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## France and the Tudors

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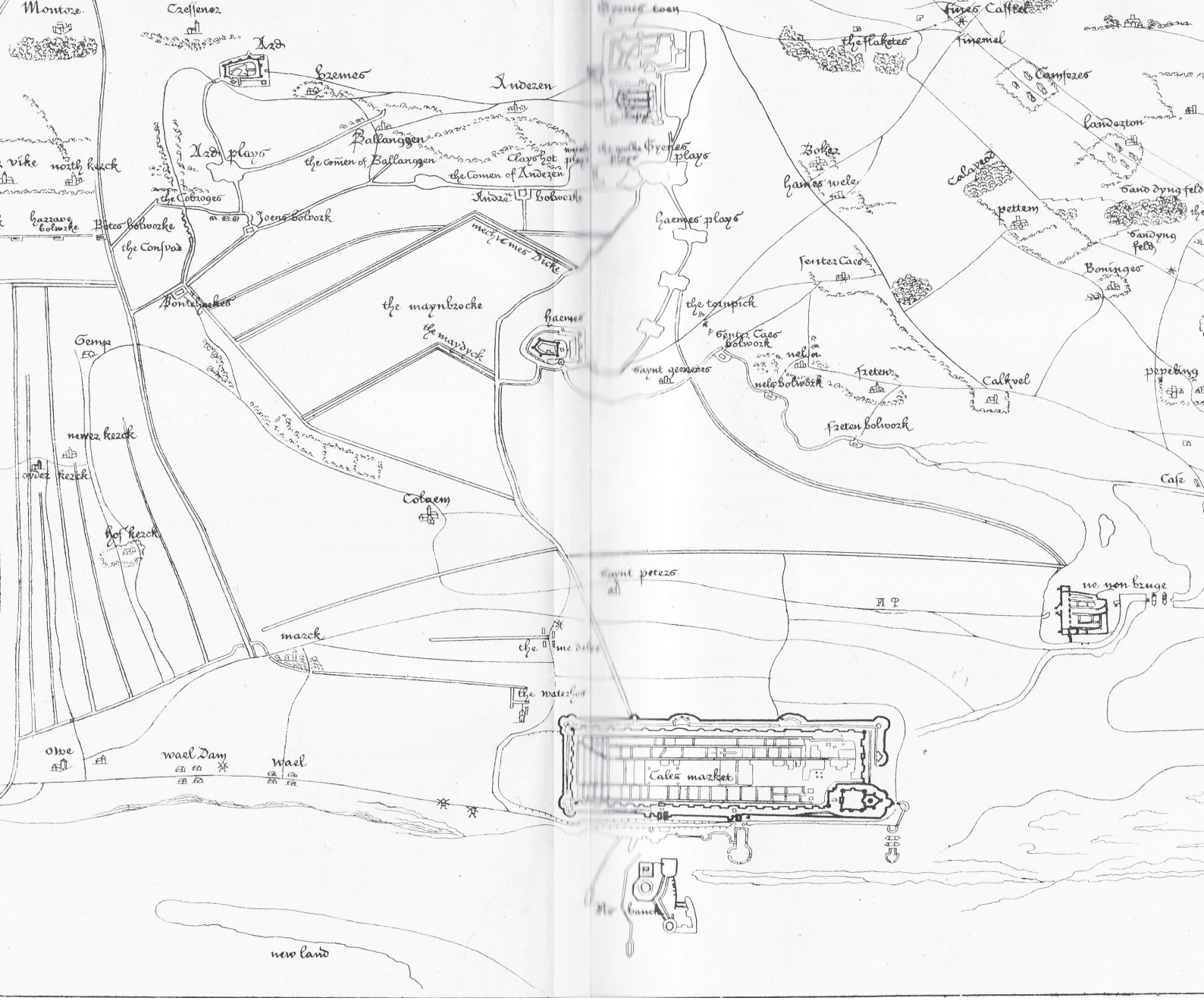



# France and the Tudors

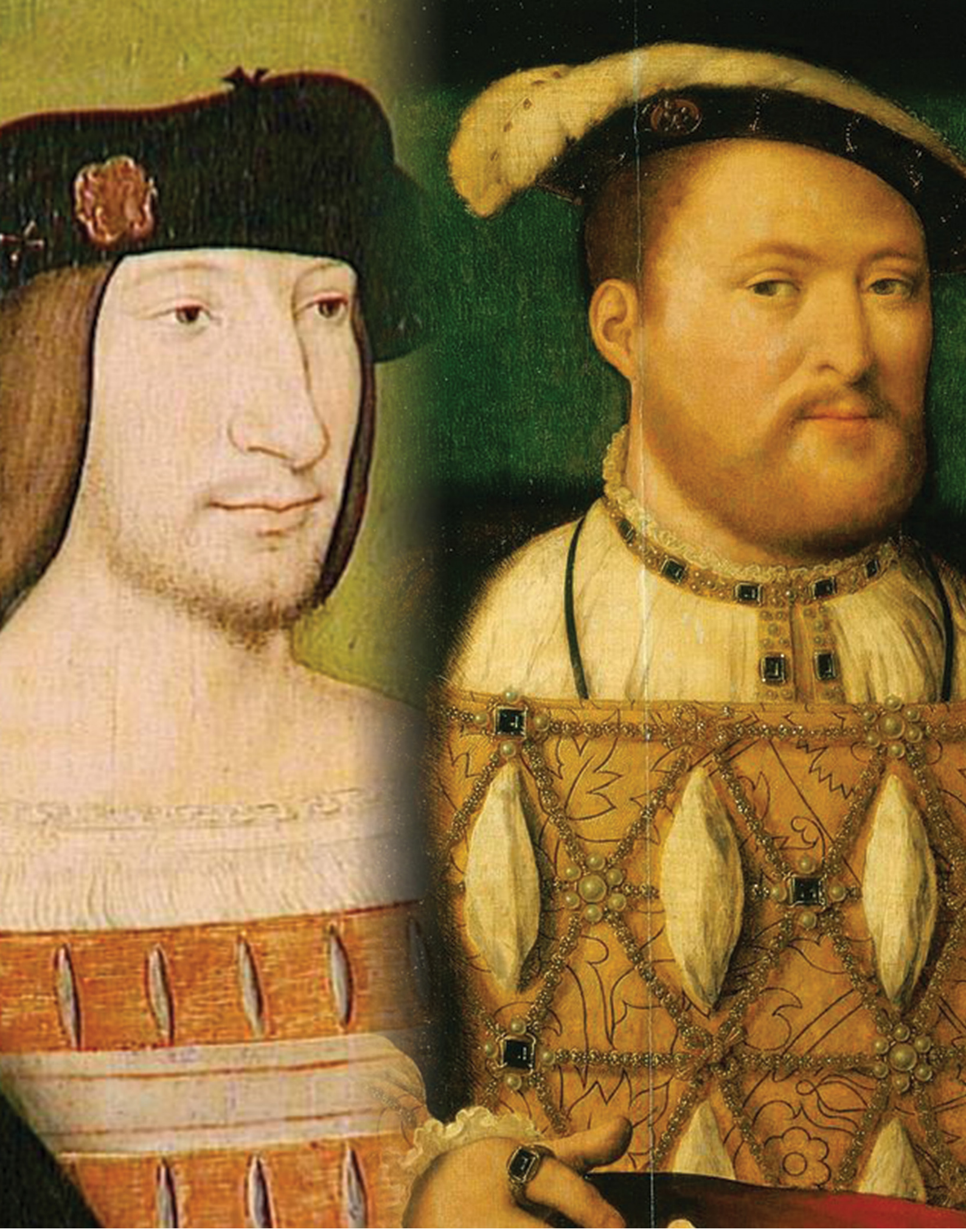
France and England have often had a love-hate relationship over the years. It's tempting to think that it began with a romantic contretemps when Eleanor of Aquitaine married the future King Henry II of England, weeks after her divorce from King Louis VII of France. Yet, in reality it predated that, with the tensions between the dukes of Normandy and the French kings accelerating when the former conquered the English throne after 1066. Two powerful nations with only a slim maritime border and, for much of the Middle Ages, land borders too were bound to provoke rivalry. Yet, the two kingdoms also fed into and out of one another's cultures, providing a fascinating source of interaction which forms the focus of this issue of "Tudor Life".

**GARETH RUSSELL**
**EDITOR**

**ABOVE: A map of the Marches of Calais during the time of Henry VIII**

# Tudor Life

# SEPTEMBER



*Francis I and Henry VIII*
*Did they share a common mistress?*

# Mary Boleyn and King Francis I of France

## by Kyra Kramer

There is something about the Tudors that inspires the generation of long-lasting, persistent historical myths. Incorrect 'facts' - like the idea that Henry VIII had syphilis or Anne Boleyn had six fingers -- continue to proliferate, no matter how often they are debunked. One of the most pernicious, and inescapable, of these so-called facts is that Mary Boleyn Carey was a "great and infamous whore" who had been the mistress of both King Francis I of France and King Henry VIII of England. That's poppycock.

Well, to be fair, Mary probably did have an affair with Henry in the early 1520s … but the rumour she slept with Francis is almost certainly slanderous malarkey.

There is no historical evidence Mary was ever one of Francis's many sexual partners. She was only in France for six months, from the fall of 1514 to the spring of 1515, when she was serving as a translator and lady-in-waiting for King Henry VIII's sister, Mary Tudor, who had just married King Louis XII. Mary Boleyn would have been in her early to mid-teens at the time, and as a well-born and unmarried girl she would have been the subject of intense chaperonage. The last thing the new queen would have wanted was the scandal of one of her young maidens being seduced by Francis, who was still only the king's son-in-law at the time. There is no way that a flirtation between Francis and Mary Boleyn wouldn't have been noted, and quickly nipped in the bud.

Moreover, there were no tell-tale 'gifts' to Mary or her family to denote she had allowed Francis into her bed. The evidence for Mary's affair with King Henry VIII rests wholly on the gifts he made to her husband in the early 1520s, and no such estates or payments were given to the Boleyn family by Francis either before or after he gained the French throne.

But couldn't Francis have seduced the light-skirted and silly Mary Boleyn without the court knowing? Couldn't he have bedded the girl without gifts to give the game away?

No.

The rules of chivalry, which were given the same quasi-religious adoration in France as everywhere else in Europe at this time, wouldn't have let Francis deflower a teenage lady in waiting of Mary's social standing, especially without courtship and presents. Ladies of rank, according to the semi-mythic codes of the knight, were wooed and won, not paid and laid. Mary was the daughter of an ambassador, and the niece of an English duke, not some kitchen wench who could be handed a coin after coitous. The court would have seen the soon-to-be king flirting with Mary, and there would be historical records of the lands he granted her family if he had succeeded in winning her affections.

Furthermore, chivalry and social norms also meant that a high-born girl of Mary's age and marital status was usually off limits for seduction, even to a crowned head. Kings, especially French kings, chose married women to become their mistresses. A lady's maidenhead was for her husband, regardless of what she did with her body afterwards. The only reason Henry VIII got away with impregnating the unwed Bessie Blount in 1518 was because she was the daughter of a relatively low-ranking court politician. Blount's father, John, wasn't even knighted until 1529, so she was the daughter of a mere "mister" when Henry became interested in her. If Francis had, like Henry, succeeded in seducing the unmarried teen daughter of a middle-class or upper-class man, he would have done the same thing Henry did -- marry the girl off to a man of rank with lots of gifts added to her dowry to replace her missing virginity. If Francis had deflowered the niece of the Duke of Norfolk, then there would have been a diplomatic kerfuffle and Mary would have wed a French nobleman to repay the dishonour that had been done to her family.

As it was, when Mary did wed, it was to a second son willing to take advancement and land in exchange for ignoring his wife's close relationship to King Henry VIII. The king wouldn't have been able to indulge in an affair with the unwed niece of a duke, but there was nothing stopping him from fooling around with the wife of a knight. Likewise, if King Francis had been hot for Mary, he would have secured her marriage to a lower-order French peer and had his way with her then.

As a final nail in the coffin of the myth that Mary Boleyn was mistress to two kings, during the time that she was in France, the soon-to-be King Francis was busily engaging in a love affair with Marie Babou (nee Gaudin). Madame Babou was Francis's *petite maîtresse*, an unofficial but acknowledged mistress, reported to be one of the most beautiful women in the world. If Francis had suddenly broken things off with her, or had caused her jealousy by pursuing Mary Boleyn, every ambassador in the French court would have learned about it.

So how did the rumour that Mary had been one of Francis's mistresses start? It appears to have sprung up from sheer malice. The first record of it came in 1536, at the height of Anne Boleyn's unpopularity among Catholics in Europe. The entire Boleyn family was being demonised by pro-Catholic factions at that time, and the widowed Mary Boleyn Carey was no exception. The Bishop of Faenza, Rodolfo Pio, wrote a letter to an anti-Boleyn ally, Prothonotary Ambrogio, in which he claimed that he had heard that King Francis had said Mary Boleyn had been "una grandissima ribalda et infame sopre tutte" during her time in France. Note how Pio wasn't even reporting on something that he himself had heard? It was a rumour about something that someone else had told him had been said. It was beyond slanderous hearsay. It was hearsay *about* hearsay.

The tittle-tattle regarding Mary and the King of France gained steam among anti-Protestant supporters because it was seen as 'evidence' that the Boleyn sisters were lustful harlots. It was proof that, like Queen Jezebel of Biblical infamy, the Boleyn women used their wiles to destroy otherwise Godly men. The Boleyns, and thus all Protestants by association, were clearly in league with the Devil.

The juicy rumour was repeated so often that it eventually began to be taken as a fact. William Rastall, in his sympathetic 1557 biography of the martyred Sir Thomas More, wrote that while in France Mary Boleyn "behav'd herself so licentiously, that she was vulgarly call'd the Hackney of England, till being adopted to that King's familiarity, she was termed his Mule." Then, in 1585, Nicholas Sanders's book *Rise and Growth of the English Schism*. Sanders claimed that Mary "appeared at the French court where she was called the English Mare, because of her shameless behaviour; and then the royal mule, when she became acquainted with the King of France."

Once it appeared in print, the idea that Mary had slept with Francis was legitimized as history, and there it has erroneously remained ever after.

**KYRA C. KRAMER**

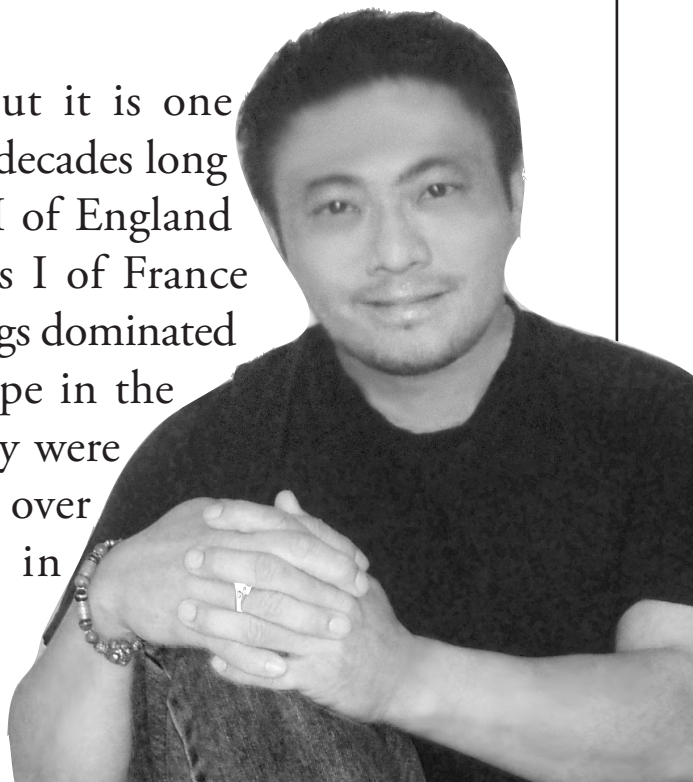
# The Rivalry of Henry VIII and Francis I

**by Roland Hui**

*Frenemy* **(noun), plural:** *frenemies***:**
**One who pretends to be a friend but is actually an enemy.**

**The Meeting of Henry VIII and Francis I (from a painting in the Galerie Campana, The Louvre)**

*The Merriam-Webster Dictionary*



'*Frenemies*' is a modern term, but it is one most appropriate in defining the decades long relationship between Henry VIII of England (reigned 1509-1547) and Francis I of France (reigned 1515-1547). The two Kings dominated the world stage of Western Europe in the first half of the 16th century. They were even much alike. Both presided over glittering Renaissance courts in


**Henry VIII by Cornelis Anthonisz (Author's Collection)**


**Louis XII attended by Saints by Jean Bourdichon (Author's Collection)**

which the arts flourished, and both had great military aspirations. Inevitably - when they were not at momentary peace - they would clash in politics and in arms.

The rivalry between the two Kings began in the early years of the reign of Henry VIII. Whereas his late father Henry VII had always favoured peace, his namesake yearned for military glory. The younger Henry imagined himself as another Henry V who had waged war upon England's ancient enemy France, and won a kingdom for himself.[1] But as these territories abroad were then lost under the feeble Henry VI (with eventually only the port of Calais remaining under English control), Henry VIII sought to win back French lands.

When Henry assumed the crown in 1509, France was still ruled by King Louis XII. Eager to put one over the French, Henry joined in a 'Holy League' with the Pope, the Emperor Maximilian, and the King of Spain (his father-in-law as he was married to his daughter Katherine) against Louis. Henry on his part, managed to take the town of Thérouanne in August 1513. There was further triumph when James IV of Scotland, who had aligned himself with France, led a disastrous invasion into England. His army


**Francis I by Cornelis Anthonisz (Author's Collection)**

was destroyed at Flodden Field, and James himself was slain.

Through his chief minister Cardinal Wolsey, Henry negotiated a peace with Louis. Not only would the French King pay him an annual tribute of 100,000 crowns - to recompense Henry for withholding his claim to France - he would also marry his sister Mary Tudor. But with Louis at age fifty-two (old by 16th century standards), the match was short-lived. He died in January 1515, less than three months after the wedding.

As Louis had no sons, and his two daughters Claude and Renée unable to inherit the throne as females under French law, his crown went to his cousin Francis of Valois. Francis was also Louis' son-in-law, as earlier he had wed the Princess Claude. At age twenty-one, he was about the same age as Henry Tudor, and there were great similarities between the two young men. Both were intelligent, good looking, and extravagant. Both were also self-serving and devious. Being so much alike, they were naturally competitive. An anecdote from 1515 well described their relationship. When envoys from Venice visited England, Henry peppered them with questions about Francis. "Was he tall?" he asked. "And was he stout"? The French King, they replied, was about Henry's height, but not as strongly built. "What sort of legs has he"? Henry went on. "Spare", the Venetians said. Satisfied, Henry then showed off his own muscular calf, and said smugly, "Look here! And *I* also have a good calf to *my* leg"![2]

While Henry might have been physically more imposing than Francis, it was his rival who outdid him on the battlefield. Whereas Henry had won what was really a minor victory at Thérouanne, Francis subsequently achieved a greater prize. In September 1515, just nine months after he was crowned King, he defeated a great Swiss army at the Battle of Marignano in Italy, and claimed the duchy of Milan for himself.

This feather in Francis' cap aroused much jealousy in Henry, but Wolsey persuaded him to renew peace with France. Following the Cardinal's advice, a marriage was arranged between the 4-year-old Princess Mary and the seven months old son of Francis I (also named Francis). To further cement this new alliance, it was arranged that the two Kings would meet face-to face. In the summer of 1520, Henry VIII, his wife Katherine, Cardinal Wolsey, and members of the nobility, along with some five thousand attendants, sailed from Dover to Calais. It was said that it took seventy-seven ships to get them and their baggage across the Channel. From

**The Field of the Cloth of Gold**

Calais, Henry and his immense entourage then travelled to a site near the Castle of Guisnes. To accommodate the King and Queen, a grand makeshift palace had been erected months beforehand. Constructed of wood and canvas on a foundation of brick, the multi-level building was dazzling inside and out. Within the structure, there were lavish rooms for the royal couple, a private chapel, and a huge banqueting hall to entertain guests. To let in light, windows made of fine glass and as high as eight feet tall, were put in place. The exterior was just as ornate. The gateway was adorned with the royal arms, carved and painted Tudor roses, and Roman style garlands. On the rooftops were statues of giants. Down below, in front of the castle, was a big fountain which gushed forth wine. It was all 'so well designed' that even the renowned Leonardo Da Vinci himself 'could not have done so well or so judiciously', it was reported.[3] Nearby as far as the eye could see, were a multitude of tents to accommodate the participants of the summit. They were made of rich fabrics which shimmered in the


**Cardinal Wolsey by Pieter van Gunst after Adriaen van der Werff (Author's Collection)**

**Charles V by Barthel Beham (Author's Collection)**

sun. It was no wonder that the whole event would later be remembered as 'The Field of the Cloth of Gold'.

On 7 June, Henry and Francis met. Riding on horseback, they both galloped to a prearranged meeting place in the 'Golden Valley'. They hugged each other to the delight of their respective countrymen, and for the next two weeks, they indulged in rounds of entertainments. Despite their friendly facades, the two Kings tried to outdo one another. When it wasn't by their sumptuous clothing, it was by matches of strength. On one occasion, Henry suddenly challenged Francis to a wrestling match only to have his opponent pin him to the ground. When the English and the French parted at last, they swore perpetual friendship. A chapel to 'Our Lady of Friendship', they both vowed, would be built on the site of their meeting. Also, a 'very handsome palace' would be erected so that Henry and Francis could 'visit each other there once every year'.[4]

But the 'Universal Peace' Henry and Francis had promised to uphold was broken within a year. The two had never really trusted one another despite their professions of goodwill. As a result, Princess Mary was released from her betrothal to the Dauphin Francis, and was affianced to her cousin - and Francis' enemy - the Emperor Charles V instead.[5] As part of its new alliance with the Holy Roman Empire, England would even join forces with Charles in an invasion of France. In 1525, the Emperor defeated Francis in Pavia in Italy, and made him his prisoner. Henry was elated, and expected that France would be carved up between himself and his nephew Charles. But the Emperor had plans of his own. He ignored his uncle's interests and even restored Francis to his throne. In return, the King of France had to surrender his two sons as hostages,[6] marry Charles' sister Eleanor (Queen Claude having died a year ago), and be subservient to the Empire. Francis acceded to the demands to secure his release, though he would later renounce his allegiance to his former captor.

Meanwhile, family ties were not strong enough to keep Henry VIII and Charles V together. Their relationship had cooled, and in 1526, the Emperor ungallantly broke off his engagement to Princess Mary and wed elsewhere. The alliance was further complicated in the following year by Henry VIII's domestic situation. After nearly twenty years of marriage to Katherine of Aragon, he was seeking to have it annulled. Their union had been a sin, Henry claimed, as his wife

had been formerly married to his late brother Prince Arthur. As the Queen was Charles' blood relative, the Emperor was duty bound to support her.

Cardinal Wolsey, who continued to harbour ambitions to be the great peacemaker of Europe, had England reaching out to France in friendship again. In August 1527, the Treaty of Amiens was signed, once again promising an 'eternal peace' between the two kingdoms. To seal the deal, Francis agreed to pay pensions to Henry, and his second son Henry, Duke of Orleans was engaged to the Princess Mary.

Henry VIII had need of Francis I's help as his case for an annulment dragged on. Katherine of Aragon had appealed to her nephew the Emperor and to the Pope for help. Though the Queen herself was vehemently against a foreign invasion to stop Henry's plans to separate from her and to break off from the Church of Rome as a consequence, her supporters were not so timid. Her friend, the Imperial ambassador Eustace Chapuys, was constantly begging his master the Emperor for a show of force against England to assist his aunt.

As Francis had agreed to a defensive pact with the English, in October 1532, Henry - joined by his mistress and wife-to-be Anne Boleyn - travelled to Calais for a meeting. At the Palace of the Exchequer, the two sovereigns met again. Putting past unpleasantries behind them, they acted as the best of friends, as Francis gave Henry his backing for his upcoming new nuptials. One evening after supper, a special ball was arranged for the French King's entertainment. A group of English ladies, all in 'masking apparel of strange fashion' suddenly appeared, and 'every lady took a lord' to dance with. After the merriment, their disguises were

**Henry VIII's armour worn in France in 1544 (in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)**

removed, and Francis found that he had been chosen by the Lady Anne. In her youth, Anne Boleyn had spent time in France serving the late Queen Claude, and being fluent in the language, conversed at length with the guest of honour. No doubt, Anne reminisced about her earlier years at the French court, and she gave Francis her hearty thanks for supporting her marriage to Henry VIII. At the parting of the two Kings two days afterwards, they made a great show of their mutual affection. 'They took hands, and with princely countenance, loving behaviour, and hearty words, each embraced [the] other, and so there departed'.[7]

Six year later, much would change. Anne Boleyn was dead, executed on charges of high treason, and a new Queen, Jane Seymour took her place. But Jane did not survive for long either. Shortly after giving birth to her son Prince Edward, she died. After a period of mourning, the King began looking for a new wife, one with political advantages to himself, as he and Francis were at odds again. In June 1538, the French King and the Emperor came to a rapprochement. The two had been warring over territories in Northern Italy, and eventually came to a truce. It was an uneasy alliance as Francis had never forgiven Charles for his humiliation at Pavia.

Even though the Franco-Imperial union appeared to be a fragile one, Henry VIII was nonetheless fearful of a combined invasion. Francis and Charles had mutually agreed to cut diplomatic relations with him, and they both vowed to punish all enemies of Christendom. Would this mean schismatic England as well? After repudiating both his wife Katherine and papal authority, Henry had made himself the Supreme Head of the English Church. By his abhorrent actions, a war against England would have the blessing of the Vatican. Already, Pope Paul III was intending to excommunicate him. In response, Henry put his kingdom on alert. Calais was refortified, along with castles on the southern coast of England. Orders were also given for the construction of new forts. Furthermore, upon the advice of his minister Thomas Cromwell, Henry, in January 1540, married Anne, the sister of the Duke of Cleves, to gain the support of the German Protestant princes.

But the marriage only lasted six months. It was annulled as Anne did not please the King, and the threat from his adversaries came to nothing. Francis and Charles failed to get along as expected. With the two on bad terms again, the relationship between England and France thawed somewhat. In 1542, Henry VIII's fifth Queen, Katheryn Howard, was executed for adultery, and the King was heartbroken. Francis wrote to Henry, offering him his condolences. He commiserated, saying he was 'sorry to hear of his good brother's trouble, caused by the naughty demeanour of the Queen'. Henry, he continued, must take heart 'that his honour did not rest in the lightness of a woman, and that he should comfort himself in God's goodness'.[8]

In the Byzantine world of 16th century politics, it was not surprising that Henry VIII and Francis I, even though they were both nearing the end of their reigns, would wind up as enemies yet again. Henry, who had never forgotten his dreams of glory in France, renewed aggressions in 1543. His excuse was that the French King had failed to pay up the pensions he had promised. Having patched things up with the Emperor, Henry, leaving his sixth wife Katharine Parr behind to govern his realm as Regent, joined his nephew in declaring war. He crossed over to France in July 1544, and in September, took the city of Boulogne. Henry was determined

to carry on fighting, but then came word of Charles' betrayal. The Emperor had once again entered into a pact with the French. In 'no little grief and displeasure', Henry was forced to return home.[9] In truth, his victory at Boulogne would prove hollow. The war was so expensive, as was the maintenance of Boulogne as an English possession, that it financially crippled Henry's government. To pay off costs, the King had to sell off lands he had acquired by his Dissolution of the Monasteries. In addition, he had to debase the coinage. As English money was devalued, the result was inflation, a dilemma left to his successors to deal with.[10]

For two Kings whose lives were so intertwined, they were unsurprisingly united in death just two months apart. Henry VIII passed away on 28 January 1547, and Francis followed on 31 March. Their competiveness, it would seem, extended to the grave - and quite literally. Upon Francis' decease, a great monument was raised by his son Henry II to his memory in the Basilica of Saint Denis. Within a magnificent marble mausoleum, effigies of Francis and his first wife Claude lie together in eternal slumber. Above the sepulchre are life-size figures of the couple at worship with their children. Needless to say, Henry VIII had ambitious plans for his own 'stately tomb' as well in Saint George's Chapel at Windsor Castle. It was to be made of copper and gilt, and of precious 'oriental stones'. He had also requested likenesses of himself and his favorite wife Queen Jane 'not as [in] death, but as persons sleeping', and surrounded by angels.[11] However, the project was never finished. Edward VI, and later Mary I and Elizabeth I, had more pressing matters to attend to during their reigns, and the near depletion of the royal coffers by their father in his final years, made it difficult to finish the tomb. Today, Henry VIII's final resting place is marked by a simple slab of marble - often unnoticed - placed there in the early 19th century.

**ROLAND HUI**

1. That Henry VIII identified himself with Henry V can be seen in *The Black Book of the Garter* (in St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle), where he is depicted as his famed ancestor. See: https://tudorfaces.blogspot.com/2017/04/anne-boleyn-as-lady-of-garter.html.
2. Sebastian Giustinian, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII*, (edited and translated by Rawdon Brown), London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1854, I, pp. 90-91.
3. *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, III, no. 88.
4. *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*, III, no. 69.
5. Charles' mother Joanna of Castile was Katherine of Aragon's sister, thus making him Princess Mary's cousin.
6. The two boys were returned to their father four years later. Francis died in 1536, while Henry went on to rule as King from 1547 to 1559.
7. Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle; Containing the History of England, During the Reign of Henry the Fourth and the Succeeding Monarchs*, London: printed for J. Johnson, 1809, pp. 793-794.
8. *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, XVI, no. 1453.
9. Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle,* p. 862.
10. Although Queen Mary had begun efforts to reform the coinage, it was Elizabeth who finally restored the true value of English money. She had all bad coins withdrawn from circulation and new ones minted.

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LAUREN BROWNE EXAMINES

# A Royal Negiotiation

# The Virgin Queen and the Coxcomb King

*Marriage Negotiations between Elizabeth I and Henri, Duke of Anjou*

From the beginning of her reign, there was extreme pressure on Elizabeth to marry. The obvious concern around the insecure succession was just one factor; an unmarried woman, and particularly one who was in a position of power, was deemed wholly unnatural. Frantic letters circulated amongst her councillors about her resistance to the prospect, and William Cecil was especially concerned. In a letter to Nicholas Throckmorton in 1561, Cecil lamented 'I am most sorry of all that her Majesty is not disposed seriously to marriage; for I see likelihood of grat evil... if she shall not shortly marry.'[1]

Elizabeth had claimed she was already married to England in a 1558 speech to Parliament when she declared, 'I have already joyned my selfe in marriage to an husband, namely the kindome of England.' This is often cited by historians as proof that she had never any intentions of marriage. However, both James I and Mary Tudor made similar claims about their marriage to the nation. Carole Levin suggests that Elizabeth 'at different times appears to have at least considered the possibility, played with the idea, that she might wed.'[2] While Elizabeth abhorred marriage negotiations, she certainly enjoyed courtship. Sir Henry Sidney suggested that she was 'greedy for marriage proposals.'[3] His opinion was also shared by de Silva, the Spanish ambassador, 'I do not think anything is more enjoyable to this Queen than the treating of marriage, although she assures me herself that nothing annoys her more. She is vain, and would like all the world to be running after her...'.[4]

1 Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power,* (Philadelphia, 1995), p. 44.

2 *ibid.*, p. 41.

3 *ibid.*, p. 45.

4 *Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English Affairs*, vol. I, (London, 1892), p. 468.

Glenda Jackson in the episode of "Elizabeth R" (BBC)

The first official suitor to be considered was the Catholic Archduke Charles of Austria, the third son of the Holy Roman Emperor. The initial idea had come from the Austrian side but was not taken seriously by the English until 1563. The Archduke's Catholicism was one of a number of obstacles faced during the negotiations. Elizabeth refused to seriously consider the match until she had seen Charles in person. This lead to a stalemate in the negotiations, as the Austrian negotiators 'claimed that Charles would lose his dignity were he to come to England before a formal betrothal, but without coming to England first, a formal betrothal was impossible.'[5] The Spanish ambassador De Quarda recorded in May 1559 that 'the Queen says that she has taken a vow to marry no man whom she has not seen... And said she would rather be a nun than marry without knowing

5 Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, p. 49.

with whom and on the faith of portrait painters.'[6] Elizabeth's assertion that she would not marry a man she had never seen, and her explicit distrust of portraits, was also a feature of later marriage negotiations. The discussions dragged on for several years until, ultimately, they broke down in 1568 when Charles refused to continue with the courtship. He married his niece Maria Anna of Bavaria in 1571.

A possible French alliance, cemented by marriage, was not seriously considered during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign. This was in part due to the age disparity between the queen and the three sons of Henry II and Catherine de Medici. Even in 1565 when the eldest, Charles IX, was of marriageable age Elizabeth commented that if she married him 'she would look like a mother leading her child to the altar.'[7] But by 1570, Elizabeth was 37 and the pressure for her to marry increased as her chances of producing a natural heir decreased rapidly. Her councillors thought that the threat of an assassination attempt would be diminished if she had a child, as the dynasty would not end upon her death. Foreign policy was also of chief consideration, tensions with Spain were mounting and England desperately needed to secure foreign alliances.

In June 1568, Huguenot leaders, and Francis, Duke of Montmorency and his brothers, promoted the idea that Elizabeth should marry Henri, Duke of Anjou, the fourth son of Henry II of France and Catherine de Medici. The match was intended to remove Henri from the influence of the Cardinal of Lorraine, the senior member of the Guise family, and Mary Stuart's uncle. Elizabeth and her councillor's motivations for the match were along similar lines. They had a vested interest in limiting the power of the Guises, who they wanted to prevent helping Mary. The tentative plan was deferred when civil war broke out in France in October 1568.

Negotiations resumed in 1570, after the Guises had lost political power at court. It was part of a larger plan which would see the reconciliation of the French Protestants with the crown, and an attack on the Spanish army in the Netherlands. While Charles IX was interested in this course of action, he needed to secure foreign alliances before risking war with Spain. Charles was also keen to remove his younger brother from French political life.[8]

Aside from these considerations, the French were not overly enthusiastic about the proposed match. Catherine de Medici did not believe Elizabeth would seriously commit herself, although the dowager queen of France was 'attracted to the prospect of her favourite son securing a royal crown,' and becoming detached

6 'Simancas: May 1559', in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain (Simancas), Volume 1, 1558-1567*, ed. Martin A S Hume (London, 1892), pp. 64-78.

7 Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I,* (London, 1996), p. 99.

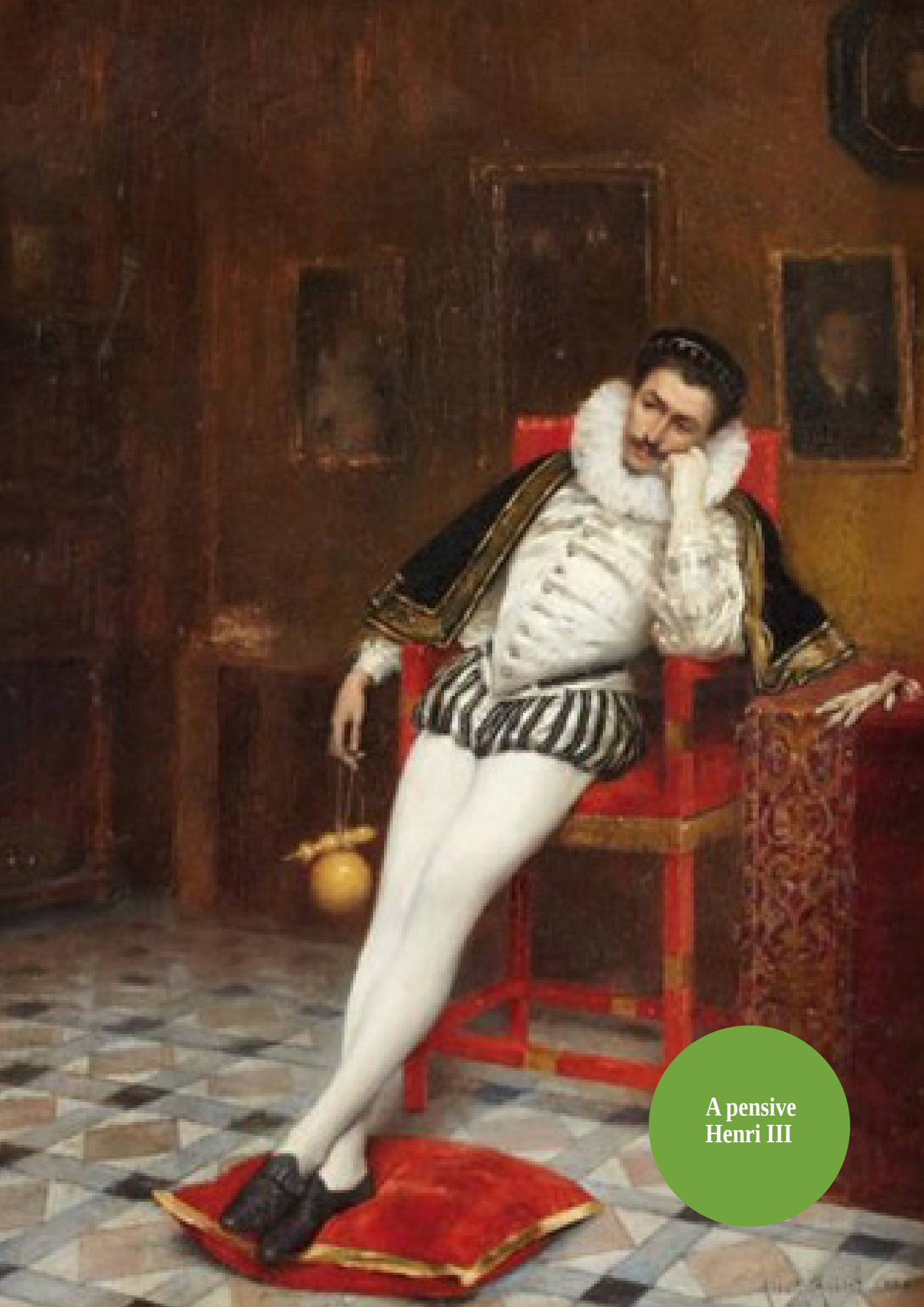
8 *ibid.*, pp. 100- 101.

from the ultra-Catholic faction of Guises. Catherine was eventually convinced that 'little would be lost, and much might be gained by pursing the matrimonial discussions with Elizabeth further.' However, the nineteen-year-old Henri was openly hostile to the idea. He 'was adamant that marriage to a bastard heretic would dishonour him, and initially refused to cooperate.'[9] Elizabeth's purported relationship with Robert Dudley was often joked about at the French court, leading Henri to call his intended bride a 'putain publique' (a public whore). He also abhorred the idea of marrying a woman eighteen years his senior and stated that he had heard she limped due to a varicose vein, calling her 'an old creature with a sore leg.' In response to this, Elizabeth made sure to dance with vigour whenever the French ambassador was present.[10]

From our modern vantage point, we know that Elizabeth never did marry. But there were several moments when Elizabeth's council firmly believed she would commit to marrying Archduke Charles of Austria in the 1560s. There is perhaps more debate amongst historians as to whether the queen was ever genuinely committed to the negotiations in regard to the Anjou match. MacCaffrey states that 'we can be quite certain that in 1571 she had no intention of taking the Duke of Anjou or anyone else as her husband.'[11] Neale disagrees; 'she was probably sincere in her resolve to marry, convinced by the urgent reasons for it' but that Henri's Catholicism and his refusal to compromise halted negotiations.[12] Elizabeth herself revealed to Walsingham in 1571 that she had a 'firm determination to marie'.[13]

Despite her protestations, both William Cecil and Francis Walsingham had doubts over Elizabeth's commitment to the marriage. Walsingham wrote to Cecil in April 1571, conveying his 'feare that by the next dispatch you shall well perceive that there is no other meaning in Queen of England but dalliance, and that you and I shall be sorry that we ever waded so far.'[14] Henri's disparaging statements about his intended bride also called into question the commitment of the French, and were a source of embarrassment. Despite Catherine de Medici's reassurance that her son's reservations were based on his Catholic faith rather than 'doubts about Elizabeth's person', negotiations collapsed.[15] Catherine suggested a match between Elizabeth and her younger son Francis, Duke of Alençon, but these discussions also failed.

9 *ibid.*, p. 101.
10 Leonie Frieda, *Catherine de Medici: A Biography,* (London, 2011), pp. 179-180.
11 Wallace MacCaffrey, *The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime,* (Princeton, 1968), p. 392.
12 Thomas Neale, *Queen Elizabeth I,* (New York, 1957), p. 227.
13 Dudley Digges, *The Compleat Ambassador,* (London, 1655), p. 64.
14 *ibid.*, p. 70.
15 Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King,* p. 58.



A pensive Henri III

Following the breakdown of the marriage negotiations, Henri was elected King of Poland and Lithuania in 1573. No one anticipated that Henri would ever become king of France, as he had two older brothers, Francis and Charles, who reached maturity. But when his brother Charles IX died without issue, Henri relinquished his title to assume the crown of France. Henri wed Louise of Lorraine in 1575, just two days after his coronation as King of France. According to Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable,* Henri was known as the coxcomb – which he defines as an empty-headed or vain person.[16] There were numerous, contemporary speculations that Henri was homosexual which were bolstered by his close relationships with certain favourites. As King of France, Henri established an informal system of patronage, the recipients of which were known as the 'mignons' – roughly translating as 'the darlings'. Ultimately, Henri III was assassinated by the Dominican friar Jacques Clément, a member of the Catholic League, in August 1589. Like his older brothers Henri III died without issue, and the throne passed to Henri of Navarre as King Henri IV.

**Lauren Browne**

16 E. Cobham Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable,* (London, 1900), p. 302.

**Louise of Lorraine, Henri III's loyal queen**


# NATHEN AMIN JOAN BEAUFORT AND RICHARD III

We're thrilled to welcome back the wonderful **Nathen Amin** as our guest speaker for September. He's a regular and they're always amazing talks!




Gothic revival stained glass windows showing
Jasper Tudor and Catherine Woodville.

Susan Abernethy talks about...

# JASPER AND HENRY TUDOR IN FRANCE

Like his elder brother Edmund, Jasper was an enigmatic figure. But it is very clear he played a pivotal role in the establishment of the Tudor dynasty of kings and queens in England. His contribution was to loyally fight for the House of Lancaster during the Wars of the Roses and to shepherd his nephew Henry Tudor to the throne.

By the spring of 1455, both Jasper and Edmund had fully declared their allegiance and loyalty to their half-brother King Henry VI. In November, Edmund married Margaret Beaufort. Edmund was then sent to Wales to restore royal authority but was captured and imprisoned by Yorkist supporters in August of 1456. After his release from prison, Edmund died. His widow sought protection and aid from Jasper and gave birth to her son Henry on January 28, 1457 at Pembroke Castle.

Fighting broke out again in early 1461 between Lancaster and York. Jasper, along with his father Owen and the Lancastrians, lost the Battle of Mortimer's Cross in February. Edward, the son of the slain Richard Duke of York, overthrew King Henry VI and was proclaimed King Edward IV. Owen was captured and executed at Hereford causing great bitterness and anger for Jasper.

Jasper escaped first to Tenby and then eventually to Scotland while his nephew Henry came under the guardianship of Lord Herbert in Wales. The Lancastrians solicited foreign support for their cause from Scotland, Flanders, France and Brittany. Jasper was sent to Brittany in March of 1462 and entered negotiations, along with Queen Margaret of Anjou, with King Louis XI of France for money and troops. Jasper and a few Lancastrians returned to England where they captured Bamburgh and other castles but were unable to make any headway further south. Jasper surrendered in December and returned to Scotland.

After forays between Scotland, Brittany and France, Jasper ended up as a member of the household of King Louis XI. In 1464, he was even recognized as the king's "cousin". Another invasion of England was planned with the help of King Louis in 1470 which included Margaret of Anjou, her son Edward, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and King Edward IV's brother George, Duke of Clarence. This time, the Lancastrians were successful, forcing Edward IV into exile and restoring a weakened Henry VI to the throne. Jasper reunited with his nephew Henry and delivered him to his mother in London.

Jasper returned to Wales with Henry to reclaim the earldom of Pembroke. However, Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou's forces were defeated at the Battle of Shrewsbury in May of 1471 and Edward IV was restored to the throne. Edward sent his deputy to Wales to seize Jasper.

Jasper and Henry raced to Pembroke and then to Tenby where they set sail for the continent, landing in Brittany. Duke Francis II of Brittany welcomed them. Almost immediately, Edward IV contacted Francis in an effort to obtain the extradition of Jasper and Henry back to England. This convinced Francis what valuable captives he had and he decided to shelter them.

They remained in Brittany in genteel custody in various castles for the next thirteen years. By 1476, both Jasper and Henry were being held as prisoners in Vannes. During these years of exile, King Louis XI, as well as King Edward IV of England, lobbied Duke Francis in an effort to obtain custody of Henry and Jasper. But Francis made sure they were safe and never took any of the offers. Henry, along with about four hundred followers, was in Vannes when King Edward IV died in April of 1483.

King Edward's brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, arrived in London, ostensibly to take charge as Lord Protector for his nephew, King Edward V. After some maneuvering, Richard took the throne for himself and was crowned King Richard III. There were some who were satisfied with this turn of events but there were many who were not. It is difficult to say if and when people began to consider Henry Tudor as an alternative to Richard as King of England. But certainly, by the fall, rebellion began in certain quarters. King Richard now had very good reason to want to capture Henry Tudor and bring him back to England.

Negotiations began with the government of Duke Francis for a truce in June that took effect on July 1 and was to last until April of 1485. Richard had positioned himself to negotiate the acquisition and custody of Henry Tudor. Duke Francis was very sick and was also not in his right mind. The messengers from King Richard were received by Pierre Landais, the Duke's chancellor. Landais was in

need of allies as he was not popular with the Breton nobility who resented his influence over the Duke. Richard promised Landais the income from Henry's confiscated Earldom of Richmond.

By now, France was being ruled by a regent. Anne de Beaujeu, sister of the young French king Charles VIII, was in a struggle with Louis, Duke of Orleans who wanted the position of regent for himself. Landais had made an alliance with Orleans and they wanted to add England to this coalition. The deal required England to invade France to help Orleans become regent. In return, Brittany would relinquish custody of Henry Tudor to King Richard.

Richard sent letters announcing his intention to invade France and offered to dispatch between four thousand and six thousand archers to Brittany. Even though the archers never arrived, the threat was enough to alarm the French regent. Everything was now in place for England to acquire possession of Henry Tudor.

The plot to capture Henry was nearly finalized when he was alerted of the danger. John Morton, Bishop of Ely was living in exile in Flanders. Margaret Beaufort's chaplain and confessor Christopher Urswick, acting as her agent, traveled to Flanders. It is not known how Morton found out about the plot to capture Henry, but Morton sent Urswick to meet him in Vannes. Urswick warned Henry to get himself and the other noblemen out of Brittany and into France as soon as possible.

Henry sent Urswick to the court of King Charles VIII to ask permission for asylum in France. Charles agreed. Urswick returned to Vannes and Henry and Jasper began planning their escape. First, Jasper and a few men departed, giving the impression they were going to Duke Francis at Rennes which was near the French frontier. They made a run for the border and headed for Anjou.

Two days later, Henry left Vannes with five servants, telling everyone he was going to visit a friend at a neighboring manor house. About five miles outside the city, Henry made a detour towards a nearby forest. With

the help of his servant Matthew Baker, he changed his clothes, dressing like a common servant, and then rode straight across the border to Angers, only stopping to let the horses drink.

Landais heard Henry had gotten away and sent some of his trusted servants in all directions to find, arrest and seize him and bring him back to Brittany. Once they got to the French border, they discovered Henry had crossed into Anjou only about an hour before they arrived. The four hundred Englishmen remaining in Vannes did not know of Henry's escape but when they heard of it, they became alarmed. About the same time, Duke Francis recovered his senses and was infuriated to hear the news as he knew nothing of his chancellor's scheme.

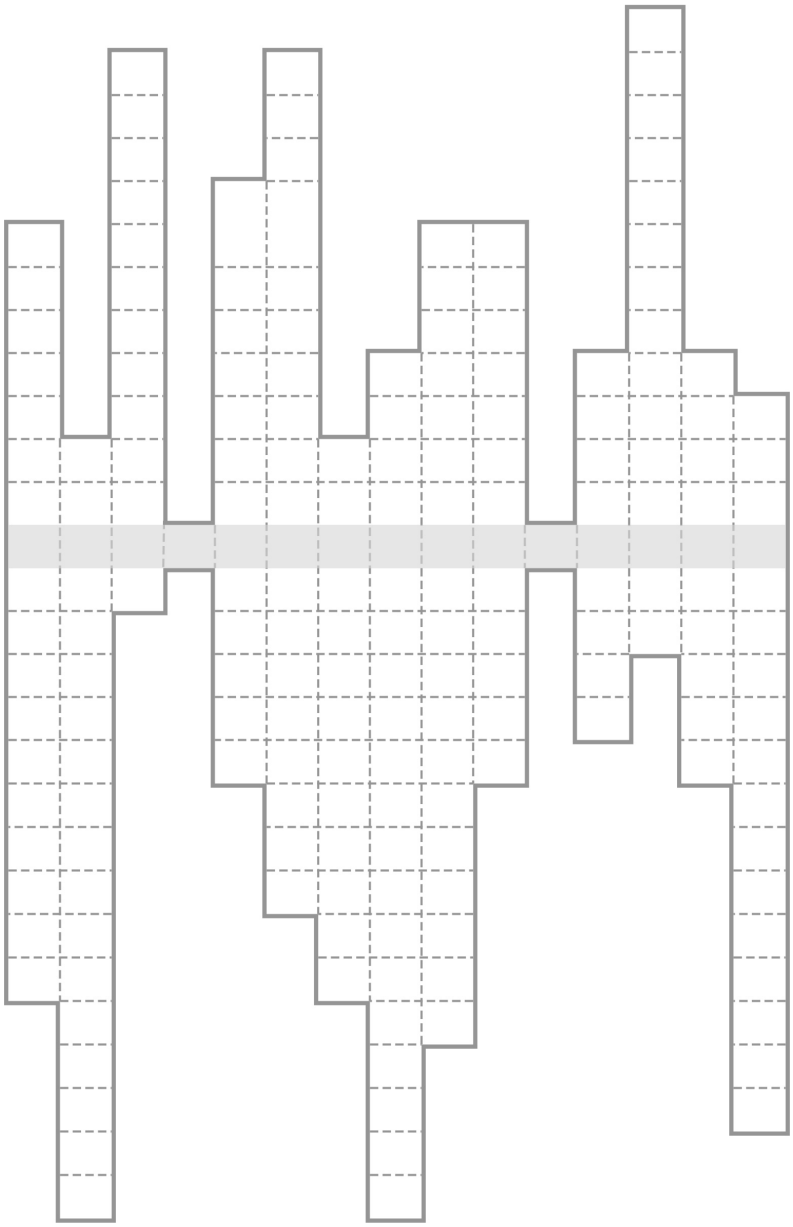
The Duke was an honorable man. He had always favored the exiles and he wasn't about to stop now. He gave them money and offered them free passage to France. Henry managed to send a sincere message of thanks to the Duke for his help. Around October 1, Henry met up with Jasper and his men at the Chateau d'Angers. Urswick was sent to Montargis to inform King Charles of the arrival of the English. Charles was delighted to receive the Englishmen and sent Gilbert de Chabannes, Lord of Curzon and governor of the province of Limousin, to salute and welcome the entire party.

Henry met King Charles at Chartres a few days later and threw himself upon the king's mercy. While not giving his complete endorsement, Charles was supportive of Henry and his mission to claim the throne of England. He agreed to give all the exiles lodgings in Sens and provided him with three thousand livres *tournois* to buy clothing for his men. Charles also gave Henry permission to recruit men to raise an army to invade England.

Naturally this daring and unexpected escape had been a setback for King Richard and relations between France and England deteriorated. Richard issued proclamations against Henry Tudor and the exiles and ordered the muster of men in England to fight an invasion. Henry Tudor was not out of the woods yet. However, by the summer of 1485, he had enough men, supplies, money and ships to sail for Wales.

**SUSAN ABERNETHY**

"Henry VII" by S.B. Chrimes
"Jasper Tudor: Godfather of the Tudor Dynasty" by Debra Bayani
"Richard III: Brother Protector King" by Chris Skidmore
"Louis XI: The Universal Spider" by Paul Murray Kendall
Entry on Christopher Urswick in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography written by J.B. Trapp



This month's quiz concerns people associated with the later part of the Wars of the Roses and the early part of Henry VII's reign. When you have answered all of the questions and have fitted the answers into the grid, you should have the name of an old friend of Henry VIII who was sent to the axeman.

1. Famous playwright from the reign of Elizabeth I, well known for his controversial work on Richard III
2. Queen consort of Edward IV
3. Duke of Buckingham, executed by Richard III for treason
4. Man who allegedly confessed to murdering The Princes in the Tower
5. The youngest of The Princes in the Tower
6. Step Father of Henry Tudor at the time of the Battle of Bosworth
7. Sister-in-law of Jasper Tudor
8. First name and earldom of the son of George, Duke of Clarence
9. First of the Pretenders to Henry Tudor's throne
10. 'Nickname' usually given to Richard Neville
11. Eldest sister of Edward V
12. Brother of Elizabeth Woodville, who was executed by Richard Duke of Gloucester
13. Bishop of Bath and Wells who was believed to have told Richard about his brother Edward's pre-contract

**QUIZ ANSWERS ARE ON PAGE 57**

# THE FRENCH CONNECTION

## Historian *Gareth Russell* examines the effect of a connection to France on the lives and reputations of a number of well known queens and queen consorts

Like Henry VII, the father-in-law she never met, Anne Boleyn spent much of her formative years in France. Of course, those were in very different circumstances, since Henry Tudor spent them as a down-on-his-luck exile, while Anne saw France as a daughter of privilege and opportunity. Both, however, came back with a cosmopolitan view of the world and helped implement it into the culture of the English court. It was a tightrope, however, between being seen as cultured and worldly-wise rather than an honorary foreigner. When a French diplomat complimented Anne by saying that one might take her for a natural-born Frenchwoman, he meant it as a compliment, but it is highly unlikely many of her English compatriots would have viewed it that way. Anne, to her credit, seemed prepare to temper her enthusiasm for an Anglo-French alliance by showing, around 1536, some sympathy with the idea of a diplomatic rapprochement with the Hapsburgs, France's hereditary enemy. Henry VII, too, had been under no illusions about the dangers of tying oneself too closely to an often-untrustworthy foreign government, no matter what happy memories they had of their time there.

Mary, Queen of Scots was less lucky. Having been raised in France since infancy she, like Anne Boleyn before her, could be seen as practically French. Unlike Boleyn, Scottish Mary struggled to jettison the problems that such a dual identity could cause. Throughout her personal rule in Scotland, Queen Mary was regularly depicted as a foreigner by her increasing number of enemies. It should be pointed out that the confessional element was important in this case, in a way it never had been for Henry VII or Anne Boleyn, because by then the sectarian divisions flowing from the Protestant Reformation had added a dangerous new flavour to the old questions of royal identity and subjects' loyalty. France remained overwhelmingly Catholic, especially the Valois royal family into which Mary had once married and the ultra-Catholic Guise family, into which she had been born. In contrast, Scotland was increasingly under the influence of the Presbyterian Kirk and the fiery sermons of its founder, John Knox, lost no opportunity to depict the young Queen as

a “papist” under the nefarious influence of the French Holy League.

Even before the Reformation, however, when all of western Europe had been more or less united under

Natalie Dormer in “The Tudors” as Anne Boleyn during her time in France

the term "Christendom" (referring to the region's experience of Catholicism as the sole branch of Christianity), a French connection had proved difficult for several English royals. Margaret of Anjou, the princess who married Henry VI in 1445, had been loathed by many of her husband's subjects even before she set foot on English soil. She represented a diplomatic disaster, with the royal wedding serving as the culmination of a series of treaties whereby the English defeat in the Hundred Years War was, to all intents and purposes, cemented. Her late mother-in-law, Catherine de Valois, had been side-lined from politics and any meaningful role in her son's life because the council of guardians installed to watch over the boy-king were suspicious of her French birth. They believed, almost certainly wrongly, that she might betray the English cause to see her son lose his empire in France as her brother, Charles VII, regained his. Depressed and profoundly lonely, the Dowager Queen Catherine began an affair with her Welsh servant, Owen Tudor, producing three sons and, through them, an accidental dynasty.

Similar levels of spite and suspicion had been aimed against King John's unwilling queen, Isabelle of Angoulême, who had been kidnapped and forced into marriage in 1200. When her outraged family declared war and sacked the English provinces in northern France, Queen Isabelle was blamed for it, with staggering unfairness. Like Henry III's wife, Eleanor of Provence, she was accused of foreign loyalties. A French connection for medieval English royals remained a source of cultural chic but potentially devastating diplomatic complications.

**GARETH RUSSELL**

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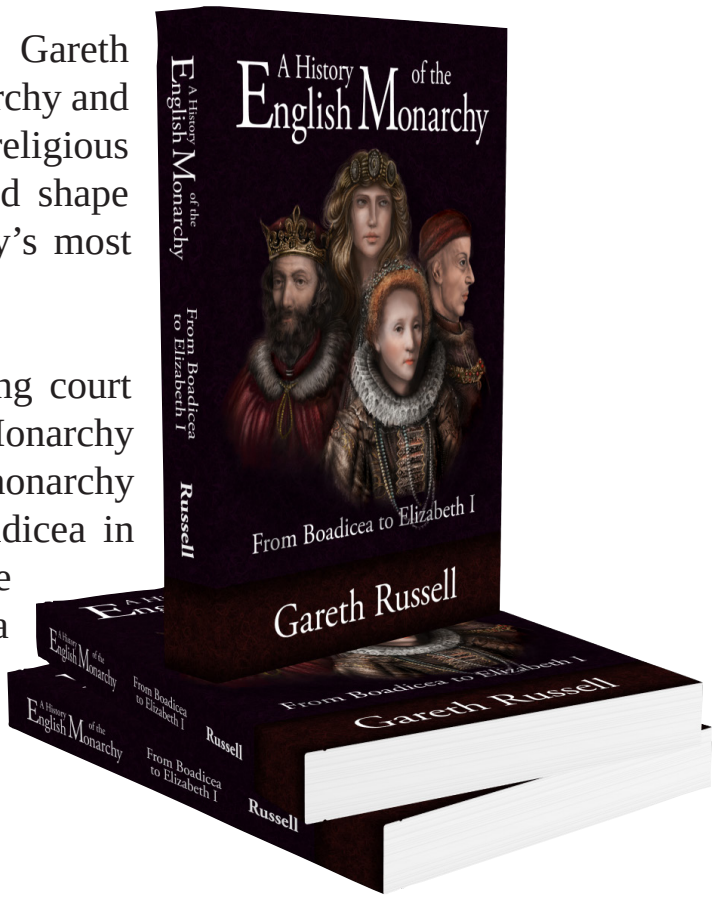
In A History of the English Monarchy, Gareth Russell traces the story of the English monarchy and the interactions between popular belief, religious faith and brutal political reality that helped shape the extraordinary journey of one of history's most important institutions.

From the birth of the nation to the dazzling court of Elizabeth I, A History of the English Monarchy charts the fascinating path of the English monarchy from the uprising of 'Warrior Queen' Boadicea in AD60 through each king and queen up to the 'Golden Age' of Elizabeth I. Russell offers a fresh take on a fascinating subject as old as the nation itself. Legends, tales and, above all, hard facts tell an incredible story... a history of the English Monarchy.



Henry VII, the Tudor king who spent his teenage years in France

**MARGARET OF AUSTRIA**
**c. 1500**

SARAH-BETH WATKINS

# MARGARET OF AUSTRIA AND THE FRENCH MARRIAGE THAT FAILED

Margaret of Austria was Regent of the Netherlands and a key player in European politics. She was first contracted to marry Charles, the dauphin of France but when that ended, it left her with a sour taste for all things French and made her the perfect ally for Henry VIII's campaign against France in the coming years.

Margaret was just three years old when she left home on 26 April 1483 in a colourful procession. It took three days to reach Lille where she had to wait for word that the French embassy had arrived at Hesdin. Once there Margaret was met at the gates and led to the castle where she was greeted by King Louis's daughter Anne de Beaujeu and her husband Pierre as well as the French ambassador.

Sometime later she was required to undress and was examined for any imperfections. Deeming her suitable to marry the Dauphin, the Chancellor of Brabant presided over a formal ceremony where Margaret was officially handed to Monsieur de Beaujeu and her marriage contract was read out. That being done her entourage was dismissed.

The Burgundians who had travelled with her were suitably unimpressed with their treatment. They had expected more – a banquet, a celebration, an evening reception but no invitations were forthcoming. The ladies had packed their most impressive dresses and not had a chance to wear them. So they decided to wear them for their leave-taking and dressed in their fabulous gowns and dripping with jewels they said their goodbyes to Margaret and the French court.

Margaret was at least allowed to retain her nurse Jeanne and her husband as her steward as well as a small household of servants with a new lady, Madame de Segre to govern her care. Soon it was time for her to continue her journey on to Paris for the marriage ceremony. They stopped en route at Bethune where 'she performed her first regal act, by commanding the liberation of two prisoners'.

On 2 June 1483 she reached Paris and was welcomed by the officials of the city who conducted her first to Notre Dame and then to the Palace of the Tournelles. The French people lined the streets eager to try to get a glimpse of this young child who would marry their prince. It was an occasion for celebration for as well as there being a

royal wedding, Artois and Burgundy were returned to French rule.

She continued on to Amboise in the Loire for her marriage on 22 June and was greeted by the thirteen year old dauphin who rode out to meet her. The marriage ceremony took place the next day in the chapel in the grounds of the castle at Amboise. The Abbot of St. Bertin followed the ceremony with a long sermon, in which he compared the royal pair to King Ahasuerus and Queen Esther in the Old Testament and spoke of the five Margarets of Burgundy; Margaret of France, Margaret of Brabant, Margaret of Flanders, Margaret of Baviere and Margaret of Austria herself.

Margaret may have been the dauphiness but it was not long before she was queen of France. Louis XI died on 30 August 1483 making his son Charles VIII the next king and Margaret queen of France. Due to his young age, his older sister Anne de Beaujeu was to be regent and Margaret's care and education would be her responsibility.

Anne de Beaujeu who her father had called 'the least foolish of women' was an intelligent and educated lady. She would amass a fantastic library, loved books, wrote her own moral stories and would later write Les Enseignments (Lessons for my Daughter) with such advice as 'always maintain an honourable bearing, your manner cold and assured, a lowly glance, subdued words, constant and firm, ever of one mind without changing'.

Under her care Margaret would grow up at the court of Amboise where other children were educated. She grew up with Louis of Orleans, her husband's cousin and future king of France and Louise of Savoy, future mother of another king of France, Francis I. In later life Louis would write to her telling her 'she was the second person he loved best in the world; that he desires above all things to embrace his cousin, his vassal, his first mistress, to remind her of their childish games and after having made her blush by his compliments, to swear eternal love for her'.

Their education was based on religious principles and the works of the Greek philosophers. Margaret would have learned the French language although not her native Flemish and whereas she would have picked up German from her father and English from Margaret of York, there was no emphasis on her learning other languages except Latin.

She was treated well and had her own household headed by Madame de Segre and her husband. There were twenty ladies-in-waiting, six lords, a Master of the House, a doctor and apothecary, a treasurer, almoner, chaplain, two secretaries and other servants including cooks, laundresses and bakers.

There were often visiting entertainers to court; a dwarf, a female choir, contortionists and priests whom Margaret paid with gold coin as well as social occasions; balls, banquets and masques. Her accounts kept by her treasurer Louis de Breze show payments for her puppets, dolls, and their dresses and show her love of animals; dogs, ponies, pigeons and a parrot once gifted to her mother by Sigismund of Austria.

Anne de Beaujeu's love of hunting especially of boar, wolf and stag, was

passed on and when they could not be outside there were inside pastimes like music, sewing, embroidery, chess, cards to keep her amused. There were also duties to perform as in 1485 when she washed the feet of thirteen poor people and trips away as when the court visited Tours to watch the passion plays and a visit to Montrichard.

In 1488 the duke of Brittany died leaving his daughter the thirteen year old Anne as his heir. Margaret's father, Maximilian had sued for her hand in marriage and been accepted. There had been a proxy ceremony as Maximilian was away with his army but when Anne de Beaujeu heard of this she was appalled that Brittany would be lost to the French crown. She ordered Charles VIII at the head of an army to take Brittany by force. Margaret was devastated her spouse would be leaving and she begged him to let her go with him. He embraced her and soothed her fears telling her 'that the late king his father had given her as his wife, and that as long as she lived, he would have no other' – words soon forgotten. She travelled as far as Montil-les-Tours with him but that was as far as she could go.

Regardless of Margaret's feelings or the fact that they had married when she was three, Charles VIII forced Anne of Brittany to marry him on 6 December 1491. Margaret was yet to find out but the whispers at court were beginning to reach her ears. She had a strange dream that she had to watch over a daisy that was growing in the gardens at Amboise. She was struggling hard to prevent a donkey from eating it. Anne – the donkey – was to triumph over Margaret – the daisy.

Margaret lost her husband, her father lost his wife. She should have returned home after Charles' marriage but was kept in France for a further two years (until peace could be arranged with her father). Charles ordered that she should 'retire to the castle of Melun on the river Seine, and take with her the Princess of Tarente'.

Margaret was nearly 12 and heartbroken. She had spent nearly ten years in France as part of the court and one of its chief ladies. Now she was sent to the chateau of Melun for two years. Whilst walking in the gardens there in a year where the grapes had not ripened she told her companions that the grapes (sarments de vigne) failed as had Charles' oath (serments).

Finally in 1493, Charles agreed Margaret could return home as befitting to her status and Margaret agreed to renounce her marriage to Charles. Anne of Brittany gave her leaving presents but they did nothing to assuage the resentment Margaret was harbouring towards the French who had cast her aside. 'Marguerite quitted France with feelings of the most intense hatred, in return for the insult thus offered her'. It would lead her to ally against the French with England's Tudor king, Henry VIII.

**SARAH-BETH WATKINS**


STOP
Escuela Andaluza de Salud Pública

# A GRUESOME LINK BETWEEN SPAIN AND HENRY VIII

*When you think of Spain, I suspect that sun, sand, and sangria come to mind. Of course, the history of a country is much more than how a country sells itself today. In this article, Tudor Society founder, Tim Ridgway, shows us that there is a dark connection between Granada in Andalucía and Henry VIII's break with the church of Rome.*

Around 40 minutes walk to the north of Granada Cathedral, is a Carthusian monastery, La Cartuja, that was founded in 1506. The building is in wonderful condition, and it's well worth a visit for any Tudor history fan as it contains some beautiful but gruesome portraits of the executions of some of the monks who lost their lives in London in 1535 during Henry VIII's "great matter".

Henry VIII had settled on breaking ties with the pope so that he could finally marry Anne Boleyn. As part of this break, he had to make sure that the people of England would accept such a radical change and accept him as head of the church in England, in place of the pope. He decided to try and get trusted religious people on his side, as role models, and so he turned to the Carthusian monks of London Charterhouse. Surely they would understand why Henry had to break with Rome, accept him as the head of the church and recognise Anne Boleyn as his lawful wife. Sadly, and devastatingly, this was not to be the case. The Carthusians prayed on the matter and announced that they would not be able to accept the king's supremacy and could not sign the oath of supremacy. It was a terrible blow to Henry's plan, and the immediate result was the cruel and brutal deaths of 18 of the monks over the next two years. Henry went on with his plan regardless of the cost to these men.

On 4 May 1535, the first of these monks were taken to Tyburn to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, with their different body parts hung in different parts of London. On 19 June 1535, another three monks were taken to Tyburn for the same fate. However, and if you're of a squeamish persuasion look away, these monks had been bound upright in chains with iron rings around their necks, hands, and feet for the 13 days before their execution. One of these monks, Sebastian Newdigate, was even visited twice by Henry VIII. Henry is said to come with all sorts of offers if he would conform to the oath. Henry was unable to change Newdigate's mind, and the man was taken to Tyburn along with the others.

On 11 May 1537, a further two Carthusian monks were executed by

being hanged in chains from Hull City battlements until they were dead. Less than a month later, on 6 June 1537, a lay-brother died of starvation in Newgate prison, followed in quick succession over the following days by the deaths of starvation of a further ten members of the London Charterhouse. For some unknown reason, this left one lay-brother – William Horne – who was finally put to death at Tyburn on 4 August 1540. William's death put an end to this sad part of the story of Henry VIII.

"Where does Granada come into the story?", you may well ask! Well, among the grand altars and golden decorations of La Cartuja, there is an austere cloister whose walls are decorated with large paintings, showing the suffering and persecution of the very monks mentioned here, by famous Baroque painter and monk, Fray Juan Sánchez Cotán. Cotán entered the Carthusian monastery of Santa Maria de El Paular in 1603 but was sent to Granada to become a full monk in 1612. He was a prolific painter, and it's amazing that his depictions of the Carthusian martyrs of Henry VIII still exist today.

You'll be glad to hear that these poor monks were beatified in 1886 by Pope Leo XIII, making them "Blessed". The first three to die were canonised by Pope Paul VI in 1970, making them Saint John Houghton, Saint Robert Lawrence and Saint Augustine Webster. A fitting end to a very dark episode.

# THE CARTHUSIAN MARTYRS

**Saint John Houghton**
executed at Tyburn, London, on 4 May 1535
**Saint Robert Lawrence**
executed at Tyburn, London, on 4 May 1535
**Saint Augustine Webster**
executed at Tyburn, London, on 4 May 1535
**Blessed Humphrey Middlemore**
executed at Tyburn, London, on 19 June 1535
**Blessed William Exmew**
executed at Tyburn, London, on 19 June 1535
**Blessed Sebastian Newdigate**
executed at Tyburn, London, on 19 June 1535
**Blessed John Rochester**
executed at York on 11 May 1537
**Blessed James Walworth**
executed at York on 11 May 1537
**Blessed William Greenwood**
died of starvation in Newgate Prison, on 6 June 1537
**Blessed John Davy**
died of starvation in Newgate Prison on 8 June 1537
**Blessed Robert Salt**
died of starvation in Newgate Prison on 9 June 1537
**Blessed Walter Pierson**
died of starvation in Newgate Prison on 10 June 1537
**Blessed Thomas Green**
died of starvation in Newgate Prison on 10 June 1537
**Blessed Thomas Scryven**
died of starvation in Newgate Prison on 15 June 1537
**Blessed Thomas Redyng**
died of starvation in Newgate Prison on 16 June 1537
**Blessed Richard Bere**
died of starvation in Newgate Prison on 9 August 1537
**Blessed Thomas Johnson**
died of starvation in Newgate Prison on 20 Sept 1537
**Blessed William Horne**
executed at Tyburn, London on 4 August 1540


For a tongue-in-cheek yet well-researched overview, you can try Stephen Clarke's "1000 Years of Annoying the French". I can also recommend the late John Julius Norwich's "Four Princes: Henry VIII, Francis I, Charles V, Suleiman the Magnificent and the Obsessions that Forged Modern Europe." For an academic's take rendered through impeccable research, try Dr. Estelle Paranque's "Elizabeth I through Valois eyes." If you are looking for a good introduction to sixteenth-century French history, there's R. J. Knecht's "The Rise and Fall of Renaissance France" and Leonie Frieda's exquisite biography of Queen Catherine de Medici.

On the Tudors with strong French connections, try Eric Ives's biography of Anne Boleyn and Lady Antonia Fraser's on Mary, Queen of Scots.

In terms of fiction, A. D. Swanston's "The Incendium Plot" is a fantastic political thriller-cum-murder mystery set between 1570s England and France. Robin Maxwell's "Mademoiselle Boleyn" imagines Anne's childhood at the Valois court.

Gareth Russell

# THE TUDOR SOCIETY

*Members' Bulletin*

At the Tudor Society, we're always looking to find new information and fresh experts to bring it to you. It does have to be said though that it's our regular contributors and historian friends and members that actually are doing the hard work in creating content.

This month we're so happy to have Nathen Amin back for his *fourth* expert talk with the Tudor Society. That's definitely an acknowledgement of his hard work in researching and sharing his knowledge. So thank you to Nathen, but also to ALL of the other contributors to the Tudor Society.

Why am I writing this, you may wonder... well... we had someone join the Tudor Society but leave fairly quickly. The reason - there wasn't enough content! Yes, honestly. We currently have 87 expert talk videos (Nathen's is number 88), over 292 hours of video continually growing, and of course this is edition 73 of Tudor Life magazine. I guess this new member could read very quickly indeed! Each to their own, I guess.

I do hope you feel you're getting the value and quantity of Tudor information that you need. If you have any suggestions of things that we could be doing to improve your membership experience we're very open to suggestions - simply let us know! Thanks!

**Tim Ridgway**

TONI MOUNT

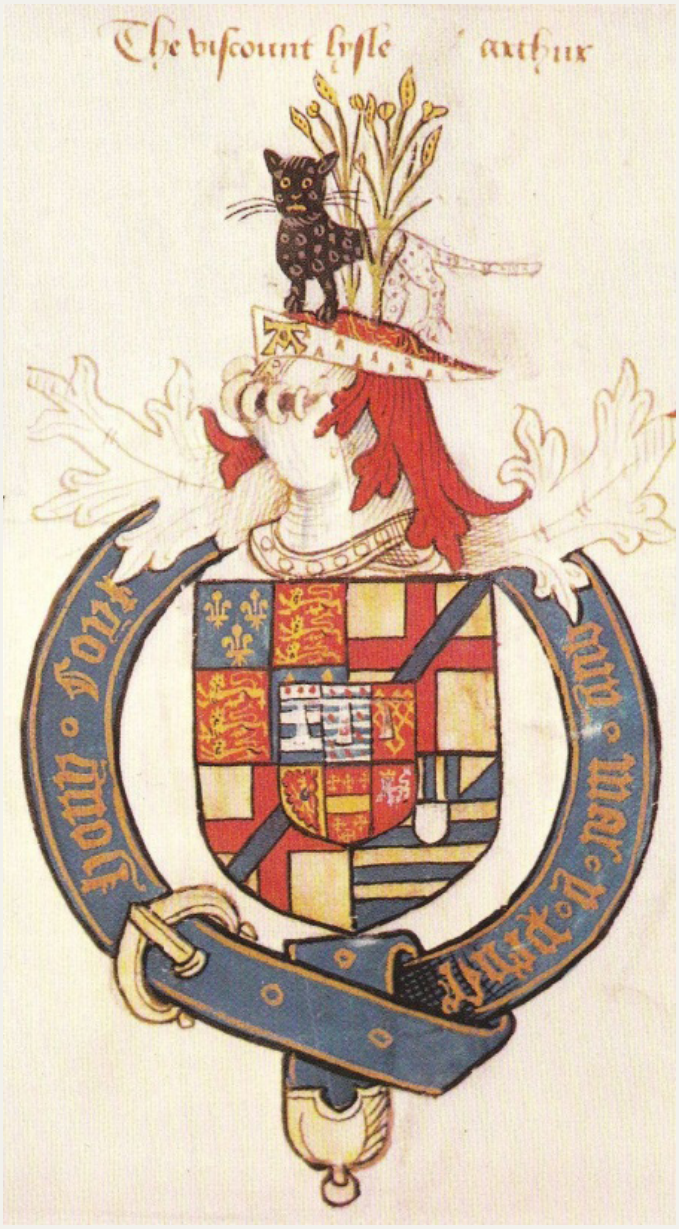
# The King's Pardon

## On 15 July 1535, in Calais, a crime was committed.

Calais was England's possession and the Tudor monarch's foothold in France, so of considerable significance. Henry VIII put his uncle, Viscount Lisle, in charge of the fortress and garrison of this English outpost as Governor of Calais. Lisle's own history is rather vague. There's no certainty about his mother's identity nor his date of birth, although he is thought to have been born in Calais. What is certain is that his father was King Edward IV. Known as Arthur Plantagenet, his life was lived in the shadows at his father's court until the king died in 1483. After that, Arthur isn't heard of again until he arrives at the Tudor court in 1501, where his half sister, Elizabeth of York, was queen to Henry VII. In 1511, he married the Lisle heiress and his nephew, Henry VIII, created him Viscount Lisle in 1523.

Lisle was in high favour at court by now, showered with important titles and offices: Knight of the Garter, King's Spear, Esquire of the Body, King's Carver and had a significant role in the life of young Henry Fitzroy, Henry VIII's natural son by Bessie Blount. He was also

**Garter arms of Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle [1524]**



Sheriff of Hampshire, Vice-Admiral of England, Trier of Petitions in Parliament, Warden of the Cinque Ports and Privy Councillor as well as Governor of Calais. Although around fifty years old, he was the king's close friend and companion in the joust and other sports they both enjoyed. During the French campaign of 1513, he proved his courage and worth as a soldier and accompanied Henry to the Field of the Cloth of Gold in France in 1520.

But Lisle, like his fellow peers, was expected to show off his material wealth and some of his orders to goldsmiths for expensive jewellery are still extant in the famous Lisle letters. And the viscount wasn't going to receive any handouts from the king of whom it was said 'there is nothing Lisle can ask the King which shall not be granted him, so long as it does not come out of the King's coffers'. This quote comes from John Hussey's [or Husee's] letter written on 19 November 1535. Display was costly, so every lord required to make money at any and every opportunity and this same letter describes Lisle's efforts to get his hands on another man's possessions. Which brings us back to the crime I mentioned.

Adrian Skell was either from Picardy in northern France or a Fleming from semi-independent Flanders. Whatever his origin, he wasn't an Englishman which caused him trouble on that warm July evening in 1535. Skell was a local husbandman – a farmer – holding land just outside Calais and, having spent the day working hard in the hot sun, he'd earned a drink in the tavern in town. He had drunk a few beers already when, feeling sociable, he offered to buy a round for a fellow at the next table, one John Ansley. Ansley, an Englishman, refused the offer, saying he wasn't going to drink with any Picard or Fleming. Affronted by such rudeness, Skell took up his staff. Ansley drew his sword and a brief scuffle ensued. In no time, Ansley lay dead on the tavern floor and Skell was under arrest on a charge of manslaughter. In those days, murder or manslaughter, it made little difference since both carried the death penalty, if convicted.

Skell was found guilty and there seemed little hope that he might escape the gallows. However, though described as a 'husbandman', Skell must have owned extensive properties and, according to the custom of Calais, when executed, two-thirds of a felon's goods were returned to his family and one-third went to the King of England to compensate the monarch for his peace having been disturbed. But suppose there was a way for the king to get his hands on a much larger share than his official due? And there was.[1]

Skell applied to the most important man in Calais, Governor Lisle, to put in a good word for him, to request a royal pardon from the king. A pardon was the only way he could now avoid execution. Lisle agreed – for a fee, of course – and told his agent in London, John Hussey, to deal with it. Hussey did as he was instructed but it was a slow process. He first applied to Henry VIII's chief minister, Thomas Cromwell. Either Cromwell was too busy with other matters or just wasn't interested but he may have told Lisle and Hussey to ask Norris, gentleman usher of the king's privy chamber, to assist.[2]

Norris, evidently, agreed to assist in persuading the king to grant a pardon because Hussey later advised his lord to thank Norris for his success in the matter. But the king didn't grant the pardon immediately. Such things had to be negotiated. Once Norris had gained the king's attention, Hussey acted as go-between for Lisle, Skell and King Henry. However, scenting profit to be made, other people of rank, as the king himself noted, were trying to muscle in and intercede for Skell. Lisle only won what was a bidding war because he was in favour with Henry. And it was worth it because the king advised [i.e. ordered] that Skell should reward Lisle's efforts on his behalf with £100 or the equivalent value of his remaining property after Henry received his requisite one-third cut plus another £100 for the royal coffers. The pardon itself cost 100 shillings in admin fees and was for the 'preservation of life' only. In other words, Skell was to be spared the noose but he wasn't getting his property back from the king who, in any case, had given it in lieu of debt repayment to Lord Howard. In fact, Howard had to approve the pardon being granted, in case Skell should later try to sue him for the return of the property.

Below are the relevant letters sent by John Hussey in London to Viscount Lisle in Calais, keeping him up to date with progress on the pardon. The falcon had been sent to Norris by Lisle as a gift to encourage him to persuade the king. Note that Hussey refers to himself and his lord as if they were third parties. This seems odd to us but was standard in sixteenth century official correspondence. It's also very helpful to historians since, if the full letter hasn't survived, references to 'I' or 'you' in the partial text might not be very informative if the names of the addressee and recipient are no longer there.

*London 19 Nov. John Husee [sic] to Lord Lisle.*

*On receipt of his letter went to Windsor, where the King was, and delivered Mr. Norres the letter signed by Mr. Mayor and Mr. Wingfield. He wondered at so simple a suit to be made by you. Adrian Skell's pardon has been obtained with difficulty. I explained to the King that it was a drunken fray. Requires the papers respecting it, what sanctuary he is in, and what portion the King had of his goods. No doubt he will pay well for it, and the King thinks it will be worth 100l. to you, as many have asked for the same and been denied. Unless Lisle may have a good reward he should not meddle with it. The King is very well pleased with you. Mr. Norres would not part with your falcon for 100 marks. Thinks there is nothing Lisle can ask the King which shall not be granted him, so long as it does not come out of the King's coffers. Is waiting for nothing but Lisle's answer respecting Skelle before coming over.*[3]

*London 29 Nov. John Husee to Lord Lisle.*

*Has received his letter by Wallop's servant, and with it the indictment of Adrian Skell, which is so made that all your learned counsel cannot draw a bill of the same to be signed; but Husee has done his best with the aid of the best practitioners in the Chancery. Begs some money, for the charges for this journey have beggared him.*[4]

Henry VIII once said of his maternal uncle, whom he loved, that Arthur had

the kindest heart anyone he knew. But that didn't save Viscount Lisle in the end. In 1528, he became a widower and married Honor Basset, née Grenville.[5] Then suddenly, in 1540, Lisle was recalled from Calais, back to London and sent straight to the Tower of London, accused of treason, while his wife and daughters were kept under house arrest in Calais. However, rumours spread that it was his wife Honor who was the traitor. Whether that was true or not, she went to pieces after her husband's arrest and never fully recovered her wits, so couldn't be questioned. But the plot against the king was real and Henry determined that anyone with Plantagenet blood in their veins wasn't to be spared.

Lisle's own chaplain, Gregory Botolph, a closet Catholic (as Honor, Lady Lisle, was also thought to be) hated the king's new Protestant ideas and decided that Calais should be given into the Pope's hands via his legate, Cardinal Reginald Pole. Pole was Lisle's cousin and a Plantagenet, being the grandson of Edward IV's brother, George, Duke of Clarence (famous for drowning in the butt of malmsey wine?). Pole remained abroad, beyond King Henry's clutches, but his ageing mother, Margaret Pole, (née Plantagenet) Countess of Salisbury and daughter of Clarence, was executed as she tried to run from the headsman's axe.

Botolph managed to avoid capture, even though an act of attainder was passed against him in his absence. But his fellow conspirators, Edmund Brindholme, Clement Philpot and Adam Damplip were not so fortunate. However, evidence against Lisle himself couldn't be found, despite the authorities confiscating and examining reams and reams of the family's correspondence in the form of more than 3,000 letters.[6] Nevertheless, being a Plantagenet, he languished miserably in the Tower as Thomas Cromwell fell from power and ended his life on the block, as Katherine Howard was married and then removed, along with her lovers.

In March 1541, Honor, Lady Lisle, despite being the likely guilty party, and her daughters were released from house arrest in Calais. Their jewels were returned and they were given £900 to cover their debts and pay for transportation wherever they wished. Honor returned to her home county of Cornwall where she lived until her death in 1566. But for another year, her unfortunate husband remained in the Tower, although he was allowed to walk and take the air along the ramparts. One story tells that he saw Henry sailing by on the Thames in the royal barge and shouted and waved at the king, to remind him his uncle was still imprisoned and forgotten. If the story is true, it may have worked because his Order of the Garter chain of office was returned to him, suggesting he was back in royal favour. Two months later, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Henry's secretary, brought him a gift from the king, a diamond ring in token that his honour and possessions were restored. Poor Lisle, overcome with relief and what the contemporary chronicler, Ralph Holinshed, called "immoderate joy", suffered a heart attack and died a few days later, on 4 March 1542, never regaining his liberty. He was buried in St Peter ad Vincula chapel within the Tower. Apparently, his

widow – and possible cause of the trouble – was distraught with grief.

Incidentally, among the Lisle correspondence is evidence that Lisle liked sending animals and birds as gifts. He sent the courtier, Francis Bryan, a little dog but Queen Anne Boleyn took a liking to it and had it for her own. So Lisle sent her a present of dotterels – small wading birds – for dinner and a singing linnet in a cage. The dotterels were 'a special good dish' and 'her Grace rejoiced with the pleasant song' of the linnet. It is also said that he sent Anne a monkey.

**TONI MOUNT**

1 J. G. Bellamy, The Criminal Trial in Later Medieval E*ngland [Sutton Publishing, 1998], pp.140-41.*

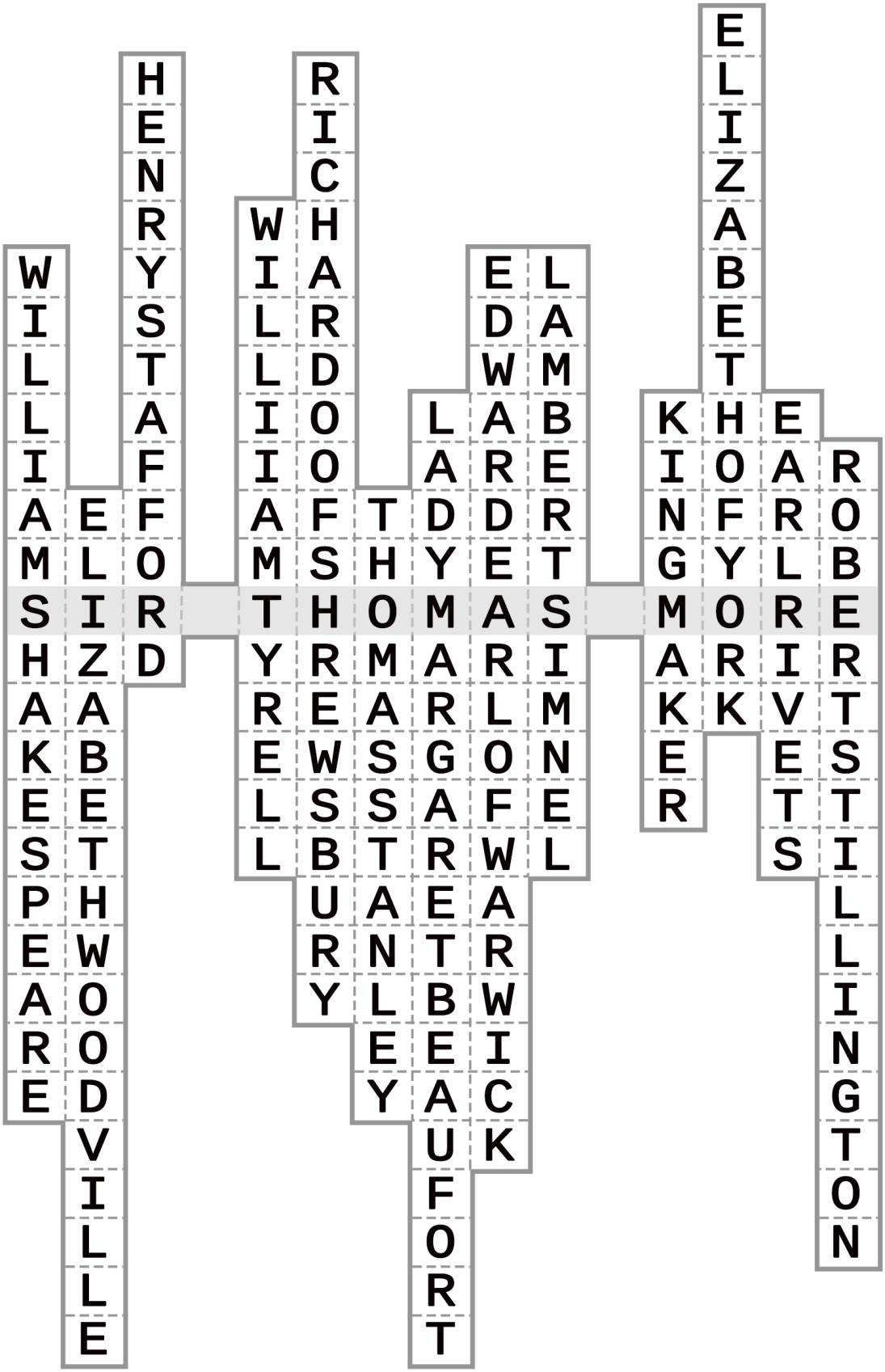
2 Sources disagree as to whether this was Henry or John Norris [or Norreys]. Both served as Henry VIII's Gentleman Ushers. Henry Norris died in May 1536, a few months after these events, and John is first mentioned in that role in January 1536 but it isn't known if or when Henry retired or if the two might have held the post concurrently.

3 Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 9, August-December 1535, no. 850. Originally published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1886. https://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol9/pp271-288

4 Ibid. no. 897. https://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol9/pp288-310#highlight-first

5 His first wife had been Elizabeth Dudley (whom he married in 1511), the widow of Henry VII's tax collector, Richard Dudley. She was widowed when young Henry VIII executed his father's two most prominent tax collectors – the other was Edmund Empson – a move that pleased a lot of people but meant a serious loss of income for the king's coffers, as he soon discovered. Elizabeth was the daughter of Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle, Queen Elizabeth Woodville's brother-in-law by her first marriage to John Grey of Groby. You may be interested that Elizabeth Dudley, by first husband, Richard, was Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester's grandmother. Does that make Robert Dudley's and Elizabeth I's relationship incestuous? I've lost track.

6 Which is how come the huge historical source known as the Lisle Letters still exists in the archives.




Quiz Answers

How did you do this month?

# Charlie on Books

## MARTYRS OF HENRY VIII

### John Matusiak

The Reformation under Henry VIII has been written about many times over the years, with much focus being on the dissolution of the monasteries and how Henry's need to marry Anne Boleyn influenced the break with Rome. There is not as much written about the martyrs of Henry VIII's reign, compared to the reigns of his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth. John Matusiak's new book Martyrs of Henry VIII aims to shed some light on this subject, albeit not entirely successfully.

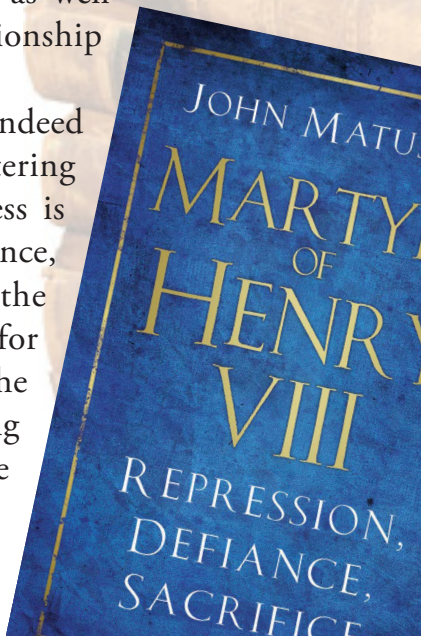
Matusiak starts by providing context for religion in England, including how the Papacy was keen to be accommodating to rulers, with the precedent of King John in 1208 being a painful reminder of what could happen when relations broke down. He includes a lot of detail about the state of the church before the Reformation, any possible corruption and division, as well as the loyalty it inspired in people and why they felt close to their local churches, saints and images. He goes back briefly to explain how rare martyrs were in the reign of Henry VII:

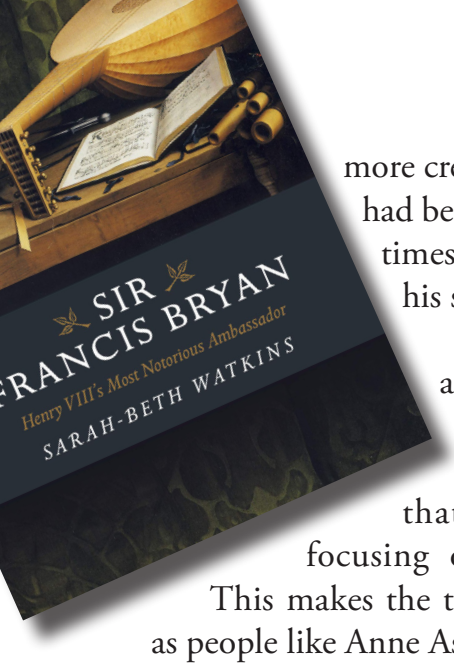
'Francis Bacon, too, would note in his history of Henry VII's rule how proceedings against heretics were 'rare in this king's reign', observing that where action was taken at all, it was in most cases 'rather by penance than fire' - as, indeed, in 1498 when Henry himself converted a Canterbury heretic at the stake, not only sparing the man from imminent burning, but rewarding him with a coin thereafter for his good sense in recanting.'

The author then quickly moves on to look at the life of Bishop Fisher, the 'martyr-in-waiting', and his life. He includes a lot of information about the King's Great Matter, almost too much, as not all is relevant and most readers of this type of book would know about it. Some of it is relevant to the story of Bishop Fisher, at least, but it is very in-depth and so would be beyond general readers. It seems unsure as to who the intended audience is, with a lack of footnotes and being written on a familiar subject, but it goes into some detail too.

One of the most interesting parts of this book is on Elizabeth Barton, as the author writes in some detail about her. He covers her life and her prophecies, as well as her connection/relationship with Fisher:

'And that Fisher did indeed believe he was encountering a divinely inspired seeress is beyond all doubt. Lawrence, in fact, suggests that the stern old bishop 'wept for joy' when he heard of the Maid's revelations, 'saying that he did give to them the






more credence because that she had been with the King divers times and reproved him for his sins'.'

It is not clear at first, but as it only covers around half of Henry VIII's reign, it soon emerges that Matusiak is only focusing on Catholic martyrs. This makes the title a little misleading, as people like Anne Askew aren't covered and probably should be.

Matusiak has written an interesting book, however, there is unfortunately nothing new in Martyrs of Henry VIII and it seems conflicted as to its intended audience. The author explains much about the state of the church before and after Henry VIII's break with Rome as if this subject is not familiar to the reader, but then uses different religious terms with little explanation. There are also no real references, just two brief pages on sources, which is disappointing. Anyone interested in the life of Elizabeth Barton might enjoy this, as Matusiak does go into some detail about her, but it is difficult to recommend it as a book on Henrician martyrs.

# SIR FRANCIS BRYAN

## Sarah-Beth Watkins


There are many biographies on the different men at Henry VIII's court, such as Thomas Cromwell, Cardinal Wolsey and Charles Brandon. However, one of the men that is often mentioned but rarely studied in detail is Sir Francis Bryan, also known as the 'Vicar of Hell'. Francis Bryan was an ambassador and a spy, one who managed to survive and even thrive in Henry VIII's court. Sarah-Beth Watkins, who has written several books on different people from the period, has recently turned her attention to Bryan and shines some light on this much-neglected figure.

Watkins' style will be familiar to anyone who has read her previous works, this book is short but engaging and includes several extracts from various letters and accounts, much of it from Bryan's time abroad and him reporting back to the King. The only thing that letters this down is the lack of proper references, as there are no page numbers or even volume numbers for her sources, despite the book obviously being well-researched.

One event known to those that have watched the show The Tudors and Watkins details involves Bryan and Lady Mary. It is an interesting event and reveals much about Bryan's relationship with Henry VIII:

'Although Lady Mary had been allowed at court since October the king asked Bryan to help him test his daughter's virtue. He had heard that Mary knew 'no foul or unclean speech' and couldn't believe she was so innocent. He persuaded Bryan to dance with her at a masque and mention a sexual swear word. As Bryan whispered scandalous words in her ear, Mary paid no attention and Bryan could subsequently tell the king his daughter was truly virtuous. Or perhaps as many a time before he told the king exactly what he wanted to hear.'

Sarah-Beth Watkins' Sir Francis Bryan: Henry VIII's Most Notorious Ambassador is an ambitious book that looks at one of the King's closest companions. It is one of the only books on Francis Bryan and is a welcome one. I would recommend it to anyone interested in the men of Henry VIII's court or anyone who has enjoyed Watkins' previous works.

**CHARLIE FENTON**

WENDY J. DUNN
ON WRITING

# Information Dumps
# The Bane of Historical Fiction writers

'There's not much to be said about the period except that most writers don't reach it soon enough' (Zinsser 2006).

My dear Reader/ Writer,

In this column I am going to show how my research becomes story telling.

I am certain I have already discussed how vital it is to embrace research if you wish to write historical fiction. Research enables us to world build and construct characters. Research informs our stories – and identifies our work as historical fiction. I have never met a historical fiction writer who does not love research. We become lost in research. But there comes a time when we need to trust we have done enough research. We need to trust our research has soaked into our subconsciousness so we can we write from our imagination.

Research often exposes the difference between an experienced historical fiction writer and a beginning writer learning their craft. Many emerging writers fall into the trap of wanting to share their research with readers by those moments in story telling we call 'information dumps'.

I do not believe I am generalising by saying writing a work of historical fiction means committing to a journey of research. Each of my novels have taken immense research to complete. I adore research – and learning more about the Tudors and their time. But one thing I do as I draft my work to identify those times I have dumped the information of research into my story in ways that a reader would notice. Then it is time to think hard about what offers the best solution to make my research invisible to my reader and part of the weave and fabric of my story-telling. This is part of the drafting process. I need to tread lightly with the information of my research and convey just enough details to convey a sense of


the Tudor period. That does not mean I spend little time on research. Research is the well my imagination draws from for my story telling. If I have not done enough research, the flow of my words will dry up and I am forced to stop to do more research to get the flow rushing again on the page.

But this also means avoiding dumping the information of my research on the page.

Falling Pomegranate Seeds: The Duty of Daughters is told in close third person by Beatriz Galindo, nicknamed La Latina by Queen Isabel of Castile. My research pointed to a fascinating possibility. Beatriz may have been the tutor of Katherine of Aragon. I decided to go with that possibility – and imagine that was true, and that Beatriz was a major influence in the early years of Katherine of Aragon's life. Katherine of Aragon was a woman very respected for her intelligence and her love of learning. It made sense to me that this love of learning was seeded in her growing up years. My imagination opened the door to Beatriz planting these seeds that would flourish all through Katherine's life.

Beatriz was also a friend of Isabel of Castile. Imagining Katherine of Aragon's childhood, it was also an easy decision to include the child María de Salinas as important thread in my story. María's mother Josepha then stepped up and demanded a voice in my work too. All I knew about Josepha was her name. Her daughter Maria was a strong, determined woman of nobility who had a daughter Catherine Willoughby, another strong, determined woman of nobility. Thus, my imagination constructed a strong, determined mother for María.

Despite only digging up the bones of her life, I am more certain

about the strength and determination of Beatriz Galindo, La Latina. Not only was she a poet and Latin scholar who taught the royal family, including Queen Isabel of Castile, but she also spent periods at the University of Salamanca teaching Medicine, rhetoric and Latin. Her area of expertise was the philosophy of Aristotle; thus, she would have knowledgeable about Aristotle and likely had done a lot of thinking about Aristotle's view of women as the weaker sex.

Beginning the journey of writing The Duty of Daughters, I wondered about La Latina. What was the cost to her to go against the social norms of the times? What piper did she have to pay to be an accepted teacher of men? Thwarted by my lack of Spanish and lack of historical documents about Latina, the creation of La Latina birthed from my questions until she stepped onto the stage as the voice to carry the first part of my Katherine of Aragon story.

I am a modern woman who used her imagination and knowledge of the period to travel back to the Catholic world of the Middle Ages, a society cruelly carved by masculinist hegemony. The piece I offer here uses my immense breadth of research by imagining a conversation between two friends, two women who are part of this society and marginalised because of their gender, punished might be a better way to describe it, who must either do the best they can with what is offered in their world.

"…Very few women are brought up to be prodigies of Latin."

Bitter, Beatriz gazed at her friend. "Even you expressed strong disapproval of this."

Josefa heaved a sigh, shaking her head slowly. "'Tis not that I disapprove... I have told you this before too. I believe women walk a hard enough road without walking a road where there are pits at every step. As my mother often said to me, since we cannot get what we like, let us then like what we can get. Tell me truthfully, Beatriz. Do you think you'd have this awful hole dug for you, as you do now, if your father had not set your feet on this journey to become a scholar and professor of the university?"

Beatriz pondered Josefa. "Si, I am in an awful hole, as you say. But, Josefa, I know there are more terrible and darker holes. I will always be grateful to my father for giving me the key to escape ignorance, even if it only came from his great need to console himself after losing my mother."

Josefa placed her hand over Beatriz's. She gave her a wry smile. "Escape ignorance? You know many ignorant women, si? "Josefa, you mistake my meaning." Beatriz stared at the coverlet of Josefa's bed. "All of us must walk our own roads, but 'tis wrong to prevent women from walking so many roads just because we're women. Even Plato said, 'Nothing can be more absurd than the practice of men and women not following the same pursuits with all their strengths and with one mind, for thus, the state instead of being whole is reduced to half.' I so agree. Our world cuts off its nose to spite its own face by insisting the only purpose for women is to bear children and

perpetuate the human race, as also said Plato. Surely 'tis far too hard a view to forever blame women for Eve's sin."

Josefa frowned. "But, Eve's sin brought death to the world and condemned women to suffer."

"Perchance you can see it that way. But our Lord Jesús welcomed women as his followers. Whenever I feel defeated, I keep that in mind and remind myself that the good lord knew women possess minds as well as hearts and encouraged them to use them. If our saviour believes this, then it must be right. That's why I believe learning for the young to be so important. For not only do most of us then discover the road we are meant to walk, but good learning also hands a child a light to guide them all their lives. Just because a child is female, does it mean she should walk in the dark?"

"Si, I understand, Beatriz. But perchance my feet are more on the ground than yours. I am not at all certain that learning, as you give my María and the queen's hijas, will make their lives any easier."

Beatriz laughed. "Easier? My good Josefa, have I ever said learning makes living any easier? But to be taught to think is to be taught to truly live."

Josefa lifted her dark eyes. "And I believe he who knows how to live, knows enough. 'Twas not until I was a grown woman that I began to have the learning you speak of. 'Twas not because I doubted the fullness of my life, but because the queen asked me to learn alongside her."

"Do you regret it, amiga?" Beatriz asked.

Let me show one more example of transmuting research into story-telling by providing a taste from *All Manner of Things*, the conclusion of my Katherine of Aragon story – to be published on January 15th, 2021. My years of research has not made me like Henry VIII. I see him as a complicated man – someone who seemed to be over indulged in his early years and grew into a man who believed he was entitled to everything he wanted. This is my imagined Henry as a teenager through the Point of View of María de Salina:

She risked speaking bluntly to the prince. "We wonder at your father's silence. All the princess has heard in recent days comes from our ambassador. He told our princess the king complains again about her unpaid dowry. The princess has such little money she cannot even pay her servants."

The prince jerked his head, his small bud of a mouth shutting tightly. He sniffed and narrowed his eyes. "You speak against my father, the king?"

She cursed herself. "Forgive me – I did not mean to offend you, Your Highness..."

The prince averted his face, lifting his chin. "I must be away." He looked at her again and offered a slight smile. "Will you be in the garden again tomorrow? I spoke true when I told you I want to learn the uses of herbs. It is of an interest to me."

"If you this is truly your desire, Your Highness, I can come again tomorrow. What hour would you like me to be here?"

Once again, the prince looked uneasily around the garden. "Shortly after dawn is

good. The king, my father, is busy by then. I think he will not notice if my return from chapel is overlong..."

She studied the youth. *How strange. He has no servant or attendant with him*. Not wanting to anger him again, she put aside her questions. "I will try to be here, my prince, but my first duty is to the Princess Katherine. She may have need of me."

She did not think to anger him, and stepped back at the fury in the boy's eyes. "You are wrong. Your first duty is to my father, and then to me. If I command you to be here on the morrow, you will be here whether the princess needs you or not."

Silenced by his icy look, she raised her hand to her mouth. She hadn't thought he looked like his father, but he did now. She curtseyed and wished the boy gone. The peace of the garden had disappeared – and with it, all of her own peace. "As you say, Your Highness."

"Tomorrow then – at this hour. I expect to find you here."

The culture of my characters acted as the prism that first deconstructed in my mind and then, arching out into the rainbow of vision and imagination, provided the cause and effect and the impetus of my story. Whilst my writing could be said to operate through a feminist overview distrustful of authority, it is not my desire to be blatant. I love this period; I feel empathetic towards the people who lived in these times. I want to give voice to their lives by showing the constraints set upon my characters; their struggles, their victories and joys; how they survived in their world with their humanity intact.

While historians point backwards and say these facts tell us what it was like then, the historical fiction writer make use of these facts to inform their stories through the act of imagination. I believe most historical fiction writers do what all fiction writers do – they draw from the context of their own lives and understanding of humanity to build a bridge of empathy speaks to readers. In a work of historical fiction, we can only do this successful world building and characters which engage readers. As Linda Hutcheon writes:

> "The process of making stories out of chronicles, of constructing plots out of sequences, is what postmodern fiction underlines. This does not in any way deny the existence of the past real, but it focuses attention on the act of imposing order on that past, of encoding strategies of meaning-making through representation (1989 p. 63).

One strategy of meaning-making is to make our research invisible to the reader by weaving its threads into the weave of our story telling.

**WENDY J DUNN**

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Hutcheon, L 1988, *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction,* Routledge, New York, London.
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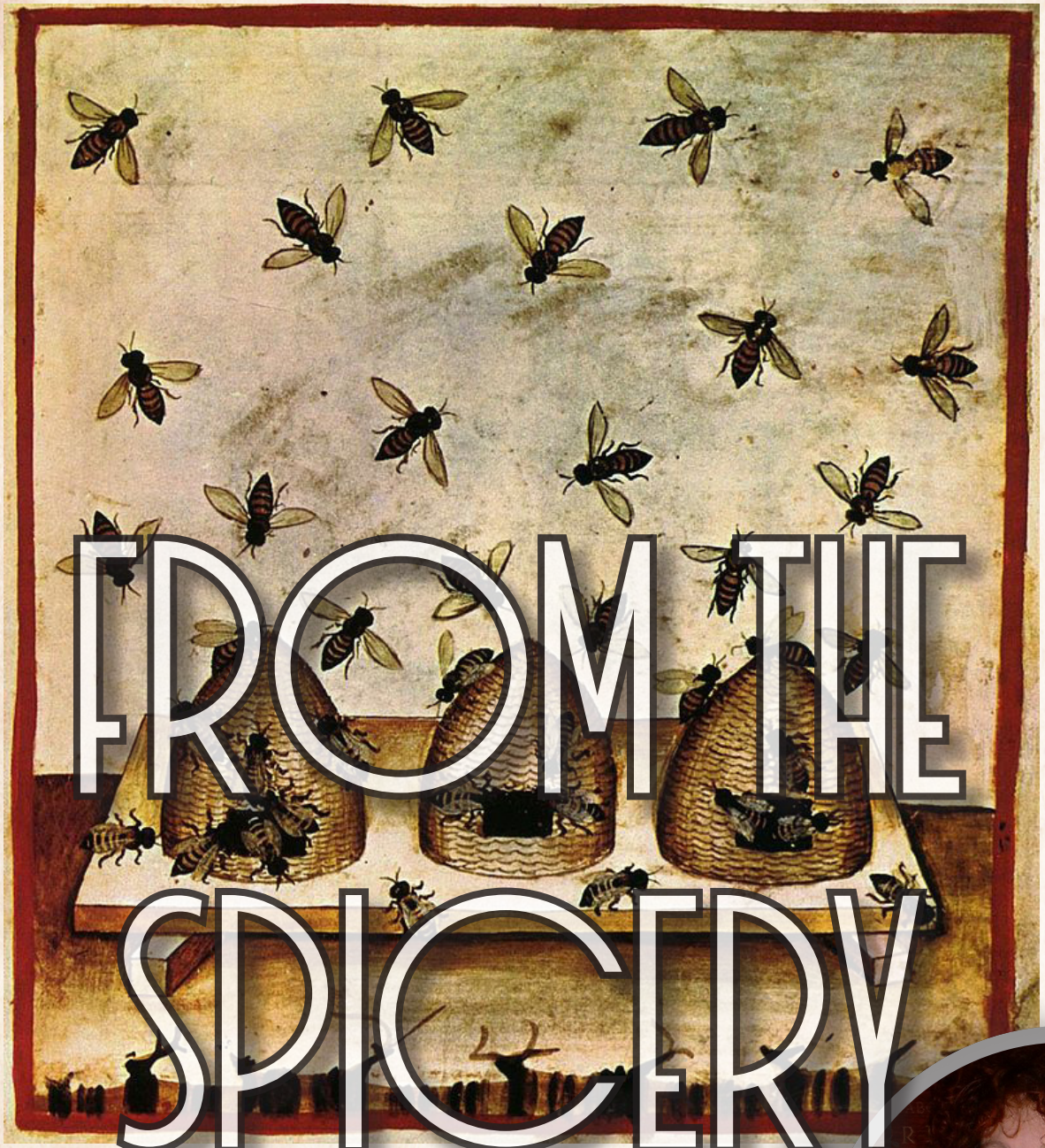
## Sir Amias Paulet
## (1532 – 26 September 1588)

Amias was appointed resident Ambassador in France by Elizabeth I for three years in 1576.

Sir Francis Walsingham wrote: "Her Majesty wishes you in matters that concern her service to deal as you think fit, though you have no special direction, such trust she reposes in you."



# FROM THE SPICERY

## WITH RIOGHNACH

# HOW SWEET IT IS - HONEY

ABOVE: Tacuinum Sanitatis, Beekeeping (originally Taqwin as-Sihha or Maintenance of Health)11th Century

Humankind has had a sweet tooth since the beginning of Time. The hives of the humble honey bee were raided by people of every creed and culture, looking for a deliciously sweet reward for their (often painful) efforts. Welcome to the first of a two-part series on the world of medieval sweeteners! In this month's article, we'll be looking of honey and its uses as a sweetener and a medicinal. In next month's article, we'll look at the arrival and impact of sugar in medieval cooking, and the effect it had on people's lives and health.

The ancient Romans found it necessary to add honey to their wine to make it palatable. Harvested grapes were crushed under the feet of farmers and slaves, before being placed in large open clay amphorae to ferment. The remaining written accounts tell us that the results of this process were 'robust' if unpalatable. Honey and various spices were added to make the wine drinkable, resulting in a brew called mulsum, served as an aperitif at the beginning of the meal. The Romans also discovered that a reduction of grape juice added the desired sweetness to their wine. The ancients used lead pans in which to reduce the grape juice. Unfortunately for them, heat from the fires, and the acidity of the grape juice had an unexpected chemical consequence; the creation of sugars of lead. More than likely it was this that was sweetening their wine.

Bees, and honey (as mead) is immortalised by the mid-Fifth Century poem Kany y med (Song of Mead) by the Welsh bard Taliesin.[1] Honey mead also makes appearances in the epic poem Beowulf, where its consumption is accompanied by the boasts of warriors before they faced the monstrous Grendel. Mead appears to be something of an import into the British Isles via the arrival of various Germanic tribes. At the risk of making a terrible bee-related pun, the tradition of brewing mead was the result of cultural cross-pollination. Mead was quickly the early medieval beverage par excellence, especially in areas where grapes could not be grown.

So, having established that mead was the undoubted drink of early medieval champions, how else was honey utilised? In short, food and beverages followed closely use as a medicine, specifically a wound salve. But before we can have fun in the kitchen, the honey must be harvested from the hive or skep.

It was recommended that honey be harvested three times a year and that the caring beekeeper leave enough honey behind to sustain the bees and their young.[2] Failure to do this may result in the bees becoming unhappy and being less productive. To remove the comb from the hive (and to

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1 Life In a Medieval Castle - Medieval Drinks http://www.castleandmanorhouses.com/life_05_drink.htm. The Song of Mead can be found in the Book of Taliesin XIX.

2 Medieval Beekeeping https://www.medievalists.net/2015/06/medieval-beekeeping/

avoid being stung) the following is recommended:

> *"Take flour of roasted fenugreek, add the decoction of wild mallow with olive oil so that it has the consistency of honey; anoint the face and bare skin with this thickly, take it into the mouth and blow into the beehive three or four times."*[3]

Or one could use the smoke from smouldering cow dung to calm the bees while wearing the juice of the male wild mallow plant.[4] Whatever works, I suppose.

OK. Now that we have a sticky honeycomb, dripping with golden goodness, now what do we do with it? Basically, the liquid honey is allowed to drain from the comb. The best kind of honey is described as being:

> *"translucent and pale yellow in colour, smooth to the touch, remaining in a long string when pulled, readily raised to a point and slow to sink back, thick when it reluctantly separates; and it should have a good aroma."*[5]

The comb was as valuable as the honey that flowed from it. Beeswax provided light in the form of candles to the rich, while the poor made do with tallow based candles. It was a lucky peasant who discovered a wild bee hive and could harvest the comb: sweetness and light would be his! The light from a beeswax candle was clearer and brighter than that produced by a tallow candle. A burning beeswax candle also smelt far more pleasant than a tallow candle. Remember, to our medieval forebears status was everything, and a beeswax candle was far more preferable any other sort.

Once the honey has drained from the comb, where else should we proceed, other than to the kitchen? There are

3 Ibid
4 Ibid

5 Ibid

simply far too many medieval recipes that used honey to list here. Given my previous article, Fried Delights, was on the medieval origins of the doughnut, I thought we'd start with Honey Crispels. A crispel is essentially a lard-based pastry dough fried in olive oil and then bathed in warm honey. The original recipe appears in Forme of Cury (c 1390), and is very easy to make.

> *Cryspels. Take and make a foile of gode past as thynne as paper; kerue it out wyt a saucer & frye it in oile; oþer in grece; and þe remnaunt, take hony clarified and flamme (flaunne) þerwith. Alye hem vp and serue hem forth.*[6]

The key to a memorable crispel to to make certain that the pastry dough is rolled out to the thickness of a piece of paper. By doing so, you're ensuring that that crispel cooks quickly and evenly to achieve maximum golden-goodness and crunch. When cool (never cold, please!) baste each crispel with honey that has warmed to allow it to become more liquid. If you wish to simply dunk your crispel in some warmed and runny honey please feel free to do so, however your crispel won't thank you.

In terms of honey's use as a medicinal, perhaps one of the best references is its use in the healing of Prince Hal. When the future Henry V fought with his father at the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403, he suffered a grievous arrow injury to his face. The arrow had penetrated deeply into the young prince's face, on the lefthand side of the royal nose, probably lodging in the sinuses. The injured Prince was transported to Kenilworth Castle where he was eventually attended by a surgeon by the name of John Bradmore.[7] Bradmore had already served within the royal household, and is notable for his use of honey as an antiseptic during the removal of the arrowhead from the wound tract, and in aftercare of the injury. Given popular treatments of the time could involve leaving the arrowhead in situ, pushing it through the sinuses and skull to create an exit wound, or filling the wound tract with molten lard to draw and seal the wound[8], Prince Hal was damned lucky to have Bradmore as his surgeon. Not only did Hal survive the wound without infection, but he did so with no physical deficit. Given how and where the initial wound was received, the use of honey during the extraction and healing phases (as an antiseptic and possible antibiotic in the modern sense) more than likely save the prince's life.

6 Forme of Cury, Rylands English MS, 1420

7 Cummins, J. Saving Prince Hal: Maxillofacial Surgery, November 3, 2006 1403 http://www.historyofdentistry.co.uk/

8 Ibid. Writing in 1180, Robert of Salerno recommended the use of molten lard in this manner

RIOGHNACH O'GERAGHTY

# SEPTEMBER'S "ON THIS

**1 Sept 1599**
Death of Dorcas Martin (née Eccleston), Lady Martin, translator, bookseller and Puritan.

**2 Sept 1534**
Death of Gerald Fitzgerald, 9th Earl of Kildare and Lord Deputy of Ireland, in the Tower of London.

**3 Sept 1597**
Death of Sir John Norreys (Norris) who served as a soldier in France, the Low Countries and Ireland.

**4 Sept 1504**
Birth of Antoine de Noailles, French diplomat at the English court in Mary I's reign, at Château de la Fage.

**5 Sept 1569**
Death of Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London and a man nicknamed "Bloody Bonner", in Marshalsea Prison.

**10 Sept 1543**
Death of Sir Edward Chamberlayne, Oxfordshire gentleman and soldier.

**11 Sept 1572**
Pope Gregory XIII ordered a commemoration for the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre.

**12 Sept 1559**
Death of Marten Micron (Martin Micronius), Dutch theologian and Protestant minister in the strangers' churches of London , from the plague at Norden in Lower Saxony, Germany.

**13 Sept 1520**
William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley and Elizabeth I's chief advisor, was born at Bourne in Lincolnshire.

**18 Sept 1559**
The fifteen year-old Francis II was crowned King of France at Rheims.

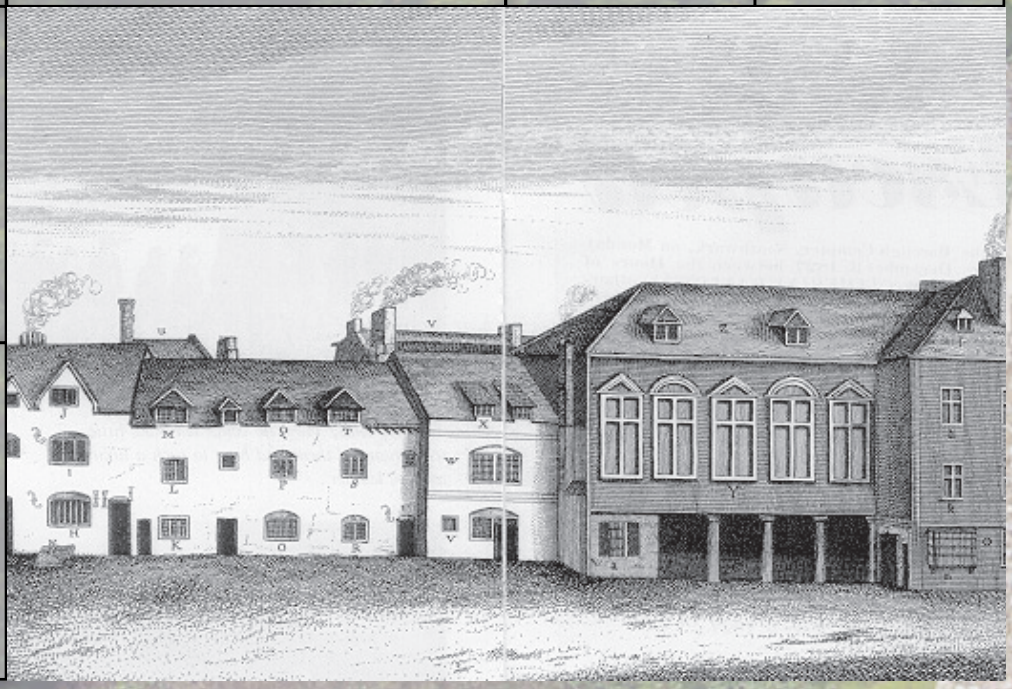
**19 Sept 1551**
Birth of Henry III of France. He was born at the Château de Fontainebleau, and was the fourth son of King Henry II and Catherine de' Medici.
He was King of France from 1574 to 1589, succeeding his brother, Charles IX.

**20 Sept 1486**
"afore one o'clock after midnight", Arthur, Prince of Wales, was born at Winchester

**21 Sept 1558**
Death of Charles V, former Holy Roman Emperor, from malaria.

**27 Sept 1501**
At 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the fifteen year-old Catherine of Aragon left the port of Laredo in Spain for England.

**30 Sept 1544**
Henry VIII returned to England after his victory in Boulogne. The French forces had surrendered.



**Marshalsea Prison, etching from the 18th Century**

**Background image:** Dover Castle by Ian Taylor

# DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY"

**6 Sept 1506**
Death of Sir Richard Guildford, courtier and in the reign of Henry VII, in Jerusalem on pilgrimage.

**7 Sept 1500**
Birth of Sebastian Newdigate, Carthusian monk and Roman Catholic martyr, at Harefield in Middlesex.

**8 Sept 1560**
Amy Dudley (née Robsart), wife of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, died at her home, Cumnor Place in Oxfordshire. Her servants found her body at the bottom of the stairs when they returned from "Our Lady's Fair" at Abingdon, and it appeared that she had fallen down the stairs.

**9 Sept 1513**
While Henry VIII was away, fighting the French, James IV crossed the Scottish border and challenged the English.

**14 Sept 1514**
Second proxy marriage of King Louis XII of France and Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII.

**15 Sept 1589**
The Battle of Arques began. The battle, which was part of the final war of the French Wars of Religion (1562-1598), was between the troops of Henry IV of France and those of the Catholic League led by Charles of Lorraine, Duke of Mayenne.

**16 Sept 1519**
Death of John Colet, founder of St Paul's School, after suffering three attacks of sweating sickness

**17 Sept 1575**
Death of Heinrich (Henry) Bullinger, the Swiss reformer and theologian, in Zurich.

**22 Sept 1557**
Death of Robert Steward, Prior and Dean of Ely, at Ely. He was buried in Ely Cathedral.

**23 Sept 1568**
Battle of San Juan de Ulúa, Mexico, between Spanish forces and English privateers led by John Hawkins.

**24 Sept 1486**
On this day in 1486, Arthur, Prince of Wales and son of Henry VII, was christened at Winchester.

**25 Sept 1534**
Death of Pope Clement VII in Rome from eating a death cap mushroom.

**26 Sept 1588**
Death of Sir Amias (Amyas) Paulet, a man who served Elizabeth I as her resident ambassador in France.

**28 Sept 1553**
Mary I travelled in a decorated barge to the Tower of London to prepare for her coronation. She was accompanied by her half-sister, Elizabeth, and as they pulled up to Tower Wharf, they were greeted by music and cannons firing.

**29 Sept 1528**
The papal legate, Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio, landed at Dover on the Kent coast. He had arrived in preparation for hearing the case for the annulment of the marriage of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon at a special legatine court.

## TUDOR FEAST DAYS

**Harvest Festival**
**(Movable feast)**
**29 September - Michaelmas**

Tudor Life

NEXT MONTH IN YOUR REGULAR

# Tudor Life

## SPIES AND SEDITION

**ROLAND HUI**
The conspiracies of Mary,Queen of Scots

**KYRA KRAMER**
Mary Tudor's daring escape

**SUSAN ABERNETHY**
The Hesketh Plot

*PLUS*
**ELIZABETH TIMMS**
The Abraham Tapestries

and

**IAN MULCAHY**
Stunning Tudor Steyning

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


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