

# Tudor Life

THE  
TUDOR  
SOCIETY

The Tudor Society Magazine

Members Only

Nº 10

June 2015

## Francis Knollys & Catherine Carey: A Tudor Love Story

*by Adrienne Dillard*

## Elizabeth Wydeville: Marriage and Myth

*by Olga Huges*

## A Woman's Work is Never Done

*by Toni Mount*

## The Field of the Cloth of Gold

*by Melanie V. Taylor*

PLUS

The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book – A Mystery Still to be Solved? *Jane Moulder*

Anne Askew, Tudor Era's Unknowing Feminist Change Agent *Beth von Staats*

Henry and Anne's Tale - Is it a Love Story? *Lisa Bryan*

5 Things You (Probably) Didn't Know about Robert Dudley *Elizabeth Goldring*

Marie de Guise *Melanie Clegg* Henry Fitzroy *Kyra Kramer*





# Welcome!

June 2015



Issue 10 already! Thank you to all members, new and long-term, young and old. We're only a young society but we're already making great strides in helping people to find out more about this fascinating period of British history. Would you believe that in February we had over 20,000 unique people visit the website to see what we were offering. Since starting the Tudor Society we've had to upgrade our server not just once but *three times*

to deal with the traffic and the amount of content we've been adding for you. This issue of TUDOR LIFE covers a wide range of the fascinating people we've often heard of but don't know much about, such as Catherine Carey, Henry Fitzroy, Marie de Guise, Catherine de' Medici, Anne Askew and Elizabeth Wydeville. Isn't it amazing that we have even heard of these people from such a long time ago. We're so blessed that the period which fascinates us was one where people started writing things down carefully and – even more importantly – keeping those letters safe for hundreds of years!

Enjoy this edition,

*Clare*



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# Tudor Life

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**COVER IMAGE:** Portrait of a Woman, probably Catherine Carey, Lady Knollys by Steven van der Meulen (fl. 1543–1568) – Yale Center for British Art B1974.3.22

# **FIVE THINGS YOU (PROBABLY) DIDN'T KNOW ABOUT ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER**

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*by Elizabeth Goldring*

**R**obert Dudley (?1532-1588), Earl of Leicester, was Queen Elizabeth I's favourite and the most militant Protestant at her court. For more than 400 years, Dudley has been caricatured as the ultimate Machiavel, with the result that his contributions to Elizabethan politics and culture have been overshadowed by scandal and lurid innuendo. Who has not heard the (almost certainly scurrilous) claim that he ordered the murder of his first wife, Amy Robsart, so as to pave the way for marriage to Queen Elizabeth? Now, however, an examination of the more than twenty surviving inventories of Leicester's picture holdings – together with supporting documentation such as correspondence, financial accounts, and the like – has revealed another side to this most notorious of Elizabethan courtiers: Leicester was also the most important and influential patron of painters and collector of paintings at the Elizabethan court, as well as a forerunner of the leading patrons and collectors at the early Stuart court, such as Thomas Howard, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Arundel. Here, Elizabeth Goldring shares five discoveries from her recently published book, *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the World of Elizabethan Art*. The product of nearly twenty years of archival detective work, this is the first book to tell the story of Leicester's picture collection and of the broader political and cultural environment in which it was created and experienced.



Lord Robert Dudley Anglo Netherlandish school, c.1563 No. 14.1996  
copyright The National Trust, Waddesdon Manor.



Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and Elizabeth I, by Nicholas Hilliard, c. 1575 courtesy of Bonhams

**I** IN AN era in which most English aristocrats were content to sit for their portraits perhaps once or twice in their lives – and then to recycle the same face pattern(s) again and again – Dudley commissioned at least twenty portraits of himself between Elizabeth I’s accession to the throne in 1558 and his own death thirty years later, often going to considerable efforts to recruit foreign painters with a history of patronage at the highest levels on the Continent. Not all of these portraits have survived. But those that have – which range from miniatures by Nicholas Hilliard to a preparatory drawing for a life-sized painting by Federico Zuccaro to a bust engraved on a solid gold medallion by Hendrick Goltzius – are remarkable not only for their number, but for their variety and, in some cases, for their innovative appropriation of the tropes and gestures of contemporary Continental portraiture. For example, in a portrait with a hound executed by an unknown Anglo-Netherlandish artist c.1563 – reproduced on the front cover of my book – Dudley strikes a pose made famous by Charles V, who had

been painted thus in the 1530s by both Titian and Jakob Seisenegger. In so doing, Dudley invites the viewer to see him as another Charles V, or at least as an aristocrat with the taste and refinement to make the allusion.

**2**) DUDLEY COMMISSIONED at least seven portraits of Elizabeth I (five paintings *en large*, one miniature, and one sculpture bust); several of these images of the Queen were designed to be viewed alongside portraits of Dudley himself as companion images, or quasi-pairs. Most of the surviving examples date from the mid-1570s, when Dudley’s efforts to persuade Elizabeth to marry him reached fever pitch. Indeed, some paintings *en large* can be placed in Leicester’s picture collection at Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire, and can be shown to have been commissioned in anticipation of the Queen’s celebrated visit of July 1575, the entertainments for which functioned as an extended proposal of marriage on the part of the earl. Such images cannot, strictly speaking, be called pairs, since – in all

the extant examples – Leicester and Elizabeth are depicted facing the same direction rather than facing each other (the latter a convention restricted, in this period, to married couples). But such images might be termed quasi-pairs, for the depiction of Leicester and Elizabeth as a couple is unmistakable, as you can see from the companion miniatures reproduced on the back cover of my book, which were executed *c.*1575 by Nicholas Hilliard – perhaps, as was the fashion of the day, for insertion into a jewel that might be worn affixed to the breast. Although many Elizabethan courtiers commissioned portraits of the Queen, so far as is known Leicester was the only Englishman audacious enough to have commissioned images of Elizabeth intended to be viewed as quasi-pairs alongside complementary images of himself. That said, François-Hercule, duc d'Anjou – the youngest of Henri II and Catherine de' Medici's sons and Elizabeth's on-again, off-again suitor between about 1572 and 1582 – undoubtedly took a page from Leicester's book when, *c.*1581, he commissioned companion miniatures of himself and Elizabeth from Hilliard. This quasi-pair took the form of manuscript illuminations in a Lilliputian prayer

book belonging to the Queen and depicted Anjou and Elizabeth facing the same direction rather than each other.

3) DUDLEY HELPED to set the fashion whereby courtiers who commissioned portraits of the Queen included coded references to themselves, thereby advertising their own importance to and intimacy with Elizabeth. This vogue reached its zenith in the 1580s and 1590s, with paintings such as the 'Ditchley' portrait, which was commissioned by Sir Henry Lee *c.*1592 and depicts the Queen standing on a map of England, her feet firmly planted on Lee's native Oxfordshire. But this fashion, like so many others in Elizabethan painting, can be traced back to Dudley's example. A painting now in Reading – executed by an unknown artist for Leicester's collection at Kenilworth in the run-up to Elizabeth's July 1575 visit (and originally intended to hang alongside one of Leicester, thereby forming a quasi-pair) – depicts the Queen wearing an elaborate jewel-encrusted white doublet that had been a gift from Leicester at New Year 1575. In all likelihood, the 'Hampden' portrait of *c.*1562-3 was also a product of Dudley's patronage, for



General view of ruins of Kenilworth from the car park (© Elizabeth Gouldring)

it depicts the young Queen wearing a red rose surrounded not by rose leaves, but by oak leaves (the oak having been adopted by Dudley – at least as early as 1554 – as a self-referential symbol on account of the aural similarities between ‘Robert’ and ‘robur’, the Latin for ‘oak’).

**4)** DURING HIS lifetime – and in the years immediately following his death – Dudley was renowned throughout Continental Europe for his activities as a patron of painters and as a collector of paintings. In 1565, Leicester nearly succeeded in wooing an un-named Florentine painter – possibly Agnolo Bronzino – away from Cosimo I de’ Medici, though the negotiations seem to have fallen apart at the eleventh hour. Ten years later, Leicester pulled off the coup of luring the Roman mannerist Federico Zuccaro to England – an episode subsequently celebrated in Raffello Borghini’s *Il Riposo* (Florence, 1584). But the earl’s fame as a patron and collector was not limited to Italy. In the early 1570s, the French ambassador to England noted, in one of his despatches from London, that the best way for the Valois to curry favour with Leicester was to send the earl whatever pictures he requested – to which end, Catherine de’ Medici duly supplied Leicester with paintings and drawings by François Clouet and his followers. In a similar vein, Karel van Mander’s *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Amsterdam, 1604) describes Leicester and the English soldiers who fought under him in the Netherlands in the mid-1580s as a cohort at least as focused on the acquisition of art as they were on warfare. Inventories and financial accounts corroborate van Mander’s account, revealing that Leicester took advantage of his 1586-7 military expedition to acquire approximately thirty new paintings for Leicester House in the Strand, including a now-lost painting on canvas of Noah and the flood by Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem.

**5)** IN AN era in which many English aristocrats would not have owned much more than a handful of ancestral portraits and perhaps one of the Queen, Dudley’s holdings were astonishingly large and varied: some 200 paintings and other works of art –

dispersed across the collections at Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire; Wanstead Manor, Essex; and Leicester House, London – were recorded in Leicester’s possession at the time of death in 1588. Few, if any, of these *objets* were inherited. Rather, Dudley actively collected and commissioned art throughout his adult life. As might be expected, the majority of the paintings in Leicester’s collection were portraits. Subjects depicted included – in addition to Leicester himself and Queen Elizabeth – the great and the good of sixteenth-century Europe, as well as members of Leicester’s immediate family in England, such as his nephew and political protégé Sir Philip Sidney, whose now-lost portrait by Paolo Veronese hung at Leicester House in the 1580s. (Strikingly, however, Leicester displayed no portraits of his Dudley forebears – a reflection, perhaps, of the fact that both his father and his grandfather had died on the scaffold as traitors. Nor did he display a portrait of his ill-fated sister-in-law, Lady Jane Grey Dudley.) Leicester’s collection at Kenilworth – which was comprised almost entirely of portraits – appears to have been self-consciously modelled on one of the most celebrated picture collections of Renaissance Italy: the 400 or so portraits of ‘*uomini famosi*’ assembled by Paolo Giovio, Bishop of Nocera, at his villa on Lake Como in the early decades of the sixteenth century. But Leicester’s holdings – particularly at Leicester House – also encompassed a diverse array of religious and mythological paintings, as well as assorted genre pictures; many of these had been acquired on the Continent and would have been unusual, if not wholly unprecedented, in Elizabethan England. Sadly, Leicester died heavily in debt and without a legitimate male heir. As a result, the extraordinary picture collections that he assembled at Kenilworth, Wanstead, and Leicester House were widely dispersed within a few years of his death, and, with the passage of time, gradually forgotten. Now, *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the World of Elizabethan Art* has re-created this lost world – and with it, a turning point in the history of British art.

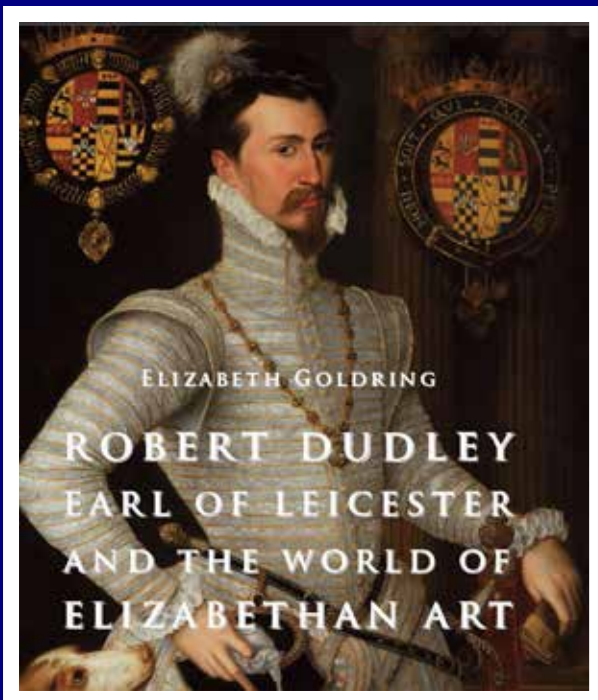
**ELIZABETH GOLDRING**





**Dr Elizabeth Goldring** is an Associate Fellow at the University of Warwick's Centre for the Study of the Renaissance. Born and raised in the United States, she studied English literature at Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, before pursuing her MA, MPhil, and PhD in Renaissance Studies at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the World of Elizabethan Art* (Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2014) is her first sole-authored book. Lavishly illustrated, the book has been praised by *Country Life* ('beautifully produced'), by *The Journal of the History of Collections* ('essential reading for anyone interested in the collecting of art'), by *Choice* ('a model of scholarship on the Elizabethan Renaissance'), and by *Cassone* ('fascinating ..will appeal to scholars of Elizabethan culture and interested amateurs alike').

Her book *Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester and the World of Elizabethan Art* is the first to tell the story of Leicester's picture collection and the broader cultural environment in which it was created and experienced. In spite of the fact that Leicester's pictures and personal papers were widely dispersed after his death, pioneering archival research has enabled Elizabeth Goldring to bring to life this lost world – and, with it, a turning point in the history of British art. Lavishly illustrated, this volume includes little-known images now in private collections, some reproduced in colour for the first time here.



# THE TUDOR HOUSEWIFE

## ‘A Woman’s Work is Never Done’

by Toni Mount

**E**VERYDAY life in Tudor times wasn’t easy for anyone but women generally seem to have had more difficulties than men. Despite there being two queens regnant – Mary I and Elizabeth I – during the sixteenth century, women remained most definitely second class citizens.

An unmarried girl was her father’s property. If her father died, she came under the guardianship of an uncle or elder brother, not her mother. When she married, she became a possession of her husband, along with any of her belongings which she brought with her. Only as a widow did she have any chance of a measure of independence. Few women had more than a basic education as it wasn’t thought necessary. Some enlightened fathers, like Thomas More, did believe their daughters should be educated beyond rudimentary reading, writing – signing their name, anyway – and construing, which meant being able to do addition and subtraction. This last skill was often taught as part of an apprenticeship, so that wives could do their husbands’ business accounts. This was more complicated then than now, money being reckoned in pounds, shillings and pence, with twelve pennies in a shilling and twenty shillings in a pound, as well as other coins such as marks [13s 4d] and half marks [6s 8d i.e. 3 half marks = £1].

So the task of doing the accounts was far more time-consuming for a Tudor housewife and this seems to apply to almost every task they had to do. Ironing clothes is still a bit of a chore, even today with sophisticated steam irons and easy-care fabrics, but can you imagine pressing, shaping, starching and pleating just one Elizabethan neck-ruff?

Gervaise Markham grew up in the late Tudor period and wrote a book of instruction called *The English Housewife*. It wasn’t published until 1615 – this year sees its 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary – but he must have based it on what he had seen Tudor women doing about the house. He writes that: ‘our English housewife must be skilful... in the making of all sorts of linen cloth...’ and then goes through the processes, from preparing the ground to plant the flax seed, sowing the seeds and weeding round the crop as it grows, to pulling it up by the roots, ripening, watering and letting it lie in water to rot down. Then washing it out, drying it for two weeks, rippling it with a comb, housing, braking and drying it in a kiln. Then the flax is swingled – twice – then heckled and dressed. Finally, it is spun into linen yarn but this isn’t the end.

Next, it is reeled onto spools, slipped, scoured, bucked and then bleached for the first time. ‘Then wind it up into round balls of a reasonable bigness’ Markham instructs and only then does he allow the housewife to hand over the work to someone else: ‘if your weaver be honest and skilful he will make you good and perfect cloth...’ But then the chores continue for the housewife. The woven cloth got dirty in the weaving process and must be soaked in a strong solution of soapy lye (homemade, of course), then stretched out and allowed to dry. These processes are repeated over and over, until the cloth is bleached white and softened enough for the housewife to cut it and stitch it into shirts, underwear, tablecloths, towels and bed-linen. All that just to put sheets on the bed!

For a tougher cloth – canvas – which was used as ships’ sails, wagon-covers, for bagging wool



Weaving, spinning, and combing flax – MS Fr. 598, f. 70v, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris

or vegetables, labourers' trousers and aprons and a hundred other hard-wearing purposes, hemp was grown and treated in much the same way as flax, except that there was no need to weed around it as the hemp outgrew other plants, and the bleaching and softening processes weren't required. However, if we tried to grow and make our own canvas today (the clue is probably in a misspelling of the name), we would be arrested. We call it cannabis.

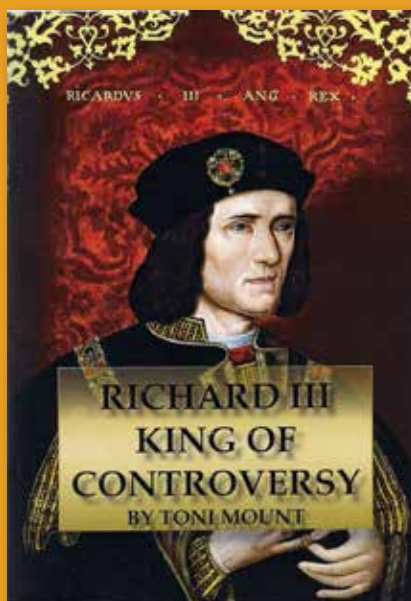
Another time-consuming chore for the Tudor housewife was brewing ale or beer, the process beginning with the malting of the grain: in England, this was usually barley. As Markham writes: 'this office belongeth particularly to the housewife and though we have many excellent men maltsters, yet it is properly the work and care of the woman for it is a house work and done altogether within doors...' This was the unwritten rule: work in the home was a woman's work; men worked outside or away from home. Despite the idea of men working outside, as we've heard, the woman grew the flax. She also tended the garden and the livestock, fed chickens, milked cows and even did a bit of veterinary treatment for lame horses, sick dogs or cows with sore udders.

But back to the brewing. Having spent an entire chapter on making malt, which meant, in the most simple terms, watering the grain and letting it begin to sprout before putting it into a kiln and

cooking it, Markham instructs the housewife in the making of beer and ale of various kinds and flavours. The difference between beer and ale is that the first has hops added to the brew, making it bitter but acting as a preservative, so it will 'last two, three and four years if it lie cool and close' as Markham says. Ale doesn't contain hops so tastes sweeter but will only keep for about a week, or less in hot weather, before it becomes sour and undrinkable. So, beer is more economical but an acquired taste – one that Englishmen only gradually came to appreciate.

Whatever the housewife was brewing – ordinary beer, March beer, small beer, strong ale or bottle ale – the job took days, rather than hours, but the wife was expected to do other things while the malt-mash and the liquor were boiling for an hour, then cooled before sieving. The mixture was then left to stand and drain all night. In the morning, it was skimmed clean and stored in hogshead barrels. These had nothing to do with pigs but were a liquid measure. Quite how much liquid, I've been unable to discover: definitions of a hogshead vary from thirty-six to 140 imperial gallons, depending on where you look, but I would think that for a housewife, brewing at home, thirty-six gallons would be more than adequate for her family and quite difficult enough to handle and store.

Over and above construing her husband's business accounts, swingling flax, tending the

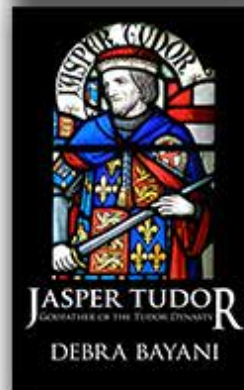
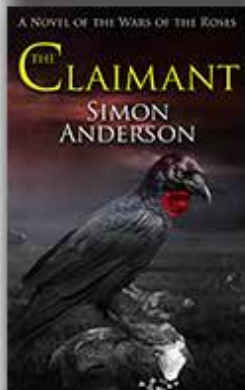
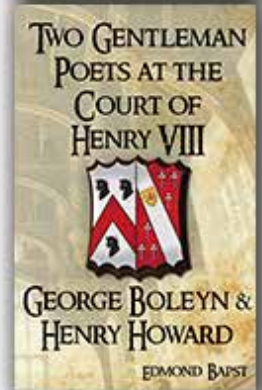
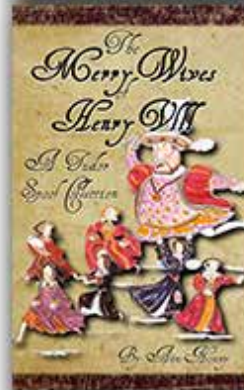
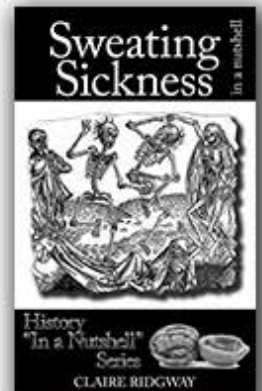
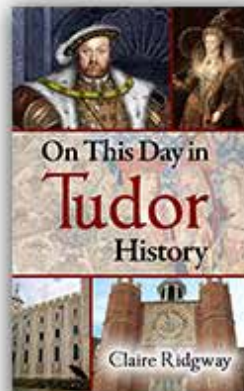
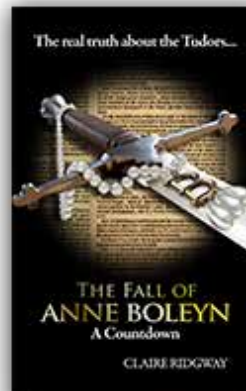
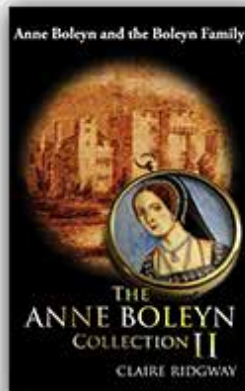
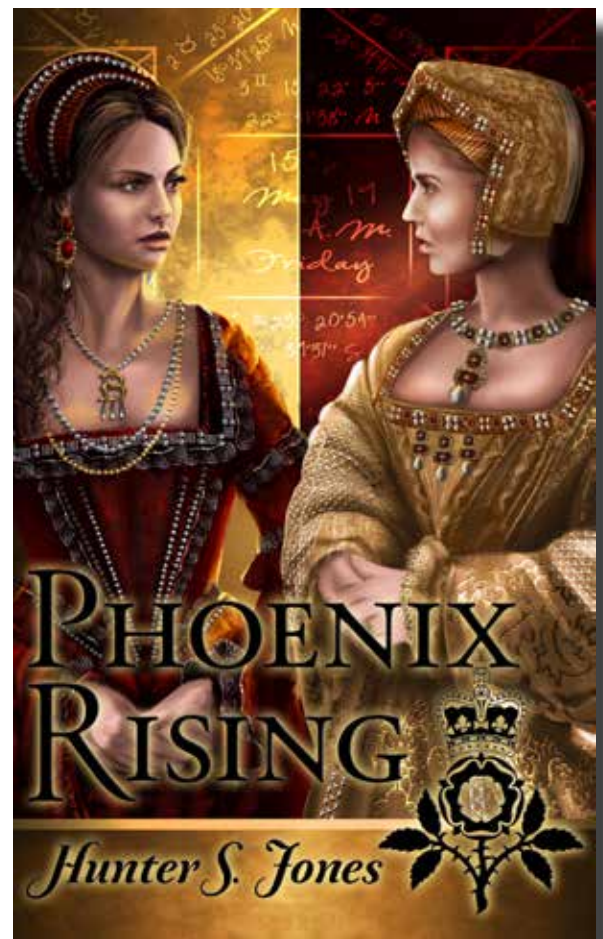


**Toni Mount** is a historian with an eye for the real-life details of history. She is able to bring depth and character to each of her subjects, and in her Kindle book "Richard III King of Controversy" she continues with this high standard. This book is an introduction to the life and controversies surrounding one of England's best known Kings whose reputation has grown and intrigued generations over the centuries. His body was discovered in an amazing twist of fate in 2012 and his re-internment in Leicester Cathedral in 2015 is creating yet more controversy.

animals, malting barley, sewing shirts and making lye soap, the Tudor housewife had all the other tasks to do: cooking, cleaning, shopping, caring for her family and tending them when they were unwell. Gervaise Markham covered all aspects – as this short article cannot – and his book, *The English Housewife*, is well worth dipping into in its fourth-century year. One thing I quickly realised is that, in Tudor times, a woman's work was certainly never done.

*The English Housewife* by Gervaise Markham (first pub. 1615), edited by Michael R. Best (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986) is still available.

## TONI MOUNT



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# FRANCIS AND CATHERINE: A TUDOR LOVE STORY

*by Adriene Dillard*

*“I would to God that I were so dispatched hence that  
I might only attend and care for your good recovery”*

**T**HESE are the words **Francis Knollys** penned to his wife, **Catherine Carey** on July 29, 1568 from his station at Bolton Castle, having been sent there by Queen Elizabeth I a few months earlier to watch over the imprisoned Queen of Scots. Catherine had taken ill with fever, the first of several that would lead to her sudden and unexpected death only six months later. The impassioned words contained in the two letters we have from Francis to Catherine and the desperation with which he sought release from his post to be with her in her final months give us an intimate look at the marriage of two people who were deeply in love.

## COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

In Tudor England, the children’s rhyme: *first comes love, then comes marriage...* wasn’t always the case. In fact, more often than not, marriage in the nobility and upper classes was the result of very careful dynastic planning on the part of two families looking to consolidate their interests. It also seems to have been very rare for a courtship to have organically grown between two people out of their own volition. Two people could form affectionate bonds before marriage, but those bonds usually came about because they were already promised to each other or there was an expectation that they would be. It wasn’t impossible for two people to

fall in love and get married, but it was definitely the exception and not the rule. Sometimes there wasn’t even time for a courtship; marriages could be arranged and consummated in a matter of weeks. Fortunately, there was always a chance that the two strangers who found themselves at the altar would grow to deeply love and respect each other as if they were soul mates.

Was the marriage between Francis and Catherine the result of a love match or a very lucky arrangement? The primary documents don’t reveal many clues. While there is no clear evidence of Catherine’s whereabouts from her birth to around age fifteen, we do know that Francis sat for Parliament before he was appointed to the King’s bodyguard in 1539 and, though there is no official record of it, it is thought that he attended Magdalen College, so it is likely that he was around his childhood home of Rotherfield Greys in Oxfordshire for most of his youth. It seems then that the two might have met in November of 1539. Both appear in the Letters and Papers of Henry VIII; Francis is listed as one of the men sent to greet the king’s fourth wife, Anne of Cleves, upon her arrival at Calais and Catherine is listed as one of the maidens ready to meet Anne once she arrived at Court.

There aren’t any obvious links between the two families, but Catherine’s step-father, William Stafford, is listed in the same welcoming group as Francis. The papers show that Catherine was listed in the group set to meet the queen at Dover so it is unlikely that they travelled over together if

.AETATIS. SVE. 38.  
A° DOM. 1562.



Catherine Carey Lady Knollys by Steven van der Meulen

Catherine was living in Calais at the time; she either came over earlier than Francis and her parents or she was already living somewhere in England with her mother. Perhaps William Stafford was so impressed with Francis during their journey together that he instigated a meeting between the two in the hopes that they would hit it off. The ‘meet cute’ makes for a pretty good love story, but we can’t rule out that their marriage was one that was engineered by either the families of Francis and Catherine or by the king.

However Francis and Catherine became an item, their courtship did not last long; they were married on the 26<sup>th</sup> April, 1540 and their first son, Henry, was born less than a year later.

## CHILDREN

Francis and Catherine wasted no time in building their family. The first of fourteen children was born only a few weeks before their first anniversary. The next ten came with only a year or two between them. Since Francis was serving the king and often away at Court, it’s likely then that though Catherine isn’t listed in service to any other queen than Anne of Cleves, she resided there with him when she wasn’t at home birthing the children. There appears to be an interval of three years between the birth of the eleventh and twelfth children which would account for the time that Francis spent in the Low Countries scouting out settlements for the Protestant exiles. In June of 1557, Catherine is documented in Germany already two months pregnant with their son, Thomas. We can conclude that Francis was with her during that time period for certain and that the three year break between child births most likely means that Catherine did not travel with Francis as had been previously thought due to the dating of 1553 on the letter sent to Catherine from the future Queen Elizabeth – the *Cor Rotto* letter. One could argue that they were careful not to procreate during their travels, but since Catherine was pregnant during their exile of 1557, that doesn’t seem to have been a priority.

Analysis of the handwriting in Francis’ Latin Dictionary where he carefully lists the dates of birth of all of his children shows that the introductory paragraph and first eleven entries, along with the number 12, were written at the same time. The

twelfth and thirteenth births were recorded together as well in the same hand. The final birth may have been recorded by someone else. When compared to the confirmed handwriting of Francis, the first thirteen entries appear to have been written by him. Since a time of birth is included for the last two births, one could surmise that Francis, himself, was present at the time. While this is not completely out of the ordinary, it does support the idea that Francis and Catherine had a close relationship and he attended at least some of the births when he was able.

## THE FINAL YEARS

While all of the above backs up the idea that Francis and Catherine had a congenial union, there is nothing there that really proves the depth of their affection. It is in the final letters that Francis sent back to Court while he was guarding the Queen of Scots that the picture of love and devotion really takes shape.

In May 1568, Mary Queen of Scots fled her home country in search of protection from her royal cousin. Elizabeth sent the one man she knew who could handle the delicate situation of imprisoning a Queen: her Vice Chamberlain, Francis. Carlisle Castle did not afford the protection needed to guard Mary and in July Francis managed to move her to Bolton Castle. A few weeks later, Francis wrote to Elizabeth’s Secretary, William Cecil, of his growing frustration:

*I long to hear from you and therefore “ply” you with letters. We have “extreme need” of money, and I trust soon to be recalled, as my stay here is “superfluous.”*

He added a note at the end of the letter asking Cecil to give “the enclosed to my wife.” Whether the enclosed item was a gift or a letter, we can be sure that even during this trying professional time for Francis, Catherine was on his mind.

Cecil’s return letter to Francis must have indicated that Catherine had fallen ill because only four days after his missive to the Secretary, he sent a letter to his wife chiding her for not taking care of herself:

*I am very sorry to hear that you are fallen into a fever. I would to God I were so dispatched hence that I might only attend and care for your good recovery.*





Sir Francis Knollys (artist unknown)

*I trust you shall overcome this fever and recover good health again for although in your health you do often forget to prevent sickness by due and precise order, yet when you are falling into sickness, you will then (although it be late) observe very good order.*

While it would be easy to take his chastising as a rebuke, it seems to fall more along the lines of a worried spouse emphasizing his concern. He ended the letter:

*Wishing your good and comfortable recovery to your own satisfaction and mine. I shall commend you to God. Your loving husband, F. Knollys.*

By the first weeks of August, Catherine had recovered from the fever she was suffering, but her health continued to be top-of-mind for Francis. Even as Robert Dudley, the Master of the Horse, responded to the business of getting more horses to the Queen of Scots, he included a note regarding his concern for the wife of his close friend: *"I fear her diet and order."*

Catherine's recovery didn't last long and Francis' letter to Cecil indicated that their separation was to blame:

*As my wife has lately been sick and moderate travel and quietness of mind are the only means to preserve her health, and she is desirous to come hither if my return be not shortly. I desire you to signify to her by this bearer whether it is likely I shall remain here 5 or 6 weeks longer?*

He added that her illness was financially draining him and that it would be best for them to be together because it would comfort her spirits. The queen quickly scuttled the plan; Catherine was far too sick to be moved. The news was disappointing to Francis and he extolled the queen to comfort her with *"benign clemency and gracious courtesy"* in his stead. By the end of the month it was clear that Catherine was suffering from depression: *"I pray you comfort my poor wife's disease of the mind, if she have any such dolor."*

It's clear that Francis was very concerned for his wife. It is likely that the man, notorious for speaking earnestly, shared his worries with the woman he was guarding. In September the Scot's Queen made a gift for Catherine, a chain of pomander beads finely laced with gold wire.

In October Cecil noted in his correspondence to Francis that his wife was feeling better and the fever seemed to abate for the entirety of the month. In a letter on the 29<sup>th</sup>, Francis asked Cecil to *"commend me to my wife, and excuse me not writing to her for haste hereof."* Catherine's health appears to have remained stable throughout November and most of December, but that didn't ease Francis' constant lobbying to be recalled back to court. In almost every letter back to the queen or Cecil he reiterates his desire to return home to the point of rudeness.

The letter to Catherine on December 30 shows Francis' desperation. He had become so angered by the queen's refusal to release him that he almost wrote to her that he didn't understand how she could allow his wife to die in such an uncomfortable and miserable state in her own court. He stopped short of sending this accusatory missive when he received word from Cecil that Catherine was feeling better, but his mind still was not eased even though he felt better having unburdened those thoughts to *"you that is another of my self."* It is this phrase that demonstrates more than anything that Francis thought of his wife as an equal.

He told Catherine *"to arm yourself against sickness you must make God your refuge and call upon him that these worldly sorrows oppress you not to the hindrance of your health. For God will not leave us. He will provide for us."* He raged against the queen saying that even though Catherine had demonstrated great love for her, she still made her weep for unkindness and it has been a detriment to her health. He believed that his trust and her love to the queen had been deemed so unworthy it would be better for them to leave the court and live a poor country life where they could be happy together. He would leave the queen's service if that was what Catherine wished.

Catherine's response to this poignant letter does not survive and only a few short weeks later she succumbed to her sickness. Francis stayed with the Queen of Scot's until she was safely ensconced at Tutbury, but his grief was so great that his brother, Henry, had to attend to his matters of business and correspondence with the queen and Cecil. The remaining letters from January paint a picture of a very distressed man. His final letter to the Privy Council on January 29<sup>th</sup> states:

*I am much disquieted with this service in these strange countries, which melancholy humor grows daily on me since my wife's death. I am commanded expressly of God that I shall not tempt my Lord my God and my continuance here is intolerable, unless I obey man rather than God. My case is pitiful. For my wife disburdened me of many cares. She kept all the monuments of my public charges as well as my private*

*accounts and now my children, my servants, and all other things are loosely left without good order. But your lordships know all this without my rehearsal and I leave it to your consideration.*

Catherine's death left a large void in Francis' life. He lived another 27 years and never remarried.

## ADRIENNE DILLARD

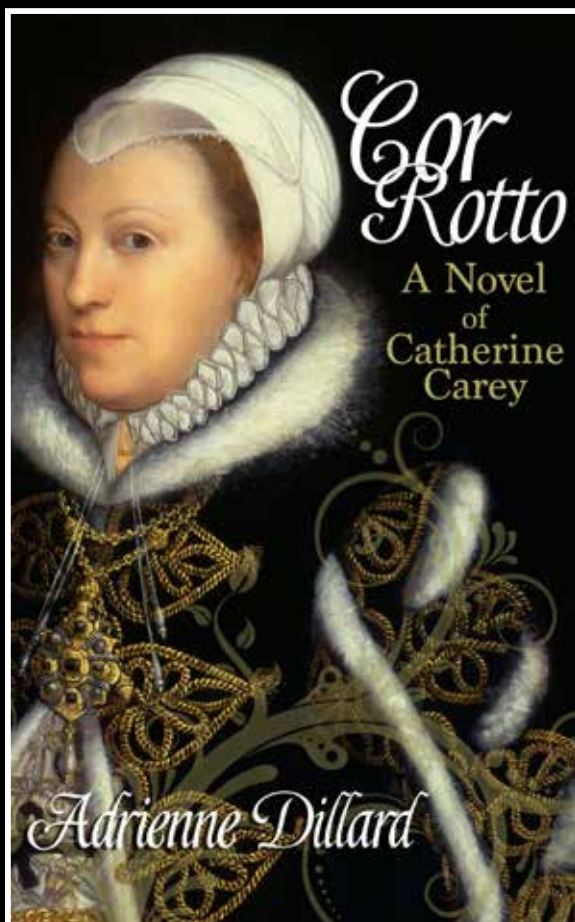
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Adrienne has been an eager student of history for most of her life and has completed in-depth research on the American Revolutionary War time period in American History and the history and sinking of the Titanic. Her senior university capstone paper was on the discrepancies in passenger lists on the ill-fated liner and Adrienne was able to work with Philip Hind of Encyclopedia Titanica for much of her research on that subject.



# HENRY FITZROY

*by Kyra Kramer*

**H**ENRY Fitzroy was the only acknowledged illegitimate offspring of Henry VIII. He was born on June 15 1519 and baptized soon after with Cardinal Wolsey as his dotting godfather. It wasn't long after Fitzroy's birth that the queen and courtiers became aware of his existence, and the king may have even installed the babe in the royal nurseries under the auspices of Lady Mary Bryant. The little boy was paraded around as living proof that Henry VIII could sire a son; a tacit message that the king was not the reason behind any lack of male heirs. Fitzroy, hale and hearty and looking much like his father, was the manifestation of Henry's virility and the king loved him for it.

What plans Henry had for Fitzroy as a newborn we cannot know, but as the years passed and the queen did not produce another sibling for Princess Mary, the king's natural son became more important. Although he was only six years old, Fitzroy was made a Knight of the Garter on 7 June 1525. Just a few days later, on the 18<sup>th</sup>, the tiny knight was made the duke of Richmond and Somerset, as well as Lieutenant-General of Northern England. A few weeks later, on July 16, the child was named Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and also replaced his less-than-thrilled adult cousin Thomas Howard, the Duke of Norfolk, as Lord High Admiral of England. By the time cooler weather had arrived the youngster had additionally replaced Norfolk as the Warden General of the Marches towards Scotland. Moreover, it was decided that Fitzroy would preside

over the Council of the North in the king's name. The duke of Richmond was sent to Sheriff Hutton Castle in Yorkshire to begin his duties before he had lost his first tooth.

More was in store for the gamin duke. In March of 1527, Fitzroy was a significant enough personage that Cardinal Wolsey suggested him as a potential husband for the Infanta Mary of Portugal, the niece of Emperor Charles V. The lad was also considered a possible husband for Italian noblewoman and heiress Catherine de' Medici, who later became queen of France. The king's love for his baseborn son was so well-known that rumors were afoot Fitzroy would cease to be the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and become king of the emerald isle instead (although this was probably not a real possibility from a geopolitical standpoint).

Shortly after he turned ten years old, the duke returned to Henry's court to serve in parliament as a peer of the realm and by Christmastime his father had allotted him the palace rooms usually held by the Prince of Wales. Tellingly, his legitimate sister Mary was given rooms of lesser prestige.

As time passed Fitzroy became more important. Not since William the Conqueror had a bastard been such an intense focus for political speculation in England. There were rumors he would be made heir to the crown instead of Princess Mary, or even that he would be wed to his half-sister so that he might take the throne without demur. When the king was began seeking an annulment from his marriage Katherina of Aragon, many



people – including Imperial courtiers – assumed that Henry would marry Fitzroy’s recently widowed mother and have the boy declared legitimate. When the kings of England and France had a summit in 1532, it was the duke of Richmond who welcomed the monarchs into Calais with a 3000 gun salute. Even after Henry’s marriage to Anne Boleyn, the duke of Richmond was considered to be a kind of emergency back-up heir.

Fitzroy’s position became even stronger after Anne’s daughter Elizabeth was born and no male heir had yet made an appearance. Anne, probably worried about what Fitzroy’s marriage to a foreign princess would signify and possibly hoping to placate her horrible uncle Thomas Howard, instigated and achieved a marriage between Fitzroy and the duke of Norfolk’s daughter. The marriage took place several weeks after Elizabeth’s birth, on November 26, 1533. (If Anne was as cunning a political animal as her detractors often suggest, wouldn’t she have scuppered the union? After all, Fitzroy’s new father-in-law would have had a more vested interest in his potential grandchild’s rise to power than his niece’s daughter or future son. It seems as though Anne was a very partial to the duke’s intelligent daughter; could she have maintained support for the marriage for the girl’s sake? How does this fit with the depiction of Anne as a cutthroat schemer only looking out for herself?)

Ambassadors began to write home with the news the king planned to finally send the duke of Richmond to Ireland to act as governor. This was the brainchild of Thomas Cromwell, and vehemently opposed by Thomas Howard, who wanted to keep Fitzroy as near his bride and father-in-law as possible. No one can know if it was sentiment, paranoia, or Norfolk’s urging, but Henry decided to keep Fitzroy in England. When rebellion broke out in Ireland in June of 1534, Cromwell had a hissy fit and accused Norfolk of having caused the Irish crisis because Norfolk wanted Fitzroy nearby rather than wanting what was best for the king’s reign. Cromwell had a point. If Fitzroy had become governor of Ireland the heir of the Earl of Kildare wouldn’t have been in as strong a position and might not have renounced English rule.

A married man in his early teens, Fitzroy became a kind of stand-in for the king. He represented the king at the Feast of St. George in May of 1534, and again in November at the St.

Andrew’s Day celebrations. When the Carthusian monks were tortuously executed in the spring of 1535, Fitzroy was there to witness it on the king’s behalf. When Anne Boleyn was beheaded in 1536, Fitzroy again stood nearby to see his father’s so-called justice meted out. How did the young duke feel about his stepmother’s death? Did he believe his father’s ravings about poison and 100 lovers? He seems to have liked Anne well enough when she was alive, choosing to wear a ring she had given him for Christmas instead of consigning it to his jewelry collection, and certainly his wife was very fond of the queen she had served. Then again, Fitzroy’s steward in the Marches of Wales, William Bererton, had been executed a few days before as one of Anne’s lovers without any complaint or attempt to save him by the duke of Richmond, so perhaps the teenager believed in their guilt.

After Anne’s death and before any signs of pregnancy could be forthcoming from Fitzroy’s new stepmother, Jane Seymour, rumors of his potential succession to the throne once again zipped through the court like static electricity through Persian cats on a wool rug. If the duke relished the speculations, the poor guy didn’t get to enjoy them long; Fitzroy was dead by 23 July of that same year. The teen’s illness had been sudden and strange, as though it were a bizarre kind of fast-acting tuberculosis. On his birthday he had seemed to be healthy, having nothing more than a summer cold, but by 8 July it was known he was perilously ill from a “rapid consumption”. Just a few weeks later the king’s son was dead.

Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond and Somerset, the lord lieutenant of multiple jurisdictions and lands, the king’s only son to have survived the neonatal period, was barely 17 years old when he died. His uncle, Arthur Tudor had died in a similar manner in his mid-teens almost 34 years prior to Fitzroy’s death, and Fitzroy’s as yet to be born half-brother Edward VI would also die at roughly the same age and the same way 17 years later. The duke’s half sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, each ruled England in her turn and died childless. The Tudor dynasty founded by Henry VII did not see a fourth generation.

*Requiescat in pace.*

**KYRA KRAMER**

# MARIE DE GUISE

*by Melanie Clegg*

**B**orn on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November 1515 into the powerful and ambitious Lorraine family, who had connections to several European royal families (Marie's great aunt was Marguerite d'Anjou, Queen of England, while other ancestral aunts were Queens of France and Scotland), Marie de Guise was the eldest child of Claude, Comte de Guise and Antoinette de Bourbon. Claude, a naturalised Frenchman had spent his formative years at Blois under the care of his mother's cousin, Louise d'Angoulême and there became friends with her son, the future François I, a friendship that would be of enormous benefit to his family.

His daughter Marie would be raised at her father's beautiful chateau of Joinville, before being sent to the convent of St Claire in Pont-à-Mousson, where she was looked after by her grandmother, Philippa of Guelders, dowager Duchesse de Lorraine, who had retired from the world to take the veil a few years earlier. Marie then took up residence with her uncle Antoine, Duc de Lorraine and his wife, Renée at their home in the ducal palace in Nancy before joining the French court in 1530 after the marriage of François I and Eleanor of Austria, where she took part in Eleanor's splendid coronation celebrations.

Thanks to the grandeur of her connections and her father's ever increasing prestige at court (he was created Duc de Guise in 1528), Marie was considered an extremely eligible match and would eventually be married at the age of eighteen to Louis, duc de Longueville, the Grand Chamberlain of France on 4 August 1534. Their marriage was to be short but sweet. Marie gave birth to their first child, François, on 30 October 1535 and became pregnant again in 1537. However, her husband died at Rouen on 9 June that year and their second son,

named Louis for his father, was born a month later, although sadly he did not thrive and died soon afterwards.

Marie was just twenty one years old when she was widowed and it was her intention to live out her days at the Longueville seat of Chateaudun in the Loire, raising her sons and overseeing their vast inheritance. Her husband had left her an extremely wealthy woman and she now saw a chance for some independence – the life of a rich widow was an extremely enviable one at this time and Marie was no doubt looking forward to making the most of it. However, it was not to be.

At the start of 1537, her friend Madeleine, the daughter of François I had married James V, King of Scotland in a splendid ceremony at Notre Dame. Like the rest of the court, Marie had attended the wedding with her husband and had probably made the acquaintance of the Scottish King, who resided at her uncle, Cardinal Jean de Lorraine's sumptuous Parisian mansion, the Hôtel de Cluny during his stay. Sadly, Madeleine, who was always sickly, died shortly after her arrival in Scotland, which left the



Portrait of Mary of Guise (1515 - 1560) by Corneille de Lyon

alliance between Scotland and France in something of a quandary. Although James was genuinely devastated by his young wife's death, he still needed a wife and preferably a French one and so he didn't waste much time before asking his former father in law, François, to arrange another match for him.

François was naturally unwilling to lose his other daughter, Marguerite to the rigours of the Scottish climate and so his attention moved to the recently widowed and extremely wealthy Marie de Guise, who was renowned for her unusual height and excellent health as well as her striking good looks. She was also known to be fertile and her own lineage was impeccable. She may not have been a Princess of France but she was very definitely the next best thing.

However, James of Scotland was not the only recently widowed King hanging about Europe – his uncle, Henry VIII had lost his third wife, Jane Seymour a year earlier in 1536 and was now looking about for a fourth wife to provide him with the all important 'spare heir' as well as grace his court. When he heard that his nephew had been promised Marie's hand, he immediately ordered his ambassador to cut James out of the picture and secure Marie for him instead. Marie was not in the slightest bit impressed. Apparently when she heard that Henry had expressed an interest and had furthermore said that he liked the sound of her because she was tall and he, being tall himself, needed a 'big wife', she immediately quipped that 'I may be big, but my neck, alas, is small.' History does not record if anyone dared to repeat this to the famously choleric Henry.

Although the wily François considered Henry's proposal, he was forced to decline as the match with Scotland was too far advanced and instead suggested some other possible candidates, including Marie's younger sister Louise, who was said to be the beauty of the family, and her cousin Anne de Lorraine, who was rather less pretty. In the end Henry ended up marrying her cousin, François de Lorraine's betrothed, Anne of Cleves, while he in his turn married the Princess Christina of Denmark, whose full length portrait by Holbein had so enraptured Henry.

Marie herself was not disposed to marry anyone and was particularly resistant to the idea of marrying James, which would mean travelling all

the way to Scotland, which she had heard was a very rough and backward sort of place, and, worse still, leaving her young son, François behind in France. The King was adamant however, but it was allegedly a letter from her prospective husband James that eventually changed her mind, as he wrote to her frankly about the difficulties of his position and how much he needed a capable wife to help him govern.

'*Madame,*' he wrote at the start of his missive, '*I am only twenty seven years old and life already weighs as heavily upon me as my crown does... Fatherless since childhood, I have been the prisoner of my ambitious nobles.*' He went on to enumerate the problems facing him as he fought not just his rebellious lords but also his uncle in England. To many lesser women this stark enumeration of problems would have been extremely off putting, but to Marie it seemed like a godsend. Not for nothing was she the descendant of some of the most formidable women in European history. Nowadays, we would say that she was a woman who liked a project and perhaps a bit of a 'fixer upper' when it came to people in general and men in particular and it's clear that when she read James' letter, she realised that here at last, in the woes that had stricken Scotland for decades and its beleaguered, unhappy king, was a project worthy of her unique talents.

The proxy wedding of James and Marie de Guise took place at Chateaudun on 9 May 1538. Unlike his first wedding, James did not attend but instead sent over 2,000 of his lords to attend in his stead, with Lord Maxwell acting as proxy. It's possible that Marie also noticed that her wedding ring was much smaller than that presented to Princesse Madeleine a year and a half earlier – it would have been entirely typical of her personality to notice and be quietly amused by the difference but say nothing.

A month later she entrusted her son to the care of her parents and set out for Scotland and her new life. Whatever fears she may have had about the primitive living conditions in her new country were quickly dispelled after she landed at Balcomie in Fife and then progressed to St Andrews, where she and James were properly married in the cathedral. They then progressed together in slow stages to Edinburgh, stopping at Falkland Palace, Stirling Castle and Linlithgow on the way. Marie



was reportedly extremely impressed not just by the grandeur and tasteful furnishings of the Scottish royal residences but also the good looks of the people that she saw as they travelled down through the country. The beauty of the landscape must also have made an impression on her and we know from the letters that she wrote home to France that it was certainly not at all the dreadful gloomy impoverished nation that she had been expecting.

Although Marie clearly missed France and her own close knit family there, she threw herself into her new position with all her usual good sense and enthusiasm, keen to be a proper support to her new husband and do all that she could to make his life easier. James, however, was not an easy man to live with – his unfortunate upbringing had left him depressive, neurotic and ever so slightly paranoid, but she did her best nonetheless. It was with the royal residences, however, that she really concentrated her efforts – they already showed signs of French influence in their design, thanks to James and his father, James IV, who had also admired French architecture, but Marie added further luxurious touches and improvements, bringing in French craftsmen and gardeners. She also did her best to add a bit of much needed French polish and sophistication to the court itself, although she was wise enough to have Scottish ladies in waiting and attendants as well as the ones she had brought with her from France and did her best to learn the Scots language as well, instinctively knowing that her integration into her husband's life was a two way thing.

The marriage itself was not always a very happy one and over time the couple became increasingly estranged as a result of James' mood swings, trust issues and blatant infidelity, which he tended to rather crudely parade in front of the whole court and his wife. However, Marie continued to behave like the perfect wife and even welcomed his illegitimate children to court without complaint. Things became easier when Marie became pregnant with their first child and indeed her delayed coronation took place at Holyrood Abbey a few months before their son, another James, arrived on 22 May 1540. Another son, Robert was born in April of the following year but sadly both little boys died on the 21 April 1541, when James was almost one and Robert just eight days old. It was a tremendous blow to James and

Marie and added unbelievable pressure to their already rocky marriage.

Nonetheless, the redoubtable Marie was pregnant again when her husband's troops were soundly beaten by those of his uncle, Henry VIII at Solway Moss in November 1542. Contrary to common belief, James, unlike his own father at Flodden, did not actually die in battle but instead limped away to Linlithgow for one last meeting with his Queen, before heading to Falkland Palace, where he died on 14 December, probably of dysentery and certainly bewailing the cruel fate that had afflicted him all his life long. The news that his wife had given birth to a daughter on 8 December reached him just before he expired and doubtless added to his tirade of misery, although it's not absolutely certain that he actually uttered the fatal words: 'it came with a lass and it will go with a lass'.

Alone at Linlithgow, Marie de Guise, now widowed and in charge of an eight day old Queen, faced an uncertain future. According to the terms of her wedding agreement, she was now free to return to France and was even wealthier than before. It must have been a tempting option – she missed her family terribly and had not seen her son, François since coming to Scotland in the summer of 1538, although her mother kept her updated with weekly letters and even sent lengths of string to show his height as he grew. However, she also knew that she would never be permitted to take the infant Queen, who had been named Mary both for herself and also for the Virgin Mary, upon whose feast day she had been born, with her and the thought of leaving her defenceless infant in the care of the men that her husband had so bitterly distrusted, must have been appalling to her.

Also, Marie was no fool and it would have quickly occurred to her that Henry of England had a son not that much older than her daughter and that he would now almost certainly move heaven and earth in order to gain control over the child and through her, all of Scotland. Once again, Marie found herself confronted by a situation that most meeker women would have fled from, but which she instead, being made of much sterner stuff, viewed as a challenge to be faced up to and perhaps even embraced. There was never really any question of her leaving Scotland – she would remain, raise her daughter and defend her birthright to the death if

necessary. A century earlier, her great aunt Mary of Guelders had, as Queen of Scotland, offered refuge to her other great aunt, the exiled and beleaguered Marguerite d'Anjou, another woman who fought like tigress to defend the inheritance of her child. Marie would almost certainly have grown up with tales of both women and regarded their stories as reminders both of her link to Scotland and also her duty to defend her child's inheritance.

For the next few years, Marie, formerly the demure, charming and dutiful Queen Consort, showed her true mettle as a razor sharp political player with an exceptional grasp of diplomacy and a knack at dissimulation that rivalled that of her cousin by marriage, Elizabeth I. Marie even used a few of the same tricks – neither confirming or denying reports of her impending marriage to various men, including Henry VIII himself, in order to play her opponents off against each other and win others to her side. She also span out the tantalising promise of her daughter's prospective betrothal to her Tudor cousin for just long enough to keep the English wolves from the door, no doubt trusting and hoping that something better would come up to save the day. Which it did when her old friends Henri II and his wife Catherine die Medici, both of whom she had known very well in her old life at the French court, finally had their first son, the Dauphin François in January 1544 and signified that they would welcome a match between him and the little Scottish Queen.

However, it had long been apparent to the equally cunning Henry VIII that despite Marie's evasive promises, she was never actually going to let her daughter be married to his son and when he redoubled his efforts to force the issue by a show of military might and general harassment of the Scottish people, Marie acted quickly to place her six year old daughter out of harm and in the summer of 1548 sent her off to France to be raised at the French court as the future wife of the Dauphin. She herself would remain in Scotland to safeguard her interests. It must have cost her a pang though as Mary went off to the country that she herself almost certainly longed to return to, but it just shows just how remarkable she was, that she let her daughter go and stayed behind to hold the fort. Not for nothing was Marie's emblem a rock surrounded by and yet completely unshaken by turbulent waves

and topped by a crown and the defiant words '*And yet it stands*'.

For the next twelve years, Marie de Guise devoted her life to protecting her daughter's inheritance, while at the same time working hard to keep Scotland independent from England's encroachments, maintain the important French/Scottish alliance and also keep control of the ever increasing rise of Protestantism in the country. Although her family, the Guises were known for their extreme and profound Catholicism, Marie herself behaved with great tolerance towards her Protestant subjects (a stance later adopted by her daughter during her brief personal reign), but it was ultimately always her aim to maintain a Catholic status quo in Scotland, preferably with the full support of France at her back.

In March 1550, the Treaty of Boulogne put a temporary end to hostilities between Scotland and England and Marie seized this opportunity to travel freely and without fear of harassment from her English neighbours to France to see her family and spend some much longed for time with her surviving children, the thirteen year old François de Longueville and Mary. Marie remained in France for almost a year but it was a visit tinged with sorrow as her son died shortly before she returned to Scotland – it must have been some small comfort to Marie that after all their years of separation she was at least able to nurse him in his final illness.

Thanks to the current peace between the usually warring nations, Marie was able to land at Portsmouth and travel up through England, after paying an impromptu visit to the English court, where she was welcomed by Edward VI, the boy who would have been her son in law had she not put up a superb fight to prevent it. Marie was first received at Hampton Court Palace and richly entertained there by his court before travelling on to the Palace of Westminster where she met Edward himself and dined with him under his cloth of state. His eldest sister, the Lady Mary sadly declined to meet her, but his other sister, the Lady Elizabeth was there although sadly we don't know what she and Marie, the mother of her future greatest opponent and rival, made of each other.

Although her own personal charm and intelligence won many to her side, she still had to deal with innumerable conflicts either from



**Mary of Guise and her second husband, King James V of Scotland**

the Scottish nobility, the increasingly demanding Protestant factions and the English, who continued to harry the Scottish borders and during the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I offered a refuge and support for Scottish Protestants. For much of the time, she was hampered in her efforts by the fact that she was not her daughter's actual official regent – that title had gone to the Earl of Arran, the next male in line to the throne, after her husband's death and it remained in his clutches until April 1554, when her daughter was eleven years old and the Arran regency was finally successfully challenged and Marie took over, giving a much needed boost to her powers, particularly when dealing with her daughter's rebellious Protestant subjects, which increasingly included the Lords of the Congregation – a powerful group of Protestant noblemen, who were keen to see an end to the dual Catholic and French grip on Scotland.

For the first few years of Marie's regency everything went relatively well – relations with England, currently being ruled by the Catholic Mary I, were fairly cordial and Marie was hopeful that she would be able to use her new increased power and influence to properly promote Scotland's links with her own native France, making it an independent and predominantly Catholic satellite French nation,

always ready and willing to back up French interests while at the same time imbibing French culture and laws. The Scottish were not an easy people to rule and it was Marie's long term plan to turn this around, put a stop to the overt rebellions and make her daughter's country as peaceable as possible.

However, a major setback occurred in November 1558 when Mary I died and was succeeded by the Protestant Elizabeth I, who was seen as something of a heroine by the Scottish Protestants, particularly the Lords of the Congregation, who were not happy with the increasing French meddling in their country's affairs and were keen to promote instead a happy alliance with their English neighbours. Things were also exacerbated by Henri II's defiant insistence upon proclaiming Mary, Queen of Scots, who had become his daughter in law in April of that year when she married the Dauphin François, the rightful legitimate Queen of England and even had her arms quartered with those of England. This was a serious challenge to Elizabeth's right to rule and, rightly furious, she took it out on Marie, whose control of Scotland had long been bolstered by French support.

In February 1560, the Treaty of Berwick was signed by the increasingly powerful and resentful Lords of the Congregation, led by the displaced

regent, Arran (now Duke of Chatellerauld) and the English, represented by Queen Elizabeth's cousin, the Duke of Norfolk. According to the terms of the treaty, the Lords and England would work together to expel the French from Scotland. Marie was appalled when she discovered that Elizabeth was now openly working against her and immediately moved to defend herself. However, her supporters now began to abandon her, joining with the Lords of the Congregation, who had the advantage of English backing, which was beginning to show its might as Elizabeth's forces laid siege to Leith on the outskirts of Edinburgh.

Marie was also betrayed by her own health, which had been failing for some time due to a heart condition which now developed into severe dropsy. It soon became clear that her famous clear sighted energy, which had got her out of so many scrapes in the past, was now seeping away and in those last few months, although she did her best to rally herself and her remaining supporters, it was clear that her will to carry on was deserting her even as she did her best to continue to prepare for war by overseeing the fortifications of Edinburgh Castle and meeting with English emissaries.

By the start of June it was clear that Marie did not have long to live as she became more severely

afflicted by dropsy. She wrote her will and sent for the rebel Lords, all of whom were profoundly affected by her state and in fact many of them were moved to tears as she begged their forgiveness for any offence she may have given them and pleaded with them not to turn their backs on the French alliance that she had worked so hard to promote and which she still believed was better for Scotland's interests than throwing their lot in with the English.

Marie de Guise died a few days later at half past midnight on 11 June 1560. Her husband's illegitimate son, Lord James Stewart was by her side. She was just forty four years old and completely exhausted by the struggles of keeping her daughter's unruly nation in one piece. Her body was initially laid to rest in St Margaret's Chapel in Edinburgh Castle, where it remained until March of the following year when it was removed in the dead of night and taken by ship to Rheims, where she was buried in the Convent de St Pierre, where her younger sister Renée was Abbess. At her official funeral service at Notre Dame in Paris, which was attended by her grieving daughter Mary, Marie was likened in the eulogy to *'Judith, light of all the world'* and it seems a particularly apt comparison to make.

**MELANIE CLEGG**



**Melanie Clegg** is a pink haired art history graduate, casual historian, GIN taster, lapsed goth, failed Parisienne, Versailles obsessive, proud Ripperologist and Georgette Heyer fanatic who lives in deepest darkest Somerset with her family but would rather be in either Whitechapel or Paris.

She has written a number of period history novels including "Before the Storm",

"Minette", "The Secret Diary of a Princess: a novel of Marie Antoinette", "From Whitechapel" and "Blood Sisters".



# Which Tudor royal are you?

WHY NOT have a go at this fun little personality quiz to work out which Tudor royal you're most like. It isn't scientific and it is just a little bit of fun!

All you have to do is make note of your answers A, B or C ... *then turn over!*

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*Which religion do you like best?*

- A) I guess in the end I'm a Protestant.
- B) It's the Pope for me ... Catholic.
- C) Just keep the peace, religion isn't an issue for me.

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*Which collar style suits you best?*

- A) Off the shoulder
- B) High collar
- C) Ruff

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*What about marriage?*

- A) As many as possible suits me!
- B) Just the one would be perfect.
- C) Marriage just isn't for me.

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*Old World, the Continent or New World?*

- A) What is this "New World" you mention?
- B) I'm a big fan of all things continental.
- C) The New World opens up so many possibilities, don't you think?

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*How many children is the perfect number?*

- A) Don't talk to me about my offspring, they're trouble, the lot of them!
- B) I haven't any children right now, but I plan to as soon as possible.
- C) I think that children are over-rated

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*What about the religious establishments of the day?*

- A) Hmmm, I'd close them all down just like that.
- B) I think that it would be good to re-open and support them if possible.
- C) I can't say that we need to change much. What has happened has happened.

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*Which artist is your absolute favourite?*

- A) Holbein, he's a true master
- B) Antonis Mor is just a dream and captures your likeness brilliantly.
- C) Hilliard's miniatures are exquisitely detailed, I love them.

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*Which of these is most important to you?*

- A) Chivalry. You've got to know that your knights have your back.
- B) Religion. You've got to know that you've got God on your side.
- C) Discovery. You never know what might be found just around the corner.

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*Which motivational phrase sums you up?*

- A) "I ... endeavor myself to obtain and get such excellent qualities and necessary virtues as a prince or governor should or ought to have."
- B) "I doubt not but we shall give these rebels a short and speedy overthrow"
- C) "I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England, too"

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*Pick your fool:*

- A) William Sommers
- B) Jane the Fool
- C) I don't have a fool, you ... fool!

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*What is your weak point?*

- A) I suppose you'd have to say "the dart of love".
- B) Headaches, I have them all the time and they are terrible.
- C) Suitors. I just wish they'd all go away!

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*Where do you like to visit on your holidays?*

- A) Boulogne always looked like a nice place, but I never actually took to the place.
- B) Calais was somewhere my family liked a lot, though they wouldn't let me visit these days.
- C) I like most places, but I'd never go to Spain.

# Which Tudor monarch were you subconsciously drawn to?



## MOSTLY A) You're most like Henry VIII

You're a romantic with a ruthless side. Some might say that you are stuck in your ways, but they wouldn't say it to your face. You've got a great sense of style, everyone tells you so, and you're always influencing the latest fashions. Above all else, family is important to you, and though you don't tell them enough, you'd do anything for them.

TOP QUALITIES: handsome, chivalrous, brave, superstar lover



## MOSTLY B) You're most like Mary I

You are deeply loyal to those you love. Not everyone understands what motivates you, but you definitely know where you're going and how to get there. Some might say that you are a little cold, but that's just because they haven't got to know you well enough. You're loyal to those you love and those who are close around you.

TOP QUALITIES: carve your own path (first queen regnant), giving to those in need, true to your own beliefs



## MOSTLY C) You're most like Elizabeth I

You are a genuine star who'll never grow old. Yes, you might say you'll do one thing but actually do something else, but it's only because you know what is best for yourself and everyone else. You're a real rule-breaker in fashion and you like to be the centre of attention. And though you don't get so much chance to travel these days, you absolutely love hearing the tales of other people's daring exploits.

STAR QUALITIES: an ageless beauty, adept at keeping the peace, loved by all

## HOW CLOSE WERE WE?

# JUNE'S GUEST SPEAKER GARETH RUSSELL



This month's guest speaker is **Gareth Russell** who will be coming back to us for his second expert talk session. People

loved his first talk as Gareth is a natural speaker who really does know his history.

Gareth has recently taken on the Editor's role for this magazine and he's doing a fantastic job with it too ... expect a great diversity in the future month's editions of **Tudor Life**.

And not only that, some of you may have seen that Gareth has published his latest history book which is about one of his passions in life ... A History of the English Monarchy.

He'll be talking about his new book and the Importance of Christianity to the Tudors.

We'll be giving away a copy of "**A History of the English Monarchy**" to one lucky person on the chat.

**Date of live chat to be announced on the website**

# THE FITZWILLIAM VIRGINAL BOOK – A MYSTERY STILL TO BE SOLVED?

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**Jane Moulder** says that she had fun researching this article! It started off as being simply about a music manuscript and the person who wrote it, however as so often happens with historical research, Jane was sucked into a fascinating world. She says she could have written something four times as long as she never knew all of the background and the academic arguments surrounding it!

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**O**NE of the greatest surviving manuscripts of late 16<sup>th</sup> century English music is the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. Comprising of nearly 300 pieces, it is of great interest for today's musicians who perform music of the past and it also has significant historical importance due to the breadth and range of music it contains. However, the story of the book's production and the history of the man who supposedly compiled it is as interesting, if not more so, than the music it contains. Even today, 400 years after it was first compiled, the book is still the subject of academic debate.

The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (FVB) is contained in the museum which gave it its name, the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, England. A Georgian antiquarian once referred to it as "Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book" but that title was quickly

dismissed as there was no evidence to suggest that she ever owned it. It's a small volume measuring approximately 13 inches high by 9 inches wide and it is bound in red Moroccan gilt leather which has been embellished with gold tooling and fleurs-de-llys. There are 220 leaves and music is written on 209 of them. The paper is of very high quality and the watermark indicates that it came from Basel in Switzerland. Everything suggests that the binding is contemporary with the script and the music.

The manuscript is handwritten and contains 134 dances, 40 popular songs and 22 fantasias along with some madrigals, fancies, preludes and pieces for organ. The book is dominated by compositions of English composers with the works of William Byrd, John Bull, Giles Farnaby and Peter Philips comprising nearly 2/3<sup>rd</sup>s of the total. As well as pieces by other English composers there are also compositions from Italy, the Netherlands, Germany





**An 16th century music printing press**

and France. Many of the dance pieces in the book are extemporised and highly decorated versions of simple, popular dance tunes of the day. This is particularly interesting as so little English dance music was actually published, unlike the many volumes of continental tunes due to the thriving and well developed music printing industry centred on Antwerp, Venice and Paris.

The multi-national selection of pieces represented in the FVB indicates a collector who was familiar with both English and continental music styles and this description fits the compiler, Francis Tregian, perfectly. Tregian had spent many years of his life on the Continent, receiving his education in France, and working in Rome and the Spanish Netherlands.

Francis Tregian was the eldest son of a prominent Catholic family from Cornwall. He was jailed for debt and recusancy (refusing to attend an Anglican service) in Fleet Prison, London, sometime between 1611 and 1617. Legend has it that he spent his time in jail productively, producing the

Fitzwilliam Virginal Book and three other music manuscripts totalling nearly 2000 pieces of music in all.

So, how did a man in prison for debt, manage to write one of the greatest collections of English music?

Whilst its beginnings are quite hazy, the history of the FVB after 1740 can be traced. It was then the property of Dr John Christopher Pepusch, a German composer living in England. He worked for a descendant of the Tregian (pronounced Trudgian) family and, as well as being a composer, he was a learned antiquarian and in 1726 was a founding member of “The Academy of Ancient Music”. Following Pepusch’s death, the book was bought by a Robert Bremmer, and in 1783 it passed into the possession of Viscount Fitzwilliam. Fitzwilliam was a true collector and throughout his lifetime he amassed a spectacular collection of works of art, antiquities, books, and music which are now all housed in the museum in Cambridge which bears his name.

On Fitzwilliam's death in 1816 he left the book and the rest of his collection to the University of Cambridge but whilst the existence of the manuscript was known, no publication of the music was made. William Chappell, the publisher, musicologist and antiquarian, referred to the FVB in a book he wrote in 1859, and he makes the first connection with Tregian due to the various marginal notes and abbreviations which he surmises could be names from the Tregian family. In fact, one of the pieces is subtitled "Mrs Katherin Tregian's Pavan" and another is "Treg Ground". But he didn't conclude that Tregian had written it. It then lay ignored until 1889, when William Barclay Squire, editor and music librarian of the British Museum in London, was compiling the entry on virginals for the "Dictionary of Music and Musicians". Squire proposed that Francis Tregian had compiled and copied the FVB. Along with his brother in law, J A Fuller Maitland, the distinguished music critic of The London Times, Barclay Squire set about transcribing and editing the manuscript. It was a huge project with began in

1894 and the task was eventually finished in 1899 and published as "The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book". Since that date, it has remained in print but there has been no complete modern re-editing of their interpretations.

It seems that being jailed in the Fleet Prison was something that ran in the family! Francis's father, Francis Tregian Senior, had also found himself in the same jail some years earlier for the same offence – being a Catholic and refusing to accept the Anglican service. The family originated from Truro in Cornwall and had amassed considerable wealth since the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and, like many of the English aristocracy, they were also staunch Catholics. During the 1560's, whilst Catholicism was outlawed, penalties were more about deprivation rather than persecution. A blind eye would be turned by the authorities as long as Catholics were not blatant and open about their faith. The wealthy were able to afford to keep and hide their own priest and they were able to send their sons abroad for their education (Catholics were not allowed to be schooled). Francis Tregian Sr.



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**The imposing façade of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge**

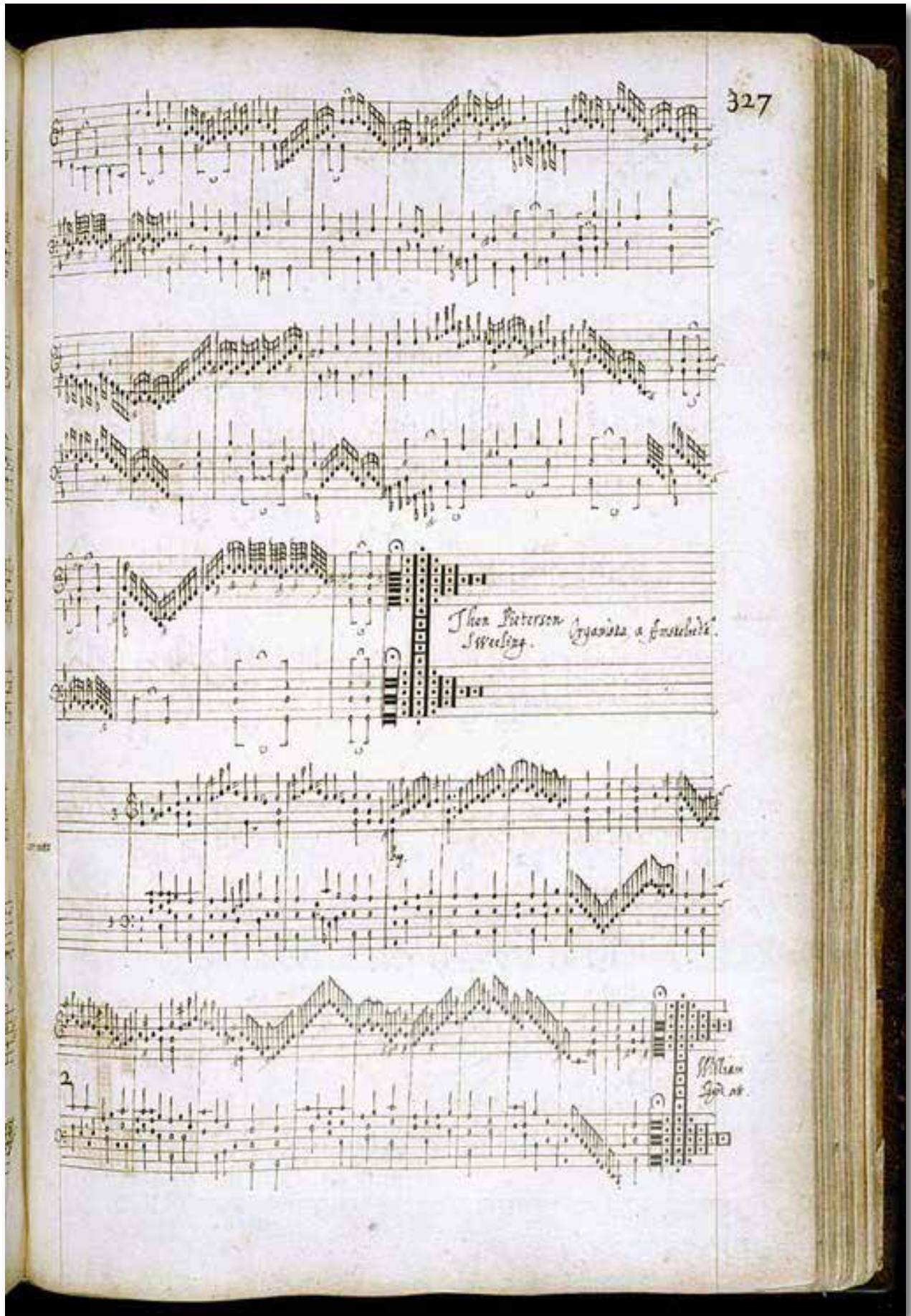


**A virginal of 1598 – the time of Francis Tregian. A Virginal, a member of the harpsichord family, produces a note by plucking a string. The single set of strings run parallel to the keyboard. The cases were often highly decorated.**

travelled abroad to further his religious knowledge and practices but on returning to England, he went to court to plead the Catholic cause to Elizabeth. According to Tregian family legend, Elizabeth became quite enamoured with Francis Sr. and propositioned him. Being a good Catholic family man, Francis rebuffed her and this incensed her so much, that he became one of the first Catholics to feel the full force of the recusancy laws in 1577. Tregian Sr.'s lands, possession and wealth were

confiscated and he was thrown into jail and kept in appalling conditions. Over time though, and after he had nearly died, he managed to call in some favours and he was eventually moved to more comfortable conditions in Fleet Prison where even his wife was allowed to join him. Between them they were to conceive and have 8 out of their 12 children in Fleet Prison!

At this point it needs to be stated that Fleet Prison was run slightly differently from other



A page from the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book

jails. It was essentially a money making concern, populated primarily by upper-class debtors and political dissidents. It seems that Francis Tregian Sr, and later his son, Francis Tregian Jr., lived in relative comfort in a private room, with a separate study and they called on their rich relatives to help pay for their board and lodging. The wardens of the Fleet were notorious for charging exorbitantly high sums and abusing their posts but prisoners, for a certain sum, could buy their temporary freedom or live in houses near the prison. Tregian Sr. was able to write poetry, study foreign languages, and conduct a busy social life in the prison, along with other intellectual recusants.

After spending twenty-four years of incarceration, Francis Tregian Sr. was finally freed in 1601. However, in 1605 James I banished him from the country and Tregian left for Spain where he was given a hero's welcome by King Philip III, who also granted him a pension. Tregian Sr. eventually retired to Lisbon, where he died on September 25, 1608 at the age of sixty. Seventeen years later he was re-buried standing up, facing England, an honour which signified that he had stood up to the Queen for his beliefs. His burial place even became a pilgrimage site for Catholics.

Francis Tregian Jr. was educated, alongside many other wealthy Catholic children, in the English College in Douai and later, Rheims, France. Having completed his education, he then travelled to Rome to become an assistant to Cardinal Allen. Cardinal Allen was an outspoken English priest who had left England when Elizabeth ascended the throne. (Allen was to later excommunicate Elizabeth which did great harm to the Catholic cause in England as it galvanised Anglican and political action against the religion.) It was Allen who described Francis as "of great nobility, a secular person, twenty years old, layman, exceptional intelligence, versed in philosophy, in music, and in the Latin language". This description gives us the first indication that Tregian was versed in music. The two men were very close and after Cardinal Allen died in 1594, Francis delivered the eulogy at his funeral. Francis then found a position working for Albert, Archduke of the Spanish Netherlands, who also an outright enemy of Elizabeth. It was here that Tregian Jr. met the composer Peter Philips, who was also an English Catholic living in exile in Brussels. Records indicate that Tregian returned to England in 1606 in order



**The famous composer William Byrd. There are 69 pieces composed by Byrd in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book**

to plead his case for the return of his family land and possessions. However, his cause fell on deaf ears which could not have been helped by his association with Cardinal Allen and the Archduke! Francis then borrowed money in order to reclaim the family seat in Cornwall, Golden Manor. Later, being unable to repay the loan, Tregian was eventually jailed for debt and recusancy.

Francis Tregian managed to accumulate a huge debt which was reported to be in the region of £3000.00. This is quite a sum considering that the average family income was between £10 and £20 per year! Whilst there's no doubt that there was an accusation of recusancy against Tregian, the greater charge, and the most likely reason he was jailed, was for being a debtor.

Tregian finally died at the age of 43, in Fleet prison, in 1617 (early research mistakenly reported his death as 1619). When he died, he owed £200 to the prison warden, Alexander Harris, for his food and lodgings. The warden noted that in Tregian's rooms there were many hundreds of books and in trying to recover the money he was owed, he became involved in a dispute with Francis's sisters over the ownership of these. Was the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book one of the books that was being fought over?

Since Maitland and Squire published their transcriptions of the manuscript in 1899, the story persisted of Tregian having laboriously copied out

music every day to while away his time in prison. That is until 2001 when an academic, Ruby Reid Thompson, disputed the legend. It had been questioned from time to time how Tregian had achieved this feat, even with a library to hand. How did he know of the music in the first place? How could he have known the composers? How did he get his material? How could he have compiled such a wealth of material whilst in prison? But, even with these questions being asked, the myth persisted. Thompson's paper changed this view overnight. She claimed that the expensive paper the manuscript was written on would have been too expensive for Tregian and that the work was probably done by a team of professional copyists. She made a very convincing case through paper analysis and various other methods resulting in a story that had lasted for 200 years being turned on its head. So much so that a cursory internet search will propose Thompson's view rather than the age old attribution to Tregian.

However, that was not to be the end of it! Various other musicologists, researchers and specialists have since re-appraised the document in light of Thompson's assertions. David J Smith in 2002 and Pamela Palmer Jones in 2009, amongst others, have reasserted that Tregian was the copyist of this glorious legacy.

The case for Tregian rests with these arguments:

- Analysis of his handwriting (using legal documents that Tregian signed in association with his estate in Cornwall) is the same as in the FVB.
- The hand is all by the same person. Whilst there are a number of differences and developments in the script, this is only natural considering the length of time it would have taken to write. Detailed analysis shows that it is of the same hand and not the work of a team.
- The notation is not of the standard that would be expected of a professional copyist.
- The document is unfinished. This would not be the case if it had been a commission by a wealthy patron.
- No evidence of a music writing scriptorium has been found from this period.
- There are very clear connections between Francis Tregian and the four main composers

in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book – Giles Farnaby, William Byrd, Peter Philips and John Bull.

- The Tregian family came from Probus near Truro Cornwall. Truro was also the home town of Giles Farnaby. All but two of Farnaby's keyboard works are found exclusively in the FVB, so there must have been a connection between the two men.
- Peter Philips was based in Brussels and Antwerp at the same time as Tregian. Both men were English Catholics and they would have mixed in the same circles.
- Peter Philips's publisher was Pierre Phalèse and many of the pieces in the FVB are based on Phalèse's pieces.
- Francis Tregian's mother was a close family friend to William Byrd's brother and both families were linked by Catholicism.
- John Bull was commissioned to build an organ for the Archduke, whilst Tregian was in his employ. Bull was also a friend of Peter Philips and, like Tregian, was also a Catholic escaping protestant England and they must have known each other.
- It is fair to say that the paper of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book was of very high quality – but then Tregian was £3000 in debt! But there is no evidence that this paper was exclusively used for court use as supposed by Thompson.
- It has been propositioned that Tregian could not have copied out the vast quantities of music in the time that he was in prison – but there's no evidence to suggest that he didn't start it before going to the Fleet.
- Tregian died in 1617. The latest dated piece of music is 1616. A coincidence?!

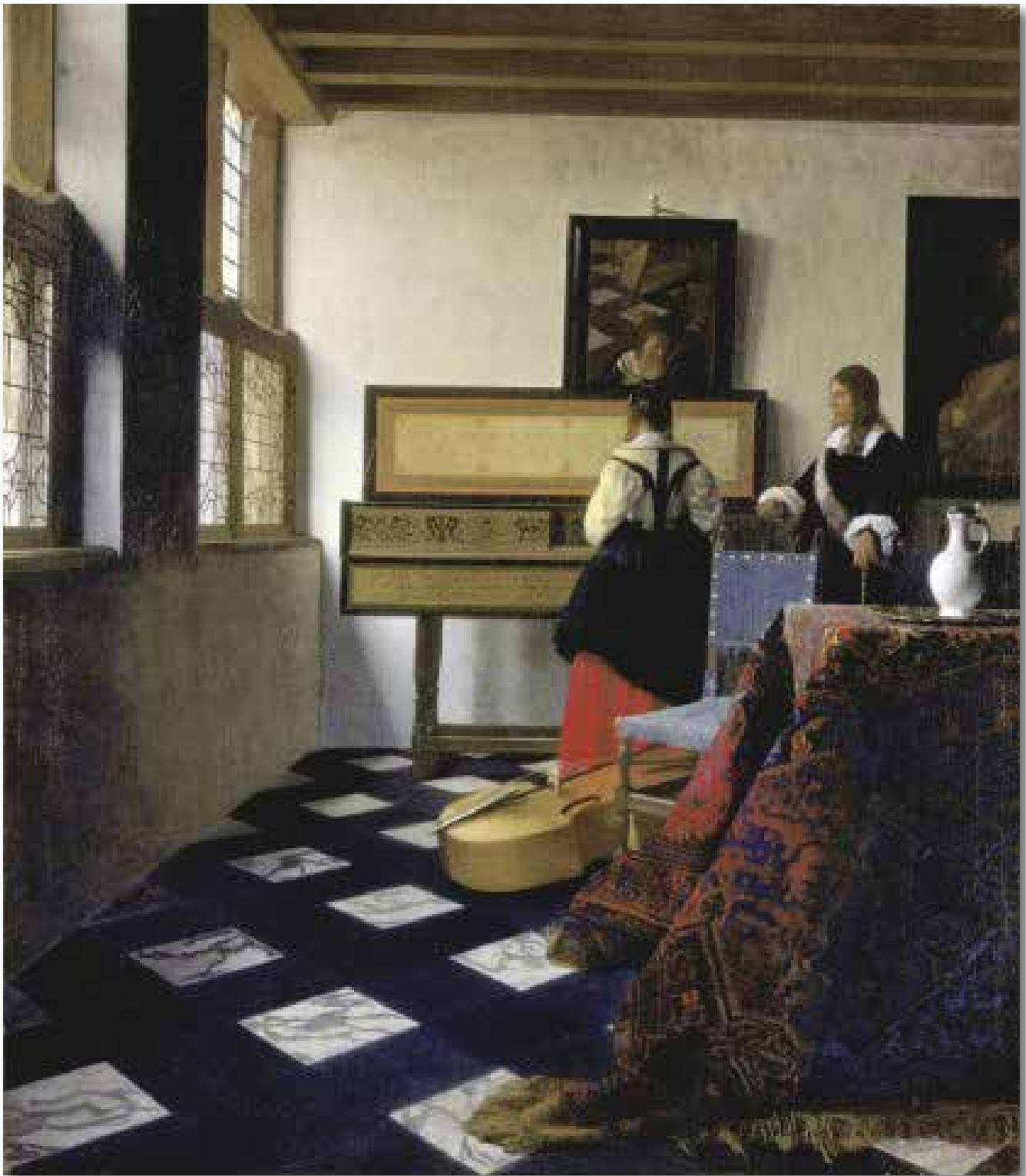
The last puzzle though, is why did he compile the book? Was it for his own use? Was it simply a question of whiling away the time and keeping himself occupied whilst incarcerated? Or had he been commissioned to compile it for a wealthy person's library in order to pay off his debts? Tregian, despite his Catholic stance, still had some wealthy and influential friends.

We have very little hard fact about Francis Tregian Jr. other than he was in prison, known to be good with music and owed money at his death. But we do have the glorious legacy of the Fitzwilliam

Virginal Book. Despite all the academic arguments and lack of hard evidence, I like to think of Tregian writing and compiling it in order to give me, and

hundreds of other musicians, the joy of discovering this wonderful music.

**JANE MOULDER**



**Johannes Vermeer often featured virginals in his paintings. Commonly called “The Music Lesson”, it was painted c1663 and it is in The Royal Collection at Buckingham Palace.**

# HENRY VIII AND ANNE BOLEYN: A LOVE STORY?

*by Lissa Bryan*

**H**enry VIII and Anne Boleyn are one of history's most famous couples. Among illustrious pairs like Antony and Cleopatra, Napoleon and Josephine, Henry and Anne's names "ring a bell" even for those who don't consider themselves history buffs. Scores of movies and books have immortalized their tale, usually characterizing Henry and Anne's relationship as a grand romance which had an unfortunate and tragic end.

But is this the truth? Is the tale of Henry and Anne really a love story?

When Henry first noticed Anne around 1526, he had been married for almost twenty years to Katharine of Aragon, and their union – despite many pregnancies – had only resulted in one living daughter. As early as 1520, years before Anne was on the scene, Henry had expressed "doubts" about the validity of his marriage to Katharine. He was restless and dissatisfied, and for Henry, who seems to have genuinely believed that God manifested His will through Henry's own desires, that meant there was a problem with the marriage itself.

The first real mention of Henry's interest in Anne occurred at the Shrovetide joust in February, 1526. He rode out onto the field with a banner that read *Declare I dare not*, an action intended to do just the opposite. Anne was suddenly thrust into the spotlight as Henry's love-interest on an international stage. She was instantly controversial, blamed and despised, and even five hundred years later, she would still be the subject of heated debate.

Born around 1507, Anne was a "*fresh young damsel*" educated in the erudite courts of Austria

and France. She acquired a Continental grace and was so intelligent and charming that she was instantly popular at court when her father brought her back to England in 1522.

Henry wanted Anne as his mistress – as her sister had once been – but despite her flirtatious nature, Anne was a deeply religious woman who would only surrender her virginity to her lawfully married husband. Henry had made his interest in her public, hoping the attentions of the fawning court would dazzle and pressure her into giving in to his desires. It didn't work.

With his interest came an outpouring of generosity toward her friends and family, who were favored with offices, appointments, and titles. They would have urged Anne to keep the king "happy" and the bounty of his favor flowing in their direction. On the opposing side were the family and friends of Queen Katharine, who denounced Anne as a home-wrecking harlot. Anne suddenly had enemies she had never met. The stress this young girl endured must have been tremendous.

Henry had always retreated in the past when a lady indicated she wouldn't welcome further





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King Henry and Anne Boleyn Deer shooting in Windsor Forest

advances. In Anne Boleyn's case, however, he wasn't taking "no" for an answer.

Henry certainly expended a lot of effort in making Anne Boleyn his. He exhibited a single-minded tenacity that some say must show the power of his love for Anne. He shattered a thousand years of religious tradition in creating his own church to get his annulment, and sent old friends to the scaffold for refusing to recognize his right to do so. He set his country in a roar and risked war with Katharine's continental relatives.

But obsession is not love. Obsession is a greedy, destructive thing, and indeed, Henry's obsession did end up destroying Anne Boleyn.

Anne spent several months trying to tactfully decline his pursuit while walking a delicate balance to avoid offending him. If the king was angered, it could have repercussions not only on her own career, but on her entire family's fortunes.

Today, Henry's actions would be considered sexual harassment. He was Anne's employer, and he was using her position as his wife's lady-in-waiting to pester her where she couldn't escape his attentions. When she couldn't gently shake him off, Anne "quit her job" in May of 1527 and went back to her parents' country estates, and refused to have any further contact with the king. That didn't work, either. Henry went to stay with a cousin of Anne's, Nicholas Carew, so he could ride over to Hever at his leisure and continue his "courtship."

Many historians have painted Anne's actions as an intricate plot to keep Henry's attentions engaged with the ultimate goal of putting herself on the throne, as if she had the supernatural foresight to know the way to keep Henry interested was to refuse him. In Thomas Wyatt's famous poem about Henry and Anne's relationship, *Whoso List to Hunt*, Anne is portrayed as a deer fleeing for her life, with Henry and other hunters in chase. Around her neck is a collar that warns others this prey belongs to the king. But many modern writers have portrayed the "deer" as the one orchestrating this hunt.

In 1526, Anne couldn't have had any designs on the throne. No one would have imagined the king would annul his marriage for her. If Henry did wed again, it could be expected his bride would be a princess, who could bring a massive dowry and alliances to his nation, not one of his own subjects,

a mere gentlewoman at that. The idea of a king marrying for "love" was preposterous.

As it was, Anne had no reason to want to keep Henry interested in her. She had been raised to believe that the primary duty of a well-born girl was to marry well and advance her family's interests. She couldn't do that while Henry was pursuing her. No man would ask for her hand and risk infuriating the king. And the longer Henry's attentions lasted, the less the nobles of Europe believed Anne could still be a virgin. Her reputation was destroyed, just as it would have been had she been Henry's mistress in truth.

Anne walked this delicate balance, trying to dodge Henry's advances while not offending him, but Henry wasn't losing interest as she had hoped. He was obsessed. He was going to have Anne Boleyn, and he wouldn't let anyone – not the crowned heads of scandalized Europe, or even the Pope himself – stand in his way. The sheer, stubborn force of his will would not be denied.

In 1527, he decided if Anne would not be his mistress, he would make her his wife. Anne had little choice but to accept the proposal. As Kateryn Parr sadly recognized a decade or so later, a woman does not turn down a proposal of honorable marriage from a king, even if her heart is already engaged elsewhere.

Whatever her personal feelings about the union, once she had accepted the king's proposal, Anne had to use all of her resources to make the marriage happen, or else end up in disgrace, the discarded "Great Whore," a burden on her family. It was onward and upward for Anne Boleyn, or else utter ruin. She never really had a choice once the king had decided on his course of action.

Anne was a fervent religious reformer and began to see the hand of God at work in this. Perhaps He was elevating her to the throne so that she could reform the church. In her coronation festivities, she would be lauded as Queen Esther, banishing the wicked Vashti and bringing the light of truth to the faith. A more mundane explanation might be that she decided to make the best of her situation. If she was going to be queen, she was going to be a good one, and use her power to enact reform.

Anne's father, Thomas Boleyn, has always been portrayed as a grasping pimp, selling one daughter as a mistress to Henry and the other as his

queen, squeezing out every drop of advancement for himself that he could, but it seems he may have been somewhat unhappy with the situation. Ambassador Chapuys records as an aside in one of his dispatches that Thomas didn't want Henry to marry Anne. Perhaps he could see the dark clouds gathering.

For seven long years, Henry fought to make Anne his own, but his infatuation with her cooled quickly once he held her in his arms. As his passion for her began to fade, resentment took its place. Within three years, Henry had come to despise Anne as much as he had once lusted for her. Everything that had drawn him to her – her sparkling wit, her charm, her intelligence – began to irritate him. As he saw it, Anne had failed to deliver him the son she had promised, and thus their union was invalid.

He rubbed his affairs in her face, and taunted her by lavishing favor on her rival, Jane Seymour. After she failed to give him a living son with her third pregnancy, Henry decided that Anne had to go.

Thomas Cromwell, Henry's able minister, who had found a way to make Anne queen, now

found a way to unmake her utterly. Anne was arrested and charged with adultery and incest.

Some historians and fiction writers posit that Henry believed Anne to be guilty – almost a dupe of the devious Cromwell – but this seems highly unlikely. Had he bothered to look at his records, he would have seen that Anne had an alibi for three-quarters of the specific allegations. But Henry had no interest in discovering the truth. He simply wanted her gone.

It mattered little to him that half a dozen innocent people would have to die in order to be rid of his wife, including one who had been his friend for over twenty years. Could a man even *capable* of love kill his wife simply because he was tired of her? These are not the actions of a broken-hearted man, but rather one with an almost sociopathic lack regard for anyone who stood in his way.

Henry and Anne's tale is not a love story. It is a tale of obsession and its terrible consequences for the victim. It is the tale of a woman harassed and stalked before being presented with an offer she literally could not refuse – and then murdered when her husband was tired of her.

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**Lissa Bryan** is the author of a number of novels including "Ghostwriter", "The End of All Things" and a novel about Anne Boleyn: "Under These Restless Skies". She is a life-long Tudor history buff and has a Tudor history blog with more articles at <http://under-these-restless-skies.blogspot.com/>. She says that one of her greatest influences is Emily Bronte. Lissa was a poet before she was a novelist which taught her a lot about how the sounds and rhythms of words help set the mood of a scene. She also says that Margaret George's magnificent Autobiography of Henry VIII, introduced her to many historical themes.

Lissa Bryan can also be found on her website: <http://www.lissabryan.com>



# JUNE FEAST DAYS

*by Claire Ridgway*

## 2 JUNE – ST ELMO'S DAY

This feast day's proper name is actually **St Erasmus's Day** and it commemorates the martyrdom of St Erasmus of Formia, Bishop of Formium in Italy. He was tortured and executed for being a Christian in the year 303.

St Erasmus, or St Elmo, is the patron saint of sailors and abdominal pain, and he is one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, saints who are venerated because of the effectiveness of their intercession against diseases. It is said that he carried on preaching even when a thunderbolt struck the ground next to him.

St Elmo's Fire, a weather phenomenon which could sometimes be seen at the top of ships' masts during thunderstorms, became linked with St Elmo because sailors believed that the fires/light were souls rising to glory due to the saint's intercession. The lights were seen as a good omen because they showed the presence of St Elmo.

In the medieval and Tudor calendar, the day became the traditional time for shearing sheep.

## 4 JUNE – CORPUS CHRISTI

The Thursday after Trinity Sunday is the feast day celebrating the body and blood of Jesus Christ and the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the miracles of transubstantiation. It was usually celebrated with a procession of the Host around the town and also with Corpus Christi plays, mystery plays which told stories from the Bible and which provided entertainment and gave moral messages.



**The Birth of John the Baptist, minia  
National Gallery of Art, W**

# 24 JUNE – THE FEAST OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST AND MIDSUMMER’S DAY

The Feast of St John the Baptist was one of the most important feast days of the medieval and Tudor calendar and coincided with Midsummer, the pagan celebration of the summer solstice. It was a time when it was believed that the fairy folk were abroad and humans could be magical. Fire was at the heart of the celebrations and jumping through fire was thought to bring good luck. It was also believed that evil spirits were roaming free and that the fires warded them off. The actual evil that was around at this time was disease, brought by fleas and mosquitoes which bred at this time of year and which spread malaria and the Plague. One fire that was lit at this time was the “bone fire”, or bonfire, which was made up of bones. Its pungent smell was believed to ward off evil and scare off dragons. Fire could also be used to predict the farmer’s fortune. A cartwheel was wrapped in straw, set alight and then rolled down a hill. If it was still burning when it got to the bottom then the farmer would have a good harvest.

There was also plenty of dancing, drinking of ale and socialising.

Midsummer was also the time for haymaking.

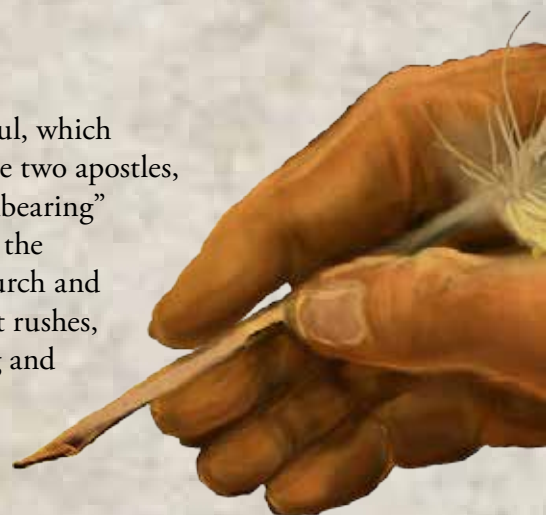
## 29 JUNE – FEAST OF ST PETER AND ST PAUL

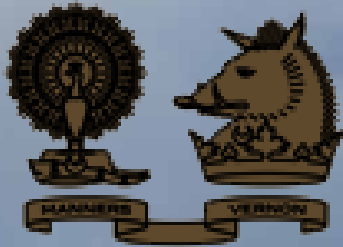
The Feast of St Peter and St Paul, which commemorated the martyrdom of the two apostles, was the traditional time for the “rushbearing” ceremony, a feast of dedication when the parishioners would process to the church and strew the church floor with newly cut rushes, new mown hay from the hay-making and wild flowers.

CLAIRE RIDGWAY



Illustration on vellum by Niccolò da Bologna,  
Washington DC, late 14th cent





# HADDON HALL





## HADDON HALL, BAKEWELL, DERBYSHIRE

As the setting for some amazing films such as “Elizabeth”, “Pride & Prejudice” and “The Other Boleyn Girl”, Haddon Hall is a stunning and picturesque place. It has even been called “the most romantic place in England”.., definitely one to add to your list of places to visit.

Haddon Hall originally dates from the 12th Century and much work and re-work was done all the way through to the early 17th Century when it lay untouched for nearly 200 years. At that point the 9th Duke and Duchess of Rutland restored the house and gardens, and once again made it habitable. Today both the grounds, house and chapel are incredibly well preserved and are stunning to see.

### 2015 OPENING DATES

The hall opens at 12pm until 5pm, last entry at 4pm.

1st May to 30th Sept – open daily (closed on the 30th & 31st May)

October: Saturdays, Sundays and Mondays  
and 24th October-1st November.

Christmas: 5th to 16th December. Hall opens at  
10.30am until 4pm, last entry at 3.30pm

**Haddon Hall will be open late, until 8pm,  
on the last Thursday of June, July & August.**

More information can be found at the website  
<http://www.haddonhall.co.uk/>



# TUDOR PLACES: HADDON HALL





# TUDOR PLACES: HADDON HALL

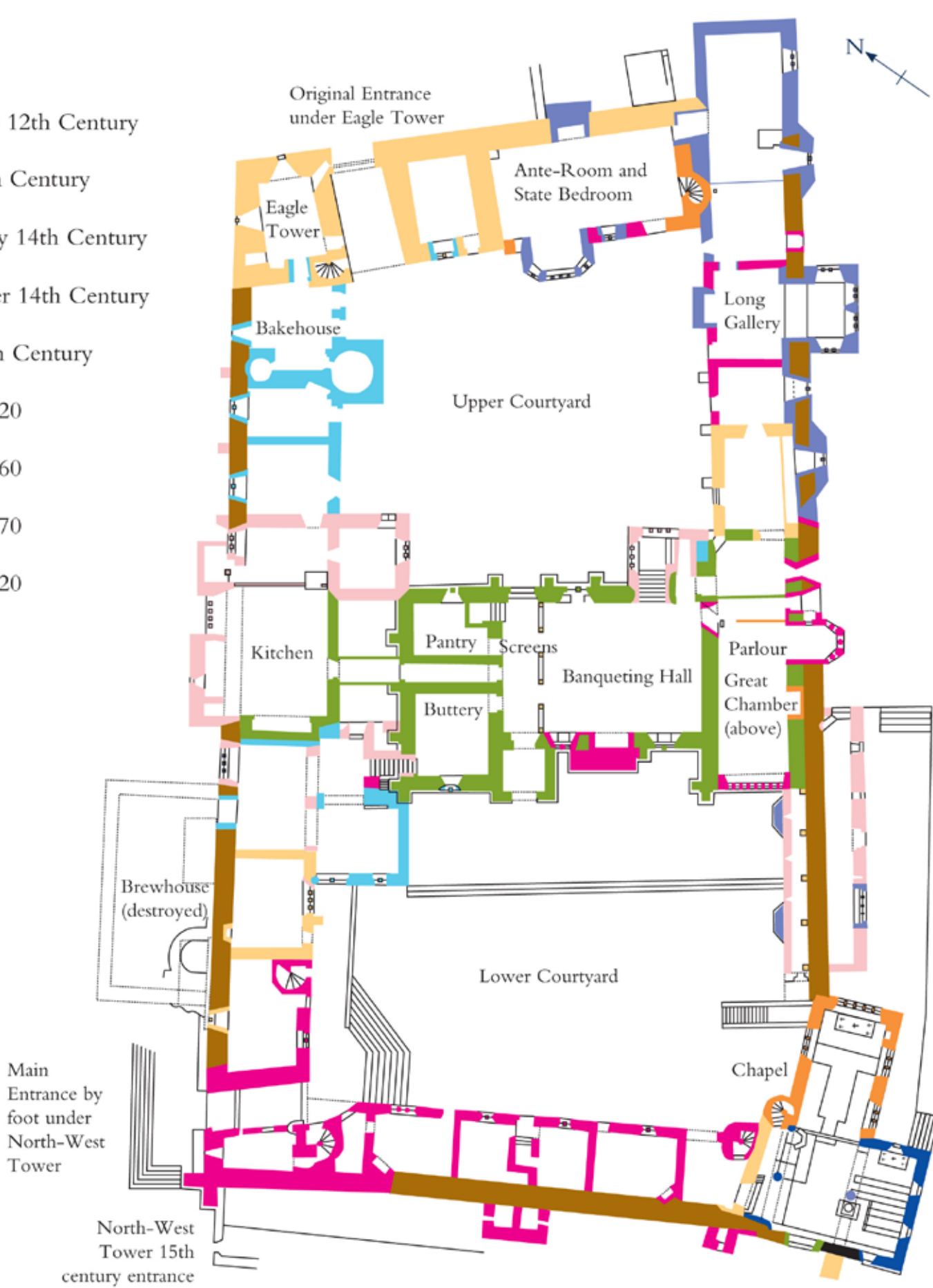


# TUDOR PLACES: HADDON HALL



# TUDOR PLACES: HADDON HALL

- Late 12th Century
- 13th Century
- Early 14th Century
- Later 14th Century
- 15th Century
- c.1520
- c.1560
- c.1570
- c.1620



# JUNE'S ON THIS

**1 June**  
1573

Birth of explorer **James Rosier** in Suffolk. Rosier went on the 1605 voyage to explore the fishing grounds off the Maine coast as “cape merchant, observer, and reporter”, and recorded the voyage in a journal.

**2 June**  
1572

Execution of **Thomas Howard**, 4th Duke of Norfolk. He was buried in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula at the Tower of London.

**3 June**  
1535

**Thomas Cromwell**, Henry VIII's Vicar-General, ordered all bishops to preach in support of the royal supremacy and to remove all references to the Pope from mass books and other church books.

**8 June**  
1492

Death of **Elizabeth Woodville** at Bermondsey Abbey. Elizabeth was the consort of **Edward IV** and mother of the Princes in the Tower.

**9 June**  
1583

Death of **Thomas Radcliffe**, 3rd Earl of Sussex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and President of the Council of the North, at Bermondsey. His body was buried at Boreham in Essex, but his innards were buried at the church in Bermondsey.

**10 June**  
1528

Birth of **Thomas Percy**, 7th Earl of Northumberland. Percy was a staunch Catholic, and was involved in the failed *Rising of the North*

**11 June**  
1509

Marriage of **Henry VIII** and **Catherine of Aragon** at Greenwich Palace

**14 June**  
1612

Death of Giles Tomson, Bishop of Gloucester, at Windsor Castle. He had only been Bishop a year and hadn't even visited his diocese.

**15 June**  
1519

Date traditionally given for the birth of **Henry Fitzroy**, 1st Duke of Richmond and Somerset, at the priory of St Lawrence in Blackmore, Essex.

**16 June**  
1514

Sir **John Cheke**, was born. He was imprisoned in the Tower of London by Mary I for his part in Lady Jane Grey's “usurpation”

**17 June**  
1567

Mary, Queen of Scots was imprisoned at Loch Leven Castle after her surrender to the Protestant nobles at the *Battle of Carberry Hill*

**18 June**  
1529

Opening of the Legatine Court at Blackfriars to hear the case for the proposed annulment of **Henry VIII's** marriage to **Catherine of Aragon**.

**21 June**  
1494

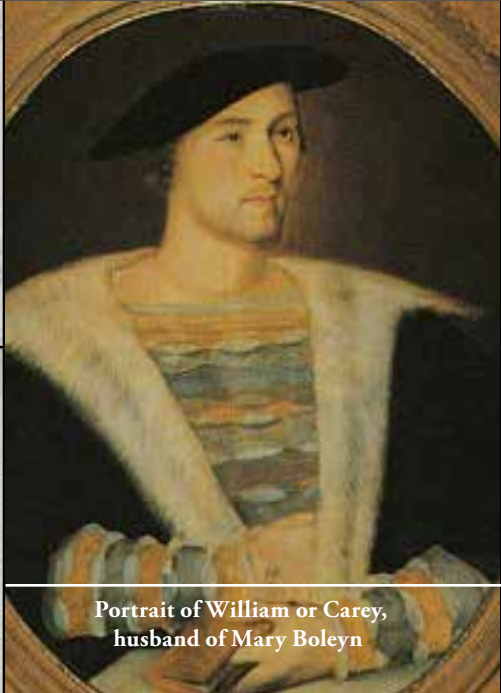
Birth of **George Cavendish**, Cardinal Wolsey's Gentleman Usher. He wrote a biography of Wolsey, and “Metrical Visions”.

**22 June**  
1528

Death of **William Carey**, courtier, distant cousin of **Henry VIII** and husband of **Mary Boleyn**. He died of sweating sickness

**27 June**  
1505

**Henry VIII** renounced his betrothal to Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow, claiming that it had been contracted without his consent.



Portrait of William Carey, husband of Mary Boleyn

# DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

<p><b>4 June</b> 1561</p> <p>The spire of <b>St Paul's Cathedral</b> caught fire after being struck by lightning. The fire melted the bells and lead from the spire "poured down like lava upon the roof".</p>	<p><b>5 June</b> 1600</p> <p><b>Robert Devereux</b>, 2nd Earl of Essex, was charged with insubordination during his time in Ireland at a special hearing at York House. He was ordered to remain under house arrest.</p>	<p><b>6 June</b> 1522</p> <p>Grand entry of <b>Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor</b>, into London, accompanied by <b>King Henry VIII</b>. There was pageantry and celebration.</p>	<p><b>7 June</b> 1546</p> <p><b>Henry VIII</b> and <b>Francis I</b> signed the Treaty of Ardres (also known as the Treaty of Camp).</p>
 <p style="text-align: center;">Old St. Paul's Cathedral from the Thames by Wenceslas Hollar</p>		<p><b>12 June</b> 1492</p> <p>Burial of <b>Elizabeth Woodville</b>, former consort of <b>Edward IV</b>, next to her husband in St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle.</p>	<p><b>13 June</b> 1535</p> <p>Death of <b>George Neville</b>, 3rd Baron Bergavenny, a member of <b>Henry VII's</b> council and a Garter knight</p>
		<p><b>19 June</b> 1566</p> <p>Birth of <b>James VI and I</b>, King of Scotland, England and Ireland, at Edinburgh Castle.</p>	<p><b>20 June</b> 1540</p> <p><b>Anne of Cleves</b> complained to her brother's ambassador, <b>Karl Harst</b>, about <b>Henry VIII's</b> attraction to <b>Catherine Howard</b>.</p>
<p><b>23 June</b> 1600</p> <p>Death of <b>Richard Howland</b>, Bishop of Peterborough. Howland presided over the burial of <b>Mary, Queen of Scots</b> in 1587.</p>	<p><b>24 June</b> 1532</p> <p>Birth of <b>Robert Dudley</b>, Earl of Leicester, favourite of <b>Elizabeth I</b>, making him just over a year older than his Queen</p>	<p><b>25 June</b> 1533</p> <p>Death of <b>Mary Tudor</b>, Queen of France, the thirty-seven year-old sister of <b>Henry VIII</b>. She died at her home, Westhorpe Hall in Suffolk.</p>	<p><b>26 June</b> 1596</p> <p>Burial of Sir <b>John Wingfield</b> in the cathedral at Cadiz, Spain. He was shot in the head in the attack on Cadiz on 21st June.</p>
<p><b>28 June</b> 1461</p> <p>Coronation of <b>Edward IV</b> and his consort <b>Elizabeth Woodville</b>.</p>	<p><b>29 June</b> 1540</p> <p>Bill of attainder passed against <b>Thomas Cromwell</b> for corruption, heresy and treason, stripping his honours and condemning him to death.</p>	<p><b>30 June</b> 1559</p> <p><b>Henry II</b> of France suffered a mortal head wound while jousting at the Place Royale. The King died 10th July 1559 and was succeeded by <b>Francis II</b>.</p>	

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## The Complex History of Catherine de' Medici

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**W**HEN fourteen year-old Marie-Antoinette of Austria crossed the border into France in the summer of 1770, she was the first Austrian princess to marry into the French ruling family since Elisabeth of Austria, two hundred years earlier. (Other princesses, like 'Anne of Austria' or 'Maria-Teresa of Austria', who married Louis XIII and Louis XIV were, in fact, Spanish.) Like Marie-Antoinette, Elisabeth was pretty and charming, with pale skin (much-admired) and blonde tresses. In further, and far more unhappy, similarity, the two archduchesses also had the bad luck to marry into the French monarchy as it entered free-fall.

Elisabeth of Austria was the penultimate queen consort of the Valois line of the French ruling family. Chronologically, she is sandwiched between her glamorous sisters-in-law Mary, Queen of Scots, and the gentle, retiring, soon-forgotten Louise of Lorraine. Historically and politically, she is overshadowed by her awesome and controversial mother-in-law, Catherine de' Medici. The glory and horror of the Tudor family in neighbouring England has often distracted from the equally compelling story of the Valois queens as the French Crown was convulsed by eight consecutive wars of religion, premature royal deaths, unprecedented political unrest, grasping aristocratic clans, out-of-control intrigue, and allegations of poisoning, incest, genocide, and adultery.

Catherine de' Medici, the first witness (some would unkindly say the architect), of the chaos, was married to Henri, Duc d'Orléans, the French King's second son, in 1533. A niece of Pope Clement VII on her father's side, the fabulously wealthy heiress's

marriage was supposed to bind France closer to the troubled Holy See in the aftermath of England's defection over the issue of Anne Boleyn. Plain and unassuming, she hid her intelligence to endure nearly a decade of childlessness, whispers of divorce, and being outshone by her husband's stunning mistress, the chillingly beautiful Diane de Poitiers, who was nearly twenty years older than her besotted royal lover. With his father and elder brother predeceasing him, Henri became King Henri II in 1547. Even then, Catherine was forced to pass the care of her long-awaited children to Diane, bowing to her exquisitely polite-but-not-to-be-refused demands until, in 1559, a hideous jousting accident took her husband's life. Catherine's eldest son became King




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**Catherine de' Medici**  
attributed to François Clouet

François II, joined by his wife Mary, Queen of Scots, generally agreed to be the most eligible and beautiful European princess. Diane de Poitiers was banished, but Catherine faced the prospect of being usurped by the Scottish Queen until meningitis took the young King's life in 1560.

Catherine moved with ruthless efficiency to elbow Mary out of the way and back to Scotland, then declared herself regent for her infant son, Charles IX. Surrounded by noble families who wanted to exploit the royal minority to increase their own power, and facing a country tearing itself apart over the question of religion, Catherine tried to bring peace by marrying her daughter Margot to her Protestant cousin, Henri of Navarre. During the wedding festivities, thousands of Protestants were ambushed by Catholics who supported a militant group called the Holy League. The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Eve tripped the wire of sectarian tensions across Europe, and many accused the Queen Mother of deliberately orchestrating it. She was knee-deep in a plot to assassinate a powerful Protestant rival, Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, but she was appalled when the plot spiralled into the brutal murder of thousands of men, women, and children.

Charles's queen, Elisabeth of Austria, was a devout Catholic but she was so aghast at the violence she had seen that she nearly suffered a nervous breakdown. Charles, whose own sanity was questionable, was shattered by fears that he was being haunted by the ghosts of his dead subjects. When he died without a son in 1574, his homosexual brother became King Henri III. He was Catherine's favourite son and he was as charming, ruthless and vital as she was. But he was also highly-strung, and crucially far more religious. Torn between twin obsessions with the sacred and the sensual, Henri shocked



**Marie Antoinette at age 12 by Martin van Meytens, circa 1767-1768**

everyone when he insisted on marrying one of his own subjects, the introverted Louise of Lorraine – the neglected child of self-absorbed parents who, to her surprise, became a queen. She participated in Henri's increasingly morbid acts of self-denial that aimed to beseech God to send them a son. None had arrived by the time Henri was stabbed to death by a religious fanatic in August 1589, passing the throne to his Protestant cousins, who swiftly converted to Catholicism to keep the peace.

Queens and pawns on the chessboard, the royal women of sixteenth-century France are fascinating in their own right. Catherine has been demonised as a villain in many novels and movies, but their stories remind us of the complexity of history and its impact on a person's life.

**GARETH RUSSELL**

# Charlie

Roses in the Tempest is a *new* historical fiction novel by Jeri Westerson

# Our Books



**R**OSSES in the Tempest is a historical fiction novel by Jeri Westerson. The novel is set during Henry VIII's reign and details mainly how the dissolution of the monasteries and the Reformation in England affected the population. This isn't written about much in fiction and it is surprisingly refreshing to read about ordinary people and their lives. The novel is written from two points of view, those of Thomas Giffard and Isabella Launder. This gives the reader two different views on the situation and allows us to see how different the lives of the two characters are, one spending most of her time gardening at first and the other spending his time with women and jousting.

The way Thomas Giffard's religion is presented in the book makes the reader feel as if they are really there. On one of the first pages the character remarks 'Who would have thought they could take our religion from us? I saw it happening and barely understood, as powerless as the best of them to stop it'. Even in his thoughts he comments 'the whore Boleyn', who many saw as the cause for the reformation and loss of their religion. It makes even those who aren't religious feel drawn in and concerned about the events.

One of the key parts of the novel is the relationship between Thomas and Isabella, with emotion between them that is evident from the second they see each other. Isabella almost denies the emotion within her and for a moment ignores Thomas complaining about having to marry and settle down. This divides the two, as they clearly prefer each other, however social divides forbid that too. Later, it looks like Isabella is going to be married off too. The imagery of the church bells repeating in the background conveys to the reader the feeling that Isabella is trapped and is

"The author creates a provocative tale...one with an involved plot and an unexpected climax." — Historical Novel Society on *Cup of Blood*

*Roses*  
in the  
*Tempest*  
A Tale of  
Tudor England

JERI WESTERSON



going to be forced into marriage. However, the image is cleverly turned around into that of a religious house and Isabella decides that she will become a nun instead - her form of escape.

The ordinary people's lives make the reader forget about the bigger picture for a while, Henry VIII's court, until events are spiraling out of control. The conversations about King Henry VIII's matters at the time are well placed in the novel and do not seem forced. For example, Thomas and his friends talk about his marriage and how it is mainly for heirs and to keep the family line going. His mind switches to what has been happening at court and the recent miscarriages Queen Catherine has had. He prays that her latest pregnancy will bring an heir, but the reader knows this won't happen.

One part I found particularly interesting was when Thomas was speaking to Henry about love. This is when Anne Boleyn is first mentioned as the King says, "Would it surprise you to hear that your own king

has such a love?". She is not mentioned by name but is compared to Isabella. Both men are not allowed to be with the woman they love, little does Thomas know how important Henry's love would end up being.

The novel is fast-paced in a way that keeps the reader interested and wanting to read more. It does not skip on the details of court or nunnery life but also does not dwell too long on them either, it is perfectly balanced. The time gaps help separate and keep the story moving. What is particularly interesting and unique about the novel is that it talks and educates people about lives that aren't mentioned much in most books about the Tudor period, with many being focused on Henry VIII and his wives. It also keeps it interesting and is a book I would recommend to anyone interested in history and the Tudor period, as well as historical fiction in general as it is an amazing love story.

**CHARLIE FENTON**

**Jeri Westerson** has been a journalist, a theology teacher, and graphic artist, among other things. As a novelist, she combined the medieval with the hard-boiled and came up with her own brand of medieval mystery she calls "Medieval Noir". Her brooding protagonist, Crispin Guest, is a disgraced knight turned detective on the mean streets of fourteenth century London.

Her newest, *CUP OF BLOOD*, was released last summer. Booklist said of the novel: "Westerson paints a murky portrait of a medieval world suitably full of shadowy characters and unexpected twists and turns." So far, her series has finished twelve times for industry mystery awards, including a "Best of 2013" mystery novel by *Suspense Magazine*.

Her current release, *ROSES IN THE TEMPEST*, marks her return to standalone historical novels, this one set in Tudor England during the dissolution of the monasteries. She is former president of the Southern California chapter of *Mystery Writers of America* and an avid member of several professional writing organizations. Jeri speaks all over the southland about medieval history, including as a guest lecturer at the Bowers Museum in Santa Ana, Santa Monica College, and Mt. San Antonio College in Walnut, CA.

See more, including her series book trailer, at [JeriWesterson.com](http://JeriWesterson.com)



# FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD

*by Melanie V. Taylor*

**B**etween 7<sup>th</sup> & 24<sup>th</sup> June, 1520 a magnificent event that dazzled those that saw it, took place near Guisnes, just south of Calais, that would become known as The Field of the Cloth of Gold. Here the kings of England and France aimed to show they were no longer enemies. To demonstrate just how they had come to this new found trust it had been decided they would meet and compete (in a friendly fashion) in various tournaments and games. If the weather turned wet, then they could wrestle or perhaps compete at the archery butts instead of jousting or competing in any of the other knightly disciplines they delighted in. These were not to be fights to the death, merely a friendly tourney to show their new found fraternal love.



**The Field of the Cloth of Gold. Anon: Royal Collection, Wolsey Gallery, Hampton Court**



**James Basire's 1775 print of a 16th century painting of Henry VIII's embarkation at Dover, 1520.  
Painting is in the Royal Collection**

They attempted to out do each other in an outrageously ostentatious display of wealth, hence the name. The logistics of organising the English contingent fell to Cardinal Wolsey (as if he didn't have enough of his own work as Cardinal and Lord Chancellor). Just a glance at the 16<sup>th</sup> century painting that hangs in the Wolsey Gallery, Hampton Court demonstrates just how detailed the planning and organising of the athletic and tourney events and pageants must have been. Not only would the kings compete side by side, but their entourages would be taking part too and the various nobles had members of their own households with them. The numbers were approximately 5,000 on each side and they (and their animals) all had to be fed, watered and entertained. Wikipedia tells us just how many sheep were killed to feed the English (2200) but fails to numerate pigs and beef. They are referred to as 'other viands in similar proportions'.

When it came to the English party, all this had to be transported across the Channel to the Calais, by ship. Presumably the sheep and 'other viands' were supplied by farmers local to Guisnes. This was, after all, English territory.

This painting (also at Hampton Court) shows the departure of the English party on 31<sup>st</sup> May 1520 from Dover, with Dover Castle in the top left. In the front the two gun turrets are firing salutes as

the fleet sets sail. The ship in the centre, with the gold sails leading the way, is the king's and if you zoom in, you can find him standing on the deck, resplendent in cloth of gold.

Having arrived at Calais and disembarked, we can imagine the hullabaloo at the docks. The English were based at Guisne and the town is shown to the left. The gun smoke coming from the castle shows a royal salute to welcome Henry VIII who entered the town on 4<sup>th</sup> June. The campsite was the closest to neutral territory as was possible Ardres, where the French had their encampment, is defined almost as a smudge way in the distance above the lists where the jousting took place.

In the Rutland Papers & Letters & Papers Domestic Vol 3 March 1520, 21-30 we are told Henry was accompanied as follows:

*For the King: The cardinal of York, with 300 servants, of whom 12 shall be chaplains and 50 gentlemen, with 50 horses; one archbishop with 70 servants, of whom 5 shall be chaplains and 10 gentlemen, with 30 horses; 2 dukes, each with 70 servants, 5 to be chaplains and 10 gentlemen, with 30 horses. 1 marquis with 56 servants, 4 to be chaplains and 8 gentlemen; 26 horses. 10 earls, each with 42 servants, 3 to be chaplains and 6 gentlemen; 20 horses. 5 bishops, of whom the bishop of Winchester shall*



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Detail of Henry VIII from *The Field of the Cloth of Gold*



BL Cotton Augustus III f18

have 56 servants, 4 to be chaplains and 8 gentlemen; 26 horses; – each of the others, 44 servants, 4 to be chaplains and 6 gentlemen; 20 horses. 20 barons, each to have 22 servants, 2 to be chaplains and 2 gentlemen; 12 horses. 4 knights of the order of St. George, each to have 22 servants, 2 to be chaplains and 2 gentlemen; 48 horses. 70 knights, each to have 12 servants, one to be a chaplain; 8 horses. Councillors of the long robe; viz., the King's secretary, the vice-chancellor, the dean of the Chapel, and the almoner, each to have 12 servants, one a chaplain, and 8 horses. 12 King's chaplains, each with 6 servants and 3 horses. 12 serjeants-at-arms, each with 1 servant and two horses. 200 of the King's guard with 100 horses. 70 grooms of the chamber, with 150 servants and 100 horses among them; 266 officers of the house, with 216 servants and 70 horses; 205 grooms of the stable and of the armories, with 211 horses. The earl of Essex, being earl marshal, shall have, beside the number above stated, 130 servants and 100 light horses. Sum total of the King's company, 3,997 persons and 2,087 horses".

The Queen's entourage was also large:

"For the Queen: 1 duchess, with 4 women, 6 servants and 12 horses; 10 countesses, with 3 women and 4 servants, and 8 horses each; 12 baronesses, with 2 women, 3 servants and 6 horses each. 20 knights' ladies, with 1 woman, 2 servants and 4 horses each; 14 ladies, with 1 woman, 2 servants and 3 horses each; 6 ladies of the chamber, with 1 servant and 2 horses

each; 1 earl, with 42 servants, 3 to be chaplains and 9 gentlemen; horses 20. 3 bishops, to have 44 servants, 4 to be chaplains and 6 gentlemen; horses 60. 4 barons, with 22 servants, 2 to be chaplains and 2 gentlemen; horses 48. 30 knights, with 12 servants, 1 to be a chaplain; horses 240; 6 chaplains with 3 servants and 2 horses each. Grooms 50, officers of the King's chamber, with 20 servants and 30 horses; officers of the King's stable 60, with 70 horses. Sum total of the Queen's company, 1,175 persons and 778 horses.

Visually, the impact is much greater than reading the description of how large the English company was. In the painting, by the time the royal party arrives at the camp site everything is in order and we see Henry riding a white horse resplendent in gold coat over a red outfit and surrounded by his loyal guard.

The figures of Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms, and Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset (who carries the Sword of State and is ahead of the king) have been identified together with that of Cardinal Wolsey.

Catherine of Aragon is not obvious and the entry in the Royal Collection isn't very helpful, suggesting that she may be dining in the tent on the far right or perhaps being carried in the litter immediately behind this tent. Queen Claude is similarly absent, even though we know the queens watched the jousting with their husbands, but you will have to zoom into this part of the painting to



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Henry VIII of England by Joos van Cleve circa 1530 -1535



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Francis I of France *by Jean Clouet circa 1530*

see the crowd (top right) to try and identify them. It is such a shame we are not shown the glorious gowns that the queens and their ladies would have worn, but then these would detract from the central golden figure of Henry on his white horse.

The King of France is not evident except as a distant figure in the wrestling match. The fact that both paintings have been in the Royal Collection since they were painted suggests they were an English royal commission, which explains why it is only Henry VIII who takes centre stage dressed in gold and on a white horse.

A temporary palace dominates the bottom right hand side of the painting. This palace was erected by six thousand English and Flemish workmen who had been working at the site weeks ahead of the designated date to ensure it was completed in time. Although this was to be a temporary building it had brick foundations of approximately eight feet high, a wooden frame with canvas walls and roof. The walls were painted to look as if they are made of stone and the roof resembled slates. This was oiled to make it waterproof. The windows were made of glass and the sculpture on the front was real! This, in itself, was a remarkable feat of engineering. In Grafton's Chronicle there is a wonderful description:

*The foregate of the same palace or place with great and mighty masonry by sight was arched, with a Tower on every side of the same portered by great craft, and inbattled was the gate and Tower, and in the fenesters, and windows, were images resembling men of warre redie to cast great stones: also the same gate or Tower was set with compassed images of ancient Princes, as Hercules, Alexander and other, by entrayled worke, richly limned with gold and Albyn colours, .... also the tower of the Gate as seemed was built by great masonry, ... for the sundrie countenances of every Image that their appeared, some shooting, some casting, some ready to strike, and firing of gones, which shewed very honourably.*

The subject matter of the trompe l'oeuil reflected the quasi military events that would take place during the ensuing days and the visual references to Hercules and Alexander (the ancient princes) were painted deliberately to flatter the king.

The fountains in front of this magnificent temporary example of English architecture flowed

with wine. The anonymous artists have portrayed some of the more over indulgent individuals who were there. Some are brawling and others have been taken rather ill! Clearly the artists had a sense of humour.

Then there are other tents, the design of which were dictated by what they were to be used for. The position of side elements creating meeting places, chapels, kitchens had to be discussed, worked out then incorporated into the final designs. After that there was collaboration with weavers for the various fabrics, which then had to be commissioned and woven before the tents were even made. The gold tents were of gold thread and silk and would have cost a king's ransom. Apart from the cost, we can only imagine the visual impact of a glittering gold tents would have had on anyone seeing them.

In the British Library is a document in the Cotton collection labelled Augustus III. The following link will take you directly a page regarding the specific tent design. Unfortunately, the Cotton collection is not yet fully digitised so the important parts such as these details are the only ones available through the internet. <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/henryviii/militmap/tentdes/index.html> .

Those of us who have the opportunity to visit Hampton Court in this 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary year will see the various Tudor heraldic beasts all guarding the entrance to the palace. They are also in the palace garden on top of poles painted in Tudor green and white and also form part of the decoration on the ridges of the red tent as shown below.

If you click on the BL link, then you can see this design (above) and zoom into it to see the detail of these heraldic beasts and the complexity of the structure.

In the middle distance of the Hampton Court painting there is a splendid tent made of cloth of gold which is where the feasting was held. Behind this and in the distance so it is not immediately apparent, is another gold tent where the two kings are seen wrestling and this golden tent is surrounded by a semi-circle of green & white tents telling us this is a Tudor encampment. The wrestling match was too important for it not to be recorded, but unfortunately the younger Francis bested Henry with a cunning throw! No wonder the artists have relegated this event to the top half



of the painting and we have to look really hard to see what is going on.

In the Paris exhibition there are the portraits of the two kings by Jean Clouet showing them at about the age they were in June 1520. Perhaps Clouet sketched the English king at this event? This is the portrait of Henry VIII [http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/32/1491\\_Henry\\_VIII.jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/32/1491_Henry_VIII.jpg) and he is wearing cloth of gold.

This one of Francis I of France by Clouet dating from the 1520s in the Louvre [http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/07/Jean\\_Clouet\\_001.jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/07/Jean_Clouet_001.jpg) which I think is probably something close to how Francis appeared at The Field of the Cloth of Gold and is in line with the contemporary description of him in the Rutland Papers and L&P Domestic:

*On Sunday 11 June the French king came to Guisnes to dine with the Queen of England and was graciously received by the Lord Cardinal, the Duke of Buckingham, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Northumberland and various other noblemen, together with a large number of ladies and gentlemen all richly dressed in cloth of gold, velvet and silks. That day too the French king was himself magnificently dressed in tissue-cloth set with precious stones and pearls.*

The level of planning that had gone into this event on both sides of the Channel was similar to moving a small army. Not only did the accommodation have to be created, the provisioning for all these people and their animals also had to be found. Music had to be composed, rehearsed

and performed, pageants written, scenery designed and made, plus the associated costumes. It was a miracle that, from the records, nothing appears to have gone disastrously wrong. Unfortunately all this incredible display not only nearly bankrupted both treasuries and it did not really achieve much.

The event was meant to mark a general peace between France and England, but soon this was broken and Cardinal Wolsey brokered an alliance with the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, who declared war on France later that year.

On 24<sup>th</sup> June, 1520 Cardinal Wolsey said a final Mass before the two kings departed. In the painting we see what could be either the French salamander or a Welsh dragon flying above the campsite. The Royal Collection tells us this was a magnificent firework. Since fire salamanders and dragons are similar looking, perhaps this was a last statement of Wolsey's diplomacy in firework form, but my money is on it being a Welsh dragon.

In our modern day we raise our phones and click away taking selfies and capturing any image that takes our fancy, never giving a thought as to how events were recorded before the invention of photography. These two paintings were probably commissioned by King Henry VIII as a reminder of that glorious event near Guisnes and, for us to enjoy the full effect, we need to look at them in conjunction with the vivid contemporary descriptions in order to have a mere glimpse of what it was like to be at The Field of the Cloth of Gold in June 1520.

## MELANIE V TAYLOR

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Melanie V. Taylor's "The Truth of the Line" tells the story of Nicholas Hilliard and his relationship with Elizabeth, Virgin Queen of England and her various courtiers, and investigates Melanie's intriguing historical discovery in a fast paced novel format.



# ANNE ASKEW, TUDOR ERA'S UNKNOWING FEMINIST CHANGE AGENT

*by Beth von Staats*

*All who witnessed her noble martyrdom were impressed and inspired by the courage of this beautiful woman who gladly gave her life for Christ of one as the truest and purest witnesses of the Gospel of the Christian Church.*

– John Foxe, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*


**A**MAZING at it sounds given the pervasive misogyny of 16<sup>th</sup> century England, there were women, who within the constraints of early modern era expectations, were leaders and change agents. There are several examples historians can point to. Catalina de Aragón reigned in her husband's absence, leading a battle that brought Scotland to its knees, King James IV killed, along with most of Scotland's nobility. Anne Boleyn held King Henry VIII's attention, keeping his advances at bay for seven long years, ultimately wearing the crown. Her influence on the Henrican Reformation is sometimes overstated, but is noteworthy nonetheless. Mary Tudor led a successful coup d'état, becoming England's first female reigning monarch. Elizabeth Tudor reigned over an empire, becoming one of World History's most acclaimed and revered government leaders.

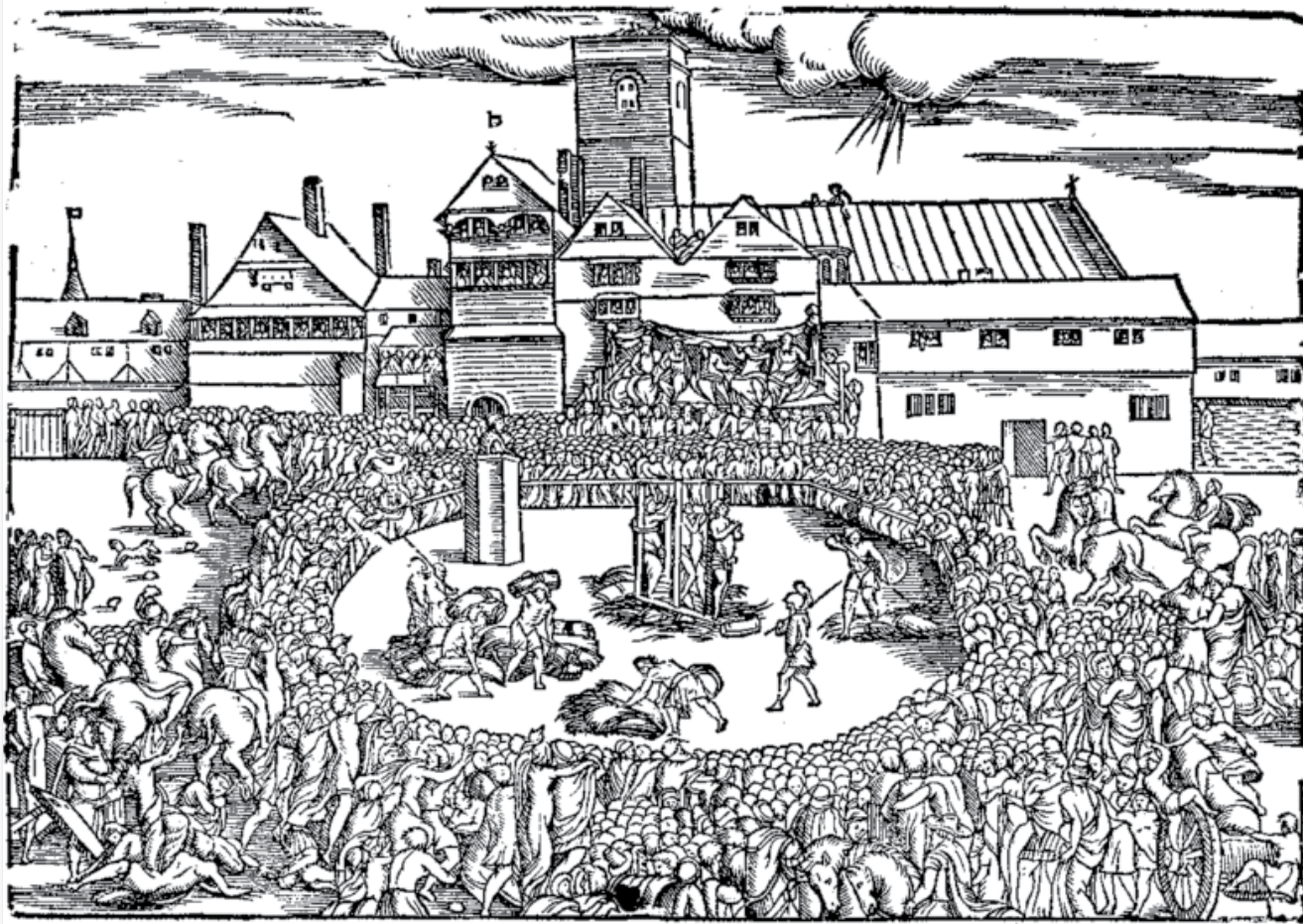
Beyond queenship though, was it possible for women to lead and influence the thoughts and beliefs of others? Could women forge their own lives, without male influence, outside of royalty or cloistered communities? Could any woman keep her own name upon marriage or divorce a man if unhappy? Could ordinary women truly be change agents? Obviously, these notions were completely

unthinkable. Women were subservient to men. No person, man or woman, could question the established order. In an age of supreme monarchy and cruel torture, deprivation and execution methods, who beyond the insane would try?

Anne Askew, a well educated daughter of a wealthy gentleman and knight once in King Henry VIII's service, and in one of the oddities of history, a juror in Queen Anne Boleyn's treason trial, was a devout Protestant forced into a marriage with a Roman Catholic named Thomas Kyme, a man once promised to her dead sister. The marriage was a complete and utter disaster. In 1543, King Henry VIII, in concert with his conservative faction, changed his view on just who in the realm could read the *Bible*. By Parliamentary Law it became illegal for any woman or man below the rank of gentleman from reading God's Word. This dramatic shift in acceptable theology practice did not deter Anne Askew. Though two children were born of the marriage, she is said to have been studying the *Bible* with like-minded Protestants when her husband kicked her out of the home for her disobedience to him, heresy and treason.

Anne Askew, retaining her given name despite her marital status, moved in with her brother and pursued a divorce based on her

 The order and maner of the burning of Anne Askew, John Lacels, John Adams, Nicholas Belenian, with certayne of the Councill sitting in Smithfield.



Woodcut of the burning of Anne Askew, for heresy, at Smithfield in 1546

scriptural interpretation that Christians need not be “yoked to non-believers”. Unsuccessful in her attempts, Askew moved to London. Taking the unlikely leadership role of a pious woman with a mission, Anne Askew became a “gospeller”, more commonly known today as a preacher. Through her intelligence and scholarship, Askew set out to share her Protestantism with those not permitted access to the *Bible* themselves through scripture committed to memory. Some historians also believe she distributed illegal Protestant publications. Astounding for the era, Askew further continued to pursue her desire for divorce.

Upon arriving in London, Anne Askew connected with Protestant friends who introduced her to several people close to Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, who by this time was absent from court, retreating to Kent. Cranmer’s absence from London

clearly signaled King’s Henry’s change in stance, which became increasingly more traditionalist since the establishment of the *Six Articles of 1539* and the fall of Thomas Cromwell, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Essex. Through Askew’s connections, she came to know and associate with Bishop Hugh Latimer, Dr. Nicholas Shaxton, Dr. Edward Crome most certainly, and perhaps, though unproven, more clandestinely with known Protestant sympathizers Catherine Willoughby Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk; Anne Stanhope Seymour, then Countess of Hertford; Lady Jane Champernowne Denny, and other ladies close to Queen Catherine Parr. Anne Askew became increasingly popular throughout London for her abundant scriptural knowledge, her charismatic “gossiping”, and her ability to reach out to people of all classes and persuasions. Thus, she gained attention not only from admirers, but also those

committed to King Henry's changed theological stance.

By 1545, traditionalists with Roman Catholic leanings including Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; Edmund Bonner, then Bishop of Hereford; Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; Lord Chancellor Thomas Wriothesley; and Solicitor General Richard Rich were actively gunning for people of high authority within King Henry VIII's inner circle, including Queen Catherine Parr and Archbishop Thomas Cranmer. Together they developed a strategy to bring Parr and perhaps even Cranmer down by first focusing their attentions to more minor evangelicals with the intention those targeted would implicate others with more power closer to the king. Within this context, Anne Askew became tangled in a web, caught in the midst of a power struggle between the conservative traditionalist faction and evangelicals.

In 1545, Anne Askew was arrested and interviewed by Christopher Dale, under mayor of London, and then later Bishop Edmund Bonner and other religious conservatives. The charges of her heresy laid within her Protestant opinions of the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, which Roman Catholics and even Lutherans view as celebration of the Eucharist liturgy, the bread and wine which after the consecration are "transubstantiated" into the body and blood of Jesus Christ. Any disbelief of the Eucharist liturgy was considered gross heresy, punishable without recantation by burning.

On June 13, 1545, Anne Askew was arraigned for violation of the "Act of Sacramentaries", but no witnesses appeared to testify against her, so she was released. A few months later, Anne Askew's petition to divorce was denied, and she was ordered to return to her husband. In some accounts, she is said to have been forced back to her husband, soon after escaping and returning to London. In others, she flat out refused to go altogether. In either case, Askew's stance on the court order was highly disobedient and provocative, giving ammunition to her detractors.

Bishop Stephen Gardiner summoned Anne Askew under the guise of ordering she return to her husband. Upon questioning of her husband, Askew refused to answer. Gardiner then turned his attention to her religious views. Askew honestly and pointedly denied the existence of

"transubstantiation", and in doing so sealed her fate. On June 18, 1546, Anne Askew was arraigned at Guildhall, along with Dr. Nicholas Shaxton and two others. They all confessed and were convicted of heresy, condemned to die at the stake. Although the others recanted the next day, Anne Askew held firm to her convictions. Before burning Askew, however, the traditionalist conservative faction was eager to know who her like-minded supporters were. They suspected, perhaps correctly, that those close to her included Queen Catherine Parr, along with the queen's high ranking friends and ladies-in-waiting.

In the most grotesque of cruelty even condemnable for the era, Anne Askew became the first and only woman tortured in the Tower of London. Initially held at Newgate Prison, on June 19, 1546, she was imprisoned in the Tower. Askew was aggressively interrogated by Bishop Stephen Gardiner, Lord Chancellor Thomas Wriothesley and Sir William Paget for two long days. Continually threatened with execution, Askew refused steadfastly to name other Protestants or recant her beliefs. Unsuccessful in securing the damning information they sought from her, most importantly an admission that she was associated with Queen Catherine Parr and/or her inner circle, the order was given to exercise torture. Askew was brought to a lower torture room in the White Tower and was shown the rack. Still refusing to name other Protestants and recant her beliefs, she was unmercifully racked by Lord Chancellor Thomas Wriothesley and Solicitor General Richard Rich. Anne Askew herself told the story:

Then they put me to the rack, because I confessed no ladies or gentlemen, to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time; and because I lay still and did not cry, my Lord Chancellor and Master Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands, till I was nigh dead. Then the Lieutenant caused me to be loosed from the rack. Incontinently I swooned, and then they recovered me again. After that I sat two long hours reasoning with my Lord Chancellor upon the bare floor; where he, with many flattering words, persuaded me to leave my opinion. But my Lord God (I thank his everlasting goodness) gave me the grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end. Then was I brought to a house and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job.

Sir John Gage, Constable of the Tower and witness to much torture in the context of his job responsibilities, was appalled by the torture of a woman. He refused to participate beyond the initial racking, and left for court to find King Henry VIII to secure command that Wriothesley and Rich discontinue. By the time Sir Gage was able to meet with the King and secure his command, Wriothesley and Rich had turned the handles so hard after Askew's continued refusals to name other Protestants that she was drawn apart, her arms and legs ripped out of their sockets and her elbows and knees dislocated. As Anne Askew teaches us in her won words, Wriothesley continued questioning Askew hours thereafter, as she lay on the floor writhing in pain. Still, Anne Askew held firm to her convictions, refusing to recant or name other Protestants.

On July 16, 1546, the 26 year old uncommon commoner, Anne Askew, who maintained her

maiden name despite convention, who sought her freedom from a loveless marriage through attempting to obtain a divorce, who provocatively "gospelled" scripture to people prevented from reading the *Bible* by Parliamentary Law, who refused to return to her "husband" after court order, and who refused to recant her beliefs or name other Protestants to protect them from harm's way, was burnt at the stake. Unable to move her body in any way and obviously still in excruciating pain, she was brought to and tied to the stake in a wooden chair. Still defiant, Anne Askew refused a last chance at recantation and chimed in her disagreement to points made ironically by Dr. Nicolas Saxton in his sermon before the fags were lit.

Though burned alive as a heretic, Anne Askew through her courage, conviction and martyrdom became a cherished national hero, and though not understood by her at the time, one of English History's earliest feminist change agents.

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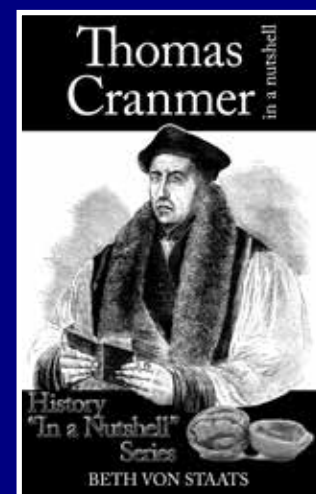
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**Beth von Staats** is a history writer of both fiction and non-fiction short works. A life-long history enthusiast, Beth holds a Bachelor of Arts degree, magna cum laude, in Sociology from the University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth. She is the owner and administrator of Queen Anne Boleyn Historical Writers website, [QueenAnneBoleyn.com](http://QueenAnneBoleyn.com).

Beth's interest in British History grew through the profound influence of her Welsh grandparents, both of whom desired she learn of her family cultural heritage. Her most pronounced interest lies with the men and women who drove the course of events and/or who were most poignantly impacted by the English Henrician and Protestant Reformations, as well as the Tudor Dynasty of English and Welsh History in general.

She has recently published "**Thomas Cranmer: In a Nutshell**" which 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.



# ELIZABETH WYDEVILLE: MARRIAGE AND MYTH

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**Olga Hughes** looks at the truths behind the common “fairytale” story of Elizabeth Wydville, mother of the Princes in the Tower and of Elizabeth of York.

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**I**MAGINE a woman whose husband’s early death left her alone with seven young children. And after his death this woman was forced to flee her home and seek the protection of Sanctuary; she lost her position and fortune, was publicly slandered, accused of bigamy and witchcraft, left helpless while her brother and eldest son were executed, and separated from her young sons after she was forced to make the decision to allow the younger one to leave the church’s protection. She was then compelled to make a bargain with the man who had set these events in motion to protect her remaining children after her youngest sons had disappeared without a trace.

Elizabeth Wydeville’s life after her husband Edward IV’s death reads like a Greek tragedy. How her name has become synonymous with the image of the proverbial Ice Queen, calculating, ambitious and rapacious, is a mystery. Elizabeth’s earlier historians treated her with understandable empathy. But modern historians have taken a soap-operatic approach to Elizabeth’s life, beginning largely with those pesky Victorians. What has followed is a strange transformation, from the mater dolorosa to the femme fatale we recognise today. As A.J. Pollard observed:

Both femme fatale and mater dolorosa are male constructs of types of women which set them aside: one threatening, the other confirming male domination... What is particularly intriguing about [Elizabeth’s] history, in distinction from the histories of most other queens who have tended to be deified or vilified, is that the two have continued to exist alongside each other.<sup>1</sup>

Some writers seeking to exonerate Richard III have since taken the unimaginative route and decided the best way to clear Richard of his crimes is to point the finger at others. Elizabeth Wydeville is arguably the greatest victim in the white-washing of King Richard III. What was largely a product of Richard III’s perfectly conventional propaganda against the preceding regime, medieval attitudes towards the ‘frail’ sex and a couple of early defenders of Richard III manifested into the fairy tale seductress invented by Agnes Strickland in the late 19th century and repeated with gusto by a couple of early twentieth century historians. Paul Murray Kendall followed by wringing his hanky and claiming that “The Queen, beautiful and rapacious, would know how to show her haughtiness to the undersized lad from Yorkshire with the awkward torso and solemn face.”

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1 Pollard, A.J ‘Elizabeth Woodville and her Historians’ *Traditions and transformations in late Medieval England*, Leiden: Brill, 2002, p. 158



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Elizabeth Woodville c1471

Any tensions between Elizabeth and Richard prior to 1483 are unrecorded. How Richard felt about his sister-in-law should be quite clear from his own actions. Far from continuing to persecute her after his coup was accomplished, Richard eventually came to an arrangement with Elizabeth, which saw him swear an unprecedented public oath to protect her daughters and arrange their marriages, then sent Elizabeth off to the country, albeit under the watchful eye of one of his men. Indeed, he valued the relationship so much, he even began to arrange a foreign marriage alliance for one of his nieces.

Clearly Richard III could feel pity for his sister-in-law, even when his actions were the cause of her grief, and he could have taken a self-righteous stance. One might speculate Richard himself would be mystified at a modern race who preferred to glory in Elizabeth's downfall rather than empathise with her.

Much of Elizabeth Wydeville's bad reputation is a twentieth century creation based on lingering snobbery and the public appetite for scandal. Elizabeth Wydeville's marriage to a younger man well above her station, and not just a noble, but a King of England, is said to have caused outrage. Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs have argued that the actual degree of hostility towards the marriage at the time is debatable,<sup>2</sup> and as Lord Wenlock, a friend of the earl of Warwick remarked "We must be patient despite ourselves".<sup>3</sup>

What should be clear is that at the root of the "Ice Queen" myth is the alleged outrage over Elizabeth Wydeville's marriage. And while there are many charges against Elizabeth Wydeville, the first one that needs to be explored is the common misconception of the 'bewitching' of Edward IV and the greedy, grasping Wydevilles who descended upon the court of Edward IV and brought about his self-destruction.

The Wydeville family was, in fact, already a fixture at Edward IV's court. It is probable that it was at court that Elizabeth and Edward developed their relationship – rather than the pretty story of

the famous meeting under the oak tree. Rather than approaching Edward himself, Elizabeth had arranged with Edward's close friend William Hastings to assist her in the matter of the money she was owed from her late husband's estate, which her erstwhile mother-in-law was refusing to pay. A marriage was arranged between one of Elizabeth's sons and one of Hastings' daughters in early 1464. Elizabeth and Edward's secret marriage took place just a short while later but there is no indication he was involved in her difficulty.

Much is made of the Wydeville Lancastrian ties. Richard and Jacquetta had certainly been loyal servants to King Henry VI and Queen Margaret of Anjou. But after Edward IV's victory at the bloody Battle of Towton they, along with most of the nobility, offered their allegiance to the new king, the Wydeville men receiving royal pardons in 1461. In a letter dated 30 August 1461, Count Ludovico Dallugo wrote to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan that:

The lords adherent to King Henry are all quitting him, and come to tender obedience to this king, and at this present one of the chief of them has "come, by name Lord de Rivers, with one of his sons, men of very great valour. I held several conversations with this Lord de Rivers about King Henry's cause, and what he thought of it, and he answered me that the cause was lost irretrievably."<sup>4</sup>

Despite it being perfectly conventional and sensible to swear fealty to one's new monarch, the "Lancastrian turncoat" image is rolled out often enough. Even Thomas More could not resist taking a subtle dig at Elizabeth's 'duplicity', claiming that "and her crowned Queen that was [Edward]'s enemy's wife and many time had prayed full heartily for his loss. In which God loved her better than to grant her her boon."<sup>5</sup>

Now as to why Edward would make such an unsuitable marriage, to a widow five years older than himself, with two sons, whose own parents had made a somewhat scandalous marriage, the answer should be perfectly obvious. Young King Edward

2 Sutton, Anne, Visser-Fuch, Livia, 'A 'Most Benevolent Queen': Queen Elizabeth Woodville's reputation, her Piety and her Books', *The Ricardian*, Vol X No, 129 June 1995, p. 215

3 Ross, Charles, *Edward IV*, Yale University Press, p. 92

4 Calendar of State Papers Venice, Vol I, n. 384 (British History Online)

5 Sylvester, Richard S. More, St. Thomas, *The History of King Richard III and Selections from the Latin Poems*, Yale, 1976, p.66



IV fell in love and made a rash decision. While many writers enjoy telling us that medieval people spent a good portion of each day shrieking and flapping about witches, there was no murmuring about witchcraft at that time. That would come much later.

However the fact that Edward made such an impetuous marriage is used to strengthen the femme fatale image of Elizabeth Wydeville. If writers are not touting the use of her alleged sorcery they are expostulating Elizabeth's alleged sexual manipulation of her husband. Fiction writers have been the main culprits in this department, with a certain 'classic' Ricardian novel presenting a reprehensible image of Elizabeth who spends much of her time seducing and manipulating her husband. Modern historians have hardly been shy about it, many with the air of someone who was indeed in the bedroom with them:

- a person of a cool calculating decision of character, without any deep affection, but of steady dislikes and revengeful disposition. She was destined to retain a lasting power over her husband – a most dangerous weapon in the hands of a woman possessed with great powers of cunning and intrigue...
- a queen who was prepared to use the allure of her sexual favours and her capacity to withhold them to gain her ends...
- queens rarely had to exert their sexuality to attract a mate, but as a comely widow, Elizabeth did just that to win Edward's interest; grounding her queenship in carnality...<sup>6</sup>

Do you like that last one? That was written in 1994, not 1894. However, the growth of the salacious agenda against Elizabeth Wydeville should be becoming clearer.

Now that Edward had married Elizabeth Wydeville, he had also inherited a rather large family. He set about, after a time, making marriages that were advantageous both for himself and his new family. For Edward had actually been quite reluctant to marry off his own siblings, George and

Margaret, with haste, wanting to wait for the best advantage to suit his purposes. Here he could make several alliances amongst the English nobility with plenty of new sisters to spare.

Yet the various marriages Edward IV arranged for his new family are generally used as 'proof' of the Wydeville family's greed. By the time Elizabeth married Edward, her eldest brother Anthony had already made himself a good marriage, now Lord Scales by right of his wife. Her sister Jacquetta, Lady Strange, was also married. In fact, in the first year of Elizabeth and Edward's marriage, only two marriages were actually arranged. In October of 1464 Margaret Wydeville was betrothed to the fourteen year-old Lord Maltravers, the earl of Arundel's heir. The *maritagium diabolicum* or 'diabolical marriage' between 19 year-old John Wydeville and the 60-something year-old dowager Duchess of Norfolk followed in January of 1465. It certainly was scandalous, and still would be today, but one can hardly imagine the duchess was forced into it. She may have been well pleased with the match. Sadly she would outlive her husband. The next marriages did not follow until 1466, after the birth of Edward and Elizabeth's first child, Elizabeth of York, and a further four of Elizabeth's sisters were married. Her other three younger brothers, however, did not have marriages arranged for them. Lionel went on to a career in the church, Richard, who was knighted, remains an elusive figure who seems to have stuck to his country estates, and Edward would go on to have a successful military career and remain a bachelor. As Hannes Kleineke has observed:

...it thus seems clear that the king had no intention of creating a 'pride' of Woodville uncles for his eventual heir. The queen's sisters could be married into established noble families, and the Woodville earldom of Rivers could pass to Elizabeth's eldest surviving brother. No other inheritable peerages were to be created – at least in the immediate term – for the king's new in-laws. If the queen's relatives were to be accorded a place in the upper house of parliament, this was to be for

<sup>6</sup> MacGibbon, Wood, Parsons, in Pollard p. 146-148

<sup>7</sup> Kleineke, Hannes 'A Note on the Early Career of Sir Edward Woodville' *The Ricardian*, Vol XXIV, 2014, p.89

their lifetime only...the dignity would not pass to their descendants.<sup>7</sup>

Elizabeth was not the only victim in Richard III's propaganda. Edward IV himself has been labelled a notorious womaniser. However Dominic Mancini's charge that Edward was 'licentious to the extreme' was written during Richard III's reign. The fact is there is very little evidence that Edward was much more of a womaniser than any of his peers. Edward had very few mistresses that can be named, the most famous 'Jane' Shore and (allegedly) Eleanor Butler. He had two illegitimate children that we know of, Arthur, who lived into Henry VIII's reign, and Grace, who attended Elizabeth Wydeville's funeral as a mourner, suggesting the supposedly cold-hearted Elizabeth had looked after the girl's welfare. If Edward had in fact been the womaniser it is claimed, there may have been a good dozen illegitimate children left behind, considering he managed to impregnate his beloved wife ten times.

Now the last thing we need to address is one of the most recent popular topics about Elizabeth Wydeville, and that is her alleged witchcraft. Ironically this is the charge that is easiest to dismiss. And while many writers take pains to say that we can't prove Elizabeth never practised witchcraft, we really have all the proof we need. No actual accusations of witchcraft were made until well after the marriage – and only when the Wydevilles were vulnerable. Jacquetta Wydeville was accused of witchcraft by the earl of Warwick, Richard Neville, (who had opposed Edward's marriage) only after he had summarily executed her husband and son. The defeated Edward IV had fled into exile and

a pregnant Queen Elizabeth was in sanctuary. Jacquetta actually sought the help of the mayor and aldermen of London, reminding them of the service she had done the city in 1461 by negotiating with her former friend and queen, Margaret of Anjou. They agreed to help, Edward was restored to the throne soon after and the charges never amounted to anything.

It was Richard III who brought the charges up again in 1483, declaring Elizabeth's marriage to Edward invalid, by way of Edward's pre-contract and Elizabeth and the now-deceased Jacquetta's use of alleged sorcery to bring the marriage about. Now while some have attempted to explore Elizabeth's 'witchcraft' seriously, it is perfectly clear that Richard III did not believe that his sister-in-law was a witch. Had Richard III actually believed she was practising sorcery, he would have attempted to bring her to trial. He did nothing of the sort. Far from denouncing her as a witch after she left sanctuary, Richard III took a very public conciliatory approach to Elizabeth once his throne was secure. It is clear he merely threw in the rather convenient slander to make sure people didn't feel too much sympathy for Elizabeth when he was busy destroying her marriage.

After all, sympathy can be a dangerous thing. If one looks at what Elizabeth Wydeville endured after her husband's death it would be natural to grieve for her. And this is always inconvenient for her detractors. Because every time we get a glimpse of the real Elizabeth it chips away at the fairy tale image of the Ice Queen.

**OLGA HUGHES**

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# nerdalicious

\*everything to feed your inner nerd\*

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# Member Focus

**C.S. Hughes** started Nerdalicious in 2013 as a website to collect interesting articles from around the internet and write the occasional blog. But after encouraging his partner **Olga Hughes** (ed.: one of *Tudor Life's* regular columnists) to contribute, they quickly began writing articles daily. Nerdalicious has built a loyal following in the last two years and now gets 50-60,000 visits a month. **Neil Kemp** has also joined the team and has contributed history articles on various periods, as well as visits to Tudor Castles around Kent. He is the only member of the team to have seen Doctor Who when it aired on television for the first time, which you can read about on the website! Author and Tudor Society member **Clare Cherry** also contributes articles on a variety of topics.

**Nerdalicious** is all about being yourself, whatever your interests are, which is why you'll find such a wide range of topics to browse. There are not many websites you'll find Anne Boleyn featured next to Godzilla, or Richard III next to Doctor Who. But when it's Doctor Who season, it's all about the Doctor!

C.S.'s favourite category is Ridiculum Mundi, where you will find plenty of his articles, lately featuring Chickens with Pants. His newest project is the Poet's Stage where he has been featuring interesting poetry. Neil has recently been looking at the colonisation of Australia but tends to write about whatever takes his fancy. Olga keeps up with the pop-culture news articles each week and writes a lot of the history features, including the very popular interviews with historians that feature regularly on Nerdalicious. Her favourite interviews so far are John Matusiak on Henry VIII and Ian Stephenson on Vikings. Lately she is a bit preoccupied with fairy-tales.



Want to be featured? Let us know!



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### AND OUR REGULARS

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