

# TudorLife

The Tudor Society Magazine

THE  
TUDOR  
SOCIETY

Members Only

Nº 71

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## THE CROMWELLS

The Fall of Thomas  
Cromwell

Elizabeth Seymour,  
Lady Cromwell

Cromwell, Calais  
and Arthur  
Plantagenet

PLUS

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## One Man and his Dog

*by* Mike Ingram



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## THE CROMWELLS

Contemporaries snobbishly characterised Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's most notorious minister, as a man who "advanced from the dunghill to great honour." The House of Cromwell continued to exert a divisive influence in Protestant England, even after its first great figure ended his life beneath an inexpertly wielded headman's axe in 1540. His reputation was rescued by the 20th century scholar, Sir Geoffrey Elton, who saw Thomas Cromwell as an integral figure in the national story, a genius who had ushered England into modernity through his reforms. More recently, his reputation has increased even further through his role as the hero at the heart of Hilary Mantel's trilogy of novels, inspired by his life. Not all, however, are convinced. I am delighted to introduce articles on various Cromwells, as well as the century they helped to shape.

**GARETH RUSSELL**  
**EDITOR**

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**ABOVE:** The iconic portrait of Thomas Cromwell by Hans Holbein the Younger



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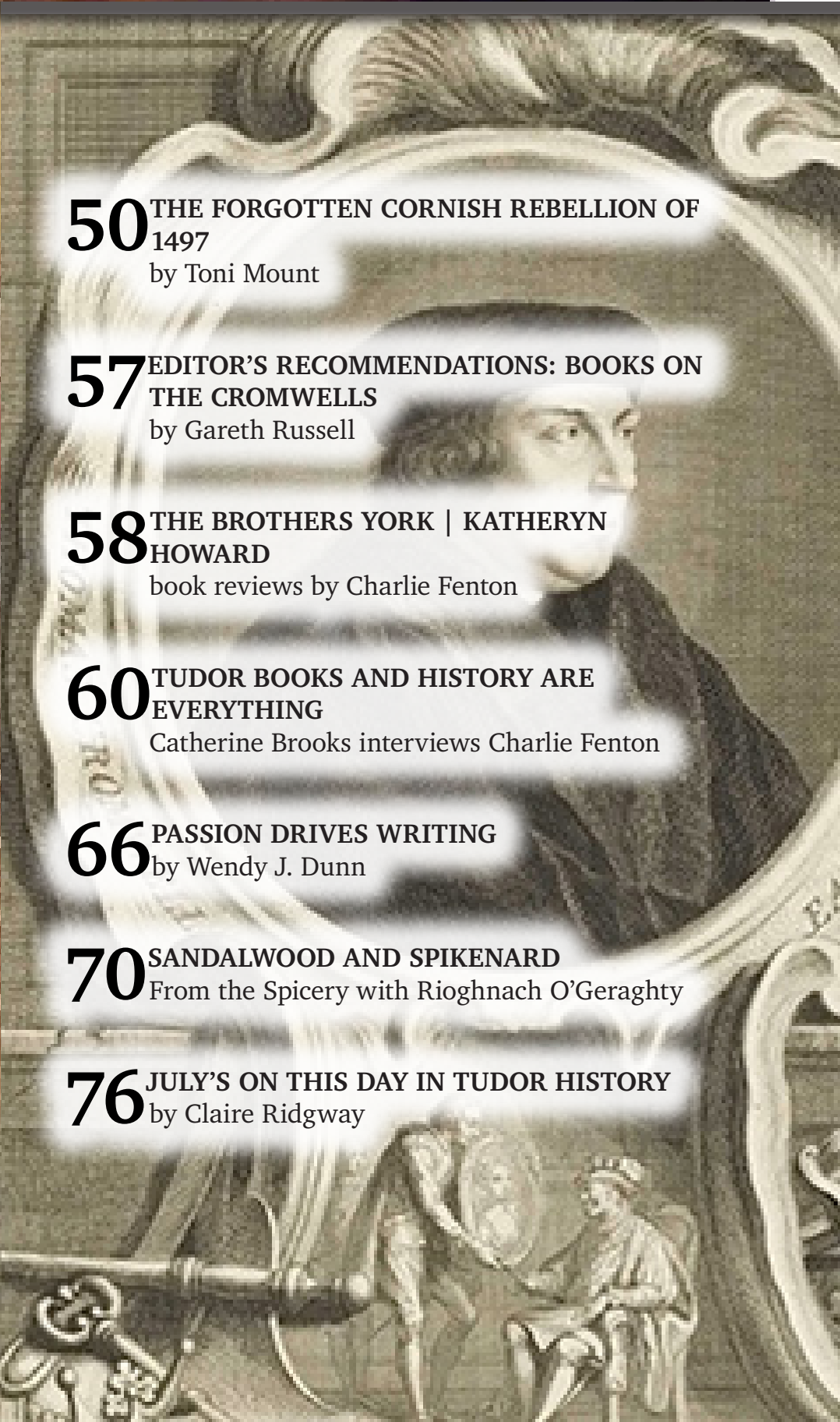
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# A DYNASTY IN PROFILE: THE HOUSE OF CROMWELL

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Historian *Gareth Russell* leads us into this magazine with an overview of the Cromwell dynasty

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Thomas Cromwell, played by Canadian actor John Colicos, in “Anne of the Thousand Days,” which captured Cromwell’s ambition and intelligence.

The latest research suggests, in a historical irony of ironies, that the Cromwell family may have originated in Ireland. By the time Thomas Cromwell was born, around 1485, the family were established in Putney in the London area. His father, Walter, seems to have been a blacksmith, although also potentially a pub or brewery owner. Thomas was born at the dawn of the Tudor era and through his tenacity, and intelligence, he served at their court. Surviving the fall of his early mentor, Cardinal Wolsey, Cromwell used his evangelical sympathies to

support the Reformation, eventually becoming Henry VIII’s chief minister.

He was intensely unpopular with the wider population, with his dismissal from office being one of the conditions for the failed Pilgrimage of Grace uprising. His role in the downfall of Queen Anne Boleyn is hotly debated, but all the evidence suggests it was deeply unedifying. He enjoyed great wealth at Henry VIII’s hands and even secured a baronage, allegedly in recompense for destroying the Queen in 1536, and subsequently the earldom of Essex.





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Thomas Cromwell, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Ardglass (1594-1653)

**ABOVE: The crests of the Cromwell earls of Ardglass**  
**LEFT: The slaughter at Drogheda by Oliver Cromwell's troops**

King Charles I, whom they supported during the English Civil Wars – known in the rest of Britain as “the Wars of the Three Kingdoms”.

By this point, 1645, the Cromwell family's loyalties were split. While the Cromwells who became the earls and countesses of Ardglass were staunch royalists, the lesser branch of the family had become the chief architects of the anti-royalist movement. Descended from Thomas's nephew, Oliver Cromwell was a Puritan landowner and military genius who pledged





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Oliver Cromwell, “God’s Executioner” and leader of republican Britain

his service to the parliamentary armies. He was credited with much of their victory in the civil wars and for the deeply controversial decision to execute the King, followed by the declaration of a republic, in 1649.

Furious that Ireland refused to submit to the new republic, with Catholics and royalists forming a common alliance there, Oliver Cromwell took his army across the Irish Sea where he laid waste to the towns of Drogheda and Dundalk. So horrific were the slaughters that, even centuries later, Oliver Cromwell’s name is still a source of opprobrium in Ireland.

Back in Britain, Cromwell was installed as a de facto dictator until his death in 1658. The republic was briefly held together by his son, Richard Cromwell, who chose life in exile after revived royalist sympathy dismantled the British republics in favour of a restoration of the monarchy. Fairly obviously, King Charles II and his family did not look upon the Cromwells too fondly. However, the Cromwell earls of Ardglass continued to prosper. The eldest son

and heir was always given the courtesy title of Viscount Lecale, a title which raises a smile in this author as it was one of the houses at my school in Northern Ireland. (Ardglass was very near my school and the neighbouring burial site of Saint Patrick, Saint Bridget, and Saint Columcille.) As a school house, Lecale uses the light blue as a stripe on their school tie in homage to the Ardglass earldom’s coat of arms. (As someone who was sorted into Rathkeltair for my school house, this paean of praise for Lecale is, I assure you, a mark of personal growth.)

The earldom, however, became extinct upon the death of the 4th Earl, Vere Cromwell, with no sons in 1687. The last earl is buried at Downpatrick Cathedral, near the aforementioned saints. In England, the other Cromwells eventually settled back into a life of prosperity and comfort. Into the early 20th century, they remained proud of their links both to the Tudors and the Cromwellian republic. The fantastically-named Avarilla



Oliveria Cromwell oversaw the auction and assessment of a portrait which we now believe to be of Gregory's wife and Queen

Jane Seymour's sister, Elizabeth, an early member of a significant, improbable, and controversial family.

**GARETH RUSSELL**



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Downpatrick Cathedral, Northern Ireland, where the last Cromwell earl of Ardglass lies with Saint Patrick, Saint Bridget, and Saint Columbcille © Gareth Russell 2020





**JULY'S GUEST  
SPEAKER IS**

**Gayle Hulme  
on  
Arbella Stuart**



Thomas Cromwell. Note the lower part where Henry VIII inspects Anne of Cleves' portrait (by Jacobus Houbraken after Hans Holbein)



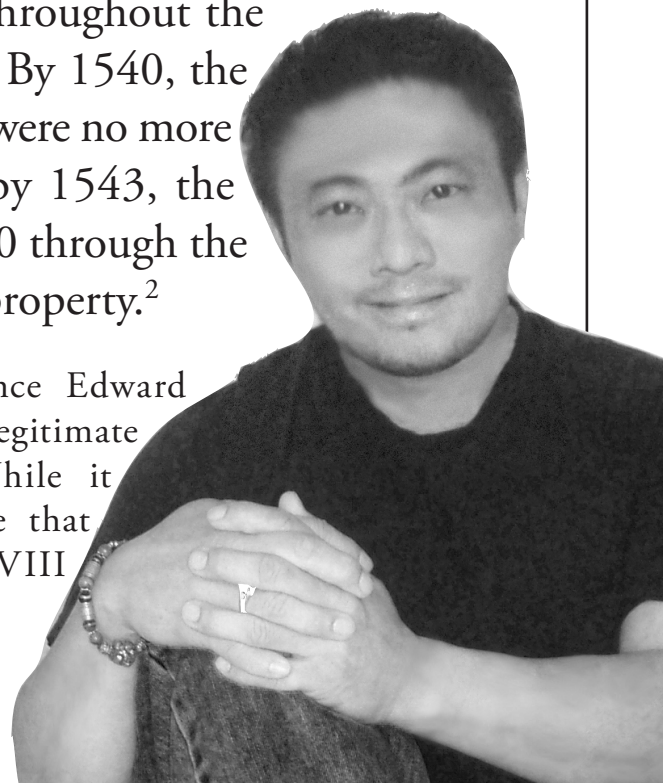
# The Fall of Thomas Cromwell

by Roland Hui

*"Most gracious Prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy!"  
(From Thomas Cromwell's last letter to Henry VIII, July 1540)*

In 1538, no man was more powerful at the court of Henry VIII than Thomas Cromwell (1485-1540). Two years earlier, he had destroyed Queen Anne Boleyn who had threatened 'to see his head off his shoulders',<sup>1</sup> and more recently, he had eclipsed the influence of the Seymour family when Queen Jane died in childbed. For his loyalty, this man of humble origin, who began his career under Cardinal Wolsey, was made Lord Privy Seal, as well as Baron Cromwell of Wimbledon. He became even more indispensable to the King with the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Appointed Vice-Gerent in Spirituals, Cromwell was in charge of assessing the wealth of the religious houses throughout the kingdom, and to their suppression. By 1540, the campaign was so effective that there were no more monasteries left in England, and by 1543, the Crown was richer by some £445,500 through the selling of confiscated church property.<sup>2</sup>

With the King a widower again with the death of his third wife, it was essential that he wed again to safeguard the succession. As both his daughters Mary and Elizabeth had been declared bastards, there was now only his new son Prince Edward as his legitimate heir. While it was true that Henry VIII





had previously fathered another son, Henry Fitzroy, the youth was conceived out of wedlock, and he had passed away recently. Fitzroy's early death at the age of seventeen only emphasised the fragility of the Tudor lineage. What would become of the succession if Edward too died young? With that in mind, Cromwell would have his master the King take a new queen - a fourth wife.

When Henry VIII finally set aside his mourning in the spring of 1538, Cromwell began playing royal matchmaker. One of the most eligible candidates was Mary of Guise, a relation of the French King. She was a good looking widow and was known for her height. Mary's tall stature was pleasing to Henry, as



William Duke of Cleves (by Cornelis Anthonisz after Heinrich Aldegrever)



Christina of Denmark (by Agostino Carracci after Antonio Campi)

being 'big in person' himself, he wanted 'a big wife', he said.<sup>3</sup> But the feeling was not mutual. Mary married the King of Scotland instead.

There was also an Imperial alliance to consider. Cromwell had heard of the lovely teenage Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan. To please her uncle, the Emperor Charles V, Christina announced that she was his to command. If he would have her accept the King of England, she would do so. Henry VIII's painter Hans Holbein was dispatched to Brussels to capture her likeness, which the King then found most pleasing. However, in private, Christina was reluctant take on the notorious Henry VIII. She supposedly said - in reference to Anne Boleyn - that 'if she had two heads, one of them would be at His Majesty's disposal!'<sup>4</sup>

With Christina's lack of enthusiasm and that of her guardians, Cromwell



looked to Protestant Germany. With his own commitment to religious reform, the Minister was seeking like-minded allies. He had envisioned such a pact when German diplomats recently came to court to form closer ties with England. During the discussions, the representatives were most pleased that Cromwell ‘wants very dearly that the King should wed himself with the German princes’.<sup>5</sup> As England’s relations with the Empire were becoming increasingly hostile, Cromwell sought a marriage alliance with the German duchy of Cleves. Its new Duke, William, had two unmarried sisters, Anne and Amelia; one would surely be suitable for King Henry.

Eager to make the match, Cromwell had his agents abroad learn more about the two young ladies, especially Anne. Opinions were mixed. One thought that she was unremarkable with no great things said about her, while another wrote enthusiastically of her supposed charms. But there was a consensus that Anne was a virtuous and serious minded girl, having been well brought up by her strict mother, ‘a very wise lady and one that very straightly looketh to her children’.<sup>6</sup>

Pleased with the reports of Anne of Cleves, there was only her appearance left to consider. Knowing how important this was to the King - he had once suggested a beauty contest of sorts of French ladies from which he could pick a wife from - Cromwell sent Holbein to Düren in August 1539 to paint Anne and her sister Amelia. Henry was most satisfied with Anne’s looks as depicted by Holbein, and the marriage was to go ahead.

Anne of Cleves arrived in England at the end of December. Although it was arranged that the new Queen would be formally received at Blackheath, Henry VIII, ‘sore desired to see her’, set out to Rochester to welcome his fiancée beforehand on New Year’s Day.<sup>7</sup> But



Anne of Cleves (by Wenceslaus Hollar after Hans Holbein)

what then occurred led to circumstances that would trigger Cromwell’s downfall.

Far from being pleased with Anne, the King was roundly disappointed. Even though Holbein had taken Anne’s likeness with great accuracy - the painting and miniature of her were described as ‘very lively’ (that is very life-like)<sup>8</sup> - Henry VIII personally did not think that she lived up to her pictures, nor to the glowing accounts of her. “I see nothing in this woman as men report of her”, he complained, “and I marvel that wise men would make such reports as they have done”!<sup>9</sup>

Cromwell, who had stayed behind at Greenwich Palace, was certain that the King had fallen head over heels in love with Anne of Cleves. To his astonishment, he was greeted by an angry Henry VIII. When Cromwell pleasantly asked how he liked the lady, Henry



answered 'heavily', "Nothing so well as she was spoken of"! Cromwell was taken aback, even more so when the King, being 'nothing content', raged that 'if he had known before as much as he then knew, she should never have come within the realm'.<sup>10</sup>

Henry was desperate to get out of the marriage, but when he asked Cromwell how to do it, the Minister - so expert at politicals but not in matters of the heart - was at a loss. All he could suggest was to confer with Anne's envoys from Cleves to see if there was some legal loophole to free the King. At the meeting, Anne's previous engagement to the Duke of Lorraine's son was brought up. Would this not prevent her from being wed, Cromwell demanded? No, said her ambassadors, the match had been duly revoked. When Henry was told, he grumbled how he was 'not well handled', and that 'if it were not that she had come so far, and the great preparations that had been made for her, and for fear of making a ruffle in the world', he would *never* marry her. Taking Anne, Henry went on, would be like putting his 'neck in the yoke'.

Even on the very day of the wedding on January 6, he was miserable. "If it were not to satisfy the world and my realm", he snarled at Cromwell, "I would not do that I must do this day for none earthly thing"! From there, things just went worse for Cromwell. Perhaps he had imagined that after bedding his new wife, the King would have a change of heart. Not so. In fact, Henry then carped about Anne most intimately. According to him, by the looks of her naked breasts and belly, she was no virgin as expected. He was so turned off, Henry claimed, that on the wedding night, he 'left her as good a maid as he found her'.

Later, much would be said about Anne's supposed naivety about the facts of life and

of her state of ignorant bliss, but this was certainly untrue.<sup>11</sup> An intelligent woman, and one who had prepared herself to fulfill her duties as a wife, Anne was well aware that things were going badly with her new husband. Although Henry was always outwardly kind to her, she must have sensed that he was equally at a distance, especially in how he avoided her company during the day, and at night - although he would lie with her - how he would not consummate the marriage. When Anne took the initiative to seek Cromwell's advice as to what to do, he too was making himself scarce.<sup>12</sup>

All Cromwell could hope for was that in time, his master would come to love his new wife. Perhaps the great river pageant that February (like one once held when Jane Seymour was Queen) gave Cromwell some respite. In celebration, the King and Queen

Henry VIII (by Cornelis Anthonis  
after Hans Holbein)



went from Greenwich to Whitehall Palace by water, accompanied by barges decorated with colourful banners and cloth of gold. As the royal couple came in sight, 'all the ships which lay in the Thames shot guns... which made a noise like thunder.'<sup>13</sup> Cromwell was undoubtedly even more optimistic for the future when he himself was created Earl of Essex and High Chamberlain of England in April.

Cromwell's elevation embolden him. That May, he used his influence upon the King to have certain enemies of his arrested. All were conservatives who hated Cromwell for rising high above his station and for the great changes in religion he had brought about. But not to be outdone, his other adversaries, which included the Bishop of Winchester and the Duke of Norfolk, struck back. With Cromwell made vulnerable by

the still failing Cleves marriage, and by the King's recent infatuation with the Duke's beguiling niece Katheryn Howard, his rivals at court filled the King's ears with allegations of treason. Cromwell, far from being a good son of the Church, they whispered, was a heretic. He was so committed to radical views - such as denying that Christ was truly present at the Mass as all should believe - that he would take to arms, even against Henry VIII himself, to defend his principles. This and other wild accusations - the Minister was planning to seize the throne by marrying the Princess Mary, and that he was plotting with the German Princes against his own country - sealed his fate. The King was 'so exasperated against him that he would no longer hear him spoken of, but rather desired to abolish all memory of him as the greatest wretch ever born in England'.<sup>14</sup>

On June 10, Cromwell was arrested. As he entered the Council Chamber to attend to business with the Duke of Norfolk and other officials as usual, he was suddenly apprehended by the Captain of the Guard. In a rage, Cromwell ripped off his bonnet and threw it to the ground shouting that 'this was the reward of his services, and that he appealed to their consciences as to whether he was a traitor'. Cromwell's protests were ignored as Norfolk and his colleagues with glee ripped off his insignias from his very person. After he was humiliated, Cromwell was brought to the Tower of London. His home was then ransacked and his valuables 'taken to the King's treasury - a sign that they will not be restored'.

As Cromwell languished in prison, Parliament dutifully petitioned Henry VIII to have the legality of his marriage investigated. As the Queen was never truly free to wed because of her pre-contract with another - though Anne

**The Duke of Norfolk (by Lucas Vorsterman after Hans Holbein)**





and her relatives would disagree - she was never the King's wife. On July 9, the marriage was formally annulled as if had never taken place.

During the proceedings, Cromwell was kept alive only to give evidence to facilitate the King's repudiation of his German wife. After this done, there was only the scaffold for 'Thomas Cromwell, shearman' as he was now called. In place of a trial, he had been sentenced to death by an act of Parliament. Desperate to save himself, the condemned man wrote pleading letters to the King, including one begging for 'mercy, mercy, mercy'.<sup>15</sup> They fell on deaf ears. Now, all Cromwell could hope for was that Henry would be kind to his surviving family,<sup>16</sup> and that his death would be quick.

Cromwell mounted the scaffold on Tower Hill on July 28. His wish for an easier death was granted. Instead of being hanged,

cut down, and disembowelled as expected, he was to be simply decapitated. But what should have been a speedy end, was not the case. The executioner botched the job having 'very ungoodly performed the office'.<sup>17</sup>

In time, Henry VIII would express remorse for doing away with Thomas Cromwell. During one of his foul moods, he raged against his servants for incompetence, saying how the late Cromwell was 'the most faithful servant he ever had'. And in a rare moment of candour, the King also admitted that he was the victim of 'light pretexts' and 'false accusations'.<sup>18</sup> Even among the common people, the death of Cromwell was felt. Albeit, many had blamed him for the break with Rome and for the despoiling of the monasteries, those on the side of religious reform as Cromwell had been, 'lamented him and heartily prayed for him'.<sup>19</sup>

## ROLAND HUI

1. *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, V(i), no. 170.
2. Susan Doran (editor), *Henry VIII: Man and Monarchy*, London: The British Library, 2009, p. 175.
3. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XII (ii), no. 1285.
4. Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England; With Some Account of the Principal Artists; and Incidental Notes on Other Arts; Collected by the Late Mr. George Vertue*, London: printed for J. Dodsley, 1786, I, pp. 113-114.
5. Rory MacEntegart, 'Fatal Matrimony: Henry VIII and the Marriage to Anne of Cleves', *Henry VIII – A European Court in England* (edited by David Starkey), New York: Cross River Press, 1991, p. 140.
6. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XIV (ii), no. 33.
7. Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle; Containing the History of England, During the Reign of Henry the Fourth and the Succeeding Monarchs*, London: printed for J. Johnson, 1809, p. 833.
8. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XIV (ii), no. 33.
9. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XV, no. 850. Henry VIII's reaction to Anne of Cleves remains puzzling and is biased towards his point of view and from depositions taken afterwards to facilitate the annulment.
10. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XV, no. 823 and no. 824 for Henry's various complaints to Cromwell.
11. According to later testimony by her ladies, the Queen apparently thought that by merely lying next to her husband without sexual intercourse, she could become pregnant.
12. Anne's communications at the English court were undoubtedly all done through an interpreter as she still only spoke German.
13. Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors, From A.D. 1485 to 1559*, London: printed for The Camden Society, 1875-77, I, p. 112.
14. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XV, no. 804 for Henry VIII's rage and for Cromwell's subsequent arrest.
15. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XV, no. 823.
16. Among Cromwell's children was a son Gregory who interestingly was married to Queen Jane's sister, Elizabeth Seymour.
17. Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle; Containing the History of England, During the Reign of Henry the Fourth and the Succeeding Monarchs*, p. 839. Executed along with Cromwell was Lord Hungerford, condemned for buggery.
18. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XVI, no. 590.
19. Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle; Containing the History of England, During the Reign of Henry the Fourth and the Succeeding Monarchs*, p. 838.

# RECOMMENDED READING

Ten remarkable women.

One remarkable era.

In the Tudor period, 1485–1603, a host of fascinating women sat on the English throne. The dramatic events of their lives are told in *The Turbulent Crown: The Story of the Tudor Queens of England*.

*The Turbulent Crown* begins with the story of Elizabeth of York, who survived conspiracy, treachery, and dishonour to become the first Tudor Queen, bringing peace and order to England after years of civil war. From there, the reader is taken through the parade of Henry VIII's six wives - two of whom, Anne Boleyn and Katheryn Howard, would lose their heads against a backdrop of intrigue and scandal.



The Mary,  
Queen of Scots  
Colouring book  
is out now!





# ELIZABETH SEYMOUR, LADY CROMWELL



BY SUSAN ABERNETHY

Elizabeth Seymour was the elder sister of Queen Jane Seymour, Henry VIII's third wife. She was born c. 1508, the daughter of Sir John Seymour of Wolf Hall, Wiltshire and Margery Wentworth. She was raised at Wolf Hall and judging by her surviving letters, had an excellent education. She was intelligent and astute and excelled at needlework. Both Elizabeth and Jane served in the household of Anne Boleyn. Some time before 1530, Elizabeth was married to Sir Anthony Ughtred as his second wife. The Ughtred's of Yorkshire could trace their family history back to the thirteenth century.

Sir Anthony loyally served King Henry VII and Henry VIII as a soldier and military administrator. He fought in Ireland, and took part in a naval expedition to Brittany in 1512. Over seventeen years, he served as captain of Berwick, one of the garrison towns that defended the Anglo-Scottish border. He took part in intelligence gathering and negotiations between the two countries. In August 1532, Ughtred took over as captain and governor of Jersey. He moved there with Elizabeth and she gave birth to a son. Sir Anthony died in Jersey on October 6, 1534 and was buried there. Elizabeth returned

to England to Kexby, Yorkshire. She left her son in Jersey in the care of the Bailiff and gave birth to a daughter in England.

After King Henry had married Anne Boleyn, and then sought to divorce her, Jane Seymour caught his attention and her family began their meteoric rise. Elizabeth and Sir Anthony had supported Anne Boleyn's cause. In the spring of 1536, Anne Boleyn was tried and executed. Eleven days after her death, Henry married Elizabeth's sister Jane and her brother Edward was high in the favor of the king. Elizabeth was living with family members.



The Dissolution of the Monasteries had begun and Elizabeth wrote a letter to Thomas Cromwell in March of 1537, pleading poverty as a single mother and asking for an abbey. Cromwell had been cultivating a relationship with Edward Seymour. It is unknown when the idea of marrying Elizabeth to Cromwell's son Gregory came into being but it is possible it was Elizabeth's idea.

When she wrote her letter suing for financial assistance, she mentioned that when she last spoke to him at court, he promised to do her some favor. Cromwell did arrange for Elizabeth to live in Leeds Castle for a while. Gregory had wanted to marry the daughter of Sir Thomas Nevill of Merewith in Kent and had made several offers for her hand. But Cromwell had other ideas and by that time he may have considered a marriage with Elizabeth.

In June 1537, there were rumors of a match for Elizabeth with Arthur Darcy, son of Thomas Darcy, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Darcy de Darcy of Yorkshire, forcing Cromwell's hand. He began negotiations with Edward Seymour and the wedding was agreed in July. Elizabeth and Gregory Cromwell were married sometime between July 17 and August 3 at Mortlake. The Seymours gave the couple fifty pounds as a wedding gift and Cromwell gave them one of his houses to live in and start their family. A year later, Elizabeth gave birth to a son, named Henry after the king, and she would have three more sons and two daughters. They

appear to have had a loving and happy marriage.

Because of Elizabeth's support of Anne Boleyn, she did not have a place in her sister's household until Jane became pregnant. Elizabeth was prominent in the funeral procession for Queen Jane and Gregory carried a banner. By 1538, Gregory was in his father's service where he trained him in statecraft and law. In April 1538, Elizabeth and Gregory moved to Lewes with a large retinue. Gregory became a Justice of the Peace. In early 1540, Elizabeth was appointed as a lady-in-waiting to Anne of Cleves. Cromwell was created Earl of Essex in April 1540, and Gregory assumed the title of Lord Cromwell. Elizabeth was in the crowd to watch her husband compete in May Day Jousts at the Palace of Westminster and then attended the feast with the Queen and her ladies. Henry soon divorced Anne of Cleves and Cromwell fell from power. Arrested on June 10, he was accused of treason and heresy and sent to the Tower.

When his father was arrested, Gregory was nearby in the House of Commons at Westminster. He may have sent word to Elizabeth who was in service to Queen Anne. They were very vulnerable and possibly faced arrest. It is possible Edward Seymour intervened with the king on their behalf and he may have provided them with a place to live as all of Thomas Cromwell's possessions had been seized by the Crown. Elizabeth and Gregory were never questioned in relation to his

father's arrest.

In July, Elizabeth wrote her letter to the king, most likely prompted by her brother Edward.

"After the bounden duty of my most humble submission unto your excellent majesty, whereas it has pleased the same, of your mercy and infinite goodness, notwithstanding the heinous trespasses and most grievous offences of my father-in-law, yet so graciously to extend your benign pity towards my poor husband and me, as the extreme indigence and poverty wherewith my father-in-law's most detestable offences had oppressed us, is thereby much holpen and relieved, like as I have of long time been right desirous presently as well as to render most humble thanks, as also to desire continuance of the same your highness' most benign goodness. Do, considering your grace's most high and weighty affairs at this present, fear of molesting or being troublesome unto your highness hath dissuaded me as yet otherwise to sue unto your grace than alonely by these my most humble letters, until your grace's said affairs shall be partly overpast. Most humbly beseeching your majesty in the mean season mercifully to accept this my most obedient suit, and to extend your accustomed pity and gracious goodness towards my said poor husband and me, who never hath, nor, God willing never shall, offend your majesty, but continually pray for the prosperous estate of the same long time to remain and continue.

Your most bond woman, Elizabeth Cromwell"

While Cromwell was in the Tower, he wrote to the king, pleading his own innocence. He begged the king to be good and gracious to his son and his good and virtuous wife and their children. Thomas Cromwell was beheaded on July 28, 1540 and on the same day, King Henry married Catherine Howard.

Elizabeth and Gregory were not implicated in Cromwell's downfall and his father's execution did not damage him or his family. But it would take half a year for their situation to be resolved. They had been dependent on Cromwell and had no property or income of their own. The king was generous. Elizabeth was appointed to Catherine Howard's household and Gregory was created Baron Cromwell by letters patent on December 18, 1540.

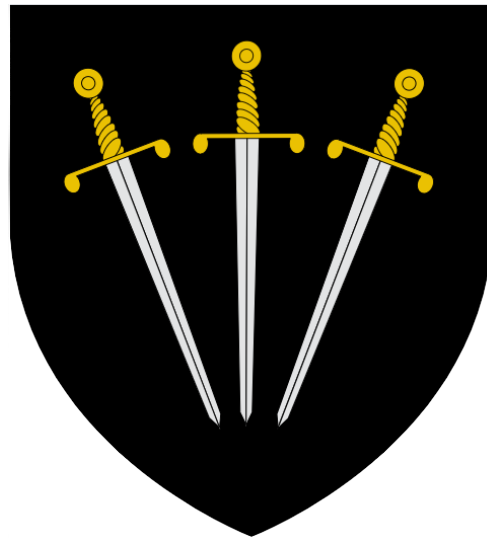
The following year, Gregory was granted the house and site of the abbey at Launde in Leicestershire, along with some of his father's lands. Gregory was called to Parliament as a peer of the realm and Henry VIII gave him other grants of additional property before he died in January 1547. Gregory was invested as a Knight of the Order of the Bath at the coronation of Edward VI. Gregory was close friends with William Cecil and a proponent of the reformed faith. He faithfully served in Parliament and had an exemplary attendance record before dying at Launde from the sweating sickness on July 4, 1551.

Elizabeth's brother Edward, now



Duke of Somerset, supported her after Gregory's death. He served as Lord Protector during the minority of King Edward VI but was eventually accused of treason and executed on January 22, 1552 while his wife remained a prisoner in the Tower. In April, Edward's four daughters were put in Elizabeth's care. This situation strained her resources. She petitioned William Cecil of the Privy Council for help. She was given some relief but the girls remained with her until the Duchess of Somerset was released from the Tower in August 1553 when Mary became Queen.

Elizabeth carried Queen Mary I's train during her wedding to Philip II of Spain. Between March 10 and April 24, 1554, Elizabeth married as his second wife, Sir John Paulet, Earl of Wiltshire. They had no children. Elizabeth served as chief mourner at the funeral of Anne of Cleves in July 1557, and led the ladies in making offerings after the service. Her husband entertained all the mourners with a banquet in his




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The arms of John Paulet, 2<sup>nd</sup>  
Marquess of Winchester

home in London.

Elizabeth's eldest son by Ughtred married one of Paulet's daughters and her son Henry Cromwell married another of Paulet's daughters. The rest of Elizabeth's life was spent in obscurity. She died on March 19, 1568 and was buried in St. Mary's Church, Basing, Hampshire. Paulet survived her, would become 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquess of Winchester in 1572, and married for a third time.

## **SUSAN ABERNETHY**

Further reading: "Thomas Cromwell: The Rise and all of Henry VIII's Most Notorious Minister" by Robert Hutchinson

"Thomas Cromwell: The untold story of Henry VIII's most faithful servant" by Tracy Borman

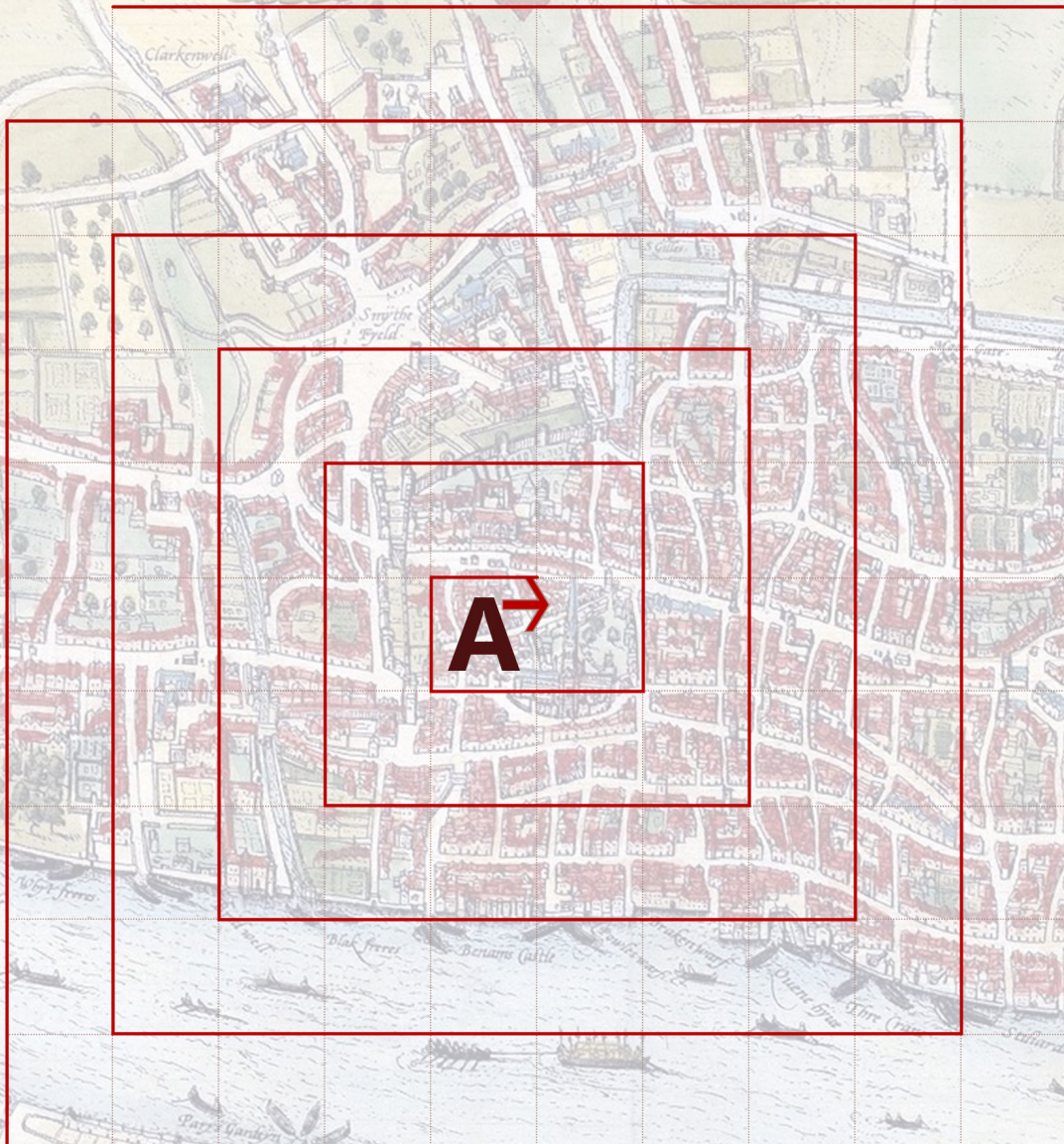
"Jane Seymour: Henry VIII's Favourite Wife" by David Loades

"The Six Wives of Henry VIII" by Alison Weir, entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography on Sir Anthony Ughtred written by Luke MacMahon



# TUDOR WORD WORM

Answer each question and fit the answers into the 'worm'. Each answer (apart from the first), starts with the last letter of the previous answer. Good luck!



1. Henry VIII's first father-in-law was Ferdinand of where?
2. Sir Henry \_\_\_\_\_, Groom of the Stool to Henry VIII
3. Act to be sworn to say Princess Elizabeth was Henry VIII's true heir
4. Unpopular Duke, uncle of Anne Boleyn
5. Christian name of the daughter of Maud Green, who married 4 times
6. Third Tudor monarch
7. Henry, Lord and second husband of Mary Queen of Scots
8. Cardinal Wolsey's Town Palace
9. Palace where Cardinal Wolsey took the Oath of Office of Lord Chancellor in 1525
10. Eldest surviving daughter of Elizabeth of York
11. William, author of 'Obedience of a Christian Man'
12. Desiderius, Dutch philosopher and Christian scholar
13. Duke who married Mary, the French Queen
14. Castle where Robert Dudley made a final attempt to woo Elizabeth
15. House that is home to the Rainbow Portrait



# LORD LISLE, CROMWELL AND CALAIS

**A**rthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle and Henry VIII's uncle became deputy of Calais in 1533. We know it was not an easy job and he had difficulty in managing the garrison town through the information contained in his personal correspondence. His papers were confiscated on his arrest in 1540 but they also illuminate the difficulties he had with Thomas Cromwell – the unanswered pleas, the stern rebukes and the disagreements over religious reformers prevalent in Calais.

The administration of Calais was a hard task. Lisle had to make sure the town was defended and provisioned, see that the soldiers garrisoned there were paid and keep order amongst the English officials. Some said he was incompetent, others that he was making the most of a bad job. Whatever his skills in relation to maintaining the city, he came up against Thomas Cromwell time and time again.

Religion would be key to the uneasy relationship between the king's uncle and the king's secretary. Cromwell had overseen the dissolution of the monasteries and pursued an extensive campaign against followers of the old religion. His zeal for reform often

overtook that of the king's who had instigated reform through his break with the church of Rome in a bid to marry Anne Boleyn.

Calais was known to be a hotbed of religious controversy. Cranmer called it a town wrapped in 'hypocrisy, false faith and blindness of God'. It was Lisle's job to enforce the royal supremacy in Calais and no one thought he was doing a good job of it, especially Cranmer who complained in 1537 that Lisle was not enforcing the oath against papal authority.

Lisle would frequently contact Cromwell to ask his advice but receive no reply. Muriel St Clare Byrne, editor of the Lisle letters, thought that Cromwell purposely ignored Lisle and paid no



**ARTHUR  
PLANTAGENET**



attention when he informed the secretary of religious issues in Calais in 1538 and 1539. Their correspondence or lack of it would soon lead to discontent between the two.

St Clare Byrne saw Cromwell as someone who was protecting and defending the religious reformers in Calais. Lisle for his part seemed to waver on what to do with them – this may not have just been his own indecision but given that the king's views changed frequently, he may have been trying to find a path that was agreeable to all. But Lisle was old school and preferred the old ways even though he towed the line. His agent John Husee had to write to Lisle's wife to beg her to 'leave part of such ceremonies as you use as long prayers and offering of candles ...' in fear they would be branded Catholics.

In July 1537, Cromwell wrote to Lisle and the council of Calais in no uncertain terms that the king marvelled at how the papist faction was allowed to continue in the town – in other words rebuking Lisle for disloyalty to the

crown. He followed it up with another letter ensuring Lisle of his friendship and that his sharp words were only to enforce that people who followed the old ways must not be tolerated. But by August 1538 Cromwell was sending Lisle 'a sharpe letter' again rebuking him 'for persecuting those who favor and set forth God's word and for favouring those who impugn it'.

Calais, influenced by the many travellers that journeyed through it, was a mix of religious ideas that had often caused problems and there was a real fear that it would become the base for plots against Henry VIII by papal supporters. Preachers arrived from time to time and Adam Damplic was one who caused great concern. At first he seemed to be the type of preacher people were required to listen to but his sermons increasingly grew more and more radical. Lisle had initially welcomed him but was soon writing to Cromwell that he was preaching in a way that varied from the king's book and was known to have 'evil opinions'. He asked what to do about the man but was frustrated after again

receiving no reply, writing to Cromwell 'I have written your Lordship three letters concerning this self same matter and could never hear word of an answer'.

But the following year Cromwell was berating Lisle for not informing him of the exact nature of Damplic's sermons. And so it went on - Lisle claiming he was being ignored and Cromwell saying he didn't receive his letters. Was it really as simple as miscommunication and lost correspondence or were either of the men playing a game? Lisle needed to justify his position and authority in Calais and Cromwell needed to justify himself to the king and possibly protect reformers whose ideas he agreed with.

When others got involved the whole situation began to take a turn for the worst for both men. In March 1539 the Earl of Hertford was sent to inspect coastal defences but found the town 'out of order'. Henry was furious that the situation in Calais was so volatile



and many blamed Lisle for his lack of authority and inability to deal with those that should have been under his control. Commissions were ordered and enquiries made. Lisle was vindicated but it wouldn't end there.

The Duke of Norfolk visited Calais in February 1540 and a further commission was ordered to look into the affairs of the town. Henry VIII sent for Lisle on 17 April 1540 and he spent a month in London

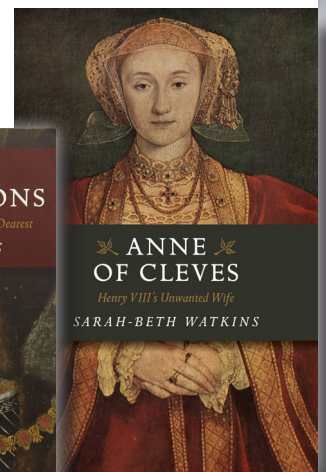
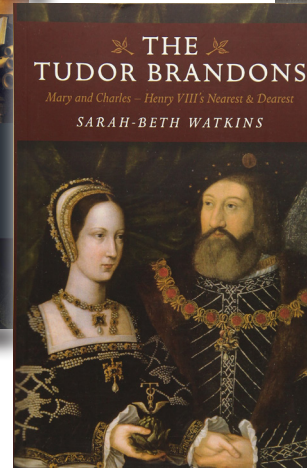
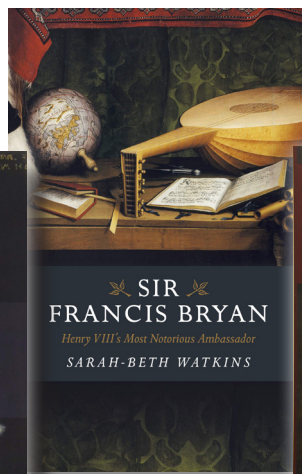
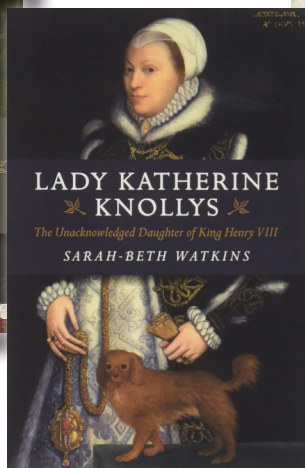
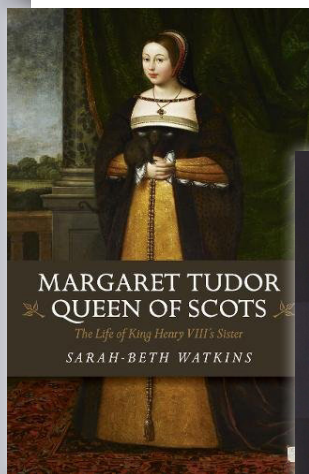
attending Parliament before his arrest on 19 May. He was investigated over his former chaplain Gregory Botolf who had plotted 'to get the town into the hands of the Pope and Cardinal Pole'. Henry didn't blame his uncle saying he had not erred through malice but only by ignorance. Still Lisle would remain in the Tower for the next two years and never return to Calais.

In the meantime charges were stacking up against

Cromwell. On July 28 1540 he was executed. His Act of Attainder included an accusation of religious radicalism although it was never proved. The historian David Grummett believes his support of the reformers or at least his failure to persecute them led to his downfall.

Lord Lisle was released from the Tower in 1542 but the reprieve came too late. His heart failed soon after.

**SARAH-BETH WATKINS**



Sarah-Beth Watkins grew up in Richmond, Surrey and began soaking up history from an early age. Her love of writing has seen her articles published in various publications over the past twenty years.

Here are some of her Tudor books...

# THE TUDOR SOCIETY



*Members' Bulletin*

Part of my daily work is editing and uploading the daily videos that Claire (Ridgway) records. Claire makes a video for every day of the year, plus her Claire Chats videos and additional ones from our dog Teasel and answering questions about Anne Boleyn. Today over lunch it struck me that we probably upload in excess of 500 videos every year. What is amazing about that is that each one of those videos is on a different person, event or aspect of Tudor history. Added to that, we're on edition 71 (yes! Seventy one!) of the magazine and every article has been unique and detailed. The Tudor Society website now has over 3000 posts on it too. I find it incredible that there is such an amazing wealth of information available on people that lived 500 years ago.

It's exciting for me to be able to collate and present all of this information to you, our valued Tudor Society member. It's also amazing that through your subscription we are able to support many historians and contributors and allow them to continue to uncover fresh information. There are so many facts still to be uncovered and shared and it's wonderful to see that Tudor research is still going strong.

Thank you for your ongoing support from the TS team and from all the historians and contributors too!

**Tim Ridgway**



# ONE MAN AND HIS DOG HATH ALL

## THE ENCLOSURE AND DEPOPULATION OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE 1517 - 1607

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**Mike Ingram**, author of  
“The Battles and Battlefields  
of Northamptonshire” takes us  
through a very disruptive time for  
every-day people in  
Tudor England...

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Northamptonshire was one of the counties most affected by depopulating and enclosure between 1524 and 1670. Even before then, the 1517 Commission for Depopulation concluded that at least 14,000 acres of the county had already been enclosed and tenants evicted. Between 1578 and 1607 a further 27,000 acres were enclosed. Out of a total of eighty-two villages deserted between 1350 and 1900, forty-nine were deserted between 1450 and 1700. In 1564 there were 69,980 sheep in 173 flocks in Northamptonshire. By the end of the 1500s, sheep flocks were grazing on enclosed pasture in half of the parishes in Northamptonshire.



Sir John Spencer and Isabella Graunt's tomb  
at Great Brington, Northamptonshire

The upland west and north which were the strongholds of the sheep farmer and horse-breeder and the pastoral area of the fenland appear to have been the regions of greatest enclosure, or certainly those of the most dramatic instance of depopulation. Many local cottagers and labourers for whom common grazing rights were an important means of subsistence, did not agree.

John Spencer was the son of William Spencer of Rodburn (1430–1485), purchased the estate of Althorp with its moated house and several hundred acres of farmland. He had grazed sheep here from the 1480s. Impressed by the quality of the land, he eventually bought it and rebuilt the house in 1508. By putting down roots at Althorp, Spencer provided what was to become the home for the next 19 generations. Their sheep

in 1565. By 1576 there was another flock of 5195 in Northants.

Edward was the second son of Thomas Montagu (d. 1517), lord of the manors of Hanging Houghton and Hemington. He was born in the royal manor house of Brigstock. He speculated in monastic lands, acquiring in Northamptonshire alone 'eleven manors, one castle (presumably Barnwell), one baronial residence' and the patronage of eight livings including what would be called Boughton House. On some Montagu estates in Northamptonshire rents went up by fifty per cent in the 1540s and entry fines were increased. Those who could not pay were evicted.

During the long dispute between the tenants of the Mulshoe family at Finedon between 1491 and 1538, the

farming began in Warwickshire with a flock of 10,717





Althorp in 1677 by John Vosterman

family raised the entry fines of those tenants who resisted

their enclosures. In 1509, Mulso enclosed – or perhaps re-enclosed – 124 acres, as well as enclosed a common field, fenced-off part of the fields for plantations and allowed his rabbits to graze on the tenants' crops. A group of sixty men were said to have spent eight days in January 1529 digging up the hedge roots in Finedon, all the time accompanied by the ringing of church bells.

At Adstone, commoners tried to drive more than a hundred great beasts into a close but found that the entrance into the field was too narrow. They managed it only when additional people arrived with long staves and hooks which they used to push the animals forcibly into the close, thereby executing the planned animal trespass. Once within the close, the animals were said to have occupied it for some weeks – the gap in the hedge

through which they were driven having been presumably

stopped up in some fashion. The rioters brought a minstrel to the close to celebrate their victory, accompanied by what the plaintiff termed 'wild morris dancing' in the village and gestures he felt were intended to mock him.

A pamphlet "*The Decay of England Only by The Great Multitude of Shepe*" written around 1550 said:

*"The dangers of idle husbandmen and their families roaming from place to place. Previously they had meate dryke, rayment and wages but now where tillage was want to be now it is stored with great umberment of shepe ...whether sal they go? In to Northamptonshyre? And there is also the luinge of twelef score persons loste: whether shall then they goo? Forth from sure to shire...*



*by compulsion  
driven, some of  
them to begge  
and some to steale.”*

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St Faith's Church, Newton Longville  
Photo © 1995 Angella Streluk

The dissolution of the minor monasteries in 1539 allowed Lawrence Washington to buy the manor of Sulgrave and Stuchbury, which had belonged to the Priory of St Andrew. Washington had purchased the manors with the intention of ‘*exploiting the land primarily for sheep*’ and by 1564 had a flock of 1,500. In the early 1600’s Robert Washington who had inherited Stuchbury and Sulgrave from his father, collaborated with William Mole’s son George Mole and his cousin Robert Pargeter of Greatworth. It was said they had “*scandalously pulled down not only the parsonage house and all or most part of the said town and parish houses of Stuchbury aforesaid also the parish church itself to make use of the land for wool stapling purposes.*” So, the

village population  
was turned out on  
the roads and they

became vagrants or else went to seek work in the nearest town, for with sheep farming there was little work for them in the village or surrounding countryside. As was said at the time: “*where forty persons had their living, now one man and his dog hath all.*”

In the 1540s the Watson family of Rockingham summarily evicted their demesne tenants at will and enclosed it soon after they were given the castle and estate by Henry VIII. In 1538, more than sixty rioters broke down Thomas Brooke’s enclosures at Blisworth and between 1540 and 1541 there were attacks on the Rushton enclosures of Sir Thomas Tresham. Eleven of those accused in 1541 were women.

An insurrection was attempted in Leicestershire, Rutland, and Northamptonshire in 1551, apparently



centred around Uppingham in Rutland. The Lieutenant of Northamptonshire uncovered the commons' plans the day before the insurrection was due to take place, allowing Sir John Harrington to apprehend one of the 'principalls' at Uppingham. A further six suspects were apprehended at Morcott, and elsewhere in Rutland, the following day. However, rumours of an assembly to be held on a plain near Uppingham that night soon reached the authorities' ears. The townsmen of Hallaton in Leicestershire intended to join forces with the rest of the rebels - thought to be four hundred strong - at 'the Broad', from whence they would call on certain gentlemen in order to wreak their revenge. The insurgents, however, failed to appear. The four hundred that were to have gathered at Uppingham were termed "*light knaves, horsecorsers, and craftsmen*" Someone named Appleyard, who was described as "as tall a yeoman as ever I saw bred in Northamptonshire" was executed at Northampton for stirring the people to rebellion. However, his guilt was doubtful. He was acquitted by an Uppingham jury and was only convicted at Leicester through political pressure from the Privy Council who were determined to make an example of him.

In 1578 there was an enclosure riot at Fineshades near Corby. In the 1580s there were fierce riots on the Knightley's manors of Badby and Newnham because they had seized the common. The tenants claimed common rights as copyholders, but Knightley insisted that they 'were tenants at will'. In 1598, a similar occurrence took place on Sir Arthur Throckmorton's Silverstone estate. Eighteen of the twenty who

destroyed the Silverstone enclosures were women, and seven were the wives of labourers, seven of craftsmen, and one of a husbandman. The following year, a large group of women were said to have dug up hedges amounting to 80 perches (equivalent to perhaps 400m) in Kingsthorpe. During the same year, Sir Arthur Throckmorton's seizure of Whittlebury common was so violently opposed that he threatened to send the rioters to the wars at the next Musters.

Enclosing and depopulating of Northamptonshire continued and when James I, travelled through Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire on his way to London in 1603, he was surrounded by crowds complaining that recent enclosures by Sir John Spence and other wolfish lords 'have eaten up poor husbandmen like sheep'. In 1603, there were riots in Brigstock Park in Rockingham Forest, when Robert Cecil attempted to sell off 900 acres of woods. In 1606, Sir Walter Montagu was accused of reducing the population of Hanging Houghton, near Lamport, from 140 to 28.

Thomas Tresham of Rushton had a flock of 6,780 by 1597. His cousin Thomas Tresham of Newton had been flouting laws and proclamations against enclosure for at least a generation. As early as 1564, there were 650 sheep grazing in Newton. By 1597-98, Tresham was being prosecuted in the Star Chamber for depopulation and sheep farming. In late April 1607 riots began in Haselbech, Pytchley and Tresham' Rushton estates in Northamptonshire. They soon spread to Warwickshire and Leicestershire throughout May, as a

protest against the enclosure of common land. In early June 1607, Gilbert Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, reported that a crowd of approximately one thousand men and women had begun 'busily digging' in enclosures at Newton, three miles north of Kettering in Northamptonshire. These peasants were, allegedly, armed not only with stones but also with bows and arrows, pikes and long bills. The protesters were led by John Reynolds, a tinker said to be of Desborough and known as Captain Pouch, because of his leather satchel which, he claimed, contained "sufficient matter to defend them against all comers."

King James I ordered his lieutenants in Northants to put down the rebellion. The local militia refused to take part. The local gentry were therefore obliged to assemble a makeshift force from their own household servants and clients, including Treshams own men. This private army was led by Sir Edward Montagu of Boughton, one of the deputy-lieutenants of the county, and Sir Anthony Mildmay of Apethorpe.

By 8 June, Montagu's patience had been exhausted, and after summarily executing two of the diggers' leaders under martial law, he and Mildmay were ready to proceed. Montagu and Mildmay apparently used "*all the best persuasions*" to encourage the crowd to dissolve and read the proclamation a second time. 'When nothing would prevail', the gentry force 'charged them thoroughly with both horse and foot'. At first, the crowd stood fast and 'fought desperately', but 'at the second charge they ran away', and in the rout 'some 40 or 50 of them' were slain and 'a very

great number hurt'.

Many prisoners were taken and imprisoned in St Faith's Church in Newton. A special judicial commission was convened at Northampton on 21 June. Several were subsequently executed, either after the commission or summarily under martial law according to the terms of a second royal proclamation of 28 June, including Reynolds. The quartered carcasses of the guilty men were exhibited at Northampton, Oundle, Thrapston "*and other places.*" When they opened Reynold's pouch what did they find? Nothing but a piece of mouldy cheese.

A Commission of Depopulation was set up immediately after the Revolt. Over 27,000 acres almost a third of the property identified, had been enclosed, resulting in the destruction of over 350 farms and the eviction of almost 1500 people across eighteen villages. After the risings, Robert Wilkinson preached before royal commissioners at Northampton. He thought that a stranger, 'finding here so many thousands and thousands of sheep' and no people, might wonder if sorcery had transformed men into beasts - or 'what sheep were these, to throw down homes, towns and churches'! Several leading Northamptonshire gentlemen were convicted in the Star Chamber. Among them was Thomas Tresham of Newton, found guilty of the enclosure of four hundred acres and the destruction of nine farms in Newton.

It would not be the end of enclosure in the county or the riots. They would continue for over one hundred years.







East Grinstead is a town of just under 30,000 inhabitants nestled in the far north east corner of West Sussex. The Surrey border is immediately to the north of the town and the East Sussex Border just to the east. The town also straddles the Greenwich Meridian Line.

Deriving its name from 'grenestede', meaning 'green place' in old English (with East first being noted as a prefix to distinguish it from West Grinstead, some 20 miles to the south west, in the late 13th century), East Grinstead appears in the Domesday book as The Hundred of Grinstead with 12 different places scattered over approximately 25 square miles containing a total of 31 households, suggesting a collection of isolated farmsteads rather than a large settlement. Whilst it's

not specifically mentioned in the Domesday Book, the Church of St Swithun (named after the Anglo-Saxon Bishop of Winchester between 852 and 863) is thought to have existed on its present site by 971. There is also the possibility of an earlier dedication (to St Edmund) dating back to 840, though this could have been a previous structure on a different site. The present Church was built in 1789 after the tower of the church of 971, or earlier, collapsed in 1785, destroying the entire structure. The falling tower was only 100 years old, having been badly rebuilt with substandard materials after the original was gutted by fire following a lightning strike in 1683.

It is probable that the area which now makes up the centre of the town was once a focal place for trade which evolved in an



The front (south) elevation of Sackville College



open space on a major route. If this is the case, it is likely that the church was attracted to the area to serve travellers and hawkers, as well as the inhabitants of those isolated farmsteads, which points to the area being a place that we were drawn to as far back as the early 9th century. For such a town, the distinct lack of archaeological exploration is surprising though the number of medieval buildings, and therefore a subsequent lack of development (which normally gives rise to such exploration), perhaps explains this. A rare town centre excavation, just north of the High Street on the site of the town's museum, discovered some shards of medieval pottery, the earliest of which could have dated from the late 12th century.

The next documentation of East Grinstead occurs in 1235 when it was recorded as a borough. It is thought that area started to develop as a town in the 2 or 3 decades prior to this as a stopping point on the route from London to Lewes, and on to Pevensey, and by 1247 the town was granted a Royal Charter to hold a weekly market and an annual fair, though it's fair to say that both were probably being held illegally well before this time.

By 1300, East Grinstead had grown sufficiently to be sending two representatives to Parliament and within the next 50 years some of the surviving timber framed buildings were starting to appear on the southern side of the High Street. We will take a look at these buildings, over 650 years old, during our exploration of the East Grinstead that was known to the Tudors. In 1524, the only date during the Tudor period for which records are available, the town was recorded as having 44 taxpayers meaning that the, by now well-developed, town had a population of perhaps 200-250.

This article will concentrate almost exclusively on the 400 metre long High

Street, notable for the almost unbroken run of 14th, 15th & 16th century timber framed houses on its southern side, though I shall include an exceptional out of town farm house at the end. Having left the car in one of the town centre car parks at the northern end of Church Lane, our Tudor tour of East Grinstead commences in the churchyard, having entered it on the eastern side via the Lychgate in Church Lane.

As we have already discussed, the church building is relatively modern, but the churchyard and history of the church as an entity, rather than as a building, is of interest to Tudor aficionados. In December 1553, Robert Best was removed as the church vicar as a result of Queen Mary's efforts to undo her Fathers break from Rome when she decreed that vicars should not be married. He was subsequently re-instated in November 1558 following Elizabeth's accession.

On the southern side of the churchyard, the charred remains of 'The Three Sussex Martyrs' are interred under a memorial stone. Thomas Dungate, Ann 'Mother' Tree and John Foreman were, on 18 July 1556, burnt at the stake for refusing to return to the teachings of Rome. The Martyrs met their horrific fate a mere stone's throw away outside number 34 High Street, a building that we shall visit later.

On leaving the churchyard by the same route that we entered, the western aspect of **Sackville College** is visible immediately in front of you. Not strictly Tudor in construction, but certainly Tudor in character, the college was designed in 1609 and completed in 1620 as a result of a bequest in the will of Robert Sackville, the 2nd Earl of Dorset. In 1580 the Earl had married Margaret Howard, the only daughter of Thomas, the 4th Duke Norfolk, who was beheaded on Tower Hill on 2 June





The rear (north) elevation of Sackville College

1572 as a result of his efforts to have Mary, Queen of Scots, placed on the English throne at the expense of Queen Elizabeth. The family histories of Sackville and his bride were already entwined as Thomas Sackville, Robert's father, was one of the judges who sent Margaret's father to the chopping block!

Sackville College isn't a college in the sense of a seat of learning, rather it is an almshouse which has provided sheltered accommodation for the elderly throughout its entire 400 year history. Sackville's will stipulated that the almshouse should provide 'for ever towards the relief of one and thirty single and unmarried persons, thereof one and twenty to be men and the other ten to be women, there to live, to pray, serve, honour and praise Almighty God'.

A short walk down Church Lane and a left turn on reaching the High Street brings us to the front of the college, opposite which is **Windsor Cottage**, a hall house dating back to 1450 whose timbers are exposed on the upper floor of the eastern side.

To the right of Windsor Cottage and separated from it by an access passage is **The Porch House**, so called due to the ornate stone porch which leads to the garden at the rear of the house. Unfortunately this feature is not visible from public land. The house was built in the late 16th century and the front has been refaced in local sandstone, seemingly almost immediately after the original construction. There is also a substantial sandstone extension to the rear which was probably added in 1599 when Cromwell House was built.









Cromwell House (right) and its Annexe, complete with more modern paraphernalia

Adjoining The Porch House is the **Annexe to Cromwell House** followed by **Cromwell House** itself. The main building is a fine 3 storied jettied house built in 1599 by Edward Payne, a member of a successful local iron dynasty. The house was badly damaged by fire in 1928, but the street elevation was, with the exception of the windows, left untouched by the inferno. Curiously, the annexe is older than the main house having been built in the early 16th century, probably as an annexe to Cromwell House's predecessor.

Continuing westwards along the High Street 2 doors along is **Sackville House**, originally a 15th century hall. This property was converted from a hall house in 1574 and the roof was raised by a couple of feet. The notches which held the original rafters can be clearly seen on what was the wall plate and is now a horizontal beam a little

way below the eaves of the house. It is likely that the rear extension, and the required passageway that this necessitated, were added at the same time.

Adjoining Sackville House is the 650 year old **Amherst House**. Dated by dendrochronology to 1370, this was built as a two bay open hall house with a floored over solar bay. To the rear is a 16th century extension and the annexe, to the right, is also a 16th century Tudor building. An interesting feature to this house is a small opening, approximately 70cm by 30cm, just under the eaves, with small oak balusters. Based on the balusters, it is thought that this opening was inserted in the 16th century for a purpose unknown. Though glazed now, this would have originally been open. Opposite Amherst is a pretty little late 16th century building, **61-63 High Street**, which now hosts two shops.





Sackville House (left), Amherst House (centre) and Annexe



The rear extension to Sackville House



Amherst House and Annexe

Back on the southern side the High Street is **The Dorset Arms Public House**, formerly known as The Cat. Believed to have been built in 1510, first documented in 1574 and refaced in brick in the 18th century, this timber framed structure reveals its coaching inn origins by virtue of the wide passageway through to the carpark which, when constructed, would have course been stabling.

At the front of the Dorset Arms, the High street is split in two by **Middle Row**, a 60 metre range of mostly timber framed

properties which seem to have been placed in the middle of highway! Middle Row has its origins as temporary market stalls, but these gradually began to be replaced by permanent structures, operating as shops, workshops and a tannery from about 1400. A survey of 1564 reported that stabling for the Crown Inn was also in Middle Row. Of the extant structures, numbers 4 & 5 were built in the early 16th century, number 9 dates to the 15th century and 11 & 12 are from the late 16th century.



Opposite the northern aspect of Middle Row is the main entrance to the churchyard, guarded to the right by **51 and 53 High Street**, a large timber framed house of 1600, and to the left by **49 High Street**, a smaller timber framed building which is a decade or two older.

Turning around and heading back to the southern side of the High Street through one of the narrow alleys that split Middle Row, where exposed timber framing is visible, we reach **48 High Street**, also known as Wilmington House. This is one of the earliest surviving examples of a typical Wealden hall house, being built in the mid-14th century. It also boasts a 16th century

oak door. The rear extension, as well as the brick clad number 50, are 16th century Elizabethan additions and the passageway to the rear was probably added at this time. The adjoining building, **46 High Street**, is a 15th century hall house, with a 16th century rear extension added at the same time as those to number 48.

Next door is **42 & 44 High Street**, a late 15th century house with a front jetty which is mostly hidden by the modern shop front. The timbers of the house are hidden by painted tiles. To the rear of the building is another 16th century extension.

The final building in this unbroken run is **34-40 High Street**. 36-40 is a rare







The Dorset Arms

aisled hall house, which has been dated to 1352, putting it in fierce competition with number 48 for the title of East Grinstead's oldest building. Number 34, the gabled cross wing to the right, has been dated to 1410. It was outside of this building that the three Sussex Martyrs were burned at the stake in 1556, an event no doubt witnessed by the patrons of the Red Lion Inn as the building was at the time. Unlike many of the previous buildings we have seen with passageways, where they were added many years after the initial construction, the high access to the left of this building is thought to be an original feature.

Opposite is the **Crown Hotel**, a large late 15th century timber framed structure that was refronted in the 1700s. The Crown was first documented in 1502 when it was bequeathed in a will. Unless there have been any undocumented changes, this means that it has retained the same name for over 500 years. Remaining on the northern side of the road, a little further west is **7-11 High Street**, a very well disguised 4 bay Wealden hall house, constructed in 1455 with the cross wing added about 10 years later. Some timber framing is visible is on the eastern aspect.





Middle Row



51 & 53 (left) and 49 (right)  
High Street, guarding the  
Churchyard entrance

Returning to the southern side of the street, we have **26 & 28 High Street** which is another mid to late 15th century hall house, the solar wing of which was number 30 until it was demolished in 1968; an event which prompted the formation of the East Grinstead Society. To the rear is a 16th century extension and adjoined to the right is **22 & 24 High Street**, also known as Tudor House, which was built in 1535.

After a short run of comparatively modern buildings we arrive back in the 15th century with **4 High Street**, a small 2 bay hall house built in 1452.

Continuing westwards, behind the 19th century Constitutional Buildings you will find Judges Close and before looking at the final three buildings on the main thoroughfare we will have a little walk down the cul-de-sac to have a look at the



48 High Street, a mid-14<sup>th</sup>  
century Wealden hall house





The 16<sup>th</sup> century rear extension  
to 48 High Street



46 High Street





The 16<sup>th</sup> century rear extension  
to 46 High Street



42-44 High Street





The 16<sup>th</sup> century rear extension  
to 42 & 44 High Street.



34-40 High Street





The Crown Hotel with the church shown in the background!

16th century **Clarendon Cottage**, a picture postcard timber framed Tudor building hidden away from the sight of those who are simply passing through.

Returning back to the High Street, to our left is a group of three buildings which collectively form Judges Terrace, and the first building is **1 & 2 Judges Terrace**, the front portion of which has been dated to 1448. The front of the building was refaced in brick, now painted white, in the 18th century, but the old timbers can still be seen in the northern wall, enclosing the entrance to Judges Close. A large extension was added to the rear in the 17th century.

Adjacent to numbers 1 & 2 is the imposing **Clarendon House**. Originally a hall built in 1455 as the headquarters of The Fraternity of St Katherine, a local 'religious and philanthropic organisation', it was converted during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a chimney (which survives intact) was added and the building became an inn known as The George. At the same time,

a sandstone cross wing was added to the west and the combined building was used to house visiting judges who were sitting at East Grinstead Assizes. The cross wing is now known as **The Old Stone House** and has a 19th century mock Tudor extension to its right.

That is the end of our look at the surviving buildings that the Tudors knew in East Grinstead High Street, but you may recall that I promised one out of town trip at the end, and this is a journey well worth making for those with the time and energy for a 4 mile walk. East Grinstead railway station is a half mile walk from the High Street and from there you are able to join Worth Way, a 7 mile bridle path linking East Grinstead with Crawley along the track bed of the old Three Bridges to East Grinstead railway line which was closed in 1967.

Around a mile and a half out of East Grinstead, to the north of the track, is **Gulledge Farmhouse**. The area surrounding





7-11 High Street



26 & 28 High Street



The 16<sup>th</sup> century rear extension  
to 26 & 28 High Street



22 & 24 High Street



4 High Street



Clarendon Cottage





1 & 2 Judges Terrace in the foreground,  
with Clarendon House

the farm has a long history of human activity with finds including 10,000 year old Mesolithic flints, 3rd century Roman bloomeries and items from the 13th-15th centuries including coins, knife handles, a silver cufflink and a sword belt hanger.

The current house was built in the 2nd half of the 16th century, almost certainly on the site of a former building and, from the outset, had three floors (including the cellar) and huge chimney stacks. This was a grand house built by, or for, a wealthy person! The close studding of the timber

frame is an exhibition of wealth, as it's not structurally necessary and its existence is for show only. The grandeur of the house was further enhanced in the very early 17th century when the continuous full length jetty across the southern side of the house was hidden behind locally quarried stone and three gables were added. I have elected to include Gulledge Farmhouse as the fantastic view of the house from Worth Way across a field of wheat swaying in the breeze, as seen in the photograph, is a view that is unchanged in over 400 years.

**IAN MULCAHY**

East Grinstead. Notes On Its Architecture (R T Mason, Sussex Archaeological Collections (SAC) 80, 1939)

The Topography of East Grinstead Borough (P D Wood, SAC 106, 1968)

The History of East Grinstead (Wallace Henry Hills, 1906)

East Grinstead Character Assessment Report (Roland B Harris, 2005)

East Grinstead Conservation Area Appraisal (Mid Sussex District Council, 2019)

Felbridge & District History Group





The grand Clarendon House, complete  
with Elizabethan chimney stack





The Old Stone House



Gulledge Farmhouse





TONI MOUNT

# THE FORGOTTEN CORNISH REBELLION OF 1497

The pretty county of Cornwall is a popular tourist destination at the south-western tip of England. Yet Cornwall's history makes it rather different from the rest of England. Although it was never an independent nation like Scotland, Wales and Ireland, Cornwall too has its own Gallic language and much in common with Brittany in France, just across the English Channel. Historically though, Cornwall did have independence to a degree and a different language was not the only reason. Even today the county flies the flag of St Piran, not St George, and the people consider themselves Cornish, rather than English. For millennia, since the Bronze Age, Cornwall had been independently wealthy because the county supplied the ancient civilisations of Europe with the vital element for early metal-working: tin. [Bronze is an alloy of tin and copper.]

Tin mining was the source of Cornwall's wealth and wealth has always meant power. During the Plantagenet era, in the reign of Edward I, the importance of Cornish tin was recognised by the King of England, granting the county its own separate government institution: the Stannary Parliament. This independent body was to be summoned by the Lord Warden of the Stannaries – 'stannum' being Latin for tin. [Sn is still the chemical symbol for tin.] From then on, Cornwall had its own judicial courts operating under the code of Stannary Law. So why did this privileged county resort to rebellion in 1497 – rebellion I hadn't heard of until recently?

In 1496, King Henry VII suspended Cornwall's privileges and issued new tin mining regulations. The Tudor monarchs were very keen to assert their power by means of increased centralisation of the government to Westminster and Cornwall





An abandoned Cornish tin mine [<https://www.thevalleycornwall.co.uk/news/8-facts-cornish-mining/>]

was to be shown there were no exceptions. Besides, the king needed money to raise an army to fight the Scots who were planning to march into England in support of the Yorkist cause in the person of Perkin Warbeck. Cornish taxation was determined by the Stannary Parliament and the county was exempted from most taxes paid by the rest of England. This source of wealth had to be tapped and forced to yield the cash required; hence, the Stannary Parliament was removed. Cornwall had been reluctant to pay for a war going on five hundred miles away in the north, which had nothing to do with them, but the suspension of their special status proved a step too far.

Before seizing the English throne from Richard III in 1485, Henry Tudor actively

canvassed and received support from the Cornish, so much so, he had considered landing there before deciding on Wales as the point of invasion. Now the king sent four commissioners to Cornwall to levy the new taxes and their behaviour was inflammatory and vicious. Any Tudor support in the county withered away. The tin miners were angered by this blatant removal of their rights and the heavy-handed methods of intimidation used by the commissioners.

Determined to make their grievances more widely known, Michael Joseph An Gof, a blacksmith from St Keverne on the Lizard Peninsula at the southern tip of Cornwall, persuaded his village and then many of his fellow Cornishmen to rise in revolt and take their



petition to the king. It's interesting that An Gof's colleague, Thomas Flamank, a Bodmin lawyer, was the son of Sir Richard Flamank, one of the hated royal commissioners. Thomas roused the people of Bodmin and the cause became so popular, the pair had no difficulty raising an army of 15,000 men. As was usual at the time, to avoid the charge of treason, the king's actions were blamed on his 'evil counsellors'. In this case the grievances were against Cardinal Morton – of 'Morton's Fork' fame [if they look rich, they can afford to pay taxes; if they look poor, they're hoarding their wealth so they, too, can afford to pay taxes] – and Sir Reginald Bray, the most infamous Tudor tax-collector.

Even though the people of the neighbouring county, Devon, were never the natural allies of the Cornish, as the army marched through Devon, new recruits joined and provisions were supplied. On the whole, this was a peaceable protest with just one isolated violent incident occurring at Taunton – hardly surprising when thousands of high-spirited young men were embarking on the adventure of a lifetime. At the cathedral city of Wells in Somerset, the make-shift army gained a military leader when Lord Audley, a skilled soldier, joined the cause. Having issued a formal declaration of grievances, the army left Wells, marching through Bristol, Salisbury and on to Winchester in Hampshire. All this time they had remained unopposed which was fortunate because they were never a trained band, lacked any kind of organisation and had neither arms nor



The Cornish rebels marched under St Piran's flag

armour to withstand actual combat. Their only weapon was weight of numbers.

Intending to march all the way to London, having reached Winchester there seems to have been some indecision concerning the next objective. Thomas Flamank suggested they by-pass London for the present and go into Kent. Kent was notorious as a county ever ripe for rebellion and the Cornish hoped to raise significant support there. Wat Tyler in 1381 and Jack Cade in 1450 had roused the people of Kent to great effect; not so the Cornishmen in 1497, at which point part of the army abandoned the cause and returned home. The rest turned back westwards, towards Surrey and on Tuesday 13 June, they encamped at Guildford.

So far, the authorities had made no move to prevent them but King Henry had been busy. Shocked by the scale of the revolt, he had abandoned all thoughts of fighting the Scots, recalling his army of 8,000 men, mustered for that purpose, back to the south of England. As the Cornishmen assembled at Guildford, the king's army under Lord Daubeney took



## TONI MOUNT



Giles, Lord Daubeney's tomb in Westminster Abbey [1452-1508] [westminster-abbey.org]

up position on Hounslow Heath [near Heathrow Airport]. The Lord Mayor of London sent wine and food supplies to the royal army, showing where the city's loyalties lay, in case the king had any doubts.

Lord Daubeney decided to strike the first blow while morale was high among his troops, to test the strength and determination of the rebels after their long march. He sent out five hundred mounted spearmen and they clashed with An Gof's men at Gill Down, outside Guildford on 14 June. This was the untried Cornishmen's first taste of combat and it did little to deter them. They left Guildford and made for Blackheath, a high, open area of common land, south of London, often used as a place to muster troops. There, they set up camp, able to see the River Thames below them and, to their left, the distant spire of St Paul's Cathedral and the City of London. The citizens there had already taken up arms, shouting 'Every man to harness!'



Imaginative portrayal of the Cornish rebels defending the bridge over the Ravensbourne at Deptford



To harness!’ as they rushed to barricade the city walls and gates, to keep out the rebels, in case they came any closer. The royal family and Cardinal Morton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, moved into the Tower of London for safety while the rest of the city panicked.

By now, the Cornishmen must have been aware of the overwhelming odds against them and likely had a few dying and wounded among them, following the skirmish at Guildford. Some of their number deserted during the night but An Gof and Flamank held their dwindling army together. By morning, only 9-10,000 rebels remained to face the royal army. The king had made it known – and saw to it that the rumour spread swiftly – that he would attack on the following Monday. It was a ruse. Henry moved against the Cornishmen at dawn on Saturday, 17 June 1497. The opposing forces met there, on Blackheath, but the fighting spread down the hill, towards the Thames. Thus, the engagement has a number of names: the battle of Blackheath, the battle of Deptford Strand [the beach at the foot of the hill] and the battle of Deptford Bridge [which crosses the River Ravensbourne as it flows into the Thames there].

King Henry had an army of 25,000 men with cavalry, artillery and arms, all essential to a professional Tudor force. The Cornishmen lacked all these. The royal forces were divided into the traditional three ‘battles’. Two of these units, under the command of the Earls of Oxford, Essex and Suffolk, outflanked the rebels and, having surrounded them, Lord Daubeney and the third ‘battle’

made a direct frontal attack. Hemmed in on Deptford Strand, the Cornish archers attempted to block the crossing of the River Ravensbourne. Lord Daubeney lost men here, though numbers given vary hugely – as few as 8 men or as many as 300 depending on the source of information.

Meanwhile, back up on Blackheath, the main rebel army was pinned down by Oxford, Essex and Suffolk and once Daubeney had dealt with the archers below and crossed the Ravensbourne, his troops charged up the slope. With misjudged enthusiasm, Daubney’s contingent engaged the enemy and Daubeney himself, caught up by the thrill of the moment, became isolated from his men. The rebels captured him but, despite now having a valuable hostage, instead of demanding the negotiation of terms, they simply released him to return to the fight. On Blackheath, the Cornishmen were cut to pieces by the professional troops and fled the field. Pursued by royal soldiers, slaughter followed. An Gof gave the order for surrender before attempting to escape. He was captured at nearby Greenwich. Lord Audley and Thomas Flamank were taken prisoner on the battle field.

Over all, the official casualty figures given out by the Crown were roughly 1,000 to 2,000 rebels killed but the number of royal troops slain was not made known.

By 2pm that Saturday afternoon, King Henry returned to London, triumphant. After knighting a few deserving supporters and accepting the acclamation of the Lord Mayor and grateful citizens, he attended a service of thanksgiving in St Paul’s before rejoining the queen and the royal children.





A statue of Michael An Gof and Thomas Flamank, unveiled in An Gof's home village of St Keverne on the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary.

Michael Joseph An Gof and Thomas Flamank were both executed, hung, drawn and quartered at Tyburn, London, ten days later, on 27 June. An Gof is recorded as saying before his execution that he would have *A name perpetual and a fame permanent and immortal*. Thomas Flamank was quoted as saying *Speak the truth and only then can you be free of your chains*. Their heads were cut off and displayed on spikes on London Bridge, to deter any others with rebellious ideas.

Lord Audley, being a peer of the realm, had the dubious privilege of being beheaded the following day at Tower Hill, London. Some of the Cornish rebels managed to escape and reach home. Those taken prisoner were badly treated and many died.

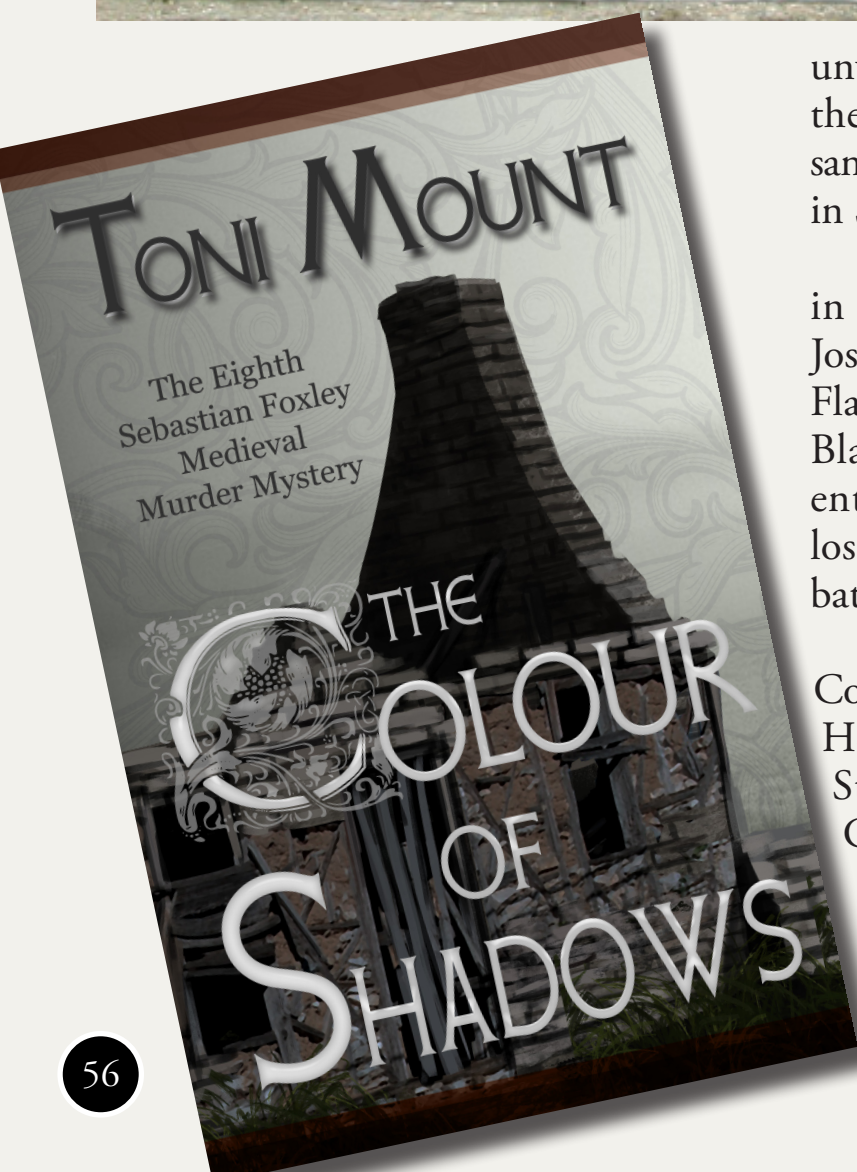
But none of this raised the urgently needed money to enable the king to

resume the war against the Scots and that nuisance, Perkin Warbeck, which was now on again. So, in due course, severe financial penalties were inflicted on Cornwall. Crown agents reduced some areas of the county to destitution, estates were seized and handed to more loyal subjects. Cornwall has not forgotten. In 1997, on the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary, a statue of the Cornish leaders, Michael An Gof and Thomas Flamank was unveiled in An Gof's home village of St Keverne. A commemorative march was organised under the banner: Keskerdh Kernow – Cornish for: *Cornwall marches on!* It retraced the original route of the Cornish from St. Keverne to Blackheath, London.

The English haven't quite forgotten either, although the history books don't make much of the event, but a commemorative plaque was also



# TONI MOUNT



unveiled on Blackheath Common, near the entrance to Greenwich Park on the same anniversary and another at Guildford in Surrey.

Commemorative plaque inscribed in Cornish and English for Michael Joseph the Smith (An Gof) and Thomas Flamank, mounted on the north side of Blackheath Common, near the south entrance to Greenwich Park. [<https://lostcityoflondon.co.uk/2018/06/17/the-battle-of-deptford-bridge-1497-3/>]

However, so much effort made by the Cornish rebels was not wasted: eventually, Henry VII was forced to reinstate the Stannary Parliament and many of Cornwall's privileges.

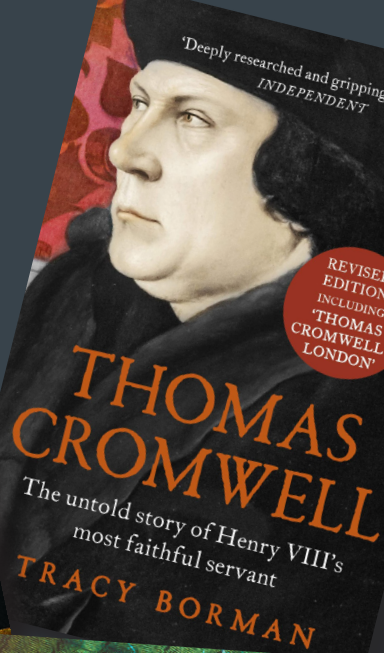
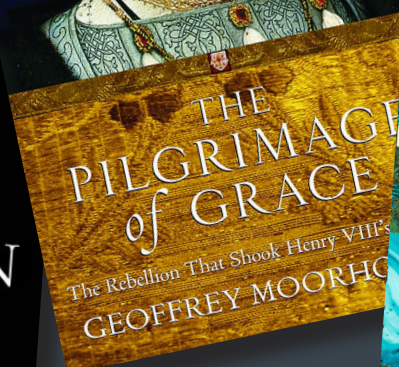
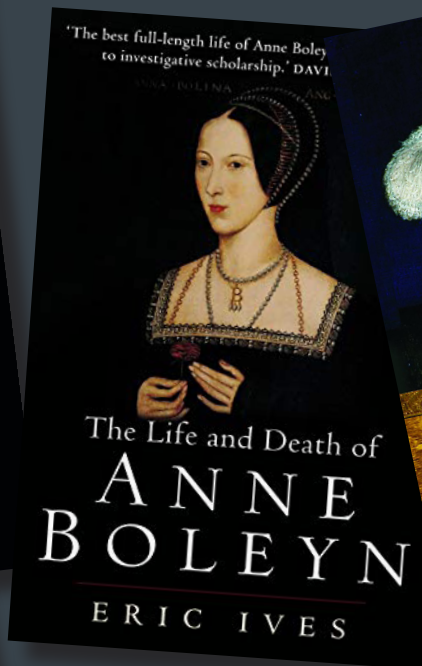
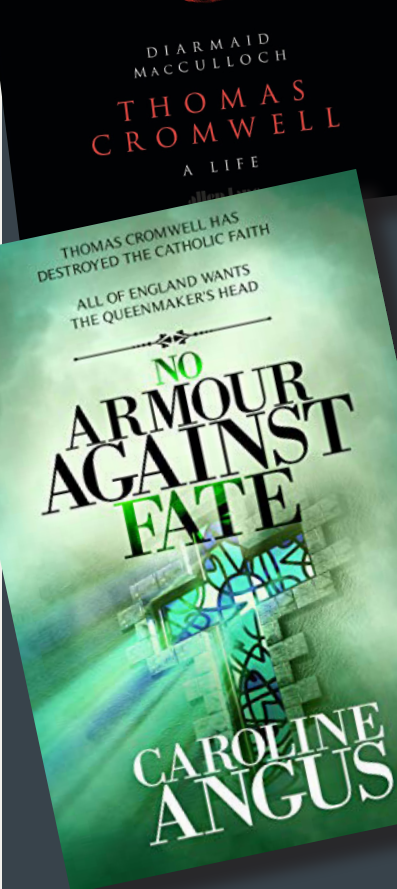
This is the story of an almost-forgotten Tudor rebellion.

TONI MOUNT



# Tudor Life

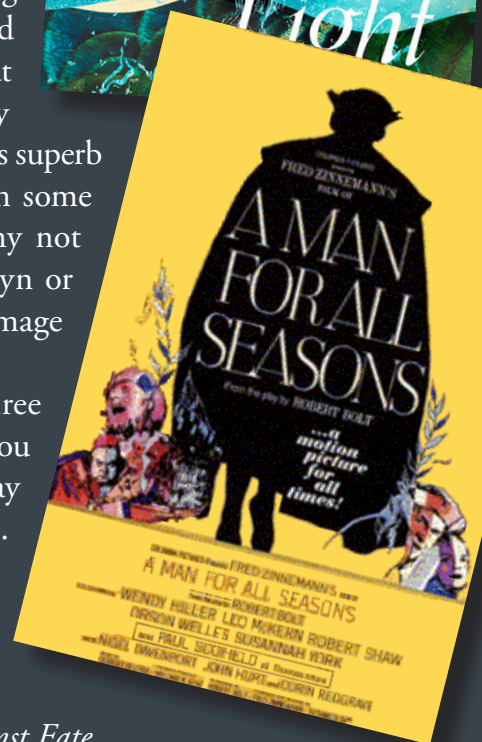
## EDITOR'S PICKS



Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch's latest biography of Thomas Cromwell is garnering widespread acclaim. I can heartily recommend it. For those looking for a shorter length without sacrificing skill and accuracy, I can equally enthusiastically recommend Dr. Tracy Borman's superb biography. For those looking information on some of the tragedies inflicted by Cromwell, why not pick up Eric Ives's biography of Anne Boleyn or Geoffrey Moorehouse's account of the Pilgrimage of Grace uprising?

For fiction, of course, there are Hilary Mantel's three novels – *Wolf Hall*, *Bring up the Bodies*, and *The Mirror & the Light*. If you want to check the accuracy and inspiration of the novels, Dr. Lauren Mackay has just announced the release of her new companion guide to the series. Mantel's first two Cromwell-era novels were turned into a BBC series starring Mark Rylance, Claire Foy, Anton Lesser, and Damian Lewis. Mantel's style isn't for everybody and for those who want a different style on the same subject, Caroline Angus has three popular novels inspired by Cromwell's career – *Frailty of Human Affairs*, *Shaking The Throne*, and *No Armour Against Fate*.

Cromwell is also interestingly presented on screen in *Anne of the Thousand Days* and *Henry VIII and his Six Wives*. For a villainous Cromwell, try *A Man For All Seasons*.



GARETH RUSSELL



# Charlie

## THE BROTHERS YORK

### Thomas Penn



The historian Thomas Penn is perhaps most known for his book *Winter King*, a biography on the first Tudor king, Henry VII. In his latest book, he turns the clock back a few years to look at the lives of the three sons of York, Edward IV, Richard III and George of Clarence. *The Brothers York* is an interesting book on the lives of three of the most important people in the Wars of the Roses, shining a light on the troubled relationship between the three brothers.

The author starts with an overview of the Wars of the Roses and how Edward IV, at the time the Earl of March, became involved. There is very little about either George or Richard at the beginning, focusing solely on Edward instead. There is no mention of what they were up to while he fought for the throne. After he takes the throne, Penn makes some sound observations on Edward's relationship with George, the Duke of Clarence:

*'Clarence, still in his 'tender youth', was Edward's project. In his mind's eye, as he later put it, Edward saw his brother as his right-hand man: exceeding all other noblemen in his 'might and puissance', alive to all the king's 'good pleasures and commandments' and aiding him in 'all that might be to the politic weal of this land'. But in order for this to happen, Edward had to build Clarence up. As one of Richard of York's younger sons, Clarence had had little by way of inheritance: not enough, at any rate, to support his exalted status as a royal duke and heir to the throne. He had to be endowed with lands sufficient to support this great rank, and Edward had every intention of providing such 'livelihood'. There was another motive behind his*

*heaping of possessions and riches on Clarence. With every grant, Edward would bind his brother more tightly to him.'*

This is a good point and one that helps set the stage for how their relationship would transform throughout Edward's time as king, particularly after he married Elizabeth Woodville and George's status as next-in-line was taken away from him, with him moving further down the line with each child Elizabeth gave Edward.

There is less on Edward's relationship with Richard, mainly because there seems to be more evidence as to how he felt about George and they were closer in age than Edward and Richard. When Penn does move onto Richard, it doesn't question the traditional narrative, which may upset some Ricardians out there, as his views on the youngest brother can be seen as controversial.

Penn is a great storyteller and that shows in how he weaves the narrative throughout this non-fiction book. The book is well researched and, thankfully, well-referenced, so there should be no problem for those wanting to use it for their own research.

Thomas Penn has written an interesting book on the lives of the three sons of York and the premise was a sound one, with his capacity for great storytelling making *Brothers York* an engaging read. However, it is too heavily focused on Edward IV, with his two brothers, especially George, seeming to be an afterthought. It is more like a biography on him than anything else. The book is still well researched and worth a read, but I would warn readers not to expect to learn too much about George and Richard.





# KATHERYN HOWARD

Alison Weir



Another year and another book in Alison Weir's Six Tudor Queens series has been released. We are now at number five, Katheryn Howard, and the popularity for Weir's fictional series does not seem to be diminishing anytime soon. *Katheryn Howard: The Tainted Queen* (called *Katheryn Howard: The Scandalous Queen* in the US) will not be as controversial as some of the author's previous books in the series, but may make people view the fifth wife of Henry VIII differently.

One of the most difficult aspects of writing about Katheryn Howard is that we don't know her date of birth, with estimates varying wildly between historians. Weir chooses to make her birthdate as between 1520-1, making her nineteen years old when she married Henry VIII and twenty-one when she was executed. Weir justifies this well in the historical note at the end of the book, using the account of Charles de Marillac, the French ambassador, as her source. He knew Katheryn personally and stated that she was eighteen when she ended her affair with Dereham in early 1539.

Interestingly, the book starts with Katheryn at a very young age, being just seven at the time, so the writing style is quite simple and the way she speaks is childlike at the beginning. By doing this, the book establishes her growing up away from her father, being moved from place to place, and left mainly to her own devices. This is different from other fictional books on Katheryn, as we see her as being very naïve and sheltered, having to hear about major events, such as Henry marrying Anne Boleyn, second-hand.

Weir does make the mistake of putting some modern ideas in the book, such as someone saying that Manox was in a position of trust due to being her music teacher and shouldn't breach that trust. This is more of a modern idea, one that would not have been around much back then.

Katheryn is not an easy character to like, as she seems to fall in love (or lust) quickly and care more about money and how she looks than other people:

*'What harm was there in having high spirits, enjoying a laugh with the other girls and loving fine clothes? So what if she baulked at doing tasks she didn't like, such as mending hems, making tarts and helping in the still room, the kind of things Mother Emmet deemed suitable occupations for a young lady? And did God really mind so much that she was not always in chapel when she should be?'*

This is a very traditional approach to Katheryn Howard's personality, also portraying her as frivolous and not very intelligent, including a scene where we see her struggling to learn her letters.

One portrayal of a character that goes against recent research is that of Jane Boleyn, the sister-in-law of Anne Boleyn. Jane has been portrayed badly throughout Weir's series, despite there being no proof that she had an unhappy marriage and wanted her husband and sister-in-law dead. One of the first things she says in this book is that she is glad they are dead and that they deserved it. Sadly, I don't expect historians or authors to change their view on this anytime soon. However, she does seem friendly other than that comment and like a mother figure to Katheryn at least.

Katheryn matures throughout the book and actually seems to care for Henry VIII. She certainly isn't in love with him, but she does feel some guilt for having deceived him and is quite happy with him at this point. It is a possibility that many seem to ignore, just thinking about the age difference and how physically unattractive he must have been to her, but he did dote on her and gave her whatever she wanted. As most other portrayals of her have her being repulsed by him, this makes a nice change.

There is nothing new or groundbreaking in *Katheryn Howard: The Tainted Queen*, but it is still an engaging novel of a queen that is more neglected than the likes of Katherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn. As much as she is a difficult character to like in the beginning, the character did grow on me and it may change the way some people feel about Katheryn, with some no longer thinking of her as a girl who cheated on the king and thus deserved her fate.

CHARLIE FENTON





*Catherine Interviews...*

# Tudor books and history are everything

**This month's interview is with Charlie Fenton. You will all recognise the name as Charlie is Tudor Life's resident Book Reviewer, and has been with the Tudor Society from day one. She is also a published author and is currently undertaking a Masters at The University of Kent.**

**Hello Charlie. Thank you so much for joining us for this interview; I know you are a very busy lady! Can you please start by telling us a little bit about yourself and what got you into history?**

Thank you for having me! Well many of you already know me, but I am the book reviewer for our Tudor Life magazine, as well as running the blog and Facebook page Through the Eyes of Anne Boleyn. I have been reviewing books for the magazine since we started in 2014 and love doing it. I have been into history since I was young, with a school trip to Hever Castle when I was in primary school being particularly memorable, but I guess I would say I became really interested in history when I was 16 years old. I was out of school for a year due to illness and somehow stumbled across The Tudors on Netflix, then it spiralled from there!



## *Catherine Interviews...*

**You are currently studying a Masters Degree which is a tremendous achievement. What did you study in your first degree and what are you now specialising in?**

Thank you, I studied History for my BA and that consisted of looking at several time periods over three years, narrowing down my interests as time went on. I am now studying for an MA in Medieval and Early Modern Studies, having just been told I will receive a scholarship for my PhD on Kent during the Edwardian, Marian and Early Elizabethan Regimes.

When I was still in school, my school did offer Latin as a GCSE (for those of you overseas, I think the best way to describe this is the basic level formal qualification). My parents encouraged me not to do it as they saw it as a dead language. Can you tell our readers why this isn't the case?

I wish I had been given the chance to learn Latin at school, it would really help with learning it now! It is a common misconception that Latin is a dead language, mainly because we use it and see it all the time. For instance, many school mottoes are still in Latin, as well as Latin words being used in popular fiction works like Harry Potter.

**Would it be fair to say that the Tudor era is your favourite period in English history? What other periods do you gravitate towards and why?**

The Tudor period is definitely my favourite period in English history, so much happened in a relatively short period of time, it is like a soap opera! But I do like medieval history too, especially the Wars of the Roses and the Normans and Plantagenets. The Normans are important to me as I live near Battle, where the Battle of Hastings happened and is a place I have visited many times as a result.

**You have researched and written extensively on all sorts of topics. Tell us about your books, including your forthcoming publication.**

My first book was released a few years ago now and is called *Perseverance: A Novel of Anne Boleyn*, my first and only work of



## *Catherine Interviews...*

historical fiction. It came after a period of illness and writing it helped me through a tough time, so it will always be special to me. My second book is 1066 and the Battle of Hastings in a Nutshell, part of MadeGlobal's 'in a Nutshell' series. That came about as I was studying the period in college and realised that there aren't many books that tell the story of the Battle of Hastings in simple terms, as well as covering its aftermath. My upcoming book is being published by Chronos Books and is due out on 30th April 2021 and is called Jane Parker: The Downfall of Two Tudor Queens? I am really excited about this one, as there aren't many books about Jane, the sister-in-law of Anne Boleyn, and there are still so many myths about her involvement in the executions of Anne and Katherine Howard.

### **Why did you choose to write about the historical figures you have?**

There isn't a particular reason for all of them, I think I just feel drawn to certain figures. Anne Boleyn was an obvious one for me, as she was one of the first people I became interested in and I wanted to write about her life from her point of view. My latest work is on Jane Parker and I think that stems from the research I originally did for my book on Anne, as I found out that much of what I thought I knew about Jane was a lie and I felt that she deserved better, so was determined to write about her.

**Following on from this, you have read hundreds, in fact thousands I'm sure, of both fiction and non-fiction history books. It seems likely that there will be different motivations for authors singling out certain people, compared to some authors who have written many books and have covered a great deal of events and completed several biographies. Can you see a difference in writing styles and approaches between the two groups? Does one come across as less personal than the other?**

I do find that those that have focused on a certain period of history tend to have a more personal take on things, which can be both a good



## *Catherine Interviews...*

thing and a bad thing. It can make for an easier read and a more enjoyable one at that, but sometimes it can be too personal and biased towards certain figures, whereas someone who writes widely on different subjects can take a step back and write more objectively, in my opinion. Both styles have their own advantages and drawbacks, with no one way being better than the other.

**You have such a vast amount of knowledge. As an author and an academic, how do you feel about unjustified inaccuracies in historical fiction? Do these have their place if they pull people towards learning about history?**

Now that is a difficult question! Personally, I love reading historical fiction and can be pretty forgiving of inaccuracies, but that is on the condition that they are openly acknowledged. Some authors have a note at the end of their books which clearly state what has been changed, but unfortunately many do not. My biggest pet peeve is when the author rants about accuracy but then does not acknowledge their own blatant inaccuracies. I feel like fiction can really engage people with history, but we have to be clear about anything that has been changed.

**What's the historical myth or misconception that makes you most frustrated?!**

The myth that Jane Boleyn provided evidence against her husband and sister-in-law. It is so frustrating as it seems to come from nowhere and yet so many believe it to this day and even say that it was karma that she was executed alongside Katherine Howard.

**I have to ask as I have seen photos of your bookshelves – how many books do you think you have?**

I can actually give you a number. As of right now, around 1,450 history books (non-fiction and fiction). There have been a few times where I have accidentally bought the same book twice, so now I even have a spreadsheet to keep track of them all. It is madness, I know!



## *Catherine Interviews...*

**What do you think makes a good book review?**

Honesty and acknowledging that you may not always be the target audience for every book you read. You can appreciate a book while acknowledging that it is not the book for you.

**Lastly, as I ask everyone, if you could recommend 3 history books, from any era, which would they be?**

The first one may be a bit out here, but I read it a little while ago and I am still obsessed with it, and it is certainly not easy to choose just three, but here goes!

✿ The Radium Girls: The Dark Story of America's Shining Women by Kate Moore

✿ Frailty of Human Affairs by Caroline Angus Baker

✿ In the Footsteps of Anne Boleyn by Natalie Grueninger and Sarah Morris

Blog: <https://throughtheeyesofanneboleyn.wordpress.com>

Facebook Page: <https://www.facebook.com/Through-the-Eyes-of-Anne-Boleyn-A-Research-Page-677356735641176/>

Twitter: @CharlieFenton2





LONDINVM FERACISSIMI AN-  
GLIAE REGNI METROPOLIS

## ANSWERS TO THE QUIZ

Aragon | Norris | Succession | Norfolk | Katherine  
Edward | Darnley | York Place | Eltham  
Margaret | Tyndale | Erasmus | Suffolk  
Kenilworth | Hatfield







## WENDY J. DUNN ON WRITING

### Passion Drives Writing

My dear Reader/  
Writer,

It is the 19th of May, and another column is due today – and I am in a reflective mood. Writers and reflective moods go hand in hand, but there is a reason for this particular mood. Today is the anniversary of the execution of Anne Boleyn – the woman who has inspired me from childhood. The woman very much responsible for who I am today.

Once again, I am thinking of Anne, and about the power of books – and how they can change lives. I know this from personal experience. I know this because a book of English history, given to me for my tenth birthday, introduced me to Elizabeth I. Her story first ignited

my interest in Tudor history – and led me as a ten-year-old to the story of her mother. So, (and I do not say this lightly) reading changed my life. More than that. Reading saved my life. At ten, reading about the victory of Elizabeth I's life not only taught me about survival, but also gave me the impetus and passion to survive. The power and magic of reading, and then writing, put my feet on the road I have walked every day since.

There is an old adage "We are what we eat". I believe we can also say, "Writers are what we read." Reading helped construct my identity in my early life. Reading provided the soil and seed for my own writing to grow. Reading feeds

our subconscious – that writerly compost I have mentioned a few times now – and is mirrored in our writing. To be a good writer we need to read. We need to love to read. I cannot remember a time when I did not love to read – or be not engaged in my lifelong love affair with words. One of my earliest memories is sitting at the kitchen table, spellbound by the words splashed across my father's newspaper. My father was a messy newspaper reader. Once he finished his morning reading ritual, he always left papers scattered everywhere. During my childhood, from the tables to the floor, newspapers carpeted my world and seized my attention with its bold print. I sought to





decipher the stories behind these headlines and looked for more and more words to try to unlock the mysteries of life. How thankful I am now that I grew up in a time when paper newspapers were such an important part of everyday life.

I started school as a reader. I still vividly remember my frustration when my grade one teacher insisted I keep reading the learner books meant for my year level. I had those books memorised and felt almost criminal when I sneaked from the library shelf books allotted for older readers. I became addicted to reading as a child, and am still addicted. Nowadays, I am careful of what I read. I strive to read good books, mostly in my own genre, because I want to feed my subconscious with whatever it needs, so it is there to drawn out for my own storytelling.

Because of my Anne Boleyn passion, I became a writer utterly passionate with the Tudor period. Doing a creative PhD opened my eyes to why Anne Boleyn's story 'spoke' to me, like it has done to many women writers, and continues to do so. I explore the reasons for this in 'Revising Anne Boleyn: Why does the story of Anne Boleyn draw so many women writers across the threshold into the realm of imagination?', an academic paper I wrote in 2015. I contended in this paper:

The story of Anne Boleyn engages women writers in an imaginative reconstruction of the Tudor period – a time when women were educated about their inferiority, sinful natures and that a virtuous woman was a silent woman. I believe this results in an empathetic engagement with feminist standpoint (past and present) and an



understanding that the story of Anne Boleyn not only demonstrates a story of a woman who resisted these narratives, but offers inspiration for the empowerment of our own lives (Dunn 2015).

Yes – the Tudor period left so many women voiceless in a patriarchal society, their stories often a brief footnote to the lives of their men. Men, of course, play an important role in my stories – how could they not when women's lives were so controlled and determined by fathers, brothers and sons in their male dominated society. But my interest centres on what happens to women because of this control, the consequences, the cause and effect, and how it shapes my characters. I am inspired by these women; their stories provide enough material to keep me busy until my last writing breath. Exploring the lives of these women, through the crucible of Tudor

times, also results in me ending up making sense of my own life. I don't think I will ever write a novel set entirely in the contemporary world. Short stories, yes, but for the larger canvas I need the fire of passion, heart, soul and mind to write a novel. Tudor history does that for me – it gives me the passion to commit to writing a novel.

Readers know when a writer's passionate about telling their stories. For myself, I try to write from the heart and not shy away from the hard truths of life. While all my works involve tragic themes, I am also passionate about not leaving my reader without hope. That is because of another vivid memory of a book I once read many, many years ago. At sixteen, Huxley's *Brave New World* swept me into a long weekend of deep, dark hopelessness. Then a teenager struggling to surmount life, this book made me

wonder if there was any point to keep trying, and whether it better to toss everything in and just give up. Fortunately, Anne Boleyn and her daughter Elizabeth were already part of my psyche. They both taught me not to give up – but to persevere. They gifted me with passion.

Yes, writers need passion to write. We need to find those stories which make us passionate to write them. At times I find myself saying to my writing students, if you are not passionate about writing, then find out what you are passionate about. Writing is a craft which calls for commitment and passion – especially if you desire to find true fulfilment as a writer. For myself, I echo the words of Bulgarian-French philosopher and literary critic Julia Kristeva (Cited by Sutherland 2006): "I believe in words. There is only one resurrection for me and that is in words."

**WENDY J DUNN**

Works cited:

- Dunn, WJ 2014 *Revising Anne Boleyn: Why does the story of Anne Boleyn draw so many women writers across the threshold into the realm of imagination* Viewed 19 May 2020, < [https://www.aawp.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Dunn\\_W.\\_Revising\\_Anne\\_Boleyn.pdf](https://www.aawp.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Dunn_W._Revising_Anne_Boleyn.pdf)>
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# FROM THE SPICERY WITH RIOGINACHI



WORTH ITS  
WEIGHT IN GOLD  
**RED SANDALWOOD  
AND SPIKENARD**





In this month's Worth its Weight article, I thought we'd look at a couple of the forgotten medieval culinary spices, sandalwood and spikenard. To the accomplished cook of the Middle Ages, these spices were important additions to their spice collections, along with cinnamon and cubebs, galingale and grains of paradise, hyssop and saffron.

So what is sandalwood?

I'm glad you asked! Red (or culinary) sandalwood (as opposed to the scented variety that most people are familiar with) comes from the *Pterocarpus santalinus* tree from southern India. The more familiar fragrant sandalwood comes from the plant genus *Santalum*, specifically *S. album*, but does not have culinary

uses, unless you're using the nuts of *S. spica*, but that's another story.. Red sandalwood is known in medieval manuscripts as saunders. It has become increasingly rare in the wild due to over-harvesting and a lucrative black market. This makes it worthy of admission to the Worth Its Weight hall of fame.

Saunders appears to have largely disappeared from modern cookery. Still, it has a rich history in medieval cuisine where it was used as both a colouring and a flavouring agent.

While researching for this article, it became clear to me that saunders was one of those ingredients that could be used across both savoury and sweet recipes.



I'd like to start with a very romantically-named sauce, Peach Blossom.

Get peeled almonds and grind them with a crustless loaf of white bread, a little ginger and cinnamon, and distemper with verjuice, pomegranate juice and sandalwood, and strain everything; it will be good.<sup>1</sup>

Given the ingredients for Peach Blossom Sauce, I'd pair it with with a delicately textured fish, or perhaps a dish of summer peaches poached in sweet white wine. Remember that when using medieval recipes, you are limited only by your imagination.

If a delicate, peach-coloured sauce isn't your cup of tea, might I suggest the more meaty and satisfying dish of Bukenade to Potage?

Take hennys (hens) or conynges (rabbits) or vel, and hewe hit on gobettus, and sethe hit in a pot; and take almondes, and grinde hom, and tempur hit wyth the brothe, and put in the pot, anddo thereto raifynges of corance, and sugur, and poudere of gynger, and of canelle, and clowes, and maces, and colour hit wyth saunders, and alye hit up wyth amyden ; and, if thow wil, take onyons, and mynce hom, and frie hom in grece, and hew small parfel, sauge, ysop, and saveray, and do hit thereto, and let hit boyle, and if hit be too thyn, take floure of rys, and

do thereto, and dresse hit forthe; and florefli the dyslhes wyth drage.<sup>2</sup>

A bukenade is basically a thick meat-based stew that happily feeds the masses, and is a perennial favourite in the worlds of reenactment and living history. After trial and error, I've discovered that the best bukenade is made from lesser cuts of meat (aka scrag ends) that benefit from long and slow cooking. The meat is cooked in a broth thickened with ground almonds (or crustless white bread if you prefer) and onions. The usual suspects of cloves and currants, assorted garden and pot-herbs are all added in, and ground saunders gives the dish added colour. I discovered that if I cooked the pieces of saunders bark in oil over a very slow fire for a good few hours, I got a far more intense red colour than if I'd added the saunders straight into the pot. If you have difficulty in buying saunders bark or powder, I'd suggest you use annatto seeds (*Bixa orellana*) aka achiote. Like saunders, annatto also benefits from being cooked in oil to help them release their red pigment. I've also come across saffron being used in conjunction with saunders. However I prefer not to do this given the hideous cost of good quality Grade One saffron.

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1 Scully, T. The Neapolitan Recipe Collection, 15th Century Italian, University of Michigan Press, c2000.  
<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=gepub;idno=4120161.0001.001>

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2 Warner, R. *Antiquitates Culinarie Or Curious Tracts Relating to the Culinary Affairs of the Old English*, University of Lausanne, 1791.  
[https://books.google.com.au/books?id=ycw-AAAACAAJ&redir\\_esc=y&hl=en](https://books.google.com.au/books?id=ycw-AAAACAAJ&redir_esc=y&hl=en)  
NOTE Although writing in the 18th Century, Warner is referencing the 1425 recipe for bukenade from the Arundel Manuscript.



Saunders was a popular ingredient in the Mughal Empire and is still used to make a refreshing sharbat<sup>3</sup>, or a sweetened drink frequently sold by the roadside.

Pieces of red sandalwood are soaked overnight, then simmered in a pressure cooker for 10 minutes at 15lb and allowing the pressure to drop by itself. The mixture is poured through a horsehair sieve or several layers of fine silk. This is added to a simple sugar syrup that has been cooked to one thread consistency. The sharbat is then bottled and allowed to cool. It is believed that sandalwood, like tamarind juice, is effective in cooling the body during hot weather. Did Henry and Anne enjoy a saunders sharbat or two? The truth is we can't know, but as there are existing recipes for a similar cordial used in medieval Europe, it is not impossible.

Saunders is also used in the preparation of warden pears to be used in small tartlets. As with other recipes, saunders is used to enhance the colour of the pears.

To make small bake meats of Sirup and Peares. Take Peares and seethe them in Ale, then bray them and straine them and put Sanders to them and Ale, with the spices aforesaide, and the Coffins in likewise ordered, and so put in the sirup.<sup>4</sup>

The Form of Cury version of cooked pears, Peeres in Confyte, also uses saunders along with mulberries to intensify the colour of the final dish.

Take peeres and pare hem clene. take gode rede wyne & mulberes oper saunders and seep þe peeres þerin & whan þei both ysode, take hem up, make a syrpe of wyne greke. oper vernage with blaunche powdour oper white sugur and powdour gyngur & do the peres þerin. seep it a lytel & messe it forth.<sup>5</sup>

The next member of the Worth Its Weight club is one that I began not knowing a lot about at all: nard or spikenard. Nard comes from *Nardostachys jatamansi*, and is commonly known as spikenard or muskroot. Nard is also related to the valerian family of flowering plants, and shares many of its properties. I've included nard as a rare spice as it has been subject to prolonged overharvested as its oil has proven medicinal uses. The therapeutic uses of nard have been known since antiquity. It appears in Homer's *Illiad*, as well as Dante's *Divine Comedy*.

Given that nard is related to valerian (*Valeriana officinalis*), I have wondered about its culinary uses. I find valerian to be intensely bitter, and while that might say more about my tastebud, I wonder why anyone would willingly

3 Singh, B. *Indian Cookery*, London, 1961, p190.

4 *A Booke of Cookrye*, London, 1591,  
<http://jducoeur.org/Cookbook/Cookrye.html>

5 *Form of Cury*, England, 1390  
<http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/8102/pg8102.html>



use it in their food. Like valerian, nard produces a deep red oil which would quickly add colour to pale dishes.

Nard features extensively in Andalusian cookery from the 13<sup>th</sup> Century. Accordingly, recipes from the era often end with the words “God Willing” which I find to be amusing. The following recipes are taken from An Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century. I have included a link to an internet copy of the book in the footnotes.

The following eggplant-based dish may be the forerunner of the famous Ottoman dish Imam Bayildi.

A more frequent use of nard is its inclusion in hippocras, along with the usual ginger and galangal, cloves and cardamom. There are as many ways of making hippocras as there are spices

to put in it, so really it all depends what you have in your spice boxes at the time. I’ve included two different recipes for hippocras from Form of Cury, one which includes nard, and one that does not. I hope that you’ll forgive my not translating the recipes as my knowledge of medieval French is pretty well nonexistent.

*Pur Fait Ypocras Treys Unces  
de canett. & iii unces de  
gyngueuer. spykenard de Spayn  
le pays dun denerer, garyngale.  
clowes, gylofre. poeurer long,  
noiez mugadez. maziozame  
cardemonij de chescun i. quart’*

### Stuffed Eggs

Cook eggs, remove the shells and cut them in half. Remove the yolks, put together in a platter and throw on them cilantro, onion juice, spices and cinnamon; and it will become a paste with which you will stuff the eggs. Tie them with thread and hold them with a small stick. Dissolve some egg white and grease them with it along with a little saffron, and dust with fine flour and fry with fresh oil on an even fire, and when finished, sprinkle with chopped rue and serve. Make a sauce with the filling and sprinkle with spikenard and cinnamon, God willing.

An Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook of the 13th Century  
[http://davidfriedman.com/Medieval/Cookbooks/Andalusian/  
andalusian\\_contents.htm](http://davidfriedman.com/Medieval/Cookbooks/Andalusian/andalusian_contents.htm)



Burâniyya  
Take fat sheep flesh and put in the pot with salt, onion, pepper, coriander seed, a little cumin, saffron and oil; put on a moderate fire and add a spoon of murri naqî' (a pungent fermented sauce) and two spoons of vinegar, cook until half done, then take it off and add fried eggplants, which will be described later; put on a layer of meat and another of fried eggplants until used up. Add the prepared meatballs and the chopped almonds and color with a lot of saffron; then cover with eggs beaten with spikenard or cinnamon and saffron and crown with egg yolks; then put in the bread oven and leave until the sauce is dry and it holds together and the grease remains; take it to the hearthstone and leave for a while, then use.

An Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook of the 13th Century

*douce grayne & de paradys stour de queynel de chescun dim unce de toutes, soit fait powdour*<sup>6</sup>

*Pur fayre ypocras. Treyz unces de queynel. & .iij. unces de ginger. spyknard le pays dun denere garyngale. clowes gylofre. poevre long, noiez mugadez. marjorame cardemomi de chescun .i. quarter douce grayne & de paradys. flour de queynel de chescun din unce de toutes soit fait poudour & cet.*<sup>7</sup>

# RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

<sup>6</sup> Form of Cury, England, 1390. OP Cit  
<http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/8102/pg8102.html>

<sup>7</sup> Fourme of Curye (Rylands Manuscript 7)  
<http://www.medievalcooking.com/search/display.html?fourm:187>



# JULY'S "ON THIS"

**1 July**  
1536

Parliament declared that Henry VIII's two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, were illegitimate.

**2 July**  
1536

Thomas Cromwell formally appointed Lord Privy Seal in Thomas Boleyn's place.

**3 July**  
1541

Death of Girolamo Ghinucci, Italian papal administrator, Bishop of Worcester, papal nuncio and ambassador. He died in Rome and was buried in the church of San Clemente.

**4 July**  
1623

Death of William Byrd, the famous Elizabethan English composer. He was buried next to his wife.

**8 July**  
1540

Abolition, by Henry VIII, of all heretical books and those containing errors.

**9 July**  
1553

The Duke of Northumberland officially informed Lady Jane Grey of Edward VI's death.

**10 July**  
1559

Accession of Francis II and Mary, Queen of Scots as King and Queen of France.

**11 July**  
1536

Death of Desiderius Erasmus, the famous Humanist scholar, from dysentery at Basel.

**12 July**  
1555

Burnings of preacher John Bland at Canterbury. He was a Protestant burned for heresy.

**15 July**  
1553

The royal ships guarding the Eastern coast for 'Queen Jane' swapped their allegiance to 'Queen Mary'.

**16 July**  
1557

Death of Anne of Cleves, fourth wife of Henry VIII, at Chelsea Old Manor after a few months of illness.

**17 July**  
1555

Birth of Richard Carew, antiquary, bee-keeper, translator and poet, at Antony House, Torpoint, Cornwall.

**18 July**  
1536

Burial of Desiderius Erasmus in Basel Cathedral.

**19 July**  
1545

Henry VIII's flagship, the Mary Rose, sank in the Battle of the Solent between the English and French fleets.

**22 July**  
1549

Robert Kett and protesters stormed Norwich and took the city, during Kett's Rebellion.

**23 July**  
1543

Mary of Guise and her daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots, escaped from Linlithgow Palace, where they were being watched, to Stirling Castle. They were helped by Cardinal Beaton.

**24 July**  
1534

Jacques Cartier, the French explorer, landed in Canada, at Gaspé Bay in Quebec, and claimed it for France.

**25 July**  
1556

Baptism of George Peele, poet and playwright, in St James Garlickhythe, London.

**28 July**  
1540

Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, was executed by being beheaded on Tower Hill. Cromwell had been arrested on 10<sup>th</sup> June 1540 at a council meeting, and a bill of attainder was passed against him on 29<sup>th</sup> June 1540 for the crimes of corruption, heresy and treason.

**29 July**  
1589

Hanging of Agnes Waterhouse, one of the Essex Witches, at Chelmsford in Essex.

**30 July**  
1540

Executions of Catholic martyrs Thomas Abell, Edward Powell and Richard Fetherston.

**31 July**  
1544

The future Elizabeth I wrote her earliest surviving letter to her stepmother, Catherine Parr, in beautiful italics.



# DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

**5 July**  
**1591**

Burial of Humfrey (Humfray) Cole, goldsmith, engraver, mathematical instrument maker and die sinker, at St Gregory by St Paul's, London. Cole was a die sinker at the Tower of London mint. His mathematical instruments included an armillary sphere, astrolabe and instruments needed for Martin Frobisher's 1576 voyage. Twenty-six of his instruments still survive today.

**6 July**  
**1535**

Execution of Sir Thomas More for high treason for denying the King's supremacy.

**7 July**  
**1568**

Death of William Turner, naturalist, and the man referred to as "the father of English botany and of ornithology"

**13 July**  
**1527**

John Dee, astrologer, mathematician, alchemist, antiquary and spy was born.

**14 July**  
**1551**

Deaths of Henry and Charles Brandon, sons of the late Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

**20 July**  
**1554**

Philip of Spain arrived in England, at Southampton, in readiness for his marriage to Mary I.

**21 July**  
**1553**

Arrest of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland for placing his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, on the throne.

**26 July**  
**1588**

4,000 men assembled at Tilbury Fort, the fort built on the Thames estuary in Essex by Elizabeth's father, Henry VIII. Meanwhile, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who had been appointed Lieutenant and Captain General of the Queen's Armies and Companies, was gathering troops at Tilbury Fort in anticipation of a Spanish attack. He had also created a blockade of boats across the Thames. England was prepared.

**27 July**  
**1534**

Murder of John Alen, Archbishop of Dublin, in Artane. He was buried in a pauper's grave.

## TUDOR FEAST DAYS

2 July - Visitation of the Virgin

15 July - St Swithin's Day

20 July - St Margaret's Day

22 July - Mary Magdalene's Day

25 July - Feast of St Christopher

A rare map of the holy land by Humfrey Cole



TudorLife



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*and much much more...*

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