

"Six" the Musical

Henry Carey

Was Anne Boleyn a Feminist?

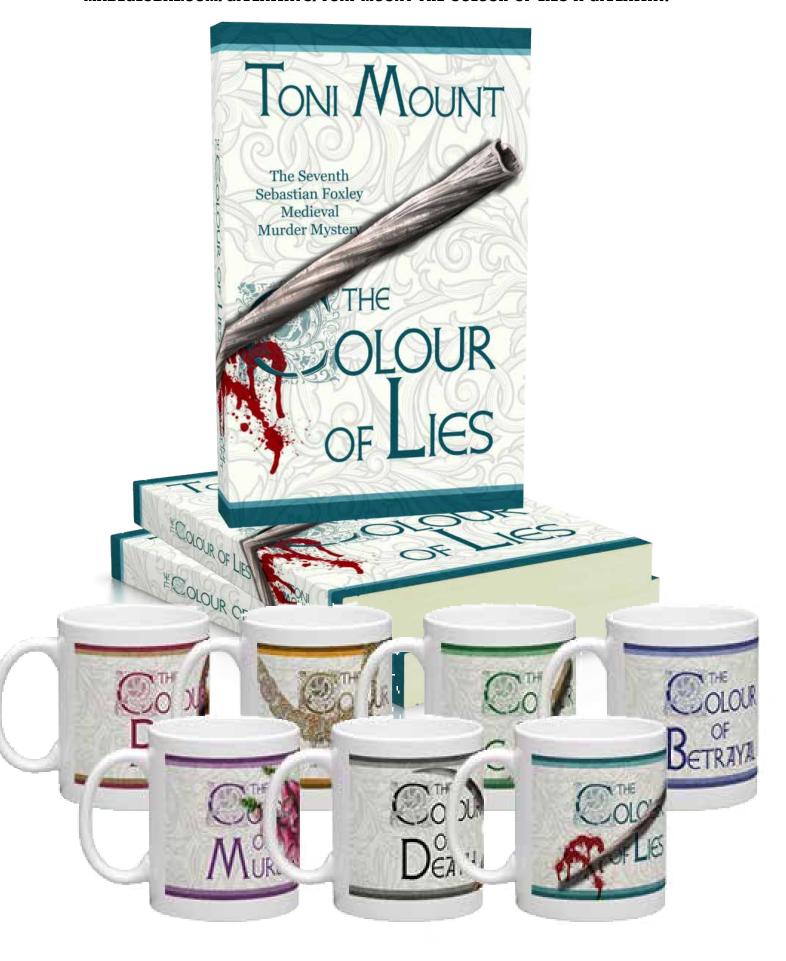
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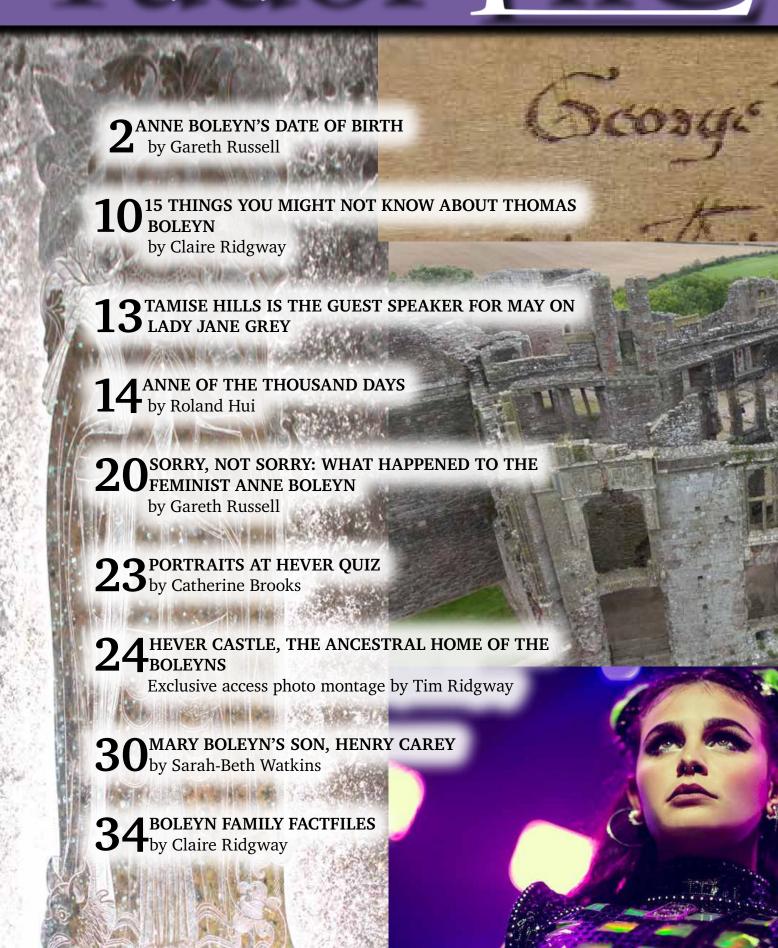


THE BOLEYNS

ONTINUING IN our exploration of the great Tudor families, this issue of "Tudor Life" brings us to the remarkable, brilliant, controversial and tragic Boleyns. Rising from genteel obscurity in East Anglia, the Boleyns reached the pinnacle of power in their half-Boleyn monarch, Elizabeth I, yet the price of their ascent was pyrrhic and painful. Elizabeth's glamorous, gifted and doomed mother, Anne Boleyn, had paid the ultimate price for proximity to a throne occupied by a tyrant. Their political and cultural impact fascinates and endures.

GARETH RUSSELL EDITOR

Tudor life.



MAY



AMMA BOLEYM REGINA ANGLIÆ 1434



Anne Boleyn: daughter of debate

ANNE BOLEYN'S DATE OF BIRTH



by Gareth Russell

We have successfully closed in on dates of birth for three of Henry VIII's four English wives. Funerary details mean we can now be fairly certain that Jane Seymour was born in 1508 and Katherine Parr in 1512. After hunting through wills, dates of birth for her fellow maids of honour and diplomatic correspondence, I argued in "Young and Damned and Fair" that Catherine Howard made her earthly debut in 1522 or 1523, neither as late as 1525 nor as early as 1518. Their royal positions vouchsafed precise birthday information for Katherine of Aragon and Anne of Cleves, but we are still circling for Anne Boleyn's. Since Thomas Cromwell did not issue his command for baptismal records to be kept by each parish until 1538, definitive proof on when Anne was born is likely to permanently elude us.

Anne's age in an article several years ago, I pointed out that part of why the debate over her birth matters lies with the brevity of her life. Had she lived to the same age as her Irish grandmother, Lady Margaret Boleyn (née Butler), who died at the age of eighty-three, Anne would have lived into the latter half of her daughter's

reign. Eight decades on earth would have given Anne a death around the time of the Spanish Armada. By then, Anne would have been a dowager queen with decades of influence behind her. The circumstances of her rise to power sixty years earlier would no longer have mattered, in much the same way as the difficulties experienced by Catherine de Medici during her early years in France do

not generally feature heavily in modern perceptions of her career.

Of course, poor Anne did not live into her eighties. And her date of birth matters greatly in any analysis of her career. Although the previously popular date of 1507 was overturned by the research of Hugh Paget in the 1980s, I would argue that there is more to support 1507 than generally supposed. I do not believe it is an idiotic, 'impossible' or antiquated assumption to suggest Anne was born in about 1507 and had not yet turned thirty when she was executed.

If anyone is interested in reading good assessments of the alternative date of 1501, I can recommend Claire Ridgway's pieces on it and the relevant sections in Eric Ives's "The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn" and Amy Licence's "Anne Boleyn". For me, the weight of contemporary evidence from Anne's lifetime leans heavily in support of 1507. The memoirs of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria, who served Anne's stepdaughter Mary, specifically state so. Dormer was born shortly after Anne's death, so it should, in justice, be pointed out that hers is not the recollection of an exact contemporary. However, Mary Tudor's tendency to talk about her first stepmother mounted rather than diminished as she aged which raises the possibility, even probability, that Jane had heard about Anne's age

from Mary. Jane married a Spanish nobleman, hence her title, and moved to Spain after Elizabeth's accession, where she died in old age in 1612. Her memoirs were dictated to her English secretary, Henry Clifford, who was, like the Duchess, an English Catholic émigré.

Specifically on the subject of Anne Boleyn, the Duchess of Feria stated that when Anne had been executed in 1536 she was 'not yet twenty-nine years of age.' Some have subsequently seen this, not unreasonably, as an implication by the Duchess that Queen Anne's twenty-ninth birthday was imminent, potentially meaning that Anne was born in the summer or autumn of 1507. The feast day of Saint Anne, mother of the Blessèd Virgin, falls on 26thJuly. However, while it is not an unreasonable interpretation of the Duchess's remark, it does seem to me to be reading it perhaps a little too closely. Either way, to my mind, the Duchess's comment seems to suggest that twenty-eight was the age Queen Mary I believed Anne Boleyn had been at the time of her death. It is, of course, entirely possible that Mary, who detested her first stepmother, was wrong about Anne's age although, even accepting that, it is hard to see how she could possibly have gotten her age wrong by a margin of six years. Likewise, why would the Duchess

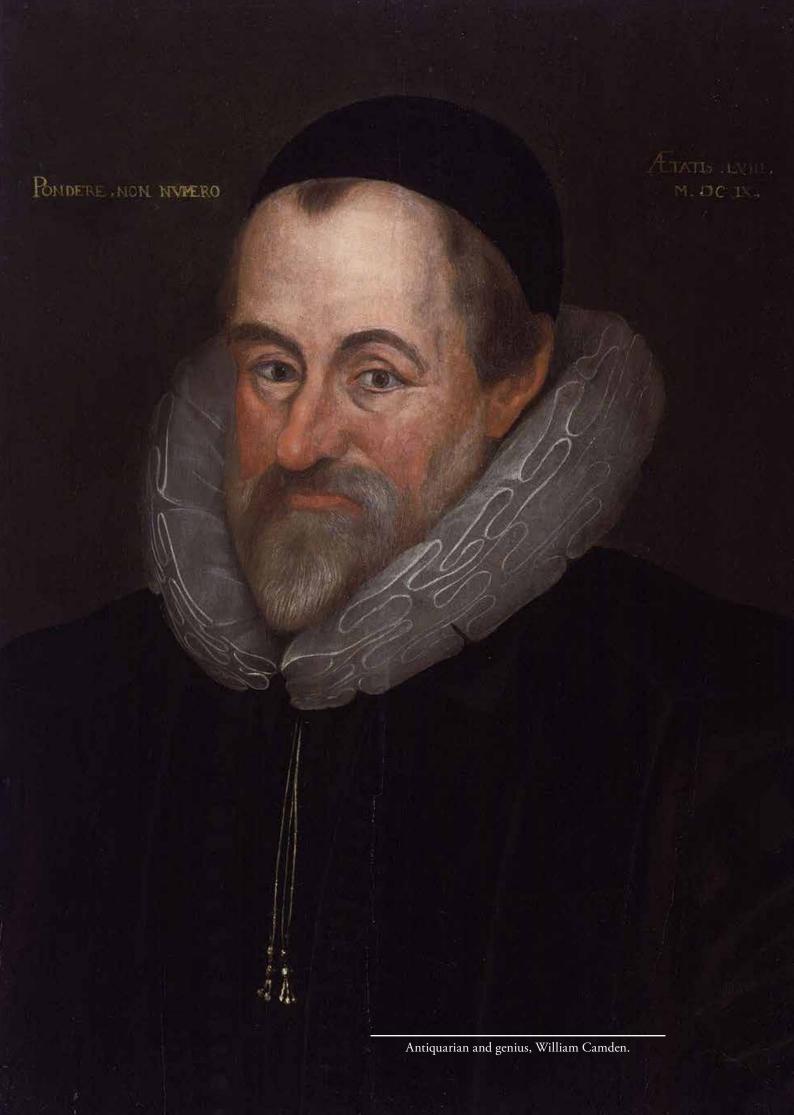


of Feria would be so specific, if the point Queen Mary had been making was simply prompted by Anne's appearance – namely that she looked younger than actually was? That explanation does seem to require rather a lot of special pleading. For me, the Duchess of Feria's fairly specific recollection has the ring of accuracy to it, something which acquires important credibility given her service to Anne Boleyn's stepdaughter.

Another Elizabethan also took up the pen, or quill as the case may be, albeit in a more sympathetic vein to Anne and her daughter. William Camden's monumental biographical study of Elizabeth I was initially commissioned by Elizabeth's chief minister William Cecil, Lord Burghley, a relationship which explains why Camden was given such incredible unfettered access to a range of documents pertaining to the Queen and her family. Camden researched for a decade; by the time he started writing his life of Elizabeth, its subject had been dead for four years and Lord Burghley for nearly nine. In the section of the Annales covering Elizabeth's early life, Camden wrote in the margin that her mother, Anne Boleyn, had been born in 1507. When Hugh Paget argued that a letter apparently written by Anne Boleyn from the Hapsburg court in 1514 proved she must have been about thirteen that year, a few historians suggested that Camden himself had written 1501, with earlier readers mistaking his curved 1 for a 7. However, it should be pointed out that Camden rendered his account of Anne's birth with Roman rather than Arabic numerals, meaning that it was MDVII and thus impossible to misread for 1501. Again, we should clarify that there are plenty of people who think that Camden, like the Duchess of Feria, was wrong when he stated Boleyn had been born in 1507. Wit that being duly acknowledged, however, I do not think one can credibly argue that he ever suggested an alternative date.

Camden's note seems as significant as the Duchess of Feria's recollection. Via Lord Burghley's influence, he had superb access to original sources, many of which have frustratingly been lost to subsequent generations either through the civil war or the terrible fire at the Cotton Library in the eighteenth century. Thus, writing just over a century after her birth and with unparalleled access to state papers about her, as granted by her daughter's friend and adviser, William Camden explicitly stated that Anne Boleyn had been born in 1507.

As has briefly been mentioned, a key plank of the argument that Anne was born c.1501 is her education in the Hapsburg empire at the court of the Emperor's daughter and regent, Archduchess Margaret of Austria. The minimum age for a *fille d'honneur* at the regent's court was twelve, also the canonical age of consent and one that fitted with the desire for many aristocratic girls to have found a husband while at court. Since we know Anne was sent there in 1513, it seems logical to suggest that she was born in 1501. There is, however, evidence to suggest that she was quite a bit younger than many of the other girls joining the imperial household. In a letter to Anne's father, the Archduchess wrote that Anne was'very welcome ... I find her so bright and so pleasant for her young age that I am more beholden to you for sending her to me than you are to me.'





This does seem to suggest, albeit tentatively, that Anne's age was different to the others and further circumstantial evidence points to girls being admitted by the Archduchess well-below the court's standard, specified aged of twelve. In particular, the case of Anne Brandon is illuminating when discussing what Anne Boleyn's presence in the Hapsburg entourage indicates. The two English

diplomats with whom the Archduchess Margaret had established a rapport during recent negotiations were Anne's father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, the future Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, and Charles Brandon, the future Duke of Suffolk. As a sign of imperial favour, the Archduchess admitted both men's daughters to her household. Charles's daughter, also called Anne, was born sometime shortly after February 1507. It was previously stated by many, myself included, that Anne Brandon was born in about 1506, but this seems to have been an error made by the fact that the English new year did not legally commence until 25thMarch. She was born in what we would class as 1507. Anne Brandon, who became Anne Grey, Baroness Grey of Powys, through her subsequent marriage was admitted to the Hapsburg court by the Archduchess Margaret in c. 1513, despite a date of birth of 1507, and she got there by the same route as another diplomat's daughter, Anne Boleyn. This lends further circumstantial evidence to the two girls being of roughly a similar age, as well as upsetting the argument that Boleyn could not have entered Margaret's service before the age of twelve.

To me, it has always seemed a stretch in credulity for someone with Anne Boleyn's connections, and charm, to remain unmarried by the age of twenty-five, which would have been the case when Henry VIII began pursuing her, if she was born in 1501. Her father was heir-presumptive to the Ormond earldom, her late grandfather had been the Duke of Norfolk and she was related by marriage or blood to many of the great families

of the Irish and English nobilities. Her siblings also seem to have married at about nineteen or twenty; Mary married Sir William Carey in 1520 and their brother George wed Jane Parker sometime near 1524. Although she had some romantic bad luck in her liaison with the future Earl of Northumberland and the aborted marriage negotiations with the future Earl of Ossory, there is nothing to suggest that Anne was somehow unmarriageable, nor that her father would have let such an advantageous daughter sail so close to her mid-twenties without a husband. It is also telling, I think, that none of her enemies ever cited her age as a reason for her to be an unsuitable mother for the King's hoped-for heirs. If she had been born in 1501, why did no-one highlight the fact that she was too old by contemporary standards to be the mother of the next heir? Thirty-two was the age when Katherine of Aragon had gone through her last pregnancy. Instead, letters in support of Anne mentioned, among her 'wisdom, descent of right noble and high thorough regal blood, education in all good and laudable manners, [her] apparent aptness to procreation of children'. Other eyewitness accounts of her from the late 1520s often mention her as 'young and good-looking', 'young' and a 'girl', which they might not have done had she been approaching thirty.

None of this is definitive, but it does suggest that there is far more room for debate on the birth issue than is usually allowed. 1507 and 1501 have evidence in each of their favour, adding to yet another mystery and debate to the fascinating career of Anne Boleyn.

GARETH RUSSELL







He was a patron of humanism and the reformed faith.

After the death of his wife, Elizabeth, in 1538, it was rumoured that he would marry Margaret Douglas, niece of King Henry VIII.



On his death in 1539, Henry VIII paid 16l. 13s. 4D for masses to be said for his soul



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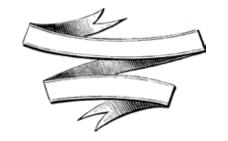
The brass memorial on his tomb at St Peter's Church, Hever, is said to be one of the finest in England. (Shown on the left)



There is no evidence that he pushed either of his daughters at the king.

15 Things you might not know about Thomas Boleyn,

Father of Queen Anne Boleyn



by Claire Ridgway







ANNE OF THE THOUSAND DAYS (THE FILM)

BY ROLAND HUI

After the success of Becket (1964), its producer the eminent Hal Wallis was eager to make another motion picture on a grand epic scale. According to Wallis himself, it was his star Richard Burton (who played Thomas Becket opposite Peter O'Toole's King Henry II) who approached him with the idea of Anne of the Thousand Days. Burton, who admired the play, wanted Wallis to acquire the rights to it as a vehicle for himself. Admittedly, Burton was not altogether fond of Henry VIII. "I don't like him very much", he later said in an interview, "he's not the kind of man I would like to be in the same room with. He had his virtues, but they were far outweighed, it seems to me, by his weaknesses: his ungovernable temper, terrible arrogance, and dreadful pride. Despite his intelligence, he was, even at the time of his death, nothing more than a spoiled child". Still, Burton was attracted to the challenge of the part. "Every actor given half a chance", he said, "wants to play Henry VIII, and I was very excited about the opportunity".1

Written by the great American dramatist Maxwell Anderson, *Anne of the Thousand Days* made its debut on Broadway in 1948. The play, composed in blank verse, starred movie and stage actor Rex Harrison as Henry VIII, and Joyce Redman, a protégé of Laurence Olivier at the Old Vic, as the tragic Anne Boleyn. The story is told in flashback. On the evening of May 18, 1536 before her impending execution, Anne Boleyn,



Genevieve Bujold as Anne Boleyn

the second wife of Henry VIII, recalls the circumstances that brought her to her doom. She recollects her relationship with the notorious King of England, and counts their thousand days together after she gave herself to him. Sadly, Anne comes to realize that of the thousand, there was one day - *only one* - when they were both truly in love with each other. She then receives an

unexpected visit from Henry VIII. But because of their shared volatile natures, there is no chance of reconciliation. Anne accepts her fate and fearlessly goes to her death.

The play had a successful run and won Rex Harrison a Tony Award. A later staging of it off-Broadway in 1950 had Hollywood stars John Loder and Sylvia Sidney as its two leads. Though a critic thought the play was a little high brow for the neighborhood of Brooklyn where it was presented, he did note that it was received with 'considerable enthusiasm'.²

Despite its success on stage, and the overall popularity of historic pictures in the 1950s, Hollywood apparently had no interest in making a movie of *Anne of the Thousand Days*. Perhaps it had to do with the fact that Maxwell Anderson had broached the taboo subjects of sexuality and incest. In the play, Anne Boleyn tells her lover Henry Percy that when she 'was little' she was already sexually experienced³; quite a bold statement in 1948. As well, in another scene, Anne's mother Elizabeth Boleyn assures her and her sister Mary that despite her dalliance with the King once upon a time, they are not his children.⁴

Perhaps it was also Henry VIII himself who was a deterrent. The memory of Charles Laughton, so memorable in *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933) may have put off producers. Laughton had played the King as a buffoon, and perhaps it was still felt that Henry could not be presented otherwise. In fact, Laughton had made such impression as the King, that twenty years later, he reprised the role in the movie *Young Bess* (1953).

However, by late 1960s, audiences were ready for a new Henry VIII. In 1966, actor Robert Shaw gave a powerful performance as the King in Fred Zinnemann's film adaptation of Robert Bolt's *A Man For All Seasons*. Shaw's Henry Tudor was handsome, charismatic, well learned, and romantic, but also wilful, dangerous, despotic, and cruel. Such qualities were well demonstrated to his friends and foes by the historical Henry.

Riding on the success of *Becket* and Richard Burton's ability to attract ticket buyers, Wallis purchased the movie rights to *Anne of*



Genevieve Bujold with Anthony Quayle (as Cardinal Wolsey) and Richard Burton (as Henry VIII)

the Thousand Days. Now the question was who would play Anne Boleyn? At a luncheon date with Burton and his wife, movie star Elizabeth Taylor (the two were working on the 1967 film The Taming of the Shrew together), Taylor had the perfect actress in mind, she told Wallis. She would play Anne Boleyn! Wallis was dumb struck. As he later wrote - 'My fork stopped halfway in my mouth. Anne Boleyn? Elizabeth was plumb and middle-aged; Anne was a slip of a girl'. Luckily for Wallis, Burton came to his rescue. Speaking to the 35-years-old Taylor as only he could, he took her by the hand, and gently said, "Sorry luv. You're too long in the tooth".5

With a star of Richard Burton's stature in the film, Wallis was willing - even determined - to have an unknown play opposite him, and to do the role justice. He wanted someone, as he put it, 'young enough and strong enough to play this extraordinary child-queen. No known actress would do'.6

In considering potential actresses, Wallis came upon a Canadian movie entitled *Isabel*. Directed by filmmaker Paul Almond in 1968, it starred his wife, 26-year-old Genevieve Bujold. Wallis was captivated by her performance, and that given her French-Canadian background, Bujold would make a perfect Anne. The historical Anne Boleyn had spent some time in France and was subsequently known for her French ways at the English court. However, Bujold herself was

less than enthusiastic. As she reminisced, "I was young, independent, and opinionated. I got a call saying that Hal Wallis, the *great* Hal Wallis, wanted to talk to me. He wanted to give me the role of Anne and asked me for a screen test. Me, in my kitchen in the east end of Montreal, said, 'No, I don't want a screen test.' Bujold's aloofness might have put an end to that, but Wallis was persistent. "He told me afterwards", the actress continued, "he kind of loved that because he thought that was the spirit of Anne".⁷

After her initial disdain, Genevieve Bujold found herself embracing the character of Anne Boleyn. In researching the legendary Queen, the feisty young actress felt an affinity to her. As



Genevieve Bujold with producer Hal Wallis

Bujold told an interviewer at the time, "Day by day, I discover more about Anne Boleyn until by now, I know her very well. I like Anne very

much. If we had been able to know each other, I feel we would have been good friends... she was an extraordinary brave person who lived her destiny completely to the full, without ever accepting things as they were, making them instead the way she wanted them to be... she was a real woman, and it's a marvelous role for an actress because there is so much to her, and so many different facets". Anne Boleyn's independence especially endeared her to Bujold. "And she knew herself and was well with herself", Bujold

went on. "She obviously had such a profound integrity in that respect. She was willing to lose her head to go to the end of her movement." 9

To fill the supporting roles, Anthony Quayle, the respected actor who had appeared in the popular *The Guns of Navarone* (1961) and *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962), played the worldly prelate Cardinal Wolsey. For the equally important part of Katherine of Aragon, Henry VIII's first wife, was renowned Greek actress Irene Papas. Rounding off the cast were the classically-trained John Colicos as the King's unscrupulous henchman Thomas Cromwell, Michael Hordern, a familiar face on British stage and in cinema, as Anne's father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, and actress Katharine Blake as Elizabeth Boleyn.

Hal Wallis was a man who often worked on instinct. Although Genevieve Bujold was relatively unknown, he was convinced she was the ideal Anne Boleyn. Wallis also had a gut feeling when it came to his choice of director. He picked Charles Jarrott, a British television director. Jarrott did not have experience being in charge of a motion picture, much less a major one like *Anne of the Thousand Days*, but still, Wallis was sure he was the right person for the job. He admired Jarrott's previous work, and liked his 'sober, measured intelligence'. That Jarrott happened to have a Tudor-styled beard, making him 'seem rather like a member of the court of Henry VIII himself', also commended him to Wallis.¹²

To ensure authenticity, Wallis and Jarrott sought out actual historic locations for the



Richard Burton with Irene Papas (as Queen Katherine)

shooting of the film. Among the properties they used were Puttenden Manor and Penthurst Castle in Kent, along with Hever Castle, formerly the home of the actual Boleyn family. For the great Tudor palace at Greenwich which no longer existed but was essential, its interiors were recreated at Shepperton Studios in Surrey.

The movie was scored by French composer Georges Delerue. His body of work in cinema and television was prolific, and one of his most recent soundtracks was for *A Man For All Seasons*, another Tudor themed film. For *Anne of the Thousand Days*, Delerue wrote pieces of background music that might well have been played at Henry VIII's court, and he composed a haunting theme for the picture, entitled *Farewell My Pleasure Past*. It even included lyrics, adapted from a poem, *O Death Rock Me Asleep*, said to have been written by Anne Boleyn herself. The song could be heard in the opening credits and in a scene where it is sung to Anne by the court musician Mark Smeaton (Gary Bond).

On the whole, *Anne of the Thousand Days* is reasonably accurate in its storytelling of the decade long relationship between Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. It begins with their meeting at a ball at Greenwich in about 1526, and ends



Genevieve Bujold with Michael Hordern and Katharine Blake (as Thomas and Elizabeth Boleyn)

with Anne's execution on trumped up charges of adultery at the Tower of London on May 19, 1536. While there have been many theories as to the actual reason for Anne Boleyn's fall, the movie took the traditional approach - one most current at the time - that her failure to give Henry VIII a male heir led to her ruin. After all, it was Anne's own promise to the King, as she tells him in the film, that 'if you make me Queen of England, I'll marry you and give you sons'.

Nonetheless, there are factual errors in *Anne of the Thousand Days*, some more prominent than others. For example, in the movie, the King has an illegitimate child by Anne's sister Mary Boleyn (Valerie Gearon). In actuality, it is not certain that Henry VIII her fathered her child or simply Mary's husband William Carey.

A much more glaring inaccuracy were Henry VIII's appearances at the Tower, once at his wife's trial and then again in her prison cell. There is no record of the couple meeting again after the King's sudden departure from the Queen at the May Day jousts at Greenwich. Henry VIII seeing Anne Boleyn again had as much truth to it as Elizabeth I and Mary Queen of Scots coming face-to-face as so often imagined in fiction. However, as Anderson and the script writers for Anne of the Thousand Days knew, a confrontation between Henry and Anne could not be excluded. It made for terrific drama. As told in the play and in the movie, after Henry is unsure whether his wife was truly adulterous even after he interrogates one of her 'lovers', he visits Anne on the eve of her death to get at the truth. At their meeting, Henry softens and he even offers Anne her life for a divorce so he could make a clean break to wed his new mistress Jane Seymour. Knowing the price is the illegitimacy of their child the Princess Elizabeth, Anne refuses. She even lies and tells Henry that she was indeed unfaithful to wound his manhood. When an angry Henry retorts that she would die for this, Anne remains defiant. The film goes a step further with her assuring him that it is Elizabeth, not a son of his, who would one day inherit. "And think of this", she prophesies, "Elizabeth shall be a greater Queen than any King of yours. She shall rule a greater England than any of you could ever have built. My Elizabeth shall be Queen, and my blood will have been well spent"! The real Anne Boleyn had never said such a thing and could probably have



Genevieve Bujold and Richard Burton in the coronation procession scene

never imagined such a future for her daughter, but Genevieve Bujold's passionate delivery of the speech sure made movie audiences wish she did.¹³

During the filming, Richard Burton and Genevieve Bujold got on very well. "I think she's marvelous," Burton was quoted as saying. "She's very much like Anne Boleyn in that she can be very sweet, loving, attentive, and kind, and then she can turn like a tigress, which is, I suppose the essence of Anne Boleyn". 14 Bujold was equally complimentary towards her illustrious costar, whom she described as 'a force of nature'.15 That the two appeared very close, suggested to the Hollywood rumour mill that a flirtation, if not an affair, was going on. Elizabeth Taylor was sufficiently upset that she began keeping close tabs on Richard Burton. On one occasion, she invited herself onset.¹⁶ The scene to be shot was Henry VIII's final confrontation with Anne Boleyn. Bujold was extremely annoyed at Taylor's presence and she swore how she was 'going to give that bitch an acting lesson she'll never forget'! After completing the scene, 'with a display of acting skill I have seldom seen equalled in my career',

according to Hal Wallis, Bujold triumphantly stormed off the set.¹⁷

Despite its sensational attention grabbing plot ('the most passionate and shocking love story in history' according to the movie's tagline), its first rate performances, and its handsome production values, Anne of the Thousand Days received mixed reviews upon its release in December 1969. While newspapers such as The New York Post hailed it as 'an instant classic', and The Los Angeles Times as 'one of the year's 10 best', 18 others were less complimentary. Released at the height of the turbulent and 'turned-on' counterculture at the end of the 1960s, some critics felt that the picture was outdated and irrelevant. The New York Times thought it 'unbearably classy' and 'conventionally reverential', while Time Magazine opined that 'it appears to have been made for one person: the Queen of England'. Still, even those who were the harshest, had praise for Genevieve Bujold's performance. The New York Times, for instance, despite its dislike for the movie as a whole, found its star 'a constantly delightful surprise'. 19

Regardless of some negativity towards the film, it did well at the Golden Globe Awards.

Anne of the Thousand Days picked up trophies for Best Motion Picture, Best Actress - Drama, Best Director, and Best Screenplay. With these significant wins, there were high hopes at the Academy Awards. The movie had received ten nominations including Best Picture, Best Actor, Best Actress, Best Actor in a Supporting role (for Anthony Quayle), and Best Director. However, Anne ultimately only won one Oscar for Best Costume Design. Still, the movie proved popular with audiences, enough that in 1971, Hal Wallis produced another Tudor-themed picture Mary Queen of Scots.²⁰

Half a century after its release, *Anne of the Thousand Days* remains a favorite of many Tudorphiles. As academic Susan Bordo wrote in her book *The Creation of Anne Boleyn: A New Look at England's Most Notorious Queen*, the film has held up well over the decades. 'Most movies

of the late 1960s have not worn well', Bordo observed. 'With *Anne of the Thousand Days*, the passing years and changing culture have had the opposite effect, my students adored it, especially loving an Anne who seems to have become "truer" as the generations have become less patient with passive heroines and perhaps a bit tired of the cutesy, man-focused femininity of many current female stars'.²¹

Susan Bordo was fortunate enough to interview Genevieve Bujold in 2010. As they ended their conversation about *Anne of the Thousand Days*, Bordo asked the actress - whom she could imagine playing Anne Boleyn today? After a brief pause, Bujold proudly said, "No one, Anne is mine".²² Many who have seen her brilliant performance would wholeheartedly agree.

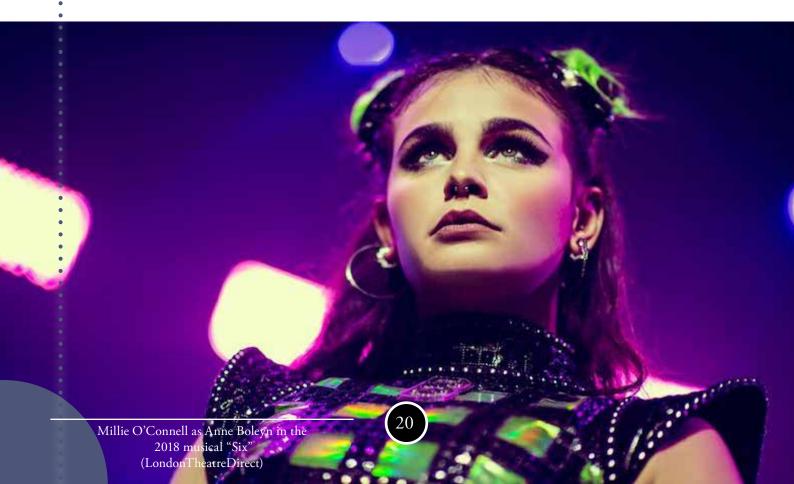
ROLAND HUI

- 1. 'Richard Burton Plays in the Inevitable Role' from the *Anne of the Thousand Days* publicity book (Publicity Departments, Universal Pictures Limited, London).
- 2. The Billboard, June 17, 1950, Subway Circuit Review: Anne of the Thousand Days, p. 51.
- 3. Maxwell Anderson, Anne of the Thousand Days, New York: William Sloane Associates, 1948, Act I, Scene II.
- 4. Maxwell Anderson, *Anne of the Thousand Days*, Act I, Scene IV. This is in reference to actual Elizabethan Catholic propaganda that Anne Boleyn was the illegitimate daughter of Henry VIII. Thus the couple subsequently engaged in incest. In Anderson's work, although Anne is charged with adultery, it is not with her brother George Boleyn. He does not appear or is even mentioned in the play.
- 5. Hal Wallis (with Charles Higham), *Starmaker*, pp. 166-167. Regarding Anne Boleyn's age, Wallis was evidently of the impression that she was born in about 1507, a date commonly accepted at the time. More recent historians have favoured an earlier circa 1501.
- 6. Hal Wallis (with Charles Higham), Starmaker, p. 167.
- 7. Susan King, 'Classic Hollywood: Genevieve Bujold learned about movies (and food) from the masters', *The L.A. Times*, March 8, 2018.
- 8. 'Genevieve Bujold: Rare Bloom in a Royal Garden', Seventeen Magazine, Nov., 1969.
- 9. Susan Bordo, The Creation of Anne Boleyn, Boston: Mariner Books, 2013, p. 195.
- 10. Interestingly, Irene Papas would work with Genevieve Bujold again in the film *The Trojan Women* (1971). Anthony Quayle would also appear with Bujold in the movie *Murder By Decree* (1979).
- 11. Actress Katharine Blake was the wife of director Charles Jarrott. Charles Jarrott later directed Genevieve Bujold again in the Disney film *The Last Flight of Noah's Ark* (1980).
- 12. Hal Wallis (with Charles Higham), Starmaker, p. 167.
- 13. Anne's impassioned speech was the creation of the film's scriptwriters (John Hale, Bridget Boland, and Richard Sokolove), not Maxwell Anderson. Although parts of the playwright's dialogue were used throughout the movie, considerable sections were left out. The remainder was fine-tuned or entirely rewritten to make it more suitable for film audiences.
- 14. 'Genevieve Bujold: The Next Big Star' from the Anne of the Thousand Days publicity book.
- 15. Susan King, 'Classic Hollywood'.
- 16. Elizabeth Taylor made an unaccredited cameo in the film. She appeared as a masked courtier at a ball who bursts in on Katherine of Aragon while she's at prayer.
- 17. Hal Wallis (with Charles Higham), Starmaker, p. 168-169.
- 18. Anne of the Thousand Days Advertising Publicity Promotion book, Universal Studios.
- 19. Susan Bordo, The Creation of Anne Boleyn, p. 192.
- 20. While it was Vanessa Redgrave who played Mary Stuart, the role was originally offered to Genevieve Bujold. "It was great doing *Anne*", she said in an interview in 2018, "but to do another queen, I just didn't feel up for it". See: Susan King, 'Classic Hollywood'.
- 21. Susan Bordo, The Creation of Anne Boleyn, p. 195.
- 22. Susan Bordo, The Creation of Anne Boleyn, p. 196.

EDITORIAL FEATURE

SORRY NOT SORRY: WHAT HAPPENED TO THE FEMINIST ANNE BOLEYN?

GARETH RUSSELL



EDITORIAL FEATURE

When the intellectual forces of feminism began to be applied to the study of history, few figures were better positioned to benefit than Anne Boleyn. Anne's spirit, her tenacity, her courage and her ambition could be re-categorised as strengths, rather than dismissed, as they often had been, as the hallmarks of an aggressive shrew. Her cultural interests received revived attention, with Maria Dowling and David Starkey labouring to show that Anne had been a voracious reader, an intelligent and deliberate patroness of artists and philosophers. In his two tomes on Anne's life, in 1986 and 2004, Eric Ives concluded that Anne was the most important queen consort in English history, a figure who deserved to be a feminist icon.

Admittedly, there were dissenting voices. In his articles on her downfall, George Bernard summarised Anne as 'indeed a loose-living lady'. That view, expressed with more appropriate vocabulary although never quite hidden, formed the spine of Bernard's 2010 biography, tellingly titled "Anne Boleyn: Fatal Attractions". But, by and large, Anne Boleyn's spectre could afford to bask in the praise and attention being heaped upon her.

Curiously, that now seems to be unravelling. It is not so much through criticism of Anne, which remains strident. There have been harsh portrayals of Anne in some of the last decade's best-selling historical fiction, "The Other Boleyn Girl" and "Wolf Hall". In the TV adaptation of the former, Anne is actually shown committing incest with her brother, a crime for which they were wrongfully condemned to death in 1536.

The view of Anne as 'really a rather horrible woman', to quote Desmond Seward, is echoed by several historians and it should be pointed out that this is not incompatible with feminism, or common sense, to regard Anne as an unlikeable woman, while still paying tribute to the influences and impact of her extraordinary career. Ultimately, it is well within any historian's right to respond to a figure's personality as they see fit. It's a matter of taste.

What is less justifiable is the slow but gathering evisceration of Anne as a figure of substance. In "Wolf Hall", Anne is shown as someone who has her religious views imparted to her by Thomas Cranmer. In one scene, Cromwell characterises Cranmer's relationship with Anne almost as that of a tutor and a pupil. This seems to be an increasingly popular view of her. In the West End musical "Six", each wife is given a solo to tell her story to the audience and, remarkably, in a musical that wears its feminist credentials proudly, Anne Boleyn's is the only solo that downplays its subject.

The chorus of Anne's song, "Don't Lose Your Head", is "Sorry, not sorry about what I said, I was just trying to have some fun." Anne's achievements are explained, almost apologised for, as having been unintentional. At one point, admittedly while narrating her early life, she utters the phrase, "Politics? Not my thing." While the silences of Jane Seymour and Anne of Cleves are presented here as indicative of hidden strengths, Boleyn's undeniable and unhidden impact is re-packaged in "Six" as the accidental mistakes of a self-absorbed dilettante. Even the appalling

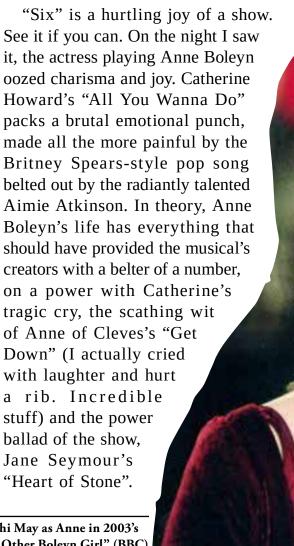
EDITORIAL FEATURE

misogyny used to drag Anne off her throne is soft-shoed, as she admits to flirting with her accused lovers to pay Henry back for his persistent infidelity to her. No mention is made of Thomas Cromwell or the horrific way he, and the King, ended Anne's life and shredded her reputation. When explaining how she died, Anne quips, "My sleeves may be green, but my lipstick's red." It's a musical – and a great one, one of the best on the London stage this year - yet, when set alongside the sharp, observant, sympathetic dialogue given to Anne's royal co-stars, it rings as a curiously flippant reduction. As does her dimwitted boast, "I split England from the church. Yeah, I'm that sexy!" Not clever, not determined, not intentional. Sexy.

"Six's" joyful but unintentional Boleyn is in-step with where we're going with Anne's reputation. Even many of her sympathisers now seem to defend her by claiming she was just a pawn of a rabidly ambitious family and that she never meant to have the impact she ultimately acquired.

She did. Anne Boleyn was a person of substance and intent. Sometimes, that brings unpleasant consequences. Life is hard and politics is harder. Personally, I'd rather have Anne as the original Nasty Woman, if that's how you want to view her character, than to reduce her to a gorgeous irrelevance. She was better than that. And she was more than that.

GARETH RUSSELL



Jodhi May as Anne in 2003's The Other Boleyn Girl" (BBC)

a rib. Incredible stuff) and the power ballad of the show, Jane Seymour's "Heart of Stone".

Portraits at Hever

No edition of Tudor Life on the Boleyns would be complete without mentioning Hever Castle. In 1506, Thomas Boleyn (father of Anne), added the Long Gallery to

Hever. These were becoming fashionable at that time, and were used for exercising and viewing the beautiful gardens. In 2018, the Long Gallery became home to a collection of portraits gathered by the Guthrie family, who own Hever, and the exhibition was guest curated by David Starkey. The collection comprises of 16 portraits.

Answer the questions to work out who is there on display (NOTE: One very famous face appears twice)

- 1. Queen with the badge or emblem of the pomegranate
 - 2. Known as 'My Lady The King's Mother'
- 3. Almoner to Henry VIII at the time of his accession
- 4. Earl of March before his accession to the throne
 - 5. Born in Pembroke Castle in 1457
- 6. Archbishop of Canterbury until his death in 1532
 - 7. Died at Ludlow Castle in 1502
- 8. Played 'Perseverance' in the 'Chateau Vert' pageant
 - 9. Succeeded Leo X as Pope
 - 10. Last king of the House of Lancaster
- 11. Second monarch of the House of Tudor (featured twice)
 - 12. Devoted herself to reversing the Reformation
 - 13. Was first the wife of Sir John Grey
 - 14. Theologian at Jesus College, Cambridge

15. Died on her 37th Birthday



Hever Castle Ancestral home of the Boleyns















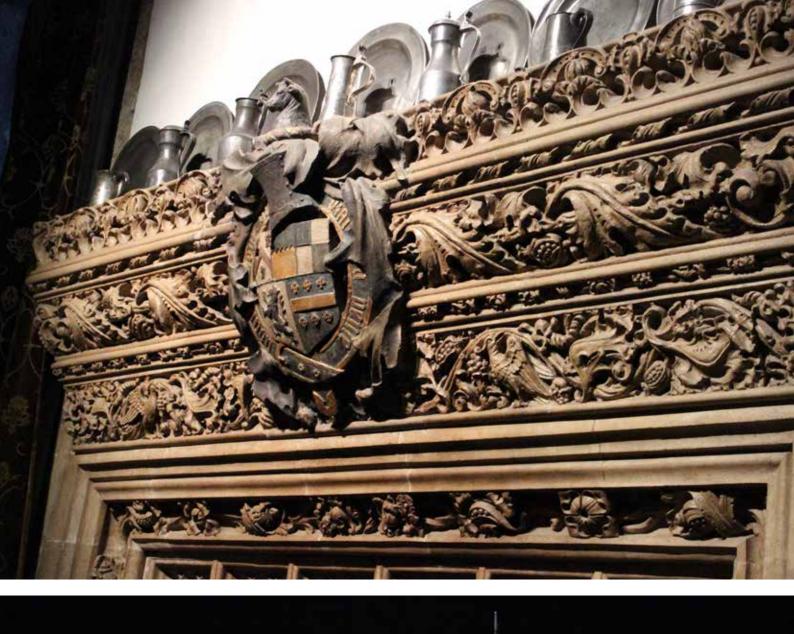




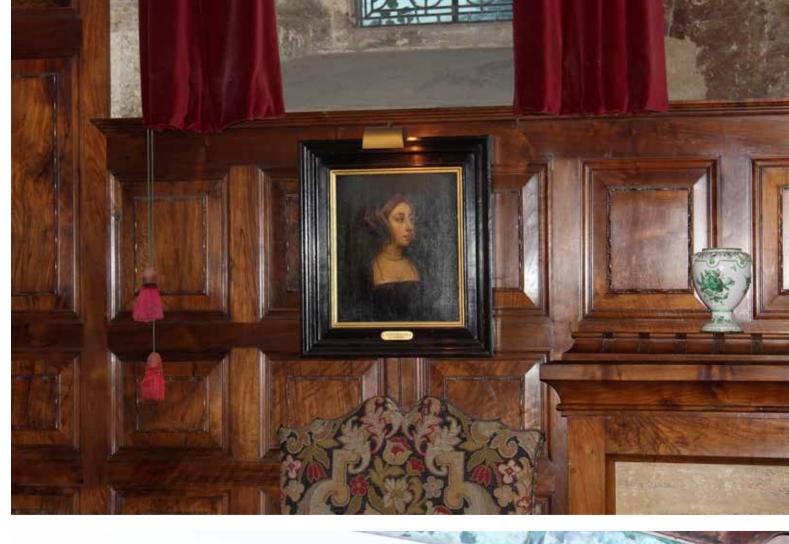




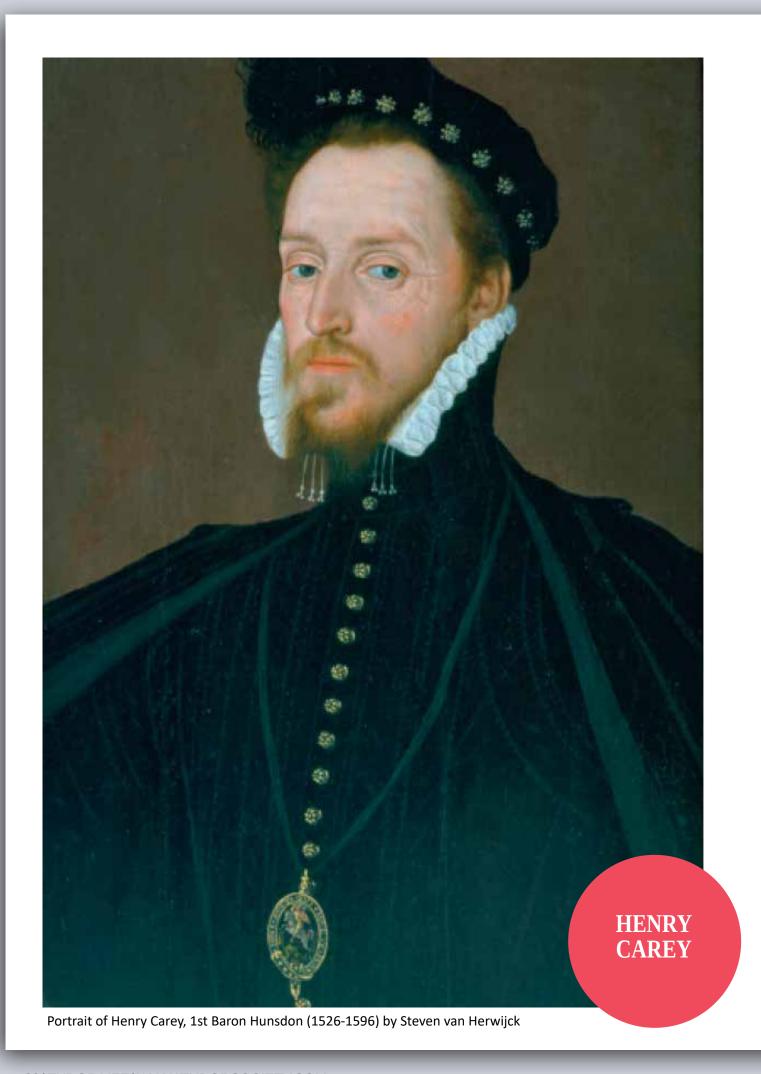
















Mary Boleyn, infamously the mistress of Henry VIII, had two children, Katherine who became Lady Knollys and Henry. I have previously written about Katherine and believe that the evidence points to her being the daughter of the king. Henry's father is not so clear.

by **SARAH-BETH WATKINS**

enry was born at the end of his mother's affair with Henry VIII and his father may have been either the king or Mary's husband, William Carey. The king was becoming interested in little Henry's aunt, Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII had promised her 'I will take you for my mistress, casting off all others that are in competition with you, out of my thoughts and affection'. Mary and his dalliance with her were fast becoming a thing of the past.

William Carey died of the sweating sickness in 1528 and Mary became a widow with two small children. In 1531, a Venetian ambassador, Lodovico Falier, reported that 'The King has also a natural son, born to him of the widow of one of his peers; a youth of great promise, so much does he resemble his father'. He may have been referring to Henry Carey, as his mother Mary was now a widow but so too was Elizabeth Blount,

mother of Henry Fitzroy whom the king had acknowledged.

Henry was made a ward of court after William Carey died and his aunt, Anne Boleyn, was given his wardship by the king. Anne arranged for his education at Syon Abbey, a monastery dedicated to the Bridgettine Order in Isleworth, Middlesex renowned for its excellence in learning with an immense library of over fourteen hundred books.

Mr Skidmore, a priest at Syon Abbey, had seen Henry there and added to the rumours that he might be the King's son. The vicar of Isleworth, John Hale, who was vehemently against the Boleyns, also added to rumours

WHEN

ELIZABETH

CAME TO THE THRONE, SHE AT LEAST WOULD RECOGNISE

MARY BOLEYN'S CHILDREN

about Henry telling the Privy Council:

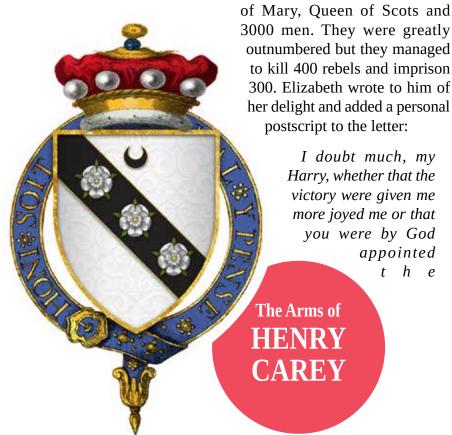
Moreover, Mr. Skydmore dyd show to me yongge Master Care, saying that he was our suffren Lord the Kynge's son by our suffren Lady the Qwyen's syster, whom the Qwyen's grace myght not suffer to be yn the Cowrte.

But this is the only evidence we have for Henry's paternity and it came from a biased witness. No one else at the time acknowledged Henry as the king's son especially Henry VIII himself. Of course he had his reasons for not recognising Mary's children. He was longing to marry her sister but I feel that given he was so desperate for a male heir that at some point in his reign, later on perhaps when Anne was dead, he would have claimed him. He didn't need to acknowledge Katherine Knollys as she was but a girl and he would have two of those but especially after Henry Fitzroy's death, if the king had believed Henry was his son, would he not have acknowledged him?

When Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558, she at least would recognise Mary Boleyn's children as her kin, if not her half-siblings and Henry would have a long and prominent career at the Elizabethan court.

He was knighted in 1558 and created Baron Hunsdon on 13 Jan 1559. The following year he was made Master of the Hawks with an income of £40 a year. He was made a Knight of the Garter in 1561 and was fast becoming

a man the queen could rely upon. When Elizabeth became seriously ill in 1562,



her courtiers feared for her life. Her doctor Burcot diagnosed her with smallpox even though she had no spots and she dismissed him. However her condition deteriorated alarmingly and it was Henry it was said who ordered Burcot at dagger point back to treat her.

The queen recovered and Henry was made captain of her gentlemen pensioners in 1564 responsible for looking after her safety. But the next role she gave him would not sit so well. He was made governor of Berwick on the northern border and ordered to suppress the rebellion and deal with grievances up there.

On 20 February 1570 Henry was on his way to meet up with

instrument of my glory, and I assure for my country's good the first might suffice, but for my heart's contentation the second more pleased me... there is seen a stout courage of your mind that *more trusted to the goodness* of your quarrel than to the weakness of your number... you may not think that you have done nothing for your profit, though you have done much for your honour, *I intend to make this journey* somewhat to increase your livehood, that you may not say to yourself, pereditur quod factum est ingrate (my service is lost because it was done for an ingrate)

the English forces at Carlisle

when he was ambushed by

Leonard Dacre, a supporter

SARAH-BETH WATKINS

But it was not long before he wanted to return home and Henry asked for his recall from Berwick. Permission was not yet given as he was responsible for trying the rebel leaders of the counties of York, Durham, and Cumberland and negotiating with the Scots.

Henry became a privy counsellor in 1577 but his continual rise did not always mean Elizabeth was happy with him. Once when he failed to return on time after taking some leave from the court she raged 'God's wounds! We will set him by the feet and set another in his place if he dallies with us thus, for we will not be thus

dallied withal'. Nevertheless in 1585 Henry was made Lord Chamberlain, a position he kept until his death.

In October 1586 he was one of the commissioners for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots at Fotheringhay and would be sent back to Berwick and Scotland to try to negotiate England's relationship with James VI after the death of his mother. He would tell Elizabeth that James was not to be trusted and she would reward him with the office of lord warden-general of the marches.

Henry had married Anne Morgan on 21 May 1545 and they went on to have 16 children

> although as per the times not all lived to adulthood. He is also rumoured to have several illegitimate children but his most notorious affair was that with Emilia Lanier who was forty-five years younger than him! Around the same time Henry became a patron of the Lord Chamberlain's Men, the acting company whom Shakespeare would later write for and immensely enjoyed the arts and theatre. Emilia's father was Baptiste Bassano,

court musician and Emilia would become famed for her own poetry. When Henry found out she was pregnant he married her off to her cousin, another musician, and paid her £40 yearly pension. She gave birth to their son Henry but it seems as though his father had little to do with him.

Henry joined his queen at Tilbury when the threat of the Spanish Armada loomed heavily over England. As captain of the army, he was in charge of 36,000 men rallied to thwart any invaders. The Spanish saw him as one of the 'principal devils that rule the court' and he was on a list of heretics sent to England's enemies. As peace descended over the country Elizabeth continued to grant him offices like that of Commissioner of the Office Earl Marshal and Chief Justice of the Royal Forces.

And he continued to serve his queen until his death on 23 July 1596 at Somerset House. Elizabeth visited him whilst he was dying and told him she would make him earl of Wiltshire but he is said to have replied 'Madam, as you did not count me worthy of this honour in life, then I shall account myself not worthy of it in death'.

He was buried on 12 August 1596 at Westminster Abbey. His alabaster and marble monument in Westminster is the tallest at 36 feet high, a fitting tribute to one of Elizabeth I's kinsmen.

SARAH-BETH WATKINS



The tomb of HENRY CAREY

BOLEYN FAMILY FACTFILES

Thomas Boleyn

Birth: c.1476/7, probably at Blickling in Norfolk.

Family background: Son of Sir William Boleyn of Blickling and Lady Margaret Butler. **Paternal grandparents:** Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, Lord Mayor of London, and Anne Hoo. **Maternal grandparents:** Thomas Butler, 7th Earl of Ormonde, and Anne Hankford.

Marriage: Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Thomas Howard, 2nd Duke of Norfolk, and sister of Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk.

Children: Mary Boleyn; Queen Anne Boleyn; George Boleyn, Lord Rochford, Thomas Boleyn, Henry Boleyn.

Career/Life highlights: Esquire of the Body to Henry VII and Henry VIII; Knight of the Bath (1509); diplomat (Margaret of Austria's court; French court; to pope and empire during Great Matter); privy councillor; Comptroller of the Household; Treasurer of the Household; Knight of the Garter; Viscount Rochford (1525); created Earl of Ormonde and Wiltshire (1529), Lord Privy Seal.

Death and resting place: Died 12th March 1539 at Hever Castle. Laid to rest at St Peter's Church, Hever.

Elizabeth Boleyn (née Howard)

Birth: c.1476-1480

Family background: Daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey (later 2nd Duke of Norfolk), and Elizabeth Tylney.

Paternal grandparents: John Howard, 1st Duke of Norfolk, and Katherine Moleyns.

Maternal grandparents: Sir Frederick Tilney and Elizabeth Cheney.

Marriage: Thomas Boleyn (see above).

Children: Mary Boleyn; Queen Anne Boleyn; George Boleyn, Lord Rochford, Thomas Boleyn, Henry Boleyn.

Career/Life highlights: Traditionally said to have been one of Queen Catherine of Aragon's ladies, but she may have only served her on special occasions. Served the queen at the Field of Cloth of Gold (1520). Acted as chaperone for her daughter, Anne, while Henry VIII was courting her. Attended her daughter, Anne, at her coronation in 1533.

Death and resting place: Died on 3rd April 1538 near Baynard's Castle, London. Laid to rest in the Howard Chapel at St Mary's Church, Lambeth (now the Garden Museum).

Mary Boleyn

Birth: Birthdate unknown, thought to be c.1499.

Family background: Daughter of Thomas Boleyn and Elizabeth Howard (see above).

Marriage: Married William Carey, Esquire of the Body to Henry VIII and member of the king's privy chamber (d. 1528) in February 1520); married William Stafford c. 1534. Pregnant in 1534, but foto of body is unknown

but fate of baby is unknown.

Children: Catherine Carey (1524), Henry Carey (1526).

Career/Life highlights: Served Mary Tudor, Queen of France, in France 1514-1515; had a sexual relationship with King Henry VIII at some point (date and duration unknown); served her sister, Queen Anne Boleyn in 1533 and attended her at her coronation in 1533;

Death and resting place: Died on 19th July 1543; resting place unknown.

Anne Boleyn

Birth: Unknown. Some historians say 1501, others say 1507.

Family background: Daughter of Thomas Boleyn and Elizabeth Howard (see above).

Marriage: Married King Henry VIII on 25th January 1533 (may also have married him or become betrothed to him on 14th November 1532).

Children: Queen Elizabeth I (b. 7th September 1533). Pregnant in summer 1534, fate of baby unknown. Miscarriage on 29th January 1536.

Career/Life highlights: Sent to Margaret of Austria's court in summer 1513; appointed to serve Mary Tudor, Queen of France, 1514-15; appointed to serve Claude, Queen of France, 1515-1521; appointed to serve Queen Catherine of Aragon, returning to England in late 1521/early 1522; courted by the king from 1524/6 (David Starkey thinks 1524, Eric Ives thinks 1526); accepted proposal of marriage from King Henry VIII probably at New Year 1527; crowned queen on 1st June 1533; arrested 2nd May 1536; tried for high treason for allegedly sleeping with five men (including her brother, George) and plotting with them to kill the king, on 15th May 1536; marriage to King Henry VIII annulled on 17th May 1536; executed by beheading (with a sword) on 19th May 1536.

Henry VIII's desire to marry Anne led to the break with Rome and was a catalyst for the English Reformation.

Death and resting place: Beheaded at the Tower of London on 19th May 1536. Laid to rest in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula, Tower of London.

George Boleyn

Birth: c.1504-5

Family background: Son of Thomas Boleyn and Elizabeth Howard (see above).

 $\textbf{Marriage:} \ \text{Married Jane Parker, daughter of Henry Parker, } 10^{\text{th}} \ \text{Baron Morley, and Alice St John, in}$

1525.

Children: None that we know of.

Career/Life highlights: Served Henry VIII as a page; gentleman of Henry VIII's privy chamber; Esquire of the Body; Master of the Buckhounds; diplomat in France (dates of missions include 1529, 1533, 1534 and 1535); Viscount Rochford (from 1529); Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle (from 1534); arrested 2nd May 1536; tried for treason on 15th May 1536 for allegedly sleeping with his sister, Queen Anne Boleyn, and plotting with her to kill the king; executed by beheading on Tower Hill on 17th May 1536. George Boleyn was also a talented poet.

Death and resting place: Executed on Tower Hill on 17th May 1536. Laid to rest in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula, Tower of London.

Thomas Boleyn the Younger, and Henry Boleyn

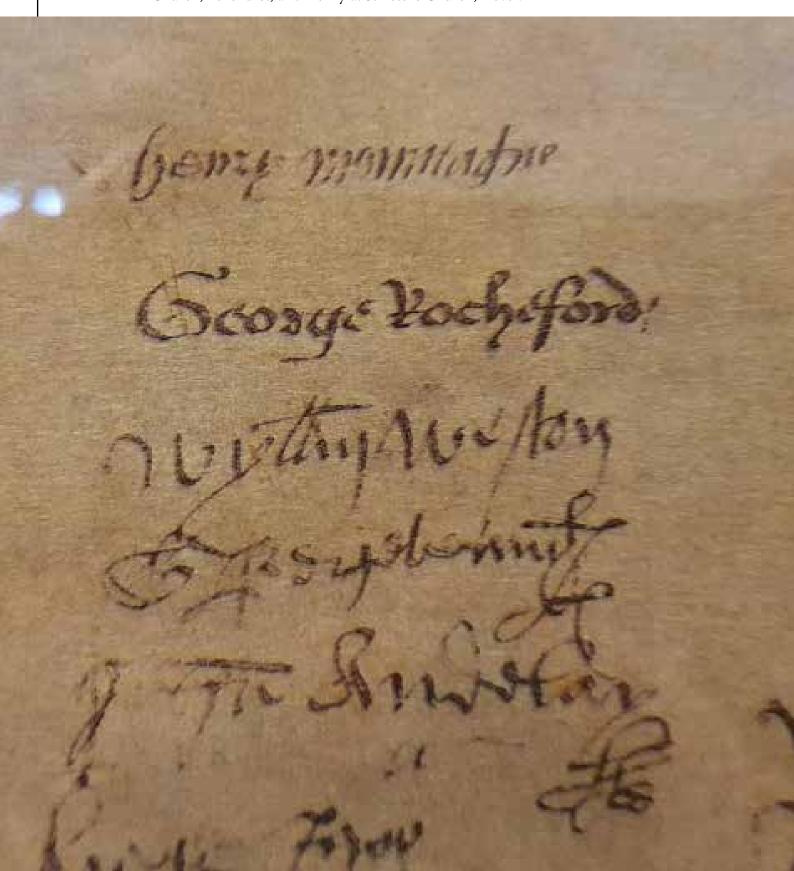
Birth: c.1502-4

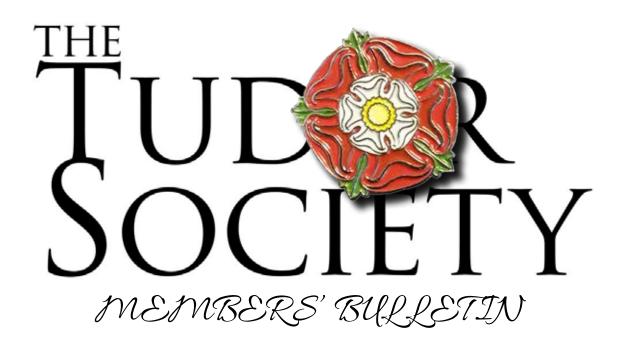
Family background: Sons of Thomas Boleyn and Elizabeth Howard (see above).

Marriage: None. **Children:** None.

Career/Life highlights: None.

Death and resting place: Died young, dates unknown. Thomas was buried at St John the Baptist Church, Penshurst, and Henry at St Peter's Church, Hever.





I'm busy and excited at the moment as I'm preparing for my first tour of 2019, The Anne Boleyn Experience. Being back at Hever will be magical, but what I'm really looking forward to is meeting Tudor Society members and putting faces to names at long last. It really will be wonderful. Plus, the Anne Boleyn Experience and the Executed Queens tours will give me plenty of opportunity to talk Tudor! How I love chatting about Tudor history with people who are as obsessed with it as I am. If you're coming on this year's tours, then I'm looking forward to meeting you, and if you can't make this year then don't worry, we're doing some next year too!

If going on tours is not for you, then don't worry! Our twice-monthly live chats also give our full-access members the opportunity to talk Tudor! If you haven't participated in one, then why not come to this month's. You can always lurk in the background for your first one, but everyone is really friendly so don't worry. I do hope to see you in the chatroom sometime soon.

Thank you for your support of the Tudor Society. Keep Tudoring!

Claire Ridgway

REAL EVENTS AND FICTION MIX TOGETHER

An interview with Sean Poage

This month's interview is with Sean Poage. Sean currently lives in Maine, USA, having settled here after travelling widely with his career as a Military Policeofficer in the army. These days, he works in the world of technology, having obtained a Batchelor of Science in Computer Networking. He writes as often as he can, and enjoys spending time with his family, with whom he shares a passion for travel.

Sean describes himself as a 'History Nerd', who loves the mysterious eras such as the British and Greek 'Dark Ages'.

Hello Sean, and welcome to Tudor Life magazine. Thank you for taking the time to talk to us today. Can you please tell us a little about yourself and about your book, 'The Retreat to Avalon'?

Hi Catherine, and thank you for inviting me. I'm an amateur historian and writer of historical fiction. I'm most fascinated with the most little-known periods of time, such as the Greek and British Dark Ages.

My novel, *The Retreat to Avalon*, is the first in a series entitled "The Arthurian Age". The series is intended to show an authentic, historically accurate version of King Arthur that is also true to the earliest legends.

So of all the periods of history, what drew you most specifically to the Arthurian era?

I'm really drawn to the mysterious eras. The real Arthur lived in the 5th century when the Romans have left Britain and the Anglo-Saxon tribes are just beginning to expand into Britain. We have so few written records from these times, so piecing these together with the archaeological record and the early legends turns historical fiction writing into a sort of detective work. A way for me to get a better understanding of why certain things might have happened.

Who influenced your work the most?

There are many influences for writing, but for this particular story, Geoffrey Ashe, the prominent British historian is by far the inspiration for this series. It is his research, linking Arthur with known historical events and people, that the story is based on.

At what point did your interest begin to lend itself to the idea of writing a novel? Did you toy with non-fiction at all?

Historical fiction is the closest I've come to writing non-fiction because it takes real events and people and tries to show the back story. I've toyed with the idea of being a novelist for years, with some unfinished work, but this story seemed to just spill out onto the paper.

With so much of this period written in legend, I would imagine it's challenging to put together a novel when resources can be so inconsistent?

It's a tremendous challenge, but also what makes it so much fun. Often times the research is a matter of looking at many different sources and finding the common denominator. Sometimes even seeing a hole in the data can have implications. If I can't demonstrate plausibility, I can't use it.

What would you say defines a good historical novel?

As a novel, it has to be engaging. As history, it has to be authentic. I want to be drawn into the story and really see the world being described.

Arthurian legend has, of course, endured over the centuries. Why do you think that is?

It fits the timeless themes of heroism and tragedy, loyalty and temptation, love and betrayal. All things that people can relate to, wrapped in the fascinatingly romantic Medieval era.

Now, as many, if not all Tudor fans will know, the Tudor monarchs were heavily influenced by this era. Henry VII named his eldest son and heir Arthur, for example. Can you please tell us what you know about these two periods of history knit together?

There is a lot to this subject, but long story short, The War of the Roses had depleted the male heirs of both houses, leaving an opening for Henry Tudor to

claim he was the next in line. His claim, through his maternal side, was bolstered by his claim of descent, through his father's side, from Cadwaladr, last of the Ancient Kings of Britain. Cadwaladr was claimed to have been descended from Arthur (most likely through a sibling or relation through his father, Uther), so this gave additional weight to Henry Tudor's claim, particularly with the Welsh.

In 1485, the year of the birth of the Tudor Dynasty, Sir Thomas Mallory was incarcerated and writing his famous 'Le Morte d'Arthur'. Had the significance of the legend of Arthur begun to wane, and if so, did this work resurrect it?

I wouldn't say interest in Arthurian legend was waning at that time. Arthurian based pageants, tournaments and festivals were pretty common, and there was a great deal of Arthurian literature being written outside of Britain. However, Mallory's is the first comprehensive narrative of Arthurian stories laid out in a logical fashion, aside from Geoffrey of Monmouth's shorter version, 350 years earlier. Mallory was strongly focused on the concept of chivalry and introduced the "Pentecostal Oath" that the good knights swore to, promising to commit no outrage, help women and the defenceless, grant mercy, etc. It is certain that this fresh look at Arthurian legend, particularly in a time when the English monarchy was claiming descent from Arthur, stoked a new frenzy of Arthurian fandom.

What do you think the people of Tudor England may have made of the claim by Henry Tudor that he was a direct descendant of King Arthur? Were there many prophecies of Arthur's return that Henry, or any other monarchs, may have used to further their own causes?

I would guess that it was very political. People who supported the Tudors were likely to support the claim, while those who didn't may have panned it. On the other hand, having a monarch descended from the famous King Arthur, who had drifted from being Welsh to English, was probably an exciting thing.

There were two prophecies that Henry specifically appealed to, both reported by Geoffrey of Monmouth. First, when Merlin explained to Vortigern about the Red Dragon of the Britons eventually conquering the White Dragon of the Saxons. This is where the Red Dragon banner of Cadwaladr and Wales comes from. Second, is that Cadwaladr, whom the Tudors claim to descend from, had relinquished his throne when a prophetic voice promised his sacrifice would mean that a great leader would return to free the Britons from their English oppressors. The Welsh bards made a great deal of this prophecy, and Henry's use of the Red Dragon banner shows his support of the claim.

What do you think drew not just the Tudors, but many monarchs across the centuries to these tales?

People are drawn to greatness and high ideals and tragic stories. Certainly, monarchs of any time and place would like to be considered great, and peers of Arthur.

All of our readers will know that with so many sources to draw from, and so many things we may never know, getting a true picture of any event or person in history can feel like an impossible task. From your research, what do you feel has been able to be established as fact from this period in the Dark Ages?

It's extremely hard to call anything from this time period established fact, aside from the departure of the Romans and the influx of the Germanic tribes. The war in Gaul that I describe in my book is attested to by Gallic writers of the time period, but Britain is truly under a dark cloud of mystery. The best anyone can do is interpret the evidence and come to conclusions, but any particular theory can be challenged or supported without being ultimately provable. In the end, it seems that most scholars have a mental image of what was going on, and interpret the evidence to that image.

As somebody who specialises in a very different period of history, tell us a little bit about what you think of the Tudors!

I'm afraid my knowledge of the Tudors is limited to my broad knowledge of the events of the time period. Being a better-known era, it hasn't sparked my investigative nature the way earlier eras have. But there are some great authors at Made Global that are experts on the Tudors, so when I am able to read for enjoyment again, I'm going to learn more about them!

'The Retreat to Avalon' is the first of a trilogy. Can you tell us any more about the next novel, without giving too much away? And once this series has ended, do you have any other writing goals?

I'm working on the second book now. There are additional historical events that need to be accounted for following the events of the first book. These events, such as the Battle of Badon and the Battle of Camlann (or, The Strife of Camlann, as it is referred to historically), are set in motion by the first book, and ultimately result in setting Britain on the path to the nation it is today.

For the third book, I'll be going back in time to before the first book, and showing the events that lead up to the first book, including the rise of Arthur. I had to do it this way because going strictly chronologically would have given away some of the secrets from the other books too soon.

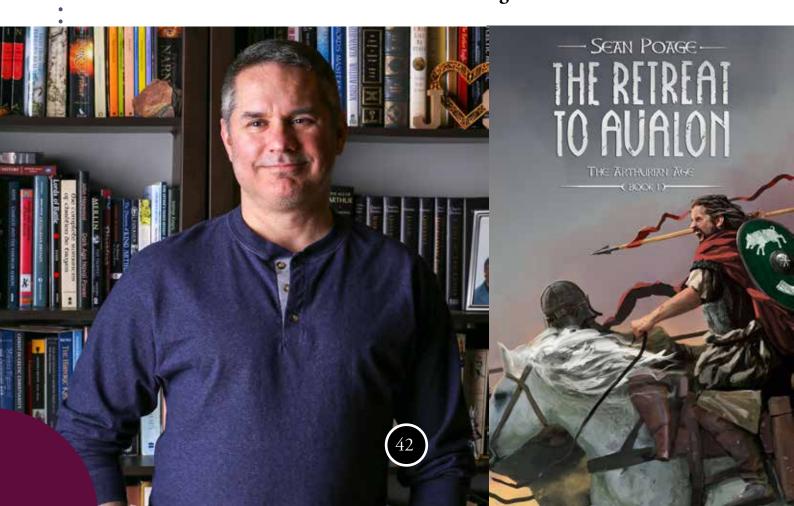
Following this series, I am interested in doing something about the Greek Heroic Age and the Greek Dark Ages that followed it. I am also interested in looking into some of the foundings of the different knightly orders of the Crusades. Once I retire, I really look forward to writing all the time!

Finally, can you recommend your top three history books? (These can be fiction or non-fiction, and any era)

That is a very difficult choice! I have a wide range of interests, so it all comes down to the subject. Ok, one I will always list at the top is *Anabasis* by Xenophon. It is a fascinating account of an army of Greek mercenaries stranded in central Iraq, who have to fight their way home.

So I'll round it out with two that are important to my series. *Lords of Battle* by Stephen S. Evans is a fascinating look at the warband culture of Post-Roman Britain and Europe, that developed into feudalism. And, because it started me on this series, I must say, *The Discovery of King Arthur* by Geoffrey Ashe, where he is able to tie the earliest legends of King Arthur with known historical events and people.

Sean's first Novel 'The Retreat to Avalon', is published by MadeGlobal Publishing





A VISIT TO RAGLAN CASTLE, WALES

Member Bill Wolff shares his trip to this iconic castle

In the spring of 2016 I reached out via email, to author Joanna Hickson. I had read all of her books on 15th and 16th century medieval history, and asked for inside recommendations on places to see when my wife Lynn and I visited western England that fall. She most graciously responded, suggesting numerous locales from pubs to palaces.

Raglan Castle was her "Must See."

We left our apartment in Bath, traveling west on M4, under gray skies and the threat of rain. Crossing the River Severn we were greeted with a large "Welcome to Wales" sign, and a few moments later exited the highway at Chepstow. The formidable castle of Chepstow is another "must see," and we enjoyed touring

in the footsteps of William The Conquerer, who was there in or around 1081. Also, one of my medieval heroes, William Marshal, 1st Earl of Pembroke, lived there and improved the castle in the latter half of the 12th century.

I should add here, that I believe that the spirits of those departed live on as long as we say their names. Consequently I always reach out and touch the ground where I think these people walked, saying their names, and a small prayer for their souls. For me, it makes these places come alive as they were so many centuries ago.

Further along highway A466 is Tinturn Abby, the final resting place of Isabel de Clare,

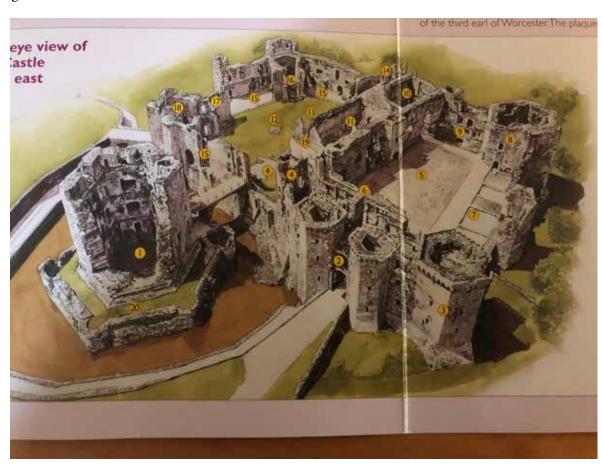


Jember Spotlight

wife of William Marshal. No exact grave or tomb location for her is known.

At this time, we plugged "Raglan" into our Google Maps app, and were given a very adventuresome route over a very narrow road that does not appear on most maps. After about 45 minutes, majestically appearing on the horizon was Raglan Castle. Construction here started in approximately 1432 by Sir William ap Thomas, but it was his eldest son William Herbert who began expanding Ragland on a grand scale.

The photo on the previous page shows the main gatehouse, which was designed to both impress and intimidate. Notice on each side, the tall thin arched openings, configured so that arrows could be shot and various stone objects could be dropped on approaching enemies. They are hard to see here, but look for the round holes almost at ground level. These were for cannon and hand guns. The square structure on the left housed apartments.



#2 - The Gatehouse

#4 - The Apartments

#1 - The Great Tower

#12 - The Fountain Court

#16 - The Grand Staircase

#11 - The Dining Hall

also of note:

#7 - Office Wing

#8 - Kitchen Wing

#9 & 10 - Larder & Wine Storage

#13 - Chapel

#14 - Upstairs Long Recreation Gallery

#18 - South Gate

#20 - Walkway around moat. One turret has a latrine. Another turret has a path to the moat





This view of the entrance to the castle gives you another look at the defensive openings in the tower, and the state apartments. I took this photo from atop the Great Tower.

As we are all Tudor Society aficionados Raglan is important. In 1461 William Herbert, an ardent Yorkist, was granted the title Earl of Pembroke by King Edward IV. Soon after, Herbert assumed the guardianship of Margaret Beaufort, and her five year old son, Henry Tudor. Though they lived in captivity, it probably was at a high and luxurious level.





The photo on the page before is of the Great Tower. This probably was where Henry Tudor lived while at Raglan. You can see where the wooden floors were. Note that the windows become more elegant on the higher level, given that more important guests were housed there. Also, see the narrower openings to the right of the center windows. These are the latrines that each room possessed. Originally there was a floor above the apartments, which carried defensive weapons.

The reason that I think Henry and Margaret lived here is because originally the entrance to this tower was via a wooden drawbridge. Heightened security! Also, these seem to have been the castle's finest accommodations.

In 1469 Margaret Beaufort and Henry Tudor left Raglan as William Herbert was drawn further into the Wars of the Roses, and subsequently was executed by Lancastrians following the Battle of Edgecote Moor later in 1469.



Above left is the Fountain Court, an outdoor entertainment area. Around the court were apartments for guests, each with a fireplace and latrine. In the upper left is the grand staircase, which lead to second floor apartments. Behind the wall in the middle of the photo is the main dining hall. After William Herbert's death, the castle came to be owned by the 3rd and 4th Earls of Worcester, William Somerset and his son, Edward, both important men at the royal court of Charles I. During

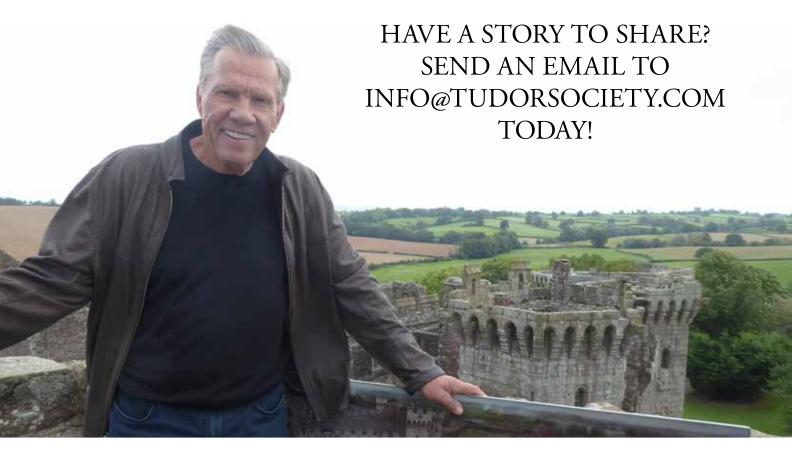
the Civil War of the 1640's King Charles visited Raglan.

The castle is now managed and maintained by the Welsh Historic Environment Service. We were lucky enough to visit on a Sunday when all fees were waived! And yes, here and there around the castle as we toured in 2016, I would reach down and touch the stone that possibly Henry Tudor and Margaret Beaufort ttouched 554 year before, say their names, and a quick prayer for their souls.



Thanks to Tim and Claire Ridgeway for their leadership of our fine organization. We are happy to pass on just one small glimpse of Tudor history that we were so fortunate to experience. And thanks again to author Joanna Hickson, for her kind outreach and guidance.

Respectfully submitted, Bill and Lynn Wolff. Novato, California







WENDY J. DUNN ON WRITING

Wendy's Words of Writing Wisdom

Dear Writer,

elcome! I am really excited about writing this regular column for the Tudor Society. More than simply excited. I love being given the opportunity to share with you what I have learnt as a writer over a lifelong journey of walking this road. Over the coming months, I will talk you about the process of writing a novel. I will discuss constructing character, plot, story, the differences between point of views - everything I can think of involved in putting together a novel. I will also share with writing books I have found valuable, and are worth considering to include on your bookshelf, and pointers to help guide you.

Writing is a lonely business. To write a novel, you have to commit to hours of work – work which only you can do, and – to a large part – alone. Deciding to be a writer also demands a lot of sacrifices. I am hoping this column will make you know you are not alone, but part of a wonderful tribe – a tribe I have personally found to be supportive

and nurturing. I am also hoping this column will support and nurture you in your writing journey. I have found walking this road life-changing. I grow through writing. It renews me, revitalizes me, and turns my life into a true adventure. I look back at the distance I have travelled in amazement – but also with a sense of great satisfaction. I was brave, and followed my dream, and how rich my life is now because of that.

But first, a bit of background about me.

I tutor various writing subjects at Swinburne University, I have three published Tudor novels, and I am also the Managing Editor of two writing journals which belong to the Writing Department at my university. I have been a committed writer for a long time now, but – like many women writers – also a writer interrupted by life. And that is okay – a writer needs to live to be able to write. Really write.

I remember wanting to be a writer at eight. Talking to other creative individuals, it does seem to me eight is an age when many of us decide the road we want to walk in life. I was so serious about achieving this ambition of becoming a writer I was for ever thinking of things I should do to make it happen. Like the time I was twelve – and read the complete works of Shakespeare. I understood very little of it, but I knew at twelve – don't ask me how I knew – there were certain works of literature important for me to read if I truly wanted to be a writer – a writer with a capital W.

I know now reading books is vital to my writing health. As writers, we are what we read. I put my hand on my heart, and say to you, if you want to write good books, then you need to read good books. Reading feeds into what I call the writer's compost – the sum of our life experience, and where our stories grow.

But let me return to my story. I had just had my seventeenth birthday when I left my childhood home. By the time I was eighteen I was married and pregnant with my first child. I was so young then I believed I had to put aside my writing dreams for marriage and motherhood. I had three children

by the time I was twenty-four, but, by then, I realized writing was also part of my identity. A vital part. I was completing my Bachelor of Arts at that stage of my life – which helped me regain my confidence as a writer.

There were lots of reasons why I had lost my confidence to write. Few of us achieve our life goals easily, or without being knocked down. It just took me awhile to realize the important thing was to keep trying, and not give up.

Many years ago, before my first Tudor novel was published, a well known writer said to me "Perseverance furthers". I have written long enough now to know the truth of that saying. All along my writing road, doors have opened for me. They may not have been doors I expected, but they have proven wonderful, life-changing doors. Twenty years ago, when I decided to become fully committed to writing, I never thought I would end up employed as a tutor at university, or gaining first my MA, and then my PhD in writing.

I am passionate about telling the stories of historical women. I know about the oppression of women because I lived it and witnessed it growing up in my working class family – where I, as a daughter, had less value than a son. All my stories compost in a feminist standpoint, and are written from a feminist standpoint. My life experience has given me the necessary empathy I need to create my stories.

I have also been passionate about history all my life too. When I was ten, I received a child's book

of British history with a chapter about Elizabeth I. That chapter changed my life – and began all my reading about the Tudors, which led me to my love of reading and then writing historical fiction.

So – how do I write?

First of all, I bless my bad eyesight because it helps me to ignore my messy house. Truly, if there is one thing that will prevent women from writing is a tidy house. I would far rather be remembered as a good writer than as someone good at housework.

I also believe there is the right time for a story to be told. In other words, that writerly compost of ours must be ready to produce that story. As Ursula Le Guin tells us, 'The stuff has to be transformed into oneself, it has to be composted before it can grow a story'.

I was ready to give voice to the historical personages in my novels because my life experience had brought me to the time I could write their stories.

The right moment begins with an idea.

For example, my Kate Carey novel, The Light in the Labyrinth, was birthed after thinking about the painting used on the cover of my first novel, Dear Heart, How Like You?. This painting shows the doomed Anne Boleyn, which I believe is the figure in the background. So I wondered who the girl was in the foreground? Thinking about the answer to that took me to writing a ten-minute play Before Dawn Breaks, later performed as one of the ten finalists in the Eltham Little Theatre ten-minute play competition in 2009. That was when I initially gave voice to the teenage Katherine Carey who was a character in my play.

In 2009, I also received the twelfth rejection for what I hoped would be my second Tudor work, the first book of a planned trilogy on the life of Katherine of Aragon. Yes – the original version of Falling Pomegranate Seeds: The Duty of Daughters was written a long time before MadeGlobal encouraged me to pull it out of my files, dust it off, and rewrite it – in hope they would like it enough to want to publish it.

It took me close to five months before I felt ready to send the novel to them. Receiving Made-Global's offer to publish Falling Pomegranate Seeds: The Duty of Daughters – on the evening of the same day I sent them the completed manuscript – still remains one of the loveliest moments of my writing life.

See – it is true. Perseverance furthers.

Next column, I will discuss constructing compelling characters, and give you a few exercises to do.

Here is my first list of recommended books:

Fowler's Modern English Usage. Ed. R. W. Burchfield. Rev. 3rd ed. London: Clarendon Press, 2004.

The Elements of Style. By William Strunk, Jr. and E. B. White.

Steering the Craft: Exercises and Discussions on Story Writing for the Lone Mariner and the Mutinous Crew by Ursula K. Le Guin.

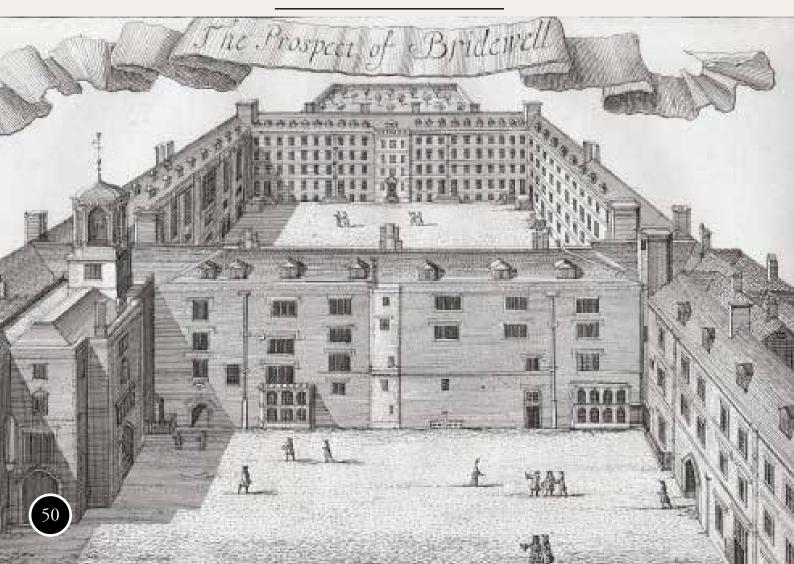
On Writing: A Memoir of the Craft by Stephen King.

HE STREETS OF ELIZABETHAN LONDON

so many people flocking to the towns, in Europe with between 130,000 and with alehouses, gambling dens and

It is hardly surprising that, with 150,000 inhabitants. It was a colourful metropolis and contained the best and London was by now the biggest city worst of city life. The streets were filled

Bridewell Palace was a vast establishment



brothels, and the public was entertained by street performers, playhouses, and spectacles such as bull- and bear-baiting and cock-fighting. London was filthy but intriguing, lively but dangerous. And, in addition to its own poor, the city acted as a magnet for beggars, thieves and tricksters from across the country.

As we saw in one of my earlier articles, steps had been taken by previous monarchs to provide care for those who ended up living on London's streets. Edward VI had given one of his lessfavoured but nonetheless very grand royal palaces to the City of London, to serve as a house of correction for the poor, known as Bridewell. Here, rather than being punished, vagrants and criminals, 'sturdy rogues' were given useful tasks to perform as part of their 'cure' but it must have been a strange mixture, with the most ragged and destitute living beneath gilded ceilings, trampling on marble floors and illuminated by costly glazed windows.

The palace had originally been the site of an early medieval building, Montfitchet [Mountifiquit] Tower, said to have been constructed by William the Conqueror as a twin to the Tower of London on the eastern side of the city. The site still belonged to the Crown and that inveterate palace builder, Henry VIII, ordered 'a stately and beautiful house thereupon, giving it to name Bridewell, of the parish and well there'. When finished, it extended from Fleet Street to the Thames at Blackfriars. But its completion roughly coincided with Cardinal Wolsey's fall from favour when Henry acquired from his one-time friend the Archbishop's York Place – which he renamed Whitehall –

as well as Wolsey's opulent country seat: Hampton Court.

With the upkeep of so many palaces proving too much for the king's finances, Bridewell was neglected and in need of repair. Edward VI's apparent act of Christian charity and generosity was really the off-loading of a royal white elephant surplus to requirements. At least the idea of giving the homeless a roof and a means of earning was an enlightened approach and houses of correction were established in other cities to re-integrate these individuals back into society. Unfortunately, under Mary I, Bridewell, like other poor houses, was more commonly used as a place of punishment. It was described sarcastically as 'the fittest hospital for those cripples whose legs are lame through their own laziness', which sums up the attitude to the homeless at that time: that their situation was entirely their own fault. But during Elizabeth's reign, houses of correction once again served a useful purpose in maintaining social order and keeping vagrants off the streets. By the eighteenth century, Bridewell served as a prison and continued to do so until it was demolished in 1863.

In Elizabethan London, there were some very wealthy merchants who wished to be regarded as virtuous, Christian citizens and do good for their less wealthy fellows. One of these was Thomas Gresham. Gresham became so well known, he was rewarded for his benevolence by having a street re-named in his honour – three streets, in fact: Catte Street, Lad Lane and part of Maiden Lane became amalgamated into Gresham Street, just to the south of Guildhall.



The original Royal Exchange in 1644 [by Wenceslaus Holler, rct.uk]

'The Swan with Two Necks' was a famous inn from which coaches and wagons set off every day. Originally, it had been in Lad Lane but had to change its address.

Thomas Gresham was a mercer and a clever financier. When Edward VI came to throne, the royal debts were huge but Gresham, working in Antwerp [now in Belgium], managed to so improve the value of the English pound sterling on the foreign exchange market [the Bourse] that the young king's debts were soon paid off. Queen Mary had no use for Gresham but in Elizabeth's reign her government remembered his monetary skills and made use of his abilities. When war in the Low

Countries forced Sir Thomas (as he

now could boast) to return to London, he lived in Lombard Street, at the sign of the 'Grasshopper'. A golden grasshopper on a green mound was the Gresham family crest.

Lombard Street was the city's mercantile heart, but merchants conducted their business affairs 'more like pedlars, either walking and talking in the narrow street, enduring all extremity of weather, or standing in gateways and doorways'. Doing business in the open was a centuries-old Christian tradition. Sealing a deal under the sky was a gesture towards allowing God in heaven to oversee the transaction as a fair one, adhered to by both parties. [Market crosses had served

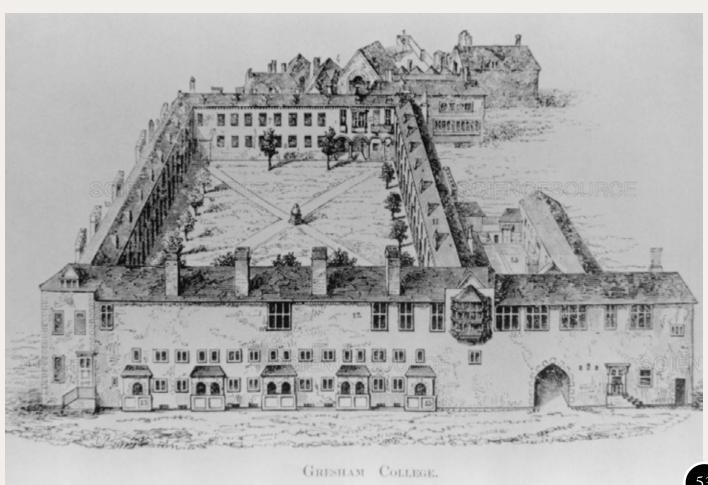
much the same purpose as a reminder that God was watching both buyers and sellers.]

Gresham thought it was time the merchants had a proper place to do business, like the Bourse in Antwerp. He offered to build it at his own expense, if the Aldermen of the City of London found him a convenient site. A suitable place was found on the north side of Cornhill and Gresham laid the foundation stone on 7 June 1566. The magnificent building was completed the following year. The lower storey was for the exclusive use of the merchants to transact their business but the upper storey was a covered shopping mall with Gresham collecting the rents on the high-class shops. The Bourse quickly repaid Gresham's outlay and he

moved to a fine residence that he had built to his own design and requirements in Bishopsgate Street. But 'the Bourse' sounded too foreign for London tastes and the grand edifice was soon renamed the 'Royal Exchange', becoming the fashionable shopping centre in the city until it burned down in the Great Fire of 1666. It was swiftly rebuilt, even more grand than before. Today, the weather vane on the roof of the Royal Exchange is still a golden grasshopper in memory of Sir Thomas.

When Sir Thomas died suddenly of a stroke in November 1579, he bequeathed the bulk of his property, consisting of estates in London and across England, to a value of £2,300 per year, to his widow and her heirs, with the stipulation that, after

Gresham College in its early days

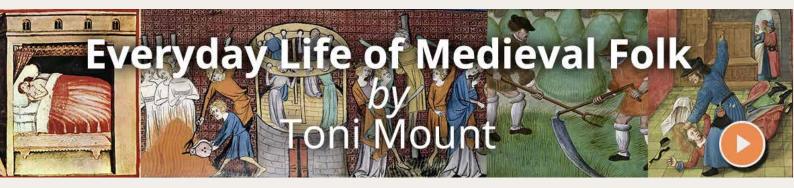


her death, his house in Bishopsgate Street and the rents from the Royal Exchange should be made over, jointly, to the City of London and the Mercers' Company, of which he was a member, for the purpose of founding a college to educate the common people. The college was to have seven professors to read lectures, one each day of the week, in astronomy, divinity, geometry (i.e. mathematics), law, music, physic (i.e. medicine) and rhetoric. Gresham College was established in 1597 and became the first institution of higher learning in London. It would have some famous professors, among them Sir Christopher Wren, as Gresham as Professor of Astronomy, and his contemporary, Robert Hooke, as Gresham Professor of Geometry. The College remained in Gresham's mansion in Bishopsgate until 1768, and then moved to various venues in London until the construction of its own buildings in

Gresham Street EC2 in 1842. Since 1991, the College has been situated at Barnard's Inn Hall, in Holborn EC1. Even today the college provides about 130 lectures a year, all of which are free and open to the public, though they are so popular, most are given at the larger venue of the Museum of London.

From paupers to merchants to shoppers, London streets were busy, noisy and dirty. Bearing in mind, too, England's unpredictable weather, no wonder it was regarded as a Christian virtue to provide covered spaces for everyone's daily activities. The idea that people of both high and low degree deserved some means of earning a living was an old one but the right to the possibility of improving your situation by education, even if you could not afford to pay for schooling, was a more recent one. Sir Thomas was ahead of his time in this respect.

TONI MOUNT

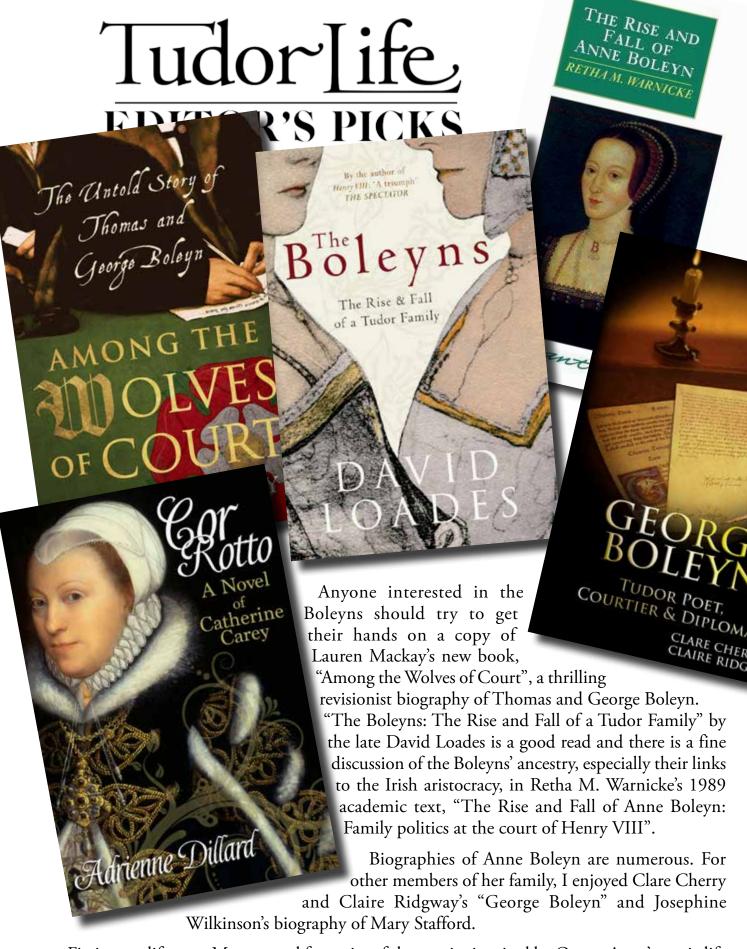


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Fiction proliferates. My personal favourite of the movies inspired by Queen Anne's tragic life is "Anne of the Thousand Days". With novels, Adrienne Dillard has used her talents to tackle the Boleyns twice – once with "Cor Rotto", on the life of Mary Boleyn's daughter Catherine, and "The Raven's Widow", which offers a sympathetic look at the story of Jane Boleyn.



THE WARS OF THE ROSES AND ITS KEY PLAYERS

PART 2: RICHARD III AND HENRY VII

DEBRA BAYANI

After the devastating defeat of the Lancastrian forces at Tewkesbury, Jasper Tudor had no choice but to flee into exile again. This time, sailing in a small boat from Tenby, bound for French shores where he hoped to recruit the support of his cousin Louis XI. With him was his 14-year-old nephew Henry. Whatever reason there was for not arriving at their intended destination, the fact is that Henry and Jasper found themselves in nearby Brittany, and

likely at the coast off Le Conquet. At the time, Brittany was an independent duchy separate to France, and relations between the two were openly hostile, perfectly understandable given French ambitions to unite the two countries.

The Breton ruler, Duke Francis II, who also happened to be one of Jasper's many cousins, welcomed his distant cousins with open arms and treated his guests with every courtesy, giving them the honours



appropriate to their status as English noblemen of royal blood. Initially Francis obviously understood the value of these new arrivals and that they could be of use in one way or another. As Edward IV wanted to get his hands on both Tudors, Francis was urged to keep Jasper and Henry under close supervision and he separated uncle and nephew, with Henry sent to the remote Tour d'Elven and Jasper to spend years in both Château de Josellin and Château de Suscinio.

Changes came in 1483, after Edward IV's untimely death, when Edward's 12-year old son, succeeded his father. But even before he could be crowned, his uncle Richard seized power and usurped the throne from his nephew. The idea of a boy king with the prospect of friction between the late king's relatives and on the other side the dowager queen's, boded ill for the future of the House of York. Whatever Richard's arguments for seizing the crown, the new Yorkist king's overthrow and the unknown fate met by the

Princes in the Tower created a vast group of relentless adversaries who favoured anyone but Richard on the throne. It was for this reason that they turned to Henry Tudor, a Welshman who had lived much of his life under house arrest in Brittany. Most of the exiles were among the miscellany of noble attendants involved in the conspiracies and executions of the late summer of 1483. Henry's mother, Margaret Beaufort's role is reflected in the presence in Brittany of her half-brother Lord Welles and of the many attendants of her and her husband, Lord Stanley. Dowager-Queen Elizabeth Woodville's faction was represented by her son Dorset and her brothers Lionel, Richard and Edward, together with the many loyal servants of her husband, Edward IV, who were without any doubt outraged and shocked by the deposition and disappearance of Edward V and his younger brother. Also, most of these men had additional connections to each other in one way or another. All this evidence of loyalty and service confirms the many



Château de Josselin

reports about plots and rumours during the summer of 1483. It suggests that a secretive network linking Buckingham, Beaufort, Stanley, the Woodvilles and Edward IV's loyal servants did in fact exist. Henry Tudor could now present himself as the unifier of the rival houses of Lancaster and York.

Henry called a meeting at Rennes with the other exiles. The discussions took several days and on 25 December 1483, in Rennes Cathedral, Henry solemnly promised to marry one of Edward IV's daughters, either Elizabeth or Cecily, and so to unite the houses of Lancaster and York, as soon as he would become King of England. All those who were present swore their loyalty and duty to Henry as if he were already their sovereign, placing their lives and possessions at his disposal on his mission to become king.

Seeing that so many Englishmen were fleeing abroad, Richard III took what measures he could to reduce the effect of Henry Tudor and the dynastic threat he stood for. He began by ordering the execution of Sir Thomas St Leger, his own brother-in-law by marriage to his late sister Anne, and of many other loyal servants of his brother Edward, including Anthony Woodville, Lord William Hastings and Richard Vaughan. After the many executions of the previous months, Richard publicly attainted all rebels. Henry's mother was stripped of the right to hold her estates and, as her husband, Lord Stanley, had proved himself a supporter of Richard, they were confiscated and given into his custody, making Margaret a prisoner in her own house. It is difficult to believe that Richard did not suspect Lord Stanley of involvement in any of his wife's plots, for there was no doubt in Richard's mind that Margaret was doing everything in her power to destroy his dynasty. It may have been that Richard did not want to take a chance by challenging Stanley's considerable power in North-West England and Wales. In March 1484, Richard III tried to win Elizabeth



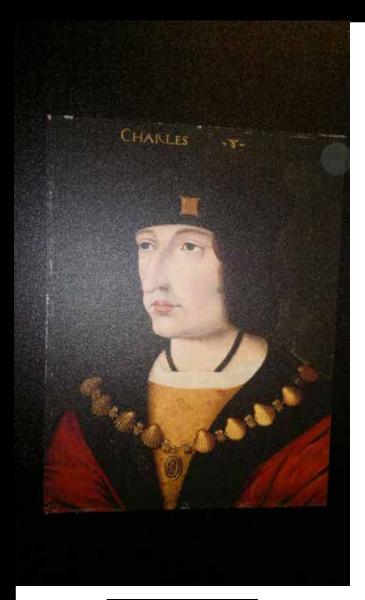
Château de Suscinio

Woodville's trust, by formally assuring her that neither she nor her five daughters would come any harm, if only they came out of sanctuary. He promised that they would be treated as honourably as his family. (This was an astounding change of heart given that Richard had declared the marriage between Elizabeth and his brother, Edward IV to be invalid and their children illegitimate, and a surprising act so soon after the disappearance of the Princes.)

Around the same time that he made these promises Richard received information that another invasion attempt was being planned. He became increasingly anxious that Henry and the other exiles should remain on the far side of the Channel and offered Duke Francis II all revenues from the English estates of Henry and the other refugees in Brittany, if Francis would keep them under guard.

Jasper and Henry's next task was to persuade Duke Francis to support yet another voyage to England Henry Tudor and his supporters formed an uncomfortable collection of exiles. They had all been robbed of the positions and wealth they had previously enjoyed in England, they were separated from their loved ones, had prices on their heads and were largely cut off from reports from England. To these exiles, Henry Tudor appeared as a fresh wind, maybe even a blazing meteor in the heavens – or, quite simply, their only way home. Henry, for his part, felt a great sense of obligation and he publicly acknowledged his appreciation of the danger and suffering his fellow exiles had experienced for his sake.

Records suggest that Henry, Jasper and their exiled friends were not restrained from liberty and lived comfortably at the Breton court, even if in a state of frustrating expectations. According to Philip de Commynes, the exiles were a financial weight to Duke Francis, and in particular after Buckingham's rebellion



Charles VIII of France

in late 1483, the number of fugitives was considerably swollen.

In the intervening months Richard tried everything he could to obtain the surrender of Henry Tudor. In March 1484, he sent several diplomats to France, Brittany and the Papal courts, supposedly to inform the leaders of his accession. On 1 May, Richard warned all the counties in his kingdom about a possible rising, so that, when necessary, every officer would be ready to launch an attack.

Finally a truce was negotiated to Richard's advantage. Surrendering the Tudors to Richard was not down to the kind-hearted Duke Francis, but it was in fact the doing of his treasurer Pierre Landais, who was also Henry's former guardian. Duke Francis was at that time too ill to deal personally with this matter and Landais could use this opportunity all too well to strengthen his own position against some of the Breton nobility who resented his influence over Francis. Richard assured Landais his protection from the Breton nobility, if he would urge Duke Francis to accept his proposals and his offer to grant the duke Henry's earldom of Richmond.

It was a dangerous situation for Henry, Jasper and the other exiles, but John Morton got wind of the rumours and sent his protégé Christopher Urswick, who was in Flanders with Morton, to warn Henry and to advise him to flee into France. Henry was fortunate to receive this warning just in time. From Vannes, Urswick was rapidly sent to the new king of France, to find out whether Henry would be given asylum there. Charles VIII agreed, so, as soon as Urswick returned from the French court, Henry and Jasper started to make plans for their flight.

In the first half of September 1484, Jasper, with a few of the exiled English noblemen, travelled ahead, to give the impression they intended to visit Duke Francis at Rennes, which lay not too far from the French border.

In the meantime, Henry, accompanied on horseback by a small entourage of just five servants, had left Vannes two days after his uncle. According to Polydore Vergil, Henry pretended to be going to visit a friend who owned a manor house close by. Most of the English exiles were still in Vannes, so no suspicion was aroused by his departure. But not long after he had left, Landais, who was informed of Henry's departure, immediately sent men in all directions to find him and bring him back. In fact, Landais' men are



Henry's bed in tours d'Elven tours d'Elven

said to have been only an hour's ride behind. However, Henry was lucky once again and was able to join his uncle Jasper and the other English noblemen at the French court at the Chateau of Angers.

Henry's escape could have placed the remainder of the English exiles in Vannes in great danger but as soon as Duke Francis learned of Landais' ill-treatment of Henry and his followers, he tried to make up for it. In a remarkable act of generosity he allowed all the exiles to re-join their leader. Francis not only promised that he would help them to travel to France but each of them was granted money to cover the expenses of the journey and maintenance in Vannes. Henry was deeply grateful and

sent a message of thanks to the duke who, once again, had shown himself to be an honourable man, a man of his word who, sadly, was no longer capable of ruling his own duchy.

At the time of the Tudors' arrival at the court of King Charles VIII of France, relations between France and England had worsened, this to Henry's advantage. Charles was supportive of Henry's cause, granting him and his supporters money for clothes and other necessities and giving Henry the necessary permission to recruit an armed force for his mission to invade England. There was a constant flow of new exiles joining Henry in France, including



Medieval Vannes

the Earl of Oxford who had managed to escape his prison at Hammes Castle.

Obviously, relations between England and France deteriorated even further. Richard issued a major proclamation against Henry, Jasper, John de Vere and some other exiles in France, condemning them for desiring 'one Henry Tidder son of Edmond Tidder son of Owen Tidder', who had the audacity to style himself Earl of Richmond and to be their commander. In addition both Owen Tudor and Margaret

Beaufort were declared illegitimate, while Charles VIII, 'calling himself King of France', was described as England's ancient enemy. Richard continued negotiations with Duke Francis and by March 1485 the Anglo-Breton truce had been extended for a further seven years. One of its terms provided that neither side would support the enemies of the other. Richard was fully aware that an invasion was coming and he became ever more desperate in his endeavours to unsettle and undermine his enemy's position.

DEBRA BAYANI

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Jasper Tudor, born in secrecy in 1431, rose to become one of the key supporters of King Henry VI during the difficult period of English history known as the Wars of the Roses. Devoted to the Lancastrian cause and to his nephew Henry Tudor, Jasper's loyalty led him through a life full of DEBRA BAYANI adventure. When he was just six years old, Jasper's life was changed dramatically by the death of his mother, the dowager queen Katherine de Valois, and the arrest of his father Owen Tudor soon afterwards. Jasper and his older brother Edmund were called to court and by 1452 they became the first Welshmen to be elevated to the English peerage. Sadly, Edmund died in captivity in 1456, leaving Jasper to protect his brother's child, the future king Henry VII. Jasper's dedication to the Lancastrian cause took him through many of the well-known battles of the Wars of the Roses, including the historic victory at Bosworth. It is clear that Henry VII owed an enormous part of his success in claiming the throne in 1485 to his uncle, who was his closest adviser, confidante and mentor. In this detailed biography, Debra Bayani clearly shows that Jasper Tudor was a key figure in the tumultuous history of England, detailing his life from his birth in 1431 to his death in 1495. He can rightly be called the "Godfather of the Tudor Dynasty". This edition includes a comprehensive appendix with contemporary Welsh poems translated into English for the first time, and many full page illustrations.

Charle HENRY VI AND MARGARET OF ANJOU

Amy Licence

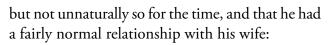


Henry VI has often been portrayed as a weak, unnaturally chaste king and his wife as a dominating, almost scary, woman who refused to back down even when the odds were against her. This view, especially of Margaret, was perpetuated by William Shakespeare and is still popular now, with historical dramas like *The White Queen* portraying her as a 'she-wolf', but Amy Licence sets this straight in her latest book *Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou: A Marriage of Unequals*.

Licence takes an interesting approach, starting with individual chapters on Henry and Margaret, leading up to their marriage, and then continues

on looking at them both together from that. It is very much a dual biography of the couple and it is a format that works well, similar to her previous book on Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville.

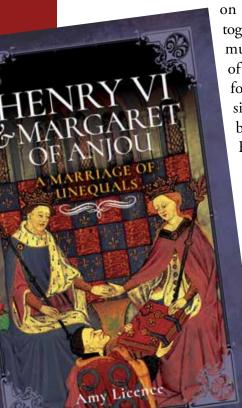
The author dispels the myths about Henry VI being 'like a monk' and reluctant to consummate his marriage to Margaret, putting forward a convincing argument of him being pious,



'Henry and Margaret spent their wedding night at the abbey, remaining together there until 27 April. Although Henry was a deeply devout king, there is no reason to suspect the marriage was not consummated successfully, on that occasion, or soon afterwards... Henry was reputedly advised by Ayscough not to 'have his sport' with the queen, or 'come nigh her' unless for the procreation of children, but this does not exclude intercourse at all, and the king was keen to father an heir.'

Licence also provides us with a sympathetic portrait of Margaret of Anjou, a contrast to the Shakespearean view of her as a she-wolf who unnaturally dominated her husband. This is a refreshing view and a welcome one, as all she was doing was defending her husband and son's right to the throne.

Like Licence's other books, *Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou* is very readable and accessible. Those looking for anything new in this will be disappointed, but it is the perfect book for those wanting to learn more about the royal couple and the start of the Wars of the Roses. This book focuses more on the couple's personal lives, their marriage and Margaret's fight for the rights of her son, and less on the politics of the era. It is a balanced account, not picking one side over the other or making out that either of them were saints, and I would recommend it to anyone who wants a starter guide to the couple or anyone who wants something that focuses purely on Margaret and Henry's personal relationship.



THOMAS CROMWELL: A LIFE

Diarmaid MacCulloch



There have been several biographies on Thomas Cromwell, both popular history books and academic ones, however, there are none that seem to truly get to the root of the man. Diarmaid MacCulloch's latest book, simply titled *Thomas Cromwell: A Life*, is an extraordinary feat in that it feels like we finally have a definitive book on Cromwell's life. MacCulloch's book is meticulously researched and compelling, similar to his one on Thomas Cranmer, another book of the same calibre, and is one that everyone interested in Cromwell or even just Tudor politics, in general, should own.

There have been several different theories on

The nature of Cromwell's

This is a book that—and it's not often you can say this—we have been awaiting for four horsdred years—we have been awaiting for man, of acade read:

Thomas

Cromwell's

Thomas

Cromwell's

Cro

relationship with Anne Boleyn and MacCulloch surprisingly suggests that Anne and Cromwell weren't that close and that he didn't really like her, he was just good at hiding the hostility between the two of them and they shouldn't be grouped together just because the likes of Eustace Chapuys, the Imperial Ambassador and a man against reformers, tended to do that:

In view of what was to happen in the next few years, and granted their shared enthusiasm for evangelical reform in religion, it has been natural to assume over the centuries that Cromwell and Anne were close allies... In fact, however, Cromwell shows no sign of being Anne's enthusiastic partisan, in marked contrast to Thomas Cranmer, who was always grateful that his road into royal service had been paved by the Boleyns. Cromwell's surprisingly cool relationship with Cranmer's evangelical friend Bishop Thomas Goodricke may have arisen out of Goodricke's strong connection with the Boleyns.'

The only potential drawback for those looking for a true biography, something that covers all of Cromwell's life, is that there is not much in this book on his early life before working for Wolsey. There are only two chapters, but that is to be expected, as we know little on his early life other than the basics. However, this should not stop anyone from buying it, as the author has still uncovered much about his life and it is the most detailed book on his life and career so far.

Diarmaid MacCulloch's biography on Thomas Cromwell will now be the go-to book on the man, one that I doubt will ever be topped. It is an academic work and not necessarily one you would read from cover-to-cover, but it will be useful for anyone researching the man and/or the politics of the time. It is not the easiest read and not for the faint-hearted, as it is over 700 pages, minus the usual footnotes and bibliography, but it feels like it is the closest we have got to the real Thomas Cromwell so far and is certainly now my favourite book on the man.

CHARLIE FENTON



CULTURED & FERMENTED

THIS MONTH'S FROM The Spicery article continues from where we left off last month, albeit with far more pleasant, predictable and palatable results. This month, we'll be looking at *skyr*, *kefir/kumis* and *kvass*, three cultured items that are really simple to make and delicious.

Cultured milk products are thought to have first appeared in the human diet between 10,000 and 5,000 BC. The story goes that these products were a happy accident of fate; milk soured in warm temperatures.

Archaeological evidence in the form of ancient Neolithic pottery indicates that people stored milk in clay pots. As a cultured foodstuff, skyr, kumis, and kvass are an excellent way to save and preserve milk, as the milk's acidity slowed the growth of harmful bacteria. The Greek and Roman Empires recognised that cultured milk products were both easy to produce, and nutritious food. Genghis Khan also understood the benefits of feeding fermented milk products to his armies; for as we know, an army marches on its stomach! Cultured milk products are also mentioned in ancient Indian Ayurvedic medicine, a tradition that is continued today, albeit to a lesser extent.

While not something that Henry or Elizabeth would have encountered at breakfast, *skyr*, *kumis*, *kvass* and their well-known relative, yogurt, have a long established culinary history. Interestingly, it appears that the French (of course) under Francois I

introduced yogurt to his Court in 1542.¹ Francois was offered yogurt by his Franco-Ottoman allies, as a cure for a severe gut upset.² I find this odd, as anyone who has ever had a severe case of diarrhoea will know, diary products are not recommended. I suppose this only shows how much medical knowledge and practices have changed. In any case, trust the French to be the culinary trendsetters of the Age.:-)

OK, so what on Earth are *skyr*, *kefir* / *kumis* and *kvass*?

Skyr is a cultured dairy product and a traditional Norse favourite. Technically, skyr is considered a cheese, but many view it as a type of yoghurt. Skyr has a creamy and thick consistency that fizzes slightly on the tongue. I usually make a batch once a week, after I've been to visit a friendly dairy farmer who gives me a couple of litres of raw milk. I've been buying raw milk from him for so long, I now apparently have a share in the cow:-). Whenever possible, I keep a little of the previous week's batch of

Fisberg, M & Machado, R. History of Yogurt And Current Patterns of Consumption, Nutrition Reviews, Vol 73, Issue 51

² Fisher & Machado, ibid

skyr aside so that I can add it to fresh milk and start the process again.

Kefir is a fermented drink made from goat's milk, kumis is also fermented drink, but made from mare's milk. Both are mildly alcoholic. I've heard modern Viking-era reenactors refer to bot as 'the champagne of milk, and it's becoming obvious that there are lots of heath gurus who have also adopted the term.³ There is something absolutely glorious about starting the day with a cold glass of kefir, while I admit to not having tried kumis in Australia, I have tried it while working in Nepal (this was made with yak milk and had a very 'distinctive' aroma).

The major difference between *kefir* and *kumis* (other than the type of milk) is type of starter culture; *kefir* uses a solid starter culture⁴, while *kumis* uses a liquid. This makes sense when you look at the different origins of the people that originally made them. The people that produced kefir originated from the Russian Caucuses region and largely lived settled agrarian societies. The nomadic peoples of the Central Asian Plateau lived a nomadic lifestyle and relied on mare's milk and a liquid starter to produce *kumis*

Tradition states that it was the Prophet Muhammad who first gave *kefir* grains to local mountain tribes. Since then, *kefir* and *kumis* have featured in the diet of Russian and Steppes peoples for centuries, with modern populations

of these area consuming something like 20 to 25L of the drink per person per year. While both were considered the perfect food for small children, kefir also has a reputation as a hangover cure. I admit to giggling at the thought of drinking kefir or kumis as a hangover cure. Why? If the traditional cure for a hang over is more of the hair of the dog that bit you, what on earth would you be drinking to have a hangover curable with fermented milk?! Both contain an assortment of bacteria, which through the fermentation process, make kefir and kumis particularly suitable to people with lactose intolerance. There is a lot of science available as to precisely why this happens, and I've included a link if you'd like to read more.5 Molly Sheridan's article on DIY kefir is also well worth a read.6

Unlike skyr, kefir and kumis, kvass is a fermented drink made from rye or black bread. Kvass is traditional to the Slavic and Baltic states, and views regarding its alcohol content differ accordingly. The word kvass comes from ancient Slavonic and means 'fermented livened drink'. My Kievan Rus fiancee tells me that more correctly kvass means 'sour' (which it certainly is, but not unpleasantly so). Kvass is easily the Eastern European equivalent of small beer; being a drink that could be found at all levels of medieval society.

To make kvass, bread made from rye or barley is fermented together with

³ Sheridan, M. DIY Kefir: the Champagne of Milk. https://www.seriouseats.com/2013/03/diy-kefir-the-champagne-of-milk.html

⁴ Sheridan, Kefir Grains, ibid

⁵ https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/foodscience/kefir

⁶ Sheridan, op cit

berries, herb and birch sap. The bread is firstly air dried and then baked into hard little croutons. These are placed into a large sterilised jar, along with unwashed wild fruits or berries, and something called zakvaska, which loosely translates as 'kvass starter'. Water is added, the jar covered and left in a warm place to do its thing. The reason why wild or unwashed fruits are used is the presence of wild yeasts on the skins help the kvass to ferment.

Obviously, there is a risk that some of the yeasts aren't the ones you'd really want, and the batch turns very sour very quickly. Once the fermentation process has stopped, the kvass is ready to be sampled; none of this dainty filtering is required for the hardy Kievan Rus!:-)

Like *skyr*, *kefir*, and *kumis*, *kvass* can be added into to dishes. Typically these dishes are served cold so as not to lose the pleasant effervesce and tang of the original brew.

To Make Skyr

NB this recipe is wholly unsuited to plant or nut milks

1L milk, preferably raw if you can find it. If not standard full cream milk will work.

In a non-stick saucepan, slowly heat the milk over low heat to ~95C and maintain this temperature for 10 minutes. (Depending on your stove, it should take approximately an hour for the milk to reach 95C). Keeping the temperature steady is crucial; if it fluctuates, the skyr will scorch or not set correctly. It is also important to constantly stir the milk during the 10 minutes to prevent it from sticking to the bottom of the pan.

Remove the saucepan from the heat and allow it to cool to ~40°C. This will take approximately 30 minutes. I'd advise you not to cover the milk while it is cooling, as condensation will alter the finished skyr.

Once the milk has reached 40C, cover and allow it to stand at room temperature for between 12 - 24 hours

(24 hours the most time it should be left to stand for), or until the milk has thickened to the consistency of thick yoghurt and the curd have separated from the whey.

Sterilise a glass container with a tight-fitting lid by washing in hot soapy water, rising with boiling water and putting it into a pre-heated oven at 75C for 15 minutes.

Once the skyr has separated into curds and whey, you can either stir the whey back into the curds to thin it out, or you can drain the curds through a cheesecloth for a thicker consistency.

Pour the skyr into the sterilised jar, cover and refrigerate until chilled. Skyr will keep in the fridge for about a week.

If you do decide to remove the whey, don't throw it out! Whey can be drunk as is or used in cooking. I've also seen whey used as part of the dyeing process; where it is used to lessen the intensity of the colour rose madder (from Rubia tinctorum).

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

MAY'S "ON THIS

1 May 1517

Rioters of the *Evil May Day Riot* in London focused particularly on damaging and looting the shops and houses which belonged to foreign traders, such as the shoe shops around Leadenhall and the house of French merchant **John Meautys**.

2^{May} 1568

Mary, Queen of Scots escaped from Lochleven Castle. As a May Day masque took place at the castle, Mary was smuggled out and taken to a waiting boat.

3 May 1580

Death of Thomas Tusser, poet, farmer and writer on agriculture, at the age of 65.

8 May 1559

The "Act of Uniformity" was signed by **Elizabeth I**, and the "Act of Supremacy" was given royal assent.

9^{May} 1538

Marie de Guise (Mary of Guise) and James V of Scotland were married by proxy at the Château de Châteaudu.n 10^{May} 1533

Special court at Dunstable opened to rule on the validity of the marriage of Henry and Catherine of Aragon.

11 May 1509

Henry VII
was laid to rest
next to his wife,
Elizabeth of York,
in Westminster
Abbey.

12^{May}
1536

Smeaton, Norris, Weston and Brereton were tried at a special commission of oyer and terminer.

18^{May} 1554

Execution of William Thomas, scholar and administrator for his alleged involvement in Wyatt's Rebellion.

19^{May} 1536

Anne Boleyn was executed and her body buried in an old elm chest in the church of St Peter ad Vincula at the Tower.

20^{May} 1535

The imprisoned Bishop John Fisher was made a Cardinal by Pope Paul III. 21 May 1527

Birth of **Philip II** of Spain, King of Spain and consort of **Mary I**, at Valladolid, Spain.

22^{May}
1538

The burning of **John Forest**, Franciscan friar, at Smithfield for heresy, for his allegiance to Rome.

26 May 1536 The Lady Mary,

Henry VIII, wrote to Thomas Cromwell asking him to intercede with her father. 27^{May} 1541

Execution of Margaret Pole. It is recorded that she was beheaded by "a wretched and blundering youth".

28^{May} 1533

Thomas Cranmer proclaimed the validity of Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn.

30^{May} 1536

Just eleven days after the execution of his second wife, **Anne Boleyn**, **Henry VIII** married **Jane Seymour** in the Queen's Closet at York Place (Whitehall), the property renovated by himself and Anne.



31 May 1533 Anne Boleyn's

coronation
procession through
London, from the
Tower of London
to Westminster
Abbey.

Philip II of Spain

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY"

4May 1536

Arrests of Francis
Weston and
William Brereton
during the fall
of Anne Boleyn.
They were both
taken to the Tower.

5 May 1536

By the 5th May, the final arrests (Sir Thomas Wyatt and Richard Page) had been made in the fall of Anne Boleyn.

6 May 1541

Henry VIII issued an injunction ordering "the Byble of the largest and greatest volume, to be had in every churche".

May 1567

Divorce of **James Hepburn**, 4th Earl of Bothwell, and **Jean Gordon**. The grounds for divorce were her alleged adultery with her servant, but Bothwell married **Mary**, **Queen of Scots**, just eight days later.

13^{May} 1515

Official marriage of Mary Tudor, Queen of France, and Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, at Greenwich Palace.

14^{May} 1571

Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox and regent to James VI, held the "Creeping Parliament".

15 May 1536

Anne Boleyn was tried in the King's Hall of the Tower of London. George Boleyn was tried separately. Both were found guilty.

16^{May} 1532

Resignation of Sir Thomas More as Chancellor.

17^{May} 1536

Henry Norris, Francis Weston, Mark Smeaton, William Brereton and George Boleyn were executed.

23^{May} 1533

Archbishop Cranmer declared that Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine of Aragon had been

24^{May} 1522

Birth of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury and Apologist of the Church of England.

25^{May} 1551

Croydon (near London) and its neighbouring villages experienced a shock from an earthquake.



29^{May} 1593

annulled.

Hanging of religious controversialist John Penry at St Thomas-a-Watering in Surrey. Penry had been found guilty of "publishing scandalous writings against the church" after having been linked to the "Marprelate religious tracts."

TUDOR FEAST DAYS

1 May – May Day 19 May – St Dunstan's Day

NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

Tudor Tife

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QUEENSHIP

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10 Things you didn't know about Lady Jane Grey

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Aspects of Queenship

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The Six Wives of Henry VIII

TONI MOUNT

Tudor Time Keeping

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