Tudor Life

The Tudor Society Magazine

Members Only
№ 62
October 2019

THE YORKS

Margaret Pole, the last Yorkist

The daughters of York

Margaret of York

Henry VIII and his mother

PLUS

Salats

Tudor pastimes

Tattershall Castle

AND MUCH MORE

Hampton Court Palace

Henry VIII's sophisticated palace

Tudor & Stuart Witchcraft & Medicine

in association with

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

18th to 23rd October 2020 - Spaces Available

The Tudor and Stuart periods were fascinating times, where medicine, science, astrology, religion and superstition were all inextricably linked. It was also a dangerous time for women on the edge of society, where an accusation of witchcraft could lead to a brutal death, and where witchfinders actively looked for such women.

If you are intrigued by the beliefs and superstitions held by people in Tudor and Stuart England and are not put off by the odd ghost story, then you will love this tour!

This dual location, 5 night/6 day tour stays in Stratford upon Avon and Colchester in luxury accommodation led by Claire Ridgway and Philippa Lacey Brewell.

https://www.britishhistorytours.com/history-tours/tudor-witchcraft-medicine

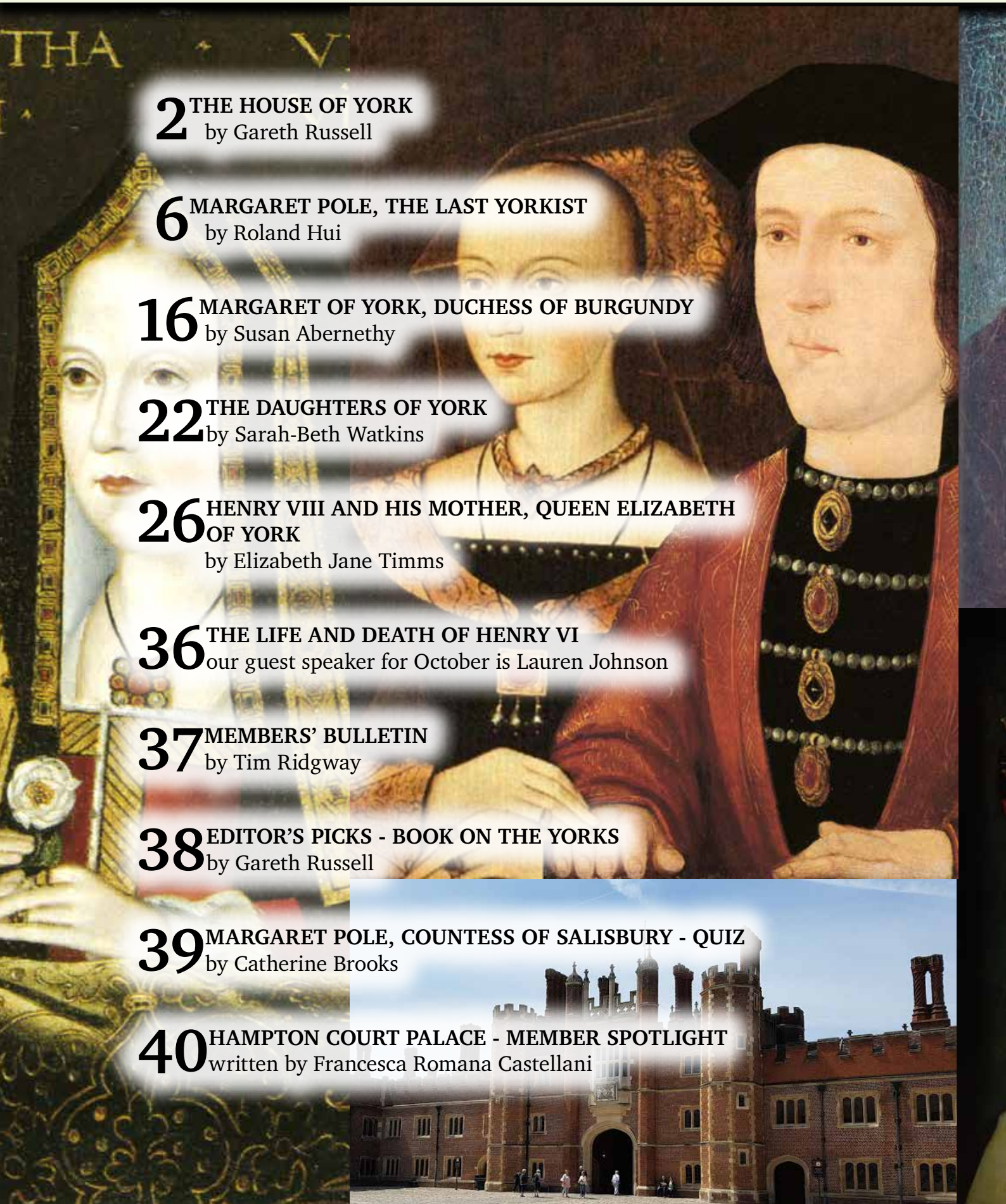
The Yorks

EVEN BY the dramatic standards of medieval monarchy, the Royal House of York had an improbable arc. They came to power, and eventually lost it, through treason against a king. Their ambitions for the throne, when it clashed with their enemies', pitched England, Wales, and Ireland into a generation of crisis. Of the three kings produced by this dynasty, only one died in their beds and even he was haunted by fears of plots and usurpers. Today, their story continues to incite passion and fascination, particularly among defenders or critics of the last Yorkist king, Richard III. The York dynasty's rise and fall is an epic in European history, a crucible of magnificence and mayhem, splendour and sin, brotherhood and betrayal.

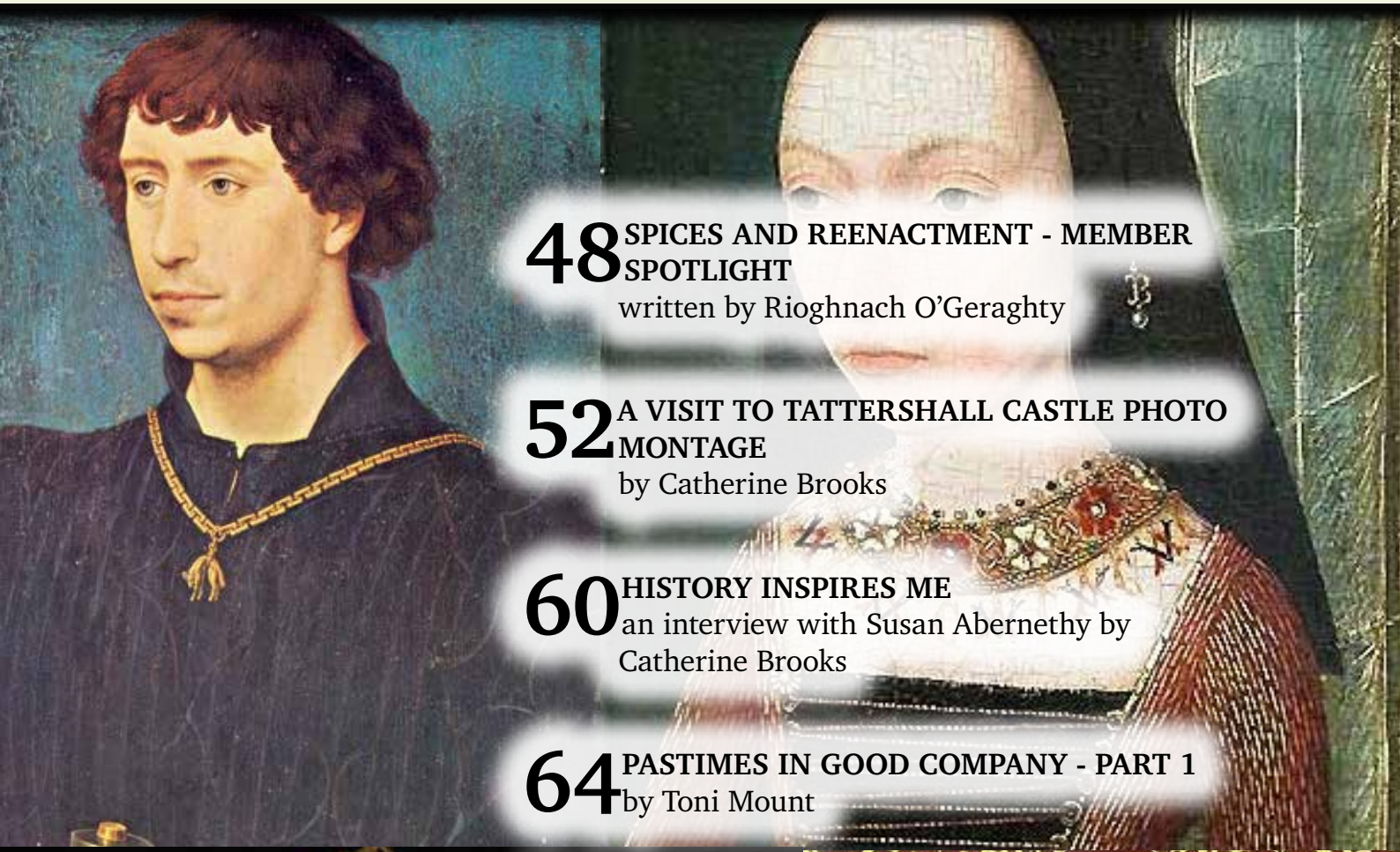
GARETH RUSSELL
EDITOR

ABOVE: The Wars of the Roses (Daily Telegraph)

Tudor Life



OCTOBER



THE HOUSE

GARETH RUSSELL

What exactly was the House of York's claim to the throne, when they first raised it at Henry VI's expense? And what were the circumstances that made their claim credible? I have been asked several times to explain the why and the how that birthed the Wars of the Roses and I would like to share the answer that I gave in my book *A History of the English Monarchy,* in the hope that it might help explain the issue.

What exactly ailed Henry VI is never likely to be proven, but based on all the evidence available to us a diagnosis of catatonic schizophrenia seems the most probable. It would explain many of his symptoms, such as the two-month period when the King was kept at Clarendon unable to move, speak or recognise anyone. The King's cousin Richard, Duke of York, exploited the uncertainty to establish himself as protector of the realm. Margaret, smelling a rat, believed that York had ambitions to seize the crown itself.

She was not necessarily wrong, but her implacable hatred of York and inability to choose conciliation over confrontation helped ensure their rivalry spilled out of the palace and onto the battlefield, in a conflict which later generations called the Wars of the Roses. It began with the battle-lines being drawn at court as the two factions crystallised around the figure of the Queen on one side and the Duke of York on the other. The Tudor brothers were brought on-board with Edmund Tudor's aforementioned marriage to Margaret Beaufort, niece of the Queen's other ally, the Duke of Somerset; York's most prominent ally was Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, a northern magnate with so much land, money and manpower that it was not always clear who the real leader of the Yorkist movement was. Warwick, like York, was a man of infinite ambition who wanted to exploit the crisis created by Henry VI's mental health problems to expand his own power at the monarchy's expense. Unlike York, Warwick seems to have nurtured little ambition to take the throne himself. Instead, he was content to work in the shadows, earning the epithet given to him by his contemporaries and used by posterity, the Kingmaker.

E OF YORK

EDWARD IV

Born: April 1442
Reign: 1461 – 1470, 1471 – 1483
Parents: Richard, Duke of York and his wife Cecily Neville, Duchess of York
Spouse: Lady Elizabeth Grey (née Woodville)
Fun fact: Edward's seizure of the throne and his subsequent descent from handsome warrior into obesity, compulsive womanising, heavy drinking and plotting the murder of his royal rivals is said to have helped inspire the storyline of the fictional king, Robert Baratheon, in the best-selling novels A Song of Ice and Fire and their TV adaptation, Game of Thrones.
Died: Of natural causes at the Palace of Westminster on 9th April 1483.

QUEEN ELIZABETH WOODVILLE

Born: c. 1437
Parents: Richard Woodville, 1st Earl Rivers and his wife Jacquetta of Luxembourg, Dowager Duchess of Bedford
Spouse(s): 1, Sir John Grey (killed at the Second Battle of St. Albans in 1461)
2, Edward IV, King of England
Fun fact: Elizabeth's beauty was so extraordinary that it birthed the myth she was descended from a mermaid.
Died: Of natural causes at a convent in Bermondsey on 8th June 1492.

When he recovered from yet another period of sickness in 1455, the Queen convinced the King to banish York, who threatened rebellion unless he was reinstated at the same time as the Duke of Somerset was exiled. Henry and Margaret both refused to abandon their friend and a Yorkist regiment attacked their forces at St Albans in Hertfordshire on 22 May 1455. Somerset was killed and the King, who was reluctant to fight at all, was hit in the neck by an arrow. The wound to the King's body was not nearly as deep as the wound to royal authority as Henry meekly accepted his cousin York as victor. Elaborate public rituals had the former adversaries marching hand in hand through the streets of London for a special service of reconciliation at Saint Paul's Cathedral, all encouraged by Henry who seemed unaware that by arranging the protagonists in this way he was advertising to the general public that there were still two distinct 'sides' at work. Handholding aside, Margaret neither forgave nor forgot the defeat at St Albans, nor did York help in the quest for peace when he used his victory to inflict slights on the Queen, such as slashing her income. When a quarrel between two of the great families of the northern aristocracy, the Nevilles and the Percys, gave her an opportunity to re-ignite the blood feud, she took it.

At the Queen's behest, an army marched on the York family's stronghold of Ludlow Castle near the border with Wales. This time, it was the Lancastrians who emerged triumphant. The vanquished Duke fled to Ireland, while his eldest son and the Earl of Warwick escaped across the Channel to Calais, from whence the latter returned with another army that crushed the Queen's forces at the battle of Northampton. In October, the Duke of York formally submitted his claim to be the rightful king of England to Parliament on the grounds that his lineage was the senior surviving line of the Plantagenets, not the House of Lancaster, who had illegally seized the throne in 1399.

For purists, the issue of who was the rightful monarch was a difficult one because it boiled down to a forensic dissection of the different theories of primogeniture and how they applied to the descendants of Edward III (Richard of York and Henry VI's mutual great-great-grandfather). For clarity's sake and with apologies for any repetition, Edward III and Philippa of Hainault had five sons who grew to maturity and fathered children: in order of age, they were Edward, Prince of Wales, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Edmund, Duke of York and Thomas,

Duke of Gloucester. The direct line of the eldest of those boys, the Prince of Wales, had died out in 1400 when his only son, Richard II, was murdered without producing any children of his own. The next of the princes, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, had fathered only a daughter, Philippa, who inherited her mother's title as countess of Ulster. Henry VI was John, Duke of Lancaster's great-grandson and on that basis, known as agnatic primogeniture whereby royal and aristocratic descent is determined on a patrilineal basis, the House of Lancaster's claim to the throne was superior.

However, in 1460, the Yorkists began to argue in favour of an inheritance principle known as cognatic primogeniture, which allowed for a female member of the line to inherit if she had no living legitimate male relatives. In this line of argument, it was the Duke of York who was the senior living descendant of Edward III, rather King Henry VI. The second of Edward III's sons, Lionel, had only produced a daughter, yes, but Philippa of Ulster had grown up to marry the Earl of March and their granddaughter was the Duke of York's mother. Since her brothers and uncles had also died without legitimate heirs, the titles tied to all of these associated families – the earldoms of Ulster, March and Cambridge – had devolved to the Duke of York and by following this extremely convoluted journey through the female line, it could just about be argued that via his maternal great-grandmother, Richard, Duke of York was actually the heir of the Duke of Clarence, the second of Edward III's sons, whereas the King was only the heir of the Duke of Lancaster, the third of the five.

To describe the Yorkist claim to the throne as one of clutching at the proverbial straws is perhaps ungenerous – but only just. Had Henry VI not been so unsuited to the vocation of kingship, it is unlikely that Richard of York would ever have gone rooting back into the family tree to prove that he should be king instead. One person who was singularly unconvinced and unsurprised by the Duke's claim was Queen Margaret, who rode north with her son to reappear with an army.

GARETH RUSSELL

EDWARD V

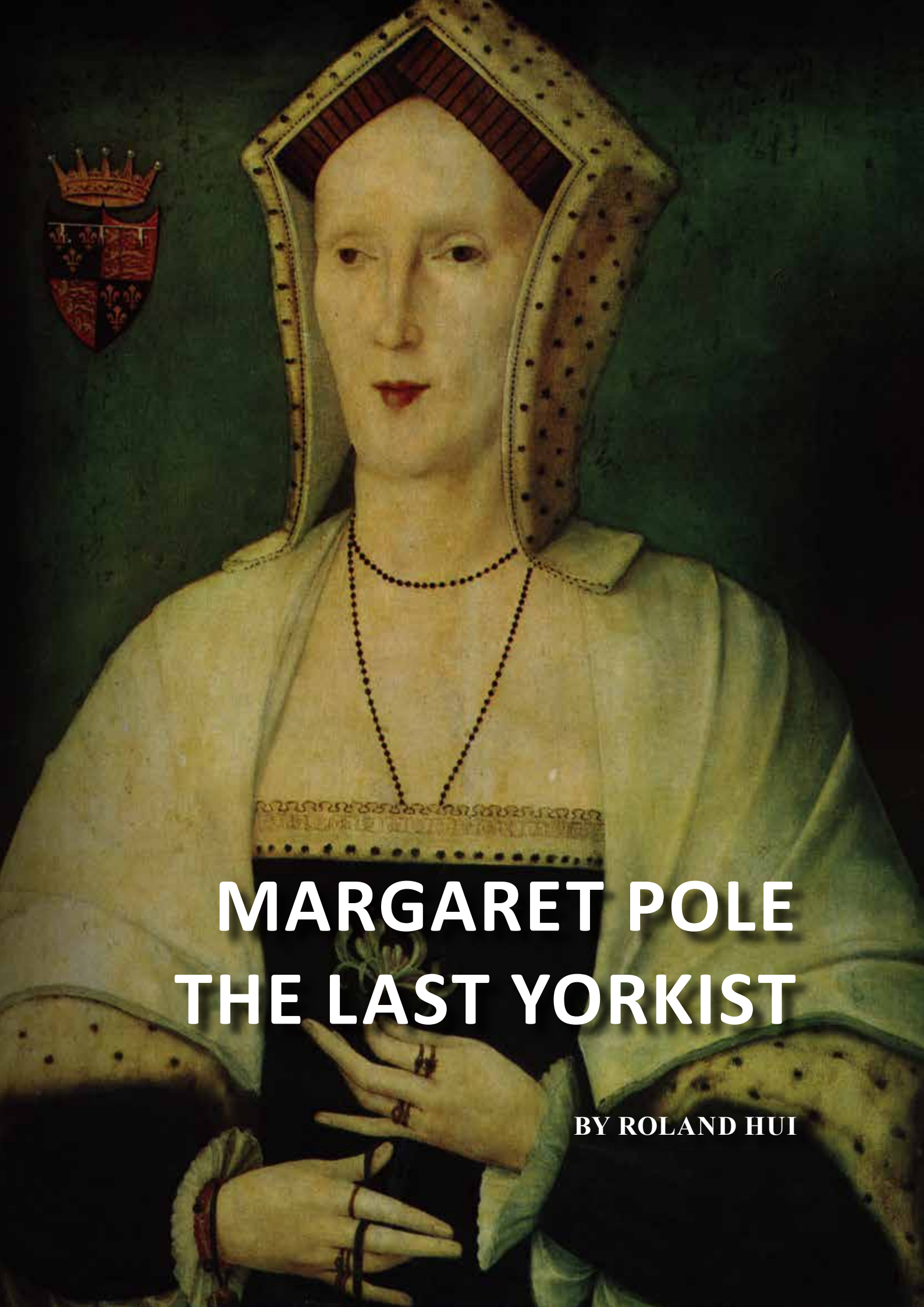
Born:	All Souls' Day, 1479
Reign:	April – June 1483
Parents:	Edward IV, King of England and his queen Elizabeth Woodville
Fun fact:	There are several modern historians who do not believe that Edward V and/or his younger brother actually died after their uncle deposed and imprisoned them, but that they simply vanished.
Died:	Almost certainly murdered at the Tower of London in 1483

RICHARD III

Born: October 1452
Reign: 1483 – 1485
Parents: Richard, Duke of York and his wife Cecily Neville, Duchess of York
Spouse: Anne Neville, Dowager Princess of Wales
Fun fact: Richard's bones were discovered buried beneath a car park in 2013, where they had remained after the monastery they were originally interred at was dissolved during the Protestant Reformation.
Died: Slain at the Battle of Bosworth on 22nd August 1485.

QUEEN ANNE NEVILLE

Born: June 1456
Parents: Richard Neville, 16th Earl of Warwick and his wife Anne de Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick
Spouse: 1, Edward of Westminster, Prince of Wales (killed at the Battle of Tewkesbury in 1471)
2, Richard III, King of England
Fun fact: Queen Anne's death took place during a solar eclipse, leading many people to speculate that God was cursing her husband Richard III, who then had to publicly disavow rumours he had poisoned his queen.
Died: Of natural causes at Westminster Abbey on the Feast of the Annunciation 1485.



MARGARET POLE
THE LAST YORKIST

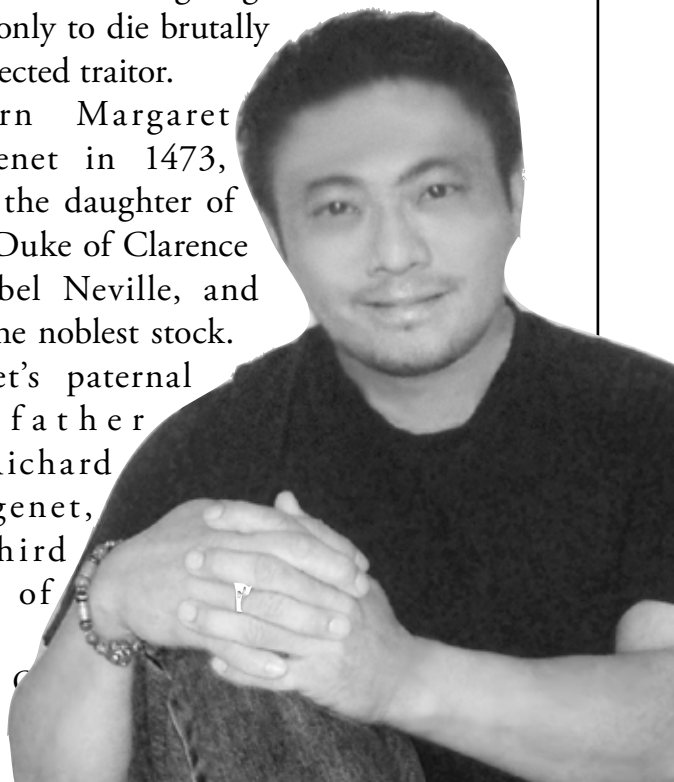
BY ROLAND HUI

On the morning of May 27, 1541, an elderly lady was awoken in her room in the Tower of London. Groggy and confused, she was told that she must immediately prepare for death. She 'found the thing very strange, not knowing of what crime she was accused, nor how she had been sentenced'.[1] Despite her protests, she was made to dress and ready herself. Brought outside to the green, the old woman saw no scaffold as expected, just a small block upon the lawn with the executioner - one rather young for his age - standing by with an axe. Also unusual, was the sparseness of the crowd. Whereas the execution of Queen Anne Boleyn five years earlier had drawn a thousand witnesses into the precincts of the Tower, this new spectacle, due to its unexpectedness, had attracted only some one hundred and fifty persons.

The hastiness of the proceedings was reiterated when the old woman was ordered to make her end quickly. She prayed aloud for the royal family, particularly for the Princess Mary. Having done so, she resigned herself to her fate, and laid herself down. But it was not a quick and easy death as the lady would have wanted. In place of the usual headsman who was seeing to the King's justice in the North, 'a wretched and blundering youth' was substituted. In his lack of experience and perhaps nervousness, he prolonged his victim's agony, 'hack[ing] her head and shoulders to pieces in the most pitiful manner'.

The French ambassador who reported this extraordinary incident to his master the King of France, lamented that besides her surprising and sudden demise, 'she had been long prisoner, was of noble lineage, above 80 years old, and had been punished by the loss of one son and banishment of the other, and the total ruin of her house'. Apart from a miscalculation of her age, she was actually sixty-seven, the envoy's assessment of this notable lady was correct.[2] She was no less than Margaret Countess of Salisbury, the daughter of a duke and the niece to two kings of England. Having survived the misfortunes that brought down her family the House of York, she later found favour with the reigning Tudors, only to die brutally as a suspected traitor.

Born Margaret Plantagenet in 1473, she was the daughter of George Duke of Clarence and Isabel Neville, and was of the noblest stock. Margaret's paternal grandfather was Richard Plantagenet, the third Duke of



LEFT: Margaret Pole (by an Unknown Artist)

York, who might have been King of England. During a period when the Lancastrian King Henry VI (ruled 1422-1461 and then from 1470-1471) was incapacitated by mental illness, it was the Duke who assumed leadership of the kingdom. Later when it was decided that York should reign after King Henry because of his own claims to the throne, he waged war against the House of Lancaster when the promise was broken. York was killed in battle, but his cause was taken up by his son who later won the crown as King Edward IV in 1461.

Margaret's maternal line was no less prestigious. Her grandfather on this side of the family was Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, the so-called 'Kingmaker'. Although loyal to Edward IV at first, a falling out between him and the King later on, had Warwick taking up the cause of Henry VI whom he put back on the throne in 1470.

By the fifth year of her life, Margaret had experienced tragedy and violence. In 1476, her mother Isabel died from what were apparently natural causes. However, her father Clarence, always rash and unstable, would not accept such a verdict. His wife, he was convinced, had been poisoned. He went so far as to accuse one of her serving women of the deed, and for this she was hanged. Clarence's deterioration went further when he allegedly plotted regicide against King Edward (restored in 1471) whom he had always been jealous of. Edward, who had once been so forgiving of his brother - even when Clarence had gone over to Warwick's side against him - could not be so generous anymore. The Duke was put to death in 1478. By what means remains a mystery. Tradition has it that he was drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine. There may be some truth to this. In a painted portrait of his daughter Margaret, she wears a bracelet with a little barrel upon her wrist. It is said to be a tribute to her late father.[3]

Now orphaned, Margaret and her little brother Edward (born in 1475) were placed in the care of their uncle the King, the very man who had condemned their father to death. Edward however, bore no resentment towards his young relations. For example, in 1482, there is a payment on his behalf for 'such clothing and other necessaries as belonging unto our dear and well beloved niece Margaret, daughter unto our brother later Duke of Clarence'. Wages for her servants were also paid out of the royal expenses.[4]

The apparent good relationship Margaret had with King Edward came to an end with the latter's death in 1483. Her ties however with Edward's eventual successor - his younger brother Richard - could not have been close. In taking the throne from Edward IV's two sons, he created discord and distrust among the Yorkists. After the disappearance of the so-called 'Princes in the Tower', even their many sisters were declared illegitimate, thus unfit to rule. As children of his brother Clarence, Margaret and her brother Edward (now styled as the Earl of Warwick), were not immune to Richard III's plans for the succession either. They two were also deemed ineligible for the crown because of their father's treason. The King's motives for displacing the young Earl of Warwick may have been because the boy, as the son of Clarence who was older than Richard, arguably had a stronger claim to the throne. Margaret was probably viewed with equal suspicion by Richard. Though she was unlikely to ever inherit the throne in her own right, her marriage would be one of great concern. With that in mind, Warwick and Margaret were both closely guarded at Sheriff Hutton Castle in Yorkshire, along with their cousin Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of King Edward.

Whatever future plans Richard III had in mind for his niece Margaret, they came to nothing when he was killed at the Battle of

Katherine of Aragon (by R. White)

Bosworth in 1485. Her life was put into the hands of Richard's vanquisher and successor Henry Tudor - now King Henry VII. Because of his weak claim to the throne - Henry was from an illegitimate line of a younger son of King Edward III - the new King was also wary of other candidates, especially those with a better right than his. He was able to neutralize that of Edward IV's daughter Elizabeth by taking her as his wife. To ensure that Elizabeth's sisters Cecily, Anne, and Katherine were to be of no threat to him either, Henry VII had each of them wed to loyal Lancastrians. Similar plans were made for their cousin Margaret. In 1487, she was married off to Sir Richard Pole, a faithful follower of the Tudors. As for her brother Warwick, he was put in protective custody in the Tower of London, the very place where his father Clarence had met his mysterious end.

The nature of Margaret's relationship with Richard Pole is unknown. Married at fourteen, Pole was twice her age, but then such unions among the elite were not uncommon. If the number of offspring they had could qualify the marriage, it would be considered a success. The couple had five surviving children - four boys Henry, Arthur, Reginald, and Geoffrey, and one girl Ursula.

Though she was blessed with motherhood, Margaret's life under Henry VII was not without grief. In November 1499, the Earl of Warwick was executed for treason. While Margaret was welcomed at court and received the King's favour, her brother had remained a captive. As a claimant to the throne, Warwick had been impersonated by one Lambert Simnel in a conspiracy against Henry VII. Even though the Earl, still confined to the Tower, had nothing to do with the scheme, he proved dangerous as a figurehead for the King's enemies. This was the belief of the renowned King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain. During the negotiations to wed their daughter Katherine of Aragon to King Henry's son and heir Prince Arthur, they had expressed their fear of Warwick. No way could they allow Katherine to come to England unless the problem of the Earl was taken care of. Anxious for an alliance between England and Spain, Henry VII acquiesced. Warwick, though he was widely considered a harmless simpleton, was sacrificed and sent to the block.[5]

When the Princess of Spain later arrived in England in 1501, Margaret found herself in the awkward position of having to serve her. At the King's request, she and her husband Sir Richard were to attend upon Katherine and to accompany her to Ludlow Castle in Wales where she was to hold court with Prince Arthur. A woman of good sense and of piety, Margaret did not hold her brother's death against her new mistress, and the two became close friends. As

Katherine spoke no English and Margaret no Spanish, they presumably conversed in French. Since 1498, Katherine had taken up lessons years upon the advice of her future mother-in-law Queen Elizabeth so that she could better communicate with her fiancé Prince Arthur. Margaret as an aristocrat, was presumably taught French from an early age. As one of Katherine's English companions, it would have been Margaret's responsibility to introduce the Princess to her new country's ways and customs, and perhaps even help her learn English. She may have been a particular comfort to Katherine when tragedy struck in 1502. That spring, Prince Arthur succumbed to an illness and died. Three years later, Margaret too knew the pain of widowhood when Richard Pole passed away. With her finances at a low, she and her children took up residence at Syon Abbey in Middlesex, living with an order of Bridgettine nuns.

Princess Mary (attributed to Horenbout)

With the death of Henry VII in 1509, and the accession of his younger son as King Henry VIII, things look brighter for Margaret Pole. She was given some lands belonging to her late brother that had been confiscated by Henry VII, allowing her to restore her family fortunes. Also, it was at this time that she was granted the title of 'Countess of Salisbury'. Margaret was also reunited with Katherine, now Queen of England. Despite concerns that she was formerly the wife of Prince Arthur, she was married to his brother Henry shortly after the old King's passing.

Margaret acted as one of the Queen's ladies, witnessing first hand Katherine's tragic attempts at motherhood. Katherine suffered a number of miscarriages, while a boy, named Henry, only lived less than two months after his birth in 1511. In 1516, there was renewed hope for a royal nursery when the Princess Mary was born. Her father the King was confident that sons would follow as he and the Queen were still young, he said. In recognition of her high rank and her virtuous character, Margaret Pole was appointed the Princess' governess in 1520. An affectionate bond grew between Margaret and her new charge, and soon the little girl 'regarded [her] as her second mother'.[6]

While Margaret's dynastic hopes seemed to be assured by her large family, the same could not be said with the Tudors. Despite Henry VIII's longing for more children, it was not to be. The Queen's last pregnancy - of another short-lived infant - was in 1518. By the 1520s, it was obvious that there would be no more offspring. In the King's eyes, the fault was obviously Katherine's. While she was ageing, he was still virile and he managed to conceive a son, named Henry Fitzroy, with his mistress Bessie Blount in 1519.

But to Henry VIII, it was not so much that the Queen was getting on in years but rather that she was never actually his wife as he had come to believe. In his new opinion, as Katherine had been previously wed to Prince Arthur, it was against divine law - despite the fact that the Church had permitted the marriage to proceed - for him to have taken

his brother's widow. Their lack of sons was a sign of Heaven's displeasure. Convinced that his marriage was illegal, and that he had now fallen in love with a lady of the court named Anne Boleyn, Henry VIII was determined to have his marriage annulled.

Henry VIII (by Wenceslaus Hollar)

Not only was the Queen defiant, but also the Princess. Mary had inherited her father's sense of high born dignity *and* his stubbornness, and she refused to recognise herself as an illegitimately conceived bastard. Over the years, to bring her into submission, Henry would refuse to see her, deprive her of luxuries, and reduce her household. One of the casualties was Mary's beloved governess Margaret Pole. She was dismissed from royal service in December 1533. Henry was certain - and rightly so - that the Countess had taken the Princess' side. Earlier that summer, Margaret had invoked Henry's anger in the matter of Mary's jewels. Orders had been given out for the Countess to surrender the Princess' valuables into the care of one Frances Elmer. Ever loyal to Mary, Margaret purposely made herself a nuisance. She delayed in making a proper inventory as commanded, and when it was finally done, 'she will not deliver the jewels to Mistress Frances', unless she directly obtained 'the King's letters to her in that behalf'.[7] Margaret's insubordination was not forgotten or forgiven. Later in 1535, when she begged for permission to rejoin Mary, and to even 'follow and serve her at her own expense', the offer was refused. 'The Countess was a fool, of no experience', Henry was heard to exclaimF.[8]

Despite the death of Margaret's old friend Katherine of Aragon in January 1536, she still had hopes for a better future. Later that spring, Anne Boleyn fell, and by June there was a new Queen, Jane Seymour, one sympathetic to the Princess Mary. Most importantly, Mary had even reconciled with her father. The King also seemed to have forgiven Margaret as she was allowed to come to court. There, Margaret might have hoped to be retained in Mary's service once more, but it was not to be. This may have been simply because Mary, now age 20, had no more need of a governess. Another reason may have been that Mary herself, so happy to be in her father's good graces once again, did not want herself surrounded by any suspect persons, even Margaret Pole.[9] Still, even if Mary was hesitant in reviving their old friendship, Margaret herself made efforts by sending the Princess New Year's gifts in 1537 and 1538.[10]

By all appearances, Margaret Pole had accepted Henry VII's Reformation, but it was not the case with her family. Her son Reginald, earmarked for a career in the Church since a young age, had been appalled by the great changes in England. From Italy, where he was studying theology and subsequently made a cardinal by Pope Paul III, he launched a vehement attack upon his royal cousin the King. In a book entitled *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione* (*In Defense of Ecclesiastical Unity*), he in no uncertain terms, lambasted Henry VIII's repudiation of Queen Katherine, his break from Rome, and his royal supremacy. Quoting the prophet Ezekiel, Pole implored Henry to be 'converted, and do penance for all your iniquities. And iniquity shall not be your ruin'.[11]

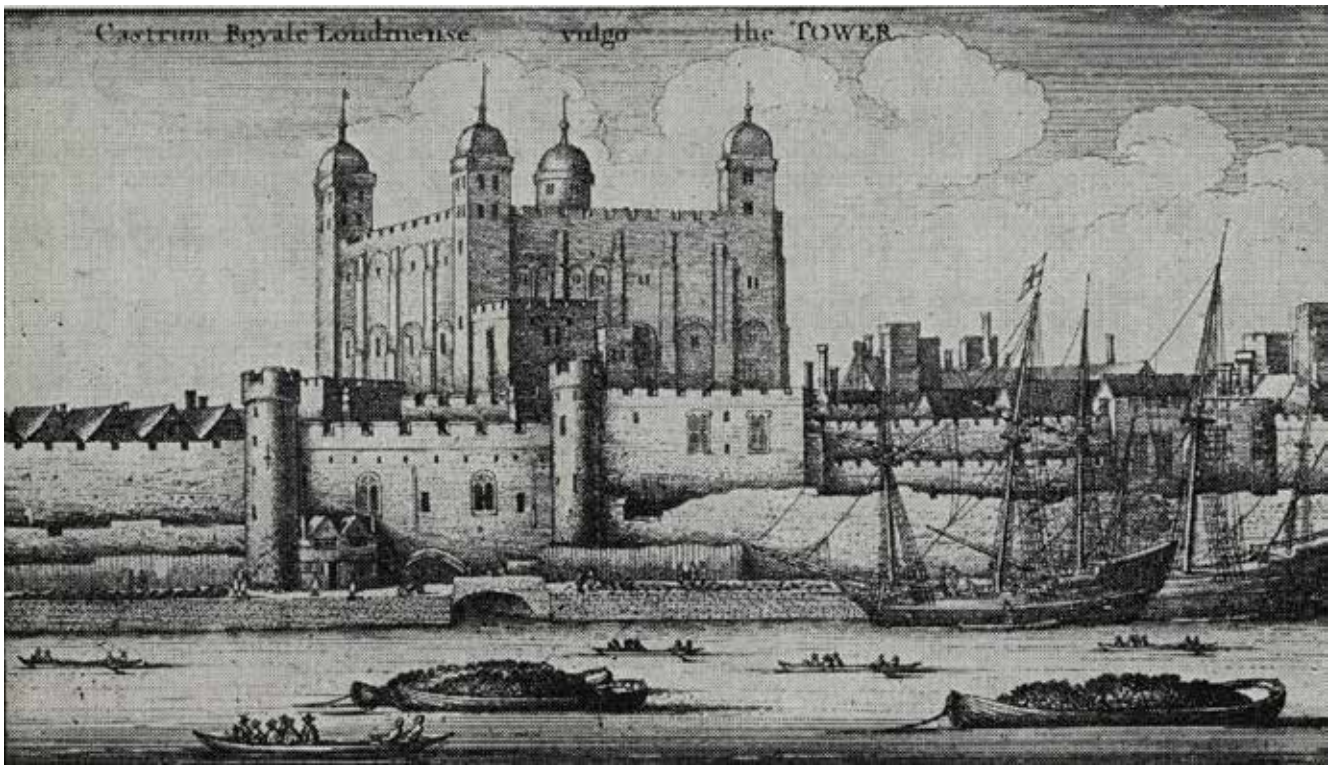
Reginald Pole (by Pieter van Gunst)

Far from mending his ways, the King reacted in fury. He denounced the book as seditious in the very presence of his horrified mother the Countess. Henry was especially angry at his cousin as an ingrate. He had always been fond of Reginald and had even paid for his education abroad. His only thought now was to have revenge upon him.

Luckily for Reginald Pole, he was out of reach - but his family was not. Thomas Cromwell, the King's unsavoury great minister was ordered to look into their activities. Though the Poles had always been outwardly loyal, it was no secret that they, like many of the old nobility, abhorred the religious changes of late. As well, the rise of low born men (like Cromwell) to high positions of power was equally detested. While many held their tongue, others like Reginald's brother, Henry, Baron Montague were not so discrete.

To bring down the Poles, Cromwell looked to Reginald's other sibling Geoffrey. Weak and pliable, he was arrested in August 1538. In November, Lord Montague was taken, along with his likeminded friends Sir Edward Neville and the Marquess of Exeter. The Countess of Salisbury was not spared either. Despite Margaret's public denunciation of Reginald's book on the advice of her son Montague - she 'took her said son for a traitor and for no son, and that she would never take him otherwise'[12] - she was put in the keeping of the Earl of Southampton.

According to testimonies from Geoffrey Pole and others arrested, Lord Montague had been especially critical of Henry VIII. He was heard to say how 'knaves rule about the King', how he had been sympathetic to the great rebellion of the Pilgrimage of Grace of 1536, and how his brother Reginald 'was ordered of God to do good'. The Baron even made mention of the King's death; a treasonous subject. Referring to Henry VIII's ulcerous



The Tower of London (by Wenceslaus Hollar)

leg, Montague was hopeful that 'suddenly his leg will kill him and then we shall have [a] jolly stirring'.[13] Even though such talk was actually more of an airing of grievances than any real treason, it was enough to condemn Montague and his friends. Later in December, he, Neville, and Exeter were all beheaded. For his cooperation, Geoffrey Pole was spared. But for betraying his family and friends, he would know no peace. Just days after he was let go, he unsuccessfully tried to kill himself.[14]

With her sons Montague dead and Geoffrey in disgrace,[15] Margaret Pole herself would remain in custody. Earlier in November, she had been subjected to vigorous examinations by the Earl of Southampton. If he had expected to harangue a seemingly meek old woman into confessing anything to save herself, he could not have been more wrong. The Countess was a formidable figure. She refused to be cowed and she showed no fear in facing her accusers. 'We have dealt with such a one as men have not dealt withal to fore us', Southampton admitted. 'We may call her rather a strong and constant man than a woman. For she had been so earnest, vehement, and precise'.[16] During two days of questioning, Margaret admitted to no treason 'strongly denying everything laid to her, and saying that if anything she has denied can be proved, she is content to be blamed in the rest of all the articles laid against her'.[17] Getting nowhere with the tough old lady, it was decided to move Margaret to the Tower of London.

It is not known exactly where Margaret was detained. Owing to her rank, perhaps she was allowed to stay in the royal apartments within the Tower. If not, then in one of the better maintained lodgings scattered about the great fortress. A story often told is how Katheryn Howard, the King's fifth wife, feeling pity for the old Countess, provided her with new clothes in March 1541. But in truth, Katheryn had played no part in this. The order to the Queen's tailor for the necessities had actually come from the Tower officials looking after Margaret.

If the parcel of clothes - two gowns, a kirtle, a petticoat, a bonnet, hose, and five

pairs of shoes - were a sign of a prolonged imprisonment to come, Margaret was sadly mistaken. The King and his court were to make a progress to the North later that summer, and for the safety of his realm, it was declared that the Tower was to be cleared of prisoners. One of the first to be dispatched would be the Countess of Salisbury.

Centuries after her death, the memory of Margaret Pole lingers in the Tower of London. In 1876 and 1877 when excavations were done in the Chapel of St. Peter Ad Vincula where the Countess had been laid to rest, remains belonging to an elderly lady were confidently said to be hers. Meanwhile, outside the little church, a section of Tower Green said to be the place of execution, was cordoned off as a tribute to its victims. Consequently in 2006, a glass memorial was put in place. Among the names etched upon it is that of Margaret Pole.[18]

But perhaps the greater acknowledgment of Margaret is the story of her execution. Often told by the Tower's Beefeater guides, it recounts her end according to tradition. Taken to the block, the proud Countess refused to put her head down. "So must traitors do"! she exclaimed haughtily. "But I am none!" The feisty old lady then ran around the scaffold, it was said, daring the headsman to have a go at her. Only after great effort did he finally cut her down. The tale is of course an exaggeration of Margaret's actual pitiful end, and meant to entertain tourists expecting gruesome stories about the Tower. However, it can also be interpreted as a tribute to Margaret Pole - of her strength of character and her of courage - qualities of hers that were historically true. Although Margaret did not die as some storytellers would have it, many might wish that she had- leaving this world in defiant glory.

ROLAND HUI

The modern day glass memorial on Tower Green.
PHOTO: Copyright © 2019 Claire Ridgway

1. For the execution: *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain Preserved in the Archives at Simancas and Elsewhere (CSP Span.),* VI (i) no. 166, and *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII (L&P),* XVI, no. 868.
2. Like the French ambassador Charles de Marillac, the Imperial envoy Eustace Chapuys was also mistaken about Margaret Pole's age. He thought her to be 'nearly ninety years old'.
3. Hazel Pierce, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, 1473-1541: Loyalty, Lineage and Leadership*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003, p. 198, note 57. The sitter also has a letter 'W', probably for 'Warwick' in memory of her brother.
4. Hazel Pierce, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury,* p. 6.
5. Warwick's alleged crime was plotting to escape from the Tower of London in the company of a fellow prisoner Perkin Warbeck, notorious for having impersonated Richard Duke of York, the younger of 'the Princes in the Tower'.
6. *L&P,* VIII, no. 263.
7. *L&P,* VI, no. 1009.
8. *L&P,* VIII, no. 263.
9. Hazel Pierce, *Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury,* pp. 108-109.
10. Frederick Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, Daughter of King Henry the Eighth, Afterwards Queen Mary, With a Memoir of the Princess, and Notes*, London: William Pickering, 1831, p. 9 and p. 51.
11. Joseph G. Dwyer (translator and editor), *Reginald Pole, Pole's Defense of the Unity of the Church*, Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1965, p. 336.
12. *L&P,* XIII (ii), no. 818 (19).
13. Public Record Office, SP1/138, f. 36; Ibid., f. 33b; Ibid., f. 37; Ibid., f. 218.
14. After his release, Geoffrey Pole lived quietly. But in 1548, he left England for the Continent. He returned home after the accession of Queen Mary, and died in 1558.
15. Arthur Pole had passed away earlier in 1528, probably of the seating sickness. Ursula Pole married to Henry Stafford, 1st Baron Stafford, lived on until 1570. Reginald Pole returned to England in 1554 to become Archbishop of Canterbury under Queen Mary, a position he held until his death in 1558.
16. *L&P,* XIII (ii), no. 855.
17. *L&P,* XIII (ii), no. 835.
18. Margaret's posthumous fame even extended beyond England after her death. In 1886, she was beatified as a martyr of the Roman Catholic Church by Pope Leo XIII.

MARGARET OF YORK, DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY

BY SUSAN ABERNETHY

Margaret of York, sister to two kings of England, made one of the most brilliant marriages of her century. When she became a childless widow, she managed to settle into a comfortable, wealthy life and to have a principal role in Burgundian government for her husband's heirs until her death at the age of fifty-seven.

MARGARET WAS born on May 3, 1446. Her father was Richard, Duke of York and her mother was Cecily Neville. Richard had a strong claim to the throne of England but his position at court was tenuous. He would openly rebel against the Lancastrian King Henry VI, making York family life unstable. Richard didn't get much support for his claim and he was to die in the Battle of Wakefield in 1460.

Most of the time between the death of her father and the crowning of her brother as King Edward IV was spent in London. Margaret was given an education worthy of her rank and came to love books and manuscripts. When Edward IV became king in 1461, Margaret was fifteen and one of the leading ladies in England.

Margaret was slim and fair with light-coloured hair. She was nearly six feet tall with fine features, grey eyes, a small mouth, a warm smile, and a wry sense of humour. She was gracious and pious, very intelligent, full of energy and had a strong will. She had learned how to administer

Probably a portrait of Catherine of Aragon aged around 11 years by Juan de Flandes c. 1496

a household from her mother and demonstrated a flair for dynastic and political affairs. All this would prove to be significant when she married. It took seven years for her brother to arrange a marriage for her.

In May of 1465, the first recording of an appearance by Margaret at court was at the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville. She became a part of the queen's household and proposals for her hand began to come in. Isabel, Duchess of Burgundy was working on an alliance with England, vacillating between the house of York or Lancaster depending on the political situation. She eventually chose York.

Isabel's son Charles, the Count of Charolais, had been married twice. His second wife, Isabella of Bourbon, had born him a daughter Marie in 1457 and died in 1465. Within two weeks of her death, Duchess Isabel sent envoys to England seeking Margaret's hand for Charles. Charles succeeded his father as Duke of Burgundy when Philip the Good died in June of 1467.

In October of 1467, King Edward agreed to the match, making his decision public. The marriage contract addressed peace and trade agreements with Edward IV agreeing to pay Margaret's dowry of 200,000 crowns in three instalments. From November 1467 until the wedding in June of 1468, King Louis XI of France did everything in his power to interfere with the negotiations, including slandering Margaret's character, suggesting she was not a virgin and had born a son. Louis even tried to block the papal dispensation necessary for the fourth-degree cousins to marry.

Margaret sailed in June and arrived at Sluis. The wedding was the first great event of Charles' reign and Duchess Isabel carefully planned all the festivities. She met Margaret with her grand-daughter Marie and they retired to a private dinner for three hours. Marie had much in common with Margaret. They both enjoyed hunting, riding, reading and falconry. They would take pleasure in each other's company for the rest of their lives and Margaret cherished Marie as if she were her daughter.

Margaret was quite a bit taller than Charles and when they met, she had to stoop down to receive a kiss from him. A week later, there was a private wedding ceremony. Charles left immediately afterwards for Bruges and greeted Margaret when she made a grand entry and nine days of celebration ensued. The festivities were so splendid they have become near legend and remain in folklore to this day. Charles left Bruges and Margaret and Marie travelled in Flanders, Brabant and Hainault, and would spend the rest of the summer in Brussels.

Charles' patrimony represented one of the most wide-ranging, extensive and valuable collections of territory in medieval Europe. Margaret's role was negligible in the first three years of her marriage but after 1472, she became active in affairs of state. The government of Burgundy was

widespread, requiring her to travel regularly. She played a vigorous role in the government as an administrator and as the Duke's representative, making twenty-eight major journeys.

Margaret's travels were meant to uphold ducal authority. She attended functions of state and raised money and men for war. The peak of Charles' reign came in 1472-3. His brother-in-law King Edward was back on the English throne, Burgundy had withstood a French invasion, Charles had conquered areas of Alsace, Guelders and Zutphen and he was consolidating his power in Lorraine. There were peace and prosperity in the duchy. The household and the army had been reorganized and the government was functioning well.

Margaret would remain childless. In the first seven years of their marriage, Margaret and Charles were only together for a total period of one year. They were together regularly for the first four years. After December 1471, they only saw each other for a total of thirty-two days until 1475. After July 23, 1475, they never saw each other again as Charles was continually away at war. Margaret gave her stepdaughter Marie guidance and support during this time.

From 1474 on, alliances began to form against Charles. He was forced to make costly campaigns and stay in the field with his armies. After reaching a truce with France in 1474, Charles began to concentrate on fighting in the Rhineland. During 1476, there were disastrous defeats for the Burgundian army. By November Charles had arranged for Marie to marry the Archduke Maximilian of Austria and started to besiege Nancy in Lorraine.

By early January reports began to come into Ghent that the Burgundians had met with disaster at Nancy and that Charles was dead. By January 22, Margaret was wearing mourning and she and Marie acted jointly from this point on as their situation was serious. They wrote to King Louis XI asking for help but whether they were serious or not is questionable. Margaret knew Louis was ready to seize the duchy and there were internal disruptions. Margaret and Marie hastened to call a meeting of the estates general at Ghent as some of their advisors were seized and beheaded.

Margaret was forced to flee Ghent for her safety. Marie was a virtual prisoner. Marie made a speech where she renounced a huge levy that had been given to her father, relieving the estates of the debt. There was a charter drawn up designed to restore local rights and privileges. She promised to rule with the advice of the council in all matters, including her marriage, war and peace. The terms of her marriage treaty were negotiated, stipulating that Maximilian could not inherit the Duchy. All of Burgundy was to go to the children of the marriage.

Maximilian arrived penniless in Burgundy in August 1477 and they were married immediately. In gratitude to her stepmother, Marie made sure

Margaret's full dowry was paid to her as her brother Edward had defaulted on the payments. Margaret bought the biggest house in Malines and established her dowager court there. She had a large household and hosted great noblemen and foreign embassies. There was no question of her leaving Burgundy now as she was one of the richest widows in Europe.

Margaret raised men and money to help Marie and Maximilian battle France. She went to negotiate with England for three months in 1480. Her efforts paid off but Maximilian ended up working against her by allying with France. In 1482, Marie died after a fatal fall from a horse while hunting. On her deathbed, she begged Margaret to watch over her children, Philip and Margaret of Austria.

Marie had named Maximilian as regent for her son but this was bitterly opposed. The estates wanted a council to rule. Margaret and Maximilian held things together and they made some progress, especially when their old enemy Louis XI died. In July 1485, Margaret took physical custody of Philip at her home in Malines and she served as a mother and mentor to her step-granddaughter Margaret.

King Edward IV died in 1483. Margaret's brother Richard usurped the throne from his nephew Edward V. Margaret and Maximilian supported Richard hoping he would subsidize their efforts against France. In 1485, the House of York was eclipsed by Lancaster when Henry VII defeated Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth. Margaret did everything in her power to work against the Tudor King, including supporting pretenders to the English throne, like Perkin Warbeck and others.

Margaret carried out building works on her properties, gave to charity and collected more printed and illuminated books. She contributed her full support and advice to the rulers of Burgundy and Archduke Philip supported her in return. As her health declined, she maintained her duties until she died suddenly on November 23, 1503. She was buried at the monastery of the Recollects at Malines.

SUSAN ABERNETHY

Further reading: "Isabel of Burgundy: The Duchess Who Played Politics in the Age of Joan of Arc, 1397-1471" by Aline S. Taylor, "Margaret of York: Duchess of Burgundy 1446-1503" by Christine Weightman

Charles the Bold by Rogier van der Weyden

EDWARD IV
&
ELIZABETH
WOODVILLE

SARAH-BETH WATKINS

THE DAUGHTERS OF YORK

Edward IV and his queen Elizabeth Woodville were the parents of Elizabeth of York, Henry VII's wife and queen but what about their other daughters?

Elizabeth, their eldest daughter, was born on 11 February 1466 and the following year **Mary** was born. There were plans for Mary to marry the king of Denmark but she would only live until she was fourteen and was buried in St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle. Mary however had been made a Lady of the Garter in 1480 along with her younger sister, Cecily.

Cecily was born on 20 March 1469 and named after her grandmother, Cecily Neville. Due to her father's treaties with Scotland she was betrothed to James, duke of Rothesay (who would become James IV) in 1474 and styled Princess of Scots for a time. When that marriage fell through she was proposed as a bride for Alexander Stewart, duke of Albany but that too did not come to pass and after her father's death Richard III arranged her marriage to Ralph Scrope of Upsall, second son of Thomas, the fifth Baron Scrope of Masham and one of the king's supporters.

When Henry VII came to power he had that marriage annulled and she married John, 1st Viscount Welles (a half-brother of Margaret Beaufort) in 1487. Up until her marriage she was her sister's 1st Lady of the Bedchamber but left her service to raise a family. She was often at court especially for family occasions like her sister's coronation. She carried Prince Arthur at his christening and held Catherine of Aragon's train at their wedding.

But she fell from favour three years after the death of her husband and their two daughters with her next marriage to Thomas Kymbe, from the Isle of Wight; someone it was felt was much beneath her. She had not asked the king's permission and she was banished from court and had her lands confiscated. It is thought they sought help from Margaret Beaufort who allowed them to stay at Collyweston for a time and tried to make her son

SO LITTLE IS KNOWN

OF THESE LADIES WHO WERE SUCH A PART OF THE TUDOR FAMILY

change his mind. Some of Cecily's lands, inherited from her Welles marriage, were restored to her but only during her lifetime and would not pass to any of her descendants from her subsequent marriage.

Traces of her become scant in her later life. Henry VII would not forgive her and she was not allowed to return to court. She was so far out of favour that further records mention very little about her. It is possible she had two children, Richard and Margaret, by Kempe as mentioned in the Visitation of Hampshire but even her burial place has been debated.

Cecily died in August 1507. Hall's Chronicle tells us she was buried at Quarr Abbey on the Isle of Wight which was destroyed during Henry VIII's reformation and dissolution of the monasteries. It has also been posited that she had been staying at Hatfield when she died and was subsequently buried at a local church or at King's Langley.

Margaret of York was three years younger than Cecily and born on 10 April 1472 but sadly died in December of the same year and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Anne of York was the next youngest daughter, born 2 November 1475 and was betrothed to Philip of Burgundy, the son of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian and brother to Margaret of Savoy. The agreement was part of a treaty her father signed with Maximilian which was revoked after Edward IV's death. Anne was then betrothed to Thomas Howard (later 3rd duke of Norfolk) in 1484. They married in 1495 at Westminster Abbey. Neither of them came to the marriage as with much wealth. The queen had to provide for her sister giving her twenty shillings a week for food and drink as well as paying the salaries of her women, a maid, a yeoman, a gentleman and three grooms for her seven horses. Anne and her husband lived mostly at Stoke by Nayland in Suffolk where they raised their family but unfortunately none of their children lived to become adults and Anne herself died in her thirties of consumption in 1511 and was buried at Thetford Priory.

Catherine of York was born on 14 August 1479 at Eltham Palace. She would spend her early years in her sister's household while potential husbands were discussed for her including John of Asturias, Catherine of Aragon's brother and James Stewart, duke of Ross, the second son of James III.

But in October 1495 she married William Courtenay and became Countess of Devon. William was high in favour with Henry VII until he was charged with treason for associating with Edmund de la Pole in 1502. Her sister Elizabeth already gave her an allowance but during this time she supported Catherine and ensured her three children were sent to safety. Elizabeth would die in 1503 and Catherine would be her chief mourner. Catherine's chief supporter had gone and she spent the next few years away from court in Devon.

William would be pardoned in 1509 when Henry VIII came to power but would die two years after. Catherine would take a vow of celibacy and remain a widow for the rest of her life. However she was often at court and took part in major events. She attended Arthur's marriage

to Catherine of Aragon and the signing of the marriage treaty between Margaret Tudor and James IV. She also became godmother to the Princess Mary. Of her own children only two survived to adulthood. Her daughter Margaret would marry the 2nd earl of Worcester but her son Henry would end up in trouble of his own.

The Exeter conspiracy was a suspected plot by the Pole and Courtenay families to overthrow Henry VIII and place Henry Courtenay, the 2nd earl of Devon and 1st Marquess of Exeter on the throne. Geoffrey Pole, Cardinal Pole's brother, had been arrested and under interrogation he implicated the marquess and marchioness of Exeter and Henry Pole, 1st Baron Montagu but what Geoffrey reported was all rumour. There was no actual evidence of any plot just Henry VIII's paranoia and Cromwell's influence but it was enough to bring Henry and others to trial.

Catherine would not live to see her son executed for treason. She died at Tiverton castle in November 1527 and was buried at St Peter's church.

Little is known of **Bridget,** the youngest of the York daughters who was born 10 November 1480 and spent her years as a nun at Dartford Priory, Kent where she studied the Catholic saints before dying in 1517.

So little is known of these ladies who were such a part of the Tudor family, it would be fascinating to find out more!

SARAH-BETH WATKINS

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.
Here are some of her Tudor books...


ELIZABETHA · VXOR
HENRICI · VII ·

HENRY VIII AND HIS MOTHER, QUEEN ELIZABETH OF YORK

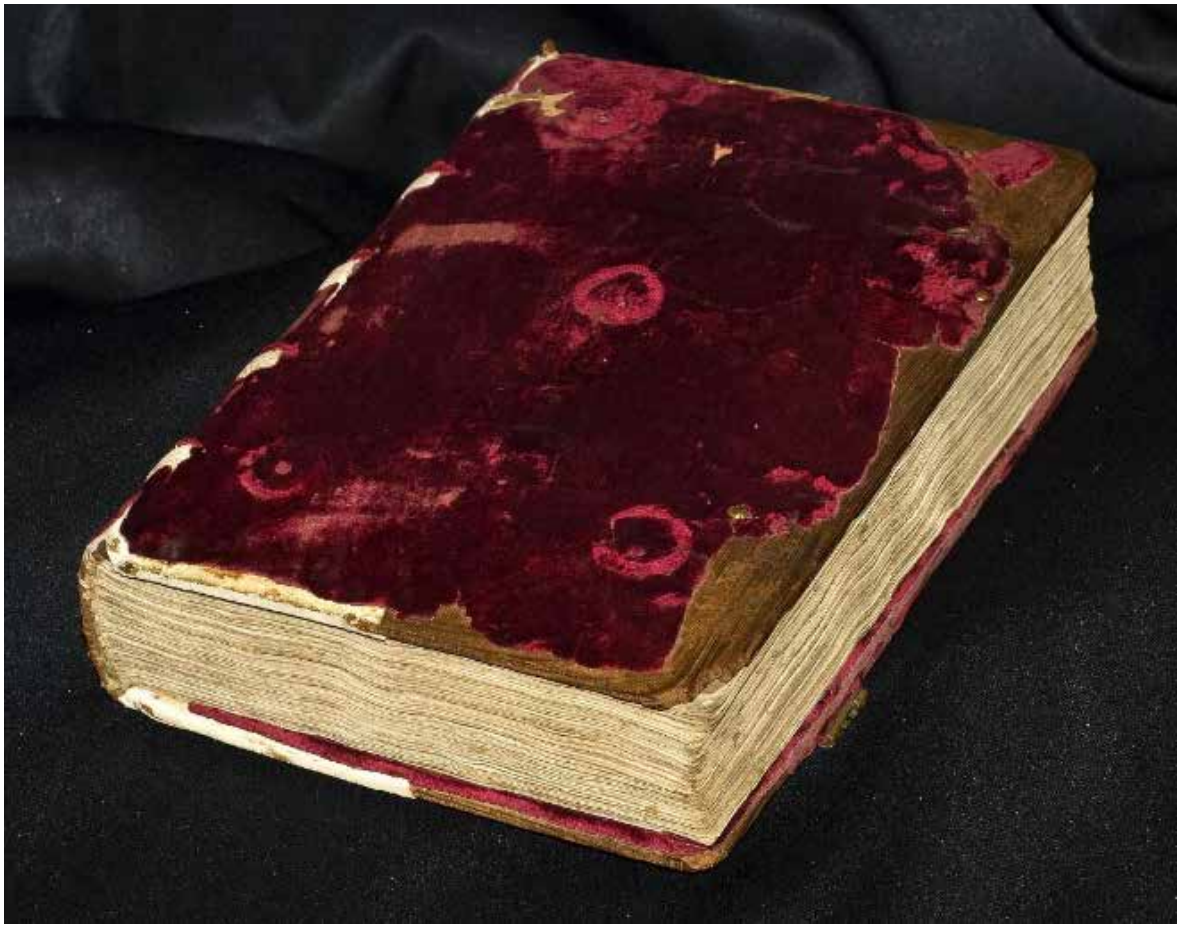
by Elizabeth Jane Timms

The relationship of Henry VIII to the death of his mother, Queen Elizabeth of York, raises possible interesting psychological theories about his behaviour towards the six women he later married. These are fascinating to suggest, but will only ever remain speculative, especially because on this subject, the King himself was silent. Although his mother died when Henry was only a child, the death of Queen Elizabeth of York made a deep and terrible tear into the secure and tightly-knit family circle which had existed amongst the royal children and the early years of Henry's 'female' family, with his sisters at Eltham Palace. It has been suggested that Henry VIII's marital history was an attempt to 'replace' Elizabeth of York, and whilst no actual proof exists for that, his attitudes towards his wives do suggest that he might have wanted a queen with such qualities as his mother had possessed; certainly he admired the virtues they did demonstrate that were like her. (Alison Weir, Elizabeth of York, Pg 431, 2013).

HENRY VIII himself chose of course, St. George's Chapel, Windsor as the location for his body, on his death. Windsor had in fact however, been an original choice as a place of burial for Henry VII and Queen Elizabeth of York, in the old medieval chapel of St. Edward established by Henry III. Henry VII later preferred Westminster Abbey for himself and his Queen; his ultimate proclamation to posterity, placing

LEFT: Elizabeth of York *by* an Unknown Artist

The Vaux Passional showing a young Prince Henry



his dynasty firmly in the great and hallowed place where every English monarch had been crowned since 1066. Had he known it, he might have been comforted to be surrounded by all three of his son Henry VIII's heirs, as well as to share the tomb of his great-grandson, James I, first monarch of the Stuart dynasty, which had its roots in his own. Tormented throughout his reign by false claimants and unable in his reign, to produce the bodies of the two 'Princes in the Tower', the imagery he created for their magnificent sepulchre in the Lady Chapel, was loaded with Tudor meaning. It was as if in death, the first Tudor king was still trying to nervously silence those questioning voices and false pretenders and reaffirm his dynasty, even – effectively, to keep fighting the Battle of Bosworth, from the grave. Significantly, the magnificent tomb-house at the Abbey is Henry VII's final comment on his kingship. The death of Elizabeth of York might have been seen to raise those questions yet again, because there had been those who only recognised Henry VII's legitimacy through his marriage to Elizabeth of York, one of the reasons why Henry VII himself had so long delayed the wedding, so as to not be seen to owe his title to his Yorkist wife.

In addition to that of his father, Henry VIII ordered the beautiful, heavy bronze-gilt effigy of his mother in 1512, to the designs of the Italian sculptor Pietro Torrigiano. In so

doing, Henry acknowledged his mother as the first Tudor queen and the woman from whom he traced his own Yorkist ancestry. Her tomb inscription proudly proclaims that she was the 'renowned mother' of Henry VIII. The great dynastic importance of Elizabeth is reinforced by the glorious wording on Henry VII's tomb, praising not only her prettiness and chastity, but crucially, for the fact that she was 'fruitful'; indeed, for it was probably as the result of puerperal fever, that Elizabeth of York died at the Tower of London following childbirth, on her own birthday, in 1503. Underlining them as the parents of that King whose awesome legacy would make him '*excel all who ever wore a crown'*, the tomb of Henry VIII's parents states unequivocally that the entire country was in debt to this royal founding couple, for which reason '*land of England, you owe Henry VIII'*. (Westminster Abbey, Our History, Royals, Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, via westminster-abbey.org).

The historian David Starkey has spotted possible similarities in the extant samples of Elizabeth of York's handwriting and that of the future Henry VIII, positing the theory that Elizabeth of York probably taught Prince Henry to write herself. (David Starkey, Henry VIII: Mind of a Tyrant, Channel 4, 2009). The premature death of the eldest son of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, Arthur, Prince of Wales, meant that Henry, Duke of York became the sole heir to the Tudor dynasty, through which the King had to maintain his grip on the throne, in the next generation. At the time of his mother's death, Prince Henry was eleven years old; such a loss at such an early age may well have stunted his emotional growth, also following so soon on the death of his elder brother, Arthur, Prince of Wales. He later wrote to the great humanist scholar Erasmus on the occasion of the Archduke Philip of Burgundy, for whom he felt true affection: '*Never, not since the death of my dearest mother hath there come to me more hateful news'*, referring to the Archduke's death as seeming to open a wound to which '*time had brought insensibility'*. This is a rare and telling proof of the impact of his mother's death, referred to directly by Henry, whose otherwise silence on the subject has led us to suspect just how deeply the event affected him. Starkey suggests that the Archduke Philip had met a need in Prince Henry, with whom he shared a warm correspondence, because the 'motherless teenager', (Ibid, 2009) may have been lonely. This is certainly supported by the grief Henry felt over the Archduke's death, because it clearly re-awakened the grief over his mother, as he himself admitted.

A late fifteenth-century manuscript written in medieval French, the 'Vaux Passional', (Peniarth MS 482D) preserved in the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth, almost certainly depicts the young Prince Henry, a tiny figure lost in grief at the bed of Queen

Elizabeth of York, which is draped in black. This grieving little boy, heartbroken in mourning for his mother, speaks powerfully for Henry VIII's silence on the subject and is remarkably revealing for what we must assume, was emotionally shattering to him. (Alison Weir, Elizabeth of York, Pg 429, 2013). That the image shows Prince Henry is corroborated by the assumption that the two ladies in black are his sisters, Princesses Margaret and Mary; the parchment manuscript was apparently given to Henry VII on the death of his wife and contains among the details of the lives and deaths of saints and martyrs, also the account of Christ's last days on earth. Significantly perhaps, the boy Henry is the only one who is lost in grief and is paying any attention to the bed; his sisters are both engaged in one another's company together.

Whilst Henry VIII stayed at the Tower of London prior to his coronation in 1509, this was to fulfil an established pattern outlined by royal protocol, rather than because it was his own choice. The Queen's Lodgings where Queen Elizabeth of York had died following childbirth lay to the south of the White Tower. Henry VIII stayed again at the Tower of London prior to Anne Boleyn's coronation. This would not have meant that the King had forgotten the death of his mother at the Tower, rather, the significance and practice of staying at the Tower of London before a coronation was too important a historical statement to be ignored, because it represented an adherence to earlier royal practice. When the King stayed at the Tower much later with Anne Boleyn in 1533, this would crucially also have publicly proclaimed the validity of the King's new marriage and the legitimacy of her unborn child and their place in the growing Tudor family tree. Henry otherwise stayed at the Tower only rarely; he did however, order the distinctive caps to be built on the White Tower, which survive today.

In fact, Anne Boleyn's child – a daughter, history's Elizabeth I – was named after Queen Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII's mother and perhaps also for Elizabeth Howard, Anne Boleyn's grandmother of the same name. (Alison Weir, Elizabeth the Queen, Pg 12, 1998). It also should not be forgotten that Elizabeth of York's own mother was Queen Elizabeth Wydeville, the spouse of Edward IV, although her 'common' ancestry was much less illustrious than that of her daughter Elizabeth, the Yorkist heir after the disappearance of her brothers, Edward V and Richard, Duke of York.

There could also have been parallels in Henry VIII's mind between Queen Jane Seymour, his 'entirely beloved' wife and his mother, Queen Elizabeth of York; both had died following childbirth, probably as the result of puerperal fever. Queen Elizabeth of York's plaintive but courageous boast to Henry VII that 'we are both young enough', is heavy with the tones of sacrifice which Queen Elizabeth of

York knew she was exposing herself to by so doing; Queen Jane Seymour died giving Henry VIII his longed-for heir, the future Edward VI and so we must suppose, became enshrined in the King's sentiments as having died with a purity of purpose, having given the King a son at last. We must imagine that Henry VIII would have viewed this as God's seal of approval on his third marriage, an answering of his prayers, which cost him the life of his favourite queen in the attempt.

Queen Elizabeth of York of course, had also died, in the noble attempt to bear Henry VII an heir following the death of Prince Arthur and herself, fell victim to post-partum infection. The mutual grief over Prince Arthur, shared by Henry VII and Elizabeth of York can find ready parallel in the shared sorrow of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon on the death of their baby son, Prince Henry, in 1511. (Alison Weir, Elizabeth of York, Pg 431, 2013). At the birth of the Princess Mary in 1516, Henry VIII bravely declared to Catherine of Aragon that sons would now surely follow a healthy daughter: 'We are both still young' – almost, his mother's exact words on the death of Prince Arthur.

This linking of the two Queens, Elizabeth of York and Jane Seymour, is given its ultimate expression in the great Whitehall mural commissioned by Henry VIII from Hans Holbein, of which now only copies survive, by Remigius van Leemput. In the mural, the figures of Henry VIII and Queen Jane Seymour stand with Henry VII and Queen Elizabeth of York behind them, as figureheads of the new generation of Tudors. Similarly, Queen Jane Seymour features in Henry's great propaganda portrait of 1543, 'The Family of Henry VIII', showing the Queen next to him with the six year old Prince Edward and flanked by the daughters of his first two marriages, Princesses Mary and Elizabeth. This shows that the perfect view he had of Jane, sharpened by her death in childbirth, had cemented into a solid perception of her as the mother of the next branch of the Tudor tree – even though at the time that the portrait was made, his actual wife in reality was his sixth queen, Katherine Parr. It was a perfect view of Jane which might well reflect the perfect view he had retained of his mother, Queen Elizabeth of York. (Ibid, Pg 431). The 1536 oil on wood portrait of Jane Seymour by Hans Holbein which is today at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, might reflect the meekness of her character and her motto 'Bound to obey and serve' – qualities which were bound to endear her to the King – if not the powerful ambition of her self-serving family.

When Queen Jane Seymour died at Hampton Court in 1537, the Garter King of Arms had need to study the 'precedents' concerning the manner of a Queen's burial, because the last time this had happened was when Queen Elizabeth of York had died, close to thirty five years before. (Antonia

Fraser, The Six Wives of Henry VIII, Pg 346, 1992). This was true enough, given the fact that Henry VIII recognised his first Queen, Catherine of Aragon as 'Princess Dowager' at the time of her death and his second wife, Queen Anne Boleyn, had of course, been beheaded in disgrace, in 1536. Henry VIII was entreated by the Bishop of Durham to regard himself from henceforth *'to be mother as well as father'* to the baby Prince Edward. (Alison Weir, The Six Wives of Henry VIII, Pg 372, 1991). Cetainly, Jane Seymour was the only queen to be buried as such by Henry VIII; Anne of Cleves now rests in respectful, albeit hidden, dignity at Westminster Abbey, whilst Katherine Howard of course, was never given the funeral of a queen, but rather the customary quick burial following execution. Katherine Parr, Henry's sixth queen, enjoys a royal tomb of sorts, in St. Mary's Church at Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire. Jane Seymour was younger than Elizabeth of York but not considerably so, being roughly twenty-nine at the time of her death.

Significantly, the tomb of Queen Jane Seymour's son, the future Edward VI, is to be found in the Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey, *'immediately to the west of Henry VII's tomb'*.

Henry VIII's own attitude to his wives when they became mothers, could also be seen to have roots which had a much older origin, when comparing their behaviour with that of his own mother, Elizabeth of York, although there is no actual evidence for this, only supposition. But it is credible that perhaps for Henry, there was a subconscious comparison with Elizabeth of York, a deeper, psychological reason for why Henry VIII reacted with such grief over what was seen to be Katherine Howard's infidelity; in contrast to his '*true and loving wife, Queen Jane'*. Perhaps Catherine of Aragon's miscarriages and babies dead soon after birth may even have awakened childhood memories of Henry's own brothers and sisters, Elizabeth of York's dead children.

Not for nothing did Henry VIII choose to lie at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, together with his 'entirely beloved' wife, Queen Jane Seymour, as if uniting himself forever with the woman who had helped to secure the continuance of his dynasty, just as Henry VII had himself buried with Queen Elizabeth of York, for it was the same dreadful, dynastic Tudor anxiety concerning their heirs, which tormented Henry VII and in turn would torment his son, Henry VIII; even after the joyful birth of the future Edward VI in 1537, England would still only have one son, just as Henry VIII had been the sole remaining son of Henry VII and Henry VII had been the only son of Margaret Beaufort.

The location of the tomb of Henry VIII with its modest slab near the Choir - placed there at the orders of William IV – is not far from the family

vault of Edward IV and his queen, Elizabeth Wydeville, another eternal reinforcement of the Yorkist root for the Tudor tree.

Unlike Henry VII however, Henry VIII chose the location of his tomb to be at Windsor, not Westminster Abbey; so the desire to be buried with Queen Jane Seymour outweighed any desire (if it had ever existed at all) to be at the Abbey amidst many other tombs of English kings and queens; for Henry VIII in death sought to be with Jane Seymour as his queen consort, just as Henry VII had been with Queen Elizabeth of York.

ELIZABETH JANE TIMMS

Our expert guest for October is **Lauren Johnson**, author of "*Shadow King: The Life and Death of Henry VI*" Lauren will be talking on Henry VI, a fascinating monarch you might not know so much about...

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

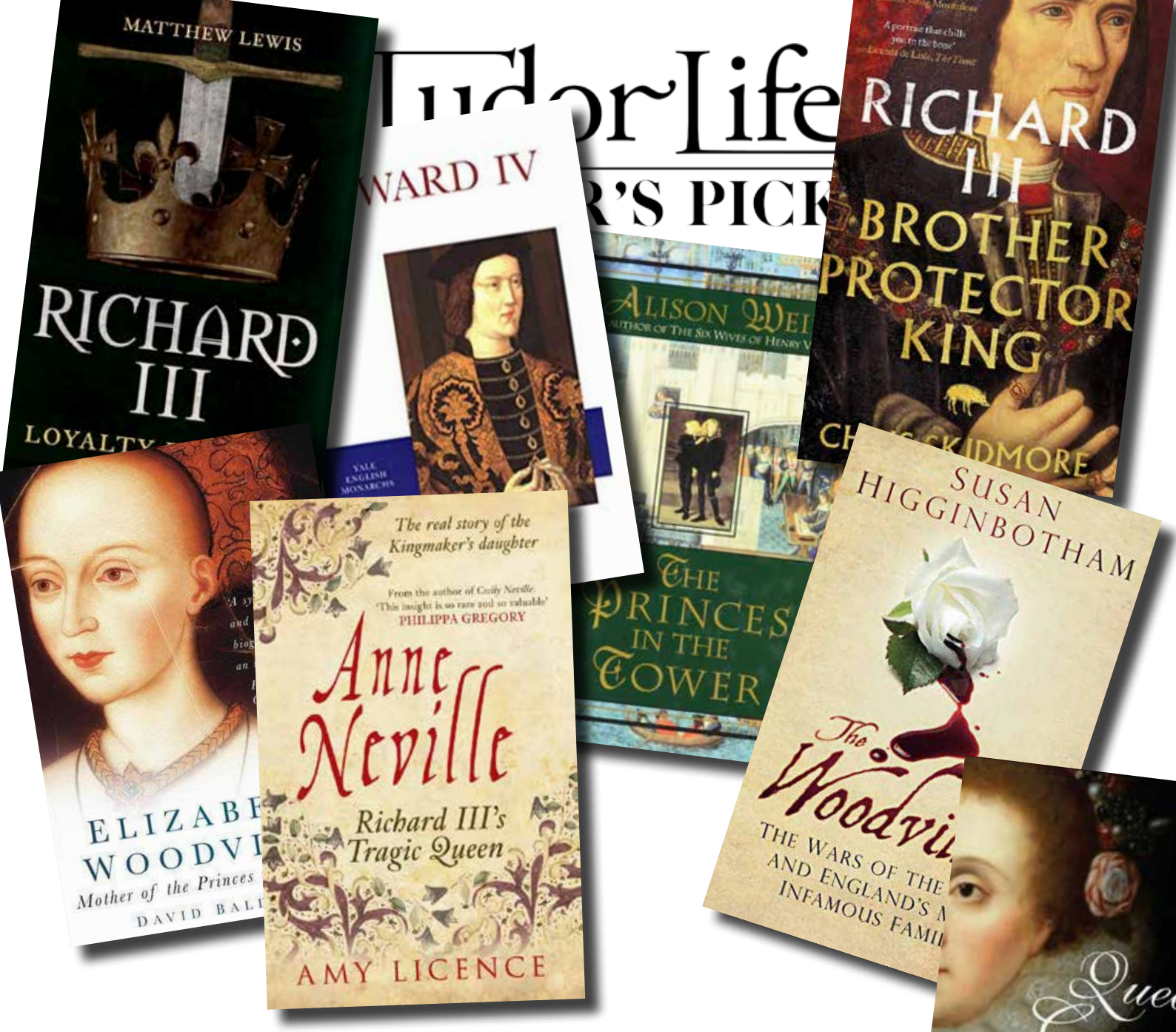
MEMBERS' BULLETIN

What a roller-coaster ride we've been on in the last month, all good, of course! The Tudor Society continues to grow and I'd like to thank all of our new members for joining the Tudor Society. Together we are working to bring the interesting facts,research and knowledge to a wider audience. We hope that our more recent addition of our roving reporter has helped in that mission - wherever you are in the world our full members can now visit and look around iconic Tudor sites without having to physically go anywhere - thank you Philippa Lacey Brewell for bringing these reports to our members.

As part of the 5-year celebration, we have made changes to the landing home page of the website. If you have any thoughts or comments on this change, please do let me know. We hope that the change will allow more people to see what benefits membership brings. Do share your thoughts and ideas.

And, since I'm busy thanking people, I would also like to thank Gareth Russell, Claire Ridgway, Catherine Brooks and all the writers and contributors to the magazine and website. THANK YOU ALL for your hard work.

Tim Ridgway



On the York kings, *Edward IV* by Charles Ross is a fine addition to the Yale English Monarchs series. Alison Weir's *The Princes in the Tower* is controversial among defenders of Richard III, but it is a thrillingly readable introduction to the tragedy of Edward V. *Richard III: Loyalty Binds Me* by Matthew Lewis and *Richard III: Brother, Protector, King* by Chris Skidmore cover well the controversies and impact of the last Yorkist king.

For the Yorkist queens, *The Woodvilles* by Susan Higginbotham is masterful and David Baldwin's life of Elizabeth Woodville is sympathetic yet fair. Amy Licence's *Anne Neville* offers a much-needed and well-researched account of Henry VI's daughter-in-law who became Richard III's consort. For a more critical take on Anne Neville, and her successor Elizabeth of York, Lisa Hilton's *Queens Consort* is a gem of historical writing, covering England's medieval queens from Matilda of Flanders to Elizabeth of York.

Fiction, of course, proliferates – none more potently than Shakespeare's *Richard III*. There have recently been television adaptations of Philippa Gregory's *The White Queen* and *The White Princess*. *The Sunne in Splendour* by Sharon Kay Penman and the BBC series *The Shadow of the Tower* are excellent dramatisations of this tumultuous period.

Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury ***Quiz***

Margaret was one of very few people left with Plantagenet blood going into the rein of Henry VIII. Her Yorkist ancestors made her and her desczzants a potential threat to Henry's throne. Despite never giving Henry real cause for concern herself, Henry had her sent to the block on 27th May, 1541, where she met a gruesome end at the hands of a botched execution.

Can you identify the names of her royal and high ranking noble relatives from their relationship to her?

1. Father

2. Mother

3. Maternal Grandfather

4. Maternal Grandmother

5. Eldest of her two uncles who became King

6. Younger of her two uncles who became King

7. Paternal Grandfather

8. Paternal Grandmother

9. Paternal Great, Great, Great Grandfather

10. 1st cousin, and mother of Henry VIII

11. Maternal Great, Great Grandfather

12. Aunt and Queen Consort of RIII

13. Brother

1) George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence 2) Isabel Neville 3) Richard Neville, 16th Earl of Warwick 4) Anne de Beauchamp, 16th Countess of Warwick 5) Edward IV 6) Richard III 7) Richard, 3rd Duke of York 8) Cecily Neville, Duchess of York 9) Edward III 10) Elizabeth Woodville 11) John of Gaunt 12) Anne Neville 13) Edward Plantagenet, 17th Earl of Warwick

Member Spotlight

HAMPTON COURT PALACE

Long-term member Francesca Romana Castellani recently visited Hampton Court Palace. This palace is stunning to see and her description really brings this special site to life. Over to Francesca...

The exciting memories of the train journey to Hampton Court are still clearly etched in my mind and my heart. It was two years ago, in November. I had returned to London, after a long absence, to do as comprehensive a Tudor tour as possible in my allotted time. A full immersion into all things Tudor. It was my first time at Hampton Court, so I was conjuring up images of the place, anticipating the emotions it would stir up in me… I was about to experience the most sentimental journey in my life.

I was so thrilled when I finally saw

the familiar red-brick façade and the nearby Thames. Hampton Court makes for a stunning view and I was totally stunned into silence!

Built by Cardinal Wolsey as a magnificent residence, where he could receive and astound ambassadors and other important personalities from Renaissance Europe, and, of course, the king himself, Hampton Court was confiscated by Henry VIII after the cardinal fell into disgrace (in about 1530), for having failed to secure the king's divorce from Catherine of Aragon.

The long driveway leading to the main entrance was lined with white and green standards, the Tudor colours, surmounted by the Tudor rose.

Walking through what today is called "Anne Boleyn's Gateway" made me realise that I found myself in the most emblematic site of Tudor history. In that precise moment I could actually feel the presence of those characters who have marked the fundamental 100 years of the history of England; I perceived the greatness and power of Henry VIII, but especially of the key events that had taken place in Hampton Court.

The first room I visited was the Great Hall, rebuilt by Henry VIII in 1532, the first in the sequence of rooms leading to his private lodgings.

The Great Hall, the largest room in the palace, left me breathless for the magnificence of the wooden hammer beam roof, the frescoes, and the beautiful priceless tapestries hanging on the walls, woven with threads of gold.

The hammer beam roof of the Great Hall is magnificent, decorated with carved

and painted heads and badges celebrating the King and Queen.

Standing there, lost in admiration, I realised how "demanding" court life must have been. I imagined how crowded the huge hall must have appeared each day, and the complexity of the machine needed to entertain and feed the hundreds of courtiers. Up to six hundred people could be dined and wined here, twice a day.

A curious and interesting detail in the Great Hall are the entwined initials HA (Henry and Anne) carved in wood, which escaped being destroyed after Anne Boleyn fell from the King's favour for having failed in her duty to provide him with a male heir. She was accused of adultery and treason and beheaded in 1536. I stood for a while gazing at this precious detail that had fortunately survived, wondering "am I really here?" Is this real?

I was equally spellbound and captivated by the portrait of Henry VIII, and especially that of Elizabeth of York, whose historical importance has always fascinated me. The first Tudor queen, a remarkable woman, the daughter, wife and mother of a king. Most definitely Elizabeth of York deserves a separate article.

In connection with the Great Hall is the Great Watching Chamber, a large room where the Yeomen of the Guard stood "watch" over the king. Adorning the ceiling of this Chamber are stunning motifs and emblems of the Tudor period. Beyond this chamber are the private quarters, where Henry VIII and his family lived and from where he conducted his day to day business of government.

My sentimental tour continued with the Tudor kitchens, the Presence Chamber, the Haunted Gallery, the Chapel Royal, the Tudor Garden with Edward VI's nursery.

I found the Haunted Gallery very evocative. Legend has it that the ghost of Catherine Howard, Henry's fifth wife, also accused of treason and adultery (in this case rightly so, it seems), and beheaded like Anne Boleyn, wanders the Gallery in a desperate effort to reach the King and plead her innocence. Of course, there is no proof of this, because we know that she was confined to her rooms from which she would never have been able to reach the gallery where her ghost is thought to roam. Catherine was executed in the Tower of London in 1542. I found myself thinking about this young woman, probably too naÏve and inexperienced to understand and take on the scheming court and difficult personality of King Henry.

Another part of Hampton Court that greatly interested me was the Chapel Royal, with its magnificent fantastical vaulted ceiling, painted blue and decorated with thousands of golden stars, which still survives. Here I imagined Henry VIII during the twelfth day of Christmas bedecked in his crown and fine robes during the service.

The reproduction of Henry VIII's crown is equally breathtaking. What struck me most about myself was the time I spent looking at and fantasizing about each single Tudor item on display. It would take me too long to talk about all the objects I admired there and the emotions each one of them stirred up in me.

However, and even at the risk of being thought weird by some, my real interest was for the Tudor kitchens and food. As a food writer and expert for the *"Accademia Italiana della Cucina"* (Italian Academy of Cooking), and as an author and researcher of food and cooking history and traditions, I particularly enjoyed the

magnificent reconstructions of the kitchen areas dedicated to specific preparations, with the six fireplaces for cooking, rooms for creating sweet dishes, larders for fish, grains and other foods, cellars. Incredibly, the Great kitchen and adjoining rooms totalled around fifty rooms and three cellars.

Henry VIII had ordered the kitchen in Hampton Court to be doubled in size and all of this was needed to prepare food to feed the over eight hundred courtiers who accompanied him when he stayed at the Palace.

The sound features with voices and kitchen noises and all the pots and pans and

other cooking equipment really captured my attention and curiosity. In fact, this is where I took most of my pictures. The fireplaces for roasting meat and game, the preferred food at court, are really huge and I have forgotten the number of people it took to turn the spits in front of the constantly raging fires.

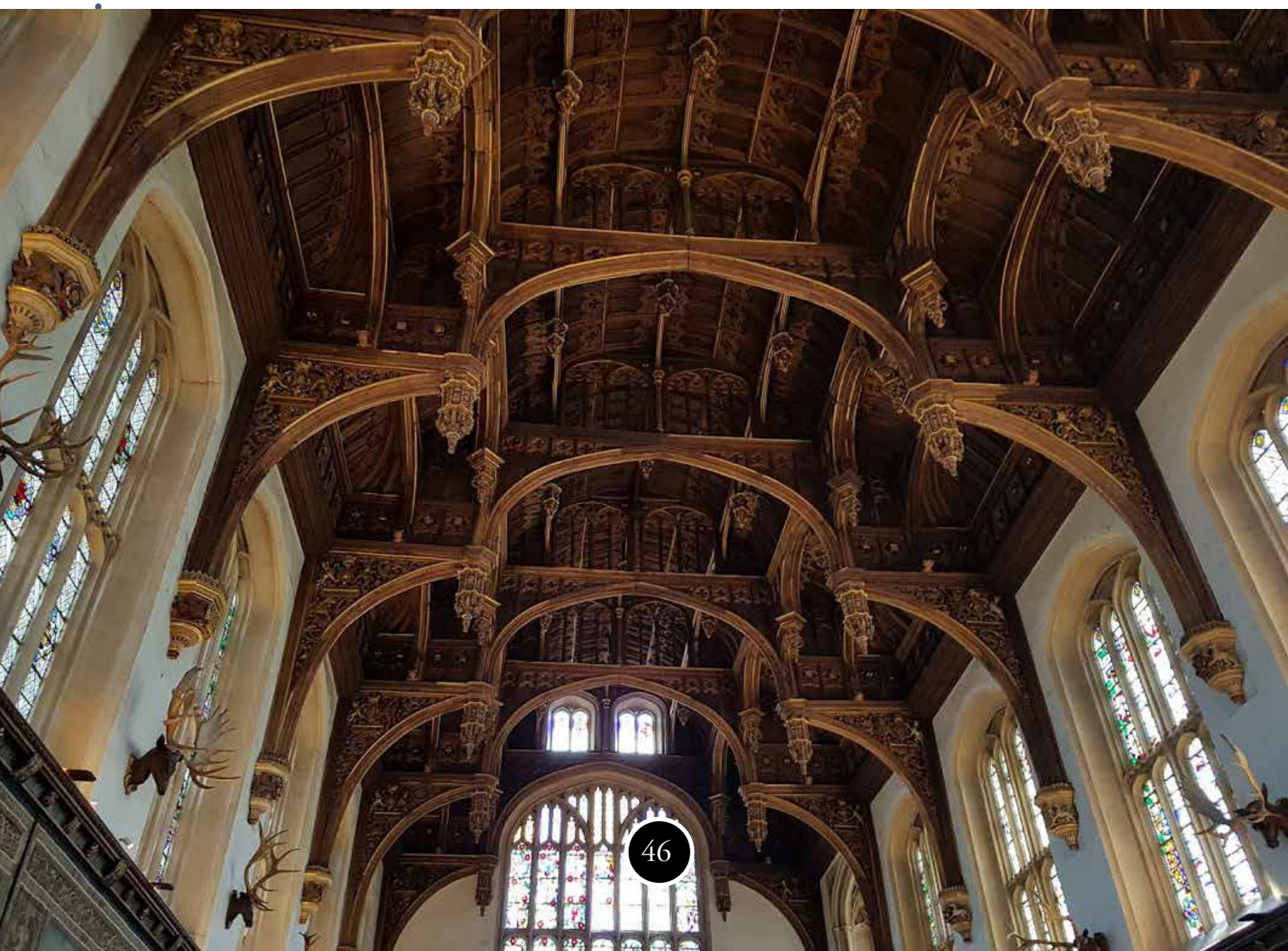
Another curious feature that struck me about Tudor food was the importance of the pie, a fast and ready food at the time. Since it was necessary to have something ready to serve at all times, for the courtiers living at Hampton Court, there was a special room and larder set aside solely for pie-making.

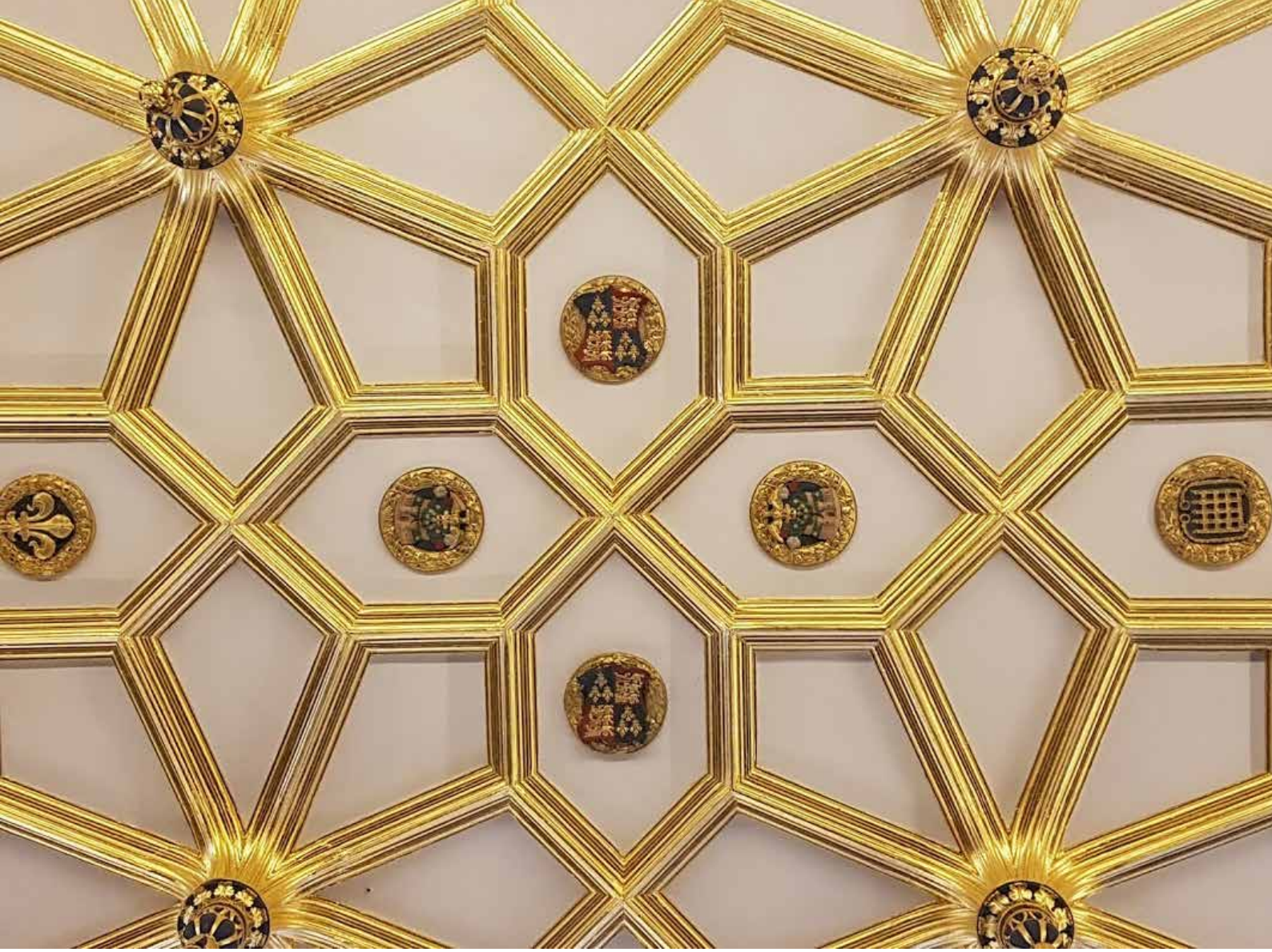
And then – sheer bliss – my lunch break in what became Elizabeth I's new Privy Kitchen, in 1570. On the walls there are anecdotes such as, *"Elizabeth I often dined out and the privy kitchen prepared elaborate picnics for her to eat when she was hunting"*, or the recipe of "Succade": *"To make Succade (a preserve or sweetmeat) of peels of oranges and Limmons. First take your peels by quarters, and steep them in water, as so do againe, till the water have no bitterness, now prepare a Syrop, place them in a glasse or pot"*.

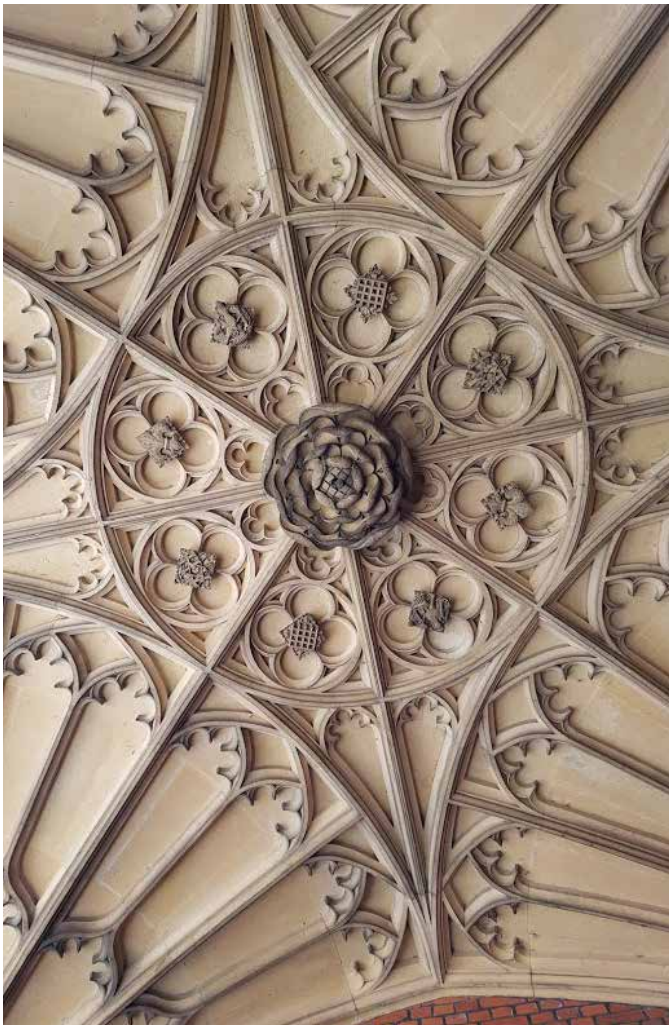
In this very personal sentimental journey I have touched on the most emotional highlights for me, without forgetting, however, that this vast and magnificent Tudor palace has so much more to offer us Tudor history lovers, an opportunity to travel back in time 500 years and to relive this dense and fascinating historical period.

Unfortunately, I had little time to dedicate to the 17th century additions to Hampton Court because, during my day-long visit, I was entirely focused on all things Tudor. Walking through Hampton Court is to step back in time almost five hundred years. It is a lavish, magnificent, overwhelming Palace. Thanks to Henry VIII's grand building ideas, today we are able to experience what Hampton Court would have been like for the King in his own lifetime.

FRANCESCA ROMANA CASTELLANI







Member Spotlight

SPICES AND REENACTMENT

You'll know Rioghnach O'Geraghty from her regular column in this magazine, called "From the Spicery". Rhi has much experience as a reenactor and does wonderfully well taking her authentic spice mixes to various markets and, of course medieval fairs in Australia. Here is an article written by Rhi about what she does...

There are a couple of different sides to me: the reenactment side; the post-graduate side; the Spice Alchemy side; and the parental side.

I've been a member of the Society for Creative Anachronism (the SCA) in South Australia for over 20 years. My little home-based business, Spice Alchemy, came about as a result of my interest in medieval foods and spices. Things really took off while I was auditioning for series 4 of Masterchef Australia (2011) when I realised that the spice blends I make would fill a niche market.

I started selling my spice blends on Saturday mornings at a local farmers market. My two sons (David and Declan) frequently came with me and got a solid grounding in medieval spice blends and food as a result. As Spice Alchemy became known around the Barossa Valley, we were invited to participate in the first Cellar Door Wine Festival in Adelaide.

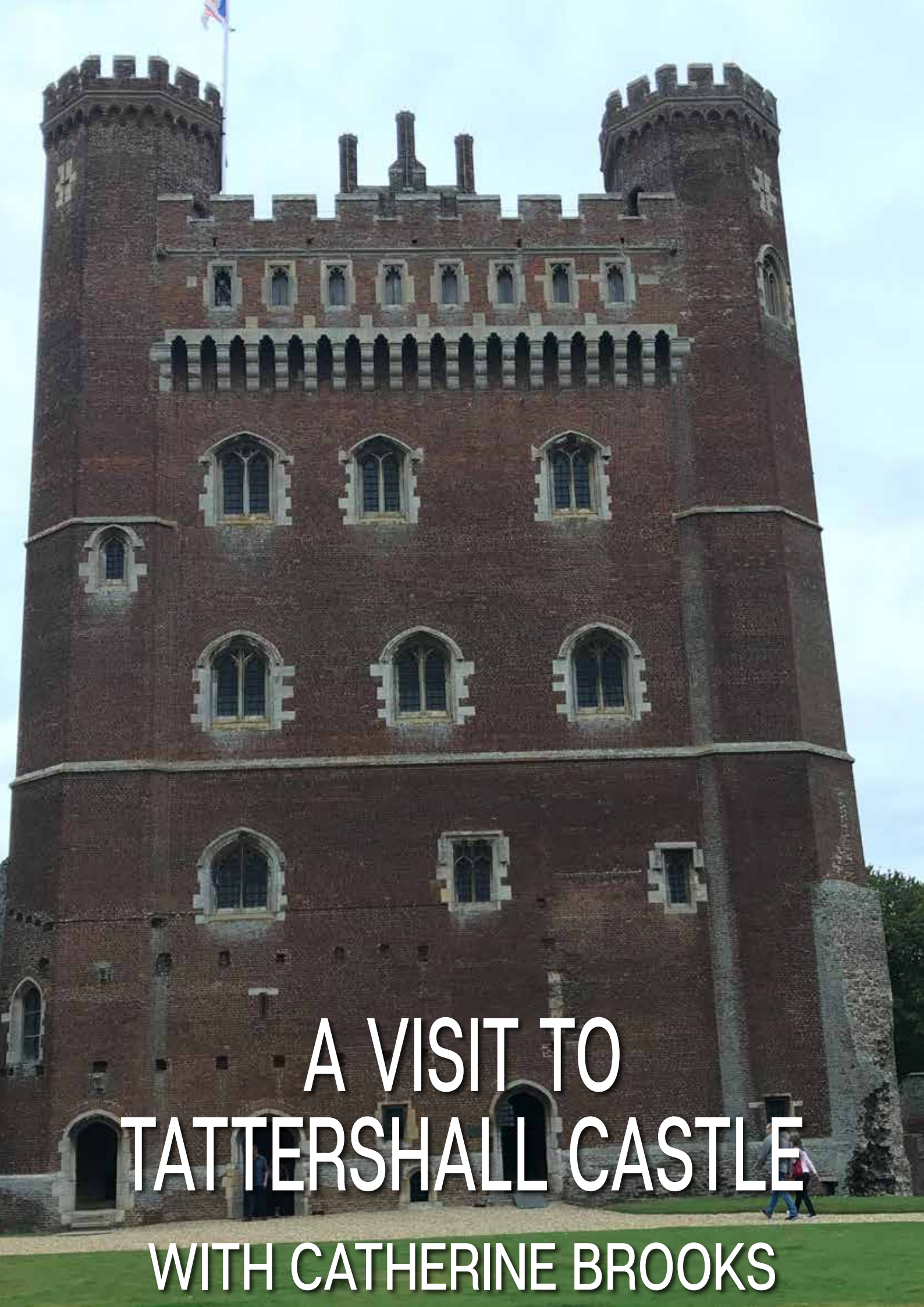
I began selling a very, very limited range of spice blends (a grand number of 4, to be exact) at the 2009 Gumeracha Medieval Fair. From small beginnings, Spice Alchemy has grown into something that keeps me sane (especially while I was doing my recent Masters degree) and has a large following. It is also something of a family tradition that my sons and I will attend each year. The photos in this get-to-know-me piece were taken at the most recent Gumeracha Medieval Fair. The next event that Spice Alchemy will be at is the inaugural Barossa Medieval Fair in August.

The Gumeracha Medieval Fair is one of the longest-running medieval fairs in Australia. I participated in the very first event was held in the Adelaide Hills town of Birdwood in 1995. The event falls on the first full weekend in May, and regularly attracts crowds of over 15,000 people. Unlike medieval fairs in the UK, Australia doesn't have the same heritage buildings to stage the event, so its held in a large open space in the middle of the Adelaide Hill's town of Gumeracha. All merchants are required to wear medieval costume, and the public is also encouraged to dress up. We get all sort attending; from Vikings to Tudors, from hobbits and elves to characters from Game of Thrones. There are daily costume competitions (including one for the best-dressed dog); fighting displays from the SCA and NVG (new Varangian Guard); Australian Morris men and belly dancers; Punch and Judy shows; a storytelling Bard; the ever-popular watermelon-firing trebuchet, free-flight falcons and eagles, and the absolutely amazing King's Horses jousting team.

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

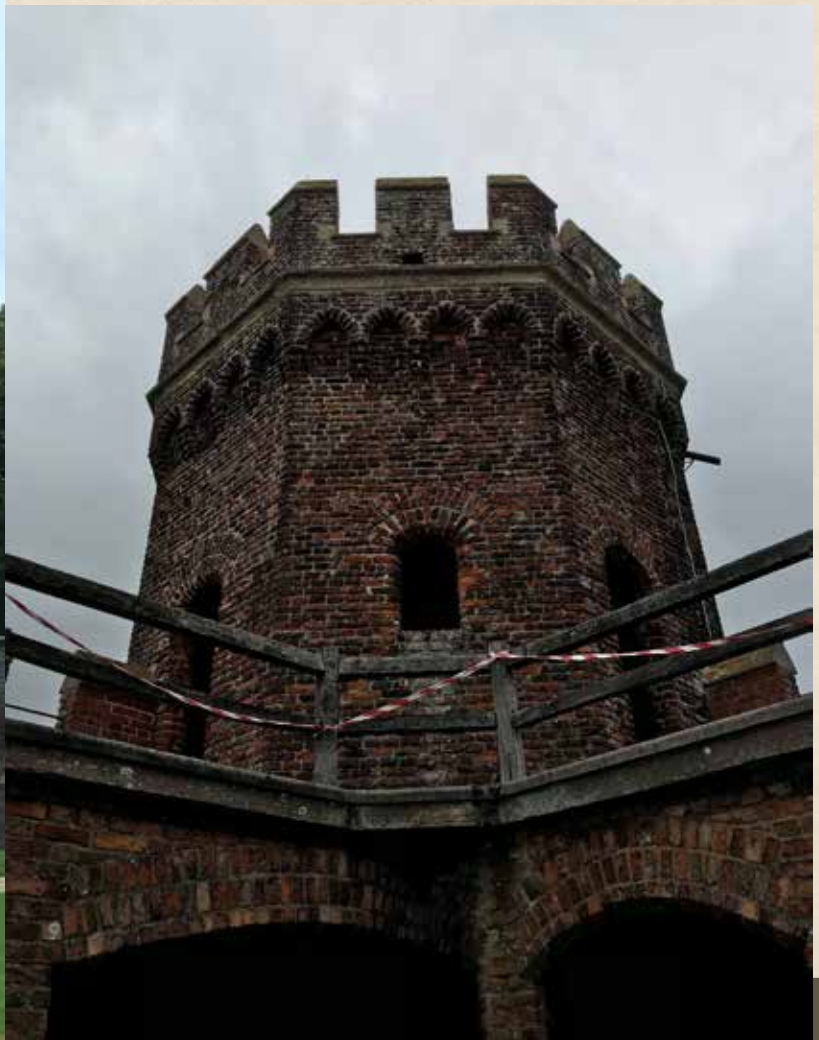
Member Spotlight

Member Spotlight



A VISIT TO TATTERSHALL CASTLE

WITH CATHERINE BROOKS




Marshall & Robert de


Dieu et mon droit
Henricus VII Rex 1485-1487


Henry Fitz-Roy
Duke of
Richmond and
Somerset
1525-1536


Dieu et mon droit
Edwardus V Rex 1480-1483


Dieu et mon droit
Henricus viii Rex 1509-1525


Dieu et mon droit
Henricus viii Rex 1485-1487


Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk 1537-1545
and Mary Tudor his wife.


My husband is
dead, my three
children are starving
and I desperately
need to find food


2

Author Interview

HISTORY INSPIRES ME

Thank you so much to Susan Abernethy for joining us here at the Tudor Society. We're so excited to have her on board with us as a new regular Tudor Life contributor!

To begin with, please tell us all a little about yourself, and also what got you interested in history?

Hi Catherine and thank you. My history journey started early in life. My parents took me to see the movie "A Man For All Seasons" when I was eleven years old. Then a few years later, I watched "The Six Wives of Henry VIII" with Keith Michel on television and a love affair with history began. Because of this, I decided to get my degree in history at university and then promptly went into the mortgage business for 25 years! Even though I worked in the business world, I always kept up with my favourite subject by reading books about history and biography. I'm currently retired and can devote plenty of time to my passion for history.

We love your work on the Tudors! But which period in history, if any, would you say is your favourite?

Since I started out concentrating on the Tudor era, that time period has loomed large in my studies. Honestly, I love all history because I believe it explains the world we live in today. But medieval history is really my favourite, especially England and France.

Which historical figure inspires you the most?

I'm greatly inspired by the life of Anne de Beaujeu, Regent of France and Duchess of Bourbon. She was the daughter of King Louis XI. When Louis died, his son Charles VIII was a minor and needed a regent until he reached his majority. While Louis didn't specifically designate Anne and her husband Pierre as regent for her brother, he gave them physical custody, a position which gave them enormous power. Anne certainly behaved as if she was queen and faced off with Louis, Duke

of Orleans (the future King Louis XII) and managed to out-manoeuvre and best him in everything politically and militarily. She governed France splendidly for several years and began the process of annexing Brittany to the kingdom of France. She also gave much needed aid to Henry Tudor in his bid to gain the throne of England. She was intelligent and ruthless and succeeded in carving out a mini-kingdom for herself in the duchy of Bourbon where she retired and wrote a book of life lessons for her daughter Suzanne. I can't say enough about her!

If you could ask one person from your research one question, alive or dead, who would you ask and what would the question be?

This is a great question! There are so many mysteries of history that would be great to solve. What happened to the Princes in the Tower? Did Katherine of Aragon have sex with Prince Arthur or not? Was Margaret Beaufort the mother-in-law from hell? Who was the Man in the Iron Mask? Who murdered Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, the magistrate who opened an inquiry into the Popish Plot during the reign of King Charles II?

But if I could only ask one question, it would be to Queen Juana of Castile. Was she unwilling or unable to reign as Queen of her realm? Was she really mentally unstable? Or was this the reason given by her father and her son to rule in her place? This has always intrigued me.

Many of our members and followers on social media may already know you from your blog, 'The Freelance History Writer'. How did that come about?

May of this year will be the seventh anniversary of The Freelance History Writer blog. I actually started writing about women's history along with a friend of mine on her blog. But after a while, I decided I didn't want to limit myself solely to women's history and started my own site. The blog covers a wide range from ancient times until mid-20th century. But for the most part, the concentration of articles are women's history, Tudor and medieval history, Scots and French history

and some Stuart era and early modern. My goal is to have articles on all the Queens of England, Scotland and France.

You recently found out that you are descended from Sir John Gates, who was executed by Mary I for his part in bringing Jane Grey to the throne. That's an amazing discovery! Tell us more about that)

Recently I had my DNA analysed and joined a genealogy website. When I have some spare time, it's fun to go to the family tree and follow a line of ancestors. A few months ago, the research of my great-great-grandmother on the paternal side yielded a gold mine. She was descended from the Josslyns, one of whom was a Knight of the Bath. By following this connection, I learned my 12th great-grandmother was Dorothy Gates who was married to Sir Thomas Josslyn. Dorothy Gates was actually a noteworthy Tudor courtier in her own right. But the interesting connection was her brother, Sir John Gates.

Sir John was one of three men who were in possession of the dry stamp of King Henry VIII's signature as he lay on his deathbed. He was also in charge of the dry stamp of King Edward VI and the right- hand man of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. Together, these two men planned and schemed to put Lady Jane Grey on the throne upon the death of King Edward. Look for an article on this capable and significant administrator in an upcoming issue of Tudor Life Magazine here at The Tudor Society.

Where has your love of history taken you over the years and which have been your favourite locations? Where else is on your 'Bucket List'?

I have been so lucky to make a few trips to England, Scotland and France to visit historical sites on my wish list. Last year, I fulfilled a long-time dream of visiting all the graves of King Henry VIII and his wives. Sudeley Castle was amazing. Eltham Palace, the home of the nursery for Henry VIII and his sisters was a revelation. A few years ago, I completed a Mary Queen of Scots tour and visited many sites related to this tragic queen. The most moving site was the location of Fotheringhay Castle where her execution took place along with the church at Fotheringhay which is the mausoleum for the House of York. We also visited Edinburgh Castle, which I call the 'coolest castle' I've ever seen. So much history there along with and the Honours of Scotland. And the Royal Palace of Holyroodhouse is remarkable. I love the ruins of the Abbey next to the Palace. And last year, I got to see a section of Hadrian's Wall which was unforgettable.

In France I was lucky enough to see the Bayeux Tapestry, Notre Dame Cathedral, Mont St. Michel and the city of Vannes and Josslin Castle in Brittany

where King Henry VII spent some of his years in exile. Visiting all these places makes history come alive.

Bucket list includes: Hever Castle, Kenilworth Castle, Worcester Cathedral and the grave of Arthur Tudor and also Bury St. Edmunds Abbey where Mary Tudor, Duchess of Suffolk is buried. I would like to visit Perth and the village of Abernethy in Scotland as well as some of the Renaissance chateau in the Loire Valley of France.

Many people have one specific period in history that they focus on, but as you have such a broad knowledge, that must make it hard to know where to put your focus next. How do you decide on what you would like to research next?

This is one of the reasons I gave myself a wide range on the blog. I want to be able to write about whatever strikes my fancy. My decisions on what to write about are based on which book I'm reading. A good example of this is the life of Isabel of Portugal, Duchess of Burgundy which I discovered purely by accident. She was the grand-daughter of John of Gaunt and when she was in her thirties, she left Portugal to marry Philip the Good. Her son was Charles the Bold who married King Edward IV's sister Margaret of York. All these connections to English history! So, I had to read Robert Vaughan's four volume series on the Valois Dukes of Burgundy. This led to many articles related to Burgundian and French history. So many ideas, so little time.

Finally, if you could recommend only three history books, either fiction or non-fiction, what would they be?

It's interesting that people comment on how King Henry VIII was a monster. I would recommend Lacey Baldwin Smith's "Henry VIII: The Mask of Royalty", an in-depth psychological analysis of Henry's personality which explains the motivations for much of his behaviour.

I've been doing a great deal of research over the past year in preparation for writing a book. I would recommend A.R. Disney's two volumes: "A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire". One volume gives an overall history from ancient times to the 20th century. The other volume is a survey of Portugal's seaborne empire. Both books are engaging and extremely well-written and the history is pretty fascinating.

My other recommendation would be Sarah Gristwood's "Game of Queens: The Women Who Made Sixteenth Century Europe". This book is quite brilliant, covering many Renaissance women rulers including the Tudor queens, some of the regents of France and Margaret of Savoy, Regent of the Netherlands.

TONI MOUNT

'Pastimes in Good Company' Part I

King Henry VIII is believed to have written a song entitled 'Pastimes in Good Company' and, as a wedding gift to his elder brother, Prince Arthur, their father, Henry VII, had had the apartments at Richmond Palace renovated, including 'houses for the playing of chess, tables (backgammon), dice, cards and billiards in the gardens'. I think these things make for good evidence that the Tudor royal family enjoyed playing games, many of which we still play today in some form or another. Since the king's pleasures were usually copied by the rest of the court and lower down the social scale as far as financial circumstance and leisure time allowed, it is probably safe to say that, on a dark winter evening, the poorest Tudor subject got out the dice or a board game to play until bedtime. So, in this month's article, I'm going to look at a few of the lesser-known Tudor pastimes.

The most popular Tudor games required little equipment but, as the list of houses above suggests, the royals were very keen on gambling on the fall of the dice. Fortunes were won or lost on a single roll. Henry VIII played often, as his wardrobe accounts reveal (that is his personal money box). Royal weddings seem to have been occasions suitable for such activities. As part of the festivities to celebrate the betrothal of Henry's little daughter Mary, in 1518, great bowls of money and dice were set out on the tables for guests to amuse themselves. Mary, like her father, became an unlucky gambler and her accounts record numerous losses at cards and games of bowls. The Tudors would bet on tennis matches, games of skittles, two flies crawling on a window pane – almost anything, in fact.

Regularly noted in Henry's accounts are sums set aside especially for dice games: at Christmas 1529, £45 was reserved specifically for dicing with the Duke of Norfolk among others. The sergeant of the wine cellar was to receive £22 10s because of the king's losses at dice, although it isn't clear whether Henry had lost to the sergeant himself or whether the servant was to pay courtiers who had

won, saving the king's embarrassment in settling his debts in person. In just three years, from 1529 to 1532, Henry gambled away a staggering total of £3,243 5s 10d on dice, card games and other sporting events.

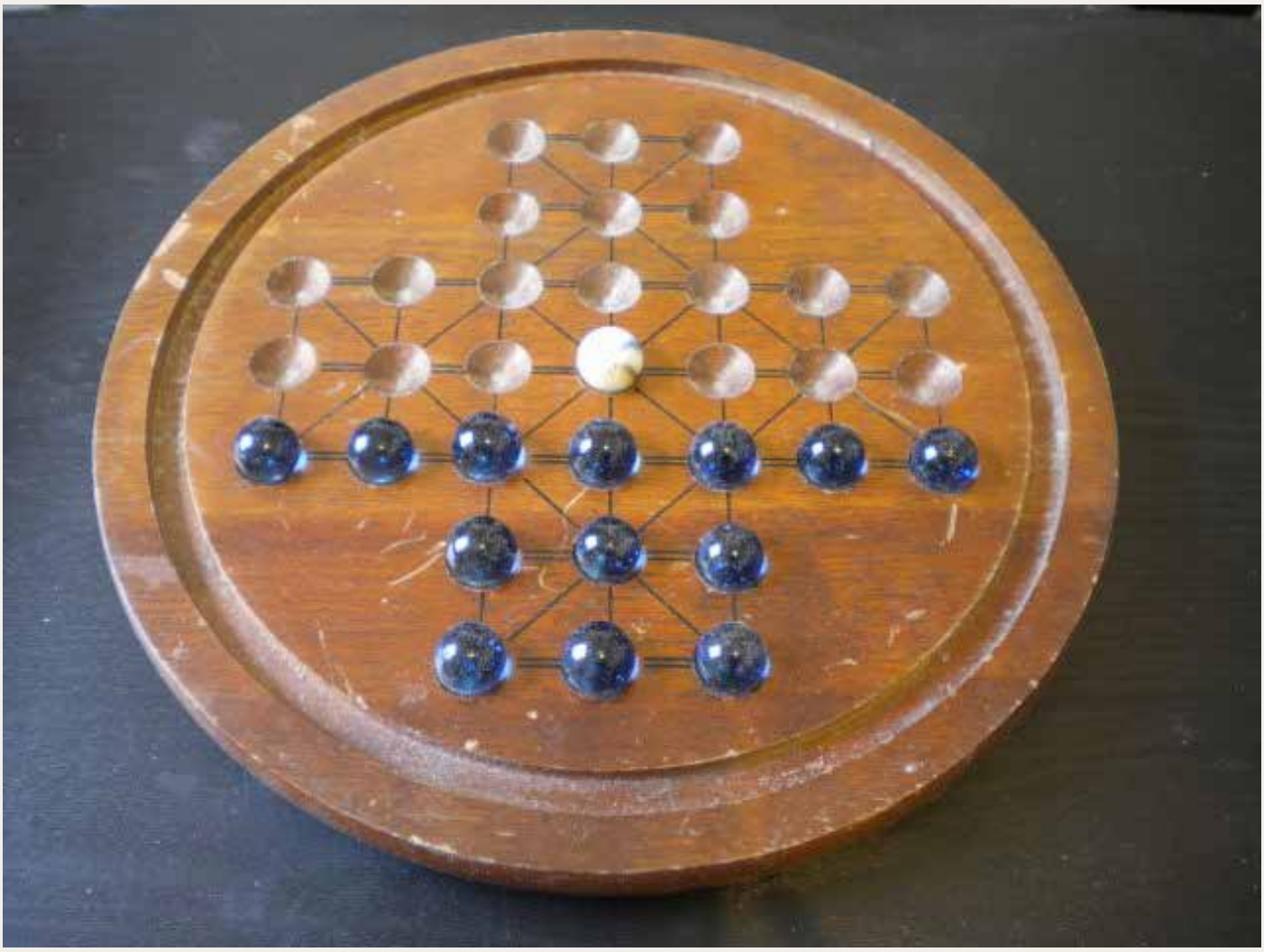
The nobles were as keen to gamble on dice among themselves. At a time when a country gentleman lived well on £20 a year, the profligate Duke of Buckingham lost over £76 to the Duke of Suffolk and others in one evening. On the night he was killed, in February 1567, Lord Darnley, second husband of Mary, Queen of Scots, played dice with the Earl of Bothwell. This was probably part of the plan to keep Darnley occupied while Bothwell's men were setting the gunpowder underneath Darnley's house, intending to blow him to pieces. The plan did not work out perfectly but well enough. However the dice fell that evening, Darnley died.

The Tudor authorities, though, utterly disapproved when lesser folk played similar games and the government tried to license ale-houses, taverns and inns to prevent gaming of any kind. The problem was that ordinary folk still formed the heart of any military enterprise as skilled longbowmen, as they had for over two centuries, and compulsory weekly archery practice wasn't just an idle recreation but vital to maintaining this skill. Despite the fact that guns were used increasingly in Tudor warfare and the basic technique of firing could be taught in an afternoon, the musculature and skeletal development of an archer took a lifetime. Tudor monarchs were fearful of losing such a valuable resource, even as firearms superseded bows as the main weapons of war, so steps were taken to prevent humble men from visiting bowling alleys and 'ordinary dicing houses'.

In 1542, an act was passed, making it illegal for labourers, craftsmen, small farmers (husbandmen), servants, fishermen or watermen to play dice, bowls, skittles, quoits, football or tennis, except at Christmas. Even the simple game we know as 'shove ha'penny' wasn't allowed. This game requires only a smooth board of wood or slate and a few coins – half-pennies before decimalisation; nowadays, 2 pence or 10 pence coins would be about the right size. (If you think this is inflationary, remember a Tudor labourer probably earned 2-4 old pennies a week – that's 4-8 ha'pennies.) Coins are laid on the lower end of the board, just overlapping the edge, and given a shove with the flat of the hand against the board's edge. Basically, whichever player's coin travels farthest up the board wins the game and claims the losers' coins. As children, we used to play with plastic counters on the edge of the kitchen table – pocket-money was too precious to risk.

Sixteenth-century court records note so many fines being paid for gaming and gambling, it becomes obvious that the authorities efforts to prevent such pastimes among the lower sort were unsuccessful.

One popular Tudor dice game had the objective of scoring 31 points. The players put their stake in the pot then took it in turn to roll two or three dice as many times as they wished to score 31 points or as close to without exceeding it. If the player exceeded 31, they were out of the round. The player closest to, but not exceeding, 31, won the



A board set up to play 'Fox and Geese'. The central white counter is the Fox

pot. The game could also be played on a board, the locations of the rolled dice affecting whether the points scored were doubled, trebled or halved. If that sounds complicated, the game of 'hazard' was even more so, such that, if you're interested in having a go at playing it, I've cut and pasted the rules for you at the end of this article as I couldn't possibly explain them.

A problem for dice players was the possibility of someone using sleight of hand and weighted dice to cheat, as in this case from 1556:

Edward Wylgres, fishemonger, enticed Thomas Pratt, gentleman, into playing unlawful and prohibited games, Wylgres having with him in his left hand false dice that at every fall of the dice came forth at his pleasure; and that by secretly removing the true dice and play with these false dice, Edward Wylgres despoiled and defrauded Thomas Pratt of four shillings and four pence.

Perhaps a less costly game, unless spectators were betting on the outcome, was the strategy game of Fox and Geese, also known as Merrels. It may derive from a game played long ago by the Vikings, called Hnefatafl. The accounts of King Edward IV, Henry VIII's grandfather, note that he purchased two foxes and twenty-six geese gaming pieces for 'marelles'. The

medieval game, as in this case, used one fox counter and thirteen geese counters of a different colour, set out on a board as shown above but there were later versions using fifteen or seventeen geese. It was a two-player game: one had the single 'fox' piece; the other controlled all the 'geese'. The fox attempted to remove all the geese, or as many as possible, from the board by jumping over each goose into an empty space. The fox went first and could move forward, sideways, diagonally or backwards, one place at a time, unless it was jumping geese, in which case, it could make as many jumps as possible in one turn – as in draughts or checkers. The geese tried to surround the fox so it was trapped but they could only move forward, sideways or diagonally, not backwards, nor could they jump. If they succeeded in cornering the fox so it couldn't move, the geese won. But if the fox reached the edge of the board where the geese began, or had jumped and removed so many geese there were too few remaining to trap it, the fox won.

Other popular strategy games included three-men's-morris which today we call noughts and crosses or tic-tac-toe. There was also a more complex version of this known as nine-men's-morris or – just to confuse us – 'merrels'. The nine-men's version used a square board with eight positions around the edge and one in the centre. The players took turns to put a piece or 'man' on the board, aiming to get three in a row – a 'mill'. If a mill was achieved, the player could take one of his opponent's men off the board. The game finished when one player had only two men remaining.

There was a Tudor board game not unlike our modern Snakes and Ladders called, confusingly, Goose. Any number could play, moving their piece or counter towards the centre of a spiral of sixty-three squares, as dictated by the roll of two dice and landing exactly on the final square. If a three was thrown on one die at his first roll, that player jumped straight to square twenty-six. Otherwise, the numbers of dots on each dice were just added together. Thirteen squares at various positions on the spiral were 'goose' squares which, if landed on, allowed the player to repeat the move he had just made, i.e. if he had thrown a five to land on 'goose', he could move on another five squares. Players could not share squares, so if the dice roll would land their piece on an occupied square, they had to stay where they were until the next turn, (although not in the version played for a pot [see below]). But there were also other 'obstacles' in the way, known as 'hazard' squares.

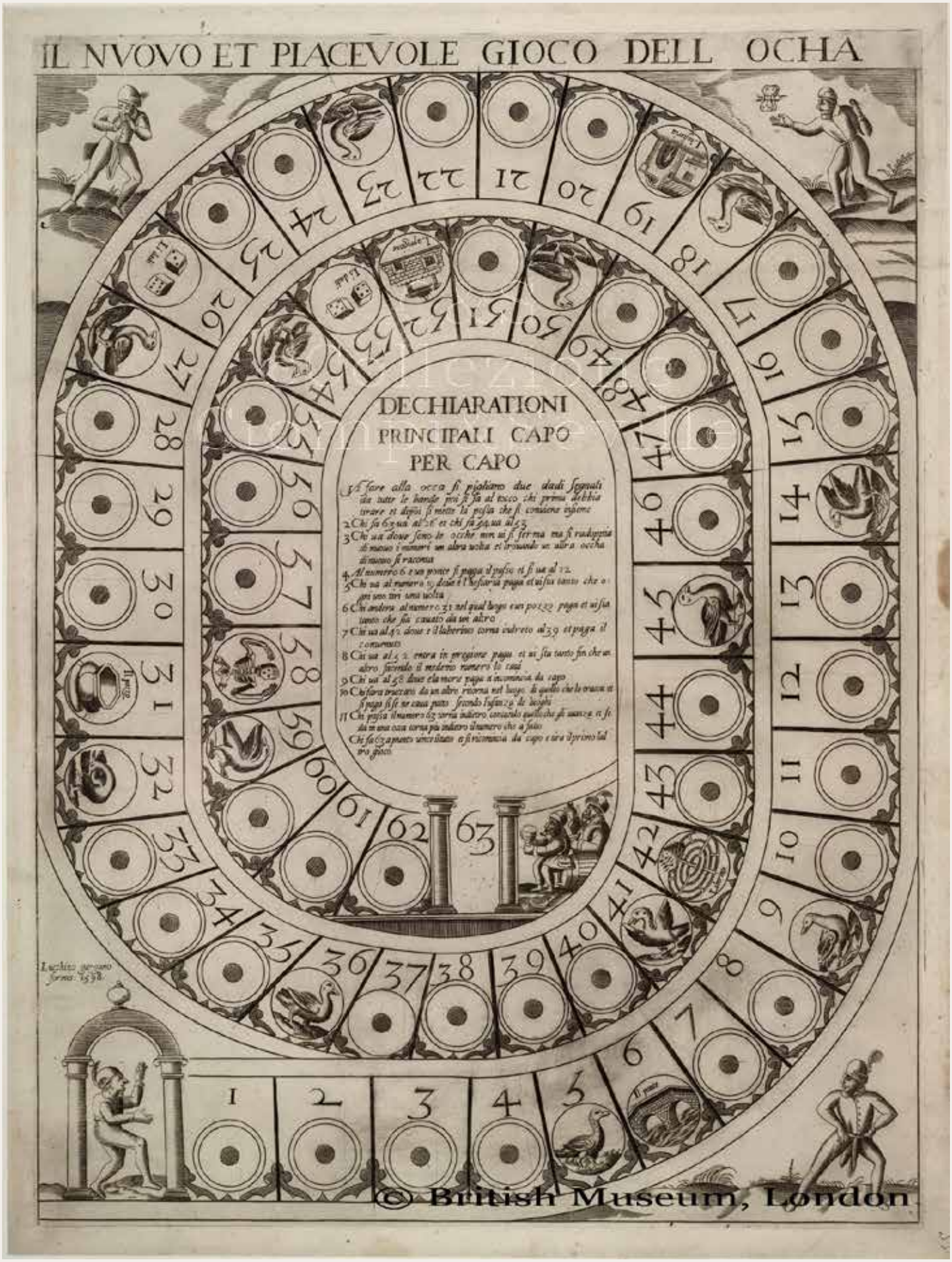
Square six, the Bridge, was the first hazard where a turn had to be missed while a toll was paid or, alternatively, the player could advance via the Bridge to square twelve – versions vary on this.

Square nineteen was the Inn where a turn was missed for taking refreshment.

Square thirty-one was the Well which a player fell down, missing three turns unless 'pulled out' by another player landing there who then fell down the Well instead and missed three turns.

Square forty-two was the Maze or Labyrinth where a player lost his way and returned to square thirty-seven.

Square fifty-two was the Gaol or Prison. Again, a player missed three



An Italian version of the 'Goose' board-game, 1589, now in the British Museum

turns unless released by another landing there and exchanging places, the prisoner going to the square last occupied by his replacement and the new inmate missing three turns.

Square fifty-eight was the worst hazard, known as the Grave or Death. Any player landing there had to return to square one and start again.

However, if a player approaching the central square threw more than the number needed to land precisely on square sixty-three, the move had to be continued, reversing away from the centre with all hazards applying as before. The first to land exactly on the final square won the game.

Unsurprisingly, the Tudors had a version of Goose which involved gambling. Before the game began, each player would put an agreed stake in the pot. If one player landed on an occupied square anywhere on the board, the two players changed places and both had to add an agreed 'fine' to the pot. Landing on any hazard square also required a fine paid into the pot. The winner received the entire pot.

I hope you enjoy having a go at some of these games. Next time, I'll look at card games and other pastimes that might have amused the Tudors, including football, even if it was illegal for ordinary folk to play.

In the meantime, as promised above, here are the very complicated rules for playing Hazard, taken from 'The Complete Gamester' by Cotton, a seventeenth-century 'how-to' book:

One die is rolled and the highest begins play. The first player rolls two dice. The object is to fall within the main, any number between 5 and 9. Once the main is rolled the player continues to roll and depending upon the total of the pips he will either win, lose or continue rolling.

If the player rolls a two or three, they lose (rolling a two or three after rolling the main is always a loss). Rolling a two is called an ames-ace.

Depending on what number is rolled in the main, differing secondary rolls may result in a win...

If the number rolled was a five or a nine, the player need only roll within the main to win. A win is called a nick. If he rolls an eleven or a twelve they lose.

If the main is six or eight, the player must roll the main or a twelve to win. If they roll an eleven they lose.

If the main was a seven, the player must roll the main or an eleven to win. If they roll a twelve they lose.

Any roll outside the main on the first roll is called a mark. The player must then continue to roll and hit the mark to win. If they roll in the main they lose. If the player wins they continue to roll. If they lose play goes to the next player.

[Don't blame me if this confuses you utterly. I couldn't understand the game at all and just copied it from http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~wew/Tattershall-tb/dice.html If you can work it out, please let us all know – Toni]

TONI MOUNT

Charlie on Books

ANNA OF KLEVE

Alison Weir

Every year for the past four years, Alison Weir has been releasing a novel from the point of view of each of Henry VIII's six wives. These have been both controversial and popular in equal measure, some have been undoubtedly better than others, and now it is Anne of Cleves' turn. Thankfully, Weir's latest book is one of the better ones.

This book starts rather quickly, unlike some of the other books that have been a little slow to get going. Interestingly, Weir covers Anne's life from a young age, as other books tend to just start from when she was arranged to marry Henry VIII. It is good to see Anne's early life in Germany for once. The author also has Anne portrayed as a Catholic, which is more accurate than the usual depictions of her as a Protestant. This is explained early on in the book:

> *'Many make the mistake of thinking that, because Kleve has broken with Rome and is sympathetic to reform, we must be Lutherans. Dr Olisleger writes that the English reformers are hoping their new Queen might be another Anne Boleyn, who was a friend to Protestants, and that they will soon have a friend and champion on the throne.'*

My review will not spoil anything but Weir certainly has an interesting theory about Anne's virginity and the remarks Henry makes after their wedding night, going against the norm. Her theory isn't impossible but *is* an unusual one that hasn't been put forward before. It will be controversial but the fact that Weir has admitted the theory is very unlikely in her author's note at the back of the book makes it a bit easier to take. It also adds to the story well and makes it stand apart from a traditional retelling of Anne's life. There is another twist later in the book after Anne becomes 'the King's sister' and it keeps the book from becoming boring. It isn't too jarring as we know so little about Anne's life after her marriage to Henry anyway.

Speaking of her life after her separation from Henry VIII, a good section of this book covers Anne's life away from the court. It does not end after Henry's death either, instead showing how Anne struggled under Edward VI and Mary I, before her death in 1557.

Anne is perhaps one of the easiest characters in all of Weir's books to like. She is friendly to nearly everyone, even Katherine after she has replaced her as queen. Anne feels genuinely saddened at her execution, despite her advisors telling her to act happy at the possibility of her becoming queen once more. She is happy for Henry finding love and strikes up a close relationship with him after the annulment.

This book is my favourite of Weir's series so far. The protagonist is likeable, unlike some of them in Weir's other books, and it shows that, even though Anne of Cleves is often viewed as being 'lucky', things weren't that easy after her separation from Henry. *Anna of Kleve: Queen of Secrets* and my review will divide people; they will either love the book or hate it. Many have already commented on not liking the liberties it takes. However, as a historical novel that the author has admitted taking substantial liberties with, it is perhaps the most enjoyable of the series. Perhaps it is due to not being completely constrained by fact? If you want real history, this is not it, but if you want a good novel, you could do worse than read this.

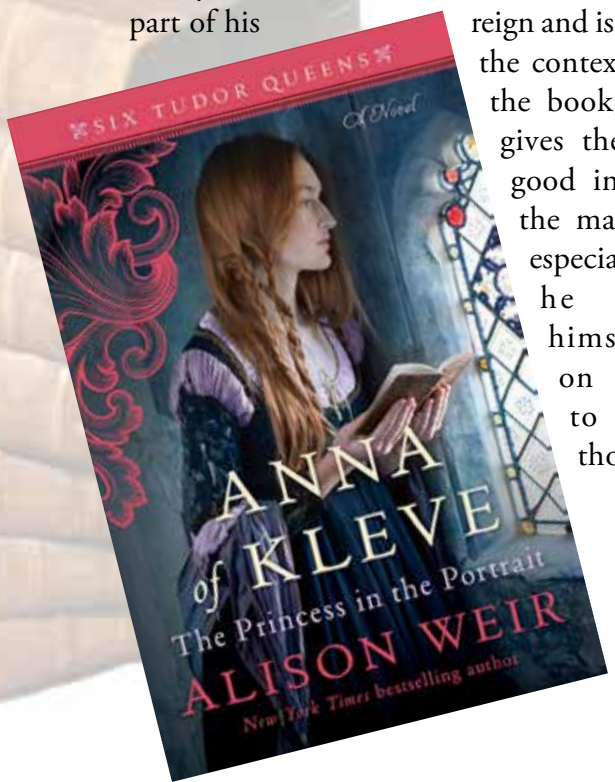
SHADOW KING: THE LIFE AND DEATH OF HENRY VI

Lauren Johnson

Release Date January 9, 2020

After many years of the spotlight having been focused on his predecessors, such as Edward IV and Richard III, Henry VI is finally getting some much-needed attention. He is often mentioned in books on the Wars of the Roses and in connection to Edward IV, yet there are only a few good biographies on the man himself, most of which are academic works and so not as accessible to the general reader. Lauren Johnson remedies this and has written an excellent work on the king, entitled *Shadow King: The Life and Death of Henry VI*.

At the beginning of the book, Johnson talks mainly about the politics and not much about Henry VI himself, but it is still technically a part of his reign and is needed for the context. Most of the book, however, gives the reader a good insight into the man himself, especially in how he doubted himself early on and had to rely on those around him for guidance, which ultimately would lead to his downfall. What started as a sound policy and a way of avoiding past mistakes with child kings, soon left, in the author's words, *'the sensitive young Henry was left… lacking trust in his own judgement'*.



The author includes some interesting notes about Henry's personal life, which gives us some clue as to what sort of person he was. For instance, she tells us about how he treated Margaret of Anjou at the beginning of their relationship, doing whatever he could to make her happy:

> *'She must have considered it a good sign that during the eleven months between their wedding and their first meeting, Henry showered her with thoughtful, chivalrous gifts. Her wedding band was the same ruby ring that Henry had worn at his French coronation, an item that must have held tremendous significance for him as a symbol of commitment to his French subjects. When Henry learnt that Margaret liked riding, he sent her a horse and saddle; when she arrived in England in need of new clothing, he commissioned Margaret Chamberlayne, the duchess of York's 'tyremaker', to deck the queen in expensive gowns.'*

This is a comprehensive but readable biography of Henry VI and I would easily recommend it to anyone wanting to learn more about him. Some readers may be daunted by the size of the book, but Lauren Johnson is a natural storyteller and explains things clearly and simply. There is also a helpful appendix of key characters in the Wars of the Roses, which is handy due to many people having the same name (such as there being several Henrys and Edwards, as well as all the different titles people had). It is perhaps the best book on Henry VI and anyone with an interest in him or the Wars of the Roses should read it.

CHARLIE FENTON

WENDY J. DUNN ON WRITING

How Research Illuminates a Story

Dear Writer/Reader,

There are so many times I find myself thinking that writing fiction constructed from history is a far more difficult challenge than constructing fiction inspired by our everyday experience of life. Writers write fiction because they have a story to tell; to tell a story filtered through history challenges writers to construct fiction through a context not their own.

While historical fiction writers don't need to be historians, I believe it is necessary for writers to have a deep understanding of the history that forms the context for their writing. That means historical fiction writers research history.

Historical research not only deepens my well of knowledge, but also takes me from the threshold of conceiving my first idea into constructing and peopling a world through imagination, imagination continually fuelled by my knowledge of history and the historical personages I am writing about.

All through writing my first draft I am committed to research, simply because the writing of historical fiction will always lead me to more questions that cry out for answers. Research, deepening my well of knowledge, is then necessary to achieve a fictional work that will hopefully allow my reader to see my imaginings of another time and place.

But, for me, there comes a time during the writing of that first draft when I know I have done all

Margaret Baufort

the important research necessary to complete my work of fiction. Because this is what I write: fiction. The construction of my first draft illuminates my story. Once I know that, research gets put on the backburner while I focus on crafting that story.

What now follows is how the journey of research ignited the story of my second Tudor novel, The Light in the Labyrinth, when I have targeted my work to the young adult reader by giving voice to the teenage Katherine Carey, the daughter of Mary Boleyn.

Most historians today paint Mary as Anne Boleyn's younger sister, but my own research sways me to believe, or perhaps I should say imagine, otherwise. Mary Boleyn appears to have been Henry VIII's mistress for several years – possibly before her first marriage in 1520 to

Henry Carry

Henry VII

William Carey, a courtier close to the king, until possibly 1525. This period was also significantly marked by gifts of royal grants to William Carey (Ives 2004, p. 16), which spurred my imagination to construct the Carey marriage as a way to deal with Henry VIII's involvement with Mary Boleyn.

Research also stoked my imagination by providing evidence that many of his contemporaries believed Henry VIII fathered Mary Boleyn's two eldest children, Katherine and Henry Carey. John Hales, Vicar of Isleworth, pointed out Henry Carey, then a child of ten, as the King's bastard (Ives 2004, p. 200). I can believe it.

Henry Carey's portrait shows a strong resemblance to Margaret Beaufort, Henry VIII's grandmother, as well as his father, Henry VII.

Katherine was the eldest of these two children, and another historical figure whose birth date is lost to us, but historians put forward both 1522 and 1524 as strong possibilities for her year of birth. Henry VIII was still sexually involved with Mary Boleyn in the early 1520's, which is why we are presented with this possibility that the King sired Katherine, rather than William Carey.

That possibility set my imagination afire – the fire blazed even brighter when I tossed at it what if? What if my Kate had no idea about her true parentage when I bring her to court in late November 1535?

I yearned to believe she was fourteen at her aunt's execution, and that Henry VIII was her father. But I needed to feel utterly convinced that Kate was indeed fourteen before moving forward with my new novel. Only by research would my imagination be free to construct a fictional Kate by using the building blocks of believable history.

Henry VIII by Hans Holbein, the younger

Reputed to be Catherine Carey

My next step was to study closely the paintings of Henry VIII, Mary Boleyn and Katherine Carey, trying to decide if there is enough physical evidence for me to present Katherine Carey as the daughter of Henry VIII.

When I looked at paintings of Katherine Carey and Henry VIII, I was struck by the similarity of the eyes. Katherine's eyes are so much like the King's I could not help feeling that I was gazing at a female version of him. I also studied another painting, often identified as the very fertile (she bore at least sixteen babies during her lifetime) Katherine Carey.

The painting's inscription has the sitter in her thirty-eighth year in 1562. Calculating a birth year of 1524, I groaned. We know from Sir Francis's dictionary, which recorded all his children's births, that Katherine was pregnant with their son Dudley in that year. But could this painting be of an earlier pregnancy, and 1562 a recording

Mary Boleyn

of the year the painting was completed? Would this painting help me, or hinder me in the construction of my work?

Supported by the sitter's resemblance to Katherine Knolls's effigy with its similar jewelled-breast pendant, this painting "provides the first contemporary evidence to support the identification of a portrait known as 'Probably Catherine, Lady Knolls'" (Varlow 2007, p. 9). Big bellied with child, the redhead woman in this portrait looks out at us with a regal gaze reminiscent of Elizabeth Tudor. Indeed, the subject of the painting is so like the Queen it could be her own sister. The Queen's own sister...

Weir's Elizabeth the Queen, Starkey's Elizabeth and Somerset's Ladies-in-Waiting all underline how important of Katherine Carey was to Elizabeth, even long before she became Queen. When Katherine and her husband, both of them Puritan, went into exile in 1553, during the reign of Mary Tudor, Elizabeth wrote a farewell letter to Catherine "signed 'cor rotto' (broken heart)' (Varlow 2007, p.8).

Providing more evidence of their close relationship, after Elizabeth succeeded her sister in 1558, she overlooked the fact her cousin Katherine was a Puritan – a member of an extremist sector of the Anglican Church, which Elizabeth disliked (Somerset 1984, p. 65), and placed her as chief lady of the Queen's bedchamber.

Available night and day, the women of the bedchamber were often drawn from the Queen's own kin, and expected to put aside the needs of their families for the Queen's (Weir 1998, p. 258). As one of this close knit group and positioned as the Queen's chief lady, it is very likely Kate was with Elizabeth when she was crowned on a snowy, January day in 1559.

Katherine died on the fifteenth of January, 1569 – the anniversary of Elizabeth's crowning ten years before, leaving Elizabeth grief-stricken (Weir 1998, p. 257). She died not at home with her husband, surrounded by her large family, but while at Hampton Court, serving the queen.

Catherine Carey

A portrait thought to be Lady Knollys

This unidentified painting, added to Kate's similarity to Henry VIII, provided to me more evidence of Kate's closer kinship to Elizabeth than that of simply cousins. I decided then to forgo its suggestion either early in 1523 or early 1524 for her birth year and (as a writer of fiction) to embrace 1522.

What Kate might remember as fourteen-year-old presented me with exciting possibilities, starting from her memories of her supposed father, William Carey. If born in 1522, my fictional Kate would have been five when he died.

While he was a court official and spent much of his time attending to the King, surely Kate would have been aware of him as her father. Could his absences have built up in her mind a too golden impression of her father? Five is a very impressionable age. Losing a parent at any age strikes deep, but for a five-year-old? I suspect that loss would imprint upon their psyche to be carried to their dying day.

Reflecting about this, I came back to one of my most important themes I explore through writing – how identity is constructed. I thought again about the creation of my fourteen-year-old character. Kate was at a very important age, stepping towards adulthood. No doubt, the life changing events of 1536 would impact significantly on that. Scenes opening up in my imagination, I considered one other important memory that my fourteen-year-old Kate may have had – Anne Boleyn's coronation, almost three years before Anne's execution.

I thought about that, wondering how to use that in my novel. I wondered about many things. I especially wondered about Kate, my Kate – a young girl who comes to the court of her aunt, the Queen of England. Stepping from the threshold of research to

my imagined Tudor world, I saw my Kate. An unhappy girl, she wanted to escape her home to be with Queen Anne, the aunt she idolised. She did not realise that by taking up her place as one of the Queen's women she would also face her own destiny.

But while there was so much that my imagined Kate didn't know, not yet, not until I finished my novel, I also saw a challenging and exciting narrative scope opening up before me. I saw her story, the story now told in The Light in the Labyrinth.

WENDY J DUNN

References:

Ives, E. W. 2004. The life and death of Anne Boleyn: 'the most happy'. Malden, MA, Blackwell Pub.

Somerset, A. 2004. Ladies in Waiting: From the Tudors to the Present Day. Edition. Booksales.

Varlow, S. (2007). 'Sir Francis Knollys's Latin dictionary: new evidence for Katherine Carey'. Historical Research 80 (209): 315-323.

Weir, A. 1998. Elizabeth The Queen. Jonathan Cape.

ON SALATS

Three women having a meal. From Medieval Life Illustrations

You wear this fighting your enemies

You eat this after you've defeated your enemies

EVEN THOUGH IT'S an uncharacteristically cold day where I am, I know that the sun is shining brightly in Northern Hemisphere. With this in mind, we'll be looking at a new food trend of the Tudor era; salads. But, first things first, I need to clear up a lexical ambiguity. A 'sallet' is not a salat. A sallet is a piece of armour used to protect the head and eventually replaced the bascinet in Italy, Hungary, western and northern Europe during the 15th Century.

A salat is the forerunner of the modern salad. To further confuse the issue, a salat may also be called compost. Unappealing I know, but there we have it.Typically, the Romans and ancient Greeks had been eating mixed greens with dressing, long before it became fashionable to do so. Salats, including layered and dressed salats, migrated into Europe following the Greek and Roman expansions. At first glance, salats were viewed with suspicion as the ingredients were uncooked, and were more than likely pretty unpopular amongst the

populace. However, with a little star power lent by Catherine of Aragon and Mary, Queen of Scots, the image of the humble salat began to rise. The diaries John Evelyn attempted to coax the tastebuds of his fellow countrymen in his book Acetaria: A Discourse on Sallets[1] but I suspect this was something of an uphill task. Interestingly Acetaria is often cited as the first recorded recipe for a salat, but this is not the case. The Ricardian cookbook The Forme of Cury, lists salat recipes, specifically Compost, a couple of hundred years prior to Evelyn.[2]

Take rote of parsel. pasternak of rasenns. Scrape hem waisthe hem clene. take rapes & caboches ypared and icorne. take an erthen panne with clene water & set it on the fire. Cast all þise þerinne. whan þey buth boiled cast þerto peeres & parboile hem wel. Take þise thynges up & lat it kele on a fair cloth, do þerto salt whan it is colde in a vessel take vineger & powdour & safroun & do þerto. & lat alle þise thinges lye þerin al nyzt oþer al day. Take wyne greke and hony clarified togider lumbarde mustard & raisouns corance al hool. & grynde powdour of canel powdour douce. & aneys hole. & fenell seed. Take alle þise thynges & cast togyder in a pot of erthe. and take þerof whan þou wilt & serue forth.[3]

A modern redaction of The Forme of Cury's compost recipe might look something like this. Peel and chop the following into bit-size pieces - parsley roots, parsnips carrots radishes turnips a small cabbage and pears. Parboil then until just tender, then drain and place in a large bowl with salt, vinegar, pepper and saffron, and allow to meld in a cool place. Make a dressing by heating together sweet wine, honey, grown mustard seeds, crushed currants, cinnamon, Poudre Douce, star anise and fennel. Allow the dressing to cool, and pour over the vegetables. Mix well and serve cold.

At first glance, compost sounds OK-ish. However if you've ever eaten cold parsnips and turnips, you'll come to realise that it is not that palatable after all. The dressing brings together 3 sweet elements in the for of sweet wine, honey and the spice blend Poudre Douce which contains a fair amount of sugar. While it is accepted that The Forme of Cury uses far more sweet elements than the contemporaneous Le Viandier de Taillevant, I honestly can't see compost becoming a favourite of the modern foodie scene any time soon.

A recipe for a far more palate pleasing salat, Salmon Salat, can be found in Thomas Dawson's The Good Huswifes Jewell.[4]

Salmon cut long waies with slices of onyons upon it layd and upon that to cast Violets, Oyle and Vineger.

This deceptively simple sounding recipe is essentially a grilled salmon salad, decorated with violets, and dressed with a standard vinaigrette.

---

1 Evelyn, J. *Acetaria: A Discourse on Sallets, London*, 1699. http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/15517

2 Pegge, S. *The Forme of Cury, circa* 1390. http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/8102

3 Pegge, *Op Cit*

4 Dawson, T. *The Good Huswifes Jewell*, London 1596

However, beware! I have had this particular salat served to me at an SCA baronial investiture, and I was completely unprepared for the sweetness of the dish. Yes, Dawson's Salmon Salat has sugar in the dressing! I distinctly remember my reaction to the sweetness, and the reactions of other people who were at my table. We all looked at one another, while we recovered from the initial shock, and wondered if we should swallow, or make discreet use of a napkin. Basically, the use of sweetness (as sweet wine, honey, or hideously expensive sugar) is common through the medieval period. It doesn't appear to matter if the dish was ostensibly savoury in nature, sugar was used as a spice, and an indicator of social status and wealth (anyone who has watched the TV series The Miniaturist, with its sugar tasting scene, will know this).

The 1596 version of The Good Huswifes Jewell lists another recipe for salat, this time a Sallat of All Kinde of Hearbes[5]. As per his Salmon Sallet, Dawson puts sugar into the dressing, however given the use of lemon and vinegar in the vinaigrette, this may have been necessary to lessen the overall acidity of the dish.

Take your hearbes and picke them very fine into faire water, and picke your flowers by themselues, and washe them al cleane, and swing them in a strainer, and when you put them into a dish, mingle them with Cowcumbers or Lemmons payred and sliced, and scrape Suger, and put in vineger and Oyle, and throwe the flowers on the toppe of the sallet, and of every sorte of the aforesaide things and garnish the dish about with the foresaide things, and harde Egges boyled and laide about the dish and upon the sallet.

A modern variant of this recipe would be Karen Burns-Booth's Elizabethan English Herb and Flower Salad with Honey Dressing[6]

1 bunch watercress, washed and trimmed.
6 spring onions, finely sliced.
4 sorrel leaves, torn into small pieces.
1 bunch lamb's lettuce, washed and trimmed.
6 radishes, trimmed and thinly sliced.
3 sage leaves, chopped.
3 mint leaves, chopped.
2 tablespoons olive oil.
1 tablespoon lemon juice.
1 tablespoon clear honey.
salt & freshly ground black pepper.
fresh edible flowers (calendula flowers, roses, primroses, lavender, blue borage, violets, nasturtiums, pansies, marigolds).

Despite the presence of honey in the dressing, this recipe works well. I believe that its the restrained use of honey, in combination with lemon juice (and not lemon slices as per Dawson's recipe), and fresh black pepper that allows the herbs and vegetables to shine. The dressing is very mildly sweet, and adds to, rather than detracts from, the overall taste.

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

5 Dawson, *Op Cit*

6 Burns-Booth, K. Elizabethan English Herb and Flower Salad with Honey Dressing, May 2012 https:// www.lavenderandlovage.com

OCTOBER'S "ON THIS

1 October 1553
Mary I was crowned Queen at Westminster Abbey by Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester.

2 October 1452
Richard III, the last Plantagenet king, was born at Fotheringhay Castle, Northamptonshire.

3 October 1518
Cardinal Wolsey sang a mass to Henry VIII and the French ambassadors at St Paul's Cathedral.

4 October 1539
Signing of the marriage treaty between Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves.

5 October 1518
Formal betrothal of Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VIII, and the Dauphin of France.

9 October 1514
The 18 year-old Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII, married the 52 year-old King Louis XII of France.

10 October 1562
The twenty-nine year-old Queen Elizabeth I came down with smallpox at Hampton Court Palace.

Claude of France and her daughters by unknown artist

11 October 1537
Solemn procession at St Paul's to pray for the Queen, Jane Seymour, who was in labour.

15 October 1537
Henry VIII's son, the future Edward VI, was christened in the Chapel Royal at Hampton Court Palace.

16 October 1573
Death of Thomas Davies, Bishop of St Asaph, at Abergele in Denighshire.

17 October 1595
Death of Sir Thomas Heneage, courtier and politician, at the Savoy.

20 October 1536
Thomas Maunsell, Robert Aske and the rebels of the *Pilgrimage of Grace* threatened an assault on Pontefract Castle

21 October 1532
Henry VIII left Anne Boleyn in Calais to spend four days with Francis I, "his beloved brother", at the French court in Bolougne. He returned with Francis on the 25th October.

22 October 1577
Death of Henry Parker, 11th Baron Morley and Roman Catholic exile, in Paris.

23 October 1570
Burial of John Hopkins, poet, psalmodist and Church of England clergyman, at Great Waldingfield.

27 October c.1467
Desiderius Erasmus, humanist, Catholic priest, classical scholar and theologian, was born.

28 October 1532
The last full day of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn's time with Francis I in Calais.

29 October 1618
Sir Walter Ralegh, courtier, explorer, author and soldier, was executed at Westminster.

30 October 1485
Henry Tudor, was crowned King Henry VII at Westminster Abbey.

31 October 1491
Henry VII's son, Henry (the future Henry VIII), was created Duke of York.

Background image: Lodge north of Windsor Castle © Paul Gillett

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY"

6 October 1510
Birth of John Caius, theological scholar, Royal Physician and founder of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, at Norwich. He was the son of Robert Caius and his wife, Alice (née Wode). Caius studied medicine at Padua and was physician to Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I.

7 October 1506
Death of Sir Thomas Frowyk, Judge and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, at Finchley Parish Church.

8 October 1549
Edward Seymour, Lord Protector, was proclaimed a traitor by the King's Privy Council.

John Caius by unknown artist

12 October 1537
St Edward's Day, Jane Seymour finally gave birth to the future King Edward VI after a long and tiring 30 hour labour.

13 October 1499
Queen Claude of France, wife of Francis I, was born in Romorantin-Lanthenay

14 October 1596
Death of John Coldwell, Bishop of Salisbury. He was buried in the cathedral, in the grave of Bishop Wyvil.

18 October 1541
Margaret Tudor died of a stroke at Methven Castle, Perthshire, Scotland. She was laid to rest at the Carthusian Priory of St John in Perth, which was later destroyed.

19 October 1512
Reformer Martin Luther was awarded his Doctorate of Theology from the University of Wittenberg.

24 October 1537
just twelve days after giving birth to the future King Edward VI, Henry VIII's third wife and queen, Jane Seymour, died of suspected puerperal fever. Jane was buried in St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, on the 13th November.

25 October 1529
Sir Thomas More became Henry VIII's Lord Chancellor.

26 October 1538
Geoffrey Pole, brother of Cardinal Reginald Pole and son of Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, was interrogated in his prison at the Tower of London.

TUDOR FEAST DAYS

13 October - St Edward the Confessor
18 October - St Luke the Evangelist
25 October - St Crispin
28 October - St Simon & St Jude
31 October - All Hallows Eve

Tudor Life

NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

Tudor Life

TUDOR SCANDALS

CLAIRE RIDGWAY
The Scandal of Elizabeth and Thomas Seymour

GARETH RUSSELL
The Dark and Scandalous Life of Francis Dereham

SARAH-BETH WATKINS
THe Death of Amy Robsart

PLUS

ELIZABETH JANE TIMMS
The Burial of Jane Seymour

SUSAN ABERNETHY
Sir John Gates

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

REGULAR CONTRIBUTORS

Charlie Fenton
Rioghnach O'Geraghty
Roland Hui
Toni Mount
Wendy J Dunn
Sarah-Beth Watkins
LAYOUT Tim Ridgway
VIDEOGRAPHER Tim Ridgway

MAGAZINE EDITOR
Gareth Russell

info@tudorsociety.com

CONTACT

info@tudorsociety.com
Calle Sargento Galera, 3
Lucar 04887
Almeria
Spain

ONLINE

www.TudorSociety.com