

# TudorLife

THE  
TUDOR  
SOCIETY

The Tudor Society Magazine

Members Only

Nº 70

June 2020

## THE POOR

Washing the feet  
of the poor

Communal  
caregiving and  
merrymaking

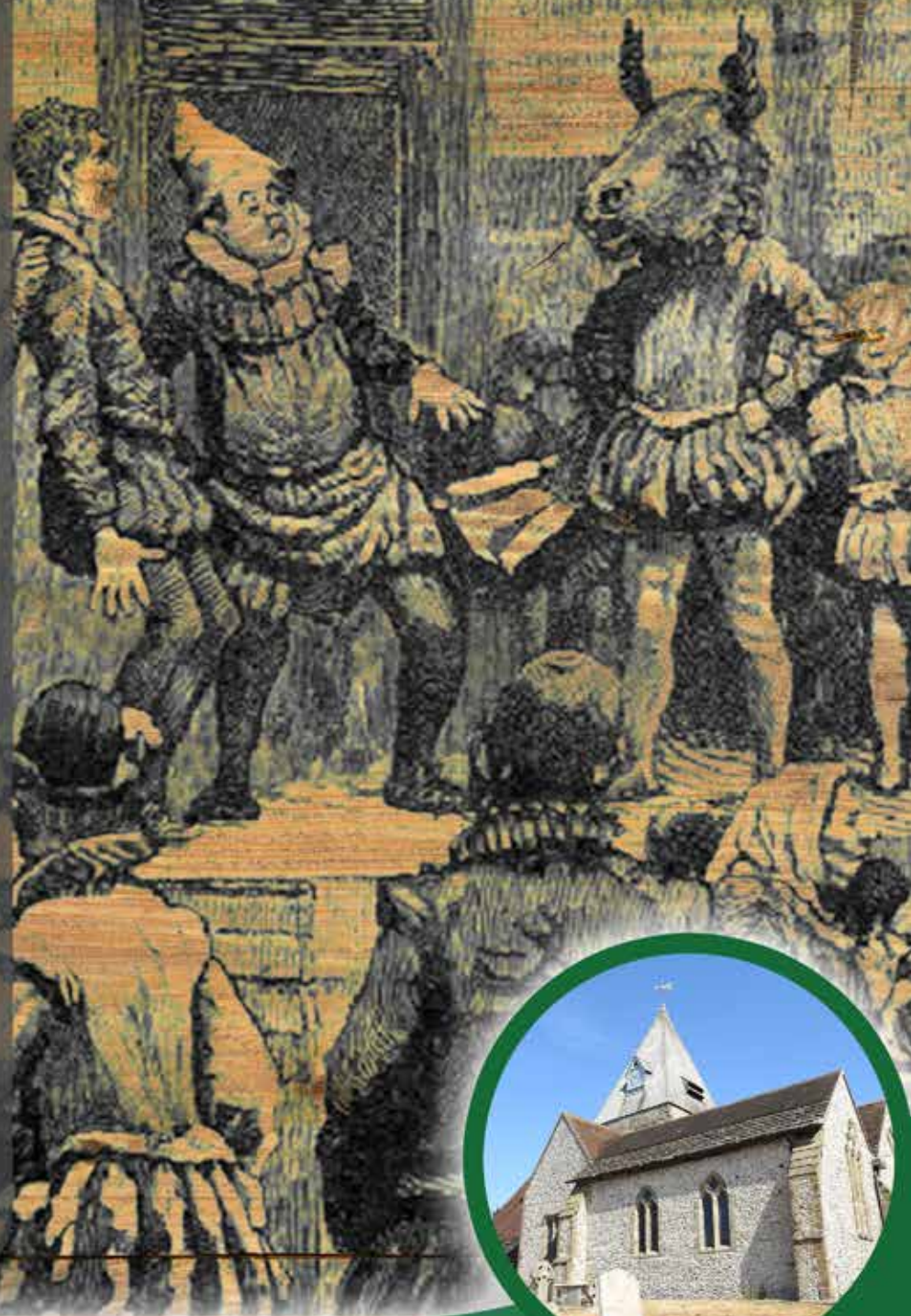
What did the poor  
do for fun?

Funding the  
Royal Family

PLUS

The portraiture of  
Anne of Cleves

and  
MUCH MORE



A visit to Tudor Ditchling  
*a detailed history by Ian Mulcahy*



# Are you making the most of your Tudor Society membership?

As a full member you can enjoy:

- Tudor Life Magazine (out each month!)
- Weekly Talks
- Expert lectures and live chats
- Virtual visits and tours of historical sites
- Weekly quizzes and puzzles
- Resources such as family trees, primary sources, battle information
- Focuses on Tudor people from the Royals and nobility, explorers, church men and martyrs, poets, playwrights and musicians all the way down to common people
- A forum and chatroom for members
- *plus* MUCH MORE

Make sure you check out all the nearly six years of articles and videos about the TUDORS!







## THE POOR

It's easy to forget amongst the glamour and savage splendour of its upper crust villains and heroes, that the majority of Tudor subjects did not live like the stars of the era. I think, sometimes, our preoccupation with the elite leads to us thinking unconsciously that the population as a whole consisted only of the famous. Anne Boleyn, in this narrative, is often seen as one of the common people, which says a lot – the daughter of an earl's heir and the granddaughter of a duke. What I mean by that is that the Tudors and their courtiers accounted for about 1% of the population, who sometimes we try to allot in the retrospective roles of 100 because we don't think too much about the rest of the country. In this edition of Tudor Life, we'll look at the poor as well as the rich. Lauren Browne shares some thrilling and fascinating research to show how the Tudor era raised money and distributed its charity. It's not as gloomy as we might imagine. They were a generous and fun-loving society, in many ways. Sarah-Beth Watkins examines what the poor did for fun and Susan Abernethy shows that royalty, in this case Queen Mary I, continued to see the poor as part of a God-ordained society of rights versus responsibilities.

---

ABOVE: Gentleman giving alms to a beggar: Illustration for "Of Pride" in John Day's *A christall glasse of christian reformation*, London, 1569

**GARETH RUSSELL**  
**EDITOR**



# TudorLife

The background is a collage of Tudor-related imagery. At the top, a large white serif font spells out 'TudorLife' against a dark background with Tudor portraits. Below this, a half-timbered Tudor house is visible. To the right, a purple postage stamp from British Guiana features a portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh and his son, with the text '96 CENTS' and 'POSTAGE & REVENUE'. At the bottom, a woodcut illustration shows a man in a long coat and hat standing next to a large, shaggy dog, possibly a mastiff, in a courtyard.

**2** **QUEEN MARY I: WASHING THE FEET OF THE POOR**  
*by Susan Abernethy*

**8** **COMMUNAL GIVING AND MERRYMAKING**  
*by Lauren Browne*

**13** **SIR FRANCIS BRYAN: HENRY VIII'S MOST NOTORIOUS AMBASSADOR**  
*June's Guest speaker is Sarah-Beth Watkins*

**14** **WHAT DID THE TUDOR POOR DO FOR FUN?**  
*by Sarah-Beth Watkins*

**18** **FUNDING THE ROYAL FAMILY**  
*by Gayler Hulme*

**22** **THE EXETER CONSPIRACY THAT WASN'T...**  
*by Kyra C. Kramer*

**28** **THE PORTRAITURE OF ANNE OF CLEVES**  
*by Roland Hui*

**36** **EDITOR'S PICKS - BOOKS ON THE POOR**  
*by Gareth Russell*

**37** **TUDOR SOCIETY MEMBERS' BULLETIN**  
*by Tim Ridgway*





# JUNE



**38** A VISIT TO DITCHLING  
*by Ian Mulcahy*

**49** TUDOR MARRIAGES QUIZ  
*by Catherine Brooks*

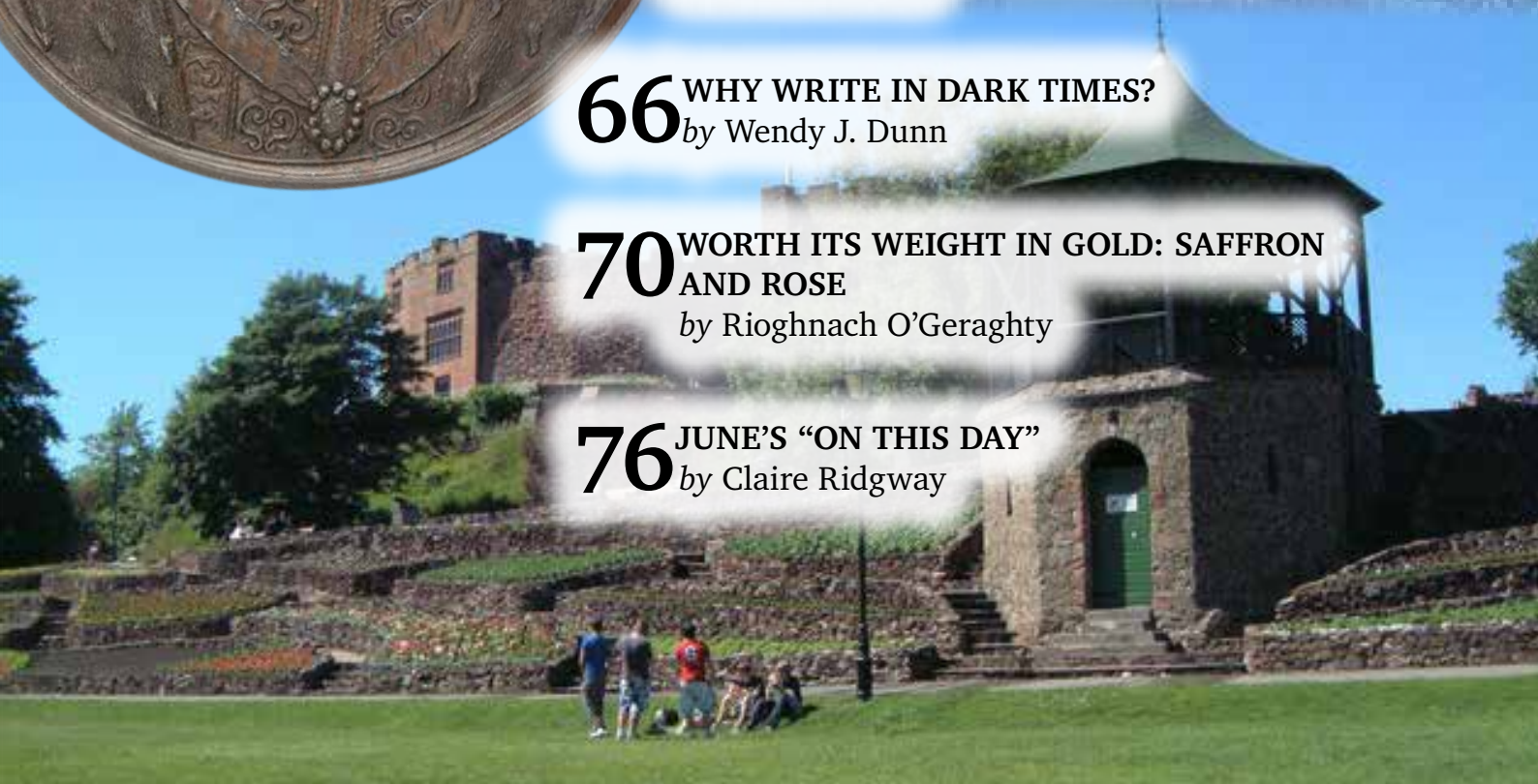
**50** THE TUMULTUOUS LIFE OF SIR WALTER  
RALEIGH PART 2  
*by Toni Mount*

**56** UNCROWNED QUEEN | THE MIRROR AND  
THE LIGHT  
*book reviews by Charlie Fenton*

**58** ALWAYS TALKING TUDOR  
*An interview with Natalie Grueninger by  
Catherine Brooks*

**66** WHY WRITE IN DARK TIMES?  
*by Wendy J. Dunn*

**70** WORTH ITS WEIGHT IN GOLD: SAFFRON  
AND ROSE  
*by Rioghnach O'Geraghty*




**76** JUNE'S "ON THIS DAY"  
*by Claire Ridgway*









# QUEEN MARY I OF ENGLAND DEMONSTRATES HER PIETY BY WASHING THE FEET OF THE POOR

BY SUSAN ABERNETHY

If there's one thing we know about Queen Mary I, it's the strength of her convictions regarding her faith and her sincere desire to return England to the Roman Catholic Church. Her fellow Catholics held Mary in great esteem and she was admired for her piety and religious fervour. It is unfortunate that Mary's convictions resulted in her reputation and character being tarnished by Protestant writers such as John Foxe. Foxe's book "Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perillous Days, Touching Matters of the Church", popularly known as Foxe's Book of Martyrs, gave detailed accounts of the deaths of every Protestant martyr who died for his or her faith.

Foxe's book was first published in 1563, five years after Mary's death. Four editions were published even while Foxe was alive, demonstrating how prevalent the book was. The work incorporated the lives of the early Christian martyrs, the medieval Inquisition and the suppressed Lollard heresy. But it received the greatest attention and notoriety for the persecutions



The burning of Doctor Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterburie, in the Towne ditch at Oxford with his hand first thrust into the fire, wherewith he subscribed before.



carried out under Mary's reign. The book was filled with custom-made, highly detailed woodcuts depicting the gruesome torture and burning of Protestant martyrs, including the flames of the fires. In the first edition of the book, thirty of the fifty-seven illustrations portrayed the executions under Mary's reign. This greatly contributed to Mary earning the soubriquet "Bloody Mary".

Burning at the stake was the standard punishment for heresy in sixteenth-century England. In an effort to root out heresy, Mary's government expanded the search for heretics, resulting in the execution of two hundred and

ninety people, predominantly from the lower classes in south-east England. These public burnings were markedly unpopular and Mary's advisers were divided as to whether they were effective or truly necessary.

There is a question, even to this day, as to who was responsible for these unfortunate events as there is a lack of conclusive evidence. It is clear her husband, King Philip II of Spain and Mary's cousin, Cardinal Reginald Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury were advocating the return of the English Church to Catholicism. Those who wrote about the events tried to deflect blame. While there is no concrete



evidence of Mary's participation in ordering the executions, other than that of Archbishop Cranmer, the fact remains Mary could have stopped the burnings, and did not.

We must take into consideration that other medieval and early modern rulers were responsible for many deaths for religious reasons and Mary was only emulating her peers. Religious discontent was equated with dissatisfaction with the government and politics and therefore was viewed suspiciously and recognized as a threat to the monarchy. The number of deaths in England was comparatively low in relation to other parts of Europe. Mary's husband, King Philip, oversaw and tolerated the work of the Spanish Inquisition in the Iberian Peninsula. Her cousin, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, was responsible for tens of thousands of deaths while perpetrating religious wars against the Protestants in his domains.

Perhaps in an effort to deflect attention from the executions, Mary understood the power of positive religious and ceremonial spectacle. During her reign, there were about sixty religious processions and celebrations which allowed the ordinary citizens to make evident their own piety and serve as a vehicle to demonstrate their devotion to their sovereign. These displays allowed Mary to create a connection to her subjects and establish a unity of purpose. Although Mary was reticent about making public appearances, she knew her desire to make known her message

of faith and peace would be reinforced by her own personal participation in these types of rites.

Foot washing, also known as washing of feet, was a religious rite performed by the hierarchy of the Catholic Church on Maundy Thursday during the Holy Week before Easter. There are references in the Old Testament mentioning that the washing of the feet was the first act on entering the tent or house after a journey. In Palestine, and other desert places, sandals were worn and the feet would be sandy and dusty. Washing the feet was refreshing and clean, as well as an act of hospitality. For ordinary people, the host furnished water for guests to wash their own feet. In the houses of the rich, the washing was done by a slave. It was considered one of the lowliest of all services.

The early Christian church instituted the custom to emulate the humility and selfless love of Jesus, who washed the feet of the twelve disciples during the Last Supper. St. Augustine mentions the rite in one of his letters dated about 400 A.D. The practice of washing the feet on Maundy Thursday was observed in Rome by the pope and first appears in Spanish liturgy in the seventh century. There are instances of the Pope, the Czar and the Patriarch of Constantinople washing the feet of twelve men on Maundy Thursday. The monarchs or members of the royal families of Europe washed the feet of poor people and gave them gifts. This practice was performed by monarchs



in England up until the reign of King James II and finally came to an end in the Church of England in 1754.

One of these particular celebrations occurred during the reign of Queen Mary I on Maundy Thursday, April 3, 1556, in the Great Hall of Greenwich Palace. The Venetian ambassador Michiel witnessed the entire ceremony and left us a description. Mary made a stately entrance into the hall accompanied by Cardinal Reginald Pole, her Council and her chaplains. The chaplains joined the bishop of Ely, the dean of the chapel, at the end of the hall where the choristers also stood. Assembled near the entrance were Mary's chief ladies and gentlewomen wearing long linen aprons reaching to the ground, with towels around their necks. The ladies held in their hands silver ewers and bunches of spring flowers. Mary was wearing a gown of fine purple velvet lined with martens' fur, with sleeves so long they touched the ground.

Along each side of the hall, seated on benches, were forty-one poor women with their right foot bare, resting on stools. Each woman represented one year of the queen's life. Before the ceremony began, the women's right feet had been washed first by a servant, then by the under almoner and finally by the grand almoner, the bishop of Chichester. A noblewoman would attend Mary with a basin and towel as Mary kneeled before each woman, taking the right foot into

her hand, washing it and drying it thoroughly. She would then make the sign of the cross on the foot and kiss it with reverence and solemnity.

She did this for all forty-one women, going down both sides of the hall, always on her knees. Once this was done, Mary rose to her feet and went again to each woman. She carried a large wooden platter covered with pieces of salted fish and two large loaves of bread. She then returned with wooden bowls filled with either hippocras or wine. Each woman was given a piece of rich cloth for new clothes, shoes and stockings and a leather purse filled with forty-one pennies. Lastly, she gave each woman the apron and towel that had been worn by the noblewomen.

Mary left the hall to change out of her purple gown and a half an hour later, she returned with her servant carrying the gown before her. Choristers sang as Mary walked around the room examining each of the women. She did this twice and on the third go-around, she chose the woman she considered the poorest and most in need and gave her the velvet purple gown. It must have been a remarkable and inspiring sight. As the Venetian ambassador wrote: "In all her movements and gestures, she seemed to act thus not merely out of ceremony, but from great feeling and devotion".

**SUSAN ABERNETHY**

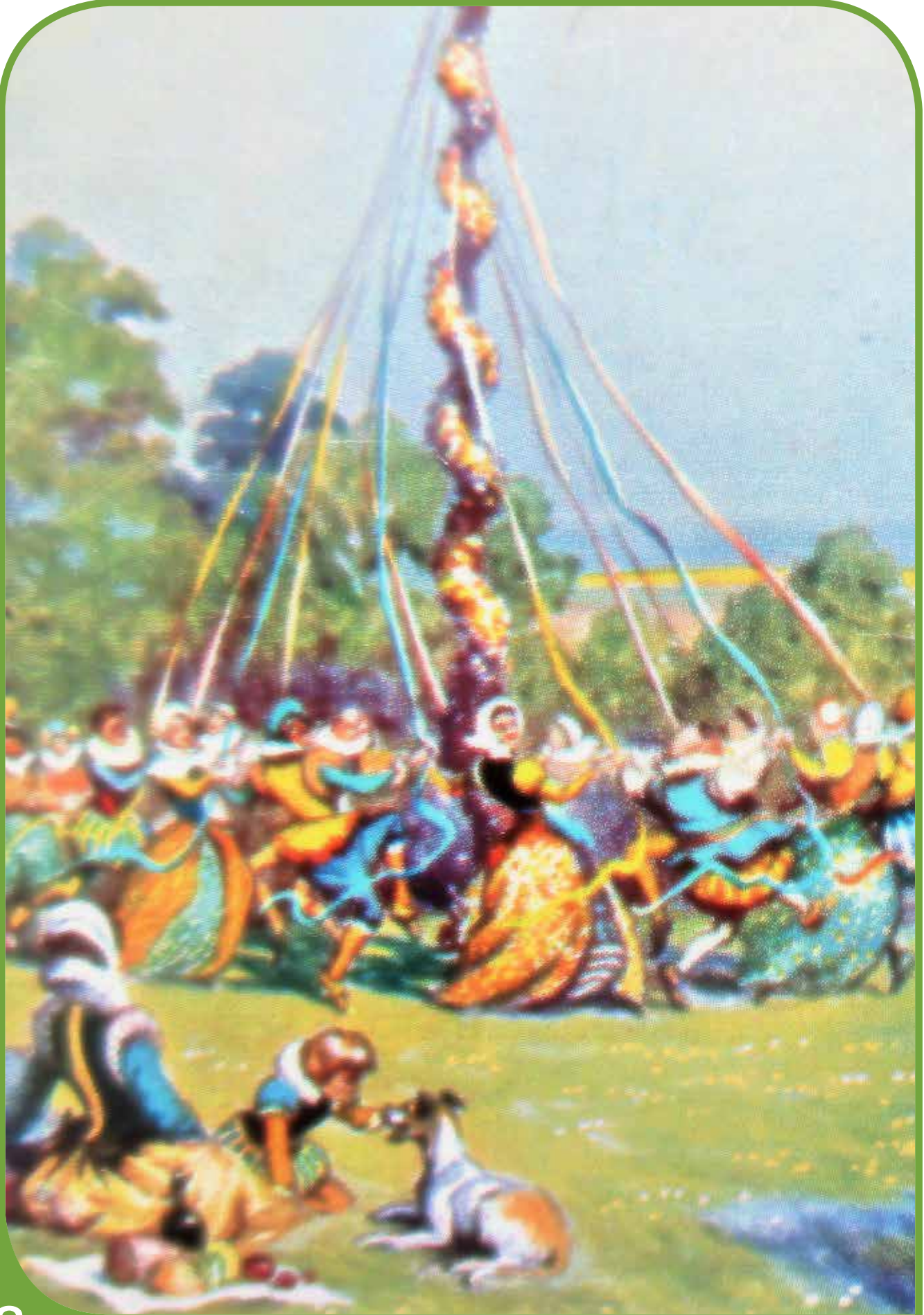
Further reading: "The Myth of Bloody Mary" by Linda Porter, "Mary Tudor: Princess, Bastard, Queen" by Anna Whitelock, "Bloody Mary" by Carolly Erickson, article on Foot washing in the Encyclopaedia Britannica





Mary I by Hans Eworth, 1554







# Ales and Alms

## Communal Giving and Merrymaking

With summer on the horizon, I thought it might be fun to talk about how the Tudors spent the warmer months. The ritual calendar punctuated the lives of the peasantry, and the change of seasons often provided occasions where they could down tools and spend time merrymaking. May celebrations marked the transition from winter into summer, and saw the beginning of near continuous celebrations into June – which culminated in Midsummer. Fairs, festivals and dances allowed rural communities a release from the drudgery and hard work of daily life.

The warmer months also presented an opportunity for people to come together and fundraise for charitable causes within their community. In the medieval and early modern periods the threat of poverty for rural communities was always looming. One bad harvest could plunge a fifth of a town's households into destitution. Living on the brink brought these communities together, and there were established methods to raise funds for struggling neighbours, or for the town as a whole. Much like today, these fundraising efforts usually involved the whole community coming together to have fun. Instead of a coffee morning, however, the Tudor peasantry sold ale and participated in feasting and games. These fundraising events were typically called ales, although there were three distinct types of ale by the 16<sup>th</sup> century; the church-ale, help-ale, and bride-ale.

These ales have a long history, and are thought to have originated from 'Germanic drinking-customs, Christian ideals of charitable feasting, and peasant customs of self-help.' The church ale is perhaps the most well-known of these charitable events. As with all festivals and celebrations, there was regional variation. However there were general commonalities across England and Wales.<sup>1</sup> Church-ales typically coincided with celebrations of Whitsun, but were generally held during the period from Easter to August. Held in the churchyard, ale was provided by the church along with food and music. One of the largest recorded church ales was held at Huntingfield in Suffolk. Eight parishes came together to provide beer, milk, cream, bread, eggs, honey, spices, veal and mutton for the occasion. Music was often provided by a piper, drummer, or harper and dancing was a regular feature.<sup>2</sup>

The church-ale relied on the whole parish coming together to plan, prepare and provide for the event. They also relied on the community to freely spend their money on the actual day. 'Their participation was encouraged by social

---

1 Judith M. Bennet, 'Conviviality and Charity in Medieval and Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, p. 24

2 Ronald Hutton, *Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain*, (Oxford, 2001), Chapter 24.





Tamworth, today, retains many of its  
Tudor era buildings

pressure and sometimes compelled out-right; indeed some parishes even specified the exact sum that each parishioner had to contribute.<sup>3</sup> In his description of a church-ale in Cornwall, the antiquarian Richard Carew showed that the funds raised could be put toward a number of causes. The money was 'laid up in store to defray any extraordinary charges arising in the parish, or imposed on them for the good of the country or the prince's service'.<sup>4</sup> The funds raised could vary widely, but many managed to raise substantial sums and provided one of the most important sources of income for the parish. Profits could also be put toward specific purchases for the church – for a new bell or renovations – or were given directly to the community's poor.

The other two types of ale, the help-ale and bride-ale, assisted the poor more directly. Both of these events

would be held by private individuals, rather than the church. A help-ale was hosted by a member of the community who had fallen on hard times and required the assistance of the rest of parish. They would invest a small sum in order to brew ale, then recoup this and more through the sale of it at a specific social event. This type of ale is demonstrated in a Tudor ballad sung from the perspective of a minstrel who hosts a help-ale after he is robbed;

My loving neighbours of the town of  
Tamworth where I dwell  
Did liberally reward me, this is true  
that I you tell.  
Which kindness of them hath right  
well provided  
That among all my neighbours I am  
well beloved.  
For liberally with me their money  
they did spend,  
And those that came not  
themselves their money they did  
send.  
My neighbours did cause me to  
make a pot of ale,

3 Judith M. Bennet, 'Conviviality and Charity', p. 27

4 Richard Carew of Anthony, *The Survey of Cornwall*, ed. F. E. Halliday (London, 1953; first published 1602), p. 141.



And I thank God of his goodness  
I had a very good sale.  
For a bushel of malt I do put you out  
of doubt  
I had five pound of money or nigh  
thereabout.<sup>5</sup>

Help-ales were recorded in parish registers independently from typical sales of ale by regular brewers, so we know that this practice was a separate institution. The profit margins of help-ales were also exponentially higher than the more general sale of ale, and this shows that the community was purposely buying the ale at an inflated price. The ballad also tells us that those who could not attend the ale sent money to him instead, again showing that these events were explicitly charitable. Help-ales directly helped parishes and their individuals, while fostering a sense of conviviality and community. They were also inherently reciprocal, as those who gave to their neighbours help-ale may later rely on the community when they themselves fall on hard times.

The ballad also reveals several important aspects of this form of giving. It mentions that the minstrel was a popular member of the community, therefore showing that these events could be discriminating. The success of the event could depend on the popularity of the individual in need, and whether the community deemed them to be deserving of aid. This form of charitable giving therefore excluded profligate neighbours and of course strangers.<sup>6</sup>

The final form of community giving involving the sale of ale is the bride-ale. These events are particularly interesting, as they contradict some commonly held assumptions about early modern marriage practices. We are often reminded that the age at which people could get married was 12, and there are

examples of this occurring among the upper echelons of society. However, the poor were forced to delay marriage until they could afford to set up a new household. This, among other factors, meant that the majority of people living in the Elizabethan and Stuart periods married in their mid to late twenties.<sup>7</sup>

The bride-ale was commonly held after the wedding ceremony, where the community would participate in feasting to honour the couple. The giving associated with this particular type of ale would contribute to the feast itself as well as to the newlywed's future and the establishment of their home. The celebratory feasting associated with marriage was a crucial element, and helped to cement the new relationship. Even in poorer communities hosts were expected to provide food, drink, music and entertainment. This form of giving helped to ensure the wedding would be celebrated with the expected level of circumstance, while mitigating the expense. It also allowed couples to marry sooner as it helped to offset the cost of setting up a new household.

These charitable ales remind me of our own versions of fundraisers; pub quizzes, costume parties, afternoon teas and other light-hearted events generally involving a degree of reciprocity and conviviality. Across history, we have come together as communities to have fun and give freely to good causes and to those less fortunate than ourselves. In that way, we don't appear to be very different to our Tudor counterparts. Although I'd leave the brewing to the professionals!

## LAUREN BROWNE

5 MS Ashmole 48, Bodleian Library, Oxford.  
Taken from Judith M. Bennet, 'Conviviality and Charity', p. 19.

6 Judith M. Bennet, 'Conviviality and Charity', p. 30.

7 The average age for men was between 27 and 29, while for women it was around 26. See Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family 1450-1700*, (London, 1984), p. 63.





**TURF TAVERN OXFORD**  
National Winner  
2007  
Perfect Pub Award  
Regional Winner  
Cook All  
National Winner  
Cook All  
Sponsored by: AMOL • The Telegraph • the Guardian

The Turf Tavern in Oxford received a name change to improve its reputation in the 1840s, but a pub has stood on this site since the 1380s. It was the site of alms, ales, and in later years, far too many fights. It's still a beloved haunt of students and tourists.





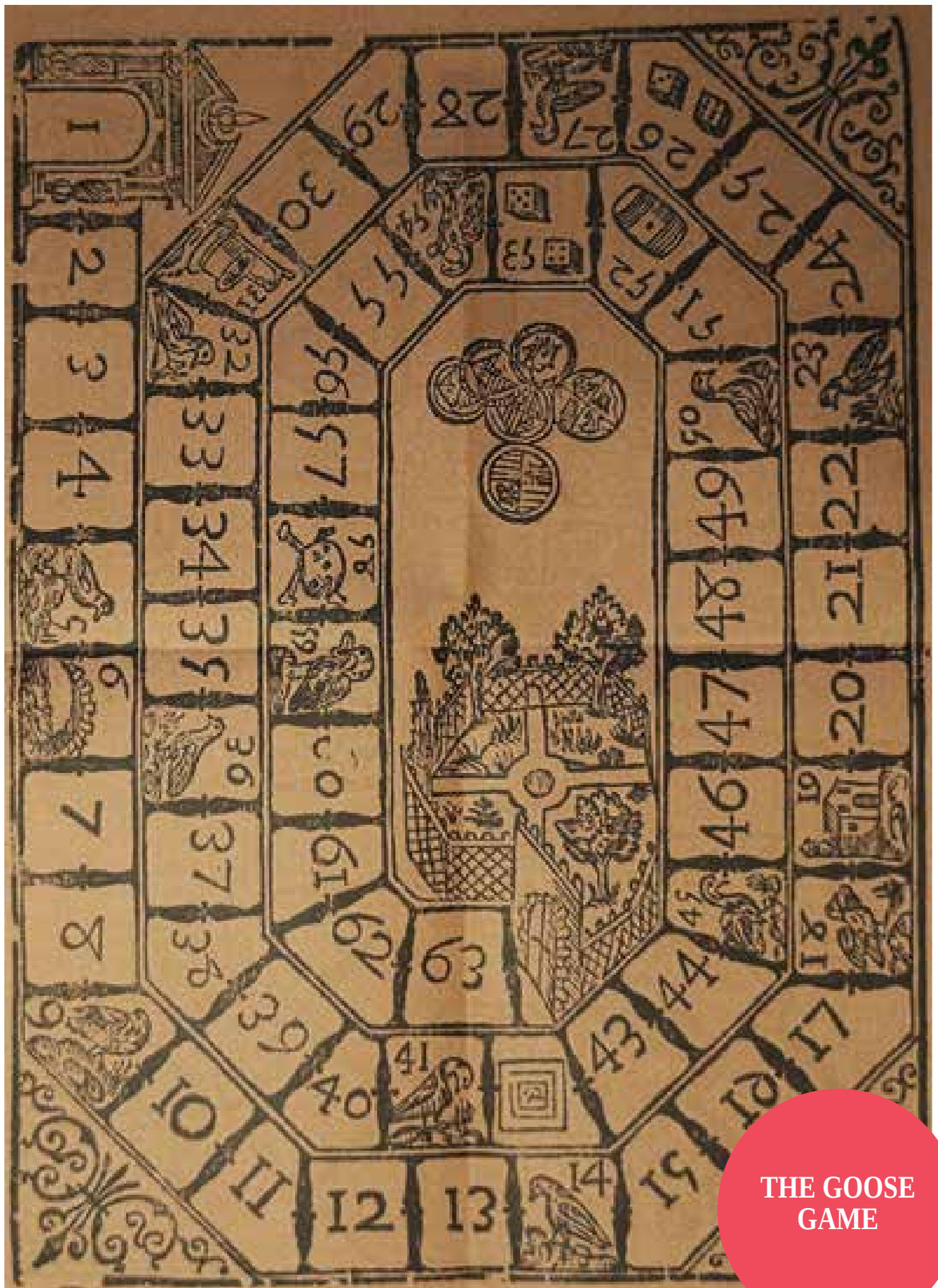
# SIR FRANCIS BRYAN

HENRY  
VIII'S MOST  
NOTORIOUS  
AMBASSADOR

JUNE'S SPEAKER IS  
SARAH-BETH  
WATKINS







THE GOOSE  
GAME





# WHAT DID THE TUDOR POOR DO FOR FUN?

**W**hilst the rich had their costly pursuits and expensive entertainments, the Tudor poor had to make do with what they had. They may have lived in poverty but fun was still to be had. Poor Tudor children might have had toys made from scraps of wood, clay, stone, fabric and animal bones. Anything that was free and easily available that could be found around the home. Dolls could be carved from wood or moulded from clay. For those with a little extra money they could also be bought at the local fair. Hobby horses were carved by fathers from rough wood and dishes for playing house.

Board games were enjoyed by the richer classes but boards for nine-men's-morris or merrels could be carved.

A simple version was three-men's morris, or what we call noughts and crosses. In the nine-men version a circular board was used and players took turns to place a man on the board to get three in a row.

Street games were popular. Hoops and

spinning tops could be made from old barrels and chased along the road. Pebbles or

---

## FOOTBALL WAS ENJOYED BY THE POORER CLASSES

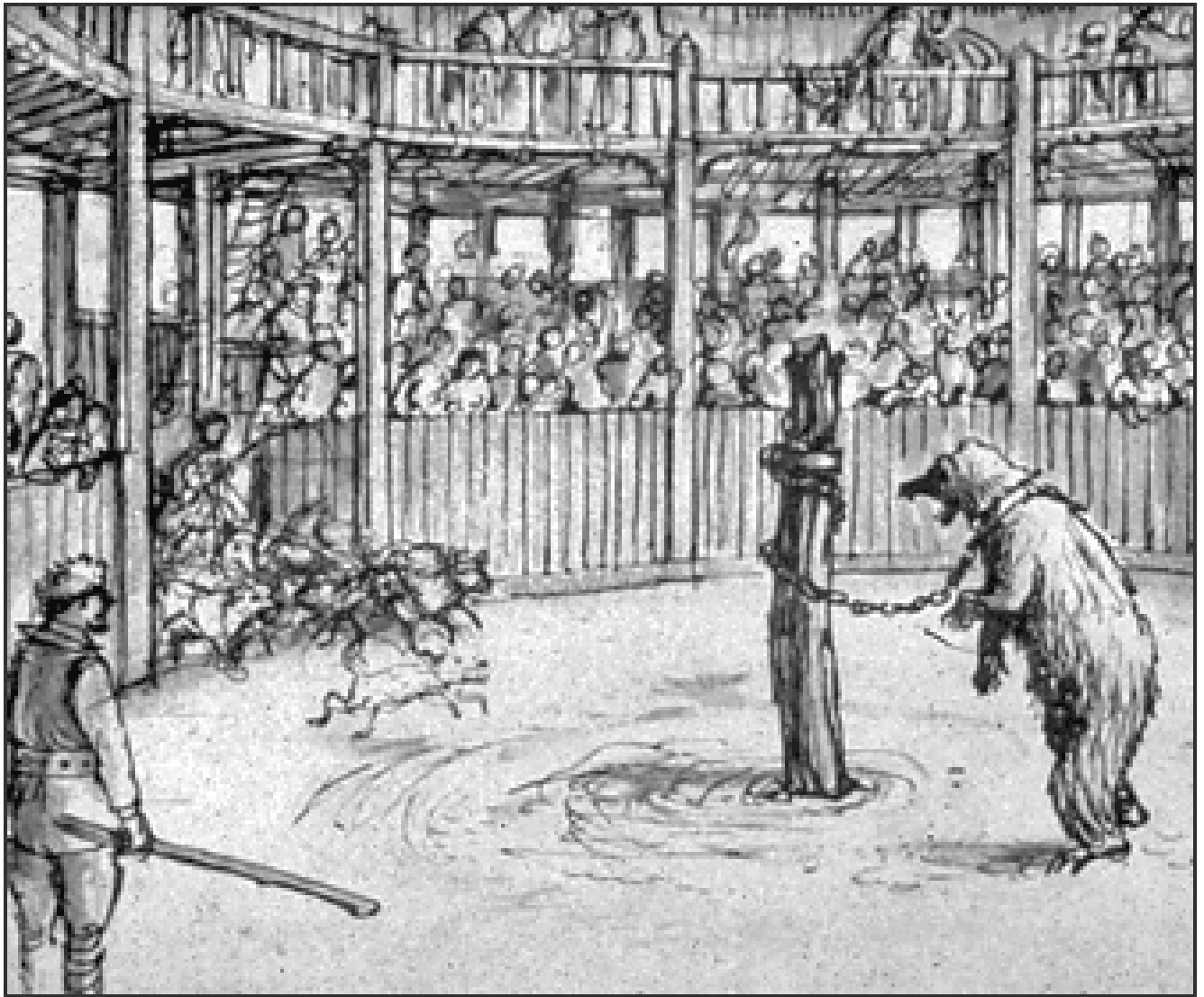
---

large pips could be used for throwing games and balls were popular. Leapfrog only

was free for all. Travelling musicians toured the country providing entertainment until the plague curtailed their wandering but they could still play at fairs and in taverns. Fiddles, recorders and lutes were popular. Unlike the dances that were performed at court with their intricate steps, poorer people stuck to more simple country dances that were popular at special occasions and events such as May Day and dancing around the Maypole.

Football was enjoyed by the poorer classes and





**Bear bating was popular throughout the Tudor period**

was a game for older youths. It was nothing like today's sport and was a complete free-for-all with two sides of any number fighting over the ball - an inflated pig's bladder. The goal posts could be miles apart. There were no real rules and the ball could be kicked, thrown or even carried. Sir Thomas Elyot described it as 'a beastly fury and extreme violence; whereof proceedeth hurt,

and consequently rancour and malice do remain with them that be wounded...' as players could punch, tackle and trip their opponents. Less violent ball games were played including Balloon Ball, Ring Ball - where the ball was sent through rings in the ground, Hand Ball, and Bandy Ball all played with bats or hands or throwing games like flinging a horseshoe.

**V i o l e n t** sport was quite common - maybe a way to release some tension! One game was played with cudgels with the whole idea being to bash each other with sticks until a blow to the head produced blood! Wrestling was favoured by rich and poor alike. Henry VIII famously lost to Francis I at the Field of Cloth of Gold which nearly sparked a political furore. Poorer people played



it too with differing rules throughout the country. And then there was shin-kicking!

Many of the sports the Tudors enjoyed had a military context. Archery was enjoyed by everyone as a way for the king to have fine archers in the event of war. In 1511 Henry VIII signed the 'Act concerning the shooting in Long Bowes' that stated all fathers should provide their sons, between the age of seven and seventeen, with a long bow and two arrows. Male servants also had to be equipped and practise. Of course the rich had splendid bows but instructions were given to bowyers to make bows of 'mean price' as well as the more expensive kind so a cheaper version could be used by the poorer classes.

There was cards and dice for the adults but with little money, the poor could not gamble the extreme amounts that the nobles did. Privy Purse Accounts testify to the amounts that the king and queen lost at such games and who they lost to. Three common dice games were Quenes (where two dice were rolled and the winner

had the same number on both dice), Treygobet (the winner had to role higher than a 3) and Iryshe which was like backgammon. Playing cards had not long been invented and were an extremely popular source of entertainment. Primero, Putt, All Fours, Post and Pair, Gleke or Cleke, Noddy Loadum, New Cut, Ruff, and Trump were popular. However a law was passed in 1512 that banned normal people from playing cards and dice as well as tennis, bowls and skittles. It aimed to reduce the time the poorer classes had to play and instead encouraged them to work more.

Hunting, hawking and fishing were pursuits for the wealthy. Henry VIII famously spent days in his deer parks and his various queens enjoyed hawking too. Whilst the poor did not have the deer parks and hawks, they did hunt for rabbit and hare and fish, more out of necessity to put food on the table.

During Elizabeth's reign theatre became popular. Actors travelled from town to village to give performances but before

long buildings like The Globe Theatre sprang up. The cheapest way to see a play was to stand in the pit at the front of the stage. It would set you back about a penny. If you had more money you could pay for a seat and even a cushion.

Then there were the more gruesome entertainments. The Tudors were known for their enjoyment of sports we would hate to see these days like cock-fighting where two cockerels fight to the death and bear-baiting when a chained-up bear was goaded and maimed by dogs. Both Henry VIII and Elizabeth liked watching bear-baiting and a ring was built at Whitehall so that it could be viewed from windows of the palace.

Public executions unfortunately were all the rage and a day out for those who gathered to watch the spectacle. People would even queue throughout the night to get the best spot. It was a public event akin to a fair with refreshments of pies and ale being sold and souvenirs available. Street performers would also amuse the crowd while they were waiting for the 'show'.

**SARAH-BETH WATKINS**



# FUNDING THE ROYAL FAMILY

---

Historian **Gayle Hulme** talks to us about The Sovereign Grant and how the Royals have funded themselves for nearly 800 years, something which people don't seem to understand...

---

How much do you know about how Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and her family are funded? Perhaps you've read in the media recently that UK tax-payers are footing the bill for expensive property refurbishments or maybe you've seen reports of reluctant royals accepting huge sums of government finance while shirking their royal responsibilities.

The truth to these royal financial matters is as ever in the detail. There are two primary ways in which The Queen receives funding; one of which is her private portfolio known as the Duchy of Lancaster and the state funding known as the annual Sovereign Grant.

All British monarchs whether male or female are traditionally known as the Duke of Lancaster and to understand

The Queen's private income from the Duchy we must travel back to the period between 1265 and the reign of The Queen's Tudor ancestor King Henry VII (1485-1509). In this article, we will explain the twists and turns of why The Queen as the current Duke is entitled to the private income from the Duchy and how as Head of State The Queen utilises the Sovereign Grant.



The title of the Duchy's estate originated with the House of Lancaster and has had royal connections from its inception in 1265. It was Henry III who made his son Edmund the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Lancaster, gifting him the lands of Simon de Monfort. During the next 17 years, the estate grew in significance and wealth acquiring through royal forfeits and family gifts manor houses in Staffordshire, London and substantial holdings in both Lancashire and Yorkshire.

It was not until 6 March 1351 during the reign of Edward III (1327-1377) that the third son of Henry III, Henry of Grosmont was made 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Lancaster as a reward "in recognition of (his) astonishing deeds of prowess and feats of arms" (Duchy of Lancaster, history). Along with his new position as Duke, Henry was further honoured by a grant of special authority through devolved royal powers within the newly created County Palatine of Lancaster.

The Duchy was passed down unchanged until 1399. Two years before Richard II exiled Henry Bollingbroke the son and heir of the 4<sup>th</sup> Duke, John of Gaunt and on the latter's death and in the absence of Bollingbroke the King usurped the Lancaster inheritance. However, Richard II did not enjoy his newly acquired Duchy for long as Henry Bollingbroke returned from exile that same year to depose the king and reclaim his stolen hereditary estate. As Henry IV (1399-1413) he was

the first English sovereign to legally separate the Duchy from the Crown.

Henry IV may have been the first to separate the Duchy from the Crown but he was not the last to reinforce its independence. Edward IV (1461-1470/1471-1483) brought an Act before Parliament in 1461 stating that the Duchy was "for ever to us and our heirs, Kings of England, separate from all other Royal possessions." The Duchy's status was confirmed once more by Henry VII via Royal Charter and by the time of his granddaughter, Elizabeth I's reign (1558-1603) the Duchy was said to be "one of the most famous, princeliest and stateliest pieces of the Queen's ancient inheritance".

As you will see below it is The Queen's direct descent from Henry VII that entitles her to use the style Duke of Lancaster and therefore the right to use the private income generated from the Duchy. Although due to stipulations in The Crown Land Act 1702, Her Majesty and her successors have rights to the income but are denied rights to the capital or to dispose of any of the estate's assets.

The Sovereign Grant is the revenue stream annually apportioned by the UK Parliament for the running of The Royal Household. The Royal Household consists of Her Majesty The Queen and working members of her family. Also included under the umbrella of Royal Household is the running and maintenance of all the occupied royal palaces in England. In order for the Queen to carry out her constitutional duties as Head of State and her



symbolic and support role as Head of the Nation, the amount is reviewed every five years. The formula is under the direct supervision of three Trustees, which include The Prime Minister, The Chancellor of the Exchequer and The Keeper of the Privy Purse.

So where is the revenue generated from? It comes from what is called the Crown Estate, which is technically owned by the monarch. However at the beginning of every reign since George III in 1760, the monarch has voluntarily surrendered the revenue from the Crown Estate to the Treasury in exchange for an annual payment to the Royal Household. Prior to 1760, the monarch was expected to pay for the upkeep of their own family, royal palaces, the national debt, defence, the judiciary, ambassadors salaries and all manner of other royal expenditure. With the income generated at that period at an all-time low, the situation was unsustainable.

At the beginning of the present Queen's reign, the revenues were surrendered via the Civil List Act 1952 and monies were apportioned to the Civil List and Grants in Aid. Grants in Aid covered costs for travel, communication and royal palaces with the Civil List covering everything else. However, in 2011 legislation was passed through the Houses of Parliament to simplify the payment into one annual amount known as the

Sovereign Grant. The amount of the grant is calculated as 15% of the net surplus (net profit) from the Crown Estate from the financial year two years previously. The other 85% is kept by the Treasury to be spent for other government purposes.

Using the percentage above the net profit of the Crown Estate in 2016-17 was £328.8m. The 15% formula generated a Core Sovereign Grant of £49.3 for the year 2018-19, leaving a hefty sum of approximately £279m for the Treasury. Should the Royal Household not use the whole amount it is placed in a Surplus Fund for potential future use. The accounts of the Crown Estate are published every year and the National Audit Office and the Public Accounts Committee securitise the spending of the Sovereign Grant.

Due to the extensive works necessary for the essential safety maintenance of Buckingham Palace, it was decided that the Sovereign Grant should be increased to 25% with the extra money being used for the works over the next 10 years.

In conclusion far from the monarchy costing the British taxpayer millions of pounds every year the examination of the facts shows that Her Majesty and The Royal Family not only provide a source of unshakeable continuity and support they actually through the Crown Estate makes a significant financial contribution to the nation.

**GAYLE HULME**



Queen Elizabeth II and Henry VII





KYRA KRAMER

# The Exeter Conspiracy That Wasn't...

by Kyra C. Kramer

The Exeter Conspiracy of 1538 probably wasn't a failed rebellion against Henry VIII. Historical facts indicate that it was, in all likelihood, merely a small group of relative and friends griping about the current government and wishing it was different, which then became an excuse for Henry VIII to murder his cousins with Thomas Cromwell's help.

By the time the alleged Exeter Conspiracy occurred, King Henry VIII had become a paranoid, mentally unstable, and ruthless despot. It didn't take much to stir him into a suspicious

rage, and just a little more to get him to order the death of those whom he feared. There had been a major rebellion against the crown, the Pilgrimage of Grace, in 1536, and after that Henry saw potential revolts everywhere. Thomas Cromwell, who was the king's Lord Privy Seal and Principal Secretary among his other offices, had become adept at calling Henry's attention to potential rebels. Oddly enough, these rebels also happened to be Cromwell's personal enemies and those who threatened Cromwell's hold on power.

The men and women involved in the Exeter

Conspiracy — Henry Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter (for whom the conspiracy is named), Gertrude Blount, Marchioness of Exeter, Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, Henry Pole, Baron Montagu, Cardinal Reginald Pole, Sir Geoffrey Pole, Sir Edward Neville (Montagu's brother-in-law), George Croftes, priest and chancellor of Chichester Cathedral, and Sir Nicholas Carew — were religious conservatives. Their sympathies lay with the Catholic Church and the king's eldest daughter, Mary Tudor. They certainly weren't thrilled with either Henry's religious

and political policies, and actively despised Thomas Cromwell. Yet none of those facts made them all rebels.

To be fair to Henry VIII and Cromwell, there was some fire in the smoke of this so-called conspiracy. Cardinal Reginald Pole was most likely plotting to overthrow Henry VIII in favor of putting Mary Tudor on the throne, and he probably had the theoretical support of Geoffrey Pole, Father George Crofts, and possibly Gertrude Blount. Nonetheless, there is no evidence anyone was ever trying to put Henry Courtenay on the throne, or that Exeter, Montagu, Neville, and Carew would have supported this idea even if they had heard of it. Furthermore, the Countess of Salisbury was actively scolding her son Reginald for his disobedience to Henry VIII, rather than conspiring with him.

However, there is good evidence for at least one conspiracy — a conspiracy between the king and Cromwell to eradicate the remnants of the York family. Henry VII would have wanted them dead because they were alternative heirs to his own son, the infant



Henry Courtenay, shown second from left

Edward VI, and he no longer trusted any of his cousins not to try to take the crown for themselves. According to Louis de Perreau, the French ambassador to Henry VIII's court in 1537 and 1538, the king had said several months before he moved to arrest any of the Exeter Conspirators that he wanted to "exterminate" the White Roses. Perreau wrote that it looked as if the king was "searching for any excuse" to get rid of the Pole family and Exeter.

Cromwell would have wanted the alleged conspirators gone for more prosaic reasons than the security of the Tudor dynasty. The accused conspirators were his

political  
foes and

kept trying to interfere in his schemes for properties distribution during the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Courtenay was also fighting Cromwell tooth and nail because Cromwell's policies were making life a living hell for the common people of Cornwall and Devon, where Courtenay served as an administrator. It was surely no accident that when Cromwell began to move against the Pole family, he quickly roped Courtenay into the allegations.

Exeter was also doomed, without any malice, when Cornish were so pleased with his attempts to alleviate



their suffering that they supposedly tried to rally men to fight for him, and demanded that Henry VIII name him the heir to the crown. When Courtney heard about what his Cornish supporters had done, he knew the king could use it to accuse him of treason, and preemptively made his will on 25 September 1538.

There was no proof of a conspiracy to put Exeter on the throne, but Cromwell didn't let a lack of evidence stop him from 'proving' it. As he had done with Anne Bolyen, Cromwell built his case by first interrogating someone who was low-born enough to be tortured into a confession; Geoffrey Pole's servant, Henry Holland.

When Montagu and Geoffrey heard of Holland's arrest, they quickly started burning any letters that had received from their brother, Reginald. The letters may not have contained seditious material, but to have simply corresponded with the Cardinal could be seen as treason because Henry VIII had forbidden it, even though it would be natural for men to want to stay in contact with a beloved brother.

Burning the letters

didn't do them any good, though, because Montagu, Geoffrey Pole, their young sons, and the Pole family's chaplain, John Collins, were all arrested on suspicion of treason a few weeks after Holland's questioning began.

After a couple of months in the Tower, Geoffrey Pole attempted suicide. He survived, but it was shortly afterwards that he began to spill the beans for the prosecution. Had Cromwell been torturing him with Henry VIII's permission? Was the suicide attempt really a torture session that got out of hand? Did they threaten to harm Geoffrey's son to make him talk? No one knows, but *something* made Geoffrey start to sing like a canary.

Among the things Geoffrey told Cromwell was that he and his eldest brother had been in contact with Reginald Pole. This confession alone would have cost Montagu and Geoffrey their lives. Having sealed his own and his brother's death, Geoffrey was then also persuaded to point a finger at Courtenay, who had thus far only been asked to be 'frank and plain' about the Pole family's activities. Geoffrey told Cromwell

that Courtney had sent Montagu a letter critiquing Henry VIII, writing that the king would "be out of his wits one day ... for when he came into his chamber he would look angrily, and after fall to fighting." It was true, but it was also treason to openly talk about the king's flaws, so Courtenay, his wife Gertrude Blount, their 11 year old son Henry, and Courtenay's brother-in-law, Edward Neville, were all arrested and imprisoned.

Bizarrely, the elderly Countess of Salisbury was likewise put under house arrest by William FitzWilliam, the Earl of Southampton in early November of 1538. Why? What had the venerable old lady ever done to deserve such treatment? She had been loyal to Henry VIII all her life, and although she continued to love her god-daughter, Princess Mary, was that really worth imprisonment? No. Margaret Pole's crimes were far worse; she was guilty of being born the daughter of George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, and guilty of having given birth to four strong sons when the wives Henry VIII's could not.

In the first week of December the Poles,

Courtenay, Neville, and the lesser-born conspirators were tried and found guilty by a kangaroo court. The second week of the month was then given over to executing everyone but Geoffrey Pole. Montagu, Exeter, and Neville were all beheaded at Tower Hill on 9

December 1538, with John Collins, Henry Holland, and George Croftes being hung, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn on the same day.

With the deaths of the White Roses, the crowned heads of Europe smelled a rat ... and a long dead rat, at that. To soothe

the international furor and condemnation of Henry VIII, Cromwell approached the imperial ambassador, Eustace Chapuys, and assured him that *of course* there was evidence of an Exeter Conspiracy. Chapuys wrote that:

*As to the execution of the marquis of Exeter and two accomplices, their treason had been fully proved since their death by certain copies in the hand of the Marchioness of letters between him and card. Pole, of which the originals had been burned; which copies had been found in a little coffer of the Marchioness along with some letters of the late Queen and Princess. Cromwell said, moreover, that it was clear the Marquis had designed to usurp the kingdom by marrying his son to the Princess and destroying the Prince; and that the Marquis and his wife had before this suborned the Princess, putting in her head various opinions and fancies and encouraging her to persist in her obstinacy against her father and refuse to swear to the statutes made here. He further said the Marquis and his accomplices had intelligence with me, and that they must have revealed everything to me, for it had been found several times that your Majesty was informed beforehand of their intentions; and also they must have had intelligence with some other ambassadors or agents of your Majesty and with card. Pole, and it could not but be that their intrigues were known.*

In short, Cromwell claimed to have had copies of burned letters (conveniently explaining away why the handwriting did not match that of any conspirator) and tried to get the wily Chapuys to admit he knew the conspirators were guilty because the Holy Roman Emperor had been aiding them all along. This was, as it turned out, news to Chapuys. Although the emperor doubtlessly had

been supporting Princess Mary in her rebellion against her father's religious reforms, the last thing he wanted was to wed Princess Mary to Henry Courtenay's son, since he had hoped to marry the princess into his royal family and annex England through her.

Although the York descendants were decimated by the axe, not all the White Roses died that December. Geoffrey Pole, who had

given the state such valuable information, was rewarded by an eventual pardon on 2 January 1539, and his son returned to him. Courtney's wife, Gertrude Blount, and their son, Edward, were not killed, but had to remain captives. Montagu's son, Henry Pole, was also left to rot in the Tower, but whereas Gertrude Blount and Edward Courtenay would survive their



confinement, Henry Pole died in prison sometime in 1542.

As Geoffrey Pole gained his freedom, Sir Nicholas Carew lost his. A known enemy of Cromwell's and a suspected supporter of Princess Mary, Carew was convicted of being part of the Exeter Conspiracy by scant evidence (mostly hearsay and rumor) on 14 February 1539. He was beheaded a few weeks later, on 3 March, and the Carew lands were given to Cromwell's allies.

Even after all this bloodshed, Henry VIII and Cromwell were still dissatisfied that the members of the putative Exeter Conspiracy had been punished enough. Margaret Pole, who had given birth to the conspirators but never colluded with them by even the most paranoid reckoning, was stripped of her lands in May of 1539 and sent to the Tower the following November. She remained there until the king, in a display that horrified his already appalled subjects, dragged her out and had her beheaded on 27 May 1541.

With her bloody death, the so-called Exeter Conspiracy was finally laid to rest.

With so little evidence of an actual conspiracy, it begs the question — why had Henry VIII accused his cousins of conspiracy and murdered them? Was it simply paranoia? Was it Cromwell's clever scheme to destroy his detractors and soothe his maddened king at the same time? Or did Henry VIII actually think he had a good reason to kill off the White Roses, and that the ends would justify the means?

Arguably, the king did have a good reason to be afraid for his life, and the life of his son, even if it wasn't coming from the alleged Exeter conspirators. France and the Holy Roman Empire, traditional enemies united by a nominally loyal to Catholicism, had formed an alliance in July of 1538. Henry VIII knew there was a chance they would invade England to give the throne to his eldest daughter or crown the infant Prince Edward and raise him as a good Catholic who would do their bidding. Just because we know, in

hindsight, no invasion occurred, that does not mean the invasion wasn't a genuine threat. France enjoyed an Auld Alliance with the still-Catholic Scots, and Scotland would have happily allowed the French to amass troops there and invade England from the north. The Holy Roman Empire, in possession of a terrifying number of warships, could have simultaneously invaded England from the south. Henry's kingdom would have been caught between these two armies live a squeaky-toy in a mastiff's mouth. So was Henry VIII being completely irrational to kill off any perceived internal threats, or was he wisely trying to secure his domestic front in preparation for foreign invasion?

Nearly all of the people Henry VIII had killed for the Exeter Conspiracy were almost certainly innocent of treason, but — considering the brutal necessities needed to win the game of thrones — was the king entirely unjustified in ordering their deaths?

**KYRA C. KRAMER**







# The Portraiture of Anne of Cleves

by Roland Hui



---

Anne of Cleves by Hans Holbein

‘Divine Providence had mingled my joy with the bitterness of death of her who brought me this happiness’, wrote the King of England to his friend - and sometimes foe - the King of France.<sup>1</sup> After tearing his kingdom from Rome, divorcing a wife, executing the next, and marrying a third, Henry VIII had finally achieved his greatest desire - a son to succeed him. But it came at a cost. Shortly after the birth in October 1537, the mother of his child, Queen Jane, was dead.

Henry went into deep mourning. ‘Of none in the realm’, it was said, ‘was it more heavily taken than of the King’.<sup>2</sup> His one consolation was that the boy, named Edward, was healthy and thriving. But there was danger in having the succession rely upon a single male heir. Henry remembered how being one of three sons of King Henry VII - his brothers being Arthur (who died in 1502) and Edmund (who passed away in 1500) - *he* was the only one to live into adulthood. And when he was

then married to his first wife Katherine of Aragon, their only issue out of many who survived was a daughter the Princess Mary.

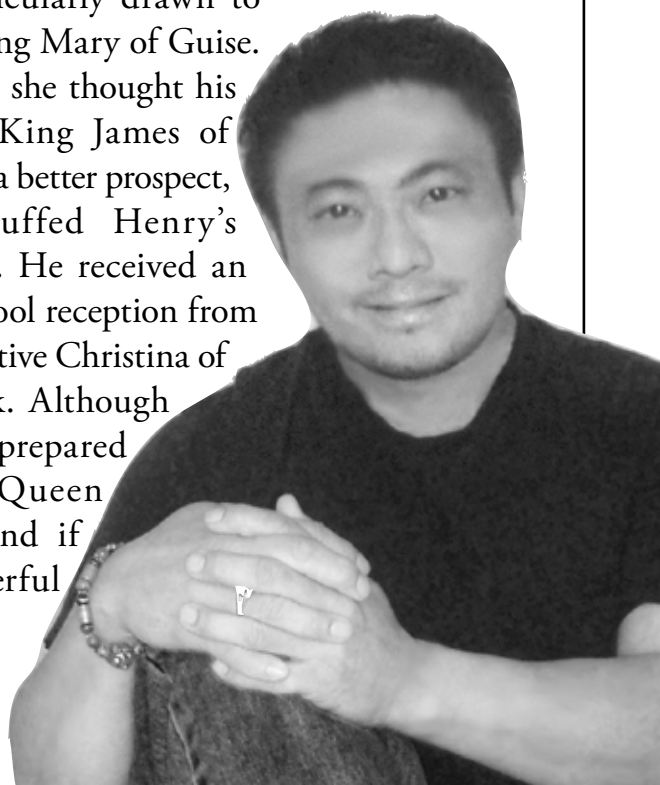
Furthermore, the King’s bastard son Henry Fitzroy, whom it was thought

could possibly succeed his father despite his illegitimacy, died unexpectedly at the age of seventeen in 1536.

Though Henry VIII required a ‘spare’ along with his new heir Prince Edward, it was sometime before he was emotionally ready to consider a new wife. It was not until the spring of 1538 that his spirits lifted, and he was willing to be a husband again for the fourth time. Almost certainly, discrete inquiries had already been made by the King’s chief minister Thomas Cromwell as to suitable candidates even while his master was still in bereavement. Among the eligible ladies was a daughter of the King of France, along with his various relatives. Henry was particularly drawn to the striking Mary of Guise. However, she thought his nephew King James of Scotland a better prospect, and rebuffed Henry’s advances. He received an equally cool reception from the attractive Christina of Denmark. Although she was prepared to be Queen of England if her powerful



Henry VIII (a medal by Jean Dassier)







**John Duke of Cleves at Worship with His Family and His Court, 1528 (by an Unknown Artist)**  
**The Duke is on the left of the triptych (kneeling with his coat-of-arms). On the right is his wife Mary of Jülich-Berg with their daughters Anne (at the far left) and Amelia (in the center)<sup>4</sup>**

uncle the Emperor Charles would have her so, privately, Christina had strong reservations. Reviewing Henry VIII's marital history, the young woman remembered how 'her great aunt was poisoned, that the second was innocently put to death, and the third lost for lack of keeping in her childbed'.<sup>3</sup>

With the list of suitable brides narrowed down, two daughters of John III, Duke of Cleves in Germany - Anne and Amelia (above) - were then put into the running. Not only would a marriage with one of the ladies provide the King with companionship and the possibility of more children, it would also be politically advantageous. Henry VIII was at odds with the Emperor again, and an

alliance with Cleves and its allies in Protestant Germany would bolster his position.

Such a pact had its genesis in the summer of 1538 when German diplomats arrived at the English court. An envoy recorded how Cromwell 'wants very dearly that the King should wed himself with the German princes'.<sup>5</sup> When the time came to really consider such a match in January 1539, Cromwell instructed his agent Christopher Mont to make a report of Anne of Cleves, and if he found her satisfactory, to approach her family to make a formal proposal for her hand. Happily for Cromwell, Mont wrote back how 'every man praiseth the beauty of the said lady, as well for her face as for her person, above other ladies excellent'. In fact, Anne even outshone the



**Anne of Cleves (attributed to Barthel Bruyn)**

lovely Christina of Denmark as ‘the golden sun excelleth the silver moon’.<sup>6</sup> Despite Mont’s enthusiasm for Anne, it would not be enough to convince Henry VIII of Anne’s charms. A portrait was also required. But when Mont requested a picture of Anne, her brother-in-law John Frederick the Elector of Saxony could not comply. His court painter Lucas Cranach, he explained, was ill. Instead, an older likeness of Anne, including one of their sibling Amelia, were offered.

The painting of Amelia is believed to be lost - or unidentified if it still exists<sup>7</sup> - but the one of Anne is probably a portrait type attributed to the artist Barthel Bruyn. The picture - with variants including examples at The Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia (Fig. 4), St. John’s College, Oxford, and Hever Castle, Kent - is similar to panels of other German ladies posed in a comparable manner (in half length, looking to

the left, and usually clutching a flower).<sup>8</sup> As such, there had been mystery as to the sitter’s identity. In 1742, the Oxford painting, far from being described as the image of its illustrious sitter, was simply called ‘a woman’s head in a broad gilt frame’. Six years later, when it was in the possession of a new collector, it was catalogued as ‘a Lady with a Pink in her Hand’. The picture fared no better in 1767, when it was merely described as a ‘Lady’s Head, very ancient’.<sup>9</sup>

It was not only the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that the Bruyn type was identified as being of Henry VIII’s fourth spouse. In 1855, the Rosenbach version was sold at auction as ‘Anne of Cleves’, probably due to comparison with the more well known Holbein images of her.<sup>10</sup> Much later in 1989, scientific analysis of the St. John’s portrait proved conclusively that the sitter was indeed Anne of Cleves. Under X-ray, an inscription was revealed that read ‘ANNA D.G. REGINA ANGLIAE FILIA IOHANNES 3DU...’ - that is ‘Anne by the Grace of God, Queen of England, daughter of John 3<sup>rd</sup> Du[ke of Cleves]’.<sup>11</sup>

Returning to the history of the Bruyn portraits of Anne and Amelia - they were rejected by the English ambassadors. Nicholas Wotton and Nicholas Beard, who acted as Henry VIII’s eyes and ears at the German court, could not vouch for their accuracy, they said. They were never allowed to see the two ladies up-close, and only in their voluminous ‘monstrous habit and apparel’.<sup>12</sup>

Dissatisfied with the portraits presented by William of Cleves, Henry VIII decided to send his own artist, the eminent Hans Holbein, whom he had already put to work portraying his other prospective brides.<sup>13</sup> Of





---

A self portrait of Hans Holbein

German origin, Holbein had made a name for himself in England where he produced brilliant lifelike portraits, as well as pictures incorporating religious themes and royal propaganda. He was also known for his skill in decorative work. Holbein's immense talent was recognized in his own lifetime, and he was hailed as the 'Apelles of our time'.<sup>14</sup>

Arriving at the Clevian court in Düren in August 1539, Holbein created portraits of Anne and Amelia. The one of Amelia has been lost, but that of Anne survives and now

hangs in the Louvre Museum, Paris (Lead picture). The portrait, done on parchment and later mounted on canvas, shows Anne in half-length facing the viewer. As in the Byrun pictures she is depicted in sumptuous German style costume with a bejewelled headdress. The frontal pose allowed Anne's face to be shown in its entirety, and with her hands placed lower down before her, her waist can be seen, thus addressing the earlier complaint about the young woman being hidden underneath her 'monstrous habit and apparel'. Along with





the painting, Holbein also did a miniature of Anne now in The Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Below).

As the large scale painting and the miniature have Anne in identical costume, they were evidently done around the same time. Earlier, it had been suggested that the former was worked up from a life drawing done directly upon the parchment.<sup>15</sup> However, more recent research has revealed that the image was pounced (transferred by powdered charcoal) onto the vellum from a 'cartoon', that is a preliminary drawing.<sup>16</sup> Meaning Holbein first did a detailed sketch of Anne (now lost), from which he then made a painting and a miniature.<sup>17</sup>

Unlike the ill-received Bruyn likeness, the Holbein pictures were admired by the English

envoys. Wotton wrote to Henry VIII how Holbein 'hath taken the effigies of my Lady Anne and the Lady Amelia, and hath expressed their images very lively'.<sup>18</sup> When they were brought back to England, the King found them pleasing as well, and he officially committed himself to Anne of Cleves. But as history tells us, things did not go as planned. When the couple actually met on New Year's Day 1540, Henry took a strong dislike to Anne for reasons that remain mysterious. After six months of marriage, their union was annulled. Anne's consolations were a handsome settlement and the privilege of being called the King's 'sister'. She even managed to outlive Henry VIII (and his two subsequent wives), and died in 1557.

## ROLAND HUI

1. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XII (ii), no. 972.
2. Edward Hall, *The Triumphant Reigne of Kyng Henry the VIII*, London: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1904, II, p. 280.
3. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XIV (ii), no. 400. Even though Katherine of Aragon died of natural causes, Henry VIII's mistreatment of her led some of her supporters to believe that he had done away with his wife by nefarious means.
4. The triptych is located in The Church of St Lambert, Düsseldorf. My thanks to Dr. Martin Spies (Justus Liebig University, Giessen) for referring me to this.
5. Rory MacEntegart, 'Fatal Matrimony: Henry VIII and the Marriage to Anne of Cleves', *Henry VIII – A European Court in England* (edited by David Starkey), New York: Cross River Press, 1991, p. 140.
6. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XIV (i), no. 552. Alternatively, the beautiful lady referred to might have been Anne's elder sister Sybille of Cleves (married to the Elector John Frederick), not Christina of Denmark.
7. A Holbein drawing of an unknown woman in the Royal Collection (RCIN 912190) with dark hair and wearing a wide hat is often called Amelia of Cleves. However, there is insufficient reason to believe this is of her. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the sketch was erroneously described as a depiction of Anne of Cleves: Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea, 1856, IV, p. 255.
8. A similar portrait of Anne can be found at Trinity College, Cambridge. Although the sitter is posed looking to the left as in the Bruyn portraits, her hands are clasped in front of her and she wears a different costume. However, her headdress appears to be same as in the Oxford and Hever pictures; the front of her cap is embroidered with the legend 'A BON FINE'. See: <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/anne-of-cleves-15151557-queen-consort-to-henry-viii-134673>. It should be mentioned that in 2015, historian Alison Weir suggested that a painting, formerly at Hever Castle, Kent, and inscribed 'Anna Regina A.D. 1534' might be of Anne of Cleves. See: <https://tudortimes.co.uk/people/is-this-anne-of-cleves>. Still, there is no supporting evidence. The same can be said of a portrait of an unknown lady engraved by Wenceslaus Hollar in The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-OB-11.439). See: <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-OB-11.439>
9. Peter Hacker and Candy Kuhl, 'A portrait of Anne of Cleves', *The Burlington Magazine*, March 1992, pp. 172-175. It had been proposed that this picture type of Anne was actually of her sister Amelia. But as Hacker and Kuhl point out, it was unlikely that Amelia would have shared components of the same costume of her sister Anne in the Holbein portraits.
10. *ibid.*
11. *ibid.*
12. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XIV (i), no. 920.
13. Holbein had already painted some of the French candidates, though the pictures are seemingly lost. His celebrated full length of Christina of Denmark is in The National Gallery, London.
14. Alfred Woltmann, *Holbein and His Times* (translated by F.E. Bunnnett), London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1872, p. 369. Apelles was a renowned artist of 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Greece.
15. Roy Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court: The Portrait Miniature Rediscovered 1520-1620*, London: The Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983, p. 48.
16. Karen Hearn (editor), *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1630*, London: Tate Publishing, 1995, p. 119.
17. While some 16<sup>th</sup> century miniature painters like Lucas Horenbout and Nicholas Hilliard worked up likenesses directly upon the vellum surface, Holbein preferred to copy from his sketches. See: Roy Strong, *Artists of the Tudor Court*, p. 45.
18. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XIV (ii), no. 33.

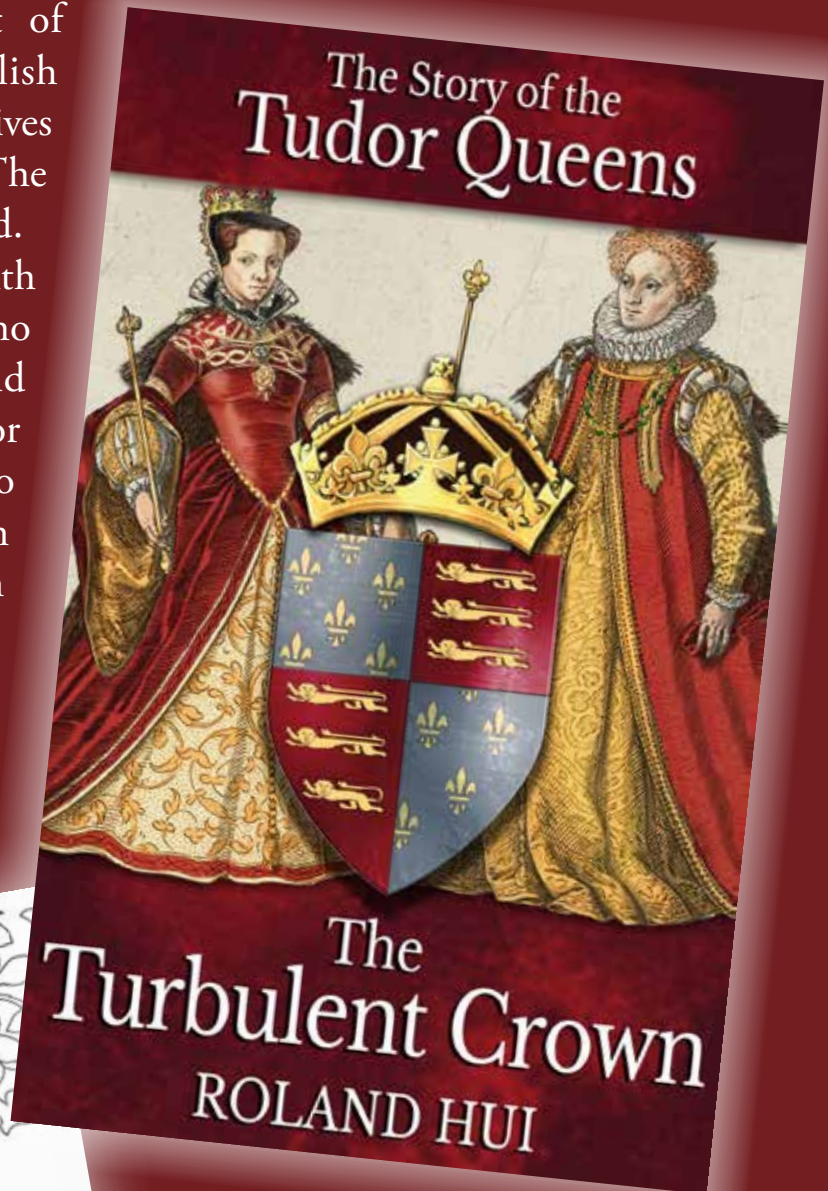
# RECOMMENDED READING

Ten remarkable women.

One remarkable era.

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

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



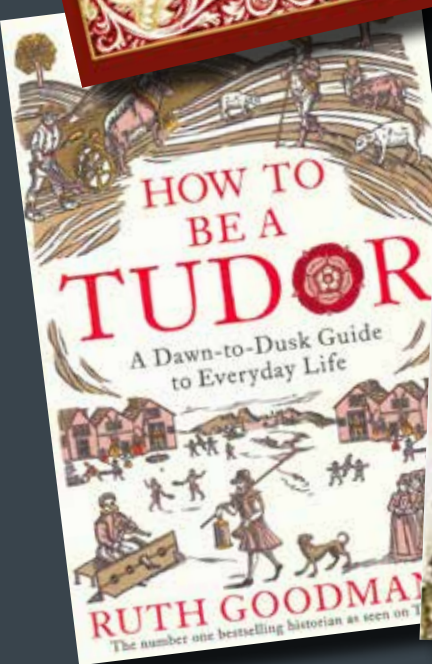
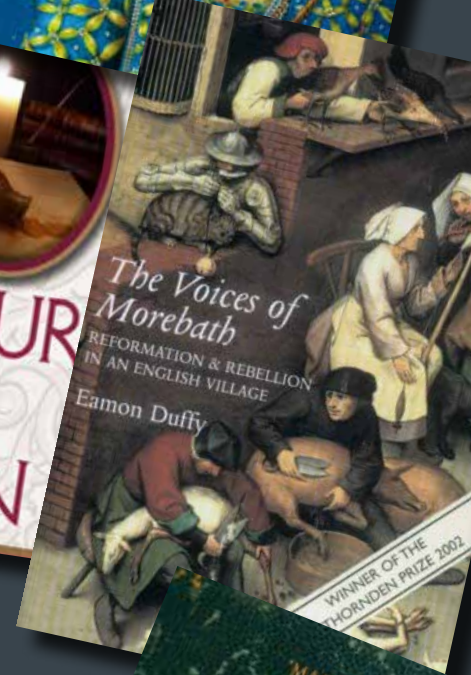
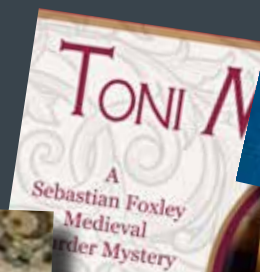
The Mary,  
Queen of Scots  
Colouring book  
OUT NOW!





# Tudor Life

## EDITOR'S PICKS



For non-fiction looks at everyday lives, I'd recommend "How to be a Tudor" by Ruth Goodman and Ian Mortimer's "A Time Traveller's Guide to Elizabethan England." A. N. Wilson's "The Elizabethans" has an excellent chapter on the poor, while John Guy's "Elizabeth: The Forgotten Years" looks at how the government's policies impacted on the poor in the 1590s. A fascinating and critically acclaimed look at everyday life in a Tudor village, especially in regards to the religious changes of the mid-1500s, can be found in Professor Eamon Duffy's "The Voices of Morebath."

With novels, two of the instalments in the Shardlake series of novels by C. J. Sansom have a heavy focus on the experiences of the poor – the second book, "Dark Fire," and the most recent, "Tombland." "Dark Fire" takes the reader inside the nightmarishly unjust world of a Tudor asylum, the Our Lady of Bethlehem, from which we derived the word "Bedlam". And "Tombland" gives a detailed imagining of the conditions that culminated in Kett's Rebellion in the reign of Edward VI. Toni Mount's "The Colour of Poison" is dense with the flavour of the streets and everyday life in the era.

A movie and a non-fiction tie-in I can recommend is the 1982 French film "The Return of Martin Guerre," which explores questions of identity and patriarchy in a medieval village, inspired by the ground-breaking history book of the same title by Dr. Natalie Zemon Davies..



**GARETH RUSSELL**

# THE TUDOR SOCIETY



## *Members' Bulletin*

What a strange time we're all going through at the moment. We do hope you are safe, and of course send our condolences to any families or members affected by the world situation.

A positive point we've seen is that there is a renewed interest in Tudor history from people across the world. Combined with May 19 (Anne Boleyn's execution date), we've seen people asking all sorts of questions about our favourite dynasty.

Welcome to all our new members wherever you are from across the world. I do hope you're finding the website easy to navigate. Do remember to come to our live chats which happen in the Chatroom twice a month. We have been very blessed that our expert guest speakers have been able to continue recording their talks for us throughout the crisis.

We do need to make members aware that the "Roving Reporter" articles are becoming difficult to create for obvious reasons. We'll do our best to produce great videos from photos we have taken over previous years, but this will eventually become difficult. Our thanks go out to Philippa Lacey Brewell who normally does these visits for us and hope that she'll be able to get back to Tudor sites soon!

Stay safe,

**Tim Ridgway**





---

St Margaret's Church

# A VISIT TO DITCHLING

WITH IAN MULCAHY





Wings Place  
(Known as Anne of Cleves House)

Ditchling is an East Sussex village, close to the border with West Sussex, located in the South Downs National Park. Better known for its nearby Beacon, which hosts an Iron Age hillfort and is the third highest point on the South Downs at 248 metres (810ft), the village is first documented as 'Dicelinga' in a grant made by King Alduuf in 765 concerning land bordering the village. It is later recorded that its Manor and land were held by King Alfred the

Great.

After the Norman Conquest, and in common with much land in Sussex, the area was owned by William de Warenne, one of few men proven to have fought alongside William the Conqueror at the Battle of Hastings. The Domesday Book records Ditching as having a mill, a church and approximately 150 households. There are many historic buildings extant in modern day Ditchling, a dozen or so of which were





Various views of Wings Place



Tudor built or were already in use by the time of Henry VII's accession.

With all that in mind, Ditchling seemed like the perfect destination for a 2 or 3 hour walk on a sunny July day so, following a little bit of a homework and a 40 minute drive, I parked the car behind the village hall, gathered my notes, my camera and a bottle of water and set off to explore.

Starting in West Street at the knoll in the centre of the village, our first building of note is the small, flint faced, **Parish Church of St Margaret**, the nave of which predates the Norman Conquest. Additions were made to the church in the late 1100s (south aisle), 1260 (the chancel and the tower), 1300 (the south chapel) and in the early 1400s (the south porch). In common with St Margaret's in West Hoathly (see the January 2019 edition of *Tudor Life*) the church was gifted to the Priory of St Pancras in Lewes. In the case of Ditchling, the gift was made by William De Warenne in around 1090. In 1538, during the dissolution, and also in common with the church at West Hoathly, the advowson of St Margaret's was granted to Thomas Cromwell and, following Cromwell's death in 1540, was passed to Anne of Cleves who remained the avowee until her death in 1557. At West Hoathly the right was then returned to the Crown, but in Ditchling the advowson was first passed to Cardinal Pole,

the last Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury. In December 1564 Sir Richard Sackville, the first Lord Lieutenant of the County of Sussex and at the time the sitting MP for Sussex, became the avowee, but this right was short lived as, in February 1565, the right was granted to the Chancellor of Chichester Cathedral who retained it until the mid-nineteenth century.

Opposite the entrance to the church is **Wings Place**, which was originally named Ditchling Garden Manor and is also known as Anne of Cleves House. Described by Allan Fea in his book *Old English Houses, The Record Of A Random Itinerary* (1910) as 'a charming medley of Tudor stone, brick and timber construction, quite unique', the Manor itself was one of five in the parish and dates back at least as far as 1095, when it was first documented as forming part of the





### Crossways

Priory of St Pancras which leads us to the conclusion that the manor was also gifted by William De Warenne following the Norman conquest. The building currently on the site is of archetypal Tudor vintage with timber framing and jetties aplenty. Local tales tell of a 19th century vicar recalling parishioners telling him that the house was built by Alfred the Great in the late 9th century or William de Warenne's wife in the late 11th century. Whilst these tales are fanciful it is probable that an earlier building stood on the site and it is certainly possible that the current building contains walls of that earlier building and uses its foundations. The entrance porch is of medieval origin and was either brought here from another site or is a visible remaining part of the older building, perhaps forming an entrance to a courtyard. It is known that the current house was originally larger, and extant part was the western wing of the house.

After the dissolution, and once again in common with a property in West Hoathly (The Priest

House) the ownership of the property initially followed that of the advowson of St Margaret's, being firstly in the possession of Cromwell before being subsequently handed to Anne of Cleves following the annulment of her marriage to Henry VIII, though like the Priest House, she never lived here. Following Anne's death the property reverted to the Crown under Elizabeth I. Interestingly, given the ownership of the property at the point of the dissolution, the property has a well-used priest hole and local legend says that the upstairs rooms were used to conduct secret Catholic services.

Within 20 years, the property was owned by Lord Abergavenny who gifted it to Henry Poole as a dowry following Poole's marriage to his daughter Margaret. Having since served time as home to William Pitt & The Duke of Wellington, a grocers, a drapers and a public library, by the mid 1800's the building was home to several families, suggesting that it had been subdivided. It was restored to a single house in 1936. Most recently, Wings Place was home to locally born radio DJ Jamie Theakston who bought it in 2004 to 'fulfil a boyhood dream' before selling up in 2015.

Walking back eastwards towards the crossroads in the centre of the village, the next Tudor property that stands out is the appropriately named **Crossways**, positioned on the corner of West Street and South







Street. Built in around 1580 the house originally consisted of two bays, with a third added to the south very soon after the original construction. The northern gabled end of the building was originally jettied, but is now infilled. Note the little carved stone head underneath the window of the southern bay, the origin of which I have unfortunately been unable to ascertain.

Heading east from the crossroads along Lewes Road, a 'new' turnpike road constructed in 1812, we almost immediately come across **Tudor Close**, a 15th century timber framed house at right angles to the road that would have originally been jettied, but this has been infilled with bricks, with the timbers of the upper floor hidden behind hung tiles. A small section of timber framing can still be seen on the eastern wall where the building joins the slightly set back

**4 & 8 Lewes Road**, (no number 6!) believed to be an early 17th century structure and, if not quite Tudor in origin, most definitely influenced by the architecture of the period.

Opposite the previous two buildings, on the north east corner of the crossroads and on the way back to the High Street, is **1 Lewes Road** which currently serves as the village store and has previously been an independent bank. The exact age of this building, along with much of its history, is unknown, but it is believed to date to late Tudor times, if not earlier.

Turning north into the High Street, one's eyes are immediately drawn to the imposing three storey **7 & 9 High Street**, also known as Bank House. Built in 1573, the building has been sympathetically restored and at the rear of the building some roof structure can be found that has been





dated to at least 150 years earlier, which suggests that the building that has been in place for the last 450 years was a rebuild of, or extension to, a much earlier structure. To the left of Bank House is **5 High Street**, a building dating back to approximately 1600 which, curiously, doesn't have a statutory listing with Historic England. The assumption must be that this is due to the way that the join of 3 High Street has been constructed, which isn't really in keeping with the character of its old neighbour.

As you had continue to head north, the High Street becomes North End and on the western side of the road, at the point where its name changes, are the conjoined **Colstock and Woodbine Cottage**, a split 16th century timber framed building whose character has been somewhat lost behind relatively modern brick and tile refronting.



1 Lewes Road

200 metres or so further along North End we reach the area that was once seemingly the domain of the local blacksmith. To the east of the road and is the steeply roofed late 15th or early 16th century **Forge House**, positioned at right angles to the road whilst opposite on the western side is the similarly aged **Forge Cottage**, where the jetty and timber framing remain visible on the northern aspect, though the rest of the house has been refronted and the jetties infilled.





Retracing our steps southwards, we turn left into East End Lane. Archaeology tells us that this area was the hub of the Saxon village, being part of the old route from the Iron Age hill fort at Ditchling Beacon into The Weald. In the 15th & 16th centuries the subdivision of the old medieval plots saw the lane transform from a widely spaced group of farmsteads into a village street hosting shops, tradesmen's workshops and cottages. East End Lane remained a busy thoroughfare until the early 19th century when the Lewes Road was turnpike at which point it became a quiet back lane.

A small number of the original buildings from the time of the subdivision still remain, and the first we arrive at is **Brewers**. At right angles to the road and much altered by a 19th century extension and a stucco rendering, hidden behind today's façade is

a small timber framed two bay open hall house which probably dates to the early to mid 15th century.

Further down the lane on the southern side are the conjoined **Forge Cottage & Twitten Cottage**, a possible Tudor period timber framed building that has been tile hung and dressed with flint. It's interesting that we should find a second Forge Cottage within 400 yards of the first; the demand for blacksmiths must have been high in the Ditchling area! Twitten Cottage is named after the path that the building is accessed from, 'twitten' being the Sussex word for a narrow path or alleyway that passes between two physical barriers.

Our next building of interest is **Cherry Tree Cottage**, a single aisled timber framed hall house of c.1400 with a double cross wing extension. Whilst the house is very





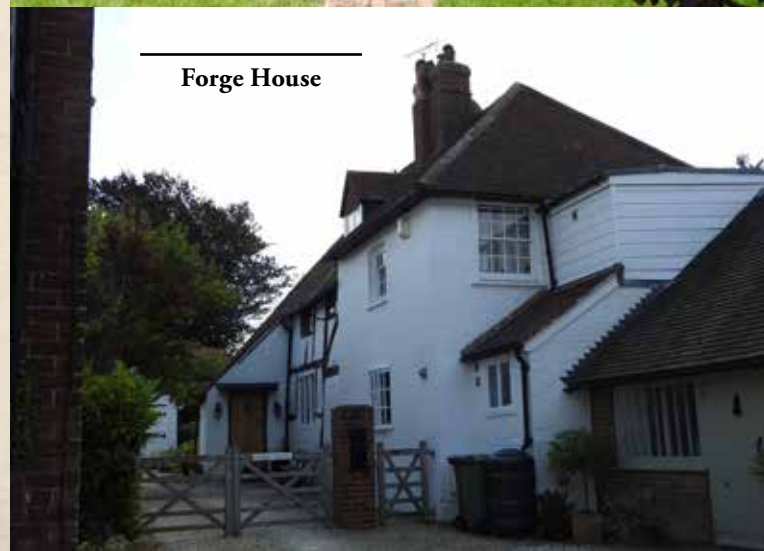
pleasing on the eyes, I can't help but feel a little sad that the house has been clad, partially in flint and partially in render, as I'm sure it would look magnificent with its timbers on display. Standing in the street looking at the way the cottage is set back from the road, it's easy to imagine this being home to a tradesman's family, with the owners or tenants working and trading out of a workshop set between the cottage and the highway.

Our final point of Tudor interest in Ditchling, a little further along East End Lane just before its direction turns to the south, is **Walnut Tree Cottage**. This much extended 16th century timber framed building is another cottage whose undoubted Tudor charm has been lost beneath painted brick, flint and hung tile cladding, all of which was added in the 18th century.

IAN MULCAHY



Colstock and Woodbine Cottage



Forge House



Forge Cottage

---



Brewers

---





Forge Cottage and  
Twitten Cottage

---



Cherry Tree Cottage

---





Walnut Tree Cottage



The side of Walnut Tree Cottage







**Charles Brandon**

**Edward Burgh**

**Edward Stafford**, 3rd Duke of Buckingham

**George Boleyn**

**Gregory Cromwell**

**Henry Carey**

**Henry Fitzroy**

**Henry VII**

**Henry VIII**

**John Seymour**

**Philip II of Spain**

**Sir Francis Walsingham**

**Sir Nicholas Throckmorton**

**Sir Richard Pole**

**Thomas Cranmer**

**Thomas Cromwell**

**Thomas Stanley**

**William Cecil**

**William Stafford**

**Anne Boleyn**

**Anne Browne**

**Anne Carew**

**Anne Morgan**

**Eleanor Percy**

**Elizabeth of York**

**Elizabeth Seymour**

**Elizabeth Wyckes**

**Jane Parker**

**Katherine Parr**

**Lady Mary Howard**

**Margaret Beaufort**

**Margaret Plantagenet**

**Margarete Hetzel**

**Margery Wentworth**

**Mary Boleyn**

**Mary Cheke**

**Mary I**

**Ursula St Barbe**

**Match the husbands and wives. Some of these people have been married more than once but they only have one pairing here.**





TONI MOUNT

# THE TUMULTUOUS LIFE OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH [PART 2]

In my previous article about Sir Walter Raleigh, I mentioned that he regained his reputation by capturing the incredible treasure-laden ship *Madre de Deus* and presenting it to Queen Elizabeth. Some historians believe this event gave rise to Raleigh's obsession with acquiring gold that would urge him on to increasingly dangerous adventures.

In 1594, rumours that a phenomenal 'City of Gold' existed somewhere in South America reached Europe. Called *El Dorado* by the Spaniards, the stories of a place of unimaginable riches caught Raleigh's interest. Eager to know more, he read the accounts of Gonzalo Pizarro, Francisco Lopez and Francisco de Orellana telling of their explorations

in the Amazon basin and the Lower Orinoco River area. Convinced by what he'd read that El Dorado was more than just a myth, he embarked on a voyage to Guiana in South America, although to avoid revealing his true purpose, he referred to his intended goal as *Manoa*, its native name.

Afterwards, Raleigh wrote a book recounting his adventures, *The Discoverie of Guiana* [1596], describing how an account written by Juan Martinez, a Spanish master of ordnance, had given him all the proof he needed. The story ran that, due to having 'lost' or 'misaid' a cache of armaments he was supposed to be delivering, Martinez feared he would be executed when the truth was revealed.

To avoid this miserable end, Martinez took a canoe and paddled away, down the Orinoco River. He was soon in difficulties – a European alone in the impenetrable Amazonian jungle – but was rescued by some native tribes people. Intrigued by this odd-looking creature, they took Martinez to their king at his place called Manoa. Whatever the locals made of him, he lived with them for several months but perhaps the novelty wore off when he ate their food and benefitted from their assistance without contributing anything useful to the community. Martinez was sent back to his own people, loaded with gifts of gold. He was swiftly relieved of his treasures but the story of a City of Gold somewhere in the Amazon rainforest was too marvellous to remain a secret.

Raleigh found it enticing: the possibility of such wealth, there for the taking, seemingly not fully appreciated by the local tribes who were too willing to give it away. He wrote to a number of people involved with Martinez' story and received 'solid proof' in the form of Spanish documents and stories told by the Amazonian tribes which convinced him of El Dorado's existence, such that he had no doubts of its veracity. In 1595, Raleigh set sail, in his quest to find Manoa. He also hoped to undermine the strength of the 'contemptible Spanish' in their colonising of the New World and increase the English influence there. In what is now Venezuela, he led an expedition, sailing up the Orinoco River in the heart of Spain's colonial empire. He certainly found some gold mines in Guiana, giving exaggerated reports of their possible wealth when he returned to England, but he didn't find



A postage stamp of British Guiana [1938] where he hoped to find El Dorado. The image of Raleigh and his son Walter is taken from a portrait painted in 1602, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Manoa. His descriptions of the gold to be had were not enough to persuade any sensible Englishman to support his proposed project for colonising the area either. But Raleigh's belief in El Dorado remained firm – the City of Gold was in that inhospitable jungle somewhere, awaiting discovery.

Disappointed in his quest for untold wealth, nevertheless Raleigh had been restored to Queen Elizabeth's favour since his fall from grace some years earlier, over his marriage to Bess Throckmorton without his sovereign's approval. In 1596, the queen sent him with her new favourite, Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, on an unsuccessful expedition to the Spanish city of Cadiz. Then, the following year, Raleigh was appointed as Essex's rear admiral on an expedition to the



Azores – the main aim of both campaigns being the continued harassment of the perceived enemy: Spain. In 1600, he received his last royal appointment as Governor of the Channel Islands, based in Jersey. There, he focussed his efforts on improving the administration and defences of the islands, such that the Spaniards could never use them as a back door into England.

Raleigh's luck ran out again when Queen Elizabeth died in 1603. Her successor, King James VI of Scots and James I of England, was the son of Mary, Queen of Scots – Elizabeth's Catholic rival whom she had executed in 1587. Unsurprisingly, anyone in Elizabeth's favour was never going to be in James's good books. Two factors weighed heavily against Raleigh. Firstly, his new monarch was keen to restore the country's relations with Spain and Raleigh had been the Spaniards' enemy at every turn, loathing them as a 'contemptible' nation. In fact, the Spanish Ambassador Gondomar demanded Raleigh's 'removal' as one requirement of any future alliance between Britain and Spain. Secondly, Raleigh, arrogant, ambitious and pompous, had never been particularly popular with his fellow courtiers. His protective patron, the queen, now gone, his enemies could hardly wait to bring him down.

In 1603, with the previous monarch barely settled in her grave, he was accused of plotting to oust King James from his new throne. Raleigh was convicted of treason on the written evidence of Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, and sentenced to death. Everything Elizabeth had bestowed upon him, including



Henry, Prince of Wales by Isaac Oliver, c. 1610-12  
The Royal Collection Photo.  
Supplied by Royal Collection Trust / © HM Queen Elizabeth II 2012

Prince Henry, heir to the throne, painted by Isaac Oliver  
sometime between 1610 and the prince's death in 1612 from the  
National Portrait Gallery, London

Durham House in London and his estates in Sherborne, were confiscated by the Crown. James I was, perhaps, the most paranoid and suspicious monarch ever to rule this country, constantly in fear of being killed by witchcraft, poison or assassination – rightly, in some cases, as in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. But in this instance, there was no plot; the evidence had been fabricated so, like it or not, James was obliged to commute the death sentence to life imprisonment. Raleigh would spend the next twelve years in the Tower of London. He was, however, housed in comfort, permitted to dabble with his alchemical experiments, composing poetry and completing the first volume of his impossibly ambitious and

outright fanciful *Historie of the World*. He was allowed to have visitors including his wife, Bess, and became friendly with King James's eldest son and heir, Henry, Prince of Wales, although it seems unlikely the king could approve the relationship. It's thought that Raleigh may have begun his epic book, *Historie of the World*, as a gift for the prince.

Prince Henry was a great hope as his father's successor – the promising king-in-waiting – and might have served as Raleigh's protector. Sadly, the prince died suddenly in 1612, mourned by everyone. With no prospect now of regaining favour through young Henry, Raleigh had one last chance at earning his freedom. Rashly, he promised King James – as strapped for cash as Elizabeth had ever been – all the wealth of El Dorado, enough gold to solve his financial difficulties forever. The king was persuaded and in 1616, Raleigh was released from the Tower, but not pardoned. As regard upsetting the Spaniards, he argued that the country of Guiana had been ceded to England, not Spain, by its native chiefs in 1595.

The king gave permission, insisting that no offence should be caused to Spain. Raleigh financed and led this second expedition, promising to open a gold mine in South America without breaking the treaty signed with Spain. This time, he took his son, young Walter, on the voyage for his first experience of adventure. However, unlucky yet again, when the ship arrived at its destination, Raleigh was too sick with a severe fever to lead his men upriver. Instead, he sent his lieutenant, Lawrence Kemys, and young Walter went with him. Kemys

and the party didn't find any gold but encountered a Spanish settlement. The Spaniards defended the place fiercely and Raleigh's son was killed in the action. In retaliation, Kemys burned the settlement, violating the treaty with Spain.

Raleigh sailed home to England, sick and brokenhearted, without any gold. Why he did so is impossible to explain. He must have known the king would not forgive his failure nor the breaking of the peace treaty. King James reinstated the suspended death sentence of 1603 and this time there could be no reprieve. Raleigh's execution took place on 29 October 1618 – exactly as James had promised the Spanish Ambassador Gondomar.

After his execution, Bess Raleigh worked hard to re-establish her late husband's reputation. In 1628, three years after King James's death, in the reign of his second son, Charles I, an Act of Restitution passed through Parliament, restoring the Raleigh name and allowing Bess's only surviving son to inherit his father's property.

There is a story that Bess had her husband's head embalmed and carried it with her for the rest of her life, although the only documented evidence is from the day of his death, when it was recorded that Lady Raleigh and her ladies left the scene of execution, carrying Sir Walter's head in a red bag. An account from 1740 claims that, after Bess's death, her husband's head was laid with the rest of his remains, in his tomb in St Margaret's Church at Westminster. But there isn't any certainty as to where Raleigh's body was buried: it may have been released to Bess, as she



requested, or even sent to Exeter, to lie alongside his parents.

Raleigh is remembered by students today as the gallant guy who spread his cloak over a muddy puddle so Queen Elizabeth wouldn't get her royal tootsies wet – if he ever did that. The USA has more impressive memorials to the man who led such a dazzling and thrilling a life, naming the state capital of North Carolina as Raleigh, Raleigh County in West Virginia and Mount Raleigh in British Columbia after him, the founder of the first English colony in North

America, now known as the 'Lost City of Roanoke Island'.

For those who enjoy poetry, Raleigh also left us some beautiful examples of the art: *The Ocean, to Cynthia* is an unfinished elegy celebrating Queen Elizabeth and one of the loveliest tributes to her. There are also several shorter lyric poems. *The Passionate Man's Pilgrimage* was supposed to be composed by a man about to die and was written during his imprisonment, so it's a fitting end to these articles on the tumultuous life of Sir Walter Raleigh.

TONI MOUNT

## ANSWERS TO THE MARRIAGE QUIZ

**How did you do? Let us know in comments on the magazine page!**

1. Charles Brandon, 1st Duke of Suffolk..... Anne Browne
2. Edward Burgh..... Katherine Parr
3. Edward Stafford, 3rd Duke of Buckingham..... Eleanor Percy
4. George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford..... Jane Parker
5. Gregory Cromwell, 1st Baron Cromwell ..... Elizabeth Seymour
6. Henry Carey, 1st Baron Hunsdon..... Anne Morgan
7. Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset..... Lady Mary Howard
8. Henry VII..... Elizabeth of York
9. Henry VIII ..... Anne Boleyn
10. John Seymour ..... Margery Wentworth
11. Philip II of Spain..... Mary I
12. Sir Francis Walsingham..... Ursula St Barbe
13. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton ..... Anne Carew
14. Sir Richard Pole..... Margaret Plantagenet
15. Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury..... Margarete Hetzel
16. Thomas Cromwell, 1st Earl of Essex ..... Elizabeth Wyckes
17. Thomas Stanley, 1st Earl of Derby..... Margaret Beaufort
18. William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley..... Mary Cheke
19. William Stafford ..... Mary Boleyn

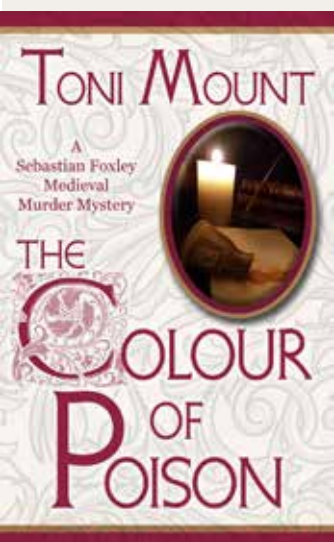
# THE PASSIONATE MAN'S PILGRIMAGE

Give me my scallop shell of quiet,  
My staff of faith to walk upon,  
My scrip of joy, immortal diet,  
My bottle of salvation,  
My gown of glory, hope's true gage,  
And thus I'll take my pilgrimage.

Blood must be my body's balmer,  
No other balm will there be given,  
Whilst my soul, like a white palmer,  
Travels to the land of heaven;  
Over the silver mountains,  
Where spring the nectar fountains;  
And there I'll kiss  
The bowl of bliss,  
And drink my eternal fill  
On every milken hill.  
My soul will be a-dry before,  
But after it will ne'er thirst more;  
And by the happy blissful way  
More peaceful pilgrims I shall see,  
That have shook off their gowns of clay,  
And go apparelled fresh like me.  
I'll bring them first  
To slake their thirst,  
And then to taste those nectar suckets,  
At the clear wells  
Where sweetness dwells,  
Drawn up by saints in crystal buckets.

And when our bottles and all we  
Are fill'd with immortality,  
Then the holy paths we'll travel,  
Strew'd with rubies thick as gravel,  
Ceilings of diamonds, sapphire floors,  
High walls of coral, and pearl bowers.

From thence to heaven's bribeless hall  
Where no corrupted voices brawl,  
No conscience molten into gold,  
Nor forg'd accusers bought and sold,  
No cause deferr'd, nor vain-spent journey,  
For there Christ is the king's attorney,  
Who pleads for all without degrees,  
And he hath angels, but no fees.  
When the grand twelve million jury  
Of our sins and sinful fury,  
'Gainst our souls black verdicts give,  
Christ pleads his death, and then we live.  
Be thou my speaker, taintless pleader,  
Unblotted lawyer, true proceeder,  
Thou movest salvation even for alms,  
Not with a bribed lawyer's palms.  
And this is my eternal plea  
To him that made heaven, earth, and sea,  
Seeing my flesh must die so soon,  
And want a head to dine next noon,  
Just at the stroke when my veins start and spread,  
Set on my soul an everlasting head.  
Then am I ready, like a palmer fit,  
To tread those blest paths which before I writ.





# Charlie

## UNCROWNED QUEEN

### Nicola Tallis

# Book



In recent years, the character of Margaret Beaufort has been prone to some negativity, mainly in fictional works and depictions on TV. She is often thought of as a cold and strictly religious person, not seen as a real person with feelings and emotions. There has only been one biography on her before now and it is a few years old, so Nicola Tallis has decided to give her the attention she deserves with the release of her new biography *Uncrowned Queen: The Fateful Life of Margaret Beaufort, Tudor Matriarch*.

The book starts with talking about Margaret's family's origins, their descent from John of Gaunt through his second marriage to Katherine Swynford (originally his mistress) and their connection to the House of Lancaster. Tallis then moves on to Margaret's life and marriage to Edmund Tudor and the very controversial subject of her pregnancy at a young age:

*'The Church declared that twelve was the age at which a girl was permitted to have sexual relations with her husband and cohabit, while fourteen was prescribed for boys. Nevertheless, many of Margaret's contemporaries still considered this to be painfully young and often chose to wait a few years... So eager, though, was Edmund to secure an interest in Margaret's inheritance through consummation and the production of an heir that this was not an option.'*

One of the most interesting theories put forward by the author is one that suggests that Margaret could have consciously chosen not to become pregnant again after Henry. There is the possibility that she had physical damage, as she was only thirteen at the time of his birth, but we know she must have been emotionally scarred by it, as she was adamant that her granddaughter not be sent to Scotland to marry James IV too young, as she was worried that he may consummate it early.

Tallis shows us a very different Margaret to what is traditionally seen in novels and TV shows. One aspect of her personality that is often downplayed is her love of fashion, which the author tells us about:

*'Contrary to the dour image conveyed in most of her portraits, Margaret was fond of fashion and took a great interest in her appearance. Later in her life, her inventories reveal the extent of her love of clothes and jewels, but earlier evidence also shows that she was purchasing expensive materials and was conscious of creating an outward impression of splendour as her rank*

This book also dispels some of the most prevalent myths surrounding Margaret, including the one that she was somehow involved in the murder of the Princes in the Tower. Tallis explains that this would have been impossible, as she had no access to them, and had no motive, as she was involved in a plot to free them just months before. There was also the fact that Richard's son was still

alive at the time, so it would not have brought her son that much closer to the throne. It is good to see this hopefully laid to rest, as no contemporaries mentioned her in connection with the boys and the theory only emerged recently in a popular fictional work.

Finally, Margaret Beaufort has the biography she so deserves and shows she was not the cold-hearted monster she is often portrayed as in fiction. Tallis has truly done her justice with a well-researched yet readable book on this amazing woman. I would recommend it to anyone wanting to learn more about her or the start of the Tudor dynasty.

## THE MIRROR AND THE LIGHT

Hilary Mantel



Eleven years after the first book was released, Hilary Mantel's final book in the *Wolf Hall* series has been released. *The Mirror and the Light* continues the story of the rise and fall of Thomas Cromwell, immediately picking up after the execution of Anne Boleyn at the end of *Bring up the Bodies* and ending with his death. There are around 900 pages in the UK edition and so reading it is no mean feat but it is well worth it.

This book takes us through the conflicted emotions of the man behind the throne, showing his close relationship with Henry VIII and his attempts to stay on the right side of the King. We see a lot more of Henry in this one and I am grateful for it, as he is an interesting character and it is a great study into the mind of the monarch:

*'Henry likes to utter his sin and be forgiven. He is sincerely sorry, he will not do it again. And, in this case, perhaps he will not. The temptation to cut off your wife's head does not arise every year.'*

It does refer to previous books quite a few times, which can feel like padding sometimes and it would have been better had the author cut more out, as it would not have taken away much from the story. Cromwell often repeats himself and seems to think more than the previous two books, as he is often posing theoretical questions and seems to have become quite the philosopher. He thinks about things that aren't even entirely relevant to the situation, such as this example of his musings on the Holy Roman Emperor and King Francois I of France:

*'When the Emperor speaks, his words rattle like pebbles in the cavern of his overshot jaw. François is paying for his sins: he has lost so many teeth to the mercury cure that his wishes are expressed as spit'*

Some inaccuracies are to be expected, such as the way Jane Boleyn, the sister-in-law of Anne Boleyn, is depicted in this book. She is shown as malevolent and spiteful, as well as having no regrets over being involved in the death of her husband, which there is no evidence for in contemporary accounts and has been disputed in recent years. However, these may be forgiven, as Jane was portrayed in the same way in the two preceding books, so Mantel could not change her character too much.

*The Mirror and the Light* is a well-written and satisfying conclusion to the *Wolf Hall* trilogy. It may still divide people, as the other two books in the series did, but those who enjoyed the previous ones will certainly enjoy this one. I would recommend this book to anyone who enjoyed those, as well as those who like good historical fiction, as long as they don't mind a few inaccuracies here and there and it perhaps being slightly longer than it needed to be.

REVIEWS BY CHARLIE FENTON





*Catherine Interviews...*

# Always talking Tudor

**This month's interview is with another Tudor face you might remember from when she has worked with us in the past. Welcome to Natalie Grueninger!**

**Many people I'm sure have come across you because you have done so many wonderful Tudor things! But can you start by telling us a little bit about you outside your Tudor life?\***

Well, thank you for your kind words! I'm a born and bred Sydneysider. I live in a leafy suburb of southern Sydney with my husband, two children, and our cheeky cavoodle, Lochie. Apart from researching and writing about the Tudors, I'm also a part-time primary school teacher and am very lucky to work at a wonderful local school. I'm also the co-founder of a not-for-profit organisation called Ripples of Love, whose goal is to give back to the community by serving its most vulnerable members.

When I'm not immersed in sixteenth-century England, I can often be found plodding around the house, exercising, (I've recently taken up running, something I thought would never happen!), reading or just spending time with my family. My meditation practice is also a very important part of my life.

## *Catherine Interviews...*

**We have a huge number of members from overseas here at the Tudor Society and it's often their stories of how they found a love for Tudor history that are the most interesting. What drew you to the Tudors?**

For as long as I can remember, I've felt drawn to the past, and have always had a general interest in history. But it wasn't until I was around 20-years-old that I became interested specifically in the Tudor period. My sister lent me a book called *The Secret Diary of Anne Boleyn* by Robin Maxwell, which piqued my curiosity. Not long after, I travelled to London for the first time, and on my sister's recommendation, I visited the Tower of London and Hampton Court Palace.

Well, I was absolutely blown away! As an Australian, I was no stranger to ancient landscapes and exquisite coastlines, but I'd never before stood in a building that was hundreds of years old. My mind wandered to the people who'd walked there before me. What were their lives like and what had been their hopes and dreams? I remember coming across a plaque on Tower Green that named seven victims that had met their end in private executions. Among them, was the name 'Queen Anne Boleyn. Second wife of Henry VIII'. Something ignited in me that day. I felt suddenly compelled to discover everything I could about this woman and the world in which she lived. A trip to Hampton Court the following day, only fuelled the fire. That was the beginning of life-changing journey.

**You have been involved with quite a few projects. I'm sure a lot of people already follow your social media and visit your website 'On the Tudor Trail', which was the first, and where we really see your love of all things Anne Boleyn blossom. Why did you decide to take your passion to the next level and 'go public'?!**

It took ten years for me to finally come out of the Tudor closet, so to speak. There are a couple of main reasons why I decided to finally share my love of Tudor history in a more public sphere. Firstly, I wanted to connect with other people who shared my passion. I knew they were out there, I just needed to find them. Community is very important to me,



## *Catherine Interviews...*

and so my dream was to build a supportive and inspiring space, where people from all over the world and all walks of life could come to chat and learn about Tudor history.

Secondly, in early 2009, I began planning a trip to England to coincide with the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the accession of Henry VIII. It was going to be a Tudor pilgrimage of sorts – two weeks of travelling around the country in the footsteps of Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII. I wanted to stand in places where they'd stood and see what they'd seen. I remember searching the web looking for a comprehensive list of places to visit associated with the Tudors, but the same handful of palaces and castles kept turning up. I knew that there had to be more. I never found that elusive website dedicated to Tudor locations, so I decided to make my own. At that moment, On the Tudor Trail was born!

**I know you have taken a number of trips to the U.K. for research and pleasure. What were the highlights of these?**

Goodness, there are so many highlights! Seeing Hever Castle, the childhood home of Anne Boleyn, for the first time in 2009 is one of my fondest memories. The fact that I shared that moment with my sister, Karina, with whom I'm very close, made it all the more memorable. During that same trip, we also overnighted at Thornbury Castle and stayed in the Duke's Bedchamber, the very room that served as Henry VIII's bedchamber during the court's stay in the summer of 1535! We dined by candlelight in the castle's restaurant, where Anne Boleyn had once laid her head to sleep, and wandered around the ancient grounds at twilight. We also visited Henry VIII and Jane Seymour's surprisingly unassuming final resting place in St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle and had lots of laughs along the way!

In 2012, I travelled to England to research my first book, *In the Footsteps of Anne Boleyn*, and met my co-author, Sarah Morris, for the first time. Thankfully, we absolutely hit it off! It was as though we'd known each other for centuries... Highlights of that trip included a private viewing of Anne Boleyn's iconic NPG portrait while it was undergoing structural conservation in London; a trip to The Wyne in Hampshire, where Anne and Henry lodged during the 1535 summer

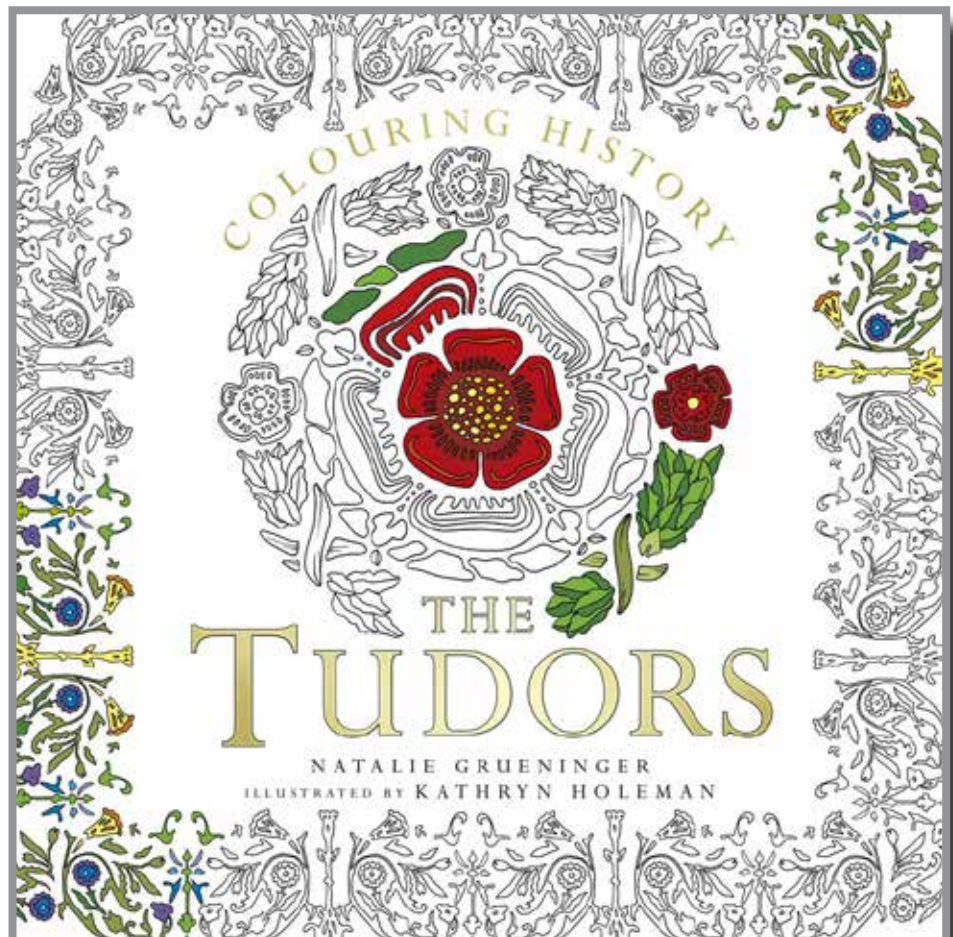
## Catherine Interviews...

progress; a private tour of Acton Court, where wall paintings designed by Hans Holbein can still be seen; and perhaps most memorable of all, was a visit to the Tower of London on 19 May. It was so moving to be able to spend time alone in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula, where Anne's mortal remains, and those of many other prominent Tudors including Catherine Howard, are buried. We were even permitted to lay flowers on Anne Boleyn's memorial plaque. It's a moment that I will never forget.

In 2013, I returned with my whole family! We spent a month travelling around England, Wales and Scotland and visited countless locations associated with the Tudors – too many to mention here. Highlights included my first ever book signing at Sudeley Castle, where Katherine Parr once lived; introducing Sarah to my family and autographing copies of our first book at Bradgate Park, which is home to the ruins of Bradgate House, once home to Lady Jane Grey; and meeting my wonderful friend, Lucy Churchill, stone carver extraordinaire for the first time, at King's College Chapel in Cambridge. If you haven't yet seen Lucy's reconstruction of Anne Boleyn's portrait medal, the only surviving contemporary likeness of the Tudor queen, you're missing out!

In 2015, I travelled to Spain to research my second book, *In the Footsteps of the Six Wives of Henry VIII*, again co-authored with Sarah. I had a wonderful time walking in the footsteps of Katherine of Aragon and got to meet my dear friend Claire Ridgway at the Alhambra Palace, where a young Katherine lived for the last two years of her life in Spain.

In 2016, I was back in England researching my first solo book, *Discovering Tudor London*. Before spending





## *Catherine Interviews...*

10 days exploring London's Tudor delights, I spent time exploring some other historic sites around the country with my partner-in-books, Sarah. Our visit to Haddon Hall was a definite highlight, as was our attempt at a live broadcast from Gainsborough Old Hall. It didn't quite turn out as expected... but that's a story for another day! I ticked off another big bucket list item that year, and stayed at The Manor Farmhouse B&B in Dethick, once part of the estate of Anthony Babington who was executed in 1586 for plotting to assassinate Elizabeth I and put Mary Queen of Scots on the throne. More importantly for me, this farmhouse was the inspiration for the setting of one of my all-time favourite Tudor novels, *A Traveller in Time* by Alison Uttley. For those of you who've read the book, The Manor Farmhouse is Uttley's *Thackers*! You can read more about my stay in a post on my website entitled 'A Traveller in Time'.

2018 saw me back in England but based in York this time. I spent a week exploring the city's Tudor history with my wonderful friend Kathryn Holeman. For those of you who aren't aware, Kathryn is the talented illustrator behind our colouring books – *Colouring History: The Tudors* and *Colouring History: Tudor Queens and Consorts*. A definite highlight of this trip was our day trip up north to see the marriage bed of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York! Thanks to the lovely Ian Coulson, we were able to see and touch the bed where it's possible Henry VIII was conceived! A little weird and mind boggling, I know. Sarah came along for the trip too.

**Do you have any other trips and what will you be aiming to do on them? I'm sure I heard you say on one of your recent Podcasts that you were meant to be coming over this year but events have conspired against us all. Where have you never been that you simply cannot miss out on next time you come?**

You're right, I had another trip planned for this June, however, I've had to put this on hold for the moment. I'd planned to meet friends old and new, which is always the best part of any trip, and return to some old favourite locations, like Hever Castle, Penshurst Place, Sudeley Castle and Hampton Court, of course. However, there are some new places on the

## *Catherine Interviews...*

list that I've never visited before that I'm eager to see, for example: Grey's Court, Kenilworth Castle, Baddesley Clinton and Coughton Court.

**Now I remember hearing you pinning Sarah Morris down and asking her what her 5 most recommended places to visit would be! So, I'm going to ask you both that question, and also how did you meet the lovely Sarah, and end up writing a book together?**

Sarah and I actually met on Twitter. I saw that she was writing a novel about Anne Boleyn, so I sent her a message and we began corresponding from there. We quickly realised that apart from sharing a deep interest in the life of Anne Boleyn, we both loved to tell the story of the Tudors through the lens of the great houses, palaces and castles where their story unfolded. We'd both amassed a considerable amount of research about Tudor locations, so it seemed like a very natural step for us to work together on a book.

As for my 5 most recommended places to visit, this is very tricky indeed! These are five places that I love, hope that's not cheating...

1. Hever Castle
2. Hampton Court Palace
3. Haddon Hall
4. Thornbury Castle
5. Sudeley Castle

**'In the Footsteps of Anne Boleyn' is not the only book you have out. Do tell us about what else you have done and are there any projects in progress that you can spill the beans on?**

No, it's not, although it holds a very special place in my heart. As I've already mentioned, Sarah and I collaborated on a second book called *In the Footsteps of the Six Wives of Henry VIII*, which was released in 2016. Then in 2017, my first solo book, *Discovering Tudor London* was published, as well as *Colouring History: The Tudors* illustrated by Kathryn Holeman. 2018 saw the publication of the second book in the colouring series, *Colouring History: Tudor Queen & Consorts*. For the last year, I've been working on a book, provisionally entitled *The Final Year of*



## *Catherine Interviews...*

*Anne Boleyn*, which is an account of the 12-18 months preceding Anne's execution, which will be published in 2021.

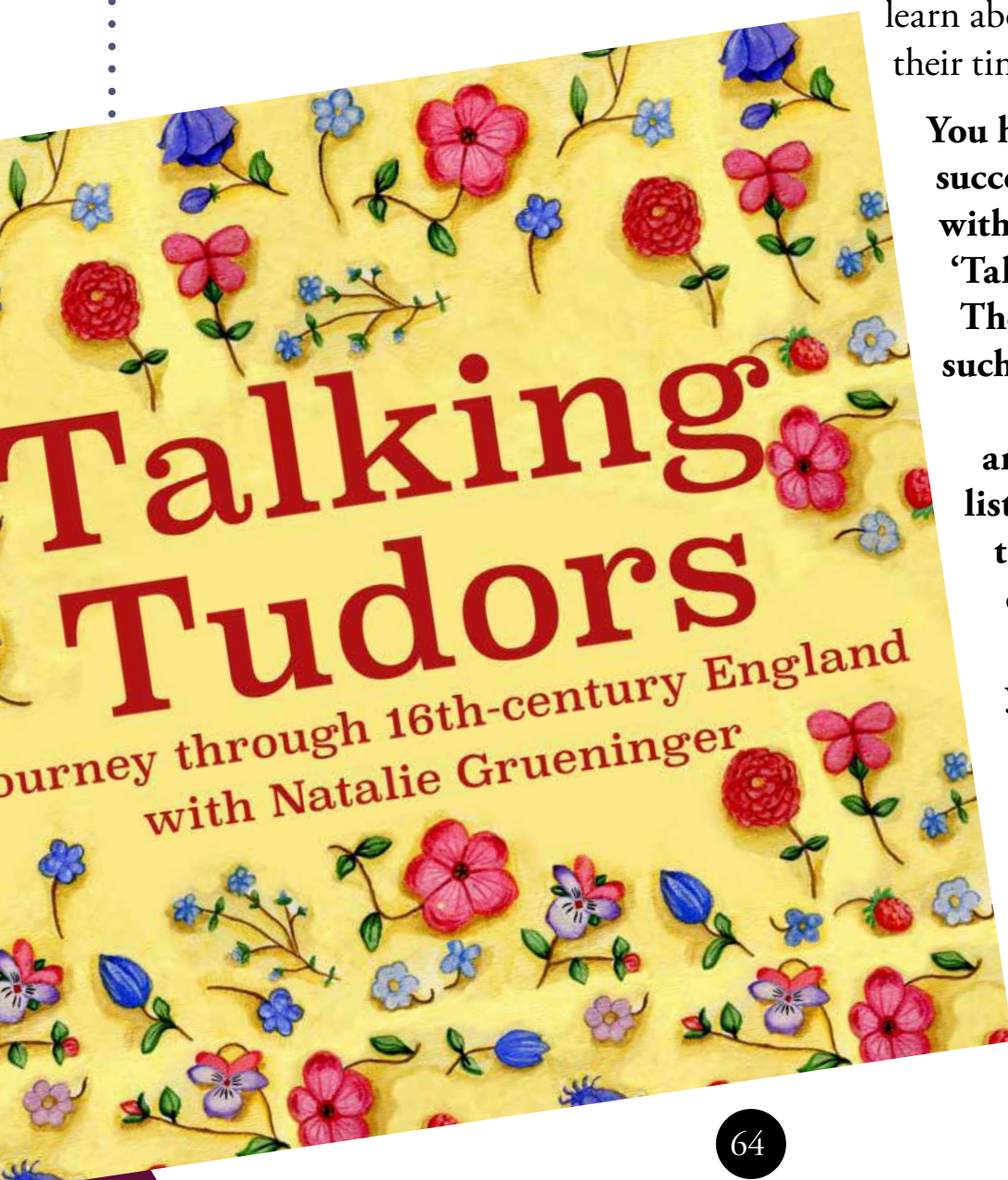
**Last year, you and Sarah embarked on a new kind of project together – a 'Virtual Progress', charting part of the route taken by Henry and Anne on their summer 1535 progress. This was such a terrific idea. Where did it come from?**

Thank you! All credit to Sarah for putting this together. Again, it stemmed from our love of Tudor places and our shared interest in Tudor royal progresses, in particular the progress of 1535. Basically, a virtual progress is where you follow in the footsteps of the Tudor monarchs from the comfort of your own home! You get to hear about the locations that they visited during their annual peregrinations around the country and

learn about how they spent their time, via the internet.

**You have had huge success since 2018 with your podcast 'Talking Tudors'. There have been such a wide variety of speakers and topics that listeners are more than spoilt for choice. What have been your favourite interviews?\***

You do ask some difficult questions! In all honesty, I've enjoyed them



## *Catherine Interviews...*

all. I've recorded 70 to date, on a range of different topics and always feel as though I come away with, if not new information, definitely a new perspective and plenty of food for thought. I might not be able to pick favourites, but I can tell you the top 3 most downloaded episodes to date: Episode 1 with Sarah Morris of course, this was a lot of fun! Episode 7 featuring the brilliant Professor Suzannah Lipscomb and Episode 2 with Conor Byrne.

**\*Lastly, if you could recommend to our members any 3 history books – they don't just have to be on the Tudor era – what would they be?\***

Apart from my own books, of course! I highly recommend *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* by Simon Thurley, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* by Eric Ives and *The Lisle Letters* (six volume set), edited by Muriel St. Clare Byrne.

**Many thanks again to Natalie. You can get in contact with her and find her at all these places!**

## **Connect with Natalie**

[www.onthetudortrail.com](http://www.onthetudortrail.com)

[Facebook.com/OntheTudorTrailRetracingthestepsofAnneBoleyn](https://www.facebook.com/OntheTudorTrailRetracingthestepsofAnneBoleyn)

[Facebook.com/nataliegrueningerauthor](https://www.facebook.com/nataliegrueningerauthor)

Twitter: @OntheTudorTrail

Instagram: themosthappy78

Talking Tudors Podcast: <https://talkingtudors.podbean.com>

Natalie's Books

- ♣ In the Footsteps of Anne Boleyn
- ♣ In the Footsteps of the Six Wives of Henry VIII
- ♣ Discovering Tudor London
- ♣ Colouring History: The Tudors
- ♣ Colouring History: Tudor Queens & Consorts

[www.colouringtudorhistory.com](http://www.colouringtudorhistory.com)





## WENDY J. DUNN ON WRITING

### Why write in dark times

If you want to be a writer, you must do two things above all others: read a lot and write a lot. There's no way around those two things that I'm aware of, no shortcut"  
(King 2010, p. 145).

My dear Reader/  
Writer,

I had intended to write for my next column a motivational discussion of the twelve steps of the hero's journey. But in these strange, surreal and scary times, all of us have embarked on our own version of the hero's journey. It is a time when students and fellow writers ask me, 'What is the point of writing when our world is falling around us?

I am writing this on April 26th, the 36th day of a family lock-down, well aware I am three days overdue for my deadline to write this column. It is unusual for me to find myself behind in my writing

commitments – but like all of us around the world, my life has changed.

But I am one of the lucky ones. I have a roof over my head – and food to eat. I am finding myself grateful that I grew up in a poor family. It taught me many survival skills – and that as long as you have people you love in your life, you can find joy, and get through just about anything.

I am in isolation (now called iso in Australia) with at least part of my family – thanks to the fact my daughter lives with her family in the house next to mine. My husband and I now care for our three-year-old grandson three

days a week so his parents can work from home. I am thankful I decided to tutor online classes for the first half of 2020 at the end of last year. I knew we would be caring for our grandson on his two kinda (Australians love abbreviating words!) days, so I thought this a wise call for my husband and myself; I wanted us to adapt to new routines. But I didn't expect the upheaval of a world pandemic.

Dealing with all the changes this virus has brought upon our lives have been difficult to say the least. Almost daily, I have struggled with my own motivation to write – and I know I am not alone



in this.

So – how do we as writers keep motivated, and writing? Pondering these questions make me think of a Beatles' song:

*What would you do if  
I sang out of tune,  
Would you stand up  
and walk out on me.  
Lend me your ears  
and I'll sing you a  
song,  
And I'll try not to sing  
out of key.  
Oh I get by with a  
little help from my  
friends.*

I get by with a little help from my friends – yes, that aptly sums up how I have survived these last few weeks.

I suspect these weeks have not changed the way most writers work. We write at home. We write 'alone' – if not physically, then mentally. That has not changed during these last weeks. What has changed is worry and heartbreak – all the global worry and heartbreak. Like my students and writing friends, I also wonder. 'What is the point of it all?' Despairing days see me writing poetry – like this poem, written just last week:

The end of the world  
feels nigh  
From my window  
I watch a bird  
wing high

flying  
to a branch  
of a tree  
in the park  
near my home

Puffs of white cloud  
drift across  
azure sky  
The air is crisp,  
as autumn  
should be  
But I cannot  
stop my thoughts:  
The end of the world  
(as I know it)  
Is nigh  
The bird  
in the tree  
is freer  
than me.

Desolate times turns  
me to pouring out my



heart in poems that are often far too depressing to share. Writing this particular poem pulled me up, and reminded me how fortunate I am. While I was missing the rest of my family, I am not in prison. I was free to walk outside and enjoy the lovely day – even if I needed to keep my social distance from everyone not in my isolation bubble. I was safe and secure – in a country making right decisions for its population. But it is still hard not to despair at times. So, how do I get myself out those moments of despair, and back to writing novels or

even short stories?

What I try to remember is that I am not alone. I remember I belong to a wonderful tribe – a tribe doing a fantastic job of reaching out to one another in these sad days. There is a truly heartening amount of activity happening in the writing world in response to this crisis. Creators are rising to the challenge and doing what they do best: lighting the fire of inspiration for others and birthing new creations.

The nature of writing is that writers are lovers of books. We are fortunate there too – because

reading will help us all get through these days. Alas, I am finding it difficult to concentrate on new novels. I suspect because I am anxious the story may end up depleting my sense of hope. But I am reading old favourites, or inspiring books about the practice of writing. Books like Stephen King's *On Writing*. King speaks passionately about writers being also readers. He writes:

'The real importance of reading is that it creates an ease and intimacy with the process of writing; one comes to the country of the writer with



one's papers and identification pretty much in order. Constant reading will pull you into a place (a mind-set if you like the phrase) where you can write eagerly and without self-consciousness. It also offers you a constantly growing knowledge of what has been done and what hasn't, what is trite and what is fresh, what works and what just lies there dying (or dead) on the page. The more you read, the less apt you are to make a fool of yourself with your pen or word processor' (Work Cited, p. 145).

King also speaks of avoiding television if you aspire to write. In our current world, that is advice writers should take to heart. Watching television (especially the news) adds to all the noise in our brains – noise making it difficult for us to create. So – instead of watching television, grab the time for meditation or exercise.

Writers must continue

to write. Human beings need stories. Stories feed, re-story and sustain us through the substance of narrative. The word 'narrative has its origins in the narrare, meaning "telling," and gnarus for 'knowing'. Reading and writing are both methodologies leading to knowledge – and knowledge is lifechanging. Writing narratives also brings writers to a place where they gain knowledge, important truths – about themselves, life, the world. Reading books changes lives, and so do writing books. I believe with all my heart that reading and writing are life-tools.

Kundera (2003, p. 44) tell us 'The novelist is neither historian nor prophet; he is an explorer of existence'. By exploring history, historical fiction writers engage in one of the most powerful forms of storytelling. Because history feeds the imaginations of historical fiction writers, it results in

a better understanding of 'real history' (Eco 2012, np.). Historical fiction is 'the most essential form of postmodernism, continually questioning as it does the very fabric of the past and, by implication, the present' (Heilmann & Llewellyn 2004, p. 141).

Writers have always been the lantern bearers for civilization. Once again, we need the light of good and inspiring stories – stories to help us surmount this awful night until the new dawn. And dawn will come. As a student of history, I know dawn will come.

Keep safe and well! Keep writing – and shine your light. I hope by the time I write my next column our times will be less dark and frightening for us all.

Please feel free to email me (wendyjdunn1533@gmail.com) if you would like me to write about a particular writing topic.

Until next time,

**WENDY J DUNN**

Eco U 2012, 'The art of fiction No. 197; Interview by Zanganeh, L.', viewed 23 August 2012, <<http://www.theparis-review.org/interviews/5856/the-art-of-fiction-no-197-umberto-eco>

Heilmann, A & Llewellyn, M 2004, 'Hystorical fictions: Women (re) writing and (re) reading history', *Women: A Cultural Review*, vol. 15, no. 2.

King, S 2010, *On Writing: 10th Anniversary Edition: A Memoir of the Craft*, 10 Anv Edition, Scribner.

Kundera, M 2003, *The Art of the Novel*, Reprint Edition, Harper, Perennial Modern Classics, New York.





# FROM THE SPICERY

WITH  
RIOGNACH

WORTH ITS  
WEIGHT IN GOLD  
**SAFFRON AND  
ROSE**





Happy June, everyone!

In this article, we'll pick up where we left off last month by continuing to look at some spices that were (and are) literally worth their weight in gold.

## Saffron

What would a Spanish paella be without its golden glow and floral aroma that comes from the stamens of the saffron crocus (*Crocus sativus*)? The saffron crocus is thought to have started life as the wild Cretian variety known as *Crocus cartwrightianus*, named after its John Cartwright. Should you be tempted to harvest your own wild saffron, a word of warning; the autumn crocus (*Colchicum autumnale*) bears more than a passing resemblance to the saffron crocus. The autumn crocus contains a toxin for which there is no known antidote.

The saffron crocus produces just three stigmas, or threads, each. To have enough for a gram of the spice, you'd need to pick something like 463 threads from 155 flowers between 0600 and 1000 on the first day of flowering. Saffron can't be harvested by machine, a fact that helps explain its high cost. When I last checked, a gram of saffron threads cost between AUD\$8.00 - \$12.00 depending on the grade and country of origin.

Then as now, saffron is in a class of its own in terms of cost and exclusivity. Obviously, the rich and powerful of the medieval world were able to afford saffron to add flavour and aroma to their prawns, and pears.

There is a legend associated with the crocus; that of *Crocus* and *Smilax*. *Smilax*, a nymph was pursued by the handsome *Crocus*. Unfortunately for *Crocus*, *Smilax* tired of his amorous attentions and turned her human lover into the saffron crocus

Still, for the common folk, it was out of the question. Why I hear you ask? Well, simply put the masses lacked the financial capability ability to afford the spice, as well as the time and means to travel to London to buy it. A life spent on the land and under the yoke of a landowner would leave precious little time to go to the next big market town, let alone the capital.<sup>1</sup> The medieval spice trade reached its heyday between the eve of 4<sup>th</sup> Crusade, and the consolidation of the Mediterranean spice trade by the Genoese and Venetians.<sup>2</sup>

Saffron is one of those spices that was and is a real luxury item. There was no real need for it to be in day-to-day foods, but it soon became a high-status requirement for with rich and powerful. The medieval equivalent of keeping up with the Joneses, if you will. Munro points out that a large number of all recorded medieval English and French recipes called for saffron; the most costly of all medieval and modern spices.<sup>3</sup> The royal court

1 <https://www.economics.utoronto.ca/munro5/SPICES1.htm> Professor Emeritus John Munro passed away in 2013. The University of Toronto's Centre for Medieval Studies maintains his lecture notes on the net.

2 Munro. Ibid

3 Munro. Ibid



and its hangers-on could afford to have saffron in every dish should they wish to. However, the spice may have only appeared in the dishes of wealthier middle-class professionals on special occasions and feast days. In terms of recipes calling for saffron, the on-line index of Le Viandier de Taillevent lists no fewer than 20-odd, just behind salt and sugar.<sup>4</sup> Some of those recipes use common meats and take it to the culinary heights by using saffron.

---

4 <http://www.telusplanet.net/public/prescotj/data/viandier/viandier9.html>

### **Larded boiled meat.**

Take your meat (understand that it is my meat or my venison), lard it, put it to cook in water or wine, and add only some mace (with some saffron if you wish).

### **Capons or veal with herbs.**

Cook them in water, pork fat, parsley, sage, hyssop, costmary, wine, verjuice, saffron and ginger, as you wish.

### **Georgie soup.**

Take whatever poultry meat you wish, cut it up, and fry it lightly in lard with leafy parsley and finely chopped onions. Take some [chicken] livers and browned bread, and steep in wine and beef broth. Boil everything well. Grind ginger and saffron, and steep in verjuice.

### **Pork intestine (Author's note: beware the broth :-) ).**

Cook it in water, cut it into bits, and fry them in lard and pork fat. Soak ginger, long pepper, saffron and browned bread in beef broth (because its own broth smells of dung) or (if you wish) in cow's milk; and strain through cheesecloth. Thread in egg yolks and boil. Take verjuice grapes cooked in water, and add the bunches to your pottage just before serving.

### **Cretone of new peas.**

Cook them almost to mush, drain them, and fry them in lard. Boil cow's milk for an instant and soak your bread in the milk. Crush ginger and saffron, steep in the milk, and boil. Take chickens cooked in water, quarter them, fry them, and add them to the milk to boil. Withdraw it to the back of the fire and thread in plenty of egg yolks.

These recipes and more can be found by following the link to Le Viandier (see the footnotes).





## Rose

The next ingredient in the Worth its Weight category isn't one many might expect to see: roses, specifically *Rosa damascena*.

While the origins of the culinary use of roses remains lost to us, we do know that the process of distillation of rose water was established in Iran during the 800's AD. Records tell us that the Caliph of Baghdad received a whopping 30,000 bottles of rose water as tribute from the province of Faristan between 810 and 817<sup>5</sup>. The first record of rose water and rose attar (otto) appears in 961AD, and it's not a great stretch to link its export to Europe with returning crusaders<sup>6</sup>. Like saffron, there's a pretty story attached to how the first rose water and attar were made, but we have to travel from the Persian Empire to the Moghul Empire in India. Legend has it that the creator of the Taj Mahal, Shah Jahan, decided

one day that the water features were to be filled with the petals of thousands of *R. damascena* floated. Why? I have no idea; perhaps Shah Jahan thought it would look pleasing to his queen and concubines. Under the Indian sun, the petals released their oils into the water along with their colour. The roses essential oils, being more buoyant than water, the oils floated and collected by servants, who used it rice biryani dishes, as well as in cosmetics for the royal household<sup>7</sup>.

As an aside, rosary beads were traditionally made by soaking the dried petals of *R. damascena* in water for 3 days, then straining the petals, and grinding them to a mouldable paste with gum benzoin, storax, a little glycerin and extra rose attar. I've made rosary beads like this several times; not only do the beads smell divine, the water from soaking the rose petals is ruby red in colour and can be used in

---

5 Widrlechner, M. History and Utilisation of *Rosa damascena*, *Economic Botany*, Vol35, No, pp42-58.

6 Widrlechner, *Ibid*

---

7 Widrlechner, *Ibid*



place of commercially prepared rose water.

By the 1600's rose water, and attar had found its way into the lists of German apothecaries. I've always a little odd that rose water, rose attar, and other botanicals were sold at apothecaries, but then again they have medicinal as well as culinary uses.

Back to the kitchen!

## Vyolette

Take Flourys of Vyolet, boyle hem, presse hem, bray hem smal, temper hem vppe with Almaunde mylke, or gode Cowe Mylke, a-lye it with

The petals of highly scented roses feature in medieval recipes for both sweet and savoury dishes. The Harleian manuscript (HS 279) brings us the simply named dish Rede Rose which is a derivation of the dish Vyolette (sweet almond or rice-based dessert with floral notes).<sup>8</sup>

---

8 <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/cme/CookBk/1:6?rgn=div1;view=fulltext>

## Rede Rose

Take þe same, saue a-lye it with þe 3olkys of eyroun, & forþer-more as vyolet.

## Prymerose

Ry3th as vyolette.

## Flowrys of hawþorn

In þe same maner as vyolet.

I have often wondered about making this sweet dish with hawthorn flowers, as to my modern nose they have too musky a smell to be palatable.

Forme of Cury also lists a variant of this dish (called Rosee<sup>9</sup>) but replacing red roses with white. To my mind

Amyndoun or Flowre of Rys; take Sugre y-now, an putte þer-to, or hony in defaute; coloure it with þe same þat þe flowrys be on y-peyntid a-boue.



doing so would produce a far less scented dessert, but horses for courses.

Le Menagier de Paris gives us a drawing or dressing room goodie as rose sugar, where sugar is clarified and cooked in rose water<sup>10</sup>.

---

9 <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/8102/pg8102-images.html>

---

10 <http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/Cookbooks/Menagier/Menagier.html>



Le Menagier also lists a dish called Rose of Young Rabbits<sup>11</sup> which has absolutely nothing to do with roses! The kindly old grandpere of Le Menagier advises that partridge can be cooked with venison or bacon, and eaten with rose water, as well as a little wine.<sup>12</sup> He also recommends that the perfect summer sauce for a roast chicken is made from half vinegar and half rose-water and must be served well chilled.<sup>13</sup> To assist the new young wife in the preparation of rose water, Le Menagier provides her with two recipes; the second of which is very similar to the technique I used to make rose petal rosary beads.

To Make Damask Rosewater. Add mashed roses to the rose petals. Or thus: pour the first distillation of rosewater into the second and the third and the fourth; and thus, having gone through four times, it will be red.

To Make Red Rosewater. Take a glass flask and half fill it with good rosewater then fill it up with red roses, that is petals of young roses from which the white bit at the end has been cut away, and leave nine days in the sun and at night too, and then strain it.<sup>14</sup>

**Riognach O'Geraghty**

---

11 Ibid

12 Ibid

13 Ibid

14 Ibid





# JUNE'S "ON THIS"

|   |   |  |   |  |
|---|---|--|---|--|
| <b>1 June</b><br>1571<br>Execution of Catholic martyr and civil lawyer John Story, at Tyburn.                           | <b>2 June</b><br>1536<br>Jane Seymour's first appearance as Queen.  | <b>3 June</b><br>1535<br>Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's Vicar-General, ordered all bishops to preach in support of the royal supremacy and to remove all references to the Pope from mass books and other church books. |   | <b>4 June</b><br>1561<br>The spire of St Paul's Cathedral caught fire after being struck by lightning.         |
| <b>9 June</b><br>1573<br>Death of William Maitland of Lethington, Scottish courtier, politician, reformer and diplomat. | <b>10 June</b><br>1584<br>Death of Francis, Duke of Anjou and Alençon, a suitor whom Elizabeth I dubbed "Frog", in Paris. | <b>11 June</b><br>1509<br>Marriage of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon at Greenwich Palace   | <b>12 June</b><br>1535<br>Richard Rich interviewed Sir Thomas More in the Tower of London. He later reported, at More's trial, that More had denied the royal supremacy during this interview.  |  |
| <b>15 June</b><br>1559<br>Death of William Somer (Sommers), court fool to Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary I.             | <b>16 June</b><br>1514<br>Tudor scholar, humanist and administrator, Sir John Cheke, was born in Cambridge.               | <b>17 June</b><br>1567<br>Mary, Queen of Scots was imprisoned at Loch Leven Castle after her surrender   | <b>18 June</b><br>1588<br>Death of Robert Crowley, Protestant printer, author, poet and Church of England clergyman.  | <b>19 June</b><br>1566<br>Birth of James VI and I, King of Scotland, England and Ireland, at Edinburgh Castle. |
|                                      |   | <b>23 June</b><br>1600<br>Death of Richard Howland, Bishop of Peterborough, in his palace at Castor.   | <b>24 June</b><br>1509<br>Henry VIII became King on the 21 <sup>st</sup> April 1509, on the death of his father, Henry VII, but he was not crowned until 24 <sup>th</sup> June 1509, thirteen days after his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon. |  |
|   |   | <b>29 June</b><br>1540<br>Bill of attainder passed against Thomas Cromwell for the crimes of corruption, heresy and treason  | <b>30 June</b><br>1559<br>Henry II of France suffered a mortal head wound while jousting at the Place Royale against Gabriel Montgomery. The joust was held to celebrate the <i>Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis</i> . The King died 10 <sup>th</sup> July and was succeeded by Francis II.                        |  |

Background image: Hever Castle by Dr. Oen Emmerson

Will Somer, the well known court fool

# DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

|  |   |  |  |
|--|---|--|--|
| <p><b>5 June</b><br/>1604</p> <p>Death of Thomas Moffet, physician and naturalist, at Wilton, Wiltshire. He is known for his poem, "The Silkwormes and their Flies", which was "the first Virgilian georgic poem in English", and his work on insects, diet and eating habits.</p> | <p><b>6 June</b><br/>1549</p> <p>An army of rebels assembled at Bodmin, Cornwall. This was the beginnings <i>Prayer Book Rebellion</i>.</p>       | <p><b>7 June</b><br/>1536</p> <p>A water pageant was held in honour of Jane Seymour, the new queen, on the Thames.</p> | <p><b>8 June</b><br/>1533</p> <p>Papal authority in England was denied by Parliament.</p>          |
| <p><b>13 June</b><br/>1587</p> <p>Death of actor William Knell in a pub brawl in Thame. A coroner's inquest ruled that actor John Towne had drawn his sword and stuck it through Knell's neck in self-defence.</p>   | <p><b>14 June</b><br/>1557</p> <p>William Peto was made cardinal and papal legate, replacing Reginald Pole.</p>                                   |                                     |  |
| <p><b>20 June</b><br/>1540</p> <p>Anne of Cleves complained to Karl Harst, about Henry VIII's attraction to Catherine Howard.</p>  | <p><b>21 June</b><br/>1596</p> <p>Death of Sir John Wingfield, soldier. He was shot in the head after being wounded and being unable to walk.</p> |  |  |
| <p><b>25 June</b><br/>1601</p> <p>Death of Peregrine Bertie, 13<sup>th</sup> Baron Willoughby, Beck and Eresby, at Berwick upon Tweed. He died of a fever.</p>   | <p><b>26 June</b><br/>1576</p> <p>Death of Edward Dering, scholar, Church of England clergyman and controversial evangelical preacher.</p>        | <p><b>27 June</b><br/>1505</p> <p>Henry VIII renounced his betrothal to Catherine of Aragon.</p>                       | <p><b>28 June</b><br/>1461</p> <p>Coronation of Edward IV and his consort Elizabeth Woodville.</p> |

William Carey

## TUDOR FEAST DAYS

2 June - St Elmo or St Erasmus

11 June - St Barnabas

24 - Midsummer's Day & St John

29 - St Peter & St Paul

TudorLife



NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

# TudorLife

## REGULAR CONTRIBUTORS

Charlie Fenton  
Riognach O'Geraghty

Roland Hui

Toni Mount

Lauren Browne

Wendy J Dunn

Sarah-Beth Watkins

Susan Abernethy

**LAYOUT** Tim Ridgway

**VIDEOGRAPHER** Tim Ridgway

## MAGAZINE EDITOR

Gareth Russell

[info@tudorsociety.com](mailto:info@tudorsociety.com)

## CONTACT

[info@tudorsociety.com](mailto:info@tudorsociety.com)

Calle Sargento Galera, 3

Lucar 04887

Almeria

Spain

## ONLINE

[www.TudorSociety.com](http://www.TudorSociety.com)

Copyright © 2020

All Rights Reserved

## THE CROMWELLS

### ROLAND HUI

The fall of Thomas Cromwell

### SUSAN ABERNETHY

Elizabeth Seymour,  
Lady Cromwell

### SARAH-BETH WATKINS

Cromwell, Calais and the  
downfall of Arthur Plantagenet

### MIKE INGRAM

One man and his dog hath all

### WENDY J DUNN

Passion drives writing

*and much much more...*

THIS MAGAZINE comes  
out every month for  
**ALL MEMBERS.**

We hope you enjoy it!

Tudor Life Magazine takes constant care to make sure that content is accurate on the date of publication. The views expressed in the articles reflect the author(s) opinions and are not necessarily the views of the publisher and editor. The published material, adverts, editorials and all other content is published in a good faith. Tudor Life Magazine cannot guarantee, and accepts no liability for, any loss or damage of any kind, caused by this publication or errors herein, nor for the accuracy of claims made by any contributors. Photos are open source, unless specifically mentioned. All rights reserved. No part of this magazine can be partially, or in whole, reprinted or reproduced without written consent.