Tudor Life

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

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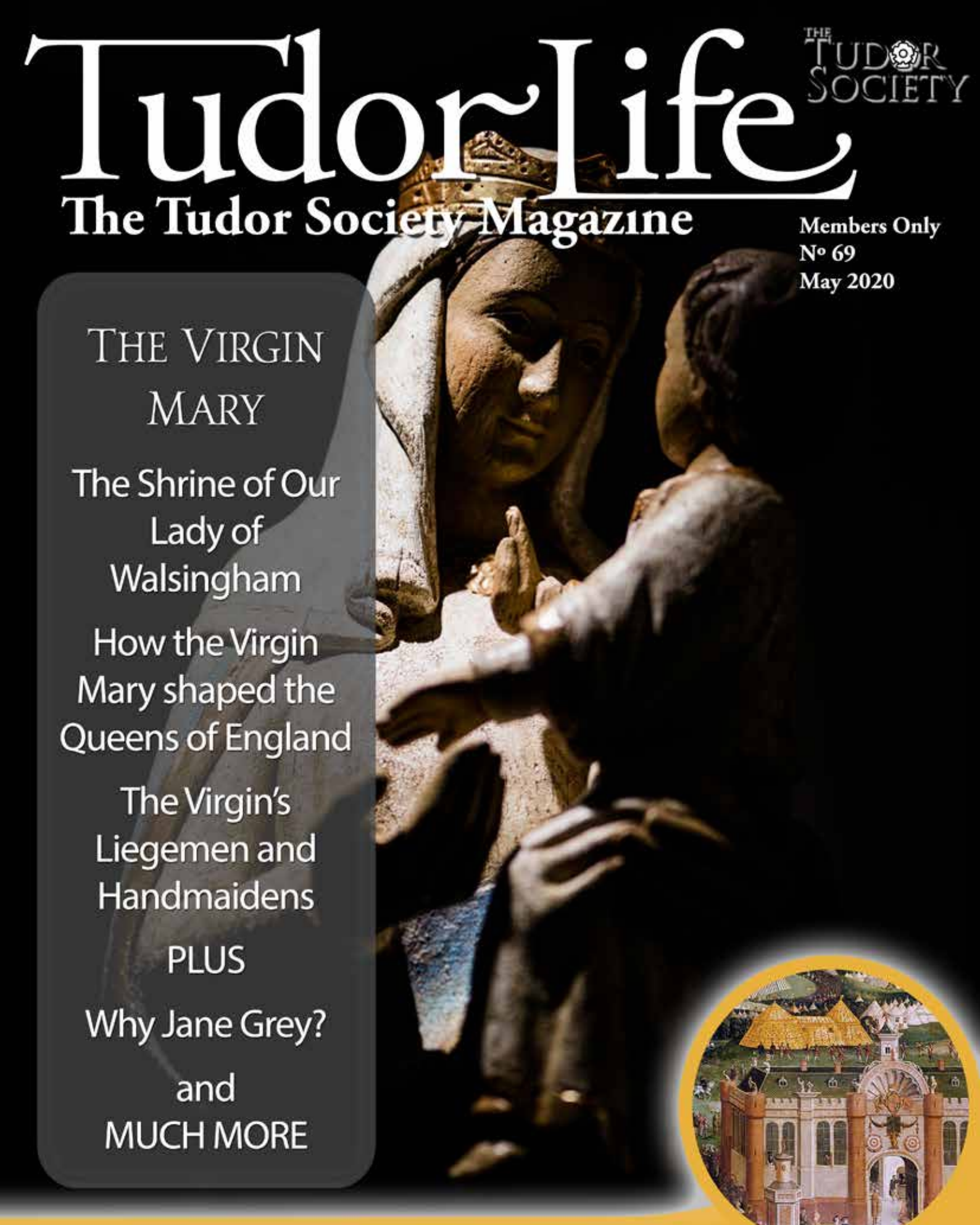


THE VIRGIN MARY

The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham

How the Virgin Mary shaped the Queens of England

The Virgin's Liegemen and Handmaidens

PLUS

Why Jane Grey?

and

MUCH MORE

The Field of Cloth of Gold

exclusive by **Dr Glenn Richardson**

Tudor Life

All at the Tudor Society hope that you are keeping well during the current world emergency. We hope that you enjoy our magazine and that it helps you to pass the time more easily.

Please keep safe and sound.

The Tudor Society Team.

The Virgin Mary

This is an odd time, to be living through History as well as reading or writing about it. A modern plague has altered millions of lives, and tragically ended many as well, which our society is largely struggling bravely to deal with. The original theme of this issue of "Tudor Life" magazine was exploring veneration of the Virgin Mary in Tudor England. May being the traditional "month of Mary" in the folk calendar and a chance to explore some of Mary's beautiful medieval aspects, when she received nicknames like the Aqueduct of Grace, the Bride of the Canticle, the Joy to those who Mourn. Unfortunately, in the chaos of the last few weeks, our regular contributor, Lauren Browne, fell ill and had to self-isolate. Understandably, curled up in bed and battling her symptoms, Lauren wasn't able to contribute an article on medieval Marianism this month – I am sure we wish her all the very best and, as I am typing this, I am delighted to report that our dear columnist is on the mend!

Our regulars usually write on the month's theme, which leaves us with my editorial feature on monarchy and Marianism, and Roland Hui's gorgeous piece on the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham. I had initially thought of making this a more eclectic issue by postponing the theme, but I must say I did not like the omen or message behind a Divine presence being shunned into absence because of a plague. In times of stress and confusion, of fear and courage, the Virgin Mary was a beacon to millions of Tudor citizens. In that spirit, I commend this issue of "Tudor Life" to you, in the hope that the study of her and the people who believed in her will bring some interest.

Finally, I wish to send, to each and every one of you, my very best wishes for the weeks ahead.

GARETH RUSSELL
EDITOR

ABOVE: Shrine Garden, Walsingham, Stations of the Cross in the garden at Our Lady of Walsingham
photo Copyright © 2011 Colin Smith

Tudor Life

MAY

Our Lady of Walsingham - a copy in the Church of Saint John the Evangelist, Montreal, Canada (Photo by the author)

'England's Nazareth' The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham

by Roland Hui

O gracious Lady, glory of Jerusalem,
Cypress of Zion and Joy of Israel,
Rose of Jericho and Star of Bethlehem,
O glorious Lady, our asking not repel,
In mercy all women ever thou dost excel,
Therefore, blessed Lady, grant thou thy great grace,
To all that devoutly visit in this place.

(From the 15th century Pynson Ballad)

In 2006, *The BBC* conducted a survey asking what was Britain's favourite religious site? The overwhelming response was the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham in Norfolk.[1] Evidently, this place of pilgrimage is beloved in modern times as it was long ago. Its status and fame had endured for centuries since the Middle Ages, when it was visited by innumerable ordinary folk, as well as by kings and queens. But despite its renown, it tragically

fell victim to the English Reformation, becoming a ruin and then a distant memory. Happily, thanks to renewed awareness to what was once called 'England's Nazareth' in early 20th century, Walsingham was revived as a place of popular devotion.

According to legend, the Shrine of Walsingham was inspired by a miracle. As recounted in the so-called *Pynson Ballad*, published in around 1496, but probably composed some thirty years earlier,[2] a 'noble widow' named Rychold - more commonly Richeldis de Faverches - received a series of visions in which the Virgin Mary herself appeared to her, asking her to build a replica of the 'Holy House' (where the angel Gabriel told Mary that she would bear the Christ Child).

As the story went, Richeldis, a most devout lady, had prayed to Mary wanting to honour her 'with some work bounteous'. In answer, the Virgin took Richeldis on a spiritual journey to ancient Nazareth and showed her the site of the Annunciation. She told Richeldis:

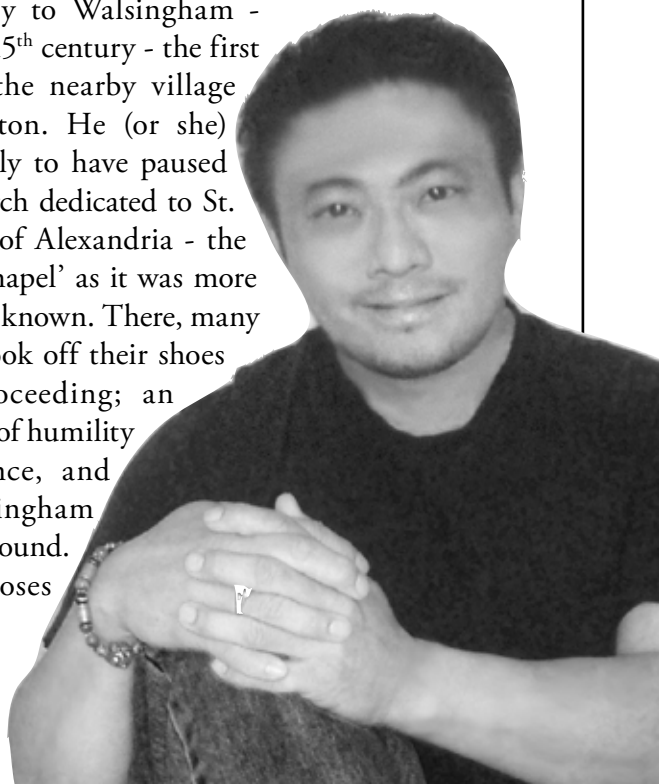
> *Of this place take thou surely the measurement / Another like this at Walsingham thou set / Unto my laud and singular honour / All that me seek there shall find succor.*

The date of the House's creation was in 1061 according to the *Pynson Ballad*. However, there have been doubts. Archaeologists are of the opinion that the structure was actually made in the early 12th century.[3] It is very likely that the date of 1061 was specifically mentioned because of nationalistic pride. 1061 predated the Norman Conquest of 1066, thus making the Shrine a wholly Anglo Saxon conception.[4] Another reason may have been out of competition. In Loreto, Italy, within the Basilica della Santa Casa, there was *another* Holy House - the Casa Santa. This one was supposedly the *original*, not a replica like the one at Walsingham. It was said that the Casa Santa was miraculously transported by angels from the Holy Land to Italy at the end of the 13th century. Thus, the *Pynson Ballad* in dating the Holy House to an earlier time, implied that England's copy of it was just as worthy - or even more - as the Blessed Virgin favoured England *before* she did Italy.[5] It was not for nothing that the *Pynson Ballad* described the English kingdom as 'the Holy Land' and as 'Our Lady's Dowry'.

Whatever the date of its construction,[6] the little Holy House in rural Norfolk became a fashionable place of pilgrimage. As Nazareth and similar sites were beyond the reach of those in England, not to mention that they were difficult to access due to the ongoing conflict between Christians and Mohammedans, places like Walsingham, which replicated the experience of going on a far off pilgrimage, were embraced. At the Shrine, it was reported that 'Our Lady has shown many miracles':

> *Many sick been here cured by Our Lady's might / Dead again revived, of this is no doubt / Lame made whole, and blind restored to sight / Mariners vexed with tempest, safe to port brought / Deaf, wounded, and lunatic that here have sought / And also lepers here recovered by Our Lady's grace of their infirmity.*

For a typical pilgrim (or 'palmer' as such persons were then often called) making the journey to Walsingham - say in the 15th century - the first stop was the nearby village of Houghton. He (or she) would likely to have paused at the church dedicated to St. Katherine of Alexandria - the 'Slipper Chapel' as it was more commonly known. There, many pilgrims took off their shoes before proceeding; an expression of humility or penitence, and that Walsingham was holy ground. Just as Moses



was commanded by God to remove his sandals before the burning bush on Mount Sinai, those going to Walsingham, believing that they coming before the very presence of holiness there too, did likewise.

Barefoot, the pilgrim would then walk the 'Holy Mile' to Walsingham. By this time, the Holy House was much more than the modest wooden chapel built by Richeldis de Faverches. Over and surrounding it was a great Augustinian Priory made of stone, founded by Richeldis' son Geoffrey.[7] The great Dutch scholar and philosopher Desiderius Erasmus (who visited in 1512 and in 1524) described the building as 'fine and splendid'.[8] Concerning the Holy House itself by the side of the Priory, Erasmus wrote that it was 'a small chapel built on a wooden platform. Pilgrims are admitted through a narrow door on each side. There's very little light only what comes from tapers, which have a most pleasing scent'. Nonetheless, the interior was 'dazzling' with an abundance of 'jewels, gold, and silver' left as tribute. Erasmus did not describe the much revered image of the Virgin within, but an earlier description of the Holy House from 1475 said that it was 'in the middle of the table at the altar', and on 'each side of her stands an angel', and then likenesses of 'Saint Edward, Saint Katherine on her right hand; Saint Edmund, Saint Margaret on the left hand, all clean gold'.[9] As to what this statue of Mary looked like, she was depicted as being seated upon a throne, crowned and sceptred, and with the infant Jesus on her lap.[10]

For the pilgrim, the Priory and the Holy House were not the only attractions at Walsingham. There were also two wells whose waters supposedly had curative properties ('good for headache and stomach troubles')[11], a chapel dedicated to Saint Laurence, and a gate which was reputedly the site of a miracle. A knight on horseback, praying to the Virgin to elude a pursuing enemy, suddenly found himself transported to the safety of the churchyard a distance away while riding through the gateway.

Apart from the healing well waters, the pilgrim could also hope for relief by means of Walsingham's holy relics. Inside Saint Lawrence's Chapel was Saint Peter's finger joint, which was venerated by the faithful. At the Priory, at the High Altar, was an even greater treasure - the Virgin's breast milk (looking like 'powdered chalk' and 'enclosed in crystal').[12] Before it, the pilgrim would prostrate himself in worship and then kiss the vial. Finally, there was even a beam of

Scallop shell shaped ampulla fragments associated with Walsingham Shrine, 25 x 29 mm in size, late medieval period (Photo: The Portable Antiquities Scheme, Elisabeth Janovsky, 2018)

wood upon which Mary rested when she appeared to Lady Richeldis. The plank, it was said, was a powerful weapon when used in rites of exorcism for those possessed by demons. Before leaving the Shrine, the pilgrim would likely to have purchased a souvenir of his visit. Over the years, archaeologists have uncovered many palmers' badges and ampulla (small flasks used to contain holy water) from Walsingham.

Walsingham welcomed both high and low. Royalty also came to make their petitions to the Mother of God.[13] Tradition has it that the first king to have visited was Richard the Lion Heart. His brother, King John, never played the pilgrim, but his son and successor Henry III did with enthusiasm. Henry made several visitations from 1226 to 1272, and left gifts including a golden crown for the image of Mary, wax for the making of candles, ecclesiastical vestments for the clergy, and timber for building.

Edward I was just as passionate towards Our Lady of Walsingham as his father King Henry was. He too came many times - about thirteen - and was a generous supporter of the Shrine. Perhaps this had to do with an incident in his youth. During a game of chess, he had paused and gotten up to go to another part of the chamber. Suddenly, a great stone fell off the ceiling and crashed upon the chair where Edward had been sitting. Had he not moved, he would have been killed. Edward attributed his lucky escape to the Holy Mother.

Edward's successors from Edward II down to Edward IV all made the journey to Walsingham as well. Edward V, needless to say, never had the chance to. In 1483, the boy-king was deprived of his throne and then mysteriously vanished. As for Richard III, usually held responsible for his nephew's disappearance, he is not known to have gone to

Henry VIII (School of Holbein)

Walsingham as king. But earlier as Duke of Gloucester, he did accompany his brother Edward IV to the Shrine in 1469.[14]

The first of the Tudors, Henry VII, worshipped at Walsingham in 1487. Very devoted to the Virgin Mary - he would later build a splendid Lady Chapel to honour her at Westminster Abbey - he had gone to the Shrine to invoke her protection from 'the wiles of his enemies'.[15] Apparently, he was heard, as the Earl of Lincoln who rose in rebellion against him was killed in battle, and Lambert Simnel, a youth impersonating a Yorkist claimant to the throne and calling himself England's rightful king, was exposed as a sham. After his great victory, Henry 'sent his banner to be offered to Our Lady at Walsingham, where before he made his vows'.[16]

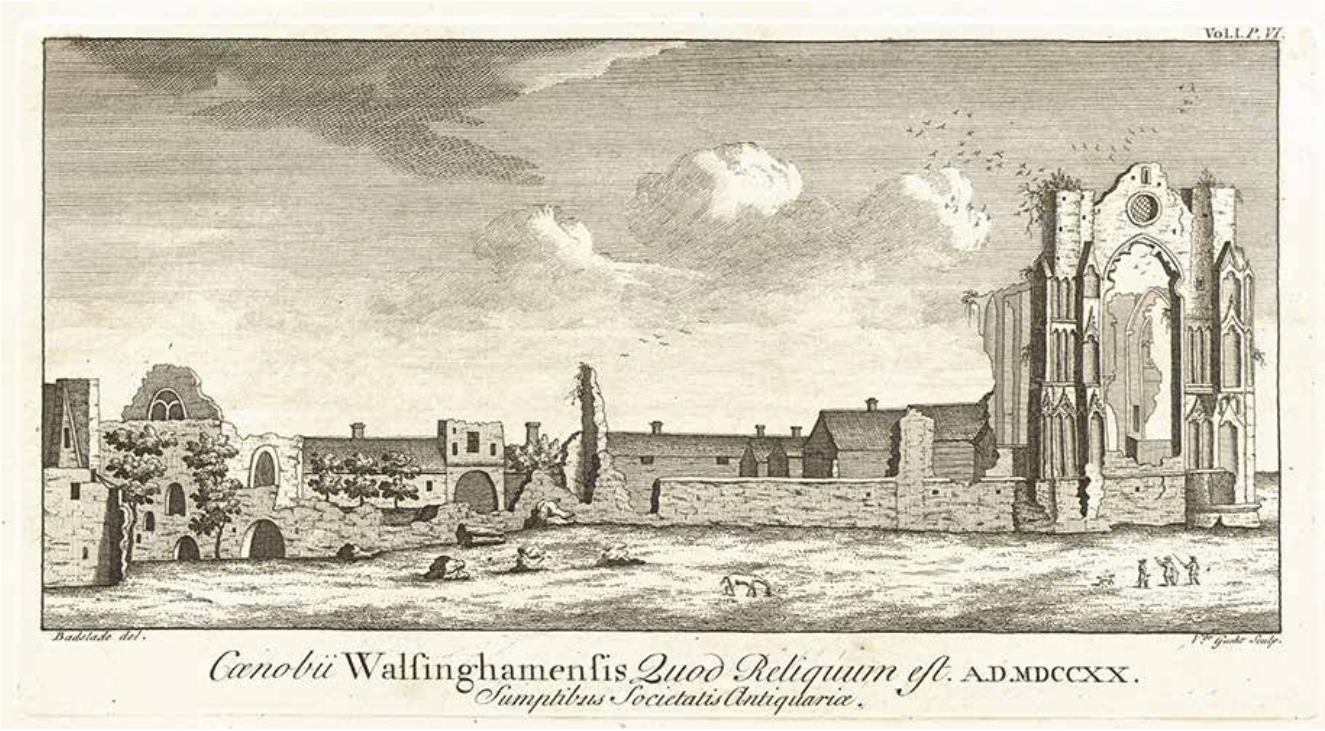
Ironically as we shall see, Henry VIII also had a high regard for Our Lady of Walsingham. He paid for the repair of windows in the Holy House, placed a great votive candle there, and installed one of his own priests at the Shrine to say Masses for the royal family. On at least one occasion, Henry made a great show of piety in going to Walsingham. In 1511, in thanksgiving for the birth his son, the King made his way there from the town of East Barsham *nudis pedibus* (that is barefoot); a distance of two miles. Before the image of Our Lady, he left a rich necklace as an offering.[17]

Henry VIII's first wife, Katherine of Aragon, favoured Walsingham too. After presiding over a great victory against the Scots at Flodden Field in 1513, the Queen signified her intention to 'go to Our Lady at Walsingham, that I promised so long ago to see'.[18] In her will, she even left instructions for someone to go on another pilgrimage on her behalf, and to give alms worth 20 nobles along the way.[19] The King's second wife, Anne Boleyn, was also interested in making the journey. In early 1533, anxious to conceive a child and not aware that she was already carrying one (the future Queen Elizabeth), Anne announced that 'immediately after Easter, she wanted to go on pilgrimage to Our Lady in the event she found that she was pregnant'.[20]

Despite Henry VIII's patronage of the Shrine, he would come to destroy it. As a consequence of his break with Rome over his marital situation, it was decided to dissolve the religious houses, and to seize 'all the notable images unto the which were made any special pilgrimages and offerings'.[21] In a 1536 report to the King's minister Thomas Cromwell - put in charge of the Dissolution - an agent described the Augustinian Priory as a nest of criminal activity. 'In a secret privy place within the house, where no canon, nor any other of the house did enter' was apparatus for counterfeiting coin, he claimed.[22] Though the machinery was probably simply used to manufacture pilgrim badges, the authorities had their excuse to shut down Walsingham. Not only was its money fraudulent, so was its long practice of deceiving the gullible with its claims of miracles. In July 1538, the once revered statue of Our Lady was removed and taken to London. By September, it was put to the flames.

Over the years, the site would change hands many times. Immediately after it was suppressed, it was awarded to Sir Thomas Gresham. Shortly afterwards, it came into the possession of Thomas Sidney who paid £90 (a bargain in that time) for the estate in 1539. [23] He demolished the defiled Holy House and Priory, and he used the materials to build himself new lodgings. His family held the property for a century, and then sold it off. In time, the Shrine would be nothing more than a picturesque ruin.

Although its demise was hailed by Reformists and Protestants as a victory against superstition



The ruins of Walsingham in 1720 (by Gerard Vandergucht after J. Badslade)

and popery - the image of Our Lady had even been formerly called 'the witch of Walsingham'[24] - believers were still in awe of the Shrine. Just months after its destruction, an agent of Thomas Cromwell named Roger Townsend wrote to his master telling him of a woman, who despite the cult image of the Virgin being destroyed, was spreading stories of it still performing wonders. For this, she was put in the stocks with the words 'A Reporter of False Tales' written about her head, while 'young people and boys of the town' threw snowballs at her. Townsend thought this a good 'warning to other light persons'. But as he also told Cromwell, 'I cannot perceive but the said image is not yet out of some of their heads'.[25]

As Rogers surmised, the legacy of the Shrine persisted. In the last quarter of the 16th century, verses ascribed to the Catholic nobleman Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, lamented the 'wracks of Walsingham':

Weep, weep, O Walsingham / Whose days are nights / Blessings turned to blasphemies / Holy deeds to despites / Sin is where Our Lady sat / Heaven turned is to hell / Satan sits where Our Lord did sway / Walsingham, O, farewell![26] *Similarly, the Elizabethan composer William Byrd - also a Catholic - mourned its loss in his musical variations of a popular tune known as the 'Walsingham Ballad'.*[27]

Protestants also made reference to Walsingham. One version of the Ballad was said to have been written by Sir Walter Raleigh. Secular in nature, it has a forlorn lover asking a palmer he has met if he had seen his lost lady in his travels - *As you came from the holy land / of Walsingham / Met you not with my true love / By the way as you came?*[28] The Ballad was widely circulated, so much that William Shakespeare had the character of Ophelia singing a version of it in his play *Hamlet* (Act 4, Scene 5).

Walsingham would have remained in 'wracks' (that is ruins) if not for the efforts of concerned Anglicans in the early 20th century. Spurred by the High Church (Anglo-Catholic) movement which sought to revive Roman Catholic beliefs and practices

in the Church of England, there was an interest in rebuilding the lost Shrine. Spearheaded by the charismatic clergyman Alfred Hope Patten, Marian devotion - complete with a new statue of Our Lady - recommenced at Saint Mary's and All Saints Church in the village of Walsingham in 1922.

A man of great ambition and faith, Patten then looked to recreate the medieval Holy House within the grounds of the old Priory. 'This chapel', he promised, 'will be as near an exact reproduction of the original Shrine... and in this reconstructed sanctuary, the statue we all love so well will find its new and, we hope, permanent home'.[29] A spot believed to be the original location of the Holy House was chosen,[30] and a building, designed by the architect Romilly Bernard Craze to Patten's specifications, was raised by the autumn of 1931. On October 15, three hundred and ninety three years after the Shrine was suppressed, it was given new life. After High Mass in the morning, Patten, leading a great procession of the faithful, translated the image of Our Lady from the village church into the new Holy House. It was estimated that over a thousand people attended that afternoon:

'each bearing his or her lighted taper; many women in blue veils, little children in white casting their flowers; dark habited religious, nuns and monks; over a hundred priests in cassock and cotta; the mitred Abbot of Pershore and Bishop O'Rorke. Behind streamed many hundreds of people, all singing the glories of Mary, and in the middle of this throng, high and lifted up upon the shoulders of four clergy in dalmatics, and under a blue and gold canopy fixed to the feretory, sat the venerated figure of Our Lady, crowned with the silver Oxford Crown, and robed in a mantle of cloth of gold'.[31]

While the re-establishment of Walsingham was an Anglican effort, it is a sacred place for Roman Catholics too. Their centre of worship is the old wayside Slipper Chapel. After it had fallen into disrepair and obscurity - it was used variously as a charity house, a forge, and even a barn - it was eventually taken over by a Catholic laywoman named

Modern day pilgrims at Walsingham (Photo: The Roman Catholic Diocese of East Anglia). The cult image of the Virgin (seen here from behind upon a pedestal in the middle foreground) is believed to be on the true spot where the medieval Holy House was. The place chosen by Alfred Hope Patten - the current Anglican Shrine - has been disputed.

Charlotte Pearson Boyd in 1896. She was intent on renovating it to be used as a place of worship as it was. After decades of work, Mass was finally celebrated in the Chapel again in 1934.

Today, more than 30,000 pilgrims visit the Shrine, some still arriving barefoot as those before them in the past. As they stroll the grounds of Walsingham, many find comfort in the promise made long ago - *All that me seek there shall find succor.*

ROLAND HUI

1. Michael A. Di Giovine and David Picard (editors), *The Seductions of Pilgrimage: Sacred Journeys Afar and Astray in the Western Religious Tradition*, New York: Routledge, 2016, p. 59. The Shrine is located in what was formerly known as Walsingham Parva (Lesser Walsingham). The name was to differentiate it from nearby Walsingham Magna (Greater Walsingham).
2. The Ballad, published by the printer Richard Pynson in old English, is transcribed at: http://www.walsinghamanglicanmedieval.org.uk/pynson.htm. In this article, the spelling has been modernized.
3. Charles Green and A. B. Whittingham, 'Excavations at Walsingham Priory, Norfolk, 1961', *Journal of the Royal Archaeological Society*, 125 (1968).
4. Dominic Janes and Gary Waller, 'Walsingham: Landscape, Sexuality, and Cultural Memory', *Walsingham in Literature and Culture from the Middle Ages to Modernity*, Dominic Janes and Gary Waller (editors), Burlington: Ashgate, 2010, p. 39.
5. Michael P. Carroll, 'Pilgrimage at Walsingham on the Eve of the Reformation: Speculations on a "splendid diversity" only Dimly Perceived', *Walsingham in Literature and Culture from the Middle Ages to Modernity*, p. 39.
6. Recently, it was proposed that the date of 1061 is actually correct, and that the Lady Richeldis was in reality Edith the Fair, the first wife of King Harold II. See: Bill Flint, *Edith the Fair: Visionary of Walsingham*, Leominster: Gracewing, 2015.
7. It appears that at some point, the Holy House was removed from its original location, and transported to be by the Priory. See: Colin Stephenson, *Walsingham Way*, London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1970, p. 24.
8. Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus: Colloquies*, (translated and annotated by Craig R. Thompson), Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 40, p. 629.
9. C. Linnell, 'The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynes of Acle', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 32 (1961), pp. 114-117.
10. The image was a focus of fervid devotion. When pilgrims spoke of going to Walsingham, they invariably meant coming before the statue. The great reverence for it as a cult image made the Holy House itself seemed less important in comparison.
11. Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus: Colloquies*, 40, p. 631.
12. Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus: Colloquies*, 40, p. 632.
13. For the many kings and queens, refer to Colin Stephenson, *Walsingham Way*, pp. 38-44.
14. John Ashdown-Hill, 'Walsingham in 1469: The Pilgrimage of Edward IV and Richard, Duke of Gloucester', *The Ricardian*, vol. 11, no. 136, March 1997, pp. 2-16.
15. J.C. Dickinson, *The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956, pp. 42-43.
16. Francis Bacon, *History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, (edited by J. Rawson Lumby), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1885, p. 38.
17. Henry Spelman, *The English Works of Sir Henry Spelman, Kt, Publish'd in His Life-time; Together with His Posthumous Works, Relating to the Laws and Antiquities of England*, London: printed for D. Browne, 1723, II, p. 149.
18. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, I, no. 2268.
19. Cott. MS. Otho, C. x, fol. 216.
20. Paul Friedmann, *Anne Boleyn: A Chapter of English History, 1527-1536*, London: Macmillan, 1884, vol. 1, pp, 189-190.
21. Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle; Containing the History of England, During the Reign of Henry the Fourth and the Succeeding Monarchs,* London: printed for J. Johnson, 1809, p. 826.
22. J.C. Dickinson, *The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham*, pp. 61-62.
23. Colin Stephenson, *Walsingham Way*, pp. 69-70.
24. This was a popular slur used by the Lollards: Michael P. Carroll, 'Pilgrimage at Walsingham on the Eve of the Reformation', p. 47.
25. Henry Ellis, *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, London: Richard Bentley, 1846, 3rd series, vol. 3, pp. 162-163.
26. For the complete verses: Emrys Jones (editor), *The New Oxford Book of Sixteenth Century Verse*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, no. 338.
27. Bradley Brookshire, "Bare ruin'd quiers, where late the sweet birds sang" Covert Speech in William Byrd's "Walsingham" Variations', *Walsingham in Literature and Culture from the Middle Ages to Modernity*, pp. 199-216.
28. For the complete verses: Emrys Jones (editor), *The New Oxford Book of Sixteenth Century Verse*, no. 228.
29. Michael Yelton, *Alfred Hope Patten and the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham*, Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2006, p. 87.
30. Actually, later research by historians and archaeologists has put in doubt Patten's chosen spot as being where the old Holy House was: Michael Yelton, *Alfred Hope Patten and the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham*, p. 90.
31. Michael Yelton, *Alfred Hope Patten and the Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham*, p. 96.

RECOMMENDED READING

Ten remarkable women.
One remarkable era.

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

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

The Mary, Queen of Scots Colouring book OUT NOW!

HOW THE VIRGIN MARY, QUEEN OF HEAVEN, SHAPED THE EXPERIENCE OF QUEENS OF ENGLAND

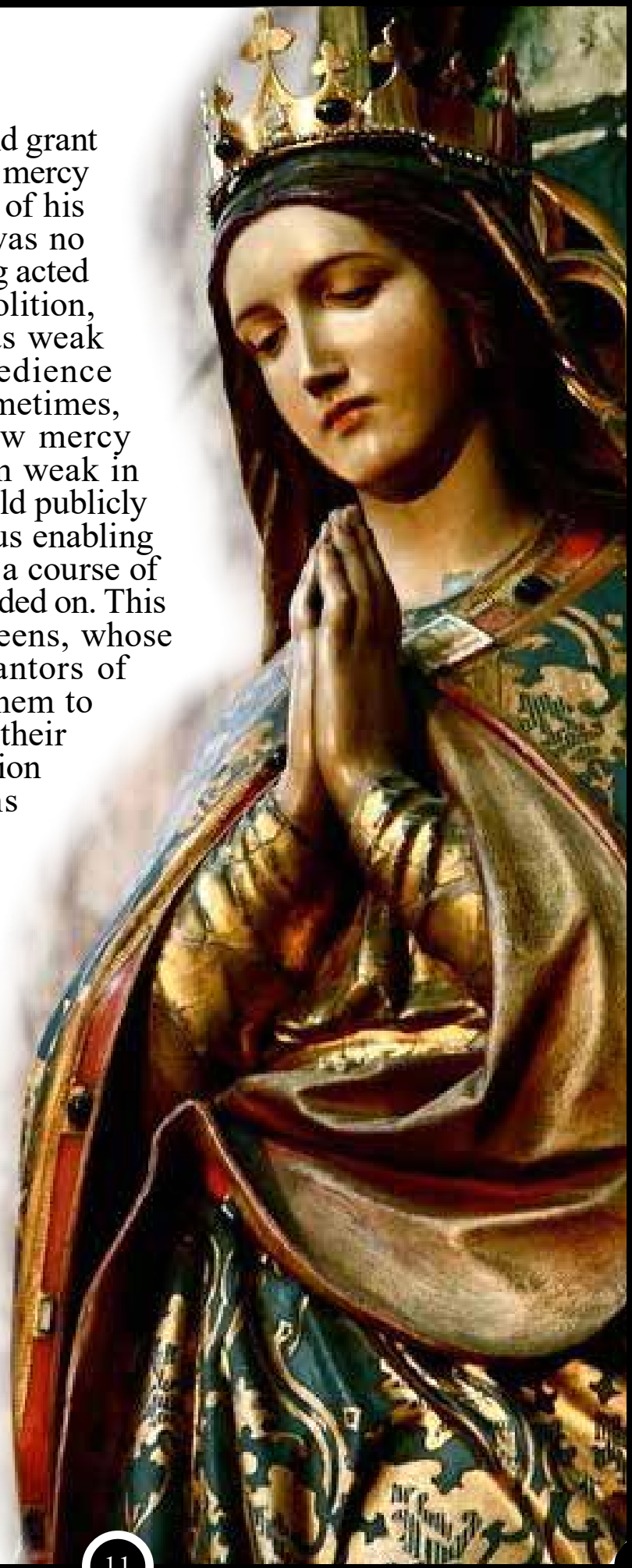
Gareth Russell shares an extract from *A History of the English Monarchy: From Boadicea to Elizabeth I*

The role of the queen consort was an enormously important one in the medieval polity. Later queens in England are more famous than the Anglo-Norman queens, but they were certainly not more powerful. The influence of earlier queens like Emma of Normandy, who had played such a central role in the reigns of two husbands, two stepsons and two sons, as well as the trust placed in their queens by kings like William the Conqueror, show that medieval queen consorts were anything but the doe-eyed breeding machines of popular assumption. Queens possessed huge economic clout, with vast estates signed over to them at the time of their marriages to generate the rents and revenues needed to fund the queen's household. They also played a vital ceremonial role in medieval monarchy.

Just as Catholicism taught that God was the font of justice, stern and firm, with the Virgin Mary serving as the mediatrix between a just God and a weak humanity, kings and queens were expected to conform to these cultural tropes. Kings were to bring fairness to their people and being fair often required being strict. If kings symbolised justice, queens served as the conduits of mercy. A queen was supposed to ask the

king to show clemency and grant pardons. If a king granted mercy because of the entreaties of his female relatives, there was no shame in that, but if a king acted too kindly of his own volition, then he was perceived as weak and rebellion or disobedience inevitability ensued. Sometimes, if a king wished to show mercy but did not want to seem weak in initiating it, his wife would publicly beseech him to do so, thus enabling the king to embark upon a course of action he had already decided on. This accepted function of queens, whose role as the future guarantors of the succession entitled them to gorgeous coronations of their own in which their position as earthly handmaidens of the Virgin Mary was clearly advertised, often produced fine moments of political theatre. Queens were integral to the mechanics of a successful monarchy and William II's failure to marry may very well be one of the reasons why there was no possibility of him climbing down during his feud with the Church

Extract from *A History of the English Monarchy.*



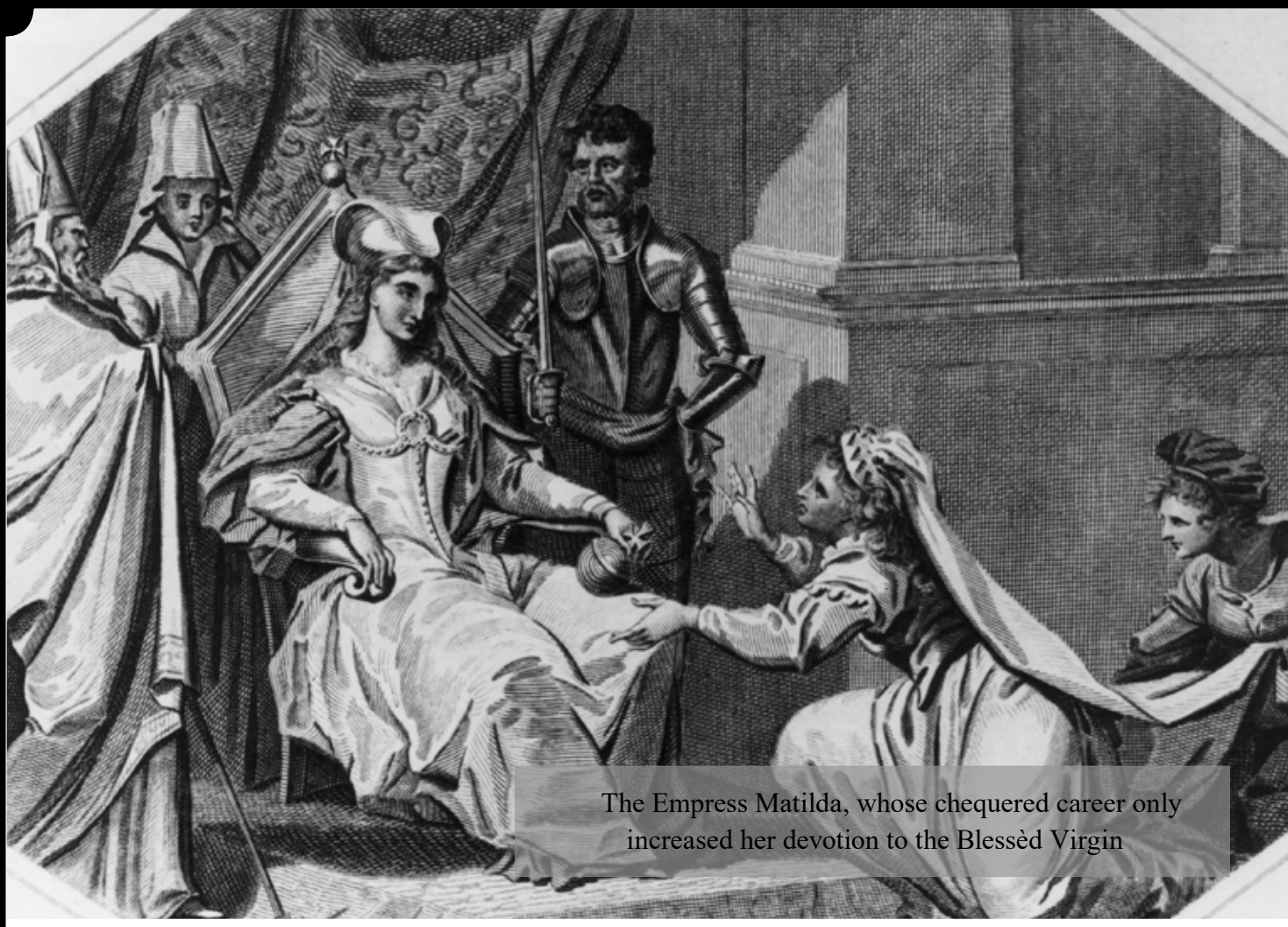
Queen Philippa of Hainault beseeches her husband, King Edward III, to show mercy to his subjects

THE VIRGIN'S LIEGEMEN AND HANDMAIDENS LINKS BETWEEN ENGLAND'S MEDIEVAL ROYALS AND THE VIRGIN MARY

BY GARETH RUSSELL

The Norman queens

The historian Frank Barlow called the eleventh century "one of the most religious periods" in human history. That is certainly evident in the Norman and late Anglo-Saxon queens in England. It was during the reign of the pious king, who later became a saint, Edward the Confessor, that the miraculous vision of the Virgin Mary in eastern England took place, subsequently the site of the great shrine to Our Lady of Walsingham. After the Conquest of 1066, many Anglo-Saxon princesses and noblewomen sought sanctuary in convents dedicated to the Virgin Mary, where they took vows and placed themselves under the Holy Virgin's protection in order to save themselves from rape and enforced marriage by the Norman invaders. The Conqueror's wife, Matilda of Flanders, was herself a pious woman who funded the foundation of convents and shrines. Her daughter Cecilia even became abbess of one, albeit that nunnery was dedicated to the patronage of the Holy Trinity. The next queen of England, Matilda of Scotland, spent much of her childhood being educated at a convent dedicated to the Virgin Mary, from which she emerged deeply devout; while her successor, Adeliza of Louvain, spent her twilight



The Empress Matilda, whose chequered career only increased her devotion to the Blessèd Virgin

years in retreat at Affligem Abbey in her native Brabant. Adeliza's stepdaughter, the famous Empress Matilda, who was the first female claimant to the English throne and who fought a civil war known as "the Anarchy" after her birthright was stolen by her cousin Stephen, likewise became especially devoted to the Virgin Mary in her later years, generously endowing shrines and nunneries to "the Aquaduct of Grace".

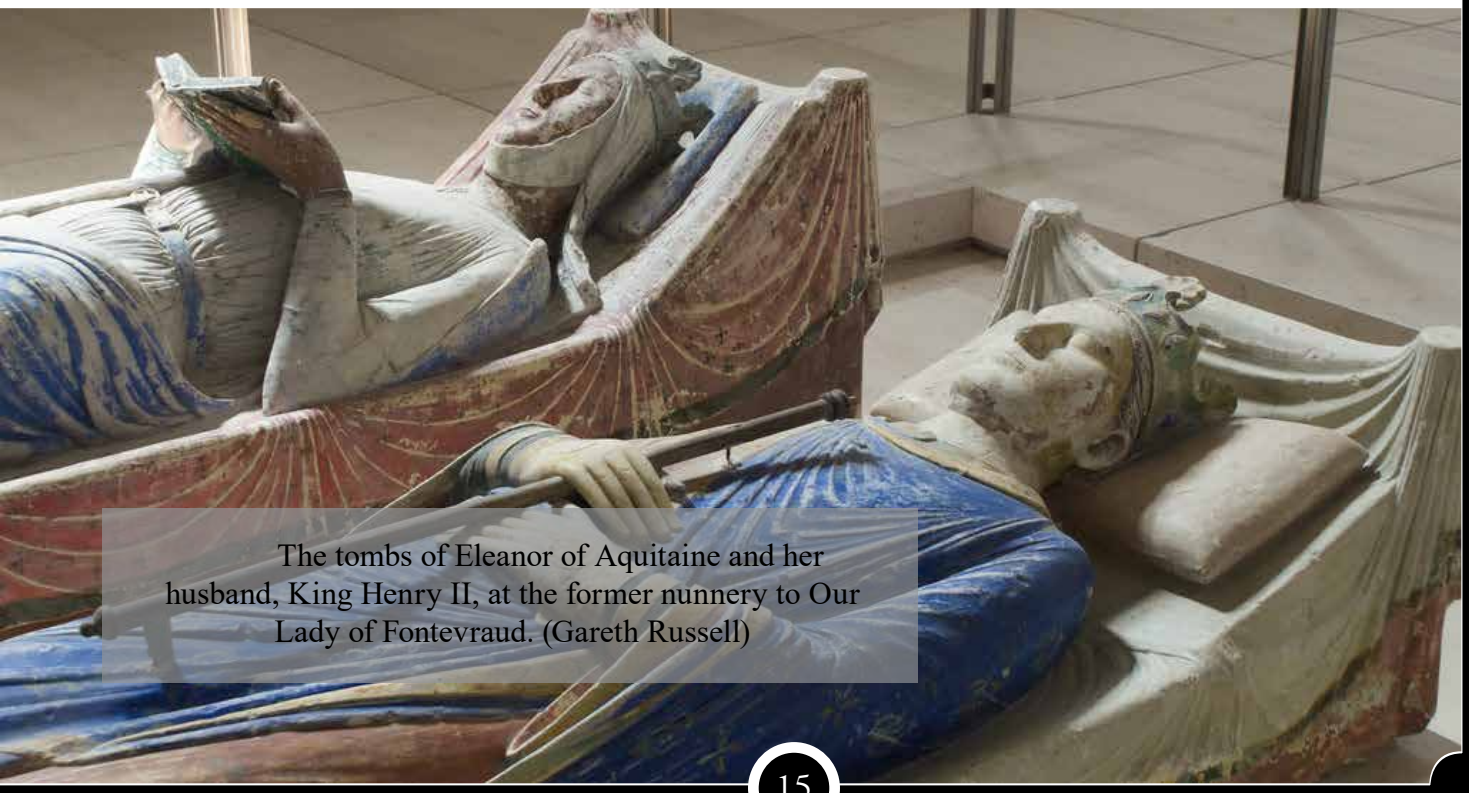
The early Plantagenet queens

Only the best would do for Eleanor of Aquitaine and so, when the legendary queen set about creating a necropolis for her family's final resting place, she was sure to locate it at the Royal Abbey of Our Lady of Fontevraud. Sometimes spelled as Fontevrault, the abbey had been founded and dedicated to the Blessèd Virgin two decades before Eleanor was born, with her family – the dukes and duchesses of the Aquitaine – being its early patrons. When she became Queen of England through her marriage to Henry II, Eleanor and her husband presided over an empire that stretched from the Pennines to the Pyrenees. The abbey later came under the protection of the French Crown, with the last Reverend Mother refugeeing with the sisters at the height of the French Revolution, when the beautiful nunnery was ransacked by anti-royalist and anti-clerical mobs. Fortunately for the historian, Eleanor of Aquitaine's tomb still survives in the

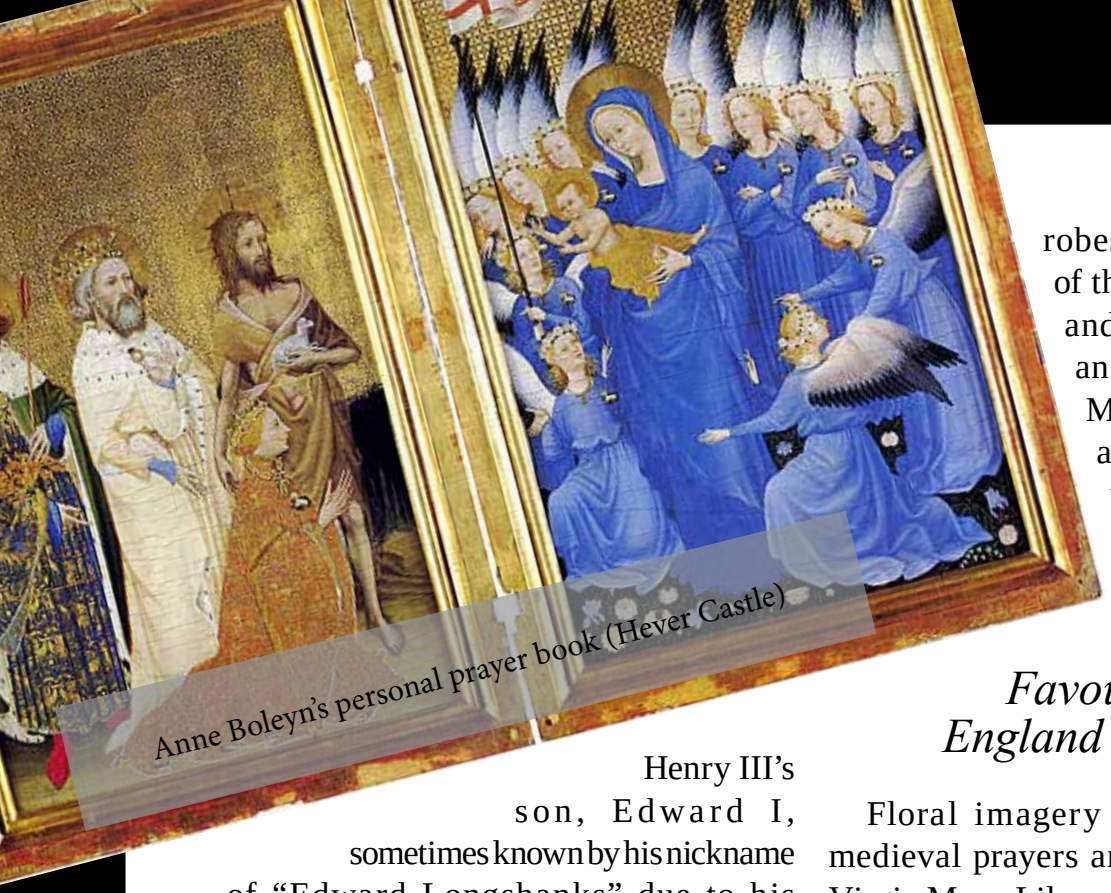
whitewashed chapel where once hymns to Mary, Rose of Jericho, echoed from the walls. So does the tomb of another queen of England, Isabelle of Angoulême, King John's unhappy consort, and two of the Plantagenets' greatest kings – Henry II and Richard the Lionheart.

The later Plantagenets

After she became a widow in 1272, the Dowager Queen Eleanor of Provence, spent much of her time at Amesbury Abbey. This convent was dedicated to the patronage of Holy Mary and it also had long royal associations, having been founded by the first recorded, crowned queen consort of a united England, Ælfthryth, in c. 979 AD. In the twelfth century, Henry II had aligned the management of Amesbury to its mother house at Fontevraud, solidifying its ties to the monarchy, while Henry III had gifted several manors to the abbey to boost its income. There were also some tragic royal associations – in the tortured reign of King John, he imprisoned his niece Eleanor of Brittany, nicknamed "the Fair Pearl of Brittany," "the Beauty of Brittany," and "the Damsel of Brittany." She had a better claim to the throne than her uncle John, who placed her under house arrest for most of her life in Bristol Castle, despite the fact she had no intention of pursuing her right to the crown. Forbidden from marrying, Eleanor the Damsel of Brittany, left a pious last request to be buried in the Virgin's church at Amesbury. Another saint venerated at Amesbury was Saint Melor, a Christian Breton prince who had been wickedly murdered by his ambitious uncle, exactly the same fate which befell Eleanor's brother, Arthur. Along with gifting the manors to the Marian convent, Henry III also felt guilt over what his father had done to the imprisoned Pearl and so he donated money to support the abbey in praying for the happiness of the Damsel's soul, daily.



The tombs of Eleanor of Aquitaine and her husband, King Henry II, at the former nunnery to Our Lady of Fontevraud. (Gareth Russell)



Anne Boleyn's personal prayer book (Hever Castle)

robes the sapphire blue of the most beautiful sea and sky, is flanked by an angelic retinue. It is Marianism, monarchy, and mandate in unambiguous synthesis.

Henry III's son, Edward I, sometimes known by his nickname of "Edward Longshanks" due to his height, believed his life had been saved by the Virgin Mary. As a young prince, he was playing Chess when he got up to stretch his long legs and ponder his next move, at which point a stone broke free from the roof to crash down and crush the chair on which Edward had been sitting. Edward was a devotee of the Holy Virgin and the accident happened on one of her feast days. He subsequently married his first wife, Eleanor of Castile, at a Spanish convent dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Of course, no mention of the later Plantagenets in this sphere would be complete without mentioning Richard II's devotion to Our Lady as expressed in the Wilton Diptych. In this toweringly glorious piece of medieval art, a gold robe-wearing Richard kneels, flanked by saints John the Baptist, Edmund the Martyr, and Edward the Confessor, while opposite him stands the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child, handing Richard the flag of England. His mandate for monarchy, quite literally, being handed to him from the court of Heaven. The Virgin, her

God's Favourite Rose and England's Thorns

Floral imagery beautifully litters medieval prayers and sobriquets to the Virgin Mary. Lily among the Thorns, Lily in the Garden of God, Rose of Jericho, Rose without a Thorn – yes, the title which centuries of mistakes have attributed to Queen Catherine Howard was originally gifted to Mary, Queen of Heaven. Later, it was used to refer to the monarchy and the royal line, but never specifically to Catherine. On the piously floral theme, the flowers we call marigolds get their name from being nicknamed "Mary's Gold," as the soil of England offered up beautiful tributes for the Virgin, Mother to the Word made Flesh, to gaze at. When the "Red Rose" branch of the royal clan, the House of Lancaster, seized power in 1399, they were devout men and the great warrior-king, Henry V, consecrated his entire kingdom to the Virgin Mary. England was "Our Lady's Dowry," a title still used by certain devout Catholics in the twenty-first century. The roses on earth proved far thornier than the Rose of Heaven, of course. Henry VI founded Eton College, now a famous boarding school, originally placing the school under Mary's protection, calling it "The

King's College of Our Lady of Eton beside Windsor". Henry VI's kinsman who killed him after deposing him, twice, Edward IV went on pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham before battles, joined by his own brother and equally talented deposer of kings, the future Richard III. Their mother, Cecily, Dowager Duchess of York, was buried with papal permission at the Church of Saint Mary and All Saints, in 1495.

The Tudors and the Virgin

Elizabeth of York's household expenses list bequests and donations to Marian shrines, a pious interest she served with her mother-in-law, Margaret Beaufort, who was devoutly religious. Margaret's son and Elizabeth's husband, Henry VII, also seems to have been particularly devoted to honouring the Virgin Mary, making regular gifts to her glory and building chapels to encourage veneration of her. Interestingly, Henry VII's military victory at the Battle of Bosworth, the triumph which gave him the throne over Richard III's battle-marked corpse, fell on a Marian feast day – August 22nd – the day on which the Church keeps the Festival of the Coronation of the Virgin, commemorating the Virgin's celestial apotheosis as foretold, so they believe, in the twelfth chapter of the Book of Revelation.

Katherine of Aragon and Henry VIII were both conventionally pious, making pilgrimages to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, even as the first savage criticisms of venerating Mary began to echo out of Germany in the second wave of the birth of Protestantism. Henry VIII, of course, eventually oversaw the destruction of Walsingham, permitting the holy statue to be incinerated before a large crowd in London, yet he still, bafflingly, left requests in his will for the Virgin Mary to pray for him after his death. It often surprises people to discover that Anne Boleyn, too, remained devoted to the Virgin Mary. Despite Anne's sympathy for the Reformation, her personal prayer books contained many images of Mary and Anne publicly expressed her desire to go to Walsingham on pilgrimage, all of which reminds us of the complexity of theology and confessional identities at the start of the Reformation.

Of course, it was an earthly queen Mary, Mary I, who attempted to revive the Virgin's presence in England by briefly turning back the country's Protestant revolution in the mid-1550s, but it would be the nineteenth century before a joint Anglican and Catholic initiative revived pilgrimage to Walsingham, which one again emerged as the most beloved religious site in England.

Today, too often, Marianism is dismissed as superstitious nonsense, an absurdity with no cultural nor philosophical depth. I would argue respectfully that such a view is only possible through an indifference or ignorance to the theological richness of the debates, pro and contra-Marianism, but especially to the majestic, fascinating history of this ideal.

GARETH RUSSELL

QUEEN ELIZABETH in her Coronation robes

SARAH-BETH WATKINS

TOP 10 FASCINATING FACTS ABOUT QUEEN ELIZABETH I

Queen Elizabeth I of England reigned for 44 years. Hailed as 'Gloriana' or 'Good Queen Bess' she was the last monarch of the infamous House of Tudor. As one of England's greatest female rulers, her life has been one of misconceptions and mystery. Here are ten fascinating facts that shine a light on the truth about Queen Elizabeth I.

1

She owned the first wristwatch in England

For her New Year's gift in 1571 the queen received a stunning and unique present. Sir Robert Dudley, Elizabeth I's favourite and Master of Horse, gave her a bracelet that contained a hidden spring-driven watch surrounded by diamonds and a large pearl. Clock-makers had finally succeeded in making far smaller parts so that clocks could be replicated in miniature and worn. It was the most original fashion accessory of the time. The queen would also wear a watch ring that worked as an alarm. At the desired time a small prong would stick into her finger as a reminder!

2

She plastered her face in lead

Elizabeth came down with the dreaded small pox when she was twenty-nine. It was a debilitating illness that if you were lucky enough to survive, you would still bear the scars for the rest of your life. Image was everything to the Tudor queen and maintaining her beauty was paramount. She began using a heavy foundation of powdered lead mixed with vinegar to give herself a pale complexion and cover those embarrassing scars on her face. The make-up was known as 'Venetian Ceruse' or 'the spirits of Saturn' and as it was actually detrimental to the skin over the years Elizabeth had to apply it in thicker and thicker layers. Its use could cause hair loss, mental issues and muscle paralysis and is thought to have contributed to the queen's death through blood poisoning.

3

She had rotten teeth

Elizabeth was known for her sweet tooth. She just loved eating sugary treats. Not only that but sugar, which was becoming more available due to England's expanded territories, was a sign of high status and wealth. Tudor meal times at the palace ended with a course of jellies, tarts, preserved fruits, marchpane and gingerbread and Elizabeth liked to snack between meals on sugared almonds. It didn't help that sugar and honey were also used to clean her teeth.

The queen's teeth started decaying and got so rotten that she was in excruciating pain. Her advisors called for a dentist to remove one of her teeth. In Tudor times, dentistry was in its infancy and practised by barber-surgeons. Elizabeth was so petrified that the Bishop of London had to have his tooth removed first to prove to her that it could be done!

4

She was in love with her Master of Horse

Sir Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, was made Master of Horse when Elizabeth I gained her crown. They had known each other from childhood and had both been imprisoned during the reign of her sister Mary I. They shared a love of hunting and Dudley's new position brought him ever closer to her. She was so enamoured with him that she kept his letters and portraits in a locked chest by the side of her bed.

But Elizabeth I caused a scandal when she had apartments prepared for him right next to hers in the palace. Her maid was so worried about her dignity and honour she begged her mistress not to spend so much time with him. Not only was it a scandal at court but foreign ambassadors were taking the news across Europe and many thought that the English queen would marry her Master of Horse.

5

She never married

Throughout Elizabeth I's reign she was pressured to marry to secure the English succession and provide an heir to the throne. There were many suitors for her hand from across the courts of Europe including the Duke of Anjou, Prince Erik of Sweden and King Philip II of Spain.

However Elizabeth I refused to marry anyone. She was in love with Robert Dudley but after the suspicious death of his wife any chance she had of marrying her favorite was ruined. Amy Robsart was found at the bottom of a flight of stairs with her neck broken. The jury found her death accidental but rumours persisted that Dudley had been involved. She had also been scarred by the execution of her mother, Anne Boleyn and her father's fifth wife, Catherine Howard.

6

She was prone to violent rages

Elizabeth I was known for hitting and slapping her ladies in waiting. If things weren't going her way she could become physically threatening and rain blows on those who caused her displeasure. The queen notoriously hated her servants marrying without her permission. When she found out that Robert Dudley, her favorite, had married Lettice Knollys she sought her out, slapped her and banished her from court. In 1576 another lady Mary Shelton secretly married her lover and Elizabeth fell into such a rage she broke Mary's finger. Elizabeth was not adverse to raging at men either. When in 1598 the Earl of Essex turned his back on her after a furious row, she boxed his ears but instantly regretted it when he went to draw his sword to run her through.

7

Her mother was executed by her father

Elizabeth I's mother Anne Boleyn was Queen of England for three years. Her father Henry VIII had desperately wanted a son and was appalled when Elizabeth was born in 1533. The king already had one daughter and was disgusted to have another. His relationship with Anne soon soured and in 1536 Henry VIII had Anne arrested on trumped up charges of adultery and incest, accusing her of sleeping with her brother.

She was convicted for high treason and taken to the Tower of London to await her execution but there was a delay while a swordsman from France was found to despatch her in a way more fitting for a queen. On the morning of 19 May 1536, he took off her head with one blow. No one had prepared a coffin and she was placed in an old chest and buried in the church at the Tower next to her brother who had also been executed along with four other courtiers who were convicted of sleeping with the queen.

8

She signed her cousin's death warrant

Mary Queen of Scots was the daughter of James V of Scotland, the son of Henry VIII's sister Margaret Tudor. After Mary's marriage to Francis II of France ended, she returned to Scotland as their queen but after two more disastrous marriages she had to flee to England. Mary was Elizabeth I's greatest rival with many thinking she was the true Queen of England.

In 1586 Mary was accused of being involved in the Babington Plot, a plot to have Elizabeth assassinated. Found guilty, Elizabeth however delayed in ordering her cousin's execution. Mary was not only a fellow monarch but she was Elizabeth's blood relative. On 1 February 1587 after pressure from her council the queen finally signed Mary's death warrant but insisted her death not be carried out. She hoped instead to send an assassin to do the deed thus absolving her from any blame. However her council took matters into their own hands and Mary was executed on 8 February 1587 with three blows of an axe.

9

She was excommunicated by the Pope

Elizabeth inherited a kingdom that had seen her father Henry VIII break with the Church of Rome to create the Church of England and all for the love of her mother, Anne Boleyn. The pope had refused to let the king divorce his wife, Catherine of Aragon, but Henry VIII went ahead anyway so that he could marry his second wife.

When Pope Pius V came into power he refused to recognise Elizabeth as the true heir to the throne of England believing she was illegitimate and that her Catholic cousin Mary Queen of Scots was the true queen. On 25 February 1570 he issued a Papal bull excommunicating Elizabeth I that declared she was a heretic and absolved her Catholic subjects from allegiance to the queen, commanding them not to obey her. It would lead to many plots against her life.

10

When she was dying, she refused to let her doctors examine her

The queen became ill in 1603 and retired to her palace at Richmond. The years had taken their toll on her and she had grown frail and depressed. She refused to let her doctors near her. Her ladies tried to tempt her with her favorite treats but she also refused food and drink. Her mind began to wander and she was plagued with guilt over the death of Mary Queen of Scots. She thought she saw the ghosts of those she had loved and lost walking the halls of her palace.

Again her ladies entreated her to let her doctors examine her but again and again she refused. On 24 March 1603 she died. No one knew what had ailed her. It could have been lead poisoning from her make-up or cancer. She left strict instructions that no post-mortem was to be carried out. Elizabeth died after a long and glorious reign and took her secrets with her.

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

The Crusaders' Last Stand
The Great Siege of Malta, 1565
EXPERT TALK BY Julian Humphrys

SPORTS, ENTERTAINMENTS AND PASTIMES AT THE TUDOR COURT

BY SUSAN ABERNETHY

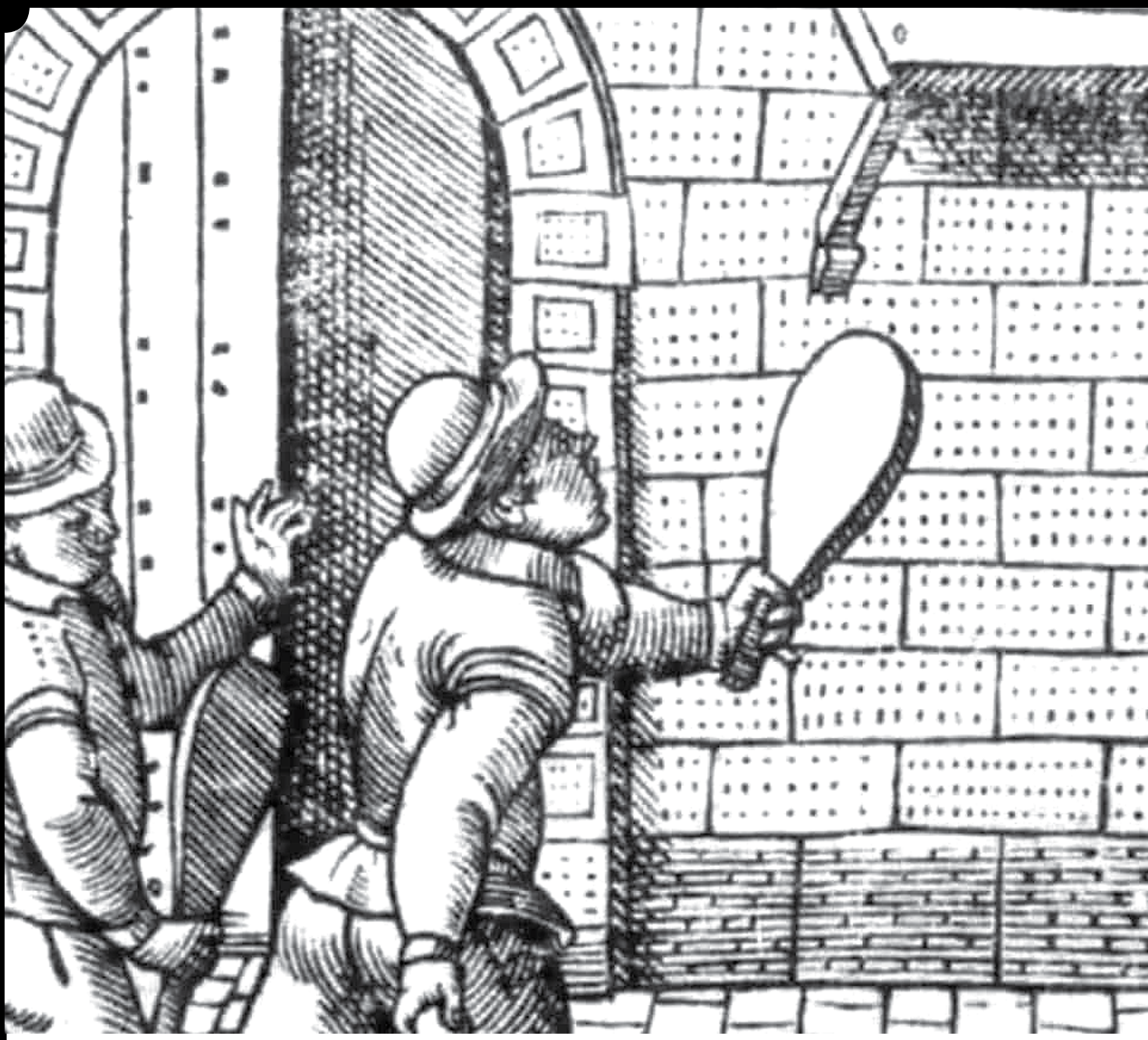
Entertainment, pastimes and sports at the Tudor court came in many different forms. These ranged from casual pastimes to the serious business of magnificence and occasionally the lines between them were blurred. Music and dancing, the frolicking of clowns, tumblers and jesters could be a little bit of both, depending on the occasion and on whether the monarch participated or not. Some amusements were informal and non-dramatic. Indoor games such as battledore, shuttlecock and blindman's buff were played by adults in the sixteenth century.

One of the most common and favourite Tudor court pastimes was gambling and all of the Tudor monarchs participated. The games usually consisted of dice, cards or tables (backgammon). Records indicate Henry VIII lost as much as £100 per year, mostly to his Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. The records only indicate how much was advanced and when debts were paid so we have no idea how much the King won.

Queen Mary appears to have found consolation during her beleaguered childhood in gambling, with generous sums appearing in her account books. She continued to gamble after her accession. King Edward VI

was continually short of funds. He may have played familiar card games, and if he did gamble, it would be for only a few pennies. Gambling among the nobility during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I was substantial. Many courtiers had time on their hands and gaming was one way to pass the hours. There are some references to Elizabeth herself participating.

Cards and dice served the purpose of assisting in courtly love. Fortunes were told, chess was played between ladies and gentlemen with wagers for favour or rings being won or lost. There is a record of Henry VII losing money on a chess game and a payment made in 1539 by Henry VIII to 'John

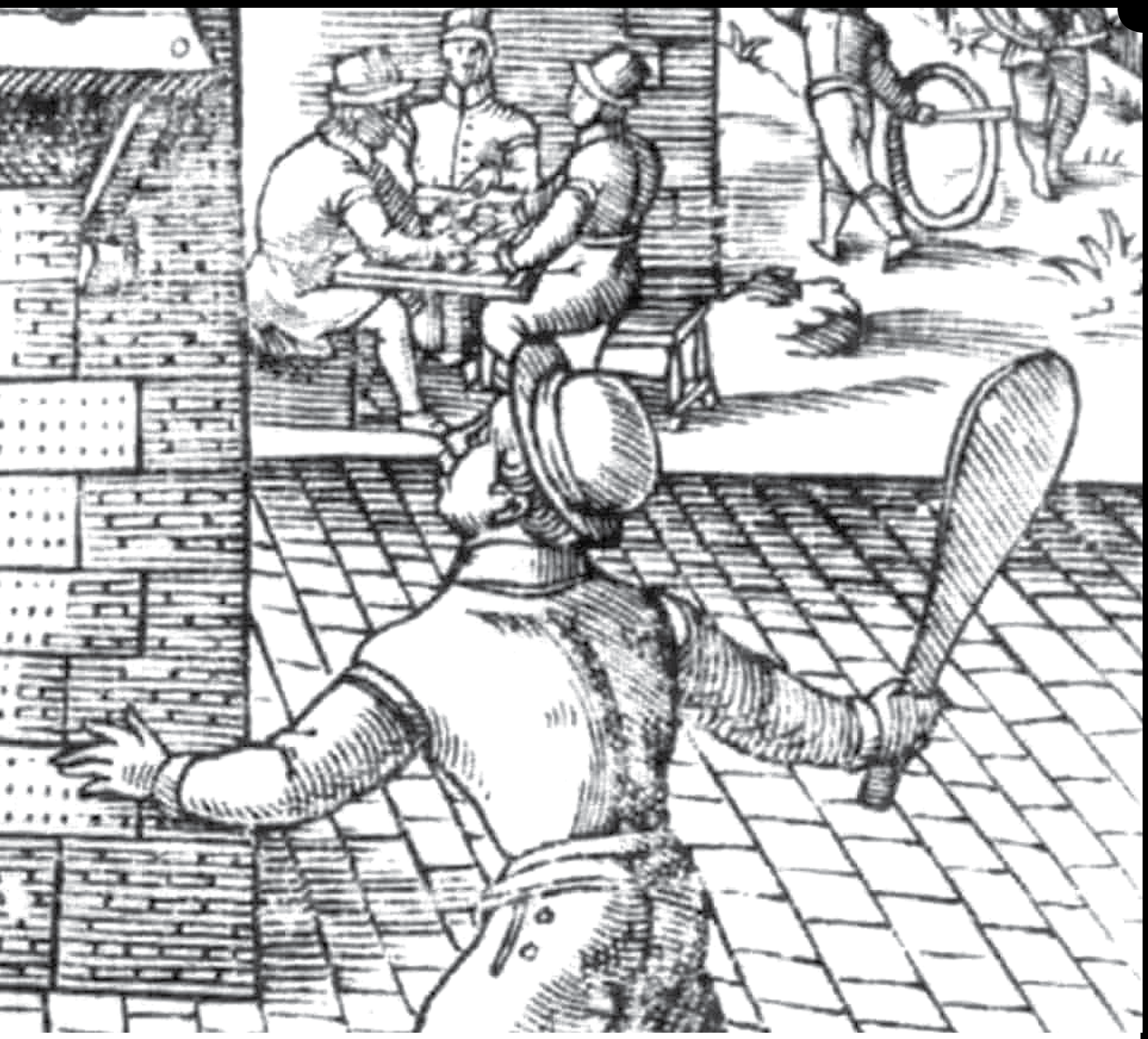


the hardewarman' for chess boards and pieces.

Courtly love was a game unto itself. The lady would expect to be wooed by her gallant and gifts were exchanged. The gentleman would wear his lady's favour in the lists during jousts. He would give homage to his lady in poetry and song. This became so popular, there were men like John Shelton who made a living by supplying poetry.

In addition to the verbal play of courtly love, there was a physical element. These dalliances included chasing games such as 'post and pillar' and 'prisoner's base' and 'morn of May'. In 1510, Henry VIII celebrated his first May Day of his married life by bursting into Katherine of Aragon's bedroom dressed as Robin Hood, accompanied by his 'merry men'. Henry thoroughly enjoyed these 'disguisings'.

Dressing up and pastime were an



essential Maying tradition. There was usually an expedition into the fields or woods to gather green branches and flowers to decorate the house in recognition of the first day of May. In the villages, this was often overtly physical. But in the context of courtly love, it was an opportunity to show off elegant manners and the finery of one's clothing.

The dancing of May Day was the only chance for the ladies to participate and when the 'dalliance' of physical contact was permitted between the two sexes. In 1515, the May Day celebration was practically a state occasion. There was an archery match, an allegorical procession of Flora, and a bountiful banquet.

Two types of ball games were played at court. Bowls were played in specially built alleys at Hampton Court and Greenwich. The king installed alleys at Eltham in 1532, costing him

£4. 4s.8d. Bowls could be played in the open air on grass if there was no alley available. Both Henry VII and Henry VIII played bowls and records exist for paying debts owed due to losses. There is evidence Henry's daughter Mary played and lost a breakfast in a bowling match in 1540. It is highly likely all the members of the royal family, men and women, played and gambled at bowls.

The other ball sport was tennis which was played by men only on specially constructed courts. Privy purse expenses for Henry VII denote he kept several professional players on the payroll at different times. There's a notation of money regularly being paid to Jack Haute for organizing exhibitions, tournaments and disguisings. Perhaps the young Duke of York (future Henry VIII) learned his excellent skills and love of the game from this man. Henry VIII was considered one of the finest tennis players of his generation. He played frequently and well after he had given up on jousting. Later in life, he lost money wagering on his play. After he died, the game lost a lot of its popularity.

Athletic young men played tennis during Queen Elizabeth's reign to garner her attention and often as a method for paying off minor debts of honour. Lawn tennis appears to have been invented for Queen Elizabeth's amusement. There is an account of an entertainment presented to her at Elevetham in 1591.

"The same day after dinner, about three of the clock, ten of the Earl of Hertford's servants, as Somersetshire men, in a square green court before her Majesty's window, did hang up lines, squaring out the form of a tennis court, and making a cross line in the middle. In this square, they (being stripped of their doublets) played, five to five, with the hand ball, a board and cord (as they termed it) to so great liking of her Highness, that she graciously deigned to behold their pastime more than an hour and a half."

But this grass-court version did not gain traction and remained only a curiosity.

Elizabeth secretly performed the men's steps of the galliard, involving extremely athletic leaps, in an effort to stay fit. She was also an expert horsewoman and hunted and hawked frequently. Elizabeth shot as well as rode, a rarity for women at the time.

Animals were a part of many amusements. During the chase, deer, hares and other creatures were hunted. There was a bear-baiting. Pet dogs are mentioned frequently and referred to as 'ladies' dogs. These pets were exempted from the rules of the Eltham Ordinances which forbid anyone to bring dogs into the precincts of the court. Henry VII kept several spaniels and there is mention he had to reimburse someone for a sheep that the dogs had killed. Other pets that appear are singing birds which were possessed by royal and aristocratic ladies. Princess Mary was given a New

Year's gift of a white lark in 1543.

Sports and recreations took place in the open air. These included jousting, running at the ring, tilting at the quintain and shooting with long- and cross-bows. Jousting had the added status of being a unique public and ceremonial event. All of these participation sports allowed courtiers to compete against each other, or with guests and visitors. Jousting was exclusively aristocratic. Wrestling was another sport displayed in the English courtly repertoire. There's a famous example of Henry VIII and King Francis I of France trying to outdo each other during a wrestling match at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in June 1520.

Jousting was considered both a sport and an entertainment. After the joust, there would be amusements which fall into two categories. The first was participatory and the courtiers would sing, dance or mime to please themselves. The other category was a performance where the main activity was left up to the professionals. Popular in the first category were masks or 'disguisings'. There were many variations of this activity but the most common began with an entry where the maskers were clothed in costume, riding on an elaborate pageant car. This would be followed by a presentation of some sort, like a brief play or mime having symbolic or allegorical meaning. Then it would end with a general dance or a series of dances with the maskers and the audience taking part.

There would be appropriate music for each stage such as trumpets for the entry, singers and stringed instruments for the presentation and tabors and rebecs for the dancing. The minstrels on these occasions were nearly always professionals with the singers often being the Gentlemen and the Children of the Royal Chapel.

The first major Tudor disguising is described as taking place during Prince Arthur's wedding celebrations in November 1501. Maskers entered on cars that appeared like two mountains, one planted with trees and shrubs and the other like a rock, adorned with gold and other precious minerals. On the barren hill sat Lords, Knights and men of honour wearing strange disguises. On the other mountain were ladies. The two cars were joined by golden cords and chains. The men were playing tabors, lute and harps and women played clavichords, dulcimers and claricimbals. At the end of the presentation, the men and women descended and danced as the mountains were taken away.

As you can see, the Tudors and their courtiers found many unique ways to amuse themselves.

Further reading: "The Tudor Court" by David Loads, "Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court" by John Stevens.

SUSAN ABERNETHY

Over the centuries, the life of Henry VIII's second queen consort, Anne Boleyn, has been countlessly re-examined by historians, as much as it's been re-imagined by the novelist. She tantalises and polarises in equal measure, but it's not just Anne that captures our imagination. We're equally intrigued by other members of the Boleyn family, including Anne's father, Thomas, and her siblings, Mary and George.

However, much of what we think we know about the Boleyns is coloured by myth and legend, and does not stand up to close scrutiny. Reinvented by each new generation, the Boleyn family are buried beneath centuries of labels and stereotypes. It's time to move beyond the stories.

Over two exciting months, Natalie Grueninger will host weekly discussions on her podcast, Talking Tudors, with a number of leading experts and Boleyn historians. The rich array of topics will cover everything from Boleyn supporters at Henry VIII's court to Thomas Cromwell's role in Anne Boleyn's downfall. Listeners will gain a fresh perspective on one of the most prominent and misunderstood families of the Tudor era, and come face to face with the people behind the famous family name.

Speakers & Topics

May

Sandra Vasoli (Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn's love letters)
Claire Ridgway (Anne Boleyn's execution and final resting place)
Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch (Thomas Cromwell's role in Anne Boleyn's downfall)
Dr Lauren Mackay (Boleyn supporters at court)
Dr Owen Emerson (The Boleyns & Hever Castle)

June

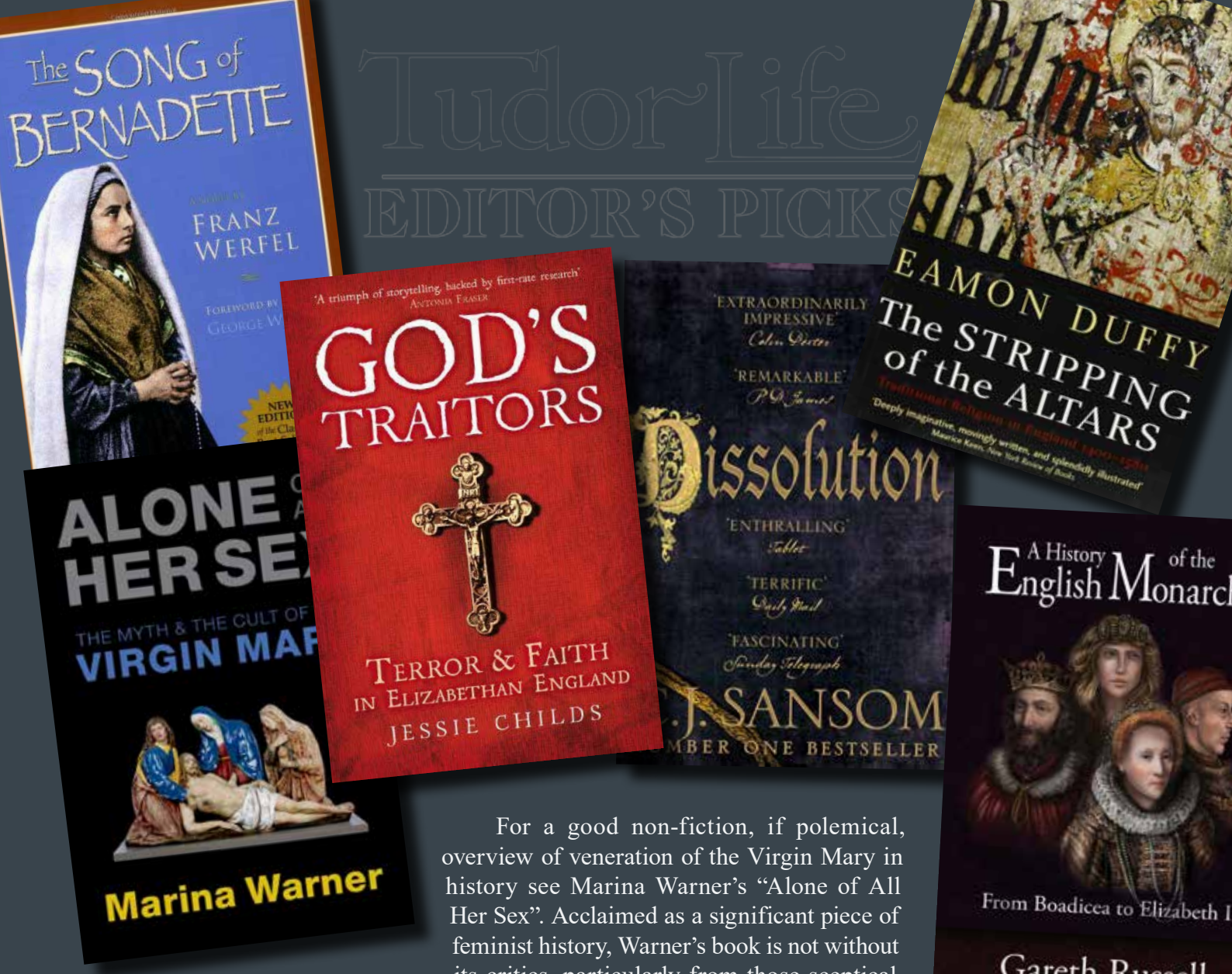
Sarah Morris (Anne Boleyn's coronation procession)
Dr Alice Hunt (Anne Boleyn's coronation ceremony)
Natalia Richards (Anne Boleyn's European upbringing)
Beth von Staats (Thomas Cranmer & the Boleyns)
James Peacock (Boleyn Treasures)

Listen to Talking Tudors on iTunes, Spotify or Stitcher, or via all major podcast apps.
Episodes can also be downloaded from **https://talkingtudors.podbean.com/**

Find out more about the host at www.onthetudortrail.com

Tudor Life

EDITOR'S PICKS



For a good non-fiction, if polemical, overview of veneration of the Virgin Mary in history see Marina Warner's "Alone of All Her Sex". Acclaimed as a significant piece of feminist history, Warner's book is not without its critics, particularly from those sceptical of its alleged anti-Catholicism. That being acknowledged, it's a beautifully written and thoughtful, if sometimes harsh, overview of Marianism's history in the West. On a more specific, Tudor, focus, Professor Eamon Duffy's encyclopaedic "The Stripping of the Altars" contains much on the role of the Blessèd Virgin in early modern England. For the price paid for continuing in devotion to Mary after the Protestant Reformation, Jessie Childs' "God's Traitors" is harrowing and insightful.

For the monarchy and Marianism, I tried to stress the central importance that Marian imagery played in shaping the English monarchy, particularly the role of queens, in my book "A History of the English Monarchy: From Boadicea to Elizabeth I," a short extract of which is included here, touching on the Virgin Mary and how her iconography impacted upon the coronations of English queens before the Reformation.

In terms of fiction, again, to try to understand the role of Marianism, permit me to branch a little beyond the Tudor period to a classic movie about an apparition in the 1800s – "The Song of Bernadette" gives a gorgeous, soaring, sensitive exploration of what the Virgin Mary and her miracles meant in peasant communities in the pre-modern era. I would also recommend C. J. Sansom's historical murder mystery "Dissolution", set in 1537, and "The Crown" by Nancy Bilyeau, set in the same year.

GARETH RUSSELL

Why Jane Grey?

by Kyra C. Kramer

In all the brouhaha surrounding the short reign of Lady Jane Grey people often overlook one of the major reasons for King Edmund VI's choice of successor -- his father and grandfather had killed most of the men who could have inherited the throne in his son's stead.

There was initially another Yorkist option in the rebellion against Richard III that started the Tudor dynasty. When George Plantagenet, 1st Duke of Clarence, was executed by his elder brother, King Edward IV, in 1478, he had two surviving legitimate children: Edward Plantagenet, 17th Earl of Warwick, and an elder daughter, Margaret Plantagenet. After King Richard III usurped Edward V's throne, he did nothing worse to Margaret and the young Earl of Warwick than to put them under de facto house arrest in Yorkshire. When Richard's only child, Edward of Middleham, died in March of 1484, the king made the Earl of Warwick his heir, in spite of the boy's suggested mental infirmary. Although historians are unsure of whether the Earl of Warwick was 'simpleminded' or not, there must have been some reason why anti-Ricardian faction turned to a far-flung claimant to the throne, Henry Tudor, rather than the closer (in all ways) Edward Plantagenet when they sought to depose King Richard III.

(Margaret Plantagenet, who was mentally fit and a more legitimate contender for the crown than Henry Tudor, was not considered a possible alternate monarch, of course. She lacked the penis that medieval men seemed to think was even more necessary than a brain in order to rule England.)

Richard III was defeated on Bosworth Field in 1485, leaving the last Plantagenets at the mercy of the newly crowned King Henry VII. In fairness to Henry, he was indeed merciful … at first. Henry's reign was off to a rocky start, but rather than executing the Earl of Warwick the new king imprisoned him as comfortably as possible in the Tower of London and confirmed Edward's titles. Henry additionally gave Margaret a dowry and in 1487 she was married to Sir Richard Pole, a Welsh cousin of the king's mother. He could have just as easily given Margaret to a nunnery, thus preventing her from having heirs to rival his own, but he didn't. Instead, Henry allowed her to live a life of luxury married to a rich man and and frequently invited her to court. Moreover,

Henry married her to a good man, by the standards of the time. Richard Pole clearly waited until his wife was in her late teens to consummate their marriage, since their first child, Henry Pole, was not born until 1492.

Sadly, Edward Plantagenet was executed in 1499 when those backing of Perkin Warbeck broke him out of the Tower in an attempt to use him against Henry VII. The king was trying to secure a marriage between his son, Arthur, and a Spanish princess, Catherine of Aragon, at the time. Since the potential bride's parents wouldn't sign off on the marriage unless they felt Henry's throne was more stable, the king beheaded the innocent Earl of Warwick. Catherine would later claim her marriage had therefore been "made in blood" and had been cursed from the start because of it.

In spite of the perpetual dangers to his throne, King Henry had the decency not to target all his Plantagenet kin for extermination. Margaret Pole and her first two sons (who were almost as much a threat to the Tudor crown as their uncle Edward had been) were left unscathed by the Perkin Warbeck incident. Margaret also seems to have forgiven the king for executing her brother, because in 1501 she came to court to be one of Catherine of Aragon's ladies-in-waiting when the princess arrived in England.

The untimely demise of Prince Arthur the following year dissolved his young widow's household, leaving Margaret without a place at court. The death of Queen Elizabeth of York in 1503 further reduced the chances of Margaret returning to serve as a lady-in-waiting. It is just as well that she wasn't needed at court any longer, because Margaret was becoming more and more occupied by motherhood. She had given birth to three more children between 1500 and 1504, and now had a brood of four sons and a daughter to look after.

Disaster struck Margaret in 1505, when her husband died and left her a widow with five small children. This would have been a very good time for Henry VII to have granted her her brother's confiscated lands, providing her with an income. Alas, with the softening influence of Queen Elizabeth of York gone the king had become unreasonably parsimonious, and continued keeping the lands under his control. Nevertheless, Henry did grant Margaret some kindnesses. He paid for Richard Pole's burial and took her two oldest boys to be raised at court with his remaining son, the future Henry VIII. The desperate Margaret then dedicated her third son, Reginald, to the church, and took her youngest son and infant daughter with her to live with the Brigittine nuns at Syon Abbey in Middlesex, which was not far from London.

Henry and Arthur Pole became, like Charles Brandon, two of Prince Henry's closest friends. The two Henrys were especially close, being less than a year apart in age. The young Henry VIII appears to have never resented the Poles' closer claim to the throne, valuing his cousin as family rather than fearing him as a threat. Henry VIII certainly treated the Poles as his beloved kindred rather than enemies when he came to the throne in 1509. The new king immediately made Margaret Pole one of Queen Catherine of Aragon's ladies-in-waiting, and restored her to the titles and income of the Earldom of Salisbury. As the Countess of Salisbury, Margaret Pole was

transformed instantly from a poor relation into a wealthy peeress. The king then spent the two decades raising the entire Pole family as high as possible, including making Margaret the godmother and caretaker of Princess Mary, his only living child by Queen Catherine.

In the early years of Henry VIII's reign, Henry Pole was allowed married an heiress, Jane Neville, the grand-niece of the king's maternal grandmother, Elizabeth Woodville. Then, in 1513 the king knighted Henry Pole, creating him 1st Baron Montagu the following year. Montagu was subsequently granted stewardship of several manors and abbeys in the 1520s, and was made the justice of the peace and administrator of four royal duchies in the 1530s. The second Pole brother, Arthur, was made a Squire of the King's Body and a Gentleman of the Bedchamber before obtaining a knighthood in 1523. Like his elder brother had done, he also married an heiress and had four children. Unfortunately, Arthur died of an unknown illness while still a young man, or he might have gained even further honors. Reginald Pole's education and career in the church was financially supported and furthered by King Henry VIII, who made him dean of Wimborne Minster and Exeter as well as securing him several other livings. The king also paid for Reginald's continued theological education in Padua from 1523 to 1526. King Henry additionally made sure Margaret Pole's fourth son, Geoffrey, became a knight and married a wealthy woman, which was more than many younger sons could accomplish in those days. The final Pole sibling, Ursula, was allowed to marry Henry Stafford, the heir to the Dukedom of Buckingham, in spite of the fact her children would arguably have a better claim to the crown than the king's own.

The Tudor monarch was very good to his cousins for almost two decades … but then King Henry VIII changed. Shortly after his 40th birthday, this once loving and genial king became as dangerous as enraged cobra. After his third wife, Jane Seymour, gave him a son in October of 1537, the king turned on the Poles. It wasn't just the Poles like Reginald and Geoffrey, who had actively (and ungratefully) tried to thwart his divorce from Catherine of Aragon and his marriage to Anne Boleyn that Henry sought to punish. After Prince Edward's birth the king went after any of his cousins whom he thought might have grown too powerful or too rich under his patronage. One could argue that the king was trying to secure the succession of his infant son, Edward, but it was paranoid to the point of madness to think that even the most powerful Pole cousin could stir the country into civil war again.

In spite of the fact that Henry Pole had never betrayed his king or sought excessive power, he was executed on trumped up charges of treason in December of 1538. Worse, Henry Pole's young son was imprisoned in the Tower for what would turn out to be the rest of his brief life. Arthur Pole had already died, or he would have probably been for the chop as well. Reginald was far from the king's reach in Rome, but Geoffrey was still in England and promptly imprisoned as well. Geoffrey was only allowed to live after obliged the crown by 'informing' on his elder brother (in fairness, Geoffrey's eldest son had also been arrested, and a son's life is a powerful lever with

Edward Courtenay,
1st Earl of Devon

which to move someone). Although he had testified against his brother, Geoffrey eventually had to flee the country for his own safety, because the king was now displeased by anyone having too much Plantagenet blood in their veins.

In a truly monstrous act, Henry VIII even imprisoned the elderly Margaret Pole. She had never been anything other than loyal to her cousin, and had actively scolded Reginald for opposing the king, and her monarch repaid her by murdering her eldest son and throwing her into the Tower. The unoffending Countess of Salisbury would also be brutally beheaded in May of 1541, much to the disgust of the entire kingdom.

It wasn't only his Pole cousins whom Henry VIII decimated. He also went after King Edward IV's only other surviving grandson, Henry Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter. As with Henry Pole, Courtenay had been raised with the king since they were all young children, and had been a close friend as well as a cousin. Now, in his madness, Henry VIII could only see Courtenay as a potential rival for the throne. The marquess and his young son, Edward Courtenay, were imprisoned at the same time as Henry Pole, and Henry Courtney was likewise executed in 1538. Edward Courtenay, only 11 years old at the time of his father's death, was kept locked in the Tower for the next decade and a half, finally be released by Queen Mary Tudor in August of 1533.

Why didn't King Edward VI chose Edward Courtenay to succeed him, rather than Jane Grey? After all, Edward Courtney, as a male direct descendant of King Edward IV, might have had a much better chance of keeping the throne. It was probably for the same reason the young king skipped over his sister Mary, the heirs of Margaret Tudor in Scotland, and Jane's mother, Frances Brandon -- they were not Protestants, or not Protestant enough in the king's opinion. Edward VI was determined that his country not return to Catholicism, and he thought his puritanical second cousin was the best bet for that outcome. Alas for the boy king's plans, Mary Tudor usurped the throne (arguing that the terms of Henry VIII's will were still in effect) and Jane Grey lost her head.

Ironically, Edward Courtenay would be imprisoned once, this time by Queen Mary, for the crime of being too genetically close to the throne. Like her, he was a great-grandchild of King Edward IV, and many would have liked her to marry him and secure the bloodline of England. Instead, she wed Philip of Spain, much to the kingdom's unhappiness, and the public dislike of the marriage made the queen start to see Edward Courtenay as a threat. Courtenay was exiled, and he died in Padua under mysterious circumstances on 18 September 1556.

Queen Mary would soon find that your father's wholesale slaughter of your cousins could leave you with a dearth of suitable heirs. With no Catholic relatives left alive to be a reasonably legitimate contender for the crown, Mary's sister Elizabeth inherited the throne. As Edward VI had hoped and his eldest sister had feared, the kingdom officially became Protestant once more.

Although history would find Queen Elizabeth I to have been a very good choice as England's ruler, it cannot be denied that all that bloody mess of the 50 years before she came to the throne could have been avoided

if the the Tudor monarchs before her had treated their cousins with a little more wisdom and a little less axe. If Henry VIII had wed his eldest daughter to either Montagu or Exeter's sons, he would have secured the bloodline even further, but the king's vanity demanded he should have his own son as heir. In Henry VIII's attempts to found a 'proper' dynasty, he sought a divorce that rent his kingdom in two and killed his cousins with a wantonness that backed Edward VI into a corner when the young king needed his own successor. Henry VIII's murder of his cousins, and Edward VI's refusal to consider Edward Courtenay as either a husband for Jane Grey or an alternative heir because of the religious differences Henry VIII had begun, culminated in the tragic death of yet another Tudor cousin, Lady Jane Grey.

All that crazy, only to have Margaret Tudor's descendant, James Stuart, a Catholic Scots monarch, eventually inherit the English throne, as he would probably done anyway even if all of the Poles and Courtenays and Greys had been left alive.

KYRA C KRAMER

James Stuart

THE FIELD OF CLOTH OF GOLD MAGNIFICENCE AND MONARCHY IN 1520

An exclusive article by Dr Glenn Richardson

St Mary's University, Twickenham

In the summer of 1520, there occurred on the north-west coast of the European continent perhaps the most extraordinary diplomatic meeting of the pre-modern age. It became known to history as The Field of Cloth of Gold. Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France met personally for the first time. Henry had been king since 1509 and was then 29 years of age. Francis, who became king of France in 1515, was 24 years old. The two men had been keen rivals since that time but the meeting was not held for them to negotiate with each other. Instead, the kings jointly hosted a tournament to inaugurate a 'Universal Peace' in Christendom that had been agreed two years earlier in London.

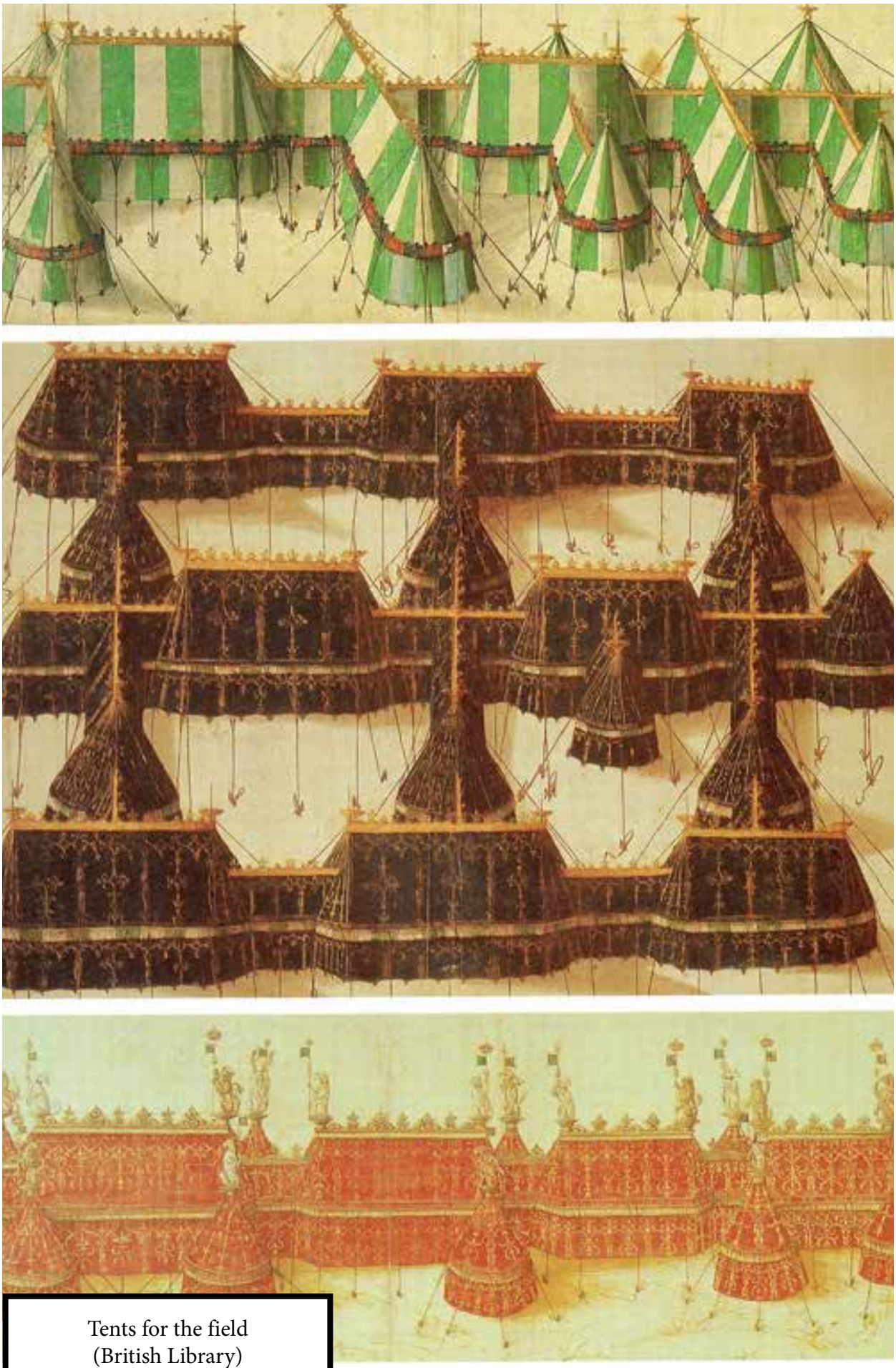
The two sovereigns met on 7 June, surrounded by hundreds of watching

Francis I

knights, gentlemen and troops, in a shallow vale between the town of Guînes (within the English territory of the Pale of Calais) and the French town of Ardres. For two weeks thereafter, they commanded a mixed team of French and English knights who were the 'tenans' or challengers in the 'tournament of peace' against similarly mixed teams of responders led by leading nobles from each kingdom such as the Marquess of Dorset and the duke of Vendôme. In accordance with an agreement reached in February that year, each king brought with him an entourage of about 6,000 people, the size of a respectable medieval army, comprised of the men of the high nobility, knights and gentlemen and their wives and servants. To accommodate this vast concourse of people, hundreds of tents were set up to form canvas towns outside the walls of Ardres and Guînes. Dressed in rich cloths like velvet and the cloth-of-gold that gave the event its name, they were used to create pavilions, temporary dwellings that resembled in spaces, if not form, the manor houses of the nobility.

The tournament or 'feat of arms' as it was called, was devised by Francis I in return for his being prepared to do Henry the honour of coming on to English territory to meet him on 7 June. It consisted of three competitions; jousting at the tilt, mounted combats between groups of knights, and then foot combat between individual knights fought over specially constructed barriers, designed to limit the potential harm to competitors while increasing the spectacle of their fighting for onlookers. The three competitions took place in a large rectangular tiltyard with viewing stands, constructed by teams of English and French engineers and labourers in the weeks before the meeting. This was the biggest joint Anglo-French civil project until the production of the Concorde aircraft and the construction of the Channel Tunnel in the 20th century.

Henry VIII



Tents for the field
(British Library)

Approximately 200 to 300 competitors took part in the tournament. Due in part to some poor weather and the removal of the counter-lists that ran alongside the central barrier, or 'tilt', down either side of which the knights charged, the standard of jousting was not high. Henry and Francis did quite well, although Francis was slightly injured in one combat. Henry had wanted to wear a revolutionary suit of armour in the foot combats, designed by the royal armoury at Greenwich. It enclosed the wearer completely in a way conventional suits of armour did not. Henry was proud of this technological masterpiece but, hearing about it, Francis forbade its use as unfair to other competitors. The foot combat armour Henry eventually used had to incorporate an armoured skirt or 'tonlet' to confirm to regulations. The rain and high winds that disrupted the competition at certain points, also blew down large numbers of the English and French gilded pavilions.

On the two Sundays during the meeting there were no tournament competitions. Then, and on the final day, the two courts entertained each other with spectacular banquets. Henry and his immediate entourage went to Adres to be received by Queen Claude and Francis's mother Louise of Savoy. Francis, meanwhile, went to Guînes and was there welcomed by Queen Katherine and Cardinal Wolsey. At no point did Henry and Francis ever host each other formally. This was to avoid the possibility that one king might try to gain advantage of the other by hosting a banquet that was more splendid than one he'd been given. Strict reciprocity was key here, as in every other aspect of the Field. These banquets consisted of three or more courses, each of which comprised about fifty dishes. They combined savoury and sweet elements and were presented to fanfares and music. The accounts for the English kitchens list total fish purchases for the banquets of 29,518 items including plaice, flounder, conger eels, crayfish and turbot. There was also a dolphin, probably used in a table display as some sort of compliment to the dauphin of France. These meals were washed down with lakes of wine sourced from various regions in France and with beer and ale made in England or in a brewery's set up in Calais for the purpose.

Cardinal Wolsey

Henry VIII's tournament armour
(Royal Armouries, Leeds)

The meals finished, entertainment followed with masques in which the two kings participated, dressed as heroes from classical and chivalric stories. Both were noted dancers and took the opportunity to show off their moves with the ladies of each other's courts in the masques and in the more informal dancing that followed them. One of those whom Henry met at Ardres was Françoise de Foix, Madame de Châteaubriand, then the French king's official mistress - to whom he later gave an expensive gift. The banquets done, the two kings made carefully coordinated returns to their respective residences, each acting, in effect, as a hostage for the safe return of the other.

The English entertainments were held in a specially built temporary banqueting palace just outside the walls of Guînes. It was 328 feet (100m) square, comprised of four blocks, ranged around a central square court. The walls were built on stone foundations and were of brick to a height of eight feet (2.5m). Their timber-framed canvas walls reached to a height of thirty feet (9.14 m). They were surmounted by a frieze decorated in an Italianate classical style. The palace had four brick-built towers at its outer corners and an elaborate entrance gateway surmounted by a Renaissance shell motif. Its roof was made of oiled canvas painted patterned grey to simulate slates. The principal internal feature of the palace was a large banqueting hall that occupied the whole rear wing and which could be divided into smaller spaces as required. There was a chapel built out from the rear of the main structure. The right, left and front wings housed suites of rooms

for Henry and Katherine, for Henry's sister Mary the Duchess of Suffolk, and for the Lord Chancellor Cardinal Wolsey. One French source described the palace as 'flooded with light on every side from windows made of glass', from Flanders, that 'stretch to the very floor, displaying English sovereigns'. Francis built or adapted from existing buildings a similarly splendid temporary residence in the town of Ardres in the manner of an *hôtel particulier*. Much less reliable information about it survives but it may have been designed by the Italian architect Domenico da Cortona whose works later inventoried for Francis included an unspecified project at Ardres. This residence, too, was highly decorated, with a banqueting hall and a covered gallery that linked it to the tented pavilions in the fields below the town.

The Anglo-French meeting reached its symbolic climax with High Mass celebrated by Cardinal Wolsey on 23 June at an outdoor chapel specially built over the tiltyard the night before. At or about the time of the elevation of the Host in the Mass, there appeared 'flying in great loops, a splendid and hollow monster stretched out in the sky'. This was a kite of a fire-spitting 'dragon', made by the English but flown on a cable drawn behind a cart from the direction of Ardres. It is shown in the painting of the Field of Cloth of Gold at Hampton Court Palace. It caused alarm at the time but such kites were a common feature of celebrating St John's Day, 24 June. It might have represented Henry's red Welsh dragon, or, perhaps more likely, a salamander. A fire-dwelling salamander was the personal emblem of Francis I, and the kite may have been flown over the crowd as a compliment to him by the English who had made it. The following day the kings farewelled each other, exchanged expensive personal gifts and rewarded each other's entourages with horses, cups, plate, elaborate jewelled collars, and cash.

Precisely because of its extravagance, the Field of Cloth of Gold has long puzzled diplomatic historians trying to explain why it was held and what it meant. It defied conventional ideas of how 'balance of power' politics in the period were supposed to work. For that reason, it has often been dismissed as an example of frivolous medievalism. Some have argued that it was a ludicrously optimistic peace conference or perhaps a deliberate effort by Henry and Wolsey to fool the French king before allying against him with the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V who, it is true, met Henry before and immediately after the event. There is actually little evidence to support either contention.

Henry and Francis had been keen rivals since the latter's accession in 1515. From the start of his reign, Henry had wanted to renew the Hundred Years War with France. In 1513 he had conquered the city of Tournai and the town of Thérouanne in Picardy. At that time, he had been allied to Ferdinand of Aragon and the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian who promptly deserted him in order to reach separate peace settlements with Louis XII of France in 1514. In response and advised by Wolsey who was by then his chief counsellor, Henry executed a dramatic *volte-face* by allying with his former enemy, Louis. In October 1514,

Detail of Henry and Francis wrestling

Henry's sister Mary married the king of France. All seemed set for a Europe in which England now played a dramatically different role as France's ally – for the first time ever in its history. Yet all this came to nothing with Louis' sudden death and Francis I's accession on 1 January 1515. Nine months later, and much to Henry's utter rage and frustration, Francis led a huge army over the Alps and conquered the duchy of Milan, eclipsing anything his English rival had achieved in his whole reign to date. Francis was now the *jeune-premier* of Christendom, as Henry had once been.

The Ottoman conquest of Persia in 1517 provided a means by which Henry and Wolsey could get England back to centre-stage in Europe. Pope Leo X sought an international truce to enable coordinated action against the Ottomans. Cardinal Wolsey was made a papal legate *a latere* (literally one sent from the pope's side) to England in order to organise the truce. Instead, Wolsey used his legatine status to propose a multilateral alliance in which all participants undertook not to attack each other and collectively to attack anyone who broke their agreement. This concerted action has aptly been described as a forerunner of the collective security organisations of our own time, the League of Nations and the United Nations. Peace, Wolsey declared would thereby become 'universal' (by which he meant Christendom) and that is how the subsequent treaty enshrining it became known. Wolsey also made Henry, not the pope, the arbitrator of disputes, instantly elevating his king's potential international status. Contrary to modern expectations perhaps, most European states had committed themselves to the Treaty of Universal Peace, signed in London in 1518. Henry's young daughter Princess Mary was betrothed to the Dauphin François to seal an Anglo-French alliance that itself crowned the Universal Peace. One of the terms of the alliance was that the two kings would meet personally.

The key to Francis's participation was that he could purchase back from Henry the city of Tournai lost in the war of 1513. The key to Henry's agreement to the alliance was that he secured increased annual payments from Francis that he regarded as 'tribute' for 'his' kingdom of France such as his predecessors Henry VII and Edward IV received. This was money

well spent as far as Francis was concerned, so that both kings regarded themselves as profiting from peace and were invested in keeping it. That is how true peace-making worked. Both kings also hoped to derive further advantages from their alliance. Francis expected Henry to support him against Charles of Spain who was elected as the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in June 1519 and who had numerous dynastic claims against Francis. Henry hoped that in securing Francis's agreement to peace, he could emphasize to Charles his own importance as an ally and thereby avoid being sidelined in Europe by either of them. Therefore, the kings of England and France finally met as the 'good brothers and friends' that they always thereafter called each other.

Yet tensions remained very high and each man feared being upstaged at the event by the other or, worse, being literally or figuratively ambushed in the course of the meeting. Strict protocols were put in place to minimise this potential and to guarantee the safety of both kings. Yet Henry's impromptu wrestling match with Francis, which the French king won easily, showed how he for one chafed under the formal diplomatic protocols. The bout was reported in several French sources but, perhaps not surprisingly, was not mentioned at all in any English ones. The sporting context allowed Henry to recover from his defeat reasonably graciously. Contrary to our expectations perhaps, personal competition was not a threat to the success of the meeting, provided it was expressed in ways that allowed both kings to let off steam without suffering a loss of honour. It enabled them to display the chivalrous knighthood they each prided themselves on and to have that respected by the other in turn. That was the basis for prospective future cooperation. After all, one should know the strength of one's friend as surely as that of one's enemy.

Despite, or perhaps precisely because of them, the hopes of a Universal Peace inaugurated at the Field of Cloth of Gold were to be disappointed. The stakes for all sides, especially Francis, were very high and the same princely dynastic drive that was celebrated in 1520 soon moved events from the tournament ground to the real battlefield. The problem for Francis was not Henry, but Charles V. Fearful that if he did not move first, Charles would strengthen his power in Italy and be able to deprive him of the duchy of Milan, Francis launched a pre-emptive strike at the emperor in the spring of 1521. The inevitable counter-attack was then presented as unwarranted aggression under the terms of the Universal Peace. Both sides appealed to Henry not so much as 'arbiter' of their dispute but as an obligated ally. Wolsey called a peace conference at Calais at which, initially at least, he genuinely tried to resolve the dispute. He had not been trying that long, however, before he realized that the preponderant power of the emperor must surely tell in the conflict, and it was vital Henry be kept on the wining side. By a secret treaty agreed in August 1521, Henry was drawn formally into the war although English forces did not deploy in France until 1523. No great success was achieved before Francis once more invaded the duchy of Milan, only to be comprehensively defeated by imperial

forces there at the battle of Pavia in February 1525.

Henry's hopes of carving up France between himself and Charles met with near total indifference from the emperor who was determined to reach an advantageous settlement of his own dynastic claims with Francis, without regard to Henry's. The king of England was outraged by this second betrayal of his hopes by an Habsburg ally. Francis was forced by Charles to agree to the Treaty of Madrid of January 1526, but repudiated it immediately on his return to France in March that year. There to greet him was an English envoy who was, on Wolsey's instructions, ready with the offer of a renewed alliance. This had been negotiated (with increased money for Henry) by the spring of the following year. For the next twenty years, a long time indeed in sixteenth-century international politics, an always-difficult but effective Anglo-French peace was maintained. This was advantageous to Henry particularly in the altered circumstance of his wish that his marriage to Katherine of Aragon be annulled and his consequent break with Rome. The two kings met again in 1532 and Francis remained Henry's often frustrated, and frustrating, ally until the king of England once more rejected peace in favour of a third, final, and no more effective alliance with the Habsburg emperor in 1542.

The Field of Cloth of Gold may not have ushered in the wider European peace it promised, but the ideals of chivalry that it celebrated provided the rhetorical and behavioural terms of the subsequent Anglo-French peace that was its legacy. It created a framework for continued cross-Channel rivalry but also political and cultural cooperation and influence. For that reason, it might well be called extravagant almost to the point of folly, but cannot rightly be dismissed as frivolous. Through the deliberately spectacular display of the material and human resources at their command, Francis and Henry established a powerful connection between them and their realms with important consequences for the rest of their respective reigns. Appreciating the event in its proper context gives it sense and meaning, renders it accessible for us 500 years later, without lessening its singularity and exceptionality as an expression of the personal power of Renaissance monarchs – in peace, as well as in war.

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A house and its family Llancaiach Fawr and the Pritchards

Member *Ceri Creffield* introduces us to a fascinating old building in South Wales

With your letter of introduction in your hand, you step into the formal garden, redolent with the scent of its box hedges. Sunlight filters through the trees and catches a spider's web on the eaves beside you. From beyond the garden wall, you hear the gentle babbling of the Caiach stream. After a few steps you turn and face the flagstone path leading between lawns to the substantial grey stone mansion with its imposing porch. The door is opened by the servants of Colonel Pritchard, who welcome you as an honoured guest and usher you inside. The colonel is not in residence at the moment but you are greeted most politely and offered a tour of the house. His household will be most happy to chat about the colonel, his lady, religion, politics, their own lives, or the way the war is progressing, just as you wish.

The year is 1645, a little out of period for the Tudor Society. The civil war is raging and the house, known as Llancaiach Fawr, is occupied by Colonel Edward Pritchard and his family. The Colonel is a most respectable man, one of the six wealthiest in the large county of Glamorgan. He is well educated and has undergone legal training in London. Since inheriting the manor at around twenty years of age, he has become Sheriff of the County and a Justice of the Peace. He has brought peace to this area and to his own household by officially bringing to an

end an eighty-year-old feud. He owns 6,200 acres and supports some thirty or so indoor and outdoor servants. In this bilingual household, some of the servants even speak English, adding to the Colonel's kudos. He is connected by marriage to many of the great families in Wales, notably by his wife, Mary, sister to the powerful Bussy Mansell of Briton Ferry, and a descendant of Edward III. King Charles I has created him an honorary colonel and Commissioner of Array, responsible for raising troops and money for the crown and with the power to confiscate lands from Parliamentarian supporters, which has fortuitously helped increase his own estates. By July 1645, he has 5000 troops in his trained band and the King himself, still smarting from his disastrous defeat at the battle of Naseby, will be visiting the house on August 5th, the builder of Llancaiach Fawr.

But who is this Colonel Pritchard and his family and how did they come to possess this fine house and all their wealth? We pick up the story in the mid-sixteenth century with a gentleman known as Dafydd (or David) ap Richard.

By the 1530s Dafydd Ap Richard was already a man of substance, owning some 2,000 acres in the parishes of Merthyr Tydfil, Gelligaer, Llanfabon and Eglwysilan, making him the biggest taxpayer in the area. In modern terms, he would have been a millionaire. He was also Beadle for Senghenydd, carrying out duties on behalf of the court. Dafydd and his relations were definitely on the up, profiting from a talent for shrewd deals and even shrewder marriages.

The evidence suggests that Dafydd's grandfather had been a man called Richard Gwyn (Gwyn meaning "white" or "blessed"). Genealogy was always important to the Welsh and Richard Gwyn's family could be proud of theirs, tracing their ancestry back to Ifor Bach, the twelfth century Lord of Senghenydd. Richard Gwyn had two sons by his first wife, Jonet Treherne. Dafydd's father was the second son, Richard Gwyn the younger. The elder son, Lewis, went on to found the Lewis dynasty of the Van estate in Caerphilly and of Gilfach Fargoed in the Rhymney Valley. The Lewis family were destined to play a major role in the lives of their distant cousins, Dafydd's descendants.

After Jonet Treherne's death, Richard Gwynn the elder married again, taking one Crisli Gwilym to wife. The pair had no children. Crisli must have been a woman of some attraction and most likely much younger than her husband, for at some point (hopefully *after* the death of Richard Gwynn the elder!) Crisli became involved with her stepson, Richard the younger. Dafydd ap Richard was their fruit of their union.

Sometime between 1548 and 1565, Dafydd decided to build a fine manor house on this site. It was an excellent choice of location. Anyone who knows the south Wales valleys will know that they are steep and deep and run roughly in parallel from north to south. Most

As a working farm showing the original approach

The manor showing the north east wing

Some children's toys

The Great Hall

lines of communication, even today, run the same way. Llancaiach Fawr was built on one of the few routes that cross from one valley to another, a drovers' route, linking many communities. Even better, with the little Caiach stream running alongside, the site had its own water supply. This favourable spot had already been in use for many centuries. When Time Team visited a few years ago, they followed up an earlier geophysical survey and found in the adjoining field the remains of a wooden palisade later dated to around 1500BC, which was used to pen animals in autumn, when some would have been selected for slaughter and some for keeping. This flat field, one of the very few in the area, must have appealed to Dafydd ap Richard for all the same reasons. The evidence suggests that he and his family were heavily involved in animal trading, and very successfully, much to the benefit of their prosperity. Besides commanding a fine view to the south, the site was also within easy reach of Gelligaer village, with its ruined Roman fort and decayed motte and bailey castle, once owned by Dafydd's ancestors. More importantly, Gelligaer was also the site of the Norman parish church, St, Catwg's. It is hard to imagine a better spot.

It's possible, even likely, that this was not the first house built on the site. John Leland mentions a house belonging to Dafydd in 1537, a little too early for the present building. Was this a completely different house being referred to or was there a more modest building on the site before the family built the current manor? The staff who work here have their suspicions that the north-east corner of the house may date back further than the rest. This corner differs slightly from the main building. The vaulted cellars and the arrangement of rooms – all the same size and directly above each other- suggest that this may have been a Medieval tower house which was incorporated into Dafydd's new prestigious build. The theory is still being explored but there is a 15th century window in this "tower house" section which is in situ, not reused from elsewhere. Fragments of medieval green glazed crested ridge tiles have also been found. In fact, much of the fabric of the house appears to have originated from an earlier structure. If the old house was subsumed by the new, it would certainly explain why Time Team failed to find any trace of an older structure in the vicinity.

Leland called the house he saw Huhkaihac, perhaps an attempt to transcribe Uwch Caiach, meaning "above the (river) Caiach". By 1578, when Dafydd's son Edward married, his marriage settlement refers to "a capital mansion house called Glankayach", meaning "by the bank of the Caiach". There is no letter K in the modern Welsh alphabet, however, so we soon find it referred to as Glancayach. This was later corrupted into Llancaeach and finally into the present spelling of Llancaiach. The Fawr element of the name means "large" or "great" to distinguish it from various farms and

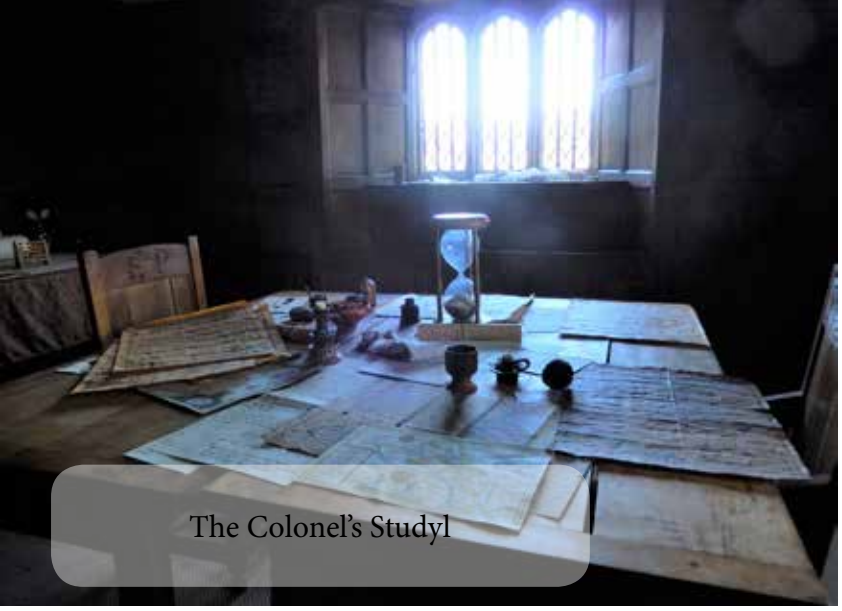
houses with similar names on the estate.

Besides these farms, also on the estate were mills producing flour and cloth and some early industrial centres with lands leased for small-scale coal mining and iron-working. One of the mills stood close by the house until well into the last century, albeit in a ruinous condition. The estate was a thriving concern.

Thus Dafydd ap Richard could well afford to build a house of substance and of comfort, if not of fashion. Until the modern road was built a few hundred yards from the rear of the manor, the approach was from the south west, along a road which crossed the Llancaiach brook over a stone bridge, opening up a view of the front of the building much as you see now when approaching from the visitor centre. The Time Team landscape surveyor considered that it was a Roman road leading to the bridge and continuing onto and over the common. The bridge remained until the mid 1980s, when it was demolished and the road is no longer passable. A visitor would have been presented with an image of wealth and power as they neared the house, fully visible to anyone watching at the windows. Nevertheless, the manor was old-fashioned compared to the houses being built elsewhere in Britain, such as the south-east of England for instance. The walls were thick, four to five feet at the base and two feet thick on the upper floors. The windows were relatively small and external doors few. In turbulent times, this was a house designed to be defensible. A number of spiral staircases ran between the three floors in the manor; the house seems riddled with them. Some still function and some are now blocked off but they still seem to be tucked away in almost every corner. The eastern part of the house was built in such a way that it could be barred off from the rest of the building and still function as an independent unit with internal access to all floors. Dafydd was taking no chances! It is still possible today to see the slots for the bars which were used to block off the eastern section.

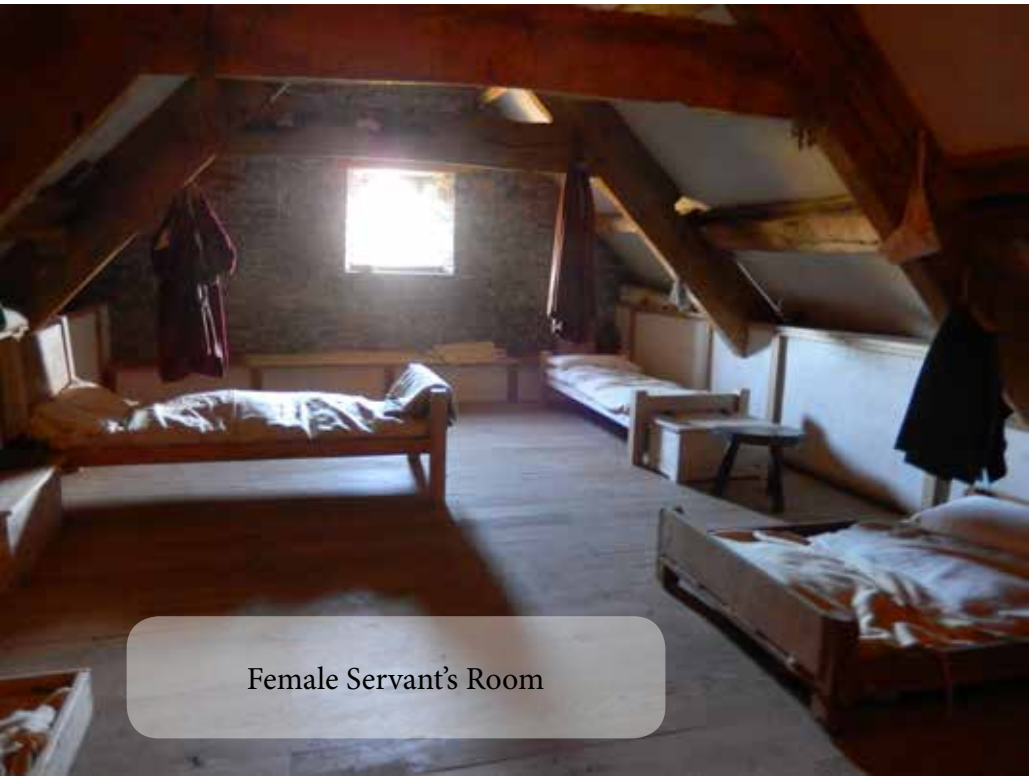
I do not know to what extent the house's defences were ever put to the test but Dafydd's family had a very uneasy relationship with their relatives, the Lewis family, who were in close proximity in nearby Caerphilly and, more notably, at Gilfach Fargoed, some three miles away and also in Gelligaer parish. More of them later.

Defensible the house may be, but Dafydd did not neglect his family's comfort. The manor was generously provided with indoor privies, a real luxury and at that time somewhat rare outside castles! No doubt the house also impressed anyone attending the court sessions held in the great hall on the first floor, which was of course, the intention. Just off the hall was a large and comfortable parlour, providing privacy for Dafydd and his intimates. With three floors of spacious rooms and two generous attics for the servants, there was plenty of room for his growing family. All the same, Dafydd must have wondered at times whether



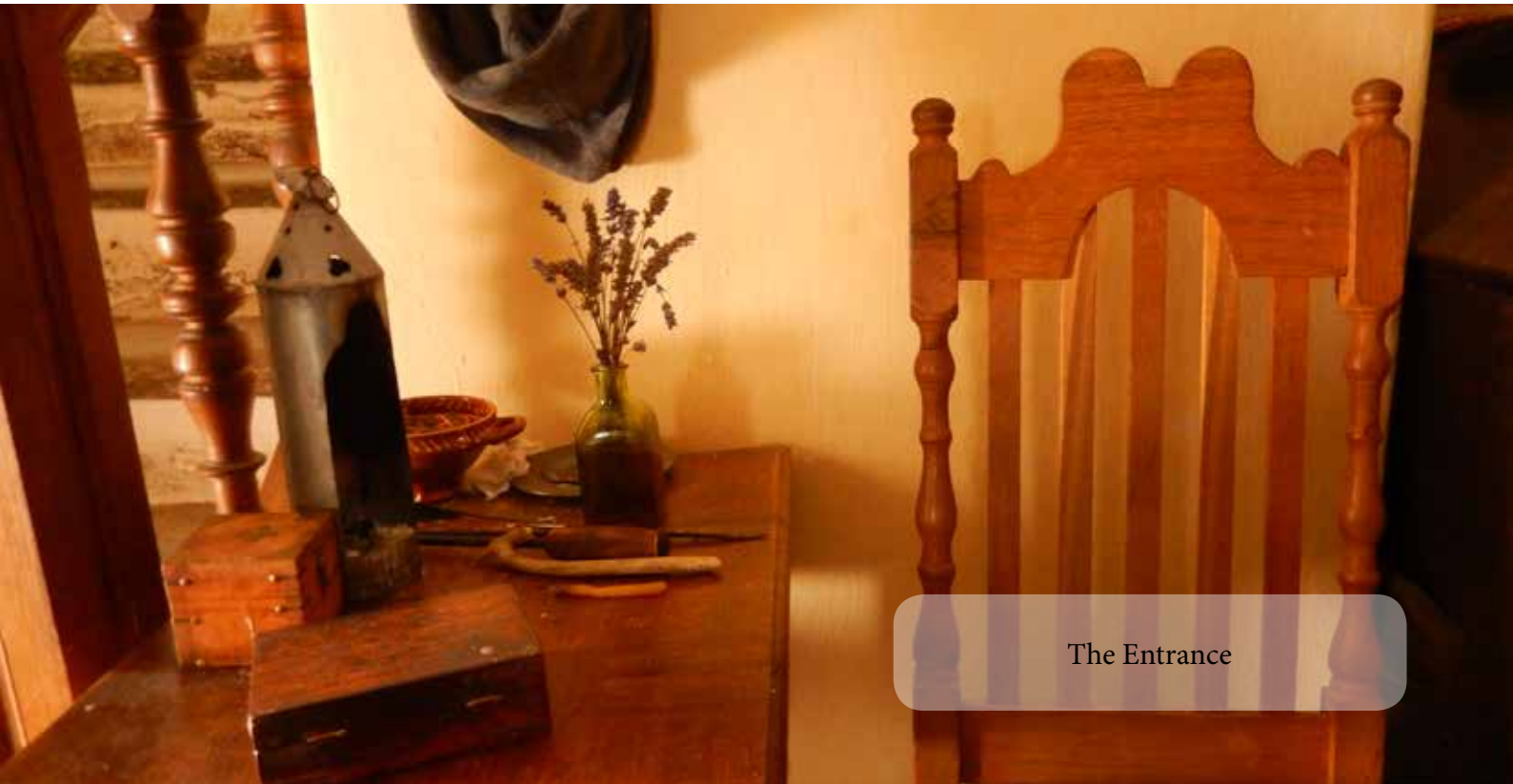
The Colonel's Studyl

A bedroom



Female Servant's Room

Family Spoons



The Entrance

The Kitchen

he would ever have a male heir to pass it on to. Despite four illegitimate sons, for some time he lacked a son born in wedlock. His first wife, Anne Mansell, only gave him a daughter. Only with his second wife, Elizabeth Stanley, was Dafydd blessed with a legitimate son - his sole male heir, Edward, born in 1540 - along with another three girls, Elizabeth, Ann and Jane.

This is probably as good a point as any to explain the naming conventions of the time. Dafydd, like his forefathers, assumed the traditional Welsh patronymic, Dafydd ap Richard – David son of Richard. However, times were changing and the Welsh gentry were starting to assume surnames, usually formed by their father's name (Evans, Owen, Thomas, etc.) or by a corruption of that patronymic. Hence the son of Rhys became Prhys and eventually Preece or Price, ap Robert, Probert, ab Evan, Bevan and in this case, ap Richard, Pritchard. Sometimes it took a generation or two for the surname to stick and people were often known by both patronymic and surname simultaneously. In the case of the owners of Llancaiach Fawr, by the time young Edward Pritchard had children of his own, the surname was established.

Dafydd appears to have died at some time during the 1560s. His widow Elizabeth subsequently

married a man called John Thomas of Llanfihangell near Cowbridge in the Vale of Glamorgan but her daughters apparently remained with their brother Edward at Llancaiach Fawr.

Like his father, Edward married well, taking as a bride Mary Carne of Nash. Alas, again like his father, Edward struggled to get a male heir. Mary gave him only daughters, Elizabeth, Frances and Barbara. He was luckier with his second wife, Anne Lewis, daughter of his second cousin Thomas Lewis, whom he married in 1578. Anne gave birth to three sons, David, Thomas and Edward and another two girls, Mary and Blanche. A fourth son died in infancy. His third wife was Mary, widow of John Thomas of Llanbradach Fawr and daughter of Edmund Morgan of Bedwellty, both owners of substantial estates. A further daughter, Margaret, was born of this marriage. It was just as well that Dafydd had built such a roomy mansion!

Mary outlived Edward Pritchard by many years. She appears to have been left fairly well off in her widowhood, owning several properties in Llanfabon. There was certainly no necessity to remarry again. When she died at Friars in Newport in 1634, after mentioning the children of her first marriage in her will, she left the greatest part of her property to Margaret's son - her grandson Edmund Morgan the younger of Penllwyn Sarth.

This Edward Pritchard seems to have been a very strong character. Well might a local bard have referred to him as "Dafydd's Lion", although, being employed by the family to write praise poetry, the poet prudently added: "a great leader". Life at the manor in Edward's day was anything but peaceful. Edward was being High Sheriff of Glamorgan, the most important office of the Crown in the Shire, and a member of the Privy Council, responsible for the county revenues, county gaols, the maintenance of justice, taking of felons, appointing juries, holding courts and much more. Yet he attracted accusations of selling bailiwicks, imprisoning people without just cause and holding them to ransom and being negiligent in serving writs. His deputy (who was also his brother-in-law) denied any negligence or false imprisonment on behalf of Edward Pritchard and stated that the complaint was being dealt with by the Council of the Marches of Wales. In fact, Edward Pritchard was no stranger to the court room from both sides of the bench. Much of the trouble arose from his relationship with his wife's family, the Lewises.

The Pritchards and the Lewises had a volatile relationship. Despite their kinship and Edward's marriage, much of the time, they seem to have been at each other's throats. Their disputes were numerous and not just confined to the court room. One incident which did much to fuel the fire occurred in 1571, when Edward's sister Jane, who was about fourteen years old, caught the attention of twenty-two year old Edmund William Lewis of

Gilfach Fargoed. According to Edward Pritchard, Edmund William abducted his sister, raped her and forced her to marry him. What is more, Edmund and his adherents assaulted Edward and attempted to murder him at divine service at St Catwg's church in Gelligaer. Shortly after all of this, the unfortunate Jane fell ill and died.

Edmund William, however, gave evidence in the Star Chamber court that Jane had come to him freely and had wanted to marry him. His version of events stated that he had been courting Jane at Gelligaer and that she was favourably disposed towards him. Upon becoming aware of this, Edward had dispatched Jane to the house of her step-father John Thomas in Llanfihangell, hoping to effect a permanent separation. Jane and Edmund William, however, had agreed on an elopement and she kept an assignation with him some two miles from john Thomas's house, marrying him five days later. William Edmund further denied any affray at the church, claiming that he and his followers had simply attended the service as usual.

Unfortunately the verdict of the case is unknown to us. Was this a Welsh Romeo and Juliet or something much uglier? One wonders what Anne Lewis made of it all.

By 1594, the feud had evidently spread throughout both families. Three cases heard in Star Chamber involved armed affrays between Edward's illegitimate half-brother Thomas and the brothers of Edmund William Lewis, often involving the church at Gelligaer, where both families would have attended for worship. Over the coming years, the church and the village, where the two families would have come most often into contact, were to see more than their fair share of the conflict.

Maybe Anne Lewis had managed to maintain some sort of amicable contact with her family as the female Pritchards appear perhaps to have been rather better disposed towards their neighbours and relations. Some years later, in a curious echo of Jane's story, another Star Chamber court case was lodged against a William Lewis accusing him of having abducted Edward Pritchard's daughter Mary.

By September 1599, Edward Pritchard was living in a house he owned in Orchard Street in Cardiff, then still a modest market town. The house had been in the family since Dafydd Pritchad had bought it in 1534. It is possible that Edward, now in his mid-forties, had selected this as a future place of retirement, as within the next decade he was residing there permanently and had settled approximately half of his land on his eldest son David, who remained mostly at Llancaiach Fawr, although he too had a Cardiff residence.

Although still only sixteen years old, Mary Pritchard was already a widow and had returned to live with her father. On 2nd September, her father sent her on an errand to the house of Robert Thomas, most likely the husband of her older sister, Blanche. According to Edward's testimony in Star Chamber,

she encountered there William Lewis of Ely, who wished to possess her fortune and had come with a minister and friends, "armed and weaponed with sundry sorts of armour and weapons as well defensive as invasive, that is to say with privy coats, quilted caps, pistols, swords, rapiers, daggers and such like armour and weapons". This miniature army had taken Mary to a lower room of the house and attempted to force her into a contract of matrimony with William Lewis, threatening else to ruin her reputation by spreading tales that Mary had been defiled by him. As soon as she could get away, Mary returned in tears to her father, complaining of the wrong and the rough treatment meted out to her. A few days later on 10th September, William Lewis, a friend and forty followers came armed to Edward's house to kidnap Mary but were driven off by the servants and neighbours.

The Privy

Predictably, William Lewis gave a different version. He claimed that he had been a suitor of Mary's , had obtained her goodwill and had initially sought her father's approval but that her father had withheld his consent. "Seeing him obdurate and intractable, and conceiving that [I] was nott A matche unfytt for her, Marie did willingelie and voluntarilye without constraint or compulsion" agree to meet the house of Robert Thomas where their marriage had been solemnised on the spot. Returning to her father's house, Mary had asked William to meet her on 10th September and take her away from Cardiff but on that day she failed to turn up at the appointed rendezvous, where he was waiting with a friend and servant. Instead, a messenger came first to check that he was there and then returned with her cloak and hood and other clothes, saying that she would join them within an hour. However, Mary was physically

prevented from leaving by her brothers and her father's footboy, despite resisting, crying: "Away rogue, I have promised and I will goe". William further denied any attack on Edward Pritchard's house.

Edward had evidently not forgiven the Lewises for the death of his sister. The court's verdict is again unknown but the likelihood is that it went in Edward's favour. There is no other evidence of Mary marrying William Lewis and if the marriage had in fact taken place, it must have been annulled or disallowed, for she later married a William Mathew of Aberaman. Mary's feelings about these events are not known but at least, unlike her unhappy aunt Jane, she lived to marry again.

In 1601, the feud extended to include murder. The victim was a relative of Edmund William Lewis, the alleged abductor of Jane Pritchard thirty years earlier. The Lewis family sought revenge and matters came to a head at an annual market in Merthyr Parish, where Edmund William (who was a High Constable of Caerphilly) arrested one of Edward Pritchard's tenants, Thomas ap Evan Rees, leading to a fight between himself and the young David Pritchard, then about 24. Once again, the dispute reached Star Chamber and Thomas ap Evan Rees was subsequently hanged for the murder. Edmund William also complained that just two years after the first murder, one of the Pritchard men, along with their adherents, had killed another of his near kinsmen. It is perhaps no wonder that in 1603 Edward Pritchard in his office of Justice of the Peace issued a warrant "to require the inhabitants of the parishes of Gelligaer and Merthyr, that they should not at any time after carry any manner of weapons upon them to any church chapel or any other place of assembly within the said parishes or

Kitchen Stairs

to that effect".

The ban evidently did little to cool David's temper. After a few years of relative calm, in 1610 he was back again in Star Chamber, when a gentleman of Gelligaer complained that David, "an insolent and outrageous person" had been trying to murder him This had apparently occurred while, accompanied by his brother Thomas and three brothers in law, David had been visiting the village to play tennis. (This would have been some form of real tennis and not the lawn tennis we are familiar with today.)

Hence, even before Edward's death in 1612 or thereabouts, the feud was being energetically carried into the next generation by David and his younger brother Thomas, with at least thirteen cases being heard in the Star Chamber Court in London – and who knows how many more were brought locally? The young men, full of self-importance and confidence, seemed keen to escalate the feud, involving not just their family but all their adherents, against the next generation of Lewises. The trigger for the renewed fighting was probably the introduction of a new rival - William Lewis, the new son-in-law of Edmund William Lewis. A cousin from the senior branch of the Lewis family, he married Ann Lewis in 1611. He also inherited land in Gelligaer from his family which he was able to combine with Edmund William's already substantial Gelligaer estate. For the young David Pritchard, used to being the alpha male in the neighbourhood, William Lewis must have presented a considerable challenge. The rivalry between the two men becomes almost farcical at times. On Whitsunday 1612, both factions fell to brawling in St Catwg's churchyard in an argument over which young man should have precedence at the church service. Neither appears to have retained much dignity, with David Pritchard calling William Lewis "baldpate" and William retorting with "longshanks"! David alleged that the whole affair had been part of a plot to kill him by this "man of an insolent and turbulent disposition" and cited two earlier dramatic escapes he had had from attempts on his life.

In response, Edmund William Lewis's brother filed a complaint against David Pritchard, his brother Thomas and others, accusing them of attacking his home and trying to kill him. As this house seems to have been an unofficial ale-house, there may have been alcohol involved in the incident!

Life in Gelligaer was certainly eventful at this time.

Despite the frequent disturbances of the peace, it was during the time of David Pritchard that the house assumed the form it has today. A formal garden was laid out and in 1628, he added the great stairway, a broad wooden structure, on the western side of the house, a much grander means of reaching the great hall than the spiral stairways tucked away in the walls. Some of these were now blocked off, surplus to requirements. It was also around this time that the comfortable parlour was fitted out with wooden

An ensuite privy!

Male sevant's quarters

Bristol panelling, so called because it was what the carpenters of Bristol turned their hands to when there were no ships to be built. The panelling is undeniably fine but perhaps not quite as extravagant as the Pritchards would have liked their guests to believe. The panels show sign of having been altered to fit the parlour space, so it is likely that they were purchased second-hand. Nevertheless, this all seems very much in keeping with the personality of a man who was conscious of his own importance and wanted his home to reflect this.

As the tennis outing suggests, the extended Pritchard family remained close-knit. The youngest brother, Thomas Pritchard, had married his stepsister Elizabeth Thomas and the couple continued to reside at Llancaiach Fawr with elder brother David, which explains why the brothers seem always to act so closely together. In fact, most of the siblings remained in the local area, marrying into established landowning families and building an extensive network of familial ties. Edward Pritchard had taken care to provide well for his children. The increases he had made to his estate had allowed him to provide all of them with land and good marriage settlements without reducing the patrimony he had handed over to David.

The exception was the second son, Edward the younger, who left Wales altogether to become a captain in the Low Countries, fighting with the Protestant Dutch against the occupying Catholic Spanish. Maybe he found the Dutch wars less stressful than the family feuding! Certainly, his affiliations give us some insight into where the family's religious persuasions lay. He settled, for some time at least, in Flushing in Zeeland and married one "Sarah, a Dutchwoman".

David Pritchard followed the family tradition of marrying more than once. His first wife was one of the Herbert family but she left no issue and again it was the second wife, another Mary Carne, this time of Cowbridge, who gave birth to their six children, including another Edward, the next heir.

David Pritchard's death in 1630 brings us back now to where we began with his son Edward, later Colonel , Pritchard, our stalwart of the Royalist cause. This Edward was cut from a different cloth from his forebears. A religious man, a firm Baptist with Puritan sympathies, level-headed and pragmatic, rather than plunging into renewed feuding and violence, he sought to bring the feud to a close. The early deaths of his sister Elizabeth in 1633 and his brother William the following year may have contributed to his desire for peace between the families. In 1636 he made an agreement with William Lewis to "arbitrate award, order, rule, judge and finally to determine between the said parties as for and concerning all manner of suits, actions, causes of suits and actions, strifes, variances, controversies, debts, debates, reckonings, duties, accounts, griefs, inconveniences and all other

demands whatsoever, had moved, stirred, accrued or depending or which may be have moved, stirred or accrued between the two parties or any of them for any cause, matter or matters, thing or things whatsoever from the beginning of the world until the day of the date herof". Edward's thoroughness paid off. Although the arbitration itself does not survive, it must have been conducted to the satisfaction of both men, as the feud now ceased. This must have made a substantial difference to the lives not only of both families but also their servants, adherants, tenants and neighbours., finally doing away with the sporadic outbreaks of violence that had blighted the previous decades. Edward Pritchard could not have foreseen, however, that another threat to peace was about to materialise – the Civil War.

At the start of the war, most of the gentry in the area would have been Royalists but the tumultuous events leading up to the conflict would have had little effect on everyday life. Gradually, however, Edward Pritchard was called on to play more of an active part. By the summer of 1645, the conflict was not going the king's way. He had suffered a severe and unexpected defeat at the battle of Naseby and had travelled to Wales to raise more troops and support. Edward Pritchard and his men were by this time disillusioned with the Royalist cause and mindful of the huge loss of Welsh lives at Naseby. Together with his powerful brother-in-law, Bussy Mansell, Pritchard and his men confronted the king near St Fagan's near Cardiff to air their grievances, demand reduced taxes and call for the more unpopular English commanders to be removed from Wales. The king had little choice but to agree but it was an uneasy truce which ensued.

On August 5th, as he started a journey northwards towards Scotland, King Charles is believed to have stopped at Llancaiach Fawr for dinner. History does not record how the visit went but the famously stiff and charmless monarch certainly failed to win the much needed support of Edward Pritchard. He departed, leaving Pritchard and Mansell among those Welsh gentry in charge of a "peaceable army", a neutral force of around 3000-400 intended to protect local interests. In September, he returned to Wales, dispersed the "peaceable army" and removed Mansell as their leader. The trained band soon reformed – but this time on the Parliamentary side. Bussy Mansell became Commander of the Parliamentary forces in Glamorgan in November. Colonel Pritchard became Governor of Cardiff Castle and town, which he defended and against the opposing forces, including some of his own relatives! He also fought in the Battle of St Fagan's in 1648, when his conduct drew praise as a "constant-minded fellow".

Always known to be pious, this aspect of the Colonel's personality grew even more pronounced after the war and perhaps his faith supported him after the death of his wife Mary in 1649. Although the marriage, like most

in this family, had been arranged, there seems to have been genuine affection between the couple. Unlike his ancestors, Colonel Pritchard did not marry again, perhaps out of real sorrow for the loss of his wife. However, this was the undoing of Llancaiach Fawr as the family seat.

Edward Pritchard and Mary Mansell had had four children together, two boys named Thomas and Lewis, and two girls, Jane and Mary. The choice of the name Lewis for their son is interesting. Was this deliberately chosen as a token of good faith following the resolution of the feud with the Lewis family? Tragically, the two boys died in childhood, leaving the Pritchards with no male heir. Ill and realising that she was dying, Mary wrote to her brother Bussy, imploring him to take her two young daughters into his care at Briton Ferry, as she feared that there were no female relatives or suitable gentlewomen to hand at Llancaiach Fawr to raise the girls according to their station. As their mother had wished, the two girls were sent to live with their Mansell relations. Bereft of both wife and daughters, it must have been a very lonely time for the Colonel.

The Colonel's own death, when it came in 1655, may well have been unexpected, as this normally careful man left no will. The Colonel was only in his late forties and his daughters Jane and Mary were around seventeen and thirteen respectively. With typical Pritchard litigiousness, the estate was claimed by his younger brother Thomas on the grounds that their grandfather, the previous Edward Pritchard, had entailed the estate to the male line alone. The girls' maternal Uncle Bussy counterclaimed that the Colonel, with some foresight, had disentailed the estate in August 1631, shortly after coming into his inheritance. The case appears to have been decided in favour of Jane and Mary, their Uncle Edward narrowly escaping imprisonment for contempt of court.

Sensitive to the changing political climate in the last years of the Commonwealth, Bussy Mansell subsequently arranged the marriage of the girls to two very staunch royalists, thus protecting the Llancaiach Estate against any potential reprisals for his own and their father's parliamentary support. However, those same marriages meant that the girls settled elsewhere, leaving the house to be leased from 1661 to a cousin of the Colonel's mother, a Miles Matthews. Miles' wife was a Catholic and a number of Marian marks (like two overlapping Vs) in the house are thought to date from this time. The tenancy was short because, as a Catholic, Miles' wife was not able to inherit the lease on her husband's death.

Llancaiach Fawr was then leased to the Evans family and this arrangement proved more durable, lasting some two hundred years! The house and lands became part of the Macintosh estate, which was gradually sold off piecemeal, diminishing the status of the manor. Separated from much of the former estate, Llancaiach Fawr became little

more than a working farmhouse, albeit a very prosperous one. By the 1940s, the farm had passed to the Williams family, who bought the property and continued to farm here very successfully until 1979.

The house was then purchased by the far-sighted Rhymney Valley District Council with a view to opening it as a museum. Although a few alterations and essential repairs had been made over the years, the house was structurally little changed since the seventeenth century. Thus Colonel Pritchard's misfortune became our good luck. Had the family line continued and prospered in situe, Llancaiach Fawr would not doubt have been upgraded, remodelled and possibly extended in the fashionable style of a later day and we would have lost an almost untouched Grade I Tudor mansion.

The council spent several years carefully restoring the house to its seventeenth century state (with a few subtle concessions to the modern day, like heating!) before it was opened to the public.

The costumed re-enactors were not part of the original plan. Introduced as part of the launch, they proved so successful that they were retained and the house has become permanently set in 1645. Being greeted by these guides is a memorable experience. Each has their character, back-story and role in the household and no one ever steps out of that character, no matter what the situation. Most have worked in the house for years and have a real feel for its history. Some are professionals and others are "Friends of Llancaiach Fawr", a body of dedicated volunteers who help fund-raise for the manor, sew costumes, tend the garden and yes, act as costumed guides. Support from Cadw and the National Lottery, as well as the fund-raising by the Friends, has allowed the manor to be maintained and further enhanced with the purchase of replica period items and furniture and the careful camouflaging of any mod cons, such as lighting, and the addition of the discreet disabled access to the house. The attics have also been restored and the servant's quarters recreated, reminding us that although the colourful Pritchards may have owned the manor, it was always home to far more people than the immediate family.

Llancaiach Fawr is now owned by Caerphilly Borough Council and as such, it plays an important part in local life, much as it would have done in its heyday. The visitor centre houses a restaurant, shop, a small museum of items found in and around the manor and an exhibition giving the history of the house and family and the background to the Civil War. The current complex of the house and the modern barn, conservatory and education centre is the home of bodies such as the Gelligaer Historical Society and hosts various events throughout the year from weddings to dog shows to cake decorating courses. The local agricultural show is held annually in the adjoining flat meadow, continuing the farming tradition.

Life in the house itself mirrors the age-old customs and practices of the changing seasons much as it would have done five or six centuries ago. On occasions, visitors are able to take part in simple crafts and traditions with the household "servants" and to celebrate landmark days in the traditional calendar. At times, the Colonel himself may be found in residence, particularly when the court sessions are held in the great hall. (Usually at half term!) King Charles himself has even been known to visit in early August.

The winter months are ghost season, with evening tours held regularly. The manor has a number of ghosts and most of the staff have personal experience of the supernatural at work – enough to ensure that no two tours are alike! The house is a favourite with paranormal investigators.

Unfortunately, the peaceful setting of the manor can militate against the numbers of visitors it ought to attract. The valleys are only a short drive from Cardiff but are often perceived as being remote and inaccessible. Yet even in the 16th and 17th century, the Pritchards were dividing their time between Cardiff and Llancaiach. If you ever plan to visit South Wales, consider tearing yourself away from the capital and the coast and visiting the hinterland of the valleys to see this unique Tudor mansion set in beautiful countryside and experience what life was like in the time of the Pritchards. After all, if Charles I could make the effort, why not you?

You can read more about the house, its modern inhabitants and events at:

https://your.caerphilly.gov.uk/llancaiachfawr/content/welcome-llancaiach-fawr

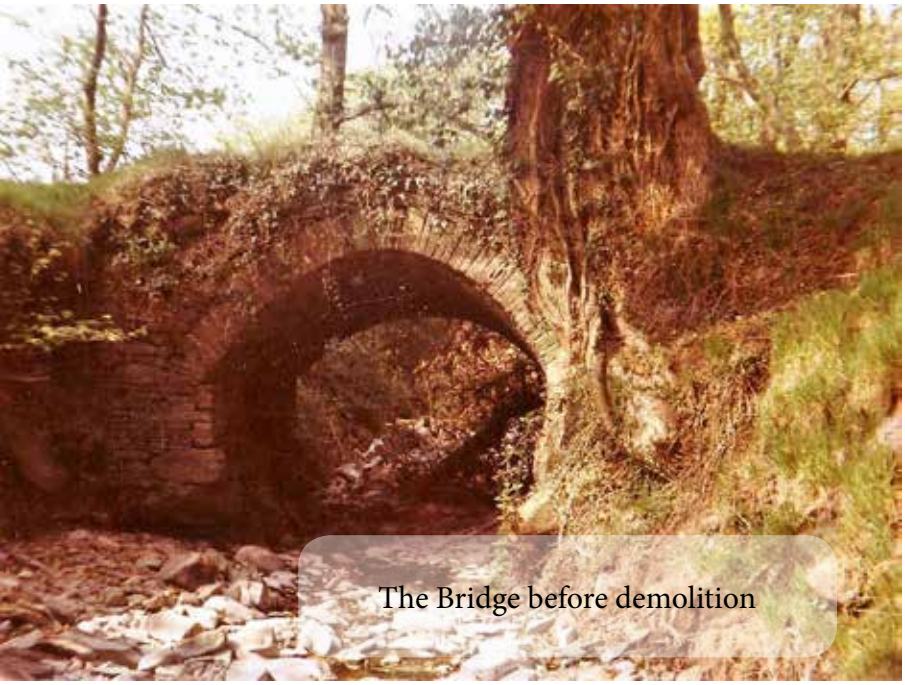
Some notes on Welsh pronunciation.

- The letter C is always hard in Welsh, as in "cake".
- Ch pronounced as in Bach (the composer)
- A single D is pronounced as D in English.
- A double D is pronounced as the th in "thee".
- A single F is pronounced as V. (There is no letter V in the Welsh alphabet.)
- A double F is pronounced as the English F.
- The latter G is always hard, as in "God".
- To pronounce Ll, put the tip of the tongue at the base of the two top front teeth and blow gently.
- W gives a oo sound, as in "moo".
- The stress is usually on the penultimate syllable of a word, so:

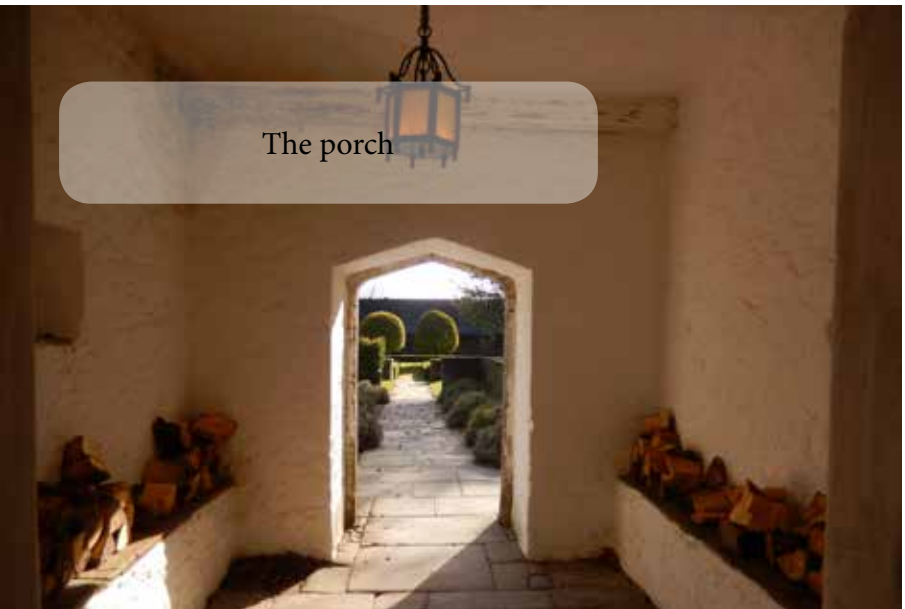
Llan**cai**ach
Gilfach **Far**goed
Catwg
Seng**hen**ydd
Rhymney

Exceptions are **Gell**igaer and **Caer**philly, both of which are composite words – Gelli (grove) Gaer (fort) and Caer (fort) Fili (a personal name)

Mary Pritchards bedchamber



The Bridge before demolition



The porch

A worn srair post

Toni Mount

The Tumultuous Life of Sir Walter Raleigh [Part 1]

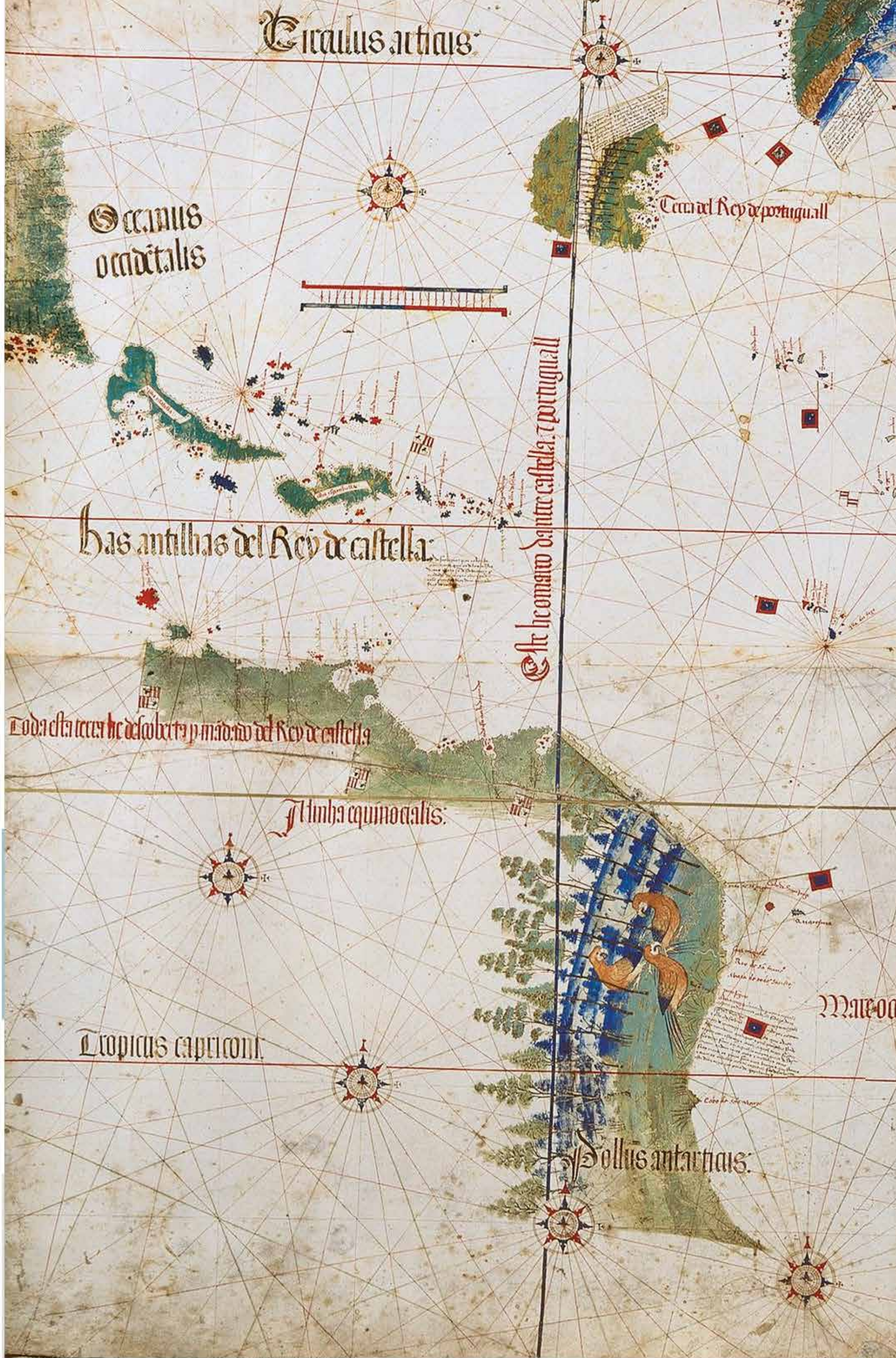
'Whosoever commands the seas, commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world, commands the riches of the world and consequently the world itself.' It was Sir Walter Raleigh who said this but the idea was understood by the Spanish and Portuguese long before the English.

The English were slow to take up oceanic seafaring but the Spaniards had already followed up on the discoveries of Columbus, Vasco Da Gama and Ferdinand Magellan between 1492 and 1519: voyages which put the new world of America on the map. Originally, Columbus and other adventurers were looking for a short cut to China and India but the New World was proving to be even more lucrative, rich in gold and ripe for plundering, together with the wealth of the East Indies. In 1494, to prevent conflict on a global scale, with Spain and Portugal fighting over these new territories, Pope Alexander VI – the Borgia pope who happened to be Spanish – divided the world between the two. Spain received the western half and Portugal the eastern portion, with papal blessings, under the terms of the Treaty of Tordesillas. The pope decreed that an imaginary line should be drawn on the map of the world, running north and south through the mid-Atlantic, 100 leagues (480 km) from the Cape Verde islands. Spain would have possession of any unclaimed territories to the west of the line and Portugal would have possession of any unclaimed territory to the east of the line.

As the map (right) shows, this meant the line ran through Brazil, which is why that country today is Portuguese-speaking, unlike the rest of South America. It also shows that the west coast was, as yet, unknown to Europeans.

By the early sixteenth century, Portugal had turned the Indian Ocean into its private trading consortium, along with the Malabar Coast. Spain took slightly longer: not until the 1540s was the New World safe for commercial exploitation. The Spaniards and Portuguese calmly accepted that the profits of the world belonged to them. But there were plenty of seamen, especially Englishmen, who doubted God had reserved the New World for Spain and Portugal. Sir Walter Raleigh was one of them.

During the Elizabethan era, England's seafarers became ever more daring. Political, economic and religious



Circulus articus:
Terra del Rey de portuguall
Occeanus occidetalis
Este he o marco dantre castella e portugall
Has antilhas del Rey de castella:
Toda esta terra he descoberta p mãdado del Rey de castella
Linha equinocialis:
Tropicus capricorni
Pollus antarticus:

enthusiasm combined to produce a new breed of adventurers as ruthless as any Spanish conquistador. In part, the change was simply the result of envy: why should Portugal and Spain have all the riches of the East and West? Whatever the explanation, it wasn't long before Queen Elizabeth's brave navigators were setting out to explore the New World in search of profit, wanting their share of gold, adventure and glory.

Walter Raleigh was born *c.*1552, the younger son of a staunchly Protestant gentleman, Walter Raleigh of Fardell, and his third wife, Katherine Gilbert, at Hayes Barton in Devon. Always adventurous, young Walter went to France in 1569, to fight on the side of the Huguenots – the French Protestants – in the French Wars of Religion. Having tasted conflict, he returned to England, attending Oriel College, Oxford in 1572, and then the Middle Temple Inn, to study law in 1575. Wanting more excitement than study, Walter made his first voyage to America in 1578, sailing with his half brother [Katherine's son from her previous marriage], the explorer Sir Humphrey Gilbert. From Gilbert, he learned practical seamanship and the basic techniques of navigation. He also got his first look at native peoples of the New World. He took up war once more in 1580, helping to suppress an uprising of Irish rebels in Munster but he disapproved of the English policy in Ireland and spoke out, criticising what was going on there. Queen Elizabeth got to hear of his opinions and, rather than punishing this outspoken gentleman, within two years, he was Her Majesty's favourite courtier.

A miniature of Sir Walter by Nicholas Hilliard

The new favourite was rewarded, receiving extensive estates in Munster, in Ireland, and the lease of a fine house in the Strand in London, handy for attending the queen at Whitehall. To make certain he could afford to live in the grandeur required of a royal courtier, Walter was given lucrative monopolies, including the issuing of wine licences in 1583 and duties from the export of English broadcloth in 1585. In case this income was insufficient, the queen appointed him Warden of the Stannaries [the Cornish tin mines] which brought the cash rolling in. Less for money-making purposes but important for influence and status, Walter was knighted in 1585, promoted Lieutenant of Cornwall and – bearing in mind his seafaring aptitude – appointed as Vice Admiral of Devon and Cornwall. He was also a Member of Parliament in 1584. The high point of his time as favourite was in 1587, when Raleigh became Captain of the Queen's Guard.

Though he never set foot there in person, in 1584-85, he sponsored the first English colony in America on

Roanoke Island, now in North Carolina but then in Virginia – named for Elizabeth as the Virgin Queen, although the locals called it Wingandacoa. Raleigh's agents, wanting to persuade would-be colonists, painted a rosy picture of the new country: 'The land smells sweetly as if we be in the midst of some delicate garden'; 'The soil is so fertile that a day's labour in planting will provide food for a year'. Despite the advertising, this was not a venture for anyone expecting an easy existence and stupendous profits. In fact, the colony failed and another attempt at colonisation also failed in 1587. But what made the English believe they had the right to colonise there at all? The land must belong to someone: Spain, according to the Treaty of Tordesillas.

However, the Spaniards had not come this far north on the East Coast of America, so hadn't claimed the land. A clause in the treaty specified that new lands were only up for grabs so long as they were 'uninhabited by any Christian prince'. Although the English weren't even mentioned in the treaty they, along with the Dutch, the French and any other European nation wanting to expand their horizons, took that phrase to mean territory occupied by 'heathen savages', i.e. by peoples not already Christianised, was available for exploitation and colonisation. Although that phrase served for now, it wouldn't be long before the 'Christian princes' were fighting among themselves over claiming and possessing all desirable lands. One of the first English settlers to arrive in Virginia in the 1585 attempt at colonisation was John White, an artist who recorded images of the local

A Native American, Roanoke, 1585
Drawing by colonist John White [British Museum]

peoples, the wildlife and landscape of the new land.

Among the new crops of the Americas, Raleigh has been credited with bringing potatoes and tobacco back to Britain, although both were already known via the Spaniards. But Raleigh's own influence at court did help to make smoking popular there; although the queen did not take up the habit, many others did. But Sir Walter's time as royal favourite didn't last. It all ended in tears in 1592, when the queen discovered Raleigh had secretly married one of her maids of honour, Elizabeth Throckmorton.

In 1592 Raleigh bought the manor of Sherborne in Dorset. He was ready to settle down and have a family. It seems he may have married Elizabeth,

'Bess', daughter of the diplomat, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton and his wife, Anne Carew, as early as 1588, but Alison Weir in her book *The Life of Elizabeth I* (1998), states that Bess and Raleigh's first child was conceived by July 1591 and the couple were married 'in great secrecy' in the autumn of 1591. Bess had been born in 1565, so she was eleven years younger than Sir Walter.

Bess and her brother Arthur were both at court and Bess's intelligent nature appealed to the well-educated queen who appointed her as a Gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber. Bess was also said to be forthright, passionate and courageous: traits that attracted Raleigh and the pair fell in love but kept their liaison a secret from the jealous queen.

Elizabeth Throckmorton, Lady Raleigh, 1595
Painting by William Segar

When their son was born in March 1592, he was christened Damerei, after Sir Walter's supposed aristocratic ancestors, the D'Ameries. Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, knew about the clandestine wedding and stood as godfather to little Damerei, who is believed to have died of the plague during infancy. Queen Elizabeth probably became aware of the secret marriage and the birth of the child in May 1592. It is surprising that the court gossip-mongers took so long to discover the story. Although Sir Walter and Bess vehemently denied everything, once the queen found out, in a great rage, she at first put the offending couple under house arrest then, in June, sent them to the Tower of London. They were lucky the punishment wasn't terminal.

Sir Walter was able to buy his release with profits from a privateering voyage in which he had invested and was freed in August. He immediately set about regaining royal favour by taking a ship to join a squadron of English naval vessels patrolling off the Azores in the Atlantic. Their intention was to intercept the Spanish treasure galleons on their return voyage from South America. Incredibly, with royal sponsorship, this expedition had originally set out the previous May, under Sir Walter's command but he had been recalled by the queen when she learned of his wedding to Bess. Instead, it had sailed under Raleigh's deputy, Martin Frobisher. But the expedition hadn't had much luck and suffered badly in stormy weather.

However, with Sir Walter's return, the fortunes of the little English squadron changed. On the horizon they spotted a

Portuguese vessel, coming home from the Far East and equally 'fair game' for the English – treasure was treasure, wherever it came from. It must have been difficult to resist the *Madre de Deus* – the Mother of God – her gilded superstructure gleaming invitingly. Launched only three years before specifically for trade with the Far East, the huge carrack could carry 900 tons of cargo – the ship itself weighed 1,600 tons and was probably the largest of its kind ever constructed.

On the downside, she had a crew of up to 700 and was armed with thirty-two cannon and was three times the size of England's biggest ship. The battle of Flores began when the *Madre de Deus* was attacked by the much smaller *Dainty*. The *Golden Dragon* and the *Roebuck* joined in, followed by the *Foresight* and the *Prudence* in the evening. The *Dainty* had her foremast shot away and was out of the battle for five hours. The English boarded the *Madre de Deus* in the dark at 10 pm. The *Golden Dragon*, *Sampson* and *Tiger* and the repaired *Dainty* came up in support, taking the ship after hours of bloody hand-to-hand combat.

The Portuguese carrack was quickly repaired, heavily guarded by the English ships as the expedition set sail for England, reaching the English Channel without incident. However, once the *Madre de Deus* was brought back to Dartmouth, England, she was pillaged on an industrial scale. By the time Walter Raleigh restored order, the cargo, previously estimated at half a million pounds – half the size of

A model of the *Madre de Deus,* Lisbon, Portugal

England's treasury – had been reduced to £140,000.

The original inventory mentions chests filled with jewels and pearls, gold and silver coins, ambergris, rolls of the highest-quality cloth including silks, damasks, taffetas, sarcenets, fine tapestries, 425 tons of pepper, 45 tons of cloves, 35 tons of cinnamon, 3 tons of mace, 3 tons of nutmeg, 2.5 tons of benjamin [an aromatic balsam resin used for perfumes and medicines], 25 tons of cochineal and 15 tons of ebony wood. There was also ginger, galingale, frankincense, camphor, civet, musk, elephant ivory, Chinese porcelain and cloth-of-gold. Despite the losses to thieves, the queen received an unbelievable 2,000% return on her little investment in Sir Walter's venture. If that didn't restore him to high favour, nothing would.

Next time, we'll see how Sir Walter Raleigh had acquired a taste for gold from the capture of the *Madre de Deus.* It could only lead him into more trouble.

TONI MOUNT

Charlie on Books

FOLLOWING IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF HENRY TUDOR

Phil Carradice

Recently Pen and Sword Publishing have been releasing a new series of books called 'Following in the Footsteps' in which they look at the places notable historical figures visited. Having reviewed the book on the Princes in the Tower in February 2020 issue of this magazine, I looked forward to reviewing the next one, which is *Following in the Footsteps of the Henry Tudor* by Phil Carradice. This book focuses on Henry VII's life before becoming king, an interesting angle for the author to take and one that seemed a little uncertain at first.

The book starts with a brief description and explanation of the Wars of the Roses, as well as the events leading up to Henry's birth. Carradice tells us why Henry was able to gain so much support in Wales:

> *'Jasper had always sensed the viability of Wales as a base for an invasion. He knew the country well and was regarded as something of a hero by the populace. He knew the feelings of the ordinary Welsh people as well as the noblemen and landed gentry. They had no love for England or for Richard. Henry, having been born in Pembroke, was one of them, not one of the hated 'Sais' (English).'*

However, one of the most interesting parts of the book is when Henry lands in England after being in exile and makes his way to Bosworth. There is much detail and the exploration of different theories as to where he stayed during that time. This includes many incredible stories, including one where Henry met a poet who was also said to be a prophet:

> *'During the evening Henry asked the poet to use his skills and prophesise about his future. In particular he wanted to know whether or not he would be victorious in the coming battle. Dafydd, nervous and unsure about what to say, asked to sleep on the matter. During the night his wife advised him to proclaim a victory for the Tudor earl - after all, if he became king he would probably reward them; if he failed he would be dead and unable to trouble them. The next day Dafydd provided a positive response and Henry went happily on his way.'*

There are quotes from different sources throughout the book, although I would question the almost naive acceptance of some of the secondary ones. I wish the author had questioned some of the sources more. The only other issue with this book is that I wish there were more detail on the actual places described in this book, like there was with another book in the series, *Following in the Footsteps of the Princes in the Tower*. It seems more like a traditional biography, although stopping at Bosworth and not looking at Henry's reign, than a book that looks at his journey and the places he visited. You would not know the books were in the same series were they not so prominently advertised as such.

Overall, *Following in the Footsteps of Henry Tudor* is an interesting book and, in a world with so few books on Henry VII's life, let alone his life pre-Bosworth, it is worth a look for most Tudor historians. However, there is no escaping that there are some minor faults with it and so it may be of more use to someone who knows little of Henry than someone who has extensively studied his life.

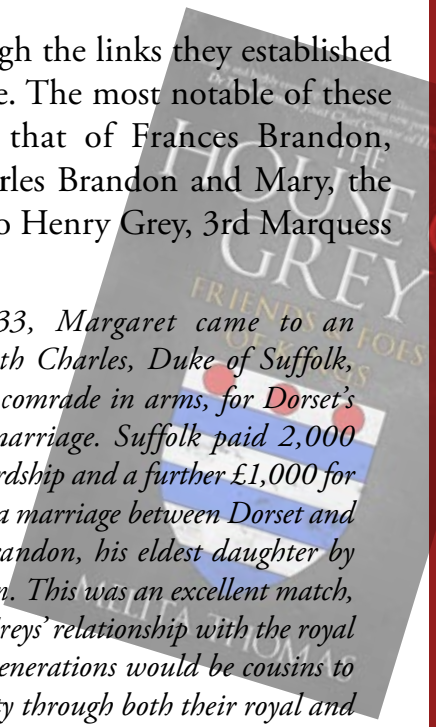
THE HOUSE OF GREY

Melita Thomas

We could argue that many people have not heard of the Grey family and what they did before the birth of Lady Jane Grey, the famous 'Nine Day's Queen'. However, the Grey family had been closely linked to the English throne for many years before that and were major players during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with Elizabeth Woodville, another Grey, albeit through marriage, becoming queen consort. Melita Thomas has recently written the book the Grey family deserve, looking at the highs and lows of this noble family.

The book starts in 1432 with a brief overview of Henry VI's reign and the start of the Wars of the Rose, ending in 1554 with the death of Lady Jane Grey. Surprisingly, the book ends after Lady Jane Grey's execution and so it does not cover her sisters, Katherine and Mary Grey. They have gained some popularity in recent years and both had similarly tragic ends, so it seems odd not to include them.

One of the most interesting things about this book is the relationship of the individual family members with the royal family and how close they got several times to actually taking the throne through the links they established through marriage. The most notable of these was, of course, that of Frances Brandon, daughter of Charles Brandon and Mary, the French Queen, to Henry Grey, 3rd Marquess of Dorset:



> *'In March 1533, Margaret came to an arrangement with Charles, Duke of Suffolk, Thomas II's old comrade in arms, for Dorset's wardship and marriage. Suffolk paid 2,000 marks for the wardship and a further £1,000 for royal consent for a marriage between Dorset and Lord Frances Brandon, his eldest daughter by the French Queen. This was an excellent match, reinforcing the Greys' relationship with the royal family - future generations would be cousins to the Tudor dynasty through both their royal and non-royal blood.'*

The author also shows us how the current monarch viewed certain people, with the death of the 2nd Marquess of Dorset's death shedding some light on how Henry VIII felt about him. She tells us that Henry presumably grieved for the loss of his cousin who had always been 'a devoted subject, a reliable and competent councillor and administrator' and we can see that in his actions, as he paid the registrar of the Order of the Garter for 1,000 Masses for Dorset's soul.

This book is well researched and referenced throughout, although it could perhaps be a little more precise on page numbers of secondary sources. Several family trees are included, one at the beginning of each section to show the next generation. It could maybe be improved with a list of the key people involved, as some books do nowadays, as there are a lot of members of interconnecting families and many of them have the same name. This is, however, only a minor point.

The House of Grey is an excellent book on a neglected family and Melita Thomas tells their story perfectly. It is a book that belongs on any Tudor bookshelf and I can highly recommend it to anyone interested in the period and the noble families vying for power.

CHARLIE FENTON

Catherine Interviews...

Royal knowledge that spans many centuries

This month's interview is with Gayle Hulme. Gayle has written for Tudor Life in the past and has been one of our expert speakers, so you may recognise her name. Here we learn about the person behind the facts.

Hello, Gayle, and thank you for joining us at the Tudor Society! Thank you so much for being here. To start with, please tell us a little bit about yourself outside the world of history.

There's a world outside of history, who knew? My proper job is teaching Group Fitness classes, but other than that I'm usually hanging around with my family and friends or following my first love which is Rangers Football Club. I recently started an Open University course too, so life is pretty busy.

Tell our members about British Sovereigns and Royals

The group came about because I couldn't really find all the British Royal history, castles, palaces, stories and personalities post 1066 under one banner, so I thought, 'Ah well I'll created a wee group'. I never imagined that 4 years later we'd be 18,000 members strong and chatting everything from William the Conqueror to how cute HRH Princess Charlotte's latest birthday picture is all in the space of 10 minutes. It also led to me being asked to publish an essay about Mary Queen of Scots and her marriages which was quite an eyeopener.

Catherine Interviews...

You do a lot of travelling as part of your passion for history. We recently met at Hampton Court. How often do you like to go on your travels and what do you have in the pipeline?

I love this element of royal history as allows you to meet with fellow history buffs (no eye rolling – BONUS!) and it really gives you a sense of the space and emotion those royals and nobles must have felt going about their everyday lives. Funds permitting I usual plan about four overnight trips in a year. Of course with the global situation going a bit sideways this year the plans for another trip to The Royal Pavilion at Brighton and my annual trip to the Tower of London in May are still in the pending tray.

What first got you into history and more specifically Royal history?

I think I always secretly loved it, but it just wasn't that cool, so I kept it quiet. My passion was really ignited by two things that really brought it into my soul if you like. When I eventually made it to the Tower of London as a young 20 something I was really affected by the story of Queen Anne Boleyn and her tragic end. I stood at the memorial site for a long time and I just couldn't shake off feelings of terror, injustice, and bravery mixed with sadness and inescapable cruelty. Then years later by chance I found a book about Henry VIII at a train station. I found myself racing to the chapters about Queen Anne and once again going through a gambit of emotion as this complex and fascinating character powered her way to the apex of English society only to have it cruelly brought to an end by, amongst other things, a series of heartbreaking pregnancy losses. As I had suffered similarly in my own life, I empathised with the agony of not a Queen securing a dynasty and her husband's loyalty, but a woman losing her longed for children.

Do you have a favourite period in history?

Oh I would have to go with Tudor for the whole Henry VII, Battle of Bosworth right through all the high drama to Elizabeth I. Henry VII becoming King by right of conquest and then the pressure Henry VIII must have undoubtedly felt to try and secure a new and tenuous dynasty. Then at the end we have Elizabeth I, doing what nobody thought was possible – being a successful, unmarried and childless female ruler. I like to think Queen Anne would have been proud of her girl.

Catherine Interviews...

You remain many people's 'go to' person when they have questions about the modern Royals. It seems that although many people follow them, there is very little in-depth understanding of how the modern monarchy operates, which is in stark contrast with how other periods such as the Tudors have been scrutinised. Why do you think this is?

That's a fascinating question. In my opinion the media has a huge role to play in choosing headlines that feed the public misinformation about the way the Monarchy operates. It's a lot juicer and lucrative advertising wise for red top newspapers or sensationalist TV media to focus on spurious and easily manipulated half truths than to drill down into the details of what is actually going on.

Recent events surrounding The Duke and Duchess of Sussex have lead to increased scrutiny of the royal family. Do you feel the modern day royal modern family are represented fairly and accurately?

I think certain aspects of the Royal Family are treated better than others by the media. HM The Queen stills commands a huge amount of respect given her service and her age. I'm not sure the same can be said about some of the younger members. Of course there will always be and always should be freedom of the press in order to report stories of questionable behaviour. However, when this becomes, as I think it has in the case of The Duchess of Sussex, a personal vendetta against a

young woman flung into a totally unfamiliar arena at breakneck speed we need to ask; is the media reporting the news or trying to make the news?

Next month, our members can look forward to a piece you're writing for us on how the royals are funded, which can be connected back to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and how the duchy made its way to the Tudors through his issue with Katherine Swynford. This is going to be absolutely fascinating. Funding is something that is frequently used to call for the abolition of the monarchy, which is why I wanted you to talk to us about it – it's greatly misunderstood. Until we can read your article, could you just run through some common misconceptions about the Royals today?

The main misconception is definitely about how the Monarchy is funded. It's been widely reported that British taxpayers have paid for renovations to private properties while the rest of the country struggles through severe cuts and austerity. In fact The Queen receives an annual amount known as the Sovereign Grant to cover all the expenses she incurs in performing her duties as Head of State.

Finally, if you could recommend any three history books, from any era, what would they be and why?

Favourite books, this could be quite a list. Absolutely Eric Ives's definitive 'The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: The Most Happy'. Kate Williams superb book 'Becoming Queen' covers the often overlooked and tragic Princess Charlotte of Wales, plus the family interactions of the young HRH Princess Victoria of Kent, later Queen Victoria. Also Saul David's Prince of Pleasure is a great book on The Prince Regent before he became King George IV. George IV is such a rascal, but I'm totally fascinated and a little bit jealous of how he got away with such outrageous spending, temper tantrums and general bad behaviour. Maybe I wish I'd been around to get invited to one of his lavish parties at Carlton House or the Royal Pavilion. Finally pretty much anything about Prince Albert, Queen Victoria's husband who is my secret (not so secret) history crush.

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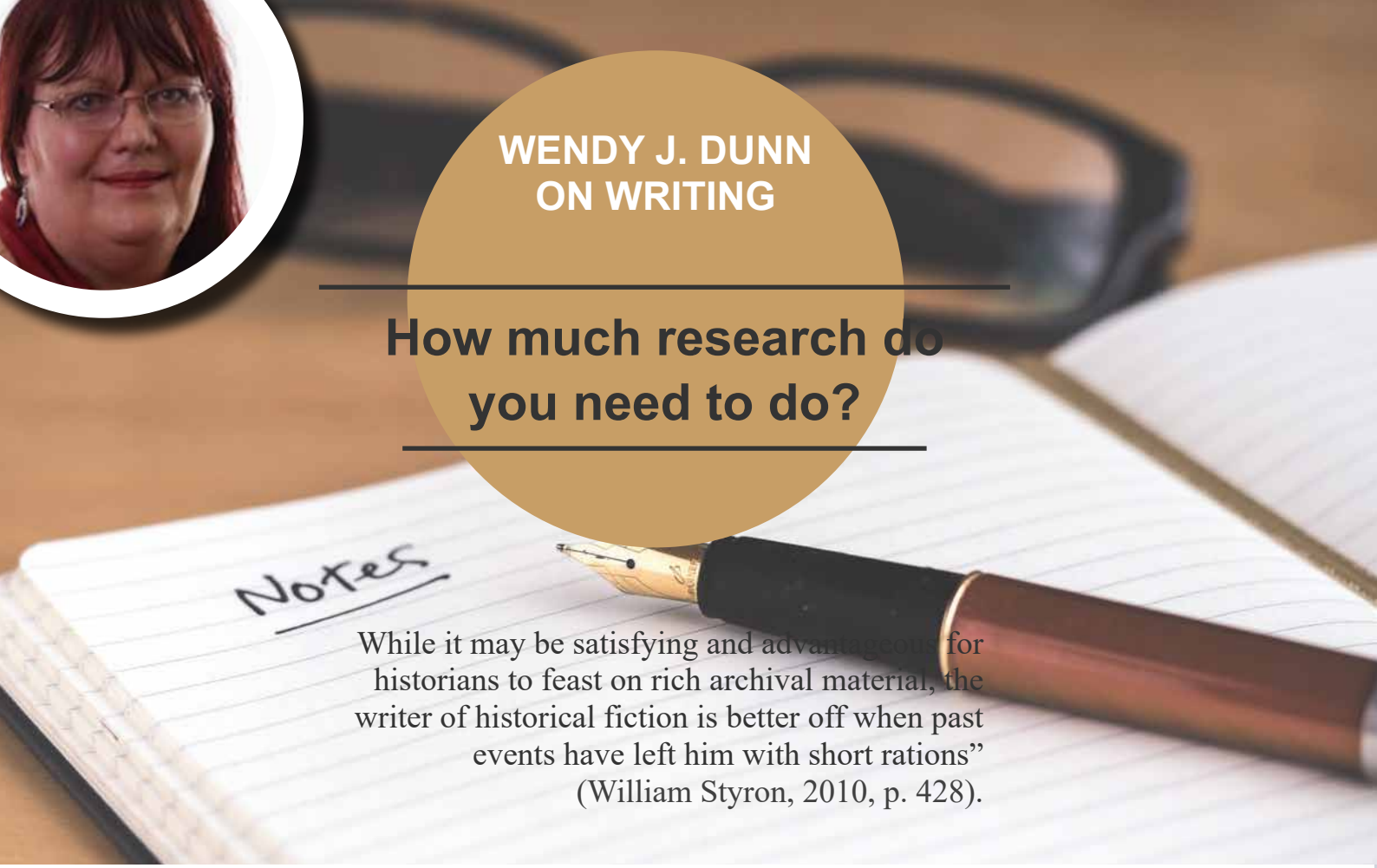

WENDY J. DUNN ON WRITING

How much research do you need to do?

> While it may be satisfying and advantageous for historians to feast on rich archival material, the writer of historical fiction is better off when past events have left him with short rations"
> (William Styron, 2010, p. 428).

Dear Reader/Writer,

'How much research do I need to do?' is a question I hear a lot from aspiring historical writers. More than a lot. It is a question I touched on in 'How Research Illuminates Story', one of my previous columns. I thought, for this column, I would like to revisit it and explore it.

So – 'How much research do you need to do?'

One of my most favourite quotes as an author of historical fiction are the words from William Styron above.

Why do these words speak to me? I have been reading and writing 'history' for almost all my life. I sometimes think that means I should have far more to list in my writing resume than three published novels, one yet to be published novel, a creative PhD, performed plays and published poetry. But then I remember my life. If I ever write my biography, I know its title: *The interrupted Writer*. But all these interruptions were part of my growth as a human being – and I do believe writers need to live a life to be able to write meaningfully about life, and what it means to be human.

I digress. Kind of. Because of the question of 'how much research' is also tied into our life experience. We can only write compelling fiction if we can draw from what we understand about life – and we do this by living, and also by empathetic engagement with fiction. Reading good books is important for anyone planning or aspiring to be a fiction writer. Reading good books feeds into our imagination – and allow us to imaginatively experience life through the imagination of other writers.

I hope none of us ever experience the reality of standing on a scaffold, waiting for the moment of our execution – but we can experience these

8	2	4	0	6	0	9	0	2	2	5	3	5	0	0
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9	6	2	4	1	2	4	5	7	3	6	3	3	4	8
7	0	1	4	0	4	2	4	1	0	3	3	3	5	2
8	0	2	0	2	5	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	5	2
0	9	0	8	0	2	8	7	5	2	2	0	0	0	4
1	4	3	0	3	5	2	0	8	1	0	1	5	1	2

Using the clues provided, work out the dates of these Tudor events. When you have them all, locate them in the 'Word' Search – it's a lot harder when it's numbers! All events happened in the 16th Century, so date format is given **dd/mm/yy**.

1. Date of Birth of Henry, Duke of Cornwall, son of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon
2. Date of the marriage of Henry VIII & Anne of Cleves
3. Traditional date given of the execution of reformer, scholar and bible translator William Tyndale
4. Date of the proxy marriage at Greenwich Palace of Princess Mary Tudor and King Louis XII of France
5. On this date, Thomas Cranmer was consecrated as Archbishop of Canterbury in St Stephen's College, Westminster Palace
6. Date of execution of Mary Queen of Scots at Fotheringhay Castle
7. Date Henry VIII made his final speech to parliament
8. Date of the joint coronation of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon
9. On this date at Kenninghall in Norfolk, Mary Tudor declares herself Queen
10. Date of the marriage of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to Lettice Devereux
11. Date on which Elizabeth I became queen
12. Date of death of the 'Vicar of Hell'
13. Date of the executions of Sir Henry Norris, Sir Frances Weston, Mark Smeaton, Sir Willam Brereton and George Boleyn, Lord Rochford
14. Birthdate of Lady Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox
15. The date that Parliament passed the 'First Act of Succession', which validated the marriage of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn and gave their issue the right to inherit the crown
16. Date of the beheading of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex
17. Marriage date of Francis Knollys and Catherine Carey, daughter of Mary Boleyn and William Carey
18. Sir Thomas More become Henry VIII's Lord Chancellor on this date (25/10/29)
19. On this date Anne Boleyn is made Marquis of Pembroke in her own right

Answers overleaf!

moments through the imagination of writers. We experience these moments through reading novels. Life and reading both are powerful ways of feeding what I like to call the 'Writerly Compost'.

What is the 'Writerly Compost', you ask? I describe it as 'everything' we draw from our consciousness, and, even more powerfully, from our unconsciousness, for our writing. All our life experiences make up this 'Writerly Compost' – and that includes the knowledge we gain from the research we do.

Research is not just seeking out primary materials, reading reference books, doing things like 'walking with our characters', but also using our five senses and bodies to help us find the right words for our story-telling. For example, for my practice of writing, I have knelt on the floor, blindfolded – to help me embody the experience of Anne Boleyn on the scaffold. This is when I discovered being blindfolded impacted on my balance, and caused me to wobble. This experience led me wonder about something I once read in a history book – was it true Anne Boleyn held onto the block for her execution? As a fictional writer, I feel free to listen to my instincts and grab those times when history may be debatable for my storytelling.

The question of 'How much research do you need to do to write a fictional story?' is a 'how long is a piece of string' kind of question. It also depends on the writer – and what they are writing.

Let me use myself (and my work) as an example. When I decided to write about the early years of Katherine of Aragon – from the time she was five, to when she faced leaving her family and homeland forever at fifteen – I did not realise what I was letting myself in for. I knew very little about Medieval Castile or the court of Isabel of Castile. This meant I had to read a lot to learn what I needed to know to create a novel about Katherine's (or Catalina's) growing up years in Castile. It became a domino kind of experience – with one thing leading to another. I found myself researching war in the Middle ages,

added books about warfare, and even the history of gunpowder to my reference library. But there comes a time I must trust I have completed enough research to write my story. I must trust myself – and not let myself get lost in the rabbit hole of endless research. I must remember I am a fictional writer – and the true purpose of research is to ignite my imagination. If I was to map out my creative process, it would look something like the diagram above.

But let's return to Styron's contention that a historical writer is better off with short rations. This statement may seem contradictory considering the extensive research I do for my novels. But the characters I use for my point of view characters are those we know very little about other than their names and that they lived close to people history remembers and always will remember. That provides for me those important gaps for my imagination to step into and create story.

For example, *Falling Pomegranate Seeds: The Duty of Daughters* began with these short rations:

» I had a name: Beatriz Galindo
» She was a scholar and a poet. All her work seems lost to history.
» Considered a gifted Latin teacher.
» Was believed to be a teacher of Queen Isabel of Castile and her daughter Katherine of Aragon.
» One known biography of her – written in Spanish.

My decision – I would have to construct her by the use of my imagination from these bones.

What did I know starting my novel?

» A fair amount of Tudor history. Unfortunately, only somewhat helpful for a story set in Medieval Spain.
» What I needed to research:
» Medieval Spain.
» Queen Isabel of Castile and her family.
» Women's lives in Castile.
» The Holy War.
» Everything necessary to feed my writerly compost for my imagination to tap into.

Once I have done all that, it is well and truly time to begin writing my story, all the time remembering my goal is to find the beating heart of a good story that is also informed by history.

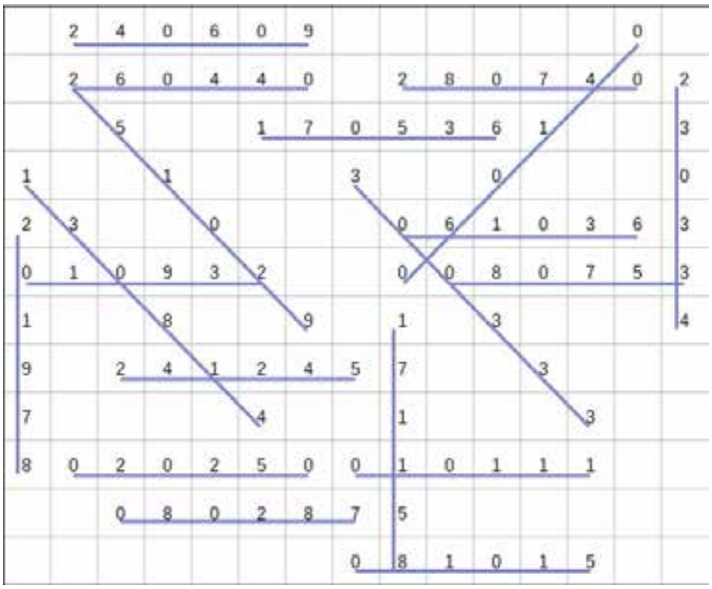
Fare ye well until next – and please do not forget you can email me at wendyjdunn@icloud.com with questions you would like me to answer in this column.

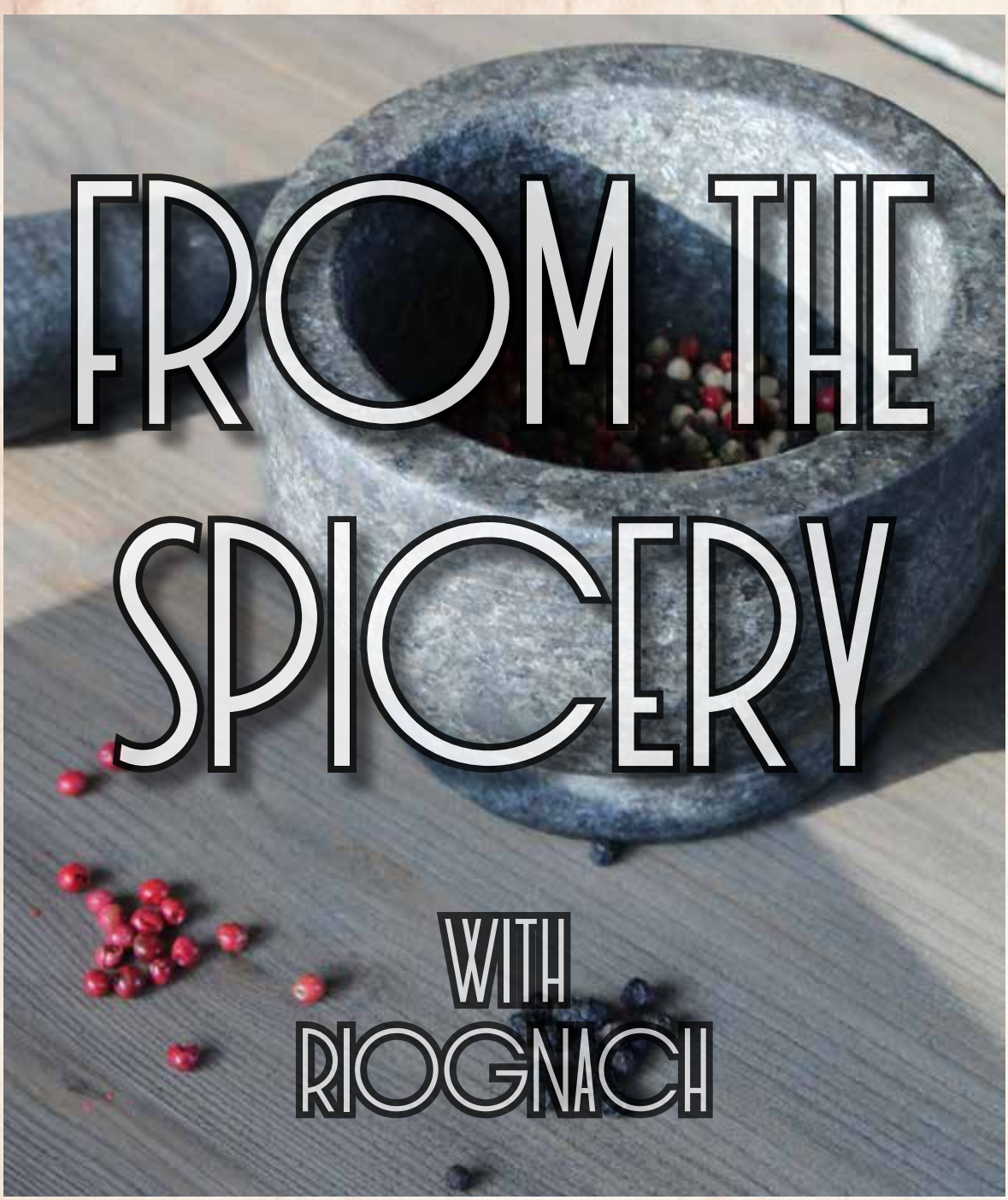
WENDY J DUNN

Styron, W. 2010, The Confessions of Nat Turner, Kindle edition: Open Road.
Dunn, WJ 2019, Falling Pomegranate Seeds: The Duty of Daughters, Poesy Quill Publishing.

Quiz Answers

1. 010111
2. 060140
3. 061036
4. 130814
5. 300333
6. 080287
7. 241245
8. 240609
9. 080753
10. 210978
11. 171158
12. 020250
13. 170536
14. 081015
15. 230334
16. 280740
17. 260440
18. 251029
19. 010932





WORTH ITS WEIGHT IN GOLD

PEPPER

Greetings from the Spicery! Over the next couple of articles, we will look at some spices that were literally worth their weight in gold. This month, we'll look at pepper (Piper nigrum), Cubebs (Piper cubeba), and something that isn't from the pepper family but is often cited, Grains of Paradise (Aframomum melegueta).

If you're experiencing a little déjà vu at this point, it's OK, as I briefly described these three spices in the article "Spice Cookoos" (Tudor Life, February 2019). This time around, I'll look at when pepper (in all its glorious forms) was first introduced into western Europe, and how it was used in cooking during the Middle Ages.

Pepper, without a doubt, is one of the spices that was worth its weight in gold. Like cloves, pepper was used a form of currency; hence the term 'a peppercorn rent'. We know that pepper wasn't something that the average medieval person would have access to. Having peppercorns in one's spicery was a definite mark of wealth and status, so giving up even a single solitary peppercorn had significance.[1] Peppercorns were (and still are) represented in bridal jewellery in parts of India, where pepper was initially found.[2] There is even a 7th Century riddle about pepper that speaks to its uses in the kitchen, and the unfortunate effects it can have on one's bowels:

I am black on the outside, clad
in a wrinkled cover,
Yet within I bear a burning
marrow.
I season delicacies, the
banquets of kings, and the
luxuries of the table,
Both the sauces and the
tenderised meats of the kitchen.
But you will find in me no
quality of any worth,
Unless your bowels have
been rattled by my gleaming
marrow.[3]

This riddle is attributed to Saint Aldhelm, the one time Bishop of Sherborn.[4] Assuming that Aldhelm wrote this particular riddle after having seen and eaten a dish spiced with black pepper, then we know that particular spice was in England between the 7th and 8th Centuries.

Cubebs also feature in both cooking and medicine in the Middle Ages. Also known as 'tailed pepper', cubeb doesn't taste like it should come from the same botanical family as black pepper. To my tastebuds, cubeb reminds me of allspice with a more earthy flavour, and a bit of juniper thrown in for good measure. Cubeb as some of the fresh and bitey notes we associate with black pepper, but

1 Cryer, M. Curious English Words and Phrases: TheTruth Behind The Expression, Exisle Publishing, 2012 p270.

2 Author's own work -bridal silver anklet with stylised peppercorns, Kerala, India 17th Century

3 Turner, J. Spice: The History Of A Temptation, Harper Collins, 2012, p94. (ebook)

4 Turner, ibid

these are subtle in comparison. The writings of 13th Century explorer Marco Polo mention cubebs as an export from the island kingdom of Java in the Indonesian archipelago. Writing in the 1600s, Nicholas Culpepper includes the medicinal uses of cubeb, while Constance Hieatt identifies cubebs in her works Curye on Inglysch[5] and A Gathering of Medieval English Recipes[6].

Interestingly, cubebs also had a role in religion where they used as part of the exorcism ceremony in the late 1600s. An Italian Franciscan priest by the name of Ludovico Sinistrari was considered to be something of an expert in the conduct of exorcisms and used several expensive spices in his incenses to ward off incubi and other demons[7]. As an aside, Sinistrari's work Demonality: or Incubi and Succubi, is a fascinating read and is available on Internet Archive (link provided in the footnotes).

Now we get onto the odd-one-out; grains of paradise. I call this particular spice the odd-one-out as its not a member of the pepper family but is a member of the ginger family. Even then, grains of paradise are more closely related to cardamom than to ginger. Confusing, isn't it. If you've never had the pleasure of tasting grains of paradise, think black pepper with overtones of orange, lemon and lime. This particular spice was often used by devious spice merchants in the 15th century who would replace black peppercorns with them. In reality,

5 Hieatt, C & Butler, S. Curye on Inglysch, Early English Text Society, 1985.

6 Hieatt, C. A Gathering of Medieval English Recipes, Brepols, 2008

7 Sinistrari, L. De Daemonialitate et Incubis et Succubis (Demonality: Or Incubi and Succubi), pp133-139. https://archive.org/details/demonialityorin00lisegoog/page/n11

grains of paradise are far smaller than peppercorns, so the dishonest spice merchant would run the risk of having his deception found out. The grains are mentioned in Le Ménagier de Paris, they are recommended for use in such dishes as capon soup[8], meat jelly[9], preserves[10], and hippocras[11].

So how were black pepper, cubeb, and grains of paradise used by cooks in the Middle Ages? In short, they were used with gay abandon in the kitchens of the rich and powerful. The high cost and exclusivity of these spices meant that the average medieval person-in-the-street was far less likely to have had the opportunity to sample their delights. There was always the possibility that they could have received part of a dish containing these spices that had been sent down from the high table, or possibly as alms given after the meal. Given the uniqueness of these spices, I think that it would have been an experience that the average person would not have forgotten in a hurry. I say this because the chemical that makes pepper taste hot, piperine, simply wasn't present in any other foods that were available to the masses. For example, the chemical that makes horseradish hot (allyl isothiocyanate) produces a sensation of heat that is entirely different from that of piperine.

Le Ménagier de Paris describes using grains of paradise to make a sweet powder called duke's powder, along with cinnamon, ginger, nutmeg and galingale.[12] This is not unlike another sweet spice powder popular in the Middles Ages; poudre douce. The version of poudre douce that I use contains cardamom and cassia, cinnamon and cloves, coriander and ginger, mace and sugar. The 'evil twin' of poudre douce is poudre forte which uses black pepper and cinnamon, ginger and cloves.

Cubebs and grains of paradise are used together with galingale and mace, juniper and nard, bay leaves and whole nutmegs to make meat jelly.[13] Le Ménagier de Paris also notes that cubebs and grains of paradise came to Paris in relatively small quantities as they were subject to a tax by weight.[14] The cost of pepper is given in Le Ménagier de Paris as four sous for half a quarter pound[15], as well as being used to make black puddings along with ginger and cloves.[16]

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8 Le Ménagier de Paris, section entitled Other Soups with Spices But No Thickeners. http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/Cookbooks/Menagier/Menagier.html

9 Le Ménagier de Paris, ibid, section entitled Side Dishes, Fried Foods and Glazing

10 Le Ménagier de Paris, ibid, section entitled Other Odds and Ends

11 Le Ménagier de Paris, ibid

12 Le Ménagier de Paris, opcit, section entitled Other Odds and Ends

13 Le Ménagier de Paris, opcit, section entitled Side Dishes, Fried Foods and Glazing

14 Le Ménagier de Paris, section entitled The End

15 Le Ménagier de Paris, section entitled Arrangements For The Wedding Done By Master Helyen In May.

16 Le Ménagier de Paris, section entitled Which Speaks of Ordering, Devising and Having Prepared All Manner of Soups, Broths, Sauces and All Other Foods.

MAY'S "ON THIS

1 May 1536
The May Day Joust. Henry VIII left abruptly, taking Sir Henry Norris with him.

2 May 1550
Burning of Joan Bocher, an Anabaptist, at Smithfield. Bocher believed that Christ's flesh was "not incarnate of the Virgin Mary" and was convicted of heresy and condemned to death.

3 May 1580
Death of Thomas Tusser, poet, farmer and writer on agriculture, at the age of sixty-five.

4 May 1471
Death of Edward of Westminster, Prince of Wales and only son of Henry VI, at the Battle of Tewkesbury.

7 May 1560
English troops charged the wall of Leith at the siege of Leith. They were unsuccessful and suffered heavy losses.

8 May 1546
Death of Thomas Knollys, President of Magdalen College, University of Oxford, from 1528 to 1536.

9 May 1538
Marie de Guise (Mary of Guise) and James V of Scotland were married by proxy at the Château de Châteaudun, with Robert Maxwell, 5th Lord Maxwell, standing in for James.

10 May 1552
Suicide of John Clerk, author and secretary to Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk, in the Tower of London.

14 May 1571
Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox and regent to James VI, held the "Creeping Parliament".

Dorothy Wadham

15 May 1556
John Knox appeared in Edinburgh to face heresy charges.

16 May 1618
Death of Dorothy Wadham (née Petre), founder of Wadham College, Oxford. She is buried in St Mary's Church, Ilminster.

22 May 1538
The burning of John Forest, Franciscan friar and martyr, at Smithfield for heresy.

23 May 1533
Thomas Cranmer declared that Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine of Aragon had been annulled.

24 May 1522
Birth of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury and Apologist of the Church of England, in Berrynarbor.

28 May 1509
Death of Edward Courtenay, 1st Earl of Devon. He was buried at Tiverton.

29 May 1546
Murder of David Beaton, Cardinal and Archbishop of St Andrews, at the castle in St Andrews. He was killed by a small group of Fife lairds. One motive was their outrage at the recent trial and execution of Protestant preacher George Wishart at St Andrews.

30 May 1533
Order of the Bath ceremony during the celebrations for Anne Boleyn's coronation

31 May 1589
Death of Sir Walter Mildmay, administrator and founder of Emmanuel College, Cambridge at his home in Smithfield..

Background image: Anne Hathaway's Cottage, Stratford upon Avon. © Zoltan Tasi

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY"

5 May 1535
Death of Charles Booth, Bishop of Hereford. He was buried in Hereford Cathedral.

6 May 1541
Henry VIII issued an injunction ordering "the Byble of the largest and greatest volume, to be had in every churche". This Bible was "The Great Bible" and was the first authorised Bible in English. It had been prepared by Miles Coverdale and was based on the work of William Tyndale.

11 May 1509
Henry VII was laid to rest next to his wife, Elizabeth of York, in Westminster Abbey.

12 May 1521
Cardinal Wolsey announced the papal bull against Martin Luther in a ceremony outside St Paul's.

13 May 1536
Queen Anne Boleyn's royal household at Greenwich was broken up, even though she hadn't been tried yet.

17 May 1575
Death of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth Palace. Parker had also served Queen Anne Boleyn.

18 May 1581
Birth of Mary, Lady Vere (née Tracy), gentlewoman and patron of clergymen.

19 May 1536
The execution of Anne Boleyn, second wife of Henry VIII at the Tower of London

20 May 1535
The imprisoned Bishop John Fisher was made a Cardinal by Pope Paul III. It made no difference, he was executed 22nd June.

21 May 1580
Death of Sir John Thynne, member of Parliament and builder of Longleat.

25 May 1551
Croydon (London) and its neighbouring villages experienced a shock from an earthquake.

26 May 1596
Burial of Thomas Bickley, Bishop of Chichester, in Chichester Cathedral.

27 May 1541
Execution of Margaret Pole, suo jure (in her own right) Countess of Salisbury. It is recorded that she was beheaded by "a wretched and blundering youth … who literally hacked her head and shoulders to pieces in the most pitiful manner".

TUDOR FEAST DAYS

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

Tudor Life

NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

Tudor Life

THE POOR

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY
Worth its weight in gold
- Saffron and Roses

SUSAN ABERNETHY
Washing the Feet of the Poor

GAYLE HULME
Funding the Royal Family

SARAH-BETH WATKINS
What did the poor do for fun?

PLUS

KYRA C KRAMER
The Exeter Conspiracy that Wasn't!

IAN MULCAHY
Tudor Ditchling

and much much more...

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

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