

# Tudor Life

The Tudor Society Magazine

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## CORONATION SPECIAL

### The Coronation of Henry VII

*by Leanda de Lisle*

### French Queens in the 1500s and 1600s

*by Dominic Pearce*

### Omens and Coronations

*by Toni Mount*

### Elizabeth I's Coronation Portraits

*by Melanie V. Taylor*

*And these...*

Reformation Women *Derek Wilson*

The Strange, Sad Fate of

George, Duke of Clarence *Olga Hughes*

Tudor Trumpeters *Jane Moulder*

Tudor Water Mills *Suzanne Crossley*







# August 2015

It's said that during the coronation of King George VI of Britain in 1937, the Archbishop of Canterbury opposed broadcasting the service into pubs in case people failed to lift their hats at the appropriate, sacred moment. Sixteen years later, at the coronation of Elizabeth II, it was noted by observers that the young and devout Queen was particularly moved during the untelevised part of the service in which she consecrated herself to the nation.

These modern reactions give some flavour of the importance attached to coronations in the early modern period. Their gorgeous ceremonial was not about looking 'pretty', it was rather about inspiring awe by surrounding the ceremony with suitable reverence. A king's coronation, like Henry VII's which is profiled by Leanda de Lisle in this month's issue, accentuated his power by confirming him as God's anointed. A queen's harnessed imagery of the Virgin Mary, whose coronation as Queen of Heaven was commemorated in the Church calendar on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, hence the theme for this month's edition. The service cast the queen consort not just as guarantor of the succession but also as an earthly handmaiden to Christ's mother – she would intercede for unhappy subjects in much the same way as the Virgin Mary did for poor sinners before the throne of Almighty God. Anne Boleyn was the last queen consort to be crowned in England for seventy years, but the ceremony stretched back centuries to the career of Alfred the Great's stepmother, Queen Judith. It remained a vitally important part of politics, as shown by Dominic Pearce's article on the delayed coronation of Marie de Medici as queen of France in 1610.

This month's article is full of pieces on the beauty, significance and ceremonial of coronations, as well as how they were commemorated in art and popular memory. I hope, like the spectators centuries ago, you take many different experiences away from it.

*Gareth Russell*

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### TWO AUGUST GUEST SPEAKERS

LIVI MICHAEL will be speaking about

*Margaret Beaufort* and

SUSAN HIGGINBOTHAM will be speaking about "*The real John Dudley*".

**Don't miss these amazing speakers!**

#### CORRECTIONS FROM JULY'S MAGAZINE

The Tudor Society would like to say that in **Melanie V. Taylor's** article, JS Edwards was incorrectly identified as having suggested that the sitter in the Yale Miniature might be Amy Robsart. Instead the article should have stated Eric Ives mentioned this fact.

In **Debra Bayani's** article on the Loire, the sentence should be "Once in royal possession it became the favourite residence of Louis XI, who had his wife Queen Charlotte of Savoye live there. Their son, the future Charles VIII, was born at the castle in 1470." The article in the magazine said that Charles VIII was the son of Prince Edward and Anne Neville - the error was entirely the fault of the Tudor Society and not Debra Bayani.



# REFORMATION WOMEN

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Historian and author **Derek Wilson**  
looks at the role played by several  
influential and powerful Tudor women...

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**R**ecent features by Gareth Russell and Susan Bordo for the Tudor Society have directed our thoughts to two important Tudor themes – the centrality of religion and the problem facing female rulers. We have to be careful not to keep the two in separate compartments, so I thought it might be useful to offer some pre-publication glimpses of my recently-completed book, *Reformation Women*, in which I adopt a Europe-wide perspective.

Sixteenth century society was highly stratified. From emperor and pope down to the meanest, landless peasant every person had his/her allotted place and was enjoined to keep to it. Those in authority were always nervous about social mobility and any sign of discontent among the lower orders, which was why the Peasants' War was suppressed so violently. Kings, dukes, regional governors and city councillors all exercised and jealously guarded real power – each in his own degree. In this grand – and divinely-ordained – scheme women, played a subordinate role to men. And yet, and yet, matters were not as clear cut as that might suggest. Another principle was at work which often ran counter to that governing relations between the sexes.

This was the dynastic principle. All families in power were determined to remain in power. But what happened if there were no adult males to take up the reins of royal or aristocratic rule? The only answer was – much though it went against the grain – that women had to fill in the gaps. Even in France where, according to the Salic Law, no woman was permitted to exercise kingly authority,

the preservation of the House of Valois demanded that, for many years, the queen mother controlled the government on behalf of her underage sons. In England and Scotland the ruling dynasties simply ran out of princes of the blood royal. In the Holy Roman Empire the problem was one of sheer size: the emperor could not exercise effective central control of his extensive territories, so had to appoint members of his family to act as governors or regents. Several of these viceroys were women. One of the more remarkable facts about the sixteenth century – and it is truly remarkable – is the extent of political power vested in women. More than twenty female rulers held sway in various lands at one time or another.

One result was that women found themselves in the position of being able to further or halt the cause of reform. This led to some interesting relationships between rulers of church and state. Reformers wedded to the Pauline doctrine that women's role in the household of faith was one of subservience to their menfolk in all matters of doctrine and authority, found themselves having



to support, encourage and submit to female heads of state who were vital to the spread of evangelical religion. The dilemma this could create is illustrated by the well-known miscalculation of the virulent Calvinist polemicist, John Knox. In his *First Blast*

*of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, he declared that the Reformation in England and Scotland had stalled because God's proscription of rule by women had been flouted in the coming to power of Mary Tudor and Mary of



Marguerite d'Angoulême by Jean Clouet c 1530.



Guise, south and north of the border respectively. Unfortunately, Knox's diatribe was published in 1558, only months before Mary Tudor died and was replaced by her half-sister, the Protestant Elizabeth I. Protestant she might be, but she was not prepared to be haranged by fiery Calvinist preachers or turn a blind eye to Knox's vitriolic prose:

I fear not to say, that the day of vengeance, which shall apprehend that horrible monster Jezebel of England [i.e. Mary Tudor], and such as maintain her monstrous cruelty, is already appointed in the counsel of the eternal. And I verily believe that it is so nigh, that she shall not reign so long in tyranny as hitherto she has done, when God shall declare himself to be her enemy ...

[*Selected Writings of John Knox: Public Epistles, Treatises and Expositions in the year 1559*, 1995, pp.145-6]

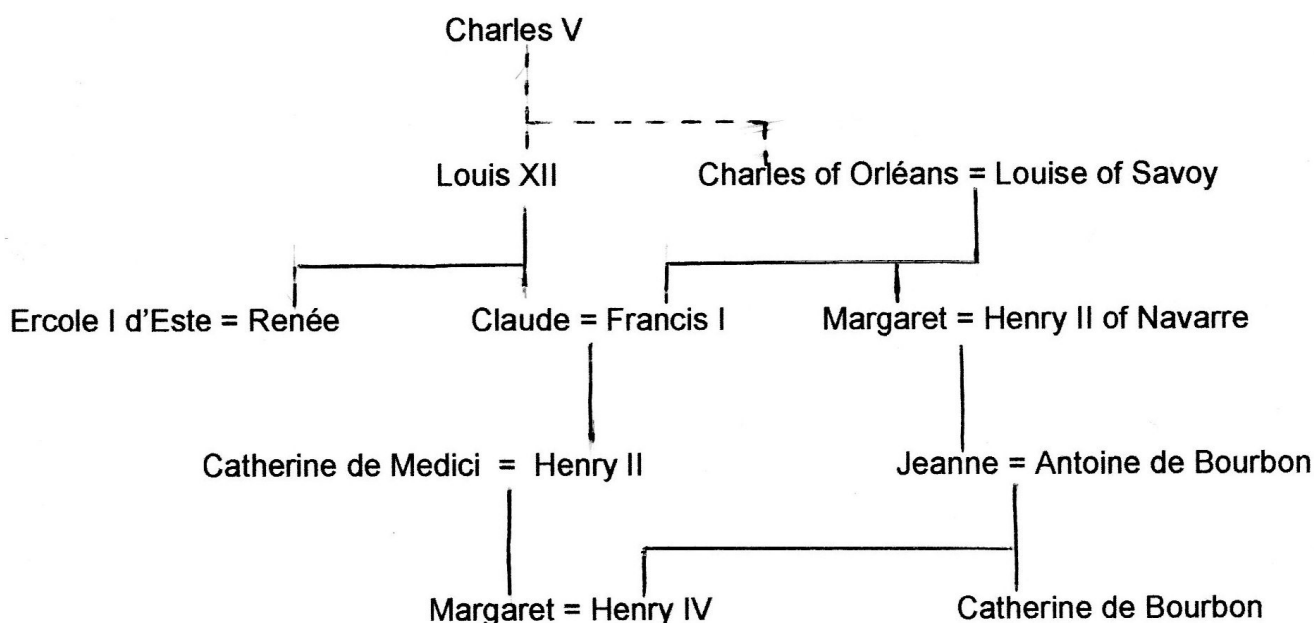
To the new Queen of England such language was seditious. Not only did she refuse to have Knox in her realm, she developed a personal loathing of the unyielding Calvinists called Puritans which coloured her religious policy for years.

The difficulty of wielding political authority without the power to determine policy is exemplified by Mary, Queen of Hungary and Regent of the Spanish Netherlands. Mary was the sister of no less a personage than the Emperor

Charles V. She was happily married to Ludwig II of Hungary and Bohemia but, in 1526, the king was killed in battle against the Turks. Luther, knowing that Mary had shown some sympathy towards the reformed cause, dedicated to her a commentary on *Four Psalms of Comfort*. But his attempt to draw her into the Protestant fold was doomed to failure. The defection of a Habsburg princess could not be tolerated by the family. Mary was dragooned into becoming Regent of the Spanish Netherlands, a responsibility she compared to have 'a rope around my neck'. The main cause of tension was the spread of Protestantism. Mary tended towards toleration and applied the law as leniently as possible but her brother bullied her into submission, warning her that if she became a friend of Lutherans she would become his enemy.

Mary's position was impossible, as she frequently pointed out to her brother. Charles demanded draconian action against all who resisted Catholic faith. Mary lacked both the resources and the will to carry out her brother's instructions. She understood, what Charles did not, that sincere people cannot be dragooned into abandoning their beliefs. Having asked several times to be relieved of her responsibilities, Mary was, at last permitted to resign in 1555.

In France the death of Louis XII (1515) was the overture to a tragic drama which brought several women to prominence and also unleashed religious war.





Since Salic Law prevented the succession of a woman, the king's death without male heir meant that the crown passed to the twenty-year-old Francis of Angoulême, who now became Francis I of France. Francis was a cultured and intelligent ruler who chose his councillors wisely – even if they were women! He was guided in the early years of his reign by his mother, the politically astute Louise of Savoy, who acted as regent when the king was away on campaign. However, it was the king's elder sister, Margaret, who provided the creative energy of the royal household. She was both devout and intellectual and followed closely the controversial theological issues of the day.

Margaret's salon was soon renowned throughout Europe and was illuminated by several of the more *avant garde* writers and thinkers of the day. The most famous was François Rabelais, the monk-cum-scholar-cum-doctor-cum-writer, popularly thought of as an apostle of hedonism. In fact, he brought gifts of wit and imagination to a traditional Catholic world in confusion. He satirised the establishment – particularly the religious establishment – and ruthlessly exposed hypocrisy. Margaret herself took a leaf from his book with her collection of bawdy tales called the *Heptameron* (published posthumously) in which she poked fun at errant clergy. But Margaret and most members of her circle were in deadly earnest about the gap between Christian piety and what passed for orthodox religion. If they mocked bishops, schoolmen and monks it was in order to make people recognise just how critical the spiritual malaise was.

Margaret translated into French Luther's *Meditation on the Lord's Prayer* and certainly read his explosive *Babylonian Captivity of the Church*. She did not become a disciple of Luther's but what she and members of her humanist coterie did was ask questions and refuse to accept, without comment, the Catholic party line. By the mid 1520s such free-thinking was denounced as heresy. The early flickering of French Protestantism would certainly have been smothered had it not been for the protection afforded by those like Margaret who were immune to attack.

She took as her spiritual director Guillaume Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux, who headed the leading humanist cell in France, the Meaux Circle.



Mary of Guise by Corneille de Lyon c.1537

Two of its more prominent members were Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, who produced the first French translation of the Bible, and the poet, Clément Marot. Both men ran into difficulties with the ecclesiastical establishment for encouraging the study of Scripture in the original languages. When Marot lampooned the Paris schoolmen as ignoramuses, he was imprisoned and only the king's intervention saved him from a worse fate. Lefèvre was obliged to flee to Strasbourg. That the reform gained any ground at all in France is largely due to Margaret's protection of evangelical activists in the early days of protest. Much to the frustration of church leaders, their complaints seldom outweighed the deep affection Francis had for his sister.

Though Margaret's personal religion was of a personal kind which would not be labelled 'Lutheran' or 'Calvinist', she certainly embraced the central Protestant doctrine of justification by only faith. Her own poetry reflected this:

To you I testify  
That God does justify  
Through Christ the man who sins.  
But if he does not believe  
And by faith receive  
He shall have no peace,  
From worry no surcease.  
God will then relieve,  
If faith will but believe  
Through Christ the gentle Lord.

[C.f., R. Bainton, *Women of the Reformation in France and England*, Minneapolis, 2007, p.21]

Margaret's best known prose work was a little devotional manual entitled *The Mirror of the Sinful Soul*. It stands in the mystical tradition but its indebtedness to Luther is obvious. This, too, was published posthumously but became something of a classic among reformed Christians. In England, Princess Elizabeth made a translation for presentation to her stepmother, Queen Catherine Parr.

Whatever Margaret's private faith, she was a public figure. As her brother's closest adviser, but one whose sympathies lay with the radicals who were causing the government increasing problems, her position was a difficult one. She could not do what she helped some of her protégés to do – go into hiding or exile. Francis depended on her practical wisdom and her undoubted gifts as a diplomat, particularly when, having been captured by his enemies at the Battle of Pavia (1525), he relied on her to conduct the tricky negotiations for his release. Margaret was privileged by her position to be able to hold personal beliefs that were not wholly orthodox. Others were not so fortunate. As tension increased, evangelicals suffered increasing persecution. In 1525 the Meaux group was disbanded and Briçonnet himself faced heresy charges. This was the year of Margaret's marriage. Her husband was Henry II, ruler of the small Pyrenean kingdom of Navarre. Though she continued to visit her brother's court, her principle residence became Nérac in Navarre where she was better able to shield her protégés from attack.

In the relative peace of Nérac Margaret found various ways to serve the reform. She welcomed Protestant fugitives, who found in the worship of her chapel biblical teaching and a congenial style of devotion. She became a kind of spiritual mother

to the churches throughout her domain, visiting, encouraging and providing written manuals on worship and doctrine. She kept up an extensive correspondence with members of a wide humanist and reformed network. The celebrated blue stocking Vittoria Colonna was one of those with whom Margaret exchanged letters and we can discern a distinctive kind of feminine spirituality in their epistles of mutual encouragement. In both reformed and unreformed churches it was taken as axiomatic that priests or preachers were those chosen by God to teach his flock but Vittoria wrote about spiritual guides, 'I believe that examples chosen from our own sex are always more fitting and following them is always more appropriate'. [A. Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna and the Spiritual Poetics of the Italian Reformation*, 2008, p.103]

Margaret died in 1549, before religion cleft France asunder into Catholic and Calvinist camps. It was still possible for such a prominent woman to preserve confessional neutrality. Her daughter was less fortunate. Jeanne d'Albret, Margaret's only child to survive infancy, grew up to share her mother's religious independence but not her irenic demeanour. She had fierce convictions and stood by them stubbornly. Her determination and self-will were first put to the test in 1540, when she was married, on the orders of King Francis, to the Duke of Cleves. The eleven-year-old Jeanne protested loudly, shrilly and persistently. She had to be carried, squirming to the altar. Because of the bride's age the marriage was not immediately consummated and the couple lived apart. For five years Jeanne kept up her opposition and, surprisingly, she won. The union was annulled in 1545. Three years later Jeanne was married again to Antoine de Bourbon. Fortunately for everyone concerned, the bride was happy with her handsome young groom.

She chose to embrace Calvinism and she was tutored in doctrine by Theodore Beza, Calvin's successor. She found the Genevan reformer's uncompromising, hard-edged theology to her liking and, once she was convinced of its truth there was for her no question of modifying it. It was, however, 1560 before Jeanne made public confession of her faith. By this time both her parents were dead. Jeanne and Antoine were now the rulers of Navarre and their little state became the leading Protestant haven. Monasteries were closed, churches 'purified',



some Catholic rituals were forbidden and the New Testament was translated into the Basque language.

The existence of a semi-independent heretic state within France could not be tolerated. Protestantism was now a major force in the land with tens of thousands of converts. The challenge to the political and religious status quo could not be ignored. The government took up arms against the French Calvinists (Huguenots). Under pressure from the king, Antoine crumbled and when the Wars of Religion began (1562) he fought on the Catholic side. Jeanne was ordered to renounce her heresy and conform but this lady was not for turning. She was still at heart the girl who had refused to submit to her first husband. Even though her four-year-old son was, for a while, held

and sent appeals for aid to foreign courts. She took no delight in Huguenot victories and appealed directly to the queen mother, Catherine de Medici, to grant freedom of Protestant worship and order an end to hostilities:

I implore you with tears and utter affection to make peace. Have pity on so much blood already shed which you can staunch with a word.

[R. Bainton, *Women of the Reformation in France and England*, Minneapolis, 2007, p.67]

A fragile peace which secured a large measure of freedom for Calvinist worship was eventually signed at St. Germain (1571). It was to

“ I implore you with tears  
and utter affection to make  
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blood already shed which you can  
staunch with a word.

hostage in Paris and she, herself, was threatened with excommunication, abduction, trial by the Inquisition and even assassination, Jeanne did not flinch. She improved the defences of her kingdom, and confiscated Catholic church land, using the proceeds for poor relief and the setting up of a Calvinist academy.

France was now in the grip of a hatred as intense as can only occur when civil war is cloaked in religion. Fanatical generals urged their troops to face death in the name of God while the nation teetered on the edge of bankruptcy. When Antoine died and his son became titular head of the Huguenot minority, Jeanne moved to the Huguenot HQ at La Rochelle. From there she financed the movement

be underpinned by a marriage between Catherine's daughter, Margaret, and Jeanne's son, Henry. The ceremony was fixed for 18 August 1572. Fortunately for Jeanne, she did not live to witness the event and its appalling aftermath. She died on 9 June.

The Italian-born Catherine de Medici had found herself in a position of power when her husband, Henry II, was killed in a tiltyard accident. She acted as regent for her son Francis II and, after his premature death, for her second son, Charles IX. As well as religious conflict, France was beset by rivalries between the leading noble houses. In her determination to establish peace and to assert the authority of the Crown she pressed for the marriage alliance with Navarre. But she also



planned a more sinister act to stop the war. This was the assassination of the Huguenot military leader, Admiral de Coligny. He was to be shot when, in the company of all the leading noble families, he came to Paris for the royal wedding. The initial plot failed but, hours later, Coligny was butchered in his own bedchamber. Panic and fear spread like a forest fire as the rival camps flew to arms. But it was Catherine's forces who had the advantage. The result was the notorious St Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Rampaging Catholic mobs attacked all known Huguenots in an orgy of blood letting which spread outwards from Paris and did not cease until more than 5,000 Huguenots had been murdered.

One person who received with particular grief the news of these terrible events was Renée de Valois, younger daughter of Louis XII. In 1528 she had been married to Ercole d'Este, heir to the dukedom of Ferrara. The marriage was destined to be unhappy because Renée was very French and also because, having been brought up under the tutelage of Margaret of Valois, she had embraced the Reformation. Her court at Ferrara became a haven for religious radicals fleeing France.

Ercole used every tactic he could think of to force Renée to do the 'respectable' thing of declaring loyalty to the pope. He negotiated the marriage of their eldest daughter, Anne, to Francis of Guise, whose family were the leaders of the French Catholics. He banished all his wife's Protestant friends and vigorously encouraged the Inquisition's purge of heretics throughout his territory. Still Renée refused to admit that she had anything of which to recant. Under this pressure she moved steadily towards the Calvinist position. Only when Ercole formally denounced her to the Inquisition, took away her remaining children and made her a prisoner in her own home did she yield and abjure her Protestantism. Even then, her recantation was nothing more than an outward display. She refused to attend mass.

Her ordeal came to an end in 1559. That was the year Ercole died. His son took over as Alphonse II and he allowed his mother to return to her beloved France. She took up residence on her estate at Montargis, south of Fontainebleau. At last she was monarch of all she surveyed. Her home once again became a refuge for those fleeing from persecution – whether Protestant or Catholic. Despite her



**Catherine de' Medici wears the black cap and veil of widow, after 1559, workshop of François Clouet c 1570.**

ecumenism (She even allowed her children to follow the denominational path of their own choosing), she asked Calvin to provide a pastor for her little flock. The man he sent was François de Morel, a scholarly Huguenot of noble birth. His presence at Montargis was a mixed blessing. He believed that it was his task to set up a church organisation on the strict Genevan model. This would have involved Renée taking a very back seat, something she was not prepared to do. De Morel explained his predicament in irritated Letters to Calvin. It was unthinkable, he protested, to permit women into the councils of the church. To do so would mean the Reformed churches becoming, 'the laughing stock of Anabaptists and papists alike'.

On 1 March 1562, Renée's son-in-law, now Duke of Guise, instigated the massacre of fifty Huguenots at Wassy, some two hundred kilometres from Paris. His pregnant wife, Renée's daughter, was in her carriage nearby. The incident was 'one of the great transformative events of European history, ushering in the age of the Wars of Religion, which ... would engulf the whole of Europe' [S. Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers – The Guise family and the*



*Making of Europe*, Oxford, p.249]. Months later, Guise was assassinated in a revenge attack. These events in her own family were heartbreaking for Renée. But religious conflict brought pain and distress to another of her relatives.

The troubles of Mary of Guise, Renée's sister-in-law, began with the death of her husband in 1537. At the age of twenty-one, she was back on the marriage market. Within a year the contract was drawn up which united Mary with the recently-widowed King James V of Scotland. It was a political deal, designed to curtail the ambitions and pretensions of the English king but as the tumultuous century progressed the alliance assumed a religious flavour. In 1542 James died leaving his crown to a new-born daughter (the future Mary Queen of Scots), his widow's only surviving child. For the next seventeen years Mary of Guise struggled, first of all to be recognised as regent and then to maintain the Franco-Scottish alliance and fend off a mounting wave of Calvinism. Nationalist and religious fervour rose to fever pitch after the French king died and his heir (now married to the Queen of Scots) became master of the two kingdoms. Mary tried hard to conciliate the rival factions.

In 1559, the Calvinist leaders, calling themselves the Lords of the Congregation, threatened Mary that if she persisted in making 'ordinance against the word of God we of necessity must disobey your ordinance'. [P.A. Ritchie, *Mary of Guise in Scotland 1548-1560: A Political Career*, East Linton, 2002, p.210] Simultaneously, mobs,

egged on by Knox and other preachers, went on an iconoclastic rampage. Poor Mary had no option but to meet force with force. She brought more troops in from France. The Lords of the Congregation summoned military aid from England. In the midst of the conflict, in June 1560, Mary died at the age of fifty-four, worn out by her efforts to preserve the Old Alliance and the old faith.

These were just some of the remarkable female rulers in 16<sup>th</sup> century Europe. Can we make any judgement about how they handled power? If it is patronising to assert that a queen did a remarkably good job 'for a woman', it is equally demeaning to assume she handled situations well 'because she was a woman'. Each one should be assessed as an individual, coping with the specific issues that faced her. We might consider that some displayed characteristics we could regard as 'feminine' – tolerance, pragmatism, abhorrence of war. Margaret of Navarre was passionate about religious freedom and extended her protection to those of different persuasions. Despite plots, assassination attempts, excommunication by the pope and a mini-rebellion, Elizabeth of England resisted for almost twenty years the appeals of her councillors to take up arms against Catholic Spain or rigorously enforce the law against English papists. But other women rulers were very different. Mary Tudor was an embittered persecutor. Jeanne d'Albret bankrolled Protestant rebellion. And as for Isabella of Castile, part of her legacy was the Spanish Inquisition!

**Derek Wilson** is a leading historian of the Tudor period whose acclaimed works include: 'Henry VIII: Reformer and Tyrant', 'The English Reformation: How England was transformed by the Tudors', 'After the Storm: The Life and Legacy of Martin Luther', 'Uncrowned Kings of England: The Black Legend of the Dudleys' and biographies of Thomas Walsingham, the Earl of Leicester, Hans Holbein and Thomas More. He has spoken as one of the "Expert Speakers" for the Tudor Society. He is currently writing the third book in his Thomas Treviot series under his **D.K.Wilson** name.





# HENRY VII'S CORONATION

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Think you know why the Tudor symbol has a red and white rose? Think again ... Respected historian **Leanda de Lisle** looks at the origins of the Tudors.

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The coronation of the first Tudor King, Henry VII, was planned with his mother, Margaret Beaufort. Henry had spent his entire adult life in exile and barely knew the kingdom he was now to rule. Margaret, by contrast had taken part in the court ceremonies of three earlier kings. It was particularly important to impress Londoners, who were suffering the deadly consequences of a mysterious new epidemic. Amongst the early victims of the first weeks were the mayor of London and his replacement. It was being taken as an omen for the new reign. Henry would need to use his coronation to reassure the country that he was God's chosen ruler.

The disease, known as 'the sweating sickness', had struck only two weeks after Henry had entered London in September. He had defeated Richard III at the battle of Bosworth in August, and he brought much of his army to London with him. It had been recruited in France and included men described as the scum of the earth. It is probable it was this army that brought 'the sweat' with them. Like the Spanish flu that swept the world in 1918, 'the sweat' could take the life of a healthy adult in a single day. Victims would develop cold shivers, giddiness, headache and severe pains in the neck, shoulders

and limbs. Later, came heat and sweating, headache, delirium, a rapid pulse and intense thirst. Palpitations and pains in the heart ended in exhaustion and death. Londoners were in terror of it.

Any speculation on the possible meaning or significance of the sweating sickness was banned and new royal symbols were chosen that would project the appropriate chivalric values for a glorious new king. Amongst them the most significant was the red rose. It has often been suggested that the rose was

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chosen because the House of Lancaster from which Henry drew his royal blood had used it as their symbol. But if Henry had only wished to associate himself more closely with that royal House he would have chosen a more favoured Lancastrian device. The last Lancastrian king, Henry VI, had used variously a spotted panther, an antelope, and ostrich feathers.

Henry Tudor chose a red rose less because of its royal associations than because its religious symbolism.

The red rose represented Christ's Passion – his suffering on the cross for the sins of mankind – the five petals of the heraldic rose corresponding to the five wounds on Christ's crucified body. His mother's possessions illustrate the connection: amongst them was a jewelled ornament of a 'rose with an image of Our Lord and in every nail a pointed diamond, and four pearls, with tokens of the passion on the backside'. The Passion was also associated with the fashionable cult of the Holy Name, of which Margaret Beaufort was an enthusiast, and would do much to promote. The symbol IHS (an abbreviation of Jesus) even became a badge of the Tudors, and the rose was often depicted with the monogram at its heart.

With the coronation preparations underway, seven yards of scarlet velvet in dragons and of red roses were commissioned.

So were four yards of white cloth of gold with a border of red roses for the ornamental covering, or trapping, for horses. A further couple of hundred roses were ordered in fine lace made of pure gold thread, while the footmen were to have jackets in the Tudor colours, of white and green: the colours of purity and renewal.

The coronation began, at last, on 28 October with Henry taking formal possession of the Tower.



**Portrait of Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443-1509)  
dressed as a widow, artist unknown**

The next day he was processed to Westminster before the London crowds. Heralds, sergeants of arms, trumpeters, esquires, the mayor, aldermen, and nobles, preceded Henry dressed in their rich liveries. Henry himself rode under a canopy fringed with 28 ounces of gold and silk, carried by four knights on foot. He was bare-headed, his light brown hair reaching his shoulders, a rich belt slung across his chest, and a long gown of purple velvet furred with ermine on his back. Behind Henry rode





Young Henry VII by a French artist (Musée Calvet, Avignon)

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his uncle, Jasper Tudor, newly created as Duke of Bedford.

Alongside Jasper rode another significant figure: John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, husband of Elizabeth Plantagenet, a sister of the Yorkist kings Edward IV and Richard III. It was said Richard III had named Suffolk's eldest son, the Earl of Lincoln, as his heir. Henry, having killed Richard at the battle of Bosworth and taken his throne, was now inviting the de la Pole family to support him instead, as the true King.

On Sunday 30 October Henry was crowned and anointed at Westminster Abbey, its walls hung with the fine wool cloth known as scarlet. His mother Margaret Beaufort's superior blood right to the crown was overlooked. England was not yet ready to be ruled by a Queen regnant and in any event, her blood claim was weak. She was of illegitimate descent. Henry's right had been won on the battlefield. It was not the right of birth. What power Margaret had would be wielded behind the throne, but it would be very real nonetheless. This was as much her moment of triumph as Henry's, and it was later remembered how 'when the king her son was crowned in all that great triumph and

glory, she wept marvellously'. These tears were not of joy alone, however. She was anxious about the future.

In November Henry sought the necessary approval of parliament for his rule: the high court of the realm. It was duly confirmed that, 'the inheritance of the crowns of England and France abide in the most royal person of our sovereign Lord King Henry VII and in the heirs of his body'. But in contrast to his predecessor, Richard III, Henry's right to the throne was not described or explained, it was, simply, accepted as the will of God, made evident by his victory at the battle of Bosworth. The problem, as Margaret and Henry knew, was that if he lost a future battle, it would seem that God had decided someone else had a better right to the throne. And the years ahead would indeed see many battles. Each of the three sons of John de la Pole would take up the Yorkist title of 'the white rose' to challenge Henry VII and his heirs. A coronation was not enough to secure Henry's right. He would have to fight on for his crown.

**LEANDA DE LISLE**

**Leanda de Lisle** has written for Country Life and Spectator magazines as well as a regular column in the Guardian newspaper. Her first solo book, *After Elizabeth: The Death of Elizabeth & the Coming of King James*, was published in 2005 and was runner up for the Saltire Society's First Book of the Year award. This was followed by *The Sisters Who Would be Queen; The tragedy of Mary, Katherine & Lady Jane Grey*, and *Tudor; The Family Story (1437-1603)*. She lives near to Bosworth battlefield.





# THE DISTRACTIONS OF MARIE DE MÉDICIS

*by Dominic Pearce*

**W**AR was about to break out when, on 13 May 1610, Marie de Médicis was crowned Queen of France, but there is good reason to think she was more concerned about her marriage at the time. Marie was thirty-five and ten years married to King Henri IV, to whom she had given a huge dowry and six children. She displayed a reliable regal dignity combined with agreeable high spirits. She was in every way a model wife. Her husband's heart was captivated by another woman nonetheless, if woman is the word, since Charlotte de Montmorency, 'whom everyone found perfect in beauty,' was fifteen years old.<sup>1</sup>

The king noticed Charlotte for the first time in January 1609, when she was rehearsing her part as a nymph in one of the queen's ballets. At once he was seized by a desire to possess her so intense that he came down with an attack of gout that lasted a fortnight.<sup>2</sup> At fifty-five the white-bearded king was old enough to be her grandfather, which does not seem to have fussed the delighted Charlotte.

The least of the ensuing complications was Charlotte's existing engagement to François de Bassompierre. He too was greatly loved by the king, but he sacrificed his hopes of married bliss when Henri IV found her a better husband: better in the sense that the new groom was his own cousin, the Prince de Condé; and better in the sense that Condé had no interest in women.

The marriage of Charlotte de Montmorency and Henri de Condé, who was now awarded a large income by the king, took place quietly at her father's Château de Chantilly on 17 May 1609. It was not consummated. Henri IV and Charlotte exchanged letters. The king called her *Dulcinée*, the name of the heroine of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*,<sup>3</sup> while she called him her star and urged him to burn her letters. His relatives urged the young Henri de Condé to play ball, but he withdrew from court, taking Charlotte with him to Burgundy. The couple returned to attend the queen at Fontainebleau in June, after her latest pregnancy was announced, then withdrew once more, this time to the Château de Muret north of Paris.

Henri IV was behaving strangely. When Charlotte was present, he most uncharacteristically washed properly, wore scented clothes and jewels; but when she was not, he pursued her, at one point dressing up as a royal huntsman in his own livery, disguised by a false beard and an eye patch, gazing from the side of the road as her carriage went past.<sup>4</sup> Condé was now desperate. If he was not sure about having sex with his wife, he was sure he did not want her to have sex with the king. As Marie de Médicis' pregnancy came to term – the queen gave birth to a little girl on 26 November 1609 – Condé set off with a reluctant Charlotte from Muret for the forest of Landrecies, and there on 29 November they disappeared.<sup>5</sup>

1 For Marie's birth date see Stefano Tabacchi, *Maria de Medici* (Salerno 2012) p 23. For Charlotte see Bassompierre, *Mémoires* (Paris 1870) p 212

2 Bassompierre p 213

3 The first volume was published in Madrid in 1605

4 JP Babelon *Henri IV* (Fayard 1982) pp 959-961

5 For the dates see Héroard *Journal* Vol I p 1693 (1989 edition arranged by Madeleine Foisil), and Bassompierre p 255



Marie de Medici in her coronation robe – Bettman and the Daily Mail



## FEATURE SECTION: CORONATIONS

The baby was named Henriette Marie, to show the indivisible partnership of her parents Henri and Marie, but the king was thinking about Charlotte. He wailed to Bassompierre 'I am lost! This man has taken his wife into a wood. I do not know whether it is to kill her or to take her out of France.'<sup>6</sup>

At this time Henri IV was preparing to attack the traditional enemies of France, that is to say the Habsburg family. In early 1610, the king assembled a huge army (22,000 men) in Champagne to intervene in a quarrel within the Holy Roman Empire, about the future of the duchy of Jülich-Cleves, a strategic group of territories bordering the Dutch Republic.

When Duke Johann Wilhelm of Jülich-Cleves died on 25 March 1609, he left no direct heirs. The duke's mental health problems – he was known as Johann Wilhelm the Simple – contributed to the confused preparation for his legacy, which was contested widely. By early 1610 there was a military stand-off around the main city of Jülich, which was occupied by the Archduke Leopold. In theory Leopold was upholding the rights of the Elector of Saxony (to whom Emperor Rudolf II awarded the duchy on 7 July 1609), but probably he was angling for Habsburg gains. Unfortunately Jülich was surrounded by the combined, much larger forces of two other German princes, the Duke of Pfalz-Neuburg and the Elector of Brandenburg, who had better claims than anyone else. They were both nephews of Johann Wilhelm (the latter by marriage). Because they occupied most of Jülich Cleves, they were called the Possessors.

This confusion gave Henri IV his opportunity. By standing up for the Possessors, the King of France would outface the uncertain Rudolf as champion of legitimacy, and amass political capital within the empire. French intervention threatened general war, but Henri IV had won all the wars he ever fought, and was ready for that.<sup>7</sup>

Here lay the explanation for the the coronation of Marie de Médicis. Earlier, Henri IV put off the



**Charlotte de Montmorency**

costly ceremony, because he was saving money through austerity budgetting, but now he wanted his wife to be crowned so that she would have an unquestionable authority as his regent, governing France while he was on campaign.

On 13 May 1610 the thick, dark blonde hair of Marie de Médicis was piled high on her head, probably by her Florentine friend Leonora Galigai. The queen's voluptuous figure was swathed in 'a velvet coat covered with golden fleurs de lys and lined with ermine, with a long train... in her hair she wore jewels, and her jacket was covered with huge diamonds, rubies and emeralds...'<sup>8</sup> She walked into the abbey church of St Denis under a canopy held by two cardinals. Before her marched long ranks of Swiss guards in violet and sky blue, the king's gentlemen in white and violet, the knights of the Order of the Holy Spirit in black velvet embroidered with silver. The ceremony at St Denis was a long, musical display of royal Catholic piety,

<sup>6</sup> Bassompierre p 256

<sup>7</sup> see Peter H Wilson *The Thirty Years War* (Harvard University Press paperback 2011) pp 229-238

<sup>8</sup> l'Estoile, *Journal pour le règne de Henri IV* Vol 3 p 73 (Paris 1948-60)



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**King Henry IV of France**

attended by princes of the church and court, all the queen's children, and Henri IV watching from a specially constructed box in the gallery.<sup>9</sup>

It was impressive but it lacked unity. The Prince de Condé was not there, for one. At least he did not murder his wife. After passing through the forest of Landrecies in November 1609, his

cavalcade crossed the border into Flanders, where he installed Charlotte at the Hôtel de Nassau in Brussels, from where he went on, until he arrived at Milan for discussions with the Spanish viceroy. He also talked of annulling his dangerous marriage. Another powerful Prince of the Blood also stayed away from St Denis. This was the Comte de

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<sup>9</sup> JC Petitfils, *Louis XIII* (Perrin 2008) p 63



# FEATURE SECTION: CORONATIONS

Soissons, who was insulted because his wife was not allowed to wear a dress decorated with royal fleurs-de-lys.<sup>10</sup>

The queen loved being crowned, but she did not really know where the coronation led. Henri IV had already set aside one wife.<sup>11</sup> Was he truly planning to unleash his war machine on the Archduke Leopold, or was he thinking of releasing Charlotte from the Hôtel de Nassau by force of arms? He could do both. If Henri IV was intent on Charlotte, what was the future of Marie? What if Condé annulled the marriage? Did the coronation really protect Marie's position on the front line, or would it offer a safe retirement? The answer to these questions lay in the mind of the king, but it was not Henri IV who resolved matters.

A visionary red-haired Catholic from Angoulême called François Ravaillac, about thirty years old, now made his intervention. The day after Marie's coronation, 14 May 1610, Ravaillac decided the time had come to present his views to Henri IV, so he waited outside the Louvre for the king to come out.

In the afternoon the king's carriage appeared, taking Henri IV to see the preparations for his wife's triumphal entry into Paris, that was due in a few days time. Followed by Ravaillac, the carriage trundled into the Rue de la Ferronnerie, a street made narrow by a row of shops, which forced the royal escort, lightly armed men running alongside the carriage, to peel away and go round the back.

The carriage then came to a halt, because the way was blocked by two carts which had run into each other, one carrying straw, the other wine.

Carriages at this time did not have glass windows. Instead there were leather curtains, but these were raised so that the king could see out, so it was easy for the athletic Ravaillac, who now jumped up onto the wheel, to lean forward and plunge his knife, with two powerful blows, into the king's body. 'It's nothing,' said Henri IV, looking at his chest with mild surprise.

Ravaillac, frozen, was overpowered with no difficulty. The king was driven back to the Louvre at top speed, while the Duc d'Epemon reassured people that he was only wounded. Actually Henri IV was beyond help since the second blow had severed the inferior *vena cava*, one of the large veins carrying blood to the heart, and internally he was haemorrhaging. Soon after his return to the Louvre, the greatest king in Europe was dead.<sup>12</sup>

There would be no general European war in 1610. The hopes of Charlotte and the marriage of Marie de Médicis were over. The next day the Florentine queen became regent as planned, but regent for her traumatized son, the nine year old Louis XIII. She had new distractions now. Who was behind the attack on Henri IV? Would she be next? Were her children safe? The day after her coronation Marie de Médicis found that the page of history had turned.

**DOMINIC PEARCE**

<sup>10</sup> for the coronation see Dubost, *Marie de Médicis* (Payot 2009) pp 276-282. The Princes of the Blood were the king's cousins, who were in line for the throne after his sons.

<sup>11</sup> Marie's distant cousin, Marguerite de Valois (who attended the coronation)

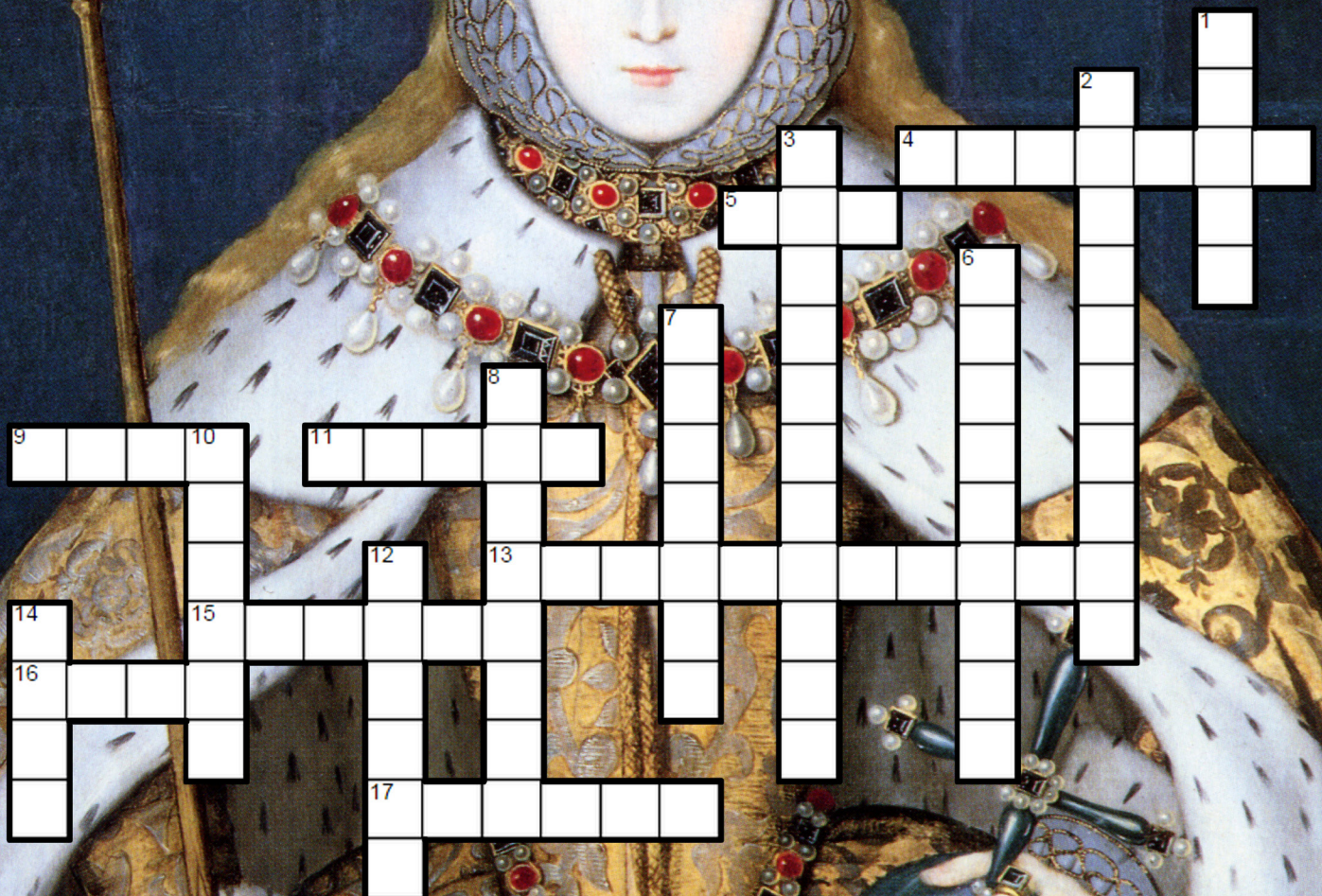
<sup>12</sup> Various accounts, See for instance Fontenay Mareuil *Mémoires* (Paris 1837) pp 15-16

**Dominic Pearce** is the author of the forthcoming biography "Henrietta Maria", a life of Charles I's notorious and maligned queen. The biography will be published later this year by Amberley and it is described as "a story of elegance, courage, wit, family devotion and energy on a grand scale."





# ELIZABETH I CORONATION QUIZ



## ACROSS

- 4 Ruler (7)
- 5 Christian symbol of authority (3)
- 9 A precious metal (4)
- 11 Elizabeth's Father (5)
- 13 Elizabeth's coronation banquet was held here (11)
- 15 Town where the coronation took place (6)
- 16 Elizabeth's mother (4)
- 17 Latin for queen (6)

## DOWN

- 1 Elizabeth's secretary of state (5)
- 2 Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of \_\_\_\_\_ (10)
- 3 A series of activities or events (11)
- 6 The act of applying oil (9)
- 7 Symbolic ornamental staff (7)
- 8 The moment of coronation (8)
- 10 Lord Ambrose \_\_\_\_\_ (6)
- 12 Elizabeth's half brother (6)
- 14 Elizabeth's half sister (4)



*by Melanie V. Taylor*

A circular seal of King John, featuring a knight on horseback holding a sword, surrounded by Latin text. The knight is depicted in profile, facing left, wearing a surcoat and holding a sword aloft in his right hand. The horse is also facing left. The entire scene is enclosed within a circular border containing the Latin inscription: "HANC AVIC + IOH S: DUX NORWIC ET HOTTANING". The seal is a black and white reproduction of a historical document.



When a king died, the Great Seal was destroyed which is why only wax impressions remain. The design for each successive king followed a traditional format. The Seal was double sided with one side showing the monarch seated on the Coronation Chair under a Cloth of Estate, dressed in the robes of state and holding their emblems of kingship i.e.

the orb, and either St Edward's Staff, or a sword. The Great Sword of State represents the sovereign's royal authority and in the coronation ceremony there are three others, representing mercy, spiritual justice and temporal justice. On the reverse, the sovereign is shown as a mounted armoured warrior. The creation of a new Great Seal would have been a matter of urgency because documents requiring the sovereign's signature were not authenticated unless they also carried wax impressions of The Great Seal. This seal is an engraving of King John's Seal used on Magna Carta.<sup>1</sup> Without this Seal the greatest document in history would not have been legal.

The Seal of Henry VII is decoratively more complex and since Henry gained the throne at

1 [http://yeomenoftheguard.com/great\\_seals\\_of\\_state.htm](http://yeomenoftheguard.com/great_seals_of_state.htm)



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can just see the pomegranates, which are a reference to her mother, Catharine of Aragon and are one of Mary's personal emblems.

The engraved images of the various Seals are from a website maintained by Yeoman William Norton. Not only does this website give us an



Bosworth where Richard III was the last English king to die in battle then his image as a warrior is more than appropriate.

When it came to designing a suitable image for Mary's Seal, one side could follow tradition and show her seated under a Cloth of Estate, but the reverse could not have her portrayed as a mounted warrior. The artist's has her mounted on a horse and riding side saddle, but this makes her look as if she is out for a nice afternoon's ride. If we look carefully at the space immediately in front of the horse, we



insight into the images on the Royal Seals dating back to Edward the Confessor, but there are all





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sorts of interesting facts regarding the Yeomen and their role.

For Elizabeth's accession and the first Elizabethan Great Seal there are striking similarities



to the first Great Seal of Mary, which could suggest the design was by the same artist.

Elizabeth is seated under Cloth of Estate wearing her Robes of State. The image is fuller and the impression is very clear.

The reverse of Elizabeth's first Great Seal also takes its theme from Mary's Seal, but this time the background has the Tudor rose and eglantine (sweet briar rose), which was one of Elizabeth's flower

motifs. For someone who love hunting and was apparently a skilled horsewoman this image tells us more about the about the artist's ability to paint a horse and rider. Compared to the horse on Mary's Seal, this steed appears skittish.

When it came to the second Great Seal of Elizabeth's reign, this time the enthroned queen fills the space. From either side of the Seal hands come from clouds and support the heavy ermine lined cloak so we can admire the enthroned queen who is seated in all her glory, but wearing the type of gown and ruff that appeared in many portraits. Here her image closely resembles that created by Nicholas Hilliard and is now referred to as the Mask of Youth. The engraving and design of the Seal is done in reverse and this is a particularly sharp wax impression.

The reverse continues the image of the queen wearing her cartwheel ruff, holding the orb and the staff of mercy. Symbolic images clearly do not reflect the difficulties of wearing such an outfit while carrying the various emblems of queenship as well as riding! Perhaps it is an homage to the queen's skill as a horsewoman?

I have filtered out the background of the Elizabethan Great Seals kept in the English National Archives at Kew that I took in 2006.

The ceremony for the coronation of an English monarch are laid out in the *Liber Regalis*, which is kept in Westminster Abbey. This illuminated book dates from the last quarter of the fourteen century and it is thought it was prepared for the





**D**e quo regina sola coronanda est con-  
 ueniant in palacio regali apud west-  
 prelati et nobiles regni et ordinis prelati p-  
 archiepiscopus episcopus prelatos altare et conventu





Rita  
coram  
domina

Regina apud  
Westm. tunc s. Michaelis  
Anno regni Marie dei  
in duodecimo francie et Anglie



coronation of Anne of Bohemia (1366- 1394) who married Richard II in 1382. Helen Lacy argues the illumination in the book for the Coronation of Charles V of France (1338-1380) is more 'natural' than that in the English *Liber Regalis*.<sup>2</sup> Luckily, we have a copy of the French book in the British Library so we can make our own minds up.<sup>3</sup> The English book has thirty four sheets of vellum (68 sides) defining the order of service for the coronation of a king, a king and queen together, a queen alone and finally directions for the funeral of a king. Each part has a full page illumination and this is the illumination for the coronation of a queen. The content is based on earlier Orders traceable back for the coronation of King Edgar in 973 A.D.<sup>4</sup> This Latin form of service was used for both Mary and Elizabeth and when King James was crowned the service was translated into English.

The second official image where it is necessary to depict an enthroned sovereign and convey their duties comes from the documents recording the proceedings of the King's Bench. The Common Bench was founded in 1215 in fulfilment of one of the conditions of Magna Carta. By 1234 the recording of what happened in this court had developed into two very different types of plea rolls: *de banco*, and *coram rege* (meaning "in the presence of the King"). It is the *coram rege* rolls that carry some of our least known, but nevertheless important, images representing our medieval and early modern monarchs. These Ps allowed the artist more leeway for artistic interpretation than the design of The Great Seal. The invention of moveable type heralded the end of the hand illuminated and scribed books. However, the plea rolls continued to be illuminated and scribed by hand.

For the designs of both the Great Seals and the illumination of the Ps for the coronations of Edward, Mary and Elizabeth it is likely they were designed by Levina Teerlinc (1520 – 1576). By 1553 Teerlinc had been at court some years and had come to know all of Henry VIII's children. The accounts show she was paid an annuity of £40 'at the king's pleasure' from 1546 onwards and Susan E James has discovered in the Queen's Accounts that she was paid a further £20 per annum by Queen Katherine Parr.<sup>5</sup> The payment of £40 per annum was greater than that paid to either Lucas Horenbout or Hans Holbein, but one of the perils of being a woman artist was that you disappeared from view because women

were chattels of their husbands, which in England, that was still the case until 1<sup>st</sup> January 1974!

For the Michelmass law term of 1553 just the name, The King's Bench, posed a problem because with the coronation of Mary on the 1st of the month, the title 'King' was now inappropriate. The *coram rege* roll for the Michelmass law term of 1553 has an illuminated P on the front sheet that marks the coronation of England's first queen to rule in her own right. The document reference in the English National Archives at Kew is KB27/1168-001 and the front sheet can be viewed in their special room which is monitored by CCTV, but you will require a Reader's Ticket in order to see it.

What was the purpose of these illuminated Ps? As God's anointed, the monarch was the one who meted out His mercy and justice; therefore these images represented the sovereign's divine authority. The plea rolls had a limited audience of lawyers and clerks and even today it is the content that is more likely to be researched than the front sheet. However, I find them fascinating because so little is known about who commissioned and painted these miniatures. It is only by linking events and other documentary evidence that it becomes evident the P on the front sheet is a place where an artist, or the commissioning member of the judiciary, can make political statements, or where the artist can create something relevant to the particular law term?

In the 1950s Erna Auerbach highlighted this particular P during her PhD research and now art historians are almost agreed that it was probably designed by the Teerlinc. As a woman artist, trained in the symbolism used in Roman Catholic illuminated manuscripts, she was perfectly placed to design and paint this important P for the first law term of England's first queen who was to return England to the Church of Rome.

Our little narrative depicts Queen Mary being led by angels to her destiny, with an army drawn up in the distance. Is this army composed of Mary's supporters, or is it that of her enemies? We have to make our own minds up about this. The leaders of the Jane Grey faction are shown having thrown down their arms in surrender. This is the sixteenth century equivalent of a photographic essay of the events leading to Mary's coronation. The dominating central figure is of the enthroned Mary with the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove hovering above her anointing her as a divinely





CONVERTE NOS O EV SALVTARIS NR FUGERE IRA

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appointed monarch. She is flanked by angels, but unfortunately we have no idea what the angels are saying, since all the banners were never filled in. We can guess they are singing Hallelujahs for Mary's safe delivery, but it would only be a guess. When it was first done, gold and silver leaf on the front sheet of KB27/1168-001 would have glittered, but now the silver leaf has oxidised to a boring black.

Even though this image is tiny, and the woman on the throne is not a realistic portrait of Mary, the figure in the distance to the left of the throne is recognisable as her from her distinctive head-dress. The figure on the throne is more stylised and her flowing hair is a statement of the English queen's own virgin state so therefore the most eligible spinster in Europe.

For the purpose of the 1553 P, Teerlinc appears to be taking her lead from the European artists rather than the English illuminators for the *Liber Regalis*. In 431 AD The Council of Ephesus had defined The Virgin as The Mother of God and her title of Mary, Queen of Heaven develops from this time onward, providing inspiration for artists both north and south of the Alps so by 1553 there were visual precedents for portraying The Coronation of the Virgin Mary.

The Coronation of the Virgin is the subject of a full page (6.5 x 4.7 inches) illumination in *Les Heures d'Etienne Chevalier* illuminated by Jean Fouquet in about 1452-60 (Ms 71). This charming work is now in the Bibliotheque Condé, Musée Condé. Fouquet (1420 – 1481) was an important French illuminator of the fifteenth century, travelling to Italy and experiencing the influence of the early Italian Renaissance for himself. His patrons included Charles VII of France, Etienne Chevalier (Treasurer of Charles VII) and the French chancellor, Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins. Much later in his career, he became court painter to King Louis XI who had the nickname of The Universal Spider because of his plotting. King Louis gave Henry Tudor sanctuary after 1483 when Pierre Landais, chief minister of the Duke of Brittany, plotted to hand him over to Richard III, so this French king is an important part of the Tudor story.

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Le\\_Couronnement\\_de\\_la\\_Vierge.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Le_Couronnement_de_la_Vierge.jpg)

Illuminations in a Book of Hours were used for meditation and here the viewer is being invited to meditate on The Virgin's role as Queen. The Virgin Mary is being crowned by one of the three figures who together, represent the Trinity. Two of these individual figures hold up a hand in blessing while the other hand holds the orb, while the third individual has placed his orb to one side while he places an ornate crown on The Virgin's head. Her robe is painted in the expensive blue pigment, lapis lazuli, and there is a lavish use of gold.

Jean Fouquet is perhaps more famous for The Melun Diptych painted c1452. **(see over)** This is the right hand panel because at some point this diptych was broken up. Here the enthroned Queen of Heaven holds her Son on her knee. He points to the other panel of the diptych where Etienne Chevalier kneels and his patron, St Stephen stands next to him.<sup>6</sup> The Virgin's crown is encrusted with pearls (symbols of purity) and rubies (symbol of sacrifice). It is thought that Fouquet used the face of Agnès Sorel, the French king's mistress for his model! The use of a known person for the face of The Virgin suggests that perhaps it would not be frowned upon to represent a divinely appointed queen in a similar fashion some ninety nine years later. Sorel had exerted considerable influence over Charles VII which suggests that Fouquet's artistic statement had royal approval.

Much closer to our image is one by the German artist known as 'The Master of the Life of the Virgin'. There is considerable debate as to this artist's identity. What we do know is that this artist was painting between 1463 – 1490, but beyond that, their identity is a mystery. **(see over)** The Master has split the picture in two and staged the event in the 'heaven' part of the picture with the two donors below. The heavenly host play musical instruments and sing Mary's praises while more angels support the throne where the coronation is taking place. Similar to our P, the Holy Spirit is shown as a dove above Mary's head as she is crowned by The Father and The Son. The orb held by Christ is painted as

2 <http://www.york.ac.uk/teaching/history/pjpg/Coronation.pdf>.

3 <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/remarkmanu/charlesv/>

4 <http://www.westminster-abbey.org/archive/our-history/royals/coronations/guide-to-the-coronation-service>

5 James, Susan E: The Feminine Dynamic in English Art, 1485 – 1603: Ashgate publishing Ltd, Wey Court East, Union Rd., Farnham, Surrey GU7 9 PF. Ashgate Publishing Company, Suite 420, 101 Cherry Street, Burlington, VT 05401-4405, USA. 2009.

6 The left hand panel of the Melun altarpiece is in the Staatliche Museum, Berlin.





**Fouquet Madonna**

a landscape, which is an unusual representation of the orb. The two donors are probably married. They have shields which show their individual coats of arms. This image shows influences of The Master of Flemalle, who, in turn, is thought to be the artist Rogier van der Weyden. Without signatures, or a registered guild mark, it is only possible to attribute many works of art by style and technique, hence the

use of 'The Master of'; when there is no signature it is why we never make a definite statement about the name of the artist and instead use 'The Master of . . .'; 'possibly' or (?).

Since Mary's coronation P is so flamboyant, perhaps we should look at how Teerlinc portrays Elizabeth's coronation.



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Elizabeth's coronation took place on 15th January 1559, ie at the beginning of the Hilary Law Term. Is it a glittering narrative such as the Marian P? The image of Elizabeth is more like that of their brother, Edward. Unfortunately Edward's initial P is also an ink sketch and is so faint even Photoshop cannot enhance it sufficiently for publication. I can tell you that the young prince is dwarfed by his throne, and the artist is recognisable as being the same as the one that painted Mary's first P.

The front sheet of the Hilary Term of 1559 is a simple ink sketch of the queen with traditional strapwork for the initial letter of an illuminated document. There is a restrained use of gold leaf for the first letter of each word and for the whole of the queen's name. The seated Queen Elizabeth is shown in profile like a roman emperor. The simplicity of this page suggests someone decided this P was not going to emulate the way her sister is portrayed in her coronation P.

Was it a deliberate choice to portray the new queen like this? Perhaps the design was a result of

discussions between the artist, William Cecil and/or Elizabeth herself.

What must have been discussed is whether there should be any reference to religion. Mary's P has religious overtones; that of Elizabeth is traditional. By keeping to the traditional format, any religious reference is removed. What might have been a celebration of survival, is a rather sad little image when compared to the unfinished P of Michelmas 1553. Perhaps the artist was more intent on creating the Coronation Miniature with its diamond chip set into the centre of the arms of the cross on top of the orb?

The image shown overleaf is that of Elizabeth I on Wikipedia. The original miniature forms part of the Harley collection where it is labelled as being by Nicholas Hilliard. It is now accepted that the creator is Teerlinc. Then again, Hilliard's reputation as England's first proper artist must be a great incentive to mislabel something despite this attribution being disproved years ago.

What is apparent in all these images is that the artist did not have access to the actual throne



The Master of the Life of the Virgin



## FEATURE SECTION: CORONATIONS



The 1553 page of the Micheltas law term is surmounted by an enclosed crown, which may, or may not, represent the original St Edward's crown. Alice Hurt states that the original medieval crown was used to crown Anne Boleyn in 1533<sup>8</sup>. The crown surmounting The Arms of Wales loosely resembles that seen surmounting many of the Ps from the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth. This image on Wikipedia allegedly comes from *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales: Containing a Record of All Ranks of the Gentry ... with Many Ancient Pedigrees and Memorials of Old and Extinct Families*.<sup>9</sup> The words on the Wikipedia page for this image quotes from this book. Unfortunately Google Books does not show these Arms, which form the frontispiece.<sup>10</sup> Considering how Mary felt about Anne Boleyn, she might have considered using another – perhaps this one. However, we know that Mary stuck with tradition and was crowned with St Edward's crown.



used for the coronation. The Coronation Chair is also known as King Edward's Chair and was commissioned by King Edward I to contain the Scottish coronation Stone of Scone he had captured in 1296. The Stone of Scone was returned to Scotland in 1996, after being under the Coronation Chair for seven hundred years. The Chair was first used for the coronation of Edward II in 1308 and has been used for every coronation since then except for Edward V & Edward VIII, neither of whom were crowned. During every coronation the Chair faces the high altar in Westminster Abbey.<sup>7</sup>

Oliver Cromwell had it moved to Westminster Hall for his installation as Lord Protector. Today, it has undergone major conservation and awaits the coronation for the next British monarch.

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.westminster-abbey.org/our-history/the->





Elizabeth I Coronation Miniature

CORONATIONS



## FEATURE SECTION: CORONATIONS



**St. Edwards Stool, Westminster**

Charles II was the last king to be crowned with the original St Edward's crown, which we see on this profile image of the king on a sixpence.

The only original pieces of the Crown Jewels that survived Oliver Cromwell's purging of all things royal in 1649 are the 12<sup>th</sup> century gold anointing spoon and the three steel swords representing spiritual justice, temporal justice and mercy; all the rest were melted down.

The crown used for modern coronations dates from the Restoration and was first used by Charles II at his coronation in the Abbey on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1661. The cost of recreating the Crown Jewels at this date was a colossal £13,000! Today, the St Edward's crown for coronations is the 1661 replica

of the original medieval crown. Unfortunately, even this replica has suffered remodeling because it was stolen by Thomas Blood in 1671 who tried to hide it by bashing it flat with a mallet. Some modern monarchs have opted to be crowned with the Imperial state crown because this is lighter than St Edward's, which weighs 4lbs 12ozs!

The ceremony creating a divinely appointed sovereign dates from the medieval period as do the Great Seals. The ceremony has been adopted over the centuries to accommodate the coronation of queens regnant, the use of English and the change from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy. In the sixteenth century, the artists overcame the 'problem' of portraying the first two queens regnant of England in the two areas where it was required



**St. Edwards Crown, 1661 Replica**

coronation-chair

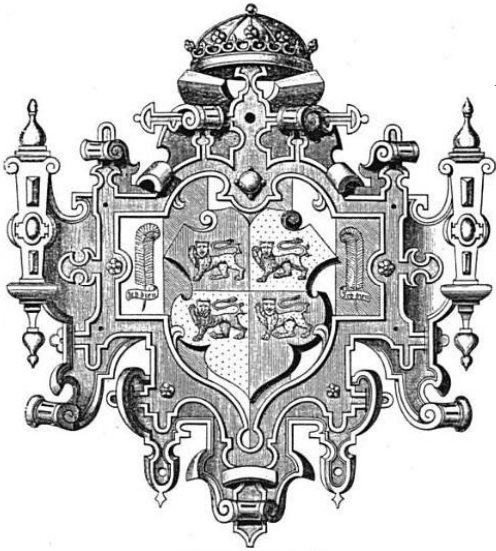
8 Hunt, Alice: The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England. London: Cambridge University Press. 2008

9 Nicholas, Thomas, Published by Longmans, Green, Reader, 1872.

10 <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=iD4LAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover> - This link will take you to the book, which is out of copyright by virtue of its age and is an interesting read.



## FEATURE SECTION: CORONATIONS



The Arms of Wales.

they represent God's will by deviating very little from the normal way of portraying a king. Despite this, these anonymous image makers manage

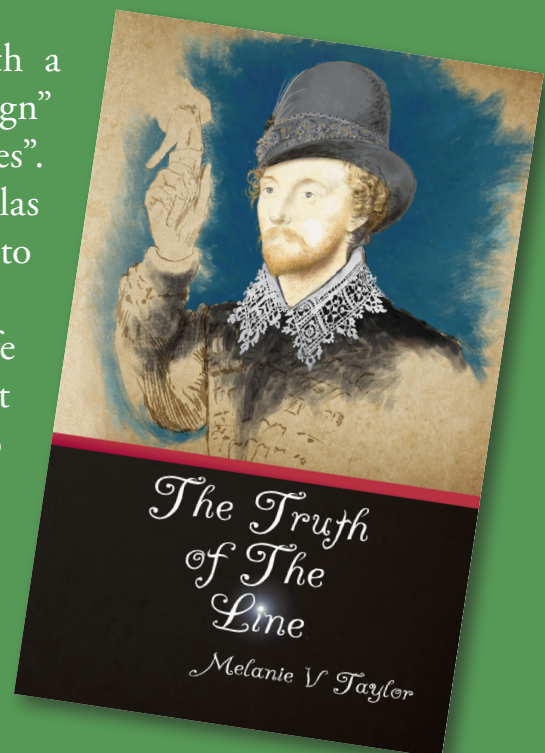
to record certain personal aspects of the individual reigns of Mary and Elizabeth in these little Ps. Having a queen on the throne was a terrible problem for the likes of John Knox and other men of the time who believed that women rulers were an abomination, but it appeared to matter little that the creator of these images (until 1576) was probably a woman.

**MELANIE V. TAYLOR**



**Melanie V. Taylor** is an art historian with a degree in "The History of Art, Architecture & Design" and a Masters degree in "Medieval & Tudor Studies". She has become very knowledgeable about Nicholas Hilliard and Levina Teerlinc and will be speaking to the Tudor Society on those two artists in October.

She has written a fabulous book about the life of Hilliard called "The Truth of the Line" which not only follows Hilliard from childhood through to his time as court painter and beyond, but also puts forward an interesting theory about an "unknown man" painted by the artist...





# Ill Omens and Coronations

By Toni Mount

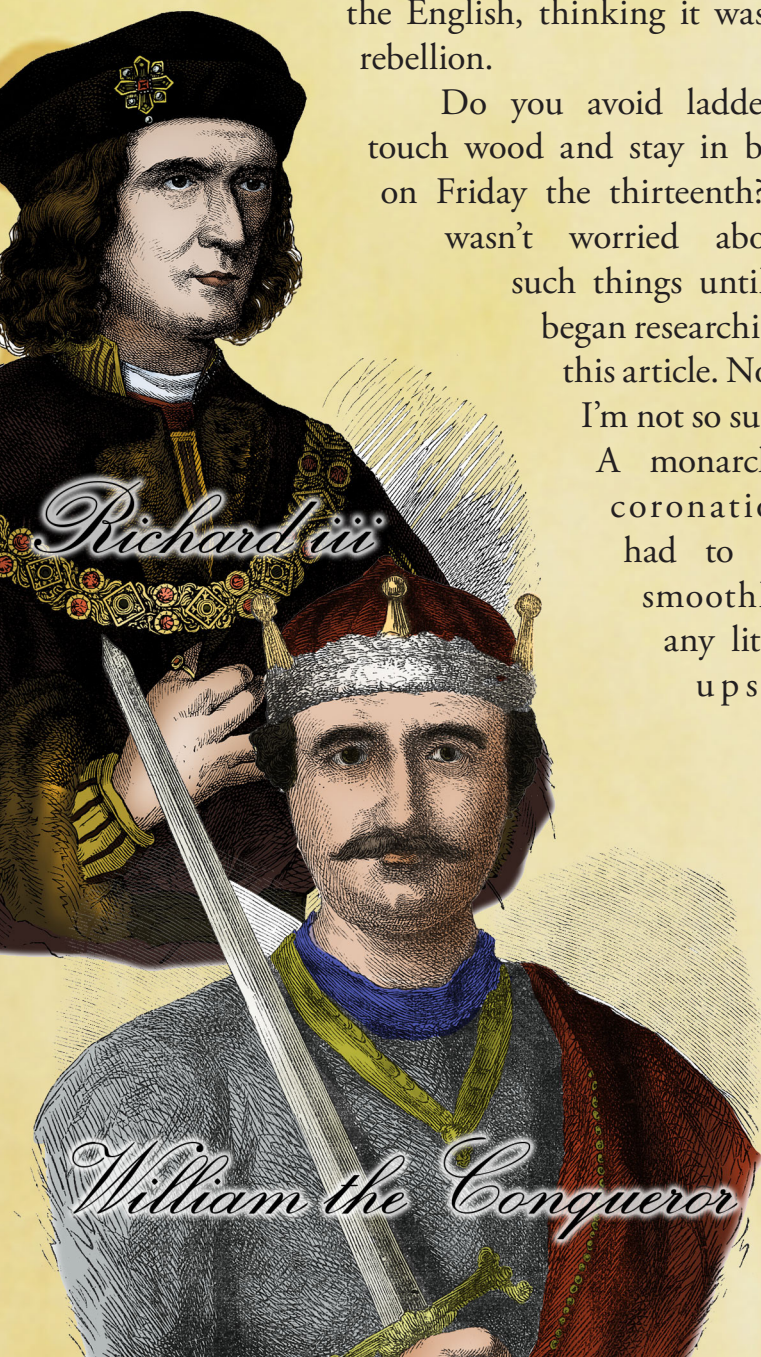
At William the Conqueror's coronation in Westminster Abbey, on Christmas Day 1066, Archbishop Stigand at first refused to crown a man with so much 'blood on his hands'. Then a minor fire in the abbey had William trembling, crouching at the altar. When the ceremony did get underway, the clamorous acclamation of the congregation was so loud that it caused alarm, both inside and outside the abbey, and the new king's Norman soldiers attacked the English, thinking it was a rebellion.

Do you avoid ladders, touch wood and stay in bed on Friday the thirteenth? I wasn't worried about such things until I began researching this article. Now I'm not so sure. A monarch's coronation had to go smoothly; any little upset

could be interpreted as foretelling worse to come. Despite the efforts that must have been made to ensure the ceremony passed without a hitch, I was surprised how often there was some unfortunate incident and how such events seemed to occur at the crowning of our most disastrous monarchs.

William the Conqueror was a successful king but, for the defeated Saxons he was a scourge, especially during his 'harrying of the North'. His Norman soldiers had reduced the farmlands of the northern shires to ruins, burning houses, destroying crops and livestock, leaving the Saxons homeless and starving. The ill-omens had been there, at Westminster.

King Stephen's disputed twenty-year reign caused civil war in England for two decades and hadn't begun well. On his coronation day, 22







*King John*



*Edward ii*



*Charles i*



*Richard ii*



*Henry V*



*Richard the Lionheart*



*James i*



December 1135, the elements took a hand with a terrible storm. The howling wind and pounding rain on the roof of Westminster meant the archbishop's words couldn't be heard and participants became confused. An acolyte dropped the ewer of holy water, spilling it all and, at the end of the ceremony, the traditional exchange of the kiss of peace and the final blessing were forgotten. Peace was not much in evidence for Stephen's entire reign – had the omission been significant? The chroniclers were sure it had.

Richard the Lionheart was crowned on 3 September 1189. The king took the crown from the altar and handed it to the archbishop to place on his head. This wasn't how it was usually done. Despite it being midday, a bat, disturbed from its roost in a dark corner of Westminster Abbey, fluttered around Richard's head as he was crowned and continued to annoy the king on his throne. The appearance of this creature of the darkness seemed to have immediate repercussions. A group of wealthy Jews came with a gift for the king but the crowds around the abbey, already afire with the new monarch's crusading zeal, determined to get the crusade off to a flying start by killing the Jews. As the Jewish community in London was decimated, word spread northwards and fanaticism took hold. Jews were slaughtered in towns all along the Great North Road, culminating months later in a massacre and mass suicide in York.

Richard's brother, John, brought trouble on himself, choosing a moveable feast for his coronation on Ascension Day, 27 May 1199. Churchmen warned him of the consequences of such an 'inconstant' day and the ceremony began badly when John dropped the spear given to him as the emblem of his investiture as Duke of Normandy; he quickly lost

the duchy to the French. Then he giggled throughout coronation and didn't bother to take the sacrament during the Mass. Is it any wonder he turned out to be a disastrous monarch?

Edward II was little better as king. He allowed his upstart favourite, Piers Gaveston, to take centre stage, carrying the crown on 25 February 1308, upsetting the nobility. Gaveston was dressed more regally than Edward who paid him greater attention than anything or anyone else. It was an ill-fated day for Sir John Bakewell too; he was crushed to death by the crowd during the ceremony. The day ended in fiasco – due to Gaveston's failings as the organiser – the feast was served late, the food over-cooked and cold. Edward, likewise, came to an unappetising end in Berkeley Castle in 1327, having been forced to abdicate.

Richard II also came to a sad end after his abdication. Had this been foretold when he lost a shoe and his spur as he left Westminster Abbey after his coronation on 16 July 1377? The man who usurped Richard's throne had an unedifying coronation. On 13 October 1399, as the archbishop anointed the head of Henry IV with the holy oil, he found the king's hair swarming with lice. This was a common problem in medieval times but the chroniclers don't remark on it for any other king's crowning, so was Henry's infestation exceptional? It was customary for the king to make an offering at the high altar but Henry dropped the gold offertory coin and, despite the acolytes frantically scrabbling around on the floor, it couldn't be found. (I expect the cleaners found it later.) The rest of Henry's reign was also an undignified scramble as he clung desperately to his ill-gotten throne. Even his son, the future Henry V, could hardly wait to snatch the crown from his



father. His coronation on 9 April 1413, took place during a snow storm – chroniclers disputed whether this was a good or ill omen – but things didn't turn out too badly in his reign, unless you were a religious reformer, in which case burning at the stake was the new punishment of choice.

For over a century, coronations seem to have been well organised and omen-free. Even Richard III's brief reign began with a coronation on 6 July 1483 that was well attended and passed without problems, despite being conducted at short notice. The Tudor monarchs enjoyed uneventful ceremonies until that of young Edward VI on 20 February 1547. He noticed that one of the three swords to be carried in the coronation procession was missing. It was the sword spiritual, so important to his ardent Protestantism, and he was upset. His sister, Mary I, had a splendid coronation on 1 October 1553. One source says that, during the procession to Westminster Abbey, she was almost overcome by the weight of her robes and jewels and felt faint. A woman in the crowd rushed forward with a posy of sweet-scented herbs which revived the queen. (I haven't been able to corroborate this.)

'Bloody' Mary's reputation was soon in ruins, the vile-smelling smoke of Protestant martyrs clouding the sky.

The disastrous Stuart kings, Charles I and James II, had ill-omened coronations. Charles's big day on 2 February 1626 was made more memorable by an earthquake, just as the upheaval of the Civil War would shake the foundations of the English monarchy, ending in Charles's execution. On 23 April 1685, James II's coronation went smoothly but, at the feast, the king's champion, as was the tradition, rode into the hall and threw down the gauntlet, challenging anyone who would oppose the new king's right. Having done his duty, the champion was expected to dismount, kneel before the king and receive a gold cup in payment. On this occasion, he got off his horse, tripped and fell headlong. Was this an ill-omen, foretelling how the country would challenge James's kingship and his efforts at resistance would fall flat, as his daughter Mary and son-in-law, William of Orange, replaced him on the throne?

In future, I shall beware of dropped coins, bats, clumsy champions and moveable feasts.

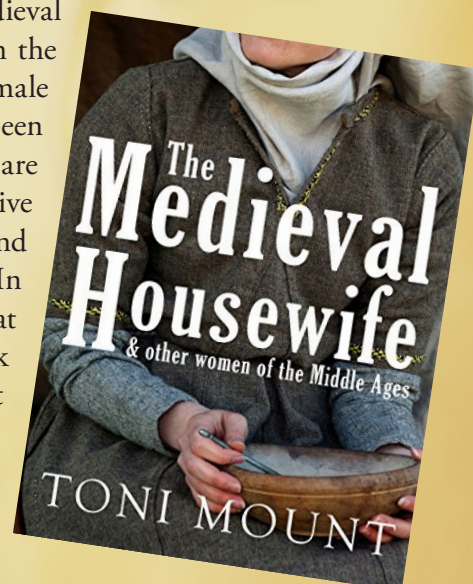
## TONI MOUNT



Toni looks at the lives of medieval women in a more positive light, finding out what rights and opportunities women did enjoy, attempting to uncover the real women beneath the layers of dust accumulated over the centuries.

**Toni Mount** is an author, history teacher, speaker and historic interpreter, based in north Kent.

More has been written about medieval women in the last twenty years than in the two whole centuries before that. Female authors of the medieval period have been rediscovered and translated; queens are no longer thought of as merely decorative brood mares for their royal husbands and have merited their own biographies. In the past, historians have tended to look at what women could not do. In this book





# THE STRANGE, SAD FATE OF GEORGE, DUKE OF CLARENCE

by Olga Hughes

HERE is a curious myth surrounding the execution of the sixty seven year-old Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury. Eustace Chapuys' account states that Margaret was "*told to make haste and place her neck on the block, which she did*", but was at the mercy of an inexperienced executioner '*a wretched and blundering youth...who literally hacked her head and shoulders to pieces in the most pitiful manner*'.<sup>1</sup> Another account tells us that Margaret refused to lay her head on the block "*So should Traitors do, and I am none*" she said, and "*neither did it serve that the Executioner told her it was the fashion; so turning her grey head every which way, shee bid him, if he would have her head, to get it as he could: So that he was constrained to fetch it off slovenly*."<sup>2</sup> Another, rather popular, apocryphal tale tells us that the frail and elderly Margaret escaped the block and was cut down by the executioner as she attempted to flee. The image of an elderly woman running around the scaffold with a blundering executioner, axe aloft, swinging wildly, paints a picture both grim and comical. The same could be said of the strange death of Margaret's father, George, Duke of Clarence.

The portrait traditionally thought to be of Margaret Pole depicts a regal looking woman wearing various jewels, among them a tiny barrel-shaped charm on her wrist, peeping out from her voluminous sleeves. While the identity of the sitter has been disputed, there is an intriguing connection between the charm and Margaret's family history.

It is thought that this unusual charm is a tribute to the long-standing tradition that the Duke of Clarence was drowned in a barrel of malmsey wine. The story of George Plantagenet's execution is just as curious as his daughter's. Perhaps it is not the executions themselves, but the fact that Margaret and Clarence were executed at the command of their own relatives, that sticks in people's minds. Who can fathom that the elderly Margaret Pole was guilty of treason against her king and a family she had served so long and so loyally? And how can one not help but wonder what could have pushed King Edward IV so far as to sentence his own brother to death?

The wild tale of Margaret being chased around the scaffold is clearly an invention. We have a reasonable enough account from Chapuys, despite him thinking she was much older than her true age. Chapuys described a rather hastily-arranged affair with the Lord Mayor and about 150 witnesses present, stating that Margaret behaved with perfect dignity, and that the executioner was incompetent. The stories of her execution would have been embellished, as time went on. And it is no wonder, her death horrified people then as it does now. The story of the Duke of Clarence's unusual execution, on the other hand, would appear to be closer to the truth, but is often disputed.

The near-contemporary accounts of Clarence's execution all correlate, except for the somewhat hesitant Crowland Chronicler, who states only that "*the execution, whatever form it took, was carried out secretly in the Tower of London*."<sup>3</sup> *The Great Chronicle*

1. *Calendar of State Papers Spain* June 1541 #166

2. *Life and Reign of King Henry VIII* (1740) pp. 401



of London tells us that Clarence “made his end in a rondolet of Malmsey”. Philippe de Commynes states that Clarence was “drowned in Malmsey”, and Dominic Mancini, in a slightly gentler manner, “plunged in a jar of sweet wine”. Jean de Roze went into far more detail, telling us that he was “thrust alive in a cask of Malmsey opened at one end, his head downwards, and there he remained until he had given up the ghost, and then he was pulled out and his neck was cut”. Around 30 years later both Robert Fabyan and Polydore Vergil would repeat that Clarence was drowned in a barrel of malmsey. Vergil described it as “the worst example that man would ever remember”.

Perhaps Vergil’s attitude may give us some insight into the scepticism. It was probably unheard of for a nobleman to be executed by drowning. A nobleman was entitled to a more merciful death by beheading. In Vergil’s eyes it seemed an ignoble death. To a modern eye it might seem slightly ridiculous. But execution by drowning was not unheard of. In the 1930’s German scholar Heinz Goldschmidt examined various executions by drowning in the Netherlands, which included both men and women, between 1535 and 1730, either for heresy or treason. Failing to find any cases before 1535, a year in which nine women were drowned, Goldschmidt conjectured that the punishment was not new in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, but that it was a survival of religious rites from pan-Celtic times.<sup>4</sup> Goldschmidt also suggested Edward IV may have heard of this method of execution when visiting the Netherlands in 1470.

It is difficult to find cases of execution by drowning before the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but there are plenty of later cases to be found, well into the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In Scotland, in the year 1556, a man convicted of theft and sacrilege was sentenced to be “suffocated by water, by the Queen’s special grace.”<sup>5</sup> In Scotland it seems execution by drowning was a more usual method for executing women and lasted well into the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In 1685 Margaret Wilson and



George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence

Margaret McLachlan, the ‘Wigtown Martyrs’, were chained to stakes in the Solway Firth and drowned for refusing to acknowledge James II/VII as head of the church. In 1793 a series of mass executions by drowning were carried out during the Reign of Terror in Nantes, France. The last execution by drowning in Switzerland was in 1652, in Austria in 1776, in Iceland in 1777, and in Russia early in the eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

Whether Clarence was drowned in a barrel filled with actual wine can probably be doubted. As John Webster Spargo notes a barrel filled with wine would still have had the head intact. Spargo observes that it may have been an empty barrel which had been refilled with water after it had been emptied of its original contents and had had the head knocked out.<sup>7</sup> However there is no real reason

3. Pronay, Nicholas; Cox, John; *The Croyland Chronicle Continuations 1459-1486* Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 1986 p. 147

4. Spargo, John Webster, “Clarence in the Malmsey-Butt” *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (Mar., 1936), pp. 170

5. 1901 ‘Execution by Drowning’, *Evelyn Observer*, and *South and East Bourke Record* (Vic.: 1882 - 1902), 20

September, p. 3 Edition: MORNING., accessed June, 2015, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60691473>

6. *Ibid*

7. Spargo, John Webster, “Clarence in the Malmsey-Butt” *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (Mar., 1936), pp. 170





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Unknown woman, formerly known as Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury (NPG)



to find the story that Clarence was executed by drowning so far-fetched. It seems it was considered a 'gentler' method of execution, illustrated by the fact that it seemed to have been more common for women. Perhaps Edward thought this a less bloody and violent death for his brother. James Gairdner speculated Edward may have preferred a 'secret assassination' rather than the humiliation of a public death. No other method of death has been suggested by any other chronicler.

You may now wonder why it should be important if the story of Clarence's unusual execution is fact or fiction. The fact is, like his daughter Margaret's execution, it has become a defining part of his legacy. When people think of Margaret Pole, Lady Salisbury, they will inevitably remember the horrific execution of a frail and elderly woman. History has remembered far less of George, Duke of Clarence. But it seems we will always remember his "sot's death". George was not executed in a barrel of wine because he was a drunk. Why he was executed at all remains a mystery.

The Duke of Clarence has long been dismissed as the irresponsible, selfish and traitorous brother who set the house of York on its path to self-destruction. If William Shakespeare created an iconic villain in King Richard III, the Duke of Clarence has been as unfairly branded as *False, Fleeting, Perjur'd Clarence*. Clarence, who never wore a crown, who was ever-thwarted by Edward,

cut down in the prime of his life by his own brother. To what end, we will never discover.

As Michael Hicks notes, Edward may have led the prosecution against his brother, but he had to be pushed into proceeding with the execution. He would pay for a lavish funeral, a monument for Clarence and his beloved wife Isabel, and a chantry foundation at Tewkesbury. It may be that Edward was finally forced to act by his peers. It is said that Edward came to bitterly regret his decision. However, this did not stop him from barring Clarence's son, Edward, The Earl of Warwick, from his rightful place in the royal succession.

There is an eerie parallel between father and son's deaths. Edward was orphaned when he was just three years old. Henry VII, during the early and unstable period of his reign, would imprison the boy in the Tower of London at the tender age of ten. But Henry would delay much longer than Edward IV did. The Earl of Warwick would spend the next nine years in the Tower. Edward was executed only when the Spanish monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, threatened to break off the betrothal between Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon. Henry VII became ill with the burden on his conscience. The Spanish ambassador gloated that "there does not remain a drop of doubtful royal blood" in England. And the Plantagenet male line died with Clarence's son, the Earl of Warwick.

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The website **nerdalicious.com.au** is an online magazine covering pop culture, movies, history, tv, science and more. **Olga Hughes** has a BA in Fine Art and is currently studying Literature. She lives in South Gippsland with her partner C.S. Hughes.





# **“THE KING’S TRUMPETS”**

## ***and the joy of bringing dusty accounts to life***

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*by Jane Moulder*

**C**COURT and household records and accounts are a vital tool to any researcher interested in history. To some they are just a list of dry and dusty facts simply showing items or services bought and the amounts that were paid for them. But to a researcher these seemingly boring lists can open up a world of delights as all the facts and figures can be assembled to bring the past to life.

As someone who is interested in early music, court records can be very frustrating as very often the information I would really like to have is never there! I would love to know the names of the actual pieces of music played to entertain Henry at one of his lavish banquets or the specific dance tunes that were played whilst Henry was courting Anne Boleyn. I'd even like to know what instruments the music was played on! Sadly though, I will never know as this type of information was never noted down. The written accounts of a banquet or state function simply state that “music was played” but not what the music was, how many musicians were there or even which instruments were used.

However, thanks to the bureaucracy of the Tudors we have a treasure trove of documents in the court, chamber and private accounts of the royal courts which still survive today. By studying these accounts and seeing who was paid for what and when, we can build up a picture of what was happening and then, using our knowledge of the period, deduce the information we need. Through these royal account books, we can find out the names of the musicians, what instruments they

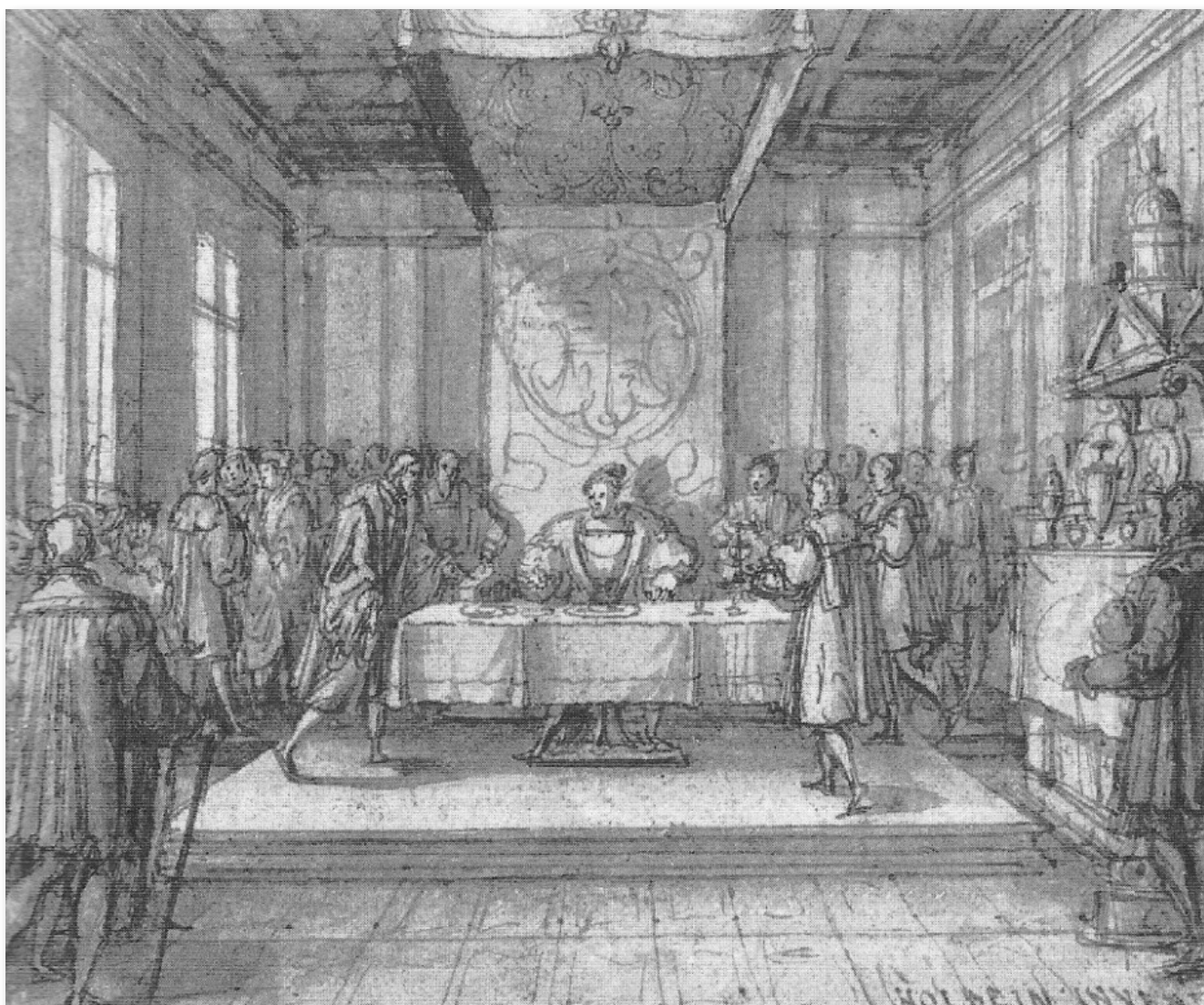
played and, by looking at their payments, we can conclude something about their social status, contact with the king and sometimes the actual places where they played.

Many of the musician's payments are recorded in the Privy Purse, the personal accounts of the Tudor royals. These privy or private expenses give us a clear view of what was in favour or important to that ruler. The Privy Purse accounts of both Henry VII and Henry VIII include payments to their musicians and trumpeters feature prominently in the accounts.

Trumpeters are amongst the oldest distinct group of royal minstrels and were known collectively as “The King's Trumpets”. They seem to have been recorded quite separately from other musicians who, up until the early 1550's, were often simply called “minstrel”, without a clear indication as to which instrument they played. Trumpeters were incredibly important to a ruler and this was the case throughout all the royal courts of Europe. Trumpeters were considered to be a status symbol and they were expected to participate in practically every appearance of their ruler. They would have been present at every ceremonial occasion at court: from christenings to coronations, from funerals to jousts and from “creations” (installation ceremonies for dukes, earls and other nobility) to “removings” (a day when the King would journey from one royal residence to another). They would also have had their place on the battle field, mounted on horses, leading ahead of the king.

Across all the European courts, trumpeters were present at all royal and diplomatic occasions.





**An early 17<sup>th</sup> century sketch by an unknown artist showing Henry VIII dining in his Privy Chamber (British Library). The Privy Chamber was the king's private apartments for which he kept his own accounts and expenditure. These accounts give a clear indication of the monarch's own personal tastes and fancies.**

Hearing a clarion call of trumpets, was the signal to the assembled court that the King was about to appear. So much so, that when Henry VIII's councillors were attempting to keep his death a secret in early 1547, they instructed that the usual ceremony of bearing in the royal dishes to the sound of trumpets should continue without interruption so that people would not suspect that Henry was actually dead.

As well as heralding the king's arrival, any visiting ambassador to court was entitled to trumpets being played to signal their arrival in the room. The "King's Book of Payments" records a large number of very generous amounts being paid to trumpeters going overseas to accompany English dignitaries visiting foreign courts. Below is an

account of Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII, entering the court of James IV of Scotland to whom she had been betrothed in 1503:

*"among the sayd Lords and the Qwene, was in Order Johannes and his company, the Menstrelles of Musick, the Trompetts in displayed Banneres, in all the Departyngs of the Townes, and in the Intryng of that same, playing on their Instruments to the Tyme that she was past owt."*

Henry VII kept between 7 and 9 trumpeters on his payroll but on his succession, his son Henry VIII, increased this number to between 14 and 16 on average. Tudor trumpeters were appointed for life and it seems from studying the records that the



positions were sometimes handed down from father to son. John Frier was being paid at full rate while John Frier, younger, was paid at half rate. Likewise for John Hart and his son William. When their fathers died or retired, the sons would then have taken on the full position and their wages increased accordingly. The names of the musicians were seemingly written down in order of their seniority with oldest members being placed first. Being required to perform regularly, the King's trumpeters were paid on a daily basis at the rate of 16 pence per day or £2.00 per month. Having so many regular, daily duties and being on call throughout the day,

it seems that there were financial penalties if they didn't fulfil their duties! In 1505 three out of the 7 trumpeters had half their wages docked for turning up late and in November, 1520 John Hart lost half a month's wages for failing to turn up for work at all.

However, despite the risk of penalties there was also the prospect of extra rewards to be gained over and above the daily rate. When Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VII, travelled to France in 1514 to marry the recently widowed French king, Louis XII, she took 8 trumpeters with her to herald her arrival in Paris. It seems they were well rewarded for their visit as the account book shows:

“To each of the eight trumpeters who came with the Queen from England, the King caused 150 crowns to be given. Monseigneur d'Angoulême gave them each 50; and 'Madame' as many more; all the other French princes gave them something.”

It is also clear from these records that many of the musicians were not native English but they had been brought in specifically from abroad to enhance the English court. The various financial accounts clearly show us is that the Tudor royals employed many foreign musicians to come and play at their court evidenced by the lists of non-English names appearing in the account books. These names and entries are often supplemented by various letters and documents giving the musicians permission to travel or being given leave by their current employer. However, some of the musician's names look 'English' but are followed by the designation of "stranger" which, at this time, could often mean that someone was a foreigner. The names of some of the trumpeters employed by Henry VII can clearly be seen to have foreign roots: Francis Knyf was also known as Francisco de Francis, Peter France (or Peter Fraunce) and John Furness was actually John de Fournes. Whether these people changed their names simply to aid fitting into their new homeland or whether it was for ease of pronunciation is not clear; or it could have been because foreigners were treated with a high degree of suspicion and they wanted to hide their roots. It seems that xenophobia was rife in early Tudor England. A Venetian observer writing in 1500 said of the English *"They have an antipathy to foreigners and imagine that they never come into their island but to make themselves masters of it and to usurp their goods."* Likewise a Spanish immigrant wrote *"The king has the greatest desire to*

*employ foreigners but cannot do so for the envy of the English is diabolical!"*

A change of ruler did not necessarily mean a change of trumpeter. Several of the foreign trumpeters employed by the Tudors had initially been employed by their Plantagenet predecessor, Richard III. In 1483 Peter de Casa Nova was employed for Richard's coronation but he stayed on in service for both Henry VII and Henry VIII and his last salary was paid in 1514. Johannes de Pela and William Ducheman were also initially employed by Richard and they managed to retain their roles with the change of monarchy. This trend for foreign trumpeters continued well into the 16<sup>th</sup> century with names like Gerade de Floure, Genyn Lambert, Jacque de Lanoa and Jenyn Restanes appearing in the royal accounts.

By looking at the account books of other European court records it is possible to see how musicians moved and travelled from royal court to royal court. John de Cecil, a Spanish trumpeter, first appears in the records of Philip IV of France (otherwise known as Philip the Handsome!) in the 1490s. In 1496 he returned home to Spain before appearing again in England in January 1501/2 when the accounts indicate that he was issued with a banner for his trumpet. It is likely that he came to England with Katherine of Aragon and this view is strengthened by the fact that he was one of two trumpeters sent to accompany Lord Darcy on





**An engraving from “The Triumphs of Maximillian” showing the trumpeters in procession. (c1512-1519)**

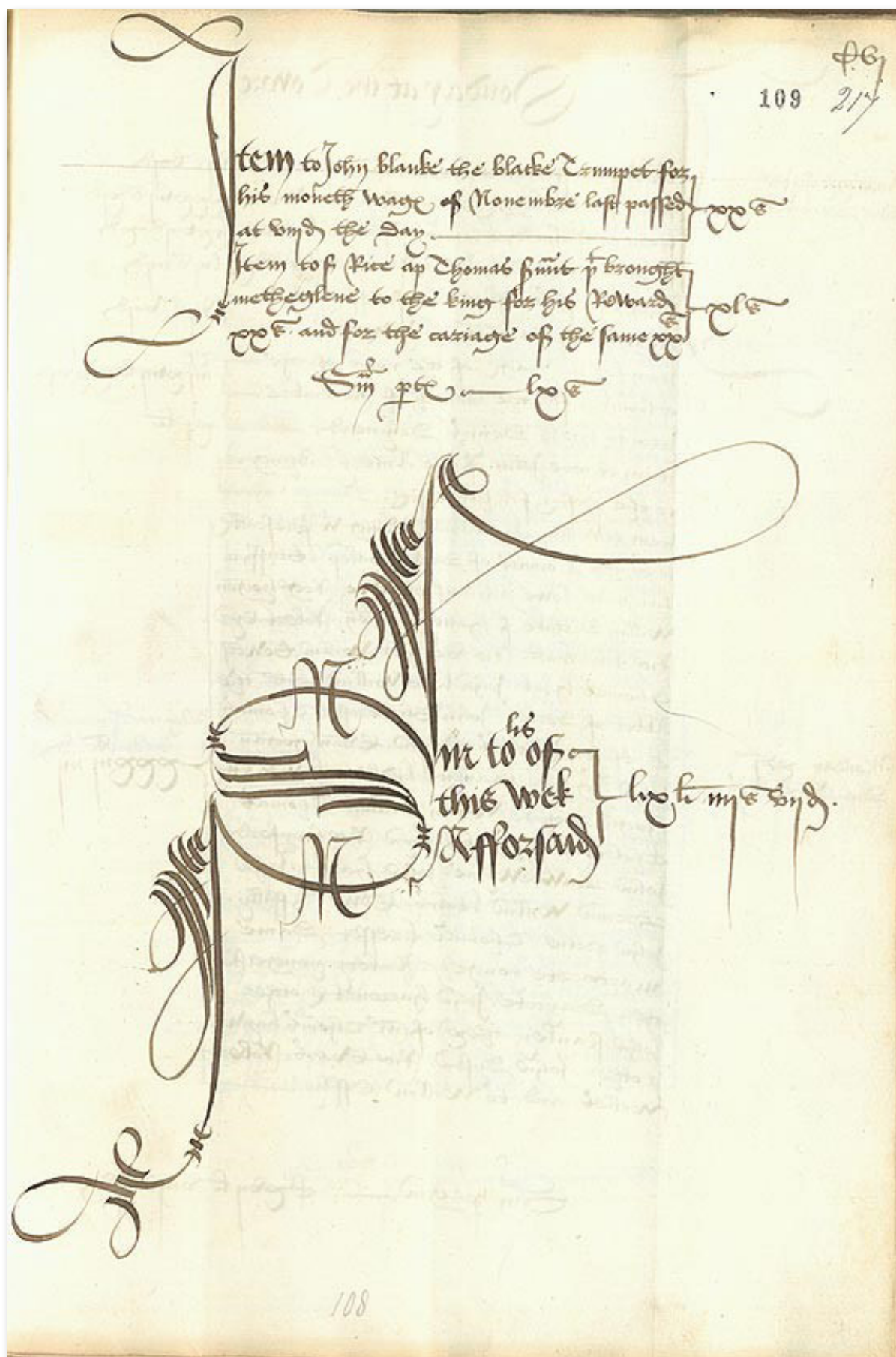
a diplomatic mission to the court of Ferdinand of Aragon in 1511.

However, without a doubt, one of the most interesting foreign trumpeters to play in the Tudor court was a man called John Blanke. It is thought that John Blanke arrived in England in 1501, maybe alongside John de Cecil, as a musician in the retinue Katherine of Aragon. Katherine initially arrived in England to become the wife of Prince Arthur and, as was the custom of the time, she brought with her all her servants and retinue, including her musicians and trumpeters. However, It seems that

John Blanke should have been more appropriately named John Black.

The Spanish at this time had strong links with Moorish Africa although their relationship veered from cooperation through to conflict. Southern Spain had been Islamic until 1492 when Katherine’s parents, Ferdinand and Isabella, expelled the Moors from their country. However, the Spanish royal courts seemed to have employed a number of black African servants and despite the name of Blanke, John was definitely black! His seemingly odd surname may well have originated as a nickname,





A page from the Exchequer Roll from November 1507 showing the payment for 20 shillings to John Blanke, the black trumpeter. This would equate to at least £450.00 today.



deriving from the Spanish word for white, *blanco*. Whilst Moors were known in England at this time, John Blanke's status as one of the King's trumpeters must have made him one of the most prominent coloured persons in both the court and England.

As a trumpeter, John Blanke was seemingly well regarded. He was paid 8d a day by Henry VII and we can see from the treasury payments that in November 1507 he received a payment of 20 shillings for that month's work. The entry states "John Blanke, the blacke trumpeter".

When Henry VIII acceded to the throne in 1509, Blanke continued to be employed as one of his trumpeters and, according to the records, was employed to play at Henry's coronation. What is even more exiting is that we believe we have an image of John. There is a sixty-foot long document known as the Westminster Tournament Roll which is now kept in the College of Arms, London. This roll is an illuminated vellum manuscript created to commemorate the events that occurred on 12 and 13 February 1511, when King Henry VIII held a tournament to celebrate the birth of his short-lived son, Prince Henry. The document is decorated with pictures illustrating the event and Henry features prominently in the roll surrounded by his closest advisors and officials. Amongst the royal retinue are six horse-mounted trumpeters, playing instruments decorated with the royal arms of England. One of the trumpeters is black and he even wears a turban whilst his white counterparts remain bareheaded. Without a doubt, this must be John Blanke and the Royal accounts show that he was paid 10 times his normal wage on that day. In another part of the roll, the trumpeters are shown again, including the same turbaned person. Not much more is known about Blanke other than records indicate that he



**A detail from the Westminster Tournament Roll showing the black trumpeter, John Blanke.**

was married in 1512 and a payment was made by Henry as a wedding gift, showing how well he was regarded by the king. Frustratingly, after that date it is not known what happened to John as no further payments to him appear in the accounts.


I hope I have given you a flavour of how accounts and financial records can give us a tantalising route into the past by providing us with information we could not have had otherwise. Sadly, however, they cannot give us the whole story as the unresolved ending to John Blanke's life so clearly shows. In future articles I will be delving back into the Chamber Accounts and the Privy Purse to bring you more stories about the many musicians who added life and colour to the Tudor court.

**JANE MOULDER**

Discover more about Jane at <http://piva.org.uk/>



# AUGUST

<p><b>1 August</b> 1555</p> <p>Apothecary <b>Sir Edward Kelley</b> was born. He worked closely with <b>John Dee</b> for seven years, taking part in seances and allegedly communicating with angels in a special angelic language. Their work was recorded in Dee's "Book of Enoch".</p>	<p><b>2 August</b> 1553</p> <p><b>Elizabeth</b> greeted her half-sister, the newly proclaimed <b>Queen Mary I</b>, in London.</p>	<p><b>3 August</b> 1562</p> <p>Death of <b>John de Vere</b>, 16th Earl of Oxford, leading magnate in Essex and notorious rake, at Hedingham Castle in Essex.</p>	<p><b>4 August</b> 1557</p> <p>Burial of <b>Anne of Cleves</b>, fourth wife of <b>Henry VIII</b>, at Westminster Abbey.</p>
 <p>John Dee, artist unknown. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, UK.</p>	<p><b>7 August</b> 1549</p> <p>The five year-old <b>Mary, Queen of Scots</b> set sail from Dumbarton, Scotland, for France. She arrived at Saint-Pol-de-Léon over a week later</p>	<p><b>8 August</b> 1553</p> <p>Burial of <b>Edward VI</b> in a white marble vault beneath the altar of Henry VII's Lady Chapel in Westminster Abbey. His grave was unmarked until a memorial stone was placed in 1966. The funeral service was performed by <b>Thomas Cranmer</b>, in keeping with Edward VI's Protestant faith. <b>Mary I</b> had a private mass in the Tower of London.</p>	
	<p><b>12 August</b> 1570</p> <p>Death of <b>Lady Ursula Stafford</b> (née Pole), daughter of <b>Margaret Pole</b>, Countess of Salisbury, and wife of <b>Henry Stafford</b>, 10th Baron Stafford.</p>	<p><b>13 August</b> 1514</p> <p><b>Princess Mary Tudor</b>, sister of Henry VIII, married <b>King Louis XII</b> by proxy at Greenwich Palace. Mary was present at the ceremony, but the <b>Duke of Longueville</b> stood in for the groom. The ceremony finished with the Duke giving Mary a gold ring, which she placed on the fourth finger of her right hand.</p>	
<p><b>18 August</b> 1587</p> <p>The first European Christian was born in the New World. <b>Virginia Dare</b> was the daughter of <b>Ananias Dare</b> and his wife, <b>Eleanor</b>, daughter of Governor <b>John White</b>. She was born in the Roanoke colony, in what is now North Carolina, just days after the arrival of the colonists on Roanoke Island. Virginia was baptised the following Sunday.</p>	<p><b>19 August</b> 1591</p> <p>Death of Welsh clergyman and Bible translator <b>Thomas Huet at Tŷ Mawr</b>. He helped translate the "New Testament" into Welsh.</p>	<p><b>20 August</b> 1589</p> <p>Marriage of <b>James VI</b> of Scotland and <b>Anne of Denmark</b>, second daughter of King <b>Frederick II of Denmark</b>, by proxy at Kronborg Castle, Helsingør, Denmark.</p>	<p><b>21 August</b> 1535</p> <p><b>King Henry VIII</b> and <b>Queen Anne Boleyn</b>, visited Sir Nicholas Poyntz at Acton Court, in South Gloucestershire as part of their progress to the south-west.</p>
<p><b>25 August</b> 1559</p> <p>Death of Sir <b>Thomas Cawarden</b>, courtier and Master of Revels to <b>Henry VIII</b>, <b>Edward VI</b> and <b>Mary I</b>, at Horsley. He was buried in Bletchingley church.</p>	<p><b>26 August</b> 1533</p> <p>The ceremony of the Queen's "taking her chamber" took place at Greenwich Palace. A heavily pregnant <b>Queen Anne Boleyn</b> attended a special mass at the Chapel Royal of Greenwich Palace and then processed, with her ladies, to the Queen's great chamber. The future <b>Elizabeth I</b> was born on 7th September, just 12 days later.</p>		<p><b>27 August</b> 1557</p> <p>The storming of St Quentin by English and Imperial forces. Admiral de Coligny and his French troops, numbering only a thousand, were overcome by around 60,000 soldiers, and St Quentin fell. <b>Henry Dudley</b>, the youngest son of the late <b>John Dudley</b>, Duke of Northumberland, was killed by a cannonball during the battle.</p>



# ON THIS DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

<p><b>5 August</b> 1549</p> <p>The Battle of Clyst St Mary during the <i>Prayer Book Rebellion</i>. The Devonian and Cornish rebels were defeated by <b>Lord Russell's</b> troops, and around 900 prisoners were massacred later that day on Clyst Heath.</p>	<p><b>6 August</b> 1514</p> <p>Marriage of <b>Margaret Tudor</b>, sister of <b>Henry VIII</b>, and <b>Archibald Douglas</b>, 6th Earl of Angus, at Kinnoull in Perthshire.</p>	 <p>Stephen Gardiner, artist unknown. 16th century (thepeerage.com)</p>
<p><b>9 August</b> 1557</p> <p>Burial of the composer <b>Nicholas Ludford</b> in St Margaret's Church, Westminster. His is described "one of the last unsung geniuses of Tudor polyphony"</p>	<p><b>10 August</b> 1520</p> <p>Birth of <b>Madeleine de Valois</b>, consort of <b>James V</b> of Scotland, at St Germain-en-Laye. She was the 4<sup>th</sup> child of <b>Francis I</b> of France and his wife, <b>Queen Claude</b>.</p>	
<p><b>14 August</b> 1473</p> <p>Birth of <b>Margaret Pole</b>, Countess of Salisbury. Margaret was born at Farley Castle, near Bath.</p>	<p><b>15 August</b> 1551</p> <p><b>Robert Dudley</b>, the future Earl of Leicester, was appointed Gentlemen of <b>Edward VI's</b> Privy Chamber.</p>	
<p><b>22 August</b> 1485</p> <p><b>King Richard III</b> and <b>Henry Tudor</b> faced each other in a battle that would see the death of the King and the beginning of a new dynasty: the Tudor dynasty. This has become known as the <i>Battle of Bosworth</i>.</p> 	<p><b>23 August</b> 1553</p> <p><b>Stephen Gardiner</b>, Bishop of Winchester, was made Lord Chancellor by <b>Mary I</b>.</p>	<p><b>24 August</b> 1595</p> <p>Death of <b>Thomas Digges</b>, mathematician, astronomer, soldier and member of Parliament. Digges is known as the first man to expound the Copernican system in English, and one of the first to put forward the idea of an infinite universe with an infinite number of stars.</p>
	<p><b>30 August</b> 1596</p> <p>Death of <b>George Gower</b>, English portrait painter and Sergeant Painter to <b>Elizabeth I</b>, in the parish of St Clement Danes in London. He was buried at the church there. Gower is known for his c.1588 "<i>Armada Portrait</i>" of Elizabeth I.</p>	<p><b>31 August</b> 1545</p> <p>A contagious disease known as the 'Bloody flux' hit Portsmouth, killing many men serving on the ships stationed there.</p>



## TUDOR PLACES: CHARLECOTE MILL

### A BRIEF HISTORY OF WATERMILLS IN THE UK

Grinding corn into flour has been carried out for thousands of years. Initially this was done with a pestle and mortar by hand, however Man has used water to power simple mechanisms as far back as 200BC.

Initially there were two types of watermill used in the UK. The first of these was the vertical wheeled Romano-British mill which date from around 1 AD. This became the only type in use after the 13th century and the design continues to be used to the modern day. The other type was the Anglo-Saxon mill which had either horizontal or vertical water wheels, dating from about 700 AD.

In the time of the Domesday survey of 1086, there were approximately 6000 mills. It has been estimated that this would be equal to one mill every 4 to 5 miles, each one serving around 50 households. In Medieval times, the mills were built by land owning gentry and monasteries. The tenants were compelled to have their corn ground at these mills and had to pay a toll for the pleasure! The medieval miller did not buy the grain himself, but ground it for other people. The vocation of a miller was (and is still!) a craft and skill which takes many years to learn and historically was often passed down from a father to his son and/or apprentices.

The dissolution of the monasteries in the 1530's, during Henry VIII's reign changed many things in the countryside, and mills were affected too. The dissolution contributed to the beginning





of the “independent” miller. These millers leased or owned their own mill from their landlord. This way of milling continued in a mainly rural setting until well into Victorian times. However not enough grain could be produced to feed the growing population and with the repeal of the Corn laws in 1846 cheaper grain was imported from abroad, a significant amount of which had already been ground. Sadly as the industrial revolution overtook production of many every-day objects, the prevalence of water mills greatly reduced from that time onwards.

Today there are a few working watermills which have survived through the ravages of time. Of course, since much of the internal workings of a traditional mill are wooden, mills need a LOT of work to renovate back to a working state – generally the buildings have been re-used as quirky housing and are no longer available as mills. Tudor buildings were also notoriously low quality, few of the smaller mills mentioned in the Domesday survey exist in any form today.

## THE WORKINGS OF A WATERMILL

The flow of the river naturally falls, however in most places this fall is not sufficient to generate the power needed to drive a watermill. Rivers flow slowly! Therefore generally the river’s course is altered and diverted into a system of “mill ponds” so that a head water is created. This is this man-made body of water which can be controlled by the miller to run the mill. Throughout the UK countryside there are many of these man-made lakes which were used for this purpose. Often these days people assume that they are natural lakes, but sometimes the name of a lake or area can give away it’s historical uses. The buildings may have disappeared but the change in the landscape will remain for ever.

Flow of water is controlled by a sluice gate. When the sluice gate is opened, water pushes the vertical water wheel round. This motion is

transferred to turning the horizontal mill stone through a series of gears, often made from wood. The mill stones consist of two separate stones, the stationary bed stone and the runner stone. Grain is fed into the stones through a hole in the centre of the running stone.

As the grain is cut by the rotating runner stone it is pushed out through the furrows carved into the stones. This is now wholegrain flour which is collected into bags and passed on to the bakers. Through many centuries of experimentation and refinement, mills became more and more efficient but the basic principles are still much the same today as they were in Tudor times.

The BBC ran a series “Secrets of the Castle with Ruth, Peter and Tom” which is a fascinating view into the way things were made in the past. One of their projects was to make a small water mill, which they managed eventually. If you get a chance I would thoroughly recommend watching this series – it is surprising how difficult it was to actually transfer power from water into a grinding action. The Tudors knew a thing or two!

## CHARLECOTE MILL

My husband (and Tudor Society Member) Andy volunteers for a local working water mill. There was a mill recorded in Charlecote in the Domesday book. With all probability this would have been at the same location as the current mill. The present mill was built in 1806. This mill is not a museum occasionally grinding flour as many watermills now are. It is one of only a small handful of surviving watermills in the UK producing traditionally stoneground flours through French Burr stones every weekday when the water levels allow. Most of the processes used today have remained unchanged for hundreds of years, and wherever possible grain is still sourced from local farms.

**SUZANNE CROSSLEY**

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# TUDOR PLACES: CHARLECOTE MILL





# TUDOR PLACES. CHARLECOTE MILL





# Charlie

## Cecily Neville: Mother of Kings

*by Amy  
Licence*



# on Books

**T**HE book opens in 1495 with Amy Licence discussing Cecily Neville's will and how events had changed during her lifetime. Cecily had been the mother of two kings and now her granddaughter was a queen consort of England. Amy brings the character and personality of Cecily to life, making her seem more like a real person and not just a name on a page.

Amy produces a readable account of Cecily's life, as well as the lives of others at the time. She talks about what else had happened just before her birth, the deposition of Richard II that would ultimately lead to the Wars of the Roses, as well as the Hundred Years War. She didn't know it, but Cecily would later become an important figure in the dynastic struggle known as the Wars of the Roses. Amy also tells Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York's story, a man who was also a crucial figure in the wars and who would later become Cecily's husband.

In the second chapter, Amy talks about the Neville family and where they originated, which I found particularly interesting. She says that Cecily's ancestors had been based at Neuville-sur-Touques, just over 100 miles west of Paris, while other sources cite a village named Calle de Neu Ville as their home. They derived the surname from the place of their birth as far back as the ninth century. She

also talks about the location of Cecily's birth, Raby Castle.

Amy describes many of the places linked to Cecily's life. I enjoyed reading a little about the places that she would have been familiar with, but did find it distracted me a little from Cecily's story when Amy mentioned what the places were like now and in Victorian times etc.

In the next chapter, Amy introduces us to Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, and Cecily's future husband. She talks about the arrangements for the marriage and what was standard with marriages at the time. This is interesting as rules did end up changing over time, "under common church law, the minimum age was twelve for girls and fourteen for boys, although in practice, many marriages were arranged earlier than this in anticipation of later consummation."

The chapter "His Young Duchess" tries to answer the question as to why Cecily and Richard were childless for nine years. Amy ponders whether she had miscarriages, as consummation was a vital part of a marriage. Miscarriages wouldn't have been recorded, especially in the early stages and, as Amy says, "may have been a purely personal matter, known only to the couple and Cecily's ladies."

In the chapter "Becoming a Mother", Amy discusses Cecily's possible pregnancies in more detail, as well as the births of her well known children: Edward, George and Richard. She also explains traditions and what Cecily might have used to protect herself from harm. Many women and children died during childbirth back then, so

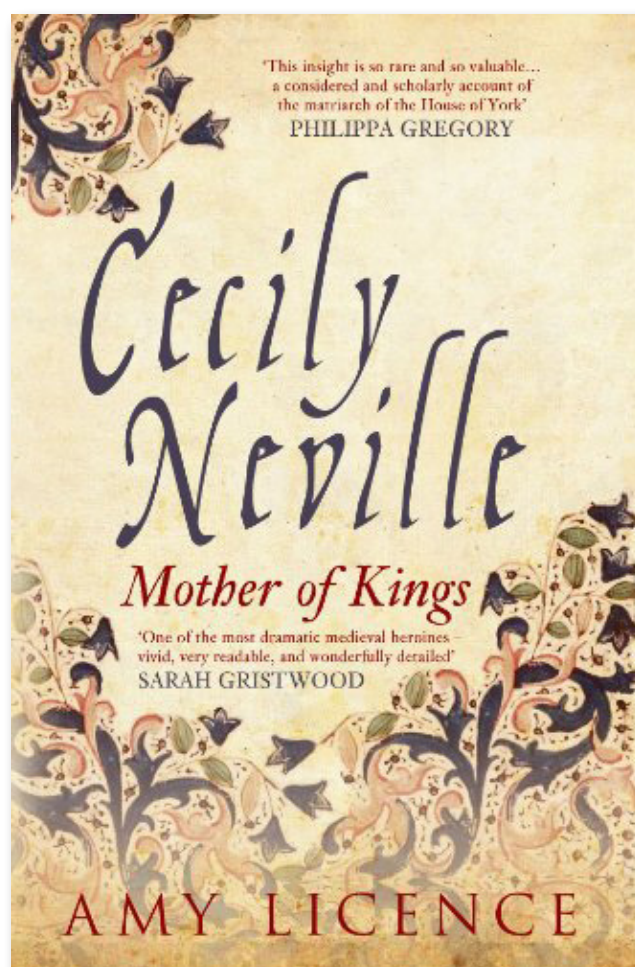


some took comfort in spiritual and religious objects for protection. This was a common practice and it is very likely that Cecily used something to protect her and her unborn child.

The debated argument of Edward's father comes up in this book with Amy presenting the view that Richard was Edward's father. During Cecily's lifetime, there was a rumour that she had an affair with an archer, however there are many reasons as to why this cannot be true. People use the fact that Edward was christened in a different location to the rest of her children, however Cecily's last son had died young and so "it seems reasonable that she would wish to be cautious when it came to Edward's salvation" and so used the nearest chapel. There was also no question regarding Edward's legitimacy until the late 1460s and it cannot be just a coincidence that it was mentioned during the time that people were unhappy about his marriage to Elizabeth Woodville.

In the chapter "The Lord Protector's Wife", Amy goes into detail about arguably one of the most important events for Cecily and the Duke of York's family. This is the birth of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou's son, Prince Edward, and Henry VI's madness. This is when York was brought back into favour and made Lord Protector, however Amy focuses more on a different side of the story: Margaret and Cecily's relationship. Not much has been said in other books about how close the women were, but from a letter written by Cecily to Margaret it is obvious that they were close, even if their families ended up being enemies. I am glad that Amy included this letter as it is very interesting to read Cecily's own words and thoughts.

The focus of the book then moves more towards Edward's reign and what Cecily might have thought about it. In modern portrayals of her, such as "The White Queen" mini-series, Cecily is shown to have favoured George and taken his side over Edward's when he rebelled with the Earl of Warwick. However, Amy shows the reader that it was a lot more complicated than the modern reader tends to think. The modern reader may wonder how someone can choose between their two sons, but they are thinking about the situations and events with their own values being applied to them. Cecily had to think about the future of her dynasty and that Edward had married someone of lower status. Elizabeth Woodville had two children already, was



a widow and, most importantly, was a widow of a Lancastrian soldier. Edward had thrown away any chances of a foreign alliance which would have helped the new dynasty and made his kingship more secure.

Overall I did enjoy this book. It was very readable, apart from the few times that details on things like places distracted from Cecily herself. I do, however, think this book is more about the York family than Cecily herself, as information on her is limited and so several assumptions are made. The assumptions Amy makes are based mainly on the rest of her family, which meant that I learned a lot more on the York family as a whole. I did feel that there were a few questions brought up but left unanswered, although it did make me more interested in the personality of Cecily Neville. I would recommend this book to anyone wanting to know more about this 'Mother of Kings' but also to anyone who wants to know more about the York family.

**CHARLIE FENTON**



# AUGUST FEAST DAYS

*by Claire Ridgway*

## **1 AUGUST – LAMMAS OR “LOAF MASS”**

This was an ancient Celtic festival and marked the start of the wheat harvest. After the first crops were safely brought in, the first loaves baked with the wheat from this harvest in each household would be taken to church and blessed as a thanksgiving for the harvest. This would be followed by a celebratory feast.

An Anglo-Saxon tradition was for one loaf of blessed bread to be broken into pieces and scattered around the corners of the barn where the harvest would be stored to bring good luck. Another tradition was for a loaf from last year's Lammas to be saved and this stale loaf to be fed to the birds on the next Lammas Day.

1<sup>st</sup> August is also the feast day of St Peter in Chains (St Peter ad Vincula). It commemorated the liberation of the Apostle Peter the night before his trial when an angel visited him in his prison, loosed his chains and helped him to escape.

## **15 AUGUST – ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN OR ASSUMPTION OF OUR LADY**

This religious feast day commemorates the death of the Virgin Mary and her corporeal assumption into Heaven.

## **24 AUGUST – ST BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY**

24<sup>th</sup> August is the feast day of St Bartholomew, one of the Twelve Apostles of Christ. Bartholomew was martyred by either being beheaded or being flayed alive and then crucified upside down. Another story has him being beaten unconscious before being thrown in the sea and drowned. He is often depicted in art holding a knife or his own skin, or both.

## **29 AUGUST – BEHEADING OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST**

This feast day commemorates the martyrdom of St John the Baptist who was beheaded on the orders of Herod Antipas after he had promised to give his step-daughter Salome anything she wanted for her birthday. Salome spoke with her mother and then asked for the head of the imprisoned John the Baptist.





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Salome Receiving the Head of St John the Baptist *by* Bernardino Luini



# KING EDWARD VI, ENGLAND'S JOSIAH

*by Beth von Staats*

*“Moreover the workers with familiar spirits, and the wizards, and the images, and the idols, and all the abominations that were spied in the land of Judah and in Jerusalem, did Josiah put away, that he might perform the words of the law which were written in the book that Hilkiyah the priest found in the house of the LORD.”*

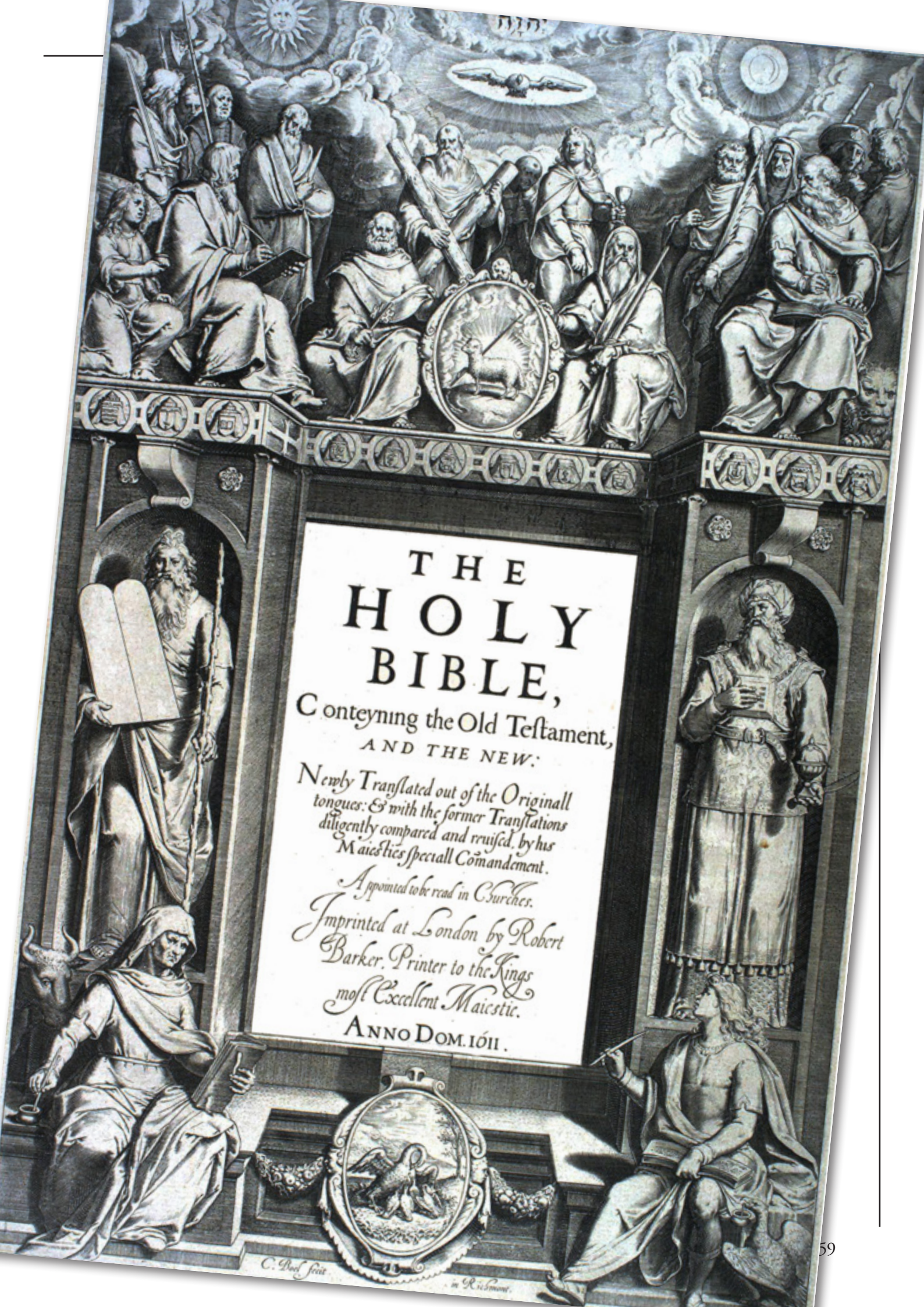
– 2 Kings 23:24 (King James Bible) –

**L**ike Solomon before him, Josiah was the King of Judah. The Old Testament teaches us that from 649 to 609 BC, Josiah, King of Judah since an eight year old child, safeguarded and instituted worship of crucial Hebrew Scriptures during the Deuteronomic Reformation that unleashed throughout his realm during his reign. As the Old Testament describes, Hilkiyah, a high priest of Josiah, found the long lost “book of the law of Yahweh (God) by the hand of of Moses”. After learning through a prophetess that God’s punishment would come, but not during his reign, King Josiah set about reforming his realm in accordance to the “law of God” by cleansing the land of all idolatry. The Temple in Jerusalem was purged and corrupt High Places destroyed. The worship of the “law of God” was the only accepted religion within the realm, heretics executed.

Upon the death of King Henry VIII, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer was religiously liberated. Like the high priest Hilkiyah before him, Cranmer believed he found scriptural truth, not through the scriptures of Roman Catholic Latin scholars, but instead delving through “old scriptures” composed in Greek. With the full support of the emerging Edwardian regime, the archbishop

began to craft not only a Protestant Reformation within the realm, but also the religious education of England’s child king, dutifully provided by his reformist minded tutors, Richard Cox, Roger Ascham and John Cheke. Like King Josiah before him, Edward VI would learn the truth of God’s word directly from scripture, ultimately reforming





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his realm, cleansing it from relics, idolatry and all “false doctrine”.

Much has been made by historians about the influence that first Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset and then John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland had upon the child king. Somerset heavily controlled most aspects of Edward’s life upon his succession, going so far as to limit who had direct access to the child, while Northumberland is often credited by historians to have exerted his influence upon the king to alter the very succession itself. When one looks upon the morals, values and staunch religious beliefs of the richly educated young monarch, however, along with his unyielding drive to reform the church within his realm, King Edward VI is not most comparable to the father he emulated by imposing appearance in portraiture, nor to either of the two Dukes charged with his safekeeping and governmental leadership. Instead, King Edward VI was guided, molded and most influenced by his godfather, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. Together in faith, whether for the good or for the bad, they changed the face of England forever.

Archbishop Thomas Cranmer’s influence upon King Edward VI as the young decisive monarch he would become is proven most pointedly right from the beginning of the child king’s reign. Remarkably, through the archbishop’s profound influence within the service of King Edward VI’s coronation, this child of nine was bestowed the greatest mandate of absolute power, supremacy and authority that any monarch would ever in the history of England and later Great Britain receive before or since, the child answerable only to God. Cranmer accomplished this with his genius oratory and creative word choice within the coronation ceremony itself. As historian Chris Skidmore explains, Cranmer’s shift of word choice “... enforced a dramatic transformation in the relationship between the king and his people... whereas before the presentation underlined that it was the people who had the ultimate power to choose their king, now it became a reminder of their bounden duty to serve the king regardless.”

Thomas Cranmer justified the ultimate supremacy of King Edward VI through powerful imagery of professing to the entire realm that this was no “ordinary” child king, but instead a child hand selected by God to be “the second Josiah”, a

reformist king of devout religious belief as taught directly through scripture. Cranmer taught King Edward VI and all who attended his coronation the following profound message:

Your Majesty is God’s vice-gerent and Christ’s vicar within your own dominions, and to see, with your predecessor Josiah, God truly worshipped, the idolatry destroyed, the tyranny of the bishops of Rome banished from your subjects, and images removed. These acts be signs of a second Josiah, who reformed the church of God in his days. You are to reward virtue, to revenge sin, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to procure the peace, to repress violence, and to execute justice throughout your realms. For precedents, on those kings who preformed not these things, the old law shows how the Lord revenged his quarrel; and on those kings who fulfilled these things, he poured forth these blessings in abundance. For example, it is written of Josiah in the book of Kings thus, “Like unto him there was no king before him that turned to the Lord with all his heart, according to the law of Moses, neither after him arose there any like him.” This was to that prince a perpetual fame of dignity, to remain to the end of days.

The powerful imagery of the great King Josiah permeated King Edward VI’s reign, and truth be told, this boy was gifted a genius intellect – a true Renaissance king. By the time Edward Seymour was executed in 1552, this young teenager was an emerging monarch, opinionated and decisive. Richly educated for the expressed purpose of kingship, King Edward VI scholarship in languages, including Latin, Greek, French, Spanish and Italian, was highly advanced. King Edward VI also mastered geometry and had an extraordinary interest in geography, collecting a wide array of maps and globes, which he studied and memorized in great detail. Like many monarchs of the era, he enjoyed music. The young king was accomplished in lute and virginals performance, enjoyed acting in plays, and like many privileged men and boys of the era, King Edward VI liked to gamble and enjoyed bear baiting, hunting, hawking and the tilt yard.

King Edward VI’s greatest giftedness, and certainly his greatest early independent leadership,



focused upon the young king's extensive scriptural study. Through the influence of Thomas Cranmer, his chaplain Hugh Latimer, and teachers Richard Cox, Roger Ascham and John Cheke, King Edward VI became a highly gifted religious scholar, obviously staunchly Protestant in his beliefs. Commemorated by John Foxe as a "Godly imp", the Imperial Ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire, François van der Delft described King Edward VI. "In the court there is no bishop, and no man of learning so ready to argue in support of the new doctrine as the king, according to what his masters tell him, and he learns from his preachers." Although van der Delft believed that preachers and the privy council put words in King Edward VI's mouth, nothing was further from the truth. When shown the copious notes the young king kept of weekly sermons, Bishop Stephen Gardiner went so far as to admit, "...the King's highness used to note every notable sentence, and specially if it touched a king," while reformer Martin Bucer thought the child "learned to a miracle".

The fact that King Edward VI exerted his authority in religious matters cannot be denied. Beyond his ongoing struggle to assert his will that his sister, the Lady Mary Tudor, not worship the Eucharist, along with subsequent arrests of priests in her inner circle, Edward VI came to push for reforms more quickly than his godfather Archbishop Thomas Cranmer could keep up. Soon after Somerset's fall, he was questioning the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer*, going so far as to strike out the title for *The Holy Communion Commonly Called the Mass*. King Edward VI also asserted his authority regarding the martyrdom of Anabaptist Jane Bocher, only relenting to her burning if Cranmer, not he, was answerable to God for taking this course. Upon the publication of the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer*, King Edward VI and his godfather met their ultimate joint goal. The Eucharist mass was officially eradicated from the Church of England and idolatry purged. England and Wales became truly Protestant realms, at least on paper.

Ultimately, as the young king accepted the possibility of an early death, King Edward VI asserted his religious authority one last time – historian opinions pointing to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland's manipulation over the teenage

over-stated. With his Roman Catholic sister looming as heir presumptive, the young king's solution was to change the succession to one more acceptable to his staunch Protestant beliefs. In his own hand, King Edward VI, drafted "*My devise of the succession*". The king passed over both of his sisters and, like his father, his Scottish relatives, and settled upon the progeny of his paternal aunt, Mary, Queen of France and Duchess of Suffolk. With no woman ever reigning as Queen of England, he commanded the crown fall to the oldest male child of his cousin Lady Frances Grey (née Brandon). If she had no male offspring, the crown would fall to the oldest male child of her daughter Lady Jane Grey and so on. As his death approached, and no male children were born to anyone in his female-dominated succession line, King Edward VI simply removed "males heir" from "*My devise of the succession*".

In June 1553, King Edward VI personally attended to the supervision of a clean copy of his devise being scripted by his lawyers, then commanding several judges to prepare his devise as letters patent to be brought forth to Parliament for passage. These important chores completed, he beckoned his Privy Councilors and the lawyers who drafted the device to sign a formal bond of allegiance that his commands would be carried out after his death. Although Archbishop Thomas Cranmer testified at his heresy hearing in 1555 that he was allowed no private access to King Edward VI during the final months of his reign to hear firsthand in a confidential forum what the king's wishes actually were, he accepted them just the same. After all, King Edward VI's commands were in original form in his own hand and further articulated to Cranmer in a group forum. Thus, steadfastly loyal to the young king he served, taught and mentored, Thomas Cranmer not only signed the bond of allegiance, he signed it first in large, bold script "unfeignedly and without dissimulation".

Sadly, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer was not with King Edward VI at his deathbed, the duty instead falling to the teenager's friend Sir Henry Sidney, along with Sir Thomas Wroth and his two Chief Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. Cranmer's religious influence upon the king did provide comfort, however. Devout in his staunch Protestantism until his last breath, King Edward VI prayed shortly before dying:



*Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among the chosen: howbeit not my will, by thy will be done. Lord I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord. Thou knowest how happy it were to be with thee: yet for thy chosen sake send me life and health so I may truly serve thee. Oh my Lord God, bless thy people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God save thy chosen people of England. Oh my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion; that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake.*

With grace and compassion, Sir Henry Sidney wrapped the dying child in his arms. After whispering, "I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me,

and take my spirit," England's King Josiah died, and with him, the staunchly evangelical Protestant Reformation that he and his godfather crafted.

#### Sources:

1. King James Bible, *The Second Book of Kings, The Old Testament, Holy Bible.*
2. MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *Thomas Cranmer*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1999.
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4. Skidmore, Chris, *Edward VI, The Lost King of England*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 2007.



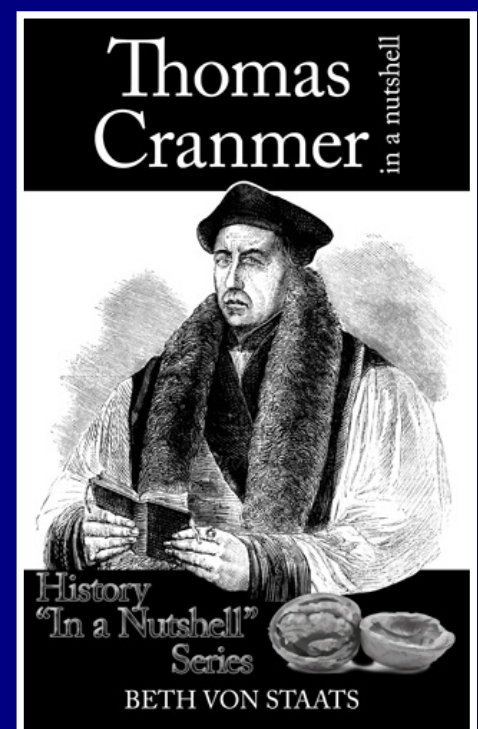
**Beth von Staats** is a history writer of both fiction and non-fiction short works. A life-long history enthusiast, Beth holds a Bachelor of Arts degree, magna cum laude, in Sociology from the University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth. She is the owner and

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.



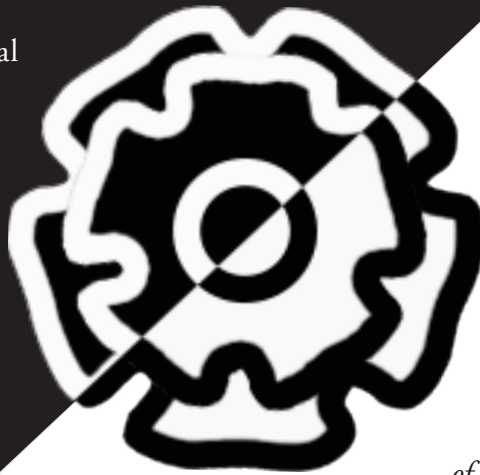


# TWO August Expert Speakers

**Susan Higginbotham** will be our guest speaker, talking about “**The Real John Dudley**”, a fascinating character who, as Duke of Northumberland, ruled England while Edward VI was in his minority.

Susan is an author of historical fiction and non-fiction books. Her latest in the Tudor period is her book on “**The Woodvilles**”, a story of the family whose fates were inextricably intertwined with the fall of the Plantagenets and the rise of the Tudors.

The Tudor Society is proud to host her expert chat this August.



**Livi Michael** is the author of many historical novels and childrens books. Her talk for the Tudor Society is about her books “**Succession**” and “**Rebellion**”, and her motivations for writing novels about Margaret Beaufort, the mother of Henry VII. In Livi’s words “*Margaret was married three times by the age of fourteen and had her only child at the age of thirteen. He was one of the more unlikely people to become King of England, but without*

*him, or his mother the Tudor*

*dynasty would not exist. It’s a fascinating story!*”

So, there you have it - it’s a great talk and Livi is very interesting to listen to.

DATES TO BE ANNOUNCED ON  
THE SITE AND THROUGH EMAIL



## ELIZABETH I CORONATION QUIZ







# TudorLife

## **REGULAR CONTRIBUTORS**

Claire Ridgway  
Gareth Russell  
Charlie Fenton  
Melanie V. Taylor  
Kyra Kramer  
Beth von Staats  
Jane Moulder  
Olga Hughes

### **ART**

**LAYOUT** Nada Sertić

### **VIDEO**

**VIDEOGRAPHER** Tim Ridgway

### **MAGAZINE EDITOR**

Gareth Russell  
[info@tudorsociety.com](mailto:info@tudorsociety.com)

### **CONTACT**

[info@tudorsociety.com](mailto:info@tudorsociety.com)  
Calle Sargento Galera, 3  
Lucar 04887  
Almeria  
Spain

### **ONLINE**

[www.TudorSociety.com](http://www.TudorSociety.com)

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## ~ SEPTEMBER ~ TUDOR LIFE MAGAZINE

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### **MELANIE TAYLOR**

The role of art in Tudor costumes

### **NATALIE GRUENINGER**

Katherine of Aragon and Spain

### **TONI MOUNT**

The Truth about Tudor Dining

### **CONOR BYRNE**

Jane Seymour in the media

### **GARETH RUSSELL**

Elizabeth Taylor and the fight  
to play Anne Boleyn

### **GEOFF RIDGWAY**

Cowdray House, Easebourne

### **AND OUR REGULARS**

Melanie V. Taylor  
Beth von Staats  
Claire Ridgway  
Kyra Kramer  
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Olga Hughes

### **plus**

Tudor Themed Puzzle Page  
Book Review

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**DON'T MISS**  
THIS MONTH'S  
**TWO EXPERT TALKS!**