Tudor Life

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

The Tudor Society Magazine

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Nº 9
May 2015

Anne Boleyn's connection to the Magna Carta barons

by Marilyn Roberts

Anne Boleyn and The Tower of London

by Roland Hui

MASSIVE 57 Page Special on Anne Boleyn

PLUS

Richard III and Elizabeth of York – Romance or the Rumour Mill? *Olga Hughes*
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Welcome!

May 2015

Hello all!

The months seem to fly by, don't they? I can't believe that our first magazine was in September and it is already 9 editions old! Welcome to all members, new and old.

As you can tell from the cover, this month's magazine is all about Anne Boleyn, a subject very close to my heart. Though it may feel that the first 9 months of the Tudor Society has gone quickly, how much more quickly must it have felt for Anne Boleyn who was arrested on 2nd May and executed only 17 days later on the 19th May. When you get to the "Timeline" page, take a moment to consider how quickly the events of May 1536 happened. Enjoy this magazine and I hope to "see" you as I'm the expert of the month!

Claire

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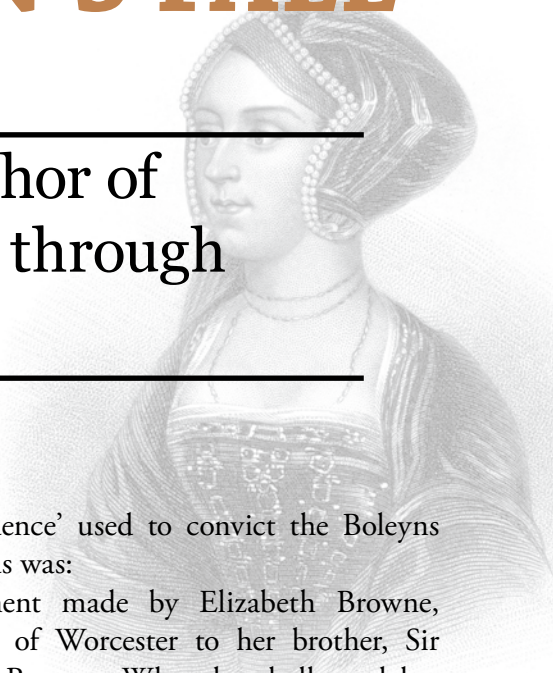
THE EVIDENCE LEADING TO ANNE BOLEYN'S FALL



Clare Cherry, co-author of "George Boleyn" leads us through the evidence...

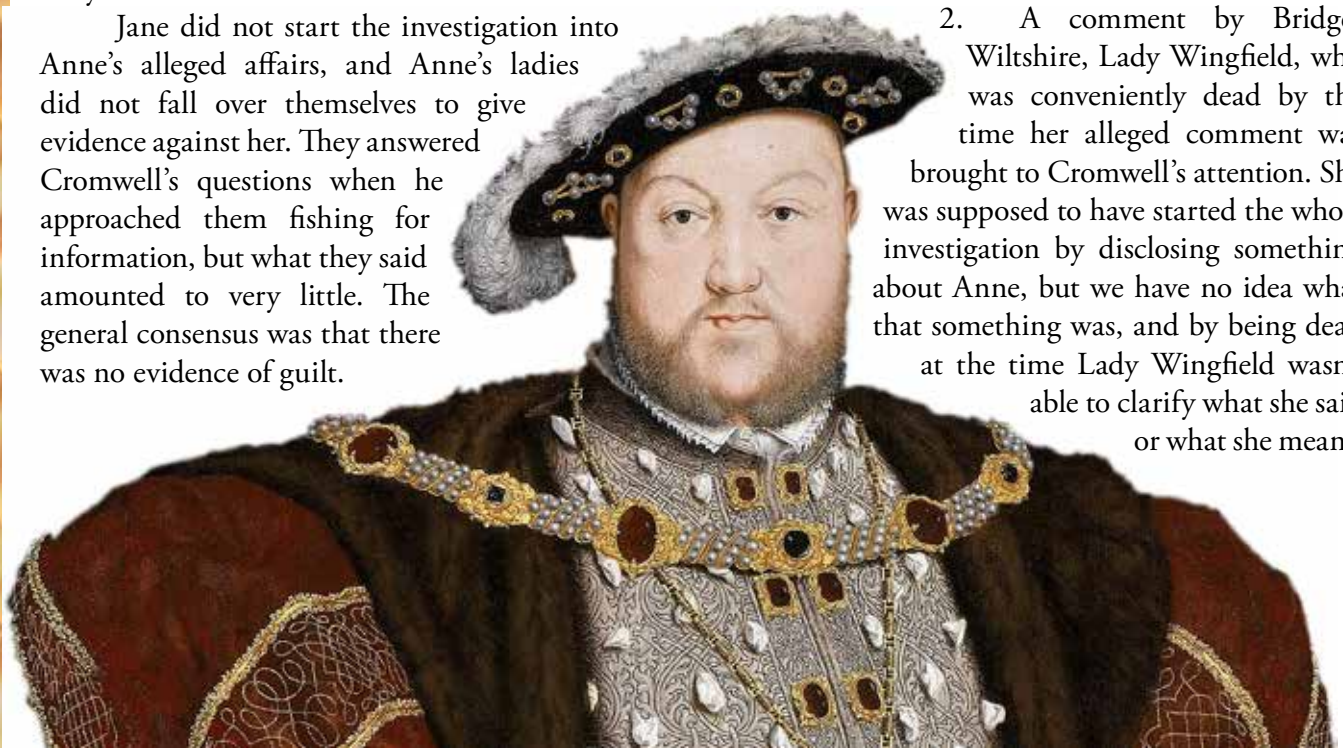
CONTRARY to popular myth, there is in fact no evidence that Jane Boleyn, Lady Rochford, wife of George Boleyn, gave evidence to Cromwell relating to Anne Boleyn and allegations of adultery and incest. The only primary source we have which refers to Jane in connection with the trials is a comment made by Eustace Chapuys, imperial ambassador, where he confirms she gave evidence that Anne had told her about Henry's sexual dysfunction. Everything else that we 'know' about Jane is either speculation or fabrication. No other witness to the trials and/or executions of the Boleyns refers to her in any way. She did not admit lying about them when she gave her own scaffold speech in February 1542. That is a myth.

Jane did not start the investigation into Anne's alleged affairs, and Anne's ladies did not fall over themselves to give evidence against her. They answered Cromwell's questions when he approached them fishing for information, but what they said amounted to very little. The general consensus was that there was no evidence of guilt.

The 'evidence' used to convict the Boleyns and their friends was:

1. A comment made by Elizabeth Browne, Countess of Worcester to her brother, Sir Anthony Browne. When he challenged her for being a flirt. Lady Worcester replied that the queen was just as bad and that the queen had also offended with her own brother. Although her supposed comments are referred to in Lancelot de Carles' poem about the fall of Anne Boleyn, Lady Worcester gave no formal statement to this effect and was not called to court to give evidence. What she actually said and what she meant remains unknown, and none of the defendants were given the opportunity to question her.

2. A comment by Bridget Wiltshire, Lady Wingfield, who was conveniently dead by the time her alleged comment was brought to Cromwell's attention. She was supposed to have started the whole investigation by disclosing something about Anne, but we have no idea what that something was, and by being dead at the time Lady Wingfield wasn't able to clarify what she said or what she meant.



3. Two other ladies were supposed to have provided evidence but again they didn't attend court and we have no idea what they were supposed to have said. Occurring to primary sources, not a lot, and certainly not enough to convict because their names are only mentioned in passing within a letter sent to Lord Lisle: "Nan Cobham, with one maid more". Their evidence was not important enough to be commented on by eye witnesses.

4. Mark Smeaton's confession. This was obviously the most damning evidence against Anne. Why he confessed we shall never know, but obviously his confession was not evidence against the others.

That's it. That's what the case against Anne Boleyn rested on. The allegations against Anne were only widely believed by people who hadn't actually attended the hearings and heard the evidence, or should I say lack of evidence. People merely believed there must have been more evidence than there was. Certainly Cromwell attempted to deceive foreign ambassadors into thinking there was more evidence and more confessions, but he lied to them.

Smeaton confessed on 1st May, Henry Norris was arrested later that day, Anne Boleyn and George Boleyn were arrested on 2nd May 1536, and Francis Weston and William Brereton were arrested a couple of days later.

Norris had had an altercation with Anne shortly before, which explains why he was arrested, despite the fact Henry VIII knew his friend was innocent. Henry had offered Norris a pardon on the 1st May following the May Day joust if Norris would help him out by admitting to having had sex with Anne. The honourable Norris had refused to admit to something he hadn't done and to blacken Anne's name. Norris' refusal to 'help Henry out' resulted in his immediate arrest.

Weston's arrest followed Anne's hysterical ramblings in the Tower when she talked about an incident when Weston had said he loved her. All part of the play of courtly love and clearly in their dealings with Anne both Norris and Weston had taken it too far, but their comments to Anne, though ill-advised, were certainly not evidence of adultery.

As for Brereton, he was not part of Anne's inner circle, and his arrest was more likely due to politics and Cromwell's desire to get rid of someone who was opposing his plans for administrative reform in Wales. Brereton was likely the only real political casualty in the coup.

The men, save perhaps for Brereton, were not chosen by Cromwell because of malicious vengeance. Cromwell was not a petty man, he was a pragmatic one. He had no reason to seek vengeance against George, Norris, Weston or indeed Smeaton. He did what needed to be done for a King who was becoming increasingly demanding and dangerous.

Anne did not threaten Cromwell because he tried protecting the Princess Mary's interests, and she was angry about that. That is complete nonsense. She was against the policy of taking the monies from the dissolution of the monasteries and putting them into Henry VIII's coffers. She wanted the money to go to charity and education. She may have threatened Cromwell but it was Henry who was responsible for policy. Cromwell may have advised Henry, but ultimately he did what he was told to do and augmented Henry's policies and wishes.

The fall of Anne Boleyn, her brother and their friends happened because that's what Henry VIII wanted. He wanted his marriage brought to an end at whatever cost and he was not too bothered who fell with her. Cromwell was in the unenviable position of having to make it happen. He loosely cobbled together a sham of a trail, which as a lawyer he must have been acutely aware was insufficient to end in conviction had the jury not fully understood its duty to the King.

Days after the executions Cromwell told Chapuys that he greatly admired the "sense, wit and courage" of Anne and her brother. Like Chapuys, and many other people at court and throughout the land, he knew they were innocent. After all, he was in the best possible position to know there wasn't enough evidence to convict them.

CLARE CHERRY

REMEMBERING MAGNA CARTA, A REBEL BARON AND TWO WIVES OF HENRY VIII

Historian **Marilyn Roberts** shows us how one of the most celebrated documents, the Magna Carta, is linked to Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard...

THROUGHOUT the summer of 2015, communities large and small across the free world will be engaged in the mutual celebration of a very special event that happened on June 15th 1215. On that day 800 years ago, in a meadow at Runnymede between Windsor and Staines in what is now the Royal County of Berkshire, King John and his advisors met with a group of his barons and accepted the terms of the Charter of Liberties laid down by them. In 1217 it was redrafted by the advisors of John's successor, and since that date has been known as *Magna Carta*, 'the Great Charter', not only in recognition of its unusual size for a document of the times – in excess of 3500 words, but also to distinguish it from the shorter *Carta de Foresta*, the 'Charter of the Forest'.

What made the 1215 document so special was that, in addition to its unusual length and broader than usual spectrum of content and detail, the traditional monarch-subject roles were reversed. Whereas in the past the king had laid down the law to the subjects, in 1215 the subjects presented the rules to the king, and forced him to accept that even he was not above the Law. The charter also stipulated that the barons should elect from among their number a committee of twenty-five who would have the power to take issue with King John if he reneged on his promises. Their names and seals do not appear on the document and are known to us only through the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris, a monk of St Albans Abbey, and while Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard are known definitely to be descendants of the surety baron William de Mowbray, it is highly likely that several of the others also were among their ancestors.

The meeting at Runnymede as portrayed by Victorian artist William Edmund Doyle; note that King John did not actually sign the document. (public domain)

For all its fame down the centuries and its iconic status in our own times, the 1215 Magna Carta was not a success in that King John was playing for time when he agreed the terms, and it was no surprise to anyone that civil war broke out within a few weeks. Although the document was drafted in such a way as to enable John to state his intentions using the rather grand 'royal we', or 'majestic plural', in reality the so-called security clauses were so heavy-handed that his position as ruler would have been totally undermined, and he was still at war with his barons when he died in 1216. At this point many were ready to make a fresh start under the rule of his nine-year-old heir, but a hard core of dissidents, including William de Mowbray, continued the fight against the Crown in the hope of putting the son of the King of France on the throne. Those barons finally lost their fight in 1217.

Magna Carta underwent subsequent revisions and it was the 1225 version that eventually entered the Statute Book in 1297, in the reign of King John's grandson, Edward I. Three of the points first seen in the original of 1215 still remain written into the Law today: freedom of the Church (an interesting thought when we remember what Henry VIII did); freedom of London and other cities to enjoy all their *'ancient liberties and free customs, both by land and by water';* access to justice '*No free man shall be seized or imprisoned, or stripped of his rights or possessions, or outlawed or exiled, or deprived of his standing in any way, nor will we proceed with force against him, or send others to do so, except by the lawful judgment of his equals or by the law of the land'; 'To no one will we sell, to no one deny or delay right or justice.'*

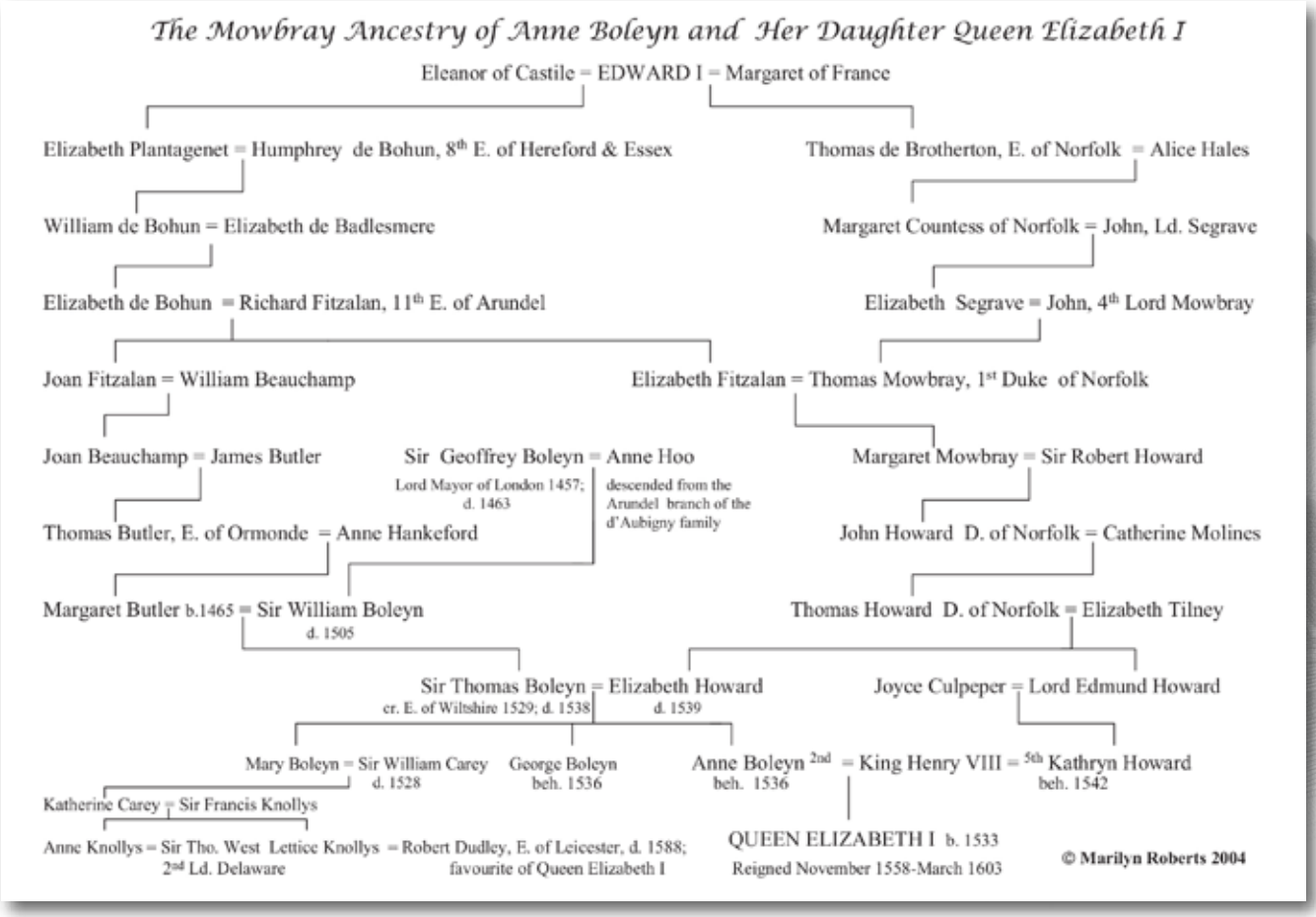
A 1215 copy of Magna Carta – the only surviving copy in landscape format – given to collector Sir Robert Cotton in 1629; according to one account it had been found in a London tailor's shop. There is another 1215 original in the British Library, one in Salisbury Cathedral and a fourth in Lincoln Castle (British Library Cotton MS Augustus II.106) (public domain)

Originally the last two points above concerning justice were recorded as one, and it should be emphasised that the term 'free man' did not apply to the lowest stratum of the peasantry, which made up the bulk of the population. Thereafter, the Great Charter was updated periodically, with 'free man' eventually being replaced by 'no one', but by the time of Henry VIII it had taken a back seat. It was brought to the fore again in the 1620's when the lawyer and politician Sir Edward Coke declared it still to be in force and used it against Charles I, and its worldwide reputation started gathering momentum from the seventeenth century onwards. What the barons concocted in 1215 as a weapon against King John may have failed to do its job then, but, even though greatly altered by his successors over a long period of time, it is now seen as being the cornerstone of democracy in England. It has also formed the framework for systems of justice around the world, including the United States Bill of Rights (1791) the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the European Convention on Human Rights (1950).

THE CONNECTION WITH ANNE BOLEYN AND KATHERINE HOWARD

It has been said of Anne Boleyn that she was seen in her day as having come from a family of 'Johnny-come-latelies', but in her Howard ancestry there were many royal and noble connections going back centuries. The remainder of this article traces Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard's descent from their 10x great-grandfather, Magna Carta surety William de Mowbray, who was descended from an Anglo-Norman family named d'Aubigny, and shows how Katherine came to grief in Lincoln, the city where William himself had narrowly escaped death.

The d'Aubigny family thrived in England after the Norman Conquest, and by the third generation were earls of Arundel and lords of Belvoir. However, it was to Nigel d'Aubigny, who as a younger third generation son would have expected to inherit very little, that King Henry I granted the vast *Honour of Mowbray* comprising over 250 manors, making him one of the greatest feudal land holders of all.



William the Conqueror, Duke of Normandy and, after 1066, King of England, died in 1087. He had nominated his eldest son, Robert, as his successor in Normandy, while the middle son, another William, was to have England. Meanwhile, the youngest, Henry, received a massive amount of silver as his inheritance. King William II of England was killed in a hunting accident in 1100. Henry immediately seized the throne, which many thought should have gone to Duke Robert, and when the armies of the brothers met at Tinchebrai in Normandy in 1106 it was Nigel d'Aubigny's good fortune to be instrumental in the capture of the duke, for which he was so handsomely rewarded with the Honour of Mowbray. The Honour, or collection, included, and was named after, Montbrai in Normandy, the former *caput* or chief manor of the Montbrai (Mowbray) family, who had lost everything when they rebelled against William II in the 1080's and 90's. When he inherited the Honour at his father Nigel's death in 1129, Roger d'Aubigny changed his surname to Roger de Montbrai, of which there were many variations in spelling including Moubrai, Molbrai and the more familiar Mowbray.

Roger de Mowbray, just a boy when his father died, had a long and exciting life, but was never the unwavering supporter of the ruling monarch that his father had been, and, like many Mowbrays who came after him, had a knack of being on the losing side in a conflict. He went on crusade in both his thirties and sixties and a later tradition had him arriving home in Yorkshire accompanied by a friendly lion he had rescued from the jaws of a killer dragon. Predictably, the reality was rather more mundane. Roger was captured by Saladin in 1188 at the battle of Hattin, ransomed by the Knights Templar, to whom he had previously made generous grants of land in England, but died soon after and was buried in or near what is now the modern city of Tyre in Lebanon. His son Nigel succeeded him, but less than three years later he too died in the Holy Land, and was in turn succeeded by his son William, then possibly still only in his late teens.

William de Mowbray, although young, went on crusade with Richard I and is to be found at all major events in the reign of King John, against whom he developed an enormous grudge. Shortly after John came to the throne in 1199 William

Byland Abbey, North Yorkshire, built on land given to the Cistercians by Anne Boleyn's ancestor Roger de Mowbray in 1147 and dissolved by her husband Henry VIII in 1538. © Marilyn Roberts

gave him a 'gift' of money the equivalent of many millions of pounds today, which was in reality a massive bribe so that he would ensure a favourable outcome in a dispute over land. However, the king did nothing for him and Mowbray lost both the case and the money, leaving him severely in debt, a burden that would cast a deep shadow over his successors for many years. William was typical of those of the barons who had grievances against John, so it is not surprising that he was one of the Magna Carta sureties in 1215. In 1217 he was among those rebels who besieged Lincoln Castle, held for the Crown by the redoubtable lady-castellan, Nicola de la Haye, but failed to heed warnings that royal reinforcements were on their way and was taken prisoner. Mowbray surrendered some of his lands as ransom and died in 1224 at his manor of Epworth in Lincolnshire, aged around fifty.

By the 1390's the head of the Mowbray family was William's direct descendant Thomas Mowbray, first duke of Norfolk, earl of Nottingham, and earl marshal. Although a close relative of King Richard II, since both were descended from sons of Edward I, Thomas fell foul of him and was banished for life in 1398, dying in Venice the following year aged 33. Thomas Mowbray appears in Shakespeare's *King Richard II*. One of his daughters, Lady Margaret, married Robert Howard, possibly for love rather than gain since he was very much her social inferior, and their descendants include Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard, while Lady Jane Grey was a descendant of Margaret's sister, Lady Isabel.

The dukedom was not restored to Thomas's son John until 1425. While they were still children, John, second duke, had married Katherine Neville, whose sister Cecily later married the Duke of York; thus John Mowbray was the uncle, through marriage, of Cecily's sons, the kings Edward IV and Richard III. The Mowbray couple themselves had only one son, another John, which signalled the beginning of the end for the family, as he too died relatively young, also leaving only one child, yet another John, who at the age of 17 became the fourth, and final, Mowbray duke of Norfolk.

Castle Hill, Lincoln. William de Mowbray and others besieging the Lincoln Castle were taken by surprise when royal reinforcements arrived in 1217 © Marilyn Roberts 2015

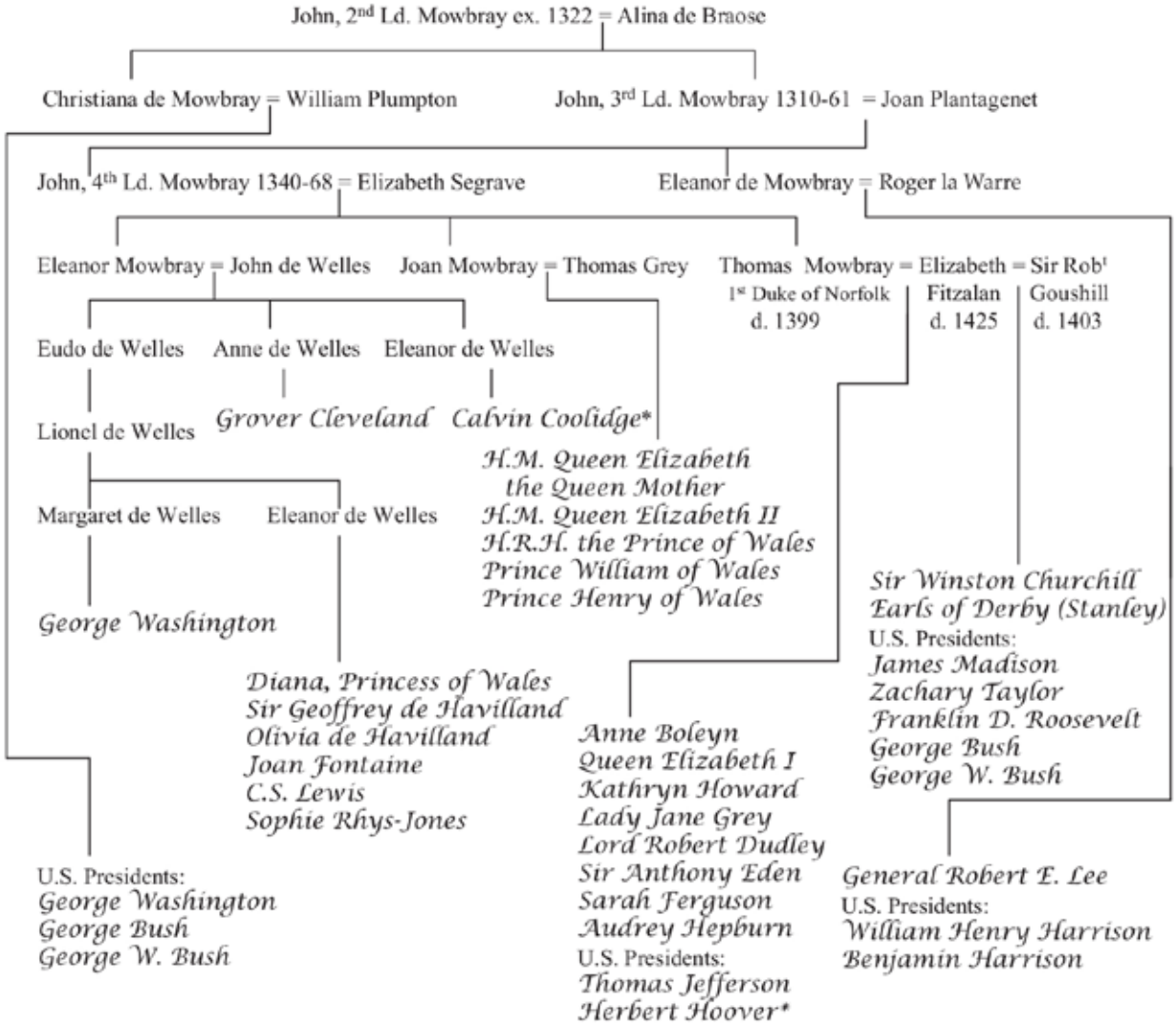
John, fourth duke, was an arrogant and headstrong young man living beyond his means. He was to benefit significantly from financial assistance offered by his more mature and astute kinsman Sir (later Lord) John Howard, the son of his grandfather's sister, Lady Margaret Mowbray. In letters to John Howard the duke complained of ill health while still only in his twenties, and at his sudden death in 1476 at the age of 31 his heir and only child was a three-year- old daughter, meaning the dukedom of Norfolk became extinct. The notoriously grasping Edward IV saw the opportunity of availing himself of a readymade fortune for his younger son, and at the time of Anne Mowbray's marriage to Prince Richard she was five-years-and-five-weeks old and he only four- and-a-half. Lady Anne died in 1481shortly before she was nine and her husband is believed to have perished in the Tower in 1483 with his brother when he was ten years of age: these young boys were the Princes in the Tower.

In 1483 King Richard III divided the Mowbray inheritance between Lord John Howard, who became first Duke of Norfolk in a new creation, and his cousin Lord William Berkeley, a son of Lady Isabel, Margaret Mowbray's sister. Howard, whose descendants still hold the dukedom of Norfolk, was killed at Bosworth in 1485 fighting for Richard III, and was the great-grandfather of Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard.

AUGUST 1541: MOWBRAY DESCENDANT KATHERINE HOWARD'S FATE SEALED AT LINCOLN

One of the purposes of Henry VIII's Northern progress during the summer and early autumn of 1541 was to show himself and his latest wife to those northern counties of the kingdom still cowering after his vicious reprisals for the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536. As Henry's aim was to overwhelm his errant subjects with evidence of his undisputed power and boundless wealth, no expense was spared. For Katherine Howard, his young fifth

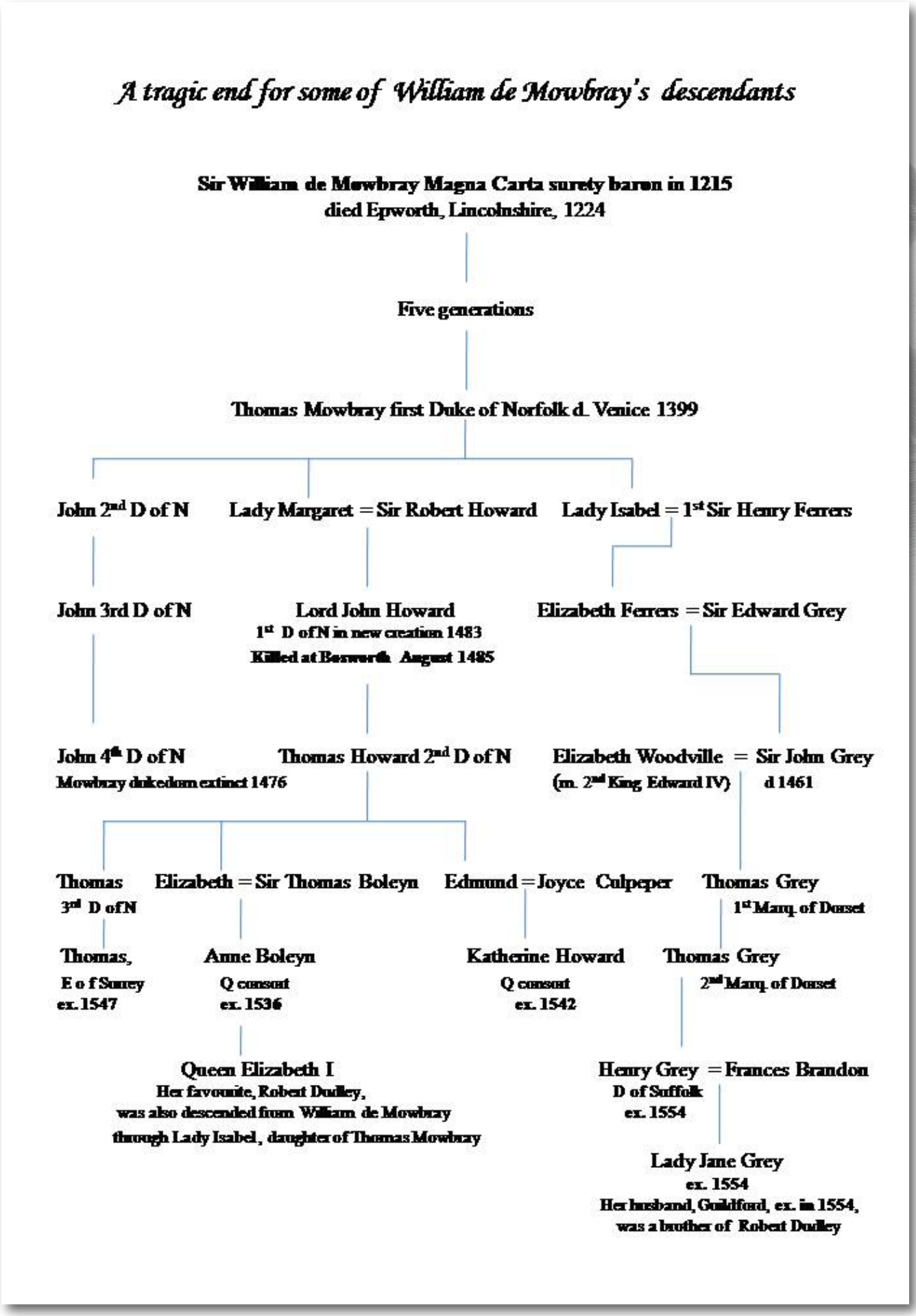
The Mowbray Family - Connections Revealed so Far



* Tables for Presidents Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Clark Hoover require more work and are not included.

ABBREVIATIONS USED ON THE TABLES:

arr. arrived
b. born
beh. beheaded
c. circa, at about this time
cr. created or creation
D. duke
d. died
dau. daughter
ex. executed
E. earl
emig. emigrated (to America)
k. killed
wid. widow
= married
(=) not married
▼ many generations ahead


A tragic end for some of William de Mowbray's descendants
Sir William de Mowbray Magna Carta surety baron in 1215
died Epworth, Lincolnshire, 1224
Five generations
Thomas Mowbray first Duke of Norfolk d. Venice 1399
John 2nd D of N
Lady Margaret = Sir Robert Howard
Lady Isabel = 1st Sir Henry Ferrers
John 3rd D of N
Lord John Howard
1st D of N in new creation 1483
Killed at Bosworth August 1485
Elizabeth Ferrers = Sir Edward Grey
John 4th D of N
Mowbray dukedom extinct 1476
Thomas Howard 2nd D of N
Elizabeth Woodville = Sir John Grey
(m. 2nd King Edward IV)
d 1461
Thomas
3rd D of N
Elizabeth = Sir Thomas Boleyn
Edmund = Joyce Culpeper
Thomas Grey
1st Marq. of Dorset
Thomas,
E o f Surrey
ex. 1547
Anne Boleyn
Q consort
ex. 1536
Katherine Howard
Q consort
ex. 1542
Thomas Grey
2nd Marq. of Dorset
Queen Elizabeth I
Her favourite, Robert Dudley,
was also descended from William de Mowbray
through Lady Isabel, daughter of Thomas Mowbray
Henry Grey = Frances Brandon
D of Suffolk
ex. 1554
Lady Jane Grey
ex. 1554
Her husband, Guildford, ex. in 1554,
was a brother of Robert Dudley

In 1541, during their northern progress, Henry VIII and Katherine Howard entered Lincoln Cathedral in great splendour to be received by local dignitaries and clergy © Marilyn Roberts 2015

wife, weighed down by masses of exquisite jewels and decked out in scarlet velvet and cloth of silver, their stay at Lincoln in August should have been a magical time. Instead, it was here, in the same part of the city where her Mowbray ancestor had fled for his life over three centuries earlier, that Queen Katherine's own short life started drawing to its close. The main entrance to Lincoln Cathedral, although beautiful at first glance, carries a warning message to those who transgress, and the carved faces from Hell already had Katherine Howard in their sights.

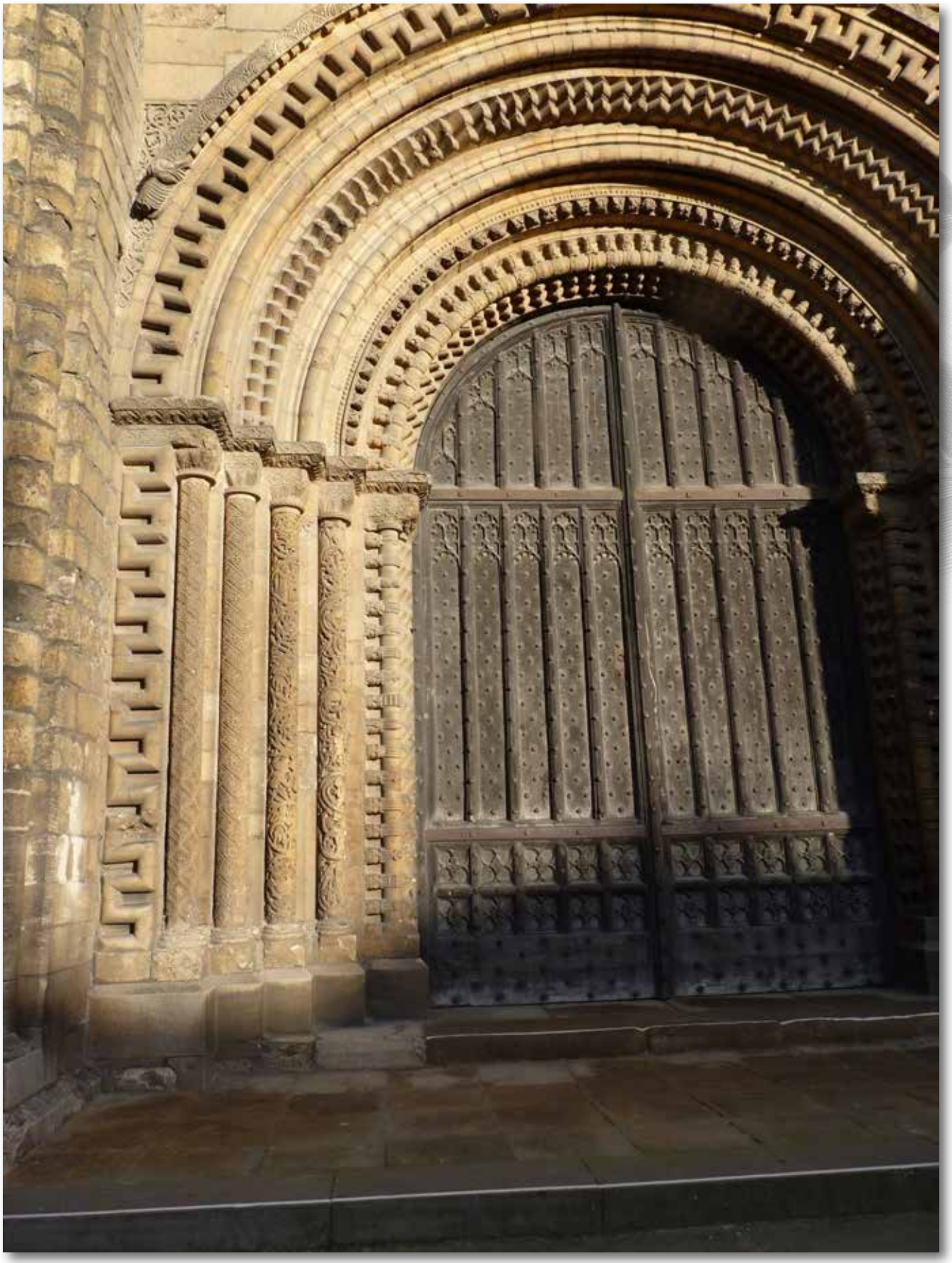
Within weeks the queen stood accused of having arranged for one of the doors to her accommodation to be left unlocked, affording access for her supposed lover, one of her husband's favourite and most trusted companions. It is not immediately obvious from contemporary documents where the royal couple were staying, but local tradition favours the Bishops Palace alongside the cathedral. Dr. David Starkey, however, believes they were accommodated in the castle (S*ix Wives* page 664), although it is on record that King Henry 'rode to the castle' to inspect it, and the palace would probably have been the more comfortable option of the two.

Whichever place had been chosen as their base in Lincoln, there followed a bewildering tale of incredibly lax security when all should have been meticulously planned to take into consideration every eventuality. How could a watchman making his rounds casually close and lock the door to the queen's apartments without troubling to investigate further, and why did nobody come across Thomas Culpeper and his servant afterwards as they were forced to pick the lock? Later it would transpire that Queen Katherine's meeting with Thomas in her stool room (lavatory) at Lincoln was but one of several not-so-secret assignations on the royal progress, and by the following November both were under arrest.

The details of their meetings were considered by grand juries in various parts of the country. The one sitting at Lincoln Castle found Katherine guilty of offences with Culpeper in that city and various other locations, as did all the others around the country. One local worthy on the Lincolnshire jury was John Candysshe (Candish) of Butterwick, who had lately done very nicely out of the dissolution of the monasteries. Having acquired the estate of the Carthusian monastery founded in 1397 at Low Melwood near Epworth by Katherine's ancestor Thomas Mowbray, he set about using the stone to build himself a fine house surrounded by gardens and orchards. It is thought that at its dissolution the Howards did not remove the remains of the second Mowbray duke and his wife Katherine, which could still be lying under buildings at Low Melwood Farm.

Doubtless Henry VIII would easily have persuaded himself that his wives Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard had not been condemned '*except by the lawful judgment of* [their] *equals or by the law of the land'*, but sadly, Magna Carta, so closely associated with their mutual ancestor, was of no help or comfort to either of those unfortunate women in their darkest hour.

FEATURE SECTION: ANNE BOLEYN

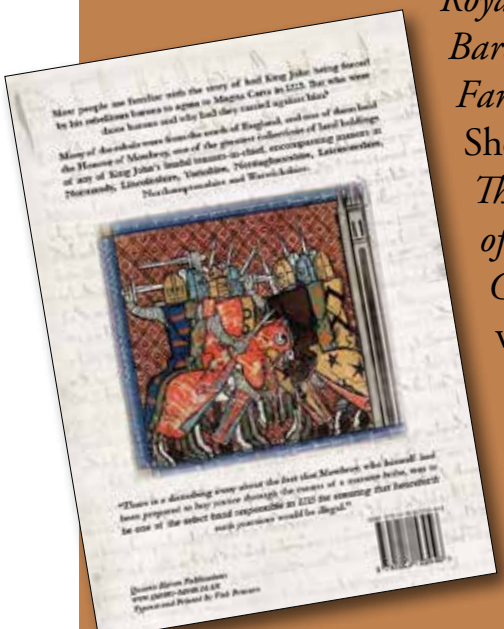


Only six months after the radiant young Queen Katherine had entered Lincoln Cathedral through this splendid doorway she was beheaded in the Tower of London © Marilyn Roberts 2015

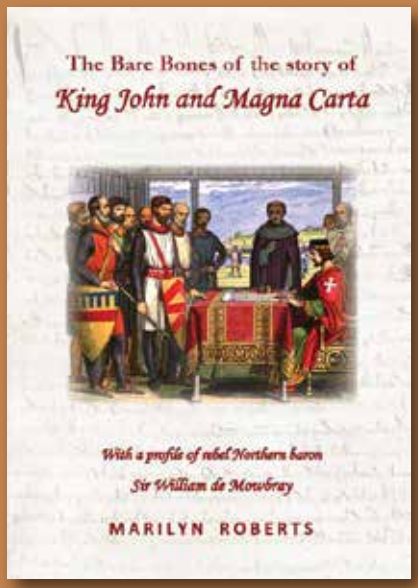
An ancient Mowbray coat-of-arms and door frame incorporated into what are now farm buildings at Low Melwood. © Marilyn Roberts 2015

References

1. *King John by* W.L. Warren
2. *The Northerners* by J.C. Holt
3. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* Vols. XVI and XVII
4. *The Mowbray Legacy* by Marilyn Roberts
5. *Lady Anne Mowbray – the High and Excellent Princess* by Marilyn Roberts
6. *The Bare Bones of the Story of King John and Magna Carta* by Marilyn Roberts
7. Magna Carta and associated documents can be seen on the British Library website



Marilyn Roberts is a freelance lecturer and is the author of *The Mowbray Legacy; Lady Anne Mowbray – the High and Excellent Princess; The Bare Bones of the Story of King John and Magna Carta; British Royal Family Trees* and *The Bare Bones of Queen Victoria's Family Trees*



She has recently published *The Bare Bones of the story of King John and the Magna Carta*. She is currently working on a book on Katherine Howard and her step-grandmother, the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk. You can find out more about Marilyn and her work at **www.queens-haven.co.uk/**

ANNE BOLEYN'S FALL

BY CLAIRE RIDGWAY

When I was working on my book *The Fall of Anne Boleyn: A Countdown* and putting together a timeline of events for spring 1536 I was constantly struck by just how quickly everything happened. Within just three weeks, Anne Boleyn went from planning a royal trip to Calais to being beheaded as a traitor. You'll see a timeline on the next few pages... it really is shocking!

In his *Chronicle*, Edward Hall sums up Anne Boleyn's fall in just one paragraph:

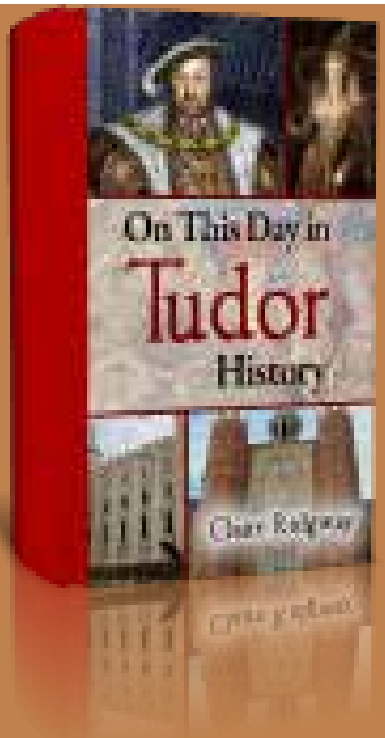
"On May day were a solemn jousts kept at Greenwich, and suddenly from the jousts the king departed having not above 6 persons with him, and came, in the evening from Greenwich in his place at Westminster. Of this sudden departing many men mused, but most chiefly the queen, who the next day was apprehended and brought from Greenwich to the Tower of London, where after she was arraigned of high treason, and condemned. Also at the same time was likewise apprehended the Lord Rochford, brother to the said Queen, and Henry Norris, Mark Smeaton, William Brereton and Sir Francis Weston all of the king's privy chamber. All these were likewise committed to the Tower and after arraigned and condemned of high treason. And all the gentlemen were beheaded on the scaffold at the Tower hill. But the Queen was with a sword beheaded within the Tower."

That does pretty much sum it up. A woman went from queen to traitor and five men went from being favoured courtiers to traitors, and paid the ultimate price: death.

I hope this timeline helps you to see just how quickly events conspired against Anne and how quickly she was replaced.

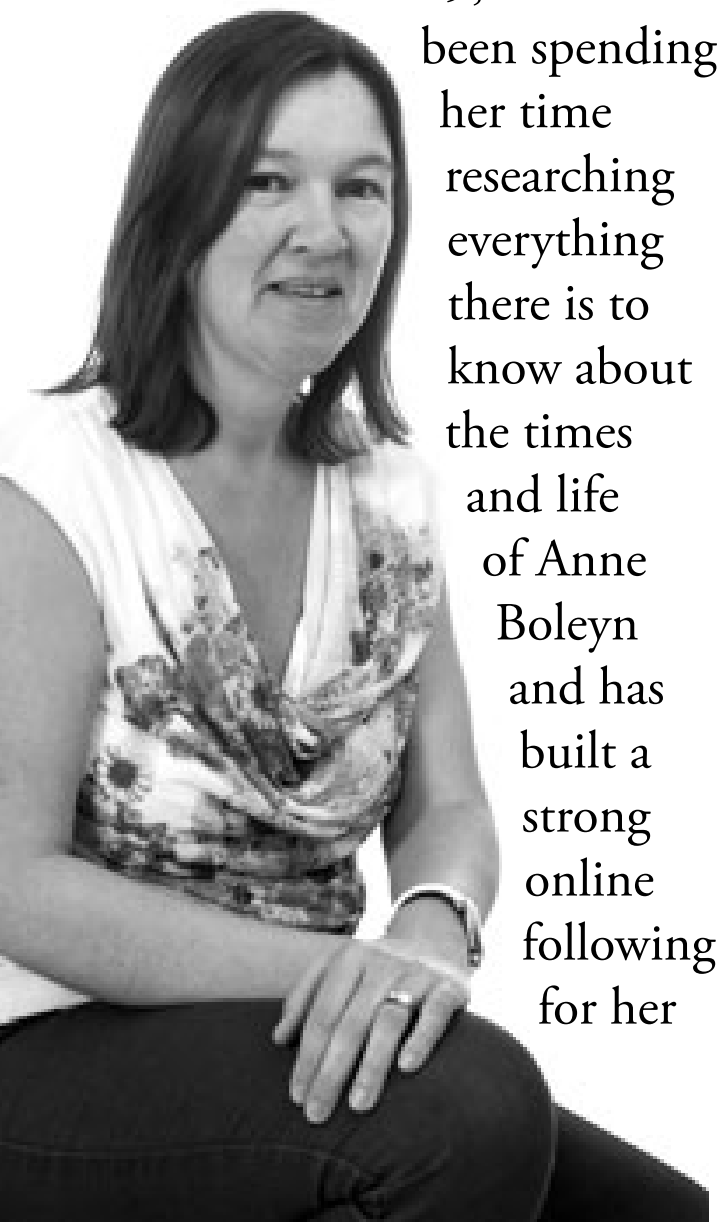
Claire Ridgway runs both the **Tudor Society** and her website about Anne Boleyn ... **TheAnneBoleynFiles.com** which gets an amazing 250,000 page viea month. She is the author of a number of books on Tudor history including The Fall of Anne Boleyn, On This Day in Tudor History, The Anne Boleyn Collections I & II and has co-authored "George Boleyn" with Clare Cherry.

Claire does a countdown of the events of spring 1536 over at The Anne Boleyn Files, so do keep an eye out for Claire's daily posts there!



MAY'S *GUEST SPEAKER* CLAIRE RIDGWAY

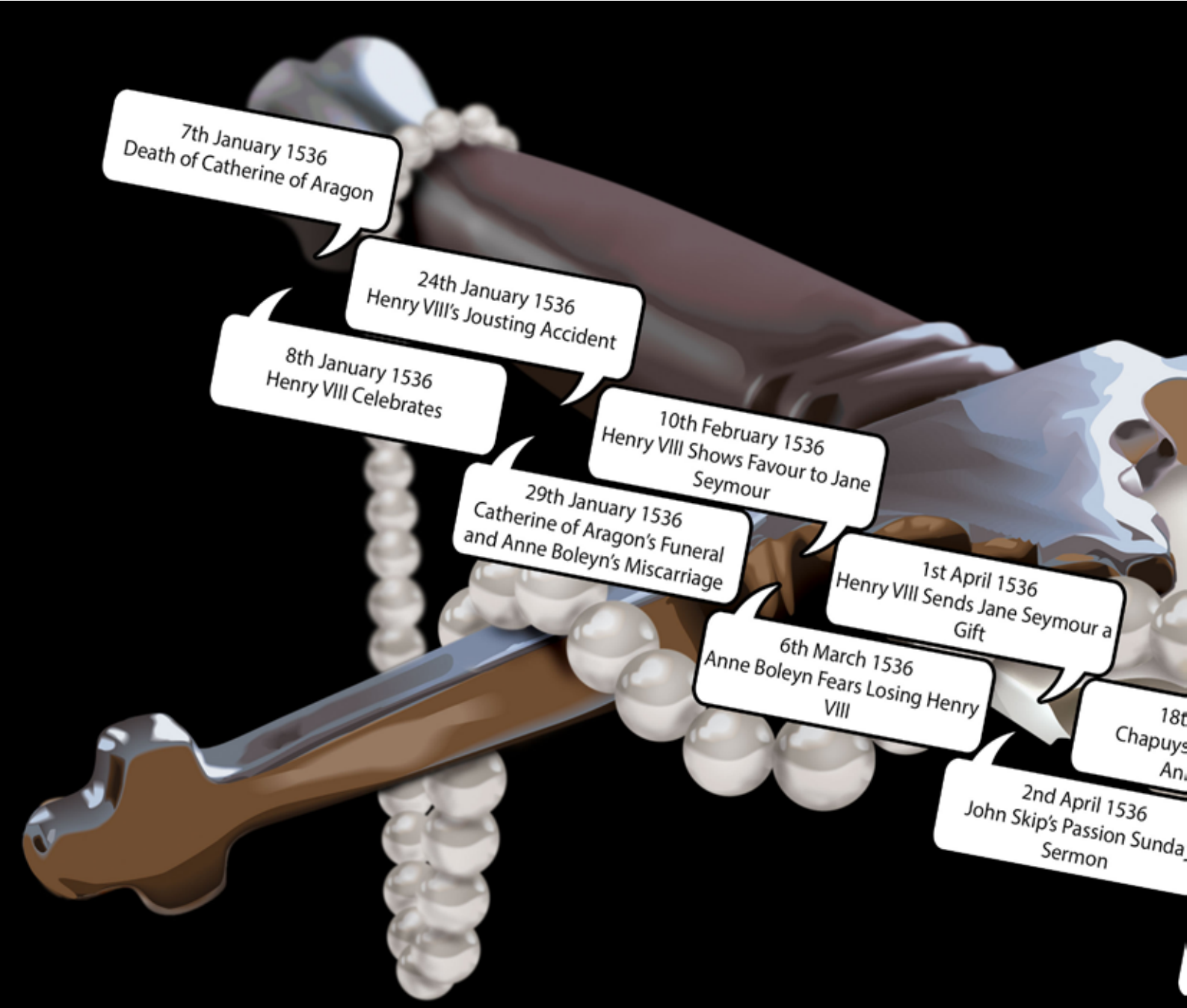
This month's guest speaker is Claire Ridgway, and who better to talk to us about **"Thomas Cromwell and Anne Boleyn's Fall".** Since 2009, Claire has been spending her time researching everything there is to know about the times and life of Anne Boleyn and has built a strong online following for her easy-to-read articles. Her aim is to bring this fascinating period of history to life for everyone.



You'll undoubtedly have seen Claire in her "Claire Chats" videos on the Tudor Society website (if not ... where have you been?!), but this talk will be about Claires favourite topic ... Anne Boleyn!

We'll be giving away a copy of **The Fall of Anne Boleyn** to one lucky person on the chat.

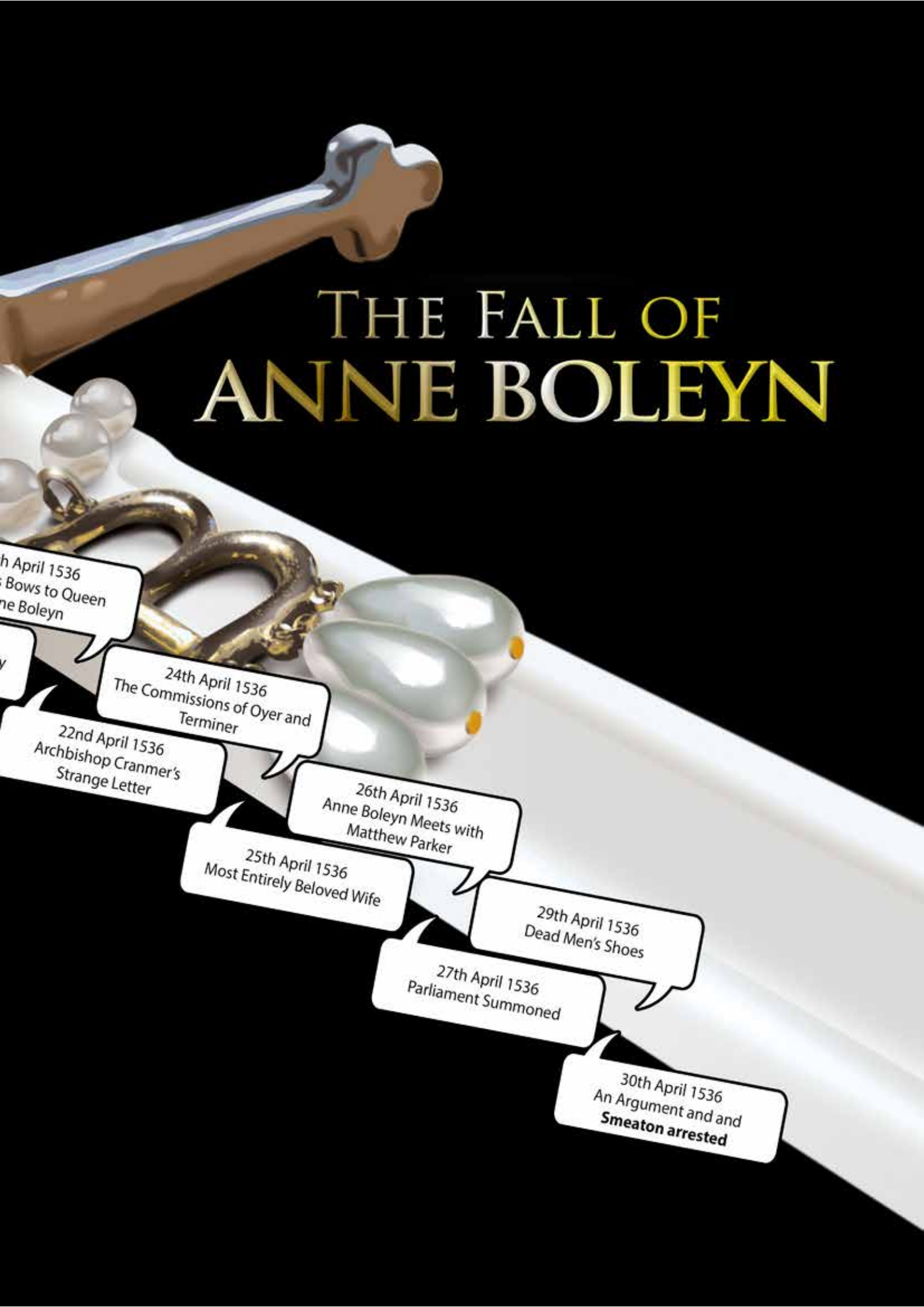
Date of live chat to be announced on the website



Part 1 - THE BUILD-UP TO ARREST

During the spring of 1536 in England, events conspire to bring down Anne Boleyn, Queen of England.

FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THESE EVENTS,
VISIT www.TheFallOfAnneBoleyn.com


THE FALL OF
ANNE BOLEYN
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22nd April 1536
Archbishop Cranmer's
Strange Letter
26th April 1536
Anne Boleyn Meets with
Matthew Parker
25th April 1536
Most Entirely Beloved Wife
29th April 1536
Dead Men's Shoes
27th April 1536
Parliament Summoned
30th April 1536
An Argument and and
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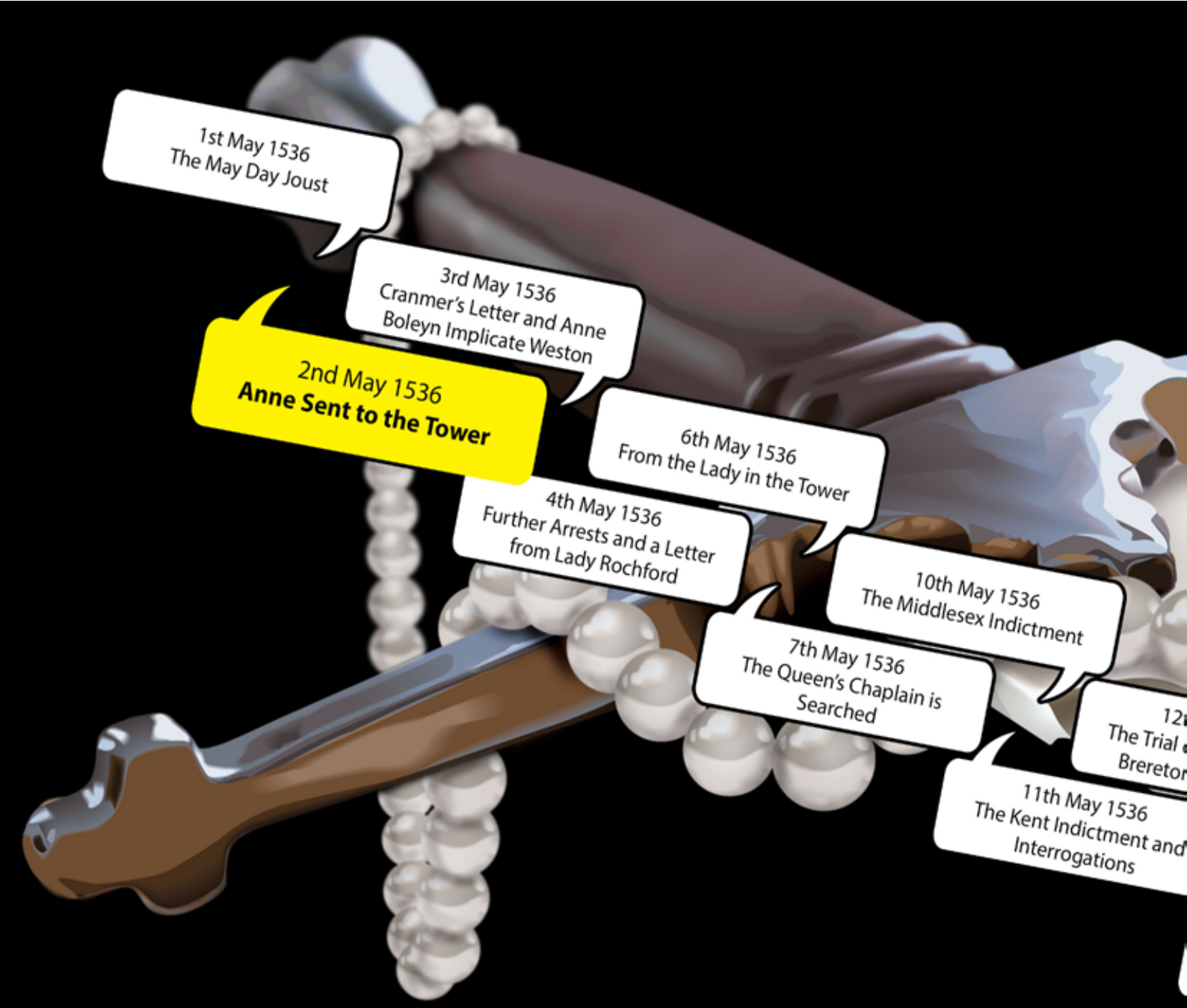


Part 2 - A FATEFUL MAY

Within 17 days of the arrest, the coup against the Queen results in the brutal executions of six innocent people – Anne Boleyn herself, her brother, and four courtiers.
By the end of the month, Henry VIII is married to his new queen - Jane Seymour.

FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THESE EVENTS,
VISIT www.TheFallOfAnneBoleyn.com

THE FALL OF ANNE BOLEYN

th May 1536
of Norris, Weston,
n and Smeaton

16th May 1536
Archbishop Cranmer
Visits Anne Boleyn

15th May 1536
The Trials of **Anne Boleyn**
and George Boleyn

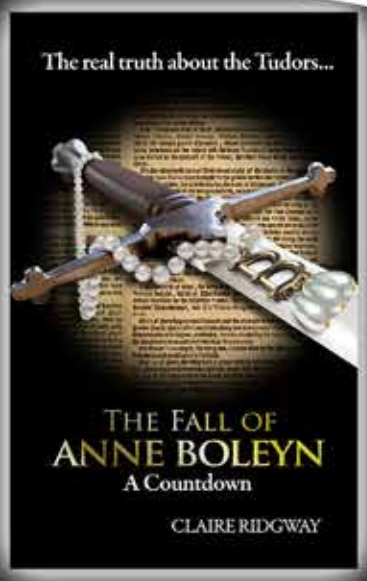
18th May 1536
Postponement and
Preparation

17th May 1536
The Executions of Five Men

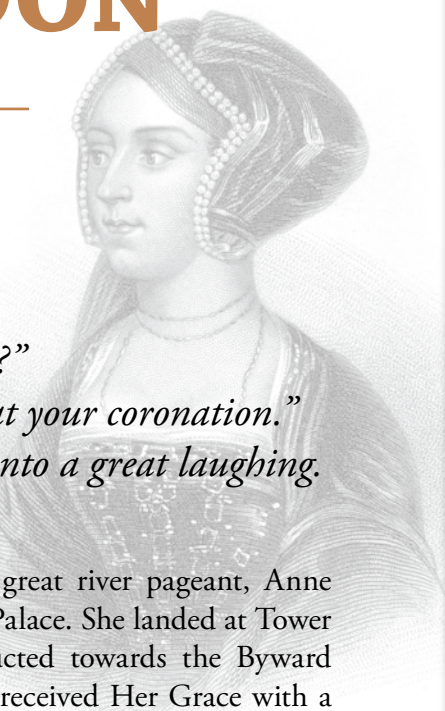
20th May 1536
A Royal Betrothal

19th May 1536
Queen Anne Boleyn's Execution

30th May 1536
Henry VIII Marries
Jane Seymour



ANNE BOLEYN AND THE TOWER OF LONDON



by Roland Hui

"Master Kingston, shall I go into a dungeon?"
"No, Madam, you shall go into your lodging that you lay in at your coronation."
"It is too good for me," she said, ... and in the same sorrow fell into a great laughing.

FOR Anne Boleyn, the Tower of London was both a place of triumph and of tragedy. In the Summer of 1533, she entered the great citadel in preparation of her crowning as Queen of England. But her reign was short. In May 1536, Anne was brought to the Tower again; this time as an accused traitor to die within its walls.

In the Medieval and Tudor eras, the Tower of London was more than the fearful prison it is generally known as today, it was also a royal palace, an archive, a zoo, an armoury, a mint, and a storehouse for regalia. Just as the Crown Jewels are put on display in the present day, in the time of Henry VIII, the regalia and other valuables were kept there for safekeeping. To impress the French ambassador who paid him a visit at the Tower in December 1532, the King 'showed him all the treasure.' A few days afterwards, another tour was arranged for the envoy, this time with Anne Boleyn present. The Tower was being refurbished for her impending coronation (she was expecting to be married soon), and we can imagine Anne's excitement in visiting the royal apartments being made ready for her. The wait was short. In January 1533, she and the King were secretly married, and soon she was pregnant. At Easter, Anne was formally acknowledged as Queen, and all that was left was her crowning.

Following tradition, Anne stayed at the Tower before proceeding to Westminster Abbey. On May 29, amidst a great river pageant, Anne sailed from Greenwich Palace. She landed at Tower Wharf, and was conducted towards the Byward Tower where 'the King received Her Grace with a loving countenance.' The royal couple rested in the royal lodgings until the coronation ceremony set for Whitsunday.

In contrast to the joyous occasion of her crowning, Anne's next journey to the Tower was a harrowing one. Accused of adultery, the Queen was taken by water again from Greenwich to imprisonment on the afternoon of May 2, 1536. Where once she was received by a jubilant Henry VIII, this time she was met by the sombre faced Constable of the Tower Sir William Kingston. Terrified and confused, Anne was in hysterics, weeping and laughing at the same time. Her only comfort was that she was not to be held in a prison cell, but in the apartments she had once stayed.

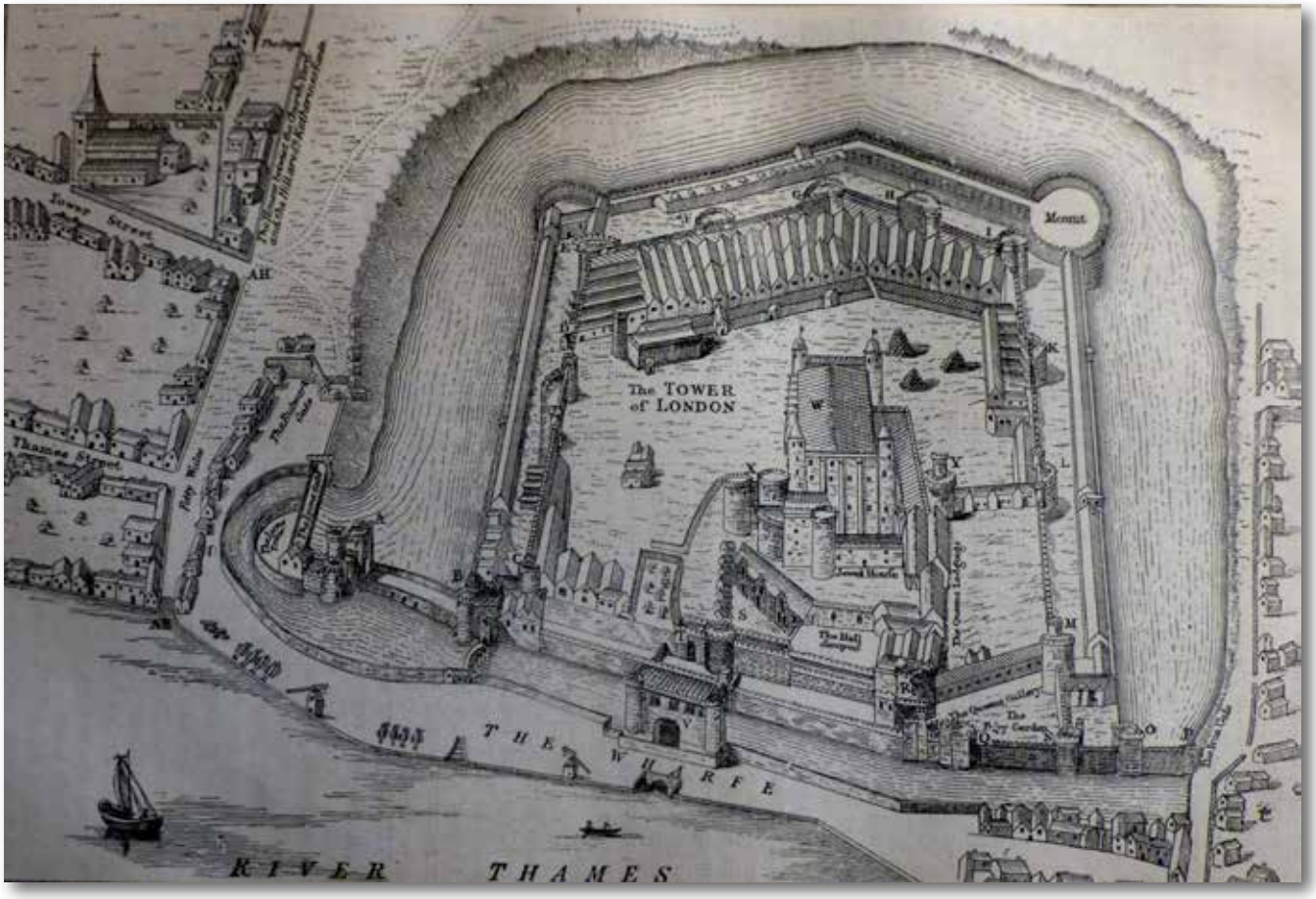
Presumably, Anne was strictly confined to her rooms. Outside the palace were gardens where prisoners might be allowed to take exercise. However, there was no mention in Kingston's letters detailing Anne's imprisonment that she was ever permitted out of doors. When Anne did venture out it was to her trial in the near by Great Hall. There, she was found guilty and condemned. The fatal sentence was carried out upon Tower Green on the morning of May 19, ending Anne's reign of 'three years, lacking fourteen days, from her coronation to her death.'

A fanciful depiction of Anne Boleyn (with her daughter Elizabeth) in the Tower of London by Gustaf Wappers, 1838.

I. L.

ANNA BULLEYN, Gemalinne van HENDRIK. DE VIII.
Koning van Engeland. binnen Londen onthalst.

A later imagining of Anne Boleyn's execution by Jan Luyken (c.1664-1712).



The Tower of London in 1597.

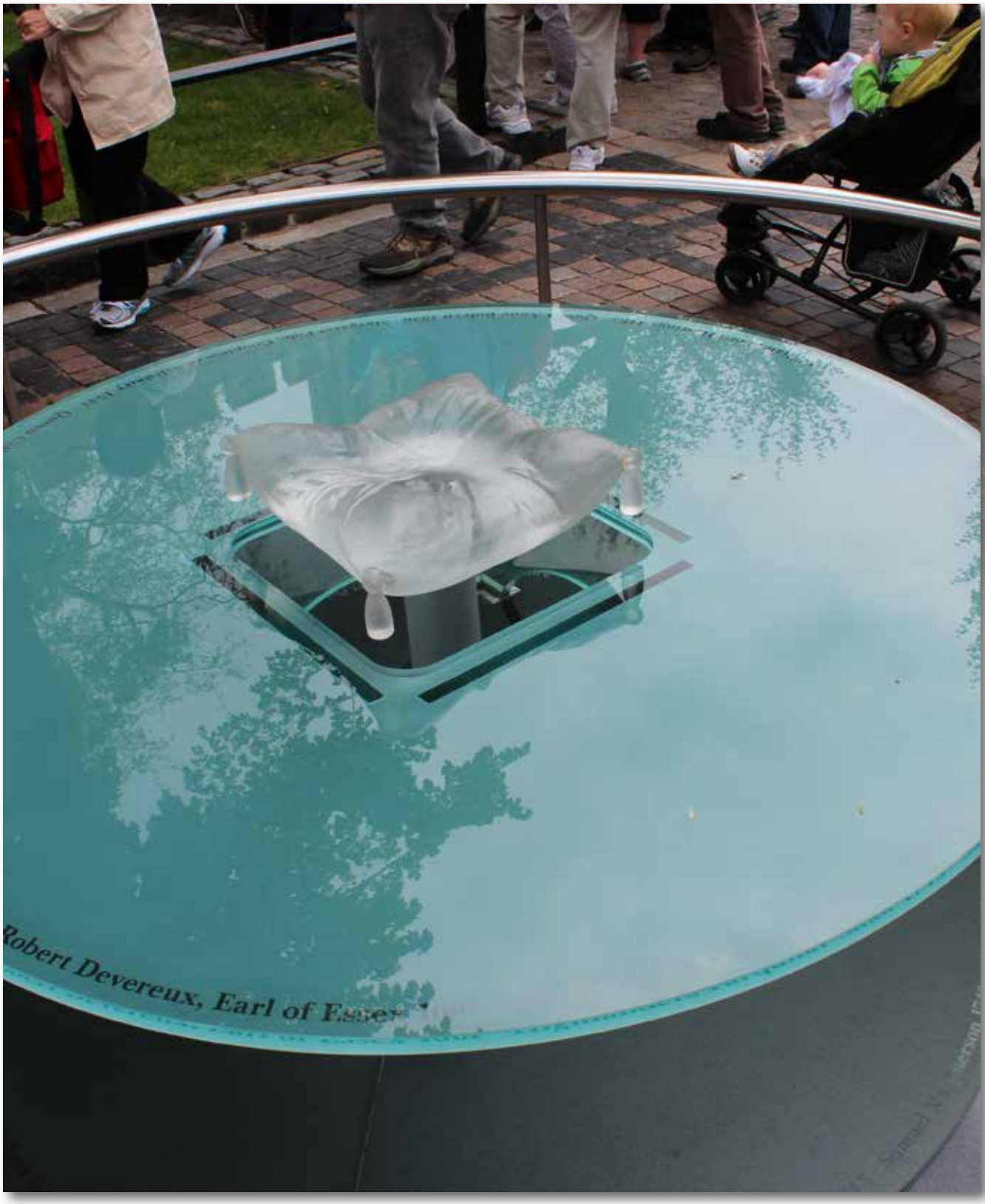
FOLLOWING IN ANNE'S FOOTSTEPS

We can trace Anne Boleyn's very footsteps when visiting the Tower of London today. The Thames river-stairs upon which Anne made her way onto Tower Wharf at her coronation and later at her imprisonment, no longer exist, but the present day Queen's Stairs are more or less in the same location.

By these steps, one can see the Byward Tower straight ahead. In times past, this entrance (also known as the Court Gate, Tower Gate, or simply as 'the postern by the water side') was used by royalty and dignitaries to enter the fortress. As shown in the Elizabethan survey map of 1597, at the time, one had to pass through a small guardhouse and then onto a wooden drawbridge to reach the Byward Tower. The guardhouse and bridge are long gone, and access is now via a stone bridge over the now dry moat. However, it is closed to the public. Tourists must be admitted by the ticket booths to the west, where the Lion Tower (the former menagerie) was.

Entry to the inner ward of the Tower is by what is now called 'Water Lane.' Anne Boleyn, emerging from the Byward Tower, would have processed down this long wide corridor towards the Bloody Tower (then known as the Garden Tower, named after the adjacent Lieutenant's private garden) on her left. After passing under the portcullis gate of the Bloody Tower, Anne would have taken the walkway going up towards the White Tower. On her right were rows of cottages (presumably housing for those working in the Tower; many staff still reside within today). At the top of the incline, to the right, was the Cold Harbour Gate, twin towers which gave way to the innermost ward. They, like the cottage houses, no longer stand, but one can still see the rubble (near the southwest corner of the White Tower) marking where the two towers once were.

Unfortunately, our journey with Anne Boleyn comes to a temporary halt here. The royal lodgings beyond Cold Harbour Gate no longer exist; the palace area now just an expanse of lawn. However,



The present day glass memorial to those executed upon Tower Green. Photo ©2013 Tim Ridgway

old plans of the Tower give us an impression of what Anne's accommodations were like. They were a cluster of buildings stretching from the southeast corner of the White Tower (where the Medieval Wardrobe Tower was; the remains of which can still be seen) down to the Lanthorn Tower (now a Victorian reconstruction). We can only imagine how grand and luxurious the apartments were

inside. But as the Tower of London ceased to be a royal residence by the late 17th century, the palace fell into disrepair and decay. It was eventually demolished. Even the Jewel House (by the south face of the White Tower) that Anne had visited in 1532 is gone, as is the Great Hall where she was tried.

Contrary to popular belief, Anne Boleyn never stayed in the present day Queen's House by the south-western section of Tower Green. These lodgings were assigned to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and were actually under renovation (till 1540) when Anne was made Queen.

Although the spot where Anne was executed draws crowds of visitors today, it is actually not where she died. The area, once paved and chained off, and now marked by a memorial made of glass, was only designated as the place of execution in Victorian times. Why this particular spot was chosen is unclear, perhaps it was a picturesque setting with the Chapel of St. Peter Ad Vincula in the background. Fitting, as many victims (including Anne and her brother Lord Rochford) were buried within. However, contemporary reports indicate that Anne's scaffold site was actually further off – 'by the great White Tower'. This suggests that it was set up next to the north wall of the great central keep. Likewise, the scaffold made for Lady Jane Grey in February 1554 was described as being 'upon the Green over against the White Tower'.

Despite the legends that Anne's body was secretly taken away for burial elsewhere, we can be confident that her remains actually lie inside the Chapel of St. Peter's. In 1876, bones buried in the vicinity of the choir were unearthed during repairs. A skeleton, found before the high altar, was identified as Anne's, though presently, we cannot be absolutely certain it was actually hers. The bones, and other uncovered sets, were subsequently reinterred, and the floor, laid in marble, was decorated with the coats-of-arms of those known to have been buried there. Since then, St. Peter's has been a place of pilgrimage. Even today, flowers are placed upon Anne's memorial.

Just outside the chapel are the unmarked graves of the Queen's alleged lovers. Since Medieval times, the lawn surrounding St. Peter's was used as a burial ground. Francis Weston and Henry Norris are together in a single plot, while William Brereton and Mark Smeaton share another. Where they met their end is a short stroll to Tower Hill. Where the scaffold stood is now squared off with commemorative plaques placed around, serving as a place of contemplation

ROLAND HUI.

Roland Hui holds a degree in Art History, and is a Tudor enthusiast. His blog ***Tudor Faces*** is at: **http://tudorfaces.blogspot.ca/**

Roland's other passion is for miniature painting.

His Tudor lockets are available at The Anne Boleyn Files: **http://www.theanneboleynfiles.com/products-page/locket-miniatures/**

Gareth on History

My first encounter with Anne Boleyn

I WAS seven, I think, when I first encountered Tudor history. For the summer, my family had taken a very pretty farmhouse in County Kerry, in the far south of Ireland, and on one particularly rain-plagued afternoon the Irish republic's flagship television channel, RTÉ, broadcast "Anne of the Thousand Days", an Oscar-winning adaptation from 1969 of Maxwell Anderson's play. My father enjoys Richard Burton's acting and since Burton was nominated for an Oscar for his performance as Henry VIII, he encouraged me to watch it. After all, with rain hammering at the windows and all my books exhausted, there was little else to do for the afternoon. At seven years-old, maybe eight, the story of a tyrant's obsessive desire for a young woman that ended in her horrible execution amidst accusations of adultery and incest might have been considered taboo, but I was too young to fully understand the minutiae of the horror flung in Anne Boleyn's face in 1536.

If I didn't quite understand it, I was nonetheless captivated by the emotions. I was, quite simply, enraptured. Given that an essay on Anne Boleyn's childhood was one of my admissions essays to Oxford and that I am know writing a biography of a Tudor queen for a career, I can justifiably say that no movie ever made a greater impact on me than "Anne of the Thousand Days". Some truly exceptional actresses have played Queen Anne, before and since – Merle Oberon, Vanessa Redgrave, Dorothy Tutin, Helena Bonham-Carter, and, of course, the wonderful Natalie Dormer. But when I read a 2013 interview with Geneviève Bujold, the Canadian actress who scooped a Golden Globe for her portrayal of Anne in 1969, I cracked a large smile when she told author Susan Bordo, "Anne is mine."

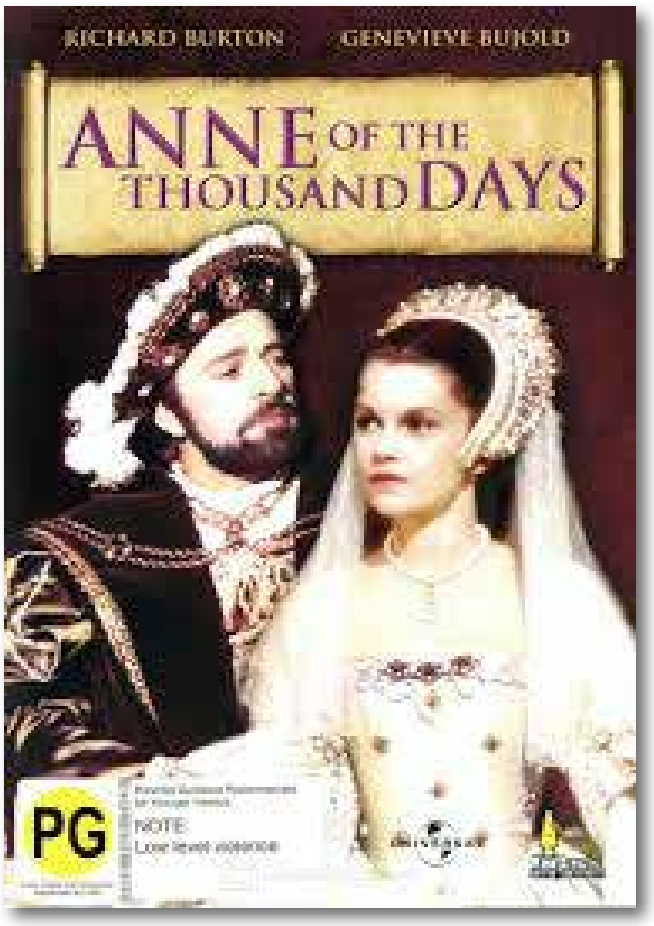
For me, "Anne of the Thousand Days" is historical story-telling at its finest. In its own way, it is a piece of history in and of itself. It was born from the dying embers of the era of Hollywood epics. In its lavish production values, biographical focus and long running-time, it belonged in the same genre as W. S. Van Dyke's "Marie-Antoinette" (1938), Alexander Korda's "That Hamilton Woman" (1941) or George Sidney's "Young Bess" (1953). In 1969, it was mocked by critics, who praised

Bujold's performance but skewered the movie's deferential approach to the pomp as something that had rendered it as bloated and anachronistic as its leading male character. Ironically, it is "Anne of the Thousand Days" that has endured the test of time in terms of fan appeal, compared to many of the sleek and edgy movies produced in the 1960s and early 1970s.

Bujold's Quebecois upbringing gave her Anne a voice that was halfway between the elegant Received Pronunciation of the contemporary English aristocracy, and the French upbringing enjoyed by the real Boleyn. Lady Mary Crawley meets Coco Chanel. Bujold was an unconventional beauty, quirky and slender with a pixie nose and flashing eyes. She radiated charisma, the grace of a dancer with the fire of a warrior. A benign but very definite egotist opposite Richard Burton, who looked nothing like the original Henry VIII, but proved that you don't always need to. For me, no actor but Burton has ever captured just how dangerous this man was.

"Anne of the Thousand Days" is choc-full of inaccuracies, of course. Dates get squeezed for the sake of narrative clarity; the complexities of Reformation politics are streamlined; Anne personally has a chance to confront Mark Smeaton at her trial, and her husband in the Tower, but that doesn't matter to me, because the movie gets the *gist* of the whole sorry tragedy, by turns repellent and inspiring. And that's something that has, in Anne and Henry's case, yet to be replicated on screen or stage.

GARETH RUSSELL



ALL THE KING'S MEN

It is easy to forget or overlook those who also fell with Anne Boleyn. **Beth von Staats** looks at the positions which surrounded Henry VIII, their benefits but also their pitfalls...

In memory of all Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber who fell victim to King Henry VIII: Sir George Boleyn – Viscount Rochford, Sir Henry Norris, Sir William Brereton, Sir Francis Weston, Sir Nicholas Carew – Knight of the Garter, and Thomas Culpeper

DURING the reign of King Henry VIII, the most powerful men in the kingdom aside from the monarch were Lord Chancellors, such as Thomas Cardinal Wolsey, Sir Thomas More and Sir Thomas Audley; high ranking nobility, such as Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk and Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; high ranking clergy, such as Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury and Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; and hand-selected public servants rising to prominence, such as Thomas Cromwell. Although all of these men held power, wealth and prestige, were they Henry's closest friends? Aside from Brandon and later Cranmer, the answer is no. Did they actually hold the most influence in shaping King Henry VIII's decision making? Aside from Wolsey and later Cromwell, the answer is also no. Instead, the men who Henry chose to befriend and listen to most ardently were his Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber.

King Henry VIII's upper story Privy Chamber included a great hall, where he completed his formal business. Beyond the great hall were the king's private living quarters where only he and his selected few intimate servants presided. Who were King Henry VIII's most intimate servants? Well they certainly were not base-born commoners from the lower classes of London. Instead, these prime appointments were afforded to knights throughout the kingdom, as well as the sons of high ranking nobility. Supervised by a Lord Chamberlain, Henry's *"gentlemen weyters"* were the realm's most esteemed courtiers, all entrusted with maintaining

Photo of the ceiling of the waiting hall at Hampton Court © Tim Ridgway 2012

the king's dignity, and just as importantly, providing him with companionship and entertainment.

There were very prescribed ways to manage King Henry's Privy Chamber, all intricately recorded in the a "handy guidebook" entitled *The Baby's Book of Nuture.* This interesting handbook defined the roles of all Privy Chamber positions, illustrating exactly how services, companionship and entertainment were to be afforded to the high nobility, including King Henry VIII himself. *The Baby's Book of Nuture,* was the "Privy Chamber *Bible*", referenced frequently by Grooms and Ushers who either were in preparation for their impending duties or new to their roles.

His Majesty's Lord Chamberlain: The Lord Chamberlain of the Privy Chamber was in charge of the king's household and court entertainments. The Lord Chamberlain also organized Henry's plentiful progresses and received ambassadors and other people called to the king's presence. Carrying a tall white staff, he was not only the "Chief Executive Officer" of all activities and roles within the Privy Chamber, but was also an ex-officio member of the privy council and the most powerful man aside from the king at court. Charles Somerset, 1st Earl of Worcester and later William FitzAlan, 18th Earl of Arendul were both high nobility that served Henry as Lord Chamberlains.

His Majesty's Vice-Chamberlain: The Vice-Chamberlain of the Privy Chamber was in short "second banana" to the Lord Chamberlain, assisting in all duties as detailed previously as delegated. The Vice-Chamberlain was also an ex-officio member of the privy council. Sir William Sandys, 1st Baron Sandys of the Vyne once held appointment as Henry's Vice-Chamberlain. Highly efficient in his duties, Lord Sandys later was elevated by the king to Lord Chamberlain, a role he efficiently performed from 1530 to 1535.

His Majesty's Gentleman Groom of the Stool: As the title suggests, Henry's Groom of the Stool held the most intimate duties in service to the monarch. In short, the Groom of the Stool provided person hygiene care to the king in release of his bodily functions. He also administered enemas when necessary, as constipation was a major challenge due to the king's high protein diet. In 16th century England, this was no menial position. Grooms of

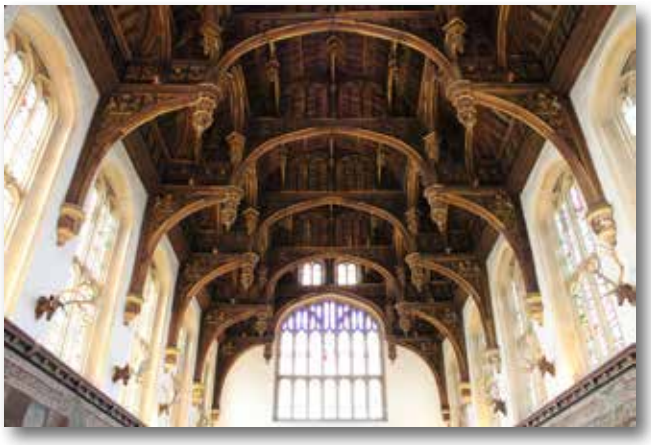


Photo of the great hall at Hampton Court
© Tim Ridgway 2012

the Stool were men whom Henry implicitly trusted with his most private of needs, all greatly rewarded and esteemed. Both Sir Henry Norris and later Sir Anthony Denny were prestigious courtiers who served Henry with his intimate personal care, no easy task, especially as Henry aged. Many historians believe that Henry Norris, tragically executed along with Queen Anne Boleyn, her brother and three other courtiers, was once Henry's dearest friend and closest confidant.

His Majesty's Gentlemen Ushers and Grooms: Gentlemen Ushers entrusted to serve King Henry VII in his Privy Chamber attended to the cleanliness of King Henry's living quarters by supervising Grooms responsible for actually completing the tasks. In short, Gentlemen Ushers were "Royal Butlers". Beyond "housework", Grooms also assisted King Henry VIII with dressing and undressing. Although it can be assumed the king would desire the assistance in any case, the wardrobe of the monarch was elaborate, so much so he would be physically be unable to completely dress himself. Beyond assistance with household tasks, dressing, and other assorted chores, His Majesty's Gentlemen also provided him with entertainment and companionship. Sir Nicholas Carew, Sir Francis Bryan, Sir Edward Neville, Sir William Brereton, Sir Francis Weston, George Boleyn – 2nd Viscount Rochford, Edward Seymour – Earl of Hertford, and Thomas Culpeper served King Henry III as Gentlemen Ushers and Grooms.

As an interesting aside, Henry Wykes, father-in-law to Thomas Cromwell, was a Gentlemen Usher to King Henry VII. At the time the role was

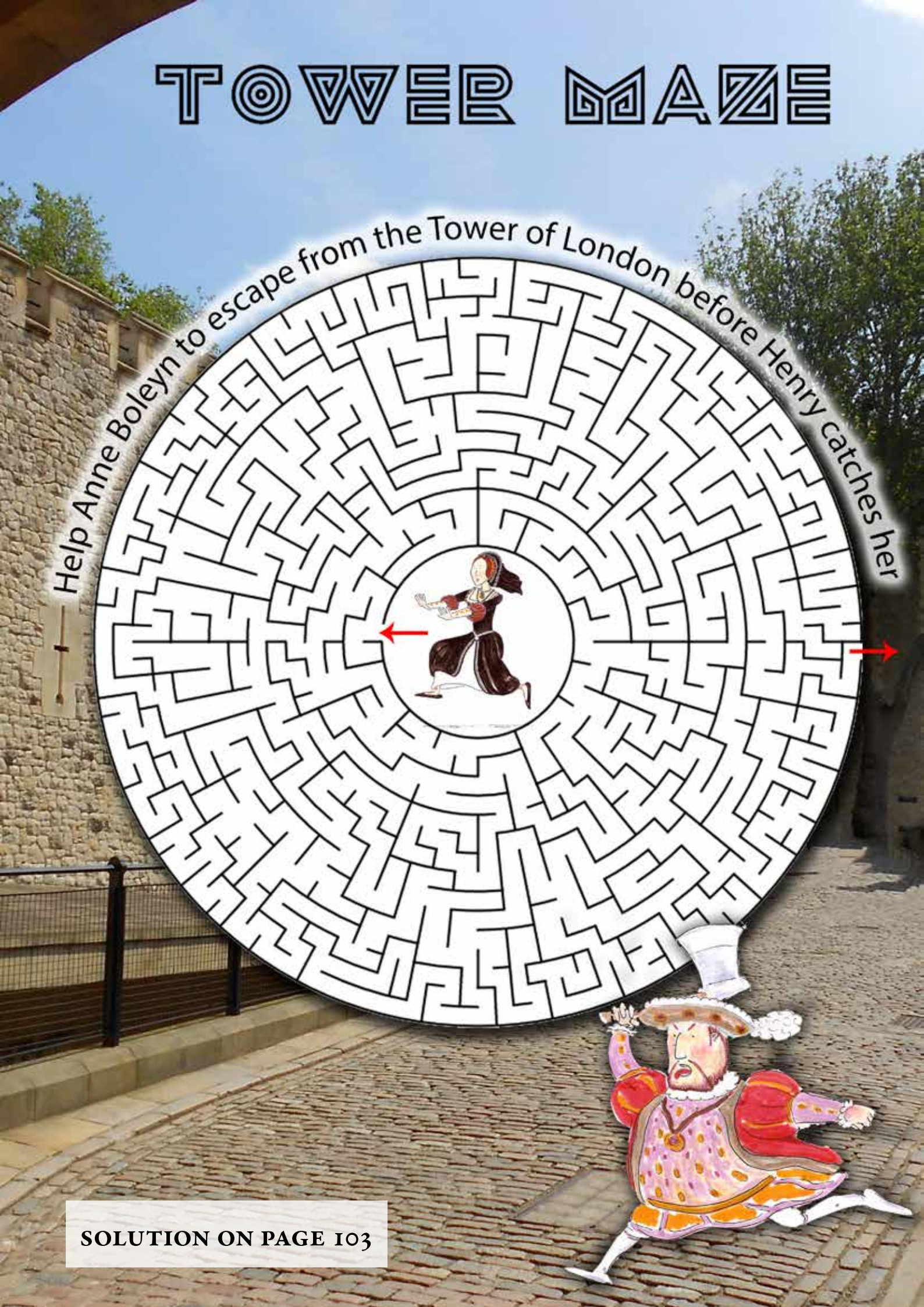
evidently not as prestigious, Master Wykes holding no rank within the nobility or importance of birth.

His Majesty's Pages: As the tile suggests, His Majesty's pages were boys who simply ran errands and carried messages.

King Henry VIII was very generous in compensating his Privy Chamber staff for their services to him both in paid wages and titles. To illustrate, Sir William Brereton was paid an income equivalent to that of an aristocrat at the time of his execution. In fact, Privy Chamber Grooms and Ushers often earned more income than many in the nobility. Given the closeness to the monarch, the privy chamber was of acute importance politically, as well. Not only could a trusted Groom potentially influence the king at a "crucial hour", as Sir Anthony Denny did in swaying the monarch's allegiance from conservative detractors to the Archbishop of Canterbury late in his reign, but they often were entrusted with highly confidential missions, carrying secret documents or letters from the king to others such as Thomas Cardinal Wolsey and Anne Boleyn. Handed delegated executive authority, Privy Chamber Gentlemen were commonly instructed to simply relay commands by word of mouth, inclusive or arrests by the king's command.

Although it is firmly established that serving King Henry VIII in his Privy Chamber was a highly advantageous vocation, there were obvious inherent dangers. Just as serving the monarch in the Privy Chamber could lead to a courtier's favor and advancement, so could it also lead to a courtier's ultimate downfall. Thus, as we all celebrate the life of Queen Anne Boleyn this month, we should also take pause to recall all the king's men who fell alongside her, each excepting musician Mark Smeaton once loyal Gentlemen Privy Chamber servants to King Henry VIII.

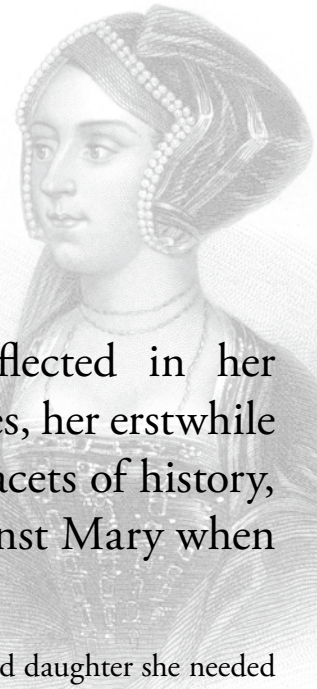
TOWER MAZE



SOLUTION ON PAGE 103

SHE IS MY DEATH AND I AM HERS

by Kyra Kramer



The true nature of Anne Boleyn is reflected in her relationship with one of her greatest enemies, her erstwhile step-daughter Mary. Like in many other facets of history, Anne is remembered as a great sinner against Mary when in reality she was more sinned against.

Mary hated Anne with a white-hot intensity. Anne was the woman who had (from Mary's point of view) broken up her happy family and caused her beloved mother to be driven away. Anne was a threat not only to Mary's family, but to Mary herself. If Anne were truly married to the king it would mean that Mary was actually a bastard, the result of an incestuous relationship, and cut out of the line of succession. Anne, with her Protestant leanings, was also a heretic in Mary's eyes and a source of evil that could undo Christianity itself.

While it is easy for a modern reader to sympathize with Mary's dislike of the woman supplanting her mother in her father's affections, it was less understandable in the Tudor Era. A child, especially a female child, was to obey her parents – period. Disobedient children weren't seen as a rebellious teens; they were seen as ungodly sinners flaunting the will of heaven by not honoring their mother and father. In the patriarchal society of the time, the father's authority was paramount to the mothers so one's father had the last say. It didn't matter what Mary felt or her justifications. She was socioculturally and religiously duty bound to do Henry VIII's bidding and accept his authority, both as father and as king.

This put Mary in a terrible bind. To be a good Catholic and daughter she needed to obey Henry, but to be a good Catholic and daughter she needed to defend and affirm the legality of her parent's marriage. She couldn't openly defy her father without being a traitor to her country and the Ten Commandments, yet neither could she accept his dictates without being a traitor to her mother, the Ten Commandments, and the Church.

Mary and her supporters excused her nearly open rebellion against her father by putting all the blame for Henry's behavior on Anne Boleyn. Mary could hate and defy Anne with no black marks on her conscience. The worse her father's behavior, the more Mary blamed Anne. For Mary, her father had not turned into a despot and become cruel toward his daughter; he was ensnared by a blasphemous witch. In Mary's mind she was not transgressing against parental authority; she was battling that evil Nan Bullen for her father's soul!

Anne famously said of Mary that, "She is my death and I am hers". That seems quite harsh, particularly since Mary was only eleven or so when the wider world became aware of Henry's infatuation with Anne. However, by the time Anne was reported to have said this Mary was seventeen and thought of as a young *adult*. The Catholic Church considered the age of reason to be seven and the nobility often began assuming the mantle of adult responsibility at age twelve. Anne was, in

Anne Boleyn Hever Castle Portrait © 2012 Tim Ridgway

essence, fighting an adult nemesis rather than a recalcitrant stepchild.

Nonetheless, Anne was (in spite of rumor and legend) not cruel to Mary. In fact, several times Anne tried to give Mary an opening to mend fences with her father. Mary was unrelentingly rude and disrespectful to Anne, which inspired Anne to rant about Mary but not to go out of her way to make Mary's life harder. Things that Mary detested – such as her mother's banishment and being forced to serve in baby Elizabeth's household as a lady in waiting and being separated from her godmother Margaret Pole – were *Henry's* decisions. Like so many of Henry's vicious actions, these have been historically laid on Anne's doorstep without cause.

When Katherina of Argon passed away in December of 1535, Anne made yet another attempt to bring Mary into the family fold. Anne was, of course, heartily rebuffed. Even then Anne tried one more time to get through to the king's eldest daughter. In a letter that was conveniently left for Mary to find, Anne wrote to Lady Shelton:

"My pleasure is that you seek to go no further to move the Lady Mary towards the King's grace, other than as he himself directed in his own words to her. What I have done myself has been more for charity than because the king or I care what course she takes, or whether she will change or not change her purpose. When I shall have a son, as soon I look to have, I know what then will come to her. Remembering the word of God, that we should do good to our enemies, I have wished to give her notice before the time, because by my daily experience I know the wisdom of the king to be such that he will not value her repentance or the cessation of her madness and unnatural obstinacy when she has no longer power to choose. She would acknowledge her errors and evil conscience by the law of God and the king if blind affection had not so sealed her eyes that she will not see but what she pleases. Mrs. Shelton, I beseech you, trouble not yourself to turn her from any of her wilful ways, for to me she can do neither good nor ill. Do your own duty towards her, following the King's commandment, as I am assured that you do and will do, and you shall find me your good lady, whatever comes."

Shortly afterwards, Anne miscarried a male fetus. Nevertheless, her marriage to Henry by all accounts remained solid. As late as March 30, 1536 Thomas Cromwell was confiding to Ambassador Chapuys that the king was still committed to his marriage to Anne, even though he was prone to flirtations and mistresses. Even in April the king was still referring to Anne as his dear and entirely beloved wife. It was only after Anne accused Henry Norris of looking for 'dead men's shoes' did the king turn on her and become serious about Jane Seymour.

Mary was jubilant about Anne's death on May 16, 1536. Anne's happiness when Katherina of Aragon died pales in comparison. Anne, in reflection, is reported to have grieved and even wept for the former queen. Mary was never anything but exultant about Anne's execution. In jaunty spirits over her stepmothers beheading, Mary wrote an affectionate letter to her father under the assumption that all snakes had been driven from her personal garden. She was badly mistaken, as she would find out. It was always Henry, not Anne, who was determined to break Mary's resistance and spirit. This is yet another case where the atrocities of Henry VIII have been scapegoated onto Anne Boleyn. Ultimately it was Henry, not Anne, who was willing to crush Mary in order to force her to acknowledge the nullity of the relationship that produced her.

What Anne's relationship with Mary shows us is that Anne seems to have been a woman of sharp retort but soft deeds. She may have had spiteful things to say about Mary when she was vexed, but Anne's actions were kinder than Mary's behavior warranted. Anne was far more aware than Mary as to how far Henry was willing to push his daughter. Anne, regardless of Mary's insults and flagrant disrespect, tried to warn the teenager about her peril from her father's wrath. Anne, in direct contrast to her reputation as a scheming and vengeful harpy, tried repeatedly to make peace with Mary and never took drastic measures against her or egged the king on in his ire.

As in many things, Anne Boleyn's relationship with Mary demonstrates that she was much kinder and more forgiving than she is ever given credit for.

KYRA KRAMER

ANNE BOLEYN'S EXECUTION

by Claire Ridgway

On 19th May 1536, just seventeen days after her arrest at Greenwich Palace, Anne Boleyn was executed at the Tower of London. She'd been found guilty of high treason on 15th May by a jury of her peers, or rather her enemies, in the King's Hall of the Tower of London. Her own uncle, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, presided over her trial as Lord High Steward and pronounced the sentence, tears allegedly running down his cheeks:

> **"Because thou hast offended against our sovereign the King's Grace in committing treason against his person, and here attainted of the same, the law of the realm is this, that thou hast deserved death, and thy judgment is tis: that thou shalt be burned here within the Tower of London on the Green, else to have thy head smitten off, as the King's pleasure shall be further known of the same."[1] [2]**

Anne Boleyn's crimes included procuring "base conversations and kisses, touchings, gifts, and other infamous incitations, divers of the King's daily and familiar servants to be her adulterers and concubines", committing adultery with Henry Norris, William Brereton, Francis Weston and Mark Smeaton, committing incest with her brother George, and plotting "the death and destruction of the King" with these men.[3] Anne was painted as an evil seductress whose lust and appetite seemed to know no end.

The "King's pleasure" was for Anne to be executed by sword, rather than the usual axe, and a renowned executioner known as "The Hangman of Calais " was ordered before her trial even took

1 William, C.H. ed. *English Historical Documents: 1485-1558*, 724.
2 Baker, J.A. ed. *The Reports of Sir John Spelman*, note i.71.
3 Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 10 - January-June 1536, note 876.

place. He was paid "100 crs., 23l. 6s. 8d" for "his reward and apparel".[4]

Anne Boleyn's execution was originally scheduled for 18th May. Anne prepared herself for death. At 2am, her almoner, John Skip (some say her confessor Father Thirwell), arrived to pray with her and she was still praying when her good friend Archbishop Thomas Cranmer arrived just after dawn to hear her final confession and to celebrate the Mass. Anne called for Sir William Kingston, Constable of the Tower of London, and in his presence she swore twice on the sacrament that she had not been unfaithful to the king. This action speaks clearly of Anne's innocence because she was damning her eternal soul if she was lying.

Anne then made arrangements for the customary distribution of alms, using £20 which had been supplied to her by the king. She then continued praying, preparing herself for death. However, Kingston had received orders to clear the Tower of foreigners, diplomats who might send home sympathetic reports of Anne's execution, so the execution was put off. When Kingston informed Anne of the postponement, he also reassured her that the execution blow was "so subtle". Anne replied, "I heard say the executioner was very good, and I have a little neck", after which she put her hands around her throat and laughed heartily.[5] Although this may sound like hysteria to us, Kingston was impressed with Anne's composure in her final hours and wrote to Thomas Cromwell of how "thys lady hasse mech joy and plesure in dethe".[6] Her composure understandably slipped slightly when Kingston visited her again to inform that her execution was now being postponed until the following day. Anne asked Kingston to beg the king "that, since she was in good state and disposed for death, she might be dispatched immediately", but it did no good.[7] Anne had to suffer another night of waiting and praying.

On 19th May, after celebrating the Mass for the last time and receiving the sacrament from her almoner, Anne Boleyn was escorted by Sir William Kingston from the royal apartments to the newly built scaffold "before the house of ordnance".[8] Queen Anne, dressed in a gable hood, an ermine-trimmed, grey damask robe and a crimson kirtle, climbed the scaffold steps and addressed the waiting crowd:

> **"Good Christian people, I am come hither to die, for according to the law and by the law I am judged to die, and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak anything of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die, but I pray God save the King and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler nor a more merciful prince was there never, and to me he was ever a good, a gentle, and sovereign lord. And if any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me."[9]**

4 L&P xi. 381.
5 L&P x. 910.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid., 908.
8 Ives, Eric. *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn,* 423 note 1.
9 Hall, Edward. *Hall's Chronicle,* 819.

Anne then paid the visibly "distressed" executioner, who asked for her forgiveness.[10] Her ladies removed her mantle, Anne took off her hood and "a young lady presented her with a linen cap, with which she covered her hair, and she knelt down, fastening her clothes about her feet, and one of the said ladies bandaged her eyes."[11] Anne began praying:

> **"O Lord have mercy on me, to God I commend my soul. To Jesus Christ I commend my soul; Lord Jesu receive my soul."**

As she prayed, she couldn't help but move her head to try and hear where the executioner was. It was imperative that Anne keep her head still for a clean, swift death, so the executioner called out to his assistant to pass him his sword. As Anne moved her head to follow what the assistant was doing, the executioner came up unnoticed behind her and beheaded her with one stroke.

Anne's ladies wrapped her head and body in white cloth and took them to the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula for burial. Nobody had thought to provide a coffin so the Queen of England's remains were put in an old elm chest which had once contained bow staves from the Tower armoury. The chest was then placed in an unmarked grave in the chancel. Today, her grave is marked by a memorial tile and flowers are laid on it every year on 19th May.

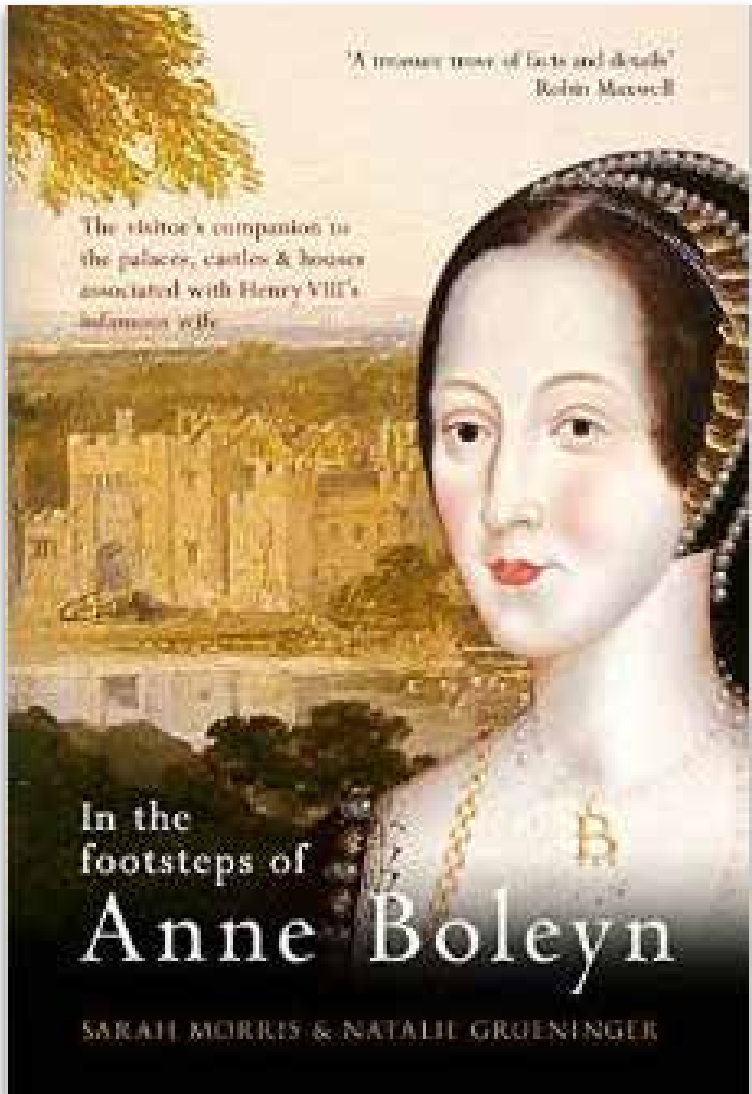
CLAIRE RIDGWAY

10 L&P x. 1036.
11 Ibid., 911.

Memorial Tile in St. Peter ad Vincula
Photo © 2010 Paudie Kennelly

Charlie on Books

In the Footsteps of Anne Boleyn is a book written by Sarah Morris, author of *Le Temps Viendra*, and Natalie Grueninger of the On the Tudor Trail website



THIS book is unique as it is not like any of the other Anne Boleyn books I've read, seen or heard of. It focuses on the places Anne Boleyn visited and what she did there.

The places featured in the book are sorted into the following categories: Early Life, The Courting Years, Anne the Queen, and the 1535 Progress. I wasn't sure at first how this would work as obviously Anne did visit some places a few times before and after she was queen. It worked fine though and I had no problems with the format. I especially liked the use of maps at the beginning, the authors' comments on each place and The Boleyn Treasures

chapter. There are 5 maps at the beginning and I think this will help readers picture just how far people back then really did travel and will also help when planning visits to the places.

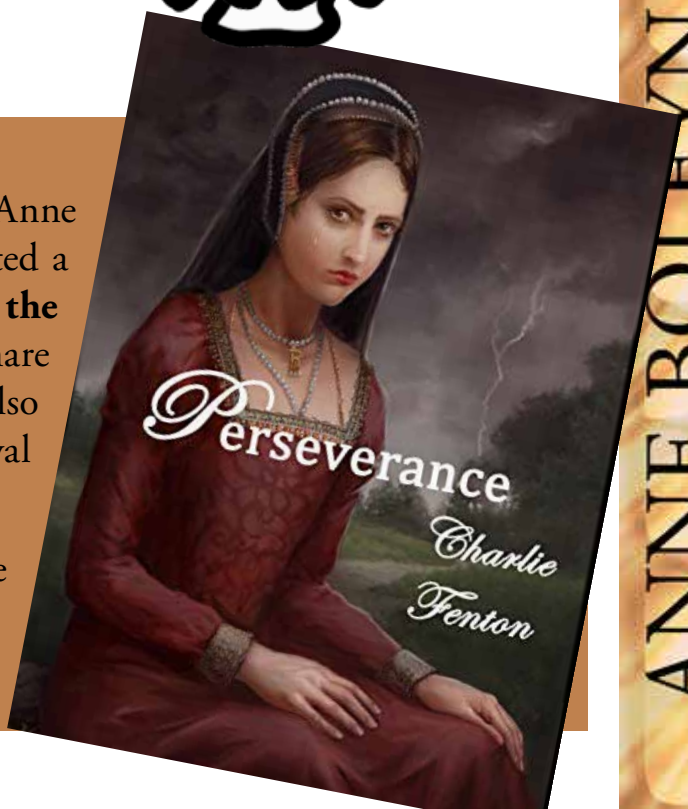
I appreciated the authors' comments on each place as this injected a bit of personality to this book and each person's favourite thing about a certain place will be different. Also, I enjoyed reading The Boleyn Treasures chapter as a lot of these things (like Elizabeth I's locket ring) I don't know much about, where they are or if they are on public display.

The authors do an amazing job at reconstructing in the mind of the readers how buildings would have been in Anne Boleyn's lifetime. For each place, you get notes on the background and history, and how the places fits in with the facts that are known about Anne Boleyn's life. There are over 100 photos and illustrations, with references to documents, artifacts, nearby attractions and visitor information.

There were only a few minor things that I did not like about this book, more because it made it harder for my research – but it will be fine if I used for visiting these places. One was that it was hard to find where Anne was at a particular date. If, for example, I wanted to find where she was in August 1534 I would have to go through the Anne the Queen section first but it might also be in The Courting Years if she was at a place for just a minor event. There was also no index to look up places or events in Anne's life. However, these are only minor things and I still did enjoy reading it and it has been very useful for my research.

Overall, I think this is a fantastic book for any person wanting to visit the places Anne Boleyn visited or even, like me, just wanting to research her and the places linked to her. I would definitely recommend it.

CHARLIE FENTON

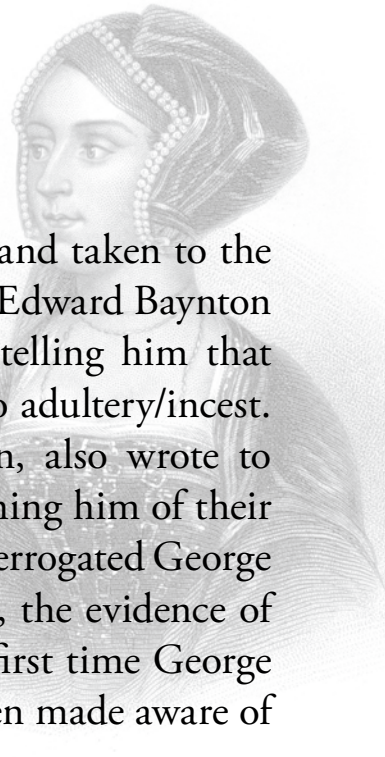


Charlie Fenton has recently published her Anne Boleyn novel, **Perseverance**, and has started a blog and Facebook page called **Through the Eyes of Anne Boleyn** to document and share her research into Anne Boleyn's life. She is also a student and is currently studying Medieval History in college.

Charlie writes monthly book reviews for the **Tudor Life Magazine**

GEORGE BOLEYN

by Clare Cherry



GEORGE Boleyn was arrested on 2nd May 1536 and taken to the Tower of London. He was briefly interrogated by Edward Baynton some time later, who then wrote to Cromwell telling him that neither George nor Henry Norris would admit to adultery/incest. The Constable of the Tower, William Kingston, also wrote to Cromwell on issues relating to George and Anne Boleyn, informing him of their reactions to incarceration. There is no evidence that Cromwell interrogated George or any of the other men whilst they were in the Tower. Indeed, the evidence of Kingston and Thomas Audley's letters prove the contrary. The first time George would have seen Cromwell, and the first time he would have been made aware of the Prosecution's case against him, would have been at his trial.

George's trial took place in the afternoon of 15th May 1536 in the King's Hall of the Tower of London, immediately following his sister's. She had been found guilty of incest with her brother, making his guilt a foregone conclusion. Despite that, he gave a spirited performance worthy of the highly intelligent young man he was.

Upon Anne's removal from the court her brother was brought to the bar. The brother and sister did not see one another and were not allowed the consolation of a final farewell. Ironically, during life it was Anne who was the more tempestuous and reckless of the two siblings. Yet she faced her accusers with the quiet and restrained dignity of a true Queen. It was her brother who approached the trial with all guns blazing.

As anticipated, George put up an impressive, spirited, yet inevitably futile, defence. His performance in court was not to save his life, which he must have known was forfeit, but to retain some semblance of his shattered reputation and honour. According to Charles Wriothesley, "he made answers so prudently and wisely to all articles laid against him, that marvel it was to hear, and never would confess anything, but made himself as clear as though he had never offended".

Lancelot de Carles speaks of his calm behaviour and good defence and suggests that Thomas More himself did not reply better. Even Eustace Chapuys confirmed this opinion saying, "To all he replied so well that several of those present wagered 10 to 1 that he would be acquitted, especially as no witnesses were produced against either him or her, as is usual to do, particularly when the accused denies the charge."

The odds being laid during the trial against George's condemnation were a clear indication that the vast number of those present believed him to be innocent. This must have caused great concern to the prosecutors. This was a public trial, and they must have bitterly regretted not holding it in private. All the jury members knew their duty was to

find him guilty. He was going to die. The problem was that the vast majority of the crowd of spectators was on the accused side. George was answering too well. The crowd would know there was insufficient evidence to convict, which in turn would mean it would know the trial was rigged. Cromwell must have been sweating at the bad publicity this very public trial would cause.

Following his condemnation he stated that having been found guilty he would no longer maintain his innocence. That was not an admission of guilt, it was merely a recognition that the law, therefore God, had found him guilty and that he accepted it, irrespective of innocence. There was no collapse, no tears and no ranting against the injustice. His primary concern was to those who he owed money, and to those who owed him money and would be forced to pay it back to the King. He went as far as reading out a list of his debtors and creditors so that everyone knew who they were, and begged the King to pay his debts out of his estate so that no one would suffer from his fall.

He continued to worry about those who may suffer from his death, so much so that Kingston wrote to Cromwell begging him to help ease George's conscience. Cromwell never faced George directly. When told he would die on 17th May, George's response was to tell Kingston that he would do his best to be ready. He made sure that he was ready by preparing a long and impassioned speech, determined that the final act would be a memorable one.

Two days after his trial, George and the other men were executed. They were walked up to Tower Hill in front of a crowd of thousands. George spoke to those waiting to watch him die:

"I was born under the law, and I die under the law, for as much as it is the law which has condemned me.

Masters all, I am come before you not to preach and make a sermon but to die. And I beseech you all, in his holy name, to pray unto God for me, for I have deserved to die if I had twenty (or a thousand) lives, yea even to die with more shame and dishonour than hath ever been heard of before. For I am a wretched sinner, who has grievously and often times offended; nay in truth, I know not of any more perverse sinner than I have been up till now. Nevertheless, I mean not openly now to relate what my many sins may have been, since it were no pleasure to you

to hear them, nor yet for me to rehearse them, for God knoweth them all. Therefore masters all, I pray you take heed from me, and especially ye gentlemen of the court, the which I have been among you, take heed by me, and beware such a fall, and I pray to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, three persons in one God, that my death may be an example to you all, and beware, trust not in the vanity of the world, and especially in the flatterings of the court, and the favour and treacheries of Fortune, which only raises men aloft that with so much the greater force she may dash them again upon the ground. She in truth it is who is the cause that, as ye all witness, my miserable head is now to be severed from my neck; or rather, in greater truth, the fault is mine, and it is I who ought to be blamed for having adventured to lean on fortune, who hath proved herself fickle and false unto me, and who now makes me a sad example to you all and to the whole world. And do you all, Sirs, take notice, that in this my sorrowful condition, I pray for the mercy of God Almighty, and that I do moreover forgive all men, with all my heart and mind, even as truly as I hope that the Lord God will forgive me. And if I have offended any man that is not here present, either in thought, word or deed, and if ye hear of any such, I entreat you heartily on my behalf, pray that he may in his charity forgive me; for, having lived the life of a sinner, I would fain die a Christian man.

Nor must I fail, while there is still time, to tell you who now hearken to me, that men do common and say that I have been a setter forth of the word of God. I was a great reader and a mighty debater of the Word of God, and one of those who most favoured the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Truly so that the Word should be among the people of the realm I took upon myself great labour to urge the king to permit the printing of the Scriptures to go unimpeded among the commons of the realm in their own language. And truly to God I was one of those who did most to procure the matter to place the Word of God among the people because of the love and affection which I bear for the Gospel and the truth in Christ's words.)

Wherefore, least the Word of God should be slandered on my account, I now tell you all Sirs, that if I had, in very deed, kept his holy Word, even as I read and reasoned about it with all the strength of my wit, certain am I that I should not be in the piteous condition wherein I now stand. Truly and diligently did I read the Gospel of Jesus Christ, but turned not to profit that which I did read; the which had I done, of a surety I had not fallen into such great errors. Wherefore I do beseech you all, for the love of God, that ye do at all seasons, hold by the truth, and speak it, and embrace it; for beyond all peradventure, better profiteth he who readeth not and yet doeth well, than he who readeth much and yet liveth in sin. God save the King."

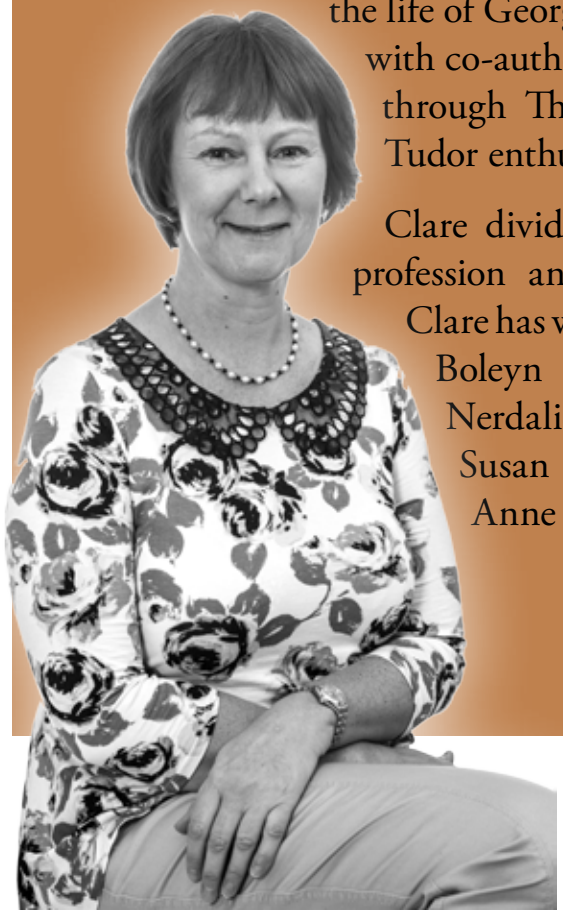
Primarily, George was concerned with promoting his reformist religious views. They were views shared by his sister, Anne, for whom he had translated two religious works in 1532. He was passionate about reform of the church, and he used his last words to explain how he had been one of those who had ardently requested the King to publish the Bible in English so that everyone could read it.

But he was also concerned to die a Christian man. He asked forgiveness of everyone he may have offended. He admitted being a sinner and that he deserved death, which was the honourable thing to do, though he never accepted his guilt. He said that fortune had brought him to his death and warned his fellow courtiers against the fickleness of fortune and the vanities of the court. Though he died an innocent man, he died bravely and never questioned the decision of the court.

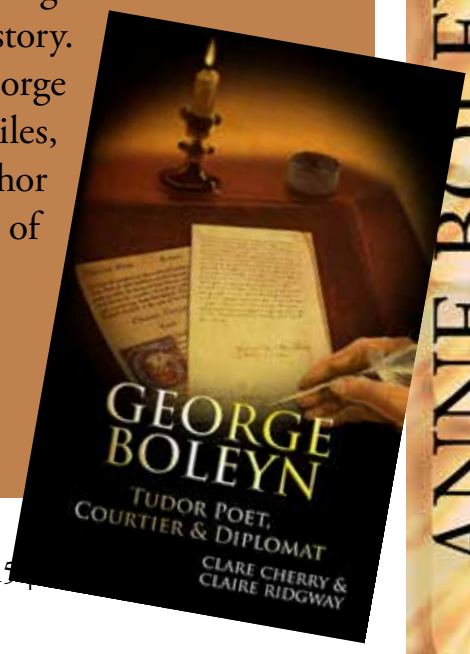
George Boleyn deserves recognition for the way he faced his trial and death, with bravery and honour. Thomas Cromwell certainly respected the way George handled himself at his trial and execution when he strongly praised not only Anne but also her brother for his "sense, wit and courage".

CLARE CHERRY

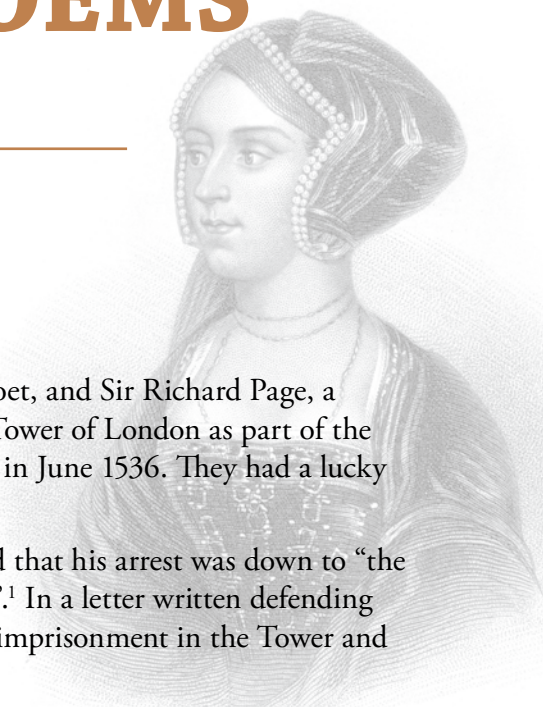
Clare Cherry is the co-author of **"George Boleyn: Tudor Poet, Courtier and Diplomat"**. Clare has a passion for Tudor history and began researching the life of George Boleyn in 2006. She started corresponding with co-author Claire Ridgway in late 2009, after meeting through The Anne Boleyn Files website, and the two Tudor enthusiasts became firm friends.



Clare divides her time between the legal profession and researching Tudor history. Clare has written guest articles on George Boleyn for The Anne Boleyn Files, Nerdalicious.com.au, and author Susan Bordo's The Creation of Anne Boleyn website.



THOMAS WYATT'S EXECUTION POEMS



by Claire Ridgway

In May 1536, Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Elder, the renowned court poet, and Sir Richard Page, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, were arrested and imprisoned in the Tower of London as part of the coup against the Boleyns. Neither man was tried and both were released in June 1536. They had a lucky escape.

Wyatt's biographer Nicola Shulman points out that Wyatt believed that his arrest was down to "the anti-Boleynite Duke of Suffolk, who hated him with an everlasting hate".[1] In a letter written defending himself against a charge of treason in 1541, Wyatt referred to his earlier imprisonment in the Tower and Suffolk's involvement:

"Yea, and further, my Lord of Suffolk himself can tell, that I imputed it to him; and not only at the beginning, but even the very night before my apprehension now last: what time (I remember) my suing unto him for his favour to remit his old undeserved evil will, and to remember, " like as he was a mortal man," so as " to bear no immortal hate in his breast." Although I had received the injury at his hand, let him say whether this be true."[2]

According to The Spanish Chronicle, which is not the most accurate of sources, it was Thomas Cromwell's nephew Richard who apprehended Wyatt and who took him to Cromwell's house on the King's orders "in order to examine him". When Cromwell told Wyatt what he was being examined for, Wyatt defended himself and Cromwell assured him that although he was being taken to the Tower of London that Cromwell "would promise to stand his friend." Wyatt replied that he'd go "willingly" and that he was "stainless".[3] Wyatt was then taken to the Tower and imprisoned in the upper Bell Tower, in a "gracious lodging reserved for prisoners of high status".[4] It appears that Wyatt was saved by the fact that he had distanced himself from Anne since her marriage and also by his father's close relationship with Cromwell.

While he was imprisoned in the Bell Tower, Wyatt was inspired to write poetry about the bloody events of May 1536, events that he says he witnessed "The bell tower showed me such sight, That in my head sticks day and night." It is not known exactly what he saw, whether it was the executions of the five men on 17th May or Anne Boleyn's execution, or how he was able to see what was happening from his window, but what he saw obviously made a huge impact on him.

"In Mourning Wise Since Daily I Increase" is a poem written in honour of the five men who were executed for adultery with Queen Anne Boleyn - Sir Henry Norris, Sir Francis Weston, William Brereton,

1 Shulman, Nicola. *Graven with Diamonds: The Many Lives of Thomas Wyatt*, 193.
2 The Poetical Works of Sir Thomas Wyatt, published in 1800 by Bell and Daldy, lxxxvi.
3 Chronicle of King Henry VIII. of England (The Spanish Chronicle), 63.
4 Shulman, 194.

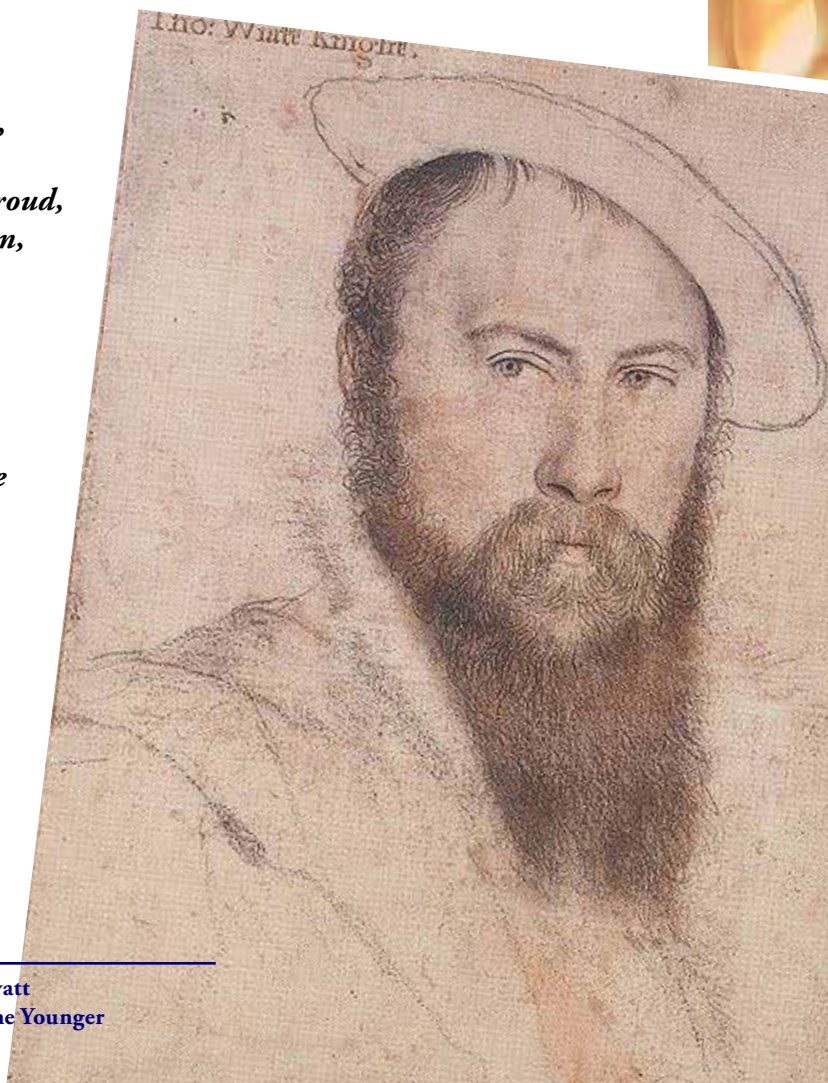
Mark Smeaton and George Boleyn, Lord Rochford, and it implies that Wyatt thought that the men were innocent. Nichola Shulman describes it as "a very strange poem, and quite a brave one", commenting that "it seems maddeningly vague, full of botched opportunities for protest […] more like a poem that is trying not to say something and entangling itself in its own cover-ups", but that this makes sense when the reader takes into account the 1534 Treason Act and how it was treason to speak against the King. Wyatt wanted to protest but he had to choose his words carefully because circa regna tonat, about the throne the thunder rolls.

Here is his poem "In Mourning Wise...":

In Mourning wise since daily I increase,
Thus should I cloak the cause of all my grief;
So pensive mind with tongue to hold his peace'
My reason sayeth there can be no relief:
Wherefore give ear, I humbly you require,
The affect to know that thus doth make me moan.
The cause is great of all my doleful cheer
For those that were, and now be dead and gone.
What thought to death desert be now their call.
As by their faults it doth appear right plain?
Of force I must lament that such a fall should light on those so wealthily did reign,
Though some perchance will say, of cruel heart,
A traitor's death why should we thus bemoan?
But I alas, set this offence apart,
Must needs bewail the death of some be gone.

As for them all I do not thus lament,
But as of right my reason doth me bind;
But as the most doth all their deaths repent,
Even so do I by force of mourning mind.
Some say, 'Rochford, haddest thou been not so proud,
For thy great wit each man would thee bemoan,
Since as it is so, many cry aloud
It is great loss that thou art dead and gone.'

Ah! Norris, Norris, my tears begin to run
To think what hap did thee so lead or guide
Whereby thou hast both thee and thine undone
That is bewailed in court of every side;
In place also where thou hast never been
Both man and child doth piteously thee moan.
They say, 'Alas, thou art far overseen
By thine offences to be thus dead and gone.'



Thomas Wyatt
by **Hans Holbein the Younger**

Ah! Weston, Weston, that pleasant was and young,
In active things who might with thee compare?
All words accept that thou diddest speak with tongue,
So well esteemed with each where thou diddest fare.
And we that now in court doth lead our life
Most part in mind doth thee lament and moan;
But that thy faults we daily hear so rife,
All we should weep that thou are dead and gone.

Brereton farewell, as one that least I knew.
Great was thy love with divers as I hear,
But common voice doth not so sore thee rue
As other twain that doth before appear;
But yet no doubt but they friends thee lament
And other hear their piteous cry and moan.
So doth eah heart for thee likewise relent
That thou givest cause thus to be dead and gone.

Ah! Mark, what moan should I for thee make more,
Since that thy death thou hast deserved best,
Save only that mine eye is forced sore
With piteous plaint to moan thee with the rest?
A time thou haddest above thy poor degree,
The fall whereof thy friends may well bemoan:
A rotten twig upon so high a tree
Hath slipped thy hold, and thou art dead and gone.

And thus farewell each one in hearty wise!
The axe is home, your heads be in the street;
The trickling tears doth fall so from my eyes
I scarce may write, my paper is so wet.
But what can hope when death hath played his part,
Though nature's course will thus lament and moan?
Leave sobs therefore, and every Christian heart
Pray for the souls of those be dead and gone.

The other poem he wrote in the Bell Tower was "V. Innocentia Veritas Viat Fides Circumdederunt me inimici mei". The title draws on Psalm 17 verse 9 "My enemies surround me" but it also surrounds Wyatt's name, "Viat", with Innocence, Truth and Faith. In this poem, Wyatt writes of his experience as a witness to the executions and protests against the events. Nicola Shulma explains that "the last verse sees wit in the service of innocence crumple under the tanks of Henrician justice".[5]
Here is the poem:

Who list his wealth and ease retain,
Himself let him unknown contain.
Press not too fast in at that gate
Where the return stands by disdain,
For sure, circa Regna tonat.

5 Shulman, 198.

The high mountains are blasted oft
When the low valley is mild and soft.
Fortune with Health stands at debate.
The fall is grievous from aloft.
And sure, circa Regna tonat.

These bloody days have broken my heart.
My lust, my youth did them depart,
And blind desire of estate.
Who hastes to climb seeks to revert.
Of truth, circa Regna tonat.

The bell tower showed me such sight
That in my head sticks day and night.
There did I learn out of a grate,
For all favour, glory, or might,
That yet circa Regna tonat.

By proof, I say, there did I learn:
Wit helpeth not defence too yerne,
Of innocency to plead or prate.
Bear low, therefore, give God the stern,
For sure, circa Regna tonat.

What Wyatt saw from the Bell Tower broke his heart and changed him for ever, and I cannot read this poem without being deeply moved. Wyatt's friends and the woman he had once loved had all been put to death because of their closeness to the throne and Wyatt must have feared, despite Cromwell's promise, that he'd be next. Being close to the throne had many advantages but "For sure, circa Regna tonat."

Sir Thomas Wyatt – A Brief Biography[6]

Sir Thomas Wyatt was born in 1503 at Allington Castle, Kent. His father, Henry Wyatt, was a Lancastrian who had been imprisoned during Richard III's reign. He was released on the accession of Henry VII, who rewarded him with many grants and titles. Wyatt's mother was Anne Skinner, daughter of John Skinner of Reigate, a woman famed for her hospitality. Henry Wyatt became a Privy Councillor under Henry VII and acted as an executor for the King's will on his death in 1509. He went on to serve the new king, Henry VIII and was made a Knight of the Bath at his coronation in June 1509.

Little is known of Thomas Wyatt's childhood, apart from the story of the lion. It is said that Wyatt, or his father, was raising a lion cub as a pet when it turned on Sir Henry as he entered Allington and knocked him to the ground. Thomas Wyatt had the presence of mind to grab his rapier and run it through the lion's heart. When Henry VIII heard of this story, he commented "Oh, he will tame lions".[7]

In 1516, Wyatt, along with his friend Thomas Poynings, served as a sewer extraordinary at Princess Mary's christening. Later that year he was sent to St John's College, Cambridge, which was known for Humanism. In 1520, Wyatt married Elizabeth Brooke, the daughter of Lord Cobham, and the couple

6 Taken from *The Fall of Anne Boleyn: A Countdown* by Claire Ridgway.

7 Bruce, John. "Unpublished Anecdotes of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Poet, and of Other Members of That Family."

had a son, Thomas Wyatt the Younger, in 1521. The Duke of Norfolk stood as a godfather at the baby's christening.

In 1524, Wyatt followed his father's example and started a career at court as Clerk of the King's jewels. In 1525 he was made Esquire of the Body and he went on to become an ambassador, undertaking many foreign missions for his master, King Henry VIII. These included one to France in 1526 and one to the Papal Court in Rome in 1527, this last an embassy to try to convince Pope Clement VII to annul the King's marriage to Catherine of Aragon. In 1528 Wyatt was made High Marshal of Calais and in 1532 he was made Commissioner of the Peace in Essex. Wyatt was also one of the men chosen to accompany the King and Anne Boleyn on their visit to Calais in late 1532 and he served Anne at her coronation in the summer of 1533. He was knighted in 1535.

It is thought that Wyatt fell in love with Anne Boleyn when she first arrived at the English court in 1522. He was unhappily married and it seems to have been love at first sight for Thomas. In his biography "The Life of Anne Boleigne", Thomas Wyatt's grandson, George Wyatt, wrote that when Wyatt saw Anne, "this new beauty", he was "surprised somewhat with the sight thereof" and that he "could gladly yield to be tied for ever with the knot of her love".[8] At this time, though, Anne and Henry Percy were in love.

In 1524, Wyatt became clerk of the King's jewels and would have seen Anne at court because she was a member of Queen Catherine of Aragon's household. There is no real evidence that there was any relationship between Anne and Wyatt at this time, and in any case, by Shrovetide 1526 Anne had a new admirer; the King. At the Shrovetide joust, Henry VIII rode out "resplendent in cloth of gold and silver, richly embroidered with a man's heart gripped in a press and engulfed in flames. The motto read declare ie nose – "declare I dare not"." The King had a new love.

Some people believe that Wyatt's poetry is evidence of a relationship between Anne Boleyn and Thomas Wyatt. For example, his riddle poem "What wourde is that that chaungeth not" has the answer "Anna", and in "The Lover Confesseth Him in Love with Phyllis", he writes of "That Brunet" which is taken to refer to Anne. Further evidence (if you believe The Spanish Chronicle!) is the story of Wyatt visiting Anne at Hever, finding her in bed, declaring his love for her, kissing her and touching her breasts and then being disturbed by stamping from upstairs from another of Anne's lovers![9]

Another story is told by George Wyatt. Thomas was entertaining Anne one day as she did needlework and playfully grabbed a jewel hanging by a lace from her pocket. He decided to keep it as a trophy, wearing it around his neck. When the King and Wyatt were playing bowls one day, they argued over a shot. Wyatt declared that it was his, but the King declared "Wiatt, I tell thee it is mine" as he pointed to the wood with the finger on which he wore Anne's ring. Wyatt saw the ring and replied "And if it may like your majesty to give me leave to measure it, I hope it will be mine" and he took the jewel from around his neck and began to measure the cast with the ribbon. This angered the King, who broke up the game and then demanded an explanation from Anne, who told him how Wyatt had stolen her jewel.[10]

Whatever the truth of George Wyatt's story, Anne and Thomas Wyatt's relationship seems nothing more than a case of unrequited love. Wyatt's poem "Whoso list to hunt" tells of a man (Wyatt) hunting a hind with little chance of success, and then withdrawing from the hunt because of another hunter. If we see Anne as the hind, then Wyatt is talking of withdrawing his suit of Anne because she is now the property of the King: "Noli me tangere; for Caesar's I am".

Wyatt escaped Anne Boleyn's fall and the King made him an ambassador to the court of Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor. However, Wyatt got into trouble again in 1541 when he was charged with treason for making rude comments about the King and for dealing with Cardinal Pole. Wyatt was once

8 Cavendish, George. *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey,* Volume 2, 2:184.
9 Chronicle of King Henry VIII. of England (The Spanish Chronicle), 69.
10 Cavendish, 187.

again imprisoned in the Tower of London and this time he had no father to secure his release because his father had died in November 1536. This time, it was Catherine Howard, Henry VIII's fifth wife, who secured his pardon and release, but Wyatt had to agree to return to his estranged wife. In 1542, Wyatt was back in favour and had been restored to his office of ambassador. However, his return to favour was shortlived because Wyatt was taken ill after receiving the emperor's envoy at Falmouth. Sir Thomas Wyatt died on 11th October 1542 at Clifton Maybank House, the home of his friend Sir John Horsey, in Sherborne Dorset. He was laid to rest at Sherborne Abbey. His plain tomb can be found in the Wykenham Chapel of the Abbey.

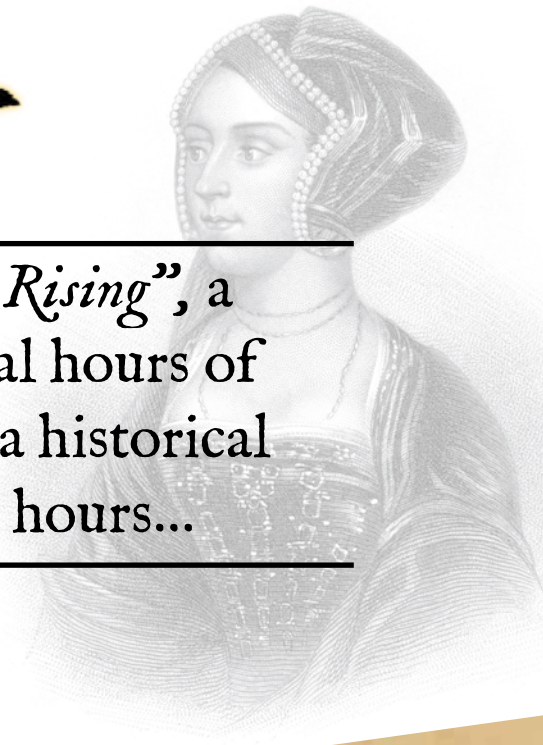
Sir Thomas Wyatt's son, Thomas Wyatt the Younger, was executed on 11th April 1554 after leading a rebellion, "Wyatt's Rebellion" or "Wyatt's Revolt", against Queen Mary I. Although he was tried and found guilty on 15th March, his execution was postponed in the hope that he would implicate Mary I's half-sister, Elizabeth, in the uprising. Wyatt went to his death protesting Elizabeth's innocence.

CLAIRE RIDGWAY

The Bell Tower
Photo © Tim Ridgway 2012

PHOENIX RISING

Hunter S. Jones



Hunter has written *"Phoenix Rising"*, a historical novel about the final hours of Anne Boleyn's life. Come on a historical journey though some dark hours...

London, England
May 15, 1536

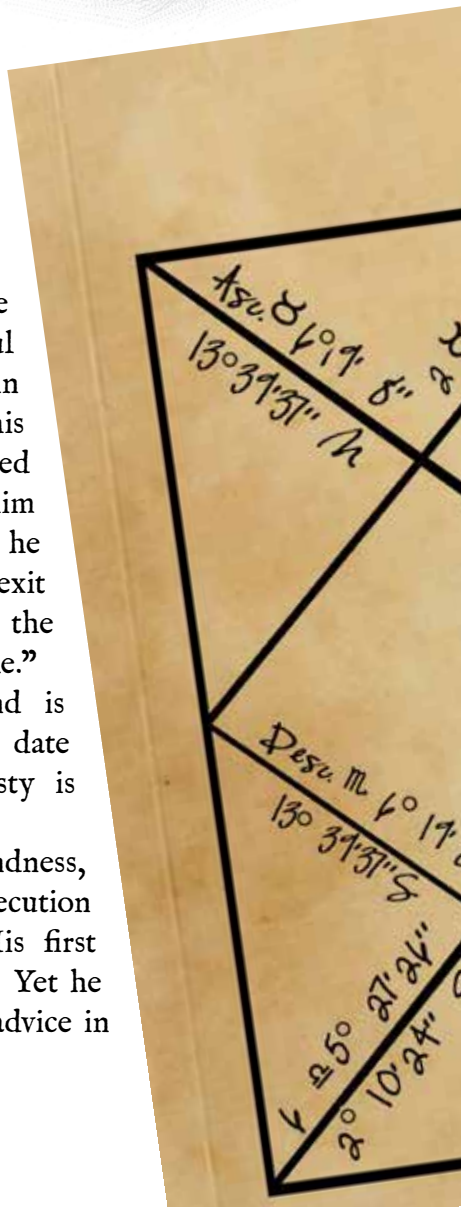
EARLIER today, I received a message from a man I reckoned to be a gentleman, both by his clothing and his speech. He delivered it to the room I use to practice my medical healing. The message requests that I cast a star map for an unnamed event. For thirty pounds, an amount of money I had never seen in an entire lifetime, I was to use my skills with the ancient form of Horary Astrology.

"May I ask what event this will be for, sire?" I said.

Another sack of golden coins was placed upon my small wooden table with the Great Seal of King Henry VIII attached. "You are to predict the most auspicious time for the execution of England's treasonous Queen Anne. Our great and godly King wishes to be most kind to this woman who has wronged him in so many ways. Of such is he made, to be a kind and gentle soul in the midst of such sin and debauchery. This woman has committed many sins against him and our realm, yet he wishes to make her exit from this world into the next as easy as possible."

"Aye, sire. And is there a particular date to which His Majesty is drawn?" I whispered.

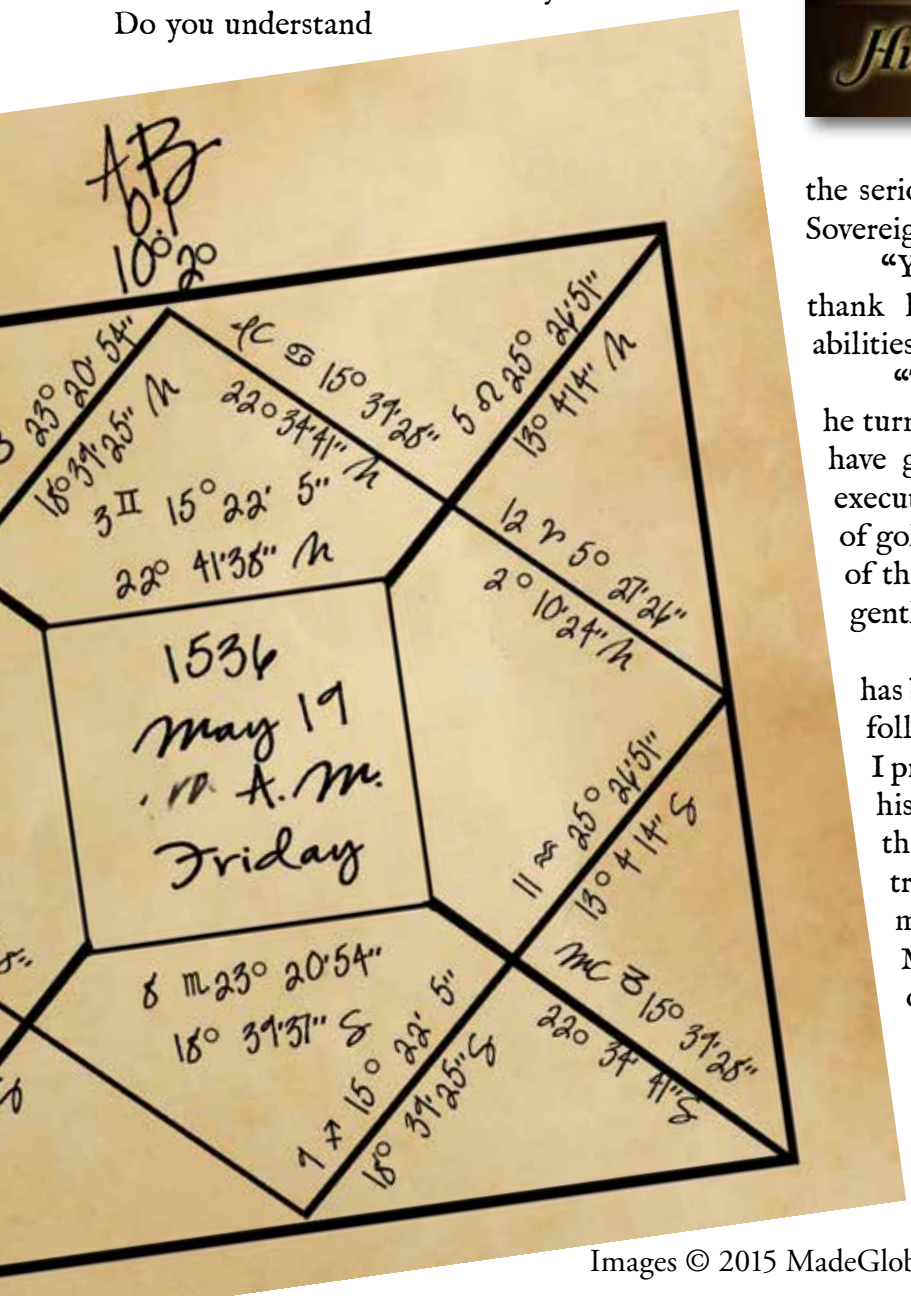
"With great kindness, he wishes the execution to be immediate. His first choice is 18th of May. Yet he will adhere to your advice in

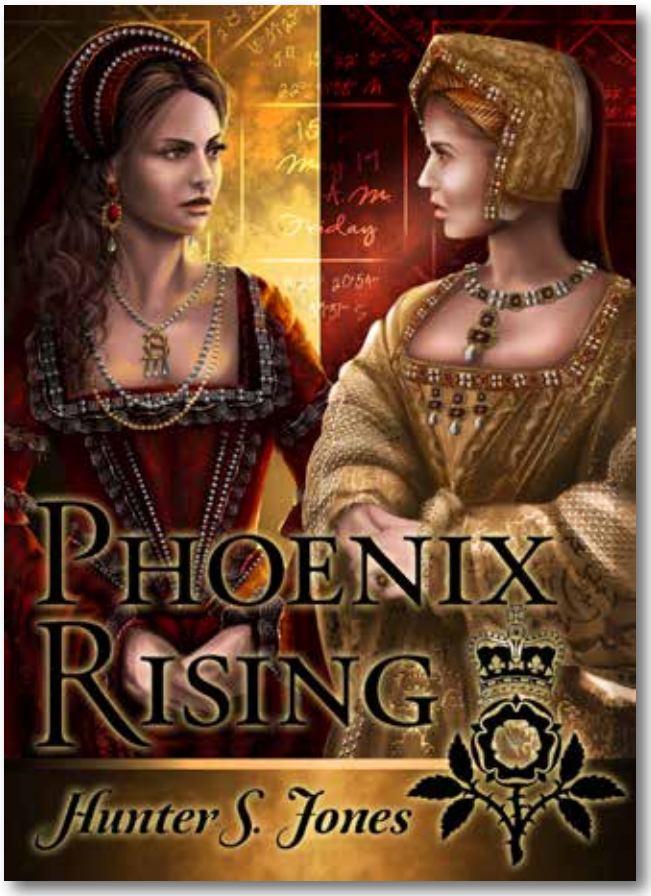


this matter. This is of great concern to him. He wishes for a hasty end to her iniquities, although you are the prognosticator. As such, His Majesty will concede to your prediction based on how the stars guide His decision. His is the gift of Divine Intervention. Yours is the gift of Divine Interpretation. The King will abide by your findings," the man said.

Bowing before the messenger, I replied, "Please let our good and gracious King Henry know that I can have an answer to him by twilight today. I pray that he will find this matter settled in a timely fashion and best suited to his wishes and commands. I will make haste and set upon my task immediately."

"Aye. Well done. I will have the King here by sundown. " Nodding to me, he moved toward the door in order to leave. Pausing, he said, "His Majesty will not hear of her name. She is to be referred to as *the* lady or *she*.
Do you understand





the seriousness of this matter to our Lord and Sovereign King?"

"Yes, yes, sire. I do understand. Please thank him for his acknowledgment of the abilities given to me by our Creator."

"Thank you," he said. Before leaving, he turned toward me one last time. "Once you have given Him an acceptable time for the execution, He will gift you with another bag of gold, so great is his urgency to rid himself of this woman." Adjusting his eye patch, the gentleman left the room.

Today is the third time the gentleman has been sent to me. Each time, the King has followed my instructions. Earlier in his life, I predicted that he would have daughters by his queens, Katherine and Anne. He said that I was the only astrologer he knew who truly has The Gift or The Power, as my mother called it. The King's grandmother, Margaret Tudor, had been an associate of my grandmother. So it was with our ancestors, time immemorial. Their family had called upon mine whenever

the need for a connection to the otherworldly was desired.

Lighting three candles to evoke the spirits, I say the words of magic taught to me by my mother:

Gofynnaf Y Dduwies bendithia heddiw
Bydded pob gweledigaethau fod yn
bur ac yn wir
Felly brycheuyn ei fod!

Next, I move to place a basin of water in front of the only mirror I possess. The flicker from the candles reflects a golden aura throughout my small room. The rustle of my dress fabric against the wooden floor seems to give a rhythmic pattern as I move. The spiral dance of our ancestors begins, brought from the place in the mists from whence they came. The rhythm fills my mind as a pain shoots through my temple. *The spirits are arriving.* As the water flows from the ewer, the number 3 passes before my eyes. Water has always served as a divinatory method for my art. Three will be significant, of that I am certain. The sunlight filters in my room as the fragrance of the springtime lavender from the small herb garden outside the window fills the room. I walk to my collection of jars, take a pinch of the powdered herb, henbane, and add it to a cup of beer left from earlier in the day. Reaching into my cupboard, I remove three pieces of paper and my writing instruments. As I seat myself at the small wooden table, I hear a rooster crow three times. The trance begins.

A rapping on the door brings me to consciousness. As always, the papers before me have been filled with the numbers and lines, forming a chart. I have never truly understood The Gift, and am thankful to the Creator each time the visions are shared, using me as a conduit for The Power.

"Enter," I say.

The massive King enters the room and I fall to my knees before him. The scent of vanilla fills the room and the grandness of his clothes leaves me breathless. He is dressed as a traveling gentleman this afternoon so as not to draw attention to his visit into this part of London. Even though he is not in regal attire, his height and bearing show me that King Henry is no mere mortal. His golden-red hair blazes in the last goodbye of today's sun through the window as the day draws to an end.

"Your Majesty," I whisper.

"Milady Bliant, please arise. We have much work to do." He reaches for my left hand, raising it to his royal lips, and graces it with a chivalric kiss. I instinctively curtsy to him.

King Henry speaks, "Sir Francis Bryan will make a fire for us, then he will wait outside until our consultation is finished. What have you been told this afternoon, milady? What have the spirits told you?"

"I remain weak from the message and the trance, Your Highness. May I have a moment to see what has been recorded on the papers? In the meantime, would you or your gentleman care for a drink of beer or a bit of wine? It will be nothing as good as behooves the great and mighty King of England, but I will gladly share if you wish," I say, bowing my head.

The gentleman with the eye patch nods his head to me as he crosses the small space and starts a fire. The King looks at him for a moment, then says, "Be gone now, Bryan, and leave us to our work. And try not to draw any attention to ourselves, especially from jealous husbands. We must make this visit as invisibly as possible." A brief smile passes his face like the sun on a cloudy day.

The gentleman smiles, bows before the King, and nods in my direction. He disappears into the darkening night without even making a sound as the door closes behind him.

"You are a good and faithful servant. There is no need to share what you offer. All I require is the interpretation sent to you this afternoon," he replies. "I wish to put this event behind me at the earliest possible moment. I can no longer bear the thought of *her.* Yet, I must do the Christian thing and make her transition into the next world the easiest possible. She has sinned against her King and against God. I must be strong. "

A tear tumbles down his left cheek. I look into his eyes and see pain. He must be shocked from the recent events. *How can he have his wife executed? The mother of his daughter, Elizabeth?* But, mine is to do as I am told. I am not to judge a man

with ancient and noble blood. A king, deemed as divine by his birth and chosen by the hand of God to lead our nation. Ever since the gentleman messenger left my abode earlier today, I have consulted with The Powers and the information gleaned from my astrolabe. That event happened a few hours ago, yet it seems as an eternity due to the drain on my energy.

The charts before me look hauntingly familiar. Two charts are for the18th of May, as was requested. Yet, the chart for the 19th of May catches my eye.

The King notices the change in my countenance. "What is it you see, milady?" he says. As he looks at the papers, he dabs a tear from his cheek with his left hand.

"It's this one, sire. The 19th of May chart. No disrespect, Your Highness, but this date is the most compelling of the three."

"Why so, Milady Bliant?" he asks.

"The first notice is the numerology of the date. The day is a three, the number of the Trinity. If it please you, this may be the day you seek."

"What of the 18th of May? I so wish to put this business behind me and rid myself of the curse of her treachery." His large hand closes over his mouth as he says this. His eyes look at me pleadingly. I must tell him the truth as given to me.

"Aye, Your Majesty. So I understand, yet that date is a two, a duplicitous number and the number of the Devil," I reply.

"Is not her two-faced treachery duplicitous? Why will the date in May I choose not stand?"

"It is a matter left for you to decide, King Henry. I merely relay the matter as The Power reveals itself to me," I whisper in response.

He wipes his forehead and looks at the charts again as if to decipher a hidden message. He pauses, taps the two charts for the 18th of May, and says, "What other matters prohibit our plans for this day?"

"If it please Your Majesty, that date will conclude your matter in a satisfactory manner at this time. However, if it please you, there is an aspect on the morning of the 19th, which will be most memorable and most compassionate. These two aspects appeal to you, the most benevolent and kindest of rulers known to England, do they not? The two charts for the18th show that nine in the morning bodes well, as does midday, sire."

"Yet you say the 19th of May is the most auspicious? Why so?" he asks.

"That day has a placement of the outer planets and stars, Your Highness. The time of the chart shows us a depth to this time. A depth of emotions and beliefs. It is an aspect to the god of the underworld, sire. There are symbols here to remind us that the opposite of depth is not height. The opposite of depth is shallowness. This is the symbol of the extreme. Where there was once great ecstasy, there is now only despair. The opposite of depth is simply *nothingness.*

"No ecstasy or despair, no success or failure, no risk and no reward."

Looking him in the eyes, I next point to the aspect on the chart for the 19th of May and continue. "The line symbolizes death. You, sire, must have all...or nothingness."

"The placement in this chart of Venus and Mars necessitate an intense burst of energy, a show of force. Action must be taken to fulfill desire. You are to use your energy to the extent of your royal capabilities. Otherwise, the energies will implode onto yourself.

"Of course, you do understand, with such power being exercised, there is a possibility of you being destroyed in some manner."

"Aye, Milady Bliant, when one is King, one understands that with great power comes great risk." He sighs as he speaks.

"On the day you choose, different members of your family and Court will react according to certain planetary placements. Each will play a role in completing the story of the last hour.

"Your Majesty, there is a great possibility that you will never be satisfied in your relationships. You are a deeply sensitive man. Your expectations will rarely be fulfilled, for you seek the ideal human relationship. You are a romantic. As such, you attribute to people qualities that they do not often possess. Hence, you become disappointed when your ideals are not met. Please look to artistic and musical pursuits to balance your sensitivities. But take great care that you do not become a victim of

friends who will attempt to take advantage of your indulgent nature.

"Knowing that you can make a lasting contribution to society in some way, you must persevere in discovering what your legacy will be, in spite of the reversals of fortune in love, which fate will bring your way. Your interpretation of what is required to better the quality of life for our country may possibly manifest due to your spiritual concerns."

"Thank you, milady. What else do the stars reveal to us?" he says.

"On the day of the 19th, there is also a benevolent aspect to the Ascendant of the chart. You are to use a powder I will prepare of dried herbs. The powders are to be placed in her wine from the time she wakes until after supper. It will balance the mind of the lady in the Tower and ease her transition into the next world."

Rising from the table, I walk to the jars in my cupboard. I remove the herbs Deadly Nightshade, Chamomile, and Mandrake. As I grind the herbs into a powdered mixture, the King remains silent. The only sound he makes is the movement of the papers on the wooden table. The fire in the fireplace hisses and pops as the sap from a piece of cedar is dissipated. The scent of cedar wafts through the room. I wonder if the cedar portends anything, or if it is merely happenstance.

"Milady," he says, then pauses. "Milady, so you say it is to be at 9 in the morning, or at midday, should the event occur on the 18th?"

"Aye, sire," I respond.

"And, do you see any Fire in the chart?" he asks.

"Yes, there is Fire, yet it is tempered by Water. This is to be an action of force, carried out quickly."

"In legend, King Arthur had Guinevere burned at the stake for her actions. What are the

stars telling me to do, if there is to be no Fire involved?" the King asks.

Staring momentarily at the chart, I see what is to be done. "Your Majesty, you are a kind and benevolent ruler. This is to happen quickly and the chart has a Trine with the planet of war. Therefore, the sword is recommended."

The King stares at the three papers for what seems to be an eternity. Finally, he reaches into his overcoat and pulls out a pouch. As he places it on the table, I see that it is the payment which had been promised earlier, once the reading was completed.

As he looks at me, I see another tear drop down his cheek. "Milady, thank you for your great gift. This is a burden no man, least of all a king, should have to endure. Your advice and divinations are truly inspired."

As he rises, he asks, "If this deed is postponed until the 19th of May, what time do the stars advise us to be the most advantageous?"

As I look into his eyes, I see that he is considering the most opportune date, as advised in the reading. "Sire, as this involves the death of another, I cannot speak it. May I write down the time for you? It is against the Akashic Code to predict the time of death for another, even in the reading of Horary Astrology. I have merely interpreted what the stars have aligned for you to consider."

"Yes, of course you may," he replies.

Tearing off a portion of the paper closest to me on the table, I pick up the writing instrument and write the time as divined by the star map for the 19th of May.

Handing the paper to the King, I curtsy. "Your Majesty does me a great service by confiding in me," I whisper.

The King nods, looks at the time written on the paper, and tosses the paper into the fireplace. "So mote it be," he says. "Pray be well, Milady Bliant. I greatly wish to see the final hour of Queen Anne Boleyn and the rise of Lady Jane Seymour."

With that, he removes a golden band from his pinkie finger, hands it to me, and leaves the room. He walks into the darkness of the new evening, never looking back.

Extract taken from Phoenix Rising by Hunter S. Jones

to be published on May 19th

Hunter S. Jones is the author of many books including "September Ends" won awards for Best Independently Published Novel, based on it's unique blending of poetry and prose. Her short story "Fortune Calling" received best selling status on Amazon in the Cultural Heritage category and Historical Fiction category. She has been published by H3O Eco mag, LuxeCrush, Chattanooga Times-Free Press, and is now a freelance contributor for the Atlanta Journal Constitution. She has two undergraduate degrees, one in English Literature, the other in History with an emphasis on the English Renaissance and Reformation.

ANNE BOLEYN'S AUNTS

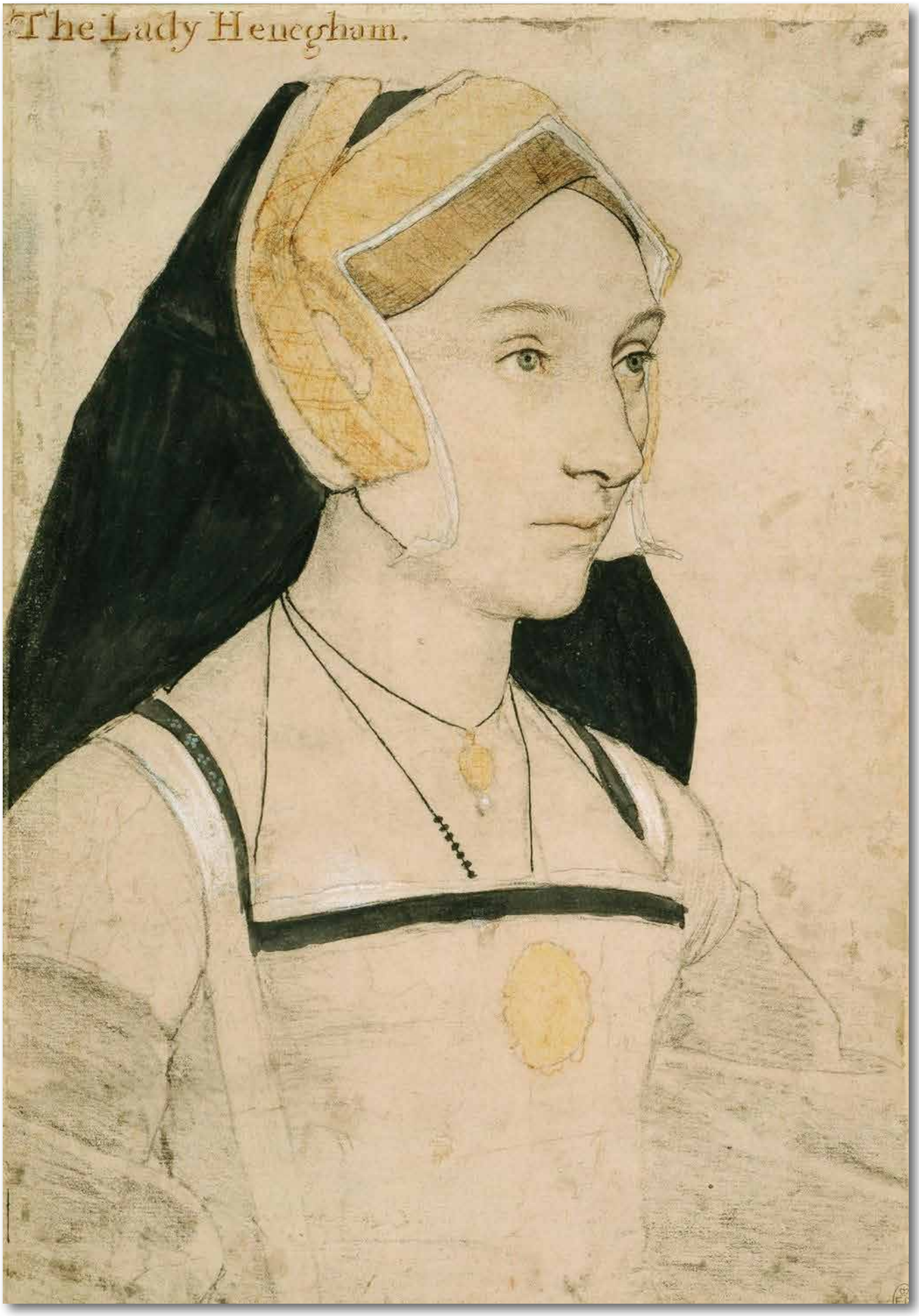
by Elizabeth Norton

ANNE Boleyn is far and away the most famous member of her family. Yet, she was not the only female member of the Boleyn family at court during Henry VIII's reign. She was not even the only Anne Boleyn. Anne, her sister, Mary, mother, Elizabeth, and sister-in-law, Jane, receive all the attention. Yet the lives of her aunts, who were with her during both her rise and fall are also fascinating.

Sir Thomas Boleyn's sisters were born into a long line of strong women. Their grandmother, the formidable Anne Hoo, dominated her family during her widowhood, managing her son's financial affairs and arranging the marriages of her daughters. It was through this Anne that the Boleyns gained their first family link to the nobility, although earlier generations of Boleyn women had also been influential. Anne Hoo's father-in-law, Geoffrey Boleyn of Salle had been a manorial tenant, but he had grown rich in the wool trade. He married the daughter and heiress of a local knight.

Anne Hoo's son, Sir William Boleyn and his wife, Margaret Butler, had a large family, with a number of children surviving to adulthood. Four sons, Thomas, James, William and Edward, survived to adulthood, while sons John and Anthony died young. The couple's eldest child was probably Anne, who died in 1479 aged only three years, eleven months and thirteen days. The little girl – who was the aunt of Queen Anne Boleyn – was carefully commemorated with a memorial brass at her family home at Blickling. Her parents later remembered by reusing her name with their next daughter, a child who survived to adulthood.

The couple had three further daughters. Jane, who was probably the second surviving daughter, married Sir Philip Calthorp of Norwich, bearing one child. She died young, predeceasing her father, Sir William Boleyn, who died in 1505. The couple's youngest daughter, Margaret, married John Sackville of Buckhurst in Sussex and also had a family. It



Mary, Lady Heveningham by Hans Holbein the Younger

was her eldest surviving sister, Anne, and the third sister, Alice, who came to court.

Anne Boleyn, the daughter of Sir William Boleyn, married Sir John Shelton. He was a Norfolk neighbour – prosperous and well respected. It was a good match and, as Lady Shelton, she lived a comfortable life in the countryside. The couple appear in stained glass at Shelton Church in Norfolk, depicted at various stages of their life. In the first, while Sir John was shown as long-haired, heavy featured and well-built, his bride appeared stylishly dressed in a tight-fitting, low-cut red dress with long hanging sleeves and a black hood with a veil. By the second depiction, showing her a decade or so later, she was wearing a fashionable gable hood. During the marriage Anne produced at least eight children, including Thomas, who served as a groom porter of the Tower and Mary Shelton, who served her cousin, Queen Anne Boleyn, at court.

Alice Boleyn married another Norfolk landowner, Sir Robert Clere of Ormsby, who was some years older than her and a widower. He was already prominent in his local community and had court connections, attending the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, for example. He lived to a venerable age, dying in 1529 and leaving his wife a very wealthy widow.

The two Boleyn sisters left behind their comfortable country life with the rise of their niece at court. In 1533 the new Queen Anne appointed her aunts, Lady Shelton and Lady Clere to have governance over the bastardised Princess Mary, who was sent to live in the household of her new half-sister. Lady Shelton's husband also secured a senior household role. The appointment of the wealthy Lady Clere is not easy to understand, since she had no financial need of the role and she may have done so out of affection for either her sister or her niece.

It was certainly not an appointment to be relished, since Mary keenly resented her fall in status. Lady Shelton, who was appointed as Mary's governess, bore the brunt of the royal commands, receiving word from the queen that she was not to tolerate Mary using the title of princess and that 'should she continue to do so she was to slap her face as the cursed bastard that she was'. Lady Shelton lived in a state of high tension – terrified that if something happened to the girl she would be thought to have poisoned her.

In spite of this, Lady Shelton began to befriend her charge. At one point, she was summoned by the Duke of Norfolk and her nephew, George Boleyn, to be berated for treating the girl 'with too great kindness and regard, when she ought to deal with her as a regular bastard that she was'. To this, Lady Shelton defiantly replied that 'even if it were so, and that she was the bastard daughter of a poor gentleman, her kindness, her modesty, and her virtues called forth all respect and honour'.

Nonetheless, Lady Shelton was not prepared to defy the king and queen who came periodically to visit their daughter, Princess Elizabeth. After one such visit in April 1534, the governess informed her elder charge that 'the king, her father no longer cared whether she renounced her title willingly or not, since by the last statute she had been declared illegitimate and incapable of inheriting, and that if she were in his [the king's] place she would kick her [the Princess] out of the king's house for her disobedience'. She was evidently under pressure to ensure that Mary complied since, the following month, the king asked her of his eldest daughter 'whether there were signs of her rebellious spirit and stubborn obstinancy being in any way subdued'. She was forced to admit that 'she continued the same'. When Henry suggested that someone must be passing messages to the girl from her mother, Lady Shelton promptly gave the name of a maid, who was immediately dismissed.

By February 1535 it appears that Henry's eye had been caught by Lady Shelton's daughter, Mary. Queen Anne always reacted furiously to her husband's affairs and this was no exception, with the queen rebuking her cousin publicly for writing 'certain idle posies' in her prayer book. The affair, which was not long lasting, may well be the origin of the falling out that occurred between the queen and her namesake aunt. Nonetheless, when the queen sent out overtures of friendship to her stepdaughter in January 1536, Lady Shelton began 'continually begging and entreating her [Mary] in the warmest possible terms to reconsider these offers'. When Mary still refused, Queen Anne wrote coldly to her aunt, directing her to make no further efforts with the girl and only to 'do your duty according to the king's command, as I am assured you do'.

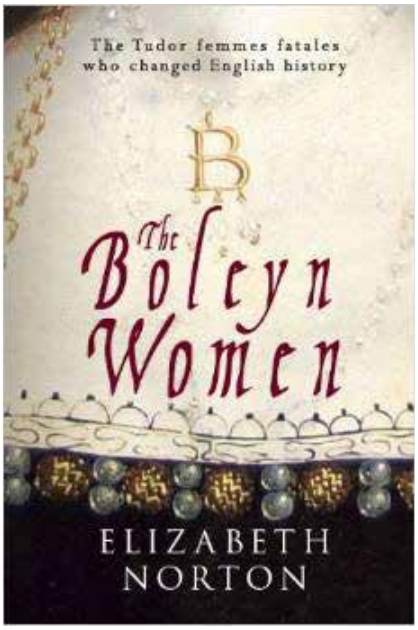
Aunt and niece were entirely estranged by May 1536, when Queen Anne Boleyn was sent to the Tower. Lady Shelton, along with her sister-in-law, Lady Boleyn, who was probably the wife of Sir Edward Boleyn, were appointed to attend on the queen in the Tower. They were amongst the women of whom the queen commented that 'I think much unkindness in the king to put such about me as I never loved'. Lady Boleyn was downright hostile to her niece, commenting to the queen when she tried to remember incidents that may have led to her fall that it was 'such desire as you have had to such tales has brought you to this'. She was, indeed, actively spying on her niece.

After Anne Boleyn's fall, Lady Clere once again retired to Norfolk, dying in 1539. That same year her sister, Lady Shelton, lost her husband. Princess Mary evidently recognised that her former governess has acted under duress and the pair were friendly in later life. The princess gave Lady Shelton regular presents, including two fine cushion covers in January 1544, while they also exchanged New Year's gifts. She was also fond of Lady Shelton's daughters, including Mary Shelton. Anne Boleyn, Lady Shelton, died at an advanced age in 1555.

Although Lady Shelton often had a troubled relationship with her namesake niece, there is no evidence of this in the relationship between the queen and Lady Clere. It is testament to Alice Clere's feelings about her royal niece that, in her Will of 1539, she bequeathed the gold rosary 'which Queen Anne gave me' to her youngest son. This small act of defiance, in giving her fallen niece her royal title, speaks volumes for the relationship: she clearly did not consider her niece's marriage to have been invalid.

ELIZABETH NORTON

Elizabeth Norton specialises in the queens of England and the Tudor period. She obtained a Master of Arts in Archaeology and Anthropology from the University of Cambridge, being awarded a Double First Class degree, and a masters degree in European Archaeology from the University of Oxford. She is the author of nine non-fiction books.
Her book on "The Boleyn Women" is a fascinating read.



MAY'S ON THIS

1 May 1517
The Evil May Day Riot – A mob of young apprentices and labourers gathered at St Paul's and then went on a rampage through the streets of London, causing damage to property and hurting those who stood in their way.

2 May 1568
Mary, Queen of Scots, escaped from Lochleven Castle. As a masque took place at the castle, Mary was smuggled out and taken to a waiting boat.

3 May 1415
Birth of **Cecily Neville**, Duchess of York, daughter of Ralph Neville, 1st Earl of Westmorland, and Joan Beaufort. Cecily was the wife of Richard, 3rd Duke of York, and the mother of twelve children, including Richard III, George, Duke of Clarence, and Edward IV.

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

10 May 1533
Opening of special court at Dunstable by **Archbishop Cranmer** to rule on the validity of the marriage of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon.

11 May 1537
Two Carthusian monks from the London Charterhouse, Blessed John Rochester and **Blessed James Walworth**, were hanged in chains from the battlements of York. They had been tried in the city for treason for denying the King's supremacy following the Pilgrimage of Grace rebellion.

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

15 May 1567
The marriage of **Mary, Queen of Scots** and **James Hepburn**, 4th Earl of Bothwell, at Holyrood.

Mary Queen of Scots
by Nicholas Hilliard, c. 1578

16 May 1532
Resignation of **Sir Thomas More** as Chancellor.

19 May 1554
The future **Elizabeth I** was released from the Tower of London and allowed to go to Woodstock under house-arrest.

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

25 May 1553
A triple wedding took place at **Durham House**, the London residence of **John Dudley**. Lady **Jane Grey** married **Guildford Dudley**, one of the Duke's sons, her sister Lady **Katherine Grey** married Lord **Henry Herbert**, son of the Earl of Pembroke, and Guildford's sister, Lady **Catherine Dudley**, married Lord **Henry Hastings**.

26 May 1520
Meeting of **Henry VIII** and **Charles V**, Holy Roman Emperor, at Dover Castle.

27 May 1536
Cardinal **Reginald Pole** sent **Henry VIII** a copy of *De Unitate* (*Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis Defensione*) criticising his divorce and the trouble it caused.

28 May 1533
Archbishop **Thomas Cranmer** proclaimed the validity of Henry's marriage to **Anne Boleyn**.

Tudor Life

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

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

5 May 1625
Burial of **James I** (VI of Scotland) in the Henry VII Chapel of Westminster Abbey.

6 May 1541
Henry VIII issued an injunction ordering "the Byble of the largest and greatest volume, to be had in every churche". This was the Great Bible.

7 May 1603
James VI/I arrived in London after travelling from Edinburgh to claim the English throne.

8 May 1559
The Act of Uniformity was signed by **Elizabeth I**, and the Act of Supremacy was given royal assent. The monarch was Head of the Church again, and still is today.

Portrait of Cardinal Wolsey by Sampson Strong(1550-1611)

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

13 May 1515
Official marriage of **Mary Tudor**, Queen of France, and **Charles Brandon**, Duke of Suffolk, at Greenwich Palace, following their secret marriage in France.

17 May 1521
Execution of **Edward Stafford**, 3rd Duke of Buckingham, for treason.

18 May 1554
Execution of **William Thomas**, scholar and administrator. Thomas was hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn for his alleged involvement in Wyatt's Rebellion.

21 May 1471
Henry VI, King of England and Lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, died at the Tower of London. The chronicle "The Historie of the arrivall of Edward IV" recorded him dying "of pure displeasure and melancholy", but many believe that he was in fact killed on **Edward IV**'s orders.

22 May 1539
Probable birthdate of **Edward Seymour**, 1st Earl of Hertford and son of **Edward Seymour**, Duke of Somerset.

23 May 1533
Archbishop **Thomas Cranmer** declared that **HenryVIII**'smarriage to **Catherine of Aragon** had been annulled.

24 May 1562
Raphael Holinshed recorded that a monstrous child was born in wChichester, Sussex. According to Holinshed, 1562 was a year of "manic monstrous births".

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

30 May 1536
Henry VIII married **Jane Seymour** in the Queen's Closet at York Place (Whitehall).

31 May 1443
Lady **Margaret Beaufort**, Countess of Richmond and Derby, and matriarch of the Tudor dynasty, was born at Bletsoe Castle in Bedfordshire.

Tudor Life

Background: The Bluebell Fairies of Blackberry Camp

‘A POISON OF TREACLERS’

by Toni Mount

A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY school book gives a list of collective nouns for students to learn, including ‘a poison of treaclers’. Treaclers was another word for apothecaries, i.e. those who sold medicinal treacle.

In medieval and Tudor times, apothecaries became the equivalent of our modern pharmacists. An apothecary’s shop was full of various cures, many of which he prepared himself. He was usually a trusted member of the community, but at times he ran the risk of being accused of practising magic or witchcraft. In an age before folk had easy access doctors and when hospitals were religious foundations more interested in curing your soul than your body, the apothecary was an ordinary person’s best hope of a cure or at least some relief from an illness.

For the most serious diseases, such as the dreaded plague, prevention was better than cure but some concoctions were reckoned to do both. One of these was ‘treacle’, usually imported to England from the Italian city states of either Genoa or Venice:

The most sovereyn medycyn for the pestilence concludyd be doctures of fesycke both beyonde the se and yn Ynglond also a bowte the kyng in late days yn the reyngne of Kyng Edward the iiijth the xth yere [1471].

Take two spoonfuls of water and one spoonful of vinegar and treacle the size of a bean and mix all these together and drink it fasting once a week or twice in a month and if you are not infected it will preserve you and if you are infected it will save your life with regular habits. This is proved and has saved 300 or 400 lives of men, women and children in the city of Winchester in the year of the king abovesaid.

This recipe – water, vinegar and treacle – sounds so cheap and easy, if it prevented and cured plague why should anyone die of that fearful disease? The trouble was this ‘treacle’ wasn’t any old treacle. It was ‘theriac’. According to legend, the history of theriac began with King Mithridates, King of Pontos (120 - 63 BC); who experimented with poisons and antidotes on his prisoners. His numerous toxicity experiments eventually led him to declare that he had an effective antidote for every venomous reptile and poisonous substance. He mixed all the antidotes into a single one: mithridate, named after himself. It contained opium, myrrh, saffron, ginger, cinnamon and castor oil, along with some forty other ingredients.

When the Romans defeated Mithridates, his medical notes fell into their hands and Roman doctors began to use them. Andromachus, the Emperor Nero’s physician, improved upon mithridate by bringing the total number of ingredients to sixty-four, including crushed pearls, amber, gold and viper’s flesh, a mashed decoction of which, roasted then well aged, proved the most constant ingredient. Apparently, the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius took it on regular basis on the advice of his physician Galen. Well, he was wealthy and could afford all those ingredients.

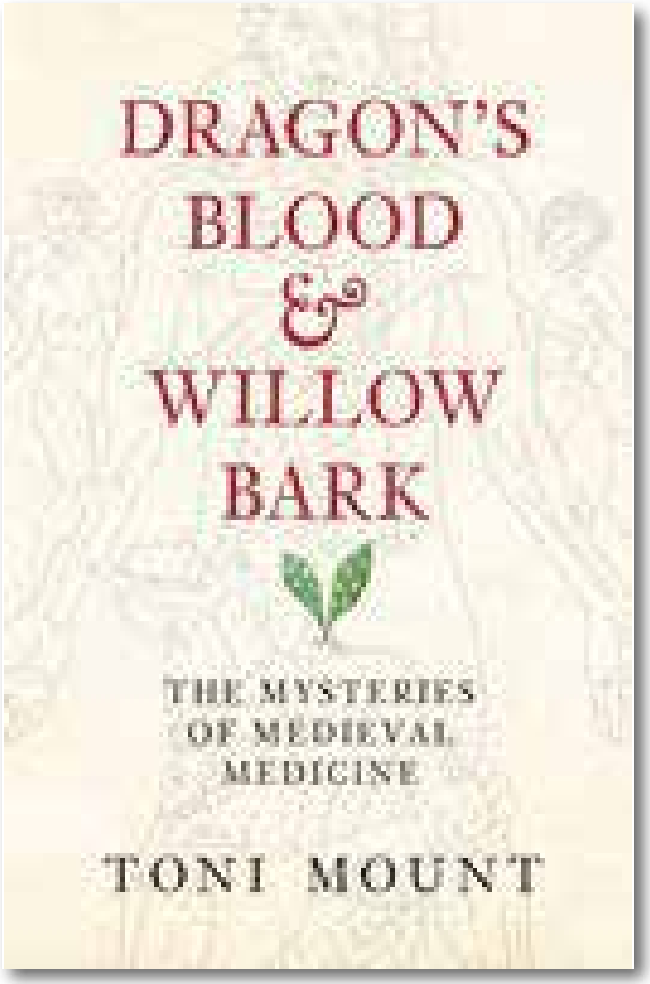
In the medieval period, the traditional name was corrupted and shortened to ‘theriac’ and this, the most expensive of all medicaments, was called Genoa or Venice treacle by the English, depending on its source. For common folk, there was no chance of them getting hold of even that ‘bean-sized’ amount of treacle, as the remedy required.

The Westminster Abbey accounts for 1351 show the monks purchased gum arabic, sandalwood, powdered gold, rhubarb, senna, musk and other exotic ingredients from local apothecaries. These items came from India, Egypt, Persia and the East Indies. Electuaries were concoctions of herbs and spices sweetened with honey or sugar to stimulate

the appetite or as a general tonic and apothecaries made these up, either to order or for over the counter sales. Sugar was good for the chest and King Edward I spent a small fortune on liquorice and sugar as chest medicines for his little son, Henry. Sadly, nothing worked and the boy died.

Other medicines took days, sometimes weeks, to prepare so the apothecaries would have made them ready for sale. Cloves, cumin, ginger, cinnamon, anise, caraway, fennel and dill were good for digestive problems and this fifteenth century remedy really would have helped:

Getty Open Jar for Methradite and Theriac, Italian, about 1580



Dragon's Blood and Willow Bark, the Mysteries of Medieval Medicine **by Toni Mount**

To void Wind that is the cause of Colic take cumin and anise, of each equally much, and lay it in white wine to steep, and cover it over with wine and let it stand still so three days and three nights. And then let it be taken out and laid upon an ash board for to dry nine days and be turned about. And at the nine days' end, take and put it in an earthen pot and dry over the fire and then make powder thereof. And then eat it in pottage or drink it and it shall void the wind that is the cause of colic.

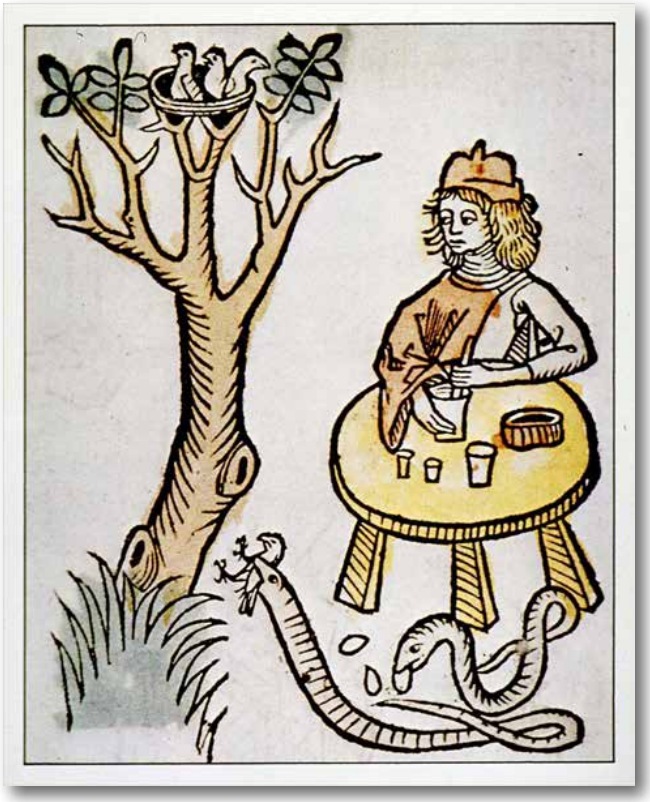
Both anise and cumin are carminatives, so this medicine would do exactly what it said on the tin – or earthen pot. The herbs dill and fennel could be used instead to the same effect – twentieth-century gripe water for colicky babies contained dill.

We tend to think that medieval surgery of any kind must have been agony for the poor patient because there were no anaesthetics. This isn't quite true – there were anaesthetics available if both surgeon and patient were daring enough to use them. An apothecary would have supplied this sleeping draught known as 'dwale'. This is a fourteenth-century recipe though dwale was known since at least Anglo-Saxon times and probably earlier.

To make a drink that men call dwale, to make a man sleep during an operation. Take the gall of a boar, three spoonfuls of the juice of hemlock and three spoonfuls of wild bryony, lettuce, opium poppy, henbane and vinegar. Mix them well together and then let the man sit by a good fire and make him drink of the potion until he falls asleep. Then he may safely be operated upon.

The problem here was the possibility of putting the patient to sleep... permanently, with poisonous hemlock and henbane and opium. Even lettuce is a soporific. The saving grace was probably the bryony which would have caused the potion to have a rapid laxative effect, so the potion passed through the body so quickly, there wasn't time for it to prove lethal. No wonder the collective noun for apothecaries was 'a poison'.

TONI MOUNT



Preparing Theriac Jacob Meydenbach's Hortus Sanitatis 1491 by Nicolas of Poland

FROM FRIEND TO FOE – HENRY VIII'S CHANCELLOR THOMAS MORE

Time trieth truth

THOMAS More is our subject of study. We are the society *Amici Thomae Mori*, or "friends of Thomas More", and we edit and publish in our journal, ***Moreana***, the latest research on Thomas More's works, thoughts and history. We are interested in the Tudor world More lived in, the people More lived with, his friends like Erasmus, his enemies like Tyndale and Luther and his family like his brilliant daughter Margaret More Roper. ***Moreana*** is distributed in around 35 countries, individuals and institutions.

Of course, Anne Boleyn being in the middle of the conflict between Sir Thomas and King Henry VIII, we feel quite 'greedy' about your publications and websites.

Our society was founded in Brussels in 1962, by a group of international scholars; our journal was first printed in 1963 and remains an International enterprise, gathering more than a hundred scholars or friends who share the same interest. We write scholarly papers, attend International Conferences, organize seminars, and all this is great fun, as we have all become fast friends and travel the world, a different place each year and plenty of fascinating ideas to share and debate.

Friends of Thomas More, as the patron saint of statesmen, may find us at **www.amici-thomae-mori.com**. Scholars may wish to find us at **www.moreana.org** and get the latest news about conferences, or at **http://thomasmorestudies.org** the *Center for Thomas More Studies* at University of Dallas, which proposes books and study material.

MAY FEAST DAYS

by Claire Ridgway

1 MAY – MAY DAY

1 May was seen as the first day of summer and had its roots in ancient celebrations of fertility. It was celebrated with special processions, plays and pantomines, pageants, morris dancing and the crowning of a May Queen. There would also be a Maypole, a tall wooden pole decorated with greenery and flowers and hung with ribbons. People would hold the ribbons and dance around the Maypole weaving the ribbons together in patterns.

People would also "bring in the May", i.e. collect flowers and branches to make garlands and wreaths.

14 MAY – ROGATION (ALSO CALLED HOLY THURSDAY, ASCENSION DAY OR ASCENSION THURSDAY)

Rogation, or the Feast of the Ascension, is celebrated forty days after Easter Sunday and it commemorates the Ascension of Christ into Heaven. It is celebrated on the fortieth day after Easter because of what it says in Acts 1 verse 3:

"After his suffering, he presented himself to them and gave many convincing proofs that he was alive. He appeared to them over a period of forty days and spoke about the kingdom of God."

In Medieval and Tudor times, this was the traditional time for "beating the bounds". Parishioners would walk the boundaries of the Parish, praying for farms and for a good harvest. Not only did it bless the land, it also reminded people of landmarks and the boundaries of the Parish. Landmarks were impressed upon children's minds, in particular, by dangling them upside down at a landmark (a stream or a tree, for example) or beating them there, and then rewarding them with a treat.

19 MAY – ST DUNSTAN'S DAY

According to Ruth Goodman of the Tudor Monastery Farm team, the feast day of St Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury in the 10th century, was the traditional day to do spring-cleaning.

24 MAY – WHIT SUNDAY (PENTECOST)

This feast day commemorated the Holy Spirit descending on the Apostles and Christ's followers, "All of them were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues as the Spirit enabled them."

It was traditional for communities to come together for a "church ale", a festival which aimed to raise fund for the church. Ale would be brewed for the occasion and there would be food and entertainment such as morris dancing and archery competitions. Attendees were expected to make a donation or ale would be sold.

There would also be special Whitsun markets.

RICHARD III AND ELIZABETH OF YORK – ROMANCE OR THE RUMOUR MILL?

Richard III and Elizabeth of York's romance ... fact or fiction? Let **Olga Hughes** take you through the facts behind this interesting historical tale...

It makes for a pretty fairytale, the beautiful princess pining for her lost lover, forced to marry the dark prince who had slain him in battle. That is, until we consider that the beautiful princess was pining for her uncle. The current attempts to turn Richard III into a romantic hero that seduced his own niece are rather more alarming than romantic.

It is modern fiction that has created the entirely imaginary romance between Richard III and his brother's eldest daughter and heir Elizabeth of York. However there were contemporary rumours that Richard planned to marry his niece. Those rumours alleged that Richard was lusting after his niece, his plans to marry her "to the offence of God", later used as proof of Richard's villainy. We cannot be sure who started the rumours, was it the exiled Tudor faction, or even King Richard III himself?

Proposed plans for a double-marriage alliance with Portugal were discovered as recently as the 1980s. Sometime after March of 1485 Richard had entered into negotiations to marry the Infanta Joanna, the sister of John II of Portugal, and his cousin the Duke of Beja to marry an unnamed 'daughter of Edward IV'. This has been considered solid evidence that Richard never planned on marrying his niece Elizabeth of York. On the 22nd of March 1485 Sir Edward Brampton went on an embassy to Portugal, but we have no record of the marriage negotiations being entered into on this first visit. The later negotiations never mentioned Elizabeth of York by name.

Moreover, the Croyland chronicler reported that rumours were brewing before Christmas of 1484. The Portuguese marriage plans are largely irrelevant. What we need to apply is some common

sense. The widowed King Richard III would have sought the hand of a royal princess. And as of 1483, Elizabeth of York was no longer a princess, but an illegitimate daughter of King Edward IV.

ALL TH'ISSUE AND CHILDREN OF THE SAID KING BEEN BASTARDS

The first question we have to ask is why would Richard III want to marry his brother's daughter if he had deemed her illegitimate? There would have been some obvious immediate advantages for Richard. He had lost both his wife and son in the space of a year, and with a tenuous hold on the throne, an heirless king was vulnerable. Elizabeth was young, beautiful and most importantly, her mother and grandmother had excellent childbearing records. Restoring Elizabeth of York to royal status would have also reigned in the disaffected Yorkists still loyal to the memory of Edward IV and resistant to Richard's rule because of his treatment of Edward's sons. Such an alliance and the hope of a prince or princess in the cradle may have afforded Richard a little more time to win people over.

However a very significant issue Richard would have to have faced is that, in wanting to marry Elizabeth, he would have to restore her rank as a royal princess. And to restore her rank as royal princess he would then have to acknowledge that her missing brothers were also legitimate. Edward V and Richard Duke of York would then revert to the position of rightful heirs to the throne. Richard III was only able to succeed after declaring them illegitimate. Even if Richard had considered the possibility, the risk was too great.

The rumours of Richard's intentions towards his niece seem to have started sometime before the Christmas of 1484. Elizabeth of York had gone to live with her uncle and aunt, Queen Anne Neville, at court. By all accounts both Richard and Anne seemed fond of her, and it may have been their good treatment of this 'illegitimate' niece that started the rumours in the first place.

According to Croyland:

"There may be many other things that are not written in this book and of which it is shameful to speak, but let it not go unsaid that during this Christmas festival, an excessive interest was displayed in singing and dancing and to vain changes of apparel presented to Queen Anne and the Lady Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of the late King, being of similar color and shape: a thing that caused the people to murmur and the nobles and prelates greatly to wonder at, while it was said by many that the King was bent either on the anticipated death of the Queen taking place, or else by means of a divorce, for which he supposed he had

quite sufficient grounds, on contracting a marriage with the said Elizabeth. For it appeared that in no other way could his kingly power be established, or the hopes of his rival being put an end to."[1]

Why did this cause such a scandal? Strict sumptuary laws restricted the wearing of luxurious materials to the upper ranks of society. To have the legally illegitimate Elizabeth arrayed in the same manner as the Queen would have been seen as shocking.

This incident can be, and has been interpreted in several ways. In the eyes of the court, according to Croyland, he was publicly displaying his niece as equal in rank to his Queen.It could simply have been a case of Queen Anne being kind to her niece. More sinister interpretations declare Richard was making a public statement, but did Richard really supervise Anne's wardrobe?

Some modern historians even claim that Elizabeth was deliberately trying to outshine the Queen, an act of antipathy from a teenage girl in love with her uncle. We would have to then accept that Elizabeth was in the position to influence what the Queen would wear to an important court occasion, and this is hardly likely.

The most likely scenario is a show of friendship and solidarity. The young Elizabeth paying homage to the fashion set by the queen. However if it was the Queen's intention to display her friendship towards her niece, according to Croyland it was ill-received. And according to Vergil, when the rumours of their alleged marriage plans reached Henry Tudor in France it "*pinched him by the very stomach*".

THE CAT AND THE RAT

The rumours did not stop after Christmas. Croyland noted that "*the King's plan and intention to marry Elizabeth, his close blood relation, was related to some who were opposed to it and, after the council had been summoned, the king was compelled to make his excuses at length, saying that such a thing had never entered his mind. There were some at that council who knew well enough that the contrary was true.*" Sir Richard Ratcliffe and Sir William Catesby "*whose wills the king scarcely ever dared to oppose*" told Richard "*to his face, that if he did not deny any such purpose and did not counter it by public declaration... the northerners, in whom he placed the greatest trust, would all rise against him, charging him with the death of the Queen.*" [2]

In addition, Croyland claimed that they had brought in "*over a dozen Doctors of theology who asserted that the Pope had no power of dispensation over that degree of consanguinity.*" Richard was then compelled to publicly deny the charges and "*in the great hall at St. John's in the presence of the mayor and citizens of London and in a clear, loud voice carried out fully the advice to make a denial of this kind.*" [3]

Elizabeth was packed up and shipped off to Sheriff Hutton. Sometime after March Richard began negotiating for a marriage alliance with Portugal. It was the negotiations for this marriage that Elizabeth may have been discussing in her now-notorious letter to John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, that has fueled the wildest rumours of all.

THE BUCK LETTER

There are two George Bucks. The first George Buck was an antiquarian who served King James I as his Master of Revels. Buck's most important work, his *History of the Life and Reign of Richard III* was not published until after his death. Buck happened upon the previously undiscovered *Croyland Chronicle*, which contained Richard III's suppressed act of Parliament, *Titulus Regius*, which had declared Edward IV's children illegitimate. Although Henry VII had ordered all copies of it destroyed, the chronicler had copied the text and Buck was able to reproduce it. Buck's work was largely based on the original manuscript of the *Chronicle* and is an important early revisionist history. Buck was also, contrary to popular belief, largely reliable.

The main problem with Buck's *Life and Reign is that it was not published in his lifetime.* The original manuscript has survived, complete with notes and revisions from his nephew, also George Buck. But it was damaged by fire in the 18th century and parts of the text are missing or illegible.

1 *Ibid*
2 *Ibid* p. 176
3 *Ibid* p. 177

One of Buck's discoveries that historians have spent the last few decades arguing over, is a letter from Elizabeth of York to the Duke of Norfolk. Some have claimed this letter is proof that not only that Richard wanted to marry his niece, but that Elizabeth was eager to marry her uncle.

The original letter is lost. Buck claimed to have seen it in the private collection of his patron, the Earl of Arundel, and reproduced the text. There is no reason to doubt Buck did see the original letter, considering the book is dedicated to his patron.

But as the original manuscript is damaged, various revisions were made by his nephew, and a reconstruction of the letter from the 1970s has changed the context, so we should consider the reliability of this document very carefully.

This is what remains of the original text of Buck senior's version, now fire-damaged.

"…st she thanked him for his many Curtesies and friendly
…as before…
in the cause of…
and then she prayed him to be a mediator for her to the K…
ge who (as she wrote) was her onely joy and maker in…
Worlde, and that she was his…harte, in thoughts, in…and in all, and then she intimated that the better halfe of Ffe…was paste, and that she feared the Queene would neu…."

George Buck's nephew's revisions can be seen in the following version.

"When the midst and last of February was past, the Lady Elizabeth, being more impatient and jealous of the success anyone knew or conceived, writes a letter to the Duke of Norfolk, intimating first that he was the man in whom she affied, in respect of that love her father had ever bore him, etc. Then she congratulates his many courtesies and friendly offices, in continuance of which she desires him, as before, to be a mediator for her to the King in the behalf of the marriage propounded between them; who, as she wrote, was her only joy and maker in the world; and that she was his in heart and thought, withal insinuating that the better part of February was past, and that she feared the Queen would never die."

A. N. Kincaid edited what remains of Buck senior's original text. The text in brackets is the text supplied by Kincaid.

*"When the midst and more days of February were gone, the Lady Elizabeth, being very desirous to be married and, growing not only impatient of delays, but also suspicious of the (success), wrote a letter to Sir John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, intimating first therein that [he was the] one in whom she most (affied) (i.e., trusted), because she knew the King her father much lov(ed) him, and that he was a very faithful servant unto him and to (the King his brother, then reign)ing, and very loving and serviceable (in the sense of rendering service) to King Edward's children. First, she thanked him for his many courtesies and "friendly (offices, an)d then she prayed him, as before, to be a mediator for her in the cause of (the marria)ge to the K(i)ng, who, as she wrote, was her only joy and maker in (this) world, and that she was his in heart and in thoughts, in (**body**) and in all. And then she intimated that the better half of Fe(bruary) was passed, and that she feared the Queen would nev(er die)"*

As we can see the reconstructed letters differ slightly from each other, and probably greatly from the original. While it is not doubtful that George Buck did see the letter in Arundel's collection, the original text can now only be guessed at. The text in bold, "*body*", in Kincaid's version is missing from Buck junior's version.

The word *body* has been seen as suggestive by some historians, and some even thought it had been previously censored. However that word was inserted by a 20th century historian. Even flowery terms such as "*only joy and maker*" were rather conventional. We cannot use this heavily reconstructed letter to prove that Elizabeth of York was longing to marry her uncle. Had the letter even been referring to any marriage, and this remains unclear, it may have been referring to a marriage Richard was arranging *for* Elizabeth of York, not necessarily to him.

TO GRATIFY AN INCESTUOUS PASSION…

We have seen several depictions of romantic love between Richard III and Elizabeth of York in fiction recently. Some earlier 20th century fiction attempted to relegate part of the blame to Elizabeth

of York, presenting her as a lovesick teenager whose mooning at her uncle started the rumours. More recent fiction has taken a rather smuttier route. However the one thing we can almost positively rule out is sexual intercourse.

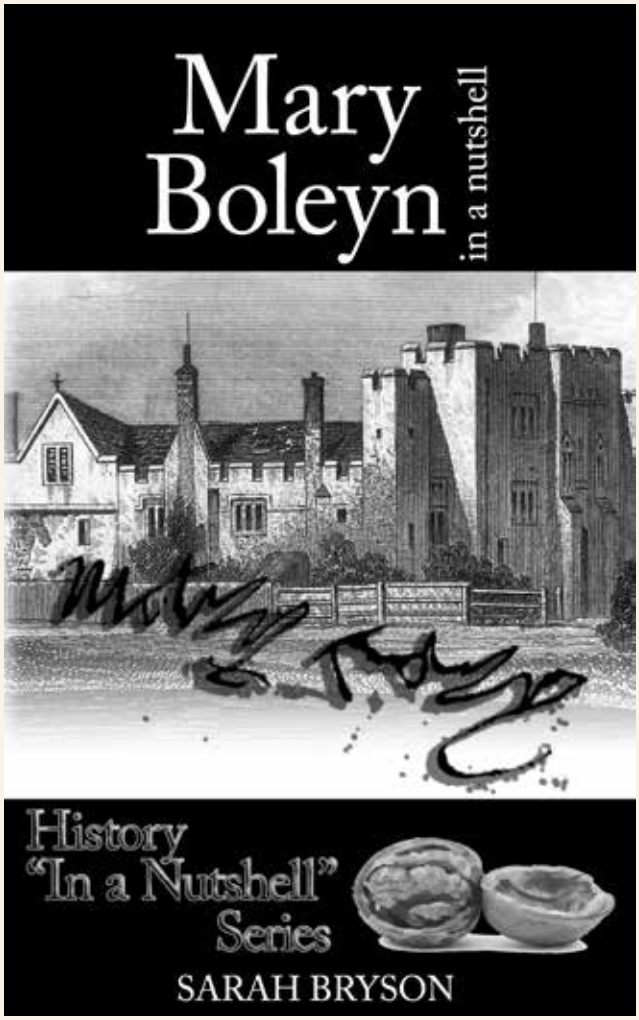
Elizabeth of York had left sanctuary in March of 1484 and was at court soon after. Had she been sleeping with her uncle it is almost certain that Elizabeth would have conceived, for she conceived on either the first or one of the first few occasions she slept with her husband Henry Tudor. Prince Arthur was born eight months after the wedding, either he was premature, or Henry and Elizabeth decided to start trying to conceive just before the wedding.

Of course it cannot be ruled out that either Elizabeth was using contraception, or that Richard's fertility can be questioned – it had been many years since he fathered a child – but we are beginning to grasp at straws here. It is extremely unlikely Richard III would risk his still-precarious position and his own reputation to have extra-marital sex with his own niece, or that he would have risked ruining her reputation.

And Elizabeth's reputation was spotless, when she eventually became Queen. Vergil says Richard "*had kept her unharmed with a view to marriage.*" Catesby and Ratcliffe accused Richard of wanting to "*gratify an incestuous passion for his niece*". The word gratify clearly indicates that there was no rumour at the time that Richard had done so.

The relationship between Richard III and Elizabeth of York was nothing more than a normal relationship between uncle and niece. The alleged love between them is based on the fantasies of fiction authors, largely un-helped by attempts to exonerate Richard in claiming that Elizabeth was suffering from an unrequited love. We can see there is no evidence of either. The contemporary rumours that Richard intended to marry his niece may have been started by Richard himself to thwart Henry Tudor. Equally they may have been started by Henry's supporters. Perhaps Richard did consider marrying Elizabeth for a political advantage. Whatever the case, the rumours gained momentum over the 16th century. Not because they had much grounding in fact, but because they presented Richard III as a villain and Elizabeth of York as his innocent victim, and they made for a good story.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS

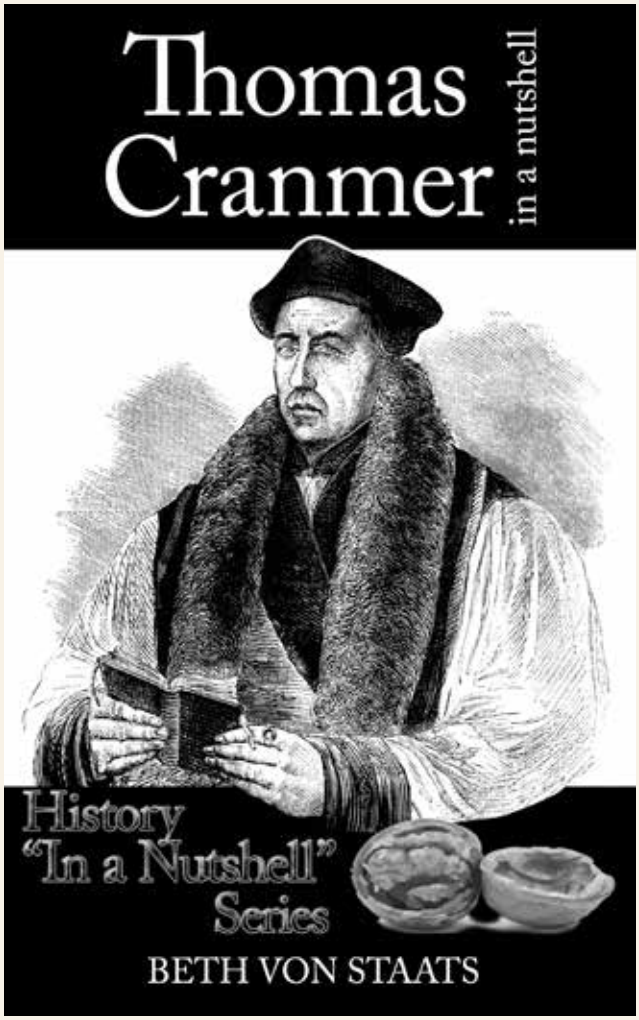


In **Mary Boleyn in a Nutshell**, Sarah Bryson discusses the controversies surrounding Mary Boleyn's birth, her alleged relationships with two kings, her portraiture and appearance, and her life and death. Mary survived the brutal events of 1536 and was able to make her own choices, defying the social rules of her times by marrying for love. It is from Mary that the Boleyn bloodline extends to the present day.

Sarah Bryson, creator of the popular "Anne Boleyn: From Queen to History" Facebook page, brings together what is known about Mary Boleyn, the shadowy sister of Queen Anne Boleyn.

In **Thomas Cranmer in a Nutshell**, Beth von Staats discusses the fascinating life of Thomas Cranmer, from his early education, through his appointment to Archbishop of Canterbury, his growth in confidence as a reformer, the writing of two versions of the English Book of Common Prayer and eventually to his imprisonment, recantations and execution.

Beth von Staats, creator of the popular "QueenAnneBoleyn" website brings together what is known about Thomas Cranmer and clearly explains his role in English history



WILL KEMP AND THE NINE DAIES WONDER

by Jane Moulder

MODERN day celebrities are not averse to a little bit of self-publicity in order to boost waning support and get fans back on their side. However, the art of self-aggrandisement is nothing new and it has been going on for hundreds of years – it's just the manner by which it happens that has changed. Today Facebook and Twitter are used to raise profiles and create interest but how was it done in the past?

A figure who knew something about grand gestures and also had the desire to remain in the public's eye and affections come what may, was the comic actor and dancer, Will Kemp. His story is a fascinating one and the telling of his "Nine Daies Wonder" caused a sensation when he was at the height of his fame in 1600.

William Kemp, was a larger than life figure whose story has become inextricably linked with Shakespeare. Through Shakespeare, Kemp brought to life some of the best loved comedic characters

David Vinckboon's painting "The Grand Kermis" shows a band of travelling players setting up stage in a village. (National Museum, Szczecin, Poland)

from the Elizabethan stage – Dogberry from Much Ado about Nothing and both Peter and Bottom in a Midsummer Night's Dream and, it has been surmised, Falstaff from Henry IV . But Shakespeare and Kemp were to fall out in a spectacular fashion and it's what Kemp did next that he is remembered for – a dance – not his acting or his comic turns. But first, let's find out a bit more about the man.

We can't be absolutely certain where and when Will Kemp was born as there are several possible candidates but the first definite reference we have to him is being one of the actors in the troupe financed by Queen Elizabeth I's favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. This troupe travelled throughout Europe as well as in England and in a letter home from the Netherlands, dated March 1586, Sir Philip Sidney refers to "*Will, my lord of Lester's jesting plaier*". The next month, on St George's Day, Kemp appears in Utrecht, where he is described as having taken part in "*dancing, vaulting, tumbling and pantomime*". Kemp appears again at the Court of Denmark performing in front of Frederick II and then later, in October 1586 he was at the court of Christian I, the Elector of Saxony. We also know that Leicester's acting company visited Stratford-on Avon in 1587 and it could be there that Kemp first met Shakespeare.

William Kemp became successful and well known and he eventually joined the Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1594, the company run by Richard Burbage. Alongside William Shakespeare, Kemp was one of the five actor-shareholders in the company. It was this group that were responsible for building the Globe Theatre and they were to become the first troupe of actors to own their own theatre and thus have control over the plays they staged. However, just as they were about to "hit the big time" it seems that Will Kemp and Shakespeare

A detail from the painting showing the stage and the performers. They could possibly be performing a jig.

The actor, comedian and musician, Richard Tarlton, shown here playing a pipe and tabor.

fell out with each other resulting in Kemp leaving the Chamberlain's Men in early 1599. There was obviously no love lost between these two great figures, with Kemp later referring to Shakespeare as "*Shakerags"* and a *"witles* [witless] *beetle-head that can understand nothing"*!

Kemp had found fame working within the Chamberlain's Men and, as the earlier quote testifies, he was known for his jesting and jokes as much as his acting ability. He became synonymous with some of the character roles he played, so much so that Shakespeare in several instances wrote the stage direction such "Will enters" instead of the character's name. The crowds loved clowns and Kemp was seen, and referred to, as the natural successor to Richard Tarlton, the great comic player, minstrel and Elizabeth's favourite, who had died in 1588.

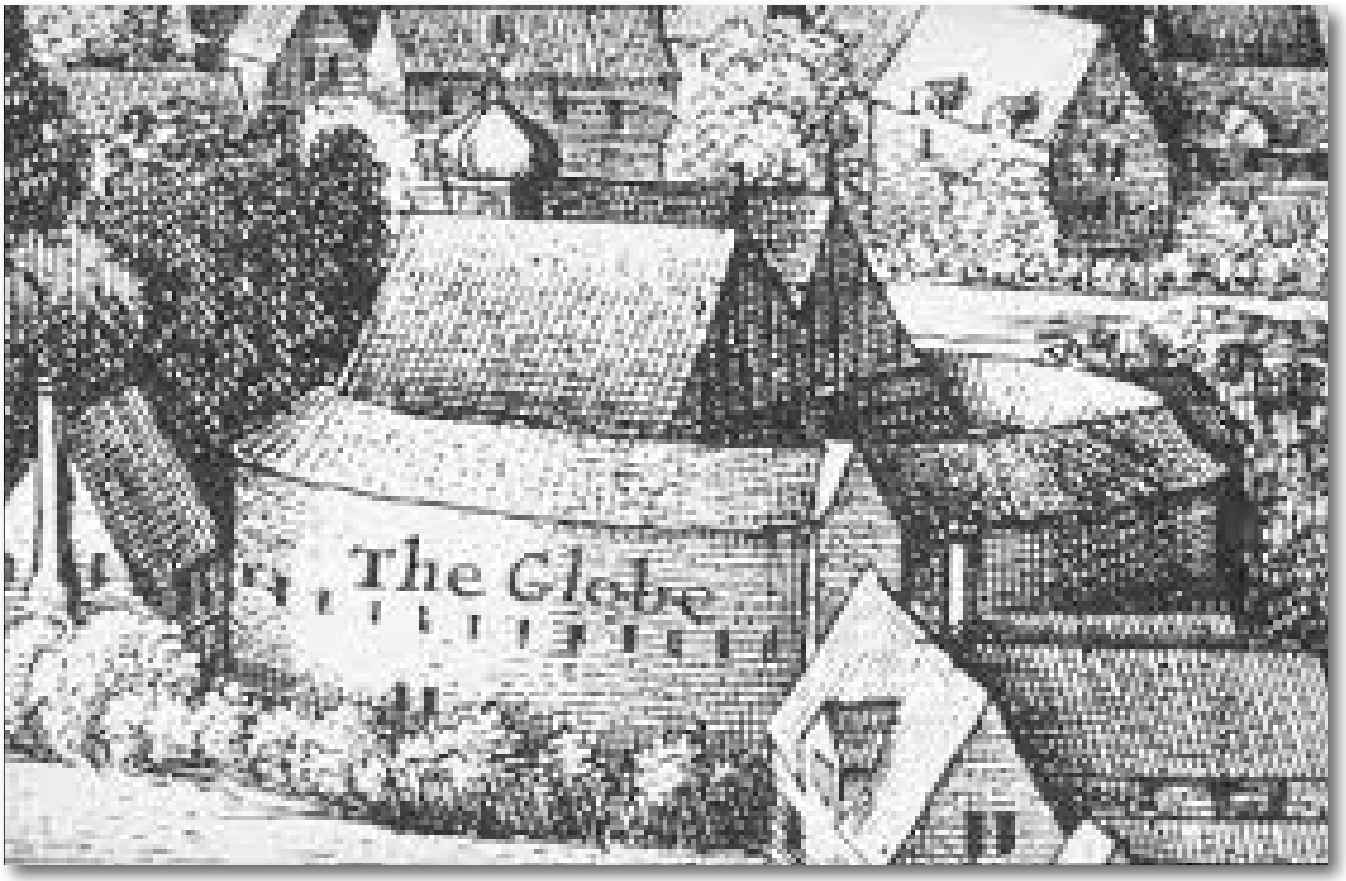
People flocked to plays that Will Kemp was starring in and he was undoubtedly a big draw for the Chamberlain's Men. So, on the basis that Kemp was such a star and would no doubt have helped the fortunes of the theatre and the company, what brought about the sudden souring of the creative relationship?

It was a tradition in Elizabethan theatres to end a play with a "jig". Jigs, as well as being a type of dance, were improvisational, one act plays which contained high spirited dancing and songs and were often very bawdy in nature. The jig was often an extension of the play that had just been performed. So, if the play had been about love, the jig would be about what happened after , such as adultery and deception. It may seem odd to us now to follow the sad tale of Romeo and Juliet with loud, bawdy jokes, music and song – but the Elizabethan's demanded it. In fact, audiences would often go to see a play just to catch the jig at the end! There are also records noting how people would sometimes try to gate-crash the theatres for free at the end of the play in the hope of just seeing the jig. Will Kemp was considered to be the master of the jig and he was a huge hit with the audiences. He described his life as one that had been "*spent in mad jigs and merry jests"*, he was known for both his good comic timing as well as his dancing skill. "*whores, beadles, bawds and sergeants filthily chant Kemps jig"*.

Whilst the real reason for the split between Shakespeare and Kemp was not documented, it has been supposed that the writer was becoming resentful of the comedian's pull on his audiences. With Shakespeare becoming better known as a playwright and, with the prospect of his own theatre and greater artistic freedom, he may have been resentful of the jigs drawing attention away from his more serious offerings.

In Hamlet, Shakespeare alludes to the reason for the departure of Kemp *"And let those that play your clowns speak no more than is set down for them, for there be of them that will themselves laugh, to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh too"*. (Act 3, Scene 2)

After leaving the theatre, or as he described "*dancing my way out of the world",* Kemp continued to work as an entertainer. However, without the backing of regular stage appearances and the Chamberlain's Men, by the end of 1599 his



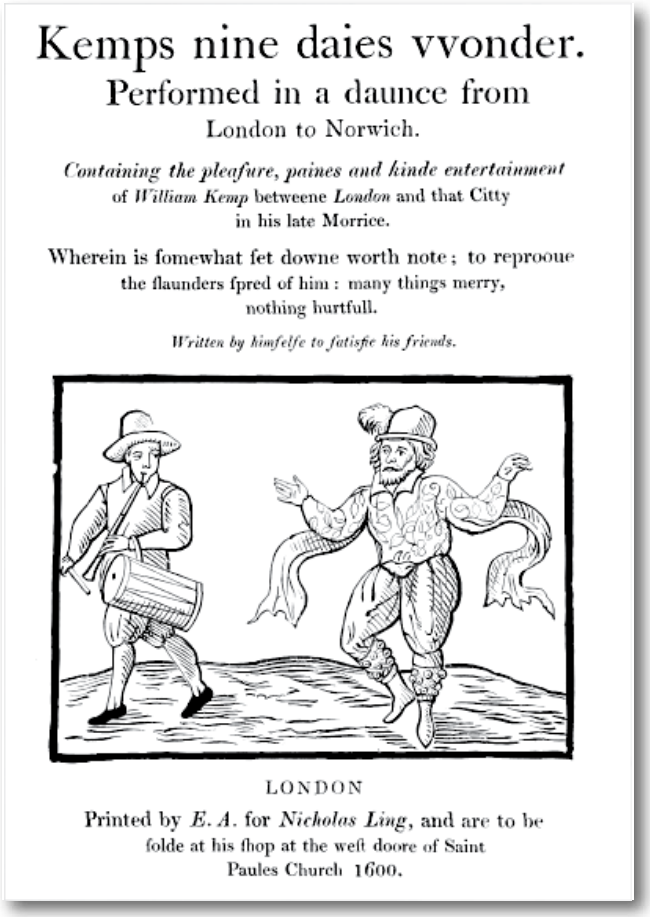
A detail from Wencelas Hollar's View of London (1647) showing the Globe Theatre

popularity and income was beginning to fade. To counteract this, he then set upon an audacious, attention seeking and money making stunt – he would dance all the way from London to Norwich, a distance of about 120 miles. Later, he would later call this his "Nine Daies Wonder".

The jaunt began on 11th February 1600 and was completed on 8th March, giving him a total of 16 rest days as well as 9 dancing days. As well as self-promotion, Kemp laid out some money for a bet with some backers who would give him three times the amount if he completed the feat. He was accompanied by his servant, William Bee, George Sprat, an overseer or referee, and, to provide the music for the dancing, Thomas Slye, who played the pipe and tabor. On his arrival in Norwich, the Mayor arranged a triumphal entry for him and gave him a sum of five pounds and a pension for life of 40 shillings. In fact, George Sprat, forced him to repeat the last part of the dance on the following Tuesday because, due to the crowds blocking his view, he had not been able to observe Kemp actually enter the city. Kemp donated his dancing shoes to the city of Norwich and they were fastened to the wall in the Guildhall.

However, following his great achievement, people did not believe him and there were doubts that he had actually done what he said. To quell any rumours, Kemp wrote a pamphlet which he called *"Kemp's Nine Daies Wonder"*, in which he describes in detail his encounters and events along the way. He dedicated the publication to Mistress Anne Fitton, a maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth I, and introduces it thus: *"I, otherwise called Caualiero Kemp, head-Master of Morrice-dauncers, high Head-borough of heighs, and onely tricker of your Trill lilles, and best bel-shangles betweene Sion and mount Surrey, began frolickely to foote it, from the right Honorable the Lord Mayors of London, towards the right worshipfull (and truely bountifull) Master Mayors of Norwich".*

In the publication he implores the ballad makers (the journalists of the day) to abstain from disseminating lying statements about him and he wants to set the record straight and to stop inaccurate rumours. Kemp goes on to describe each day of the route which took him through towns



Kemps nine daies vvonder.
Performed in a daunce from
London to Norwich.

Containing the pleafure, paines and kinde entertainment of *William Kemp* betweene *London* and that Citty in his late Morrice.

Wherein is fomewhat fet downe worth note; to reprooue the flaunders fpred of him: many things merry, nothing hurtfull.

Written by himfelfe to fatisfie his friends.

LONDON
Printed by *E. A.* for *Nicholas Ling*, and are to be folde at his fhop at the weft doore of Saint Paules Church 1600.

The frontispiece from Kemp's publication "Nine Daies Wonder" where he sets out the full story of his epic dance from London to Norwich

such as Romford, Chelmsford, Bury St Edmonds and Thetford. In Melford he was met by a *"stout butcher"* who danced with him for two miles and, when he was worn out, was replaced by a *"comely lass"* . He describes the people who welcomed him along the way and cheer him on. There are stories of corpulent landlords, bountiful widows, frog-like youths and buxom country girls. Throughout Kemp presents himself as a hero worshiped by a large and adoring audience of well-wishers who welcomed him everywhere he went with open arms. In order to maximise the publicity and the crowds, Kemp describes how he agreed with the Mayor of Norwich to have three rest days prior to entering the city to give enough time to summon up onlookers and supporters. His entry into Norwich was obviously triumphal and described as such in the pamphlet:

W With hart, and hand, among the rest,
E Especially you welcome are:
L Long looked for as welcome guest,
C Come now at last you be from farre.
O Of most within the citty, sure,
M Many good wishes you haue had;
E Each one did pray you might indure,
W With courage good the match you made.
I Intend they did with gladsome hearts,
L Like your well willers, you to meete:
K Know you also they'l doe their parts,
E Eyther in field or house to greete
M More you then any with you came,
P Procur'd thereto with rump and fame.

The publication of Nine Daies Wonder succeeded exactly as Will Kemp had intended and any doubters were quickly silenced. Ben Johnson, writing in 1616 mentions "*the famous morrisse unto Norwich"* . There are at least two tunes dating from this period called Kemps Jig and he was mentioned in plays and songs for many years to come.

However, it seems that the Nine Daies Wonder did nothing to restore Kemp's fortunes in the longer term. He travelled to the Continent but could not find work and on returning joined the Worcester's Men for a time, performing at the Globe's rival, the Rose Theatre. There are records of him being loaned money against his wages and other records of him failing to find patrons. The bawdy jig was beginning to fall out of favour and, like Shakespeare, other playwrights resented the musical and comic intrusion in their plays. Sadly for Kemp, despite his fame which continued long into the early 17th century, he died in poverty in 1603. It is thought he died of plague and his burial record simply states, "Kemp, a man". It seems a sad end for a man whose life was dedicated to enjoyment and entertainment.

I have been playing the tune Kemp's Jig for many years and whilst I knew some of the story, I have thoroughly enjoyed finding out more about the man and his various escapades. However, I am now left with more unanswered questions than when I started! What exactly was the reason for the rift between Shakespeare and Kemp? In fact, was there ever actually a rift? Kemp appears as a character in a play written c1600 (before Kemp's death) in which he praises Shakespeare for outdoing other university educated playwrights – why would he say this if there was a deep seated resentment between the two men. Why did Kemp chose Norwich to dance to? Even – why dance at all?!! Kemp seems to have died

The engraving from Nine Daies Wonder is the only surviving image of Will Kemp, shown here dancing to the sound of Thomas Slye's pipe and tabor. Kemp's costume is quite ornate and bells can be seen strapped to his legs, as with morris dancers today.

in poverty not long after his momentous escapade, so what happened to his promised pension from Norwich? Why did Kemp, who seemed to be so prominent in people's affections, even after his death, seem to be unable to find meaningful work after his journey?

These questions can never be answered as there's no surviving documentation to say exactly what happened over 400 years ago but we must all be grateful for Kemp's Nine Daies Wonder as a colourful snapshot of a larger than life character from the past.

I shall end with an epitaph written by R Braithwaite in 1618, long after his death:

Welcome from Norwich, Kempe all joy to see! Thy safe returne moriscoed lustily. But out, alasse, how soone's thy morice done! When Pipe and Taber, all thy friends be gone, And leave thee now to dance the second part. With feeble nature, not with nimble Art; Then all thy triumphs fraught with strains of mirth shall be cag'd up within a chest of earth: Shall be? they are: th'ast danc'd thee out of breath, And now must make thy parting dance with death.

If you are interested in reading the full story of the Nine Daies Wonder, it is reproduced here: **http://tinyurl.com/ll727k8**

Jane Moulder regularly performs renaissance with the group PIVA around the UK. She is also currently writing **"Tudor Music: In a Nutshell"** for MadeGlobal Publishing.

LES TUDORS – THE EXQUISITE PARIS EXHIBITION IN DETAIL

by Melanie V. Taylor

ON a rather dreary Sunday in Paris I met up with Claire & Tim Ridgway and their family, together with Clare & David Cherry, outside La Musée de Luxembourg, which is hosting *Les Tudors* exhibition. Part of this display had come from London's National Portrait Gallery exhibition, *The Real Tudors: Kings & Queens Rediscovered*, which was on in London earlier this year.

The exhibition space is roomy, but it did become quite warm and stuffy. However, that aside, this exhibition way outstrips the earlier London one in that there are more exhibits and incorporates a history of how the Tudors captured the 19th century French imagination and have been represented in painting, theatre and film. The audio guide is a must for any exhibition; in this instance there is a minor (!) mistake right at the beginning when the narrator refers to Henry VIII's son, Edward VII! We were all surprised this has not been remedied.

Les Amours de la reine Élisabeth

Coronation gown from the 1997 film *Elizabeth*

Entering the gently lit exhibition, on one side there is a double bronze portrait of Henry VII and Katharine Woodville, dated 1870 and created by Édouard Cibot. This seems to have been modelled on the Pietro Torrigiano tomb of Henry VII & Katherine in Westminster Abbey.

Opposite, there is a double-sided screen that has scenes from the 1912 four reel silent French film, *Les Amours de la Reine Élisabeth*, starring Sarah Bernhardt and directed by Henri des Fontaines & Louis Mercanton, running on a continuous loop. Filmed in black and white, this film tells the story of the Elizabeth (Sarah Bernhardt) & Essex (Lou Tellegen) and there are exerts on YouTube for the dedicated. These are the very few clips of the great Sarah Bernhardt in action and a modern audience will find the melodramatic mime very amusing. It is only one hundred years since this was filmed, which, in Tudor terms, is nothing.

The glorious coronation gown from the 1997 film *Elizabeth* is a straight copy from the Coronation portrait that has also travelled from the National Portrait Gallery to Paris. These are some of the modern artefacts that add to the romance of *Les Tudors* exhibition.

The original Tudor pieces were numerous and beautifully displayed. These had come from England's National Archives, Chequers, Westminster Abbey, the Victoria & Albert Museum, the Royal Collection, British Museum, Leeds

Armoury, Hatfield House and Nottingham Castle in addition to items from the National Portrait Gallery. Many of the English exhibits had not been at the NPG. As well as these, there were portraits from the musée de Louvre and documents from the Bibliotéque nationale de France, Kunsthorisches Museum, Vienna, Musée Rolin, Maison de Victor Hugo, Washington National Gallery of Art, Musée national de la Renaissance, and I am sure I have missed some other institutions!

The Stonyhurst Cope made from cloth of gold has come from the Victoria & Albert Museum, presumably with the permission of Stonyhurst College. The gold fabric was supplied by the Buonvisi family who were Luccaese merchants living in London.[1] The embroidery is English and sewn by the embroiderers to Henry VII. Tudor roses abound very much in the way of the decorated margins of an English Books of Hours. These roses are of red velvet cutwork and the grey is silver thread. The Beaufort portcullis dominates the cope, together with an imperial crown (signifying English lands overseas). The embroidered scene above the Beaufort portcullis is an Annunciation.

This magnificent Church vestment was part of a large commission of matching vestments commissioned by Henry VII c1500 and were mentioned in his will.

Also we bequeath to God and St. Peter, and to the Abbot, Prior and Convent of our monastery at Westminster that now be, and that hereafter shall be, for perpetual memory, there to remain while the world shall endure, the whole suit of vestments and copes of cloth of gold tissue wrought with our badges of red (and white) roses and portcullises, which we of late at our proper cost and charge caused to be bought and provided at Florence in Italy; that is to say the whole vestments for the Priests, the Deacon and sub-Deacon, and twenty-nine copes of the same cloth and work.[2]

We know the cope was taken to France in June 1520 and may have been worn by Cardinal Wolsey during the Church services held during the seventeen days we know as the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

Louis XII Roi de France

Claire (R) and I stood for a long time in front of the portrait of a young woman. There has been some controversy regarding this painting and is has been argued that it is not of Katharine of Aragon, but is instead, one of Mary Tudor, who was married to Louis XII for a short period. It was good to be able to examine this painting of Katherine of Aragon/ Mary 'in the flesh' as something is always lost when an image is reproduced in a book or on screen.

If this is Mary Tudor, younger sister to Henry VIII, and the date is 1514, then why is she wearing a necklace that clearly has the initials K? I can understand the inclusion of the roses of Lancaster & York especially if the date of the painting is earlier, say c1506/7. It could then be argued that the K refers to Karolus (Charles), grandson of Holy Roman Emperor Maximillian I since Mary was betrothed to him in 1507.

If this is the case then this could also explain the inclusion of the gold scallop shells adorning the

1 **www.traccanti.it/enciclopedia/lorenzo-buonvisi_(Dictionary-Biografico)/** accessed 2nd April 2015

2 **http://stonyhurst.web7.devwebsite.co.uk/page/?title=Henry+VII+Vestment&pid=506** accessed 2nd April 2015.

Michel Sittow portrait of a young woman

neckline of her dress, as Charles's mother was the second daughter of Isabella of Castile & Ferdinand of Aragon and the scallop shells are Spanish symbols of Santiago de Compostela. But in a similar way they are also a symbol used in the French Order of St Michael, which we see in the painting next to this one.

Louis XII is wearing a collar of scallop shells in the portrait by Jean Perréal (1514). Mary Tudor was married to him from October 1514 to January 1515 so one could draw the conclusion that perhaps the scallop shells are a reference to the French king, but this seems a very convoluted argument. Another possible reason for the inclusion of the scallop shell is that it was an ancient symbol of female fertility.

It has also been suggested that the K is the signature of the artist.

Often it is the most simple suggestion that is the most likely and, as proposed many years ago, this is a portrait of Katherine of Aragon – youngest daughter of Isabella & Ferdinand. We have a description that she had long red hair, blue eyes and a round face. The marriage between the eldest son of Henry VII and Katherine, who also had a claim to the English throne, would consolidate the Tudor claim, and any future male heir would further cement this. I think the necklace identifies her as Katherine and the roses suggest Arthur – he being the direct result of the combination of the Houses of York & Lancaster. I accept that the roses could also be argued that Mary Tudor was also a result of this combination, but, if so, surely the letter would have been an M.

Michel Sittow was painter to Isabella & Ferdinand, so why would this not be a young Katharine of Aragon painted before her journey to England and her marriage to the heir to the English throne. The argument no doubt will continue, but neither Claire (R) nor I are convinced by the Mary Tudor suggestion. What is not explicable is the halo – anyone have any suggestions?

There are two portraits where the two rival kings of England and France, Henry VIII and Francis I, face each other. Both paintings are by Joos van Cleve, were painted between 1530 and 1535 and come from the English Royal Collection. The paintings are of a similar size. It is not known that van Cleve visited England, so it is likely that for the portrait of Henry VIII he was working from a drawing supplied to him. Van Cleve was known for his portraits of the French Court, especially his portrait of Francis I's wife, Eleanor of Austria (there is a version of her portrait in the English Royal collection and another, less well executed version, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).

One of the first things one learns about reading medieval & Renaissance portraits is the traditional position of men and women in pendant portraits. To the modern eye, it seems sensible that these two men should face each other. However, in Renaissance portraiture things are rarely that simple.

Henry holds a piece of paper with a Latin inscription and faces to the right and Francis I's hand is on the hilt of his sword as if he is ready for military action, and he faces to the left.

Henry was known for his athleticism and prowess at the joust, the hunt and anything else physical and his face appears well fed, but does not yet have the overblown look of a gourmand. His fur lined coat is adorned with pearls and his doublet is of a rich cloth of gold, ornamented with pearls and diamonds and slashed in a similar way to that of the French king. A red cushion is in front of him and he rests his right hand on it. He wears a diamond ring on his right forefinger. The inscription on the scroll translates as, '*Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature*' (Mark 16:15). In this context perhaps we should consider this image more of a statement of Henry's religious standing in Europe as 'Fidei Defensor' granted to him by Pope Leo X in 1521 for his defence of the Catholic faith. The artist was Catholic, his patron was Catholic and while the final English break with Rome was on the horizon, in 1531/2 it was more a political spat caused by Henry's desire for a divorce, than any serious religious confrontation.

If the other portrait is a faithful representation of Francis I, then the artist was a brave man. The face is puffy and by comparison to Henry VIII, he is nowhere near as attractive. His fur-lined coat has more pearls than Henry's, but his doublet is not as obviously rich as the highly decorated one worn by the English king. Neither does Francis wear a ring. Both men have neatly trimmed beards, perhaps suggestive of their virility?

Armada portrait in the NPG and exhibition. (after George Gower)

Henry VIII by Joos van Cleve

The two r

Francis I – Joos van Cleve

rival kings

I felt there was a subtlety in the way Van Cleve has placed Henry on the left rather than his patron, Francis I. Despite Henry being in the traditional position of a man, Van Cleve appears to portray him as a more feminine character! Francis comes across as more macho despite being placed where traditionally a woman would be. This becomes more apparent if you put the three Van Cleve paintings of Henry VIII, Francis I and his queen, Eleanor, together. Like the French queen, Henry is holding the piece of paper delicately between the thumb and forefinger of his left hand and she too, wears diamonds and pearls on her bodice, which is also of expensive gold brocade.

These three portraits were created at about the same time and the Spanish words in the letter refer to Eleanor as the '*most Christian Queen*', suggesting it was painted after her coronation in 1531. This painting is larger than those of the two kings, which are of similar size. On the Royal Collection website, it is thought that the two portraits of the kings were created to celebrate their meeting in 1532.[3] If this is the case, then it might explain the lack of a portrait of an English queen since Henry was not yet married to Anne Boleyn, nor was his divorced satisfactorily concluded.

The series of miniatures in this exhibition covered Princess Mary (probably by Lucas or Susannah Horenbout) painted between 1521 – 26; portraits of Henry VIII c 1526 also by Lucas Horenbout; right up to the 1572 portrait of Elizabeth I by Nicholas Hilliard. It was like saying hello to old friends, as I know these images so well. Two Holbein miniatures of an Unknown Man and Woman dating from 1534 were new to me. I wondered why Holbein had chosen to paint an anonymous man wearing the king's livery, together with his wife. Clearly there is a story here as these miniatures were not cheap, comparatively speaking. Who are these people? Did they commission these portraits? Did Hans Holbein know them? Did he paint them as a present? So many questions and I have a theory, but that requires a lot more research before I voice it.

In glass cases there were Anne Boleyn's Book of Hours open at the page showing the love notes written to her by Henry VIII on the illuminated page of the Man of Sorrows. This book, together with the copy of the Bible translated into French by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaple, were on loan from the British Library.

Katharine Parr by Master John

3 **http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/search#/page/1** – where it says type a name, put in Joos van Cleve and the three portraits should come up side by side.

Treaties from the English & French National Archives that led up to the ratification of the final treaty signed on 18th August 1527 made a glittering display in a free standing glass topped cabinet. The gold bulla from the French version of the August 1527 treaty was there, which is incredibly heavy – I know I've held it. Seeing it next to the larger wax bulla that was attached to the English version of the treaty it becomes obvious that these two kings were rivals even in the way that treaties were sealed and decorated. Who designed the royal seals? Perhaps the illuminator Lucas Horenbout, and it is probable that he would have also designed the illuminated narrative in the margins of the English versions of the various treaties. I have examined the French version of the 1527 treaty and held the gold seal because it is kept at the English National Archives. At Kew I have poured over the Latin texts of the various French treaties regarding a possible marriage between the Dauphin and Princess Mary and the one detailing various trade agreements, all the while trying to bridge the centuries and understand what the artists were telling me in the images painted in the margins of these documents. Seeing the English versions next to their French counterparts, together for the first time in four hundred and eighty eight years, was fascinating. My imagination took flight and I fancied I could faintly hear the hum of conversation of the Tudor and French courtiers as they witnessed the signing of these precious documents, or was only the muted discussion of those attending the exhibition?

At the end of this cabinet there was the English version of the Treaty of Camp dated 1546, which is one of the treasures of the Bibliotéque nationale de France. I have contemplated the front sheet of this document on a computer screen, printed it off in various sizes and then examined the iconography with a hand lens. Henry VIII had clearly noted the various earlier French innovations in treaty creation when he was giving instructions as to how he wanted the English version of this particular one illuminated. Similar to the French version of the 1527 treaty which includes a portrait of Francis I, Henry's tiny portrait sits in the centre of the cross bar of the letter H. Renaissance female caryatids support an architectural edifice where the Goddess Pax, holding olive branches, is seated between the coats of arms of England and France. The treaty is an explosion of Renaissance motifs and symbolism.

In the past, this document has been attributed to William Scrots who had been court painter to Mary of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands. Scrots was a painter of table (large) paintings and a portrait of Edward VI by him (also in this exhibition) demonstrates his consummate skill in this genre, but I refute the suggestion that Scrots illuminated this document most strongly.

Why do I make such a bold statement? The two great names in painting and illuminated manuscripts, Hans Holbein the Younger and Lucas Horenbout, had died in November 1543 and March 1544 respectively, leaving the English court without anyone of sufficient talent to step into either of their shoes. From the royal accounts we see both Scrots and Teerlinc appearing regularly from 1546 onwards. Teerlinc may have come to the Court the previous year at the behest of Katharine Parr, who was very keen on the portrait miniature. She was the grand-daughter of the artist, Alexander Bening and daughter of the foremost European illuminator, Simon Bening, and her talent had been described by the contemporary art historian, Ludovico Guicciardini (1521-1589) as being as good as that of her father.[4], [5]. In an age where women were considered inferior to men, that was high praise.

When it comes to the decoration of this treaty, if Teerlinc had been recruited as the replacement for the illuminator, Lucas Horenbout, and was being paid the considerable salary of £40 per annum, why would Scrots have been asked to design and paint it?[6] The medium is watercolour on vellum, which I am sure Scrots was quite capable of using except he was primarily an artist who worked in oil and

4 Master of Arts dissertation 2006: *The Life & Works of Levina Teerlinc*: Templeman Library, University of Kent, Canterbury.

5 **http://amshistorica.unibo.it/archivio/000185/000003.jpg**

6 C66 – Chancery & Supreme Judicature : Patent rolls 1201-1600 at the English National Archives, Kew. Surrey: E 315 – Court of Augmentations: Predecessors & Successors: Miscellaneous Book c1100-c1800: E 323 – Court of Augmentations: Treasurer's Accounts 1536 – 1834.

painted large portraits. He painted portraits of both Edward VI and Princess Elizabeth, but not of Princess Mary (as far as we are aware).

Portraits of Edward as Prince and then as King painted by William Scrots are in both the Royal Collection and the Louvre. The expressions of surprise on the faces of the people taking the trouble to look at the 1546 anamorphic painting of Prince Edward was very amusing to see.

In the catalogue another portrait of Edward of the same date and also painted by Scrots, is placed side by side to the 1547 portrait painted by 'Master John'. At first glance you might think the paintings are labelled the wrong way round since Master John's 1547 rendition of Edward looks so much younger than the 1546 painting by Scrots. Both artists echo Hans Holbein's portrait of Henry VIII by portraying Edward with hands on hips and legs apart. In the case of the Master John portrait, the attention to detail of the carpet, the cloth of estate as well as the clothes kept us absorbed for some time. The Louvre version of the 1550 portrait of King Edward (also by Scrots) depicts a maturing young man, with a hint of steel in his expression. Still with legs apart and hand on what appears to be a dagger, this Edward exudes more authority than in the earlier portraits. Being only inches from the original paintings and so able to examine the brushwork, is a privilege. Even though a screen version may be able to expand areas of a painting for closer examination, nothing beats looking at the original where you can see the brush marks and sometimes even the under-drawing.

Princess Mary is not represented by any portrait by William Scrots, only the one by Master John, which has no detailed background; only one of a beautiful blue. The way she is portrayed is almost medieval in that Master John has written the date (1544) and a description of who she is and who her father is, in gold ink. Mary is defined only by the magnificence of her gown and the words giving her lineage and age. This portrait is hung next to that of Katherine Parr, who stands on a magnificent carpet and has a similar blue background to that of Mary. Both women stand in identical poses and, from a distance without my glasses, appeared to me to be the same person. Considering the dates of these two portraits I wondered whether Master John had aspirations to become Court painter, but when you compare them to those by William Scrots, it is evident that the 'stranger' painter was the superior talent. However, it was Master John who received the commission in 1547 to paint the young King Edward, despite Scrots still being at court. I wondered whether it was a deliberate choice to choose an English artist to paint the first official portrait of the new king. When Edward dies in 1553 Scrots disappears from the accounts and we do not know where he went.

After Mary became queen, her artist of choice was Hans Eworth who came to London in the mid 1540s, possibly to escape religious persecution in Antwerp. Comparing his work to that of Master John, it is very apparent that England did not have an artist of sufficient talent to be appointed Court artist. The 1554 small portrait of Mary by Eworth sent to Philip II of Spain, prompted Philip to remark later that the artist had flattered her and is in the exhibition. Philip sent his own artist, Antonis Mor, to paint his intended bride, who captured Mary in a dour tight-lipped portrait that is now in Castle Ashby. Titian had been painting Philip II for many years and in some of these portraits the Hapsburg jaw is not as pronounced as in others, so perhaps the same accusation regarding flattery might be made of Titian. We know of 90 works Eworth created for both Mary and her sister, Elizabeth, but that is for another article.

The leaf from the Crampe Ring Prayer Book showing Mary on her knees on Good Friday is exhibited. Oddly, this page has been separated from the rest of the book. The page is reproduced in the catalogue and the colours are not true, which is a shame. However, the curators have labelled this as 'artist unknown', which is very pleasing to me since I do not believe this is the work of Teerlinc, as suggested some years ago by Roy Strong.

The sketch for Mary's royal seal has been loaned by the British Museum. The design would have posed a problem for the artist since Mary was the first queen regnant of England. Up until this date kings were portrayed as warriors as well as God's instrument of mercy and justice. Unfortunately, the sketch shown is that of the queen seated on her throne, in her coronation robes and under the cloth of estate so we do not see if the artist resolved the knotty problem of portraying the monarch as warrior.

There is a large display of Elizabethan paintings and artefacts. The Coronation, Phoenix,

Princess Mary – by Master John

Mary I – 1554-Hans Eworth

Mary I 1554 by Antonis Mor

Elizabeth I - The Darnley Portrait

Elizabeth I in coronation robes

Elizabeth I - Phoenix Portrait

Ditchley, Darnley and Armada portraits of Elizabeth all adorn the walls, together with portraits of Dudley and Essex. The 1572 miniature, the phoenix jewel and a gold medallion, all designed by Nicholas Hilliard are resplendent in their cabinets. On an independent plinth is the Chequers ring that was cut off the queen's finger after her death and Claire, Clare and I admired this for some time. It is a tiny ring and, for the first time, I saw that underneath the locket part was a hidden enamelled phoenix. I have been privileged to see this ring twice before, but had never seen the underneath of the locket. Neither Claire R or Clare C had ever seen it. They, like me, were astounded at the beautiful workmanship and I had forgotten just how tiny the miniatures inside the locket are. I have always thought this ring was made by Hilliard, but this is just my theory and there is only circumstantial evidence to suggest this.

The French curators have chosen to incorporate various English and French 19th century visual interpretations of Tudor history. This included paintings, engravings and even opera and I have to say I found this section rather Disneyesque and am not sure what it added to the exhibition, except to fill some space. In particular, I found the William Frederick Yeames painting of the death of Amy Robsart, with the 'quelle horreur' melodramatic expressions on the face of the discoverers of the body, rather awful.

We bought the catalogue – well, it will improve my French as the curators have chosen not to produce an English version. I think this is a mistake as there were many Americans there and I am sure more will be visiting this summer. I have often bought a catalogue to an exhibition in the US because I know I cannot visit the exhibition itself, so I think the French are missing a trick.

Over lunch we compared notes. For me, the highlight of the exhibition was seeing the original of the 1546 Treaty. For the two Claire's, it was being able to see the Chequers ring for the first time. It was only after I had come home that I realised there was one person very conspicuous by his absence and that was Prince Arthur. I did not see a portrait of him (and there is one in the NPG) or a reference to him, except in the catalogue.

Overall, this is a lovely exhibition and I thoroughly enjoyed it despite the absence of Arthur, who, had he lived, would have made a very different Tudor story.

MELANIE V. TAYLOR

Ratification of the Treaty of Ardres by Henry VIII in 1546 by teelink

Workshop of Hans Holbein

the Younger – Portrait of Henry VIII

Queen Elizabeth I ('The Ditchley portrait') by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger

Scrots-Edouard VI-
Louvre

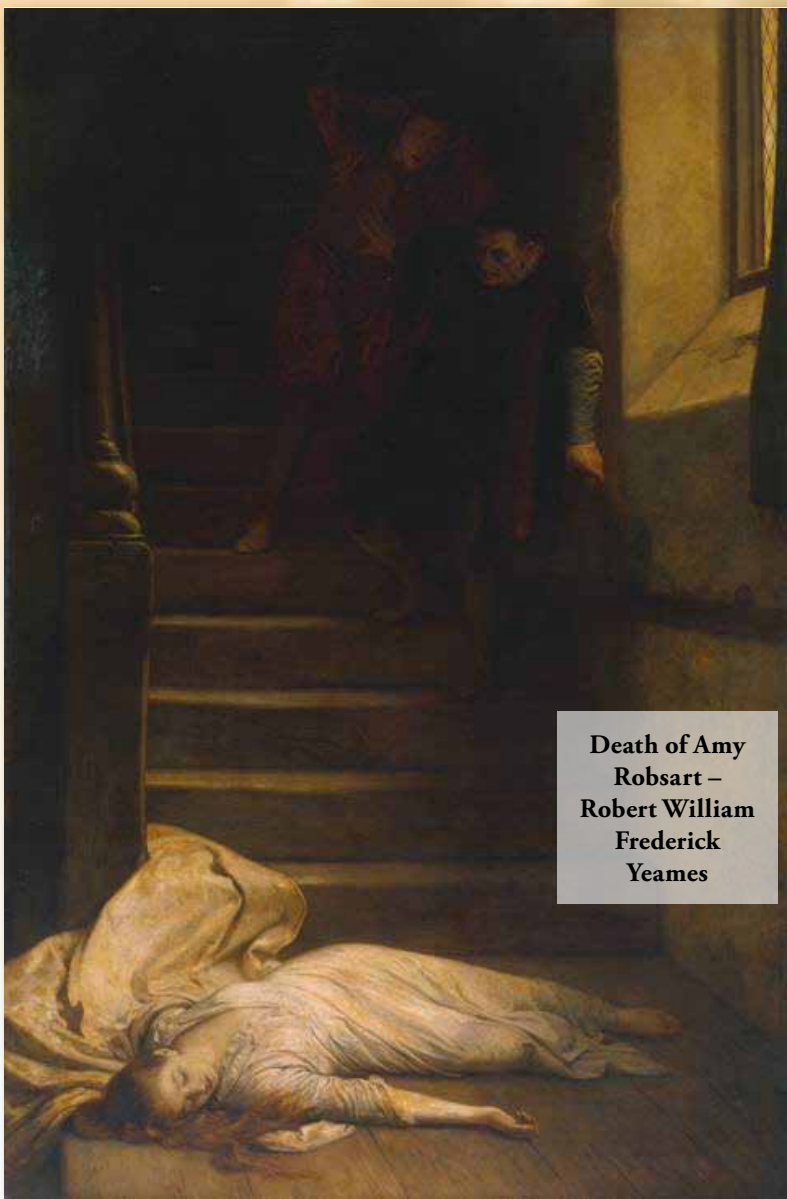
Edward VI of England
c. 1546 scrots

Edward VI
Master John

Robert Dudley Leicester

Juan de Flandes

Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger



Death of Amy Robsart – Robert William Frederick Yeames


TUDORS

"LES TUDORS" PARIS GET-TOGETHER

Thanks to our members who were able to make it to Paris for the "Les Tudors" exhibition this month. Here are a few snaps taken outside and in a restaurant that evening. Thanks so much to Claire Ridgway, Clare Cherry and Melanie Taylor – it was a great fun time!

TIM RIDGWAY

EXCLUSIVE

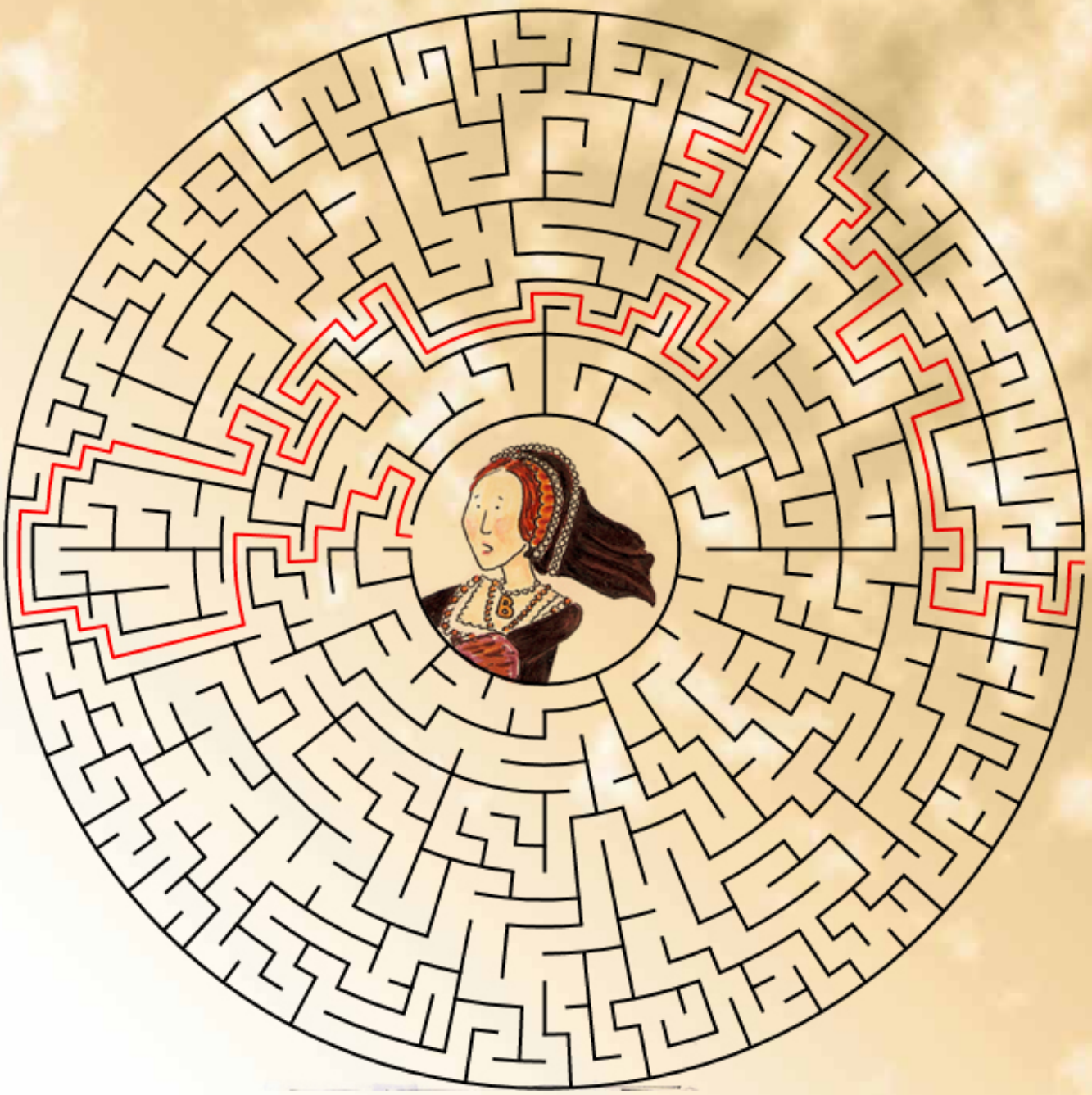
BONUS LIVE CHAT SESSION - JESSIE CHILDS!

Historian Jessie Childs, author of Henry VIII's Last Victim: The Life and Times of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey and God's Traitors: Terror and Faith in Elizabethan England, is sharing a video with Tudor Society members of a talk she did at this year's Jaipur Literature Festival on "God's Traitors: Religious Terrorism in Elizabethan England". Jessie will also be joining us for a live chat on 21st May, details to come!

So that's two talks and two live chats for May!

TOWER MAZE

Here's the solution to the Tower Maze...
did Anne escape in time?



Anyone want to write a quiz for the website, make a tudor puzzle page for the magazine? We'd really love to hear from you. I know you're an expert ... why not share that knowledge and test the rest of us?

Tudor Life

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~IN JUNE'S~
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AND OUR REGULARS
Melanie on Art
Gareth on History
Beth's Tudor Tidbits
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Tudor Themed Puzzle Page

DON'T MISS
THIS MONTH'S GIANT
GIVE-AWAY & EXPERT TALK!