

Tudor Life

The Tudor Society Magazine

THE
TUDOR
SOCIETY

Members Only

Nº 58

June 2019

QUEENSHIP

Aspects of
Queenship

What happened in
the 16th Century?

Isabella of Castile

Jane Grey

The six wives of
Henry VIII

Mary, Queen of
Scots

PLUS MUCH MORE

TUDOR TIME-KEEPING
BY TONI MOUNT





The Anne Boleyn Experience 2020

17th - 21st May 2020

The Anne Boleyn Experience has proven extremely popular in 2018 and 2019 and so it's back again in 2020!

This tour explores the life and death of the ill-fated second wife of Henry VIII and mother to Elizabeth I, Queen Anne Boleyn.

You will stay at Anne's childhood home, the magical Hever Castle, for 4 nights and enjoy exclusive access to the entire Astor Wing including music room, billiard room, lawns, tennis court and outdoor swimming pool.

You will enjoy a private after hours tour of Hever Castle, a 3 course dinner in the Castle dining room, visit Hampton Court Palace and the Tower of London - a particularly poignant visit as it falls on the anniversary of her execution.

Join the Tudor Society (open to non-members too!) on this amazing trip-of-a-lifetime.

www.britishhistorytours.com/history-tours/anne-boleyn-2020



Tour Highlights

Private After Hours Tour of Hever Castle

Expert History Talks

Dinner in the Castle Dining Room

Visit to Hampton Court Palace

Visit the Tower of London on the anniversary of Anne Boleyn's death

Private use of the Astor Wing of Hever Castle including our own Private Lawn next to the moat, Tennis Court, Billiards Room and Outdoor Heated Pool.



QUEENSHIP

QUEENSHIP IS currently one of the most exciting areas in early modern specialist research. It is also a focus of sustained popular interest in the Tudors. In the new hit West End musical “Six”, one of the ghosts of Henry VIII’s wives quips that it’s they who made Henry famous, not the other way around, with his six queens finding far more enduring fame than his military campaigns, inconsistent reforms or lavish architectural projects. Some might say the modern need to fit queenship into theoretical formulas has gone too far, but what is undeniable is the importance of queenship to Tudor society..

GARETH RUSSELL
EDITOR

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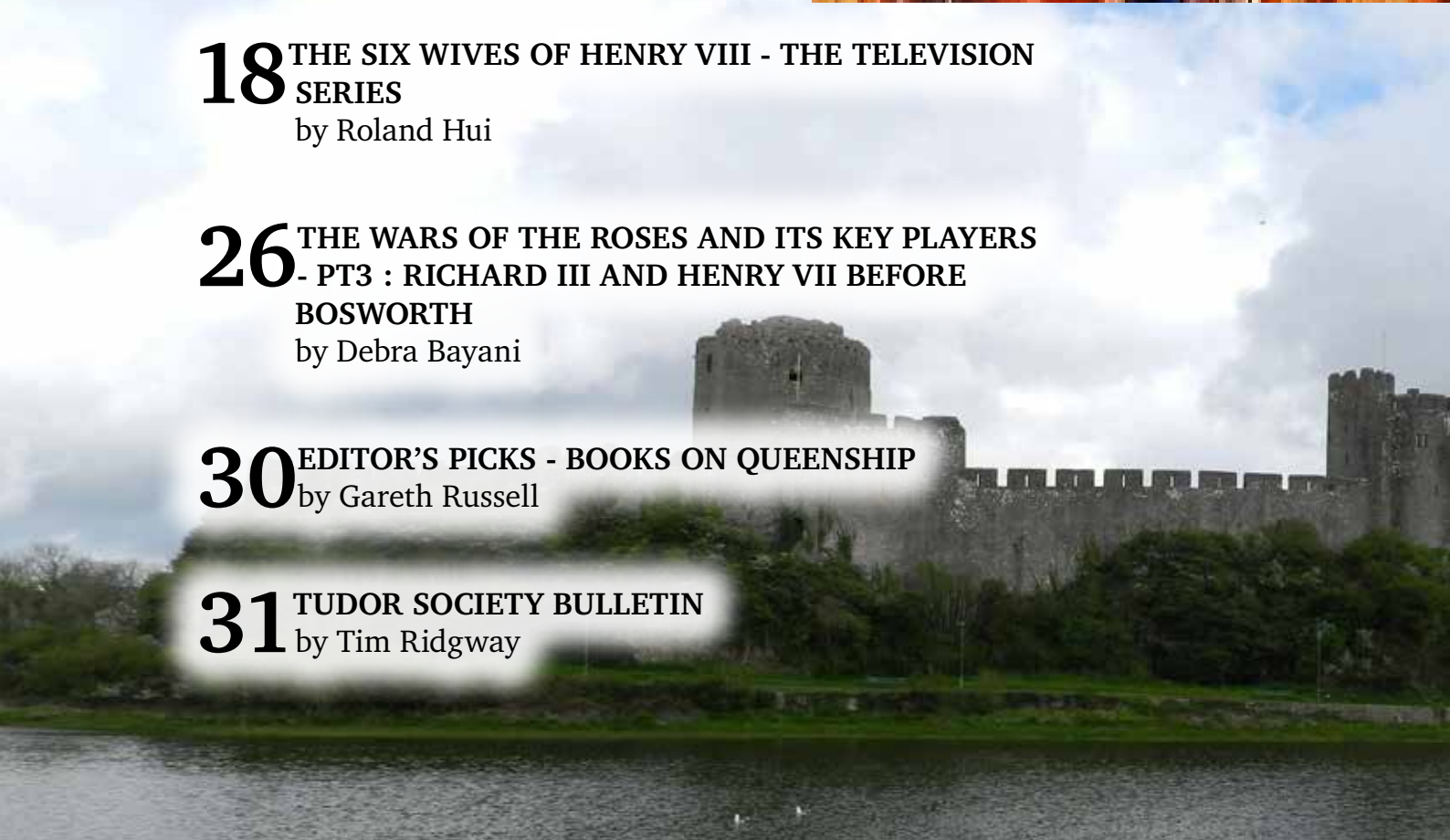
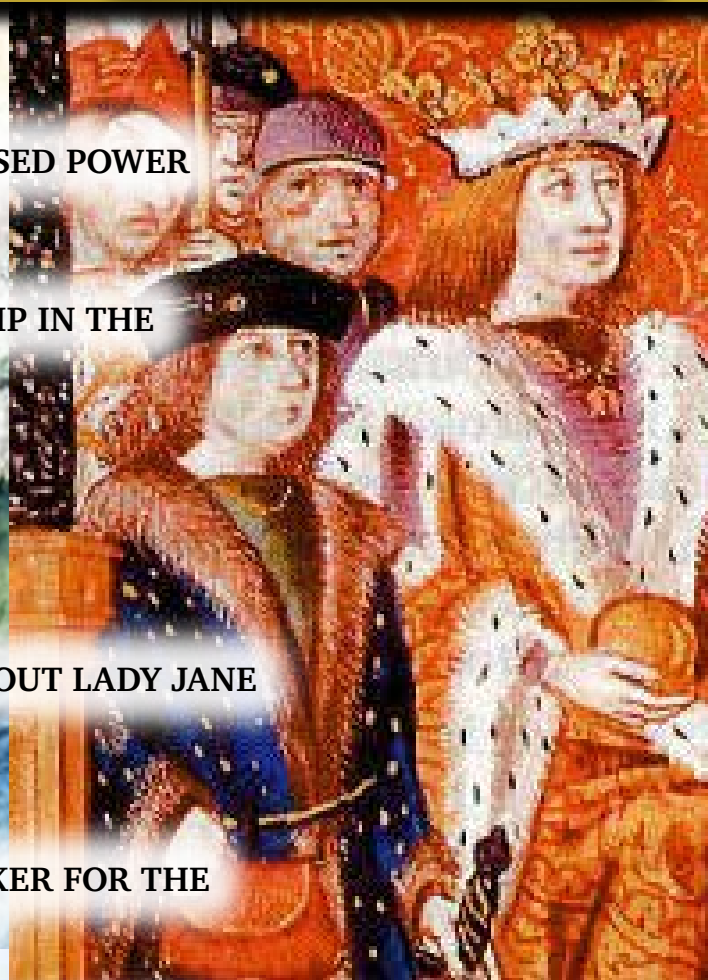
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HOW THE TUDOR QUEENS EXERCISED POWER

by Susan Abernethy



Because the study of how queens exercised power is a relatively new discipline, it is challenging to define. The meaning of queenship in the dictionary is “the state, office, or dignity of a queen”. In the last several years, much new scholarship has arisen in queenship and the true meaning of the word is no longer as simple as the dictionary states. A more apt and updated definition for queenship would be “aptitude for queenly duties”.

WHAT CONSTITUTES queenship? What are some examples of Tudor women exercising these duties? Historians have identified several components and duties for queenship, covering the nature of a queen’s power and her role within the court. Some of the more important components include giving birth to an heir, intercession, religious and cultural patronage and governmental responsibilities.

Most royal marriages were largely arranged for political purposes but giving birth to the royal heir constituted the primary duty of a queen consort. Having an heir,

especially a male heir, could cement a woman’s position as queen. Once she was a mother, it was difficult to depose her. It was up to the queen to oversee her children’s upbringing, religious instruction and education. She would supervise, manage and direct her own household and those of her children.

The queen was the heart of the royal family. If a queen failed to produce an heir, her position was tenuous or even perilous. In some instances, a queen would be able to survive this omission but she could just as well lose her position if not her life. Let’s take a look at some examples.



The one Tudor Queen who fulfilled this duty perfectly was Elizabeth of York. She gave birth to at least seven children, three sons and four daughters. Her position was secure. We all know the story of Henry VIII and his six queens and how the lack of a male heir created his marital woes, causing a personal and governmental crisis. Katherine of Aragon had many pregnancies but only one surviving daughter. Anne Boleyn gave birth to one daughter and lost not only her position but her life. Jane Seymour produced the long-sought son. Henry's three other wives had no children.

Another component of queenship was intercession. In some political situations, it was injudicious for the king to appear to yield or capitulate. A queen had the ability to intervene and moderate the king's policies without him losing face. In the early middle ages, these intercessions were public ceremonies but during the Tudor era, they became more private.

The only example of a public Tudor intercessory ceremony involved Katherine of Aragon and it took place in 1517 at Richmond. The May Day riots occurred in that year and many were taken prisoner. Katherine begged on bended knee with tears in her eyes for the king to pardon these men and he yielded.

Another good example of a

Tudor queen interceding concerns Jane Seymour. Queen Jane had grown up a devout Catholic and felt a great deal of sympathy for the men and women who were involved in the rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536. Jane's only foray into political affairs was her noble attempt to beg Henry to forgive the rebels. Henry promptly reminded her to not interfere or she may come to the same fate as her predecessor. Jane was duly warned and never meddled again.

Catherine Howard interceded for Sir Thomas Wyatt and Sir John Wallop and Henry VIII pardoned them for various acts of treason. She also asked Henry to pardon a woman in Lincolnshire for felonies and was successful. Evidence of Katherine Parr's support for intercession regarding pardons for several murderers in 1545 proved effective.

Queens often interceded privately for family members. Elizabeth of York pleaded with her husband Henry VII to not allow her daughter Margaret to travel to Scotland and consummate her marriage with James IV. She felt Margaret was too young at the time and James might injure her if she was allowed to have sexual relations in her early teens. Henry heeded his wife's advice.

Jane Seymour and Katherine Parr both interceded with Henry

VIII where his children were concerned. Henry's daughters, Princess Mary and Princess Elizabeth, had been declared illegitimate and barred from the succession during the shambles of Henry's first two marriages. Jane was instrumental in returning Mary and Elizabeth into their father's good graces.

They all basically lived together as a family but the girls were still not given the right to succeed their father although Jane did try. Princess Mary, especially, was said to be grateful to Jane for restoring the love of her father. Katherine Parr did the same during her tenure as Queen. She had all three of Henry's children under her care as well as their cousin Lady Jane Grey, supervising their education and giving them a loving and stable home.

Religious patronage was one of the preferred means by which medieval queens practised queenship and expressed their power. To attract qualified men to enter her service, a queen needed to demonstrate the ability to reward exceptional talent. The queen relied on the benefices which she could present to her clerks. A benefice was a permanent Church appointment, typically that of rector or vicar, for which property and income are provided in respect of pastoral duties.

The ability to award these honours came from the churches on or near the Queen's manors, whether held in wardship or in fee. When a Queen acquired a new manor, it was typical for them to include an advowson. This is a right of a patron (avowee) to present to the diocesan bishop a nominee for appointment to a vacant ecclesiastical benefice or church living. This process was known as "the right of presenting", a good example of a

queen exercising queenship.

In some cases, these advowsons could be purchased separately from the acquisition of a manor. In this way, the Queen's clerks would obtain lucrative positions in the churches. There is a surviving letter written by Elizabeth of York requesting the right of presenting for the advowson of All Saints, Lombard Street in London. Queens also had some input in the selection of bishops. There is evidence that Elizabeth of York, Katherine of Aragon and Katherine Parr influenced appointments of men for the position of bishop. Anne Boleyn patronized certain bishops.

Religious patronage could be expressed in overt ways. Queens would go on pilgrimage to certain shrines, sometimes in an effort to get pregnant but often to visit the monks and nuns and to display their piety. They would endow nunneries and monasteries. They would donate to charities and to the poor as well as buy gifts for churches, monasteries and cathedrals such as golden chalices, candlesticks or religious statues. The queen and her women would embroider items such as robes, table cloths, surplices, etc. to donate to the church.

Elizabeth of York made a pilgrimage to Walsingham in 1497. That same year she donated over £6 for the celebration of mass for a year at the Charterhouse at Sheen. There is ample evidence in her account books from 1502-3 demonstrating her donations and offerings to various churches and alms for the poor. Katherine of Aragon was the only one of Henry's wives who went on pilgrimage. Elizabeth of York, Mary I and Katherine Parr participated in the Maundy services and washed the feet of the poor.

Queens excelled at cultural patronage. Using their wealth and influence, they could sponsor and commission artisans to create various works. They employed jewellers, dressmakers and cabinetmakers and weavers for the comforts of home. Queens could hire architects, masons and builders to construct new homes or remodel existing palaces. They could employ artists, printers, and musicians and patronize scholars.

Elizabeth of York and her mother-in-law Margaret Beaufort jointly commissioned the printer William Caxton for an edition of the book allegedly written by St. Bridget "The Fifteen O's". Elizabeth and Margaret jointly presented a copy of Walter Hilton's "Scale of Perfection", which had been commissioned by Margaret, to their shared lady-in-waiting Mary Roos. Elizabeth of York commissioned a beautiful ornate bedstead with accompanying hangings. She had on staff minstrels and fiddlers. She built a small arbour in the park at Windsor in order to host a banquet.

Evidence of her privy purse expenses shows she rewarded the king's painter for drawings of beasts. Katherine Parr published her own religious works.

Queens embodied royal majesty alongside their husband. Unless they were queen regnant, most queens could not exercise power in their own right. However, under certain circumstances, they could govern in their husband's stead, predominantly as a counsellor or regent for the king or for their sons.

Katherine of Aragon served in the capacity of Spanish ambassador at the English court at the instructions of her father, Ferdinand of Aragon. She also acted as regent for Henry VIII when he went to war in France in 1513 and was actually victorious in the Battle of Flodden against James IV, King of Scots. Katherine Parr also acted as regent during Henry VIII's absence later in his reign. Most significantly, Mary I was the first recognized Queen Regnant in England and Elizabeth I embodied queenship with her long and successful reign.

SUSAN ABERNETHY

*You can read more from Susan at her website:
<https://thefreelancehistorywriter.com>*

Further reading

"Elizabeth of York and Her Six Daughters-in-Law: Fashioning Tudor Queenship, 1485-1547"

by Retha M. Warnicke

"Queens & Power in Medieval and Early Modern England"

edited by Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz

"Elizabeth of York: The Forgotten Tudor Queen" by Amy Licence

"Forgotten Queens in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Political Agency, Myth-Making, and Patronage"

edited by Valerie Shutte and Estelle Paranque

"Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth Century England"

by John Carni Parsons

"Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages"

by Pauline Stafford



WHAT HAPPENED WITH QUEENSHIP IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY?

The recent biopic “Mary Queen of Scots”, starring Saoirse Ronan and Margot Robbie, made much in its script and marketing of the British queens existing as anomalies in “an Age of Kings”. There’s an element of truth to that, yet it ignores that in early modern societies monarchy functioned itself as the great anomaly, whereby the hereditary principle elevated women in a way which almost no other institution or strata of society proved itself capable.

There was a significant number of powerful female royals throughout the century, thereby explaining why the era has proved such fertile fields for modern study. The Hapsburg Netherlands were almost always governed by various brilliant sisters, aunts and daughters of

the Hapsburg monarchs and on many occasions they were granted a significant amount of autonomy, distinguishing them from any other governor in the imperial system. Although he disapproved of her actions and suggested she change her policy, the Emperor Charles V nonetheless ultimately permitted his sister Maria of Austria, Dowager Queen of Hungary, to pursue a far more lenient attitude to the Netherlands’ growing number of Protestants during her time as his deputy there.

Female regents proliferated, particularly in France where Louise of Savoy, the brilliant and charismatic mother of King François I, helped hold the country together after her son was captured by the Hapsburgs in the



Saoirse Ronan as Mary, Queen of Scots. (Bustle)

aftermath of his catastrophic military defeat at the Battle of Pavia. Two generations later, Catherine de Medici, having been side-lined during her careers as Dauphine and Queen consort to Henri II, became one of the most powerful figures in the world as Queen Mother. She proved herself to be a shrewd political operator during the short reign of her son François II, before becoming the unquestioned focus of government during the tenure of his younger brother, Charles IX. Although her influence diminished after the accession of her

favourite child, Henri III, that had more to do with Henri being the most capable and intelligent of her sons. Years later, even her estranged son-in-law, Henri IV, praised Catherine for how she had secured the Valois dynasty when they were beset on all sides by enemies.

Catherine's posthumous reputation is a case in point for how powerful queens could, and frequently were, traduced. Until recently, she had a uniformly dire public image, which presented her as a blinkered, manipulative villain, who happily poisoned dozens of those who

got in her way. The same shadowy and unsubstantiated aspersions were tossed at the spectres of Anne Boleyn and the Ottoman Sultana, Roxelana.

Thus, while there was a significant amount of opportunity for royal women, there were also forces of serious, and potentially lethal, opposition. The brilliant Elizabeth I, a consummate survivor, has been traduced as often as she has been exalted. Very few queens have sailed through the pages of history without some attack, of varying degrees of credibility. Katherine of Aragon, Henri IV's mother Queen Jeanne of Navarre and Elisabeth of Austria, Queen of France stand out as exceptions to prove the rule.

Even the gentle Elizabeth of York was accused by some later historians, most prominently in the century after her death, of plotting to embark upon an incestuous affair with her uncle Richard III and, writing in the nineteenth century, Agnes Strickland thought that the usually-eulogised Jane Seymour had been one of the most pettily loathsome figures of the Tudor era.

These processes often began in the queens' own lifetimes. For all her undoubted political savvy, even brilliance, Anne Boleyn was destroyed by the most virulent form of misogynistic and pornographic propaganda. At her trial, she was portrayed as a murderous



**Madame Serpent?": Catherine de Medici,
Queen of France (HeritagePics)**

nymphomaniac. The easiest way to destroy a woman was to focus on her libido. That there was zero evidence that Anne had ever committed adultery, let alone incest, was almost irrelevant. She met her end with more pomp and circumstance but no dilution of moral cruelty to those women who are stoned to death today because their husbands wish to be rid of them.

Similar forces shoved Juana of Castile off her throne in favour of her son and to her father's advantage. Unquestionably grief-stricken after the death of her husband, Archduke Philip the Handsome, Queen Juana's depression was exploited

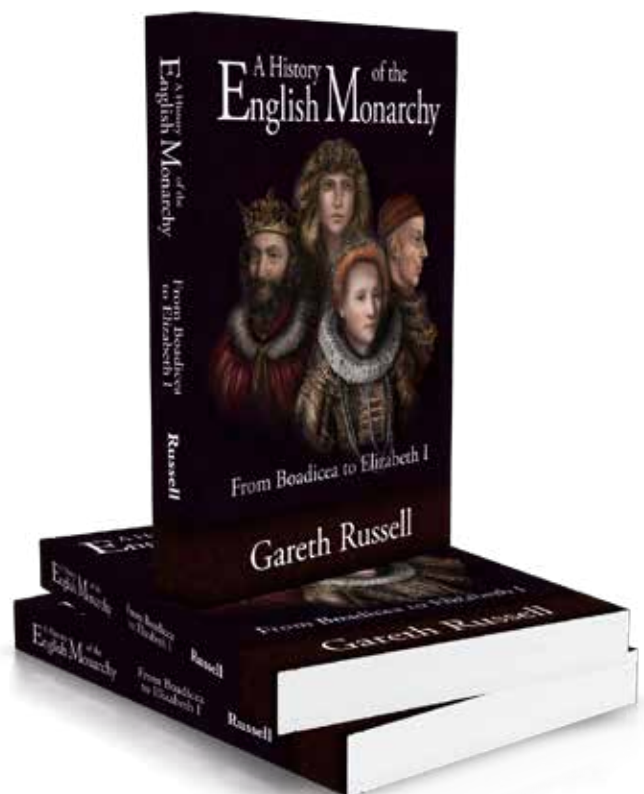


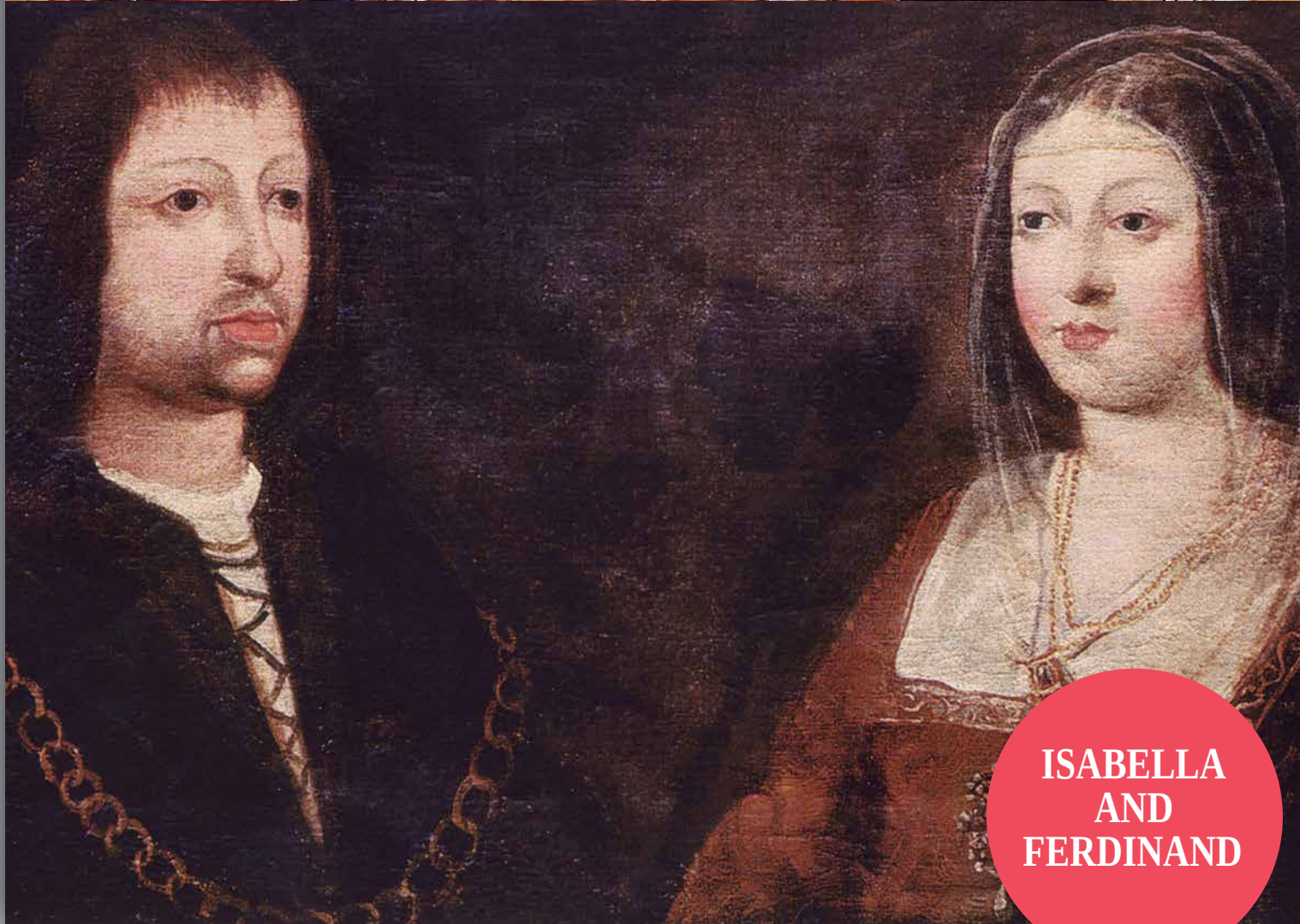
The marriage of Henry VII to Elizabeth of York helped advertise the importance of female royals, yet even Elizabeth was later unfairly maligned. (ThoughtCo)

to have her declared insane, after which she spent her life in gilded seclusion while the men of her family ruled her inheritance. She has gone down in history as “Juana la Loca”, “Johanna the Mad”.

Queenship is a story of exceptions and commonalities. It is a window into a world of forces that shattered and shaped the lives of millions of ordinary women in the sixteenth century yet also the rare, glittering if fraught opportunities offered to a few. It is little wonder that it continues to fascinate.

GARETH RUSSELL





ISABELLA
AND
FERDINAND



ISABELLA OF CASTILE

In 1451, a young girl was born who would rise to the heights of queenship. Her parents were John II of Castile and his second wife, Isabella of Portugal. Her grandmother was Catherine of Lancaster, Henry IV's half-sister and it was said she had her grandmother's English eyes. She would certainly honour her when she gave birth to her own daughter, Katherine, who would marry Henry VIII and become his first queen.

by SARAH-BETH WATKINS

Isabella married her cousin Ferdinand II of Aragon in 1469 uniting Spain and creating an empire that would grow in strength and power. Her older half-brother Henry IV was currently reigning in Castile and Ferdinand was not his choice of husband for her. It was even banded about that she might marry Edward IV or one of his brothers. Originally Henry recognised Isabella as his heir-presumptive on 19 September 1468 and promised his sister that she would not be forced to marry against her will. She agreed to obtain his consent to marry but he continued to negotiate marriages for her that she was unhappy with.

A strong-willed young woman, she decided to take matters into her own hands and left the court with the excuse of visiting her brother Alfonso's tomb in Ávila. She met Ferdinand in Valladolid. He too made his excuses keeping the coming nuptials a secret and arrived disguised as a servant. They were married in the Palacio de los Vivero on 19 October 1469.

The couple would become known as the 'Catholic monarchs' but unlike many queens who deferred to their husbands, Isabella remained his equal. Their motto was *Tanto monta, monta tanto, Isabel como Fernando* (They amount to the same, Isabella and Ferdinand).

Her half-brother Henry IV was obviously furious and refused to acknowledge their marriage. She had done him 'a great and damaging disservice', had disrespected him and caused upheaval and scandal. He ordered that Isabella was no longer his successor and disinherited her leaving the succession to his daughter Juana 'la Beltraneja'. Her mother was his second wife but rumour had it she was possibly fathered by Beltran de la Cueva hence the nickname.

But after Henry IV's death Isabella was determined to take the crown.

Isabella took control of Castile in 1474 at the age of twenty-three. It was a remarkable coup not only was she a woman but she was taking control of a kingdom. As she walked through the streets of Segovia, a man walked before her with the royal sword in his hands, pointing to the sky. It was a direct challenge. Anyone that tried to take her crown would feel the point of a sword. Her army

AS A COUPLE,
**ISABELLA
AND
FERDINAND**
WOULD TRAVEL
CONSTANTLY
AROUND SPAIN

would meet Juana's in 1476 and Isabella would be victorious.

As a couple Isabella and Ferdinand would travel constantly around Spain, quelling rebellion and restoring peace. They would reform the laws of the land establishing the Cortes of Toledo to undertake the necessary changes and laying the groundwork for a modern Spain. However there would also be a darker underside to this reform and they also established the Spanish Inquisition. In 1483, Tomás de Torquemada became the first Inquisitor General in Seville and reigned over years of terror.

The Inquisition sought to weed out heretics – those who were not loyal to the Roman Catholic church. Many Protestants, Jews and Muslims were killed at the 'auto-da-fé' punishment ceremonies. Isabella thought what she was doing was guided by God and that there was a need to purify the faith. Looking back at it from our perspective today, we are horrified at the scale of atrocities committed but at the time Isabella thought what she was doing was for the good of her country.

In 1492 Isabella and Ferdinand also ordered Jews and Muslims to leave Spain. The Alhambra decree allowed for the expulsion or conversion of Jews and Muslims. Some stayed and professed they were now Christians but the Inquisition continued to persecute them and would continue way after the reign of Isabella until it was completely abolished in 1834.

Isabella sought the 'reconquest' of Spain and to this end her forces were sent to Granada to take it from the Muslim Moors who had made it their home since the eighth century. It took until 1492 for her to be victorious after ten years of warfare when its ruler, Boabdil, was conquered and Isabella and Ferdinand were formally handed the keys to the city. Isabella spent years unifying Spain. She took her crown by force and continued to unite her kingdom through force as commander-in-general of its army. Although she did not enter battle herself, she organised strategy and plotted tactics. She also established the use of hospital tents in the field, later known as the queen's hospitals.

Conquest was also on her mind when she

funded Christopher Columbus' voyage to the Americas, granting him three ships. On this first of four voyages he found San Salvador, Cuba and Hispaniola. His discoveries ultimately raised Spain to a global power and brought them great riches. While Isabella had no tolerance for Jews and Muslims, she was lenient with the Native Americans that were shipped back to Spain as slaves. She wanted them to be freed and returned home, declaring they should be treated with fairness and justice.

Today there is a monument in Granada in the Plaza Isabel la Católica of Isabella and Christopher Columbus by Mariano Benlliure that was erected in commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of the Discovery of America.

During all the military and political manoeuvring of her reign she still gave birth to five children. Isabella born in 1470 would marry into Portugal, John born in 1478 would marry Margaret of Austria only to die young after six months of marriage, Juana born in 1479 who married Margaret of Austria's brother Philip the Handsome whose death is said to have sent her mad, Maria born in 1482 who also married into Portugal and of course England's queen, Katherine of Aragon, born in 1485.

After such a tumultuous life, Isabella died on November 26, 1504, in Medina del Campo. She had been ill for two years before and was interred in the Franciscan monastery in the Alhambra. It was written that Spain 'had lost a queen of such a kind that nature had never before made such a person ever before to rule over a nation'. The Spanish loved their indomitable queen and the country was stricken with grief.

In 1958, a process began to canonize Isabella for her 'reputation of sanctity' and in 1974 she was posthumously given the title 'Servant of God' by the Vatican. But many also contest Isabella ever becoming a saint for the years of horror she reigned over during the Inquisition and her persecution of Jews and Muslims. So long after her death the debate still continues.

SARAH-BETH WATKINS



ISABELLA
of
CASTILE

1

Jane was the great-granddaughter of Henry VII

Jane's claim to the throne came from her being a great-granddaughter of Henry VII. Jane's grandmother was the King's youngest surviving daughter Mary, who was briefly Queen Consort of France.

2

Jane's farewell messages to her father and to the Lieutenant of the Tower of London still exist.

Jane wrote these messages in the prayer book she carried to the scaffold. The prayer book is at the British Library and you can read Jane's messages on the British Library website.

She was fourth in line to the throne

Under the terms of Jane's great-uncle Henry VIII's will, she was in the line of succession after his own children, making her fourth in line at the time of his death in 1547.

3

Two new letters that mention Jane were discovered by Stephan Edwards in 2013.

These letters have added to our knowledge about Jane's wedding, her appearance and her reign.

4

5

We don't know what Jane looked like.

The only detailed contemporary description of Jane is now thought to be a fake. Other contemporary accounts make no mention of her physical features.

No contemporary portraits of her are known to exist either.

6

Jane has been the subject of several exhibitions

'Painting History: Delaroche and Lady Jane Grey' was held at the National Gallery from 24th February to May 23rd 2010.

The focus of the exhibition was the painting, 'The Execution of Lady Jane Grey.' The National Portrait Gallery held a display of 'Lady Jane' portraits and engravings from December 2009 until August 2010.

Jane performed her first public role at Katherine Parr's funeral.

Jane was chief mourner at Katherine Parr's funeral at St Mary's Chapel, Sudeley Castle on 7th September 1548.

7

In historical fiction, Jane faces an alternative fate

Jane features as a character in the 'Boleyn King' trilogy by Laura Andersen, set in an alternate timeline where Anne Boleyn gave birth to a son.

8

9

There was a food poisoning incident at Jane's wedding.

The Imperial Ambassador reported on 12th June 1553 that Guildford Dudley and other guests were still suffering from eating a salad where the cook 'plucked one leaf for another' at the wedding festivities.

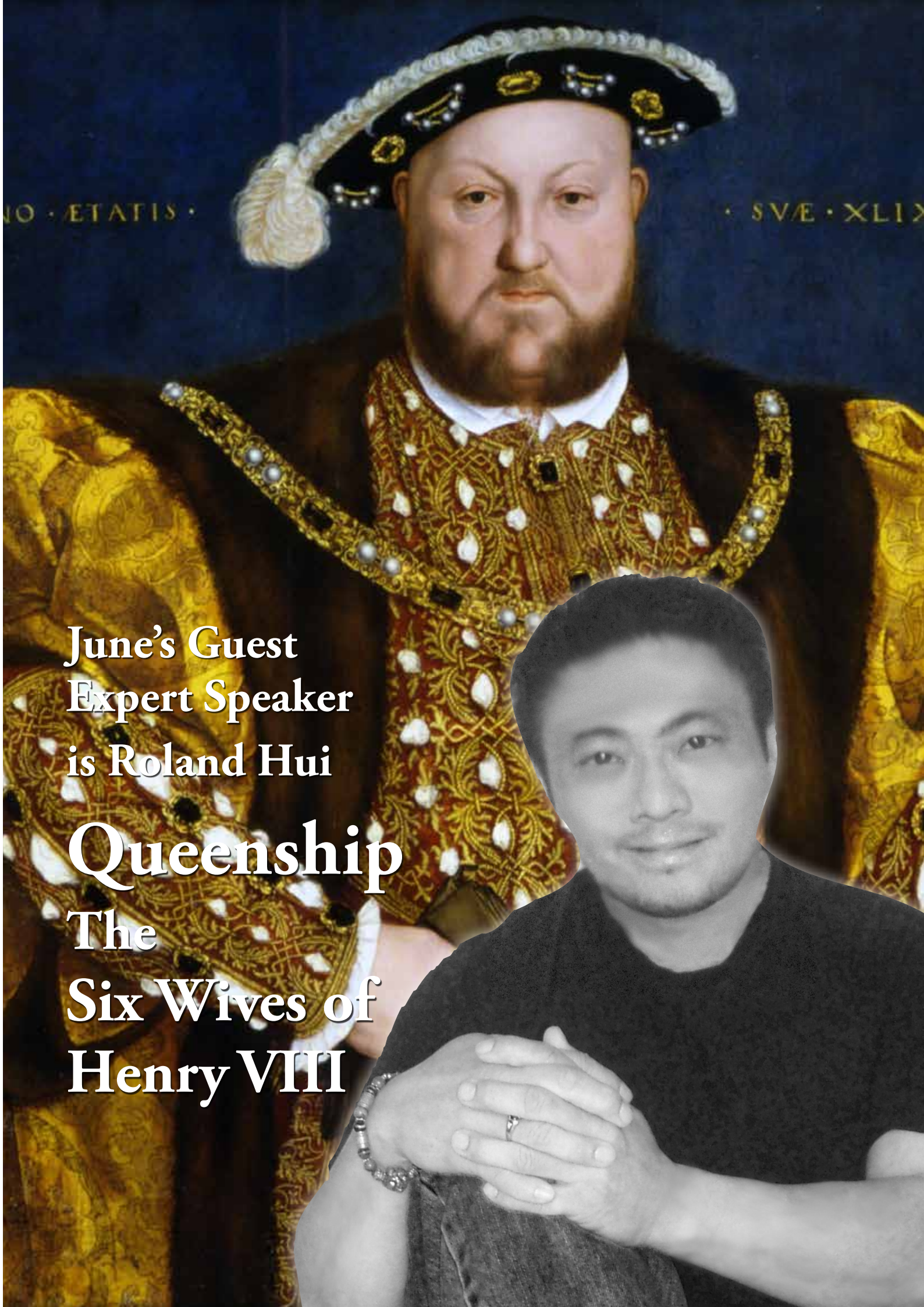
Jane was the nine or 13 days Queen

Jane is known as the nine days Queen because she was proclaimed on 10th July and her reign ended on the 19th. However, if you count from Edward VI's death on 6th July, Jane was Queen for 13 days.

10

10 Things you didn't know about *Lady Jane Grey*

by Tamise Hills



June's Guest
Expert Speaker
is Roland Hui

Queenship The Six Wives of Henry VIII

THE SIX WIVES OF HENRY VIII - THE TELEVISION SERIES

BY ROLAND HUI



Henry VIII, Keith Michell, with his fifth wife
Catherine Howard, Angela Pleasence (BBC)

With the cinematic successes of *A Man For All Seasons* (1966) and *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969), it was expected that the Tudors, England's most notorious royal family, would do just as well on the small screen. The indications were promising. They had already appeared in a British teleplay *The Young Elizabeth* (1964),¹ and in a television adaptation of playwright Maxwell Anderson's *Elizabeth the Queen* (1968), starring



Henry VIII played by Keith Michell (BBC)

Judith Anderson and Charlton Heston.

makeup got more and more complicated. Toward the end, it was a four hour job... At the end Henry was bald, and that meant wearing plastic over my head, a plastic nose, things in my face, padding up to my neck. With nothing exposed to the air, it was murder!" Besides the cumbersome but necessary prosthetics, Michell credited costume designer John Bloomfield for helping achieve the look of his Henry VIII. "I thought of Henry as a kind of cigar-smoking American millionaire, very rich, and very powerful", the actor said. "The costumes were a big help - the great jackets with pearls and all that fur. They gave me a much larger appearance".³

The costumes made for Henry's six queens were equally lavish. John Bloomfield did careful research by studying their old portraits, as he had

Catherine of Aragon played by Annette Crosbie (BBC)

If Elizabeth Tudor could find an audience on television, certainly so could her equally famous father King Henry VIII, along with his harem of queens - all six of them. A series entitled *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* was conceived by the English screenwriter and producer Maurice Cowan for The British Broadcasting Corporation (The BBC). The program would be divided into six segments - each focusing on one of Henry's spouses, and each the work of an individual screenwriter.²

With six different actresses playing the six wives, the constant was actor Keith Michell as Henry VIII. In his early forties at the time, the Australian actor was required to go from a handsome teenage heir to the throne to the more familiar image of a bloated tyrant as immortalized by the court painter Hans Holbein. To achieve the progression, applications of cosmetics - more and more of it as the series went on - were required upon Michell. As he himself described it, "The

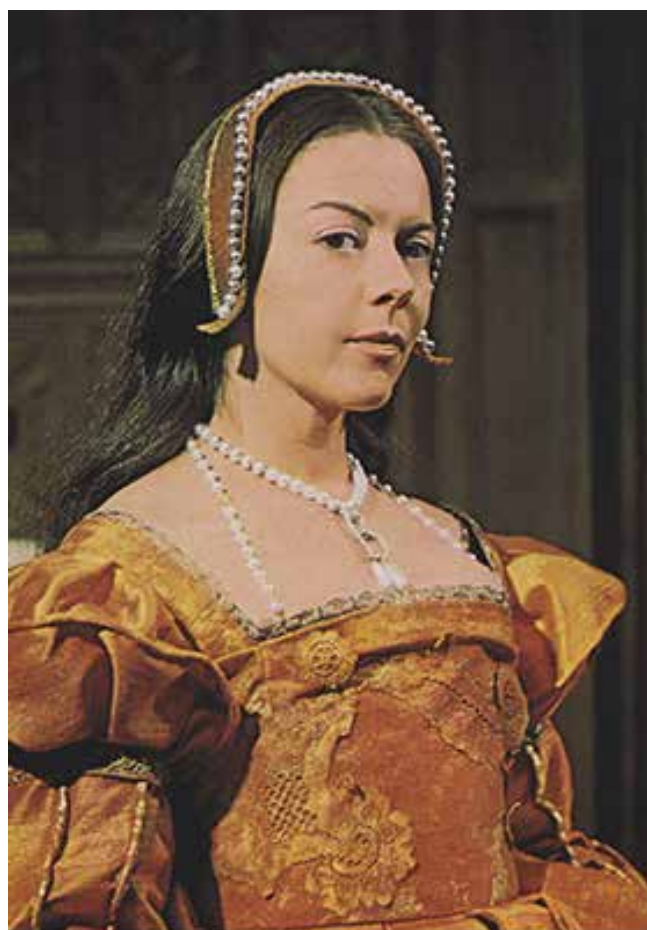


Henry VIII's. As the series was made on a limited budget, Bloomfield and his crew had to create the illusion of rich 16th century textiles and accessories out of cheaper materials. Inexpensive heavy fabrics were screen printed or sprayed upon with paints and resins to suggest sumptuously embroidered cloth. Jewelry was made by combining bits and pieces of metal that were then covered over with generous amounts of gold paint.⁴

This illusionistic approach was also evident in the series' set design. With strategically placed walls and windows, and furnishings and props placed here and there, empty sound stages were able to recreate the look of Henry VIII's palaces. Occasionally, to get away from the claustrophobia of the enclosed sets, scenes were shot out-of-doors.

To give authenticity to the series, genuine pieces of Tudor music - and played upon 16th century instruments - were used by composer David Munrow. The song *Pastime With Good Company* by Henry VIII himself could be heard in the first episode about Catherine of Aragon, and also *Green Grows the Holly* in the succeeding one on Anne Boleyn. Both pieces were sung by Keith Michell. Besides being an accomplished actor, he was also a talented musical performer.

The Six Wives of Henry VIII begins with the arrival of Catherine of Aragon (Annette Crosbie) to England in 1501. Her marriage to Arthur Tudor (Martin Ratcliffe), the heir of King Henry VII (John Woodnutt), is brief. As Catherine meets the frail and sickly Prince, the scene immediately shifts to that of Arthur's funeral. In attendance is a grief stricken King Henry, accompanied by a 10-year-old boy, his next in line, Prince Henry. The story then focuses upon Catherine's years as a young widow. Her life is in turmoil. Despite her status as Princess Dowager, she is impoverished. Her parents, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, are in a bitter dispute with Henry VII over who is responsible for her upkeep. Catherine's own household is disarray too. She is stuck in the middle of a power struggle between her insufferable ambassador Doctor de Puebla (Ken Wynn) and her domineering governess Dona Elvira (Sally Travers). It is only with Henry VII's



Anne Boleyn played by Dorothy Tutin (BBC)

death in 1509 that Catherine's troubles come to an end. The new King, Henry VIII, is very much in love with her, and the couple spend their early years together in great happiness. Catherine expects the rest of their lives to be as joyful as well; this her husband promises on the 'word of a Henry'. However, misfortune follows. The son born to the King and Queen on New Year's Day 1511 dies unexpectedly, and the couple go into mourning.

The episode then shifts to the second part of Catherine's story - the breakdown of her marriage. The Queen is now prematurely aged, more so in comparison to her husband who is six years her junior. She is often ill and melancholy. Her only pleasure is her daughter the Princess Mary (Verina Greenlaw). The King has long fallen out of love with Catherine, and is smitten by one of her ladies, Anne Boleyn (Dorothy Tutin) - so much that he begins proceedings to



Jane Seymour played by Anne Stallybrass (BBC)

have his marriage annulled so he could marry her. Anne would provide England with a male heir whereas Catherine could not. Sure of the righteousness of her cause, Catherine fights tooth and nail to remain Queen, but for all her efforts, she is banished from court and is divorced. In her remaining years, she stays defiant. When Henry offers concessions to Catherine to relieve her misery, she knows how empty his promises - the 'word of a Henry' - are. Yet she loves him still. On her deathbed, Catherine writes to Henry declaring that despite everything, 'mine eyes desire you above all things'.⁵

That Anne Boleyn's marriage to the King was initially a happy one as well is shown in the opening sequence of the episode devoted to her. In flashbacks, the couple play at games, duet on one of the King's musical compositions, delight in their daughter the Princess Elizabeth, and make love. But of late, there has been tension.

Anne has still to give the King a son, and he has a wandering eye for the ladies of the court. Anne needless to say is jealous. To Henry's irritation, she is also vain, high strung, and overly proud. She is also vengeful and bloodthirsty. When she has a son, Anne boasts, she will have her enemies 'gutted on Tower Hill' and 'scattered like offal'.⁶

Anne's arrogance has gained her many enemies at court, including her own sister-in-law Lady Rochford (Sheila Burrell). Resentful of the affection between her estranged husband George Boleyn (Jonathan Newth) and his sister the Queen, she plots revenge. Lady Rochford confides to the King's unsavory minister Thomas Cromwell (Wolfe Morris) that she suspects the two of incest. Still, Cromwell can do nothing at the moment as Anne, being pregnant, has regained the King's favour. But all is not well with her. Anne is under terrible stress to bear a son, so much that she miscarries.

With England still without a prince, and Anne seemingly unable to provide one, Cromwell strikes. George Boleyn and four other men are arrested and accused of bedding the Queen. Anne herself, brought to prison at the Tower of London, denies any infidelity. However, they are all found guilty and sentenced to die. While in prison, Anne undergoes a transformation. Helpless and wronged, she is redeemed by her suffering. She finds inner peace, and her better qualities shine through including her great courage and her strong religious faith. In the end, Anne comes to accept her fate. She goes to her death bearing no anger towards the King, nor any grudge towards his Queen-in-waiting Jane Seymour (Anne Stallybrass).

As Queen, Jane Seymour succeeds where her two predecessors did not - in giving the King a son. However, it is not without cost. At the child's christening, Jane still in delirium after the birth, recalls the events that brought her to where she is. Before her elevation, she had lived peacefully in the country at her family estate Wolf Hall, that is until the King paid a visit. Unhappy with his difficult wife Queen Anne, Henry is attracted to Jane's kindness and her quiet ways, and he

summons her to court. Unsophisticated and shy, Jane feels like a fish out of water, especially in regards to the Queen. She feels Anne's hatred and jealousy, especially with the King's unwanted attentions towards her.

Events move quickly, and soon Jane finds herself the new Queen of England. She reconciles her husband with his daughter the Princess Mary (Alison Frazer), and for her goodness, Jane is much loved by the King. Yet the couple find themselves at odds over the destruction of the monasteries. Jane, a lady of great piety, is much attached to them, and she is appalled by the plans to dissolve them. Henry, in fit of rage, reveals to Jane the various deceptions used by the monks to enrich themselves. Jane's confidence in the world she knew and loved is shaken, and she is further troubled. She can find no peace of mind as she feels responsible for the unjust death of Anne Boleyn. "I should be punished. And I'm rewarded", she tells her brother Edward Seymour (Daniel Moynihan). "Is this my punishment to

Anne of Cleves played by Elvi Hale (BBC)



**Catherine Howard played by
Angela Pleasence (BBC)**

receive none... I'm in such dark. There's no order any more, No grace. No order. Nothing".⁷ Shortly after the baptism of her son, Jane does find the peace she longs for, but in death. She dies of puerperal fever.

Less than two years after the passing of Jane Seymour, Thomas Cromwell persuades Henry VIII to take another wife. Since the Queen's death, the King has put on more weight and is hardly a catch. Still, many proposals are put forth, and he settles upon a noblewoman from the German duchy of Cleves named Anne (Elvi Hale). The artist Hans Holbein (James Mellor) is sent abroad to take her likeness with which Henry is most satisfied. But when Anne arrives in England, things go horribly wrong. Though Henry is well pleased with Anne, she is appalled by him.⁸ Her reaction upsets the proud King who still fancies himself a ladies' man. However, due to political pressures, he is obliged to marry Anne.

The wedding night is a disaster. Anne does all she can to avoid sexual relations, to which Henry obliges by falling asleep muttering the name of his late wife Jane.

Unhappy and wanting a way out of her marriage, Anne's chance comes in the form of Philip of Hesse, a leader of the Protestant Reformation in Germany. He has come to England in secret seeking to rid himself of his first wife and to wed another despite risking bigamy. Knowing of Henry VIII's many marriages, Philip wants his advice. In the end, Henry is unable to help him as he believes in the sanctity of marriage. Anne is in a panic as she was hoping that Henry - if he were able to support Philip - would consequently divorce her. However, after the King dozes off in a drunken sleep, Anne, upon the encouragement of a sympathetic Archbishop Cranmer (Bernard Hepton) plays her hand. When Henry awakes, she reminds him of his 'promise' to separate from her. Believing this to be true, Henry tells Anne - to her relief - that he will annul the marriage and adopt her as his 'sister'.

Catherine Howard (Angela Pleasence), Henry VIII's fifth wife, is briefly introduced in the Anne of Cleves episode as a courtier speaking to her uncle the Duke of Norfolk (Patrick Troughton). The King had paid no attention to Catherine then, but when she returns to court, he is totally infatuated by her to Norfolk's delight. The Duke plans to elevate the Howard clan by making Catherine Queen. She is beautiful, and most importantly, still a virgin - or so he thinks. In truth, the girl had already taken two lovers, her former music teacher and a young man named Francis Dereham (Simon Prebble). At first, Catherine is hesitant in being Queen; she remembers the terrible fate of her cousin Anne Boleyn. But the prospect of a great marriage and riches beyond her wildest dreams convince her otherwise.

But upon wedding the King, all is not what it should be. Henry, in the privacy of the royal bedroom, is obese and unappealing, as Catherine confides to her lady-in-waiting Lady Rochford. Furthermore, he is often impotent as



Catherine Parr played by Rosalie Crutchley (BBC)

she later tells her uncle Norfolk. Reminding her of Anne Boleyn who failed to produce an heir, the Duke advises Catherine to take matters into her own hands. "Two young men and the King of England, all within a year", Norfolk tells her, "indicate a remarkable talent. Make use of it".⁹

Aware that the King's favourite Thomas Culpepper (Ralph Bates) is attracted to her, Catherine seduces him. With the help of Lady Rochford, the two meet in secret and begin an affair. But the couple are reckless and their liaison is known to many, except the King. Fearful that exposure would bring down the whole Howard family, Norfolk takes it upon himself to reveal the Queen's adultery. Henry is shattered. Feeling only hatred for his wife, he orders her arrest. Also taken are Lady Rochford, Culpepper, and Francis Dereham who had blackmailed the Queen into making him her secretary. Though innocent, Dereham's return implied his desire to take up with Catherine again. All four are later executed.

Henry, betrayed and humiliated, is worn out and empty. When his surgeons come to drain his leg to relieve his painful ulcer, he tells them they can do their worst. "Cut as deep as you wish", Henry says, "I shall feel *nothing*".¹⁰

In the King's remaining years, the court is divided into Protestant and Catholic factions, each hoping to control the kingdom once Henry VIII is dead. The Protestants, led by Archbishop Cranmer and the brothers of the late Queen Jane, are encouraged when the King shows attention to one of their own, Catherine Parr (Rosalie Crutchley). She is a devout Reformist, twice widowed, and also the lover of Thomas Seymour (John Ronane). Catherine, reminded of her duty to the English Church, is asked to be agreeable to the King's romantic overtures. She is not attracted to him, but she reluctantly agrees to give up Seymour and to marry Henry for the sake of her faith.

Catherine is a devoted stepmother to the King's three children and she proves to be a capable Regent during Henry's absence in France. Although she is an ideal companion to the old King, she is too outspoken when it comes to matters of religion. During one of their conversations, Catherine goes too far. Taking advantage of the King's displeasure with the Queen, Bishop Gardiner (Basil Dignam), who heads the traditionalist Catholic party at court, convinces him to have Catherine arrested and examined for heresy. Fortunately, she gets wind of the plot, and upon the advice of Cranmer, she sees the King and asks his pardon for her 'presumptuous' opinions. Her intention, Catherine lies, was only 'to talk with you. And from your learned answers to be instructed by you'.¹¹ Henry lovingly forgives Catherine but then suddenly collapses.

With the King on his deathbed, the conservatives at court are still hopeful that they will prevail. The royal succession has still not been settled, and in their eyes, it is the Princess Mary, a devout Catholic, who is the lawful heir. However, the King nominates his son Edward - the nephew of the Seymours - instead. Shortly

afterwards, he dies in agony, haunted by visions of monks he had brutally executed during the destruction of the monasteries.

Widowed a third time, Catherine is emotionally exhausted. Even a proposal of marriage from Thomas Seymour fails to lift her spirits. But again, she is reminded of her obligations. Without her continuing presence at court as a pacifying influence, the kingdom would be torn apart by faction. Made to do her duty once again, Catherine wearily accepts Seymour as her fourth husband.

The Six Wives of Henry VIII, broadcast in the United Kingdom in early 1970, was met by popular and critical acclaim. It even found an enthusiastic audience in the United States, where it was shown on American television in the following year, and then as part of the *Masterpiece Theatre* program. Keith Michell's performance received especial praise. At the BAFTA Awards in Britain, he was named Best Actor, and at the Emmy Awards in the U.S., he was awarded an Emmy. Annette Crosbie was given a BAFTA trophy too for her Catherine of Aragon. The writing for the series was recognized as well. The sensitively presented episode *Jane Seymour* won the prestigious Prix d'Italia as the best 'Original Dramatic Program'.

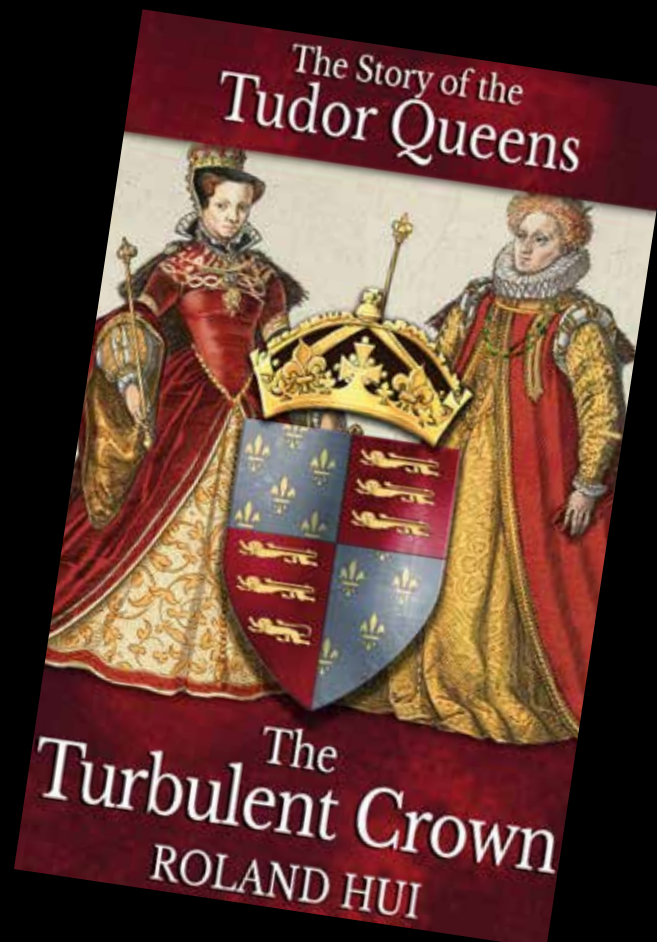
The success of *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* led to a sequel *Elizabeth R*. Starring Glenda Jackson, it told the life and reign of the last and greatest of the Tudors, Elizabeth I.¹² This was followed by a prequel to both series, *The Shadow of the Tower*, about the dynasty's founder, Henry VII. This 'tudormania' was not limited to television. In 1972, a film version of *The Six Wives* was released entitled *Henry VIII and His Six Wives*. While it had Keith Michell reprising his Henry VIII, the wives were played by six new actresses.¹³ Though not as well received as its television predecessor, the movie did cement Keith Michell's fame as arguably television and cinema's most impressive Henry VIII. So much so that Michell would go on to play the King a *third time* in a television adaptation of Mark Twain's classic *The Prince and the Pauper* (1996).

1. *The Young Elizabeth* was directed by Charles Jarrott who also did *Anne of the Thousand Days*. Interestingly, Valerie Gearon who played Mary Boleyn in the film, appeared as Elizabeth Tudor. Jarrott's wife, actress Katharine Blake, who was Elizabeth Boleyn, played Mary Tudor.
2. Of the screenwriters, the most prominent was Rosemary Anne Sisson, the respected novelist and television dramatist. A prolific writer, some of her works include scripts for *Elizabeth R*, *Upstairs, Downstairs*, *The Duchess of Duke Street*, and *The Young Indiana Jones Chronicles*.
3. Terrence O' Flaherty, *Masterpiece Theatre: A Celebration of 25 Years of Outstanding Television* by, QKED Books, San Francisco, pp. 24-25.
4. *The Six Wives of Henry VIII: An Exhibition of Costumes From the BBC TV Series*. Booklet produced by BBC Enterprises.
5. *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, (edited by J.C. Trewin), Paul Elek Ltd., London, 1972, 'Catherine of Aragon' by Rosemary Anne Sisson, p. 102.
6. *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 'Anne Boleyn' by Nick McCarty, p. 115. This quite negative portrayal of Anne Boleyn was very much in keeping with the view of historians and historical fiction writers of the time.
7. *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 'Jane Seymour' by Ian Thorne, p. 260.
8. That Anne was the one displeased with Henry was a plotline reminiscent of that in the film *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933). The Anne of Cleves episode (written by Jean Morris) took some liberties to enliven the narrative. Besides having Anne hopeful of a divorce (in truth, she was later much offended in being let go), she was able to speak English (historically Anne did not), and meet Philip of Hesse (he actually never visited England).
9. *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 'Catherine Howard' by Beverley Cross, pp. 406-407.
10. *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 'Catherine Howard' by Beverley Cross, p. 428.
11. *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 'Catherine Parr' by John Prebble, p. 428.
12. Some of the performers from *The Six Wives* appeared in *Elizabeth R* as well: Rosalie Crutchley (Catherine Parr), John Ronane (Thomas Seymour), Bernard Hepton (Archbishop Cranmer), and Basil Dignam (Bishop Gardiner).
13. In the film, actor Bernard Hepton appeared again as Archbishop Cranmer. The part of Thomas Cromwell was played by Donald Pleasence (father of actress Angela Pleasence).

Roland Hui received his degree in Art History from Concordia University in Canada. After completing his studies, he went on to work in Interpretive Media for California State Parks, The U.S. Forest Service, and The National Park Service

Roland has written for 'Renaissance Magazine' and regularly writes for 'Tudor Life Magazine'. He

is the author of *The Turbulent Crown: The Story of the Tudor Queens* and blogs about 16th century English art and personalities at 'Tudor Faces' (tudorfaces.blogspot.com).





THE WARS OF THE ROSES AND ITS KEY PLAYERS

PART 3: RICHARD III AND HENRY VII BEFORE BOSWORTH

DEBRA BAYANI

On 16 March 1485, Richard's Queen, Anne Neville, died. Even before her death, while she was ill, gossip about the King's marriage was spreading. Rumours were publicly denied, but soon it was widely circulated that Richard III intended to marry his niece Elizabeth of York, a woman betrothed to Henry. Richard was troubled by the rumours and the reactions to them and tried to find a way to stop them. Having already found a marriage candidate for Elizabeth's younger sister Cecily, Sir Ralph Scrope, a man far below her rank, he now

began to negotiate a marriage for Elizabeth to a cousin of the Portuguese King. He offered his own hand in marriage to the Portuguese King's elder sister. Richard knew that by arranging these marriages he might not only be able to destroy the rumours but more importantly, he would destroy Henry's position as the foremost claimant on behalf of the house of Lancaster.

Henry Tudor, Jasper and the rest of their supporters had moved to Rouen in France while a fleet was being equipped at Harfleur. Rumours of the plans for the marriage of Elizabeth of York reached Henry. Henry feared that rebellious Yorkists would now abandon him and his cause and understood that, if Richard did marry Elizabeth himself or even succeed in marrying her off, his own plans for a union between the houses of Lancaster and York would be at risk.

The presence of Elizabeth Woodville's son, Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset, and also her brothers Edward and Richard in France with Henry Tudor was a great embarrassment to her. Elizabeth managed to persuade her son to desert Henry and return to England. One night Dorset secretly left Paris and hastened towards Flanders. This, of course, was a disaster since, over the past couple of months, all of the exiles' plans had been under discussion. If Dorset reached Richard's court he would naturally reveal them all. Having requested, and been granted, the French King Charles VIII's consent, Henry promptly sent two of his own supporters in hot pursuit and they overtook Dorset and persuaded, or perhaps compelled, him to return to Paris.

Charles VIII, having requested financial aid in order to assist Henry *'to recover the realm to which he had better right than anyone else living'*, granted him vast sum of money. By June King Charles

said goodbye to the Tudors and returned to Paris, leaving Jasper and Henry in Rouen.

Back in England, on 22 June, Richard ordered the commissioners who had been nominated in every county the previous winter to muster their men and to make sure that they were properly paid and ready for service. Richard also issued a new proclamation which betrayed the urgency of the moment. He heaped fresh personal insults on Jasper and Henry – and in particular on Henry, saying: *'for he is descended of bastard blood both of father's side and of mother's side'*.

By 26 June Richard was preparing to send 1,000 archers from Southampton to Brittany, under the command of John Grey, Lord Powys. These men were to help secure Duke Francis's power against both the rebellious Breton nobility (who detested Landais as a presumptuous commoner) and the French. In return for Richard's support, Landais was to arrange the capture and extradition of Henry and Jasper.

Unfortunately, within a week, Richard learned that Pierre Landais had fallen out of favour and that Duke Francis had been forced to hand him over to the Breton rebels who had the backing of Anne de Beaujeu, King Charles VIII's elder sister and the regent of France. Landais was arrested and accused of extortion and many other alleged crimes and on 19 July he was hanged on the gallows of Biesse in Nantes. Richard III's troops never arrived and instead his interference in Franco-Breton relationships greatly offended the French government.

Soon after Jasper, Henry and their party left Rouen for Harfleur. As they journeyed they were intercepted by John Morgan, who was sent by Henry's mother, Margaret. Margaret came with good news as they could confirm that both John Savage, Lord Stanley's nephew, and Rhys ap Thomas were preparing to lend

their aid and would be 'strong supporters' of the Tudor cause. Henry also heard that Reginald Bray had managed to collect a sum of money which would be handed over to Henry on his arrival in Wales so that he could pay his men. He also brought the message that Henry should head for Wales as soon as possible.

Henry was delighted by the news and realized that any further delay would increase his supporters' uncertainties. It was now time to finalize the strategy for the invasion.

Because of the assurances of assistance and partly because of Henry's Welsh origin, but without question

mostly because of Jasper's roots and past authority there, it was decided to land in Wales.

Many of Jasper's supporters in Wales were aware of their hero's imminent arrival and awaited his approach to the land of his fathers, in several poems Jasper is called upon to put an end to the Yorkist claim to the throne.

A large group of Scots, Englishmen and an even larger group of French troops under the command of the nobleman Philibert de Chandée, gathered at Harfleur. After fourteen long years of waiting, the Tudor's exile had finally come to an end.

The Road to Bosworth

On 1 August 1485 Henry Tudor, along with his uncle Jasper and around 4,000 supporters who had been in exile in Brittany and France, left the harbour of Harfleur with their armada of around thirty ships. They had just one aim, to claim the English throne from Richard III.

Without encountering any obstacles at sea, they arrived safely on 7 August at Mill Bay, close to Milford Haven along the rocky Pembrokeshire coastline.

Preparations had been going on for their arrival and amongst those waiting on the shore was Jasper's half-brother, Henry's uncle, the 26-year-old David Owen, illegitimate son of Owen Tudor who had spent the first years of his life with Henry at Pembroke Castle.

Henry's mixed sense of relief and anxiety was obvious. He then *'kissed the ground meekly, and reverently made the sign of the cross upon him'*. Soon after their landing Henry decided to knight eight of his foremost followers – including his uncles David Owen and John, Lord Welles.

At the break of dawn on their first morning in Wales, Henry, Jasper and

his troops started their march. In two weeks' time they would march all the way through Wales to Bosworth, being joined by more and more followers along the way, including Sir Rhys ap Thomas, which made his force swell to at least double the size of his arrival at Mill Bay.

Richard was also determined to raise troops. For Henry this entire experience must have been a concern as he did not know how many people he could gather and if they would be strong enough to withstand the loyalists forces. For Richard, the waiting was now over and he may have felt a sense of relief in the thought that the final hour come where he could crush Henry Tudor. Richard was a born soldier and probably felt in his element with the arrangements now being made to defeat his enemy. His plan was to collect his northern allies, including the Percys, and hopefully the Stanleys and John Howard, Duke of Norfolk.

On the morning of 20 August, Henry, as arranged by his stepfather, entered the city of Lichfield. It was only now that Richard III learned how close

his rival was and immediately left for Leicester to hinder Henry's direct way into London.

It is said that King Richard somehow had struggled to find peace in sleep the

night before the battle. The following morning he spoke of how he'd had 'a terrible dream' where 'he was surrounded by evil demons, who did not let him rest'. Did Richard know what was about to come?

DEBRA BAYANI

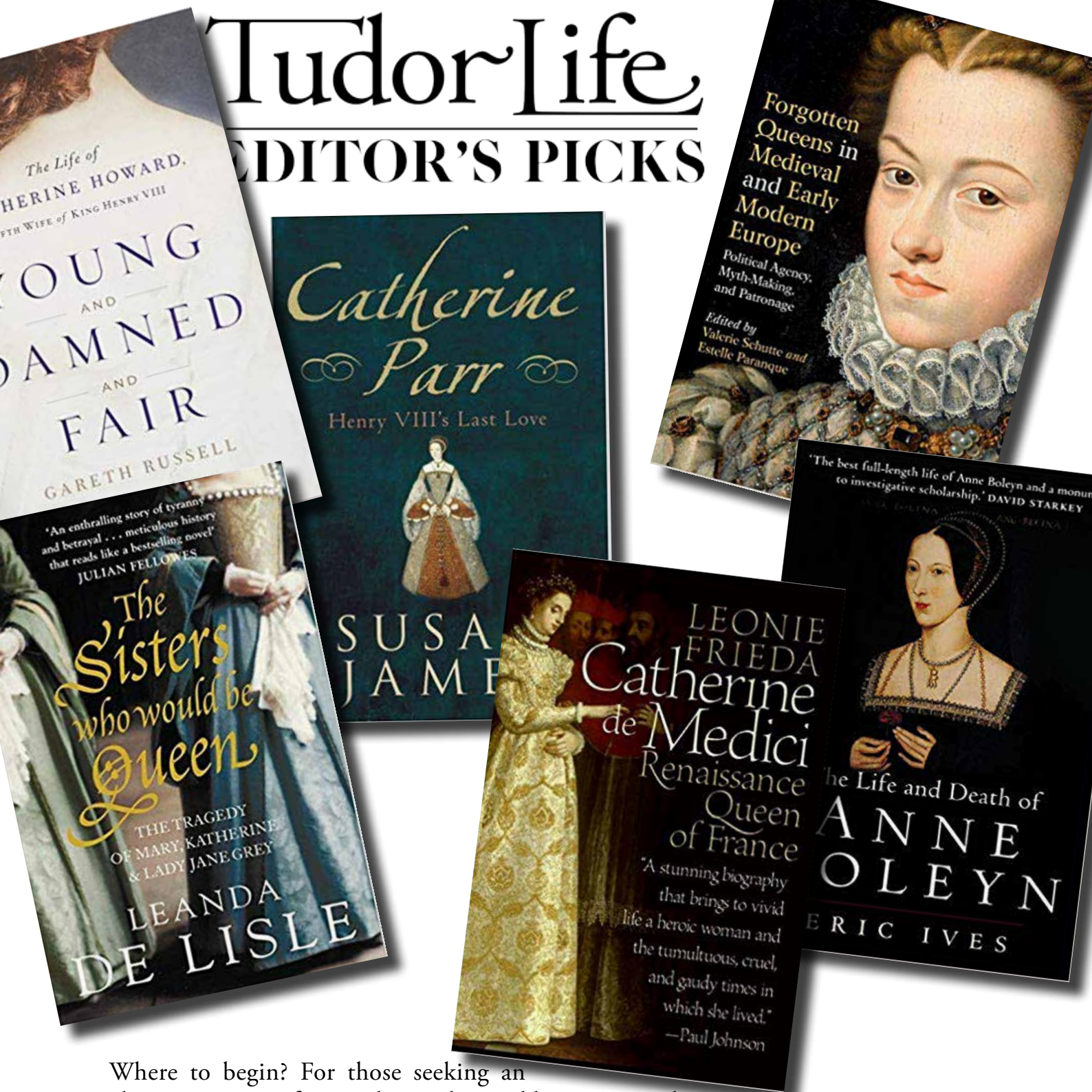
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Pembroke Castle

Tudor Life

EDITOR'S PICKS




Where to begin? For those seeking an academic overview of queenship, I thoroughly recommend the new anthology of essays edited by Drs Estelle Paranque and Valerie Schutte, “Forgotten Queens in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Political Agency, Myth-Making and Patronage”.

For those looking for biographies of individual queens that integrate modern theories about Tudor queenship into the narrative, my own on Catherine Howard attempted to do that, although I can’t say whether it’s any good or not. It’s an awkward moment for an editor’s recommendations. However, I can confidently say that Susan E. James’s life of Katherine Parr and Eric Ives’s on Anne Boleyn did so brilliantly. For what Tudor concepts of queenship did to the country’s queens regnant, Leanda de Lisle’s “The Sisters who would be Queen” is exquisite. If you want a look at its impact on foreign queens, Leonie Frieda’s “Catherine de Medici” is a jewel of a book.

In terms of fiction, there are of course a legion on Tudor queens. Margaret George’s “Elizabeth I” and Janet Wertman’s “Jane the Quene” are thoroughly enjoyable.

THE TUDOR SOCIETY



MEMBERS' BULLETIN

Another month has flown by in the world of Tudor history. It's Paper Quarterly month so if you're reading this bulletin on paper or online, thank you for your support of the Tudor Society. It's through your support that we're able to pay the contributors to the magazine and the experts who come to speak to the society each month.

We're always lookout for news and events related to the Tudors, so if you work at a historical attraction, or if you're involved in any events such as renaissance fairs, please do let us know so that we can tell others about it.

I'm thrilled that we had such a great response to our call out for "member spotlight" articles, but there's always room for more, so please send in any ideas or articles, photos and so on so that we can share them with other members.

Now on to a technical issue - a few weeks ago PayPal changed the way they deal with subscription modifications. As a result, if you want to upgrade or downgrade your membership please send me an email and I'll let you know the easiest way to deal with it. For now this is an evolving and changing situation.

On with the Tudor fun!

Tim Ridgway

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Queens and Consorts

Tricky Wordsearch Quiz

The Tudor period is unusual in many ways, and its queens are not an exception. Not only did this period give us the first ever Queen ruling in her own right in the person of Jane Grey, followed (very) closely by her cousins Mary and Elizabeth, the record number of Queen Consorts for a reigning Monarch was set with Henry VIII's rather unique marital history.

Answer the questions on each of the Tudor Queens (right), and then fit the answers into the wordsearch (above) – good luck!

ELIZABETH OF YORK

Christian name of her uncle that she was rumoured to have had an affair with (7)

Christian name of her eldest child (6)

Her maternal grandmother was _____ of Luxemburg (9)

CATHERINE OF ARAGON

Daughter of _____ of Castile (8)

Place of Death _____ House (9)

Her sister was commonly known as 'Joanna the _____' (3)

ANNE BOLEYN

Archbishop who crowned her was Thomas _____ (7)

6th Earl of Northumberland, betrothed to Anne before she caught Henry's eye, Henry _____ (5)

Marquess peerage created for Anne by Henry prior to their marriage (8)

JANE SEYMOUR

Fever which Jane was believed to have died from (9)

Christian name of her brother who was regent to her son, Edward VI (6)

Location of death _____ Court Palace (7)

ANNE OF CLEVES

City of Anne and Henry's disastrous first encounter (9)

The relation Anne became to Henry after their divorce (6)

Her place of death was _____ Manor (7)

CATHERINE HOWARD

Christian name of her mother (5)

Surname of Catherine's music teacher with whom she had a romantic relationship (5)

Lady who helped Catherine conduct her secret relationship with Thomas Culpepper (8)

KATHERINE PARR

Katherine's resting place is _____ Castle (7)

Christian name of Katherine's daughter (4)

Surname of her fourth and final spouse (7)

JANE GREY

The seat of the Grey family, _____ House (8)

Surname of Jane's maternal grandfather (7)

Her father-in-law's house, where Jane was taken to be told she was queen (4)

MARY TUDOR

Christian name of her cousin, the Holy Roman Emperor (6)

Christian name of her Spanish husband (6)

Palace where Mary was born (9)

ELIZABETH TUDOR

Disease she contracted in 1562 (8)

Affectionate name given by Elizabeth to Francis, Duke of Anjou (4)

House where Elizabeth found out that she was queen (8)



Member Spotlight

THE MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS VISITOR CENTRE

Member Emma Casson is 18 years old and from the Netherlands. She is a student at college where she studying journalism. Since she was young she has had a fascination with the Tudors and Mary Queen of Scots in particular. Her dream is to write articles about history and all that it has to offer. Last year she visited the Mary, Queen of Scots visitor centre.

October 1566. Mary is on her way from Jedburgh, where she attended a local court hearing, to Hermitage castle. The earl of Bothwell has been ambushed a week prior and is badly injured. He is staying in Hermitage castle to recover from his injuries. Mary only visited him for two hours before returning to Jedburgh. This is no easy journey as it is 50 miles on horseback and Mary gave birth to her son James only four months ago. That is when trouble began. The queen fell terribly ill and it was thought she would not survive.

Last summer I visited the Mary Queen of Scots visitor centre in Jedburgh. This is the place where Mary stayed for almost an entire month during her illness and fortunate recovery. Coming to this place was not the simplest. My parents and I were on holiday in Scotland and took the only motorway there is to go to Jedburgh. I was desperate to see this house where Mary had been all these years ago. A burning car which closed down the road almost stopped us from going, but I simply had to go. After a two hour delay we arrived at the visitor centre which stands on Queen street.



The air was warm and dry as I walked up to the gate. You wouldn't spot it at first as the house is in the middle of a neighbourhood. But as I walked down the street where I was told to go I found a sign on a gate which said 'Mary Queen of Scots visitor centre'. I have finally made it! As the weather on this summer day in July was so lovely, we first explored the garden. A fair size for quite a small house.





Member Spotlight

Most of the garden exists of green grass and a pathway which is surrounded by the most colourful flowers. The pathway leads to a small area where the base of a large Christian high cross, also known as 'Jedburgh's Rock Of Ages', stands. I have been told that a dry day in Scotland is rare, so I was really lucky that I got to see this garden in all it's glory.

Standing in that garden and looking at the beautiful architecture of the house, I was thinking about Mary back in 1566 and how she suffered. Although she was rarely in a healthy condition, this was where she almost died. It is said that she endured sharp abdominal pain, repeatedly lost consciousness, vomited blood and lost her sight and hearing. What could have caused all of this though? Perhaps a ruptured gastric ulcer like some people think, but there are also other causes possible for these symptoms. I can't imagine how she must have felt at the time. Maybe she

thought she was dying and leaving her only a few months old son behind with her bad tempered husband Darnley to possibly inherit the Scottish throne.

Speaking of Darnley, he came by for a short overnight visit and then left to visit family in Glasgow. Not what you would expect of a husband when his wife is almost dying, although this is Darnley we are talking about.

After all this thinking and really taking my time to stand still and simply just look around, we went inside to actually visit the place itself. The first thing you see when you come inside is the shop where any Tudor fan would struggle to not buy at least two books and a mug as a souvenir. A small staircase goes up to the first floor where you find a room with a large table and a tapestry which is said to have been in the house when Mary visited. Each floor stands for a time in Mary's life.





Member Spotlight

The first floor are her young years as a queen and the people around her, the second floor is about Mary's visit to Jedburgh, the third are her downfall and final hours and the top floor is all about her legacy.

The first thing I noticed as I entered the so called banqueting hall, was the fact that there was hardly anyone there. In the corner of the room was a small door that leads to a gallery. On the wall paintings of Mary's husbands, the four Marys' and other people. If these pictures are a true likeness I wonder, because all the Marys' had the same face with different hair colours and a different dress. The next room is Mary's bedroom. The actual room she stayed in during her time here. It is a small room, the walls are white and except for a fireplace, canon and a sign which explains the reason for her being here, there is not much to see.

It was the third floor that almost brought tears to my eyes. In a long room they put up signs that take you through Mary's downfall and what lead to her execution. Reading the last letter that she sent to the brother of her first husband, the king of France, was so emotional. You almost feel her sadness and although I believe she was a very brave woman, reading this letter made me feel afraid for her. In that same room as the letter lies one of the four death masks. This is very special one though, as it has been painted. I think most people have some sort of idea of what somebody of the past looked like. Seeing what they actually looked like according to the mask is so very strange. I don't know what I thought she would look like, but as I have read online and heard in documentaries, she must have been a very beautiful woman. This death mask only confirms that.

How did Mary's visit to Jedburgh end? Luckily her French physician Charles Nau



knew of a therapy where the patients legs, arms and big toes get tightly bandaged. This obviously saved her life.

Leaving the Mary Queen of Scots visitor centre there was only one thing left to do. In the corner of the gift shop stood a little wooden castle for donations with the question if you would support Mary on her journey to become the queen of both Scotland and England. The idea

is that you put a coin in the slot that says yes or no. I thought for a short while, but put the coin in the yes slot. The sound of triumph rang through the room, a sound Mary would unfortunately never hear. But we all know what her legacy is.

- » The original death mask was made in 1587 after her execution. It is made of wax and not painted like replica's. The mask is owned by the Hamilton family, descendants of Mary.
- » The visitor centre opened in 1987, on the 400th anniversary of her death.
- » Mary wrote her final letter to King Henry the third of France at two in the morning on the 8th of February 1587, only six hours before she was executed.
- » Out of all the four Marys', Mary Seton stayed in service of queen Mary for the longest. She was her hairdresser during her imprisonment in England and only retired in 1583, because of bad health.

EMMA CASSON

Source: 'Mary was here' by Historic Scotland (the history parts)



TUDOR TIME KEEPING

A BRIEF LOOK AT THE HISTORY OF CLOCKS AND WATCHES

Recently, I was writing a piece of fiction set in the 1680s in London. The story required a group of gentlemen to meet up in a coffee-house and I wondered how they would have arranged to arrive at a particular time – say, 10 am. Did every gentleman have a watch or were there clocks visible on London streets and, if so, how accurate might these time pieces have been? Would the group have specified a time as precise as 10 o'clock but been unsurprised if members arrived an hour earlier or later, or would 'mid morning' or 'before midday' have been a more reasonable arrangement? With these possibilities in mind, I googled 'seventeenth-century watches', just for starters, and opened up a whole new field of research for myself. The coffee-house scenario hasn't progressed by a single word since but I thought I'd share

with readers some of the more interesting aspects of historical time-keeping that I've discovered.

Monastic life was regulated by a daily series of church services and cycles of prayer spaced throughout the day and night. To fit it all in and allow time for the monks to eat, sleep and work as well, it was vital to have some idea of the time. Sunrise, midday and sunset were the main reference points but in cloudy, foggy England sometimes it was hard to tell. Also, in midwinter, the hours between sunrise and sunset were fewer and it was impossible to fit in everything that had to be done during daylight. So it was that the monasteries had to create some artificial means of measuring the passage of hours that didn't rely on the sun being visible and the daily round of services could be evenly spread, beginning



The clock at Hampton Court
Photo © 2013 Tim Ridgway



Portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici, Duke of Florence and later the Grand Duke of Tuscany.
Copyright © Science museum, Science & Society Picture Library.

before sunrise and continuing after sunset, as necessary. As a result, some unknown genius invented the clock.

The earliest clocks relied on the regular dripping of water to power the mechanism but, in winter, when the clock was most vital, the water might freeze. In 1273, Norwich Cathedral in Norfolk, England, had a clock driven by weights and by 1283 St Paul's in London was employing Bartholomew the Clockmaker. At the same date, Dunstable Priory in Bedfordshire also had a clock that was unlikely to have used water power because they put it on top of the rood screen where refilling it would have been tricky. A later version of these early clocks, thought to date to 1386, is on show and still working in Salisbury Cathedral but it is not what we would expect a clock to look like. It has no clock face, no numbers nor hands. Instead, every hour the mechanism caused a bell to chime and that was all that was required. Modern experiments in recreating the mechanisms show such clocks could have been accurate to within a few minutes a day but some were notoriously badly made, losing two or three hours in every twenty-four.

One of the first brilliant clockmakers was Richard of Wallingford¹ who was chosen by his fellow monks to become Abbot of St Albans in Hertfordshire in 1326. Throughout the previous decade, Europe had suffered devastating crop failures and famine and St Albans Abbey – like everywhere else – had fallen on hard times. Richard was determined to sort out the problems and used his considerable mathematical skills to balance the books and see the abbey turned a profit, though



Man Against Flames [note, his pendant watch] by
Nicholas Hilliard (c. 1588)
Victoria & Albert Museum, London

his methods weren't always popular with the locals. To better regulate the monastery's services, he determined to build an accurate clock. Not only a mathematician and administrator, Richard was also an astronomer and practical engineer, making every cog, gear and lever for the mechanism himself. When complete, his astronomical clock had a six foot dial that was a star map of the heavens against which a pointer indicated the position of the sun – night time and cloudy weather could no longer disrupt the regular services. Like other clocks, a bell rang each passing hour but Richard's also indicated high and low tides at London Bridge, the phases of the moon and – less scientifically – the revolutions of Fortune's wheel. It was

an expensive piece and the king, Edward III, criticised Richard for spending so much money on it when the abbey church was serious state of disrepair.

However, as abbot, Richard had the full support of his fellow monks which was fortunate for him because after he went blind in one eye and caught leprosy, a visiting papal commission declared him unfit to hold the office. Lepers were usually outcast from society but the monks refused to eject him and kept him on as their abbot until his death in 1335.

Clock technology developed rapidly and as the fourteenth century progressed, mechanisms became less unwieldy. By the fifteenth century, the possibility of a household having its own time-piece seems to have become a reality for the wealthiest at least. King Henry V [r.1413-22] is thought to have had a clock that was shaped like a ship with a face and an hour hand, in a more familiar form. These mechanisms were just as precise, even though their size was much reduced and, by 1450, skilled craftsmen were developing the use of coiled springs to replace the system of dripping water or weights, which had controlled the earlier clockworks, making clocks portable. The first 'clock-watches' were made in 1510, in Nuremburg, Germany, and to judge from the Tudor portraits in which the sitter is wearing one, they swiftly became popular in England. Often globe-, egg- or drum-shaped with cut-work, inlay or enamelling, these early watches were jewellery novelties and fashion statements, rather than time-keepers. Unusual shaped clock-watches became the new 'thing': animals, fruit, flowers, stars and



A French watch of 1645 by Jacques Goullons. Met Museum New York

the skull-shaped 'death's head' watch. Worn either as pendants or brooches by men and women, the movements of the wearer played havoc with the mechanisms, causing them to lose or gain hours a day. They required winding every twelve hours at least and were without the protection of glass covers, making them subject to the vagaries of the weather, as well as every knock and jolt.²

By the mid-sixteenth century the rich liked to have a clock on show at home, as a wall clock or a cylindrical table-clock and both forms are displayed in portraiture of the period. It made a fine statement regarding their social position but it wasn't until the following century, in 1657, that the ingenious Dutch scientist and inventor, Christiaan Huygens, had the idea of using the motion of a swinging pendulum to regulate the clock

TONI MOUNT



Portrait of a Girl of the Morgan Family, Aged 17 (1620) by an unknown artist. Tredegar House, (© National Trust)
INSET: Octagonal gilt-brass and silver cased verge watch with date indicator
made by Edmund Bull in Fleetstreet, (c.1615–20), 52 x 37 mm, British Museum, 1992,0514.1

mechanism. Enclosed in a long-case, the ‘grandfather’ clock was invented and, at a stroke, telling the time became far more accurate. But a pendulum won’t help in the case of a portable watch. However, improvements were made here too, with glass covers and enclosed metal cases to protect the workings. But the next stage of watch development required an invention of quite a different kind: the pocket.

In 1660, King Charles II [r.1660-85] was restored to the throne, bringing with him a taste for all things French, including fashion. The French king, Louis XIV, had lately invented the three-piece suit: jacket, trousers and waistcoat [or vest]. Not that we would recognise it as the dapper sartorial ensemble of today. The seventeenth-century suit consisted of a flared, knee-length coat, breeches that ended just below the knee and a flared, thigh-length ‘waistcoat’. The waistcoat was a new innovation in itself but, more important for the development of the watch: it had front pockets. Pockets are useful to keep things in, handy but safe, so where better to keep a gentleman’s beautiful watch safe but convenient to consult – even if it wasn’t spot on with the correct time, a quick glance at the dial

was certain to impress – the pocket-watch was born. Fancy shapes with points and sharp edges weren’t suitable any longer as they might wear holes in the pockets. Smooth oval or round watches could still be decorative, bejewelled and filigreed and inside the lid was the perfect place for a miniature portrait of a loved one or a lock of their hair. Ladies, however, without the convenience of pockets, continued to wear their watches in the form of pendants and brooches into the twentieth century.

So to answer my original query, concerning the group of gentlemen intending to meet up in a London coffee-house in the 1680s and whether they would have arranged to arrive at a particular time, I think they could have been quite punctual. The well-made pendulum clock in a gentleman’s home would have been a pretty accurate time-keeper by that date so, having put their pocket-watches right by the clock and set out promptly, the group could well have met up at 10 o’clock. But if members arrived late and blamed their watches, or claimed they’d forgotten to wind up the clock at home, well, that’s just human nature, isn’t it?

TONI MOUNT

1. ‘Richard of Wallingford – Clockmaker and Leper, c.1292-1335’ in Michael Prestwich, *Medieval People*, [Thames & Hudson, 2014], pp.182-85.
2. If you want to read more about watches and clocks in Tudor portraits, Christine J Faraday’s paper on the subject is fully illustrated and can be viewed at <https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/285972>

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The internal view of the Wells Cathedral clock which was installed in the 14th or 15th century. It was converted to a pendulum and anchor escapement in the 17th century and the original mechanism was installed at the Science Museum in London in 1884. (Wikipedia)

TONI MOUNT



Portrait of a Lady presumed to be Anne Fettiplace, Mrs Henry Jones I (1614) by an unknown artist.
Chastleton House, Oxfordshire. (© National Trust)

TONI MOUNT



Le Gros Horloge, Rouen, Normandy. A clock whose mechanism dates back to 1389. The facade seen today was added in 1529. It represents the sun with 24 rays and measures 2.5m in diameter.

RENAISSANCE MUSIC IS EVERYTHING

This month's interview is with the exceptionally talented Tudor Era musician, Jane Moulder.

Hello Jane. Thank you so much for joining us here at the Tudor Society! First of all, just tell us a little about yourself, and about Piva? When did it start up and how did it come about?

Hello everyone, it's great to be taking part as I so love the Tudor Society and think it is a fantastic forum for all things Tudor!

My whole life now seems to be spent delving into different aspects of the Tudor period which is somewhat different from my professional career as an HR/Organisational Development manager!

For the last 20 years I have been working part-time with my partner and husband, Eric Moulder and we make reproductions of 16th century double reed woodwind instruments. The instruments are made to commission for musicians, both amateur and professional, across the world. I research and write about social history and music from the period and for a number of years I was a regular contributor to Tudor Life magazine. I also work as a historical interpreter for the National Trust and I am based at an iconic Tudor building, Little Moreton Hall. Finally, I am editor of Chanter, the journal of The Bagpipe Society.

As well as the research and making the instruments, I also play in and manage the renaissance music group, Piva. The group was formed back in 2002 by Eric with the aim of focusing on the popular dance and ballad music of the 16th century – an area which is often neglected by professional groups who tend to focus more on the polyphonic choral music of the period. Over the years we have played at many leading early music festivals and venues across the UK and we have also played in Italy, France and Germany.



An Interview

What are the origins of the name or term ‘Piva’?

When we formed, we wanted a short, snappy name for the group and it was really difficult to find something appropriate. But we eventually settled on Piva. The name originates in north east Italy where it has various meaning but they are all connected with music. A Piva can be a late 15th/early 16th century dance, the music for the dance, a small traditional shawm (an instrument that we play in the group) a reed for the shawm and it's also a northern Italian bagpipe. All in all, it's about music, dancing and having a good time and we feel that the name reflects our music, instruments and our approach.

It is also a very popular surname from that part of Italy. When we played in a town called Este (where Isabella d'Este's family originated from) we were shown a local phone directory and there were over two pages of Pivas! We even played a piva (dance) for Mr Piva, the town's mayor! The origin of Piva is “musician”, in the same way as Mr Baker was originally a baker or Mr Smith a blacksmith.

Sometime after choosing the name, we discovered some facts about a family called Bassano who had originated from Italy. We already knew that they were instrument makers, (as are three of our group) as well as players and composers, who were brought to England from Venice by Henry VIII. This family then remained in London as court musicians and instrument makers for 150 years. Some of the instruments that we make and play are based on surviving originals by the Bassanos. They called themselves “Bassano” because that is the town they originated from.



An Interview

However, we discovered that when they lived in Bassano, their family name was Piva – a remarkable concurrence!

At what age did you start to learn to play a musical instrument, and what did you begin with?

I didn't study music at school and only took it up in my early 20's and I am completely self-taught. I initially chose to learn on a recorder thinking that if school kids could play it, then so could I! It was only when I was trying to find out about the instrument and looking for a repertoire more suited to an adult than Frère Jacques and London's Burning, that I discovered that the recorder had a long and illustrious history and its heyday was in the 16th and 17th century. Thus my passion with early music started! In fact, I have never played a modern instrument and have only ever played historical models.

You must be able to play quite a number of instruments by now! What do you have in your repertoire?

Since those tentative beginnings I've grown into a renaissance music specialist playing on a wide variety of woodwind instruments – recorders, renaissance flute, dulcians (the ancestor of today's bassoon), crumhorns, rauschpfeifen, cornamusen and shawms (an early oboe) – but my favourite instrument above them all is the bagpipe. I now have 11 different sets of bagpipes and I am for ever explaining to people that the type I play are not Scottish and that the instrument dates back to the middle ages. In the Tudor period it is the instrument that ordinary people would have been most familiar with – most of the other instruments would only have been known to court and elite circles.

How many people make up Piva, and what other instruments do they play?

The group has recently expanded and we now call ourselves "Piva – the Renaissance Collective". There are eight members in the collective in total. Eric Moulder is the director and as well as arranging the music for us, he plays the same instruments as I do – various woodwinds – but his main instrument is the bass dulcian. Jude Rees, Tony Millyard and David Jarratt-Knock are also woodwind players – David also plays renaissance guitar and Tony plays the hurdy gurdy. Kate Moran is our violinist and Mary Mohan plays treble and bass viol. However, Kate and Mary also play recorders. Finally, there's An Croenen Brutsaert, our singer. Whilst there are eight of us we don't usually go out with everyone, normally five of us will perform together.

An Interview

**What sort of events do you hold or take part in.
Are you available for hire?!**

We're musicians – that means we will play anywhere people want to hear us and for anyone who is willing to pay us!! In that sense, we're no different from a Tudor musician. When we first started the group, most of our events were playing in heritage buildings where we played in period costume. However, we are now mainly a concert band performing in theatres, churches and concert halls wearing only black. We also play for private clients for parties, special events and dances. It doesn't matter where we play, we simply enjoy performing for people and sharing our music with as many people as we can.

**What are your favourite locations you have all played at,
and the events you have enjoyed the most?**

There have been many special buildings we have played in over the years and many special memories. One of the bonuses of being a musician playing in a heritage building is that we get to see behind the scenes where visitors aren't normally allowed to go. The venue that left the greatest impression on me was Acton Court, nr Bristol and we have been privileged to play there three times. This building was only "discovered" in the 1980's and what exists today is the only surviving structure of what had been a much larger complex and was built for a one night visit by Henry VIII to Sir Nicholas Poyntz. Anne Boleyn, who was escorting him, was housed in a completely separate part of the estate. The building has now been saved and has the most amazing atmosphere and it felt like a real honour to be invited to play there.

There have been very many memorable events and each is special in its own way but, for me, playing in Italy for the first time was such a joy. We played in a very old church (13th century) and it was quite a shock to discover that Italian audiences are very different from English ones. For example, concerts start much later there, so 9.00pm instead of 7.30pm – and then they rarely start on time. So the audience was still arriving and settling in up to half an hour after the published start time! Then, it seems, it is quite normal for people



Author Interview



to wander in and out during a concert and we were told not to be offended if it happened, it's just what people did! But despite all of this, we had a fantastic time and we were rapturously received.



There can't be many groups like Piva either in the UK, or the world. Would you say what you do is unusual or even quite unique?

We are not the only group performing 16th century music on period instruments – but I like to think that there are no other groups quite like Piva! We have built up an excellent reputation for our lively, engaging shows and we like to bring an energy to the music. Because all members of the group are multi-instrumentalists we have developed really interesting arrangements and we are not afraid to take risks and break a few rules! We always build a story around the music to help put it in context for the audience and, in that way, I think we are unique – it's as much about the introductions as it is the music.





So where can people hear or purchase your music? Can they buy CDs and sheet music?

We have recorded two CDs – Heigh Ho Holiday which contains music from England and Morisco! which is of Italian music. You can buy our cds directly from the Piva webshop (<https://piva.org.uk/shop/>) or you can stream it from on-line services such as Spotify or Apple Music. We are about to start recording our third CD which is another of English music and will be called The Faerie Round. You can find links to all of these plus much more about the group by visiting the website at <https://piva.org.uk/>

Eric is currently putting the finishing touches to a collection of music for the crumhorn and we will also be publishing some of Piva's musical arrangements at some point in the future. Until then, you can buy my Living History Tune Books from the Piva website.



And finally, the question I ask everyone - can you recommend your top three history books?

Crikey, that's a difficult thing to ask me to do, especially as I am sitting next to my bookshelves literally overflowing with history books (I'm something of a compulsive book buyer!). But, if you have to push me, then I would say my facsimile edition of Thomas Trevelyan's Miscellany of 1608 for it's wonderful illustrations and first hand insight into the late Tudor world, Syntagma Musicum by Michael Praetorius (1614) for its descriptions of musical practices and instruments of the period and, finally, Music and Society in Early Modern England by Christopher Marsh (2010) an immensely readable and approachable book full of thoroughly researched material on the lives of everyday musicians of the period.

Charlie Borman Books

HENRY VIII AND THE MEN WHO MADE HIM

Tracy Borman



When people think of Henry VIII they automatically think of his six wives and the impact they had on his life and he had on them. It is only in more recent years that thoughts have started to turn to the men who served him, especially the likes of Thomas Cromwell, mainly due to the portrayals of him in fiction. However, many are still not given enough credit for the impact they had on the king and have been sadly overlooked in favour of his wives. Tracy Borman argues against this practice in her latest book *Henry VIII and the Men Who Made Him* and convincingly makes a case for his men having at least as much impact, if not more, on Henry than his wives did.

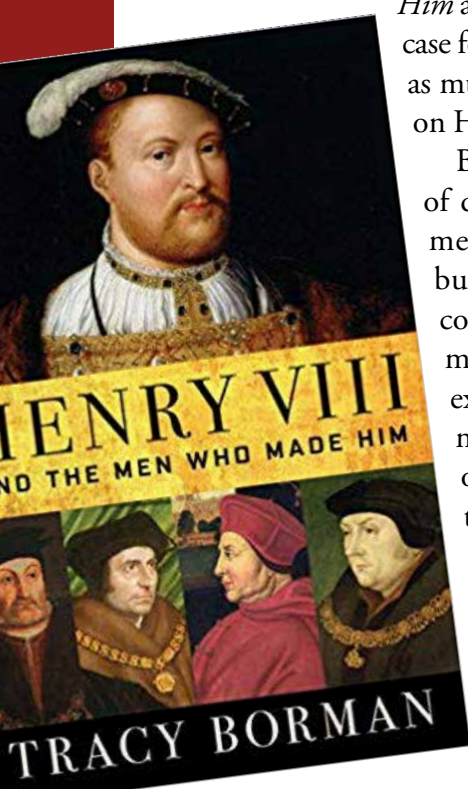
Borman delves into a lot of detail of the lives of the men who served Henry, but things never get too complicated as she always makes things clear and explains well. One of the most interesting parts of the book is when she talks about the men Henry met when he was younger who helped shape him into the man he became. Despite all of this information, the author manages to keep it interesting

and easy to read, without getting bogged down or sidetracked by the story of Henry VIII and his six wives. They are only mentioned when necessary, which makes a nice change and is no mean feat.

Although much of the story of the downfall of Thomas Cromwell is well known, Borman still manages to include some new information and theories of her own. For instance, she writes about how Henry reacted similarly with both Cromwell and Wolsey's downfall, commenting on how it echoed his *'treatment of Wolsey after his arrest eleven years earlier'* and that *'while in public he denounced Cromwell as a black-hearted villain, in private he showed some sympathy towards him'*. She goes on to explain that:

'One eyewitness noticed that the king had been 'very kind' to Cromwell's servants upon his arrest, and had taken many of them into his own service 'to save them from want'. Henry also sent some money to Cromwell in the Tower, which presumably he could use to bribe his gaolers for better food or other comforts, and urged that he keep him informed of how he was being treated. All of this was done with the utmost discretion.'

Henry VIII and the Men Who Made Him is a brilliant book about the men around the infamous king and how they had an impact on him. I would recommend it to anyone who wants to learn more about men like Charles Brandon and Stephen Gardiner, as well as the better-known names like Thomas Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell. I would also recommend it to anyone wanting to learn about Henry's childhood and his relationship with his tutors, which have not been covered as much in the past. It is an interesting and readable book by one of the country's most popular historians and one that really needs to be on everyone's bookshelves.



RIVAL QUEENS / THE BETRAYAL OF MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

Kate Williams



The relationship between the two sixteenth-century queens ruling on one isle has fascinated us over the years, with the popularity of the recently released movie on Mary Queen of Scots proving that. Elizabeth I and Mary Queen of Scots have had numerous biographies written on them, yet there have been only a few to directly compare the two in one book. Kate Williams does this in her latest book *Rival Queens: The Betrayal of Mary, Queen*

of Scots, which looks at the life of both queens up until Mary's execution.

Williams starts by briefly going over Mary of Guise's arrival in Scotland and her marriage to James V, before looking at Mary Queen of Scots' birth and the factional and religious struggles the country was facing. The format choice for her book is an interesting one, as she starts with a few chapters on Mary's early life and then goes back and does the same for Elizabeth. She does this throughout the book, which does result in some repetition but generally works well.

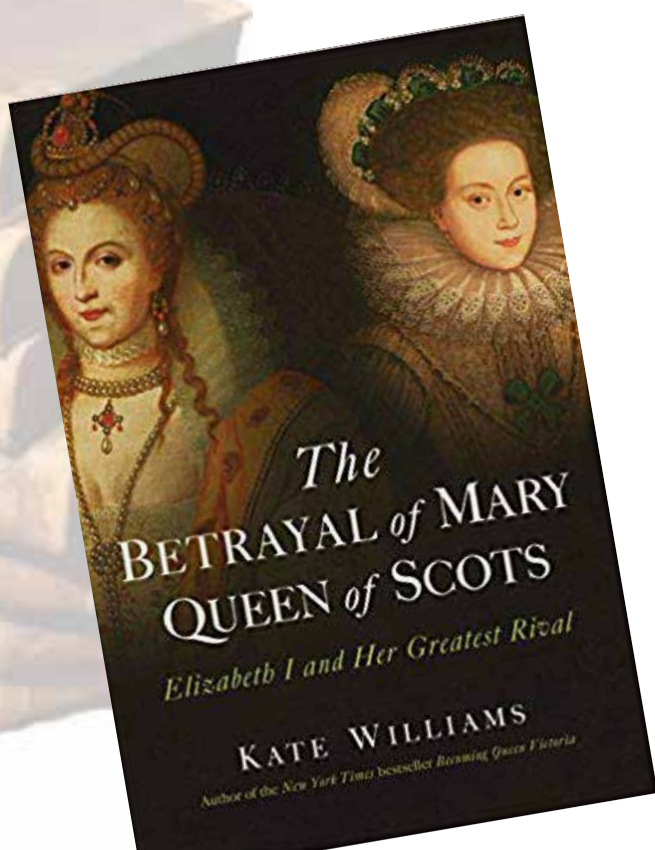
One of the most profound statements about the nature of female rule and why Elizabeth was conflicted over what to do with Mary is made by Williams when she covers Mary's flight to England:

'Elizabeth was shocked that Mary had arrived in England. Her vague promises of help had never been intended to lead to this. But, as Elizabeth knew, a bad king is simply a bad king, a rotten egg who has no bearing on all the others, but a bad queen makes all women rulers look bad. If a woman was too weak to rule Scotland, then what did it say of Elizabeth?'

This book is a good study into female rule during the sixteenth century and, by comparing the two queens directly, it shows how one learned from the other. Elizabeth saw both the benefits and drawbacks of marriage and decided not to take that risk, with Mary being a prime example of what could go wrong. Mary's mistakes made all female rulers look bad, but the same couldn't be said for when kings made mistakes.

Rival Queens is an excellent book, one that is both accessible and fascinating at the same time. However, readers should be warned that this book is somewhat biased in Mary's favour, as the subtitle *'The Betrayal of Mary, Queen of Scots'* implies. This bias stops it from being a 5-star book, but it is still very well written and engaging. Some readers may not agree with a few of the theories presented, but Williams makes a convincing case for them either way. If you are reading this book hoping for something new, you will be disappointed, but if you are looking for a good, solid dual biography on the two queens then this is perfect.

CHARLIE FENTON





WENDY J. DUNN ON WRITING

Walking the walk with historical characters

Setting is one of the main elements of a story. Setting shapes characters, evokes environment and immerses the reader into the imagined world constructed by the writer. Setting must be successful for a novel to succeed. Historical fiction writers construct settings through researching time and place – and then through the prism of imagination. Despite the passing of hundreds of years and locations almost unrecognisable from what they were in the past, it is not uncommon for writers to visit places important in the lives of their historical characters.

How important is this kind of research? In 2007, I travelled from my home in Melbourne, Australia to England and Spain to “walk the walk” with the historical personages in my Tudor fictional work in progress. This paper explores the power of setting through investigating the practice of other historical fiction writers as well as revisiting the day I spent

walking from the Tower of London to Westminster, along the coronation route of Katherine of Aragon and Henry VIII.

Our past is situated elsewhere...

I begin this article with an event that brought home to me the erasure of setting. On February 7, 2009, my home state of Victoria suffered the worst bush fires in Australia’s recorded history. Black Saturday we call it now. That Saturday, driven to distraction and increasing dismay by unending news reports about the fires raging all over our summer scorched state, my sister and I headed to a lookout, thirty minutes from where we now live, to gaze at the burning hills of Kinglake. We knew what we saw would change those beloved hills forever, and construct a different setting to that of our growing up years. From a safe distance, we watched the place of our early history go up in smoke.

Kinglake is very altered now. Fire devoured huge areas of bush-

land, fuelled by the eucalyptus oil found in gum trees. Visiting Kinglake not long after Black Saturday, we saw crews with chainsaws cutting down fire-ravaged gums, marked as too dangerous and too far-gone for survival. Many more gumtrees were chopped down later because locals viewed them through fear. A symbol of lost lives and livelihoods, trees – to many in the Kinglake community – represent the possibility of future bushfires and further tragedy.

Now I wonder how my grandchildren will see Kinglake, the setting that nurtured and enriched me, widening the doors to my imagination. Kinglake gave me the space and periods of isolation necessary for the start of my writerly journey. Will my grandchildren understand the importance of this setting to me, and how it helped construct my writerly identity, as observed by Barthes. What they will see and hear will not be what I saw and heard as a teenager walking along rough, dirt tracks shaded by upright, sky reaching

gumtrees. Only my memory can paint in my mind the Kinglake of my youth and recall the times I stilled to listen to the distant rush of the wind as it travelled through densely treed bushland to my home. The wind's voice soon became a roar, an engine drone that bowed the heads of trees in reverence as it passed. In a rural landscape where human habitation was measured by distance, I can only construct this setting through a personal, textual prism that remembers my past. The daydream necessary to writing practice returns my history to me. But surely to dream of your past also acknowledges the erasure of time?

"Such dreams unsettle our daydreaming and we reach a point where we begin to doubt that we ever lived where we lived. Our past is situated elsewhere, and both time and place are impregnated with a sense of unreality. It is as though we sojourned in a limbo of being" (Bachelard 1964, pp 57-58).

It is true. The past is situated elsewhere – even more for the historical personages who stride the stage of our storytelling. "The past is another country; they do things differently there," L.P. Hartley once wrote, setting the stage for *The Go Between* (Hartley and Brooks-Davies 1997, p.5). For fiction writers, how useful is researching setting by visiting places in the now to evoke the past? I explore this question by revisiting the time when I walked with a friend and fellow Anne Boleyn devotee along the coronation

route of Katherine of Aragon and also by drawing upon the practice of other historical writers.

Evoking the past..

I am an Australian who writes about the Tudor period – my imagination prefers to situate there. Perhaps this is because of my English father, who grew up during World War II in the slums of the Isle of Dogs. My father had a great love of history. His bedtime stories conjured up the past, firing up my own love of history early in my life. Ironically, I discovered years afterwards a possible Tudor connection to The Isle of Dogs – Henry VIII may have kept his hunting dogs there (The Isle of Dogs 1994).

The first draft of my Tudor novel, *Dear Heart, How Like You This?* (Dunn 2004) was written without ever visiting England, other than through constructing a sense of place and time by listening to my father's stories and memories. A sense of place and time was also built through years of reading books set in an England of a far earlier time. With my interest in the Tudors, it is not surprising that much of my youthful reading was fiction envisioning that period. Nowadays, when I construct my own Tudor fictional works, the bulk of my reading concentrates on historiographical works to help unpack this period. I agree with Linda Hutcheon, who writes,

"The process of making stories out of chronicles, of constructing plots out of sequences, is what postmodern fiction

underlines. This does not in any way deny the existence of the past real, but it focuses attention on the act of imposing order on that past, of encoding strategies of meaning-making through representation (2004, p. 63).

My first visit to England altered my view of researching world building simply through books. What I discovered then showed the importance of walking the walk with my characters. Describing this type of research, Sandra Worth writes, "My next book is set in Byzantium. I visited Istanbul, the former Constantinople. There's nothing left of the fabled Greek and Roman world that once existed there on those hillsides, but my mind erased the continuum of flat-roofed apartment buildings and replaced them with orchards and trees, and the golden crosses of the churches and monasteries that used to stand there. I "saw" Constantinople the way it had been" (Worth, S., 2011, interview, 2 March).

Stephanie Cowell speaks of this seeing, too. "In the old City of London almost all the original churches and buildings are gone due to the Great Fire and the Blitz, but there are still those narrow crooked streets with the enchanting names: Fishmongers' Lane, Aldermanbury, Love Lane. I see the old city but my husband who comes with me only sees the tall financial buildings and is puzzled by my rapture" (Cowell, S., 2011, interview, 2 March). Her rapture does not puzzle me; I understand it entirely. This understanding left me determined to "walk the walk

of my characters” as part of the research for my second novel, the first planned for a trilogy imagining the life of Katherine of Aragon.

Are we there yet?

Prior to leaving Australia with my then eleven-year-old son for England in 2007, one of my cyber friends who knew of my research plans offered to take me along the coronation route of Katherine of Aragon. Walking along this route opened my mind to Katherine and her world in ways I never expected. The day I met with my friend Valerie was also my last full day in England. I have always been fortunate to be blessed with days of beautiful weather in England (Scotland is another story!), but it was overcast when I joined Valerie outside the Tower at 10am. From morning to afternoon we were spattered with rain, but that didn't decrease our resolve to reach Westminster Abbey before 5pm. From the Tower of London, we followed Katherine's journey to Westminster trailing the Thames; not the Thames we know today, but the river's course in Tudor times. With Valerie's provided map in hand, we walked together,

Valerie often stopping to point out to me where the river once flowed. I saw the evidence for myself when I peered down at the old Whitehall palace's waterfront steps. The present day Thames glimmered in the distance from the palace and their long obsolete water steps. Later, I drew from this memory for my then work in progress and PhD artefact, *The Light in the Labyrinth*:

Pondering her cousin's words, Kate turned to the window and peered down at the tidal Thames. Driven by the winter wind, the river frothed and tossed around the royal barges. Even from where they sat she heard the wind, a raging giant buffeting its fury upon the palace's walls, holding them at siege. How it howled with frustration beating all its power on stonewalls keeping them safe. She gazed back at Madge. "They come here? In the queen's own chambers? It is that wise? Surely the queen risks bringing upon herself the king's anger?" (Dunn 2011).

On our list of settings was Baynard's Castle. Henry VIII gave this castle to Katherine of Aragon on their marriage. She had originally stayed there as a young princess, recently arrived in England, before the pomp and ceremony of her first wedding to Prince Arthur, Henry VII's eldest son and heir. His early death started Katherine on a long, rocky road before she married his younger brother Henry shortly after his accession to the English throne.

This important castle to the Tudors met its end during the great fire of London in 1666; nothing remains of it except what is conveyed by walking the confines of Baynard's Castle Ward. This gives a sense of the castle's size and placement.

Valerie, a proud and very knowledgeable Londoner, pointed out to me the layout of the castle and its surrounds. As I listened it seemed the modern buildings disappeared. I saw before me

the stronghold, its open grounds, the nearby Blackfriars Priory, also now gone – I imagined the view the inhabitants of these settings would have had of the Thames. I imagined, on a footpath cut through flower adorned meadows, Katherine of Aragon walking with her women to visit the monks at the priory in spring. I soaked in the heady atmosphere of place that took me from the now to the past. Again, from *The Light in the Labyrinth*:

The air was still – with just a hint of breath now and then. Tall, kingly oaks pressed against the lightening sky, their dark forms and branches tinged and delineated by the rising sun. All around her, birds twittered in excitement, knowing the new day was now beginning in earnest. Pulling across her mantle tighter against the chill of morning, Kate gazed at the horizon brushed an apricot pink. A lark began its song, and then another joined in until it seemed she walked through a chorus of hymn. Several rabbits remained unmoving on the grass, as if waiting for the sun, as if in homage to the new day. Kate looked back up at the blushing sky and – lighter and lighter with each passing second. By the time they reached the wild meadow that grew between the queen's garden and Blackfriars Priory, daybreak had truly broken and the sun rose in the sky. From a distance, Kate could see Francis leaning against a young oak tree, with a hand behind his back. He seemed deep in thought, but then he looked up and saw her. Relief apparent in his face, he

stood away from the tree and began to stride towards her. With a glance at his approaching master, the servant bowed to Kate and said he would wait for her in the queen's garden.

The long grass whipped against Kate's gown and the wind caressed her face. Blinking against the bright morning sun, she looked towards Francis. The sunlight lit Francis up from behind, so much so she could not see his features. Then he came closer and she saw he held in his hand a posy of flowers – their gay colours, purple, blues, yellows and reds, blazed against the black velvet of Francis's doublet. She looked around her and realised he must have picked many from the wild flowers growing in the meadow (Dunn 2012).

Continuing our journey, one hour from the Tower of London I turned to Valerie. "When should we arrive at Westminster?" I asked her. "Quite a bit to go," she replied, striding ahead.

Following close behind, I felt at a loss. I remembered the description of Edward Hall, who wrote *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrious Families of Lancaster*, a chronicle of the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII published in 1548.

[T]he noble prince with his queen left the palace for Westminster Abbey at the appointed hour. The barons of the Cinq Ports held canopies over the royal couple who trod on striped cloth of ray, which was immediately cut up by the crowd when they had entered the abbey (Hanson 2004)

"They walked all the way?" I questioned Valerie. Researching Katherine of Aragon's coronation, I gained the impression through Hall's account that the royal couple, protected by canopies, had trod their merry way from the Tower of London to Westminster, walking the route on the striped cloth of ray.

Valerie looked blankly at me. "Of course not! Royalty either rode or were carried in Litters."

At home, my imagination was often shaped by interpreting the reading I did for research. I prided myself that I sought out primary materials for my fictional world building. But I have never been good at reading maps or working out distances. Now I discovered two things: Westminster was not close to the Tower of London and that I would not have discovered this by constructing my world building through books.

Author Pauline Montagna speaks strongly on this subject. "You cannot understand how your characters thought and felt until you've been in their environment. No book or film can convey the beauty of Tuscany, the effect it has on your very soul. My series on Rome was to end with Lars Porsena lifting his siege on Rome and withdrawing to Etruria. He could have taken Rome if he had had the will, but instead he withdrew. I had attributed this to his need to return to Clusium because of war in Etruria. It wasn't until I visited his hometown, then called Clusium, now Chiusi, that I really understood why he would really want to go home. It would

be because he's just plain homesick. I know, because I fell in love with Chiusi the moment I saw it" (Montagna, P., 2011, interview, 1 March). Umberto Eco also speaks on this subject:

"For The name of the Rose, I drew hundreds of labyrinths and plans of abbeys, basing mine on other drawings and on places I visited because I needed everything to work well, I needed to know how long it would take two characters in conversation to go from one place to another. And this also dictated the length of the dialogues. If in a novel I had to write, 'while the train stopped at Modena station, he quickly got out and bought the newspaper,' I could not do so unless I have been to Modena and had checked whether the train stops there long enough, and how far the newspaper stand is from the platform" (Eco 2005, p. 314).

By 5pm Valerie and I were across the road from Westminster. Making a few Tudor detours and a stop at the London Museum on the way, we had walked for hours. Time had run out for me to see the interior of Westminster Abbey. I had to get back to my English relations and take them out for a thank you dinner. I hailed a cab, kissed Valerie goodbye, expressing my gratitude for a wonderful day. Framed in my memory is my last sight of her, waving, getting smaller and smaller as the cab headed towards a London train station.

I had just lived through one of the most valuable research experiences of my life.

How important is “Walking the Walk with Historical characters” for fiction writers?

I asked four historical fiction authors how important was it to “Walk the walk” with their historical characters. While I acknowledge other writers might answer this question differently, all my four authors regarded this kind of research as pivotal to the construction of their historical narratives.

For myself, I am grateful that my first published novel took years to find a publisher because the passing of time offered the opportunity to visit England and places important to my storytelling. During this first taste of “walking with my characters,” to my dismay, I discovered my imagination failed to comprehend the actuality and dominance of setting. “Landscape is character,” Henry James once wrote (cited by Butler and Burroway, p15). Visiting settings in the now underlined that landscape indeed possesses its own entity.

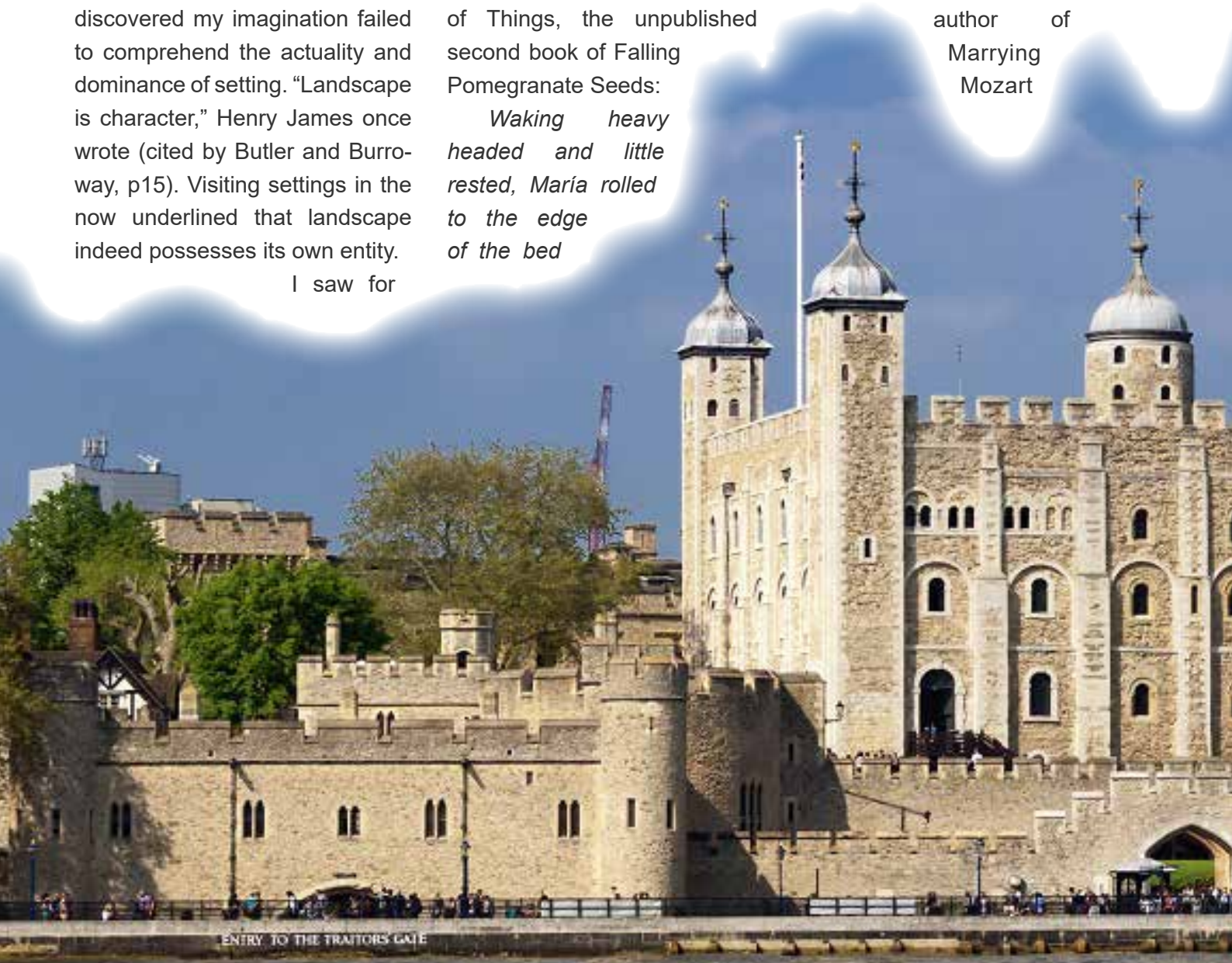
I saw for

myself why the English sky is often described eggshell blue, and the reality of William Blake’s “England’s green and pleasant land”. I sat under the shade of majestic oak trees and watched my children play in gardens garlanded with every colour imaginable. In the mornings, I woke to birdsong far sweeter than the more vocal, competitive songs albeit still beautiful songs of Australian birds. I climbed narrow, spiral staircases and imagined how difficult it must have been for women of the period in their long, heavy gowns. On the coast of England, I shivered for hours trying to sleep during a night that drove home a cold that went straight to my bones, and my imagination. From All Manner of Things, the unpublished second book of Falling Pomegranate Seeds:

*Waking heavy
headed and little
rested, María rolled
to the edge
of the bed*

and gazed with envy at Catalina, still fast asleep. Settling back onto her pillow, she listened for a time to the rain pelting the tile roof and windows like small stones, a noise which had infiltrated and disturbed her dreams. She flung off the thick layers of fur covers, swung around, careful to not wake Catalina. “Holy Mother of God,” she gasped, all her good intentions forgotten. Every new morning the freezing air assaulted her, knifing her without mercy to her bones. She grabbed her fur gown from the end of the bed and hurriedly tossed it over her shoulders, clasping it to cover her thin night rail. Catalina stirred, sighed, but slumbered on (Dunn 2019).

Stephanie Cowell,
author of
Marrying
Mozart



and Claude and Camille, says this about the worth of researching historical settings in the now, “You can’t feel what it is like to walk through certain rooms, or uphill, or how the wind smells, or how the stones feel through books. It is amazing to say of your character, “He stood here!” (Cowell, S., 2011, interview, 2 March)

Likewise, author Sandra Worth, writes, “Historical figures are just names in a book until I visit the places that gave birth to them. Then they come to life for me.” She also powerfully says, “It makes the past real. I see what they saw - the air, the weather, the topography. I “feel” the place. I remember when I was writing about John Neville, Lord Montagu, brother of Warwick the King-maker. I went to Bamborough Castle, and stood at the window in the munitions room, looking out at the North Sea. The

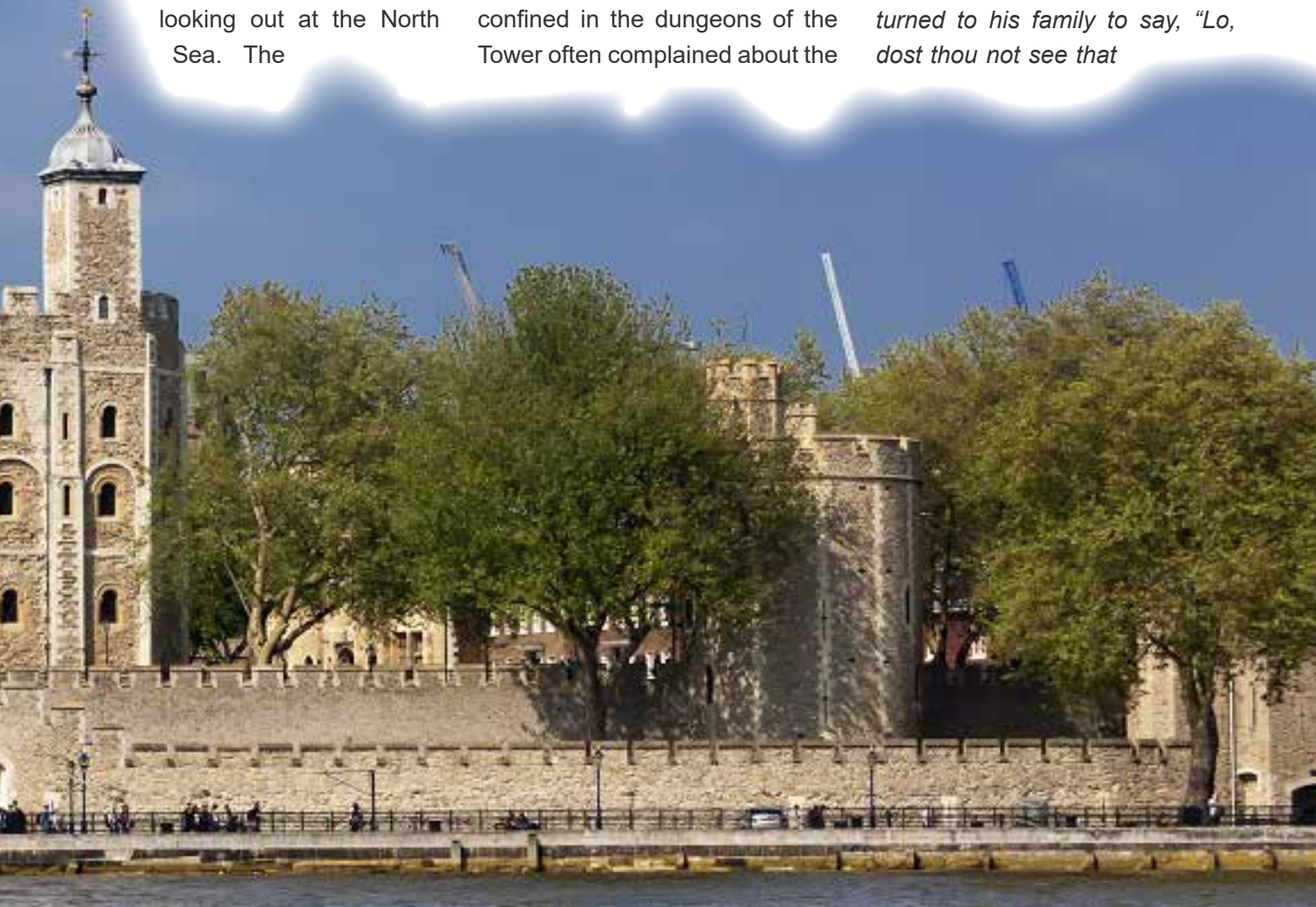
room is the only original part of the castle left, and the window is a narrow protrusion. I stood there, and knew I was seeing what John saw five hundred years ago, and when I leaned my hand against the stone wall, I had the sensation that John Neville had done that many times when he was constable of the castle. It was a strange connection I felt with him at that moment” (Worth, S., 2011, interview, 2 March).

Worth’s experience is similar to mine when I visited the Tower of London in 2007. Standing in the dimly lit, larger than expected chamber that saw out the last days of Sir Thomas More, I could not resist resting my hands upon the walls, imagining Sir Thomas doing likewise. On that spring day in 2007, I felt thankful I wore a woollen cardigan that protected me against chilling drafts. Those confined in the dungeons of the Tower often complained about the

cold, and now I began to appreciate why. How harsh, I thought, it must have been to live here in winter.

Looking around the chamber, my imagination went into full play. I daydreamed of Alice, the wife of Thomas More, wringing her hands, as she tried to make her husband bow to the winds of change.

“What the good year, Mr. More,” quoth she, “I marvel that you, that have been always hitherunto taken for so wise a man, will now so play the fool to lie here in this close filthy prison, and be content to be shut up among mice and rats, when you might be abroad at your liberty” (Sylvester, Harding et al. 1962, p. 243). Approaching the window of his chamber, I recalled More had watched the monks of the Charterhouse going to their death and turned to his family to say, “Lo, dost thou not see that



these blessed fathers be now as cheerful going to their deaths, as bridegrooms to their marriages?" (Sylvester, Harding et al. 1962, p. 242).

My recollection of this time would one day go on to influence the construction of a scene for *The Light in the Labyrinth*:

Cold fingers of air poked Kate's back, her bladder tingled and twinged. Shivering, she gathered her shawl over her shift and turned towards the darkness that hid the bed and the clothes coffer. Should she get her woollen cloak? Within the circle of light was Aunt Nan's workbasket. Draped over one side was the sleeve of a child's night shift. Aunt Nan had finished it tonight, putting the last touches to the beautiful scarlet—work that embroidered the edges of sleeves, neck, and hem. Reminded of her little cousin, Kate murmured without thinking, "Do you think they'll tell Bess?"

Aunt Nan jerked and then cried out in agony—a primeval cry that caused Kate's heart to thump harder against her chest. Men forced to watch their entrails burnt before their eyes—did they cry out like her aunt? Cry out so the very stones would hear and remember forever? (Dunn 2014).

Like Worth and Cowell, for me the force of setting was emphasised by visiting places crucial to my storytelling. I also discovered, "Space that has been seized upon by the imagination cannot remain indifferent space subject to the measures and estimates of the surveyor. It has been lived in, not in its positivity, but with all the

partiality of the imagination" (Bachelard and Jolas 1994, p.xxxvi).

Arriving at a Conclusion

All of us gain a sense of setting through a compost of life experiences (Greene cited by Butler and Burroway 2005, p. 23), through our own humanity and learnt empathy, through the books we read, through period paintings we study to gain a sense of our characters, through movies that bring the past alive for us. Writers dig deep into this compost for their storytelling.

Time changes – this is immutable, indeed, set in stone. Author Pauline Montagna, who, like me, grounds her historical fiction in historiography, striving to tell a story through known facts and historical context, says this about the value and worth of researching locations changed by time, "[N]ovelists have to be careful to take this into account. I daresay we can all recall instances of anachronisms that result from writers imagining that as they see things now, so have they always been" (Montagna, P., 2011, interview, March). James Thom also stresses this, "Places... change over the centuries, and it's sometimes necessary to research in old accounts to see what the terrain, native flora and fauna, were like in the earlier times, because I try to recreate not just the happenings of history, but the world in which they took place. Most Americans, for example, think the great Ohio River has always been deep and wide, because they've seen it only since the locks and dams

were built. In dry seasons before then, you could wade across it. That can determine a historical outcome" (Thom, J., 2011, interview, March). Researching the period, James Alexander Thom speaks of this as "a responsibility to history itself" (2010, p. 44), aids historical writers to achieve verisimilitude in their work, and to take their reader back then.

Yet, despite the change of time, I believe the past and future can be detected in the now – by a writer's perceptive daydream, for, "The values that belong to daydreaming mark humanity in its depths"(Bachelard and Jolas, p. 6). Margaret Atwood adds to this: "Where is the story? The story is in the dark.

That is why inspiration is thought of as coming in flashes. Going into the narrative – into the narrative process – is a dark road" (Atwood 2002, p. 176). Historical fiction brings alive the past and its people, who were once alive in fact. Walking with characters is itself a methodology for writers. It allows them to soak in settings (Novakovich 1995, p. 25) and provides space for thinking and reflecting, which leads to daydream and the process of imagination.

Visiting important settings of historical characters in the now takes writers to a deeper level of appreciation of lives lived in another time and place. It is a bridge for the writer's imagination to pass over to gain sense of the setting responsible for character. Walking the walk with historical characters is like being tugged

by ghosts; behold, our characters will say to us, this is where I once lived; in this place I suffered and hoped; I loved, hated, felt sorrow and joy. This place was important to me. This place made me who I was. As James Thom says, "Some places, you'll feel the haunting. Go. See. Touch. Learn" (Thom 2010 p. 80). What time erases, a writer's envisioning reveals again through the construction of text. We "read" a setting to "write" a setting (Bachelard and

Jolas 1944, p. 14). Worth discovered this, too. "Sometimes, when I'm there looking out on what had once been their world, a scene will leap into my mind. Those are the most rewarding moments" (Worth, S., 2011, interview, 2 March).

I conclude now with Bachelard. He speaks of the poet, but with words valid to the fiction writer as well:

The poet lives a daydream that is awake, but above all, his

daydream remains in the world, facing worldly things. It gathers the universe together around an in an object. We see it open chests, or condense cosmic stones in the casket. If there are jewels and precious stones in the casket, it is the past, a long past, a past that goes back through generations, that will set the poet romancing. The stones will speak of love, of course. But of power too, and fate (Bachelard and Jolas 1994, p. 84).

WENDY J. DUNN

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FALLING POMEGRANTE SEEDS

Doña Beatriz Galindo.

Respected scholar.

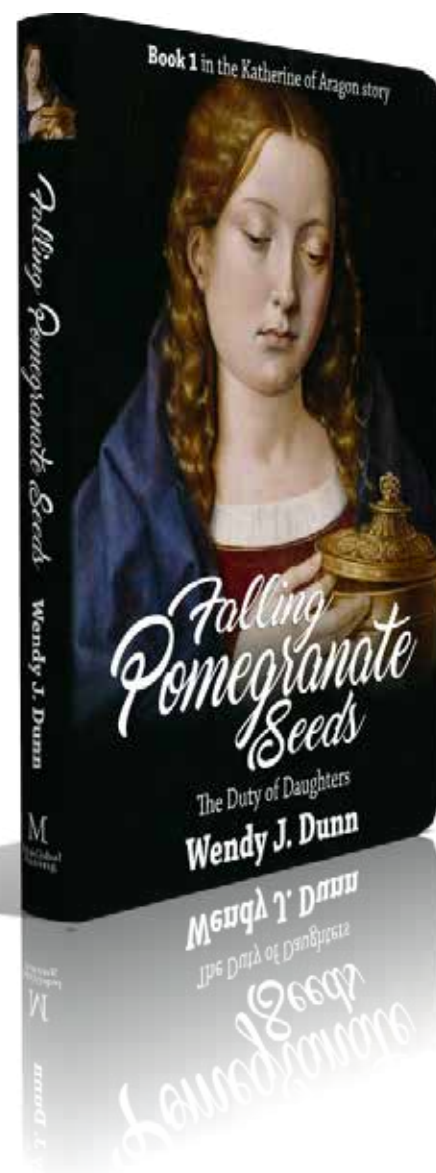
Tutor to royalty.

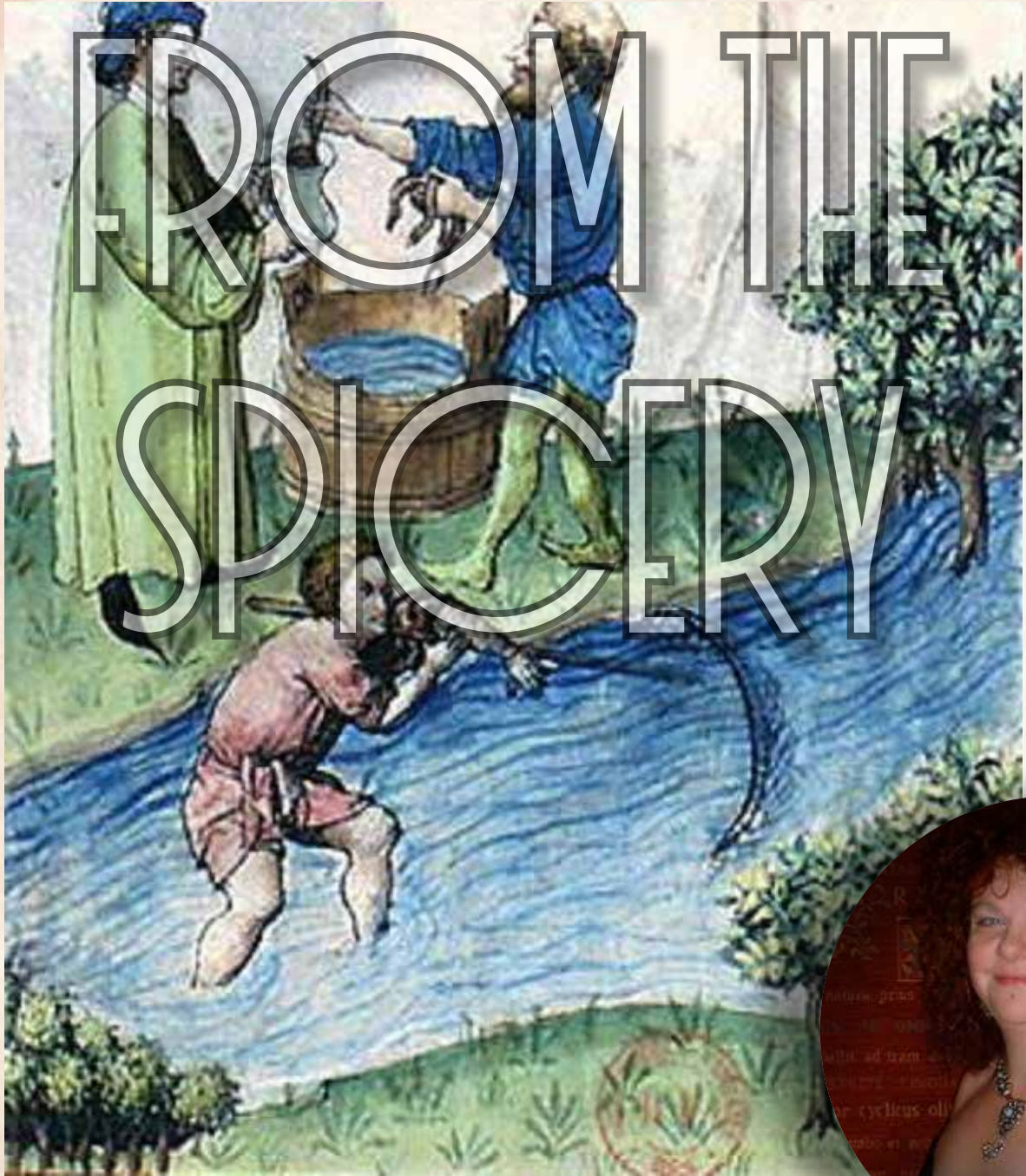
Friend and advisor to Queen Isabel of Castile.

Beatriz is an uneasy witness to the Holy War of Queen Isabel and her husband, Ferdinand, King of Aragon. A Holy War seeing the Moors pushed out of territories ruled by them for centuries.

The road for women is a hard one. Beatriz must tutor the queen's youngest child, Catalina, and equip her for a very different future life. She must teach her how to survive exile, an existence outside the protection of her mother. She must prepare Catalina to be England's queen.

A tale of mothers and daughters, power, intrigue, death, love, and redemption. In the end, *Falling Pomegranate Seeds* sings a song of friendship and life.





A SURFEIT OF LAMPREYS

GREETINGS! BY POPULAR demand, we're leaving the murky world of obscure cultured and fermented foodstuffs, and returning to the warm environs of medieval and Tudor cuisine. The next few articles will be on what did our medieval, and Tudor forebears do when they had an oversupply of a particular food item. With this in mind, welcome to A Surfeit of Lampreys.

OK, first things first, what on Earth is a Lamprey? Lampreys are an ancient order of jawless fish that have freshwater, estuarine, and saltwater populations. Frankly, they're pretty gross to look at; a long aquiline body with a dirty big toothed funnel of a mouth. Despite their questionable appearance, lampreys have been a favourite food of ours for a very long time.

The Romans adored them, and the wealthy medieval middle classes frequently dined out on them during Lent. Lampreys, like barnacle geese, were not covered by the fasting rules of Lent, so when the populace got fed up (bad pun) of eating fish, they turned to the more substantial and meaty lamprey. The story goes that Henry I (1068-1135) so enjoyed eating lampreys, that he died from eating a surfeit of them, hence the name of this article.¹ In the years that followed Henry's death, the ubiquitous royal villain King John (1166-1216), is alleged to have suffered

a similar fate.² Obviously there was something malevolent about kings eating lampreys and then dropping off the perch!

Lampreys proved to be such a popular food for medieval nobles, that John promulgated a law that lampreys were to be sold for two shillings a piece.³ To my modern mind, 2 shillings doesn't sound like much, but thanks to *Regia Anglorum* and their handy ancient money converter, the amount is astronomical.⁴ For comparison, to buy a ewe and lamb in early medieval Britain would cost 1 shilling, or £200 in today's money, therefore you'd be up for £400 for a single lamprey, placing them well out of reach of the common folk. I can well imagine that lamprey poaching must have been a very lucrative business.

Having established that lampreys were a delicacy that you simply had

1 Green, J. A. *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy*, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp 1-3.

2 Thornton, M. *Medieval Morsels - Magna Carta, Bag King John and Lampreys*, June 2015, <http://medievalmorsels.blogspot.com/2015/06/magna-carta-bad-king-john-and-lampreys.html>

3 Thornton, *ibid*

4 Regia Anglorum, *For What It's Worth*, <https://regia.org/index.php>,



to have in order to impress, how was it prepared? There is no shortage of medieval and Tudor era cookbooks that detail a host of different ways of cooking lampreys. Among the earliest publications are *Le Viander de Taillevent* (French, 1380), *Forme of Cury* (English, 1390), *Le Menagier de Paris* (French, 1393), up to and including well known publications such as *John Crophill's Commonplace Book* (English, 1485), *Gentyll manly Cokere* (English, 1500), *A Booke of Cookrye* (English, 1591), and *The Good Huswiues Jewell* (English, 1596). It seem very much as though lampreys never went out of culinary fashion.

A typical early Tudor recipe for cooking lampreys can be found in *John Crophill's Commonplace Book*:

A Tarte of Fysch - fish tart or pie with spices.

Tak fygges & reysingis & cyng hem & do ther to freysch samoun or othyr maner of freysch fysch grynd alle to gyder temper hem up with almounde mylk & frye almounds in swete oyle & do therinne lye alle to gydr do ther to poudre of galingale reysings of coraunce quybybes & soden perys & schere hem & cast hem ther inne amonge alle to gidre & of ilk of the spyces kepe the halvendel with outen colour thi fars with saffroun & swet it with sugre. Tak laumpreys & laumprouws & elys & dares & roches & loches smeltys and other maner of freysch fysch & wete hem in flour frye hem in swete oyle & loke thu have dats farsed & plumbys damaycynis than go to the ovene & mak dowe & couche thi fars on this maner; fferst ley thi kake of dowe than tak thi fars & couche thi fryed fysch

& thi dats farsed & plumbys & thi almon dys & drengle it in swete oyle & poudre it with sugre & lay thou thi fars on this maner couche thi fars as thu wylt have hulke it & pinche it & mak thi lowes colour it with saffron & set it inne the ovene & yf you wylt hawe of foure coliors make it as I have tawte of the tou or of the tothere.⁵

Mid-Tudor diarist Samuel Pepys recommends that lampreys be treated in the following manner:

Lamprays in Brewte (lampreys in a pepper broth).

Take lampreys and skall them be kind then rose hem on a grede yrne and grand pepper and saffron, mell hit with ale so serve the lamprays.⁶

According to Elizabethan cook and author Hannah Wolley, one did the following:

Take your lamprey and gut him, and take away the black string in the back, wash him very well, and dry him, and season with nutmeg, pepper and salt, then lay him into your pie in pieces with butter in the bottom, and some shelots and bay

leaves and more butter, so close it and bake it, and fill it up with melted butter, and keep it cold, and serve it in with some mustard and sugar.⁷

I have to say that this dish sounds like a heart attack waiting to happen, while the addition of sugar into the mix is a very Tudor trait. The overall result would be somewhere between a particularly creamy and greasy pie, and a terrine. The mustard must be there to provide the dish with some sort of recognisable flavour and to compensate for what is probably a genuinely awful mouthfeel!

In the footnotes, I have included the link a YouTube video describing the making of a Tudor lamprey pie.⁸ It's not long, only 30-odd seconds, but if this is what the finished product looked like, I think I'll pass on this particular culinary delight! As a final piece of lamprey trivia (and in no way related to the medieval and Tudor periods), I am reliably informed that lamprey pie is an expensive delicacy eaten by the nobles of the Seven Kingdoms in Game Of Thrones. :-D

5 *A Tarte of Fyshe*, John Crophill's Commonplace Book, <http://medievalcookery.com/search/display.html?croph:1:LMPR>

6 Pepys, S. *Gentyll manly Cokere*, Lamprays in Brewte, <http://www.godecookery.com/pepys/pepys22.htm>

7 Wolley, H. *The Queen-like Closet or Rich Cabinet Scored with All Manner of Rare Receipts for Preserving, Candyng and Cookery*, London, 1672. <http://www.elizabethan-era.org.uk/lamprey-pie-old-recipe.htm>

8 Merry Gourmet Miniatures, *Tudor Lamprey Pie* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yhuU8XpPtA0>

JUNE'S "ON THIS"

1 June
1533

A pregnant Anne Boleyn was crowned Queen at a ceremony at Westminster Abbey.

2 June
1536

Jane Seymour's first appearance as Queen.

3 June
1535

The King's former Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, was interrogated in the Tower of London by Thomas Boleyn, Thomas Audley, Thomas Cromwell and the Duke of Suffolk regarding the royal supremacy. They tried to make him give them an answer as to whether the statute of supremacy was lawful. He would not give them a straight answer.

8 June
1492

Death of Elizabeth Woodville at Bermondsey Abbey. Elizabeth was the consort of Edward IV.

9 June
1573

Death of William Maitland of Lethington in prison in Leith, in suspicious circumstances, said to be suicide.

10 June
1540

Thomas Cromwell was arrested as a traitor.

11 June
1456

Birth of Anne Neville, Queen Consort of Richard III, at Warwick Castle. Anne was the daughter of Richard Neville.

12 June
1530

Catherine of Aragon told Henry VIII to abandon his "wicked" life.

16 June
1487

The Battle of Stoke Field between Henry VII's forces and the Yorkist forces of Lord Lovell and John de la Pole.

17 June
1567

Mary, Queen of Scots was imprisoned at Loch Leven Castle after her surrender to the Protestant nobles.

18 June
1546

Anne Askew was arraigned at London's Guildhall for heresy

19 June
1566

Birth of James VI and I, the only son of Mary, Queen of Scots.

20 June
1540

Anne of Cleves complained to her brother's ambassador about Henry VIII's attraction to Catherine Howard.

24 June
1509

Thirteen days after his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon, Henry VIII was crowned. Katherine and he had a joint coronation.



25 June
1503

Catherine of Aragon was formally betrothed to the future Henry VIII.

30 June
1541

Henry VIII and his fifth wife, Catherine Howard, set off on their royal progress to the North, the aim being to meet Henry's nephew, King James V of Scotland, at York in September and also "to emphasise the extent of his defeat of the Pilgrims [from the Pilgrimage of Grace] and the Percy interest, and to humiliate utterly all but the most clearly loyal elements".



Sir Thomas More

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

4 June 1536 Jane Seymour was proclaimed Queen at Greenwich Palace, "a great traine of ladies followinge after her"	5 June 1516 Maria de Salinas married William, 10 th Lord Willoughby of Eresby. She was a friend of Katherine of Aragon.	6 June 1597 Death of William Hunnis. He was Master of the Children of the Chapel royal in Elizabeth I's reign. He was imprisoned in 1556 in the Tower of London after being involved in a plot to rob the treasury, and was released when Elizabeth I became Queen.	7 June 1536 A water pageant was held in honour of Jane Seymour, the new queen, on the Thames.
13 June 1587 Death of actor William Knell in a pub brawl in Thame. He was stabbed by John Towne in self defence.	14 June 1557 William Peto was made cardinal and papal legate, replacing Reginald Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury.		15 June 1567 ✂ <i>Battle of Carberry Hill</i> , between the Protestant nobles and the army of Mary, Queen of Scots and her husband, Bothwell.
21 June 1553 Letters patent were issued changing Edward VI's heir from his half-sister, Mary, to Lady Jane Grey	22 June 1528 Death of William Carey, courtier, distant cousin of Henry VIII and husband of Mary Boleyn. He died of sweating sickness.		23 June 1576 Death of Levina Teerlinc, painter and miniaturist, at Stepney. She was court painter to Edward, Mary and Elizabeth.
26 June 1535 A commission of oyer and terminer was appointed to examine Thomas More as a traitor.	27 June 1505 Henry VIII renounced his betrothal to Catherine of Aragon.	28 June 1461 Coronation of Edward IV and his consort Elizabeth Woodville.	29 June 1509 Lady Margaret Beaufort, grandmother of Henry VIII, died on this day in 1509 at Cheyne-gates.

A miniature of Elizabeth I attributed to Levina Teerlinc

TUDOR FEAST DAYS

- 1 June - The Feast of St Elmo
- 11 June - The Feast of St Barnabus
- 24 June - Midsummer's Day
- 29 June - Feast of St Peter & St Paul

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out every month for
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