Tudor Life

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

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The Life of Christopher Marlowe

Creating Books in the Tudor way

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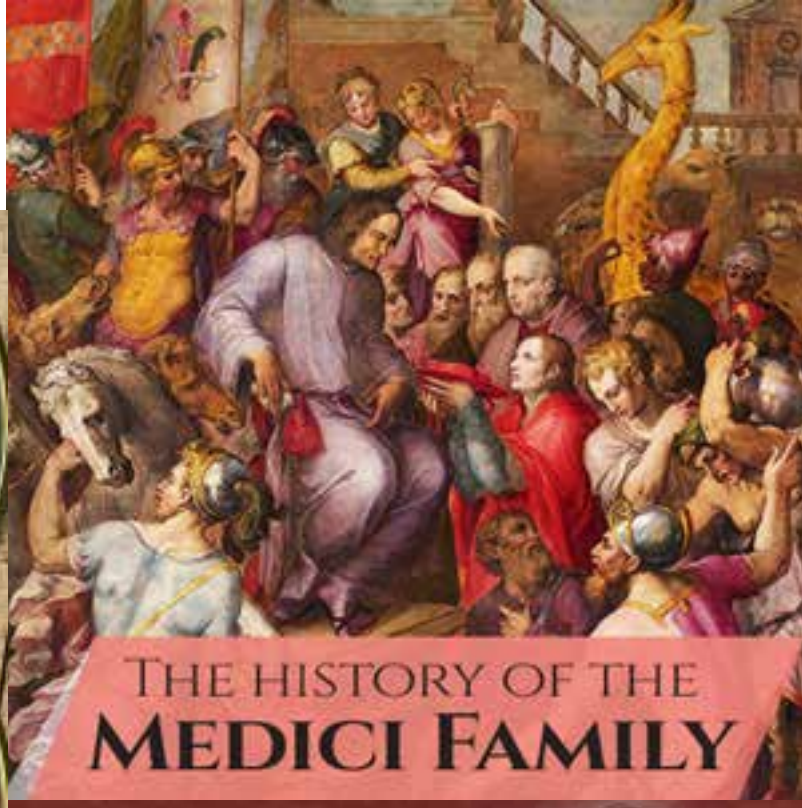
Medieval COURSES



THE HISTORY OF THE
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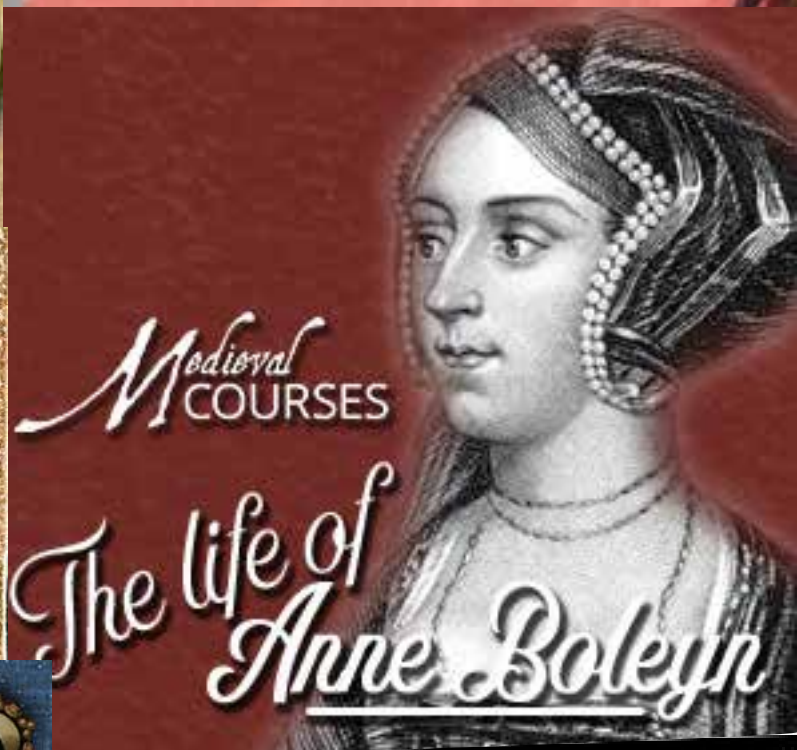

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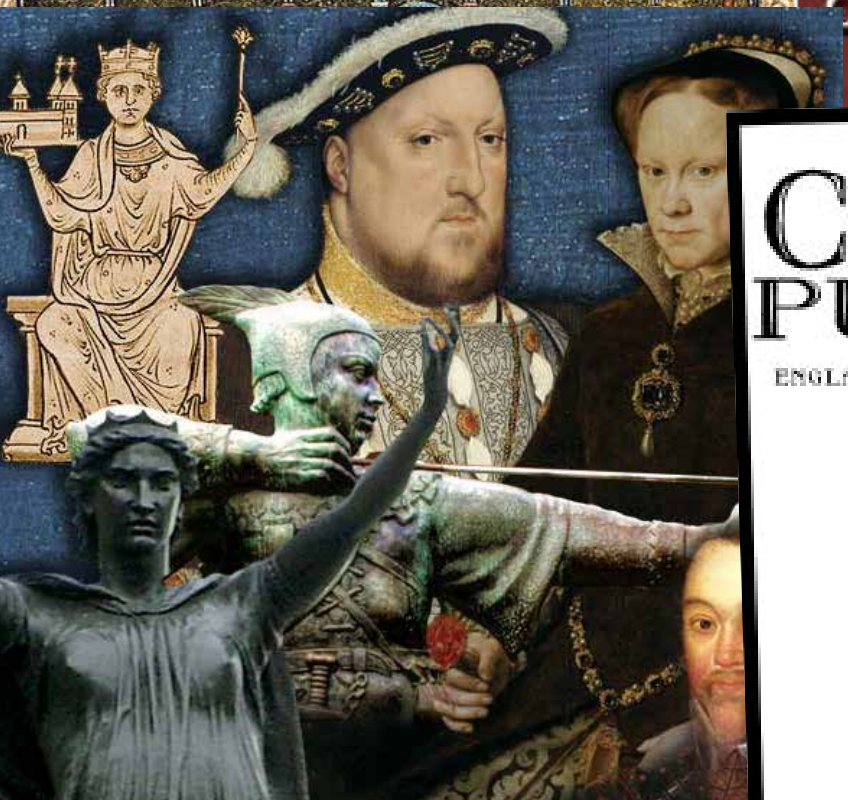
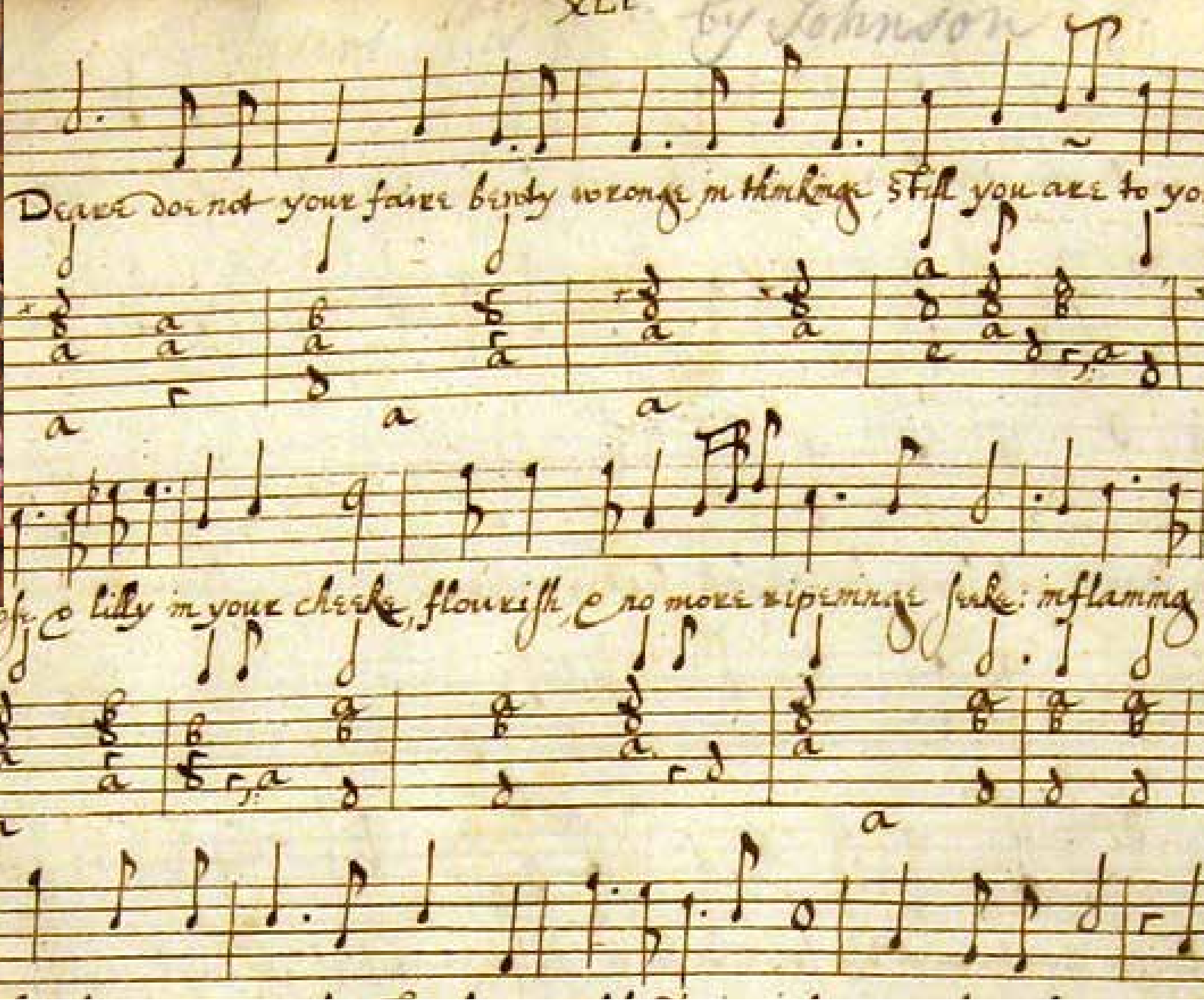
The life of Anne Boleyn



CRIME & PUNISHMENT

ENGLAND'S CRIME AND PUNISHMENT THROUGH THE AGES



Music and Drama

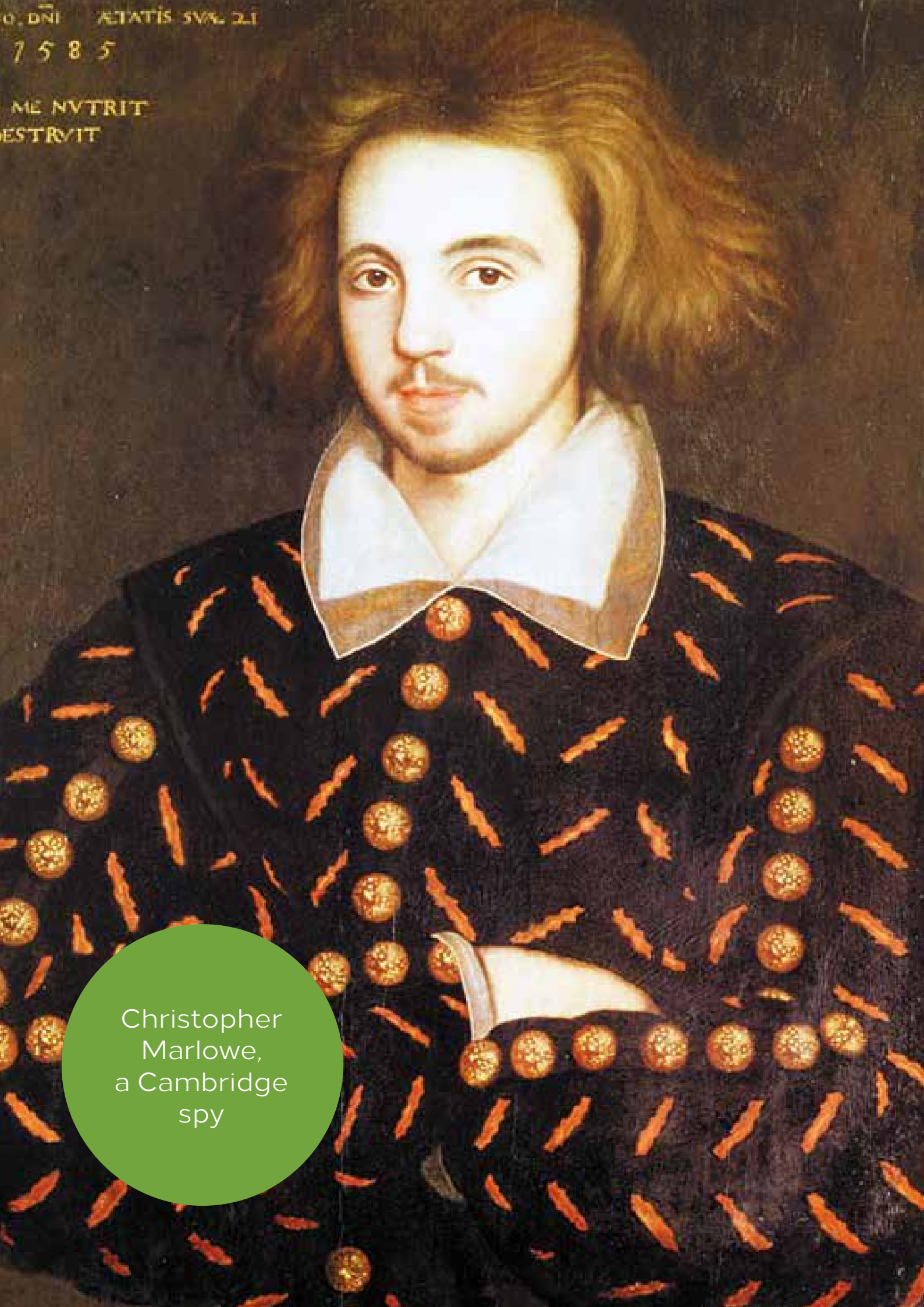
The Tudor world was one rich in art, particularly in music and drama, the theme of this month's issue. Sarah-Beth Watkins tackles Shakespeare and Lauren Browne reflects on Marlowe, two giants of the late Tudor written world. Their generation gave the world incomparable works of beauty, still appreciated and loved today. Yet there was also a dark side to the contemporary preoccupation with music. Two Tudor queens – Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard – were publicly accused of undue intimacy with musicians. In Anne's case, unfairly so; in Catherine's, before her marriage in circumstances that continue to inspire debate. Whether it is to admire or debate, we remain beneficiaries of the sixteenth century's rich cultural heritage.

GARETH RUSSELL
EDITOR

ABOVE & COVER: A page from Drexel 4175, a book from around 1620 "Songs unto the violl and lute"

Tudor Life

MARCH



Christopher Marlowe, a Cambridge spy

1595

Christopher Marlowe

The First Cambridge Spy
by Lauren Browne

Christopher Marlowe is somewhat of enigmatic figure. His apparent connection to the Elizabethan intelligence network, and the mysterious circumstances surrounding his death have been the focus of many historians over the centuries. His undoubtedly significant contribution to English literature, and the possible influence over his contemporary William Shakespeare have also been widely examined. His most celebrated works include Dr Faustus, Tamburlaine, Edward II and The Jew of Malta, but he also translated Ovid's Elegies, and began work on the poem Hero and Leander before his death in 1593. To attempt a brief biography of Christopher Marlowe is a rather ambitious task, and this article is by no means an all-encompassing exploration.

As is often the case, we know very little about the early life of Marlowe. He was the eldest son and eldest surviving child of John and Katherine Marlowe. His date of birth is unknown, but records show that he was baptised in St George's Church, Canterbury, on 26th February 1564. Marlowe's father was a shoemaker and active in his craft guild and in local government. Though 'never prosperous, the family typified that aspirant artisan class which nurtured so much of the literary talent of the period.'[1] The most notable being Marlowe's contemporary William Shakespeare, who was born in the same year.

Marlowe next enters the public record at about fourteen years old, when he was admitted as a scholarship student to the King's School, Canterbury in 1578. According to the statutes granted by Henry VIII the school was to provide tuition to 'fifty poor boys, both destitute of the help of friends and endowed with minds apt for learning.'[2] He appears to have only stayed at the King's School for two years, as he was later admitted to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury and a former master of Corpus Christi, had founded a number of scholarships for the college. Marlowe was the recipient one of six scholarships which had been allotted to children of Canterbury. He matriculated on 17th March 1581 and eventually graduated with a BA in March 1584, coming 199th out of 231 candidates.[3] His active and oftentimes boisterous social circle, which

1 Charles Nicholl, 'Marlowe, Christopher,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*

2 M. Poirier, *Christopher Marlowe,* (London, 1951), p. 12

3 Venn, *Grace Book, Containing the Records of the University of Cambridge, 1542–89*, (1910), pp. 372–3

A modern performance of "Tamburlaine"

(The New York Times)

included other literary figures such as Robert Greene and Thomas Nashe, may explain his relatively low placement in the ordo senioritatis.

Marlowe's time in Cambridge is often cited as the starting point for both his literary and intelligence careers. Evidence from the college buttery books – records of students' expenditure on food and drink – show that he was frequently absent from the university. Rumours began to circulate that Marlowe had defected to Rheims, the location of a Catholic Seminary – which was essentially the headquarters of a group who wished to see Catholicism restored to England. The allegations became so strong that his MA degree, which Marlowe was due to receive at the next commencement, was called into question. In an unusual turn of events, the situation was escalated to Privy Council for consideration. The reply came that Marlowe should attain his degree because 'in all his actions he had behaved himself orderly and discreetly, whereby he had done her Majesty good service and deserved to be rewarded for his faithful dealing.'[4] The implication being that he had travelled to Rheims to act as a spy.

It was also during his time at Cambridge that Marlowe began his literary career. Although it is extremely difficult to establish the chronology of his works, it is traditionally stated that he completed his translation of Ovid's *Elegies* around this time. He also wrote the play *Dido, Queene of Carthage* while at Cambridge, which may have been a spin-off from a college production.

After attaining his MA, Marlowe settled in London where he penned his most famous works. His first great success, *Tamburlaine the Great*, exploded onto the London stage probably during the summer of 1587. The play follows the titular character's stratospheric rise from a lowly shepherd to a mighty ruler. Tamburlaine's unbridled ambition leads

4 The letter written by the Privy Council is no long extant, but it exists in the Privy Council minutes, PRO, PC register Eliz. 6.381b

him to conquest throughout Persia, Turkey, the Middle East and parts of Europe. It was an instant success which spawned the sequel *The Second Part of the Bloody Conquests of Mighty Tamburlaine*. The preface of which makes clear that it was conceived in response to popular demand. Its popularity is also exemplified by 'Tamburlaine' becoming a contemporary slang word for conquest or a relentless force. In 1603, Thomas Dekker famously referred to the plague as a 'stalking Tamburlaine'.[5] It was also used in a libel against immigrants pinned to a Dutch church on Threadneedle Street on the evening of 5th May 1593. The long piece of prose was composed by a group of anti-immigrant writers and signed 'Tamburlaine'.

Despite Marlowe's theatrical successes and his supposed connection to intelligence gathering, he was regularly embroiled a series of brawls and run-ins with the law. In 1589 he spent some two weeks in prison following a street fight which left one man dead. In May 1592 he was again involved in a brawl, although on this occasion it was with two London constables. In September of the same year he was also accused of attacking a tailor. Marlowe certainly seems to have had friends in high places and counted Francis Walsingham as one of his patrons. These connections proved particularly useful when he was accused of counterfeiting coinage in the Netherlands. He was spared prosecution by the interference of the Privy Council, which suggests his time in the Low Countries was again under the 'special service' of Elizabeth.

Marlowe's connections, however, seemed to have abandoned him by the spring of 1593. The events leading up to his death have been hotly contested by historians, and entire monographs have been written on the subject alone. Most agree that his downfall was, in part, instigated by so-called 'Dutch Church Libel' which had been signed 'Tamburlaine'. The political situation in London during the 1590s, and especially 1593, was rife with tension. Xenophobia, which was never far from the surface, began to boil over and a series of libels and petitions were levelled against 'Flemings and strangers' resident in the capital. The 'Dutch Church Libel' was part of this tension and was deemed by the Privy Council to 'excead the rest in lewdnes'.[6] On 11th May, the Council ordered the immediate arrest of those suspected to have written the libel, stating that they should be put to torture if necessary.

On 12th May, Marlowe's roommate Thomas Kyd was arrested. The authorities discovered papers in Marlowe and Kyd's rooms which interrogators denounced as 'vile hereticall Conceiptes denying the deity of Jhesus Christ or Savior' which were found amongst the papers of Kyd, 'wch he affirmeth that he had from Marlowe'.[7] The papers were not written by Marlowe but were a three-page transcript from Proctour's *Fal of the Late Arrian*, though Kyd stated that they contained an 'opinion' which Marlowe was known to hold. Evidence that Marlowe held extremely dangerous views began to mount. He was famously accused, by Richard Baines, of stating that 'all those who love tobacco and not boies were fools', and that he believed St John to be the 'bed-fellow to C[hrist] and... used him as the sinners of Sodoma'. The Council ordered the arrest of Marlowe on 18th May. Two days later, he was released but ordered to 'give his daily attendaunce to their Lordships until he shallbe licensed to the contrary.'[8]

Ten days after he was released under

5 Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., 'Space, Measurement, and Stalking Tamburlaine', *Renaissance Drama,* xxviii, (1997), p. 3

6 J. R. Dasent (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council of England,* xxiv [1592- 93], (London, 1901), p. 222

7 The British Library, Harley MS 6848, fols. 187- 9

8 J. R. Dasent (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council of England,* xxiv, p. 244

watch, Marlowe was stabbed in Deptford. The circumstances surrounding his death have resulted in numerous conspiracy theories, ranging from government assassination to Marlowe faking is death to flee to the continent. The presence of three men associated with Elizabethan intelligence networks, who by all accounts were rather shady characters, adds further intrigue. We do not know exactly why Ingram Frizer, Robert Poley and Nicholas Skeres were with Marlowe on 30th May. At the inquest it was established that a quarrel ensued over the bill for supper and in the fray Frizer stabbed Marlowe above the eye. On 28th June Frizer received a royal pardon on the grounds of self-defence.

The presence of Skeres, Poley, and Frizer – described respectively as a swindler, a cunning spy, and a deceiver, raises questions about their reliability as witnesses. The fact that Skeres served the earl of Essex and that Poley, who had helped uncover the Babage plot, reported to Sir Robert Cecil, lends further intrigue to Marlowe's death. The accusations levelled against him by Richard Baines were brought to Elizabeth herself, who reportedly ordered that the matter should be prosecuted to fullest. This account has led some historians to argue that she her gave permission for an assassination.

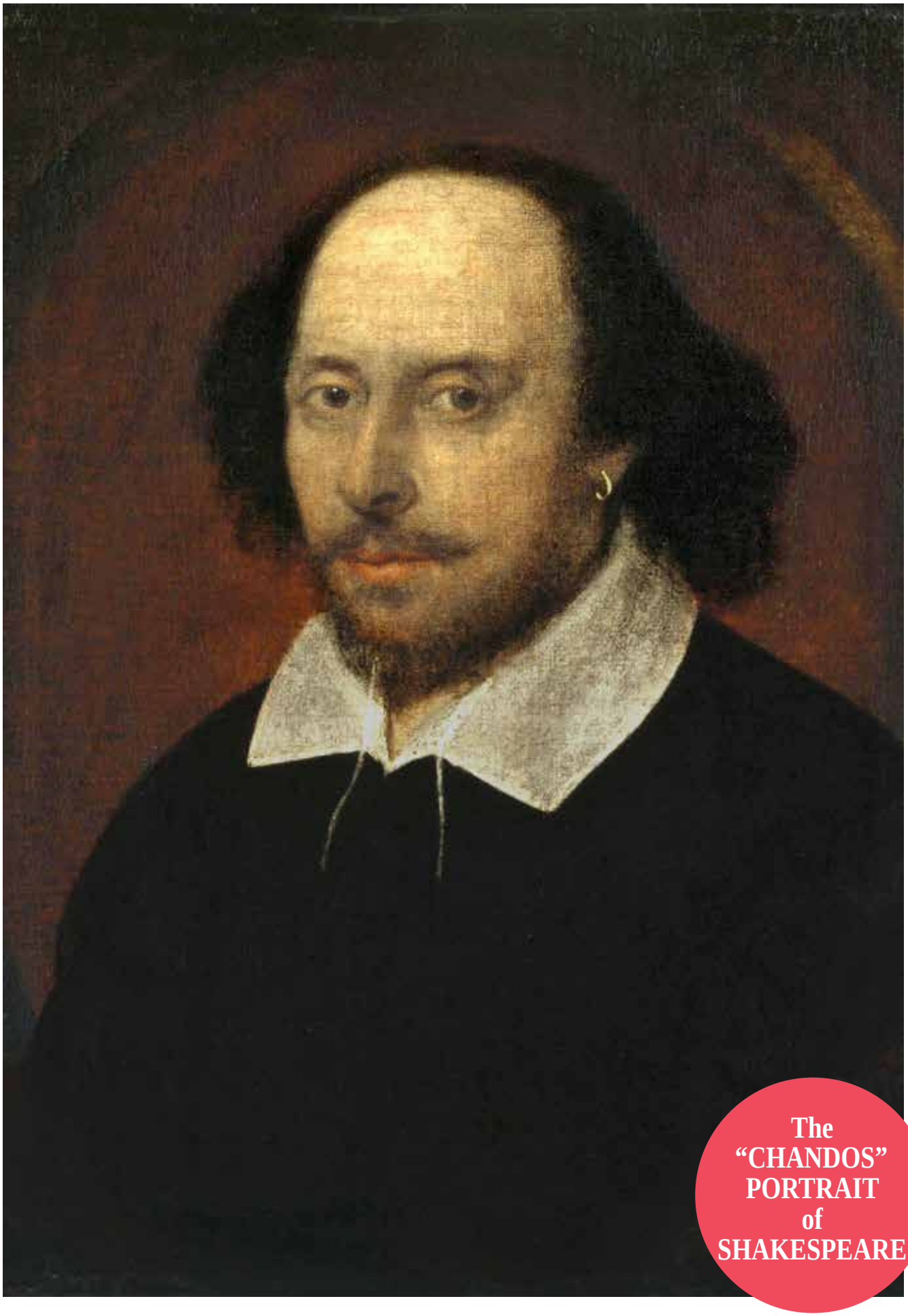
It is extremely tempting to categorise Marlowe's death as an assassination. Afterall, it makes for a fitting end to the playwright who excelled in giving his main characters truly tragic, often gruesome deaths. But it is particularly hard to date the documents surrounding Marlowe's downfall and eventual death, and therefore to establish the chronology of events. It may have been that the men were keeping tabs on Marlowe but did not intend to kill him. Without the evidence it is impossible to state which version of the events is fact – although Marlowe faking his own death proves too much of a stretch for this historian. Much like the man himself his death proves an enigma and perhaps this is an even more fitting end to Christopher Marlowe.

Lauren Browne

Trystan Gravelle as Marlowe in the 2011 conspiracy drama "Anonymous"

(Curtis Brown)

Robert Cecil, the last of Elizabeth's chief ministers



The "CHANDOS" PORTRAIT of SHAKESPEARE

SARAH-BETH WATKINS

SHAKESPEARE AND ELIZABETH I

Elizabeth loved drama and enjoyed watching plays specifically put on for her. She never left court to attend the theatre but the theatre most definitely came to her with lavish spectacles put on just for the queen's pleasure.

Shakespeare was thirty years younger than the queen. It is not known when he started writing or when his first play was performed but he was a name on everyone's lips by 1592. Born in Stratford-upon-Avon, he came to London around that time to make his way in the world.

There is a story that the bard and the queen met much earlier in 1575 when Shakespeare was only a boy. Elizabeth was on progress and stopped at Kenilworth Castle, 12 miles from his home in Stratford. Shakespeare's father, John, was an esteemed member of the community and as such was probably invited to the entertainments. He may well have taken along his son as some scholars believe lines in *A Midsummer's Night Dream* and *Twelfth Night* might allude to the event. This part of *A Midsummer's Night Dream* is thought to refer to the queen:

"That very time I saw — but thou couldst not —
Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
Cupid all arm'd: a certain aim he took
At a fair vestal throned by the west,
And loos'd his love-shaft smartly from his bow
As it should pierce a hundred-thousand hearts:
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
Quench'd in the chaste beams of the watery moon,
And the imperial votaress passed on,
In maiden meditation fancy free."

This may just be a fanciful story but we do know that Shakespeare and his fellow actors appeared in front of Elizabeth in December 1594 – although they almost didn't!

After 1594, Shakespeare's plays were performed only by the Lord Chamberlain's Men, a company owned by a group of players, including Shakespeare. They soon became the leading playing company in London.

Shakespeare's actors - the Lord Chamberlain's Men - were due to perform for the rowdy young lawyers of Gray's Inn on 28 December 1594. Shakespeare was to debut his new play, *A Comedy of Errors*, but the night turned out to be slightly disastrous and became known as 'the night of errors'.

The troupe had also received a royal summons. Elizabeth was holding her own festivities at Greenwich and wanted the Lord Chamberlain's men to perform for her, never mind the lawyers. They were not the only entertainment arranged for the night with other players employed as the accounts for the 1594-1595 Christmas season show. Payments were made to Edward Alleyn of the Lord Admiral's players, as well as William Kempe,

William Shakespeare, and Richard Burbage of the Lord Chamberlain's men.

A summons from the queen could not be ignored so the men first performed in front of the queen and then dashed back to Gray's Inn by boat by which time their stage had been dismantled. Whether they put on an impromptu performance for the young lawyers who were still standing, we don't know!

The queen must have liked what she saw though as in March 1595, Shakespeare and two of his players were paid 20 pounds for "two comedies shown before Her Majesty in Christmas last."

If not before they were back for Christmas 1597 for a production of *Love Labour's Lost*. In 1598, the title of a printed edition of the play included:

> *A pleasant conceited comedie called, Love's Labour's Lost. As it was presented before her Highness this last Christmas. Newly corrected and augmented by W. Shakespeare.*

The Queen also saw the first and second Parts of *King Henry IV* and was entertained by the character, Falstaff. She is supposed to have suggested that she would like to see him fall in love and in response Shakespeare wrote *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and it seems to have been popular as a copy of the play states:

"*As it hath been divers times Acted by the right Honorable my Lord Chamberlaines servants. Both before her Majestie, and else-where.*"

Falstaff was originally named John Oldcastle and he was based on a real person who had been executed for rebellion and heresy. Oldcastle had been a Lollard and he was still considered as a martyr by many Protestants. His descendant was Lord Cobham and he took offence to the use of his forebear's name. The queen was asked to inform Shakespeare that his star character needed a name change and he was rebirthed as Falstaff and added an epilogue to *Henry IV, Part 2*, stating "Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man."

Elizabeth continued to patronise the players and they performed for her in the Christmas holidays of 1598-1599, at Whitehall and at Richmond Palace. Richmond was a favourite residence of the queen's and the Lord Chamberlain's were back to provide entertainment twice in 1600, and again at Whitehall for Christmas.

That Christmas, the queen was at Whitehall and it is thought that Shakespeare wrote *Twelfth Night, or What You Will* as a romantic comedy for the evening's entertainment at the end of the festive season.

The Essex Rebellion occurred in the early months of 1601 and it is said that the earl rallied his supporters with a special showing of *Richard II* the day before they tried to take the city and the queen. On February 24, 1601, the queen commanded the Lord Chamberlain's men to perform the play for her. Essex was executed the next day.

Elizabeth's health was failing as Shakespeare's star was rising. She saw one last performance at Richmond on February 2, 1603. Twenty-eight performances by the Lord Chamberlain's men were noted in her accounts during her reign but they give no titles so we can't be exactly sure of what plays she saw or liked the most. She died in March 1603 and England's most famous playwright would go on to produce many more plays until his death in 1616.

SARAH-BETH WATKINS

ELIZABETH I
attrib
Marcus Gheeraerts
the Younger
c. 1595

TUDOR MUSIC: CHAMBER, CEREMONIAL AND SACRED

Tudor music was played by amateur musicians such as the nobility, those of gentle birth, the royal family and by professional musicians who were paid regularly to perform. Even ordinary people of some means were expected to sing and accompany themselves on the appropriate instrument. Many song books and collections of lute and keyboard music survive from this period. Types of concerts during the era included chamber music, where one or a few would sing and play in small settings for personal enjoyment and dancing, and larger venues such as tournaments, mummeries, balls and pageants.

In addition to these entertainments, there was choral and religious music. The Royal Chapel employed composers and choirs made up of men and children who sang for services, accompanied by an organist. The Tudor monarchs were generous patrons of all types of music. All the Tudor monarchs, with the possible exception of Edward VI, were musical.

The Tudor kings and queens employed many professional musicians, personally sang and played some sort of instrument,

LEFT: The Royal Chapel at Hampton Court Palace

and encouraged their courtiers to do the same. We can assume everyone in the Tudor family played at least one instrument and possibly more. Henry VIII was exceptionally gifted as he composed music, and played the organ, virginals, lute and recorder. His abundant talent was of such exceptional quality that his performances in front of audiences received comments of praise from visitors to court.

Musicians were highly appreciated at the court of Henry VII. By 1502, the king was paying recurring wages to nine trumpeters, four sackbut players and three string minstrels. There was also a bagpiper and a Welsh harper who received regular rewards from the king. Other expenses show frequent payments were made to singers and players such as the £1 paid to a child who played on a recorder and £1 paid to Queen Elizabeth's sister Cecily of York's minstrels. Sums were also paid to the Northampton and Essex waytes (official town bands), a dancing damsel, to Newark for making a song, to a merchant who delivered a pair of organs, and a woman who sang with a fiddle.

Elizabeth of York loved music. Both her parents, King Edward IV and Queen Elizabeth Woodville had employed musicians so she grew up in a household filled with melody. As Queen, she had her own minstrels and drummers. Entries in Elizabeth's account book show she paid annual wages of £3, 6s. 8d. to employ minstrels named Mark Jaket, Jayn Marcasin, Richard Denouse, William Older and Marques Loryden. These musicians all received a salary and were professionals endowed with the mission of entertaining the Queen, her household and guests and to provide accompaniment for dancing in the privy chamber. They also taught musical skills to the royal children.

Additional evidence exists that the royal family shared each other's musicians. Elizabeth of York's privy purse records denote she rewarded musicians of the king and of Princess Margaret and Prince Henry. In the accounts of John Heron, Henry VII's treasurer of the chamber, he references the king rewarding the queen's minstrels and fiddlers with sums amounting to between 10s. and 40s. He also paid rewards for musicians for his daughter-in-law Katherine of Aragon and his mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort.

Elizabeth of York purchased a pair of clavichords for herself at the sum of £4. She encouraged her daughter Princess Margaret to play the clavichord and the king purchased a lute for Margaret that cost 13s.4d. Princess Mary was given a lute by her father and she was taught to play the clavichord and the regal, a small portable organ. Music was an essential part of courtly education. Ladies and gentlemen of the court occasionally performed in public and were mostly competent to excellent when playing.

When Princess Margaret met

her future husband James IV, King of Scots, her musical reputation had preceded her arrival in Scotland. James made a point of mentioning he heard of her great talent in music and begged her to play on the clavichord and the lute for him and his courtiers. And this wasn't the first time as evidence exists that she performed for him again. So, chamber music of the amateur sort appeared to be quite common as a part of the pastimes of the court.

Groups of musicians, maintained by Elizabeth of York, Prince Arthur and the king, regularly played at banquets, masques, and jousts as well as other ceremonial occasions. They sometimes collaborated with 'players of interludes' or with the Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal. After the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1503, King Henry VII retained her minstrels and engaged them to play for him at every New Year celebration up until his death.

Henry VIII augmented the base his father had created. He increased the number of trumpeters from nine to sixteen. By the middle of his reign, there were nearly fifty musical men and women receiving regular wages in the household. They played flutes, shawms, rebecs, taborets, sackbuts, lutes and viols. It was Henry's intent to have the finest royal orchestra in Europe. How and where these musicians played is speculative and depended on the occasion. Trumpets, pipes and tabors were heard at jousts.

While instrumental music was important, it was less common than singing. Vocal chamber music was the métier of the nobility. Henry VIII loved this type of music and often chose his Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber for the superiority of their voices. The minstrels in the queen's chamber would number about half a dozen and provide entertainment and also support and accompany the aristocrats who sang and performed.

Queen Mary I, as a young princess, was regarded as a prodigy at the virginals and her mother and father flaunted her talent before visitors at court. She played often and well later in life. She also practiced the lute as her expenses reveal she purchased a steady inventory of strings. There is little record of amateur music at Mary's court. However, the restoration of full Catholic ceremonial in the Royal Chapel must have enhanced the quality of the musical life at court.

Elizabeth I was known for her talent on the lute and the virginals. Her privy purse expenses indicate she purchased a sackbut for her own personal use at the enormous cost of £15. She spent £75 replacing broken lute strings during the first ten years of her reign. In 1572, she performed on the virginals for the ambassadors who came to court to ratify the Treaty of Blois. In 1581, she gave a recital on the lute and virginals for some French ambassadors. She claimed to prefer playing when she was alone "to shun melancholy". Clearly, she found solace in music.

Tudor English court music reached its high point under Queen Elizabeth. Present at court were the distinguished composers Thomas Tallis and William Byrd and the instrument makers George Langdale and William Treasorer. The viol became more popular at court and new technical musical developments arrived from France and Italy.

Elizabeth had thirty musicians in her orchestra. Many of them were members of immigrant families such as the Ferraboscos, Bassanos and Van Welders, who had served the Tudors for generations. The musicians played for dances as well as while the Queen was served her midday meal. One foreign visitor mentions that as he watched the Queen eat her food, "twelve trumpets and two kettle drums made the hall ring for half an hour together".

Elizabeth made sure, in her religious injunctions at the beginning of her reign, that choral music was protected as an art form. Injunction forty-nine reads in part: "And that there be a modest and distinct song so used in all parts of the common prayers in the church, that the same may be as plainly understanded, as if it were read without singing; and yet nevertheless for the comforting of such that delight in music, it may be permitted, that in the beginning, or in the end of common prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or suchlike song to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understanded and perceived".

Singing in the Royal Chapel was performed by salaried choristers. The Chapel was a department of the Court and subject to the jurisdiction of the Lord Chamberlain rather than the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was also financed by the Exchequer. There were thirty-two gentlemen who sang in the Royal Chapel and never less than twelve children. These singers were recruited throughout the nation by the Master of the Royal Chapel and trained for their service to the Queen. The music in her own chapel was superb due to her organists Tallis and Byrd who were considered the premiere composers of sacred music in England. Elizabeth's support for church music continued for her entire life.

SUSAN ABERNETHY

Further reading:
"Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court" by John Stevens
"Elizabeth of York and Her Six Daughters-In-Law: Fashioning Tudor Queenship, 1485-1547" by Retha M. Warnicke
"The Tudor Court" by David Loades, "Elizabeth I" by Anne Somerset
The Injunctions of 1559
"Elizabeth of York: The Forgotten Tudor Queen" by Amy Licence
"Elizabeth of York: A Tudor Queen and Her World" by Alison Weir

TRACY BORMAN
ON

HENRY VIII AND HIS MEN

THIS MONTH'S
GUEST EXPERT

Charles Laughton in 'The Private Life of Henry VIII' with Merle Oberon (Anne Boleyn), Elsa Lanchester (Anne of Cleves), Everley Gregg (Katharine Parr), Binnie Barnes (Katheryn Howard), and Wendy Barrie (Jane Seymour). Author's own collection

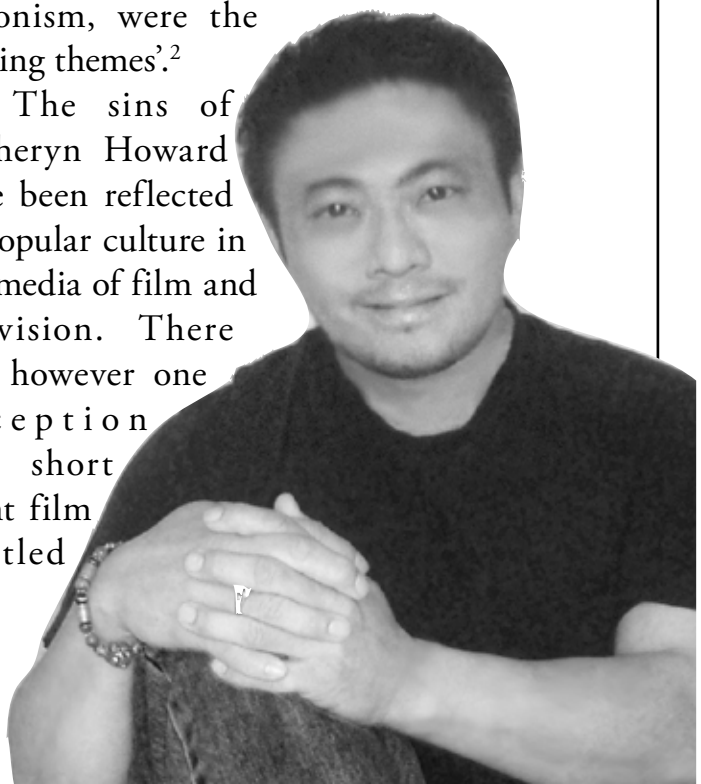
Katheryn Howard in Film and in Television

by Roland Hui

Of Henry VIII's six wives, the reputation of Katheryn Howard - his fifth - has suffered the most in the centuries after her death. Her character has been blackened by the circumstances which had her executed for high treason in 1542.

As a young girl - and an unmarried one at that - Katheryn had taken two lovers, and when a king's fancy alighted upon her making her Queen of England, she was then accused of having yet another paramour. Her cousin Anne Boleyn was destroyed by similar accusations, yet *her* name has been rehabilitated. From a convicted adulteress, Anne has re-emerged over time as a wronged victim, as a Protestant heroine, and even as a feminist icon. Not so with Katheryn Howard. While there have been an abundance of modern biographies presenting her in a more positive light,[1] she is still widely viewed as a harlot whose indiscretions led her to a deserved end. Many would still agree with historian Lacey Baldwin Smith's assessment that Katheryn's life was tragically inconsequential. In her brief existence, she 'never brought happiness or love, or security, or respect into the world she lived', Smith wrote. 'She enacted a light-hearted dream in which juvenile delinquency, wanton selfishness, and ephemeral hedonism, were the abiding themes'.[2]

The sins of Katheryn Howard have been reflected in popular culture in the media of film and television. There was however one exception - a short silent film entitled



Hampton Court Palace made in 1926 which had Katheryn as its protagonist.[3] As Queen, Katheryn (played by Gabrielle Morton) is a loving and devoted spouse to Henry VIII (Shep Camp). Even the reappearance of her childhood admirer Thomas Culpepper (Eric Cowley) at court does not diminish her wifely affection. However, the Duke of Norfolk (Annesley Healy) who hates the Queen - his niece - for 'thwarting his political ambitions', wants her done away with. He falsely accuses her of infidelity with Culpepper. After Katheryn is arrested, Henry VIII demands that she swears to her innocency, giving her the chance to save herself. Anticipating Anne Boleyn's defiant last words from the film *Anne of the Thousand Days* by four decades[4], Katheryn refuses. "Never will I unsay - for you will not believe, but on the morrow of the day I die, you will repent you of your lack of faith in me", she tells her husband before going to her death. "I shall take God to witness that I die guiltless, and the manner of my death shall lie heavily on you all the days of your life".

That Katheryn Howard was portrayed as a hapless victim was certainly going against what was perceived of her. While historian Agnes Strickland had written sensitively of Katheryn in her monumental *Lives of the Queens of England* (in 12 volumes from 1840–1848) - the girl was corrupted by those she kept company with, and she was blameless in her dealings with Thomas Culpepper - by the early 20th century, particularly the 1920s when *Hampton Court Palace* was made, she was a 'juvenile delinquent' according to the writer Francis Hackett.[5] Perhaps her transformation into a lady of virtue in *Hampton Court Palace* was because the movie was part of a series entitled *Haunted Houses and Castles of Great Britain*. Its focus was on the otherworldly rather than on biography. Thus Katheryn's story is even more poignant with her as an ill-treated innocent. At the end of the film, her melancholic ghost is seen wandering about the palace.

Continuing cinematic interest in Katheryn Howard was evident when she appeared as a major character in director Alexander Korda's *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933). Of the King's *five* wives - Katherine of Aragon was not depicted ('her story is of no particular interest - she was a respectable woman' we are told) - his fifth received the most screen time. Even the most famous of them - Anne Boleyn (Merle Oberon) - appeared only briefly. Katheryn (Binnie Barnes) is already one of the court beauties when the film begins with Anne's impending execution. Also, Mistress Howard is no teenager as she probably was historically when she entered royal service, but a young woman - sophisticated and ambitious.[6] Her outspokenness, coupled with her good looks, has the King (Charles Laughton) interested in her too even as he cavorts with Jane Seymour (Wendy Barrie).

Meanwhile Katheryn has involved herself with a courtier, the handsome Thomas Culpepper (Robert Donat). Although he is in love with her, Katheryn considers Culpepper a mere dalliance. She hopes to be Queen one day. "Love is *not* all the world", Katheryn chides her admirer. To achieve her goal, after the death of Queen Jane, Katheryn becomes the King's mistress in secret. Then when Henry VIII's marriage to Anne of Cleves (Elsa Lanchester) ends in divorce, Katheryn finally does become Queen. However, she has no actual love for Henry. She treats her ageing husband as an amiable old fool trying to regain his lost youth. Inevitably, Katheryn recognizes that she was truly in love with Culpepper. "What have I done with my

life"? she laments, and two renew their affair behind the King's back. Tragically, Katheryn's realization that love *does* matter has her following Anne Boleyn to the scaffold.

Katheryn Howard would not make another appearance onscreen until twenty years later. In the film *Young Bess* (1953), Katheryn as the Princess Elizabeth (Jean Simmons)'s stepmother appears only fleetingly. In a scene, the young Queen (Dawn Addams) is caressed around her neck by a lascivious Henry VIII (Charles Laughton reprising his famous role). The gesture is meant to be affectionate, but it is reminiscent of that received by Elizabeth's late mother Anne Boleyn (Elaine Stewart). After the King puts his hand upon Anne, she is then shown about to be beheaded. When Henry likewise strokes Katheryn, she too then goes to her death. No comment was made as to whether Katheryn was actually guilty of any offence. The audience is left to guess whether she was justly condemned, or that Henry VIII was simply a Bluebeard.

There was no ambiguity as to what Katheryn did or did not do in the television drama *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (1970). Made during a period of renewed interest in the Tudors in cinema, the series - with each episode written by a different screenwriter - focused on each one of the King's spouses. Katheryn Howard (Angela Pleasence) was presented as the least admirable of the six ladies. She is sexually voracious, selfish, scheming, and immoral. She is one who even considers murder to protect herself. That Katheryn has a propensity for violence is clear even as the television play begins. She has a mean streak towards her cousin Anne Carey (Julia Cornelius) - an impressionable girl who looks up to the worldly Katheryn - whom she often beats and even threatens to poison. Later, when she is threatened by

Angela Pleasence as Katheryn Howard, with Keith Michell as Henry VIII in 'The Six Wives of Henry VIII'

the reappearance of her old flame Francis Dereham (Simon Prebble), Katheryn asks if 'some accident' might overtake him.

Katheryn is good at being deceptive, and Henry VIII (Keith Michell), won over by her seeming kindness and by her beauty, takes her as his fifth wife. But as Katheryn reveals to her confidante Lady Rochford (Sheila Burrell), their blissful marriage is not what is seems. Katheryn is appalled by her husband. Under his rich clothes and jewels which had dazzled even she herself, there is only 'the hulk of an old fat man'. Not only that, the King is often unable to perform sexually. "I am condemned to a mock-marriage. I might as well take vows as a nun or become the bride of a ghost"! Katheryn exclaims.

The Duke of Norfolk (Patrick Troughton) advises his niece to take a lover as to pass off his child as the King's. To do so, Katheryn seduces Thomas Culpepper (Ralph Bates) whom she had rightly suspected of being in love with her. However, all comes tumbling

Lynne Frederick as Katheryn Howard, with Keith Michell as Henry VIII in 'Henry VIII and His Six Wives' (Author's collection)

down when rumours about the Queen reach the authorities. Katheryn, Lady Rochford, Dereham, and Culpepper are all arrested, and subsequently all sentenced to death.

Critically acclaimed and popular with audiences, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* had a reincarnation on the big screen two years later. Re-entitled *Henry VIII and His Six Wives*, the series was condensed to a standard movie length, and it had different actresses playing the Queens. Actor Keith Michell who had received much praise for his Henry Tudor, repeated his portrayal. In the film, the characterization of Katheryn Howard underwent a change from that of its tv predecessor. Whereas Angela Pleasence had played her as highly unsympathetic, actress Lynne Frederick who took over the role, interpreted her more tenderly. Frederick's Katheryn was gentle, child-like, and naive. At age 18 when the film was made, Frederick was also closer in age to the historical young Queen.[7]

Unlike Katheryn in *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* who was eager to become Queen, in the movie version, she is reluctant. In *Henry VIII and His Six Wives*, Katheryn flirts with the King at a banquet, but it never enters her mind that he would be interested in her until her uncle Norfolk (Michael Gough) tells Katheryn that he intends to make her Queen. A look of shock comes upon her face. In a scene not in the film, but in the novelization of it, Katheryn gazes in a mirror reassuring herself of the happiness ahead in her great destiny, but then she starts weeping.[8]

Katheryn makes the best of her situation, and by all appearances, finds contentment.

The King adores her, and he showers her with gowns and jewels. But in truth, the Queen abhors her marriage. Though she is good to the King, she cannot help but find her husband physically repugnant. When he makes love to her, she expresses disgust. Katheryn finds solace in the company of the King's young favourite Thomas Culpepper (Robin Sachs). Their relationship appears entirely innocent - even to Henry VIII himself - until he learns otherwise. That Katheryn was truly unfaithful becomes plain when under interrogation, she suffers a violent breakdown betraying her guilt.

In the new millennium, Katheryn Howard has continued to be Henry VIII's illicit Queen. In the television miniseries *Henry VIII* (2003), our introduction to Katheryn (Emily Blunt) is of her in bed with a lover. That Katheryn is a 'bad girl' is unmistakable as she is also blatantly rude towards her uncle the Duke of Norfolk (Mark Strong). Such behaviour of a young person towards her elder was of course unheard of in the 16th century,

Tamzin Merchant as Katheryn Howard in 'The Tudors'

Emily Blunt as Katheryn Howard in 'Henry VIII'

but it does establish her personality. Katheryn is also duplicitous as she manages to convince a love struck Henry VIII (Ray Winstone) that she is 'a rose without a thorn', being 'so pure, so perfect'.

Enemies of Norfolk plot his demise through his niece, but they needn't try hard. It is Katheryn who brings disaster upon herself. Dissatisfied with an old and impotent husband, she takes up with Thomas Culpepper (Joseph Morgan) whom she openly seduces in front of her ladies-in-waiting. When Katheryn is finally caught, she is a pitiful thing. She goes to the block in terror and has to be forcibly held down to die.

Katheryn's story was given much more screen time in *The Tudors* (2007-2010). A hit with audiences, the television series was at the same time the *bête noire* of many historians.

David Starkey, for one, did not hold back. It was 'gratuitously awful' in his opinion, with its many inaccuracies, and its mishmash of costumes and set pieces from different time periods.[9] That said, some liberties of course were taken with Katheryn Howard (Tamzin Merchant). Noticeably, she is often naked - she strips down for the King (Jonathan Rhys Meyers) when he visits her, while she is outdoors upon a swing as Henry ogles her, and even when she practices laying her head on the block before her execution. Also, fond of dancing, she likes to do so in the rain, and she even does a sort of modern style 'interpretive dance' in the Tower of London as she waits to die. Though anachronistic, such traits suggest the sort of person Katheryn was. As historian Gareth Russell described her historical counterpart, she was a 'vivacious young woman'.[10] Attractive, uninhibited, and full of fun, she was as Russell also put it, 'a girl whom many of us know or have known.'

At the same time, Katheryn's nasty qualities were manifest in *The Tudors*. She was arrogant in mocking the disgraced Thomas Cromwell (James Frain), she was petty in feuding with the Princess Mary (Sarah Bolger), and she was lacking in judgment in sleeping with Thomas Culpepper (Torrance Coombs), a disreputable young man guilty of rape. Still, whatever her faults, Katheryn was able to take responsibility for her actions. At her fall, she accepts her fate, knowing that despite her terrible end to come, she has lived to the fullest with a good measure of happiness. Right before placing her head upon the block, Katheryn murmurs, "Life is very beautiful".

Television and film has given us many facets of Katheryn Howard. She was deceiving, frivolous, arrogant, and reckless, but also sweet, kind, high-spirited, and even contemplative. Thus she was far more that the 'juvenile delinquent' as she was often dismissed as. While Katheryn's fame - or rather infamy - still rests largely upon her reputation as Henry VIII's cheating wife, popular media has given us a more rounded picture of her. Though imaginative at times, these representations of Katheryn have offered us a better understanding of her, allowing us to be more compassionate towards this much maligned Queen.

ROLAND HUI

1. For example: Karen Lindsey, *Divorced, Beheaded, Survived: A Feminist Reinterpretation of the Wives of Henry VIII*, New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1995; Joanna Denny, *Katherine Howard: A Tudor Conspiracy*, London: Portrait, 2005; Conor Byrne, *Katherine Howard: A New History*, Almeria: MadeGlobal Publishing, 2014; Josephine Wilkinson, *Katherine Howard: The Tragic Story of Henry VIII's Fifth Wife*, London: John Murray, 2016; Gareth Russell, *Young and Damned and Fair: The Life of Katherine Howard, Fifth Wife of King Henry VIII*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016; and Conor Byrne, *Katherine Howard: Henry VIII's Slandered Queen*, Cheltenham: The History Press, 2019.
2. Lacey Baldwin Smith, *A Tudor Tragedy: The Life and Times of Catherine Howard*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1961, p. 205.
3. The film is in the public domain, and can be viewed online at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YI0m_0UQAKI
4. *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969), screenplay by John Hale and Bridget Boland; adaptation by Richard Sokolove.
5. Francis Hackett, *Henry the Eighth*, New York: Horace Liveright, 1929, p. 352.
6. Actress Binnie Barnes was age 30 when she played the part of Katheryn Howard.
7. Angela Pleasence was 30 when she played Katheryn Howard. The historical Katheryn was most likely born sometime between 1521 and 1523. See: Lacey Baldwin Smith, *A Tudor Tragedy*, pp. 209-211; Gareth Russell, *Young and Damned and Fair*, pp. 14-16.
8. Maureen Peters, *Henry VIII and His Six Wives*, Bungay: Fontana Books, 1972, p. 154.
9. 'BBC period drama The Tudors is 'gratuitously awful' says Dr David Starkey', *The Telegraph*, October 16, 2008: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/3210142/BBC-period-drama-The-Tudors-is-gratuitously-awful-says-Dr-David-Starkey.html
10. Gareth Russell, *Young and Damned and Fair*, p. 334.

THE CHATEAU VERT PAGEANT TRICKY QUIZ

The Chateau Vert Pageant took place at York Place, Cardinal Wolsey's residence in London. It was a spectacular event organised by Wolsey, which took place on Shrove Tuesday, 4th March 1522. It was the last day of the three days of lavish events choreographed by the Cardinal to mark Shrovetide, the three days before the fasting of Lent. The theme was 'Unrequited Love'. Chronicler Edward Hall described the magnificence of the event, and you can hear this read if you go to the 'The Anne Boleyn and Tudor Society' YouTube channel, and look for Claire's 'On This Day in Tudor History' video published on 4th March 2019. A castle had been built in a great hall and atop the castle were ladies who had names of great virtue. Underneath the base were ladies names with feminine vices, who had trapped the virtuous ladies in the castle. Then entered male courtiers, dressed as Lords depicting male virtues, led 'secretly' by Henry VIII. They freed the virtous ladies and led them to the floor to dance. Identities would shortly be revealed. Then there was a huge feast for all. It is said that it was at this event that Henry met and fell I love with Anne Boleyn. Sadly, there is no evidence of this.

For this quiz, you need to identify the names of the virtuous women and men, and the ladies with evil vices. Each has either a short clue or a synonym to help you work it out, plus the first letter. When you have them all, fit them into the Kriss Kross grid above... not easy!

Virtuous Ladies

Attractiveness (B_____)
Integrity (H_____)
Persistence (P_____)
Goodwill (K_____)
Name of a German Lake (CONSTANCE)
Abundance (B_____)
Compassion (M____)
Sympathy (P___)

Ladies with Female Vices

Hazard (D_____)
To stain the honour (D_____)
Suspicion (J_____)
Cruelty (U_____)
Contempt (S____)
Evil Mouth (M_____)
Oddness (S_____)

Virtuous Lords

Worthiness (N_____)
Adolescence (Y____)
Presence (A_____)
Faithfulness (L_____)
Satisfaction (P_____)
Kindliness (G_____)
French word for love (A_____)
Freedom (L_____)

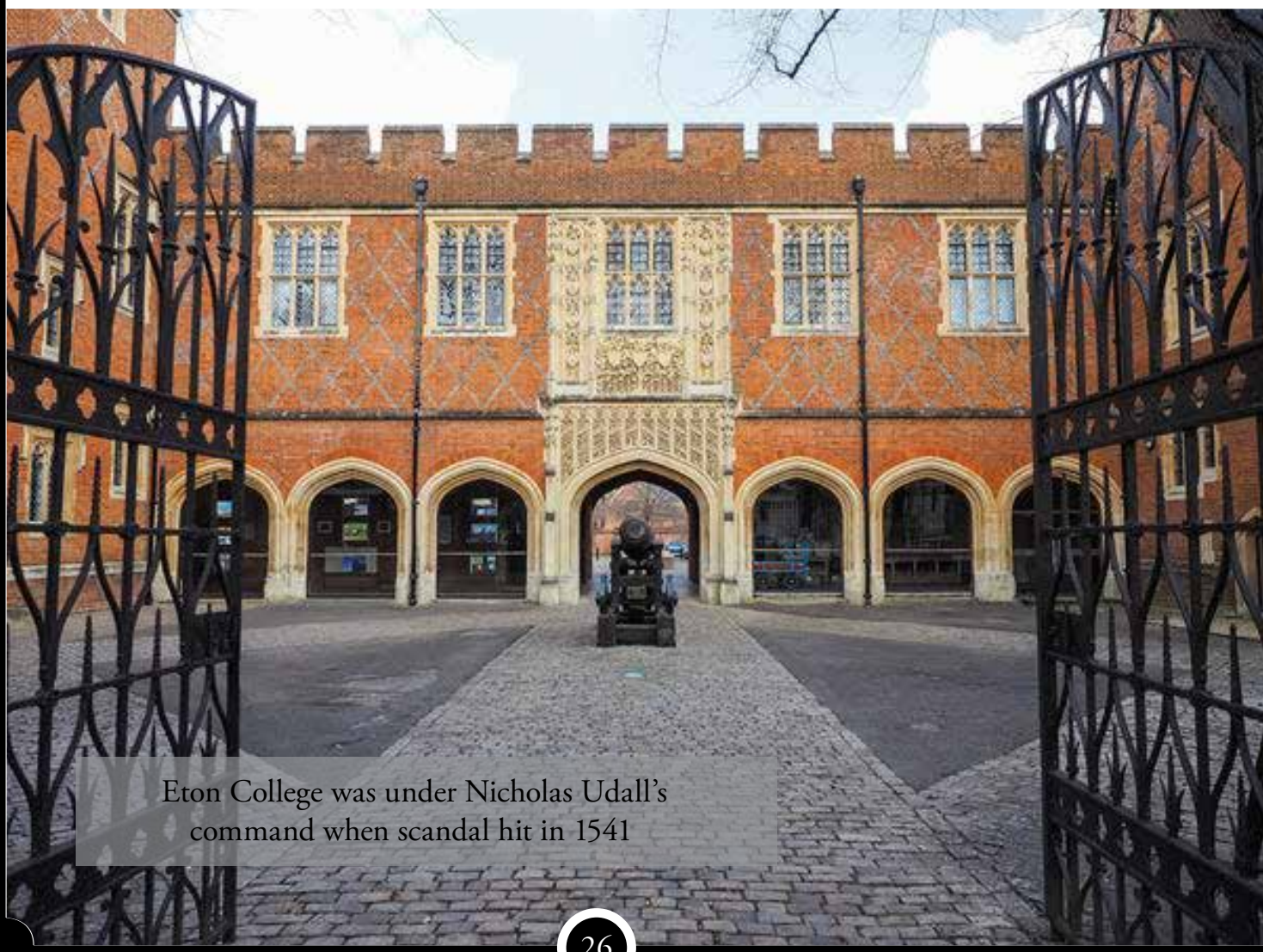
"Quiz Answers" on page 63

NICHOLAS UDALL

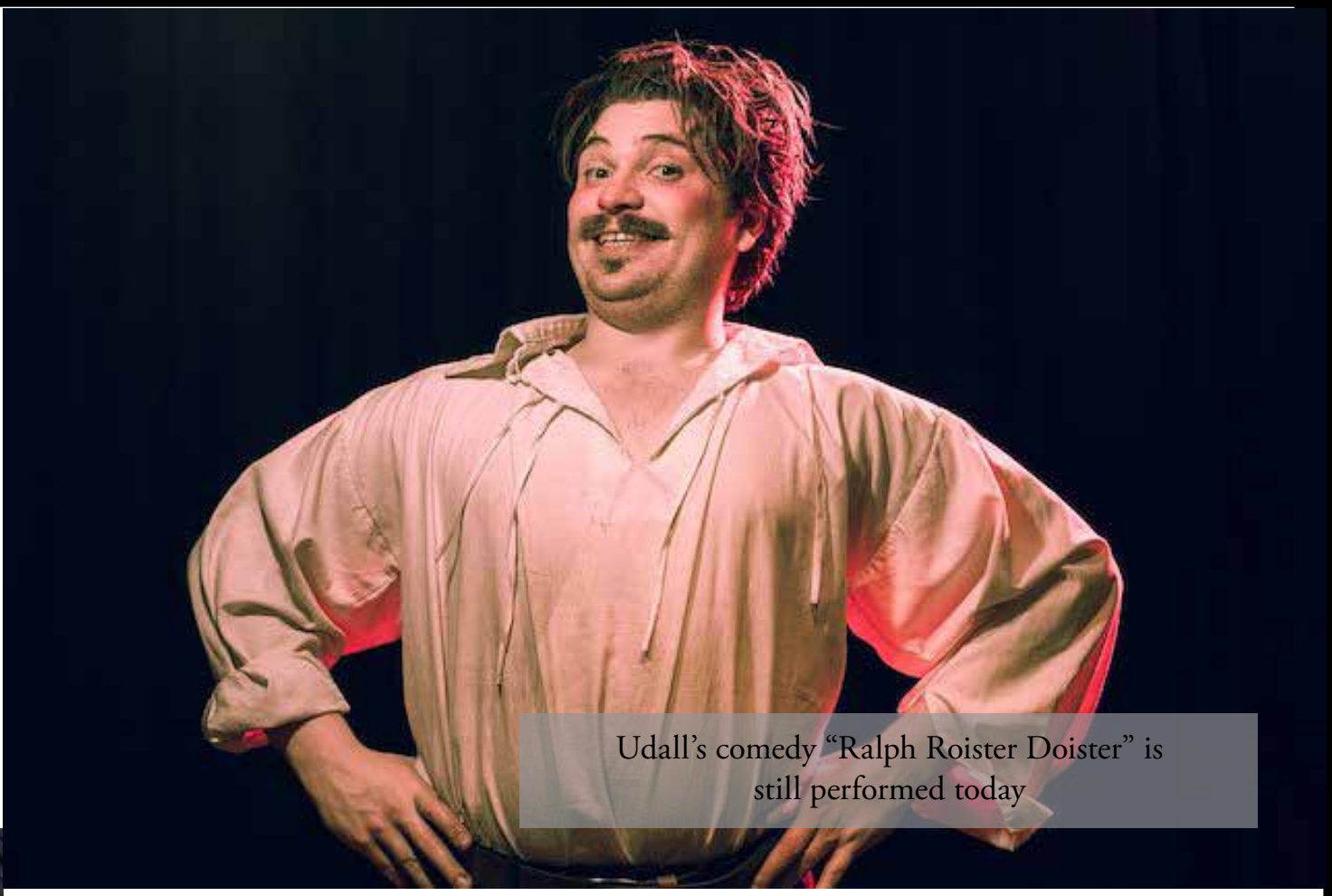
by Gareth Russell

I am delighted to share this extract from "Young and Damned and Fair," my biography of Catherine Howard, in which I discuss the scandal concerning the Tudor playwright Nicholas Udall. It brought him to the attention of Queen Catherine's household in the spring of 1541. In the book, I argue why I believe an overlooked connection between Udall and one of Queen Catherine's ladies helped resolve the scandal, but for this issue of the magazine I think it's simply suffice to share the broad details of the scandal itself!

"By 1541 the man in charge of Eton [a boys' boarding school] was Nicholas



Eton College was under Nicholas Udall's command when scandal hit in 1541



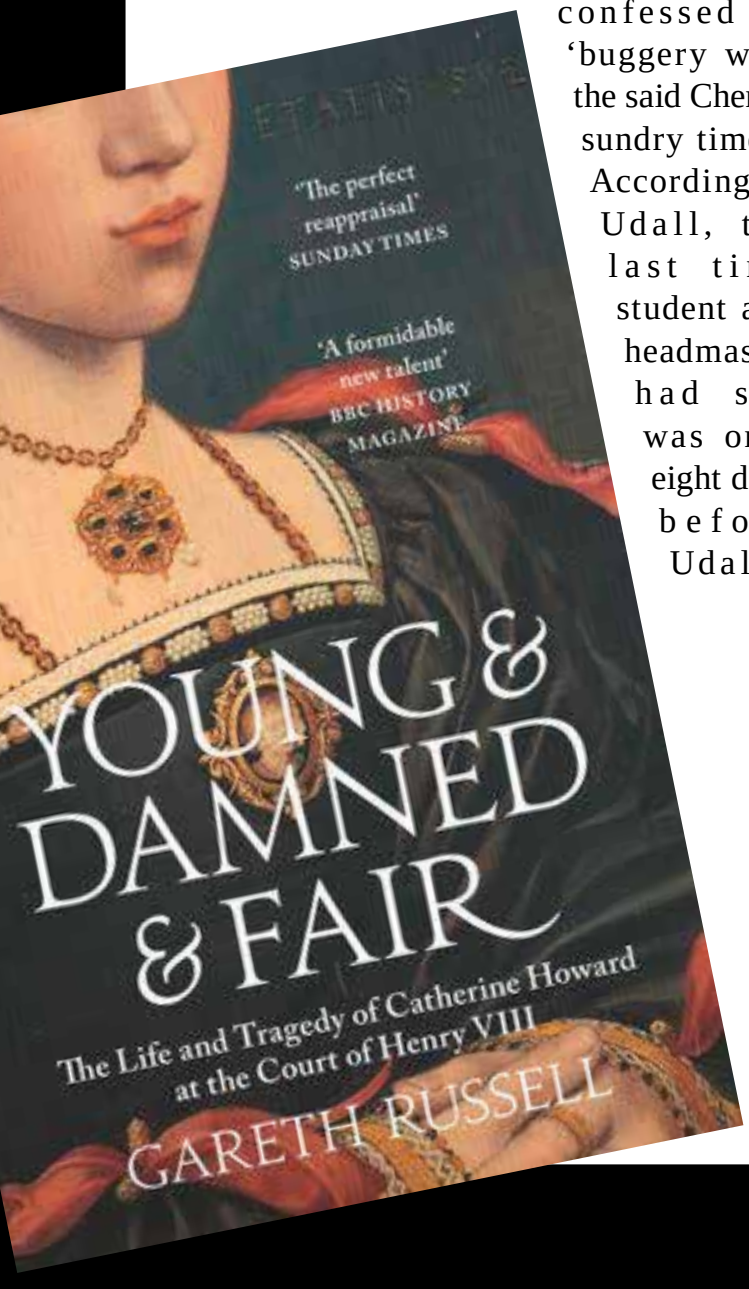
Udall's comedy "Ralph Roister Doister" is still performed today

Udall, an Oxford scholar who had written a textbook called '*The Floures for Latine Spekynge*' that was used in English classrooms for most of the rest of the century, and who had also helped script most of the pageants for Anne Boleyn's coronation in 1533. The appearance of silver plate stolen from Eton and being sold in London implied either corruption in the school or, more probably, theft. A merchant selling the goods told the council that he had received the items from a former student at Eton called John Hoorde, the nineteen-year-old son of a well-to-do Shropshire gentleman. Hoorde was brought in for questioning, during which he implicated his friend and co-conspirator Thomas Cheney, who was still in his final year at Eton. On 13th March 1541, Cheney was summoned to Westminster, where he confessed to stealing the plate. He also implied that Nicholas Udall had been party to the scheme, so Udall was fetched from Windsor to answer questions about his role in the black-marketing of his school's possessions.

Udall, who was about thirty-four or thirty-five years old at the time, seemed an unlikely thief. During his early career, the Duke of Norfolk had apparently been one of many court lights who recognised his talent and promoted him. Udall's work for the 1533 coronation had managed to incorporate scenes that ranged from flattering juxtapositions of Anne Boleyn's physique, status, and heraldry ('Of body small, / Of power regal / She is, and sharp of sight;/ Of courage hault, / No manner fault / Is in this falcon white...') to paeans to Queen Anne's patron saint and clever innuendoes about her crest

as it was incorporated into renderings of the Annunciation. As a headmaster, Udall had maintained Eton's tradition of beating recalcitrant or underperforming students on Fridays or 'flogging days', yet he had still acquired a reputation as 'the best schoolmaster' during his seven years there. He encouraged acting and drama at the school, for which it is still famous, and it is probable that he wrote his play *'Ralph Roister Doister'*, the earliest surviving theatrical comedy in the English language, for performance by a student cast.

In his interrogation before the council at Westminster, Udall denied complicity in the theft but instead startlingly confessed to 'buggery with the said Cheney sundry times'. According to Udall, the last time student and headmaster had sex was only eight days before Udall's testimony. There was no good reason for Udall to confess to the crime of sodomy to try to exculpate himself from one of larceny. The Buggery Statute of 1533 had made homosexual activity a capital offence. It had been one of the accusations laid against Lord Hungerford, who had been executed nine months before Udall confessed to similar behaviour. The only explanation for Udall's startling admission was that it was the truth. It is possible that Cheney had already confessed their liaison in the hope that Udall's senior age and position would drag attention off him for helping to steal the silver. The councillors in session that day – the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Sussex, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, and Cromwell's onetime ward Sir Ralph Sadler – signed an order for Udall to be incarcerated in the Marshalsea prison in Southwark, which may indicate some sympathy for Udall or, just as likely, respect for his social position. Compared to other London prisons, the Marshalsea was relatively comfortable in the sixteenth century, and while prisoners were prepared to pay through the nose for its amenities, there were many other gaols where Nicholas Udall would have paid as much and suffered more.

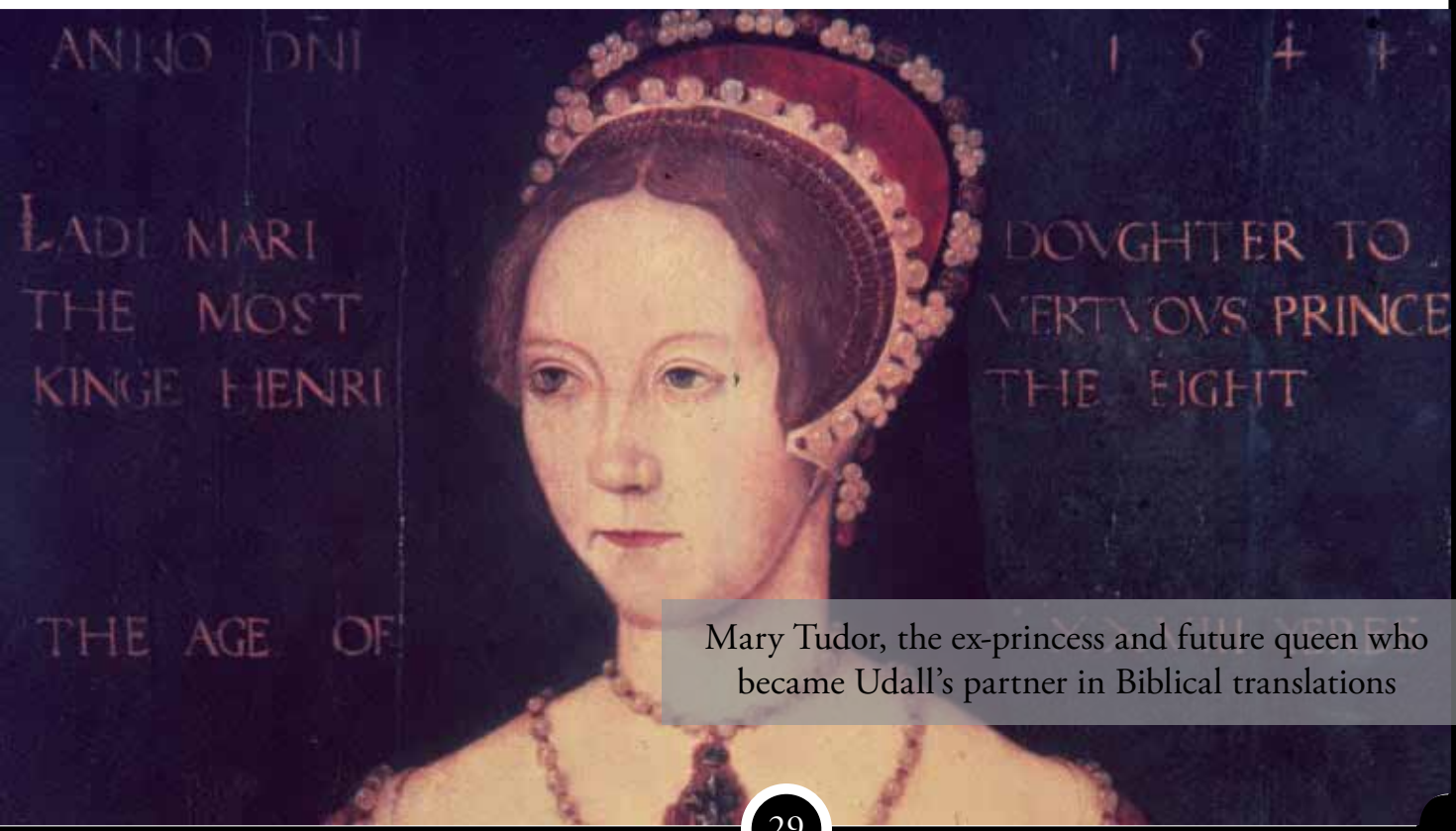


The council sent messengers to Shropshire and Buckinghamshire for the fathers of the two Etonians involved to come to London. Thomas Cheney's father, Sir Robert Cheney, arrived a few days before Richard Hoorde, John's father. In the meantime, the Privy Council established a version of events in which Cheney and Udall had been sleeping together while Cheney and his

friend Hoorde had worked with one of Udall's servants, a man called Gregory, to rob the college of various images, plate, and silver that they then attempted to sell in London. Udall, it seems, was not party to the scheme, though the fact that he had been in debt beforehand raises the possibility that he could have been. So while he would not be charged with theft, his sexual relationship with a male student, with which he may have been blackmailed to keep quiet about Cheney's theft, could still wrap a noose around his neck.

At this point, the affair goes quiet. Everyone involved ultimately escaped punishment. John Hoorde went home to Shropshire, where he eventually married a local woman called Katherine Oteley and lived well into the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. Thomas Cheney married Frances Rotherham, a woman from his mother's home county of Bedfordshire. He died in the spring of 1554, when he was in his early thirties. Most unexpectedly of all, Udall was released from prison and was soon once again in favour with the great personalities of the court – he helped Princess Mary with her translation of a biblical commentary, '*Paraphrases upon the New Testament*', was patronised by Henry VIII's final wife, Queen Katherine Parr, recruited to Bishop Gardiner's household, and after Princess Mary succeeded to the throne in 1553, Udall was appointed headmaster of Westminster School in London, where he served until his death two years later." – From "Young and Damned and Fair: The Life of Catherine Howard, Fifth Wife of King Henry VIII" by Gareth Russell

GARETH RUSSELL



Mary Tudor, the ex-princess and future queen who became Udall's partner in Biblical translations

Anne Boleyn's two arrivals at the Tower of London

by Elizabeth Jane Timms

Those who travel today upriver from Greenwich to Westminster on a river cruise or Thames Clipper service are probably unaware that they are in fact, retracing by water the last route ever taken by a Queen of England, Henry VIII's second wife, Anne Boleyn. To retrace this same route by river is an experience both extraordinary as it is affecting, for whilst the great Tudor palace of Greenwich is long since vanished, the Thames and the Tower remain. Modern ferries dock at St Katharine's Pier for the Tower of London and continue upriver for Westminster. The second time that Queen Anne Boleyn entered the Tower, she never left it.

Anne Boleyn's two arrivals (and stays) at the Tower of London aptly represent I think, both the climax and nadir of her sensational life. The first from 29 May to 31 May 1533 was to spend the traditional coronation eve at the Tower, the second from 2 May 1536 until 19 May 1536 (the date of her execution) was as a queen charged with multiple adultery, incest and treason. The dreadful parallels between these two very different journeys to the Tower was something that was observed on at least one recorded occasion and the second was a dark replay of that earlier arrival. I want to examine the arrival of 1533 and thereby explore the possible mental symmetry for Queen Anne Boleyn through the prism as it were, of her arrival in 1536. There are also similarities with her daughter

The Gate Anne Boleyn used
to enter the Tower of London

Elizabeth's arrival at the Tower, which are striking.

This is not at all to suggest that in so doing, we are putting thoughts by way of hindsight into the head of Anne Boleyn, rather, in revisiting both arrivals we can at least surmise what her some of her thoughts may have been, an exercise which must firmly remain speculative with the exception of her own apparent words. As she did not reach the Tower until three hours later, it is reasonable to assume that Anne Boleyn had ample time to reflect. The route from Greenwich to the Tower was after all, the precise same route she had taken prior to her coronation, which had been also in the month of May. If her actual departure was delayed as will be discussed later, it is probable that the waiting time would have been rich for contemplation. The penalty by law for the crimes of which she had been accused were terrible indeed and this may well also have been on Anne's mind.

An analysis of these two arrivals reveals quite extraordinary similarities, which can only have added to her disturbance of mind. We know that Anne began to speak rapidly, which is demonstrative of her nervous unrest. In such times, truth can often escape and if Anne did indeed make reference to the earlier arrival at the Tower, it would seem likely that she was speaking her thoughts aloud. Highly strung behaviour was one of her known traits.

Three years stood between these two momentous arrivals. The man that Henry VIII had become through their torturous courtship and the break with Rome meant that the King's character had hardened, although the cruelty of which he was capable had not yet fully developed. Charm and cruelty existed in him and were genuine in both cases. Henry's love for Anne had changed him and when his love for her changed, there were crucial consequences in that transformation. Love I think, is one of the most important emotions to bear in mind when trying to gain any psychological understanding of Henry VIII, for it is the feeling which influenced him to make many of the

most decisive personal decisions of his reign. We know that Henry's fourth marriage was a disaster, but even this was because of the hope of love which was dashed by the physical reality of the sitter of Holbein's picture. Not for nothing was it recorded that Henry hurried to Rochester for that ill-fated meeting with Anne of Cleves, to *'nourish love'*, which certainly suggests that this is what he expected to feel.

The King who had Anne Boleyn crowned at Westminster in 1533 was the husband for whom she prayed with those remarkable words spoken on the scaffold only three years later, that Jesus Christ might *'save my sovereign and master the King, the most godly, noble and gentle Prince that is, and long to reign over you'*. Even on the morning of her execution, Anne Boleyn still paid tribute to those attributes of the King's character that coexisted alongside his cruelty. Any attempt to understand Henry VIII should acknowledge that these seemingly oppositional characteristics were coeval and formed part of his multifaceted whole. A Henry VIII who could bloodily sanction the execution of two of his wives, could continue to regard himself as a true knight of the chivalric code, not because Henry wilfully engaged in self-deception but was able to make up his mind on a given point and then prove obstinately immovable. The self-image of a knight which had been impressed upon him at the age of three was so deep-rooted that it would continue to be his identity, even when he had become Charles Dickens's '*...spot of blood and grease on the history of England*". Importantly, Anne Boleyn had herself been part of this character transformation[1].

Anne Boleyn was arrested at Greenwich on 2 May 1536 by the Duke of Norfolk who answered to her question for the reason of their visit *'that they came by the King's command to conduct her to the Tower, there to abide during his Highness's pleasure'*. Anne replied simply: *'If it be his Majesty's pleasure, I am ready to obey'*. She was not allowed to pack any of her personal possessions but seems to have departed more

or less immediately, being escorted to the barge that was waiting for her. As her daughter Princess Elizabeth would be in 1554, she made the journey '*in full daylight*', as opposed to at night, when state prisoners were usually brought to the Tower[2]. When Princess Elizabeth was conveyed by river on Palm Sunday, in pouring rain, the assumption was that loyal citizens would be in church whilst she was carried by barge to her place of imprisonment.

It was recorded that Anne was conveyed to the Tower '*about five of the clock at night*'[3] which means that the journey took some three hours by river from Greenwich if we accept that the Queen had received the news of her arrest at about two o'clock in the afternoon. Good evidence suggests that Anne embarked almost immediately from Greenwich because she was assured that everything would be provided for her, so perhaps as the author and historian Alison Weir argues, a change of the tide may have occasioned a delay in conveying her promptly.

Often asserted is the erroneous belief that Anne Boleyn entered by the Watergate beneath Edward I's St Thomas's Tower and as this has become the stuff of London legend, it will probably never die. When her daughter Princess Elizabeth was brought to the Tower, she refused to enter by the Watergate, because it was already known as 'Traitors' Gate' and Elizabeth considered herself no traitor. The Watergate was not separated by the Tower Wharf in the medieval period and instead directly touched the Thames, allowing the royal barge to be rowed beneath the Watergate to access Edward I's royal apartment within the medieval palace. It is chilling to imagine Princess Elizabeth entering by that same postern gate that her mother did in 1536. One account attributes some of Anne Boleyn's words to Sir William Kingston, the Constable of the Tower as having been '*Oh my mother, my mother*', which are words well suited to what her daughter Princess Elizabeth could have thought in 1554 when she arrived at the Tower. According to Historic Royal Palaces, the organization which maintains the Tower of London, Princess Elizabeth may even have been '*held in her mother's former apartments*'[4].

There were in fact, three separate stairs by which entry to the Tower could be gained. The first was by The Queen's Stairs, which Anne Boleyn used and have been well described as lying '*beneath the Byeward [sic] Gate and the Belfry, with a passage by bridge and postern through the Byeward [sic] Tower into Water Lane*'[5]. The other entrances were via the aforementioned Watergate ('Traitors' Gate') and the Galleyman Stairs (which were little used) but located beneath the Cradle Tower, which had its own private entrance to the royal apartments[6].

Queen Anne Boleyn entered the Tower by the still surviving postern Court Gate, as was customary for any royal personage arriving at the Tower, because the Court Gate was the fifteenth century private royal entrance to the Tower[7]. The fact that she was received according to her queenly status may also have underlined thoughts of her coronation, especially because the route on arrival was the same to the Queen's apartments where she stayed in 1533. Back then, her arrival at the Tower had been celebrated by one thousand firings of the cannon, according to the Tudor chronicler Edmund Hall[8]. Whilst Queen Anne Boleyn could hardly have entered by any other way than the Court or 'Byeward' postern gate because it was the royal route to enter

the Tower via the Queen's Stairs, it is perhaps notable that Anne did not enter by Traitors' Gate, though her accusations included treason. The Watergate being the entrance for prisoners, Anne Boleyn entered by the postern gate, as both a prisoner and a queen.

On disembarking at Tower Wharf, Anne would have entered the Tower by way of the drawbridge which led to the postern gate and into the Byward Tower, which opened onto Water Lane. The drawbridge was necessary for Anne to cross because the moat of the Tower was then filled.

When Princess Elizabeth arrived in her turn at the Tower of London, the water of the Thames apparently lapped over her shoes as she disembarked at The Queen's Stairs. Elizabeth's words spoken in 1554 have an extraordinary echo with those spoken by her mother on her arrival at the Tower in 1536. Queen Anne Boleyn fell to her knees on the cobbles and protested her innocence, *'beseeching God to help her as she was not guilty of her accusement'*[9]. When Princess Elizabeth disembarked, she spoke similarly convinced of her own innocence to the guard: '*O Lord, I never thought to have come in here as prisoner; I pray you all good friends and fellows, bear me witness that I come in no traitor but as true a woman to the Queen's Majesty as any now living*'[10].

When Elizabeth I's procession for her coronation set out in January 1559, she experienced her mother's symmetry backwards, as her coronation followed her imprisonment at the Tower whilst for Queen Anne Boleyn it was the reverse. For Elizabeth, all the barges on the Thames were '*decked and trimmed with the targets and banners of their mysteries*'[11]. It was similar to those barges which had filled the Thames for her mother back in 1533. Before Elizabeth left the Tower to process through the City to Westminster, she memorably gave thanks to God that she had been spared to see this joyful day and a voice from the crowds cried '*Remember old King Harry the eighth*'. Naturally, no one cried '*Remember Queen Anne Boleyn*'. Instead, the crowds gathered in joy to witness the traditional procession from the Tower, for Anne Boleyn's daughter, Elizabeth.

Queen Anne Boleyn was taken to be lodged in the Queen's apartments, the same splendid suite she had occupied before her coronation. Whilst there is no evidence that she was actually hysterical, it is highly likely that she was in an extremely nervous state, something borne out by her behaviour in the Tower according to the reports of Sir William Kingston to Thomas Cromwell. On her arrival, she apparently was '*weeping a great pace*' and then '*fell into a great laughing*'. The author Antonia Fraser has made the pertinent point in her composite biography *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* that her nervous state may well have been exacerbated by her recent miscarriage. For had she been delivered safely of a boy, the need to be rid of her may never have been necessary and the King's relationship with Jane Seymour could never have had the same significance.

According to the *Spanish Chronicle*, she said to Kingston, as he led her to those lodgings: '*I was received with greater ceremony the last time I entered here*', remembering her coronation. More reliable even, is Kingston's own record of what Queen Anne Boleyn said, which has him in fact, recalling 1533 and not her: '*Mr Kingston, do I go into a dungeon?*' '*No, Madam you shall go into your lodging that you lay in at your coronation*'. The words '*your lodging*' has a tragic ring because as Queen of England,

there were of course the same apartments in which she had spent that traditional short time at the Tower in 1533.

The Queen's apartments at the Tower of London do not survive and were demolished at the end of the eighteenth century. Prior to her coronation, Anne Boleyn occupied them for two nights with Henry VIII. For the occasion they had been refurbished in splendid 'antick' decoration at a cost of over £3,500 by order of the King in 1532-33, with some four hundred workmen engaged for that purpose[12]. Anne would have recognised the apartments from three years ago before her coronation, which was her crowning achievement both physically and metaphorically.

When Anne arrived in 1533, the Thames was full of decorated barges and full of musicians. Anne had purposely chosen the old royal barge of Queen Catherine of Aragon in which to travel up the Thames, with the former queen's badges ripped off and her own put in place instead. The *Spanish Chronicle* recorded the *'barges and boats all draped with awnings and carpeted, which gave pleasure to behold'*. When

Anne arrived in 1533 at the Tower of London she had been met by the King, who greeted her with a *'loving countenance at the postern by the waters' side'* and kissed her before conducting her to the royal apartments. She had dressed in cloth of gold to make the journey from Greenwich to the Tower. She was escorted upriver against an elaborate backdrop of music and fireworks accompanied by her father, the Earl of Wiltshire, the Duke of Suffolk, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen among others.

In 1536, Anne Boleyn arrived by that same postern gate but had been brought to the Tower, '*there to abide during his Highness's pleasure*' and this time of course, there was no Henry VIII to greet her. Instead she was conducted to the royal apartments not by the King but by his Constable of the Tower, Sir William Kingston.

Anne's newly refurbished 1533 apartments were luxurious and consisted of some six rooms. These were a great watching chamber, presence chamber, a closet (perhaps also used as a private oratory)[13], a large or dining chamber, bedchamber and privy chamber. As Anne did not return to the Tower again for three years, this was the first time they had been occupied in 1536. The privy room had its own staircase that led down onto the courtyard below, down which it is presumed, she walked on the fateful morning of her execution[14]. However splendidly she was lodged here in 1536 however, nothing could atone for the dreadful state of mind she must have experienced within these luxurious walls. It is probable that she recalled Henry VIII's sharing those apartments with her when they slept at the Tower for those two nights in 1533, making the whole replay of 1536 seem like a dark dream.

English monarchs tended to stay at the Tower for short periods and normally with an important purpose, for the coronation being the most crucial of these. Henry VIII seems to have disliked the Tower, possibly because it recalled the death of his beloved mother Elizabeth of York, who had died there in 1503. Henry VII had ceased to spend time at the Tower after the death of his queen and consequently, monarchs would only stay at the Tower to conform with the traditional stay prior to their coronation. This change was reflected in the fact that the Tower was subsequently recorded as '*an armoury and house of munition, and a place for the safekeeping of offenders, than a palace royal for a king or queen to sojourn in*'[15].

The Queen's Apartments were situated to the south east of the inner ward, roughly occupying the open space to the side of the White Tower, between the (reconstructed) Lanthorn Tower and Wardrobe Tower. Modern parlance calls St Thomas's Tower, the Wakefield Tower and the Lanthorn Tower collectively the 'medieval palace', although in the thirteenth century this was comprised of a much larger royal complex, the foundations of which survive. The Lanthorn Tower had in fact, been originally built to contain the apartments for Henry III's queen, Eleanor of Provence but were later reconfigured to accommodate chambers for the King. Anne's royal apartments at the Tower can be seen on the 1597 plan of the Tower of London by Gulielmus Hayward and J. Gascoyne, *A true and exact draught of the Tower Liberties, surveyed in the year 1597*, crucially made in the same century as Anne's coronation and death and at a time when those same apartments were falling to ruin. The original Lanthorn Tower was destroyed by fire in 1774.

On 7 June 1536, the grim walls of the Tower

of London were decorated when Henry VIII brought his new bride Jane Seymour by barge from Greenwich to Whitehall. The Tower was hung with streamers and banners. Inside its walls, the body of the disgraced Anne Boleyn lay where it had been unceremoniously buried only recently, on 19 May[16]. This time, it was not to spend the customary night prior to a coronation, for Queen Jane Seymour never got one of her own. Perhaps the King's memory of Anne Boleyn - to whom he almost never referred to after her execution - meant that to stop at the Tower would have been too much, too soon. The decoration of the Tower was first and foremost to celebrate the King's impending marriage to Jane Seymour, but the gaudy banners probably also acted as a helpful mask, blinding Henry VIII with colourful flags to usher in a new and 'true' marriage and wipe away all thought of Anne Boleyn. It made her scaffold harder to imagine.

In 1542, another of Henry's queens would be escorted to the Tower of London. This was Katherine Howard, his fifth wife and a cousin of Anne Boleyn through her Howard lineage, no less. Katherine was escorted not from Greenwich to the Tower but instead from Syon Abbey whither she had been banished; she had to be conveyed by force to the barge. According to Chapuys, the Spanish Ambassador - whose accounts (allowing for strong private bias) are an extremely important primary source for this period – Queen Katherine Howard was brought to the Tower in a '*small covered boat… and four ladies of her suite*'. Chapuys recorded that '*on their arrival at the Tower stairs the Lord Privy Seal and the duke [sic] of Suffolk landed first; then the Queen herself, dressed in black velvet*'. Like Anne Boleyn before her, Chapuys describes the natural fact that the fallen Katherine Howard was received as a queen, '*with the same honours and ceremonies as if she were still reigning*' [17]. The 1536 replay found its own dark echo then, in 1542.

The Tower's extraordinary power lies perhaps in its ability to evoke history. Its remarkable historical presence is greatly enhanced on a dark, misty evening such as the historian A. L. Rowse memorably described in his classic *The Tower of London in the History of the Nation*, the Tower retaining that same damp smell of the Thames and its attendant Tudor ghosts[18]. But to arrive at St Katharine's on a bright May afternoon is in fact, to revisit the arrival of dark moment for Henry's second queen back in 1536, brought to the Tower in the full glare of day. Similarly, arriving by boat at the Tower of London on a rainy day by riverboat recalls the dreadful moment for the future Elizabeth I, stepping out to pronounce that she considered herself '*a true woman*'. Inevitably, this pre-knowledge influences how we experience stepping out at St Katharine's, but the Tower's stories remain living proof of human fact.

The Tower of London witnessed Anne Boleyn's greatest achievement and darkest despair, because she arrived there at both opposite points in her life. Anne's daughter Elizabeth setting out for her coronation from the Tower could represent for us, something of Anne's boldly defiant spirit coming through and triumphing through her child. Such is the final argument in Charles Jarrott's 1969 costume drama *Anne of the Thousand Days*, where Anne Boleyn's fictional conversation with Henry VIII in the Tower has her declare boldly that her blood would have been well spent. Pregnant with Elizabeth when she first arrived in 1533, it was Elizabeth who entered in 1554 at the same postern

gate that she had done. But, it was Elizabeth who returned in splendour to the Tower in January 1559, prior to her own coronation.

The traditional visit to the Tower continued until 1661 with Charles II, who was the last monarch to have the ancient royal eve-of-coronation procession from the Tower of London[19], which was in his case recorded as a '*spectacle so grateful to the people*'[20]. Incidentally, as part of the coronation festivities of Henry VIII and his first queen Catherine of Aragon, both had been conveyed in the royal barge from Greenwich to the Tower on 22 June 1509.

Anne Boleyn's mortal remains can be reasonably assumed to lie somewhere beneath the altar of the chapel royal of St Peter ad Vincula, whatever the truth of the Victorian identifications. In death, Anne duly retains that queenly status according to how she received when she arrived at the Tower in 1533 and in 1536. She was treated according to how her rank demanded and whilst the symmetry was certainly cruel to our thinking, it was only natural whilst Anne was still nominally Henry's consort. The Queen therefore was conducted to none other than the Queen's apartments. The Victorian plaques in the chapel royal of St Peter ad Vincula were only placed there much later and engraved according to the presumed identifications. Prior to that, no memorial had existed to mark the spot where Anne Boleyn had been buried after her execution.

It is perhaps, strangely symbolic that the Queen's apartments at the Tower were at the end of Anne's century – the sixteenth – falling into disrepair. Of course, no other of Henry's queens had a coronation. Anne's second arrival at the Tower was a black repetition of her earlier, glorious arrival before she was crowned.

All this is of course, to judge the two arrivals from Anne's own emotional perspective, as opposed to from the point of view of simple state protocol. But from Anne Boleyn's point of view, it is surely hard to conceive of a more poignant similarity.

ELIZABETH JANE TIMMS

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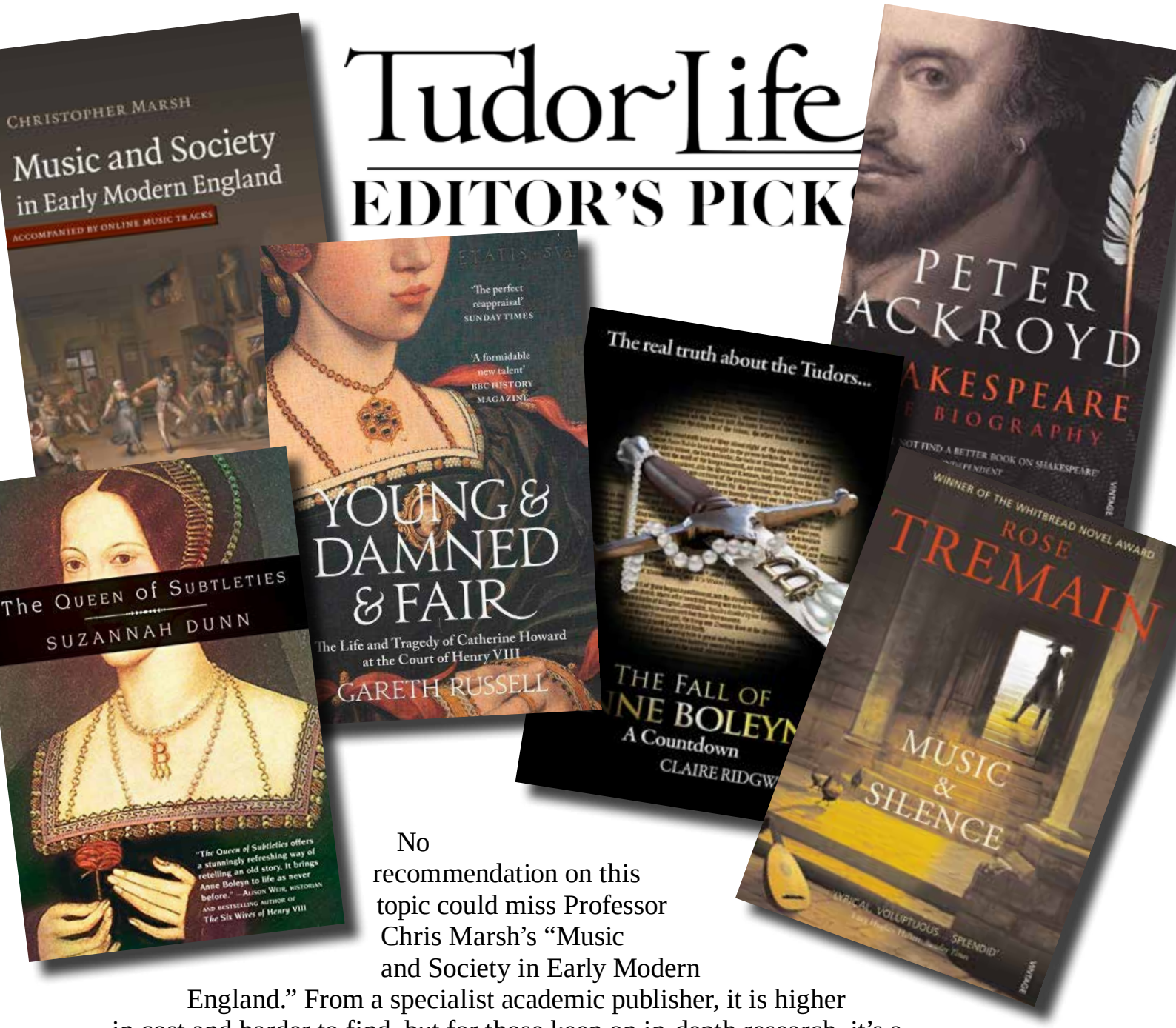
Tudor Life

EDITOR'S PICK



No recommendation on this topic could miss Professor Chris Marsh's "Music and Society in Early Modern England." From a specialist academic publisher, it is higher in cost and harder to find, but for those keen on in-depth research, it's a bible of modern study.

For biographies, Peter Ackroyd's life of Shakespeare is superb, while Claire Ridgway's "The Fall of Anne Boleyn" explores the tragedy of Mark Smeaton. My own biography of Catherine Howard tries to get to the root of what really happened between her and Henry Manox, as well as to explore how lessons in music mattered to the early modern English upper classes.

In terms of fiction, I can recommend "Music and Silence" by Rose Tremaine, set in the Danish royal court, it's a thrillingly vivid look at life for musicians in service to large households. Suzannah Dunn's "Queen of Subtleties" has Anne Boleyn and a member of the kitchen staff as dual narrators, with the tragic figure of Mark Smeaton serving as a major character. In terms of television, the BBC comedy "Upstart Crow" about William Shakespeare may entertain, while the final episode of the acclaimed drama series "Elizabeth R" highlights the power of theatre in Tudor political drama. "All is True" is a fine movie, imagining the Bard's later years.

But lastly and most emphatically, I'd like to recommend listen to the music of the era for yourself. Thomas Tallis was a genius of towering emotional force. Find his music online and I hope you love it. The plays written then can still be purchased, read, and enjoyed!

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

Members' Bulletin

Fellow Tudor lover,

All the writers, contributors and people behind the scenes at the Tudor Society and Tudor Life would really like to thank you for your support of what we do. Through your membership, we're able to pay the contributors to the magazine and website, something which, I'm sure you'll know, doesn't happen for most websites out there. We feel that it's important to help historians and experts with their research and work and that's a major reason why the Tudor Society gets such great articles and talks.

However, it wouldn't be the Tudor Society it is today without the tireless work of the core team, Gareth Russell, Claire Ridgway, Catherine Brooks and myself. We are always delighted to hear from members when they enjoy something (and even when something could be improved!), so as always, we ask you to get in touch and tell us what you think - info@tudorsociety.com

I'd like to round up this month's bulletin by pointing you towards our "Ask the Expert" section of the website. We have loads of contacts in the Tudor world, but we don't know what YOU want to know. Why not think up a burning question and ask us - we'll see if it can be answered!

Tim Ridgway

The Mary Rose

SPRING ONBOARD

March activities with the Mary Rose

The Mary Rose, Portsmouth

8th March: Yoga at the Museum
13th-15th March: British Science Week at the Mary Rose
22nd March & 24th April: Relaxed Opening mornings
29th March: Mary Rose Paint Party
Until 31st March: 'The Many Faces of Tudor England' exhibition

TONI MOUNT

Creating Books in the Sixteenth Century

I've been really busy this year, so far. I'm working on three books, all at the same time, each one at a different stage of production. I'm just completing the final proofs: text and images, and compiling the index for *The World of Isaac Newton,* a popular history/science book for Amberley Publishing, due out on 15 June 2020. My next Sebastian Foxley medieval murder mystery, *The Colour of Shadows,* is in its final draft stage so almost ready to be sent to MadeGlobal Publishing. The third book, *How to Survive in Medieval England* – a fun guide to living in the Middle Ages – is in the process of being written for Pen & Sword with a deadline of 1 June 2020. With so much scribing and checking going on, I thought this month's article would be an opportunity to think about how my experiences of writing, printing and publishing might compare to those of the sixteenth-century author. What sort of books would they write? How would they write them? What were the new requirements of the printing press as opposed to books written by hand?

This woodcut from 1568 shows the printer on the left removing a page from the press while the one on the right inks the text-blocks. They could print up to 3,600 pages of type in a day.

TONI MOUNT

WHAT SORT OF BOOKS WOULD THEY WRITE?

Some of the answers may surprise you. Religious subjects were to the fore around the time of the Reformation and would continue to be but self-help instruction books were extremely popular. Tales with a moral were reckoned most educational. History books tended to retell Classical events, such as the Siege of Troy, the founding of Rome and the Punic Wars fought between Romans and Carthaginians, as well as stories of the Roman emperors. The heroic exploits of Alexander the Great were retold as were those of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table in various guises. Science books were appearing too. With the advent of the printing press, scholarly treatises were no longer limited to a few hand-written copies but could be widely disseminated as printed editions. Since they were usually written in Latin as the universal language of academia and the Roman Catholic Church, they could be read – if not always understood – across Europe and the Americas. Novels, as such, were not yet recognised but obviously romantic stories of heroes and heroines, along with collections such as Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Boccaccio's *Decameron* remained popular as ever. Poetry was also published.

One of the most popular religious books of the second half of the sixteenth century was Foxe's *Book of Martyrs.* Originally published in London by John Day in 1563 under the title *Actes and Monuments*, it was written by John Foxe, a Protestant, giving an account of those who had suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Roman Catholic Church, particularly in England and Scotland, giving maximum coverage to those burnt at the stake during Mary Tudor's reign. Now that Elizabeth was on the throne, the book became so popular it went through four editions and numerous reprints, including an abridged version known as the *Book of Martyrs,* before Fox died in 1587. Long after his death, the book continued to influence anti-Catholic sentiments and was virtually compulsory reading for those of the Protestant faith in England.

Thomas Tusser [1524-80] was a farmer who fancied himself a poet. He wrote an instruction book for his fellow farmers – husbandmen – and their wives, all in rhyme. First published in 1557, *A Hundreth Good Pointes of Husbandrie* was enlarged and republished in 1573 as *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry,* being reprinted numerous times. It's a fascinating book about country life and customs in the Tudor era and the source of information for some of my articles for this magazine. My favourite Tusser couplet is:

A respite to husbands the weather may send,
But housewife's affairs have never an end.

How true.

Moral tales were regarded as educational and could also be fun to read. *Aesop's Fables* were a perennial favourite, as were the adventures of *Reynard the Fox,* author unknown, but they date back to the eleventh century in France. The year 1481 saw the first printed edition of *The History of Reynard the Fox* to come from the Westminster press, just five years after William Caxton had set up the first ever printing business in England. Subsequent reprints appeared in 1489 and, after Caxton's death, more were produced by Richard Pynson in 1494, 1500, 1506 and 1525. In fact, there were twenty-three editions of *Reynard* published in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so Caxton had found a runaway bestseller. Reynard, the anti-hero, relies on brains rather than brawn to get the better of his enemies, often having others do his dirty work. For example, in taking Tybert the Cat to the farmer's barn where he can feast on mice, Reynard is well aware of the trap set by the farmer to catch him, after he stole some hens recently. Of course, it's Tybert who gets trapped. But the Fox's cleverness extends to the subtleness of a lawyer and the honeyed tongue of a courtier, saying all the right things, not only arguing his way out of trouble but to promoting his own cause at the king's court – lessons to be learned for the would-be courtier perhaps.

One of the first scientific books was written by Robert Recorde, a Welsh mathematician living in England. Recorde was the first 'popular science' writer and, although he knew Greek and Latin, he taught and wrote in English so anyone who was literate could understand his work. In 1542, his text book on arithmetic, *The Grounde of Artes,* first introduced the plus, minus and equals signs [+, -, =] that make the writing of equations so much quicker. He read Nicolaus Copernicus' ground-breaking book *De Revolutionibus,* published in 1543, that put the Sun, not the Earth, at the centre of the universe for the first time. Recorde gave the theories a lot of thought, noting his favourable conclusions in *The Castle of Knowledge*, published in 1551, agreeing that the new 'heliocentric' universe fitted the calculations more nearly and made more sense. In 1551, he published *The Pathway to Knowledge,* the first geometry book in English.

Towards the end of the Tudor period, William Gilbert, a physician in London for many years who served as Queen Elizabeth's doctor, spent much of his time studying rocks as England's first geologist. He was particularly fascinated by 'lodestones' that occur naturally as permanent magnets. Gilbert published his discoveries in his book *De Magnete* [About Magnets] in 1600. The book, written in Latin, soon became the standard text on magnetic phenomena throughout Europe. In it, Gilbert discussed and disproved the folktales about lodestones – that their effect was reduced if diamonds or garlic were nearby and that they could cure headaches. He replaced such odd ideas with proper physical laws of magnetism: that the north and south poles of a magnet attract each other but like poles repel.

Poetry, often of epic lengths, was far more popular in Tudor times than with

today's audience. Whereas Thomas Tusser wrote his practical instruction book in rhyming couplets, Edmund Spenser's epic in six books, *The Faerie Queene,* was very different, composed in 'Spenserian stanzas', a form the poet invented specially. *The Faerie Queene* is a romance, taking elements from Arthurian legend, including a female knight, *The Roman de la Rose* and other medieval sources. Yet Spenser explains that his epic poem is full of 'allegorical devices' and intended 'to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline', so this too is an instruction book of sorts. The author presented the first three books to Queen Elizabeth in 1589 and was rewarded by her majesty with the very decent pension

of £50 a year for life, so it was well worth the effort. Whether the queen ever read it – or perhaps Spenser read excerpts aloud to the court – we don't know but it's quite widely read today, often being a 'set book' in schools.

How would they write them?

Throughout the Tudor period, as well as for centuries before and since, the original work would have to be written out in long hand with pen and ink, occasionally on parchment but increasingly on paper. It was actually easier to make corrections on parchment because the ink can be scraped off the surface layer but it's far more difficult with paper because the ink soaks right in. All corrections, re-writes and edits had to be copied out again which makes me ever grateful for my computer. Love poems were often exquisitely written in the final version and given as gifts to the beloved. Surprisingly, the idea of the typewriter was thought up in the mid-seventeenth century when an anonymous Englishman applied for a patent for just such a machine, supplying a full description, drawings and diagrams of his invention. Nothing ever came of it at the time, as far as we know, but more recently, the devise was constructed from the diagrams and it worked! What a boon that would have been to authors and poets.

With medieval manuscripts, all the text, any artwork, images or decoration would be done by hand on the page but, of course, the process had to be repeated for every subsequent copy. This meant each book was unique and expensive

to produce so the spreading of ideas and knowledge was slow. The printing press, first invented in c.1440 by the German goldsmith, Johannes Gutenburg, and brought to England in 1476 by William Caxton [see above], made the mass production of books a possibility. He also came up with the idea of making hundreds or even thousands of individual letters out of little squares of lead alloy – all reversed mirror images – and punctuation.

WHAT WERE THE NEW REQUIREMENTS OF THE PRINTING PRESS AS OPPOSED TO BOOKS WRITTEN BY HAND?

Movable type being set into a 'galley'. Individual capital letters are kept in the 'upper case' pigeon holes; the small letters in the 'lower case'.

Just as today, the publisher/printer would require a perfect copy of the final manuscript of the book to work from. I simply attach my – hopefully – faultless final document to an email to the publisher and click 'send'. The Tudor author would have taken his completed hand-written manuscript to the publisher, having kept at least one other perfect copy for himself, if he was wise. This was a good idea because a few manuscripts that were used as printers' copies have survived to the present and they are scribbled with annotations and notes for the setting of the type and other parts of the process. The author's pristine manuscript is gone forever if he didn't have a second copy.

If illustrations are to be included in my books, I simple email a set of high resolution images, including photographs or downloaded pictures and diagrams. One thing I have to do that a Tudor author wouldn't need to bother about is the minefield of copyright on downloads. Early printed books – sometimes referred to as *incunabulae* – most often used woodcuts as a means of illustrating the text and the printer would have no qualms about using the same woodcut in a completely different work, if it served the purpose.

A Tudor printing press was a hefty machine, often taller than a man. Gutenburg had copied the idea from the grape presses used in wine-making. The tiny individual metal letters or 'type' were set up by a compositor, in reverse order, right to left, into the required lines of text. Several lines were arranged at once in a wooden frame known as a galley. Once the correct number of pages was composed, the galleys would be laid face up in a large frame [a forme] and this was placed onto a flat stone [the bed or coffin]. The text was then inked using two ball-shaped pads with handles. The balls were made of dog skin leather – because it has no pores – and stuffed with sheep's wool. The ink was applied to the text evenly. A damp sheet of paper was held in one frame [the tympan] by small pins: damp so the type 'bit' into the paper better. The sheet was then sandwiched between the tympan and another paper- or parchment-covered frame [the frisket] to fix it so it could not move, curl up or wrinkle.

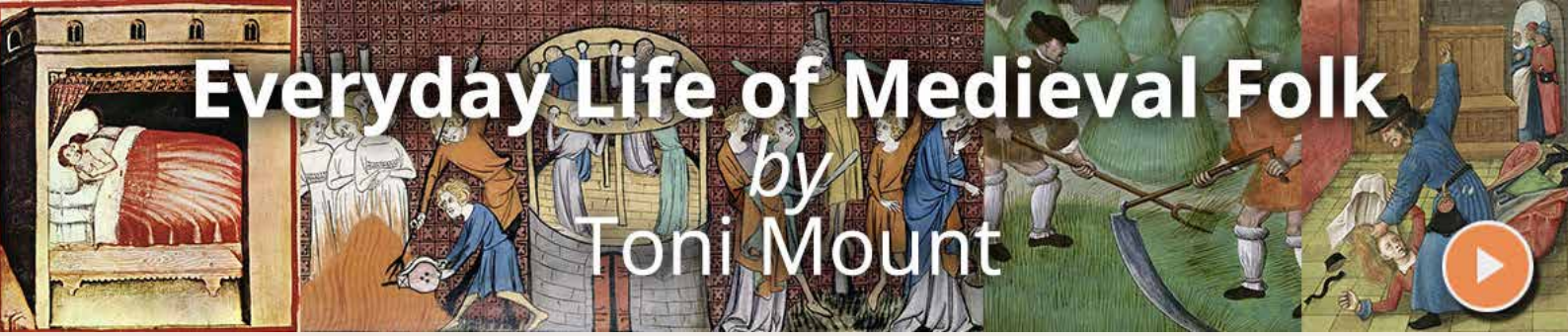
The two frames with their paper sandwiched were then lowered so the paper lay on the surface of the inked type. The whole bed was rolled under the platen using a handle to wind it into place. Then came the part of the process that required the most muscle power: screwing down the platen, using a bar called the 'devil's tail', so the inked type and woodcuts pressed against the paper, making a perfect impression. The bar was supposed to spring back, lifting the platen, the bed rolled out, the frames lifted and the printed paper released, all text and images now appearing the right way round.

That would complete the process for a poster but, to make a book, this sheet of pages had to be turned over and printed again, this time with the text for the alternate pages. The sheets would then be cut up and assembled in the correct order. I have printed little eight-page booklets and the logistics of getting the double-sided pages printed correctly required a bit of thinking. For an A5 booklet, pages 8

A collection of Tudor books at Newcastle University Library

and 1 have to be printed side by side, in that order, on an A4 sheet which is then turned over and pages 2 and 7 printed on the other side. Pages 6 and 3 are then printed with 4 and 5 on the reverse. I'm sure there must be computer algorithm for this these days but imagine trying to work that out with eight or sixteen pages on a sheet to produce the 1,500 pages of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs.*

Foxe's book had the additional complication of being illustrated with over sixty woodcut impressions and was, at the time, the most ambitious publishing project undertaken in England. Earlier, I mentioned that previous woodcuts were often reused but Foxe's subject matter was entirely new so every woodcut was made especially. Like the type, woodcuts also had to be made as reverse images, carved from a single block of fine-grained wood. The image also had to be 'negative' in that the parts cut away would appear white on the page, the ink only adhering to the raised wood remaining to give the dark lines of the picture. When Foxe's book was finished, compiled and bound, ready for sale, it was said to weigh as much as a small infant. Well, I always think of my books as my 'babies' and, even with modern technology, they take at least as long to produce, from conception until I hold the final product in my hands.



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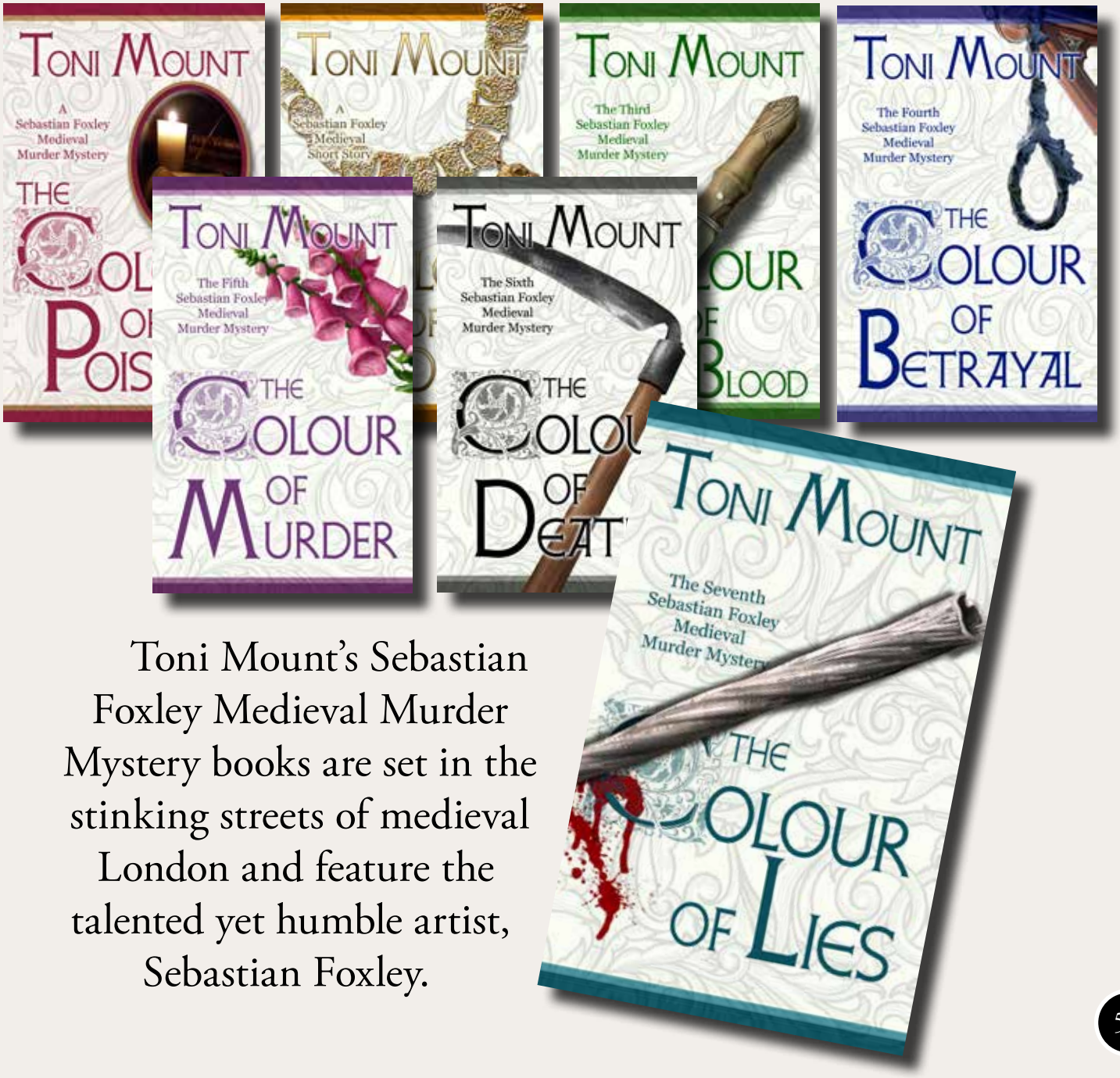


Toni Mount's Sebastian Foxley Medieval Murder Mystery books are set in the stinking streets of medieval London and feature the talented yet humble artist, Sebastian Foxley.

Charlie Bugg on Books

LOVELL OUR DOGGE:

Michèle Schindler

There have been many books written about Richard III in recent years, but few about those around him, his loyal followers. One such man was Francis Lovell, a man unwavering in his devotion to his king and who did not fail to rise up against Henry VII after the Battle of Bosworth. Michèle Schindler has written the first biography on the man and it has been well worth the wait.

The book is called *Lovell Our Dogge* and it comes from the nickname William Collingbourne gave him in 1484, in which he described the three who seemed to rule England under Richard III:

'The Catte, the Ratte, and Lovell Our Dogge,
Rule All England Under The Hogge.'

The author explains this well, saying that:

'this doggerel makes its point loud and clear: Richard, dismissively referred to as 'the hogge', a play on his personal badge of a white boar, is claimed to allow 'the Catte' (his lawyer William Catesby), 'the Ratte' (Sir Richard Ratcliffe), and Francis, like Richard dismissively connected with his badge, to rule the country in his stead.'

The book starts by looking briefly at his maternal and paternal families and their background. A lot of the beginning of Lovell's life is speculation, details of the events of the Wars of the Roses, and the few concrete details we have of him moving between households at a young age as fortunes changed.

The relationship between Francis Lovell and Richard III is an interesting one, one that the author explores in great detail in this book. It is also fascinating to see how this relationship had an impact on those around them, with Schindler telling us about gifts he received from other men in the hopes of him speaking favourably of them to Richard:

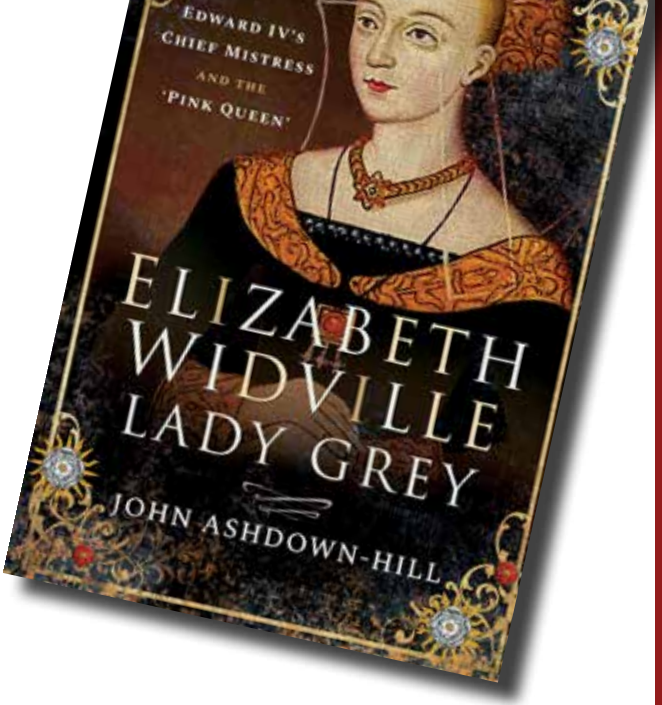
'Though no one ever commented on this closeness in the chronicles, it is made clear by their own actions and by the behaviour of those around them. By now recognised as the man who could most likely influence the king, Francis began to receive gifts from many different people. These offerings ranged from twelve oxen to the keys to the City of Salisbury, and Francis received far more than anybody else in Richard's court. In fact, it seems that his influence on the king was thought to surpass that of the queen, who received far fewer gifts.'

The author presents some interesting theories, especially in regards to Lovell's niece, who he helped raise. She also includes the full text of some original letters and wills in an appendix, which is a useful addition for anyone researching the period.

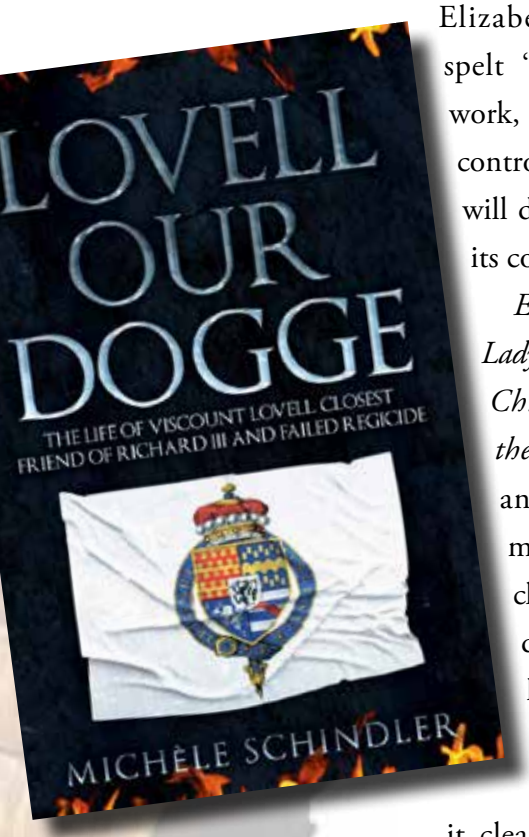
Lovell Our Dogge is a book that is long overdue and is a valuable addition to anyone's bookshelf. It is well written and engaging and would interest anyone into the reigns of Richard III and Henry VII or the Wars of the Roses. As a first time author, I am impressed with Michèle Schindler and look forward to seeing more of her work.

ELIZABETH WIDVILLE

John Ashdown-Hill



The late John Ashdown-Hill has written many books on the Wars of the Roses, was a well-known member of the Richard III Society and involved in finding and reinterring the king. One of the last books he wrote before he sadly passed away is on Elizabeth Woodville, spelt 'Widville' in his work, and is certainly a controversial work that will divide people over its content.



Elizabeth Widville, Lady Grey: Edward IV's Chief Mistress and the 'Pink Queen' is an unusual book, mainly because it is clear that the author does not overly like his subject. Ashdown-Hill has always made it clear that he prefers Richard III to the Woodville family, but never before has it become more apparent than in this book. He jumps to conclusions, often against Elizabeth, suggesting she may have even arranged a murder of a rival, and is constantly degrading her. It makes me wonder why he decided to write about her, as he simply cannot remain unbiased.

As implied by the title, in which he calls her 'Edward IV's Chief Mistress', the author quickly puts forward the question as to whether we should really be calling Elizabeth the wife of Edward IV, due to his alleged previous marriage to Eleanor Talbot. I personally don't particularly agree with this, as Elizabeth was acknowledged as his wife throughout his lifetime and the previous 'marriage' was not addressed until Richard III took the throne, but it is an idea that some may agree with.

The book includes a lot of extracts from primary sources, such as a record of Elizabeth's coronation, which make for interesting reading. However, he also cites himself as a source quite a few times, which isn't a good practice for any historian and seems arrogant. He refers to himself as 'the present writer' and states that he has proven such and such as fact, which we are supposed to just believe him on, without any concrete proof.

Elizabeth Widville is obviously well researched and the author seems knowledgeable on some aspects, especially concerning Richard III's reign, but it is a difficult book to recommend. Ashdown-Hill seems to be set firmly against Elizabeth and the Woodville family and is not afraid to show it, meaning readers cannot get a true sense of what the woman may have been like. There have been several biographies already published on Elizabeth Woodville and so I would recommend reading one of those over this one.

CHARLIE FENTON

Catherine Interviews...

A passion for the Tudor Kings and Queens

*This month's interview is with **Janet Wertman**. Janet runs a Tudor blog site, janetwertman.com, and is the author of the 'Seymour Saga'.*

Hello Janet and welcome to the Tudor Society!

Hello Catherine! It is a pleasure to be here!

Many of our members will probably recognise your name, because we have had you write for us before, and we are looking forward to more of your articles this year! So please can you start by telling us about yourself?

I've been a Tudorphile for close to fifty years, which means that I have had a long time to develop my own interpretation of the conflicting facts that come at us all – and a deep desire to share my insights. I started my blog, janetwertman.com, right around the time I got really serious with *Jane the Quene*, my first book; it was the perfect way to use all the great tidbits I had gathered. I took my inspiration from the stuff that had happened "on this day" and then just kept posting. Now I'm five years in, and even though I only come out with one new post once a week, I have a backlog of older articles that cover just about every day of the year. I've reached the point where I need to re-use dates – like last week, when I released a new post about Henry's first joust (and first recorded use of disguise!) even though I already had a great January 12 post (Norfolk Throws Surrey Under the Bus).

Catherine Interviews...

So I guess a question you've been asked many times – what bought you to your love of Tudor history?

Masterpiece Theater televised the BBC's Six Wives of Henry VIII when I was eight years old and my mother let me stay up late to watch it. I was hooked – and then Elizabeth R came out and I was obsessed. I read all the biographies and fiction I could get my hands on (including the relevant volumes from the complete set of Agnes Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England that I was lucky enough to find at a street fair), and even pestered the Morgan Library with so many questions about their collection of Elizabeth's letters that they let me come and examine them myself…

There are any millions of people who love Tudor history but very few who make the leap to being an author, and then a successful one at that! But writing a book is not easy – what made you want to take that step?

I had wanted to take that step forever - and tried in fits and starts for decades. But it wasn't until I had given up my all-consuming legal career (I was a corporate lawyer specializing in worldwide acquisitions) that I was able to make the shift. Once I started grantwriting, it was an easy step to go "all in" on writing.

Still, what really got me to the publishing part was a karate principle. To break a board (which you are required to do every time you test for a new belt), you must aim beyond it – if you just aim at it, you won't go through it. It was when I realized I wanted (needed) to write the story of the whole Seymour line that I was able to get serious and finish *Jane the Quene*.

You are two books into your Tudor Trilogy on the Seymour family – the Seymour Saga. I have already the first novel, 'Jane the Quene', which gave me such a fresh sense of Jane's sense of self. The second, 'The Path to Somerset' is a treat I have still to look forward to! Why did you choose to write about the Seymours?

Actually, it was an accident. My original intention had always been to write about Anne Boleyn. I even had the perfect construct: it would be her secret diary, and I would alternate between her entries and Elizabeth reading them. Brilliant, right? I decided to really go for it shortly after we'd moved to

California. I got one-hundred and fifty pages into the draft and then suddenly Robin Maxwell published *The Secret Diary of Anne Boleyn* with this exact premise and my dream crumbled before my eyes.

I got myself out of the huge depression this threw me into by telling myself I would just write about Jane. I admit it took me a while to slog through the transition I needed to see her as the real heroine of my narrative…I dragged my feet at the start but here, too, everything changed once I came to see her as the lynchpin of the larger Seymour story.

One thing I learned from your first novel is that John Seymour had had a long term affair with his son Edward's wife! Even by Tudor standards that was a shocker! Tell us more about that? How did it come to light?

I hate this story. I feel so bad for poor Edward over this – but I think it gives remarkable insight into his character.

Interestingly, there is actually no contemporary evidence to support this. We have the records that Edward repudiated Catherine Filliol and then disinherited the children he had by her – so clearly, we know that something major happened even if no one documented what it was. Then finally a hundred years later we got the explanation from a 17th-century marginal note in *Vincent's Baronage*: "*repudiata, quia pater ejus post nuptias eam congovit*" (repudiated, because her father-in-law knew her after the marriage").

Families don't always get along even in the easiest of circumstances. Being at court, with all its rivalries, when your sister is (then was) queen, and then your nephew is destined for the crown and then inherits it, is a pretty extreme set of circumstances. What were the family relationships like between the Seymours at different stages? Had brothers Edward and Thomas ever been close?

I'd say Edward and Tom were close. Not best friends, mind you, as they had very different characters and probably got on each other's nerves growing up. But definitely allies at the start (and most of the way through).

Edward rose much more quickly than Tom did: he also started younger, first as a page to Mary Tudor when she went to France, then as Master of Horse to Henry Fitzroy, and finally one of Henry's Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. When Jane became Queen, Edward was named Viscount

Beauchamp of Hache and placed on the Council (though without a portfolio role). All Tom got was a post in the Privy Chamber; he remained somewhat excluded from the power side…especially when Katherine Parr came on the scene and he was sent away entirely (albeit with an ambassadorial post). But still, that inequity was arguably all Henry's doing. I see the real rift between the brothers arising after Henry died, when Edward seized power and became Lord Protector of England with the title of Duke of Somerset. Thomas was made Baron of Sudeley, a step up from a plain knight, but not yet even an earl. That was not enough for Tom, who had much bigger plans than that… as we learned.

Opinions vary on Edward Seymour (Jane's brother – too many Edwards!), both during his lifetime, throughout history, and still now. But he was the rare creature of the Tudor Court in that he was a faithful husband, and he cared a great deal for the common man. These seem very admirable traits to us now, but they didn't seem to save him. Why did he end up so unpopular at court?

You've heard me joke about how Edward Seymour was the Bernie Sanders of his day – well you could see how Bernie and his policies would not be popular in the Trump White House!

Some of Edward's policies were ill-considered continuations of Henry's decisions, like the incredible waste of war on Scotland, which had the terrible effect of sending Marie Stuart into the arms of France. (literally as well as figuratively) But it was his siding with the peasants on the issue of enclosures that really got him in trouble with the (landowning members of the) Council…

What, in the end, took Somerset to the scaffold? What mistakes did he make?

It was all Northumberland. First, for bringing him to trial on exaggerated charges. And then for making sure that the sentence would be death.

There was this fascinating discovery of lines added to Edward VI's instructions to the Council on the matter. The agenda item, as Edward originally wrote it, was "*The matter for the Duke of Somerset to be considered, as appertaineth to our surety and quietness of our realm, that by his punishment, example may be showed to others."* Someone added words in between the lines so

that the instructions read "…that by his punishment and execution according to the laws, example may be showed to others." This made it look like Edward was recommending execution instead of hoping his lords would show mercy, and sealed Somerset's fate.

Now Thomas Seymour seems entirely different to his brother! What is your opinion on Thomas? Do you think he really intended to murder the young king?

Sigh. I don't believe Tom intended to murder Edward VI. I think he intended to kidnap him and rule through him…kinda like Somerset himself did when he spirited the boy away to Windsor Castle (a minor king was the equivalent of a talking stick in a group…whoever controlled the boy controlled the power).

I DO think he killed the dog. And I blame him for it even if the deed was done by one of the servants he brought with him. Whoever killed the dog was afraid of being caught – therefore knew they were up to no good. If Tom's plan was really to "test the king's security," he would have told the people who accompanied him and they all would have been quite happy that the dog stopped them.

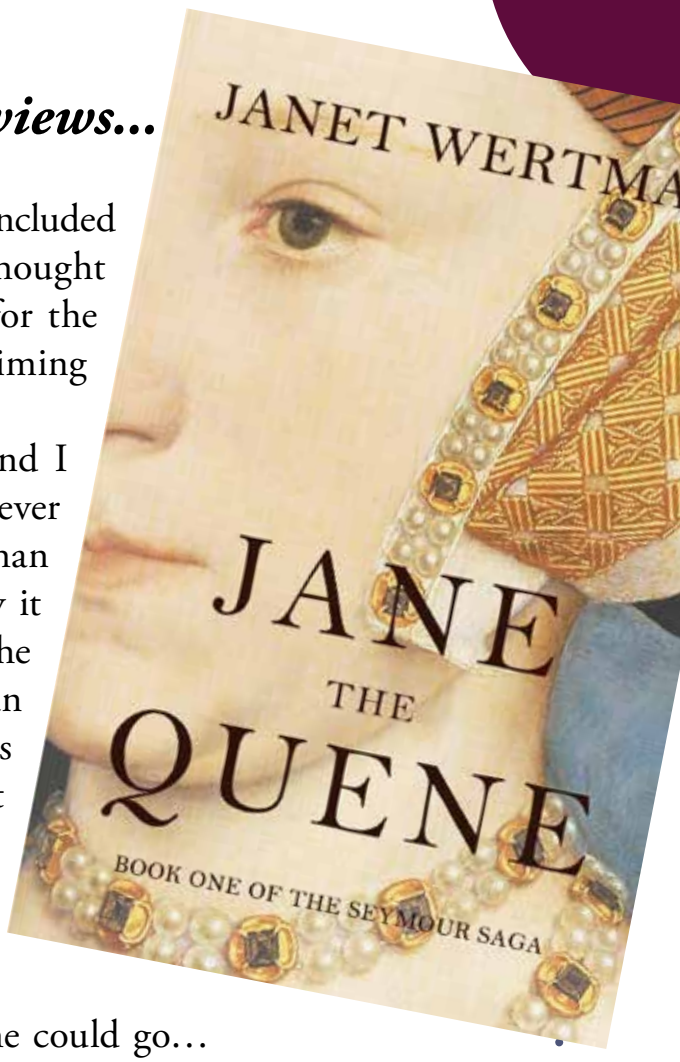
You have been working on the final book of your trilogy 'The Boy King', which is about Edward VI. Can you give us any clues as to what we can expect and when it will be out?

Jane was about morality, *Somerset* was about power – *The Boy King* is about betrayal. It should be out later this year (!)

The narrative relies on two points of view (it was important advice from a developmental editor years ago). I chose Edward and Mary, as I needed someone on the other side of things, someone who could give better information than Edward got…to make sure readers knew when and how he was being played (since he didn't!).

I've heard you talk about the portrait you found of Edward Seymour at beautiful Sudeley Castle. I have only been once and wasn't aware of it to look. Tell us about that and where we can find it.

It was an amazing experience. I was in the middle of writing The Path to Somerset and my husband and I managed to wrangle a short trip to England to



visit some of the places I was writing about. I included Sudeley Castle on our itinerary because I thought it would be helpful for The Boy King and for the Elizabeth trilogy I have planned next (again aiming beyond the board!).

We were walking through the castle, and I turned a corner and saw the picture. I had never seen the portrait before – no one had, other than visitors to the castle – but I knew right away it was Edward. The tortured eyes were exactly the character I was writing, so much more so than the Holbein portrait (the one that supported his "dry, dour and opinionated" reputation…). It was magical. I got in touch with them the very next day to start the process of getting the rights to use it. They had never even really photographed it in truly high resolution, so my cover designer was limited in how tight in she could go… which was fine because closer in was TOO intense…even for me!

Finally, the question I ask everyone – If you could only pick three, what history books would you recommend to people (they don't have to be Tudor).

Number one is James Clavell's *Shogun*, which I consider the greatest book ever written. Next is Mario Puzo's *The Godfather* (which now fully qualifies as historical fiction). Finally, a newer entry: Min Jin Lee's *Pachinko.*

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME, JANET.

INTERVIEW BY CATHERINE BROOKS

Jane the Quene's universal link is https://books2read.com/u/3RaA7G
Path to Somerset's universal link is https://books2read.com/u/mlaVk7
Janet's website: www.janetwertman.com
Facebook Author Page: https://www.facebook.com/janetwertmanauthor/
Pinterest: https://www.pinterest.com/janetwertman/
My Twitter: https://twitter.com/JanetWertman
Queen Jane's Twitter (yes, she has her own – and tweets different stuff than I do!): https://twitter.com/JaneTheQuene
Instagram: https://www.instagram.com/janetwertman/

WENDY J. DUNN ON WRITING

The Ethics of Writing

The past is a quilt of traces and text, ambiguous and often incoherent fragments out of which we make stories. We make up history as story, and until we do, it does not exist. But the past existed, and we are proof of its passage. The past is written into us (Duncker 2003, p. 51).

They were but shadows, and like shadows they be past, like shadows they be fled away, like shadows they be vanished away from us - Cardinal John Fisher - executed by Henry VIII, 1535?

My dear Reader/Writer,

Let me begin by saying what I write here is my personal stance as a writer. It is a stance I have arrived at through a great deal of thinking – and looking into my heart. If you are a serious writer of historical fiction, I don't think you can avoid thinking about the same questions. You may arrive at a different viewpoint to me – and that is absolutely fine. If you are comfortable with your ethical decisions, then it is not my place to tell you your way is wrong. But I do think the ethics involved in writing is something writers cannot avoid thinking about. We need to think about it so we are able to defend our writing decisions. Believe me, published writers are often asked to explain why they write what they write.

So – what is truth in historical fiction? It is a question I soul search over with every novel I write. Years ago, I wrote an essay mulling over this subject for a historical fiction magazine. I posed in this essay that today's popular historical fiction mirrored too much our narcissistic world, and often failed to offer faithful and accurate depictions of history. I contended constructing fiction without respecting 'the heart of truth' harmed not only the people from the past, but also the living. I wrote all this at the start of my academic journey, a journey which took me from Masters of Writing to completing a PhD. In my studies, I grappled with postmodernism, poststructuralism, faced the reality that truth in historical fiction is a slippery term (Nelson 2007,

p.5). I also faced the reality of "the distance between lived reality and the attempt to narrate it – between the literary narratives of history and the actualities of the past" (cited in Nelson 2007, p. 3). It's true – ignorance is bliss.

I still do not believe in going against known history or representing the once-living in a light I cannot justify through my research. I respect the dead. While one might argue, as my husband often does, the living need not concern themselves over the dead, I see them as a vulnerable group. The dead are unable to offer "informed consent", and who need and deserve my protection through the process of research. Research is my way of showing my respect to the dead.

As I wrote at the beginning of this piece, all writers need to work out where they stand as writers. For myself, I have decided I will do my best to stand upon the creed of 'Do no harm". I feel a strong sense of duty to the people of the past. I try hard to do the right thing by them and not harm them by taking advantage of the fact they are no longer here to defend themselves. I do not want to use my power as a living writer to hurt those already hurt enough in life, and death. By blackening the names of personages of the past deliberately and purely for the purposes of novel writing, I hurt the dead, and also the living. I hurt myself.

I admit 'doing no harm' is a hard one. As writers of historical fiction, we have to find a story hook, we have to find the voice to carry the story through to the last page. We should be free to engage in creative licence. But, I feel, historical fiction writers need to be careful when writing about real people from the past. I personally love imagining what happened behind closed doors and reading between the lines of historical records. My imagination is ignited by my research – and what this research leads my heart to believe. But I write what my heart *believes* is *possible*. I do not think I have a right to censure historical

personages unless I can justify it through research and historical evidence. Believe me, historical fiction authors are one group of writers often asked to defend their works, and we defend it best through the research we have done. If my research is not sound, I am going to make my writing road a difficult one to walk.

What concerns me over this issue of "truth in historical fiction" is that many readers believe historical fiction – and believe it as fact. Authors can deny their stories in author notes, but that does not prevent readers from believing and committing to the stories they read. That is why our research is so important. The once-living deserve the right to justice, too, and we can only give them justice by constructing their stories through researching their lives and times.

Yes – historical fiction writers write fiction, but fiction informed by history. History provides the bones for our imaginations to place flesh upon our stories. There are plenty of gaps in history for us to fill through the power of imagination. We can also construct fictional characters not drawn from those who once lived on the historical stage. Those characters we can do whatever we want with them. But I believe we walk the road to harm if we change the verifiably true facts of history. As a writer of historical fiction, I try to remember "To deceive people about what was not only is disrespectful, but also undermines our collective conversation about our path, hindering our thinking about what could be" (cited by Hansen 2007).

Again, all this is a challenging balancing act. I am thinking now about All Manner of Things, my new novel, and how my imagination took me to places that left me discomforted. But I thought long and hard, asking myself, 'Has the inspiration for this storyline come from my research? Can I believe something like this could have happened? Am I willing to defend my story?' When I answered yes to these questions, I reminded myself of one of my favourite Atwood's quotes. She writes, '…when there was a solid fact, I could not alter it … but in the parts left unexplained – the gaps left unfilled – I was free to invent' (Atwood 1998, p.1515). Then I sealed the deal by another quote, 'Art is the lie that reveals the truth'. Yes – writing historical fiction involves a lot of deep thinking – and searching for the right way forward.

But for myself, I have no desire to write soulless stories without the heart of truth, stories I will later regret. I have discovered writing that way deepens my understanding of myself. I also think finding that soul and heart of truth in what we write is the fundamental reason for narrative, the true reason for story, the true reason we tell stories. To help us become whole.

WENDY J. DUNN

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THE CHATEAU VERT PAGEANT TRICKY QUIZ ANSWERS

Virtuous Ladies:
- Attractiveness (Beauty)
- Integrity (Honour)
- Persistence (Perseverance)
- Goodwill (Kindness)
- Name of a German Lake (Constance)
- Abundance (Bounty)
- Compassion (Mercy)
- Sympathy (Pity)

Ladies with Female Vices:
- Hazard (Danger)
- To stain the honour (Disdain)
- Suspicion (Jealousy)
- Cruelty (Unkindness)
- Contempt (Scorn)
- Evil Mouth (Malebouche)

Worth mentioning this is French?
- Oddness (Strangeness)

Virtuous Lords:
- Worthiness (Nobleness)
- Adolescence (Youth)
- Presence (Attendance)
- Faithfulness (Loyalty)
- Satisfaction (Pleasure)
- Kindliness (Gentleness)
- French word for love (Amorous)
- Freedom (Liberty)

We have set aside a whole page to the answers of this quiz as it was quite tricky and involved. How well did you do in the end?

Do you enjoy this complexity of quiz, or would you like them to be easier (or even harder?) please let Catherine know through her email address catherine@tudorsociety.com and we appreciate you taking the time to write to us!

FROM THE SPICERY

WITH RIOGNACH

WATERS OF LIFE

Last month we looked at the different non-alcoholic cordials that may have been served to quench the thirst of farmers through to members of various noble and royal households. This month, I'd like to take things further and look at the multiple alcoholic cordials and distillations of the Middle Ages; the romantically named Aqua Vitae. Many of the early non-alcoholic cordials were simple medicinals. Drinking them, for example, helped the body by cooling it down. These simples gradually went from a being medicinal to something you might drink for pleasure, or to celebrate a special event.

The term, *aqua vitae*, is Latin and means 'the waters of life', and refers to any liquid containing alcohol, usually ethanol, and herbs or fruits. What drew me to this subject was discovering a recipe for a medieval alcoholic preparation called Carmelite Water. Also known as *Eau de Melissa* or *Eau de Carmes*, this herbal extract of lemon balm (*Melissa officinalis*) preparation was created by Carmelite nuns. Dates of its creation vary between the 12th[1] and the 14th[2] Centuries. Carmelite Water is allegedly good for chasing away depression, stress and anxiety. It may have been something any of the more stressed members of Henry VIII's Court might have carried with them - purely for therapeutic purposes of course. Interestingly, it was Henry VIII that was the first English monarch to require that any distilled cordial or drink come from a fully licensed distillery.[3]

The recipe for Carmelite Water varies from source to source but always includes lemon balm. The method I use came down through my mother's side of the family. According to my great grandmother, you take 1 cup of lemon balm leaves, 1/2 cup of angelica (fresh and raw roots, stems or leaves), the zest of a lemon, and a generous pinch of nutmeg, in steep them all together in a bottle of white wine for six hours or so.[4] I have vague memories of being given some of this lemony smelling drink when I was small and being too loud for my father's liking. They're only hazy memories as I would fall asleep very quickly after having some.

But as usual, I digress.

So to medieval alcoholic cordials. After mentioning the herb angelica in Carmelite Water, I remembered that it is also used in the liqueur Chartreuse. Although this liqueur appears right at the end of the Tudor period, it's not impossible that Elizabeth I and

1 Damachi, A. Cream of the Crop, The Guardian, 26 April 2003. https://www.theguardian.com/society/2003/apr/26/features.health17

2 Groom, N. The New Perfume Handbook, Springer, 1997, p448

3 Greydragon, T. Precious Waters: A Miscellany of Early Cordials https://www.greydragon.org/library/cordials.html

4 Damachi, Op Cit
I find it interesting that the recipe given in this article for Carmelite Water is very similar to the one my great grandmother wrote in her recipe book.

Artist's representation of distillation apparatus for aqua vitae, from Liber de arte Distillandi, by Hieronymus Brunschwig, 1512.

her Court enjoyed a small glass (or several) of it.

A far older alcoholic cordial that many of England's royals, up to and including the Tudors, may have enjoyed, is Hippocras. Despite its name, Hippocras has absolutely nothing to do with with the hippopotamus. Hippocras, or *ypocras*, is one of the easiest alcoholic cordials to make. According to Menagier de Paris, one takes finely ground cinnamon and ginger, cloves, and grains of paradise, mace and galingale, nutmeg, and nard (aka spikenard).[5] Ground rock sugar is added to some wine (the type and amount isn't specified, but I'd recommend a white wine of your choice), and placed over a fire until the sugar melts. The ground spices are added to the warmed and sweetened wine and allowed to infuse; once again, no steeping time is given. The wine is then strained through a cloth into a serving jug and 'served forth'.[6]

Back to herbal liqueurs as medicinals. Unlike hippocras/*ypocras*, the recipes that follow are probably not best suited to experimentation. *Ypocras* tastes very good (especially served at blood temperature), however, I will not vouch for the effectiveness of the following alcoholic medicinals. The Harleian Manuscript (#2378) offers a recipe for an alcoholic medicinal cordial designed to 'mend the stomach and to destroy evil blood'.[7]

Take 3 handfuls of fumitory and 2 handfuls of borage, cut them fine and boil them in 3 quarts of white wine the space of 3 paternosters and 3 ave marias; then let it cool, clarify it, and keep it in a fair container. Use it evenings and mornings, 12 spoonfuls warm.[8]

This recipe demonstrates the blending of certain herbs in an alcohol base, in this case, a white wine. For the uninitiated (like myself) the space of 3 paternosters and 3 ave maria is given as a measure of time, during which the herbs should be left to infuse in the wine. Interestingly, I know borage as an anti-inflammatory and an expectorant. Borage also is used to stimulate the production and flow of milk in nursing mothers; so why it's included as a general remedy for an upset stomach, I really don't know.

Another alcoholic herbal medicinal from The Harleian Manuscript (#2378) describes how to clear a man's sight and destroy the pain in a man's eye.[9]

Take red rose, germander (which some call capillus veneris), fennel, ivy, vervain, eyebright,

5 Greydragon, Op Cit
6 Greydragon, Ibid

7 Nigel-FitzMaurice. F. Precious Waters: A Miscellany of Early Cordials. http://web.raex.com/~obsidian/precwat.html This article shares it's title with that written by T Greydragon (just for confusion's sake)
8 Nigel-FitzMaurice, Ibid
9 Nigel-FitzMaurice, ibid


Borage

endive and betony; of each equal amounts, so that you have in all 6 handfuls; and let them rest in white wine a day and a night. The second day still them in a distillator; the first water that you produce shall be the colour of gold, the next of silver, the 3rd of balm; this precious water may serve to ladies instead of balm.[10]

I admit to being intrigued as to why the 'precious water' (which I think refers to the second distillation) would be preferable to the ladies, rather than the balm. If you have any ideas as to why this might be, I'd love to hear them.

I have always found it interesting, trying to explain the concept of food in the medieval ages was at least as much about feeding the stomach as healing the body. It is almost as though modern minds can't comprehend eating something just because it's 'good for you.' I think this is where we get the contemporary concept that medicines will always taste bad. The change from basic syrup-based medieval fruit and herb cordials, to complex alcohol-containing distillations of various herbs and spices, charts the introduction of alcoholic drinks that could be drunk for enjoyment and pleasure as well as for medicinal purposes. From *ypocras* to Carmelite Water, Chartreuse to Bénédictine, and to the more modern Jägermeister, alcoholic herbal liqueurs are still with us, although we prefer to drink them for pleasure than for any medicinal properties they may contain.

Cheers!

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

10 Nigel-FitzMaurice, ibid

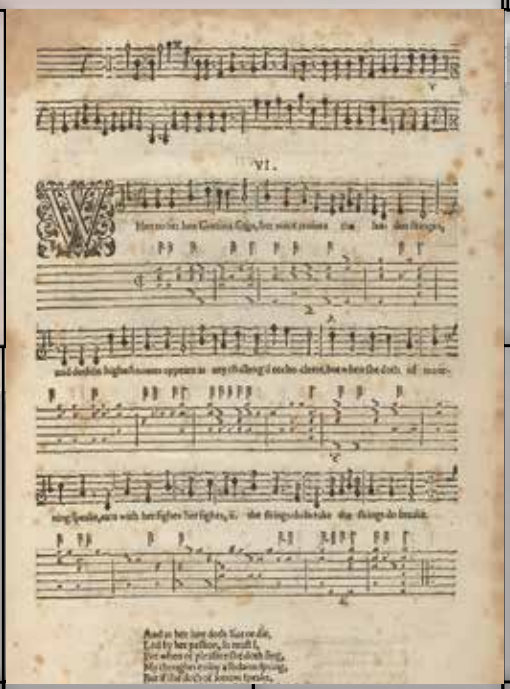
MARCH'S "ON THIS

1 March 1620
Death and burial of physician, poet and musician Thomas Campion. He was laid to rest at St Dunstan-in-the-West, Fleet Street. His works included "Poemata, a collection of Latin panegyrics, elegies and epigrams" (1595), the 1601 songbook "A Booke of Ayres" and the 1602 "Observations in the Art of English Poesie".

2 March 1545
Birth of Sir Thomas Bodley, scholar, diplomat and founder of the Bodleian Library

3 March 1582
Birth of Edward Herbert, 1st Baron Herbert of Cherbury, soldier, diplomat, philosopher, poet and author.

8 March 1569
Death of Richard Tracy, evangelical reformer and cousin of Protestant martyr James Bainham.



9 March 1579
Burial of Sir Nicholas Bacon, lawyer, administrator and poetry lover, in St Paul's Cathedral.

10 March 1526
Marriage of Charles V, and Isabella of Portugal. Their children included Philip II of Spain.

15 March 1493
Arrival of Christopher Columbus at Palos in Spain after his 1492 voyage to the New World.

16 March 1619
Burial of actor Richard Burbage at St Leonard's Church, Shoreditch.

17 March 1565
Alexander Ales (Alesius, Aless), theologian and reformer, died in Edinburgh.

20 March 1549
Thomas Seymour, 1st Baron of Sudeley was executed after being charged with thirty-three counts of treason.

21 March 1618
Burial of Pocahontas, the Algonquian Indian princess.

22 March 1599
Birth of Sir Anthony Van Dyck, painter and etcher, in Antwerp.

23 March 1540
The Dissolution of Waltham Abbey, the last abbey to be dissolved by Henry VIII.

24 March 1603
Queen Elizabeth I, daughter of Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII, died at Richmond Palace at the age of sixty-nine.

27 March 1599
Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, left London for Ireland as Lieutenant General.

28 March 1483
One of the birthdates given for Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino, or Raphael as he is known, the Italian Renaissance artist.

29 March 1591
Burial of William Wager, playwright and Church of England clergyman, at the church where he was Rector.

30 March 1555
Burning of Protestant martyr, Robert Ferrar, Bishop of St David's, at Carmarthen.

31 March 1596
Birth of René Descartes, French philosopher, mathematician, and writer, the "Father of Modern Philosophy"

Background image: Sunset over Hever Castle in Kent © Hever Castle

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY"

4 March 1607
Death of George Coryate, clergyman and Latin poet, at Odcombe in Somerset.

5 March 1558
Smoking tobacco was introduced in Europe by Francisco Fernandes.

6 March 1547
Thomas Wriothesley lost the Great Seal of his Lord Chancellorship and was confined to his home at Ely Place for abusing his authority. He was found guilty of issuing a commission without the knowledge or permission of the other executors of Henry VIII's will.

7 March 1574
Baptism of John Wilbye, composer and musician, at Diss in Norfolk. He composed and published two sets of madrigals.

11 March 1611
Giles Fletcher the Elder, poet, diplomat and member of Parliament during Elizabeth I's reign, died in London.

12 March 1628
Death of John Bull, composer, musician and organ builder, at Antwerp.

13 March 1619
Death of Richard Burbage, actor and star of Shakespeare's Lord Chamberlain's Men and the King's Men. He was named in Shakespeare's will of 1616 as a "fellow", meaning a close friend or colleague.

14 March 1471
Death of Sir Thomas Malory, known for his work "Le Morte d'Arthur", which he wrote in prison.

Giles Fletcher's "The History of Russia"

18 March 1496
Henry VIII's beloved sister, Princess Mary Tudor, was born at Richmond Palace.

19 March 1563
Translator and poet Arthur Brooke died on this day in 1563 in the shipwreck of the Greyhound off the coast of Rye in East Sussex, while travelling to LeHavre. Brooke is known for producing the first version of the "Romeo and Juliet" legend in English

25 March 1584
Letters patent granted to Walter Ralegh to "discover, search for, fynde out and view .. landes, countries"

26 March 1609
Date of death for John Dee, astrologer, alchemist, antiquary, spy and adviser to Elizabeth I.

TUDOR FEAST DAYS

1 March - St David's Day
25 March - Lady Day
29, 30, 31 March - Borrowed Days

Tudor Life

NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

Tudor Life

THE LANCASTERS

LAUREN BROWNE
Margaret of Anjou's Life and Legacy

ROLAND HUI
Laurence Olivier's "Henry V"

NATALIA RICHARDS
The rival of Venus, Anne Boleyn at the French Court

GARETH RUSSELL
The rise and fall of the Lancaster dynasty

PLUS
Orchids at Kew Gardens by Catherine Brooks

and much much more...

THIS MAGAZINE comes out every month for **ALL** MEMBERS.
We hope you enjoy it!

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