Tudor Life

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

The Tudor Society Magazine

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by Anne Barnhill

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Welcome!

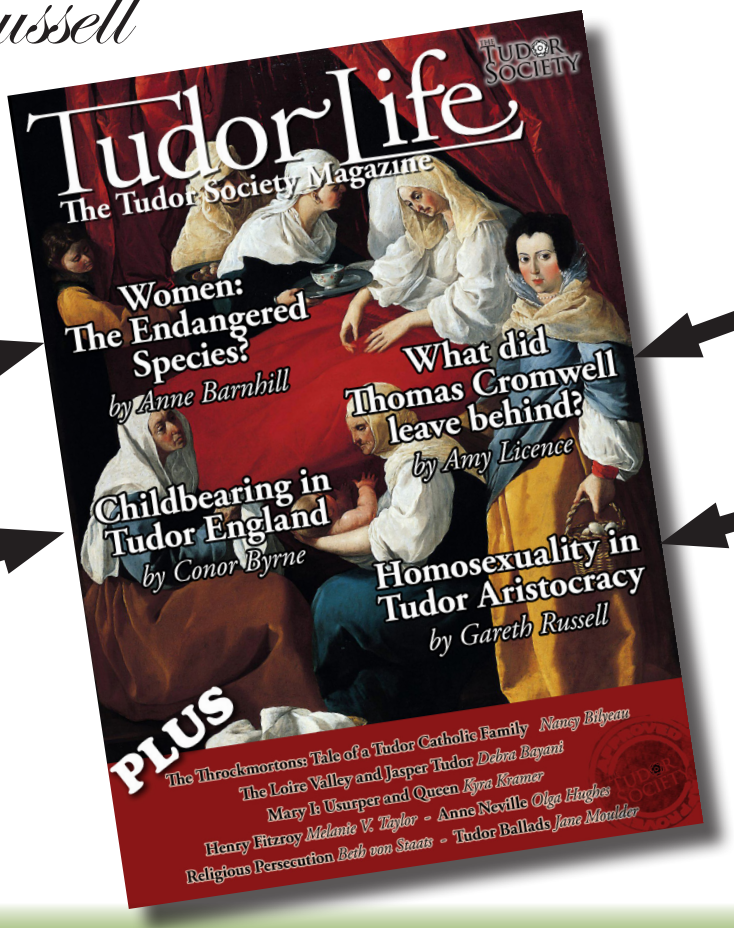
July 2015

Working on a magazine like **"Tudor Life"** is such a rewarding and exciting experience, not least because it showcases how wide and varied the period is. We have tried to group issues around certain themes, and the articles we've received for this edition showcase how much diversity there is in early modern History.

This month we're looking at the vulnerable in the Tudor England, a wide demographic - not just Henry VIII's six unlucky and distinctly vulnerable wives! Along with our **fantastic regular contributors**, we have a number of guest articles: **Amy Licence** looks at the politically vulnerable, the era's most high-profile victims, with an article on the downfall of Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's notorious minister. **Laura McCosker** is bringing us some of her groundbreaking research on life in medieval Dublin to see how one guild of tradesmen reflected the vitality of life in a city that was often left vulnerable because of the fluctuations in Irish politics.

I've contributed an article on homosexuality in Tudor England, while **Conor Byrne** discusses the risks and rewards facing pregnant women. What emerges is a portrait of vulnerability alongside vitality, and strength with sorrow, throughout this fascinating, compelling period. We hope you enjoy it!

Gareth Russell



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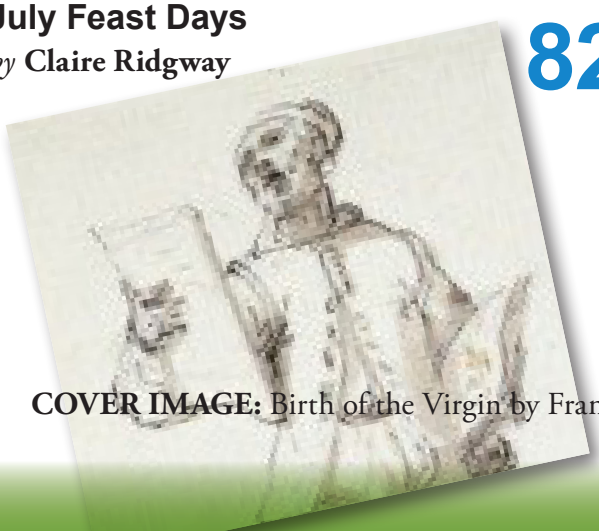


COVER IMAGE: Birth of the Virgin by Francisco de Zurberán, 1629

WOMEN: THE ENDANGERED SPECIES?

Of all the people who made up the culture of England in the 16th century, women and children were the most vulnerable. In this article, **Anne Barnhill** looks into their positions in society during Tudor times...

BOTH women and Children were almost defenseless against the many diseases of the day: the sweats, the bloody flux and the plague. And, though men were also unprotected against such illnesses, they at least had wives, daughters, mothers and sisters to care for them. If Henry VIII is any sort of example of typical male behavior, when disease struck, many men must have skedaddled for the hills. Of course, most men probably did *not* abandon their wives, but (and here I have only anecdotal evidence) perhaps their care-giving would have been less effective, not having been taught nursing skills from their mothers. After all, in a world where the sexual roles were clearly divided, men would, most likely, not have learned how to prepare the poultices, cordials and other herbal remedies to use against illness. The principal healers in the 16th century were women.

But of these groups, I would argue that women were the most vulnerable. And, depending on their station in life, their dangers might have differed. A servant girl of low standing, perhaps without parents or at least a father, would be fair game for any young man to ravage. Rape, during this time, was more about property than women's rights. If a woman had no man to 'claim' her – no husband, father, uncle, or brother – very little would have been said had she been raped because she was no man's property.

However, because chastity was an important virtue to preserve for marriage, a rapist who deflowered a woman of means was hanged if caught. So, social class and family had much to do with a woman's vulnerability.

And, though women remained at the mercy of the male superiority in strength, it was male love that threatened them more than rape or domestic violence. Loving a man most likely meant marrying him, if a woman was from the lower classes. The upper class woman may not have loved her husband (marriage being a business deal for increase of status and/or goods), but her most important task was to provide him with as many heirs as possible. Most upper class women bore a child a year. In the lower classes, usually two or three years passed between pregnancies, due to the mother breast-feeding her child.

In a culture where 140 children died for every 1000 live births (over 10 percent!), death for child-bearing mothers was also rampant, so much so that these figures affected the typical life span. For men, the life-span was around 48; for women around 32. The big difference is the perils of pregnancy, miscarriage and childbirth itself.

In the upper classes, childbirth had rules, especially for a royal birth. Upper class women

Birth of the Virgin by Francisco de Zurbarán, 1629

Eucharius Rößlin Rosgarten Childbirth

were sequestered away from the rest of the house about two months prior to the expected birth. Anne Boleyn cut things a bit close when she went into confinement little more than three weeks before the child was born. Several women would have gone with her, including a mid-wife. The rules for royal births were written by Margaret Beaufort, Henry VIII's grandmother. The rooms must be kept warm, even during summer months, because no cold air could touch the 'womanly' parts. The heavy formal clothes would have been discarded for lighter, more comfortable clothing, perhaps just a soft shift. One window would remain open, but the others would have been shuttered. As the time approached, the mother-to-be would have been encouraged to walk or climb stairs if any were available and to shout. Her women would have walked and shouted with her. There would have been a birthing stool, a chair with a large hole cut in the bottom to allow the baby to come out. Cloth would have been sewed around the bottom of the chair with a slit so the mid-wife could crawl beneath and grab the baby. Interestingly, the death mortality rates for infants was around 20% but for the Tudors, it was more like 60%.

Lower class women from the country had the best chance of delivering a healthy infant for a couple of reasons. First, there were not the diseases that plagued the urban areas, which were rife with germs of all sorts. And secondly, the diet of the country folk was healthier than the diet of the royals. The poor ate vegetables and whole grain bread, as well as meat and fish. The royalty disdained vegetables and ate great quantities of meat and fish. Their bread was manchet, which lacked the whole grain.

But women of all classes were at the mercy of those who cared for them, and, unfortunately, nothing was known about germs and how infection and disease spread. Puerperal fever was the silent killer of hundreds if not thousands of women in the 16th century. Even today, 3 in 1000 births see the mother die of this illness. The cure? Make certain all those in contact with the mother's body wash their hands. It's that simple. Yet, in the 16th century, such advice would have been deemed ridiculous.

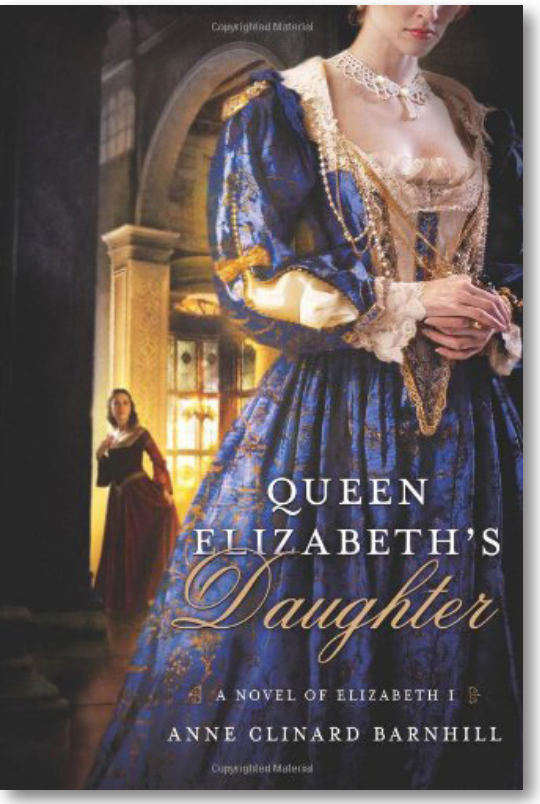
Dem id eate debitatioria doluptae ab ilit pro bearcit

Living in the 16th century meant the world view of most people included a belief in the 'great chain of being," a hierarchical approach that considered God at the top, then angels (in order) then kings and the pope, men, then women, and finally, children. After that, mammal and lower orders descended. This idea indicated that women were further from the realm of the spiritual and closer to earth, which meant their desires were coarser and more lascivious than the lofty male. As a result, women were viewed a sexually voracious, greatly in need of fathers or husbands to guide them in proper decorum. Otherwise, they would end up as little Eve's, falling into sin and disobedience. Perhaps this view damaged women in ways that cannot be measured, ways that limited them and kept them securely underfoot. Of course, not all women could be described this way – many disdained the roles assigned to them by their gender. Moll Cutpurse comes to mind, that cross-dressing, cigar-smoking gadabout who inspired the play, "The Roaring Girl," by Dekker and Middleton. Even Queen Elizabeth did not adhere to the code for women, though she often described herself as merely a 'frail' woman.

Exposed to the harsh life of the 16th century, women from all classes had much to fear – rape, domestic abuse (there was a law regarding the thickness of a rod with which a man could legally beat his wife), pregnancy and childbirth. Perhaps the most pernicious of all these dangers was the danger to one's self-image and self-esteem.

Sources:

1. Journal of Family Planning and Reproductive Health, 2007:33, Lesley Smith.
2. Children and Youth in History, **http://chnm.gum.edu**, Lynda Payne, "Health in England."
3. The Six Wives of Henry VIII by Alison Weir.
4. Sex in Elizabethan England by Alan Haynes.



Anne Clinard Barnhill has been writing or dreaming of writing for most of her life. For the past twenty years, she has published articles, book and theatre reviews, poetry, and short stories. Her debut novel was *At The Mercy Of The Queen* (about Madge Shelton) and her second novel is called *Queen Elizabeth's Daughter* (about Mary Shelton).

Her work has won various awards and grants. Anne Barnhill holds an M.F.A. in Creative Writing from the University of North Carolina at Wilmington. Besides writing, she also enjoys teaching, conducting writing workshops, and facilitating seminars to enhance creativity.

CUSHIONS AND TABERNACLES: WHAT THOMAS CROMWELL LEFT BEHIND.

We spend a lot of time reading about the lives of Tudor personalities. Here **Amy Licence** takes a look at the "things" left behind by Cromwell

THANKS to Mark Rylance's mesmeric and subtle performance, the reputation of Thomas Cromwell has reached a height it has not enjoyed since the 1530s. There have been many thousands of words already written in the wake of Wolf Hall, exploring the achievements of this particular servant of the King; of his rise and fall, his role in the death of Anne Boleyn, his contribution to the English Reformation and his legacy. There are new and established studies of his life to read, from Robert Hutchinson and David Loades, to the biographies out this year by Tracy Borman and Michael Everett. This long overdue re-evaluation of Cromwell looks set to firmly establish him as a more complex and sympathetic figure that historians may hitherto have presented.

I'd like to take a look at what Cromwell left behind. Literally. I mean the things that were left behind in his houses, his possessions, the items associated with his career and what happened to them. I think we can learn a lot from the "thingness" of things; the material culture of the past, whether it's an historic building, a fragment of lace or a ring worn by a king or queen. We've all stared at such items in museum displays and wondered about the owner, because they have a talismanic quality, a direct personal association that can connect us with an individual over the centuries, melting away the intervening time and reminding us that, for all their historical significance, this was a person of flesh and bone. This was someone's cup, or shoe, or book.

Of course, objects can also tell us much about an individual in terms of their status, choices and preferences, especially when they include details like Henry VIII's annotations in a religious text or Henry VII's initials on a ledger. Artefacts can also yield much information about their own production, shedding light on craft, manufacturing, materials and culture. As medieval and Tudor wills remind us, many were recycled after their owner's deaths and went to new owners, even quite intimate items like clothing and bedlinen. They are texts to be decoded as much as the written word. So, let's take a peek inside Cromwell's coffers at some of the objects he owned and the meanings they can convey. Several inventories were made at his various properties, but for now, I'm focussing in on just this one, from the Cromwell Papers, an Appendix in the State Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, Volume 15, 1540, pp 510-568.

For me, there's great pathos in the details that show the humanity of individuals. The first items in the very mutilated records are the kind of thing that

Based on Thomas Cromwell
t*by* Hans Holbein the Younger 1532

1540.

Aug.

GRANTS.

1027. GRANTS in AUGUST 1540—*cont.*

24. Commission of gaol-delivery. *Newgate gaol, London*:— Sir Will. Holles, Sir Ralph Warcn, Sir Ric. Gresham, Sir Roger Cholmeley, serjeant-at-law, Rob. Chydley, and Rob. Broke. Leyer Marney, 28 Aug.—*Pat.* 32 *Hen. VIII.*, *p.* 2, *m.* 12*d.*

25. Commission to Edm., bp. of London, Thos. Thyrleby, bp. elect of Westminster, Sir Edw. Carne, John Olyver, Ric. Gwent, Ant. Bellyses, and William Ryvet, doctors of law, to hear and determine the complaint of Thos. Parry against Anne Fortescue, widow, with whom he had contracted marriage, for having separated herself from him and deprived him of conjugal rights. *Del.* Leyer Marney, 28 Aug. 32 Hen. VIII. —S.B. *Pat. p.* 7, *m.* 34*d.*

26. Ant. Bellisys, clk. Presentation to the rectory of Hertilburye, Worc. dioc., *vice* Thos. Garrerd, attainted. *Del.* Leyr Maney (*sic*), 29 Aug. 32 Hen. VIII.—S.B. *Pat. p.* 7, *m.* 34.

The Papers which follow are addenda belonging to the Cromwell period.

1028. THE STATUTE OF USES.

R. O. [1539–40.] Petition addressed to my lord Privy Seal showing that the writer has not since the Statute of Uses "devised any estates to bring a term of years to the owner of the inheritance of any lands with a remainder over to declare a will." Gives explanations. Describes cases in which he has been of counsel since the statute, viz.:—

(1.) Ric. Leftwyche, dec., considering that his son and heir, "being not of most sad conversation, would not be married by him," sent to the writer to draw an enfeoffment to prevent his son from aliening away his lands. Drew it up with Mr. Bromley.* (2.) Jointure to the wife of the said Richard and an estate for life to Rauff Leftwyche, a younger son of the said Richard. (3.) Drew up enfeoffment at Warrington, Lanc., for Sir Roger Bradsha, dec., of lands for which after Sir Roger's decease there was suit in the Duchy Chamber between Sir Thos. Butler and Ralph Bradsha, brother of Sir Roger. (4.) Enfeoffment drawn at Warrington for one Burye of Lancashire, as in case of Leftwyche. (5.) Indentures between Sir Wm. Brereton, of Cheshire, and Sir Piers Werberton and Eliz. his wife for marriages between either of their heirs apparent and the daughters of the other. (6.) Indenture of marriage of Sir Edw. Fytton's son and heir with Sir Piers Werberton's daughter. (7.) Jointure of the said Sir Edward and estate for a younger son. (8.) Jointure of one of the daughters of Sir Edward, married to one Stanley. (9.) Estate for Urian Brereton, of Hondford, of his wife's lands for life: said to be devised by Mr. Bromley before the Statute of Uses. (10.) Indenture of marriage between Thurstan Tyldesley and one Massye for marriage of Anne, d. of Tyldesley, to the s. and h. of Massye, for which it was said Tyldesley paid 200 mks. Jointure of said daughter and estate for a younger son. Estate for marriage money of daughter of Massye, which Massye, after the death of his ancestor, was ward of Sir Thomas Butler. (11.) Indenture of marriage for s. and h. of Starkye, of Stretton. (12.) Of s. and h. of one Tochett. (13.) Was shown by Sir Alex. Osbaldeston at Lancaster 2 drafts of assurances of lands to his younger sons, devised, as he said, by Mr. Molyneux and Mr. Moyle. Liked the latter best and caused it to be written. (14.) Draft for making estates for marriage of daughters of said Osbaldeston. (15.) Indenture between lady Savage and one Bulkley for marriage of s. and h. of Bulkley with a daughter of lady Savage. (16.) Note of a fine before Mr. Hynde for jointure of wife of one Burscogh. (17.) Jointure, &c., for wife of Barth. Hesketh, of Lancashire. (18.) Jointure of one Cotgreve's wife and of Sir Roger Brereton's daughter to be married to a gentleman of Wales. (19.) Certain estates, &c., for marriage of daughters of Sir Thos. Halsall are contained "in an office remaining before my lord St. John," which are

* Thomas Bromley, who was made King's Serjeant, 2 July 1540.

would be found in every Tudor household of most classes: linen sheets for the beds, towels, napkins or "napery" for meal times and cloth, which may have been to cover tables. There is also a reference to beads, which may have had a decorative function or a religious one: it interests me that the beads are described in simple terms, as individual objects rather than in a rosary or sewn into a garment. Perhaps these were beads that had once been part of something else, or were newly purchased and waiting to be used: equally beads could be used for counting and division. Viewed symbolically, the beads have become divorced from their purpose, disconnected from the decorative, religious or fiscal context in which Cromwell would have used them. As such, they're potent signifiers for the collapse of his household, metaphors for his fall and death, when all these definitions were stripped away.

The ledger moves on to list the furniture of each chamber. Tudor inventories often proceeded in this way, as if the compiler literally walked from room to room listing what they saw and this creates a sense of being taken on a tour through the house. The purpose of it was to assess the value of these items in context, usually for the use of the King, or the heirs. Cromwell's room contained a cloth stained with a "table" of the taking of the French King. The use of this word gives us a clue as to its meaning: obviously tables could be trestle, or side tables; primarily, we use the word to describe furniture to sit at, to spread work across and to eat from. However in this context, "tables" can also be charts, diagrams, maps; we might "draw a table" in the mathematical sense, or create a list of words such as Hamlet does, to help us remember. This appears to be the sense used here, when Cromwell's cloth has either been used as an impromptu but permanent substitute for a piece of paper, decorated with this design, of the taking, or capturing of the French King. This is most likely to refer to the capture of Francis I, at Pavia in 1525. Was this an image, a motto, or a list? Perhaps it was intended to gloat at the fall of Henry's great rival, or perhaps a reminder of the fragility of fortune, of the possible fall of kings? As we will see, tables of wood could also be tablets, engraved with images and arms.

Combining the religious and secular, Cromwell's room also contained a gilted and carved tabernacle of the Nativity of Our Lord. This was a container that held consecrated bread and wine, along with two "pricketts" or candleholders, usually flat with a spike for candles to be stuck onto. There was also a carpet of Cawntisshe; perhaps this was a corruption of the word "Kentish," referring to its place of manufacture? Or maybe it was the material of which it was made. It was customary to drape altars with carpets so again, this might signify that a corner of this room was given over to religious devotion. It also seems that Cromwell worked there, as the list includes two more "tables" or charts that bore his name, a "great ball of astronomy," a "great muros or looking glass of steel gilted." More prosaically, there is also a pewter chamber pot. We get the sense of a man hard at work, with his books and papers spread around him, rising only to perform his ablutions and praying on bended knee when his day's work was done. The highest and lowest functions of life were present in one tiny space, cheek by jowl.

In addition, it is here that we catch a glimpse of the complier of the inventory; in the words "two tables of my master." This was clearly written by someone who had served Cromwell: perhaps a secretary, or Ralph Sadler, who had been placed in his household at the age of seven. Sadler was a gentleman of the Privy Chamber by this point and, in 1540, an ambassador to Scotland, but it is possible that he made time to perform this office for his old master. Equally, it may have been one of the remaining members of Cromwell's establishment, still resident in his house when his master was arrested, although he or she clearly demonstrates a degree of literacy.

Cromwell's clothing comes next. His gowns were still hanging "in the press," which was a kind of wardrobe, sometimes smaller than those of today and often built into cavities in the wall, like the one surviving at Plas Mawr, in North Wales. Smaller items were often stored in chests, folded flat and freshened with dried flowers and herbs. Cromwell's list includes jackets, jerkins, caps, purses, vestments, hoods and swords.

Next on the list is the hall, with its hangings of green and red say, which was a type of fine cloth similar to serge. These hangings boasted decorative borders with "the history of Susan," possibly scenes from the life of Susanna from the book of Daniel. Ironically, given Cromwell's role in Anne Boleyn's

downfall, the Biblical Susan was about to be put to death for alleged promiscuity, accused by lustful elders, before their lies were exposed at the last minute and she was saved. With such a significant item as these, it is hard not to wonder about the provenance of these hangings: did Cromwell commission them, inherit them, or had he acquired them from somewhere else? The most impressive hangings were usually on display in the hall, to be seen by visitors as a symbol of status and expression of personal values. The true connection between Cromwell and Susanna's story may never be known: perhaps he simply liked the design.

The hall also contained a cupboard, six cushions of "verdure" or vivid green, wrought with roses and other designs. There was also a "goodly table of the King's arms," which in this case is likely to have been a tablet, mounted on the wall, decorated "with two naked children standing upon whelks, painted and gilted." Other tables were decorated with a painted "misery of Italy," a "passion of our Lord," the "Pity of Our Lady," naked children carrying fiddles and the story of Lucrecia Romana, the Roman victim of Rape whose story was well known in Renaissance art even before Shakespeare wrote his poem about it. A further clue about the compiler of the inventory appears here too, with the detail "a table of my lord Marquis," painted with a unicorn. Which Marquis was this? The King's cousin Henry Courtney, Marquis of Exeter, was already dead by this point. It may have been Henry Grey, Marquis of Suffolk, who bore the king's sword at Anne Boleyn's coronation, and the father of Lady Jane Grey, or privy councillor William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester. Perhaps the writer was now working for them.

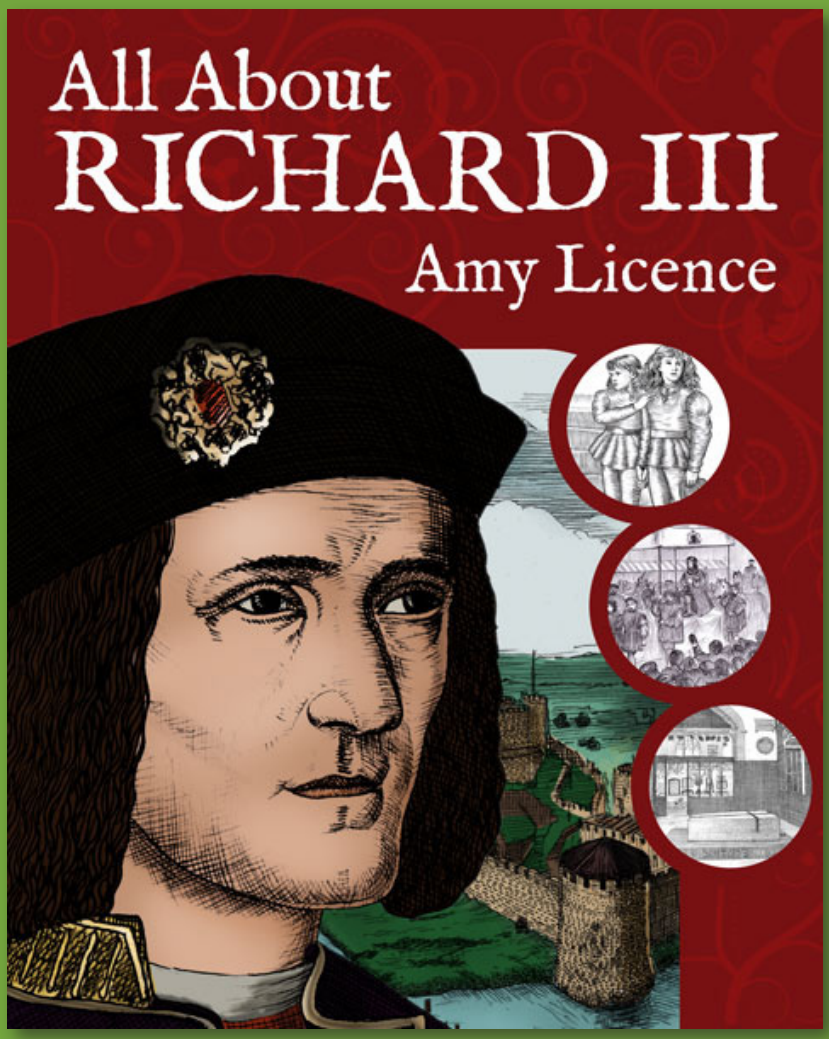
In the parlour, the most powerful symbol of Cromwell's allegiance could be found. There, the King and Queen's arms hung, featuring an eagle and Jane Seymour's greyhound, which would have been returned to the treasury. Cromwell had also accrued other more lucrative symbols of status that Henry was keen to attain. French Ambassador Marillac noted that a significant sum of money was recovered, the equivalent of 28,000 crowns and the silver plate "including crosses, chalices and other spoils of the church" were taken to the King's treasury. Many of these pieces would have come into Cromwell's possession as a result of the dissolution of the monasteries. Religious silverware, along with the relics, icons, images and other trappings of Catholicism were stripped from altars across England in the later 1530s under Cromwell's supervision. Now these items were moving on again, into the King's coffers. Inventories of Henry's treasures in 1545 show of the pieces he inherited from Cromwell, notable for the engraving or embroidering of his arms or initials: a pair of gilt pots, cups and flagons, a crystal table salt decorated with a lion standing upon three deer, yellow and black cushions embroidered with the letters "TC," a crimson chair with Cromwell's arms and hangings showing the Virgin Mary and Jesus. In total, over 427 ounces of silver plate were taken from Cromwell's properties to the treasury. Other items were distributed elsewhere, including a table of Cipres, perhaps Cypress wood, with a border, coloured black, which went to Sir Anthony Denny and various weapons which went to Sir Nicholas Bristow, his servants and Sir Thomas Cawarden. Cromwell's books appear to have been retained by the King.

Reflecting on these items gives us a snapshot of a world in transition. There is a personal dimension to the dissolution of Cromwell's world which helps delineate the Tudor juxtaposition of public and private. It is also a reminder of the transition of power, a recycling of its symbols, passed from one to another in the wake of death. For a brief moment, these items made up a mosaic of Cromwell's world, a manifestation of his material culture: his biography in objects. What happened to them all? Apart from the plate that went to Henry and the various other items we can trace, who else was sitting on Cromwell's cushions, or using such intimate items as his sheets and cloth? For me, this process is fascinating. It introduces a new kind of microhistory, a decoding of symbols for their own purpose and a window into the way Cromwell and his peers shaped and refashioned their physical world

AMY LICENCE

Amy Licence is a journalist, author, historian and teacher, currently living in Canterbury, Kent, UK. Her particular interest lies in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, in gender relations, queenship and identity, rites of passage, pilgrimage, female orthodoxy and rebellion, superstition, magic, fertility and childbirth.

Amy is soon to be publishing a series of history books for children, the first of which is called "All About Richard III". These books aim to bring the past to life for children by having an easy-to-understand main narrative and additional details in "asides".



BUTCHERY OR BUSINESS?

THE GUILD OF THE BARBER SURGEONS OF DUBLIN, 1446.

by Laura McCosker

RELATIONS between England and Ireland experienced a division during the fourteenth and fifteenth century. With England embroiled in two costly and lengthy wars, Ireland faced fewer restrictions or interferences by the monarchy or English government officials. During this period many English Lords married into Irish families quickly adopting the Irish language and cultures, becoming 'more Irish than the Irish themselves'. This was a pattern mirrored from county to county with one exception: Dublin. The well documented Pale area of Dublin was an anglicised stronghold where the established English structures of law and commerce remaining intact. So the Dublin experience was unique during the period, physically

An image of blood letting from a Tudor manuscript

removed from the mainland but also not experiencing the Gaelic revival of other Irish counties.

Therefore if no longer tied to Gaelic tradition yet not rigidly linked to England, how did the city progress and advance? The city's network of trades and crafts was greatly changed from the evolution of looser fraternities into established guilds, an evolution which had already taken place in many major English cities. These guilds gave the fabric of Dublin society more layers and dimensions as their fields of interest overlapped with legal authority, economic rights and alliance with religious institutions.

This article seeks to focus on the formation and structure of one of the most important guilds in the city throughout the 15th century, as a case study for just how the organisation of a trade was established and maintained in this vulnerable yet exciting period. The guild in question is the *Guild of the Barber Surgeons of Dublin* or the *Guild of St. Mary Magdalene,* as it was often referred to by its members.

What makes this particular guild unique was the fact that it was granted a Royal Charter on the 18th October 1446 in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry VI, meaning it was the first guild of surgeons to have a royal charter in the history of all of Britain and Ireland. The London guild received a royal charter shortly afterwards, in the year 1461, with Lincoln and Norwich following in the close of the 15th century. The closeness in these dates could suggest that these charters where in a reaction to the fact that their brethren across the water had gained royal approval first and so other similar guilds followed suit to legitimise and strengthened their authority and economic position within their own cities.

The methods and practices of the guild and its members will always seem barbaric and torturous to the modern mind set. But their services where required and valued throughout the period and so the guild was seen as a prominent and permanent craft. Similar guilds where formed in the 16th century in other Irish cities like Limerick and Cork, which would suggest there was a transmission of ideas and practices across the island, with Dublin being the original template that others were to follow.

To define a guild in this period is to see it as a structure that doesn't really have a modern day equivalent – too often their organisation is over simplified and said to resemble a trade union, the likes of which we see in our own industries today. John McNee in his address to the Royal college of Surgeons of England on the 30th October 1958 observed that the word 'gild' is Saxon in origin with a basic translation to the payment of a tribute. This would seem accurate as these bodies expected payment from each member to create a treasury for the purposes and advancement of their interests within a city or a town. Much like at any point in history, more funds and resources equated to more power or sway in the economic life of an area. The funds collected by the Dublin brethren allowed them to keep a chantry, a religious institution focused on praying for the souls of the dead, that housed two priests for the celebration of divine

office for the salvation of departed members and their families.

The Guild of Barber Surgeons was fourth in terms of size and wealth during the 15th century, coming in just behind Dublin's "power three", that is to say the Merchants, the Tailors and the Smiths, a hierarchy repeated across British cities. In 1555, there were 17 registered wardens of the craft living in Dublin. This is quite a significant number when it is considered that there would have been masters and apprentices attached to each warden.

Aside financial power, the fact that these guilds were self-governing, creating their own laws and codes of conduct as well as administering their own penance in their disputes also meant that they could act as a body of social control, creating another source of power and authority in urban centres. For example, fines could be administered if any brother was seen to be procuring a known customer from another brother, typically 6s 8d for this disagreeable conduct.

McNee also states that guilds were a popular structure from the 13th to 16th centuries, therefore the barber surgeons with their royal charter granted in 1446 would have enjoyed a relevant position of power for over a century. Its history of evolution and the absorption of other guilds, such as the apothecaries in 1577, illustrates their power over any crafts seen as medical in the period, and so their influence grew rather than a waning in popularity.

Given the deep religious convictions of the early modern population in Ireland, it is not surprising that this guild was dedicated to a saint, as previously mentioned: St Mary Magdalene. The affiliation with her as a saint could have a number of possible meanings. The first could be the medieval idea that St. Mary Magdalene was the prostitute who wept on Jesus' feet before drying these fallen tears with her hair. Indeed medieval depictions of her often see her draped and concealed in these flowing locks, thus a link between hair and servitude to Jesus. These barbers and surgeons were not used by the elites of Dublin society but served the lower orders of the city, and so welcomed a link with St. Mary Magdalene and humility. Owing to her closeness to Jesus, St. Mary Magdalene was thought to represent a special protection; this image of protection may have been comforting to the sick or wounded undertaking invasive and excruciating procedures on the barber surgeon's table.

The guild's own records would point towards an importance of maintaining the link between its members and the saint with public displays of adoration. Members were expected to attend service on the eve of the feast of their name sake, 22nd July, with absentees names recorded and fees distributed for those not presenting a united front with their fraternity: one document contains the phrase, '*Patrick Byclone, Mery, Drynell & Byrd were fynd 4d. each for absence at Evensong.'*

Financial gifts were also offered on the feast day with it being recorded that '8s. 6d should be disbursed to the church of Saint Mary Magdalene at Christ church for Rushes &c.' This was common practice for any fraternity with a saint as patron – they wanted to make a public spectacle of their pious nature to improve their standing in the community. For instance the barbers of Norwich chose St. John the Baptist as their patron, whilst those in Lincoln chose St. John the Evangelist.

It is important when considering the role of the guild within 15th century Dublin is to know what the actual craft entailed. Eoin O' Brein in his address *In Celebration of the Bicentenary of the Royal College of surgeons* in 1984 best describes the role of the different medical professions during the period. For him he seen there being very distinct roles and areas of expertise, furthermore a person's standing in the community could dictate which personal or profession they had access too.

Traditionally physicians were seen as the top of the medical hierarchy with the role generally passed along on a hereditary basis with skills and knowledge based on learning and study. Physicians would have studied or at least had an awareness of European university teachings and would have spent their career tied to a clan or Chieftain as a well-paid member of their household and often a trusted confidant. The O'Mearas and the Butlers were two well respected medical dynasties in 15th century Dublin. Physicians where seen as the healing hands of God as stated in Ecclesiasticus 38:

'Honour the physician for the need thou hast of him: for the most high hath created him.'

Therefore within 15th century society and its literal translation of the Bible into a manual for life,

Ireland 1500 (courtesy elizabethan.org)

Christ Church Cathedral in Dublin, the eldest of the city's two medieval cathedrals

this element of medical society had the support of the Church which gave them primacy.

Carole Rawcliffe, in her work *Medicine and Society in later Medieval England* believes that if physicians were seen as a learned class, then barbers and surgeons were said to possess their skills through natural talent. They were also the more accessible healers throughout society with surgeons tending to the wounds of the general populace for a fee.

Barbers were then more renowned for their dental work and blood-letting, which was the belief that drawing blood from a particular area or vein could rebalance the humours of the body and create well-being. The iconic barber pole which is still used to mark a modern day barber shop comes from this practice of blood-letting. During the procedure the patient would lay their arm on a pole grasping it tightly at the top to encourage blood flow. This procedure obviously carried a large degree of risk, with careless surgeons opening an artery rather vein. Unskilled surgeons were liable to be sued by a patient in the royal courts, thus the lengthy apprenticeships would have save guarded the guild from such actions.

Another procedure which would have been performed by barber surgeon during the period was trepanation, which was the careful removal of a section of skull without damaging the underlying blood vessels or brain. This procedure was used to cure epilepsy and migraines, with the early modern mind-set believing this surgery would relieve pressure on the brain and thus cure the condition. The main form of pain relief during the period was herbal remedy, alcohol and a prayer that natural endorphins would quickly kick in. Surprisingly, archaeological evidence does prove than some patients who received this treatment made a full recovery as the surgeon was able to avoid manage brain trauma suggesting real surgical skill on the part of the barber, especially considering the rudimentary tools available.

The link between barber and surgeon demonstrates interplay between religious and secular roles. Those in monastic orders were the most learned of all society with their study and knowledge often falling outside the realm of biblical translation and scholarship. However any knowledge regarding surgery could not be practised due to a Papal Edict issued by Pope Alexander III in 1162 forbidding all monastic orders or members of the clergy from handling blood. Thus in monasteries all over Ireland, any surgical knowledge was passed onto the monks'

Saint Mary Magdalene from the Chertsey Abbey breviary

personal servants, those who were also responsible for maintaining their tonsures, i.e. hair. These servants were then free to practise the procedures passed on by the monks, often as barbers.

The dichotomy of the treatment of body and soul, whereby knowledge and procedure have to be separated due to religious control and law, illustrates that blind acceptance of illness and suffering as a product of sin was not always the case. 15th-century Dublin clearly availed of the services of these surgeons giving man control over his body and mortality.

The original copy of the guild's charter is no longer extant, however a version from 1715 can be found in Chancery. The language of the charter was more concerned with recording the barber surgeons as a corporation under a common seal and so enabling them to hold lands, tenements and chattels as a fraternity. This suggests the charter was motivated by a desire to be seen as an authority and to legally gather together their possessions and rights. With Dublin's population and thus economic possibilities expanding throughout the century, the guild must have wanted to publicly mark them as an authority within the area.

Both brothers and sisters are referred to throughout the document; however they must be of English descent. O'Brein's detail of the entry process into the guild whereby a person must serve as an apprentice for seven years before working as a master for a further two years shows the exclusivity of the group. By forbidding a non-English element this would have effectively outlawed all those of a purely Irish identity from practising barber surgery within the city walls, with the members of the guild given the authority to fine and punish any of these rogues to be found practising their craft.

As with all charters the intention and transmission could have greatly differed. This guild sought royal authority for economic advancement so it is highly unlikely that they poured time and resources into seeking out non-members practising their craft unless the person was operating on such a scale whereby their financial position or the integrity of their role could be compromised.

The guild and relationship between barbers and surgeons continued until 1704 when at the request of the surgeon faction, the two were separated by an Act of Parliament. This marked a change in how healing was viewed in Ireland as surgery took on the same prestige as medicine with professionalism and institutionalised training became mandatory.

Laura McCosker studied postgraduate medieval history at Queen's University, Belfast. Originally from County Tyrone in Northern Ireland, her research specialised in the civic culture of medieval and early modern Dublin, completing her thesis in 2012 on "Health and Social Welfare in Medieval Dublin".

CHILDBEARING WOMEN IN TUDOR AND STUART ENGLAND

by Conor Bryne

WOMEN bearing children in Tudor and Stuart England were vulnerable. Pregnancy was an experience fraught with uncertainty, danger and peril. Women responded to the uncertainty of pregnancy by preparing for death: they wrote their wills, divided their property and acknowledged that they might not survive the ordeal. However, while acknowledging that 'family life was lived under the shadow of imminent death' in the early modern period, Roger Schofield noted that the risk of dying of childbed was no greater for a woman than the risk she ran every year of dying from infectious diseases and other causes. Mortality rates were less than ten per cent. While this might be true, early modern women were not aware of these statistics. They approached pregnancy with the understanding that they might not survive the ordeal.

The experiences of Henry VIII's queens confirms the vulnerability of the childbearing women in early modern England. Anne Boleyn's miscarriage in 1536 was, according to George Wyatt, accompanied by 'peril' to her life, which might suggest that she was seriously weakened by her experiences. Possibly her very life was despaired of. When Katherine Parr fell pregnant in late 1547, her closest friends wrote anxious letters to her advising her on how best to prepare for childbirth. At thirty-five, Katherine was, by Tudor standards, fairly old to be expecting her first child, and contemporaries acknowledged their fears that she would not survive by supplying her with extensive instructions and guidance. Katherine died less than a week after the birth of her daughter Mary in August 1548, who probably herself did not live long after. Jane Seymour, third wife of Henry VIII, died in October 1537 less than two weeks after giving birth to Prince Edward.

Extant evidence indicates that childbearing women were regarded as vulnerable irrespective of their social station. Mary of Modena, consort of James II, was comforted by her midwives in 1688, shortly before the birth of her son. Depositions testifying to the prince's birth confirm that the queen 'was sitting trembling'. She reprimanded her husband for leaving her bedside. This evidence demonstrates the important role played by midwives at the royal court, in comforting, assisting and attending the health of their royal mistress. As Linda Pollock has argued, pregnant women relied on demonstrations of concern, prayers and emotional support. Sympathetic assistance was sought because of the terrifying prospect of childbirth. Childbirth can be perceived as a social leveller: as Mrs Elizabeth Pearse, laundress to Queen Mary, explained, 'the Queen was in the same condition that all other women use to be on the like occasion'.

Lady Strafford, the wife of the Tory ambassador at the Hague during the final years of Queen Anne's reign, gave birth to a daughter in 1713. Although her labour went well, Lady Isabella Wentworth reported to her son that Lady Strafford's 'fears was great'. Indeed, Lady Isabella confirmed that 'my Lady for all she was in great pain was very cold with fear'. This indicates that childbearing was recognised to be a highly painful experience, inducing fear, uncertainty and terror. Historians

have suggested that 'horror stories' were exchanged during the process of childbirth, in which female attendants discussed their friends' and female relatives' experiences of pregnancy that often resulted in death. Unsurprisingly, early modern women seem to have regarded childbearing with fear, a view that is difficult to reconcile with Schofield's assertion that childbearing was regarded as no more dangerous than infectious diseases.

Elizabeth Egerton, countess of Bridgewater, kept a collection of writings that included a prayer in time of labour. Her prayer stated: 'Lord Jesus since thou art pleased my time is come, to bring forth this my babe, thou hast made in me, give me a heart full of all truth and obedience to thee and that I may take this height of pain patiently, without grudging at thy holy will and pleasure; I beg, oh hear, three persons ease me, and that soon'. Mary Carey wrote in 1649: 'I am now near the time of my travail, and am very weak, faint, sickly, fearful, pained, apprehending much suffering before me, if not death itself, the King of Terrors'. Personal accounts are highly valuable in uncovering personal experiences of pregnancy and childbirth. Personal papers indicate that childbearing was a collective female ritual and pregnancy was managed by women themselves. Women relied on other women to assist them in childbirth, as advice and charms, practical aid and emotional reassurance was offered.

Illustration of three midwives attending to a pregnant woman, 1554

Women used a range of metaphors to describe the pains of labour and to present pregnancy as dangerous. In 1682 Elizabeth Armitage, who was delivered of a stillborn child, used the metaphors of a bed on fire and a night that would kill a horse: 'she had had a night would have killed a horse', 'she was so taken that she could not stir off the bed if it had been on fire under her'. As Laura Gowing explains, 'the experience of giving birth was both physically and socially overwhelming, and sometimes terrifying' for both married and single women. Single women were especially vulnerable, since 'the rituals of reproduction [for them] represented regulation and punishment, not protection or reassurance'.

According to Sharon Howard, Alice Thornton's memoirs described the agony of her labour, in which danger and deliverance were providentially paired. She drew on contemporary

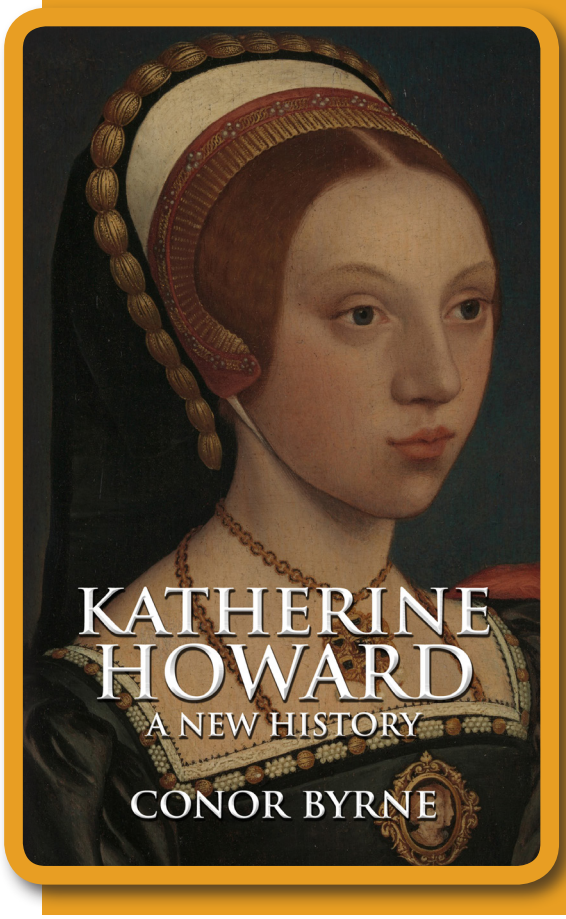
'discourses of martyrdom' with which to articulate her pain and suffering, understanding it to be a test of faith and endurance which served to strengthen and purify her. The pains and perils of childbirth served as 'examples of the affliction of all humanity, as the result of original sin'. Adrian Wilson has suggested that the predominant view among historians is that early modern women 'were racked by fears of giving birth'. Certainly, the evidence put forward in this article would appear to support this contention.

Schofield's research indicates that the proportion of women dying in childbirth in early modern England was not as high as might perhaps be thought. However, early modern women were not aware of modern statistics. The evidence put forward in this article, drawing mainly on personal accounts at a range of social levels, illuminates the fear, uncertainty and terror experienced by childbearing women. They regarded themselves, and were perceived by their contemporaries, as vulnerable.

CONOR BYRNE

Conor Byrne, author of "Katherine Howard: A New History" is a British undergraduate studying History at the University of Exeter.

Conor has been fascinated by the Tudors, medieval and early modern history from the age of eleven, particularly the lives of European kings and queens. His research into Katherine Howard, fifth consort of Henry VIII of England, began in 2011-12, and his first extended essay on her, related to the subject of her downfall in 1541-2, was written for an Oxford University competition. Since then Conor has embarked on a full-length study of Katharine's career, encompassing original research and drawing on extended reading into sixteenth-century gender, sexuality and honour. Some of the conclusions reached are controversial and likely to spark considerable debate, but Conor hopes for a thorough reassessment of Katherine Howard's life.



‘THE LOVE THAT DARE NOT SPEAK ITS NAME’

HOMOSEXUALITY AND MORAL COMPLEXITY IN TUDOR ENGLAND

by Gareth Russell

‘If it be a sin to love a lovely Lad;
Oh then sin I, for whom my soul is sad.’

– Richard Barnfield, *The Affectionate Shepherd,* published 1594

A FEW years ago, I wrote an article about George Boleyn’s alleged homosexuality. My purpose was not to discuss Lord Rochford’s romantic interactions with his own gender, but rather the ways in which the recent theory that he was homo- or bisexual could help illuminate our own changing attitudes. Suggestions that George Boleyn was not heterosexual began with an academic work called *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family politics at the court of Henry VIII* (published by Cambridge University Press in 1989), but they were popularised by shows like *The Tudors* (where he is bisexual) and in the novel *The Other Boleyn Girl,* where his sexuality as depicted could keep a conference of psychiatrists in business for a year.

There is something to be said for the criticism that we’re too eager to force historical characters out of the closet. Frankly, evidence for George Boleyn’s homosexuality or bisexuality is almost non-existent and arguments concerning other famous figures’ homosexuality, like Richard the Lionheart or King William III, are potentially based on problematic, incomplete or anachronistically-interpreted evidence. Are we in danger of misrepresenting people like George Boleyn or Robert de Vere, Marquess of Dublin, because we’re foisting our own ‘coming out’-heavy culture on to theirs?

Well, yes and no. Yes, in the sense that has already been mentioned, but no on the basis that science suggests that at the absolute least ten percent of the population are likely to feel an overwhelming and sustained preference for their own gender, while a far higher percentage will feel it, perhaps quite powerfully, at some stage in their lives. On that basis, we are in fact probably undershooting in our estimates on past figures and in danger of adopting an unhelpfully pedantic attitude when we try to offer alternative explanations about relationships where the most obvious conclusion suggests a romance. While researching my latest book, *A History of the English Monarchy,* I found many of the alternative theories about Edward II’s relationship with Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall to be laboriously silly. I had to agree with Gaveston’s biographer J. S. Hamilton, who concluded that there was ‘no question’ that the pair were romantically involved with one another. Admittedly, there are many more men like Lord Darnley or King Henri III of France for whom the evidence is conflicting, compared to men like Edward II, William II,

King Henri III and his mignons

Francis Bacon, Christopher Marlowe or James VI for whom there is evidence so strong that it borders on proof. However, sexuality is a confusing and often confused spectrum. Many of us may know a person who was romantically or sexually involved with the unexpected gender – whatever that might be in their case – even if just after a college party or in a moment completely out of character. If similar behaviour happened in the 1500s, and there's no earthly reason to suppose that it didn't, it would have been impossible to prove for most men and women. As a result, nearly every theory about an individual can never be anything more than speculation.

This confusion is unappealing for our label-prone society and I suspect it's a large part of why we are constantly obsessing over the sexualities of the rich, famous and dead. The Tudors did not have the same categories of sexuality. Their beliefs were draconian in many ways – their attitudes to single mothers, male versus female adultery, the

Vanessa Kirby, John Heffernan and Kyle Seller in the RSC's "Edward II", © 2013, Daily Mail

disabled and the deformed were nothing short of horrifying and claimed many victims. Puritans were particularly obsessed with homosexual sex, bizarrely labelling it as a product of Catholicism. Some religious manuals from the period compared it to bestiality, incest and masturbation (oddly, some clergymen classed all three as being equally wicked.) However, they too had a spectrum. There were more subtleties than certainties.

Buggery statutes were enacted by parliaments under Henry VIII in 1533 and Elizabeth I in 1562, but looking back on them a few years later, Sir Simonds d'Ewes dismissed them as legislation 'of no great moment' (meaning 'of no great importance'.) The Acts did have one or two famous casualties – for instance, Lord Hungerford, the nobleman who was beheaded on the charge in 1540, and the Earl of Castlehaven and his lover, who were executed in 1631 – but not many. Under Elizabeth I and James I, it resulted in only six prosecutions in the Home Counties. In the reigns of Mary I and Elizabeth, there were six times more arrests and trials for the extremely rare crime of bestiality than there were for same-sex relationships.

In Tudor and Stuart textbooks for young legal students, sodomy and buggery were passed over in minimal detail, conveying the impression that they were cases that no lawyer really needed to prepare for, because they were so rare. Definitions tended towards the vague. We think of 'sodomy' as a bio-legal term, but people in the 1500s applied it to everything from sex outside the missionary position to acts of blasphemy. The physician Simon Forman, writing on the case of a local housewife

called Elizabeth Hipwell, who had committed adultery with two men at the same time in 1596, described her activity as sodomy. There was no standardised definition. In the few cases that have survived concerning the Buggery Statute, it becomes clear that they were not dealing with what we would describe as homosexuality. In nearly every single case, the prosecutions related to a sexual assault. A case heard in the Virginia colony in 1624 specifically stated that the captain of a ship 'by force … turned this examinee upon his belly' and then went into forensic detail about the attack. Even more specifically, the statute was used to target child molesters who preyed on society's most vulnerable individuals – for example, in 1569, the legislation resulted in the execution of a paedophile called Roland Dyer in Margate.

I was struck by this development. The Tudors did not possess the words necessary to describe the abuse of minors, but they were aware that it existed. Similar legislation was enacted in the hope that it would cover and protect girls: over half of the cases regarding rape in the Elizabethan period concerned attacks on girls under the age of twelve. Looked at in this light, it seems that a significant amount of the legislation that is often seen as part of the Tudor government's attempts to control its subjects' sexualities was in fact used to protect minors, under two different types of gender-specific legislation. Consensual sex between adults was tacitly recognised as a different thing altogether.

Part of the explanation for this, I think, was cultural. We need to remember that until the reign of Charles II, every time a person went to a theatre to watch *Romeo and Juliet* or any kind of romantic play, the female lead was played by a man. Men flirting with and kissing one another was therefore hardly an unusual sight in sixteenth-century cities, even if just in the guise of fantasy. It is unsurprising to find that sixteenth-century writers pushed the envelope on sexuality a lot farther than writers in the next three centuries. Christopher Marlowe wrote *Edward II*, which presents a very close relationship between the eponymous monarch and Piers Gaveston, while poets, including Shakespeare, were prepared to play with or outright state homosexual desire in their poems, sonnets and puns.

Within the aristocracy, attitudes were also much more heterogeneous than we might suppose. In the early 1600s, the Countess of Suffolk could discuss the King's affair with the Duke of Buckingham with discretion and minimal embarrassment. A typical Renaissance education was heavy on the study of the Classics. This meant that young royals and nobles grew up being familiar with a few Classical myths that dealt with same-sex relationships, like the story of Jupiter and Ganymede, or Achilles and Patroclus in the Trojan saga – or even unambiguously homosexual historical figures, like the Roman Emperor Hadrian. Traditional moralists in Italy and France certainly blamed over-exposure to pagan histories in the classroom and universities for the alleged rise in 'sodomy' among young upper-class men in the late 1400s and early 1500s.

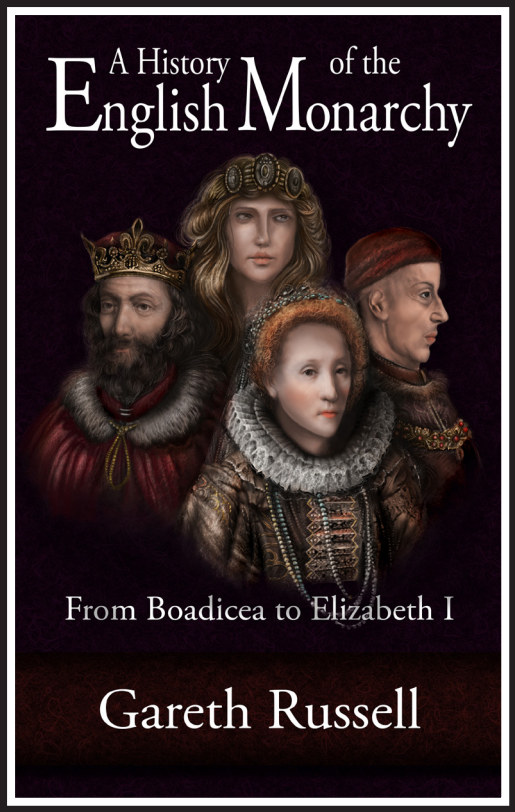
The idea that homosexual activity was an upper-class 'vice' was a long-running sixteenth century joke. It was common for gentlemen from the elite to hire or fund the research of various scholars, who in return would usually dedicate their work to their patrons or write on topics designed to capture their interest. In an era when most servants were the same gender as their employer, it was also customary for gentlemen to spend a great deal of time solely with their male servants. The design of houses also changed a lot in this period, because there was more of an emphasis on the concept of privacy. The most intimate room became the gentleman or lady of the house's closet, a kind of sitting room that was typically hidden away from the prying eyes of visitors, petitioners or other servants. It was often in these closets that the scholars would visit to discuss their latest theories or the wealthy gentleman might choose to have some quiet time with favourite friends and servants. It is from this habit that the phrase "closeted away" arose.

Texts from the time reveal how much these closets featured in gossip about what went on between the gentlemen, their scholars or their servants. One sixteenth century man said that 'jealous women and some men also will be apt to think that any man [that] useth it that hath ... a young man to serve him or that he useth his servants in his chamber'. Books from the 1500s contain many saucy jokes about closets, keys and locks. The phrase "in the closet" thus came to imply an activity that would be carried out in private, but not in public.

That, I think, is the clue to the surprising dichotomy of the homosexual experience in the Tudor era. Much of it was based on ignorance – for instance, lesbianism is almost never mentioned – and the interaction between ignorance, legal silence and cultural ambivalence produced an attitude of elaborate uncertainty. Legal prosecutions about sexuality tended to focus on non-consensual sex, suggesting that legislators, unlike certain moralists, had very little interest in prosecuting "closet sins". As the works of playwrights like Christopher Marlowe or Richard Barnfield show, there was far more tolerance of consensual gay sex between two males than we might initially suppose. In many ways, the Elizabethan attitude was more relaxed and compassionate than its equivalent in the mid-1800s or 1950s, when even men as celebrated and brilliant as the war hero and code-breaker Alan Turing were chemically castrated as part of their mandatory 'cure'.

However, we should not get carried away in assuming the Tudor period was tolerant in the way we would now understand the concept of tolerance. That suggestion would be even more inaccurate and misleading than futile attempts to guess George Boleyn's sexuality. (For what it's worth, any thing we do know about him points strongly to heterosexuality.) Homosexuality remained a sin, even when not a crime. The idea that what went on "in the closet" should stay there, namely hidden away from view, helps explain the lack of prosecutions under Mary I, Elizabeth I and James I, while also reinforcing the idea that homosexuality must not enter the public sphere. Homosexuality belonged on the stage and in the closet, in the pagan past, youthful follies, the imagination of fanciful poets and lurid jokes at the nobility's expense. People who had sex with their own gender were sinners, just as all men and women were, but unlike them they were uniquely vulnerable in being condemned by cultural expectations to compartmentalize or neuter their lives. They lived in a society that offered the *douleur exquise* of private silence and public hostility. Not just a slice of gay history that we can at last discuss frankly, the Tudor reality of homosexuality is also a reminder of how complex, multi-faceted and intriguing history can be. It is always more elusive, subtle and fascinating than we give it credit for.

GARETH RUSSELL

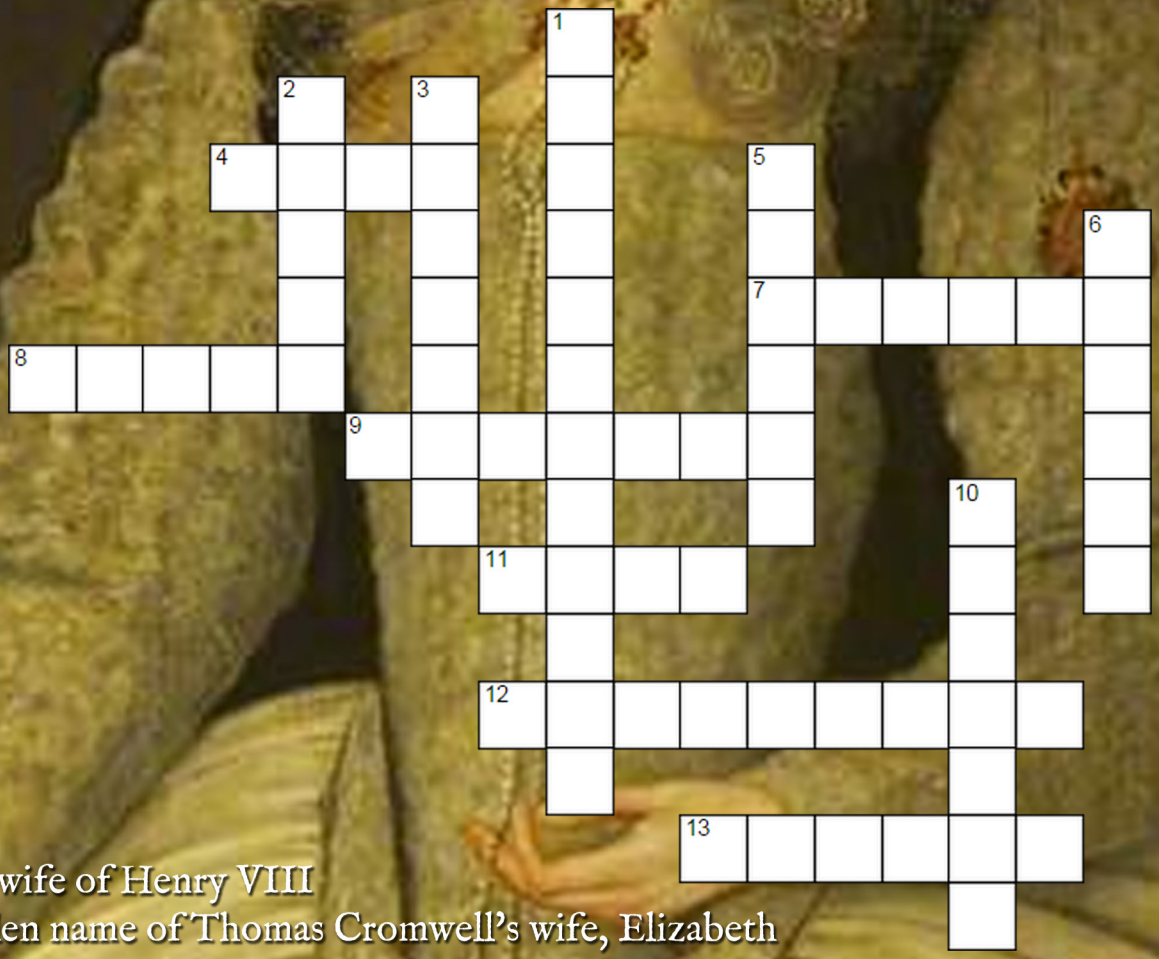


Gareth Russell read Modern History in Saint Peter's College at the University of Oxford and has become a well respected historian through his books including "A History of the English Monarchy". You'll know him through his regular column within Tudor Life magazine, but for this edition he wanted to branch out and write a more detailed article.

Tudor Life

Tudor Women

Can you work out these famous women's surnames from the clues below?



ACROSS

4 Last wife of Henry VIII
7 Maiden name of Thomas Cromwell's wife, Elizabeth
8 A personal attendant of Queen Elizabeth I, Blanche
9 Mother of Edward VI
11 Famously painted by the French painter, Paul Delaroche, in 1833
12 Wife of Edward IV, Elizabeth
13 Second wife of Henry VIII

DOWN

1 Maiden name of Walter Raleigh's wife
2 Mary Boleyn's first married name
3 Wife of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Joan
5 Henry VIII's fifth wife
6 Lady in waiting to Elizabeth I, Kat
10 Walter Devereux's first wife, Lettice

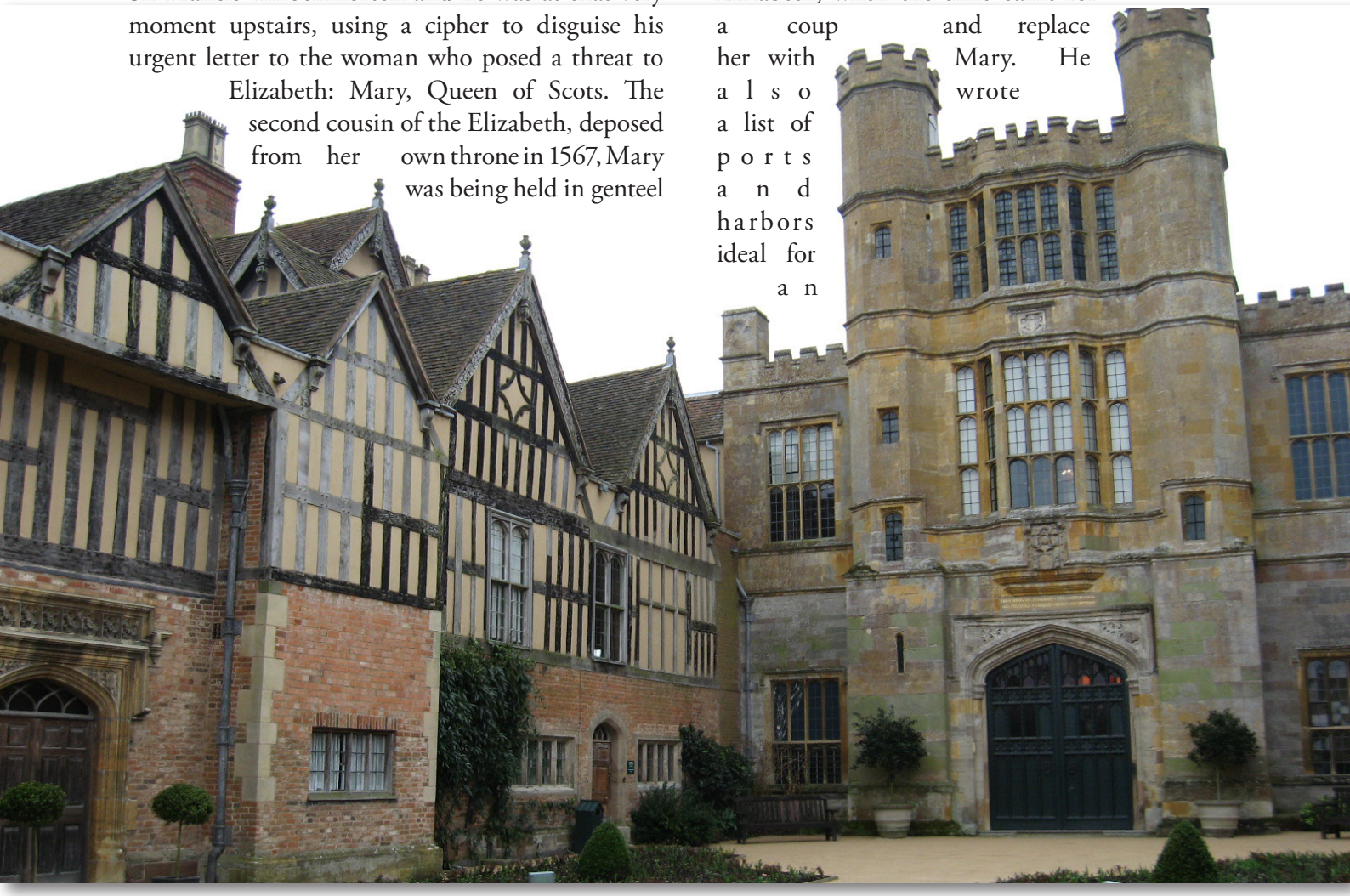
Answers on page 85

THE THROCKMORTONS AND THE DAWN OF THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC

by Nancy Bilyeau

LATE one November night in 1583, a group of "gentlemen of no mean credit and reputation"—in other words, agents working for Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary to Queen Elizabeth I—banged on the door of a London house. Their sudden arrival threw the occupant of the house into a panic. His name was Sir Francis Throckmorton and he was at that very moment upstairs, using a cipher to disguise his urgent letter to the woman who posed a threat to Elizabeth: Mary, Queen of Scots. The second cousin of the Elizabeth, deposed from her own throne in 1567, Mary was being held in genteel confinement in an English manor house, the object of a series of rescue attempts. Walsingham, the spymaster, worked tirelessly to thwart all of them.

Highly incriminating letters and papers were found during their search. Throckmorton, 29 years old, a devout Catholic, had composed a list of other Catholic gentlemen and nobles who could be counted on to rise up against their Protestant queen, Elizabeth, when the time came for a coup and replace her with Mary. He also wrote a list of ports and harbors ideal for an



Coughton Court, Warwickshire, home of the Throckmorton family since the early 15th Century

invasion by a French army led by the Duke of Guise, Mary's relative.

At first Throckmorton denied everything, claiming the papers were planted. But under torture in the Tower of London, he admitted to being the central player in a conspiracy between certain Englishmen (including his brother), the Spanish ambassador, and the Duke of Guise. It has gone down in history as the Throckmorton Plot. Francis was convicted of high treason and executed the following year.

This was not the last time the name "Throckmorton" surfaced in a plot against a Protestant English ruler. In 1605, a servant to Robert Catesby, a key conspirator in the Gunpowder Plot and the son of Anne Throckmorton, rode directly to the Throckmorton estate, Coughton Court, to tell a group of Catholics, including two Jesuit priests, of Guy Fawkes' arrest in the plan to blow up King James I and his Parliament. He said those Fawkes plotted with were now running for their lives.

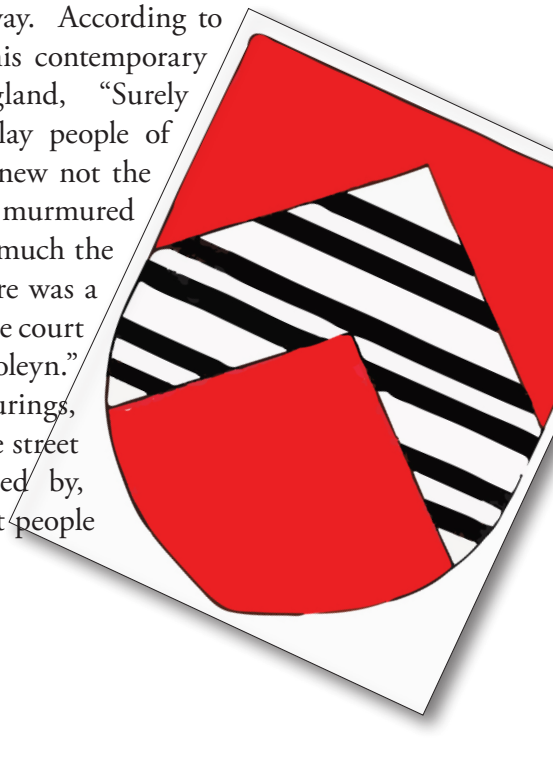
These failed English conspiracies in support of Mary Queen of Scots (ranging from the fourth Duke of Norfolk's efforts to marry the Scottish queen to Anthony Babington's plot to murder Elizabeth and rescue Mary) along with the infamous Gunpowder Plot formed a strong impression in some minds that Catholics were conspiratorial and dangerous, controlled by France, Spain and, of course, the Pope. These fears hardened into bigotry throughout the 17th century. The despicable Titus Oates, who fabricated the "Popish plot" against Charles II and brought about at least 15 executions, wouldn't have been possible without the Gunpowder Plot. Moreover, the Glorious Revolution and the arrival of the Hanovers—the direction the country took that leads us to today—were born, in large part, from fear of what James II, a Catholic king, would do. Those fears originated in the 16th century.

Before Sir Francis Throckmorton plunged into violent plotting, his family had made a far different sort of impact in England, one of service to the crown and country. To best understand the Throckmortons, who've popped up in so many interesting times and places in the reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts, we must take a closer look at the patriarch, Sir George Throckmorton, Sir Francis's grandfather, a strong-minded man who had a blunt conversation with Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell that is well known even today.

George Throckmorton was born in 1489, two years before Henry VIII, the king who was to wreak such havoc in his life. His father, Robert Throckmorton, was a landowner, soldier and a courtier who did well under the new Tudor regime. Coughton Court was already in Throckmorton possession. In 1501, George married an heiress, Katherine Vaux. They had, incredibly, 19 children, including seven sons who lived to adulthood. His rise in the kingdom was steady: George served the king in the French war; he was knighted in 1516; he attended the Field of Cloth of Gold; he was made a justice of the peace in Warwickshire. By 1529 he was a member of Parliament and worked for Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, alongside a lawyer who would one day make his mark: Thomas Cromwell.

The people who attended the court of Henry VIII in the late 1520s and early 1530s would be amazed, perhaps dumbfounded, by today's adoration of Anne Boleyn. During the time that the king struggled for his divorce, most of the nobility, as well as the commons, had enormous respect for Catherine of Aragon, both for her royal status as the daughter of Isabelle and Ferdinand, and for the gracious, brave and pious manner in which she carried out her duties as queen of England.

As for Anne Boleyn, she had little support beyond members of her own family, Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer, later archbishop of Canterbury. Henry VIII insisted in his communications with the Pope that Anne was a chaste and respectable woman. Both the nobility and the common people did not see her that way. According to Edward Hall in his contemporary History of England, "Surely the most of the lay people of England, which knew not the law of God, sore murmured at the matter and much the more, because there was a gentlewoman in the court called Anne Boleyn." There were murmurings, a few shouts in the street as the king passed by, but of course most people



Nancy Bilyeau, Cloisters doorway

were too afraid to tell the king what they thought of his intended new marriage.

Until George Throckmorton.

It was the royal divorce that changed everything for him. From the beginning, Throckmorton was known to be someone who did not support the king's wish to rid himself of his first wife. Throckmorton was respected in Parliament. His views carried weight. Cromwell was busy crafting legislation intended to weaken the Pope's control of England and, step by step, make Henry VIII the supreme head of the Church of England. Throckmorton attempted to block that legislation.

In 1532, the king summoned Throckmorton to an audience with himself and Thomas Cromwell, who had replaced Wolsey as the chief royal councilor. There he was asked to support the divorce. As Throckmorton himself recalled in a later document, "I told Your Grace I feared if ye did marry Queen Anne, your conscience would be more troubled at length, for it is thought that ye have meddled with the mother and the sister."

The king answered, "Never with the mother." Which is almost certainly true; the rumors that Henry VIII slept with Elizabeth Boleyn were scurrilous.

Cromwell jumped in to say, "Nor never with the sister either, and therefore put that thought out of your mind." This is most certainly not true. Henry VIII had an affair of some duration with Mary Boleyn.

Although his facts were not all straight, George Throckmorton told his sovereign with all honesty that he did not believe that the sister of a discarded mistress was an appropriate queen of England and that his conscience would be troubled if Henry married Anne. He was certainly not alone. But he is the only Englishman known to have voiced this opinion to the king's face.

While this was definitely not what Henry VIII wanted to hear, Throckmorton wasn't punished directly. He did become distinctly less favored by the king. It's possible Cromwell delivered a warning, for Throckmorton promised in writing to "live at home, serve God and meddle little." With Parliament out of session, Throckmorton retreated to Coughton Court.

Queen Anne didn't last long, beheaded on trumped-up charges of treason and adultery in 1536. Before Henry VIII had her executed, he declared his marriage to Anne Boleyn null and void, based on his "affinity" to her sister Mary. That warning by Throckmorton came to pass, although in the most cynical fashion imaginable.

If Throckmorton, along with others who had supported Catherine of Aragon and now cared deeply about the fate of Princess Mary, thought that the kingdom would return to how things used to be, they were greatly mistaken. Henry VIII didn't return to the Catholic fold even after Anne, a religious reformer, was dead and replaced by Jane Seymour, who favored traditional ways. For one thing, the Cromwell-engineered Dissolution of the Monasteries was pouring thousands of pounds into the royal treasury. If Henry VIII returned to obedience to the Pope, he'd have to stop demolishing the abbeys, ejecting the nuns and monks, and seizing the valuables and property. That was the last thing he wanted to do.

The Pilgrimage of Grace, another 16th century turning point in defining which side you were on, took Throckmorton farther down the road of opposition to Henry VIII. It was a rebellion that sprang up in the North of England opposing the kingdom's religious reformers, joined by men and women from every level of society.

The king ordered his nobility and gentry to come to the aid of the Crown, bringing armed men, and Throckmorton did so with 300. Nonetheless, he was arrested in early 1537, charged with making copies of the rebels' demands and expressing willingness

to join their side. He denied disloyalty but was sent to the Tower of London. One of this sons later wrote that Throckmorton's "foes gaped to joint his neck." The family's connections did all they could, including his wife's pleas for help to her half-brother Sir William Parr (uncle of the later Queen Catherine Parr). For months, his life hung in the balance.

George Throckmorton, not interested in martyrdom, announced that he was reading the New Testament and perceived the error of his ways, his "great blindness." It's unclear what factor was the deciding one. But during a period in which men who were closer in blood and friendship to Henry VIII—and had committed lesser crimes—met the fate of the ax on Tower Hill, George Throckmorton was released from the Tower of London.

This time he did live at home and "meddle little," focusing on rebuilding his spectacular home, Coughton Court.

But how he served God is less clear. Throckmorton believed in his heart in the values of the traditional Catholic. His own father, Robert Throckmorton, devoted time and sums of money to his parish church and had, most unusually for the 16th century, gone on a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He died in Rome on his way to Jerusalem in 1518.

Eamon Duffy is at the forefront of modern writers who argue that in the early 16th century traditional worship was not a corrupt and decaying system but a vital one. This is what the Throckmorton father and son believed. And it is the value system that George passed on to his many descendants. Until Henry VIII decided to break with Rome over a thwarted divorce, the kingdom was going in a certain direction. The king swerved onto a new path. The Throckmortons—and other families such as the Howards—kept going in the original direction.

Another possible factor in George Throckmorton's traditional stance was sympathy for the fate of his aunt, Elizabeth. She was the abbess of a house of Poor Clares in Cambridgeshire. A woman of intellect, she exchanged letters with the famous humanist, Erasmus. After her abbey was destroyed, Elizabeth, more than 60 years old, went to live at Coughton, perhaps bringing one or two nuns with her who had nowhere else to go. She also brought a "dole-gate," through which help was given to the local poor, and upon which her name was carved.

The practice of the Throckmortons' "staunch" Catholic faith went in and out of fashion, depending on the Tudor ruler. After Cromwell was executed, religious traditionalists felt a little safer in England. The reign of Edward VI was so difficult that some left the country to live in exile. Mary's reign was a brief respite. George's seventh son, Sir John, was active in her Parliament and a witness to the queen's will. During the reign of her successor, Elizabeth I, they fell into a defensive position again and a "priest hole" was built in Coughton Court, where priests could hide during inspections. The family became "recusants," those who refused to attend Anglican services and paid heavy fines for it. People who could not pay the fines were imprisoned. With their money, the Throckmortons avoided that humiliation.

George Throckmorton had died in his bed in 1552. His descendants were not all so lucky.

Sir Francis Throckmorton, born in 1554, was a son of Sir John, the witness of Queen Mary's will. Because of the increasingly cold climate for Catholics in England, he left England after receiving an Oxford education. There he was drawn into the dangerous conspiracy against Elizabeth. When he returned to the country of his birth, it was a deadly agenda.

Ironically, the treason of Sir Francis Throckmorton set in motion not the accession to the English throne of Mary Queen of Scots but her decapitation. Walsingham was able to use it to persuade Queen Elizabeth to authorize the Bond of Association, a document obliging all people who signed it to execute any person who attempted to usurp Elizabeth's throne. The bond was used as a legal precedent to kill the Scottish queen after the failure of the Babington plot. Each and every time these conspiracies, which always failed, made things much worse in England for the Catholic believers.

George Throckmorton has happier legacies. His granddaughter, Muriel, married Thomas Tresham, and is the ancestress of Diana Spencer, princess of Wales. And Coughton Court, which Sir George loved so much, is a popular place for visitors, enthralling all who see it with its Tudor history, including the spectacular turreted gatehouse built by Sir George and the "dole-hole" that Elizabeth Throckmorton brought with her after her abbey was demolished. Six hundred years after the first Throckmorton took possession, the family still lives there—and thrives.

NANCY BILYEAU

(SEE PAGE 81 FOR MORE INFO ABOUT NANCY)

JULY FEAST DAYS

by Claire Ridgway

2 JULY
VISITATION OF THE VIRGIN

The Visitation of the Virgin was a feast day commemorating the pregnant Virgin Mary visiting her cousin Elizabeth, who was pregnant with John the Baptist. This visit was recorded in the Book of Luke and Luke records how the baby in Elizabeth's womb "leaped" when Elizabeth heard Mary's greeting and that "Elizabeth herself was filled with the Holy Ghost; so that she cried out with a loud voice, Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb."

15 JULY
ST SWITHIN'S DAY

St Swithin's Day commemorates the 9th century Saxon bishop, Swithin, who was chaplain to Egbert, King of Wessex, and the patron saint of Winchester. One miracle associated with him is that of him mending broken eggs. According to the story, an old lady's eggs had been accidentally smashed by workmen working on a church. Swithin picked them up and as he did so they became whole eggs once again.

Swithin died on 2 July 862 but his feast day marks the day in 971 when his remains were moved from his grave just outside the west door of the Old Minster of Winchester to a shrine inside the cathedral. This day was marked by miraculous cures and so became his feast day. It was also, however, marked by torrential rain which lasted forty days and forty nights and which was taken as a sign of the saint's anger at the digging up of his remains when his wishes were that his remains should be buried outside the west door so that rain could fall on his grave and people would walk over it. This forty days of rain led to the following traditional rhyme:

"St Swithin's day if thou dost rain
For forty days it will remain
St Swithun's day if thou be fair
For forty days 'twill rain na mair."

So remember to check the weather on St Swithin's Day!

If you believe in praying to saints, then in times of drought St Swithun is the saint to pray to.

Emblems associated with St Swithun are raindrops and apples. According to Charles

Raymond Dillon, in his book *Superstitions and Folk Remedies*, apple growers hope for rain on St Swithun's Day or St Peter's Day (29th June) and see the rain as the saints watering the orchards. Another traditional belief is that rain at this time is St Swithun blessing and christening the apples. A tradition associated with St Swithun's Day is bobbing for apples.

20 JULY
ST MARGARET'S DAY

The 20 July is the feast day of St Margaret of Antioch (also known as Margaret the Virgin and St Marina the Great-Martyr), patron saint of pregnancy and expectant mothers. Although St Margaret was declared apocryphal in 494 by Pope Gelasius I she is still recognised as a saint today and there are many churches in England which are dedicated to her. She is also listed as one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, saints who are venerated because their intercession is believed to be particularly powerful.

According to legend, Margaret was born in Antioch in the late 3rd century and was the daughter of a pagan priest. She converted to Christianity after being nursed and cared for by a Christian woman and made a vow of chastity. Olybrius, the Roman Prefect or Governor, proposed marriage to her and expected her to renounce her Christian faith, when Margaret refused to marry him and break her vow Olybrius ordered her to be imprisoned and tortured. While she was imprisoned, Margaret was said to have been visited by Satan in the form of a dragon which swallowed her up. Margaret survived her ordeal, escaping from the dragon's side carrying a cross. She was executed by beheading in AD 304.

Images of St Margaret emerging from the belly of the dragon appear in many medieval Books of Hours.

Miniature of St Margaret, from the Hours of Joanna I of Castile, southern Netherlands (Ghent?), c. 1500 from the British Library.

Feast Days

22 JULY
ST MARY MAGDALENE'S DAY

The Feast of St Mary Magdalene (or Magdalen), "apostle to the apostles" and the woman said to have witnessed Christ's crucifixion and resurrection, has been celebrated on 22 July since the 8th century. In her book *Knights Templar Encyclopedia: The Essential Guide to the People, Places, Events, and Symbols of the Order of the Temple*, Karen Ralls writes of how, in Medieval times, special fairs were held in Mary's honour on 22 July, how she was the patron of many guilds and how many chapels and buildings were named after her. She was the most widely venerated saint in the Medieval period after the Virgin Mary.

25 JULY
FEAST OF ST JAMES THE GREAT & FEAST OF ST CHRISTOPHER

25 July is the Feast of St James the Great (or Greater), the apostle, and of St Christopher the Martyr.

St James was one of the Twelve Apostles and he and his brother John, "the Disciple whom Jesus loved", were sons of Zebedee, a fisherman. His martyrdom, being executed by sword on the orders of King Herod, is recorded in the Book of Acts. He is the patron saint of Spain and his shrine at the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela has been a place of pilgrimage for centuries. According to Fisheaters.com, those people who couldn't go on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela would build grottoes out of seashells, bits of broken coloured glass, stones and flowers in his honour. It was also traditional to east Oysters on St James's Day.

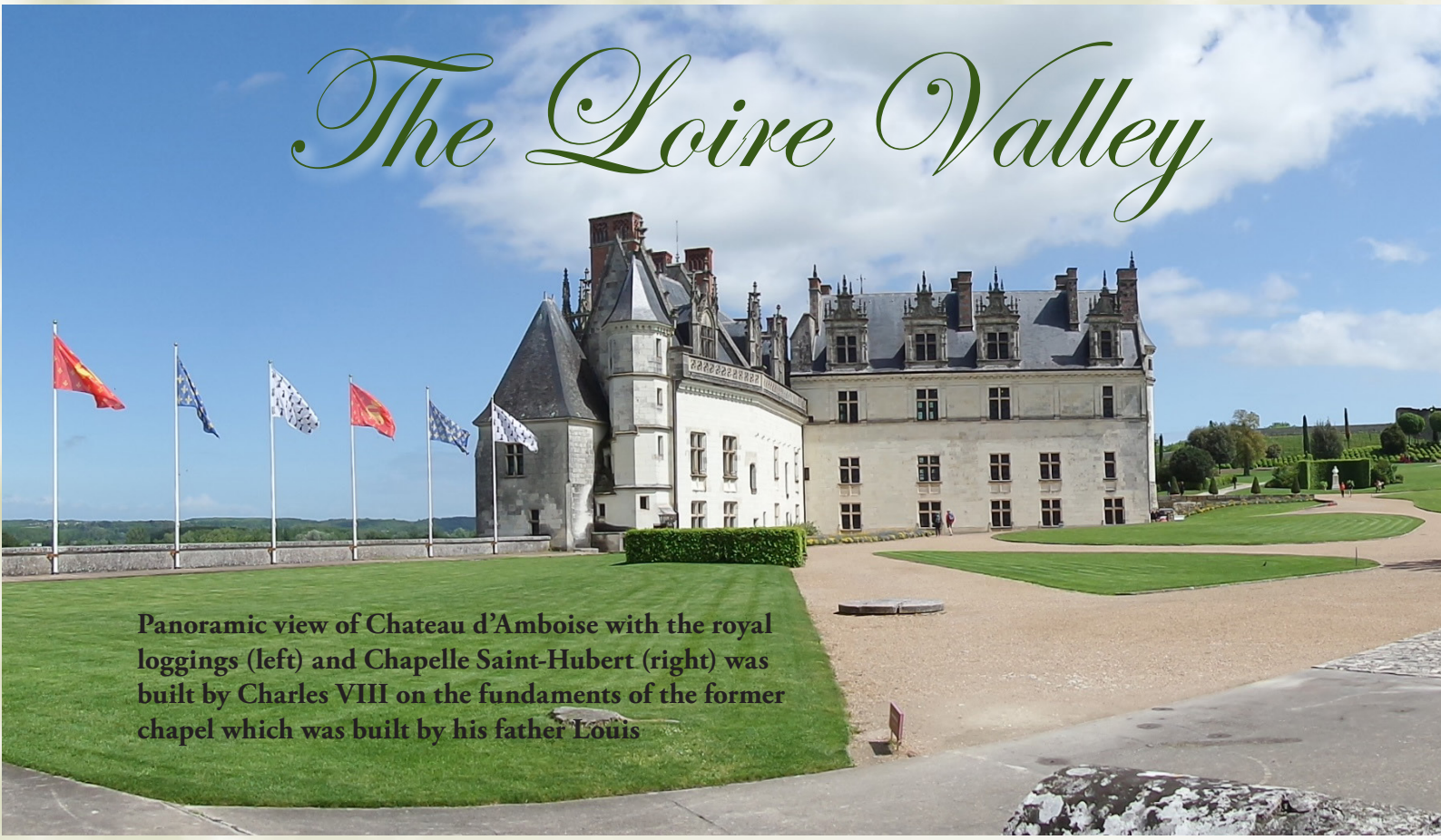
Before 1969, 25 July was also the feast day of St Christopher the Martyr, a Canaanite who was executed in the 3rd century AD. Legend has it that Christopher, who was initially named Reprobus, wanted to serve the devil, who he believed to be "the greatest king there was", but on realising that the devil feared Jesus Christ decided to look for Christ. A hermit instructed him in the Christian faith and Christopher performed service to Christ by helping people across a dangerous river. According to the legend, a child wanted to cross the river when it was swollen and at its most dangerous. Christopher carried the child across the river on his shoulders and the said to the child "You have put me in the greatest danger. I do not think the whole world could have been as heavy on my shoulders as you were." The child anwered "You had on your shoulders not only the whole world but Him who made it. I am Christ your king, whom you are serving by this work." And then the child disappeared.

St Christopher is known as the patron saint of travellers and today many people wear pendants bearing his image.

CLAIRE RIDGWAY

Magdalena penitente (Musei Capitolini, Roma, 1598-1602)." by Domenico Tintoretto - Google Art Project

The Loire Valley



Panoramic view of Chateau d'Amboise with the royal loggings (left) and Chapelle Saint-Hubert (right) was built by Charles VIII on the fundaments of the former chapel which was built by his father Louis

Debra Bayani, author of "Jasper Tudor", guides us through some of the key historical events and places in this beautiful French idyll

A LITTLE BACKGROUND HISTORY...

In 1461 the Yorkist Edward of March usurped the crown from King Henry VI. The weak but gentle King Henry now found himself unable to re-take the crown and it was his wife Queen Margaret of Anjou who stood, ready to fight for what she strongly believed in were the rights of her husband and their heir Prince Edward.

After a series of battles, starting in 1455 with the 1st battle of St. Albans and ending in December 1460 with the death of Richard Duke of York, the late duke's son Edward Earl of March was ready to avenge his father's death and to concur the English crown for himself. A new series of battles between the faction of Henry VI and Edward, including Mortimer's Cross, the 2nd battle of St. Albans and Towton, took place during the winter of 1461. After the crushing defeat of the Lancastrian army at Towton, Edward of March crowned himself

king and all hope seemed lost for the Lancastrian side. However, small outbreaks of resistance still remained in England and Wales until 1464, many under the leadership of Jasper Tudor, King Henry VI's half-brother and faithful champion.

By 1462 Queen Margaret of Anjou had taken her son Edward to France to seek help at the French court of King Louis XI. Supported by many of her Lancastrian supporters, amongst them Jasper Tudor, she travelled to the Loire Valley where they visited or stayed at a number of castles that still exist to this day.

THE MODERN DAY LOIRE VALLEY...

The beautiful Loire Valley is well known for the high quality French "Loire wines" but it is even more famous for its many castles. In fact, it's called the château capital of France because it contains 10% of the total amount of castles in France. A lot of castles in a small geographical area.

During my recent visit to, I visited three of these places which played a part in the history of Edward, and I would love to share with you what happened in these places during the middle ages. I'm fascinated especially with the stories and position they hold in the long-drawn-out "Wars of the Roses". Several castles in the Loire vcalley housed the many important figures from the English court, including Queen Margaret of Anjou, her son Prince Edward; Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick; his daughter Anne Neville (the future queen-consort of Richard III); Jasper Tudor and many more. Because of my fascination with Jasper Tudor, my journey brought me to visit the castles of Chinon, Amboise and the town of Tours.

CHINON

Standing on a rocky spur, the Royal Fortress of Chinon was built in the 10th century. It was, however, Henry II Plantagenet, Count of Anjou and King of England, who gave the fortress its current appearance by building a new palace on

Chateau d'Amboise, part of the moat that was closed in the 17th century and opened in the 19th century. The moat is situated near the place where Charles VIII fatally hit his head

Fort Saint Georges. Henry II made the castle his centre of his continental possessions. The castle was the scene of the conflict between Henry II and his sons, who were supported by his wife, their mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine. In 1178 Henry II has Eleanor arrested and imprisoned at Chinon. In 1189 Henry II died at the castle and it was at the nearby abbey of Fontevraud that he, his wife Eleanor and their son Richard the Lionheart were buried. Their tomb can still be seen there today. After Henry II's death both his sons Richard the Lionheart and King John stayed at Chinon and John even celebrated his marriage to Isabella of Angouleme there.

It was in the early 15th century that the King of France, Charles VI (father to Katherine de Valois and grandfather to Jasper Tudor), disinherited his son the dauphin Charles, to favour the King of England Henry V (his future son-in-law). The dauphin (future Charles VII) withdrew to his domains in the Loire Valley and made Chinon one of his residences.

In 1429, during the Hundred Years' War, when Charles VII's legitimacy as the next king of France was questioned, Joan of Arc came to meet him at the fortress. She came after an 11 day ride to assure him of his legitimacy and convince him to get crowned in Reims. This momentous meeting was an important turning point in the Hundred Years' War.

CHINON AND THE WARS OF THE ROSES

Later in the 15th century, in 1462, the castle of Chinon was the place where Queen Margaret of Anjou and her son Prince Edward met the French King, Louis XI. She and the prince came to seek aid after Edward IV seized the throne from her husband

Chateau d'Amboise, seen from across the river Loire

Henry VI. The queen found herself forced to take their son and heir and flee from England. On 24 June 1462 Queen Margaret and King Louis XI came to a secret agreement – France would support the Lancastrian claim to the throne with money and military support. In return, Margaret had to promise Louis the English stronghold of Calais.

At the same time, Jasper Tudor had also arrived in France to support Margaret and joined her and Louis a few days later in Tours.

TOURS

This now almost vanished castle has only two towers left that date back to the middle ages. As the capital of the Loire, Tours was a very important town during the medieval period and the castle was home to the kings of France starting with Louis XI. While still being the dauphin, Louis was married at the chapel in the castle to his first wife, Margaret of Scotland, in 1436.

Tours was also the place where, in April 1444, negotiations for the marriage between Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou took place. The English faction, led by the Earl of Suffolk, William de la Pole, met Margaret's father Rene of Anjou (along with the Duke of Brittany and other French nobles) at Tours. After tough negotiating for the marriage, and a truce between England and France, the

Chateau d'Amboise, the royal lodgings with Charles VIII's wing on the left.

English envoys returned home and celebrations were held at Tours, Rouen and London.

TOURS DURING THE WARS OF THE ROSES

The secret agreement of Chinon, made on 24 June 1462, was turned into a public treaty of alliance four days later, on 28 June, at Tours. Louis XI and Margaret of Anjou and Prince Edward were met at Tours by Jasper Tudor, who was therefore able to sign the treaty. A hundred-years truce was openly proclaimed, guaranteeing mutual assistance against each side's rebels.

The military and financial aid promised by Louis came at a heavy price though. If Henry VI was to be restored to his crown, possibly Jasper would be made Captain of Calais and the new captain then would have to swear an oath to hand over Calais to the French within a year. It is no surprise that Margaret and Edward wanted to keep the Treaty of Tours as secret as possible, Calais was the last foothold left in France that belonged to England.

Unfortunately the treaty and plans came to nothing. Louis soon realised he could never strategically take Calais without taking on the Duke of Burgundy. In order to reach Calais, the French would first need to cross Burgundian soil. Therefore, Louis annulled the treaty which turned the Lancastrian fortunes for the worse again in the next year. Louis XI opened negotiations with the Yorkist king Edward IV and Burgundy offered himself as mediator, completely blocking the Lancastrians.

AMBOISE

The magnificent castle of Amboise was built on a spur, high above the river Loire. It became royal possession when Charles VII seized it from its owner in 1434. Once in royal possession it became the favourite residence of Louis XI, who had his wife Queen Charlotte of Savoye live here.

Chateau d'Amboise, viewed from the Terrasses de Naples

AMBOISE DURING THE WARS OF THE ROSES

In 1462, after several more failures to recapture the throne for his brother Henry VI, Jasper Tudor once again crossed the channel and by the end of 1469 he arrived in France at the court of his cousin King Louis XI again. Jasper was given a pension by Louis on several occasions during his stay in France. It is very likely that while Jasper was at the French court, he and Louis again negotiated for possible help for Lancaster as soon as rumours began spreading about that Warwick and Clarence's fallen out with Edward IV in England and they might possibly depart to France.

Upon hearing of Clarence and Warwick's arrival on the continent at Honfleur, Louis soon realised this might be his chance to mediate an alliance between the Lancastrians and Warwick and thereby drive a wedge between England, Brittany and Burgundy and their current truce. On 8 June 1470 Warwick and Clarence arrived at Amboise and were welcomed by Louis 'in the most honourable and distinguished manner imaginable'. After days

Chateau d'Chinon, seen from the river la Vienne

of long discussions, word was send to Margaret that Louis wanted to see her. Margaret had to come from Loraine and so it took some time for her to arrive. Eventually she completed the journey and arrived at Amboise on 25 June.

After further discussion, Margaret eventually agreed to a betrothal between 17-year old Prince Edward and 15-year old Anne Neville. The agreement was sealed at Angers on 25 July 1470. With aid from France, Jasper Tudor, Warwick and Clarence sailed back to England and freed Henry VI from the Tower of London where he was held. Warwick had kept his word and so had Margaret. The marriage of Prince Edward and Anne Neville was celebrated at Amboise on 13 December 1470 and the small ceremony was attended by both the mothers of the bride and groom. Edward and Anne's son, the future Charles VIII, was born at Amboise castle in 1470.

Charles VIII helped Henry and Jasper Tudor's cause by giving them military and financial support during the last part of their exile in France and so made it possible for them to return to England with a large army. As you'll probably know, this support eventually lead to their victory at Bosworth, the death of Richard III and the proclaiming of Henry as King Henry VII, the first Tudor king.

Charles VIII made Amboise his main residence again after his marriage to Anne of Brittany in 1491 and had it extensively rebuilt. They

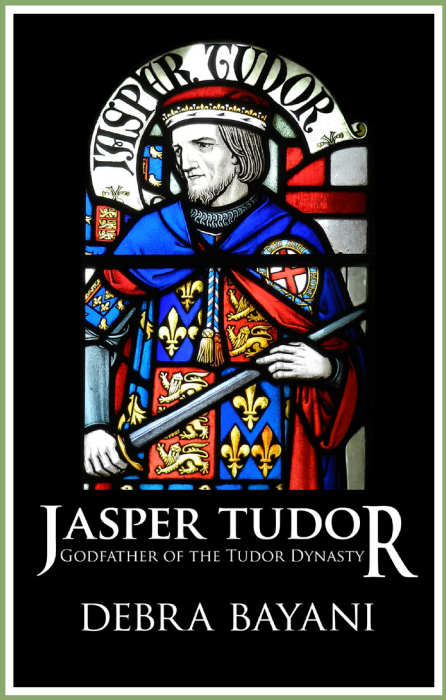
Fundaments of the castle at Tours

lived there together and had four children – 3 boys and a girl. Sadly all four died at a very young age. Luck was probably never on Charles's side. It is recorded by Philippe de Commynes that on 7 April 1498, while Charles VIII, with his wife Queen Anne, were on their way from their royal loggings to the Gallery of Haquelebac to watch a game of fivestones, Charles hit his head on a door frame and died there only a few hours later, aged only 28. The man who had helped the cause of the Tudors so much died a very unfortunate and early death.

I was thrilled to visit these amazing and historic castles while I was in France, and I hope you have enjoyed my short introduction to some of the momentous events which happened in this beautiful corner of France. It's incredible that the negotiations and alliances which were forged here affected the course of history in England so much, eventually leading to the Tudor dynasty. So many events happened in such a short time that it is difficult to show the clear progression through the Wars of the Roses to Bosworth in such a short article. If you're looking for more information on this period then you'll enjoy my book "Jasper Tudor" which goes into a lot more detail and I hope will help to put some background to the events we half-know.

Tours Cathedral

Royal Quarters at the Chateau d'Chinon



Debra Bayani is a researcher and writer living in the Netherlands with her husband and children. She studied Fashion History and History of Art. Her first non-fiction book, a biography of Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford and Earl of Pembroke, was first published in August 2014 and has been fully revised for re-publication in 2015 by MadeGlobal.

In 2012 she created the Facebook page **"The Wars of the Roses Catalogue"**, a page dedicated to documenting historic events, places, news and books associated with this period of British history.

Debra is fascinated by all aspects of life in Medieval Britain and the Middle Ages and has spent years researching the period.

Elizabeth I and Thomas Seymour

THERE is a particularly horrible scene in Philippa Gregory's novel *The Queen's Fool* (2004), which opens with Thomas Seymour chasing his pubescent stepdaughter, the future Elizabeth I, through the gardens, where he sexually molests her against a tree. What makes the moment all the more repugnant is the tone, admittedly told from Seymour's point of view, which goes into graphic detail about the just-teenaged girl's apparent arousal at her guardian's actions.

This portrayal of Elizabeth as somehow complicit in her own abuse strikes a chill. It is not the first time that she was accused of it, but it was not the view of many people at the time. Even some of those who interrogated her about her alleged interest in marrying Seymour once Queen Katherine Parr was dead, seemed to believe that the young girl had been misled –

Thomas Seymour by Nicholas Denizot

either by him or by her servants, who were dazzled by Seymour's charm and rumours of a wedding.

The details of Elizabeth's relationship with Thomas Seymour need no repetition – they are well known. They highlight two things. The first is the difficult position that many young upper-class people were put in by the system of "farming out" as part of their education. They were moved to homes where, depending on their relationship to the host, they were glorified lodgers who might find themselves at the mercies of their guardians. For many aristocratic children, this system was broken up by frequent visits home, but for others, particularly orphans like Elizabeth, there was no escape. Their sole safeguard, and it seems to have been a significant one, was their position in society. Given the potential for abuses of the system, perhaps what is most surprising is how infrequently it seemed to occur. While not all abuses were reported, severe cases were and it raises the possibility that Elizabeth's exalted bloodline ironically did not protect her, as it did for other girls from the nobility, but in fact made her all the more vulnerable. Unlike other guardians, Seymour had no interest in guaranteeing his charge's virtue. Indeed, if he could corrupt her, he stood a much better chance of marrying her and advancing his quest for power through her as her husband.

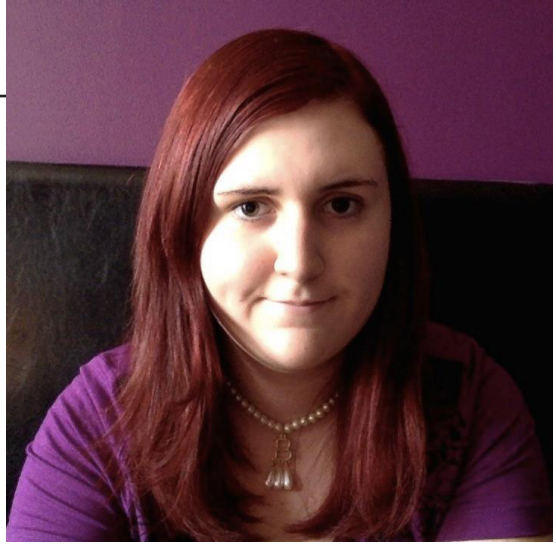
The second dynamic highlighted by the revelations concerning the Lord High Admiral's conduct towards the King's youngest sister were the limits of Tudor concepts of abuse. It is not true that they did not understand it or believe that it existed. Huge numbers of court cases from Elizabeth's lifetime show that child abuse was prosecuted and punished. In certain places on the continent, summary execution remained the normal result. However, at fourteen years old, Elizabeth's position was ambiguous by contemporary standards. Some saw her actions as those of a frightened young woman, unable to understand or escape her stepfather's increasingly inappropriate advances. Others, including quite possibly a jealous Katherine Parr, blamed her or believed she must have been at least partly to blame. It was, ironically, the Dowager Queen's suspicions that saved Elizabeth when they resulted in her being sent away to stay with family friends – a move which got her away from Seymour before his interest in her spiralled completely out of control.

Young Elizabeth I

The relationship between Thomas Seymour, Katherine Parr and Elizabeth Tudor in 1547 and 1548 reminds us of the vulnerability of Tudor princesses. Yet it is also worth remembering that as she began to realise what was happening to her, Elizabeth fought back subtly but clearly. She woke up far earlier than her stepfather, so that when he came bounding into her room to tickle her, she was already fully dressed – beyond his reach. It is an anecdote which reminds us that the vulnerable were victims, but capable of defending themselves as best they could.

GARETH RUSSELL

Charlie on Books



Tudor Monastery Farm: Life in Rural England 500 Years Ago

THE Tudor Monastery Farm is a companion book to the BBC series Tudor Monastery Farm, however the book is a treat and can be enjoyed by itself. It offers a glimpse into the life of people working as tenant farmers on a farm owned by a monastery in 1500, as well as that of other ordinary Tudor people.

The book is divided into seven major chapters and is written by historian Ruth Goodman, military historian Tom Pinfold and archaeologist Peter Ginn who all took part in the project. They each write sub-sections within the main chapters, which is familiar to anyone who has read the other Farm books. For example, within the Monastic System chapter Ruth writes on topics such as 'Living in the Church' and 'The Church as Landowner', Peter writes about 'The Religious Calendar' and Tom 'A Day in the Life of a Monk'. This provides a balance with them writing about both female and male roles in the book, without affecting the flow or quality.

Tom and Peter tend to cover most of the farming side of things, one of the most enjoyable and entertaining subjects in my opinion being on the animals. The book is richly illustrated with photographs from the farm they are working at, the Weald and Downland Open Air Museum in Sussex. This helps bring history to life for the reader and helps them imagine what life may have been like on a farm in the late 15th/early 16th century. They show how even the simplest things had to be made and were no mean feat. The pigs needed to have a pigsty built and the sheep required a shearing bench, all of which had to be made out of local materials.

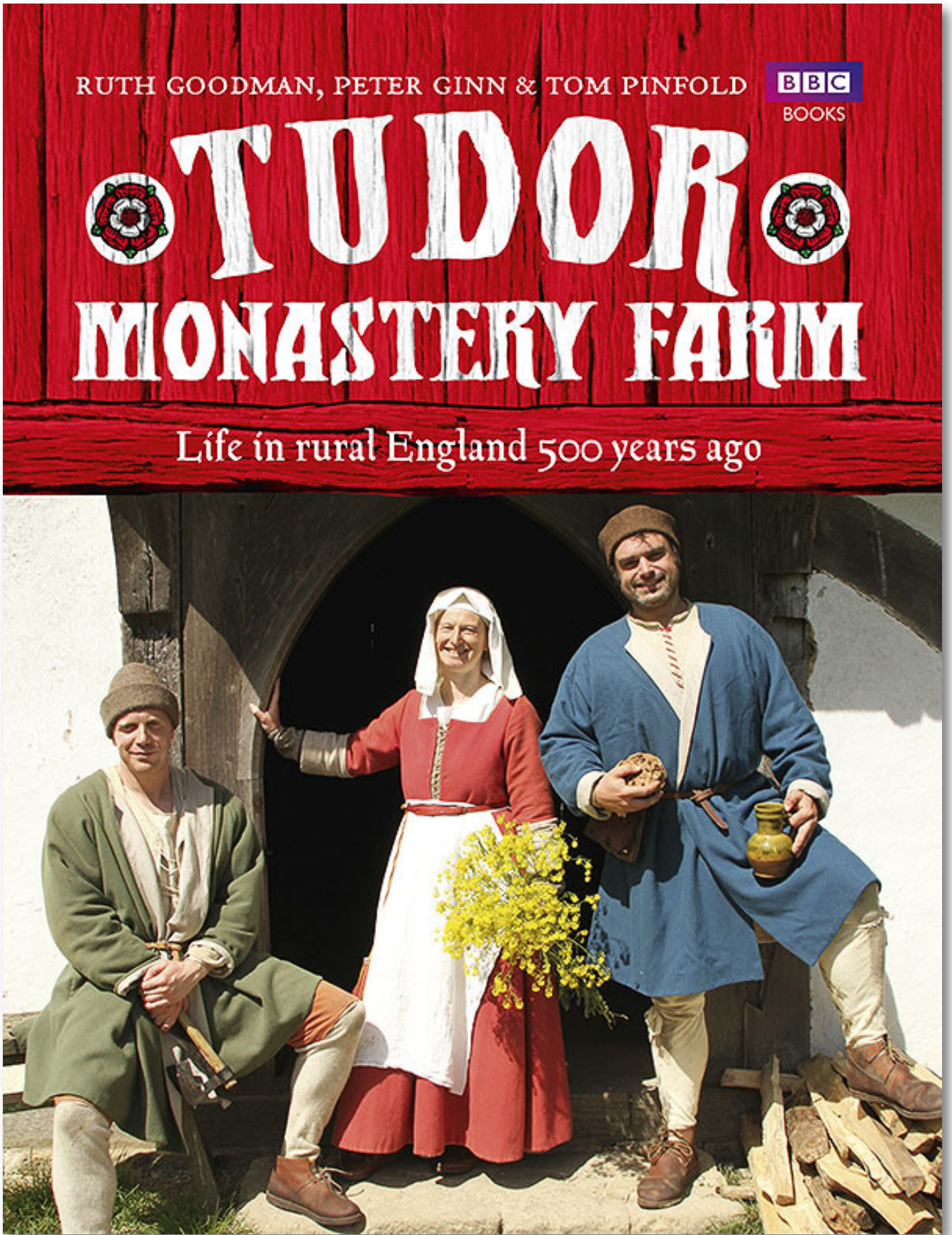
Ruth's focus in on life in the farm house and how an ordinary farmer's wife would have lived back then. This again was not an easy task and you can't help but admire Ruth, Peter and Tom's willingness to stick as close as possible to realistic Tudor life. Ruth shows the reader things such as what sort of materials would be used for cleaning, what clothes would have been worn and the manufacture of useful items such as rushlights. She also has a section on medicine, which comprised mainly homemade remedies for the ordinary people and people with access to herbs, plants etc. Ruth's Food and Drink section has a small selection of recipes that seem do-able but are mostly designed to be made over an open fire, so perhaps more of a novelty read.

What I found most fascinating was how much the monastery was involved in everyday life and the farm. Some of this has been touched upon before in other books, such as the religious calendar and what food could be eaten when, but Tudor Monatery Farm mentions other involvement that I had not heard before. One way in which the monastery was involved with the farm was through the wool industry. People on the farm had to give their wool to the monastery to inspect and see if it could be sold on. Only once it was sold on and

the monastery made a profit did the farmers see any money. If the wool wasn't up to standard, then the farmers could lose money.

The Tudor Monastery Farm book is an easy read and is hard to put down. It succeeds in being both informative and fun at the same time, with many parts like Peter's attachment to the pigs serving to draw the reader in and make history seem more alive. I would suggest this book to anyone, whether they have watched the series or not, who has an interest in the ordinary lives of the people of that time and/or farm life.

CHARLIE FENTON



HENRY FITZROY – 23RD JULY 1536

by Melanie V. Taylor

Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset (1519-36) *by* Lucas Horenbout
from the Royal Collection

WHEN HENRY Fitzroy died on 23rd July 1536 how much more precious did this portrait of the fifteen year become to his father, King Henry VIII?

Even though Fitzroy was illegitimate, (his name is Anglo-Norman meaning 'son of the king'), in 1525 Henry VIII created him Duke of Richmond and Somerset at the age of six, receiving the lands of his great grandmother, Lady Margaret Beaufort in addition to the titles. The young duke was the first illegitimate son of a king to be raised to the peerage since Henry II raised his illegitimate son, William Longespée, to be the 3rd Earl of Salisbury. Despite all the Tudor king's philandering, which, in some cases, must have resulted in children, Fitzroy was the only illegitimate child recognised by the king. The elevation to the peerage at such a young age underlines Henry VIII's acknowledgement that, in 1534, his only surviving male child, albeit from the wrong side of the blanket, could be destined for the throne. Fitzroy's very existence proved that the king could sire a son, so to the sixteenth century mind this proved that the fault for there being no legitimate male heir lay with the queen.

Contemplating what we know of Fitzroy's relationship with his royal father, made me wonder who commissioned the portrait? Was it the king? Or perhaps Bessie Blount – Fitzroy's mother, who fades from history after her arranged marriage in 1522? So far, no entry in any known accounts can be married up to this portrait so we will probably never know.

The Fitzroy portrait is not that of a warrior. As the acknowledged offspring of a king who delighted in jousting, hunting and all physical sports, it is an odd image. It has been suggested that it was painted when Henry Fitzroy was ill or possibly even painted after he had died, but if the latter was the case, why state that the sitter has reached the age of fifteen years (the superscript 'o' above the XV is a short form for anno meaning year), giving us a date of 1534. But I have no possible explanation for why the Duke of Richmond was painted wearing his shirt and what appears to be a nightcap.

The painting is mounted on the Ace of Hearts playing card, which suggests this might be a love token of some sort, but we do not know whether it was destined to be a gift from lover to lover, or perhaps (slightly controversially) it may signify he is a love child and the miniature was intended as a gift for his mother. Perhaps it was destined for his bride, Lady Mary Howard (sister of the Poet Earl of Surrey), who had married Fitzroy on 28th November, the previous year. I do not believe we are to read this portrait as Fitzroy being a sickly teenager.

From the Holbein workshop and derives from the NPG cartoon for the Whitehall mural. This particular painting is in the Walker Gallery, Liverpool.

Portrait of Henry VIII of England *by* Hans Holbein the Younger, c.1537

Considering we know from the accounts that the Horenbout family and Hans Holbein were alive and painting for the king, I find it surprising there are no surviving miniatures of Jane Seymour. We have Holbein's table portrait of Queen Jane and in his portraits of Henry VIII painted after 1537, Holbein paints the king wearing a locket set with a single large diamond at its centre. In medieval symbolism, diamonds are a symbol of constancy.

The same locket appears in this image **http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c7/Hans_Holbein,_the_Younger,_Around_1497-1543_-_Portrait_of_Henry_VIII_of_England_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg** which is in Room 5 of the Thyssen Bornesmisza Museum in Madrid, Spain. In other table portraits Henry is shown wearing a collar showing the emblem of St George worn by England's Knights of the Garter. This is England's oldest chivalric Order and is made up of the King and only twenty five knights.[1]

I know this is speculation, but considering it took Henry three years before he finally remarried and that later he instructed he was to be buried next to Queen Jane in St George's Chapel Windsor, perhaps this gold locket contains a portrait of his beloved wife. It can be seen very clearly in the surviving portion of the Whitehall Cartoon[2]. Anyone invited into the private royal quarters of Whitehall Palace during Henry's lifetime, and up until 1698, would have seen Holbein's magnificent statement of the Tudor dynasty.[2] Unfortunately, we only know the mural from a small painting copied for Charles II from original mural by Remigius van Leemput (also in the Royal Collection).

The first part of the Latin inscription translates as '*If it pleases you to see the illustrious images of heroes, look on these: no picture ever bore greater. The great debate, competition and great question is whether father or son is the victor. For both, indeed, were supreme*'.

The surviving portion of the Whitehall Cartoon - King Henry VIII; King Henry VII
***by* Hans Holbein the Younger c.1536**

1 **www.royal.gov.uk/monarchUK/honours/Orderofthegarter/orderofthegarter.aspx**

2 Unfortunately the Whitehall mural was destroyed in the fire of 4th January 1698.

King Henry VIII; King Henry VII; Elizabeth of York; Jane Seymour
by **George Vertue, after Remigius van Leemput, after Hans Holbein the Younger, 1737**

Why does the locket appear in such iconic images of the king unless it was an important personal item?

All those in the mural, except Henry VIII, are dead so we can read this painting as tribute to his father, Henry VII, as founder of the Tudor royal dynasty; Henry VIII's mother, Elizabeth Woodville and Queen Jane for providing the legitimate living heir. Since a locket has two sides (and Henry VIII was one for excess), perhaps it contained two portraits, with one being of Jane (and now lost) and the other being that of Henry Fitzroy.

This mural was situated in the private royal apartments therefore the king would have seen it every day therefore every time he looked at it he would have been reminded of Jane. Taking this line of thought to its logical conclusion, the king would not require her portrait in a locket, so perhaps the locket only contains Fitzroy's image? It would not be proper to have included Fitzroy in the painting because of his being illegitimate; if his portrait were

in that locket then by its presence Fitzroy is included as part of the Tudor line. This is the type of sub-text that might be contained in many portraits of this period. At the time, those privileged enough to have been in the know, or perhaps were shown the open locket, could tell us, but none of them have left any written evidence so this is all purely speculation on my part.

This led me to think further about the portrayal of Henry Fitzroy's half-siblings and the various surviving portraits we have of them. The earliest English known miniature portrait ever created is that of Princess Mary (now in the National Portrait Gallery, London).

Queen Mary I
attributed to Lucas Horenbout, circa 1525

What struck me was how young Mary was when this tiny image was painted. It is only 38mm (1½ inches) in diameter. The inscription on Mary's bodice says *The Emperor,* which suggests this was painted between 1521 and 1525 when she was betrothed to The Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, sixteen years her senior. We can conclude that the portrait was most likely commissioned in celebration of that betrothal.

I then thought about the actual process of creating these early miniature royal portraits and who may have painted them. Traditionally, the early ones are attributed to Lucas Horenbout, but recent research argues otherwise.

Katherine of Aragon
attributed to Lucas Horenbout, circa 1525

This portrait of Katherine of Aragon, clearly by the same hand as that of Mary, gives us lettering to compare with the lettering in the Fitzroy image. There is a marked difference between the A's and the X in the words surrounding the queen and those on the Fitzroy lettering. The words say "*Queen Katherine his wife*" and the image was painted circa 1525. The 1534 portrait of Fitzroy has many similarities of style to both this portrait and that of Princess Mary, but Fitzroy's face does not have as much 'life' as the other two. The paint is thicker,

Possible portrait of Edward, Prince of Wales.
Royal Collection circa 1540-43

but this may be because it is better preserved, but perhaps it is because it is by a different 'hand'.[3]

In the draft treatise on the art of limning of 1598 by the artist, Nicholas Hilliard, he describes his methods and how close an artist has to be to their sitters.[4] He tells us that, apart from talent, the next most important tool for an artist was a reputation for discretion. His ambiguous images from the 1580s onwards, with their carefully composed mottoes and emblems, demonstrates his own reputation for that attribute.[5] Hilliard is emphatic that the art of miniature portrait painting is not for anyone and it is an absolute necessity for the artist to be a gentleman.

Hilliard goes on to tell us that a miniature portrait was usually completed within two or three sittings 'from life', the second sitting being the longest taking several hours. During these sittings he might entertain his clients with music, or sometimes have someone read to them. Those not allowed into a sitting were 'idle gossips' and it is obvious that Hilliard's preference was for a sitting to be a private occasion with just him and his patron present. It would be during these private sittings that confidences might have been shared by his client in order for an enigmatic mottoes to be composed and then included on the finished portrait. The social status that Hilliard says is so necessary for an artist to be, infers a level of education above merely reading and writing.

It was 12th October 1537 when finally a legitimate heir was born. The following 'miniature' of the prince was originally attributed to Holbein, but now it is suggested it comes from the workshop of William Scrots. It is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and measures 340mm diameter (12.8 inches) so is much larger than that of Fitzroy (44mm or 1.73 inches) or that of Prince Mary (35mm or $1^3/_8$ inches)

The Prince is described as being aged six, which gives us a date of creation of after October 1543. Either the painting was started and completed very near the prince's birthday, or it is not by Hans Holbein because Holbein died on 29th November 1543. There are significant differences in known works by the great man and this image so perhaps the early attribution to Holbein being the artist was possibly a case of hope over certainty!

For the portraits under our consideration, if the artist were male it would have been unnecessary for Fitzroy or later, Prince Edward, to have been chaperoned for their sitting.

When considering the portraits of our two royal ladies, if we take the only written evidence we have (Hilliard's 1598 draft treatise) as being the usual method of painting miniature portraits, then a completely private sitting could pose a problem if you were the queen, a royal princess, or indeed, any woman. However, for our portrait of the very young Princess Mary a chaperone would not be necessary if the artist were a woman. From a purely maternal aspect, a child would probably be more relaxed in a woman's presence, except Princess Mary's expression suggests she was formidable even at a young age.

The Yale Miniature
Portrait miniature of an unknown lady

3 In 1700 the Fitzroy miniature left the collection and was later owned by Horace Walpole. When the contents of Strawberry Hill were later sold, it did not form part of the collection that was bought by Catherine the Great of Russia, but stayed in England and was eventually re-entered the Royal Collection when it was bought by Queen Victoria.

4 Limning is the proper term for the painting of these tiny portraits.

5 Hilliard, Nicholas: *Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning*: Edward Norgate: *Together with A More Compendious Discourse Concerning Ye Art of Limning*; Fyfield Books: ISBN-10**:** 0856359718 ISBN-13: 978-0856359712

That is an unkind conclusion because we know she was very short sighted, hence she always appears to be frowning in her portraits.

There is a miniature that has become known as The Yale Miniature. A comparison of the letters, as well as the way the image is painted, demonstrates that this portrait is by the same hand as those of both Katherine of Aragon and Princess Mary.

The Yale Miniature is one of many portraits of Unknown Ladies and the various suggestions for her identity are Princess Elizabeth (Roy Strong), Jane Grey (David Starkey) and Amy Robsart (J S Edwards). She remains Unknown, but the Robsart attribution is interesting. However, whatever has been written about who painted it, this portrait is categorically not by Levina Teerlinc. In 2000 Susan James & Jamie Franco identified The Yale Miniature as being by Susannah Horenbout.[6]

Before coming to England, Susannah had won the praise of the great Albrecht Dürer who had visited the Horenbout workshop on 21st May 1521. Dürer bought a Salvator Mundi painted by Susannah and paid a guilder for it, noting in his diary "*Jst ein gross wunder, das ein weibs bild also viel machel soll*", which translates as 'It is a great wonder that a woman should be able to do such work'.[7] We should also take on board that Dürer charged one guilder for similar sized works of his own, which demonstrates the level of expertise he considered Susannah had reached. That England had a woman artist of significant talent at Court from the mid 1520s has been disregarded by art historians until now and miniatures from this period have been attributed to her younger brother, Lucas. We can see that the 'hand' for the Yale miniature is the same as that for Queen Katherine and Princess Mary and in her 2009 publication, Susan James argues that these two royal portraits should more rightly be attributed to Susannah.[7] Ms James goes on to suggest that the portrait of Henry Fitzroy, while of the Netherlandish style, is more probably by Susannah's brother, Lucas. This makes a lot of sense as both were trained in the their father's workshop, so of course their styles would have been similar. James argues that the sums in the royal accounts in the 1520s were paid for work by Susannah and challenges traditional thinking regarding women painters.[8]

On the subject of royal children, there is a gaping hole regarding any record of early portraits of the other royal sibling who does not appear in a portrait until she is 13. Until Katherine Parr married Henry VIII, Elizabeth's existence was ignored and the paucity of images of her until the table portrait by William Scrots demonstrates just how everyone disregarded her. Since every vestige of visual references to her mother, Anne Boleyn, had been removed from the walls and decoration of all the palaces and Elizabeth had been declared a bastard, why would anyone with any ambition for court advancement take any notice of this little girl?

Henry's last queen, Katherine Parr, was a great user of miniatures for self promotion, which suggests that, through Princess Elizabeth's close association with her stepmother, she learned the use of the miniature as a propaganda tool. The later miniatures of Elizabeth as queen, known as The Mask of Youth portraits, have become iconic of the Elizabethan Age and their success as diplomatic gifts meant that Nicholas Hilliard became England's first internationally renowned artist.

Hilliard tells us that the reason he painted his miniatures from 'life' was in order to catch the fleeting expressions that seem to get lost when a large portrait was created from preparatory sketches.[9] This runs true for other artists' work. Hans Holbein's surviving sketches of his sitters are, for me, far more enchanting than his finished 'table' portraits, and many of these sketches are preserved in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle.

Hilliard's references to discretion and the description of how he conducted his sittings demonstrates just how he protected his reputation – something that a slip of the tongue could so easily have destroyed. Unfortunately, Susannah and her brother Lucas, did not leave any draft treatise,

6 James, Susan E & Jamie Franco; *Susanna Horenbout, Levina Teerlinc & The Mask of Royalty;* Jaarboek-Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone. 2000

7 p243. James, Susan E: *The Feminine Dynamic in English Art, 1485 – 1603: Woman as Consumers, Patrons and Painters*; Ashgate Publishing Ltd., Wey Court East, Union Road, Farnham, Surrey, GU9 7PT. 2009.

8 ibid

9 ibid

or diaries, which makes tracking their careers extremely difficult.

The highly influential nineteenth century art historian John Ruskin, whose opinion of women artists reflected his opinion of women in general, stated that women cannot paint so it is no wonder that it has taken until the early twenty first century for Susannah Horenbout to gain her rightful place in art history. Contemporary sixteenth century art critics such as Ludovico Guicciardini and Georgio Vasari, in his *Lives of the Artists*, extolled her talent (and that of her cousin, Levina Teerlinc), but these accolades for the women of the Ghent/Bruges school of art have been conveniently ignored by the chauvinist nineteenth century critics.[10]

After Charles I was beheaded, Oliver Cromwell needed funds so he raided the royal art and jewellery collection. Jewellery has always been prey to being melted down and remodelled, so any locket worn by Henry VIII would have long disappeared, which is why the one in the Whitehall mural and other items seen in royal Tudor portraits, are known only from paintings and inventories. After the Restoration in 1660 various iconic paintings were purchased by the king's agents, or given back to the king by those wishing to curry royal favour, and these formed the nucleus of today's Royal Collection.

The vagaries of war hint at how many works of art have been lost over the centuries. The Nazis looted much art during WW2 and they were not the only armies rampaging across Europe. Since it was not only museums but many private collections across Europe that were ravaged, I hope there still may be 'lost' Tudor portrait miniatures to be discovered.

MELANIE V. TAYLOR

Melanie V. Taylor's research for her Master's dissertation led her to discover some images in the National Archives at Kew in London that intrigued her. She was looking for images that might have been drawn or painted by Levina Teerlinc and now believes that she stumbled on a source of evidence for political comment that is not often seen and even more rarely discussed.

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

10 Germaine Greer's book *The Obstacle Race* contains a brilliant analysis of an 18th century critique of a French painting, originally declared as brilliant and ground breaking. This painting was later discovered to have been painted by one of the Great Master in question's lady students whereupon the same critic promptly changed his mind and declared that, in his opinion, that you could tell the painting was the work of a woman from the weakness of the handling of the paint and the composition. Just after Greer's book came out in the 1979 my father asked me what I wanted for Christmas and I said, a copy of *The Obstacle Race*. He wrote down the title and asked for the name of the author. I told him : he exploded! "I will not have any work by that woman in this house." I asked him why and he said Greer should read such books as *The Stones of Venice* and *The Lamp of Beauty* (both by Ruskin) before making ridiculous ill informed statements regarding art. Needless to say I bought the book myself. Unfortunately my father never read it, but I have since studied those works by Ruskin and consider him a product of his time, but even for a 19th c man, he has a really weird attitude to women. Greer's books should be read by every student of art history.

MARY I, USURPER AND QUEEN

by Kyra Kramer

Sometime during the life of Henry VII, an English knight named Thomas Mallory wrote *Mort' de Aurthur*, one of first prose narratives of King Author and the Knights of the Round Table. Henry VII claimed to be a descendent of King Arthur, and the Welsh/Arthurian roots were largely capitalized upon during his reign. The book contains the famous line, "Whoso pulleth out this sword of this stone and anvil is rightwise king born of all England." Proving that one had the right – ordained by God's blessing – to rule England (either through birth or conquest) was an important part of kingship, especially for a new king like Henry VII.

His granddaughter, Mary I, also discovered the importance of hammering home the idea she was the rightful ruler when she usurped the throne from Henry VII's great-granddaughter, her cousin Jane Grey.

There are two enduring myths about Mary. The first is that she was "bloody". Yes, she did burn Protestants alive but she contextually executed no more people than did the rulers before and after her. To single her out as bloody is unfair. Nearly every reigning monarch was "bloody" by modern standards. The second is that she was the rightful queen of England who rescued her throne from its attempted theft by those backing Jane Grey, the Nine Days Queen. This is so ingrained in the "facts" of history even exceptional history scholars take it for granted. Nonetheless it is balderdash. Jane Grey was the lawful queen and Mary I swiped her crown, eventually killing the deposed monarch to keep a tight hold on her stolen throne.

Eric Ives wrote a masterful book, *Lady Jane Grey: A Tudor Mystery*, which provides ample evidence of Mary's perfidy and Jane's lawfulness, which I recommend if you want to read all the gritty details. However, I will try to sum up the main point.

First and foremost, Edward VI was old enough to name his successor. He was the king and no longer a child. During Edward's lifetime the Church considered childhood to end at six and you could assume adult responsibilities as young as 12 years old. While the 'official' age of majority to write a will in the sixteenth century was 21, the concept of legal adulthood was a bit different for kings. Henry VIII was only 17 when he became king and there was no attempt to assign him a regent; he was old enough to make adult decisions. Likewise, it was Edward's decision as to who should rule after him. It did not matter that Mary had been reinstated in Henry VIII's will because Henry VIII's will did not

Mary I *by* **Hans Eworth, 1554**

The Streatham Portrait, possibly Jane Grey, artist unknown 1590s

matter a hill of beans after Edward was a de facto adult with the ability to rationally chose an heir.

There is also no evidence that Jane Grey's father-in-law, the duke of Northumberland, talked or bullied Edward into choosing Jane. Edward himself wrote out his "deuise for the succession" as a rough draft in late April or early May when it became clear how ill he was. This is also around the time of Jane's betrothal and marriage, so Edward clearly supported Guilford Dudley as her husband and thus the duke of Northumberland as the future queen's closest advisor. Those that balked at Edward's decision because they didn't want Northumberland to have that kind of power in the next monarchy were called into the presence of the king, where he "with sharp words and angry countenance" forced them to accept his decree. Furthermore, the king told the Archbishop of Canterbury personally that "the judges and his learned council said, that the act of entailing the crown, made by his father, could not be prejudicial to him, but that he, being in possession of the crown, might make his will thereof."

Edward signed the final version of his "deuise", which was drawn up by England's top lawyers and explicitly named Jane Grey as his successor, on June 21, 1553. The document was signed by witnesses (102 of them eventually) and the Great Seal was applied to it. It was as official as official can be and done a good *two weeks* before his death.

Try to think of what Mary did without the natural sympathy she elicits because of her father's cruelty. Pretend my father passed away and left me his business in his will – with the codicil that if anything happened to me then he wanted it to go to my older sister. When I am older I write my will. I would normally need to be 18, but if I were running a business I could seek emancipation from my guardians and become legally an "adult" much younger; thus I am able to write an enforceable will. I am dying and I leave the business to my cousin, whom I think will take good care of it. I make my intentions clear and make everyone around me swear they will support her after I die. However, upon my death my elder half-sister swoops in and seizes the business, which she claims is hers based on our dad's will. There is no court that will uphold my father's will over the one I made. That business was MINE, to do with as I pleased and I was old enough to determine whom I wanted as my heir. My elder sister would be therefore a thief. Moreover, if she had my cousin killed to make sure no one challenged her as CEO then she would be a murderer as well.

That is *exactly* what Mary I did.

No one likes to think of themselves as a usurper and murderer, and Mary was no exception. She constructed an account of her actions wherein she was the good guy doing the right thing. She probably convinced herself of it, as well, since she was doing it on God's behalf to restore Catholicism in England. Certainly no one was going to tell her differently. Inasmuch as history is written by the winners, her version of reality is the one that became historical 'fact' and has been largely unchallenged for centuries. Nevertheless, just because someone really *believes* a lie and that lie has been repeated for hundreds of years does not make that lie a truth. The truth is that Jane Grey was rightwise queen of all England, not Mary I.

Lady Jane Grey died at age 16, and she deserves to be remembered as a deposed and murdered monarch rather than an "innocent usurper" forced to do treason by an unscrupulous father-in-law.

KYRA KRAMER

Kyra Kramer is an author and freelance medical anthropologist. She has written regularly for Tudor Life Magazine and we love everything that she does!

Kyra is currently writing a new book about Henry VIII's health. It's due for publication later in 2015 so watch this space.

JULY'S ON THIS

1 July 1536

1536 – Parliament declared that **Henry VIII**'s two daughters, **Mary** and **Elizabeth**, were illegitimate. This meant that the King had no legitimate children, just three bastards. The pressure was now on the King's new wife, his third wife **Jane Seymour**, to provide a legitimate heir.

2 July 1536

Thomas Cromwell was formally appointed Lord Privy Seal in **Thomas Boleyn**'s place.

Robert Sidney, 1st Earl of Leicester, by unknown artist

6 July 1535

Execution of Sir **Thomas More**, **Henry VIII**'s former friend and Lord Chancellor, for high treason for denying the King's supremacy.

7 July 1548

Treaty of Haddington between France and Scotland agreed the marriage of **Mary, Queen of Scots**, and **Francis, the Dauphin**.

8 July 1540

The abolition, by **Henry VIII**, of all heretical books and those containing errors. *(Ed. there is no hope for any books these days!)*

11 July 1533

Pope Clement VII ordered **Henry VIII** to abandon A**nne Boleyn** and drew up a papal bull excommunicating him, hoping he would leave Anne.

12 July 1537

Execution of **Robert Aske**, lawyer and rebel. He was hanged in chains outside Clifford's Tower, the keep of York Castle. Aske was one of the leaders of the rebels in the 1536 northern uprising known as the *Pilgrimage of Grace*.

13 July 1626

Death of **Robert Sidney**, 1st Earl of Leicester, poet and courtier, at Penshurst Place. His notebook, which still survives, holds a collection of poems and sonnets.

14 July 1544

Henry VIII landed at Calais in preparation for the *Siege of Boulogne*, which began five days later.

17 July 1555

Margaret Polley of Tunbridge, was burned for heresy.

She believed that the bread and wine were "*not [Christs] body really and substantially*"

18 July 1536

Burial of **Desiderius Erasmus** in Basel Cathedral.

19 July 1545

Henry VIII's flagship, the *Mary Rose*, sank right in front of his eyes in the Battle of the Solent between the English and French fleets. It is not known for sure why the *Mary Rose* sank but the majority of her crew were lost, including Sir **George Carew**, the Captain.

20 July 1524

Death of **Queen Claude** of France, consort of **Francis I**, at the age of just twenty-four. She died at Blois

26 July 1588

4000 men assembled at Tilbury Fort in anticipation of a Spanish attack by the Armada. England was well prepared to defend itself.

27 July 1553

Edward VI's principal secretary, **Sir John Cheke**, was sent to the Tower for his part in putting Lady Jane Grey on the throne. He was released in the spring.

28 July 1540

Marriage of **Henry VIII** and **Catherine Howard** at Oatlands Palace. The wedding was a low key affair.

Tudor life

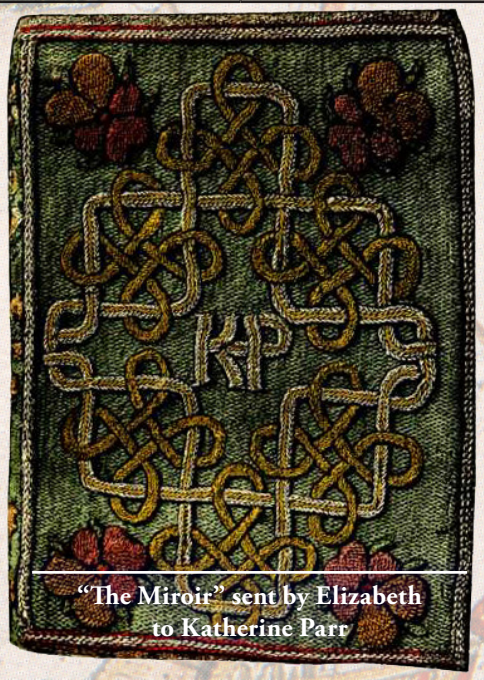
DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

3 July 1495
The pretender **Perkin Warbeck** landed at Deal in Kent with men and ships. Around 150 of his men were killed and over 160 captured by **Henry VII**'s troops. Warbeck escaped, fleeing to Ireland. Warbeck claimed to be Richard, Duke of York, the younger of the Princes in the Tower.

4 July 1533
Burning of **John Frith**, reformer, theologian and martyr, at Smithfield for heresy. Frith was given the chance to recant, but he refused.

5 July 1535
Sir **Thomas More**, who was imprisoned in the Tower of London and awaiting execution, wrote his final letter. It was to his daughter, **Margaret Roper**, and it was written in coal and included the words *"Fare well my dear child and pray for me, and I shall for you and all your friends that we may merrily meet in heaven."*

9 July 1575 (-27th)
Elizabeth I was entertained at Kenilworth Castle by **Robert Dudley**, Earl of Leicester. It was a visit that it lasted nineteen days and was the longest stay at a courtier's house in any of her royal progresses. Dudley went to extraordinary lengths to impress his Queen as it was his last chance to impress the Queen and win her hand in marriage



"The Miroir" sent by Elizabeth to Katherine Parr

10 July 1553
Lady Jane Grey and her husband, **Guildford Dudley** arrived by barge at the Tower of London. Heralds proclaimed that she was now Queen of England

15 July 1553
The royal ships guarding the Eastern coast for '**Queen Jane**' swapped their allegiance to '**Queen Mary**'. Their crews had not been paid, and they received a visit from Sir **Henry Jerningham** asking them to support Mary instead, so it was an easy decision.

16 July 1557
Death of **Anne of Cleves**. Her body was embalmed and placed in a coffin covered with a cloth bearing her arms.

21 July 1553
Arrest of **John Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland for his part in placing his daughter-in-law, **Lady Jane Grey**, on the throne.

22 July 1536
Henry VIII's illegitimate son, **Henry Fitzroy** died at St James's Palace, probably of tuberculosis. He was just seventeen years of age.

23 July 1543
Mary of Guise and her daughter, **Mary, Queen of Scots**, escaped from Linlithgow Palace, where they were being watched, to Stirling Castle.

24 July 1534
Jacques Cartier, the French explorer, landed in Canada, at Gaspé Bay in Quebec, and claimed it for France by placing a cross there.

25 July 1603
Coronation of James I at Westminster Abbey.

29 July 1565
Marriage of **Mary, Queen of Scots**, and **Henry Stuart**, Lord Darnley, at Holyrood Palace (the Palace of Holyroodhouse), Edinburgh.

30 July 1553
Princess Elizabeth left her new home, Somerset House, to ride to Wanstead and greet her half-sister, **Mary**, England's new queen.

31 July 1544
The future **Elizabeth I** wrote her earliest surviving letter to her stepmother, **Catherine Parr** in Italian and in a beautiful italic hand.

Background Image:
The Mary Rose as depicted in the Anthony Roll.

HENRICIAN RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

Discover some fascinating Tudor martyrs in **Beth von Staats'** article...

IN 16th century Tudor Era England and Wales, religion was serious business. Simply stated, there was only one true religion, all those disbelieving heretics or traitors. There was one major problem, however. There was active disagreement on what exactly the true religion was. Unfortunately for subjects of the realm, just what religion one was to adhere to changed with the theological whims of the reigning monarchs and was particularly confusing during the reign of King Henry VIII. Overstep the mark of the king's ever changing religious philosophies, and a person would quickly become the victim of judicial murder.

During the course of King Henry VIII's reign, thousands of people were executed for belief in their chosen faiths. Roman Catholics with one notable exception, Blessed John Forest, were typically executed for treason, while evangelicals were executed for heresy. Were attainted Roman Catholics actually traitors or convicted evangelicals really heretics? Well that all depended on King Henry VIII's religious beliefs at any given point of his 37 year reign. What was treason or heresy today changed tomorrow. Consequently, all subjects of the realm, whether nobility, gentry, clergy or ordinary people, were vulnerable to judicial murder based solely on their religious beliefs.

In world history's most bazaar example of religious persecution, three Roman Catholics and three evangelicals were executed upon King Henry VIII's command for their religious beliefs on the heels of Thomas Cromwell's martyrdom – and yes he too was a religious martyr – all executed on the same day. Throughout the reign of King Henry VIII, perhaps thousands met the same fate. In the spirit of brevity, let's take a look at the lives of two Henrician religious martyrs, one evangelical, the other Roman Catholic.

JOHN FRITH, EVANGELICAL REFORMER

Educated at Eton College and later Cambridge University, John Frith was ordained a priest in 1525. While still a student at Cambridge, Frith began meeting with Thomas Bilney, a graduate student at Trinity Hall. Bilney organized a group of scholars that met at the White Horse Inn to study scripture and theology through the reading of the Greek New Testament. It is believed that John Frith first met William Tyndale in these group meetings. Tyndale greatly influenced Frith's theological beliefs that became decidedly evangelical in leaning.

Upon ordination, John Frith was recruited to became a junior canon at Thomas Wolsey's new Cardinal College in Oxford. While at Oxford, he was arrested with nine other men hiding in a cellar that stored fish for possessing books considered "heretical" by the university. In close confinement in unsanitary conditions for six months, four of the men died. John Frith survived the torment and was eventually released.

John Frith wisely fled to Europe, joining William Tyndale in Antwerp, Belgium in 1528. There,

Frith assisted Tyndale in his scripture translations into English and subsequent publications. While in Antwerp, John Frith translated the Latin work of the Scottish Evangelical martyr Patrick Hamilton. *Patrick's Places* became the first explanation of Reformation Doctrine published in the English language. Soon after, Frith translated an assortment of other religious articles, including *A Pistle to the Christian Reader: The Revelation of the Anti-Christ* and *An Antithesis Between Christ and the Pope.* These historic works originally penned by an unknown author were the first anti-papal works printed in the English language.

While completing these translations, both William Tyndale and John Frith secretly met with English merchant Stephen Vaughan, agent and suspected smuggler and spy to Thomas Cromwell. Authorized by King Henry VIII, Cromwell through Vaughan offered both Tyndale and Frith safe haven back in England. Suspecting a trap, neither man accepted the offer. Unknown to both, some historians conjecture that Stephen Vaughan smuggled evangelical and Lutheran works to Thomas Cromwell, both men highly evangelical themselves. Cromwell's admiration of Tyndale in particular is well documented. Whether this was actually a missed opportunity for both Tyndale and Frith is lost to history.

Instead, Frith stayed in Antwerp, married and entered with Tyndale into a spirited debate with Saint Thomas More, Saint John Fisher and John Rastell. His original work, *Disputation of Purgatory Divided Into Three Books,* disputed the existence of purgatory to each Roman Catholic scholar in turn. Although neither More or Fisher were swayed, Rastell was so persuaded that he was won over to the evangelical cause. Ironically, Rastell was More's brother-in-law. More's opinions of the conversion can be easily imagined.

In 1532, John Frith decided to return to England, while William Tyndale remained in Europe. Irrespective of their individual decisions, both men eventually perished for practice of their faith. Upon returning home, Frith was quickly arrested in Reading, mistaken for a vagabond. He was released with the assistance and persuasion of school master Leonard Cox, who was impressed with his obvious scholarship. From there, Frith traveled secretly from place to place, preaching the

John Frith courtesy of Christianity.com

gospel. Learning John Frith was in England, Saint Thomas More issued a warrant for Frith's arrest, offering a large reward for his apprehension. On the run, Frith was ultimately arrested by More's agents and local authorities while attempting to board a ship bound to Antwerp.

Imprisoned in the Tower of London, Frith was charged by Saint Thomas More in his role as Lord Chancellor with heresy. Against his mentor Tyndale's advice and all reasonable caution, Frith began writing comprehensively of his views of purgatory and more alarmingly his denial of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Concurrent with Frith's substantiated evangelical writings becoming increasingly pronounced and obvious, Saint Thomas More resigned his Lord Chancellorship upon the clergy's ultimate submission to King Henry VIII's authority. Soon thereafter, Archbishop William Warham died. It is within this context and time-line that Thomas Audley was appointed Lord Chancellor. Soon thereafter Thomas Cranmer was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, leaving both men to inherit the unenviable task of dealing with John Frith's controversial theology, most pointedly Cranmer.

Although secretly married himself and becoming increasingly Reformist in theology,

Archbishop Thomas Cranmer in 1533 agreed with Saint Thomas More, King Henry VIII, Pope Clement V and Martin Luther of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Consequently, John Frith was summonsed to Cranmer's palaces at Lambeth and Croydon for several intense interrogations about his "sacramentarian" Eucharist theology. Thomas Cranmer attempted repeatedly to counsel John Frith to alter his Eucharist theology to those of the King to no avail. Per Cranmer in frustration, Frith "... looketh every day to go unto the fire."

Interestingly, Thomas Cranmer never labeled any evangelical a heretic openly, but his opinion regarding John Frith's religious interpretations was clearly documented in a letter to his friend Nicholas Hawkins. "His said opinion is of such nature, that he thought it not necessary to be believed as an article of our faith, that there is a very corporal presence of Christ within the host and sacrament of the altar, and holdeth of this point... And surely I myself sent for him three or four times to persuade him to leave that to his imagination; but for all that we could do therein, he would not apply to any counsel."

With Cranmer unable to convert John Frith's views, the law of England inevitably proceeded in due course through the offices of the new Lord Chancellor Thomas Audley. On July 4, 1533, by command of King Henry VIII, John Frith was burned at the stake for heresy. Ironically, Thomas Cranmer by 1540 shared John Frith's "sacramentarian"views denying the existence of Christ in the host, he too martyred by the Marian regime in March 1556.

John Frith, a victim of Henrician judicial torture and murder, is now hailed as a great Protestant Reformation Martyr.

BLESSED JOHN FOREST, FRANCISCAN OBSERVANT

Blessed John Forest had a dubious honor. He was the only Roman Catholic condemned to die by burning during the reign of King Henry VIII. Although a plethora of Roman Catholics were executed for practice of their religious beliefs, the remainder were executed for treason, most commonly the result of their refusal to bend to the king's supreme authority over the Church of England. Why was Blessed John Forest singled out for burning? Well, in the wake of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the Henrician regime had within their possession an amazing wooden Welsh idol stripped from the Village of Llandderfel. As the story goes, a prophecy foretold the idol of Derfel Gadarn, Saint Derfel the Strong, would be burned in a forest. Thus, to mock the devout Franciscan Observant, the wooden idol of the great Welsh saint was tossed in with the fags. The story doesn't end there.

At age 17, Blessed John Forest entered the Observant Friars Minor in Greenwich, an order he would remain committed to the remainder of his life. Academically gifted, Forest was subsequently sent to Oxford where he earned a doctorate in divinity. Ordained a Roman Catholic priest at Greenwich, Blessed John Forest continued to grow within the Observant Friars Minor, elected Provincial Superior of the Order at Greenwich is 1520. Five years later, he was preaching regularly at Saint Paul's Cross, appointed for the role by Thomas Cardinal Wolsey.

The Observant Friars Minor was located adjacent to Royal Greenwich Palace, formally known as the Palace of Placentia. Over the years, the friary became "a favorite pious resort" to both King Henry VII and King Henry VIII. In fact, King Henry VIII admired the friars so profoundly that he wrote Pope Leo X at least twice, declaring them to be "an ideal of Christian poverty, sincerity, and charity" and "devoted to fasting, watching and prayer ". Over the years, the friary provided chaplains and confessors to Henry VIII's queen consort, Catalina de Aragon. By the time King Henry VIII was attempting to secure an annulment from his wife in 1530, her chaplain and confessor was Blessed John Forest. He would remain the Spanish queen's staunch supporter and ally for the remainder of her lifetime.

Along with many other Observant Franciscan Friars, Blessed John Forest was defiant and vocal in his opposition to King Henry VIII's denouncement of papal authority, supreme authority of the Church of England, marriage annulment from Catalina de Aragon, and marriage to coronation of Anne Boleyn as Queen of England. By 1532, Provincial Superior and Guardian of Greenwich Friary, he disclosed to his subordinate friars plans he believed the king had to suppress the Order in England and

Wales. Boldly, he gospelled against the king's plans to be rid of his first wife from the pulpit of Saint Paul's Cross. Following his lead, other friars within the Order also preached obstinately.

On Easter Sunday, 1534, Friar Peto sermonized at the Observant Friars Minor, Greenwich in King Henry VIII's presence. Peto shocked the congregation by denunciating King Henry VIII in no uncertain terms, comparing the king to Ahab and Anne Boleyn to Jezebel. As the biblical story unfolds, true prophets are murdered and then replaced by priests of Baal. Forest went on to warn the king that if his sins continued upon their path, after his death dogs would lick his blood. The following Sunday, King Henry VIII sent his own priest to the Friary to preach the merits of the supremacy, him attending in disguise. Friars called out their disagreement, which only abated when Henry made himself known and commanded them to stop.

Beyond the now rage of King Henry VIII, the Observant Franciscan Friars in general were considered the most sinful and corrupt of all Roman Catholic clergy by evangelicals, the biggest rival in fostering their cause. Thus, Blessed John Forest and other Observants were already targeted for destruction by men like Thomas Cromwell, then the king's secretary; Hugh Latimer, then Chaplain in West Kineton, Wiltshire; and most fervently, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. Although the archbishop was not commonly known for vengeance, his hatred for the Observant Franciscans led to ruthlessness atypical of his usual character. Within this climate, King Henry VIII commanded Forest be replaced as Provincial Superior. The friar was shipped off to a convent in Northern England.

By 1534, Blessed John Forest was incarcerated in Newgate Prison, condemned to death. He may have already been at Newgate when Friar Peto preached his remarkable Easter Sunday sermon. Later the same year, the Observant Friars were suppressed, all friars dispersed throughout the realm in other assorted friaries. Blessed John Forest was eventually released from Newgate, and by 1538 was effectively in "house arrest" at Conventual Franciscan Friary. From here, most damning to his continued survival, he composed a tract critical of the king entitled *De auctoritate Ecclesiae et Pontificis maximi (On the Authority of the Church and the Supreme Pontiff),* defending the papal primacy in the Church. Forest also refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, behavior in violation of the Treason Act of 1535.

St Etheldreda, Ely Place, London EC1
Nave statue © geograph.org.uk

Though Roman Catholics were typically condemned for treason and executed via being hung, drawn and quartered unless commuted to

simple beheading by the king, alternate extreme ruthlessness was exacted in punishing Blessed John Forest, most likely resultant from the hatred Thomas Cranmer and Hugh Latimer together harbored for Franciscan Observants. Both men worked in partnership on Cromwell's behalf in proceedings to insure the friar's destruction. Blessed John Forest's execution at Smithfield was barbaric even for the era, orchestrated in a deeply symbolic event attended by Latimer, Cranmer, Cromwell and other evangelical dignitaries. Chained at his waist and underarms, Forest was pulled above the fire and roasted slowly for over two hours as Hugh Latimer sermonized, the elaborate Welsh wooden idol of Derfel Gadarn, Saint Derfel the Strong, tossed in the fags to mock both Forest and the Roman Catholic tradition of prophecy.

Blessed John Forest, a victim of Henrician judicial torture and murder, was beautified by Pope Leo XIII on December 9, 1886. His relics are hidden most likely near the priory gate at Smithfield.

Sources:

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8. MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *Thomas Cranmer, A Life,* Yale University Press, 1996.
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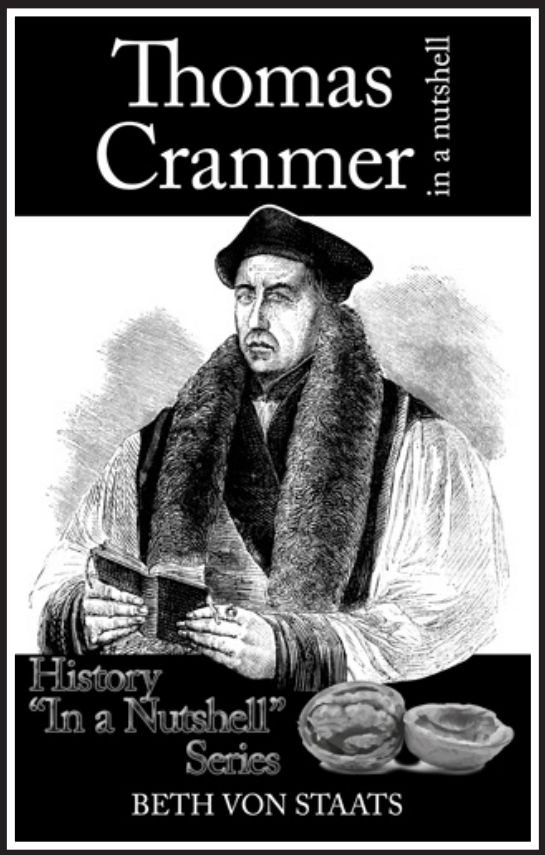


Beth von Staats is a history writer of both fiction and non-fiction short works. A life-long history enthusiast, Beth holds a Bachelor of Arts degree, magna cum laude, in Sociology from the University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth. She is the owner and administrator of Queen Anne Boleyn Historical Writers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

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.

Her book "Thomas Cranmer in a Nutshell" has been doing really well and gives this fascinating character his rightful place in history.

Our July Guest Speaker is ELIZABETH GOLDRING

The Tudor Society has an exclusive audio recording of *Elizabeth Goldring's* recent talk about "Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the World of Elizabethan Art"

We will be putting this onto the site for all our members early in July, and Elizabeth has kindly agreed to join us on our July Chatroom Live Chat. She works at the University of Warwick's "Centre for the Study of the Renaissance" and she's a very knowledgeable historian.

The LIVE CHAT session will be: Tuesday, 14th July from 10pm to 11pm UK time

Background Image:
Lord Robert Dudley (later Earl of Leicester), attrib. Steven van der Meulen, c.1560-62

"FASHIONS, FICTIONS, FELLONIES AND FOOLERIES"

THE BROADSIDE BALLAD

by Jane Moulder

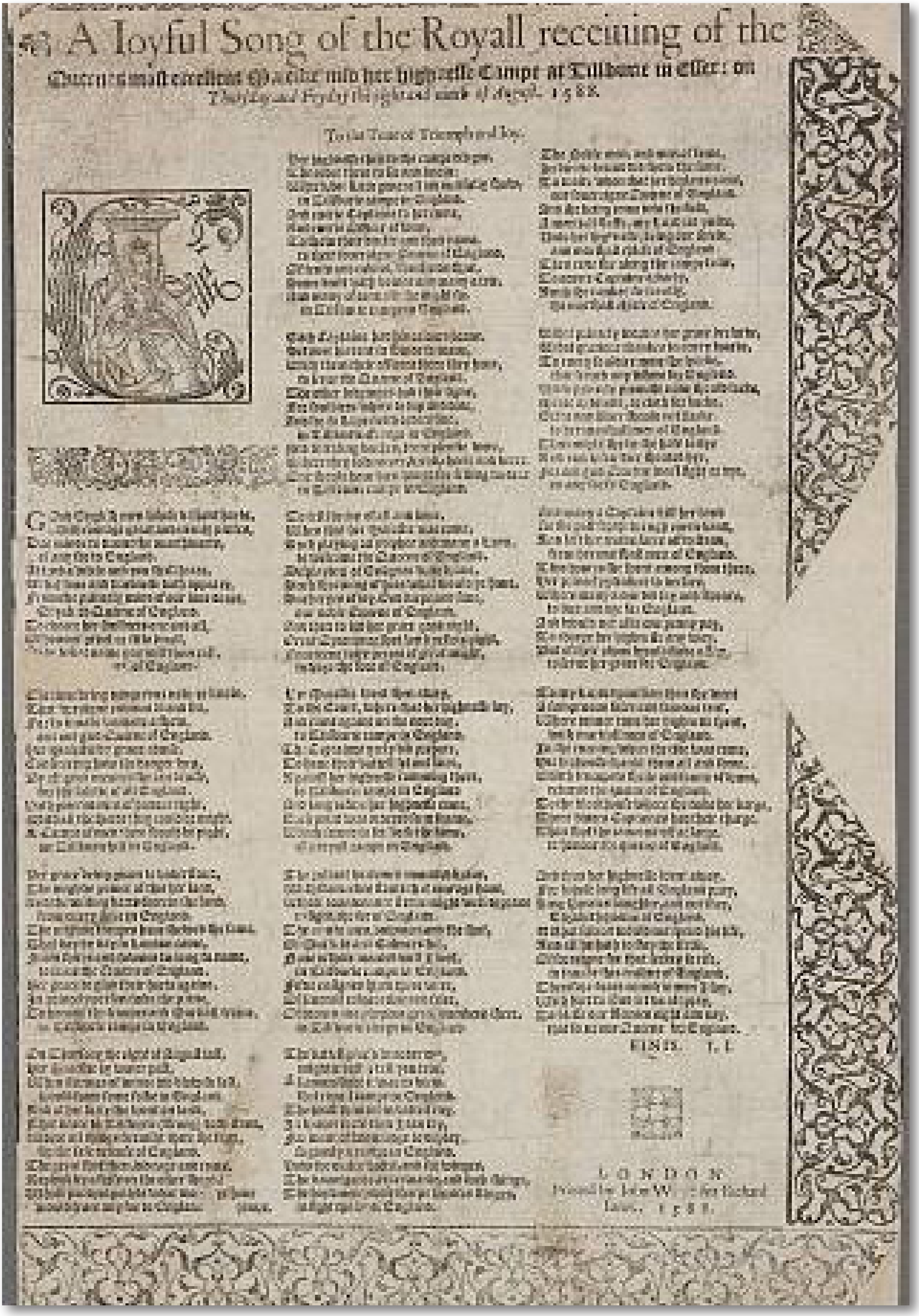
No one is immune from being interested in celebrity gossip or the latest scandal; whether it's political intrigue or the infidelities of a local character. Our love of a bit of scandal may not be something we openly admit to but that doesn't mean to say that we don't want to know about it! The Tudors were no different from us in this respect. But whilst today we turn to tabloid newspapers or social media to get our fix, the Tudors got their gossip and salacious stories from songs. The broadside ballad was the means of mass communication before the advent of newspapers and they were also the source of the latest news. "*scarecely a cat could look out of a gutter but out started a halfpenny chronicler and presently a proper new ballad about it was indited*" as Martin Marsixtus wrote in 1592.

Broadside ballads were big business in 16th century England, selling in their hundreds of thousands. The mass production of ballads started in 1520 when an Oxford bookseller is recorded as having sold about 200 different ballads at the rate of a halfpenny per sheet. He even gave a discount if anyone bought more than 6 at a time. Other printers then took over the trade and by 1550 the price had increased to 1d. So great was the market for broadside ballads it has been estimated that by 1600 approximately four million had been printed and sold. We know this because of records kept by both printers and the Stationer's Company. The Stationer's Company was founded in 1557 and supposedly all books and ballads had to be registered there before they could be printed and distributed. However, there was always a way round every rule! Certainly about 3000 ballads were registered formally but it has been estimated that at least 15000 more escaped the fees, scrutiny and censorship of the Stationer's.

Ballads were, without doubt, a form of entertainment but they were also a means of spreading news. Many were sensationalist in nature telling tales of cuckolds, fallen women and monsters, however the subject range was vast. Some of the broadsheets printed the "last words" of some notorious criminal and we know of one prison chaplain at Newgate who earned extra money by taking down the confessions from the condemned, turning them into rhyme, then delivering them to the ballad printers to be sold to the crowd at the gallows the next morning! Enterprising, if not quite moral!

One of the greatest surviving collections of broadside ballads was formed by the famous diarist, Samuel Pepys. These are still kept in the library he bequeathed to Magdalene College, Cambridge. Pepys managed to collect about 1700 examples and he devised his own classification system and arranged them thus:

- Devotion and Morality – 5%
- History – True and Fabulous – 3%
- Tragedy – 5%



A Ioyful Song of the Royall receiuing of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into her highnesse Campe at Tilsburie in Essex: on Thursday and Fryday the eight and ninth of August. 1588.

To the Tune of Triumph and Ioy.

FINIS. T. I.

LONDON Printed by John W… for Richard Iones. 1588.

The ballad written after Queen Elizabeth's made her famous speech at Tilbury Docks just before the fleet set off to defeat the Spanish Armada in 1588. "I know I have the body of a weak, feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too". The ballad is appropriately set to the tune "Triumph and Joy".

- Drinking/good fellowship – 10%
- State and times – 13%
- Love – pleasant – 28%
- Love – unfortunate – 22%
- Marriage, cuckoldry – 5%
- Sea – 6%
- Humour, frolics and mix't – 3%

The title of this article, *"Fashions, Fictions, Fellonies and Fooleries"* was a description of the range of ballads according to Thomas Middleton writing in 1620. What neither of these listings accurately reflect are the large numbers of pious, moralising or religious ballads that were printed in the mid to late 16th century. Ballads with a political theme were also quite prolific.

The majority of surviving ballads date from the 17th century but there are still about 250 from the 1500's. In order to illustrate the words there would often be a woodcut drawing at the top of the broadsheet featuring the characters or the events of the story. This would, of course, help to sell the ballad. However, more often than not, a woodcut would be recycled again and again resulting in a complete mismatch between the words and illustration! This was partly because ballad printers were keen to make as much money as possible and woodcuts would have added to the production costs. But the multi-use of woodcuts also reflects the speed of news turnaround. Often, particularly with a really good or important story there simply wouldn't have been time to have had a new woodcut produced if the seller wanted to capitalise on the current events.

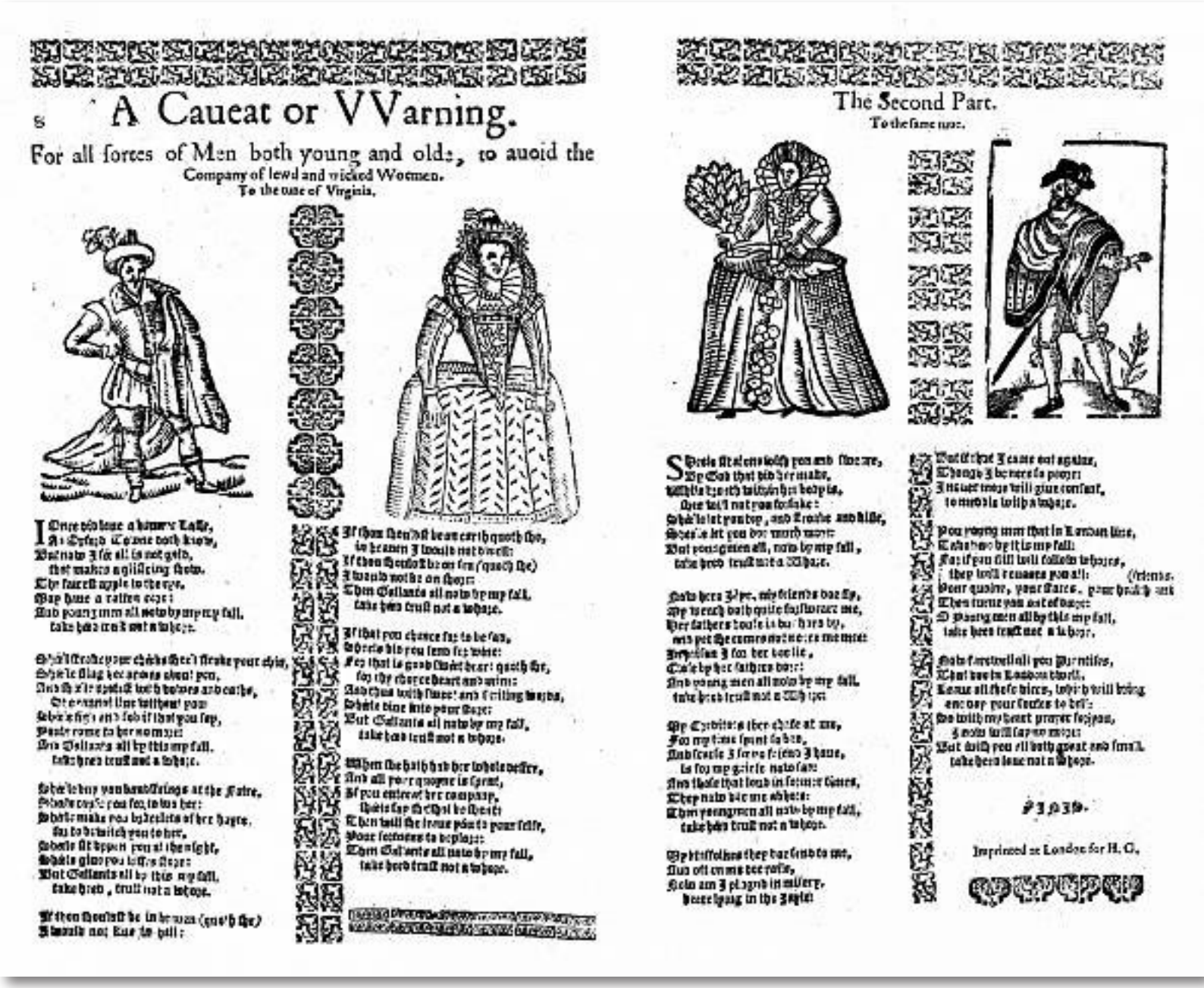
When the steeple of St Paul's Cathedral in London, the tallest in England, was demolished by lightening in 1561, it took 6 days for William Seres (with his workshop based "At the Sign of the Hedgehog") to print and distribute a ballad describing the calamitous event . This may seem quite a delay after such a major catastrophe but it can be explained by the fact that Seres's shop, together with the majority of London booksellers and printers, was based in St Paul's churchyard. As much of the church and stonework was destroyed along with the steeple, no doubt the surrounding buildings and workshops were also affected thus causing a delay in printing production.

The broadside ballad sheet would only very rarely include the notation of the music to accompany the song. The standard procedure was simply to print the words "to be sung to the tune of …..". The lack of notation obviously didn't deter purchasers and it tells us that the tunes used would have been well known to everyone – or certainly by the seller. The seller would sing the song, thus spreading the news and attracting interest in the ballad. Having analysed all the surviving ballads, there are about 1000 different tunes mentioned, of which only about half have been sourced. It has involved some real detective work tracking down the surviving tunes and musicians today owe a huge debt to Claude M Simpson, an American, who carried out much of this work in the late '50s/ early '60s. Some tunes will never be known because they have such a vague and nebulous title such as "a new Northern tune" or a "delightful new ditty". The ballad writers would have used existing popular melodies which were not necessarily written down as they would have been transmitted and learnt aurally. However, these popular tunes crossed the musical and social divide and transferred into "art" music. Having been arranged by eminent composers such as William Byrd, John Dowland and others, the music was put into print. Also, many of the ballad tunes were so well liked that they survived the test of time and were printed years later and throughout the 17th century by the likes of John Playford in his Dancing Master series.

Many different ballads were put to the most popular tunes of the day. The tune *"Fortune my Foe"* has 105 ballads recorded as being set to it, *"Chevy Chase", 67* and *"Packington's Pound"* had 55. A tune we are all familiar with today, "*Greensleeves"*, was the basis for at least 19 ballads.

As well as being a ballad tune *"Fortune my Foe"* was arranged by a number of notable composers. John Dowland's version was accompanied by some quite poetic and melancholic verses, starting with: "*Fortune, my foe, why dost thou frown on me? And will thy favours never lighter be? Wilt thou, I say, forever breed my pain? And wilt thou not restore my joys again? "* This particularly mournful tune earned itself the nickname of the "Hanging song". People who were sentenced to be hung could have music played to them as a last request and the most popular choice was Fortune my Foe!

However, in the same way that the illustration did not match the words, very often the tune didn't



A Caueat or VVarning.

For all forces of Men both young and olde, to auoid the Company of lewd and wicked Women.

To the tune of Virginia.

The Second Part.

To the same tune.

"A Caveat or Warning – for all forces of men, both young and old, to avoid the company of lewd and wicked women". To the tune of Virginia. (I love the appropriately named tune!). The song commences " I once did love a bonny lass, as Oxford town doth know, but now I see all is not gold that makes a glistering show. The fairest apply to the eye, may have a rotton core, and young men all know by my fall, take heed trust not a whore."

fit them either! Again this reflects the cheap and hurried nature of some ballad production. Today's musicians and performers sometimes have quite a task on their hands trying to find a tune which will actually work with and suit the lyrics.

The ballads would usually have a short, snappy title and then be accompanied by a description of the contents of the song. Here are two of my favourites.

"The Swimming Lady or a Wanton Discovery, being a true relation of a gay lady, betrayed by her lover as she was stripping her self stark naked and swimming in a river near Oxford."

"A proper new Ballad, Shewing a Merie Jest of one Jeamie of Woodicok Hill, and his wife, how he espied through a doore, on making of him cuckold, and how that for the lucre of money, he was well contented therewith".

Ballad writers were generally anonymous and, from what we can detect today, predominantly

male. However a few women writers have been identified. Ballad writers were disparaged and badly thought of (*"an uncomfortable rabble of rhyming ballet makers"*) and it's perhaps for this reason that they chose not to put their names to their work. However, they certainly plundered courtly poets for some of their material and one can find the works of Christopher Marlow, George Wither and Sir Walter Raleigh, amongst others, in some of the lyrics. It is also thought that more respectable writers would pen ballads but chose to remain anonymous. Whilst there's no doubt that some of the writing is of poor quality, some ballads are very well composed indeed and show a high degree of craftsmanship.

If the ballad writers were disparaged, then that was nothing to how the ballad sellers were viewed!

"I am given to understand, that there be a company of idle youths, loathing honest labour and despising lawfull trades, betake them to a vagrant and vicious life, in every corner of Cities and market Townes of the Realme singing and selling of ballads and pamphletes full of ribauldrie and all scurrilous vanity, to the prophanation of God's name and with-drawing people from Christian exercises especially at faires, markets and such publike meetings." So said Henry Chettle in "Kind-Hart's Dream".

The ballad publishers and printers, of which there were about 20, were all based in London. Having been printed, the ballads would be distributed via normal trade routes to various market towns up and down the country. There was a continual flow of traders between the capital and the provinces and likewise news and gossip travelled too. Many of the ballad's subject were set in provincial towns, presumably to reflect the background of the potential buyer and draw their interest. The stories of shock and awe such as the "monstrous child" born in Adlington, the three witches who were executed in Chelmsford, or the peas that grew on rocks in Orford all illustrate this fact. The sellers would buy direct from the printers for one price, then sell them at a profit for 1d – a standard rate for all blackletter ballads. This price was maintained well into the 17th century.

The ballad sellers were considered to be the dregs of society and deserved contempt. They were often chapmen who would also sell other "small goods" and wares such as ribbons, buttons and general knick-knacks. As they were seen to be selling "ungodly" items they were therefore viewed as a potential source of danger. The fact that many of the ballads they were selling were often godly in nature or adopted a strong moral tone was, of course, ignored. The ballad sellers were also often accused of being in league with pickpockets. Their role, and their success at selling, was dependent upon them being able to attract and hold a large crowd of people, so it is of little surprise that petty thieves took advantage of the situation. Henry Chettle in *"Kind Hart's Dreame"* (1595) also took them to task for stealing the livelihood of beggars! Interestingly beggars had licence to sing for their money. Perhaps some of the best descriptions we have of a chapman or ballad singer are from the plays of William Shakespeare's "A Winter's Tale" (Autolycus) and Ben Johnson's "Bartholomew Fair" (Nightingale). Their characters are depicted as happy rogues, criminally inclined but with a commercial edge, manipulative – but with musical abilities!

The ballad seller would attract their crowds by singing the songs, calling out the headlines of the ballads and thus gain sales. They would entice the audience by singing the first couple of verses and then, having gained their attention, they would refuse to complete the song until the ballad sheets had been sold. Some of the tunes are quite tricky musically indicating that the sellers must have had some musical ability: but equally there are many disparaging comments about those who obviously had none at all! "A*s harsh a noise as ever a cart-wheele made"* was one contemporary observation. But as the ballad singer had to be able to draw and hold a crowd, those who couldn't sing would have failed in their task and there are various descriptions of those

Inigo Jones's depiction of a ballad seller

who tried the trade, thinking it a way of earning easy money, but had to retire early due to lack of sales. There are records which indicate that some of the sellers were also musicians as they would play a fiddle to accompany the singing. But this was the exception not the rule.

Having bought the ballads, the purchasers would then probably learn the words by heart. Whilst not everyone could write at this time, reading was not uncommon in the general populace. In 1595, the preacher Nicholas Bownde said "though they cannot read themselves, many will have ballades set up in their houses, that so they might learn them".

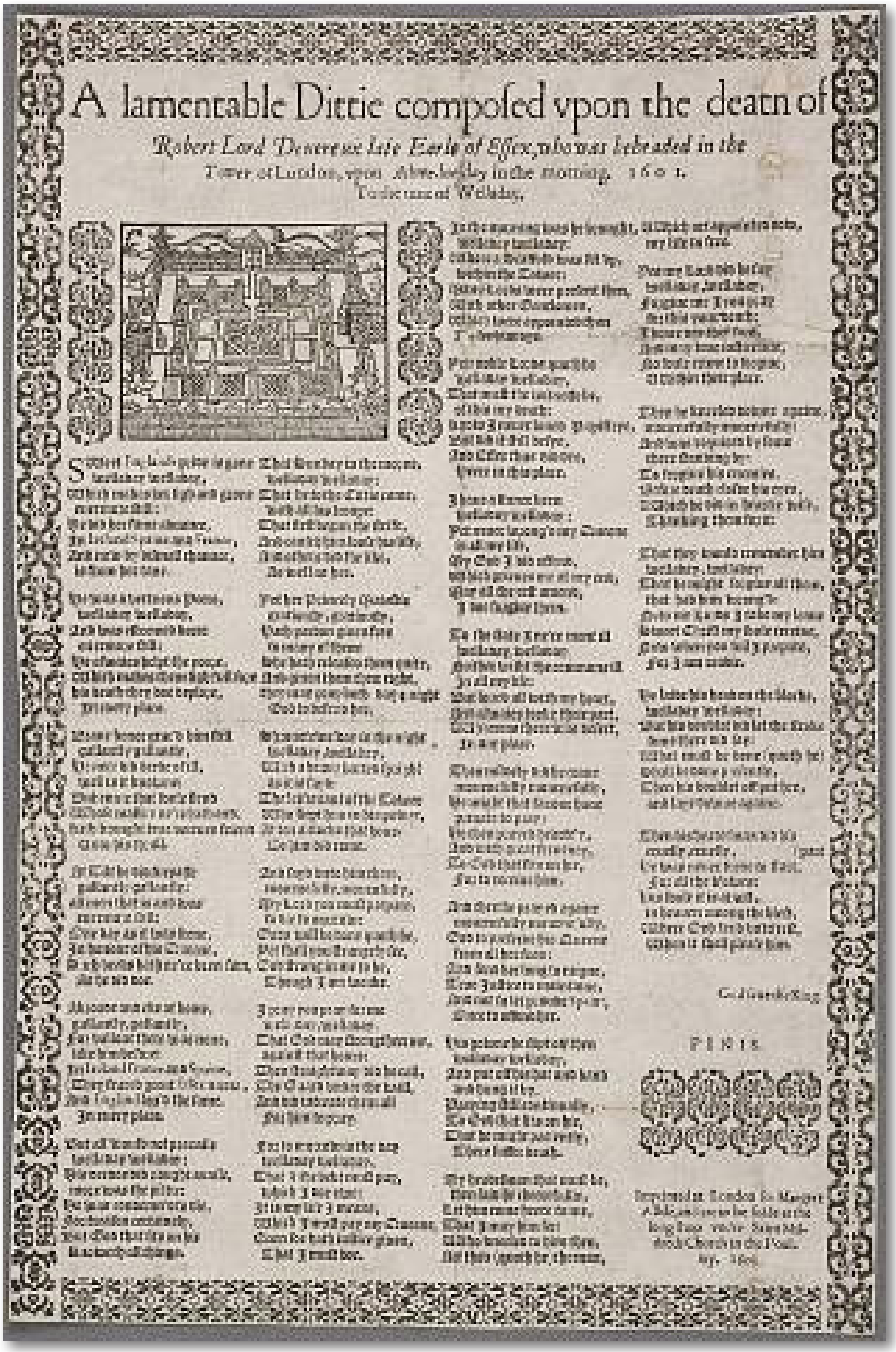
Whilst ballads were seen very much as a lower class interest and frowned upon, they were collected and enjoyed by the social elite. There was no doubt an element of snobbery associated with ballads, partly due to the subject matter, but also because they were cheap and bought in markets and off the street. However there is evidence to suggest that ballad singers were employed to perform at grand houses and that the ballads were popular across all levels of society. The fact that some of the ballad tunes were arranged for keyboard and consort instruments shows that they crossed the social divide. It was probably the case that the educated elite didn't want to admit to liking them! The essayist Sir William Cornwallis, writing in 1600, confessed to having enjoyed ballads in his youth but reassures readers that his custom was now to *"read these and presently make use of them – for they lie in my privy"*!

Ballads were the 16th century equivalent of today's pop music with some of them becoming well known throughout England. Their popularity also meant that a well written ballad could be used for propaganda purposes and some became a powerful political tool. For example, a ballad made a hero out of the Earl of Essex who had been executed for high treason in 1601. *"A lamentable dittie composed upon the Death of Robert, Lord Devereaux Late Earle of Essex, who was beheaded in the Tower of London, upon Ashwednesday in the Morning."*

"Sweet England's pride is gone
Welladay, welladay
Which makes her sigh and groan
Evermore still
He did her fame advance
In Ireland, spain and france
And by a sad mischance
Is from us tane"

Whilst the Earl of Essex wasn't around to reap the benefits of the public's support for his cause, his reputation and his estate gained immeasurably from the popular ballad.

However, it was the libellous, sex and sensational ballads that were the most popular



A lamentable Dittie composed vpon the death of
Robert Lord Deuereux late Earle of Essex, who was beheaded in the
Tower of London, vpon Ashe-wednesday in the morning. 1601.
To the tune of Wellady.

SWeet England let the regret
Welladay welladay,
Which now in thee is sight and griefe
remaine still:
For late her first ornament,
Her lustie gracious Prince,
And valiant Knight Armorant,
Is taken hence.

Her noble martiall spirit,
welladay welladay,
And late renowned heate
extinguished is:
Her valiancie fetcht the proofe,
Which mother-like she lou'd aboue
her deerely best employe,
In euery place.

Manie honors crau'd him still
gallantly gallantly,
Yet rose he by the sword of skill,
well in it beehoues:
Which now in that behalfe
Hath brought true worth to fauors
Gods grace it giue.

He did his valor proue
gallantly gallantly for:
all eyes that in such sort
remained still:
Ouer Kin and Land home,
In honors of his Countrie,
Much worthie he left her to learne fame,
And so we see.

He came and went at home,
gallantly, gallantly,
For valiant spirits in peace and warre,
like braue do:
In Ireland France and Spaine,
Where fauors graced his name,
And English loue to the same,
In euery place.

But all from deare and precious
welladay welladay:
Him enuious enuy sought to wrack,
neuer lookt for it:
Yet false conspiracie crie,
And trecherie continually,
Was Gods iust iudge on the
blacke-mouth'd things.

That Number to the accompt,
welladay welladay:
That broke the Catholique,
with all the lawes:
That first began the strife,
And so with bloud hath ended,
Is neither safe for life,
Nor well at her.

Father Parsonly Counsailor
confusedly, confusedly,
Vnder pretence gaue fire
to misery of Realme:
Before hath reuolted them quite,
And gaine them from right,
Now may you both say a night
God to defend you.

In the darke hee's to the night
welladay welladay,
With a heauie heart to light
daylight:
That the sunne of the Queene
With her Sonne is set,
Of our Realme
Let him die mone.

And Eagle hath shaken vs,
welladay welladay,
Her Lords vs much repaire,
to his Sonne:
Ours will be more quickly,
Yet shall you strangely die,
Our strong Gaine is by,
Though I am lacking.

Yet my rest in the Lorde
is all my guiding:
That God our thoughts now,
against that heare:
Where Knighthood is held,
Why Gaine holds the field,
And in subiection shall all
Foes him to pay.

For to my sorrow is the day
welladay welladay,
That I the sight must pay,
which I do see that:
Yet in my life I mourne,
Which I will put on my Mourne,
Soone for such noble a Lord,
That I must lose.

In the morning lost he sought,
welladay welladay:
with his Sword he hewd it vp,
before the Tower:
Many he let there perish then,
Which other Gentlemen,
Which there oppressed with
Treacherie.

For noble Lords sparkle
welladay welladay,
That must the tale tell,
of this my Song:
Lords Barons knights Gentrie,
Will rue it till before,
Into Christ their rescue,
Were in this place.

I pray all Lords here
welladay welladay:
Pitie once laying to my Cause
in calling life,
Thy Gods I do offend,
with which powers me at my end,
after all the world amend,
I am laughter here.

Ye that daily keepe record all
welladay welladay,
Shall be to let the commons rail
for all my life:
Most heard all both my hour,
Yet shall my book your part,
Till I come there to scape,
In euery place.

Then willingly and brauely
manfully manfully,
He made that Queene haue
pittie to pay:
His valiant spirit rose,
And manly gaue blowes,
For Gods iust cause he,
For to remaine.

Then thereby gaue he vp
manfully manfully,
Gaue to perform his Queene
from all her foes:
Now God be long to reigne,
Here Subiects maintaine,
And not to let go vnder foote,
Once to attempt her.

Then gaue he vp his life all then
welladay welladay,
And put off that sad kind
and liuing life by.
Praying Gaine to pardon,
His God that him on her,
That he might not perish,
Where hells breath.

My brethren all that must be,
then take ye heede of me,
Let them come here to me,
That I may them let
All the knowledge to take them,
Let them speedily repent,

Which at appointed time,
my life to end.

Pray my God to let
welladay welladay,
Forgiue me I end my
earthly pilgrimage:
I know me that God,
Is mercy best endureth,
His holy crowne to forgiue,
All that repent.

Then he broke no more against,
successfully successfully:
And now we leaue by these
three speaking by:
The Queene his mercie,
Which much doth her serue,
Which he will in heauen hath,
Speaking them here.

That they hands remember him
welladay, welladay:
That he might be gone all those,
that his loue bearing:
Gods me haue grace my sinne
to mend Christ my hope receiue,
Gods when you read I prayed,
For I am mute.

He takes his leaue the blacke,
welladay welladay:
What his comfort was let the Reader
here vnder:
What could be done (surely he)
good to euery wight,
Then he bouldest of his seruice,
and Lord Gaine to rejoice.

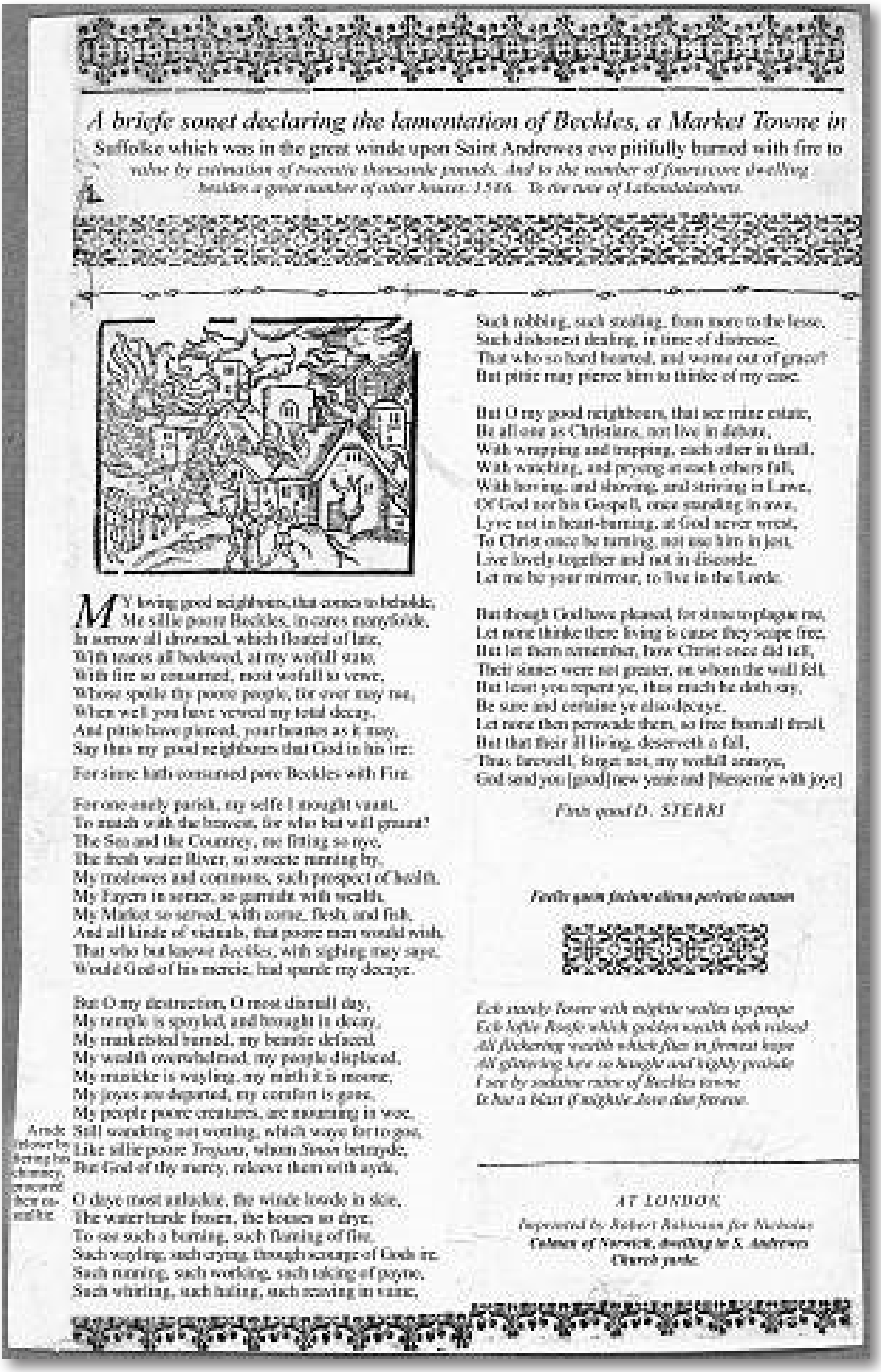
Then his sorrowes was to his
mother, gone
For to haue rest here to God,
For all the Nations:
Lord hold it in thine,
In heauen among the high,
Gaine God to be true,
Gaine it shall pass him.

God saue the King.

FINIS.

Imprinted at London by Margret
Allde, and are to be sold at the
long shop vnder Saint Mil-
dreds Church in the Poul-
trey. 1601.

Molorepe ruptatur maio. Orias evendi ommossimaxim eni tet audae cone lamentem dolupitatem



A briefe sonet declaring the lamentation of Beckles, a Market Towne in
Suffolke which was in the great winde upon Saint Andrewes eve pitifully burned with fire to

MY loving good neighbours, that comes to beholde,
Me sillie poore Beckles, in cares manyfolde,
In sorrow all drowned, which floated of late,
With teares all bedewed, at my wofull state,
With fire so consumed, most wofull to vewe,
Whose spoile thy poore people, for ever may rue,
When well you have vewed my total decay,
And pitie have pierced, your heartes as it may,
Say thus my good neighbours that God in his ire:

For sinne hath consumed pore Beckles with Fire.

For one onely parish, my selfe I mought vaunt,
To match with the bravest, for who but will graunt?
The Sea and the Countrey, me fitting so nye,
The fresh water River, so sweete running by,
My medowes and commons, such prospect of health,
My Fayers in sorter, so garnisht with wealth,
My Market so served, with corne, flesh, and fish,
And all kinde of victuals, that poore men would wish,
That who but knewe Beckles, with sighing may saye,
Would God of his mercie, had spared my decaye.

But O my destruction, O most dismall day,
My temple is spoyled, and brought in decay,
My marketsted burned, my beautie defaced,
My wealth overwhelmed, my people displaced,
My musicke is wayling, my mirth it is moone,
My joyes are departed, my comfort is gone,
My people poore creatures, are mourning in woe,
Still wandring not working, which waye for to goe,
Like sillie poore *Trojans*, whom *Sinon* betrayde,
But God of thy mercy, relieve them with ayde,

O dayes most unluckie, the winde lowde in skie,
The water hard frozen, the houses so drye,
To see such a burning, such flaming of fire,
Such wayling, such crying, through scourge of Gods ire,
Such running, such working, such taking of payne,
Such whirling, such haling, such reaving in vaine,

Such robbing, such stealing, from more to the lesse,
Such dishonest dealing, in time of distresse,
That who so hard hearted, and worne out of grace?
But pitie may pierce him to thinke of my case.

But O my good neighbours, that see mine estate,
Be all one as Christians, not live in debate,
With wrapping and trapping, each other in thrall,
With watching, and prying at each others fall,
With heving, and shoving, and striving in Lawe,
Of God nor his Gospell, once standing in awe,
Lyve not in heart-burning, at God never wrest,
To Christ once be turning, not use him in jest,
Live lovely together and not in discorde,
Let me be your mirrour, to live in the Lorde.

But though God have pleased, for sinne to plague me,
Let none thinke there living is cause they scape free,
But let them remember, how Christ once did tell,
Their sinnes were not greater, on whom the wall fell,
But least you repent ye, thus much he doth say,
Be sure and certaine ye also decaye,
Let none then perswade them, so free from all thrall,
But that their ill living, deserveth a fall,
Thus farewell, forget not, my wofull annoye,
God send you [good] new yeare and [blesse me with joye]

Finis quod D. STERRI

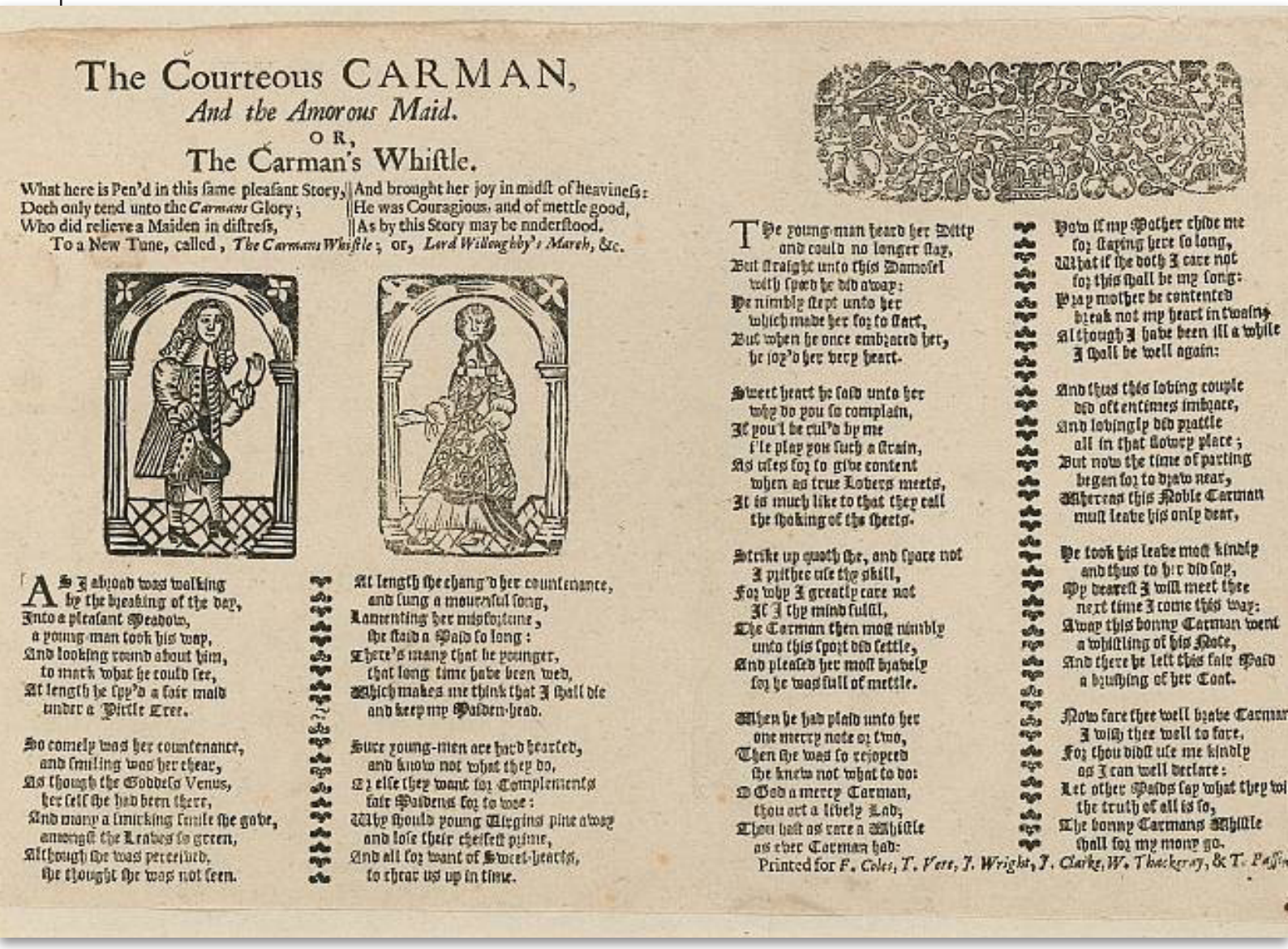
AT LONDON
Imprinted by Robert Robinson for Nicholas Colman of Norwich, dwelling in S. Andrewes Church yarde.

"A briefe sonet declaring the lamentation of Beckles, a Market Towne in Suffolk, which was in the great winde upon Saint Andrews eve pitifully burned with fire to the value by estimation of tweentie thousande pounds. And to the number of fourscore dwelling houses, besides a great number of other houses, 1586." The not so brief sonnet basically blames the calamitous event on the sinfulness and ungodliness of the citizens of Beckles. This is compounded by the fact that looters then took advantage of the situation following the fires. However, the ballad ends happily as the people of Beckles repent their sins and God's grace is restored and all is set well for a good new year.

whatever one's status in life. The songs would often have an instruction to how to sing them such as in "rejoicing manner" in "scoffing manner" or "with loude and lyfted up voyces". One particularly libellous ballad was recorded in Nottingham as having been "bawled in the streets", then played by pipers in the local taverns and then finally arranged for a consort of viols for the use in domestic setting to be played by gentlemen.

Ballads are about as far away as you can get from the refined music of the court and church but they were undoubtedly music of the people. They are a fantastic resource to gain an insight into the lives, loves and interests of ordinary people of a period where few records survive about the working classes. They were a guilty pleasure for all sections of society and with good reason – they are great fun and a good read. So, with half an hour to spare, share in the pleasure of Samuel Pepys and others and investigate them further! The best online resource can be found at **http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/**

JANE MOULDER



The Courteous CARMAN,
And the Amorous Maid.
OR,
The Carman's Whistle.

What here is Pen'd in this same pleasant Story,
Doth only tend unto the *Carmans* Glory;
Who did relieve a Maiden in distress,
To a New Tune, called, *The Carmans Whistle*; or, *Lord Willoughby's March*, &c.

And brought her joy in midst of heavines:
He was Couragious, and of mettle good,
As by this Story may be understood.

As I abroad was walking
by the breaking of the day,
Into a pleasant Meadow,
a young man took his way,
And looking round about him,
to mark what he could see,
At length he spy'd a fair maid
under a Pirtle Tree.

So comely was her countenance,
and smiling was her chear,
As though the Goddess Venus,
her self she had been there,
And many a smicking smile she gave,
amongst the Leaves so green,
Although she was perceived,
she thought she was not seen.

At length she chang'd her countenance,
and sung a mournful song,
Lamenting her misfortune,
she said a Maid so long:
There's many that be younger,
that long time have been wed,
Which makes me think that I shall die
and keep my Maiden-head.

Sure young-men are hard hearted,
and know not what they do,
Or else they want for Complements
fair Maidens for to woe:
Why should young Virgins pine away
and lose their chiefest prime,
And all for want of Sweet-hearts,
to chear us up in time.

The young-man heard her Ditty
and could no longer stay,
But straight unto this Damosel
with speed he did away:
He nimbly crept unto her
which made her for to start,
But when he once embraced her,
he joy'd her very heart.

Sweet heart he said unto her
why do you so complain,
If you'l be rul'd by me
I'le play you such a strain,
As uses for to give content
when as true Lovers meets,
It is much like to that they call
the shaking of the sheets.

Strike up quoth she, and spare not
I prithee use thy skill,
For why I greatly care not
If I thy mind fulfil,
The Carman then most nimbly
unto this sport did settle,
And pleased her most heavily
for he was full of mettle.

When he had plaid unto her
one merry note or two,
Then she was so rejoyced
she knew not what to do:
O God a mercy Carman,
thou art a lively Lad,
Thou hast as rare a Whistle
as ever Carman had:

How if my Mother chide me
for staying here so long,
What if she doth I care not
for this shall be my song:
Pray mother be contented
break not my heart in twain,
Although I have been ill a while
I shall be well again:

And thus this loving couple
did oft entimes imbrace,
And lovingly did prattle
all in that flowry place;
But now the time of parting
began for to draw near,
Whereas this Noble Carman
must leave his only dear,

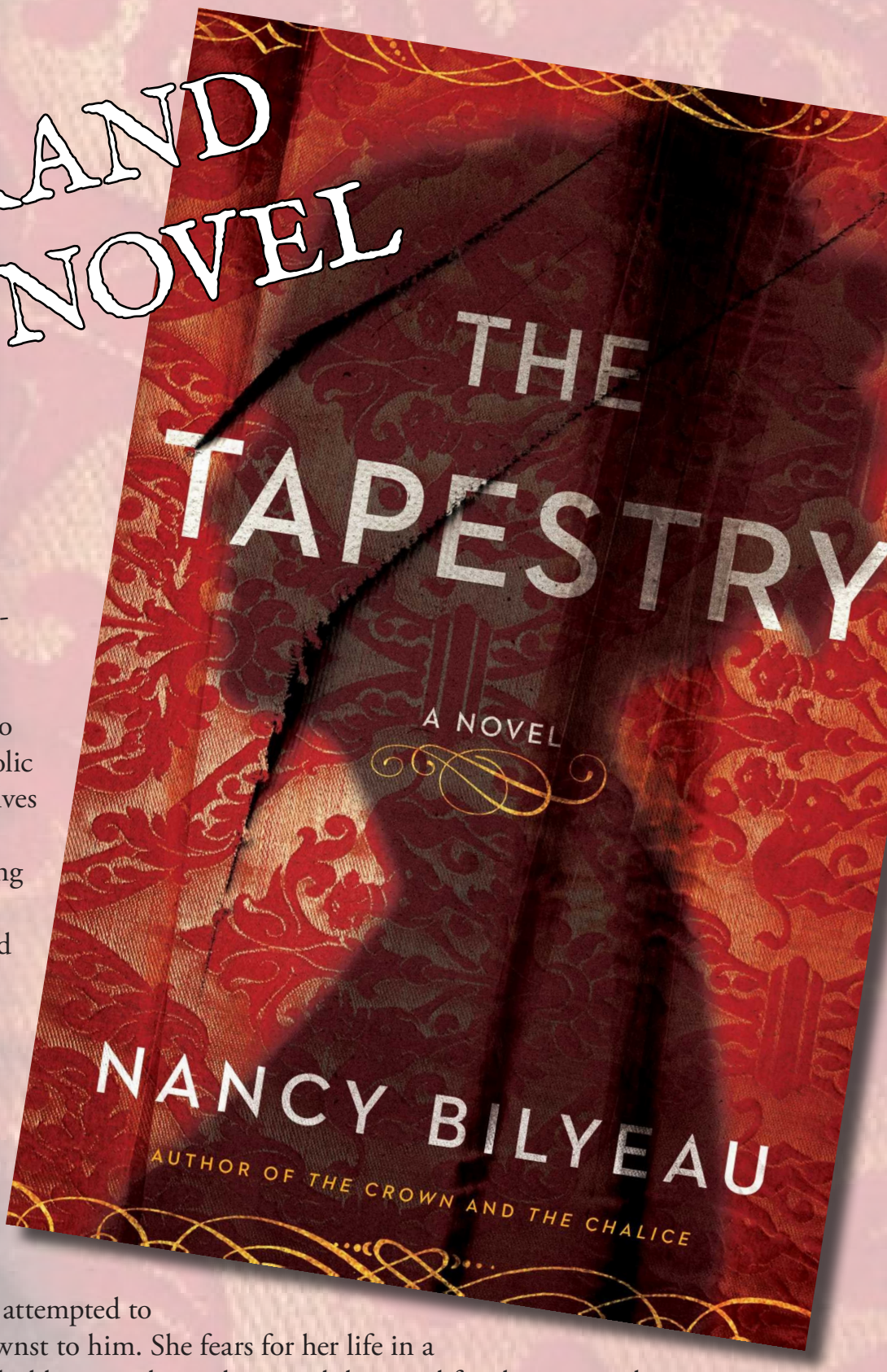
He took his leave most kindly
and thus to her did say,
My dearest I will meet thee
next time I come this way:
Away this bonny Carman went
a whistling of his Note,
And there he left this fair Maid
a blushing of her Coat.

Now fare thee well brave Carman
I wish thee well to fare,
For thou didst use me kindly
as I can well declare:
Let other Maids say what they will
the truth of all is so,
The bonny Carmans Whistle
shall for my money go.

Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray, & T. Pass

The Courteous Carman or Carman's Whistle was a very popular and somewhat risqué song. The "whistle" being a euphemism for the male appendage! Carmen, or cartmen, were the 16th century equivalent of "white van man"!

A BRAND NEW NOVEL



After her priory in Dartford is closed-collateral damage in tyrannical King Henry VIII's quest to overthrow the Catholic Church-Joanna resolves to live a quiet and honorable life weaving tapestries, shunning dangerous quests and conspiracies. Until she is summoned to Whitehall Palace, where her tapestry weaving has drawn the King's attention. Joanna is uncomfortable serving the King whom she has twice attempted to overthrow-unbeknownst to him. She fears for her life in a court bursting with hidden agendas and a casual disregard for the virtues she holds dear. And her suspicions are confirmed when an assassin attempts to kill her moments after arriving at Whitehall. Struggling to stay ahead of her most formidable enemy yet, an unknown one, she becomes entangled in dangerous court politics. Her dear friend Catherine Howard is rumored to be one of the King's mistresses. Joanna is determined to protect young, beautiful, naive Catherine from becoming the King's next wife and possibly, victim.

ISBN: 978-1476756370

ANNE NEVILLE – A CINDERELLA STORY

by Olga Hughes

Cinderella is one of the most enduring tales in history. One of the earliest versions was recorded by the Greek historian Strabo in the first century B.C., in which the Greek courtesan Rhodopis marries the King of Egypt after an eagle steals her shoe when she is bathing, and drops it in the king's lap. In the sixth century Herodotus wrote that Rhodopis was a fellow slave of fable-teller Aesop, with whom she may have had a secret love affair. Rhodopis was forced to be a *hetaera*, a mistress, to her owners, but when Charaxus fell in love with her , he offered a large ransom so she could be liberated. The earliest version we might recognise now is the story of Yeh-Hsien, recorded in 850 A.D., in which we have a wicked stepmother and jealous elder sister, a fairy godmother in the form of a beautiful golden fish, and a cloak of kingfisher feathers and golden slippers for the festival.

In the 15th century the anonymous monastic chronicler of Crowland Abbey wrote an extraordinary account of Anne Neville's concealment, disguised as a kitchen maid in London, a tale that has long been considered an invention. But it has also often been connected to the most famous rags-to-riches story of all time. Anne Neville lived out her own real *Cinderella* story at the age of fifteen. In lieu of a wicked step-mother we have a wicked brother-in-law. But we also have the 'orphaned' princess, the envious elder sister, a mysterious fairy godmother and above all, the prince on hand to rescue her.

Anne was born into privilege at Warwick Castle on 11 June 1456. She was the youngest daughter of Richard Neville, sixteenth earl of Warwick and sixth earl of Salisbury, often called 'the Kingmaker', and his countess, Anne Beauchamp, who was heir both to the earldom of Warwick and to the lords Despenser. As Warwick never had a son Anne and her elder sister, Isabel, were heiresses to their parents' vast Beauchamp, Despenser, and Salisbury inheritances. Warwick, who had helped King Edward IV capture the throne, had attempted to arrange a double marriage alliance between his two daughters and Edward's younger brothers George and Richard, but Edward refused. The relationship between Edward IV and Warwick deteriorated badly over the years. Both Warwick and Edward's own brother George would rebel

Queen Anne Neville – Stained glass window at Cardiff Castle

against their king. George took Isabel as his wife against Edward's wishes, although he abandoned his new father-in-law Warwick and reconciled with Edward. But for Anne, there would be no reconciliation with her king. The fourteen year-old Anne was married off to Edward of Lancaster, son of Warwick's erstwhile and Edward's most bitter enemy, Margaret of Anjou.

But the rebellion of Warwick and his new Lancastrian allies would fail. Anne's father was slain in battle at Barnet, and only a fortnight later her young husband was killed at the Battle of Tewkesbury. Anne's mother abandoned her and fled to sanctuary. Anne was no longer a Lancastrian princess on the verge of triumph, but the fifteen year-old widow of a traitor with no one to protect her. And although she would have not imagined that Edward IV would harm her, it still must have been terrifying. It may have been a relief when Edward IV sent Anne to live with her sister, now the Duchess Isabel, and her husband the king's brother.

As a widow Anne should have been a *femme sole,* entitled to manage her own property and wealth. While she received no jointure from her late husband, as the heiress of the Earl of Warwick and Anne Beauchamp she was entitled to her half of a vast inheritance, to be split equally with her sister. But the duke of Clarence, and Anne's own sister Isabel, had other plans. With no husband, no money and no immediate prospects, Anne was dependent on the charity of her relatives. Like Cinderella, Anne had no mother or father to defend her.

Unlike Cinderella, Anne would have been living in relative comfort, in her sister's home. Unsurprisingly we have no record of Anne's whereabouts for months, as we have little record of her life at all. But we might speculate that relations between Anne and Isabel were strained. Anne's brother-in-law had, in her estimation, contributed to the deaths of her father and her husband. Her mother's claim of sanctuary had now become a prison. And when another of the king's brothers, Richard, began to take an interest in Anne, George and Isabel sought to conceal her. As the Crowland Chronicler wrote:

Richard, duke of Gloucester, sought to make... Anne his wife; this desire did not suit the plans of his brother, the duke of Clarence...who therefore had the girl hidden away so that his brother would not know where he was, since he feared a division of inheritance....The Duke of Gloucester, however, was so much more astute, that having discovered the girl dressed as a kitchen-maid in London, he had her moved to sanctuary at St. Martin's.

For years this story has intrigued historians and readers alike. This is a story so like Cinderella's Prince, who discovers the beautiful girl hidden beneath the dirty garb of a serving-maid, whisking her off to safety and a life of happily ever after. But what is most intriguing is the question of who was Anne's fairy godmother? Who alerted Richard to Anne's presence, in what is thought to be George's London house of Coldharbour, disguised as a kitchen maid? Our single source, the *Crowland Chronicle*, fails to provide the answer.

Because it seems like such a fairy tale, the kitchen maid story is usually dismissed. It is usually thought that as the kitchen was a male-dominated workplace, Anne could not have been disguised as a kitchen maid as women were so rarely employed in the kitchens of large households. But women were employed as pot-washers, if not the loftier positions. The story is also so unusual one wonders why the chronicler would invent such a wild tale. Moreover, the Crowland Chronicler seemed to dislike Richard III. The *Chronicle* was not, as some have claimed, 'Tudor Propaganda'. It was completed in the months following the death of Richard III and Henry VII's ascension, but Henry VII never got to see it. The chronicle was not only anonymous, it was hidden in the abbey, and was not even discovered until the 17th century. The chronicler was not aiming to impress his new monarch, and he certainly had little positive to say about the late monarch.

So why would the chronicler actually place a man he disliked and disapproved of in the position of the romantic hero? One can only speculate that there may be a grain of truth to the story. Here Richard Duke of Gloucester plays the knight errant rescuing the maiden in distress. Prince Charming to his Cinderella. Anne married Richard, received her rightful share of the inheritance, became a Duchess, had a son, and eventually became a Queen. Although tragically dying young, she did get a little bit of that happily ever after that she deserved.

OLGA HUGES

Tudor Women

We hope you enjoyed the crossword puzzle! How many of these Tudor women's surnames were you able to find?

1 THROCKMORTON
2 CREMER
3 CRANMER
4 PARR
5 HOWARD
6 ASHLEY
7 WYCKES
8 PARRY
9 SEYMOUR
10 KNOLLYS
11 GREY
12 WOODVILLE
13 BOLEYN

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TUDOR LIFE MAGAZINE

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