mary had very little in belongings and they begged the Queen to send some things to help out. In June of 1569, she was transferred to

the care of Sir Thomas Gresham in Bishopsgate in London. Sir Thomas was constant pain from a broken leg that was badly set. His wife resented Mary's presence in her home so Mary spent most of her time in her room reading her small collection of books. Gresham begged Cecil to remove Mary from his care.

Thomas Keyes died due to the ill health of being imprisoned in 1571. Mary's physician delivered the news to Mary and she took it very hard. Mary asked Cecil for permission to raise her stepchildren, to wear mourning and for a pardon and her freedom. With Keyes death, Mary thought the Queen had no need to be displeased with her. Her anger over her husband's death made her more difficult to deal with as a prisoner and Gresham frantically wrote, again and again, asking for her removal.

In 1572, Mary asked for money and Queen Elizabeth reluctantly agreed to raise her allowance and eventually she was freed. Mary went to live with her mother's second husband Adrian Stokes.

By February of 1573, Mary had enough money to acquire her own house, furnish it and hire servants.

She took her carriage out on a regular basis to visit friends and family, became close to Keyes daughter Jane Merrick and acted as god-parent to her daughter. She remained in contact with her brother-in-law, the Earl of Hertford and received news of her nephews. She nurtured contacts at court, especially with the Queen's ladies-in-waiting in hopes of returning to royal favour.

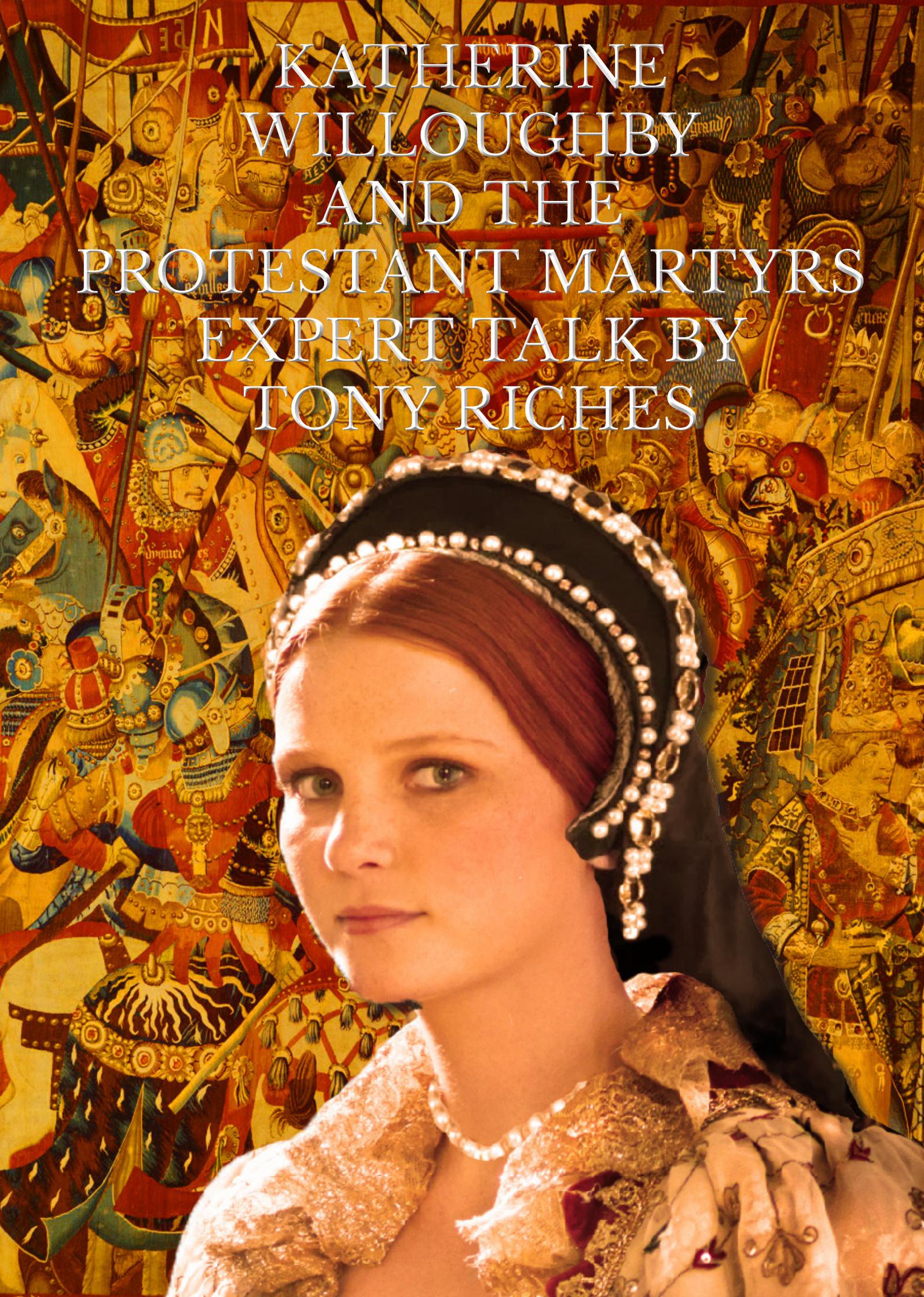
By 1575, the Queen restored some income from her mother's lands and Mary was able to buy proper clothing and some jewellery. Mary was careful to avoid any controversy regarding religion or the succession. Her rehabilitation was complete in 1577 when she was appointed Maid of Honor to the queen and she participated in the court Christmas celebrations. Shortly after New Year's 1578, plague broke out in London and Mary fell ill and died on April 20<sup>th</sup>. The Queen had Mary's remains placed in her mother's royal tomb.

## SUSAN ABERNETHY

Further reading:

*The Sisters Who Would Be Queen: Mary, Katherine and Lady Jane Grey* by Leanda de Lisle

*Entry on Mary Grey* in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography written by Susan Doran



KATHERINE  
WILLOUGHBY  
AND THE  
PROTESTANT MARTYRS  
EXPERT TALK BY  
TONY RICHES





**Katherine Grey  
with her son  
Edward**



## LADY KATHERINE GREY

**L**ady Jane Grey had a tragic life and her younger sister's lives were just as heart-breaking. Katherine was the middle daughter of the three sisters being born on 25 August 1540 and she grew up with them at Bradgate Park, near Leicester.

When Lady Jane married Guildford Dudley, son of the Duke of Northumberland, on 25 May 1553, Katherine, at the tender age of 12, also made a political marriage.

famously known as the nine-day queen assumed the throne, but as we know her reign and life were cut short. When Jane was imprisoned in the Tower she wrote Katherine a warning:

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### LIFE WAS NOT SO BAD

SHE HAD HER OWN ROOMS AND SERVANTS

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*I have sent you, good sister Katherine, a book, which, though it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is of more worth than precious stones. It will teach you to live it will learn you to die.... Trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life...for as soon as God will, goeth the young as the old. Labour always and learn to die. Deny the world, defy the devil, and despise the flesh.*

Her spouse was Henry Herbert, son of William Herbert 1<sup>st</sup> earl of Pembroke and nephew of Queen Catherine Parr. She went to live with her in-laws at Baynard's Castle in London but it is likely given her age that the marriage was never consummated.

Their marriages were meant to strengthen the Grey family's power as Lady Jane, now

After the tragic death of her sister and as granddaughter of Charles Brandon and Mary Tudor, Katherine had a claim to the throne but it was Mary I who now came to power. Katherine's marriage to Henry Herbert was annulled on the grounds of non-consummation even though the young couple had become close. They tried to stop

the annulment by claiming they had slept together but Herbert's father no longer wanted Katherine as part of his family and she was sent back to live with her mother until the queen gave her a position as one of her ladies of the privy chamber along with her mother and sister Mary. Katherine would often see her ex-husband at court as he served Philip as one of the gentlemen of the king consort's privy chamber.

Life was not so bad. She had her own rooms and servants. She was able to keep several toy dogs and even monkeys as pets. Soon there would also be a new love in her life. Katherine met Edward Seymour, nephew of Henry VIII's third wife, when she was caring for her sick friend and his sister Jane at Hanworth. Their love blossomed whilst she in Mary's service but the queen died before they could ask for permission to marry. When Elizabeth I succeeded to the throne, Katherine was demoted and instead of serving in the privy chamber her position was only required in the presence chamber. Katherine was unhappy with the situation. She knew that there were plots surrounding her but

she took no part in them.

Elizabeth I was wary of Katherine as a potential successor and rival although she did consider publicly naming her as heir and formally adopting her. She made sure Katherine knew her place. Katherine complained to Feria, the Spanish ambassador, that the queen did not wish her to succeed and he felt she was 'dissatisfied and offended at this'.

The queen had no idea of the love affair that was continuing between Katherine and her 'Ned'. Katherine had her mother's blessing but her stepfather had advised them both to gain support from members of the Privy Council before they asked Elizabeth's permission. Stokes helped her sickly mother to draft a letter to the queen but it remained unsent as it was deemed not the right time to approach Elizabeth and Katherine's mother, Frances' health declined rapidly. She died around 20 November 1560.

In December, Katherine married in secret in at Edward's house with only his sister and a priest as witness and then rushed off to bed to consummate her marriage. But they

had no time to relax in each other's arms. Both of them quickly resumed their positions at court and Elizabeth eventually promoted Katherine to her privy chamber.

Their marriage remained a secret until Katherine was in the later stages of her first pregnancy. Edward was away fighting in France and Katherine was lonely and worried. The court was on its summer progress and Katherine knew she was running out of time. Knowing she would be at risk of the queen's wrath she asked her friend possibly Bess of Hardwick for help but it was not forthcoming. Bess was horrified she had taken such a risk and she feared for her friend's life as well as being furious at her for dragging her into a potentially explosive situation.

Next Katherine tried the queen's favourite and Master of Horse, Sir Robert Dudley. She waited until late at night and crept into his chambers waking him from sleep. She fell to her knees and begged him to help her but Dudley was mortified she had come to him so late and in secret when the queen was in the room next to his. He feared what would happen if they

were found in compromising circumstances and hastily ushered her out of the door. There was nothing he could do but tell Elizabeth the next day.

And the queen's reaction was everything Katherine had feared. She was incandescent with rage. Katherine was taken under guard to the Tower of London the same day. Hertford was ordered to return from France immediately and he would join his wife in the Tower on September 5<sup>th</sup>. They were both interrogated but kept in reasonably comfortable rooms. Elizabeth was taking no chances that Katherine would be able to seek help and plot against her.

Katherine had more pressing things on her mind. Now heavily pregnant she gave birth to her first son Edward on 21 September. Although she was supposed to be kept apart from her husband, the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Edward Warner, allowed them to meet and the inevitable happened. Katherine fell pregnant again and their second son Thomas was born on 10 February 1563. Their marriage had been annulled by the crown and her children declared

illegitimate. The queen was enraged that Katherine had had yet another son and Edward was charged with two counts of impregnating Katherine and one count of breach of imprisonment. He was fined £5000 for each offence.

With the outbreak of plague across the city, it was decided to move Katherine somewhere safer. Her husband Edward was sent with their eldest son to his mother at Hanworth and Katherine moved with little Thomas to Pirgo in Essex under the care of her uncle Sir John Grey. Katherine was unwell both mentally and physically. Her uncle wrote to Cecil that she would not 'live long thus, she eats not above six morsels in the meal'. She was often found crying and was tormented by the queen's displeasure. Cecil suggested she petition the queen and beg for mercy but Elizabeth refused to forgive her. She had heard of plots to put Katherine on the throne and could not see past the threat her rival posed even though Katherine had done nothing to displease the queen apart from marry for love.

In November 1564 she was moved to Ingatestone Hall under house arrest

in the care of Sir William Petre. Not much is known of her time here and when Petre fell ill in 1566 she was moved again to Gosfield Hall and the care of Sir John Wentworth where she stayed for the next seventeen months until his death. She was then moved again to the home of Sir Owen Hopton. At Cockfield Hall, Yoxford she was to be kept isolated and receive no visitors. She had repeatedly asked to be allowed to see her husband but as Elizabeth had refused to acknowledge their marriage she had also refused any more contact between the couple. They managed to send each other secret marriages but Katherine's world had been torn apart.

Katherine would not be a problem for the queen for much longer. She was ill when she arrived at Cockfield and Hopton immediately sent for the queen's physician. After his visit she seemed to rally but it was not long before she was ailing again. Katherine had no fight left in her but she wanted to ensure her children were well looked after. She asked Hopton to beg the queen for forgiveness on her behalf and to be good to

her children. She also asked him to take her betrothal ring and her wedding ring – proof that they had truly been married - to Edward. There was a third gift, a ‘memento mori’ ring with the words *While I Lived,*

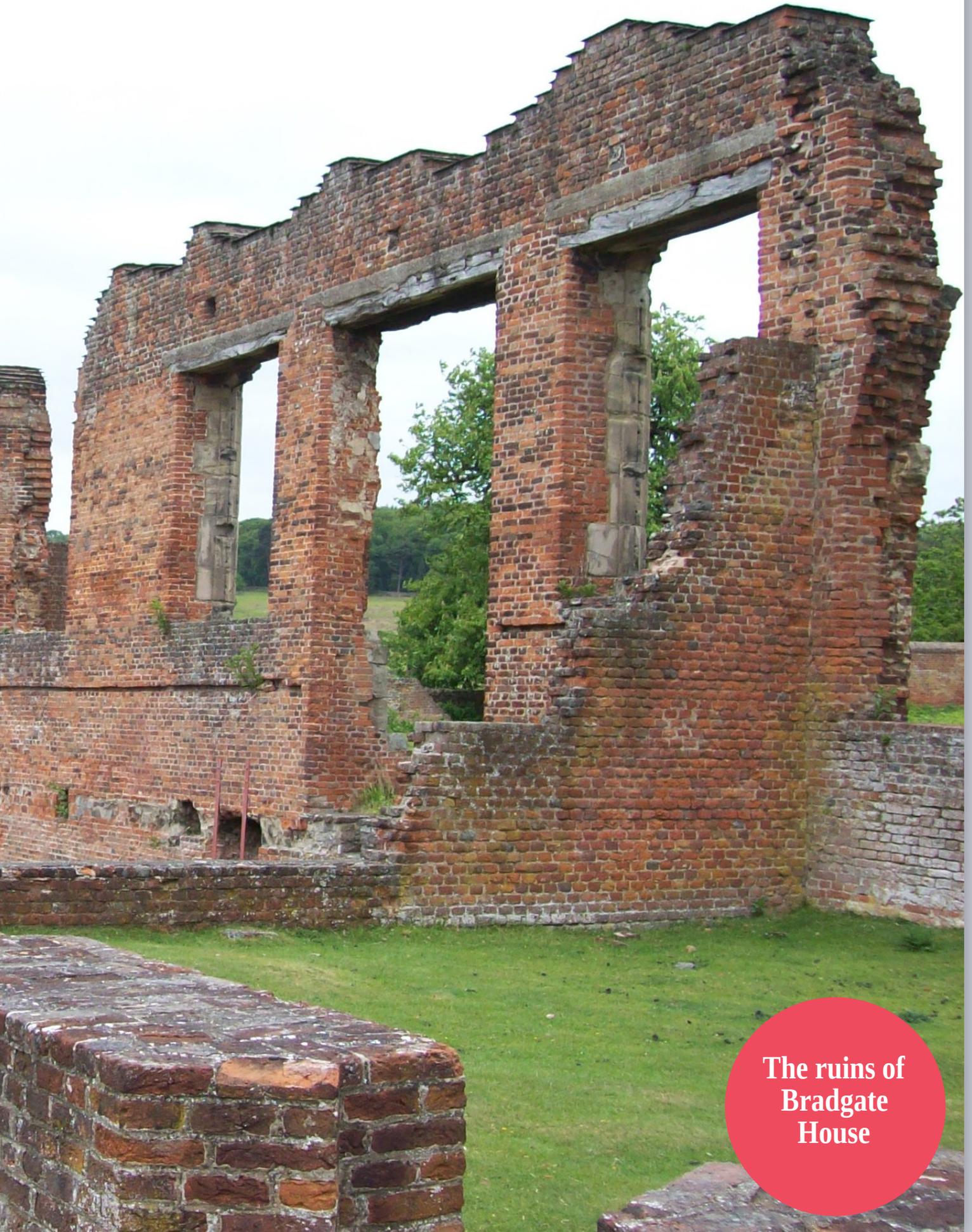
*Yours* inscribed on it.

She died on 26 January 1568 at just 27 years old of consumption but many whispered she had lost the will to live and that she had actually starved herself to death. Katherine was buried

at Yoxford but later moved to Salisbury cathedral to be interred next to the man she had loved, who she had risked everything for and ultimately paid the price for loving.

## SARAH-BETH WATKINS





The ruins of  
Bradgate  
House



IANA GRAYA

*Regia stūps trīstī cīncī diademate crīnes  
Regna sed omnipotens hīnc melīora dedit*

# THE PORTRAITURE OF LADY JANE GREY

BY ROLAND HUI

**D**ue to the brevity of her 'reign', the search for surviving portraiture of Lady Jane Grey has been problematic. From the day she assumed the throne on July 10, 1553 to her overthrow on July 19 - nine days afterwards - there was almost certainly insufficient time to record Jane's likeness for posterity. Not only was Jane's queenship short, so was her life. Seven months after her downfall, the sixteen-year-old's life was ended on the scaffold. As a condemned traitor, there would also have been no demand for her portrait had it been taken. Nonetheless, in the centuries after Jane's death, a great number of images have been identified as being of the tragic teenage Queen.<sup>1</sup> Dismissing those which were obviously mislabelled or fabricated, a handful do have some arguable claim as being possible pictures of Jane Grey.

Since 1969, the most iconic image of Lady Jane Grey was a full length portrait (Fig.1, over) acquired by The National Portrait Gallery (The NPG) in London. Despite its long history as Queen Katharine Parr,<sup>2</sup> the sixth wife of Henry VIII, Roy Strong, then Director of The NPG, re-identified

the picture as of Jane Grey. In his opinion, the sitter bore no resemblance to an alternate authenticated portrait type of Katharine,<sup>3</sup>

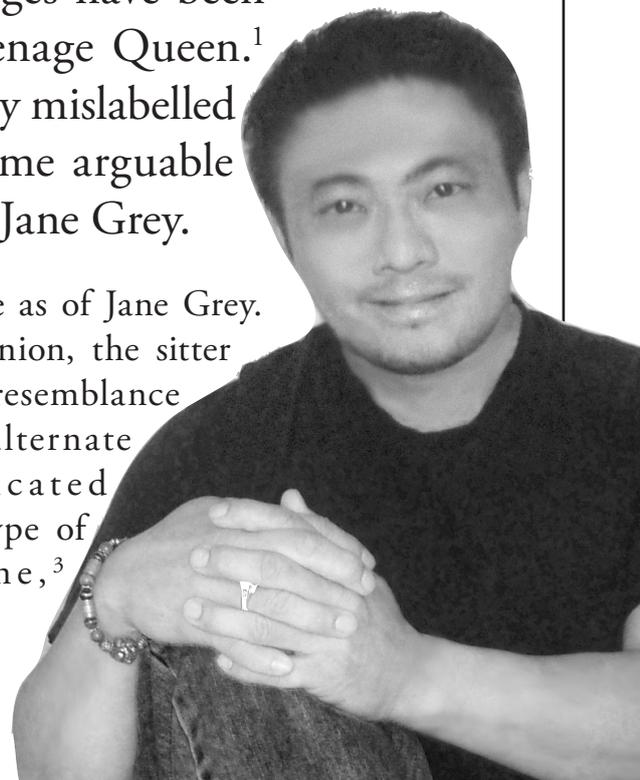




Fig. 1 Katharine Parr (attributed to Master John)

and she was presented as ‘a very young girl’.<sup>4</sup> More importantly, the subject wore a distinctive brooch, ‘a coroneted pendant jewel’ that appeared on an engraving of Jane Grey (Fig. 2) done by Magdalena and Willem de Passe for the bookseller Henry Holland’s *Herwologia* published in 1620. As Holland emphatically stated that he had made great efforts to include only genuine likenesses in the book, Strong had no doubt that the young woman was indeed Jane Grey as stated.<sup>5</sup>

But in 1996, historian Susan E. James argued that Roy Strong was incorrect. The sitter in the full length painting was indeed Katharine Parr as originally believed.<sup>6</sup> In her research of Katharine’s jewelry inventory, James had come upon mention of a unique brooch described as ‘one ouche or flower with a crown containing two diamonds, one ruby, one emerald: the crown being garnished with diamonds [and] three pearls pendant’.<sup>7</sup> As this



**Fig. 2 Possibly Elizabeth I**  
*by an Unknown Artist*

jewel, along with others listed, appeared in the panel portrait, it was evident that Strong had been mistaken, as was Henry Holland earlier on. After James' paper was published, The NPG relabelled the painting as being that of Katharine Parr. The decision was accepted by Strong with good grace. "I am absolutely the last person to be insulted by advances in scholarship", he said. "We knew it was a portrait of a Tudor princess, and making a comparison with a later engraving of Jane Grey, we were convinced that this must be her. But research moves on and more resources become available".<sup>8</sup>

The NPG has another portrait in its collection which for a time was called 'Lady Jane Grey' as well (Fig. 2). Painted in a circular format, it shows a young lady wearing a black hood and a black coat trimmed with fur. While her costume may seem to coincide with a contemporary report of Jane at her trial wearing 'a black gown of cloth' and 'a French hood, all black',<sup>9</sup> there is actually no proof that the painting was meant to be of her. In fact, it may depict her cousin Elizabeth Tudor. The appearance of the lady is comparable with

that of a work showing Elizabeth with her father, his jester, and her two siblings (Fig. 3).



**Fig. 3 Henry VIII with Will Somers, Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I (by an Unknown Artist)**

Not too long ago, another portrait that was more or less accepted as a likeness of Elizabeth as an 18-year-old (or 'in her 18<sup>th</sup> year')<sup>10</sup> was the subject of much attention in the media. In 2006, historian David Starkey proposed that the picture, a miniature in the collection of The Yale Center for British Art in New Haven, Connecticut (Fig. 4), was of Jane Grey instead. In describing his discovery, Starkey told the press, "Almost all the early miniatures such as this were of royal subjects. This one struck me instantly, and I thought it had to be of Lady Jane. What I noticed was

**Fig. 4 Unknown Lady Age 18**  
*attributed to Levina Teerlinc*



the evident youth of the sitter. It would be unusual for someone to sit for a miniature unless they had very high status".<sup>11</sup>

Apart from her youthful looks, the subject Starkey claimed, wore a distinctive piece of jewelry - one that could be matched to two similar ones given to Jane when she was in the Tower of London as Queen: 'a brooch of gold with a face in agate' and 'a brooch of gold enamelled black with a face [in] agate'.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, the spray of foliage around the jewel was a supplementary clue to her identity. It consists of gillyflowers and acorns. According to Starkey, the flowers were a play upon the name of Jane's husband Guilford Dudley, while the acorns - derived from an oak tree (in Latin *robur*) - made reference to her brother-in-law Robert Dudley.<sup>13</sup>

While this 'discovery' of a new portrait of Jane Grey made headlines, some historians were skeptical. Eric Ives, a biographer of Jane for one, pointed out that the flowers on the lady's brooch may actually be cowslips, not gillyflowers. Also, he wondered, why would 'Jane' wear acorns referring to her brother-in-law? Lastly, the carved head on the brooch is of black jet, not agate.<sup>14</sup> Christopher Foley, an art dealer, also gave an opinion that the sitter may have been Lady Jane Lumley (née Fitzalan), a relation of Jane Grey. Jane Lumley was about 18 years of age in 1554, and her father's heraldic badge was an oak, while her mother's was a flower.<sup>15</sup> There was also the problem of the girl's age as given in the miniature. While her exact birth date is uncertain, Jane was traditionally said to have met her death at the age of 16, not 17 (in her 18<sup>th</sup> year) or 18.<sup>16</sup>

Another portrait associated with Jane Grey is the so-called Wrest Park image (Fig. 5). Unlike The NPG panel and the Yale miniature which depicted their subjects in rich



**Fig. 5 Portrait of a Lady, probably Mary Nevill by an Unknown Artist**

clothes and accoutrements, the woman in the Wrest Park painting is very plainly dressed. Her only adornments are a necklace of what appears to be small pearls, and flowers tucked into her bosom.

This image has a long association with Jane Grey. In 1681, it was engraved as the young Queen, though with some artistic license. Jewels were added to her cap and to her bodice to make her look more regal. Subsequently, without and without additional accessories, the Wrest Park lady has appeared in print in the following centuries as an accepted likeness of Jane.<sup>17</sup>

When the original painting was shown at the *Lost Faces* exhibit in London in 2007, the curators were of the opinion that rather than being an *ad vivum* portrait, it was done posthumously. The austere costume and what was presumably a prayer book in her hand

were in keeping with the memory of Jane Grey as a Protestant martyr.<sup>18</sup> However, in 2013, historian J. Stephan Edwards challenged the long held tradition. The young woman may actually be Mary Nevill, Lady Dacre instead.<sup>19</sup> Edwards' argument is a convincing one based on the Wrest Park lady's resemblance to pictures of her and to other external evidence.

In his exhaustive search for a true portrait of Lady Jane Grey, Edwards has found a picture type, one at Syon House in Middlesex (Fig. 6) for example, that may be a representation, if not precise likeness of her. Like the Wrest Park painting, it shows a woman in rather plain attire (a black dress with a white ruff underneath a black gown edged with fur, ropes of beads around and hanging from her neck, and a close fitting black cap). In 1674, it was unequivocally called a 'picture of Queen Jane Grey' by its owner Frances Devereux, the widow of William Seymour, a grandson of Jane's younger sister Katherine.<sup>20</sup>

While the version at Syon was determined to be 'no earlier than 1602', two variants of it can be dated to the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>21</sup> Still, these two paintings were unlikely to have been of Jane Grey as the sitters' ruffs were of a style *after* her death in 1554. That said, the pictures according to Edwards, were probably actually of Katherine Grey. They (and the later Syon portrait) were subsequently adapted to be of Jane, probably because of similarities in the sisters' appearances.<sup>22</sup>

The 'Queen without a face' may have finally found one in a portrait acquired by The NPG in the new millennium. Inscribed *Lady Jayne*, it was in the possession of a family living in Streatham in south London (Fig. 7, over).<sup>23</sup> The owners had tried to interest The NPG in it since the 1920s, but it was not until 2006, that the museum - finally acknowledging its



Fig. 6 Jane Grey (detail) by an Unknown Artist

importance - purchased it. It was not done without criticism. David Starkey lambasted the sale. Besides wasting public funds (to the tune of some £100,000), he exclaimed, it was 'an appalling bad picture'. "There's absolutely no reason to suppose it's got anything to do with Lady Jane Grey", Starkey went on. "There is no documentary evidence, no evidence from inventories, jewelry, or heraldry to support the idea this is Lady Jane Grey. It depends on mere hearsay and tradition, and that is not good enough".<sup>24</sup> "To me, this picture doesn't sing", he continued. "There isn't that over-the-top quality you get with royal portraits of the period, where the sitters look as though they've just come back from Asprey".<sup>25</sup>

In response, the NPG defended the acquisition. "That's just wrong", said Tarnya

Cooper, the 16<sup>th</sup> Century Curator at the museum. “Evidence from heraldry and so on very rarely exists... Its value is as a historical document rather than a work of art”.<sup>26</sup> Christopher Foley, who handled the sale of the portrait, did not shy away from the disparagement either. “The painting is exactly where it should be. It’s not a great work of art, but it is a substantial piece of history”, he remarked in its defense. “The evidence has been supported by people who know far more about the science of painting than David Starkey. I don’t know what his problem is - is it because he didn’t find it”? As for the picture not being a *tour de force* of royal portraiture, “Who says all pictures of monarchs have to be masterpieces”? Foley asked. “A great number of contemporary portraits of Elizabeth I look like pub signs”.<sup>27</sup>



Fig. 7 Jane Grey by an Unknown Artist

Fig. 8 Jane Grey by an Unknown Artist



While the visual aesthetic of the painting was entirely subjective, scientific analyses of it confirmed its historical value. The University College London, who did a technical examination of the panel, offered a creation date of after 1593. As well, ‘the composition of the lead tin yellow paint and its chalk background matches other paintings from that period’.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, the *Lady Jayne* inscription was contemporaneous to the rest of the work. It was not added later implying a possible mislabelling of the sitter’s identity.

But because it was painted near the very end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, was it truly a likeness of Jane Grey? What is certain is that this portrait type was accepted in the Elizabethan era as being of her. In the book *Icones, id est Verae imagines virorum doctrina simul e pietate illustratium*, published by the theologian Theodore Beza (1519-1605) in 1580 in Geneva, a series of Protestant notables were depicted in woodcut.<sup>29</sup> Among them

was Jane (Fig. 8). But for some reason, she was ultimately not included by Beza, or in the subsequent French edition released in the following year by a fellow Protestant Simon Goulard (1548-1628).

As The NPG's *Lady Jayne* was not painted until sometime after 1593, the woodcut from the *Icones* was derived from an earlier copy of it (or a lost print of it) that had made its way to the Continent more than a decade earlier. How early is unknown. Certainly, likenesses of Jane did exist. Elizabeth of Hardwick, Countess of Shrewsbury (1527-1608), a friend of the Grey family, is known to have owned a picture of

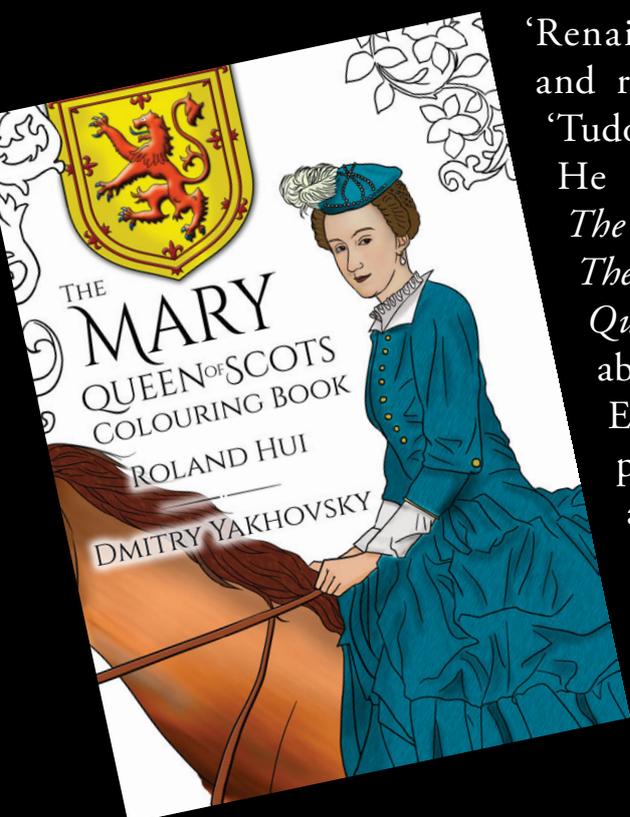
Jane in 1559 that she evidently treasured as it was displayed in the private and intimate space of her bedroom.<sup>30</sup> Also, the renowned art connoisseur Lord Lumley (c.1533-1609) who had amassed a great collection of portraits, had one of 'the Lady Jane Graye, executed'.<sup>31</sup> Given that The NPG/Streatham type was recognized as Jane from at least 1580, and thus the earliest known portrait of her, it is possible that this was an authentic image type of the 'Nine Days Queen', and was the one known to the Countess of Shrewsbury and to Lord Lumley.

## ROLAND HUI

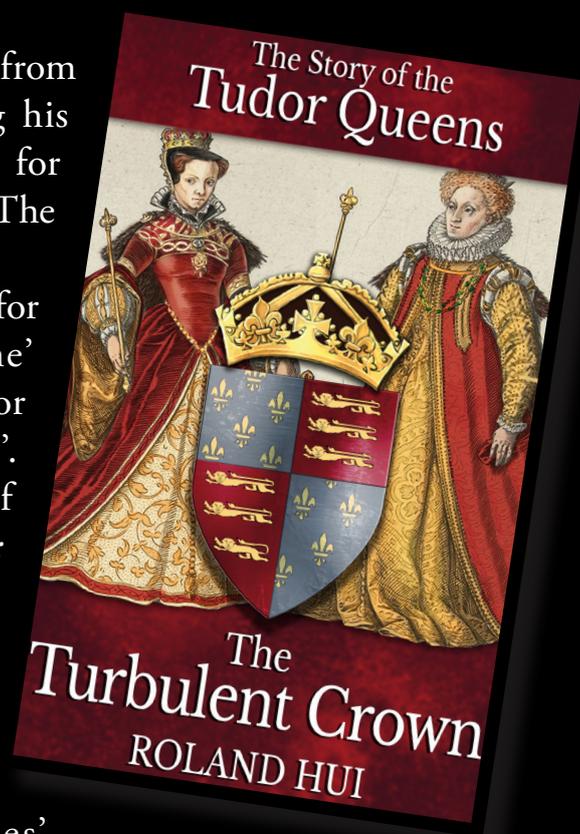
1. My thanks to Lee Porritt for his help in researching this article. His investigations into Jane Grey's likeness can be found online at: <https://ladyjanegreyrevisited.com>, <https://twitter.com/@GreyRevisited>, and <https://www.facebook.com/JaneGreyRevisited>.
2. For a comprehensive study of Jane Grey's portraiture: J. Stephan Edwards, *A Queen of a New Invention: Portraits of Lady Jane Grey Dudley, England's Nine Days Queen*, Palm Springs: Old John Publishing, 2015.
3. A sketch of it was made in 1719 and was described as a 'copy of Queen Catherine Parr's picture': Susan E. James, 'Lady Jane Grey or Queen Kateryn Parr?' *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXVIII, 1114 (January 1996), p. 20. This image type was later used as Katharine Parr by the artist Richard Burchette in his series of Tudor notables in the Prince's Chamber in the Palace of Westminster (painted from 1854 to 1860).
4. The portrait type of Katharine Parr in red with gold embroidery and with a black bonnet with a feather: NPG 4618 and another version at Anglesey Abbey.
5. Roy Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, London: H.M.S.O., 1969, I, p. 78.
6. A three quarter length portrait type of Katharine Parr, wearing similar costume and jewelry, was re-identified as Jane Grey as well. See: Roy Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, pp. 78-79. Strong made mention of the often repeated letter of an eye witness account giving a good description of Jane's appearance, however modern research indicates that it was likely a forgery: Leanda de Lisle, 'Faking Jane', *BBC Magazine*, March 2010, p. 36.
7. Susan E. James, 'Lady Jane Grey or Queen Kateryn Parr?' pp. 20-24.
8. *Ibid.* p. 22.
9. Nigel Reynolds, The lady vanishes as portrait of Jane Grey is proved wrong, *The Weekly Telegraph*, no. 256, June 19 - June 25, 1996.
10. John Gough Nichols (editor), *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary*, London: printed for the Camden Society, 1850, p. 32.
11. Roy Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, London: The Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983, pp. 52-53. Strong attributes it to the artist Levina Teerlinc (1510/20 - 1576). The Yale Center for British Art, on the other hand, believes it to be the creation of Lucas Horenbout (1490/5 - 1544).
12. Nigel Reynolds, 'The true beauty of Lady Jane Grey', *The Daily Telegraph*, March 7, 2007.
13. Bendor Grosvenor (editor), *Lost Faces: Identity and Discovery in Tudor Royal Portraiture*, London: Philip Mould Ltd., p. 82.
14. *ibid.* The gillyflowers and acorns, and flora associated with two other Dudley brothers were given expression in an elaborate carving in the Beauchamp Tower in the Tower of London.
15. Eric Ives, *Lady Jane Grey: A Tudor Mystery*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009, pp. 15-16.
16. Charlotte Higgins, 'Miniature could be second view of Lady Jane Grey', *The Guardian*, March 5, 2007. Other suggestions as to the sitter's identity include Amy Robsart (the first wife of Robert Dudley), Mary I as Princess, and Queen Katheryn Howard. Presently, The Yale Center for British Art officially calls it 'Portrait of an Unknown Lady', with a creation date of around 1535.
17. However, J. Stephan Edwards has argued for Jane being born 'sometime in the second half of 1536'. See: 'A Further Note on the Date of Birth of Lady Jane Grey Dudley', *Notes and Queries*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (June 2008), pp. 146-148.

18. In a number engravings, and as a model for Jane Grey by Richard Burchette in his Tudor portraits at the Palace of Westminster.
19. Bendor Grosvenor (editor), *Lost Faces*, pp. 84-86.
20. J. Stephan Edwards, 'A life framed in portraits: An early portrait of Mary Nevill Fiennes, Lady Dacre', *The British Art Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Autumn 2013), pp. 14-20.
21. J. Stephan Edwards, *A Queen of a New Invention*, p. 170.
22. Ibid. p. 169.
23. Ibid. p. 173.
24. Two variants of this picture are known. One called 'The Norris Portrait' and one at Houghton Hall in Norfolk. A half-length of Katharine Parr from a Private Collection (inscribed CATHARINA REGINA VXOR HENRICI VIII) has her wearing a similar costume and jewelry as these picture types of Jane Grey. However, there appears to be no correlation in likeness between Katharine and these three portraits.
25. Charlotte Higgins, 'A rare portrait of Lady Jane Grey? Or just an 'appallingly bad picture'? *The Guardian*, November 11, 2006.
26. Charlotte Higgins, 'Is this the true face of Lady Jane?' *The Guardian*, January 16, 2006.
27. Charlotte Higgins, 'Miniature could be second view of Lady Jane Grey' *The Guardian*, March 5, 2007.
28. Ibid.
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30. Roland Hui, 'Becoming Jane: The Streatham Portrait of Lady Jane Grey and its Association to a Woodcut Intended for Theodore Beza's 'Icones' (1580)', *Tudor Faces* blog, May 21, 2019: <https://tudorfaces.blogspot.com/2019/05/becoming-jane-streatham-portrait-of.html>
31. Chatsworth Devonshire MSS, Hardwick Hall Drawers H/143/6, f.3v transcribed in Gillian White, 'That whyche ys nedefoull and nesary': *The Nature and Purpose of the Original Furnishings and Decoration of Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Warwick, 2005), vol. 2, p. 409.
32. Lionel Cust, 'The Lumley Inventories', *The Sixth Volume of the Walpole Society, 1917-1918*, Oxford: The Walpole society, p. 26.

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Roland has written for 'Renaissance Magazine' and regularly writes for 'Tudor Life Magazine'. He is the author of *The Turbulent Crown: The Story of the Tudor Queens* and blogs about 16<sup>th</sup> century English art and personalities at 'Tudor Faces' ([tudorfaces.blogspot.com](https://tudorfaces.blogspot.com)).



# Birth Date Crossword



## ACROSS

- 1..... Born 1477, lost 2 children to beheading. Thomas
- 3..... Born 28 January 1457, his father predeceased his birth. Henry
- 6..... Born 12 December 1505, Influential Minister of State during the latter part of Henry VIII's reign, with a very complicated surname. Thomas
- 8..... Born 1 January 1490, well known for changing his allegiances during the Wars of the Roses. Thomas
- 9..... Born October 1537, ultimately executed because of her father's ambition. Jane

## DOWN

- 1..... Born 22 February 1519, took on the wardship of little Mary Seymour. Katherine
- 2..... Born 1490, Diplomat and huge supporter of Catherine of Aragon and Mary Tudor. Eustace
- 4..... Born 1514, a courtier who had a brother of exactly the same name. Thomas
- 5..... Born 1474, father of a queen and a Lord Protector. John
- 7..... Born in 1552 (or 1554), this explorer was also a soldier and writer. He helped establish a colony near Roanoke Island. Walter

# **The Places that Jane Grey Knew...**

by Tamise Hills

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There are several places that were known to Jane Grey that you can still visit today. These include Bradgate Park in Leicestershire, Sudeley Castle in Gloucestershire, Syon Park, the Guildhall, and the Tower of London. Two other places connected to Jane, Chelsea Manor and Durham House no longer exist, but you can still visit the sites of these buildings.

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## BRADGATE PARK

It is not known where Lady Jane was born or when. It could have been at her family's London home rather than as tradition has it, at Bradgate Park<sup>1</sup>. Although Jane might not have been born at the Greys' main residence in Leicestershire, she did spend much of her childhood at this evocative site.

In the 1490s, Thomas Grey, 1<sup>st</sup> Marquess of Dorset, started work on a new home at Bradgate Park. The house was completed by his son, another Thomas and 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquess in the 1520's.

John Leland visited Bradgate in the 1530s and wrote:

.....  
*'At Bradgate is a fair park and a lodge lately built there by the Lord Thomas Grey, marquess of Dorset, father of Henry that is now marquess...The park of Bradgate is a six miles compance.'*<sup>2</sup>  
.....

Jane was there in August 1550 when Roger Ascham visited her tutor and many years later recorded his famous conversation with her.

*'Before I went to Germany, I came to Broadgate in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble lady Jane Grey, to whom I was exceedingly much beholding.'*<sup>3</sup>

Bradgate was confiscated by the crown in 1554, following the execution of Henry Grey for treason. It was later returned to the Grey family and the house was re-occupied in 1603. In 1928, the park was presented to the people of Leicester.

'Go Leicestershire' web site describes Bradgate as 'Leicestershire's largest and most

popular country park. It comprises of 840 acres of land with grass, heath, bracken, rocky outcrops, small woods, herds of deer and the River Lin.’<sup>4</sup>

You can visit Bradgate Park and walk in Jane’s footsteps. Although the ruins of the house were built by the Victorians, they still give an impression of what a grand house would have looked like.

There is a Visitor Centre with an exhibition about Jane and you can go on guided tours of the ruins. Since 2017, the park has held events to commemorate Jane’s reign and execution. ‘Queen of Bradgate’ events have included tours of the ruins, ghost walks, a talk by Jane biographer Nicola Tallis and a Rose Petal Memorial Service. In February, a tulip laying ceremony is held around the anniversary of Jane’s death. For the last five years, the University of Leicester have run a summer dig at Bradgate and have made some fascinating finds.



St Marys Church at Sudeley



## SUDELEY CASTLE

Another place you can visit with a strong link to Jane is Sudeley Castle in Gloucestershire. Jane lived here for several months during the summer of 1548 and the church in the castle grounds was the location of her first public role.

As the ward of Sir Thomas Seymour, Jane accompanied him and his wife, the Dowager Queen Katherine Parr, to await the birth of Katherine's first child. During their time at Sudeley, Jane and Katherine walked in the gardens and attended church. Katherine gave birth to a daughter but died soon afterwards. Her funeral was held on 7<sup>th</sup> September, with Jane acting as Chief Mourner.

.....

*'Then, the Lady Jane, daughter to the lord Marquis Dorset, chief mourner, led by a estate, her train borne up by a young lady.'*<sup>5</sup>

.....

When I visited in April 2016, Jane was included in a display of historical figures and featured in the film playing in Screening Room 2. For the 2012 Katherine Parr festival, the door used by Katherine and Jane to leave the South Hall for church was reopened for the first time in centuries. The covered walk way they used no longer exists, instead the path through the garden is marked by a series of arches, with topiary figures of Katherine and Jane. St Mary's Church, where Katherine's funeral was held, has a stained-glass window representing Jane.



## **DURHAM HOUSE**

Nothing remains of the grand house where Jane married Guildford Dudley on 25<sup>th</sup> May 1553.

The Imperial Ambassador wrote the following to the Emperor Charles V:

.....

*'On the 25th of this month were celebrated the weddings of my Lord Guilford, son of the Duke of Northumberland, to the eldest daughter of the Duke of Suffolk; of the Earl of Pembroke's son to the second daughter; and of the Earl of Huntingdon's son to the daughter of the Duke of Northumberland. The weddings were celebrated with great magnificence and feasting at the Duke of Northumberland's house in town.'*<sup>6</sup>

.....

Today there is only a sign on The Strand, pointing to Durham House Street that gives you an idea of the house's location.

## **CHELSEA MANOR**

The same is true of Chelsea Manor, the location of which lies under numbers 19-26 Cheyne Walk in Chelsea.

Jane stayed here in late June/early July 1553 while recovering from illness. It was here on 9<sup>th</sup> July that her sister-in-law, Mary Dudley arrived to escort her to Syon.

In her letter to Queen Mary, written in August 1553, while a prisoner in the



Tower, Jane writes,

.....

*'but finally I craved permission to go to Chelsea. And there, having shortly afterwards fallen ill, the Council sent for me ordering that this same night I should go to Sion to receive that which had been ordered by the King...'* (7)

.....

## SYON

Syon Park is the home of the Duke of Northumberland and can easily be reached by train from Waterloo Station. It is open on certain days of the year and it was here on 9<sup>th</sup> July 1553 that Jane learned that she was Queen of England.

Tradition has it that Jane was offered the crown in the long gallery on the ground floor of the house. Nicola Tallis points out in her 'Crown of Blood' biography of Jane, that none of the sources specify where this actually took place.<sup>8</sup> In Jane's time, the gallery had dark wooden panelling and the ceiling was lower than it is today.

Next door to the long gallery is the Print Room, where you can find a portrait of Jane and one of her sister Katherine with her son.



There are many more portraits in the Oak Passage, which leads off of the Print Room. These include a smaller version of the Jane portrait, Margaret Beaufort, Mary I, Elizabeth of York and her 4 daughters, Henry VII, Prince Arthur, Henry VII and his 3 sons, Edward IV, Richard III, Mary, Queen of Scots and Arabella Stuart. The original of the portrait of Katherine Grey and her son is upstairs above a door at the end of the corridor beyond the Victoria bedroom. There is also a display in the crypt that mentions Jane.





## GUILDHALL

The Guildhall in the City of London, was the location of Jane's trial for treason on 13<sup>th</sup> November 1553. The author of 'The Chronicle of Queen Jane and Two Years of Queen Mary' described the prisoners leaving for the Guildhall.

---

*'The xiiijth daie of November were ledd out of the Tower on foot, to be arrayned, to yeldhall, with the axe before theym, from theyr warde, Thomas Cranmer, archbushoppe of Canterbury, between (blank) Next followed the lorde Gilforde Dudley, between (blank) Next followed the lady Jane, between (blank), and hir ij. Gentyllwomen following hir...'*<sup>9</sup>

---

I have only visited once when my graduation ceremony was held there!



## TOWER OF LONDON

Lady Jane Dudley arrived at the Tower of London on 10<sup>th</sup> July 1553 as Queen, on the 19<sup>th</sup> July she became a prisoner and on 12<sup>th</sup> February the following year, Jane was executed within the Tower walls and buried in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula.

The London merchant taylor, Henry Machyn noted in his diary that,

.....

*'The x day of July was reseyyvd in to the Towre [the Queen Jane] with a grett compeny of lords and nobulls of . . . . after the qwen, and the duches of Suffoke her mother, bering her trayn, with mony lades...'<sup>10</sup>*

.....

Queen Jane's reign ended on 19<sup>th</sup> July when the Privy Council declared for Mary. The unknown author of 'Advices from England' reported the following information from the Imperial Ambassador.

.....

*'The other Queen has renounced all her honours, and has been shut up in the Tower with her husband and the Duke's wife, though all the rest are outside.'<sup>11</sup>*

.....

At some point the former queen was moved from the Royal apartments in the Tower to the ‘house of Nathaniel Partridge, the gentlemen – gaoler’<sup>12</sup>. The current house, which overlooks Tower Green, is a later building and is not open to the public.

Guildford Dudley and his brothers were held in the Beauchamp Tower. There is an exhibition on the ground floor of the tower which features Jane and in the room on the first floor, you can view the carvings made by prisoners. Two of these carvings are of the word ‘JANE’ but it is not known who created them. There is also a carving of the Dudley coat of arms, with a verse referring to the brothers.

On 12<sup>th</sup> February 1554, Lady Jane was executed on Tower Green; Guildford had been executed earlier that morning on Tower Hill. Both were buried in the Tower Chapel of St Peter Ad Vincula.

.....

*‘By this tyme was ther a scaffold made upon the grene over against the White tower, for the saide lady Jane to die apon.’<sup>13</sup>*

.....

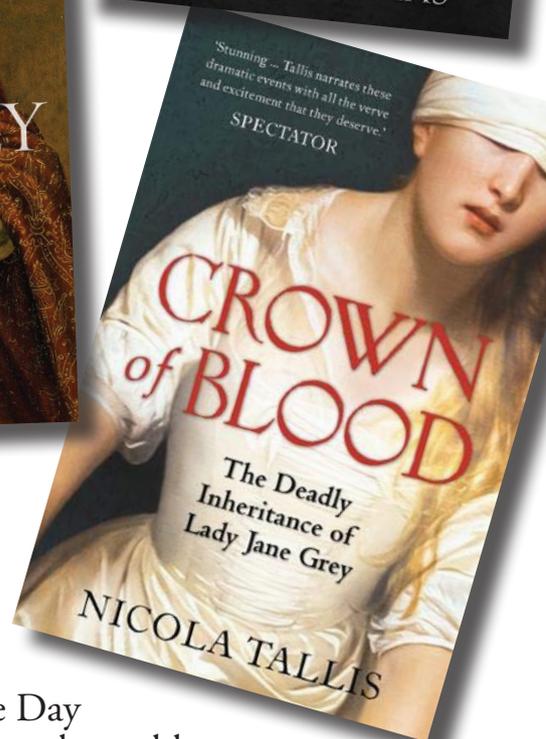
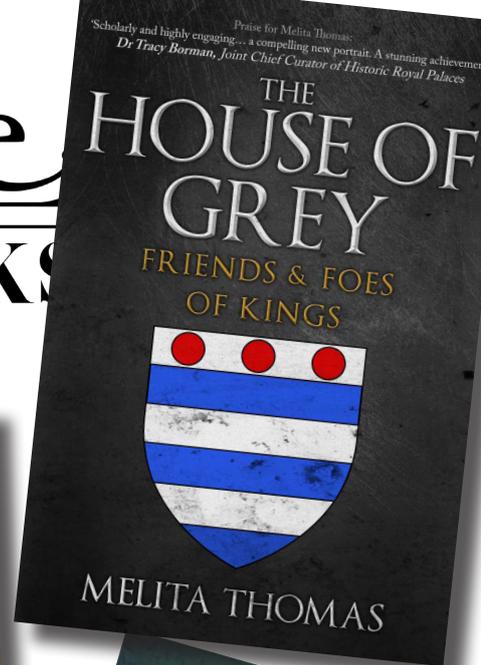
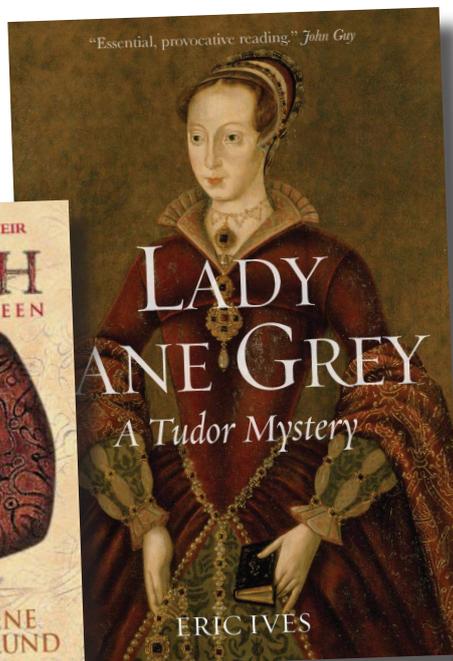
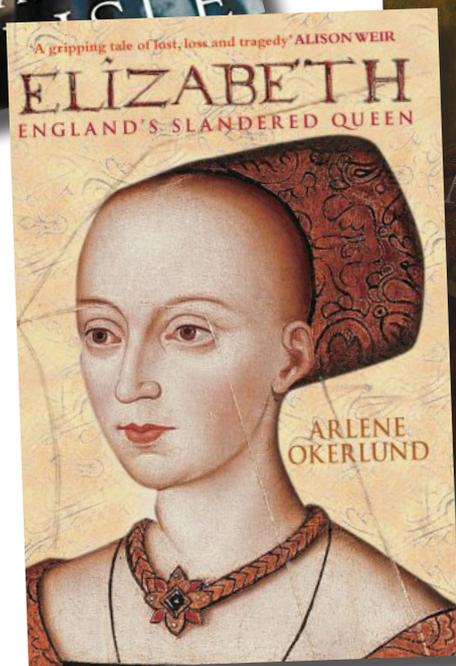
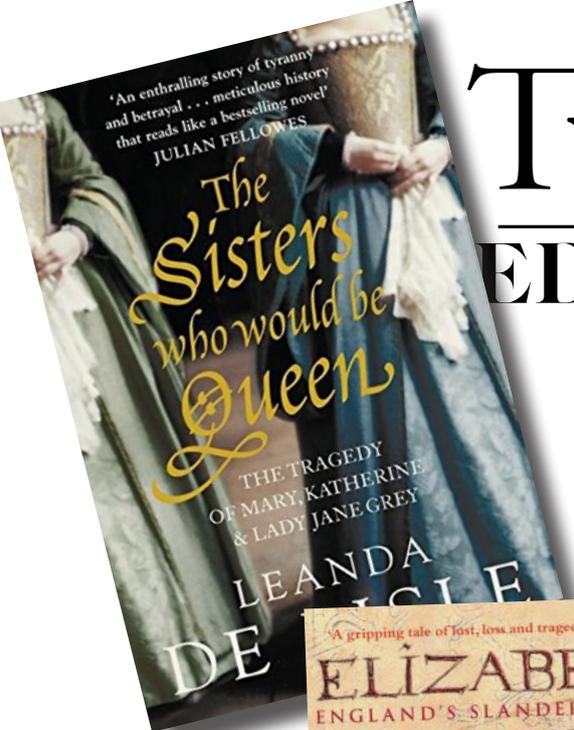
Today there is a memorial to those executed on Tower Green and you can visit the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula as part of the Yeoman Warder tour and during the last hour of opening. There is a plaque on the floor in front of the altar that commemorates Jane and Guildford.

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# Tudor Life

## EDITOR'S PICKS



I must confess that a book on the tragedy of the Nine Day Queen would not typically be my go-to, which makes it rather odd that two of the books I enjoyed the most in recent years – Leanda de Lisle’s “The Sisters Who Would Be Queen” and Nicola Tallis’s “Crown of Blood” – are about the Grey family. I cannot recommend them highly enough.

Melita Thomas’s new “House of Grey” is a thorough narrative overview of the dynasty, from origins to collapse, while Eric Ives’s magisterial biography of Lady Jane is excellent for those who want an academic assessment of this tragic figure. On the early Greys, I could also recommend Arlene Okerlund’s biography of Elizabeth Woodville, the gateway to Grey greatness.

Fiction abounds. Helena Bonham-Carter’s career blossomed through her role as the lead in “Lady Jane”, also noteworthy for Jane Lapotaire’s phenomenal portrayal of Queen Mary I. Viewers may recognise Lapotaire from her breakout performance as the Dowager Empress Marie of Russia in “Edward the Seventh”, as Princess Kuragin in “Downton Abbey” and as Princess Alice of Greece in the new series of “The Crown”. Alison Weir’s novel about Lady Jane Grey is also immensely enjoyable.

# THE TUDOR SOCIETY



*MEMBERS' BULLETIN*

Welcome to a brand-new decade - happy 2020!

In the lead-up to the 20s, we have been hunting high and low for the best people to bring you news and views on Tudor History. Our line-up for guest speakers is looking excellent with experts such as Sean Cunningham, Tracy Borman, Sarah Bryson, Kathleen Brogan and regular contributor Sarah-Beth Watkins all coming live to you in the first half of the year.

We're also thrilled to be having Lauren Browne back as a regular contributor to the magazine. I know that many missed her detailed monthly articles and so it is a real honour to have her back.

As we move into the next phase of the Tudor Society, I would like to take the opportunity to thank all the regular contributors and offer a HUGE thank you to Gareth Russell, the magazine editor. This is a truly difficult job to do - thinking of topics, making sure there are enough contributors, checking all the articles are coming through in a timely manor and seeing to it that the facts are correct. Thank you Gareth, on behalf of all our members, for your continuing hard work.

**Tim Ridgway**

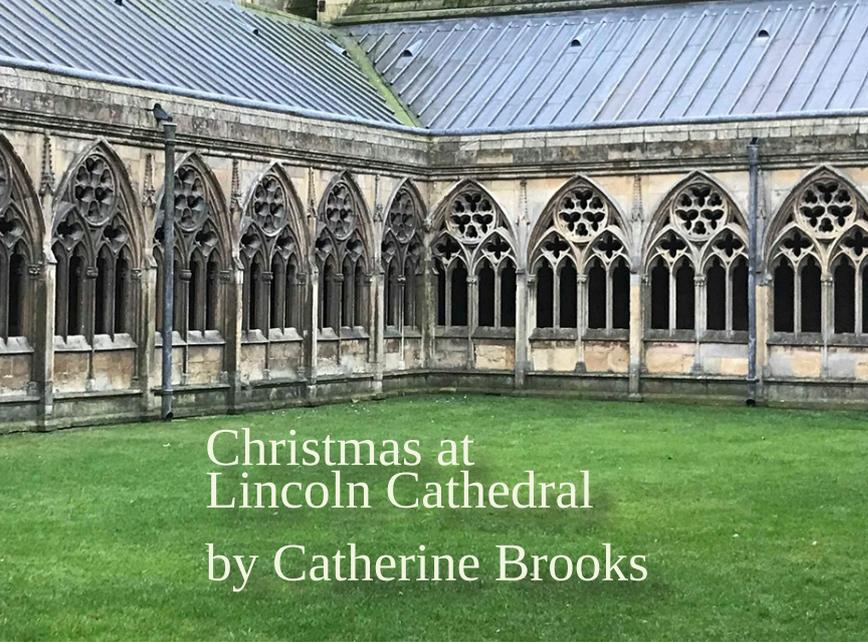
# BRADGATE PARK

## A PHOTO MONTAGE

Photos from the Executed Queens Tour 2011  
by Tim Ridgway





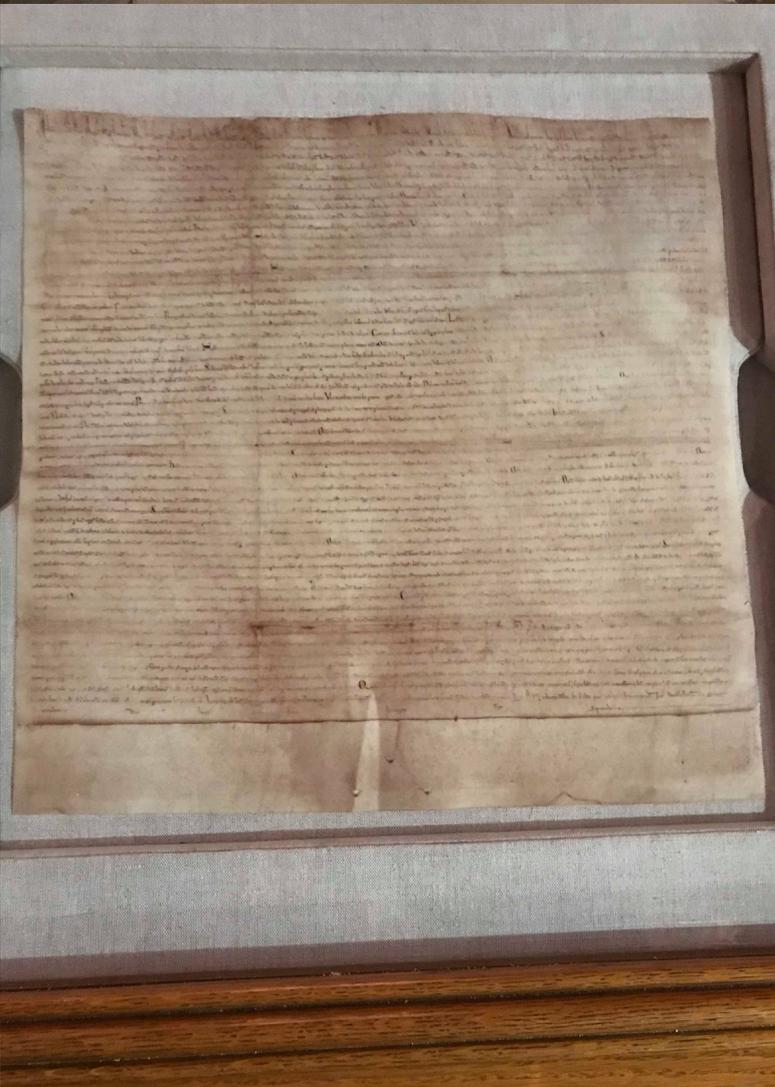


Christmas at  
Lincoln Cathedral  
by Catherine Brooks



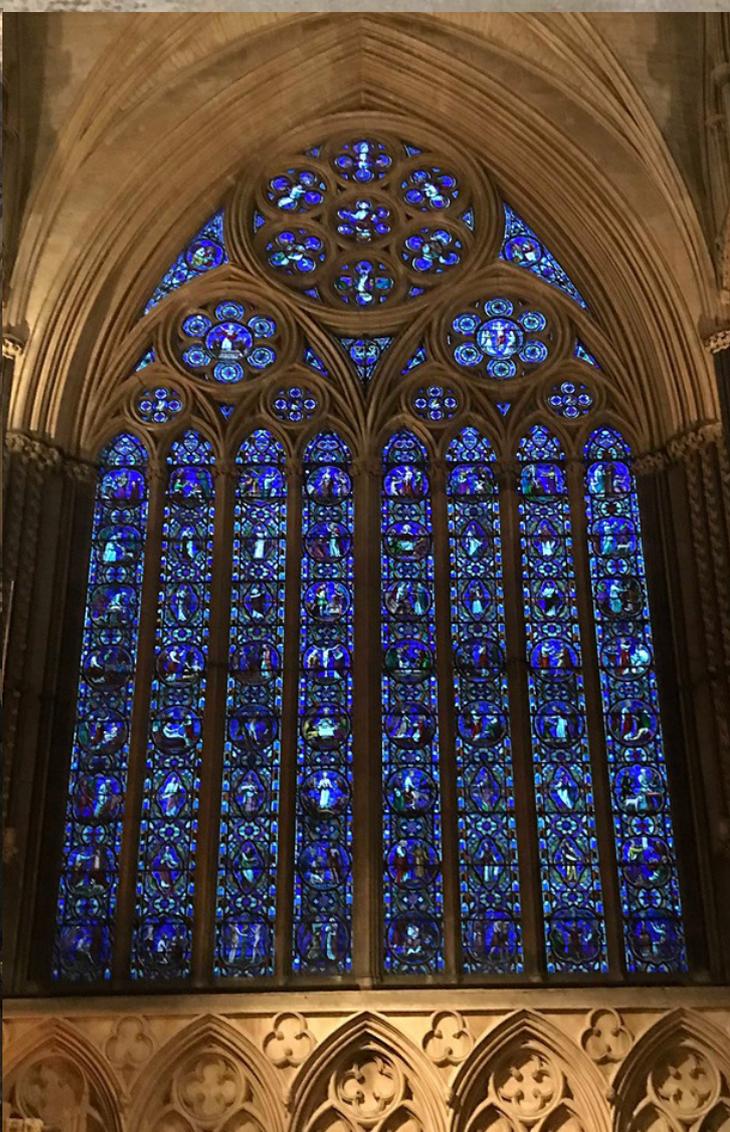






TO THE MEMORY OF  
THE REV. JOHN NELSON,  
FIFTY FOUR YEARS ONE OF THE VICARS  
OF THIS CATHEDRAL.  
HE DIED 23<sup>RD</sup> MAY 1845  
IN HIS 84 YEAR.

ALSO HIS WIDOW CHARLOTTE ANN,  
WHO DIED 5<sup>RD</sup> SEPTEMBER 1846,  
AGED 61.







TONI MOUNT

# TIME TO RE- DECORATE

At the moment, we are re-decorating our bedroom. Having been looking for suitable light fittings, I was surprised to realise how many had elements that were mock-medieval and mock-Tudor. Why do we like light bulbs shaped like candle-flames and fittings that echo the torch sconces in a Tudor chamber? The more I thought about decorating, the more I discovered about how our tastes hark back to historical times, unless you're into minimalism and a fan of Ikea flat-packs. So for those with more conservative tastes, this article takes a brief look at historical interior decor and how it may still influence us today.

Cavemen began the fashion for interior decoration, painting animals and hunting scenes on the walls of their caves, using charcoal, chalk and a range of earth pigments, particularly ochres. Although ochres, coloured by iron minerals in the earth, mostly come in shades of brown, red, orange and yellow, shades of bright rose pink and purple occur at one particular ochre mine, at Clearwell Caves, Glos, in the Forest of Dean.

The fashion for hunting scenes continued, from medieval to Tudor



Modern day ochre mining at Clearwell Caves where there is evidence of Stone Age mining. (Clearwellcaves.com)

times and into the seventeenth century. 'Verdure' wall hangings and tapestries featured huntsmen, horses and hounds chasing down various prey animals amongst trees in a green or verdant (hence *verdure*) landscape. The subject remained popular in Georgian and Victorian times but as framed paintings, rather than tapestries, created by such artists as



George Morland 'Fox Hunt' 18<sup>th</sup> century  
(kerrisdalegallery.com)



A Flemish tapestry 16<sup>th</sup> century

George Morland [1763-1804]. Compare the fox-hunting scenes in the images.

The art of painting directly onto the interior walls of buildings goes back to Classical times. The Minoans on Crete created images of bull-leapers and bare-breasted ladies with complicated hairstyles to decorate their rooms. The Romans liked to bring their gardens indoors by painting trees, grapevines, flowers and pergolas on the dining room walls. Everyday scenes of family life, shopping and farming were

often framed with painted geometric designs. From medieval Europe, most surviving wall paintings are in churches and, therefore, show religious subjects – the church of St Peter and St Paul in Pickering, Yorkshire, has some wonderful examples and below is the mural of St George and St Christopher.<sup>4</sup> But there's no reason to suppose that castles and manor houses were restricted to the Scriptures when deciding what to have painted on their freshly plastered walls.



# TONI MOUNT

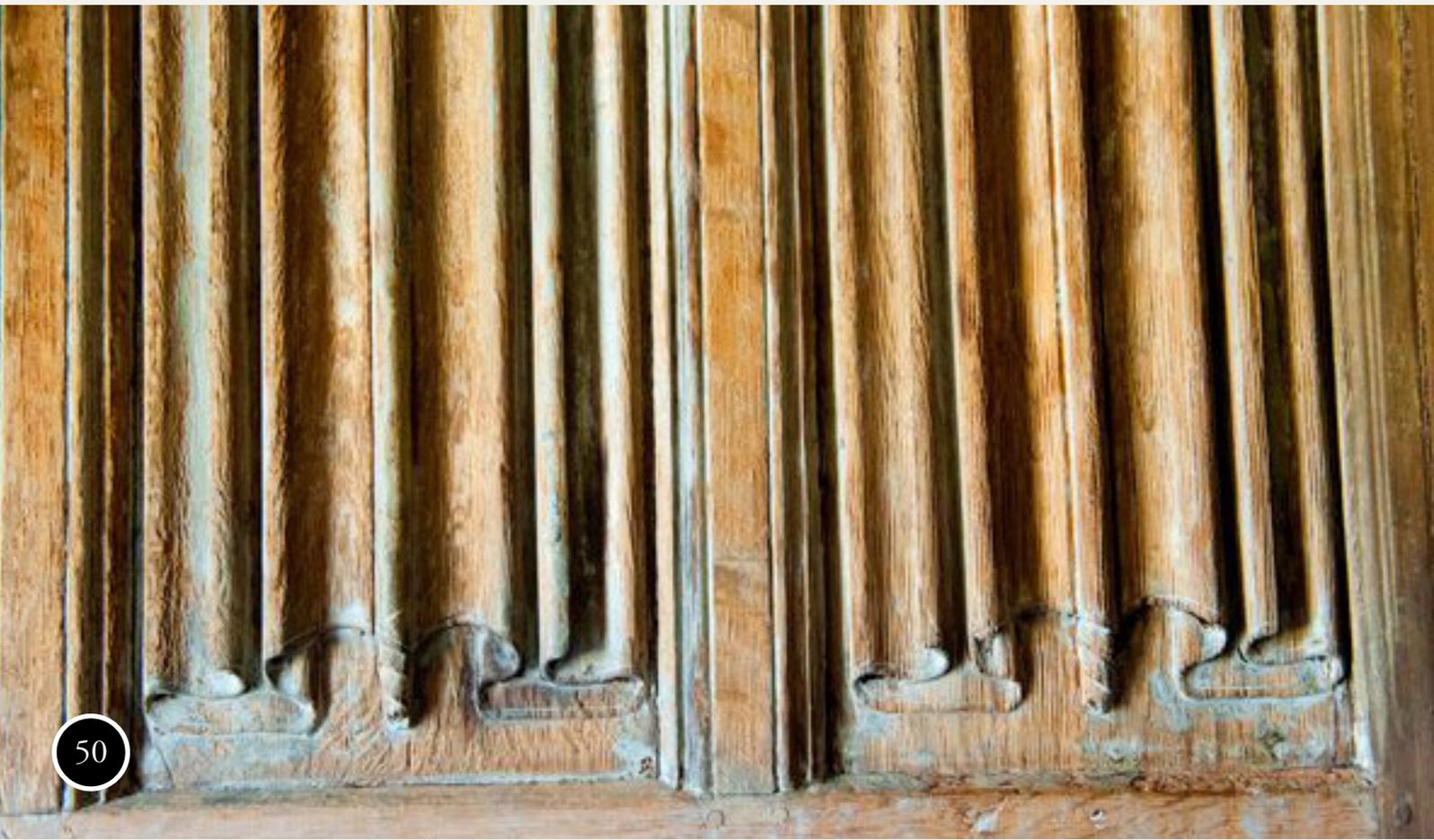
We know King Henry II [1154-89] commissioned a prophetic scene as a fresco on the wall at the Palace of Westminster – *The Revolt of the Eaglets*. Now lost, it showed four young eagles in a nest pecking out the eyes of the adult as it arrives with food for them. We don't know the exact date of the painting but the king said it represented his own four sons, all ungrateful and treacherous, attacking him, their generous father. A surprising subject to choose and hardly one a parent would want to look at every day, I should think.

But there are problems with wall paintings, however colourful and bright they may be. In the period when most affluent households were peripatetic, they



Tudor linenfold panelling

An artist up on his platform, painting a mural



# TONI MOUNT

couldn't be moved, so you couldn't take them with you to adorn another castle wall. If you updated your manor house by installing an extra window or enlarging an existing one or having a fireplace and chimney built, these structural changes might ruin your favourite mural. Also, a layer of paint on the walls did nothing to help keep draughts at bay. Painted or dyed (stained) wall hangings of wool or linen solved these difficulties and made the room more cosy. Painted cloths were less expensive than tapestries and people lower down the social scale could afford them. The London tailor's widow, Ellen Langwith, bequeathed a set of hangings of green buckrum from her bedchamber in her will of 1480, as well as all her bedding,

A Roman mural at Pompeii



A William Morris wallpaper design of 1864

bed curtains and a tester or canopy above the bed.<sup>6</sup>

In the Tudor and Jacobean periods, there was a fashion for wood panelling on the interior walls of rooms. This would provide an extra insulating layer but,



just as we like fake wooden beams to imitate the past, linen-fold panelling was *de rigueur*, carved to look like the cloth hangings of a previous age.

This fashion for looking back into history for decor ideas has continued. Some of William Morris's Victorian wallpaper designs are still popular today and, not unlike the Roman murals, bring the garden into the house.

Having decorated the walls, what about the ceiling? Until the late fourteenth or fifteenth century, depending on your affluence, your castle, manor house or cottage probably didn't have a ceiling and the exposed beams and rafters of the roof would be visible. For the wealthy, though, these could be decorated. Even so, why waste money on making the beams look attractive for the lesser folk who sat at the lower end of the great hall? In English manor houses it was sometimes the case that exposed beams were carved and painted only on the side that faced the dais, where his lordship and guests were seated. 'Poor man's gilding' was a phrase used to describe beams painted with yellow ochre but the rich might use real gold leaf to impress their guests and demonstrate their wealth and status.

At Ford Place, Addington, Kent, a medieval manor house refaced with a brick facade in Tudor times, has evidence, up in the attic, that the hall was once open to the roof. The beams there still show traces of 'poor man's gilding', even though the owners must have been quite well off. Unfortunately, Ford Place isn't open to the public but I was lucky enough to be given a guided tour some years ago because I discovered information



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Giotto's ceiling still looks good  
after more than 700 years

about a medieval owner and his will in which the building is mentioned. Another interesting original feature in the house is a peg-and-groove horn-glazed window. It has been preserved because it's now on an internal wall after an extension was added to the building in Tudor times.

Gradually, as chimneys became more common, ceilings could be inserted because the smoke from the fire was now directed outside, instead of making its haphazard way through roof louvres and gaps between the tiles. Having a ceiling not only made a private 'upstairs' possible but made 'downstairs' warmer and provided another surface to be decorated. Coffered ceilings were panelled with wood and, to judge from manuscript illustrations, painting them dark blue and sprinkling them with gold stars, like the night sky, was a popular motif. Vaulted stone ceilings often received similar treatment. One of the most famous is Giotto's ceiling in the Scrovegni Chapel, in Padua, painted c.1305 using gold on a background of lapis lazuli – the most expensive pigment of the time. Lesser buildings could have yellow ochre stars or use the golden yellow

# TONI MOUNT



Fleabane



Meadowsweet

(but poisonous) pigment, orpiment, on an azurite blue background.

It would be great if the paintwork at home lasted seven centuries and more, like Giotto's.

With walls and ceilings now looking beautiful, we need some sort of floor covering. The poorest made do with packed earth floors, the better off had wooden and the wealthiest had ceramic tiles. Here again, bare wood and tiled floors have made a comeback today. But, whatever the flooring, there was the option of strewing it with rushes, straw or scented plant material. It's said that meadowsweet was Queen Elizabeth's favourite strewing herb. It grows wild in damp places and hedgerows, has spirals of frothy cream-coloured flowers and a lovely honey scent – it's also good for treating headaches. Lavender was another good choice, especially as it could serve as an insect repellent as well, as could fleabane, though this doesn't smell as nice. Whatever was used, it could be swept up and replaced, as needed. This fashion doesn't seem to have returned, though it's definitely a 'green' solution.

Judging from manuscript miniatures, woven rush matting was popular in

both medieval and Tudor houses, often extending wall to wall. (see over)

Tiles were more hard-wearing and permanent. The Chapter House at Westminster Abbey and Salisbury Cathedral still have medieval ceramic tiled floors *in situ*, although they're usually covered to protect them nowadays. However, Westminster Abbey also has a medieval mosaic floor, described as a 'carpet of stone', before the high altar. It was uncovered for the wedding of the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge since the clergy wanting their heritage flooring to look its best for the TV cameras. It would have been a riot of brilliant colour in its hey-day, rivalling the stained-glass windows.

King Henry III seems to have been one of the first to have tiled floors in a secular building, having indoor 'pavements' laid in the royal apartments at Clarendon Palace, near Salisbury, in 1250-52. Divided into panels of patterned and figured tiles in muted shades of gold, grey, and warm pink – all of which were probably much brighter when new – they must have been a marvel. The palace is nothing more than a few ruins now but a section of tiled floor can be seen on the wall in the medieval ceramics room



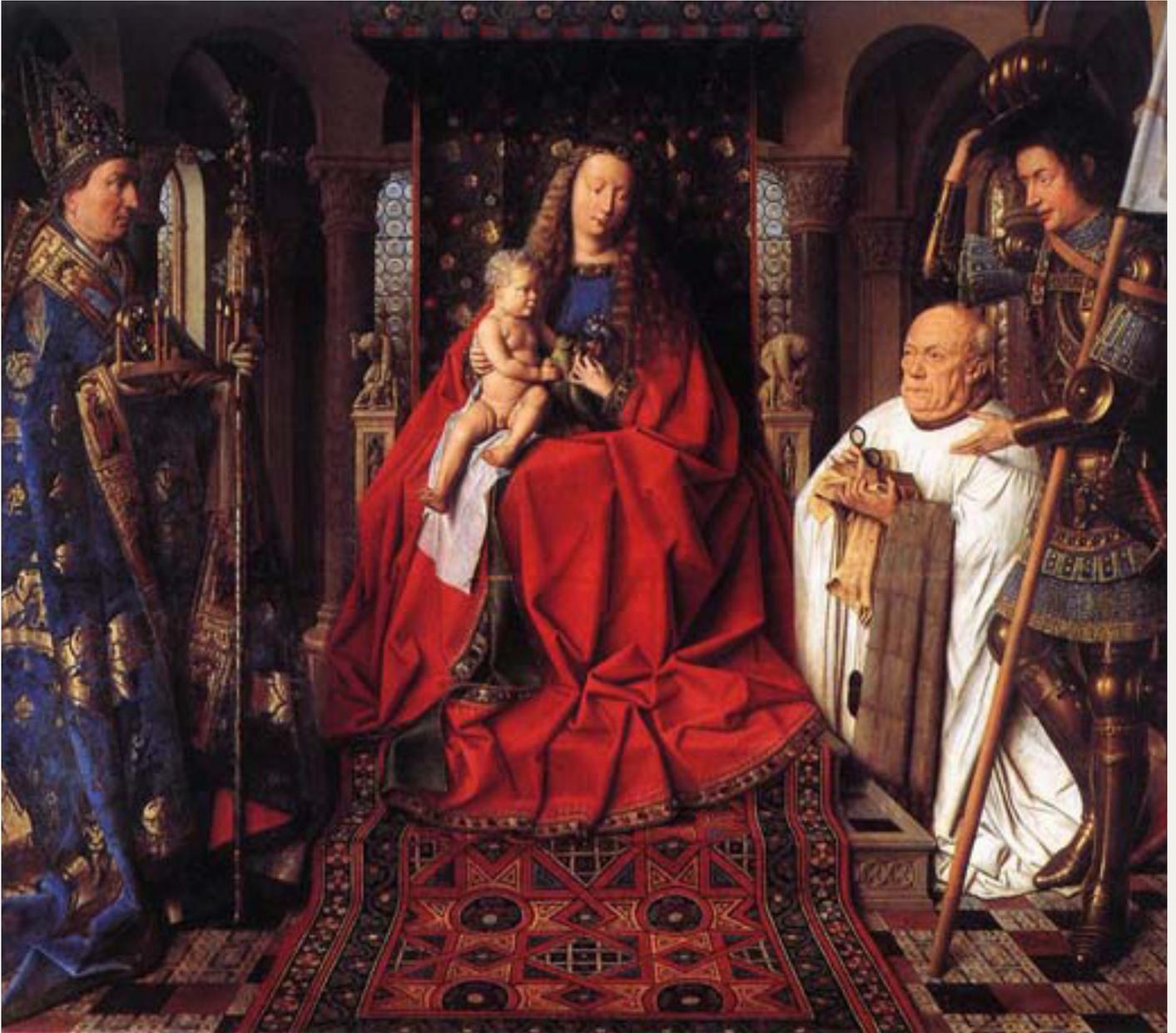
Wall to wall rush matting. British Library, Harley MS 4375 f.179, c.1480  
 [I think the figure far left is the king, so why has he got a bust? Just thought I'd ask!]

of the British Museum, where nobody can walk on it any longer.

Carpets did exist. They were luxurious imports from Persia [Iran], often woven using silk. Such exquisite textiles were rarely used as floor coverings because muddy shoes would have ruined them and trampling on such beautiful objects was an insult to their cost and their fabulous workmanship. Besides, the owner would want them viewed to best advantage, so carpets were more often used as table

coverings or wall hangings to be admired as a piece of artwork. The superb oil painting below is by Jan van Eyck. It was commissioned in 1434 and completed in 1436. No wonder it took so long to finish: just look at the incredible detail! Entitled *The Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele*, who paid for it, the picture includes St Donatian [left] and St George [right] but, for our purposes, notice both the floor tiles and the carpet – only the

# TONI MOUNT



The Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele by Jan van Eyck, 1436

Virgin herself is allowed to tread on the latter.

Back in the twenty-first century, we have just had our new carpet laid today. The ceiling, wallpaper – we took down the medieval tapestries from Bruges – and

the paintwork were finished yesterday. New curtains are about to go up. Now all we need is a bed and our redecorating is done – until we decide to reinstate bare boards, re-hang the tapestries and enjoy the romance of candles.

TONI MOUNT

## Everyday Life of Medieval Folk

by  
Toni Mount

Medieval  
COURSES



# Charlie **RICHARD III FACT AND FICTION** Matthew Lewis

# Book Books

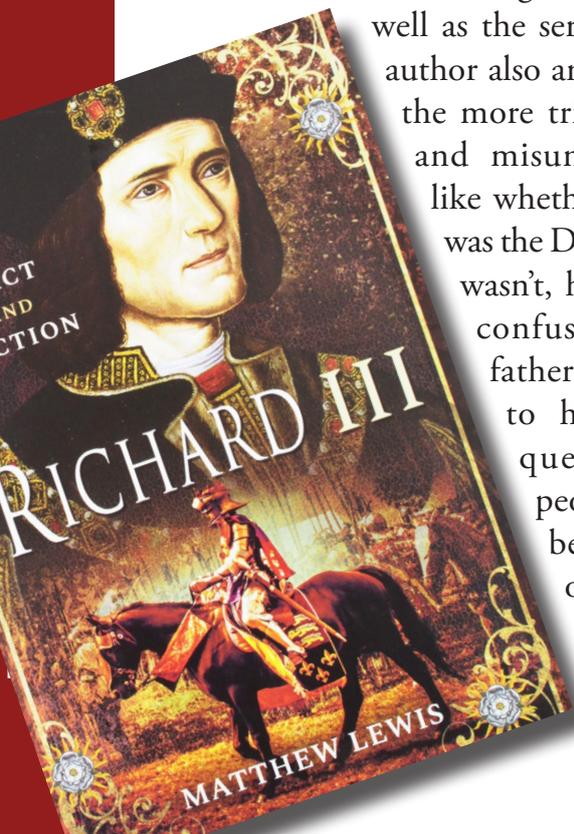


Since the reinterment of Richard III in 2015, there have been several books released on the 'car park king', including a recent work by Matthew Lewis entitled *Richard III: Fact and Fiction*. Lewis has previously written a



biography on Richard III, but this is a smaller and more condensed look at the king. It is purely focused on addressing the myths and legends surrounding the man, as opposed to looking at his reign as a whole.

The book is set out in chronological order and looks at some of the questions surrounding Richard III. As well as the serious ones, the author also answers some of the more trivial questions and misunderstandings, like whether Richard III was the Duke of York (he wasn't, he is just often confused with his father). It was nice to have included questions that people may have been too afraid or embarrassed to ask. As well as looking at

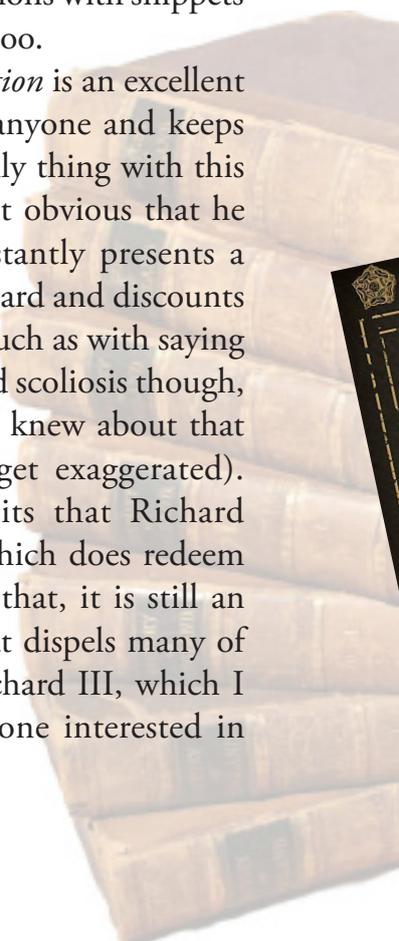


Richard himself, this book also contains some little known facts about events and people that are mentioned in connection with the king, such as this interesting one on Edward IV:

*'Richard's brother, Edward IV, is the tallest king ever to have ruled England or Great Britain. At 6'4", he was an inch taller than his grandson Henry VIII and no king before or after has matched his height. Prince William, at 6'3" will come close, but Edward's record looks set to remain in place for a while.'*

It is a good book to flick through and does not have to be read from cover to cover. One useful thing about this book is that it helpfully includes some useful definitions with snippets of a glossary when needed too.

*Richard III: Fact and Fiction* is an excellent book that can be read by anyone and keeps the reader engaged. The only thing with this book is that Lewis makes it obvious that he is a Ricardian, so he constantly presents a sympathetic picture of Richard and discounts a lot of the later evidence, such as with saying he had no deformity (he had scoliosis though, so surely the Tudor writers knew about that somehow, even if it did get exaggerated). Thankfully he soon admits that Richard was not all nice at least, which does redeem this book a little. Despite that, it is still an excellent book and one that dispels many of the myths surrounding Richard III, which I would recommend to anyone interested in the subject.



# HENRY VIII

Robert Hutchinson

Henry VIII has and probably always will



continue to fascinate us, from his break with Rome to his six wives, it is unlikely that interest in him will dwindle anytime soon. Robert Hutchinson has written several books on Henry VIII and his reign and his latest one *Henry VIII: The Decline and Fall of a Tyrant* looks at the last years of the king's reign.

The book begins in 1539, which Hutchinson says is for 'two compelling reasons', one being that 'Europe was ganging up on the blustering Henry, with the Vatican plotting a three-pronged attack on England, from Scotland, France and Spain', as well as the fact that 'the effects of Henry's insidious disease were also becoming more telling. Here is a new, unfamiliar Henry VIII; a vulnerable, frightened and lonely old man, for whom time was rapidly running out, with none of his childhood dreams of battlefield victory and personal glory achieved'. This is an interesting decision and the author's reasons for the choice

of his starting point seem sound.

One controversial point may be the author's stance on Henry VIII's meeting with Anne of Cleves. Historians have debated this for years but Hutchinson takes the traditional

stance that Henry was upset with Anne of Cleves' appearance. However, recently others have argued that Henry was just embarrassed and ranting about her appearance after she failed to recognise him when he surprised her at Rochester Castle, dressed as a servant in an attempt at one of his romantic games.

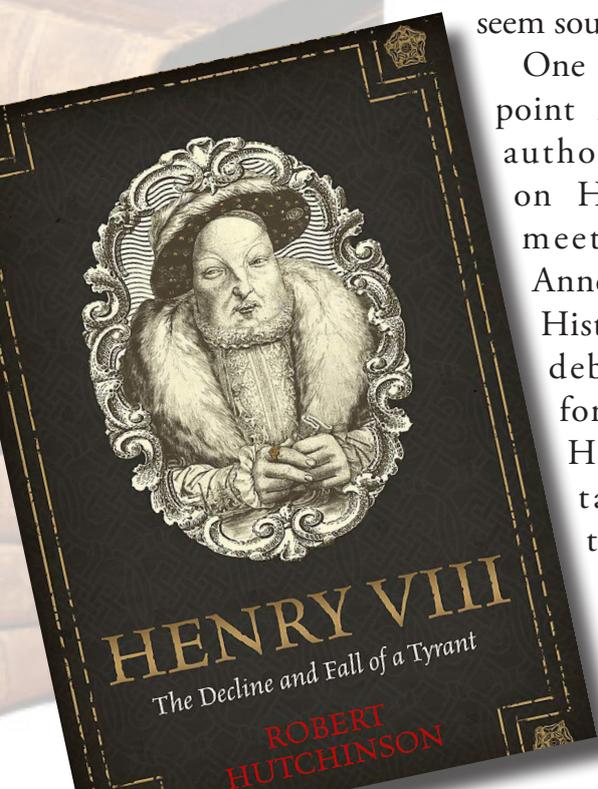
There is very little on his wives, other than when it concerns politics, which makes a nice change. Instead, this book contains a lot of interesting information about Henry's preparations for the military campaigns in Scotland and France, including the armour he had made for fighting with his men in France, and the comparison between that and his jousting armour makes for interesting reading:

*'The armour of jousting on horseback weighed a mighty 110lbs (50kg). The burden of the foot-combat version, at 88lbs (40kg), suggests that only a fit, agile man could fight with a sword or a poleaxe while wearing more than six stone of metal - particularly on a hot day. Henry was that warrior in his fantasy, but reality dictated that instead of fighting alongside his knights, he should sit out any battle as a frustrated spectator.'*

Hutchinson includes much detail on Henry's diet during the last years of his life, leading to an interesting suggestion as to what may have been wrong with him medically. This review will not spoil that but I will say that it is certainly a compelling theory.

*Henry VIII: The Decline and Fall of a Tyrant* is an interesting book that explores the various aspects of the latter years of Henry VIII's reign. It is not the easiest book to read, as it goes back and forth a lot in chronology, so any reader will need at least some previous knowledge of the subject. It is also very detailed and perhaps leaning more towards an academic work than a popular history book. However, I would still recommend it to anyone wanting to learn more about the last years of Henry VIII's reign and one that does not just focus on his wives, but also looks at the military campaigns and the politics of the time.

CHARLIE FENTON



# A PASSION FOR WALES AND THE TUDORS

*This month, Catherine Brooks interviews historian Nathen Amin, well known for his work on the Beauforts and on Tudor Wales.*

Hi Nathen and thank you so much for joining us here at the Tudor Society. Many of our members will probably recognise you as you have done a number of articles and talks for us in the past and also because you run The Henry Tudor Society. To start with, can you tell us how you got interested in Tudor history and the Wars of the Roses, and are there any other periods in history you like to follow?

I'm someone who has always developed slight obsessions with certain topics, from an early age, but it was until my mid-20s that I switched onto the Tudors, and that came through two books that I happened to read – a fiction book called the Autobiography of Henry VIII by Margaret George, and the non-fiction book Henry VIII: Virtuous Prince by David Starkey, which had just been released along with his accompanying TV documentary series. Who isn't immediately hooked on the larger-than-life figure that is Henry VIII. Being Welsh, however, and more naturally inclined towards violent battles and warring knights than the political and romantic upheaval of the 1530s Henrician court, it wasn't too long before I discovered Henry VII, the Welsh king of England who originated from my neck of the woods. A combination of Welsh history and Tudor history, my two developing but hitherto unrelated interests was too powerful to ignore. And as I suggest, once I am interested in something, once it pulls at me, I am all-in.

As for other periods in history, not so much; I have tunnel vision for the 1450s-1509 period, simply because there is so much I could hope to learn about that one period without even casting my eyes elsewhere. But never say never, I guess.

## *Author Interview*

**You grew up in Carmarthenshire in Southwest Wales and you now live in York. York is an amazing historical city but I'm sure Wales is always close to your heart. Your first book was 'Tudor Wales'. What inspired you to start to write this?**

Combining my interests of Wales and the Tudors, I was keen to try and learn more about the Tudor sites in Wales, of which I knew of a handful already such as Pembroke and Raglan Castles, but there wasn't anything out there that really discussed this subject alone. In Wales I'd suggest medieval history seems more focused on the era before the Tudors, so the Welsh conquest by England in 1280s, the Norman castles and so on. So, I did what I have done ever since with all of my work – I wrote the book that I wanted to read.

In the process I hope to have helped show people that Wales has an abundance of Tudor-related history, and that the Tudors, as a dynasty and an era, does not simply end when you reach the Severn Bridge.

**Your next book is entitled 'York Pubs', so very different and presumably rather fun to research! I know you enjoying living in York. What prompted the move there, and what you would recommend anyone visiting York to do there?**

A woman did! York is a wonderful place to live, and there are an abundance of things to see and do from all eras, with the Viking and Medieval particularly prominent of course. The only thing I would suggest to someone visiting York, is to repeat your steps both in daylight and at night time. Too often I hear of people struggling along the packed Shambles in the middle of the day before returning to their hotels for the evening. After 6pm each night, the Shambles, possibly one of the most densely packed streets in Britain during the day, is simply deserted. You can have the most famous medieval street in the country to yourself. Repeat your steps, and see York's glory both by day and night.

**The Henry Tudor Society was founded in 2013 and has proven very popular. Henry Tudor is my favourite Tudor monarch too! What led you to founding the society and what sort of feedback do you get about Henry VII?**

I wanted to learn much more about this fascinating king, and at the time there simply was a dearth of information about him, on or offline. The only books about him at the time were really ones written in 1974, 1985 and 1997. The fact that since then the page has received over 27,000 'likes' and many, many books have been written about him (I believe there are four due

## *Author Interview*

for release in next year or so), proves there is definitely a Henry Tudor market out there. And why not? His story is the greatest rags-to-royal-riches story in English history.

**Your previous publication is ‘*The House of Beaufort: The Bastard Line that Captured the Crown*’. This is such a valuable work in terms of explaining the Tudor lineage because many people often assume that Henry had basically no right to the throne at all. Tell us about the book.**

The story of the rise, the fall, the rise, and the ultimate fall of a fascinating dynasty that existed, and often shaped, the heart of England in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Though they were destroyed in bloody circumstances after just a 100 years on this earth, they dynasty through the Tudor bloodline, Henry VII being the son of Margaret Beaufort, arguably had the last love. Whatever drew you to the medieval period, be it political intrigue, gory battles, the tribulations of the female in a man’s world, this book covers everything and much, much more.

**What would you say to someone who called Henry Tudor a usurper?**

I’d say they’d be correct. He was a usurper. He accumulated a rag-tag army of various nationalities, funded by a foe of England, invaded the kingdom and watched as his men slayed the incumbent king who had been recognised by parliament. The very hallmark of a usurper. So?

**Starting with a recent article in BBC History Magazine, you have had many lively and spirited debates with Matthew Lewis about what happened to the Princes in the Tower. His latest book ‘*The Survival of the Princes in the Tower: Murder, Mystery and Myth*’ considers the possibility that the Princes in fact survived Richard’s reign and there were no murders. What do you think happened to them?**

I think they were killed during 1483, likely by the end of the summer. Why? It was just the logical thing to do. If I was Richard III, I had blundered my way onto the throne through a series of rash decisions taken without the benefit of hindsight and keen to secure not only my position against the onslaught of my enemies but also that of my young son, I kill the princes to make sure there are no complications. Richard was not ignorant of recent history. The Wars of the Roses had been caused by a proliferation of royal cousins with claims to the throne. Richard would have been concerned about

## *Author Interview*

a possible backlash after his death when his son Edward inherited the throne. Why leave a latent threat that could one day come alive as had occurred with his own father, Richard of York, thirty years earlier. It makes no sense. I see Richard III as someone committing a terrible act as an uncle to be a good father. It isn't a black or white issue. Of course, none of this can be proven.

**You have just submitted your latest history book for publication.**

**What can you tell us about it and when can we look forward to reading it?**

*'Henry VII and the Tudor Pretenders; Simnel, Warbeck and Warwick'* is the enthralling story of how Henry VII, an unlikely pretender-turned-king in a country riven with division, was forced to confront three very different threats to his hard-won crown during the first fifteen years of his reign. The first Tudor king had sought to unite England, but enemies who clamoured for his downfall lurked in the shadows, awaiting their opportunity to pounce. This is a book replete with intrigue, plots, and betrayals, featuring spies, pitched battles, and foreign-backed invasions. It was good to be king...wasn't it? It will be out in Summer 2020 and the research process has taken me from York all across England, to Ireland, to Scotland and even to France and Belgium.

**And lastly, the question I ask everyone: What three history books would you recommend the most?**

This is a difficult one as I would probably change each time I was asked, but right now I will go for:

*'The Making of the Tudor Dynasty'* by Ralph Griffiths and RA Thomas, which though written 35 years ago is still a great introduction to the Welsh background of the Tudors.

Any book written by Dr Helen Castor, perhaps *'She Wolves'* for example, who I feel has perfected the art of taking astonishing academic knowledge, decades of experience, and present it in an enjoyable and evocative style that makes her work accessible to all, expert and beginner.

*'Henry VII'* by Sean Cunningham, written in 1997 but by someone who has studied Henry for decades and is, to my mind, arguably the most knowledgeable living expert on the first Tudor king. I know Sean has a new, smaller project in the pipeline on Henry, but this work is seminal, to say the least. You can't begin to know these historical figures without examining the research and work of those experts who breathe this stuff, day-in, day-out. They lead, the rest of us follow.

*@NathenAmin twitter*

*@NathenAminAuthor facebook*



## WENDY J. DUNN ON WRITING

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### The Waking Dream: more about the drafting process.

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There are vast realms of consciousness still undreamed of vast ranges of experience, like the humming of unseen harps, we know nothing of, within us (Lawrence 2012).

Dear Writer/Reader,

If you write fiction, then it follows you have an ongoing engagement with the practice of writing. This engagement involves the stages making up the drafting process.

I am one of those writers who enjoys (well – most of the time!) drafting out a novel. Between conceiving my first idea for a novel to the time of its completion, I am not only involved in a journey of historical research and reflections about this research, but also in a journey of writing. This journey sees me use writing as a thinking tool (Richardson 1994; Coylar 2009). For me, the act of writing becomes a bridge, a bridge taking me deeper and deeper into the labyrinth of my unconsciousness. This a stage of writing

I love. My writing flows in a dream-like trance and I lose sense of self. I am no longer aware I am writing – but completely immersed in the process, writing a work which seems to walk on its own two feet” (Eco 2004, p. 311). It is only when I emerge from these periods of deep writing, to re-engage with my material as its first reader, I realise my writing is barely crawling. It means returning and returning to the drafting process until such time my work is ready to walk into its published existence.

This waking dream has been spoken of at length by other writers. Helene Cixous in particular makes a passionate case of why creators must dream. She argues that it is not only healthy for writers to

reach this stage of writing, but dreaming is where we never lie. Dreams, she believes, teach us to be shameless, fearless – and to confront our humanness and what is within (Cixous 1991, p. 22).

I am like Cixous. I see dreaming as a vital methodology for writers. More than a century before Cixous, Coleridge ruminated about the creator’s dream, too. His poem Kubla Khan opens the door to the creator’s engagement with the dream itself, the dream symbolized by a fountain breaking apart the earth, the water shooting up and up – “the act of creating when the conscious poet changes ideas in the mind into words on the page, and inspiration when unconscious ideas become conscious” (O’Connell

2004). The fiction writer's engagement with this process also results in engaging the reader with the published text. As Coleridge argued, "The poet does not require us to be awake and believe; he solicits us only to yield ourselves to a dream; and this too with our eyes open, and our judgment perdue behind the curtain, ready to awaken us at the first motion of our will: and meantime, only, not to disbelieve" (Coleridge cited by O'Connell 2004).

Graham Greene once wrote,

*"It is better to remain in ignorance of one self and to forget easily... All that we can easily recognize as our experience in a novel is mere reporting: it has a place but an unimportant one. It provides an anecdote, it fills in gaps in a narrative. It may legitimately provide a background, and sometimes we have to fall back on it when imagination falters. Perhaps a novelist has a greater ability to forget than other men- he has to forget or become sterile. What he forgets is the compost of the imagination"* (Greene 1982, p. 132).

Greene described this compost as imagination, but he also said a writer "has to forget or become sterile" (1982 p. 132). The seventeenth century philosopher Thomas Hobbes also



described the imagination similarly to Greene, calling it the "decaying sense" (Hobbes 2010, p 16). Le Guin writes, "The stuff has to be transformed into oneself, it

has to be composted before it can grow a story" (1989, p. 194). Margaret Atwood says, "Writing about writing requires self-consciousness; writing it-self requires the abdication of

it" (Cited by Sternburg 1992, p. 80).

I believe what Atwood calls the abdication of self-consciousness is the moment when writers enter the creative zone; I also believe what Le Guin, Hobbes and Green are speaking of here is the unconsciousness – or the artist's "white-hot centre" (Butler 2005, p. 13).

A writer's imagination acts as the sacred threshold, a description I borrow from Porphyry, a third century philosopher (cited by Bachelard and Jolas 1994, p 225), a threshold taking them to the deeper realm of their unconsciousness. This is a discourse that has gone on for centuries, from when (or perhaps before) Socrates theorised, "For the poet (or the writer in this instance) is a light and winged and holy thing, and there is no invention in him until he has been inspired and is out of his senses, and the mind is no longer in him: when he has not attained to this state, he is powerless and is unable to utter his oracles" (Tomas 1965, p. 103).

To dream my words onto the blank page, I must first dream. For that to happen, the compost of unconsciousness must ripen to a time when I surrender to my imagination and write its dream onto the white page. The resulting

writing often brings out into the open those silences of the self, absent memories (McNay 2009), the unspoken (Kon-yu 2010), which I can reclaim through writing and then move towards wholeness. Years of writing has taught me:

*"Everything circles back on itself. The deep patterning of the sensual details mirrors that deep, most patterned level of sense detail in the world... Things return and return" (Butler and Burroway 2005, p 97).*

"Things return and return". The themes of letting go, the sorrow of unrequited love, the search for identity return over and over in my writing. I recognise the pattern now, and welcome it. Making sense of it has re-storied my life.

By entering the waking dream for the purposes of constructing fiction I enter the chaos of storymaking, enacting my own form of the heroine's journey, to emerge with narrative. By the process of dreaming our words onto the page writing is constructed: the drafting process. I have learnt, through engaging with the drafting process, to abide with the wishes of the work. The time of revision, or the drafting process, is when the work tells me what it wants to be. This is when I am handling

the clay of my material through engagement with the processes of deep thinking (Carter 2005). Via this engagement, I locate the essential character of my text through not only historical reconstruction, but by breaking deeper into the iceberg of my writerly identity to narrate my understanding of the world and life. Atwood powerfully articulates what I also understand as the drafting process for writers:

"Where is the story? The story is in the dark. That is why inspiration is thought of as coming in flashes. Going into the narrative – into the narrative process – is a dark road. You can't see your way ahead. Poets know this too; they too travel the dark roads. The well of inspiration is a hole that leads downwards" (Atwood 2002, p. 176).

Writing is also the thread I hold on to emerge from the journey of writing, reborn once more. Through the act of writing, I have discovered the truth of Kundera's words: "the writing of a novel takes up a whole era in a writer's life, and when the labour is done he is no longer the person he was at the start" (2006, p. 61).

Writing each of my novels has seen me grow in humanity – and a greater understanding of myself. That keeps me writing.

**WENDY J. DUNN**

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# QUIZ ANSWERS





# CAKES OF CHEESE

A modern interpretation of the medieval Sambocade

**HAPPY NEW YEAR,**  
fellow Tudor-lovers,  
and welcome to the  
first From The Spicery  
article for 2020!

## Cheesecakes.

We've all had them and loved them, but what's their history and were they something that was on the menu during the Middle Ages?

It appears that as usual, the ancient Greeks came up with the concept of the cheesecake, and realised they were on to a good thing. According to an article I came across in the journal *Gastronomica*, cheesecakes were served to the participants in the first-ever Olympic Games!<sup>1</sup> I wonder how modern athletes and their trainers would feel about that? Cato the Elder (of all people!) also had things to say on the subject of cheesecakes, including their use in religious practice. Quite a change from the more traditional consecrated wafer and wine! In his bestseller, *On Agriculture*, Cato gives a recipe for a small honey-sweetened cheesecake called *libum*.<sup>2</sup> Sadly I don't have a recipe for that precise cheesecake, but as we'll see, it wouldn't be too hard to recreate.

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1 *Wilson, C. Cheesecakes, Junkets, and Syllabubs. Gastronomica, Vol 2 No 4, 2002, pp 15-23. Available via JSTOR*

2 *Wilson, Ibid, pg 19*



Cato also divided his cheesecakes into a couple of different categories: *libum* (where he places his honey cheesecake), and *placenta*. The *placenta* variety is thought to reference a cheesecake enclosed in a crust, hence the term. If you're interested in trying Cato's *libum*, please visit [tavolamediterranea.com/2017/08/16/libum-catos-cake-bread/](http://tavolamediterranea.com/2017/08/16/libum-catos-cake-bread/)

In terms of medieval references to cheesecake, the first mention appears in the account books of the Countess of Lester in 1265, where it's listed as cheese for tarts.<sup>3</sup> Cheese, along with butter, cream and milk was seen as white meats, and fit for use during Lent and other religious feasts. Apparently

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3 *Wilson, Ibid, pg 19*



cheese tarts, were something of a luxury and frequently graced the tables of the rich and mighty.

The first recorded recipe for cheesecake appeared in the 1390 blockbuster cookbook *The Forme of Cury*, under the name of Sambocade.<sup>4</sup>

### Sambocade.

*Take and make a crust in a trap & take cruddes and wryng out þe wheyze and drawe hem þurgh a straynour and put hit in þe crust. Do þerto sugar the þridde part, & somdel whyte of ayren, & shake þerin blomes of elren; & bake it vp with eurose, & messe it forth.*<sup>5</sup>

This is a very simple cheesecake (of the placenta variety), that encases wrung-out curds flavoured with sugar, egg whites, and elderflower blossoms. If you don't have a flowering elderflower bush in your garden, elderflower cordial can be used, or at

a pinch, rosewater. Sir Kenelm Digby<sup>6</sup> tries to improve things by adding butter, cloves and mace to the recipe and baking it. However, I much prefer the original with its delicate flavour.

The cheese that was used in medieval cheese tarts was a rich, soft cream cheese, perfect for raising one's cholesterol. The type of grasses the milch cows ate determined the quality of the milk and the resultant curds and cheeses. As a general rule, the sorts of grasses available during the colder seasons, the softer the cheese.<sup>7</sup> For preference, a very soft and new cheese (referred to as 'green') was used, along with the colostrum rich milk from a cow that had recently calved. The first milk of any mammal is typically so rich that it sets like custard when baked without the addition of other ingredients.<sup>8</sup> In addition to elderflowers, saffron could also be added, as could meats and dried fruits. Imagine trying to successfully market a meat containing cheesecake today. I don't think the modern palate would agree with it.

### Tart de Bry.

Another very popular cheese tart recipe from the Middle Ages is Tart de Bry. Made from a soft cheese, Tart

4 *The Form Of Cury, 1390.*  
<http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/8102/pg8102.html>

5 *The Form of Cury, Op Cit*

6 *Digby, K. The Closet of Sir Kenelm Digby Opened, London, 1669, recipe appears as To Make Cheese-cakes.*  
<https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/d/digby/kenelm/closet/complete.html>

7 *Wilson, Op Cit, pg 20*

8 *Wilson, Ibid, pg 20*

de Bry combines ginger, and sugar, saffron and salt, and baked in a case.<sup>9</sup>

*Tart de Bry. Take a crust ynche depe in a trap. Take yolkes of ayren rawe & chese ruayn & medle it & þe yolkes togyder. Do þerto powdour gynger, sugur, safroun, and salt. Do it in a trap; bake it & serue it forth.*<sup>10</sup>

Despite its name, Tart de Bry is not made from brie cheese, and it would be expensive if it were. The type of cheese used in this recipe is thought to be one manufactured from milk taken from a cow which has fed on different autumn grasses.

As time moved on, baked cheese tarts underwent a process of evolution and lost their cases. By the late 1600's, cheese tarts had morphed into cheesecakes, but this doesn't mean that everything without a crust or a case was a cheesecake. There is a recipe from 1480 which makes sweet curd fritters; a fried cheese pancake if you will.

## Smartard.

*Tak wetted cruddes er they bee pressed and put them in a clothe and grinde them well to*

<sup>9</sup> *The Form of Cury, Op Cit*

<sup>10</sup> *The Form of Cury, Ibid*

*pured flour and temper hem with eggs and cove creme and mak ther of a good batere that it be rynyngre then tak whit grece in a pan and let it be hete and tak out the batter with a saucer and let it ryn into the grece and draw your hand bakward that it may ryn abrod then fry it welle and whit and somewhat craking and serue it furthe in dishes with sugur ther on.*<sup>11</sup>

Despite the odd name, Smartard takes freshly made curds and mixes them with finely milled flour, eggs and cream, all fried in oil and the result served with fine sugar.<sup>12</sup>

At the beginning of this article, I mentioned that it is easy to recreate Cato's honey-sweetened cheesecake. To do this, I use a simple three-ingredient recipe for a baked ricotta cake. I mix together 400g of fresh full fat ricotta, 2 whole eggs and 120g of caster sugar. To this, I add a couple of generous tablespoons of my favourite honey, then pour the mixture into a lined baking tin, and bake at 180C for 40 minutes or until done.

<sup>11</sup> *Napier, Ibid*

<sup>12</sup> *Napier, A (ed), A Noble Boke off Cookry for a Prynce Houssolde Holkham Originally from MSS 674, circa 1480. Reprinted in London, 1882*  
<http://www.medievalcookery.com/notes/napier.txt>

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

# JANUARY'S "ON THIS"

<p><b>1 Jan</b> 1540</p> <p>Henry VIII met his bride-to-be, Anne of Cleves, at Rochester. Following the great chivalric tradition, Henry disguised himself and attempted to kiss her, but a shocked Anne did not recognise him as King. It was a disastrous first meeting, and Henry was sorely disappointed that she could not recognise him as her true love.</p>	<p><b>2 Jan</b> 1536</p> <p>Eustace Chapuys, the Imperial Ambassador, arrived at the dying Catherine of Aragon's bedside.</p>		<p><b>3 Jan</b> 1540</p> <p>Official reception of Anne of Cleves at Greenwich Palace. In 1541 she was back to greet Henry's next wife!</p>
<p><b>8 Jan</b> 1571</p> <p>Burial of Mary Shelton (married names: Heveningham and Appleyard) at Heveningham Church, Suffolk.</p>	<p><b>9 Jan</b> 1522</p> <p>Adriaan Florenszoon Boeyens was elected as Pope, becoming Pope Adrian VI.</p>	<p><b>10 Jan</b> 1532</p> <p>Probable date of the burning of Thomas Dugate, Protestant martyr, at Liverydole in Heavitree, near Exeter.</p>	<p><b>11 Jan</b> 1584</p> <p>The Execution of William Carter, printer. He was hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn after being found guilty of treason, for printing a book which allegedly contained a passage inciting the assassination of Elizabeth I.</p>
<p><b>15 Jan</b> 1535</p> <p>Henry VIII declared himself head of the Church in England.</p>			<p><b>17 Jan</b> 1587</p> <p>Death of Bartholomew Newsam, famous clockmaker and sundial maker.</p>
<p><b>21 Jan</b> 1556</p> <p>Death of Eustace Chapuys, Imperial Ambassador at the English court from 1529-1545, at Louvain.</p>	<p><b>22 Jan</b> 1528</p> <p>Henry VIII and Francis I declared war on Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor.</p>		<p><b>23 Jan</b> 1552</p> <p>Parliament met to discuss the revision of the 1549 "Book of Common Prayer".</p>
<p><b>27 Jan</b> 1541</p> <p>The parsonage, lands and right to appoint clergy in Haverhill, Suffolk, were granted to Anne of Cleves.</p>	<p><b>28 Jan</b> 1457</p> <p>Henry VII, or Henry Tudor, was born at Pembroke Castle. 90 years later, in 1547, Henry VIII, died at Whitehall.</p>	<p><b>29 Jan</b> 1536</p> <p>Catherine of Aragon was laid to rest in Peterborough Abbey, now Peterborough Cathedral.</p>	<p><b>30 Jan</b> 1593</p> <p>Ippolito Aldobrandini was elected as Pope Clement VIII.</p>
<p><b>31 Jan</b> 1547</p> <p>Wriothesley announced the death of Henry VIII to Parliament and Edward VI was proclaimed King.</p>			

Background image: HA carving at Hampton Court Palace, © Claire Ridgway

A clock made by Bartholomew Newsam

# DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

**4<sup>Jan</sup>  
1568**

Burial of Roger Ascham, author, scholar and royal tutor, in St Stephen's Chapel at St Sepulchre-without-Newgate, London.

**5<sup>Jan</sup>  
1511**

Baptism of Henry, Duke of Cornwall, son of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, at the Chapel of the Observant Friars.

**6<sup>Jan</sup>  
1540**

Henry VIII married Anne of Cleves, or Anna von Jülich-Kleve-Berg.

**7<sup>Jan</sup>  
1536**

At two o'clock in the afternoon, Catherine of Aragon died at Kimbolton Castle.



**12<sup>Jan</sup>  
1559**

Elizabeth I travelled to the Tower of London to prepare for her coronation, which was scheduled for the 15<sup>th</sup> January.

**13<sup>Jan</sup>  
1593**

Death of Sir Henry Neville, Groom of Henry VIII's Privy Chamber. He was buried at Waltham St Lawrence.

**14<sup>Jan</sup>  
1515**

Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was sent to France to bring back Henry VIII's sister, Mary Tudor, Queen of France.

**18<sup>Jan</sup>  
1543**

Baptism of Alfonso Ferrabosco, composer and court musician for Elizabeth I.

**19<sup>Jan</sup>  
1636**

Death of Marcus Gheeraerts, painter, in London. He is known for his "Ditchley" portrait of Elizabeth I.

**20<sup>Jan</sup>  
1557**

"The Queen's Grace's pensioners did muster in bright harness" before Mary I.

**24<sup>Jan</sup>  
1503**

The foundation stone of King Henry VII's chapel was laid at Westminster Abbey.

**25<sup>Jan</sup>  
1559**

Elizabeth I's first Parliament was inaugurated.

**26<sup>Jan</sup>  
1528**

Death of Sir Francis Poyntz, courtier and diplomat, in London. He died of the plague. He was made an Esquire of the Body to Henry VIII in 1516, and then a Carver in 1521. Poyntz carried out a diplomatic mission in 1527, when Henry VIII sent him to the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, to help negotiate peace between Charles and Francis I of France.

Roger Ascham

## TUDOR FEAST DAYS

1 January - New Year's Day  
& Circumcision of Christ

6 January - Epiphany

7 January - St Distaff's Day

13 January - Feast of St Hilary

25 January - Conversion of St Paul

TudorLife

NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

# Tudor Life

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## REBELLION

SARAH-BETH WATKINS  
Essex Rebellion in 1601

SUSAN ABERNETHY  
The Evil May Day Riots of 1517

PLUS

SHARON BENNETT  
CONNOLLY  
The Burgh Family

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY  
on Cordials

CATHERINE BROOKS  
Photo montage of Christchurch  
and much much more...

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out every month for  
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We hope you enjoy it!

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