Tudor Life

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The Choices Catholics Faced in Tudor England

Stephanie Mann

"Commoners" of the English Reformation.

by Beth von Staats

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by Gareth Russell

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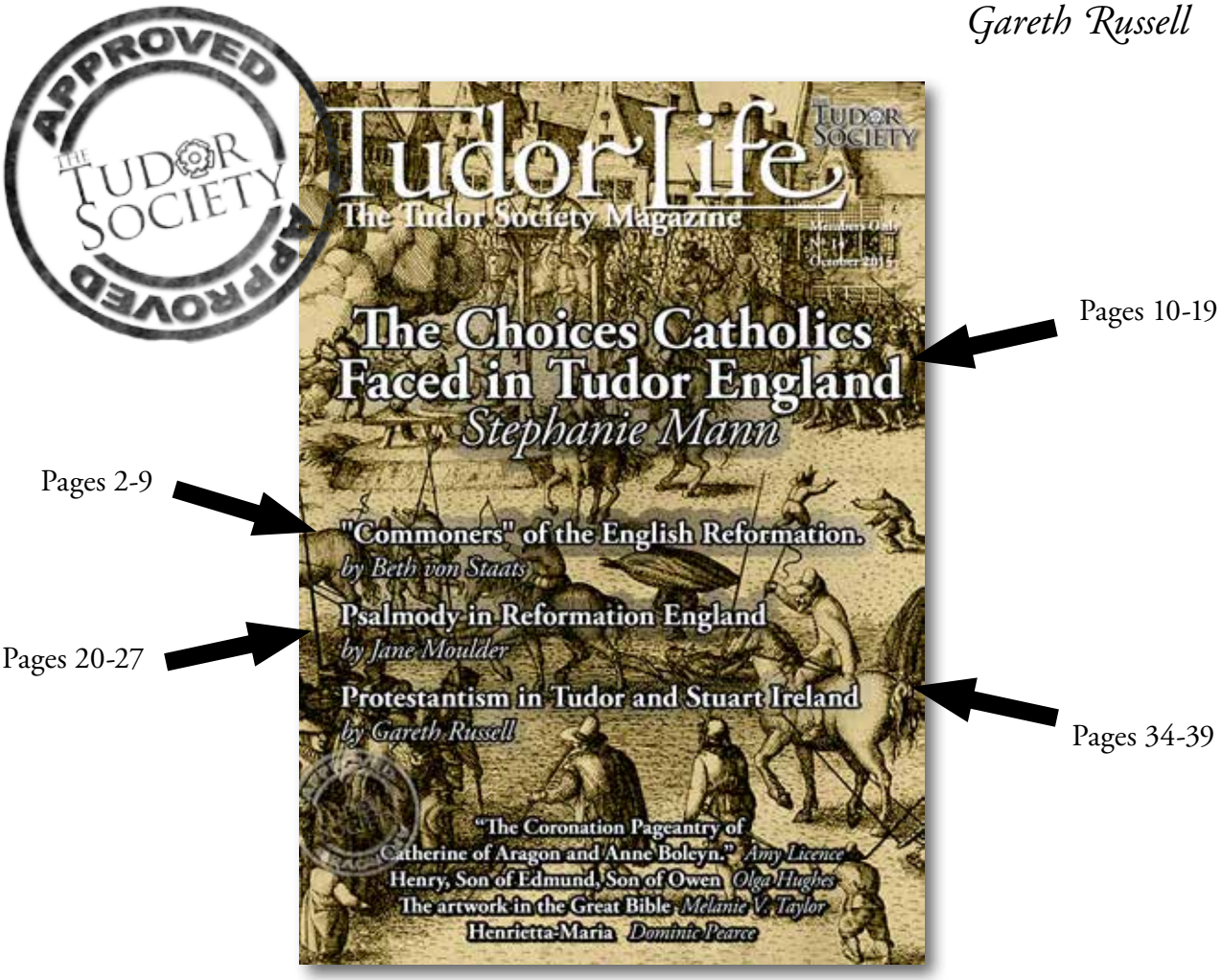
Welcome!

October 2015

HOW came it to pass that you were so ready to destroy and spoil the thing that you thought well of? - This haunting question was put to a Yorkshire man who had helped ransack a local monastery during the English Reformation. Today, we are still struggling with that mystery. Historians are generally divided between those who see the Reformation as a praiseworthy part of England's progression and those who view it as an unwanted cultural tsunami that claimed many victims. Whatever one thinks of it, as we approach the 498th anniversary of Martin Luther's first protest this October, all can agree that the Reformation radically affected many lives. In this issue, Stephanie Mann joins us to discuss how the government's actions affected ordinary English Catholic families, while Dominic Pierce looks at how England's first Catholic queen consort since Katherine of Aragon struggled with the Reformation's political legacy. We also have our wonderful regular contributors who are so insightful about art, literature and music in this tempestuous era. The Reformation has given us a fascinating and stimulating issue, which I very much hope you enjoy.

Gareth Russell



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Thomas Bilney. Illustration from Foxe's Book of Martyrs

THE "COMMONERS" OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

Religion seems to be in the news all of the time these days. **Beth von Staats** starts off our English Reformation section by showing us that it's always been a hot topic...

As all lovers of Tudor History and the English Reformation know, religion was serious business during the 16th and 17th centuries. In short, the English Reformation was an all out "call to war" between Evangelicals, Roman Catholics and later Anglicans, as well as Protestants of a growing array of separate denominations. When most think of the people engaged in this religious tug-of-war for survival, a large cast of famous historical figures including monarchs, nobility, high ranking clergy, and political leaders come to mind – people such as William Tyndale, Thomas More. Thomas Cromwell, Queen Mary Tudor, Francis Walsingham, and a host of others, both famous and infamous. The English Reformation and resulting "call to war" that transformed Great Britain, however, was also largely fought at a grassroots level by ordinary people living extraordinary lives. Here are just a few of their life stories.

An etching of Thomas Bilney

FATHER THOMAS BILNEY, PRIEST (ROMAN CATHOLIC – EVANGELICAL LEANINGS)

During the reign of King Henry VIII, crossing the line was a dangerous move, even if only a smidgen. Father Thomas Bilney was predominantly Roman Catholic in his belief system, a man who viewed Martin Luther a heretic, who staunchly defended the Eucharist, who prayed for his dead relatives in purgatory, and who believed heart and soul in papal authority. He was no "radical", even for the times.

A scholar of scripture, Thomas Bilney poured through the Erasmus translation of the Bible from Greek, drinking in what came to be his religious truth. Gentle spirited by nature, he won his contemporaries over, bringing both Mathew Parker, later Archbishop of Canterbury and Hugh Latimer, later Bishop of Worcester to the flock. Latimer was so influenced by Bilney, he admitted, "By his confession, I learned more than in twenty years before".

Through Thomas Bilney's scriptural study of Erasmus' translations, he came to believe that only Jesus Christ could wash away sin, and thus he began to denounce relics and pilgrimages in his teachings. Bilney was originally arrested in 1529 and ultimately questioned by Thomas Cardinal Wolsey, William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury and several bishops. Charged with heresy, he was eventually released after recanting.

Two years later, Bilney, ashamed by his apostasy, began preaching his truth again. Unwelcome to gospel in church, he preached in open fields. Arrested once again in Norfolk, articles were drawn up against him at Convocation. Bilney was tried, stripped of his orders, and handed over

Joan Bocher by Maria van Beckham

to Thomas More, by then Lord Chancellor. He was burnt at the stake at Lollards Pit on 19 August 1531.

STEPHEN VAUGHAN, MERCHANT (EVANGELICAL – LUTHERAN)

Stephen Vaughan, an English merchant, came into the service of Thomas Cromwell in 1524. In time a close friend and staunchly loyal Cromwell agent, there is convincing circumstantial evidence that Vaughan worked for Cromwell as a spy and smuggler of Lutheran and evangelical literature. Vaughan lived dangerously on the edge of a sword, nearly falling several times throughout his colorful career. During Thomas More's Lord Chancellorship, Vaughan was at the top of More's "Most Wanted List" of heretics to entangle, likely with the thought of dragging Cromwell on down with him. Through Cromwell's protection, but more importantly also through Vaughan's own ingenuity, he stayed one step ahead of his hunter – just barely.

A member of the Merchant Adventurers, Stephen Vaughan spent several years in Antwerp, Belgium, traveling back to England on business intermittently. While in Antwerp and upon each return, Vaughan was known to be completing business on Thomas Cromwell's behalf. Through their close working relationship and friendship, some historians credit Vaughan with introducing Cromwell to Lutheranism, and in doing so smuggling writings to Cromwell through deliveries shipped to England most likely via the cloth merchant industry. Accused of heresy in 1529 and then again after Bilney's burning in 1531, Vaughan slipped through his accusers' grasps first through Cromwell's influence and then also through his eventual service to the king.

Likely with Cromwell's recommendation, Vaughan entered King Henry VIII's service in 1530. Remarkably, through his own initiative upon learning William Tyndale would return to England if insured of his safe conduct, Vaughan held secret meetings on King Henry VIII's behalf with Tyndale and John Frith. His unsuccessful goal was to offer both men safe passage to England. Smelling a trap, the men initially declined. The king became concerned that Vaughan was becoming too close to Tyndale, but upon learning of the negotiations allowed them to continue. Vaughan, however, sent the king Tyndale writings in opposition to the views of Lord Chancellor Thomas More, opinions King Henry VIII viewed as wildly heretical. The king was furious.

Rash and bold in his Evangelical fervor, despite King Henry VIII's command to cease negotiations in May 1531, Vaughan continued to meet with Tyndale and Frith through November, him finally curtailing all contact through Cromwell's forceful intervention. As Thomas Cromwell's fortunes rose through his steadfast and effective service to the Crown, so did Stephen Vaughan's. In exchange, Vaughan's service to Cromwell, much known, but far more likely elicit and unknown, continued unabated throughout the remainder Cromwell's lifetime.

Stephen Vaughan survived the aftermath of Cromwell's execution in 1540, his financial and business acumen resulting in his appointment as King Henry VIII's sole agent abroad from 1544 to 1546. Ever resourceful, Vaughan effectively secured mercenary troops and large financial loans to enable England's late reign Henrican war with France. No longer needed by the Crown in Europe and failing in health, Stephen Vaughan returned to England and was elected to Parliament in 1547. After many dangerous adventures, this fortunate and wealthy commoner died in his bed, Christmas Day 1549.

JOAN BOCHER, GOSPELLER (ANABAPTIST)

Joan Bocher, also known as Joan of Kent, sadly has the infamous distinction of being one of only two people martyred for practice of their faith during the reign of King Edward VI. An Anabaptist, Bocher objected to infant baptism and denied the divinity of Jesus Christ. Anabaptists also advocated communal living, denouncing private property. First preaching her views throughout the Canterbury area in the late 1530's, Bocher was arrested but subsequently released upon the orders of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer.

A close friend of Anne Askew despite their theological differences in opinion, Bocher was active at the Court of King Henry VIII. If we are to believe martyr diarist John Foxe, Bocher first smuggled copies of William Tyndale's New Testament into England. From there, she boldly smuggled copies to the ladies of the court by creatively hiding them in her under-skirts.

After the burning of Anne Askew, Joan Bocher began boldly distributing pamphlets detailing her Anabaptist views, namely that Jesus Christ had not be born in the flesh to the Virgin Mary. With the death of King Henry VIII and ascension of King Edward VI, one would think her road would be a far less dangerous one. After all, all heresy burning acts were repealed by Parliament in 1547. Unfortunately, the Protestant Regime, the high clergy in particular, found Anabaptist views abhorrent, even more so that those of Roman Catholics. Consequently, Joan Bocher was targeted a heretic by none other than Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Joan Bocher was subsequently arrested and tried by Bishop Nicholas Ridley, found guilty of heresy. Though the legal Edwardian punishment was imprisonment, she was targeted for burning at the stake just the same, housed at the home of Lord Chancellor Richard Rich."Kept while in hope of conversion," noted King Edward VI in his journal, while a guest of one of Tudor History's most infamous villains, a series of high ranking clerics, including Cranmer, Ridley and Bishop John Rogers attempted to persuade Bocher to recant. She remained steadfast.

Appalled with plans to move forward to burn Joan Bocher, martyr diarist John Foxe advocated to Bishop John Rogers to spare her, instead to imprison "this wretched woman". Rogers, with the support of his often theological rival Thomas Cranmer, insisted she must die, offering burning to be a "most merciful" death for such a crime. Foxe chimed back prophetically, "Well then, maybe you will find out that on some occasion you yourself will have your hands full of this same gentle burning." As history

teaches us, John Rogers was the first Protestant heresy victim of the Marian Regime.

King Edward VI was not inclined to sign Joan Bocher's death warrant. As the perhaps apocryphal story goes, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer needed to prod the king, professing, "She should be punished for her heresy according to the law of Moses." Alleged to be in tears, King Edward VI is said to have responded, "Cranmer, I will sign the verdict at your own risk and responsibility before God's judgment throne," and thus he did.

Joan Bocher was burnt at the stake on 2 May 1550. She did not go quietly, "raging and railing" against Father John Scory of Canterbury, the priest assigned by Cranmer the dubious task of preaching at her burning. Joan Bocher scorned the ruling clergy, noting recent history as her sword. She preached that just as Cranmer in time came to the views of Anne Askew regarding transubstantiation and the sacrament of the altar, so would he soon see she was right about the person of Christ. Though the Church of England never did accept her interpretation of scripture, Joan Bocher died bravely for her faith, a Baptist martyr for the ages.

SAINT EDMUND CAMPION, SOCIETY OF JESUS (JESUIT PRIEST)

Saint Edmund Campion, son of a book seller, was a Jesuit Priest during the reign of Queen Elizabeth Tudor. Living the cloak and dagger life of practicing priest in hiding, Campion was eventually captured, tortured, and executed at Tyburn by being hung, drawn and quartered. He is one of the 40 cherished Roman Catholic Saints of England and Wales, all men and women martyred for practice of the faith in defiance of the Elizabethan Anglican regime.

A Tudor Era "child prodigy", Saint Edmund Campion was born in London's publishing district of Paternoster Row, an easy walk from Saint Paul's Cathedral. His highly successful early education at Christ's Hospital not only prepared him for his eventual scholarship to and studies at Saint John's College, Oxford, but also resulted in his selection at age 13 to present a scholarly presentation before Queen Mary Tudor. She was duly impressed with the child.

Upon the ascension of Queen Elizabeth Tudor, Campion showed no hint of his future Jesuit allegiance. A charismatic, popular and learned scholar at Oxford, he dutifully took the Oath of Supremacy in 1557 and earned a Master's Degree in Divinity in 1560. By 1562, Campion was welcoming Elizabeth, Regina herself to the university, winning the queen over after selected to participate in public debates before her, winning handily. By the time of the queen's departure, Saint Edmund Campion earned patronage not only from her principal secretary William Cecil, but also from Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Thought by Cecil to be a "Diamond of England", Campion's brilliant future within the Anglican Church was assured.

By 1564 an Anglican Deacon, rumors began spreading that Saint Edmund Campion showed signs of a theological change of heart. Though thought to be an "Anglican cleric on the rise", Campion's ultimate worship would never lead Protestants. Instead, Campion journeyed to Ireland. There he composed an English-biased history of the island nation, while engaging in private study and research. Evidently, Campion's Roman Catholic leanings became common knowledge, as after tutoring the son of the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, he was transferred to the home of Christopher Barnewall under the assumed name of "Mr. Patrick". For at least three months he was on the run.

Saint Edmund Campion returned to England in 1571, but finding his situation tenuous at best, he sneaked out of the country and went abroad to Douay, France. There he reconciled with the Roman Catholic Church and entered the Society of Jesus. Devout in his worship, Campion made a barefoot pilgrimage to Rome, from there journeying to Brunn for his two year novitiate, then forward to Prague, capital of the Czech Republic and Bohemia. Campion lived in Prague for six years, teaching rhetoric and philosophy. He was ordained a Jesuit priest in 1578.

In 1580, Saint Edmund Campion was called by his superiors to join Father Robert Parsons, also a Jesuit, in leading a daring mission to England. Though reluctant, Campion moved forward out of obedience and the "enviable" prospect of martyrdom. Naive as to the potential consequences, speeches announcing their planned exploits were

made in Bologna and Milan. Their goals now obvious, by the time the men reached France the Chanel Ports were all on alert. The men separated, entering England on different days and locations.

"Mr Edmunds", diamond dealer, came back to his homeland to enable English reclusants to practice their faith, "on an angel's wing and a prayer". To his misfortune Campion physically resembled Gabriel Allen, another Roman Catholic on the run. Arrested and detained by the Mayor of Dover, "Mr. Edmunds'" mission was nearly over before it began. With no rationale offered, the mayor released Campion, his first brush with disaster averted.

Saint Edmund Campion, with the invaluable assistance of English reclusants, made his way to London. There he naively composed *Challenge to the Privy Council,* an announcement of his Jesuit mission and invitation to Anglicans to engage him in theological debate. The risks to distribution incalculable, copies spread throughout the realm quickly, with Protestant replies swiftly following. Protestant detractors chided Campion's work, labeling it *Campion's Brag.* Given that victors write history, this title of Campion's work is most known by students and scholars today.

Although both Saint Edmund Campion and Father Robert Parsons enabled Roman Catholics to worship their faith secretly, traveling with reclusant "priest harborers" throughout the English countryside to say mass, hear confessions, perform baptisms and marriages, they did not make it particularly easy for reclusants to do so safely. The Jesuits insisted on absolute reclusancy, professing that any attendance at Anglican services to feign outward display of temporal loyalty to the queen was of "great impiety". Reclusants did not take such huge risks alone, however. Campion took extraordinary risks to preach to his flock, escaping detection in public in disguise or squirreled away in priest holes in the homes of host reclusants.

It was in an early constructed priest hole on 17 July 1581 in Lyford Grange that Saint Edmund Campion and two priest companions were discovered and taken by George Elliot and/or David Grange (both proclaimed credit). Using many of the same tactics Roman Catholic abusers of the Oxford Martyrs utilized during the reign of Queen Mary Tudor with the added enacting of physical torture, Campion was forced to engage in theological debate with his torments during his arrest at the Tower of London.

Saint Edmund Campion was afforded a trial, such as it was. Through the use of bribed witnesses and false evidence, Campion's condemnation was a forgone conclusion. Convicted along with others of high treason, Campion responded to those present: "In condemning us, you condemn all your own ancestors – all the ancient priests, bishops and kings – all that was once the glory of England." His words of wisdom ignored, Saint Edmund Campion was executed by hanging, drawing and quartering at Tyburn and 1 December 1581.

BETH VON STAATS

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Etching of Edmund Campion 1621

THE CHOICES CATHOLICS FACED IN TUDOR ENGLAND

by Stephanie A. Mann

DIVIDED as England's ruling classes were during the Wars of the Roses, Lancaster and York had shared a common Church; no one expected that religion in England would change when the ruling family changed. The ultimate winner of that dynastic conflict, Henry VII, his mother Margaret Beaufort and his wife Elizabeth of York, were as devout and conventional Catholics as one would expect from late medieval royalty. They founded and supported shrines, chapels, chairs of theology; attended Mass and the other Sacraments; went on pilgrimages; prayed the Liturgy of Hours; left alms and benefices for prayers and Masses to be said after their deaths to free their souls from Purgatory and gain entrance to Heaven. They, like the vast majority of their subjects, were Catholics.

They did not know the term "Roman Catholic", but they did know Rome and its bishop, the successor of St. Peter. While the pope was the Vicar of Christ and the highest ecclesiastical authority in the Catholic Church, he was also a temporal lord with territories and a Court. Henry VII worked with the current occupant of the Chair of St. Peter on ecclesiastical matters in England. His Cardinal Protectors, Italian prelates of the Roman Curia, represented his interests to the pope, encouraging certain appointments to the English hierarchy, coordinating other negotiations, including appeals to Papal Courts on Canon Law issues. England made its annual contribution of Peter's Pence; foreign bishops led dioceses: England was completely integrated into the universal Catholic Church. When Henry VIII succeeded his father in 1509, he continued this close relationship with Rome, even seeking papal approval as "Defensor Fidei" by writing a defense of the seven Sacraments against Martin Luther.

As we know from Eamon Duffy's great *The Stripping of the Altars*, confirmed in different ways by Eric Ives' *The Reformation Experience* and G.W. Bernard's *The Late Medieval English Church*, Catholic liturgical life was integrated into English culture in many ways. The liturgical cycle of the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ offered the sacramental reality of the Paschal Mystery in ritual and symbol while the sanctoral cycle of the feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints provided a calendar of life.

The monasteries, friaries and nunneries were sites of prayer, work, education, hospitality, and charity, often founded by kings, queens, or nobles. Either by true vocation or family decision, children and youth became postulants and novices in Benedictine, Cluniac, Cistercian, Augustinian, Dominican, Franciscan, Carthusian, Crutched, Carmelite, Premonstratensian (Norbertine), and Gilbertine (the native order founded by St. Gilbert of Sempringham) houses.

By virtue of their baptism, every Christian in England was a member of the Catholic Church. The Lollards were a minor memory. Some English Catholics were anti-clerical and descried abuses in the Church based on what they saw in their local parish or the abbey next door. Before Henry VIII's 1534 breakaway from the Catholic Church, some of them knew about the new teachings of Martin Luther and other reformers on the Continent.

Nonetheless, as the former Anglican Father John Henry Newman summed it up in his 1852 "Second Spring" homily after Catholic Emancipation and the restoration of the hierarchy, the Catholic Church appeared to be part of England:

The early Tudors were devout Roman Catholics

FEATURE SECTION: REFORMATION

Workshop of Hans Holbein the Younger – Portrait of Henry VIII (Google Art Project)

> "*T*hree centuries ago, and the Catholic Church . . . stood in this land in pride of place. It had the honors of near a thousand years upon it; it was enthroned in some twenty sees up and down the broad country; it was based in the will of a faithful people; it energized through ten thousand instruments of power and influence; and it was ennobled by a host of Saints and Martyrs. . . . its religious orders, its monastic establishments, its universities, its wide relations all over Europe, its high prerogatives in the temporal state, its wealth, its dependencies, its popular honors . . . Mixed up with the civil institutions, with king and nobles, with the people, found in every village and in every town, – it seemed destined to stand, so long as England stood . . ."

All of this structure, culture, integration, and unity would be lost during the reigns of the second and third generations of the Tudor dynasty. A Catholic who lived long enough after 1534 would have experienced great change and confusion. In this article, I'll outline the choices such a Catholic faced as he struggled to remain true to the faith of his fathers.

HENRY VIII: SUPREMACY AND CHANGE (1534 TO 1547)

Henry VIII as Supreme Head and Governor of the Church of England offered some challenges to such a Catholic, who faced an immediate choice: King or Pope? If either of Henry's succession or supremacy oaths was required, and our Catholic figure refused the oaths, he would face no other choices.

Once he swore the oaths, he was a Catholic without the pope and the universal Church. The changes coming from on high would be confusing as Henry was swayed by either the reforming counselors (Cromwell and Cranmer) or the more traditional counselors (Howard and Gardiner). The Defender of the Faith was consistent in upholding the Real Presence of Jesus in the Holy Eucharist, but other Catholic teachings and practices were less certain.

Liturgical reforms were announced, making sure that any rituals were not practiced superstitiously. The outward forms of palms and ashes, processions and creeping to the Cross were allowed, but purified. Other traditions, like the Corpus Christi Mystery Plays or the Boy Bishops of St. Nicholas Day, were eradicated. Prayers for the pope and to certain saints (St. Thomas of Canterbury) were removed from prayer books. Some images were removed from churches and saints' shrines and tombs desecrated. And the monasteries, friaries, and convents were dissolved: Henry VIII destroyed the long legacy of religious orders and vocations in England. After 1540, when the last abbeys were suppressed, anyone called to the religious life would have to leave England.

Seeing his local abbey or priory suppressed, the Catholic would have to decide: should he try to buy that land? Perhaps a son or daughter had been a member of a friary or convent. Where would *she* go? She'd receive a small annuity but she wasn't allowed to get married. Troublesome girl, she really had a vocation and the rhythm of monastic days disrupted the household. Perhaps she should go to a Benedictine house in France. At least his ordained son could go on to be a parish or chantry priest nearby and pray for his father when he died.

With such links to the monastic life, our Catholic might have sympathized with the Pilgrimage of Grace in the north, but the reports of executions and martial law encouraged silence. He might not like the changes, but he would say his prayers, go to Mass, write his will with provisions for his soul, and live and die in peace.

EDWARD VI: ANOTHER JOSIAH (1547 TO 1553)

But if he survived Henry VIII he would see more drastic religious changes in Edward VI's minority reign. Parliament imposed Cranmer's *The Book of Common Prayer*. There was no Real Presence in the Blessed Sacrament any more (hadn't Henry VIII burned men at the stake who denied it just a few years ago?); it was just a symbol. Thomas More had lost his head in the last reign, but his friend Erasmus's work *The Paraphrases* was in every parish church, encouraging everyone to know the Scriptures. The Princess Mary herself had translated the paraphrase of the *Gospel According to St. John*. More widespread iconoclasm destroyed what images and tombs remained. Edward was certainly a fervent Protestant and regarded himself as another Josiah, destroying idols and reforming the Church.

Our Catholic gentleman missed hearing Mass since his priest son had left for the Continent. His younger son came home from university when his more conservative religious views became known. While Thomas More's family and other Catholics had left England, Calvinist preachers and teachers came from the Continent to serve at Cambridge

Portrait of Edward VI of England circle of William Scrots

and Oxford. Perhaps the family should move to Louvain or Mechelen, where other Catholic exiles lived; how would they maintain their estates and holdings?

MARY I: RECONCILIATION WITH ROME (1553 TO 1558)

Edward's reign ended in chaos as Lady Jane Dudley came to the throne instead of Henry's eldest daughter when the young king died. The Princess Mary rallied people to her cause, however, overthrew the coup. Relief: the family could stay in England.

After Queen Mary was anointed and crowned, the Catholic rites were restored and soon the Altars and artwork returned to the churches, Mass was celebrated, and even a few of the abbeys reopened (Westminster and Syon for example). Since our Catholic gentleman had purchased monastic land he was relieved that he did not have to give it back. All of Edward VI's reforming legislation was repealed; the Calvinist ministers left for the Continent and the Catholics came home. Sir Thomas More's works

Mary 1 by Antonis Mor

Elizabeth I Darnley portrait, artist unknown

were published and Erasmus's *Paraphrases* were shelved.

After Mary and Philip of Spain were married, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Reginald, Cardinal Pole, reconciled England to the Papacy. Pole and the other bishops started planning reforms: a new catechism, new sermons for improved preaching, a new English translation of the Holy Bible, and seminaries in each diocese for the training of well-prepared priests. They also instituted the Church courts for the trial of heretics under laws restored by Mary's Parliament, resulting in the execution of almost 300 men and women at the stake.

With the death of Mary and Reginald Pole on the same day in 1558, Catholics in England prepared for another change. Elizabeth had told her half-sister Mary she was a loyal Catholic. Even before her coronation, however, there were signs of things to come, as Elizabeth rejected the ceremony of the Benedictines greeting her at Westminster Abbey. Then she didn't receive Holy Communion at her Coronation Mass.

ELIZABETH I'S *"VIA MEDIA"* AND CATHOLIC RECUSANTS (1558 TO 1603)

Elizabeth's first Parliament passed the legislation that established the *via media* of the Church of England to the protests of the bishops in the House of Lords: all of them but one refused to swear the new oaths of Supremacy and Uniformity and thus were deprived of their sees and went into house arrest or worse imprisonment. Catholics again left England and the Marian Protestant exiles returned.

The altars and images were stripped and whitewashed again; the monasteries and friaries suppressed. The rites of *The Book of Common Prayer* once again replaced the Catholic Mass and those who did not attend Anglican services were fined.

After the Northern Rebellion and Pope Pius V's pronouncements in *Regnans in Excelsis* (1569-1570), Catholics faced an old choice: loyalty to their monarch and country or to their pope and the Catholic faith. If they tried to have it both ways,

Cardinal Reginald Pole, the last Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury

with a public/private dichotomy, neither loyalty was satisfied. They were not able to serve two masters, just as their Saviour said in St. Matthew's Gospel.

Once the missionary priests, Englishmen who left to study on the Continent, came to serve the laity who wanted to receive the Sacraments denied by the government, our Catholic gentlemen and his heirs faced new dangers and decisions. Even if the men of the house attended Anglican services, their wives and daughters wanted to welcome the missionary priests: this could be very dangerous to all involved. Paying fines was one thing; enduring imprisonment, even torture and execution – those were higher costs.

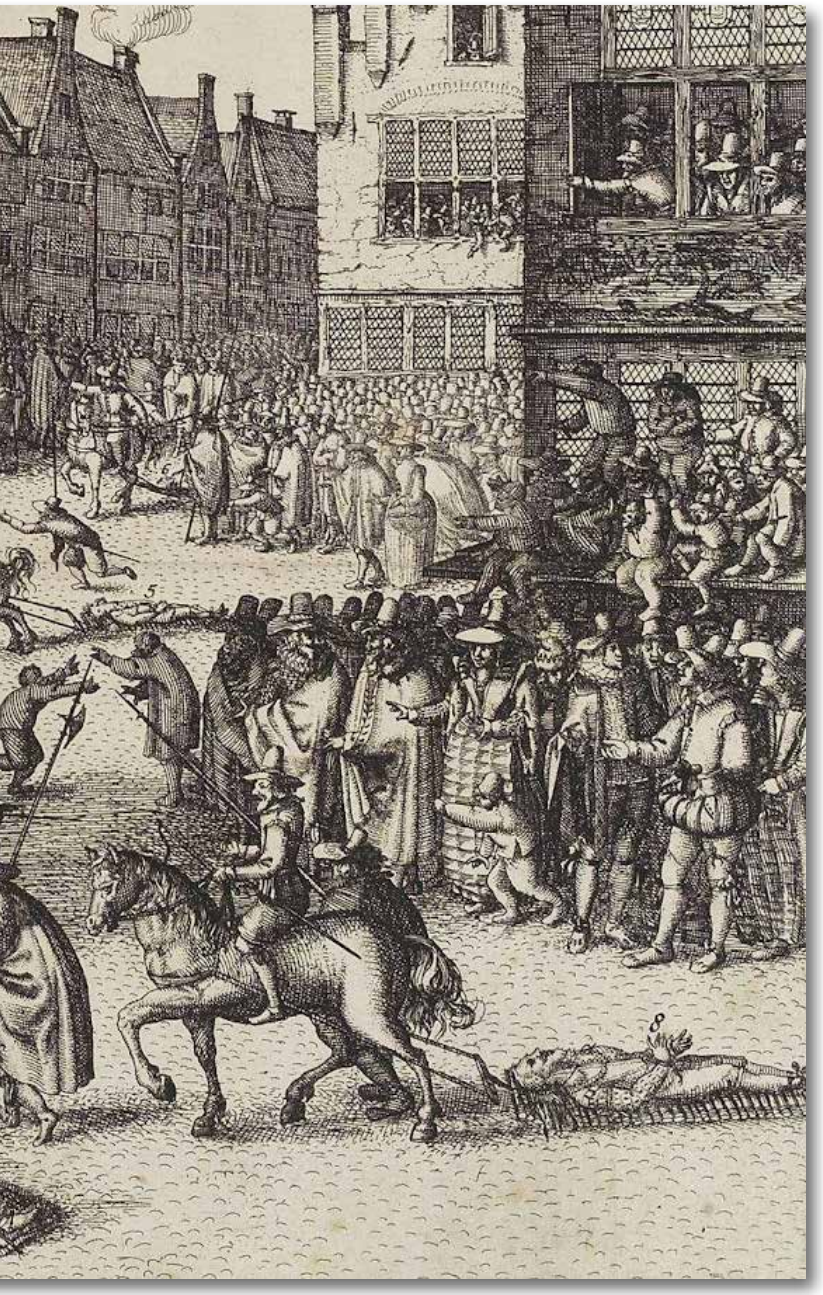
If the pursuivants found a priest, he would be arrested, sometimes tortured, perhaps exiled or sentenced to the death of traitors: being hung, drawn, and quartered. His lay protectors could be hung for the felony of aiding the priest, or, if found

The horrible executions of Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth I

guilty of having left the Church of England to become Catholic, endure the same traitor's death.

When Elizabeth faced the dangers of the Ridolfi, Babington, or Throckmorton plots to remove her from the throne and replace her with the Catholic, imprisoned Mary of Scotland, any Catholic priest or layman was suspected of knowing about or at least supporting the conspiracy. Questioning and imprisonment could be uncomfortable indeed. Perhaps it was time to give up and conform: but how do you stop believing what you've always believed?

Religion and politics were so closely entangled that it was almost impossible for a Catholic to say his faith was a personal, private matter. The family histories of the Vauxes of Harrowden Hall, Throckmortons of Coughton, Stonors of Stonor Park, Blounts of Mapledurham House, and others reflect this entanglement. Later in her reign, the Appellants proposed temporal allegiance to Elizabeth and expelling the Jesuits from England in exchange for religious toleration. Elizabeth and her Archbishop of Canterbury saw in this an opportunity to divide the Catholic community, but never came to any agreement with them on this arrangement.



Although the government did not always enforce the ultimate penalties of the recusancy laws, there was a regular ebb and flow of arrests and executions of both priests and laity from 1571 to 1603, especially after threats like the Spanish Armada.

As Diarmaid McCulloch noted in *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603*: "The government was out to destroy Catholicism even if it was not out to destroy Catholics. Nevertheless, English Catholicism became fossilized for almost two centuries as a largely upper-class sect with a faintly exotic flavor, before its great nineteenth-century expansion."

That so many Catholics – for James VI of Scotland was surprised at the number when he came to claim the throne in 1603 – remained steadfast amid so much change, danger, and isolation is nearly miraculous. As Leanda de Lisle recounts in *After Elizabeth: The Rise of James of Scotland and the Struggle for the Throne of England*, Catholics hoped for greater toleration when Elizabeth I died in 1603; while James had hinted at it, on his progress from Scotland to England, his exclusion of Catholics from any pardons presaged disappointment. And we know that disappointment led to greater disaster during James's reign, as desperate and reckless Catholic conspirators planned up to blow the King and Parliament, hoping to restore Catholicism in England on the Fifth of November, 1605.

STEPHANIE MANN

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PSALMODY IN REFORMATION ENGLAND

by Jane Moulder

THE break from Rome and the establishment of the new religious order due to the Reformation didn't just impact on political and monastic life, it infiltrated everyday life for all of England's citizens. The Reformation had far reaching effects beyond the way religious services were conducted, it also had a major impact on the way music and singing was performed in church. Singing of sacred texts had been a significant part of daily religious life for hundreds of years but the Reformation initiated the change from music being performed by a few selected elite to the active involvement of massed congregations. The

Instrumentalists and choristers singing and playing music in church. The Reformation saw the abolition of many choirs and church instrumentalists as well as the dismantling of the organs.

Reformation started a new fashion for singing psalms which quickly established itself as an important and significant part of Tudor church services.

The Reformation took place over many years and went through various stages starting with Wolsey's indictment under the Statute of Praemunire in 1529 through to the Act of Supremacy in 1534 which made Henry VIII head of the Church of England. But it wasn't until the First Act of Uniformity, made on 13 March 1549, that normal church services and daily worship was affected. This decreed that there should be only one uniform prayer book and one form of Holy Communion. It was this move that had a significant impact on church music throughout England. Up until this point any of the effects of the Reformation on music had been confined to the fall-out from the dissolution of the monasteries. Whilst over 800 monasteries had been dissolved, the majority of these were very small communities, often with less than a dozen members and a small income. Monasteries of this size would not have been able to afford specialist musicians or choirs, unlike the 50 or so larger, much wealthier monastic houses. These richer communities often supported many choristers and musicians who would sing and perform sacred music in Latin. Some monasteries were refounded as cathedrals and they were able to retain their musicians but the way they performed music, by necessity, had to change.

The English Litany, under Archbishop Cranmer, was published in 1544 which, despite being conducted in English, still maintained the Latin service format at its core, including the requirement of a choir to sing parts of the service. However, Cranmer decreed that sung verses should ideally be in plainsong or simply arranged where one word was set to only one note. His view was that regardless of whether the music was monadic (a single voice/musical line) or polyphonic (many voices and harmonies) it should be in the simple one word-against-one note form. This was contrary to the existing form of polyphony where one word could stretch over a long musical phrase. Cranmer even tried to set some simple plainsong tunes of his own composition.

"I have travailed to make the verses in English and have put the Latin note unto the same. Nevertheless, they that be cunning in singing can make a much more solemn note thereto. I made them only for a proof to see how English would do in song. But because my English verses lack the grace and facility I would wish they had, your majesty may cause some other to make them again, that can do the same in more pleasant English and phrase."

Fortunately, Cranmer's views on music weren't universally adopted or adhered to but they did have an impact.

Prior to the Reformation all cathedrals and most parish churches supported professional "singing men" or choirs and large parts of the Roman service was sung in Latin. Singing was the exclusive domain of the choir and the clergy, and congregational singing simply did not exist. With the establishment of the new order and services all this was to change. The services became simpler in structure and format and they had to be performed in English. Some cathedral choirs were forbidden to sing the responses and all the existing Latin anthems had to be replaced with English ones. Also the number of sung services were drastically reduced from eight a day to just two – Matins and Evensong. In some establishments, such as York, only singing at one mass per day was allowed.

At Lincoln they decreed "*the choir shall from henceforth sing or say no anthems of our Lady or other saints but only of our Lord and then not in Latin; but choosing out the best and most sounding to Christian religion they shall turn the same into English, setting thereunto a plain and distinct note for every syllable one: they shall sing them and none other.*"

By the time the first Book of Common Prayer was introduced in 1549 the major programme of dissolution and reorganisation had been completed. From this date, choral services were only to be heard in about 40 cathedrals, churches and chapels across England, a dramatic reduction from pre-

Reformation days. There was however, a major problem for the clergy with the new prayer book, because although it stated that part of the service could be "*said or sung*", no further guidance was given as to what type of music was permitted or what form it should take. Also, different services indicated different levels of music, again with no specific instruction. For major feast occasions, such as Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, it was written that full musical arrangements were permitted but only limited music was allowed for "lesser" feasts. There was real confusion as to when polyphony was allowed or when music should be monadic plainsong, resulting in both clergy and musicians not knowing what to do and when!

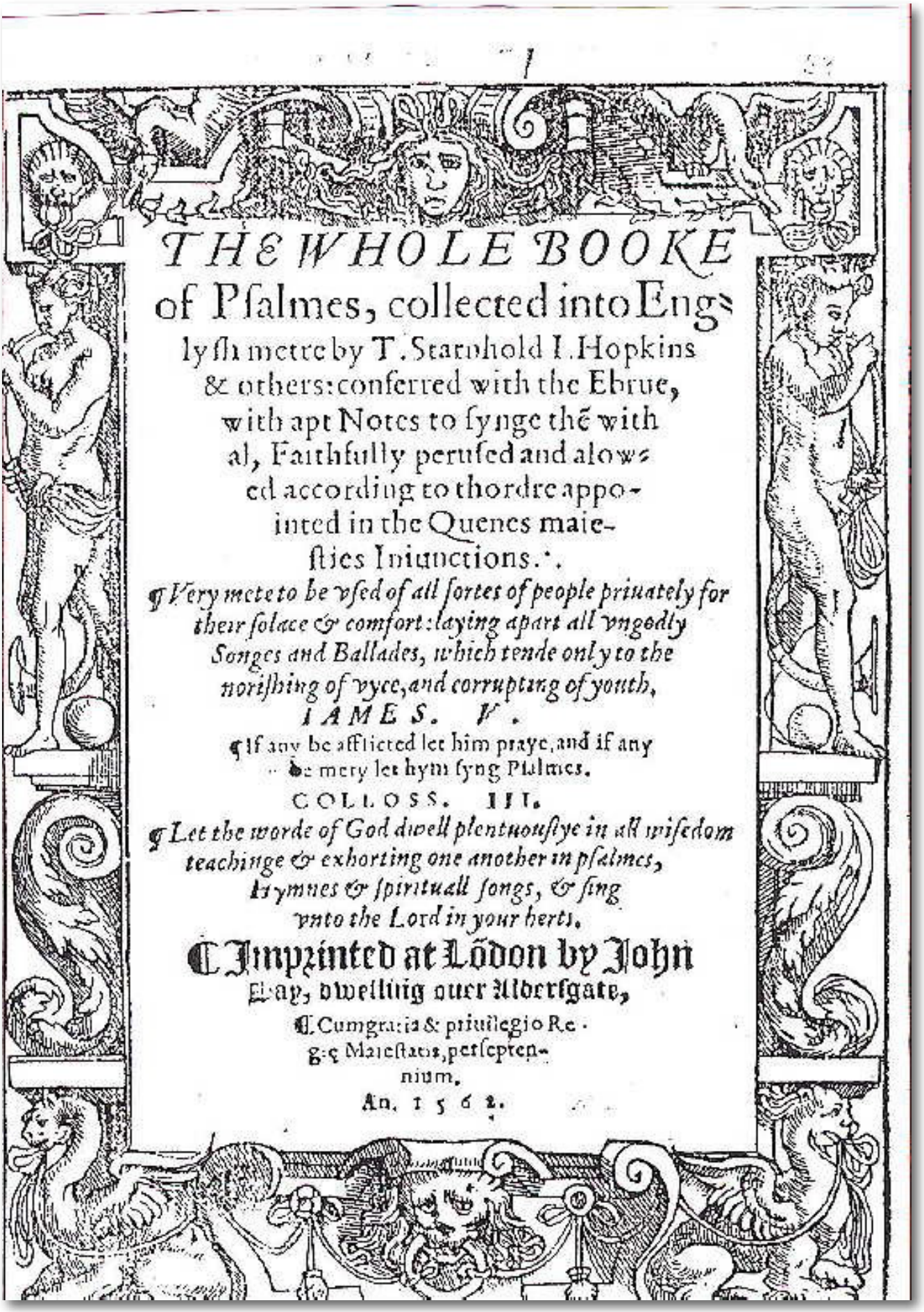
So although it was acknowledged that music *"worketh so divinely in the mind that it elevateth the heart miraculously and resembleth in a certaine manner the voices and harmonie of heaven",* the end result was that parish choirs began to die out. The chantries (singing schools) were dissolved in 1547 thus removing at a stroke the salaries of the singing men who were the professional mainstay of many parish choirs. The new Prayer Book contained no musical settings at all and whilst some parishes tried to maintain their choirs and attempted to navigate the new religious order of things, the result was that by the 1580's most church choirs had been disbanded and their professional singers dismissed. The singers were obviously affected by this and there are records of parishes paying money to help out their now impoverished former choir members. By the end of the 16th century, it was only cathedrals and the royal court that had choirs.

However, something stepped in to replace the choir and choral services – the singing of psalms. The introduction of psalm singing heralded a radical change and approach from pre-Reformation days because firstly the psalms were now sung in English and secondly, and most significantly, it was the congregation who sang them, not professional choristers.

Where did this new fashion come from as it was quite clear that the staunchest puritans and reformers objected to any form of music in church? Martin Luther, who had triggered the Reformation, was a great believer in the use of spiritual song as an integral part of worship and he had written many devotional and spiritual hymns. During Mary's reign, many of the early English Protestants had to take exile abroad in Germany, Switzerland and elsewhere. Whilst in exile they were influenced by the Calvinist services which included congregational singing and they brought this tradition back with them to England when Elizabeth came to the throne. In 1559 a royal injunction allowed the use of *"an hymn or suchlike song"* within church services. In this context, hymn referred to any song of praise and, very quickly, congregational metrical psalm singing became an established feature of worship throughout England. In 1560, John Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr about this new participatory trend:

> *"as soon as they had once commenced singing in public, in only one little church in London, immediately not only the churches in the neighbourhood but even the towns far distant, began to vie with each other in the same practice. You may now sometimes see at Paul's Cross, after the sermon, six thousand persons, old and young, of both sexes, all singing together and praising God. This sadly annoys the mass-Priests, and the devil. For they perceive that by these means the sacred discourses sing more deeply in the minds of men and that their kingdom is weakened and shaken at almost every note."*

Following on from some early publications by Myles Coverdale (*XX Songs and Goostly Psalmes and Spiritual Songes),* a royal servant, Thomas Sternhold and an Oxford graduate, John Hopkins, published the "*Whole Book of Psalms"* in 1562. This book contained 159 musical settings of psalms and it became an overnight success. It went on to make Sternhold and Hopkins, together with their printer, John Day, a considerable amount of money. Between 1562 and 1640, the Whole Book of Psalms went through approximately 482 editions and sold around one million copies and it became the most frequently printed book of its age. It was often bound in with copies of the Bible or the Book of Common Prayer. The title page proudly announced that the psalms were "*set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches of all people tougher, before and after Morning and Evening prayer, as also before and after sermons".* Whether or not the printer had received official church sanction to make this statement is unclear but the effect was that by 1580, the singing of psalms throughout all types of service, including



THE WHOLE BOOKE
of Pſalmes, collected into Engˢ
lyſh metre by T. Starnhold I. Hopkins
& others: conferred with the Ebrue,
with apt Notes to ſynge thē with
al, Faithfully peruſed and alowˢ
ed according to thordre appo-
inted in the Quenes maie-
ſties Iniunctions.

¶ Very mete to be vſed of all ſortes of people priuately for their ſolace & comfort: laying apart all vngodly Songes and Ballades, which tende only to the noriſhing of vyce, and corrupting of youth.

IAMES. V.

¶ If any be afflicted let him praye, and if any be mery let hym ſyng Pſalmes.

COLLOSS. III.

¶ Let the worde of God dwell plentuouſlye in all wiſedom teachinge & exhorting one another in pſalmes, Hymnes & ſpirituall ſongs, & ſing vnto the Lord in your herts.

¶ Imprinted at Lōdon by John
Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate,
¶ Cum gratia & priuilegio Re-
gię Maieſtatis, perſeptenni-
um.
An. 1562.

The opening page of the Whole Booke of Psalmes – a book that sold approximately a million copies over an 80 year period!

John Day, the printer. Day published many of the early Protestant pamphlets and publications in England. He was responsible for printing The Book of Martyrs and the Whole Book of Psalms. During Mary's reign he continued to clandestinely print Protestant literature and was imprisoned.

funerals and communions, was common practice in every church throughout England.

Psalms fitted the requirements of the new religion – they were literally the "word of God" as the words could be lifted and recited directly from the Bible. Initial settings of the psalms had been fairly simple musically with either just one or two voices. But as psalms became more popular various different publishers released editions containing simple four part harmonies. Established composers, such as Thomas Ravenscroft, began to release their own versions. Other editions, perhaps cashing in on this new trend, were Este's *The Whole Books of Psalmes* (1592) and George Wither's "*Hymnes and Songs of the Church*" (1623). By the late 16th century, psalm singing had both royal and ecclesiastical approval and became an established part of church traditions.

Not surprisingly, this new fashion for congregational singing wasn't universally welcomed, especially by some of the church hierarchy. Despite injunctions to the contrary, the Dean and Chapter in Exeter did all they could to stop the congregation singing at the cathedral services and their attempts to do so aroused a great deal of ill feeling. Lord Mountjoye wrote to the Chapter in 1559:

> *"Whereas the order was taken that the vicars of your church should say the morning prayer in the choir of your cathedral church, whereunto the people meet together to serve God, and they so resorting reverently and in great numbers for their greater comfort and better stirring up of their hearts to devotion, appoint themselves to sing a psalm and altogether with one voice to give praise unto God; which order you promised by your corporal oath to see observed. We have not heard that contrary to the said order and your own oath, certain of your vicars have scoffed and jested openly at the godly doings of the people and by divers and sundry ways, have molested and troubled them and have very uncourteously forbidden them the use of your choir…"*

The Dean and Chapter of Exeter were not alone in objecting to this new fashion for lay people singing and taking part in the service. Many found it difficult to accept that commoners were doing something that had previously been the sole domain of the clergy.

However, it seems that the popularity of singing by the congregation didn't always equate with musical skill. I suppose much could be said the same today! Looking at a number of accounts, it appears that psalm singing provided a spiritual aspect rather than a musically satisfying one! More often than not the parish clerks, whose responsibility it was to lead the singing, were not musically trained and they were unable to lead the congregation into a musical rendition of the psalms. Musician Thomas Mace was dismayed to report *"what whining, toting, yelling or screeking there is in many country congregations".*

Thomas Ravenscroft, in the introduction to his book of psalms gave guidance to the singers on how to perform the pieces:

A woodcut illustration from an edition of the "Whole Psalmes in Four Partes whiche may be song to al musicall instruments, set forth for the increase of vertue' and abolishing of other vayne and trifling ballades". (Folger Shakespeare Library).

"That psalms of tribulation be sung with a low voice and long measure (i.e. slowly)
That psalms of thanksgiving be sung with a voice indifferent, neither too loud, nor too soft and with a measure neither too swift nor too slow
That psalms of rejoicing be sung with a loud voice and a swift and jocund measure".

Despite this description, it seems that the reality of performance was more likely to be fairly slow and dirge like. So much so, with a particular sense of irony, psalms were nicknamed as "Geneva Jigs" as they were the absolute opposite of a lively dance.

There is a commonly held belief that, due to the obvious popularity of psalm singing, Elizabethans must have started setting the texts to the hit ballad tunes of the day. It has been argued that psalms would have set to familiar ballad and dance tunes to aid the spread of the Reformation's ideals. However, upon investigation, there is very little evidence to support this theory. For example, there are no surviving printed collections of psalms which recommend the use of more worldly tunes. Generally the two worlds of sacred and secular were kept quite separate. Whilst the practice wasn't widespread, it did happen from time to time and when it occurred, it seems that it was frowned upon. In 1597, a vicar

A reproduction of the Wingfield organ, believed to date to c1540. There are no surviving organs from the Tudor period as the majority were dismantled during the Reformation. Any that did survive this period were probably then destroyed during the Commonwealth. However, the soundboard of this organ at Wingfield, Suffolk was discovered stacked up with old timbers in the church shed. The organ was recreated by specialist organ builders Goetze and Gwyn.

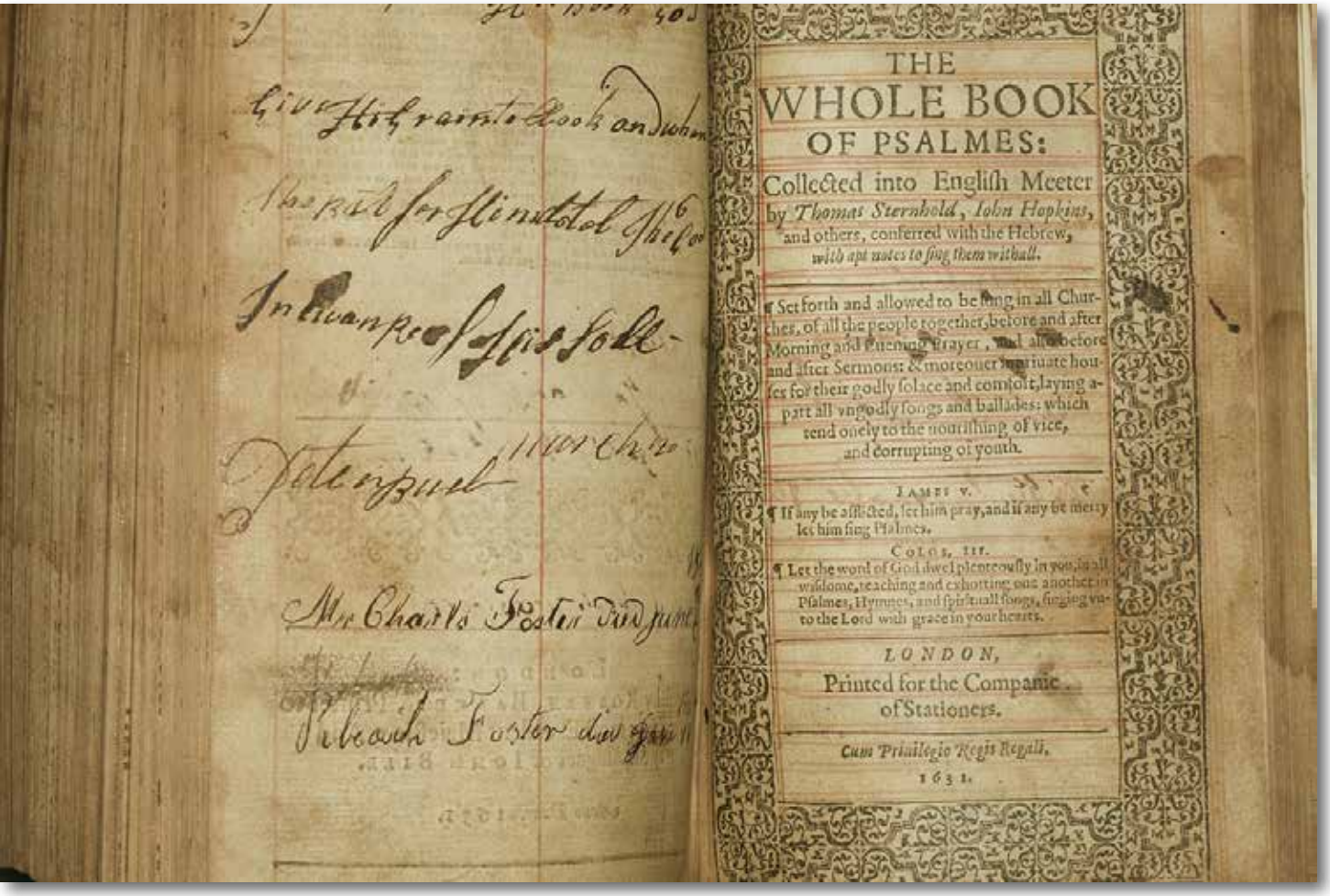
was brought in front of the church courts to defend himself against "*certain evil disposed persons*" who had accused him of setting Psalm 25 to the tune of Greensleeves. Another clergyman who fell foul of the Church authorities was William Slater. He decided to print a volume of psalms and he set some of them to popular broadside ballad tunes such as 'Goe from my window' and 'All in a Garden Green'. He obviously put some thought into the list as he chose some tunes that had originally accompanied a moralising ballad such as 'The man of life upright'. He was brought before his Archbishop and despite pleas for clemency, stating that he was merely trying to "connect" with the general population, he was severely rebuked. Finally, it seems, Slater was told off for his scurrilous and vain clothes ("*with ruffes up to your elbowes almost*")!

The parish clerk would have been responsible for choosing the psalms to be sung at each service and he would have selected them according to the calendar and any local celebration or commemoration. John Playford, a publisher of psalm books, described clerks as "*the leaders of those tunes in their congregations*". It seems that the clerk would also have nominated the tunes they were to be sung to and he would no doubt have led the singing of them. This involved the clerk saying or singing the psalm line by line which the congregation would then repeat. The process was called "lining out".

It is probable that in the vast majority of parish churches, unlike in the cathedrals or city churches, the singing would have been unaccompanied. One of the other musical ramifications of the Reformation was, sadly, the dismantling of the majority of church organs and the disbanding of musicians and their instruments. However, the Sternhold and Hopkins psalm book contained the description *"The whole psalms in foure paartes, which may be song to al musicall instruments"*. Various church records indicate that some instruments were used in the service to accompany the singing of psalms and this practice became more common towards the end of the 16th century as the initial fervour of the Reformation quietened down .

There is no doubt that psalm singing was immensely popular and favoured by all levels of society so much so that a commentator, John Patrick, wrote that parishioners "*show more affection for this* [psalm singing] *than any other part of the service*". Psalms were so popular that they were sung outside of church as well. On board sailing ships, psalms were sung by sailors not just during services but at the setting of each watch. In 1579, Drake and his men even sang psalms to a group of native Americans in order to dissuade them from performing a sacrifice! A contemporary Catholic writer stated that nothing had drawn people to Protestantism more than the singing of psalms and that they were sung by "*the soldier in war, the artisans at their work, wenches spinning and sewing, apprentices in their shops and wayfaring men on their travels.*"

Some of the upper echelons of society took against this popularist, and seemingly lower class, pursuit and mocked it. *"Psalms were sung by a company of rude people, cobblers and their wives, and*


THE
WHOLE BOOK
OF PSALMES:
Collected into English Meeter
by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins,
and others, conferred with the Hebrew,
with apt notes to sing them withall.

¶ Set forth and allowed to be sung in all Churches, of all the people together, before and after Morning and Euening Prayer, and also before and after Sermons: & moreouer in priuate houses for their godly solace and comfort, laying apart all vngodly songs and ballades: which tend onely to the nourishing of vice, and corrupting of youth.

IAMES V.

¶ If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if any be merry let him sing Psalmes.

COLOS. III.

¶ Let the word of God dwel plenteously in you, in all wisdome, teaching and exhorting one another in Psalmes, Hymnes, and spirituall songs, singing vnto the Lord with grace in your hearts.

LONDON,
Printed for the Companie
of Stationers.

Cum Priuilegio Regis Regali.
1632.

A 1632 edition of the Sternhold Hopkins Book of Psalms. It obviously passed through several owners judging from the different signatures on the left hand page.

their kitchen-maids and all, that have as much skill in singing them, as an ass to handle a harp". However, the gentry would, no doubt, have joined in the psalm singing at the church services although it seems from reports that some couldn't help showing their musical superiority and education by singing slightly different melodies and sharpening the leading notes leading to inharmonious results!

As the 16th century drew to a close, it seems that the singing of psalms was frowned upon by the some of the more radical puritans but was grudgingly accepted as the words were in English and sung to a simple tune. This practice was carried to the new lands with the Pilgrim Fathers and The Bay Psalm Book, a reprint of the Sternhold-Hopkins' Whole Book of Psalms, became the first ever book to be printed in America. First printed in Massachusetts in 1640 there are only 11 known surviving copies and when one came up for sale in 2013 it fetched a record breaking $14.2 million dollars – the highest price ever paid for a printed book.

Of the many changes to music and musical performance as a result of the Reformation, the singing of psalms was probably the greatest success story. Psalms impacted on the majority of the population and their singing was the biggest indicator that the congregation was now involved in the service as opposed to just being witnesses to it. Psalms were sung in a language that everyone knew and could understand and connect with. Whilst many of the professional singers and instrumentalists were no longer in fashion in churches, psalm singing allowed music to continue within a religious context. It was the continued popularity of psalm singing which was a major contributing factor to the re-introduction of choirs, organs and other musical instruments during the Restoration in the later 17th century. Congregational psalm singing also laid the foundation for the singing of hymns, a trend that did not develop until the 18th century; something that has continued within the protestant church to this day.

JANE MOULDER

HENRIETTA MARIA IN TROUBLE

by Dominic Pearce

The fifteen-year-old who landed at Dover on 12 June 1625 was already Queen of England, although she had not yet met her husband, King Charles I. Their wedding took place six weeks earlier, outside Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris. It could not take place inside because Notre Dame was a Catholic church, and Charles I was of course Protestant. At the ceremony the king was represented by the Duc de Chevreuse, to whom he was related.

Henrietta Maria spoke no English. She knew nothing of her new country's history. But she was sister to the King of France, and she was a pretty girl, with huge black eyes and a cream complexion. She was slight, no more than five foot tall, but her delicacy was deceptive. An observer found her 'a most sweet lovely creature… full of wit… she is not afraid of her own shadow.' That was one way of putting it. When the next day she met Charles I, she told him she was bound to make mistakes in her new country, and begged him to be the first to correct them. It was a more pointed warning than he realized.[1]

What is the claim of Henrietta Maria on our attention today? She was an outspoken girl who grew into a formidable, capable, charming woman. She was the first Catholic bride of an important Protestant sovereign.[2] She was a force in the English Civil War. Henrietta Maria provides an epilogue to the sixteenth century. She was shaped by religious conflict, the tragic Reformation mix.

*

The young queen arrived with a huge French entourage which included twenty-eight Catholic priests, one of them a bishop. Such a Catholic display had not been seen since the days of Mary Tudor. Nor was Henrietta Maria slow to stand up for her faith.

At Titchfield in Hampshire she interrupted a Protestant minister, by walking through the room where he was preaching, talking loudly with her French ladies and playing with her dogs. Back in London she scandalously walked to Tyburn to say prayers for the Catholic martyrs executed there as traitors. In February 1626 Henrietta Maria refused

1 *Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra Mysteries of State and Government in letters of Illustrious Persons* G. Bedel and T. Collins (1654) p 302; Petrie, Charles (ed) *The Letters, Speeches and Proclamations of King Charles I* (Cassel 1935) pp 42-3

2 James I had a Catholic wife, but Anna of Denmark converted several years after she married. Henri IV of France married a Catholic, Marguerite de Valois, when he was a Protestant, before he inherited the French throne (and before he converted to Catholicism).

Henrietta Maria
of France

to be crowned Queen of England in a Protestant service – so she was never crowned at all.[3]

This was strong stuff which required an iron will, but it was not teenage rebellion. Henrietta Maria had a special responsibility to inspire and protect the Catholics of England. Pope Urban VIII wrote to tell her this, before she was married; and her mother gave her a long letter with the same instructions. Placing such responsibilities on such shoulders would be decried by psychologists today as something like abuse, but the seventeenth century was a hard place, and royalty carried obligations.

In return for his high-profile bride, Charles I accepted conditions which would have been incendiary, had they been widely known. Henrietta Mara's marriage treaty guaranteed her freedom of worship, a Catholic household and Catholic chapels in all her palaces. She was given control of her children's education until the age of thirteen. Charles signed a side letter to the treaty, promising to relax the penal laws against English Catholics.

Yet outside the marriage – rocky, to start with – none of it mattered at first. In the early years of his reign Charles I sent military expeditions against the two great Catholic powers, Spain and, despite his wife, France. They failed, but he could hardly be accused of pandering to papists abroad. As for the penal laws, three months after his bride's arrival he reassured Parliament they would stay in force.

When the future Charles II was born on 29 May 1630, a star was seen shining in the daytime sky. It promised a new era of peace when religious discords would be forgotten. The queen made no attempt to enforce her treaty rights, and bring the baby up as a Catholic. She was deeply in love with her husband and she knew that the Prince of Wales must be Protestant.

*

During the 1630s the English peace unravelled nonetheless. This was the decade when Charles I reigned without calling Parliament. Opposition mounted because the king seemed to tamper with the rule of law, to raise the finance he needed. Where would he stop?

William Laud, the controversial Archbishop of Canterbury

Then there was the Protestant split, between strict Calvinists – they called themselves godly – and the so-called Arminians.[4] Charles I empowered William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, to re-shape the Church of England in line with Arminian thinking. Laud (and the king) wanted decorum, formality, a defined liturgy, the altar as a sacred place – protected behind railings at the end of the church – and the beauty of holiness: images. music, lace, incense.

Such measures were designed to subdue the impromptu style of godly Puritanism, which in its wilder forms threatened authority, and in all forms

3 On Tyburn Petrie *Letters* p 44. For her attempt to have a Catholic bishop crown her see Chamberlain, John, *Letters* Vol II (The American Philosophical Society 1939) p 627

4 Named after the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius

detested images and hierarchy. For the godly the word of the Bible was the surest guide to holiness (although their belief in predestination – from the outset, God determined who was saved and who was damned – always seemed to pre-empt *any* human decision or choice).

Disastrously the king pursued his English reforms in Scotland. He commissioned a new Scottish Prayer Book, which was announced on 23 July 1637. Riots at once broke out in Edinburgh. The so-called Bishops Wars between Charles I and the Scottish rebels followed, in 1639 and 1640. Not only did the Scots not want a Prayer Book, they didn't want bishops either, and unilaterally abolished their episcopate.

Laud's reforms were not Roman Catholic. He did not try for a Latin liturgy, nor for a link with Rome. But they looked Catholic to the godly. Alexander Johnson of Wariston, one of the leaders of the Scottish rebels, concluded that the Prayer Book was sent providentially as 'Gods dishclout to scoure the vessels of his sanctuarie from the filthines of the ceremonies.'[5]

*

Protestant disputes did not interest Henrietta Maria, but she had not turned faith-neutral. Her religious household was a source of wonder to the Londoners, who gaped at her Capuchin friars, men ablaze with simple piety. The beautiful modern chapel built for her by Inigo Jones at Somerset House, which opened in 1636, was a Counter Reformation beacon. She received envoys from Rome, who encouraged Catholic evangelisation at court. A number of conversions resulted.

In 1638 the queen welcomed to London two Catholic women with the highest international profile, both refugees from the régime of Cardinal Richelieu in France. One was the beguiling trouble-maker Marie de Chevreuse, the other Henrietta Maria's mother Marie de Médicis. Both came to live in English royal palaces on English money, which could otherwise have gone to the king's Protestant relations.[6]

In short when Charles I made the fatal mistake of waging war on his Scottish subjects, his wife was beating the drum in England. Because of the Laudian reforms, because of the Scottish wars, because of the weighty presence of her mother, the din resonated more loudly than ever outside the court. When in April 1639 Henrietta Maria asked English Catholics to make voluntary contributions to the king's Scottish war chest, the connection was made. The Catholics really were financing a war against the Protestants.[7]

*

By the time the crisis hit, Henrietta Maria was personally in the line of fire. When Parliament was at last called (in 1640) – to finance the Scottish wars – it turned the tables on the king, by criticizing his policies and attacking his ministers.[8] Several fled overseas. After the impeachment and execution of the Earl of Strafford in 1641, and the arrest of Laud, there was nobody left close to Charles I, apart from his wife.

Her position was not symbolic. John Pym and his friends in opposition were frightened of Henrietta Maria. Her energy and courage seemed to them the reason the king challenged their demands. If the queen could be disabled, they thought, Charles I would bow to a constitutional revolution, that would save their lives, property and souls.

In short the attack on the queen was prompted less by fear of her religion than of her personality. This can be clearly seen when on 4 February 1641 she sent a message to the House of Commons, to reassure them of her goodwill. The Members were astounded. When the letter was first read out, silence fell. They asked for it to be read out again. There was a sense of outrage. The wiser among them managed to persuade the House to acknowledge the queen's gesture but mostly they were appalled at her interference. After all she was just a woman.[9]

5 ODNB *Sir Archibald Johnston*, John Coffey, quoting Johnston's *Diary* 1.334-6

6 His sister and her children, the Palatines, dispossessed by the Thirty Years War

7 In fact very little money was raised

8 It was the second Parliament of 1640 that did this, the Long Parliament

9 d'Ewes, Simonds (ed Wallace Notestein) *The Journal of Sir Simmonds d'Ewes from the beginning of the Long Parliament to the opening of the trial of the Earl of Strafford* (YUP 1923) pp 323-4

Still her Catholicism came in useful. Pym's great challenge was to control enough votes in the Commons to force his measures through. Anti-Catholicism appealed to the deepest instincts of Protestant England – people remembered the Armada of 1588, the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 – and to the wallets of the Members of Parliament who feared dispossession as much as hellfire.

When Pym's step-brother Francis Rous made his opening speech to the first of the two Parliaments of 1640, he said 'the roote of all our grievances I thinke to be an intended union betwist us and Rome.'[10] In support of this contention Pym drew together the various grievances against the king. Crowds of London apprentices rioted in support of Parliament, against foreign tyranny. The impeachment and execution of Strafford followed in 1641. As (Protestant) Viceroy of Ireland, Strafford potentially controlled a large Irish Catholic army, that might invade England to support Charles I,[11] so he too was a target of the hysteria.

At the end of 1641 Henrietta Maria's impeachment was threatened, Early in January her husband attempted a pre-emptive strike against her (his) critics and failed. The queen left England in February 1642. In August 1642 the king raised his standard at Nottingham.

*

The English Civil War was heralded by an anti-Catholic fanfare, yet the conflict was not a dispute between Catholic and Protestant. During the war the queen did her best to find support for her husband, making appeals to Catholic powers among others, and was ridiculed as a papist Svengali, but the force of anti-Catholic rhetoric reduced. Charles I himself remained unshakeably Protestant. It was after all a confrontation with the king.

Although Reformation antagonism was still highly emotive, things had moved on since the sixteenth century. This was a Protestant conflict, in which one side proclaimed the sovereignty of God and (to his discredit) the humanity of the king; while the other argued the king had a divine sanction. The Reformation of Christianity was refined into a local struggle.

What about Henrietta Maria? She was thirty-two when war broke out, living abroad, mother of five children, devoted to her husband. She came back to England in 1643 to add fire to the royalist cause. The harsh test of failure lay ahead, widowhood, a second exile, and, later, a triumphant return. Her story continued.

DOMINIC PEARCE

10 ODNB *John Pym*, Conrad Russell
11 It never did

Queen Henrietta Maria and King Charles I enjoyed a happy domestic life, but even attempts to capture it did little to dent the Queen's unpopularity

'SO MUCH MISERY TO OUR LOVING SUBJECTS'

THE PROTESTANT EXPERIENCE IN TUDOR AND STUART IRELAND

by Gareth Russell

WHEN the ageing Queen Elizabeth I was pressed by her advisers to offer terms to Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, after his rebellion against her, she cried out in fury and pain at the idea of pardoning 'the author of so much misery to our loving subjects'. Not too long before, English society had been aghast to hear of the rebels' ransacking of a Protestant settlement in the south of Ireland, which had allegedly culminated with the murder of the men, slaughter of the children, the rape and mutilation of the traumatised women, who were then driven naked into the nearby hills to die of exposure.

Similar scenes were repeated against Irish Protestants in 1641 and provocative images of drowning or butchered Protestant womanhood still flutter in Northern Irish streets every summer as the chosen emblems of lodges within the exclusively-Protestant Orange Order, who march throughout the north of Ireland and parts of Scotland on the anniversaries of a Stuart military campaign that helped secure a century of Protestant supremacy in the island through the blood, filth and pain of the battlefield. Perhaps there is nowhere else in Western Europe where the Reformation's legacy continues to matter as much as in Ireland, even though its impact is fast-fading and has been, for at least two centuries, vastly overshadowed by its links to politics.

It has recently become the established historical orthodoxy that the English Reformation was essentially unpopular and distressing to the vast majority of Tudor people. The idea that the Reformation was forced upon a reluctant population by an elite who were either indifferent to, or impatient of, their feelings has banished the old view that medieval Catholicism was hopelessly corrupt and destined to fall. However, the pendulum may have swung too far in the other direction. The Reformation's butchering of centuries of art needs no repetition. It is justly infamous. Likewise the heroism of those Catholics who opposed it remains as magnificent as it is inspiring. However, we cannot escape the fact that sizeable sections of the English and Welsh population embraced the religious changes enforced by their government in the sixteenth century, albeit to varying degrees. By far and away the quickest bastion of old Catholicism to collapse was loyalty to the Vatican. Confession too was not particularly defended, while veneration of the Virgin Mary and prayers for the dead proved a lot harder to eradicate, even during the full-throttle Protestantism of Edward VI's regime. While it was only really by the middle of Elizabeth I's reign that the country had definitively adopted a Protestant identity, it had been oscillating back and forth towards it for nearly half a century – and even then, Puritans were lamenting that the Reformation had 'failed'. Hence why so many of them later emigrated to America, where they hoped to build a more radically Protestant commonwealth.

Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, Tudor courtier and Irish aristocrat (National Portrait Gallery of Ireland)

The massacre of Irish Protestants helped fuel sectarian tensions in Ireland for the next century (Public Domain)

Either way, there is much to be said for Chris Marsh's assessment in his book *Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England: Holding their Peace* (1998), when he concluded that in many ways the English Reformation was 'unwanted but not wholly unwelcome.'

Ireland adapted differently to the Reformation and more traumatically in the long run. When the Irish aristocracy and like-minded Anglican commoners convened in Dublin in 1695 to ignore the pleas of the British government and rode hell for leather over the civil rights of Irish Catholics, they crafted a set of laws that not only stripped Catholics of many liberties, but meted out the same treatment to Presbyterians and any other kind of Protestant who did not subscribe to the established Church, which had the King as its head. As the eighteenth century wore on and the beautiful country homes of the nobility sprang up across an increasingly prosperous Ireland, the young aristocrats of the Enlightenment began to wonder if their grandparents and great-grandparents had sowed a bitter harvest that they now had to reap. Far from inculcating obedience, the Penal Laws of 1695 had, as William of Orange warned, bred at best resentment and at worst radicalism.

But to understand why the legislators of the 1690s behaved in ways that seem equal parts stupidity and cruelty, one has to understand the Protestant experience in Ireland after the Break with Rome. Irish history is woefully neglected in most accounts of British history, despite the fact that from 1541 to 1921 the entire island was a constituent part of the same monarchy. Irish Protestant history is even less discussed. It is quite common to read history books about the island that ignorantly refer to 'English Protestants' and 'Irish Catholics' without acknowledging, or perhaps even understanding, that the Protestants were Irish, too. Even within many Irish-written histories, a veil of unhelpful silence has fallen over any who do fit into the grand narrative of the drive towards independence.

In the Tudor era, the Protestant Reformation crashed over an Ireland that was, in many ways, a political nightmare. The Tudors were not popular

when they first came to power there and the Gaelic nobility had helped fund two rebellions against Henry VII – Lambert Simnel's and Perkin Warbeck's. Two statesmen close to Henry VIII – the Duke of Norfolk in the 1520s and Thomas Cromwell in the 1530s – had preached the need for massive political reform in Ireland. Such reform was necessary to clear up the country's plethora of legal ambiguities, to extend the Crown's control beyond a few prosperous settlements like Dublin and to encourage support for this new system from all the inhabitants. Ireland under Henry VII and Henry VIII was a society of paradoxes. The two Tudor Irelands – one enthusiastically loyal and the other resentfully obedient – cordially detested one another, but their economies, legal systems and lives were inextricably intertwined. Yes, there was resentment. Yes, there were many in Ireland who had as much knowledge of the English king as they did of the Hapsburg emperor and yes, there were rebellions. But there was also genuine loyalty – when Henry VIII was proclaimed King of Ireland, removing the old medieval title of 'lord', the streets of Dublin ran with wine and thousands of people were out dancing around bonfires in celebration. The Irish Earl of Ormond served as Katherine of Aragon's Lord Chamberlain, Anne Boleyn was the daughter of a man with a claim to an Irish peerage and as a young woman she was very nearly married off to another, Irish aristocrats like Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald served in the household of Queen Catherine Howard and the dynasty made efforts to attract other nobles to life at court.

The Irish clergy, however, were horrified by Henry's Break with Rome and unlike their poor colleagues in England and Wales, they were beyond his reach. Both the Pope and the Scottish government under James V exhorted the Irish nobility to keep the faith and defy the King. But the religious differences within the island really began to accelerate, ironically, in the reign of Mary I who embarked upon a policy of 'planting' Irish counties with excess English settlers; then, with the subsequent swing back to Protestantism under Elizabeth I, a very clear line of difference came to mark the Anglo-Irish (descendants of settlers of the twelfth century) and the Gaelic Irish, as separate from the settlers who were contemptuously dubbed 'the new English'. That barrier was religion. The former were overwhelmingly Catholic, the latter equally likely to be Protestant.

Elizabeth I saw the issue of Ireland in black and white. She was its queen; she must therefore be obeyed as she was in any other part of her realm. However, she seems to have fundamentally misunderstood the extent of the settlers' actions in Ireland and, in particular, how detested the more radical planters had become. Even English Catholic writers, like the future saint Edmund Campion, could not contain their contempt for Gaelic culture and in a militantly confident mood they assumed theirs would drive out Ireland's 'backward' ways. For them, the progress of the English way of life seemed inevitable and they behaved accordingly. However, when English political culture imploded as a result of the civil war of the 1640s, the settlers, many of whom were by now second or third generation citizens in Ireland, were uniquely vulnerable.

With the breakdown in governmental authority, in 1641 many Gaelic Catholics attacked their Protestant neighbours. As the historian Jonathan Bardon put it in his acclaimed *A History of Ulster*, the events of 1641 were a sign of 'what a man can do to man when all authority collapses in a climate of fear and want, when people are inflamed by rumour, religious passion and a lust for revenge.' In the northern county of Cavan, the local Protestants were robbed and stripped naked, then 'without consideration of their age or sex, sent into the wild, barren mountains, in the cold air, exposed to all the severity of the winter and left to die.' Dozens of Protestant aristocrats, like Lord Caulfield, were dragged from their beds and shot; their homes and castles were then burned to the ground. Wealthy Protestant women were often tortured by having their feet dipped in burning oil until they told the rioters where they were hiding their money. In the northern town of Portadown, nearly one hundred Protestant men, women and children were rounded up by the rebels, taken to a nearby bridge and then hurled 'off the bridge, into the water and there instantly and most barbarously they were drowned. Those who survived the fall and made it back to the shore were either bludgeoned to death or shot to death in the water...'

It is, of course, important to remember, and so obvious it hardly merits saying, that not all Irish Catholics supported the horrors of 1641 and that

The Orange Order parades in Northern Ireland continue to celebrate the legacy of the Reformation (Public Domain)

by 1642 Irish Protestants were retaliating with sectarian killings of their own, which also included the murder of Catholic children. Perhaps the most chilling line from the entire episode came from the justification for killing Catholic children – 'knits breed lice'. In August 1642, to distance themselves from the massacres, many wealthy Irish Catholics set up something called *the Confederate Catholics of Ireland*, a group dedicated to supporting the British monarchy in its fight against Oliver Cromwell. In part, this was due to the popularity in Ireland of Queen Henrietta-Maria, the first Roman Catholic queen consort since 1533, and her concern for Catholics' rights, particularly in lifting restrictions on Catholic pilgrimages in Ireland. She was instrumental in reinstituting the pilgrimage to the holy mountain at Croagh Patrick, which is still undertaken by many Irish Catholics today.

In 1645, the Confederate Catholics even took up arms to defend the King's rule in Ireland, marching against his enemies, crying, 'Let your manhood be seen in your valour this day. Your oath is HAIL MARY and so in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, advance! – And fire against all enemies of our sovereign lord and king!' When the republican British army landed in Ireland in 1649, they laid waste to the eastern towns of Drogheda and Dundalk with a brutality that ensured Cromwell's is still one of the most hated names in Irish history. The people they butchered were usually Catholic but they were also predominantly royalist. By 1649, the "sides" in

Irish politics and society were, in some small and merciful way, no longer so clearly defined.

By 1692, however, the complexities of the situation in 1641 had been forgotten and the children and grandchildren of those Protestants who had been targeted in 1641 chose only to remember those Catholics who had attacked them. They had grown up hearing stories of horror, tragedy and the loss of human life; then, when King William III deposed his Catholic uncle James II, culminating his campaign with victory at the Battle of the Boyne in Ireland, the Protestants of Ireland in the 1690s were determined to score a religious, economic and emotional victory over their Catholic compatriots. The Protestant Bishop of Derry reflected the majority of Irish Protestants' mind-set when he wrote in 1693, 'it is apparent that the necessity of being so harsh was brought about entirely by *them*, because we know that either they or we must be ruined.' In part, the anti-Catholic mood was based on the Protestant community's memories of the unbelievable horrors and cruelties they had faced at the hands of the rebels of 1641. On the other hand, it was also the result of ignorance, bigotry, greed, paranoia and devastating stupidity.

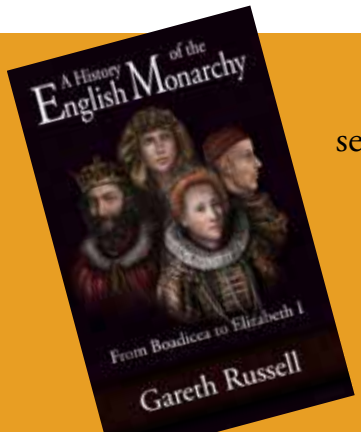
In 1695, the Irish Parliament passed into law a series of laws that would define Irish history until the start of the nineteenth century. They were called the Penal Laws and they began by claiming that the tragedies and traumas of the last fifty years had solely been 'contrived, promoted and carried on' by the Catholic church and that as long as the Catholic religion was allowed to have any say in Irish life, it would mean that 'the peace and public safety of the Kingdom is in danger.' The laws claimed that anyone practising the Catholic religion could not be a loyal subject of the King and that their very existence would lead to 'the ruin and desolation of this Kingdom.'

The idea that Catholics were somehow foreigners in their own country, not quite 'real' Britishers, continued in the United Kingdom right the way down to the twentieth century. Likewise, Irish Protestants were all-but excised from popular Irish historiography, particularly if they were nineteenth or twentieth century people who had professed loyalty to the Crown. Ireland's botched and butchered experience of the Reformation has a lot to answer for and this article barely scratches the surface of its manifest complexities. Of course, the Penal Laws were not the only reason why the political divisions in Ireland came to be associated so closely with different Christian denominations. Many historians would now place that definitive shift to the nineteenth century, but nonetheless they did do something very important by solidifying the divisions of the Reformation. As Cromwell's attack on Drogheda and Dundalk in 1649 had shown, Irish society was already becoming more diverse in its political-religious expressions by the middle of the seventeenth century. The Penal Laws buried those complexities. It is hard not to feel anything but sorrow and sympathy for the children and grandchildren of a blinkered, scarred generation who left them a poisoned legacy.

GARETH RUSSELL

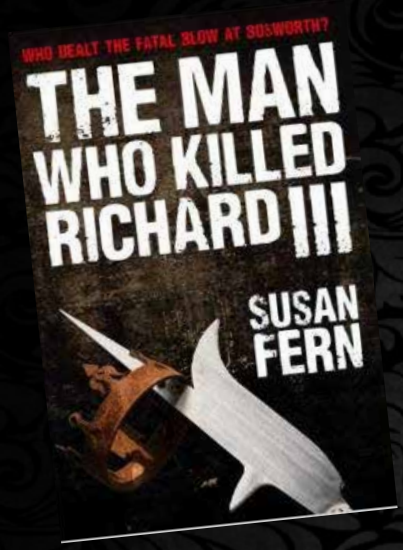
Further reading:

A History of Ulster by Jonathan Bardon (Blackstaff Press, 1992); *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors, 1447 - 1603: English expansion and the end of Gaelic rule* by Steven G. Ellis (Longman, 1998); *The Elizabethans* by A. N. Wilson (Pimlico, 2011); *A History of the English Monarchy from Boadicea to Elizabeth I* by Gareth Russell (MadeGlobal, 2015)



Gareth Russell is a regular speaker for the Tudor Society, seemingly knowing all there is to know about history! He is the author of acclaimed **"A History of the English Monarchy: From Boadicea to Elizabeth I"**

OCTOBER'S EXPERT SPEAKER



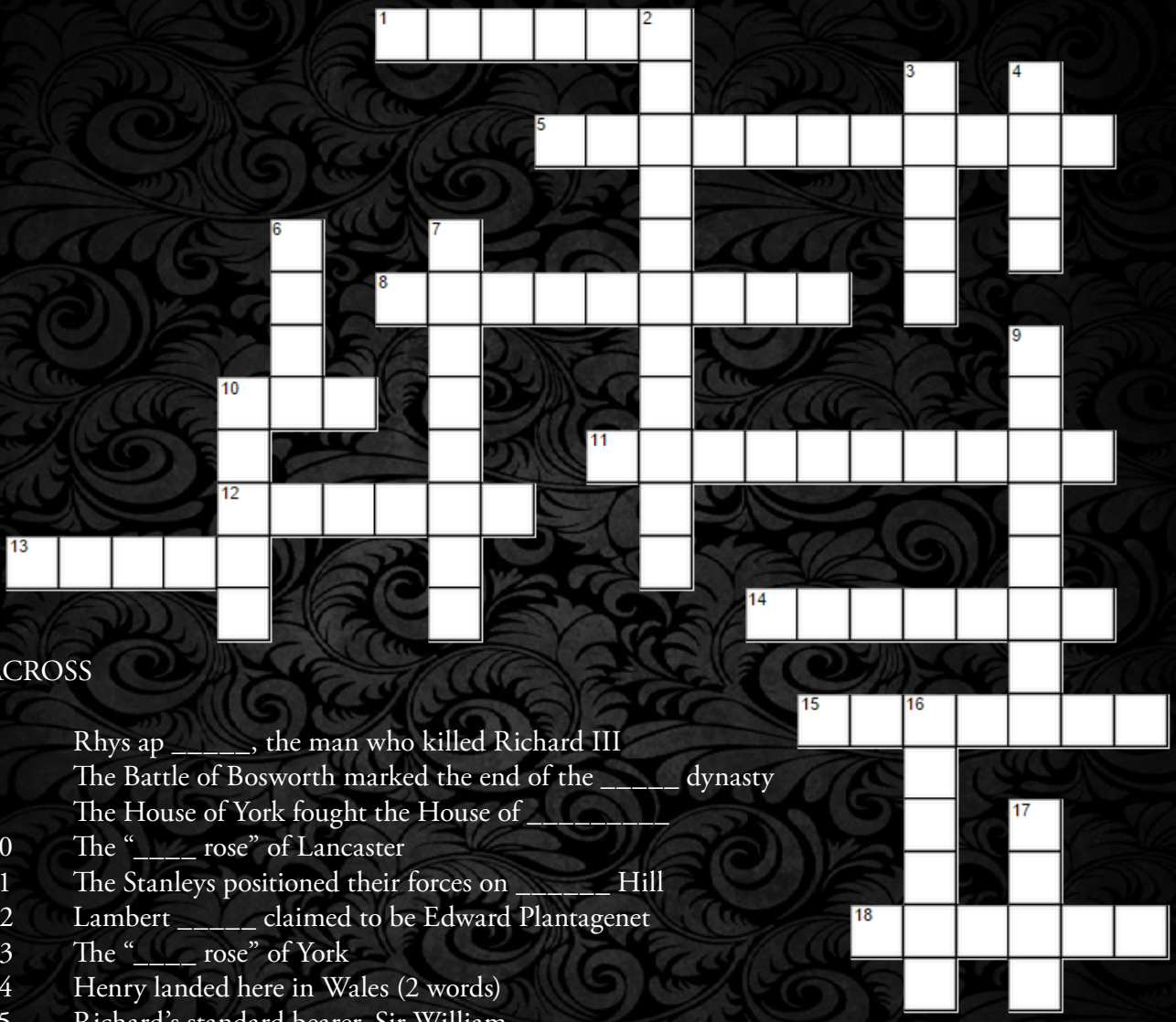
Susan Fern

Dr Susan Fern has lectured in history at Lampeter University and is currently research affiliate at the Open University. Her books include **"The Jews Against Rome: War in Palestine AD 66-73"**, **"The Emperors' Needles: Obelisks in Rome"** and **"The Man Who Killed Richard III"**. She is a member of the Richard III Society (ED: and now the Tudor Society!) and took part in the 1984 archaeological dig on the friary in Carmarthen where Rhys ap Thomas is buried. She lives in Winslow in Buckinghamshire.

Susan will be speaking to us about Rhys ap Thomas ... the man who killed Richard III at Bosworth.

LIVE CHAT ON 14 OCTOBER 2015 @ 10pm UK TIME

BOSWORTH CROSSWORD



ACROSS

1 Rhys ap _____, the man who killed Richard III
5 The Battle of Bosworth marked the end of the _____ dynasty
8 The House of York fought the House of _____
10 The "____ rose" of Lancaster
11 The Stanleys positioned their forces on _____ Hill
12 Lambert _____ claimed to be Edward Plantagenet
13 The "____ rose" of York
14 Henry landed here in Wales (2 words)
15 Richard's standard bearer, Sir William _____
18 John _____, 1st Duke of Norfolk

DOWN

2 This Elizabethan wrote a play about Richard III
3 Henry _____, 4th Earl of Northumberland
4 John de ____, 13th Earl of Oxford
6 John de la ____, 1st Earl of Lincoln
7 Henry Tudor sailed from this town on the continent
9 The _____ Chronicle tells of the Battle of Bosworth
10 The Wars of the _____
16 _____ Hill, originally thought to be the site of the Battle of Bosworth
17 Richard III's personal emblem

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

POMEGRANATES AND FALCONS:

The Coronation Pageantry of Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn.

by Amy Licence

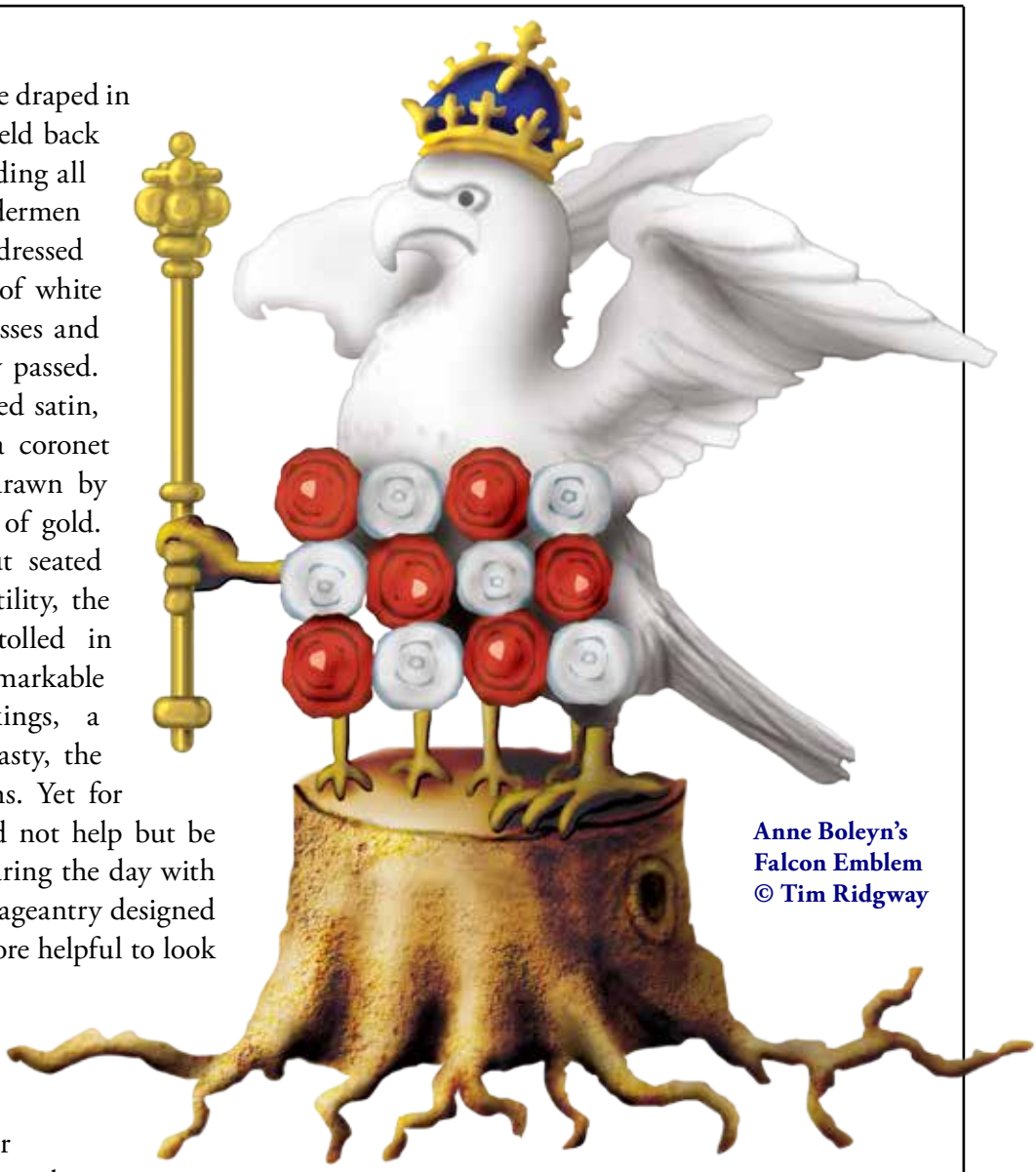
TUDOR pageantry was always more than just fluttering banners and choir boys dressed up as angels. It was intended to awe the crowd with the might of majesty, to offer a suitable welcome for royalty, to ingratiate the guildsmen with their ruler and to re-enforce dynastic rights. Yet it could also be specific, symbolic, hopeful and peopled with aspirational figures, to whose qualities it was hoped the celebrated royals would aspire. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the receptions given for Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn.

In 1509, the seventeen-year-old Henry VIII married his brother's widow, the twenty-three-year-old Catherine of Aragon. A fortnight after becoming Henry's bride, she was crowned at his side as England's second Tudor queen. Yet, twenty-four years and six pregnancies later, Catherine's life had undergone a dramatic u-turn, meaning she was in exile in the country as the pregnant Anne Boleyn was crowned in her place, on the premise that Henry's first marriage had been invalid. But although the same event was taking place, with the procession, crowds and coronation oath, the differences between these two occasions are perhaps even more striking than the similarities. Each woman had undergone a unique journey to place them in Westminster Abbey at that moment and the national mood differed greatly, affecting their reception by the people over whom they were expected to rule. The pageantry prepared for their welcomes captures something of pomp designed to honour Catherine and Anne in specific ways, and as the figureheads of state.

When Catherine of Aragon was crowned as England's queen on June 24, 1509, London celebrated with festivities and pageants designed to display a new found national optimism; the welcoming of a new era; the admiration of youth and beauty, of a young couple in love. Side by side, Henry and Catherine were the golden figures of monarchy, the epitome of romance and glamour, the fresh new start after the darker years that concluded the previous regime. The streets of London were hung with "tapestry and cloth of

Katherine's Pomegranate

arras" with sections around Chepe draped in cloth of gold. The people were held back behind temporary railings, including all the guilds, the Mayor and Aldermen and the general public. Virgins dressed in white held forth "branches" of white wax and the clergymen held crosses and censers, to bless the pair as they passed. Catherine wore white embroidered satin, with her long hair topped in a coronet of precious stones, in a litter drawn by palfreys trapped in white cloth of gold. She was depicted in a woodcut seated under her chosen symbol of fertility, the Spanish pomegranate, and extolled in verse by Thomas More as a remarkable beauty, the descendent of kings, a stabilising influence on the dynasty, the future mother of great monarchs. Yet for all her promise, Catherine could not help but be eclipsed by Henry, simply by sharing the day with him. To get an insight into the pageantry designed specifically for Catherine, it is more helpful to look back to November 1501, when she was first welcomed to England as the bride of Prince Arthur.



Anne Boleyn's Falcon Emblem © Tim Ridgway

Ironically Catherine's poor English meant she is unlikely to have understood much of the poetry composed in her honour, when she arrived off the south coast as a girl of fifteen. Yet the characters and symbols deployed in her honour were unmistakable. Mounted on London Bridge were a girl and wheel representing the Princess's namesake, St Catherine, one of the most important saints of late Medieval Europe, representing learning, virginity, piety and martyrdom, but also a particular favourite of young women, on whose behalf the saint had promised to intercede with God. The Princess's entry to London was also taking place just a fortnight before the saint's patron day. Alongside St Catherine on the bridge was St Ursula, another virgin martyr, and both women were flanked by the Tudor motto "honi soit que mal y pense" and a red rose, which were painted on a tabernacle. Two pillars nearby were decorated with more red roses, the Beaufort portcullis of Henry's grandmother, ostrich feathers of the Prince of Wales and the rampant lion of England.

Similar heraldic devices were found on the second pageant, in the middle of Gracechurch Street, where figures symbolic of nobleness and virtue awaited Catherine. There, a temporary castle had been erected from timber, with battlements adorned by the union rose in red and white, blue garters, golden fleur-de-lys and the portcullis surmounted by a crown; all designed to re-enforce Catherine's entry into the English royal family, with its dynastic connections. Divine approval was signified by the inclusion of clouds from which beamed down rays of gold, a stark contrast to Catherine's coronation in 1509, when the heavens opened and she was forced to seek shelter from the rain "under the hovel of a draper's stall." Further reminders of her new family's importance were found in a great gate erected in the

streets in 1501, decorated with dragons, greyhounds and roses, along with a knight called Policy. Similar motifs were to be found in the third pageant at the Cornhill, although there, they were joined by a pageant of the night sky, including moon, stars and planets. Here. Catherine was addressed by Raphael, the angel of marriage, considered to be appointed by God to lead individuals to their "chosen one," their life long mate. With hindsight, it is an irony that Catherine's marriage to Arthur was so brief and the question of her lawful marriage and true spouse was one that would cause so much later debate. Her arrival was also heralded by an actor dressed as her father, by the prophet Job, who was renowned for his patience in suffering, and the martyred philosopher Boethius, who argued in favour of a higher existence above human inequality. Their significance cannot have been known in 1501, but the lessons of these figures would prove especially poignant for Catherine.

In Cheapside, Catherine was confronted by a giant wheel with a chair fixed in the centre. Set amid clouds and angels, flanked by astrologers, it was another symbol of Catherine's patron saint but also of the progress of fortune. Upon the chair sat a Prince, representing her husband-to-be Arthur, and below him were a variety of earthly and mythical creatures, from lions and horses to serpents and mermaids. Three armed knights turned the wheel as Catherine passed by, marking the inevitable rise and fall of health, status and wealth. At Cheapside, a great throne was mounted with flowers, gold candlesticks and burning tapers, upon which sat the figure of God, flanked by angels and prophets, under a roof covered with pearls. Here, Catherine paused to hear a sermon read, supposedly from the mouth of God himself. It was here that Henry VII and his family had hired a house, to watch the Princess as she passed by: Henry VII and Arthur in one window and Queen Elizabeth, her daughters Margaret and Mary, and the King's Mother, Margaret Beaufort, in another. Catherine's final pageant was at the entrance to St Paul's Cathedral, in Little Conduit. Here, she was confronted by figures representing the seven Virtues: the qualities considered most desirable in a queen: faith, hope and charity; justice, temperance, prudence and fortitude. Honour, clad in purple velvet, sat between two seats reserved for Catherine and Arthur, in an image of their regal

Anne Boleyn, artist unknown

future, an anticipated long and happy reign and marriage. Here, she was presented with gifts before retiring for the night.

This welcome was fairly typical and general. It included symbols of the Tudor dynasty as well as figures intended to have personal significance for Catherine and to promote the values she was expected to embody. As a final homage to her roots, *The Receyt of Ladie Kateryne* describes a pageant used in the festivities after her wedding, where her homeland was represented by a mountain made of "dark rock," as if burned by the sun, studded with various metals including gold, silver, lead and copper, with crystal and amber, within which were concealed musicians. Catherine was considered to be a prize of great value, the embodiment of a powerful alliance, the repository of material and spiritual wealth and the bearer of future riches, of the heirs of the realm.

Three decades later, those hopes had failed to reach fruition. Catherine's first husband, Arthur, died after just five months of marriage and the Princess had endured years of bad health, penury and uncertainty, as she waited in hope for a match with Prince Henry. Arthur's younger brother succeeded his father in April 1509 and, to the great surprise of the Spanish Ambassador, Henry was keen to make Catherine his wife. They were married for twenty-four years, during which time Catherine's six pregnancies only produced one live child, Princess Mary. By the late 1520s, Henry had fallen in love with Anne Boleyn and was determined to marry her and father more heirs, although the legal process would prove a complex and lengthy one. In 1531, Henry rode away from Catherine at Windsor and would never see her again. She was sent into the country, moved from property to property, refused permission to see her daughter, and early in 1533, she finally learned that Henry had married Anne.

Anne Boleyn's coronation took place on Whitsunday, June 1. If Henry's subjects had any doubts about their new queen, the pageantry of the occasion was designed to dispel them and celebrate Anne in person and as Henry's wife. It began on May 29, when she was conducted to the Tower by barges on the Thames, hung with silver bells, rich banners and cloth of gold and silk. The Mayor's barge bore a fire-breathing dragon, terrible monsters and wildmen "casting fire," to instil fear and awe into the hearts of onlookers. On the left of the mayor was Anne's personal device, the white falcon, "crowned upon a root of gold, environed with white and red roses" and surrounded by singing virgins. Anne's own journey to Westminster on the Saturday was reminiscent of Catherine's. In fact, the details of her appearance were almost identical. She rode in a litter of white cloth of gold, carried by two palfreys trapped in white damask. Anne wore white cloth of tissue and an ermine mantle, with her hair hanging loose below a circlet of rich stones.

When it came to the pageants designed for Anne, the images of the Tudor dynasty were everywhere, but the other specifics were quite different. At Fenchurch Street, children were dressed like merchants instead of the usual angels, and welcomed Anne in English and French, as a recognition of her education and affection for France and all things French. At the corner of Gracechurch

Catherine Aragon by Lucas Hornebolte

Street, a "costly and marvellous cunning" pageant had been made by the Steelyard merchants. Made of white marble, it represented Mount Parnassus with Apollo sitting on top and the fountain of Helicon, running with Rhenish wine. The Greek God Apollo was a favourite in the Renaissance, associated with reason, harmony and order, as well as the highest ideal of beauty, music, truth and poetry. Instead of the virtues used to welcome the young Catherine, the artistic and sophisticated Anne was regaled by the Muses, including Calliope, who represented poetry and eloquence. They played music as Anne passed and, at their feet, verses were scattered in gold letters; a reminder of Anne's abilities in language, debate and poetry. Her device of the white falcon was in use again at Leadenhall, where it appeared crowed in gold on the top of a mountain. Beside it was St Anne, surrounded by her children, and a speech was read in praise of the saint's fruitfulness

Anne Boleyn's Falcon from The Ecclesiaste given to her by George Boleyn

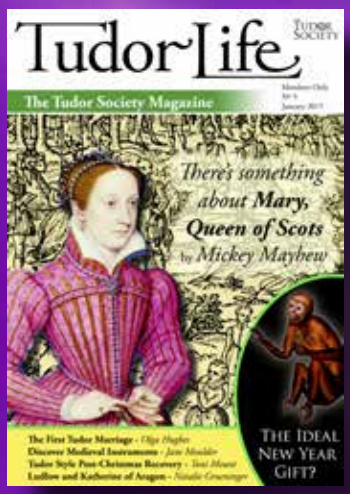
and perhaps an acknowledgement of Anne Boleyn's visible pregnancy, as opposed to what were merely hopes for Catherine in 1501 and 1509. Poetry also appeared at the Conduit in Cornhill, where the Three Graces welcomed Anne from a throne and each bestowed a gift upon her, representing beauty, charm and joy.

The white falcon was used again by Henry's poets John Leland and Nicholas Udall, who extolled Anne through the metaphor it offered; the bird shining bright, to which none could compare and which no mortal could aptly describe. The gentle falcon, white as curds, shone by day and night, with its small body and regal power, its sharp sight and high courage. The poets described the chaste, virginal qualities of the falcon, which had now come to rest and build her nest upon the Tudor rose. It's "incomparability" could only cast Henry's former queen into the shade.

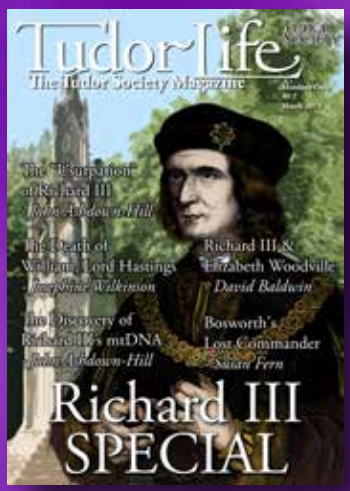
The Greek Gods were replaced by Roman ones when Anne reached the Little Conduit, but the emphasis on learning, wisdom and the arts was inescapable. In contrast with Catherine's more general attributes and regal ancestry, Anne, who lacked an equal hereditary, was celebrated for the qualities of her mind. Pallas, Juno and Venus also sent personal gifts to Anne, of wisdom, riches and felicity in the form of a golden ball, which were conveyed to her by the messenger of the gods, Mercury. The pattern of three was echoed again at St Paul's, where a trio of richly clad ladies held tablets on which verses were inscribed in honour of Anne, and were also featured on the wafers they distributed. The welcome awaiting the new queen at Fleet Street was more traditional, more reminiscent of the sentiments offered to her predecessor. There, a tower with four turrets was graced by the four cardinal virtues of justice and temperance, prudence and fortitude, each promising never to desert Anne but to support her throughout her reign. Hindsight tells us just how fickle this poetic promise proved to be.

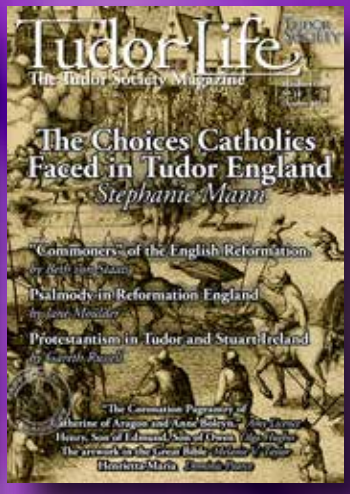
Catherine and Anne were the only two queens of Henry VIII to be crowned. While there are points of similarity between the pageantry designed in their honour, the use of very specific imagery and symbolism highlights the differing way in which each was received. In 1501, Catherine was an unknown quantity, celebrated for her lineage, her youth, beauty and potential fertility, while in 1509, she was eclipsed by the brighter star of Henry himself. What Anne's Boleyn's coronation details reveal, in 1533, is that Henry was keen to stress that she was the woman he had chosen in his maturity. He wanted to create an image for her that projected wisdom and learning to his people, to emphasise that she was a suitable mate for him personally, rather than in terms of her bloodline. Anne was not always a popular choice, given the depth of affection in which many Englishmen held Catherine, and the imagery of 1533 appears designed to answer doubts about Anne's background and abilities. Everything employed in her coronation procession speaks of her position as queen by merit instead of birth. Henry wanted the crowds to see his new wife as he saw her, through his eyes, and to recognise the worth of their new queen. With a child in her womb, she was a symbol of hope for the future, but also of a deeper personal connection with the mature Henry, a woman with whom he could debate on an intellectual level and the poet's muse. Unfortunately for Anne, not even this battery of symbols and allusions could save her when the poetic veil was stripped away from the King's eyes only three years later.

AMY LICENCE



MORE THAN A YEAR OF Tudor Life





TUDOR PLACES: COUGHTON COURT AND THE THROCKMORTONS

TUDOR PLACES: COUGHTON COURT AND THE THROCKMORTONS

COUGHTON COURT

Remember, remember! – yes, we all remember Guy Fawkes, but what about the Throckmortons of Coughton Court?

POOR Guy Fawkes. Though we all remember what happened to him, he wasn't the brains behind the plan to blow up the houses of parliament. The Tudor mansion at Coughton Court, Alcester, Warwickshire, is where all the planning happened. In 1605, Thomas Throckmorton lent his house to Sir Everard Digby, and it was here on the 5th of November that Lady Digby and the Jesuit Father Garnet heard that the Gunpowder Plot had failed. Arms, horses and ammunition had been stored at Coughton Court, ready for the uprising that was meant to follow the annihilation of Parliament, but it was never used...

The stunning building of Coughton Court has a great gatehouse which was built in the first part of the 16th Century for Sir George Throckmorton, a knight in King Henry VIII's household. The Throckmortons had held the estate since 1409 but it was during the time of the Tudors that it grew to its impressive façade. Set back from the road, in tranquil countryside, the building contains beautiful plasterwork and a glorious vaulted hall, amongst other fascinating rooms.

This National Trust property has an extensive collection on display, including:

- Many stunning 16th - 19th century paintings including a portrait of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton (1515-1571)
- Throckmorton family documents and other medieval documents
- The "tabula extensis"
- Historical artefacts such as clothing and tools

You can discover more about the Gunpowder plot and Coughton Court's place in history at http://www.gunpowder-plot.org/coughton.asp and also at http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/place/coughton-court

TUDOR PLACES: COUGHTON COURT AND THE THROCKMORTONS


Thomas
Winter

HENRY, SON OF EDMUND, SON OF OWEN

by Olga Hughes

CATHERINE of Valois never stood a chance. She married the dashing young King Henry V at the age of eighteen. By the age of twenty she had given birth to the future King of England. At twenty-one she was a widow with a nine month-old son whose position was the focus of an entire nation. Two months after her husband died in August of 1422, Catherine's father Charles VI of France died. This left her infant son heir to both the kingdom of England and English-occupied Northern France. She at the mercy of the council who ruled the kingdom on her son's behalf, her brother-in-law and Lord Protector of the Realm, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and the ambitious Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset who allegedly sought to marry her. Catherine could never be her own woman while she was still under the rule of men.

Rumours of a relationship between Catherine and the nineteen year-old Somerset sprung up in 1425. When a petition by the commons appeared in the Leicester Parliament of February to June 1426, requesting Somerset's uncle, Chancellor Henry Beaufort, should allow 'widows of the king' to marry as they wished upon payment of an appropriate fine, the Duke of Gloucester's suspicions were apparently confirmed. The following year, in the Parliament of October 1427 to March 1428, while Beaufort was out of the country campaigning in France, a statute was passed which forbade marriage to a queen without the king's permission.[1]

Item, it is ordered and established by the authority of this parliament for the preservation of the honour of the most noble estate of queens of England that no man of whatever estate or condition make contract of betrothal or matrimony to marry himself to the queen of England without the special licence and assent of the king, when the latter is of the age of discretion, and he who acts to the contrary and is duly convicted will forfeit for his whole life all his lands and tenements, even those which are or which will be in his own hands as well as those which are or which will be in the hands of others to his use, and also all his goods and chattels in whosoever's hands they are, considering that by the disparagement of the queen the estate and honour of the king will be most greatly damaged, and it will give the greatest comfort and example to other ladies of rank who are of the blood royal that they might not be so lightly disparaged.[2]

1 Jones, Michael "Catherine of Valois" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed August 2015

2 Ashdown-Hill, John, "Appendix 3" *Royal Marriage Secrets*, History Press 2013

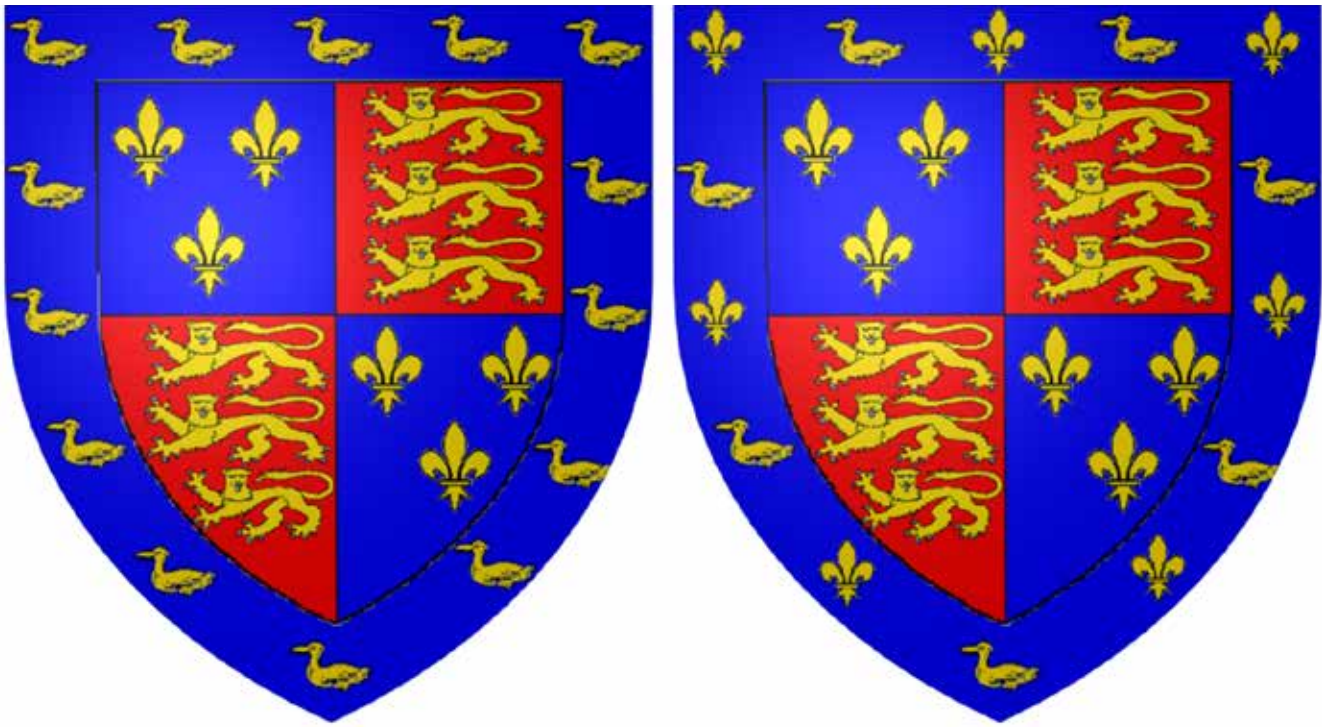


Figure 1: Arms of Jasper and Edmund Tudor

Considering the hefty gaps between all of these incidents, it does not appear that Edmund Beaufort was so urgently desirous of marrying his supposed lover. After all, sixteen months passed between the end of one parliamentary session and the beginning of the next. If Catherine was indeed Beaufort's mistress she must have felt jilted. But the young Dowager Queen Catherine did not obey the statue. Faced with a dreary life of widowhood under the watchful eye of men, Catherine of Valois rebelled, and quite spectacularly. This princess of France and England married a Welsh squire.

Various traditions surround the meeting between Catherine of Valois and Owen Tudor. One of the most popular is the story of him falling into her lap whilst dancing. In 1603, the poet Hugh Holland wrote *Pancharis, containing the first book of the love of Owen Tudor for the Queen*:

> *Wherefore, as Owen did his galliard dance*
> *And graced it with a turn upon the toe;*
> *(Whether his eyes aside he chanced to glance,*
> *And, like the lovely God, became so blind,*
> *Or else, perhaps, it were his happy chance,*
> *I know not, and record none can I find)*
> *His knee did hit against her softer thigh.*
> *I Hope he felt no great hurt by the fall,*
> *That happy fall which mounted him so high.*[3]

Owen had been appointed to the royal household in 1424 but there is no indication of when the relationship between the two formed. The earliest reference to Owen attending as a servant in Catherine's chamber was in 1427.[4] The pair were married by 1429. *Giles' Chronicle* states that Catherine deliberately chose a poor commoner for a husband, after the restriction placed upon her remarrying, so that the council 'might not reasonably take vengeance on his life'.[5] News of the marriage only became common knowledge after Catherine's death on 3 January 1437. But this is when it became public knowledge. The marriage

3 Breverton, Terry, *Jasper Tudor*, Amberley 2014, pp. 41
4 De Lisle, Leanda, *Tudor: The Family Story,* Vintage 2013 pp. 21
5 Breverton, Terry, *Jasper Tudor*, Amberley 2014, pp. 39

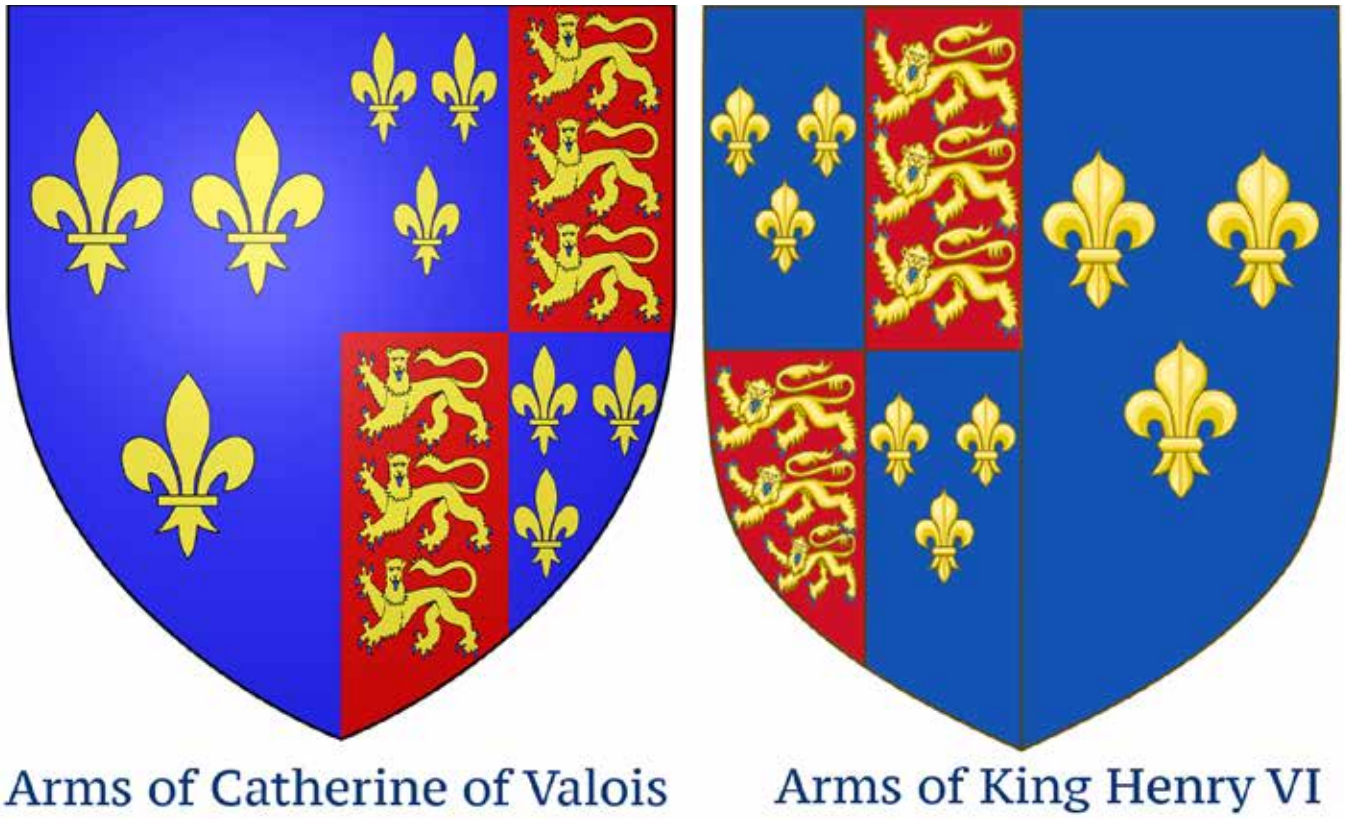


Figure 2: Arms of Catherine of Valois and Henry VI

had not been entirely concealed. Young Henry VI had been shielded from the news of his mother's marriage, but the royal council knew of the marriage and of the couple's children. Catherine and Owen lived quietly away from court, on her estates, and on her pension.

We have a record of four children born to Owen and Catherine. Edmund and Jasper are thought to have been born in 1430 and 1431. Edmund and Jasper were born in ecclesiastical manors, Much Hadham and Bishop's Hatfield respectively.[6] The couple also had a son Owen and a short-lived daughter named Margaret. It was only after Catherine's death that young King Henry VI learned of the existence of his half-brothers. His new step-father Owen Tudor found himself in quite a bit of trouble after his wife was no longer alive to protect him, having had the gumption to marry the queen dowager, but Henry VI would pardon Owen his indiscretion in 1439. Meanwhile Henry VI had taken charge of his young brother's educations, and began to show a special interest in their upbringing.

There was never any murmur at the time that the marriage between Catherine of Valois and Owen Tudor was invalid, that any of the children were illegitimate, or fathered by anyone other than Owen Tudor. Catherine was pregnant with reasonable frequency during the beginning of her marriage in 1429 and her death in January of 1437 and there is no reason to suppose anyone other than her husband fathered her children. Claims that there is no evidence of Edmund Tudor's paternity are largely irrelevant. There is no need to question his paternity, or the validity of the marriage.

Furthermore no rumours about the legitimacy of Henry Tudor's father arose when Henry was opposing King Richard III, something that would have suited Richard very well indeed. Richard simply described Henry as "*Henry Tydder, son of Edmund Tydder, son of Owen Tydder.*"

The idea that Edmund Tudor was the son of Edmund Beaufort probably wasn't mooted until the 1980's by Gerald Harriss, although the idea has been expanded upon by various Ricardian

6 *Ibid* pp. 41

historians keen to denigrate Henry Tudor. It has been claimed that Henry VIII did not rescue Owen Tudor's tomb during the dissolution as he knew Owen was not his great-grandfather. Yet Henry did nothing to rescue the Duke and Duchess of York's, his other great-grandparents, tombs either. Elizabeth I would repair their tombs decades later. Moreover Henry VIII's brother Arthur's chantry was damaged during the Dissolution and his grave lost. If he didn't care about his own brother's tomb why would the selfish Henry VIII worry about the ancient remains of his great-grandparents?

The claim that Edmund and Jasper had no right to use a version of the royal arms is misleading. King Henry VI ennobled his half brothers during the Christmas holidays of 1452. The Act of Parliament declaring them earls emphasised both their royal lineage from their mother and their legitimacy, as an extract shows:

> *...to esteem highly and to honour with all zeal, as much as our insignificance allows, all the fruit which [Queen Catherine's] royal womb produced; considering in the case of the illustrious and magnificent princes, the lords Edmund de Hadham and Jasper de Hatfield, natural and legitimate sons of the same most serene lady the queen, not only that they are descended by right line from her illustrious womb and royal lineage and are your uterine brothers, and also that by their most noble character they are of a most refined nature... Edmund and Jasper, your uterine brothers, were begotten and born in lawful matrimony within your realm aforesaid, as is sufficiently well known both to your most serene majesty and to all the lords spiritual and temporal of your realm in the present parliament assembled, and to us; and on this, from the most abundant magnificence of royal generosity, with the advice and assent of the same lords spiritual and temporal, by the authority of the same to decree, ordain, grant and establish that the aforesaid Edmund and Jasper be declared your uterine brothers, conceived and born in a lawful marriage within your aforesaid realm, and denizens of your abovesaid realm, and not yet declared thus...*
>
> *by the girding of a sword and of other appropriate insignia and ornaments in this regard, and by the present handing over to him of these our letters, we have invested and do invest [him] in and with the estate and dignity of such an earl*[7]

The 'appropriate insignias' indicate the granting of heraldic badges. This would have had to have been approved by Henry himself, and, as an act of Parliament, by the peers. It cannot be said that Edmund and Jasper had no right to use those arms, they had been granted that right. And there would have been little point using a version of Owen Tudor's arms. Descended from Welsh royalty or no, he was not the 'important' side of the family.

The alleged similarities between the arms of Edmund Beaufort and those of Edmund Tudor lie solely in the fleur-de-lis and the lion rampant. These are common royal devices, used by many members of, and those descended from, the royal family. Catherine of Valois had her own version with French and English devices similar to those used by her son King Henry.

Ennobling his half-brothers benefited Henry VI. He strengthened his position, increasingly under threat from the house of York, with the addition of two half-brothers into his close circle. Edmund would die fighting for his half-brother and Jasper Tudor would spend his entire life fighting for the Lancastrian cause, fighting for his half-brother Henry, his nephew Edward of Lancaster, and going into exile for years to protect young Henry Tudor. Jasper's watch would end only when he helped Henry VII capture the throne and usher in the Tudor reign. King Henry VI could not have asked for two more loyal brothers.

OLGA HUGHES

7 *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England* British History Online

OCTOBER'S ON THIS

1 October 1553
Mary I was crowned Queen at Westminster Abbey by **Stephen Gardiner**, the Bishop of Winchester.

2 October 1501
Catherine of Aragon arrived in England, landing at Plymouth in Devon. She had come to England to marry **Prince Arthur**.

3 October 1518
Cardinal Wolsey sang a mass to **Henry VIII** and the French ambassadors at St Paul's Cathedral in celebration of the treaty agreed between the two countries the previous day. The king and ambassadors also took oaths to the treaty.
In the evening, there was a sumptuous banquet followed by a mummery featuring the King and his sister, **Mary**. Jousting and pageants were also part of the celebrations of this treaty.


Stephen Gardiner

8 October 1549
Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector, was proclaimed a traitor by the King's Privy Council.

9 October 1536
As part of the ***Pilgrimage of Grace***, the rebels of Horncastle, Lincoln, dispatched their petition of grievances to the King and also north into Yorkshire.

10 October 1588
Funeral of **Robert Dudley**, Earl of Leicester. He was buried in the Beauchamp Chapel of the Collegiate Church of St Mary, Warwick.

13 October 1499
Queen Claude of France, future wife of **Francis I**, was born on this day in in Romorantin-Lanthenay.

14 October 1586
The trial of **Mary, Queen of Scots** began at Fotheringhay Castle in Northamptonshire.

15 October 1536
Henry VIII wrote to the rebels in Lincolnshire saying he would "show them mercy if they leave all their...weapons in the market-place of Lincoln"

19 October 1536
Henry VIII got tough on the *Pilgrimage of Grace* rebels. He wrote to **Charles Brandon**, Duke of Suffolk: "... destroy, burn, and kill man, woman, and child the terrible example of all others, and specially the town of Louth because to this rebellion took his beginning in the same."

20 October 1536
By 8 o'clock in the morning, Pontefract Castle and its owner, **Lord Darcy** had surrendered to the rebels of the *Pilgrimage of Grace.*

21 October 1536
The rebel leader **Robert Aske**, declared that he and his people were intent on staying true to their cause and would be marching on London

26 October 1536
The rebels of the *Pilgrimage of Grace* halted at Scawsby Leys near Doncaster, where they met troops captained by the **Duke of Norfolk**.

27 October 1532
Anne Boleyn made a dramatic entrance to the great banquet held by **Henry VIII** in Calais for **Francis I**.

28 October 1532
The last full day of **Henry VIII**'s time with **Francis I** in Calais. This time Henry did not challenge Francis to a wrestling match...

Tudor Life

Background Image:
A horse grazes during the autumn season in the New Forest, Hampshire. Photo by Mike Hewitt

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

4 October 1556
John Cheke made a public recantation of his Protestant faith in front of Queen **Mary I**.

5 October 1528
Death of **Richard Foxe**, Bishop of Winchester, founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Lord Privy Seal in the reign of **Henry VII** and at the beginning of **Henry VIII**'s.

6 October 1536
This is the traditional date given to the execution of reformer, scholar and Bible translator, **William Tyndale**.

7 October 1577
Death of **George Gascoigne**, author, and poet. He is listed as one of the most important Tudor poets, alongside **Thomas Wyatt** and **Philip Sidney**.

11 October 1537
Traditional date given to the birth of **Lady Jane Grey**. However, it is now thought that she was born in spring 1537, "before the end of May".

12 October 1537
At two o'clock in the morning on Friday 12th October 1537, St Edward's Day, **Jane Seymour** finally gave birth to the future King **Edward VI** after a long and tiring 30 hour labour. **Henry VIII** had a legitimate son and heir at long last!

Edward VI, by William Scrots, c. 1550

16 October 1555
The burning of **Hugh Latimer**, Bishop of Worcester, and **Nicholas Ridley**, Bishop of London took place on this day, in the reign of the Catholic Mary I

17 October 1586
The poet, courtier and soldier, Sir **Philip Sidney**, died as a result of an injury inflicted by the Spanish forces at the Battle of Zutphen in the Netherlands.

18 October 1541
Margaret Tudor died of a stroke at Methven Castle, Perthshire, Scotland. She was laid to rest at the Carthusian Priory of St John in Perth.

22 October 1521
Death of Sir **Edward Poynings**, soldier and diplomat at his manor of Westenhanger in Kent. He served Henry VII as Lord Deputy.

23 October 1570
Burial of **John Hopkins**, poet, psalmodist and Church of England clergyman, at Great Waldingfield.

24 October 1537
Just 12 days after giving birth to **Edward**, **Jane Seymour** died of suspected puerperal fever (childbed fever) at Hampton Court Palace.

25 October 1532
Henry VIII arrived back at Calais with **Francis I** to a 3,000 gun salute.

29 October 1586
Four days after a commission had found **Mary Queen of Scots** guilty of conspiring to assassinate Elizabeth I, Parliament met to discuss Mary's fate.

30 October 1485
The founder of the Tudor dynasty, Henry Tudor, was crowned King **Henry VII** at Westminster Abbey.

31 October 1491
Henry VII's son, Henry (the future **Henry VIII**), was created Duke of York.

Tudor Life

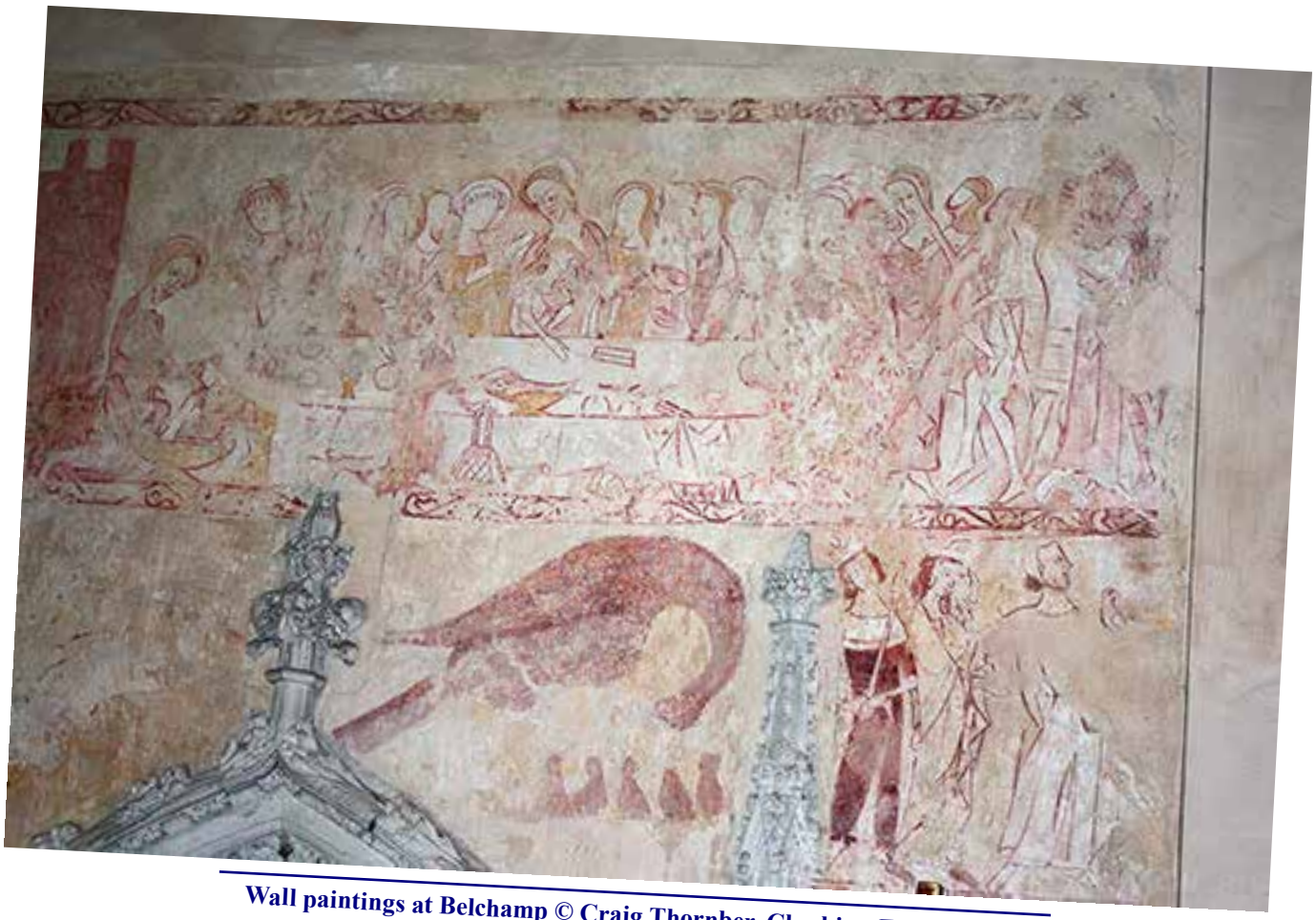
ART AND RELIGION IN TUDOR TIMES

by Melanie V. Taylor

Melanie Taylor has often wondered what the churches in England would have looked like if Henry VIII had not initiated the break with Rome and Cromwell had not been the brains behind the logistics of dissolving the fabric of the monasteries...

Up until the Protestant Reformation art had a very specific role. The walls of our churches were once colourful illustrations of scenes from the Bible. In a few churches there are remnants of these frescoes. The chapel of St Mary the Virgin at Belchamp Walter, Essex has remnants of various wall paintings, and not surprisingly one of the Virgin. This is an early Maria Lactans. There is also a fresco showing a Last Supper on the north wall and under this image is an image of a large pelican pecking her breast to feed her chicks.[1] For those who remember the TV series Lovejoy, Belchamp Hall was the home of the character, Lady Felsham, but I know this part of the world from having been involved in organising exhibitions in the stable block of the Hall, which is how I came to know the wall paintings of the chapel.

St Mary the Virgin at Belchamp Walter

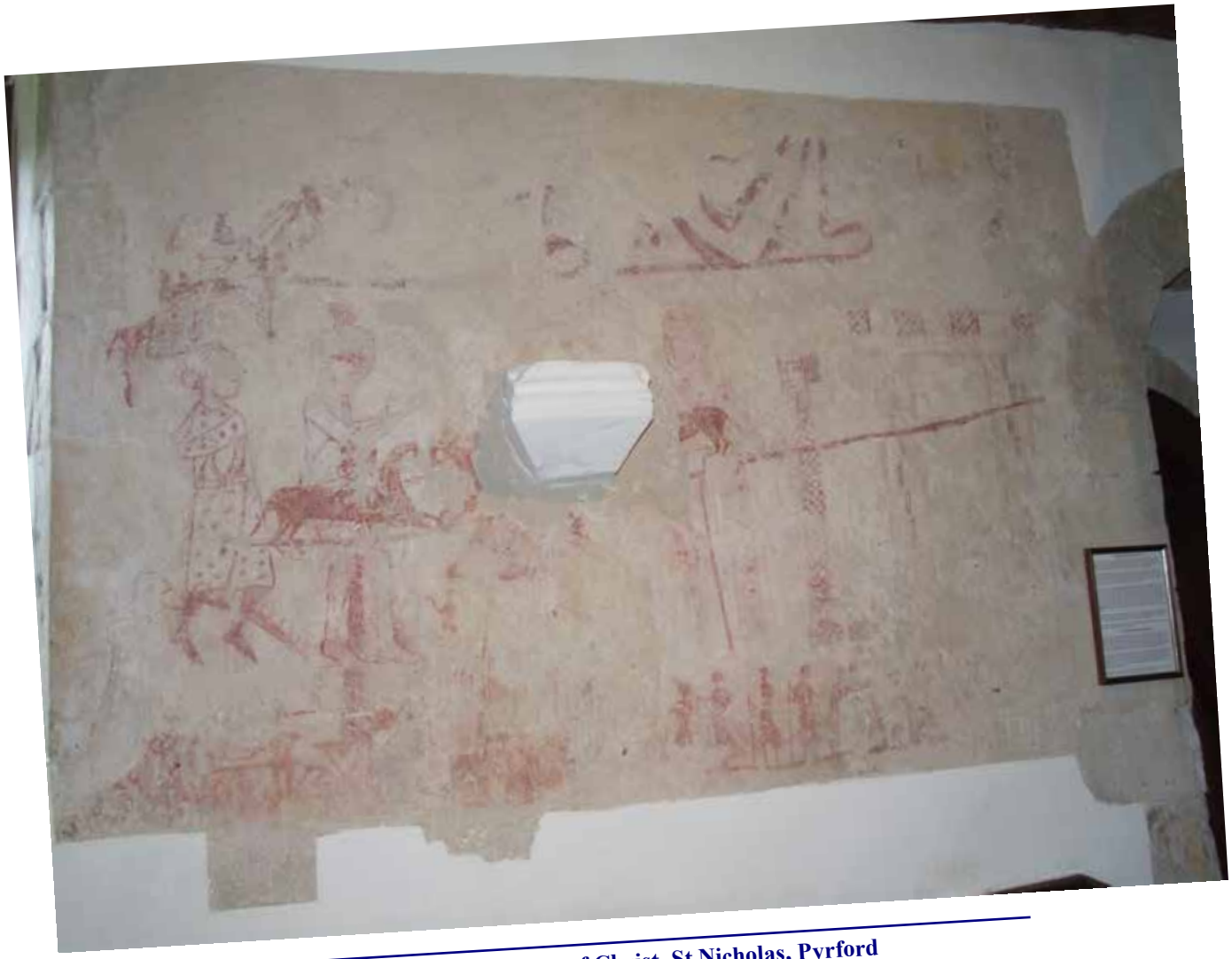


Wall paintings at Belchamp © Craig Thornber, Cheshire, England, UK

There has been some Victorian renovation to this building, but if you do make the effort to get to this church it is delightful and set in a beautiful part of rural Essex. There is a rare Turtle stove that was installed during the 19th century in order to keep the faithful warm.

The church of St Nicholas at Pyrford, Surrey is a rare example of a relatively untouched Norman church and has a magnificent wooden roof and a beautiful Tudor porch. Built in ca1140 the original wall paintings would have been lime-washed during the reign of Edward VI.

In 1869 and 1967 remnants of wall paintings depicting scenes from Christ's Passion and pilgrims setting out on pilgrimage were discovered. (see over) These are in two different styles and the lasting colour is red ochre, but there would have been many other colours and these have faded with the passage of time. Before the Dissolution the church had links with the monastery of Westminster and is situated near Newark Priory and the ruins of Woking Palace, which was used by Lady Margaret Beaufort and converted into a royal palace by her son, Henry VII.



The Scourging of Christ, St Nicholas, Pyrford

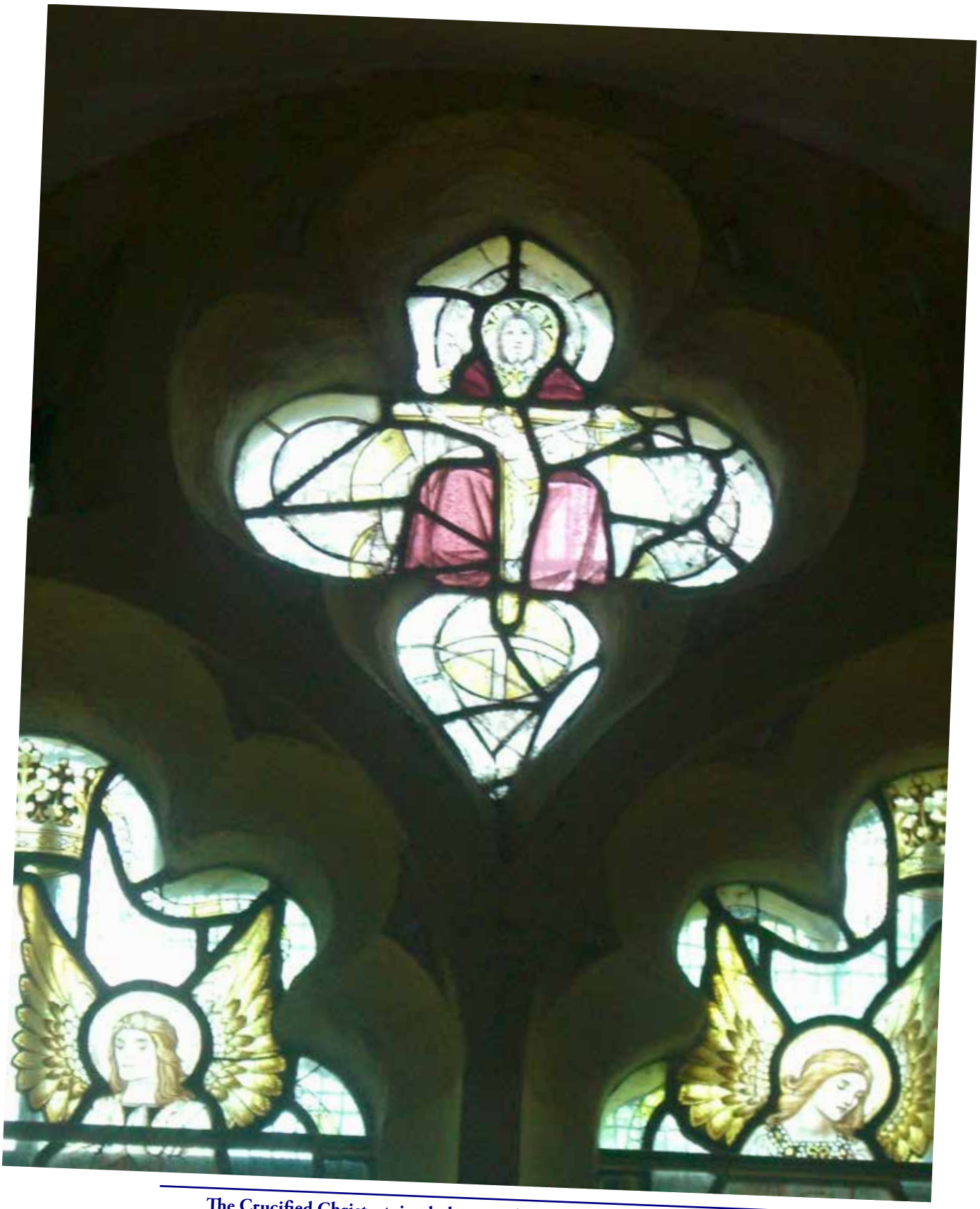
This lovely church stands on a hill and when you enter the building through the Tudor porch you can almost hear the past whispering to you. There are three processional crosses set into the walls at the three points of the compass, the fourth being the cross on the altar, which faces east. This processional cross reminded me of the red Cross worn by the Knights Templar.

Right at the top of the East window is a quatrefoil stone window containing original medieval glass depicting God holding the crucified Christ, which is reminiscent of Masaccio's Trinity in the Santa Maria Novella, Florence.

Processional Cross

Today, St Nicholas still functions as a church and will accommodate a congregation of 110. It is open between 9 am and 4 pm daily.

I was brought up on Jersey and my parish church has a chapel next to it that reputedly dates from the 6th century. Warwick Rodwell argues, quite convincingly, that the first chapel (6th century) may have



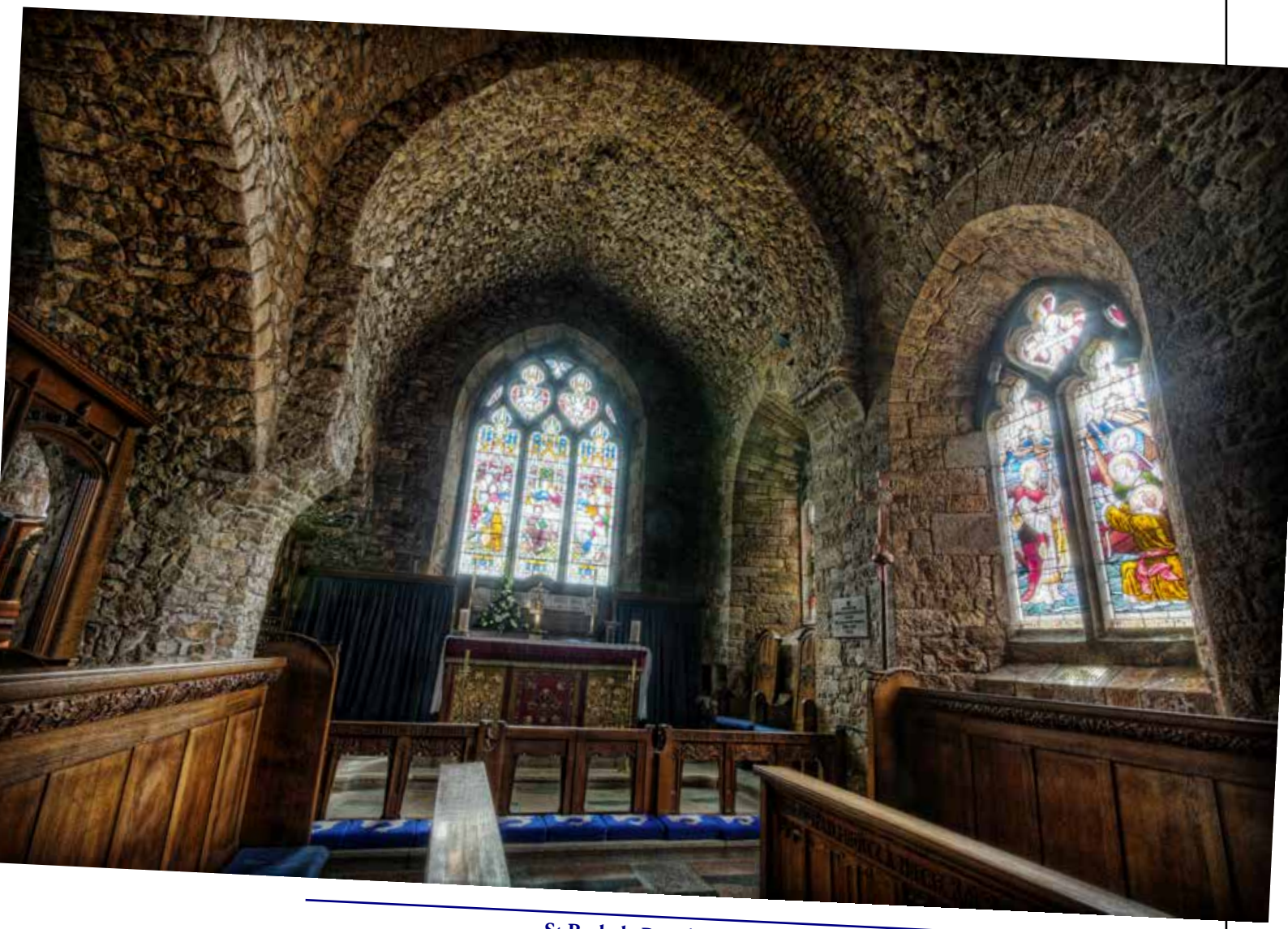
The Crucified Christ, stained glass window at St Nicholas, Pyrford

been a wooden structure erected for use while the parish church was being built. The building dates from the 10th/11th century and is made of local granite held together with lime mortar made of burnt limpet shells.[2] The stone roof of the

The Fisherman's Chapel

chapel was raised in the 14th century and in 1918, after a severe storm, the roof plaster showed colour and a damaged image of the Annunciation was revealed. The photograph shown below is a restored Annunciation, in full colour, dating from the early 14th century and is on the east wall. It is a tiny place of worship, being much smaller than St Nicholas, Pyrford and accommodating a maximum of ten people.[3]

St Brelade's parish church suffered during the 16th century reformation and the walls were lime washed. During the 19th century the church suffered again at the hands of Victorian restorers and the plaster was removed to reveal the granite, complete with medieval limpets still clinging to the surface of some of the stones, which had been



St Brelade Parish Church

collected from the beach. If the chapel is anything to go by, these Victorian enthusiasts probably unwittingly destroyed wall paintings hidden beneath the plaster, but this is speculation.

St Brelade's Church is a very rare example of an early medieval church and dates from before 1035 when it is mentioned in a deed of patronage when Robert of Normandy, Archbishop of Rouen & Count of Evreux, (he was also the son of Richard I, Duke of Normandy) confirmed the patronage of the church to the monastery of Montvilliers in Normandy. It became the parish church during the 12th century.

After John lost all the Angevin lands in France, the Channel Islands decided they wanted to stay under the protection of the English crown and the islands still refer to whoever is on the throne of England as their Duke of Normandy. Under the Tudors there were two governors from the same family whose name will be familiar – Paulet. Hugh Paulet was governor and his son, Amyas (1532-1588), was governor from 1573 until his death. Amyas went on to be the English Ambassador in Paris in 1576, but he is probably better known as the last gaoler of Mary Queen of Scots.

Sir Amyas (knighted in 1576) was an ardent Protestant bordering on Calvinism so it may well be that he was responsible for the original iconoclasm in St Brelade's church. However, the corbels that would have carried the rood screen can still be seen. In 1840 the original Norman font was found under bracken and gorse on the hillside behind the church and restored to its original position in the church. The Lady Chapel houses a 13th century processional cross

that was found buried in the churchyard. The stained glass all dates from 19th century when the restorers replaced the plain glass that had replaced the original medieval stained glass during the English Reformation.

During the 16th century many Huguenots fled to England and the closest English soil to France are the Channel Islands. This meant that many found refuge in the islands

Luther's writings had spread like lightening across Europe thanks to the invention of the moveable type printing press and his ideas led to the religious upheaval across Europe. During the Marian Catholic restoration (1553 – 1558) much devotional art that had been hidden during the Dissolution and Edward VI's reign, again saw the light of day. Unfortunately, we have very little in the way of altarpieces, or rood screens remaining and the statues and paintings of the saints have often been defaced. Perhaps this happened during the 16th century, but we should also take into account the actions of the faithful during the later Cromwell's Commonwealth when Puritanism held sway and more destruction of religious artefacts took place.

An illuminated charter

Some of the less known images that survive from the reign of Mary is the illuminated charter for the restoration of the monastery of Westminster. This is held in the Muniment Room of Westminster Abbey and is written in Latin. Philip & Mary are seated with Mary seated on the distaff position, which suggests she is subservient to her husband despite the fact she was queen in her own right. The artist may, or may not, have been Levina Teerlinc – I thought so originally, but am now not convinced. There are great similarities to other documents in the National Archives, suggesting this illumination came from the same artist who painted these.[4] This does raise the question of whether the reinstated monastery had a scriptorium, or whether the limner[5] was someone else working in the royal household – perhaps Susannah Horenbout?

Venus and Adonis, Titian, 1554

In 1554 Queen Mary's new husband took delivery of a painting from the Venetian artist Tiziano Vecelli who we know as Titian. This was the first of six paintings inspired by stories from Ovid's Metamorphoses. The one delivered to London was of Venus and Adonis. This, together with the other 'poesie'[6] paintings Philip commissioned from the great Titian, hangs in the Prado so the public can enjoy them. They were

thought to have been painted for Philip's private apartments.

The story of Venus and Adonis was published in Caxton's 1480 book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the story would have been familiar to any educated person in the 16th century. Like many artists Titian used Ovid's Metamorphoses for inspiration. These stories gave artists ample opportunity to portray a titillating expanse of naked female flesh under the guise of classical learning. The *Venus and Adonis* was designed to hang next to Titian's *Danaë*.

Danaë by Titian, 1545/46

Titian had first painted the 21 year old Philip in 1548 and was the most influential painter in Italy numbering the Hapsburg Emperor Charles V and his son, Philip of Spain, among his patrons. Luckily much correspondence between the Spanish king and the artist still survives and in one of these letters Titian compares their relationship to that of Alexander the Great and his famous artist, Apelles.

The Catholic Church was to make specific statements regarding art when it launched the Counter Reformation. In 1569 the Council of Trent finally came to a conclusion and among the various deliberations, issued guidelines detailing subjects suitable for painters and sculptors to portray and these specifically excluded references to pagan myths. Nudes especially were forbidden.

This posed a problem for artists and last year the Royal Academy held an exhibition of works by Giovanni Batista Moroni, who was known for his innovation in portraying his patrons in altarpieces and in portraits. Luckily our National Gallery has some of his best portraits. (http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/artists/giovanni-battista-moroni) This link should take you to a list of his portraits and at the bottom you will see a portrayal of Tuccia, The Vestal Virgin who carried water in a sieve from the River Tiber to the Temple of Vesta without spilling a drop in order to prove her virginity.

Tuccia, The Vestal Virgin, Moroni, 1555

Moroni painted his Tuccia in 1555 so before the Council of Trent declared nude pagan

subjects as unsuitable. However, in the last half of the 16th century Tuccia became a very suitable reference for the English propaganda machine and various artists portrayed Queen Elizabeth holding a sieve – a clear reference to the legend of Tuccia, the defamed virgin. England was not known for being the centre of artistic endeavour even though many foreign artists had fled the Low Countries and France and come to London to escape Hapsburg and French persecution. George Gower painted the Plimpton Sieve portrait, currently in the Folger Shakespeare Library, but the more famous of these portraits is by Quentin Metsys the Younger, painted in 1583 which is in Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena, Italy.

After the Council of Trent stated that suitable subjects for painters and sculptors were Biblical ones and there were to be no nudes, Moroni focussed on portraiture. His insight into his sitters' characters is incisive and he has a great psychological insight. I went to the RA exhibition several times and I kept overhearing people say how modern these faces were and how people expected them to speak.

The London National Gallery houses Moroni's famous portrait of an anonymous Tailor. It is tempting to speculate that the artist painted this portrait in exchange for a new jacket. Perhaps the fabric on the table is

The Tailor ('Il Tagliapanni'), Moroni, 1565

Feast in the House of Levi/ The Last Supper, Paolo Veronese, 1573

part of that jacket? This is a wonderful piece and it is the first time we see a specific portrait of an ordinary man at his work.

Other artists, such as Veronese, came into conflict with the Catholic Inquisition by setting Biblical scenes in contemporary 16th century settings. Paolo Veronese's painting, *Feast in the House of Levi* (1573) was originally entitled *The Last Supper*. This vast canvass measures 5.55m x 12.8m (18.21ft x 41.99 ft) and was painted for the rear wall of the refectory of the Basilica di Santi Giovanni e Paolo. It was commissioned to replace a Titian painting that had been destroyed in a fire. However, this contemporary scene contains portrayals of drunken German mercenaries, dwarves, and men dressed in extravagant costumes. The Catholic Inquisition demanded that Veronese change his painting to depict a more reverent *Last Supper* or face a charge of heresy and gave him three months to remodel the painting.

Veronese thought about this and merely changed the title to *Feast in the House of Levi*. If we read Chapter 5 of the Gospel of Luke we can see why.

> *And Levi made himself a great feast in his own house: and there was a great company of tax collectors and of others that sat down with them. But their scribes and Pharisees murmured against his disciples, saying, Why do you eat and drink with tax collectors and sinners? And Jesus answering said unto them, They that are whole need not a physician; but they that are sick. I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.*

This time sinners are mentioned thus representations of extravagantly dressed men (portraits of Venetian tax collectors and rich merchants perhaps?), drunken soldiers and any other rapscallions are highly appropriate. When the three months were up, the Inquisitors returned and were presented with the new title – nothing more was said and Veronese's original painting remained in situ. Today this massive painting remains in Venice and you can see it in the Accademia.

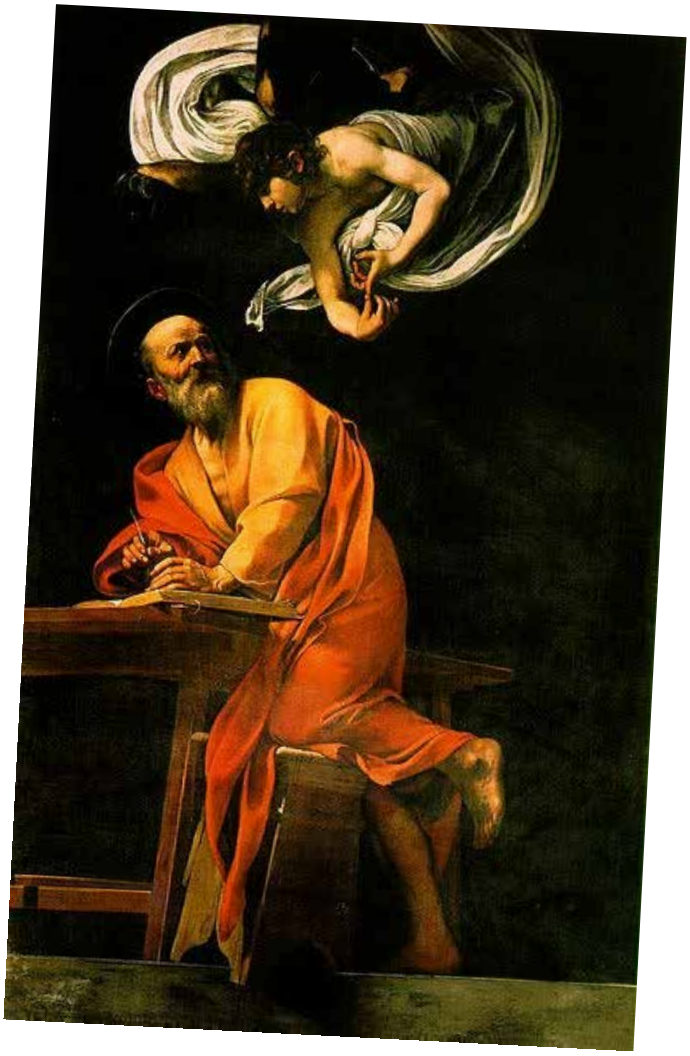
Towards the end of the 16th century, artists went to Rome to complete their artistic education. One young man in particular was to come to have a great influence on artists both North and South of the Alps. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio's interpretation of the restrictions imposed by the Council of Trent, his use of chiaroscuro[7] and his portrayal of real people of the street was eye popping. He broke all the rules, was a notorious brawler and is famous for murdering Ranuccio Tommasoni in 1606.[8]

When it came to his paintings, he often portrayed the poor and in the Contarelli Chapel he portrays the Calling of St Matthew on three sides of the chapel. This painting shows the moment of the saint's calling and is all the more dramatic for Caravaggio's use of raking diagonals. The light

The Calling of Saint Matthew, Carravagio, circa 1599-1600

coming in from the high window and Christ's outstretched arm pointing directly at the man seated at the table takes our eyes from right to left. It is almost possible to hear the surprised tax collector saying "Who me?", but the others around him do not seem to be very disturbed by this interruption. It is as if they are oblivious to the divine presence of Christ. Perhaps they are more concerned with counting the money on the table. Religious paintings were to provide a focus for meditation and the message in this is chapel is clear. The 'Calling' is on the left hand side of the chapel, the Inspiration of St Matthew is over the altar, and the saint's martyrdom on the right. The faces of those in the first canvas appear in the martyrdom where Caravaggio has included a self-

portrait. The altarpiece is a conversation between the saint and the angel and shows Matthew writing his Gospel. The original painting of this was rejected and until WW2 was in Berlin. This canvas was either destroyed during the air raids or perhaps lies hidden somewhere because someone recognised its value and 'appropriated' it.



The Inspiration of Saint Matthew by Caravaggio, 1602

Caravaggio also painted scenes of fortune-tellers and card-sharps and the faces of the bit players in the Calling of St Matthew appear in some of these paintings. Perhaps his more dramatic painting of his Roman period is his Judith & Holoferns. It is revolutionary because Caravaggio portrays the actual moment the widow Judith slays the Assyrian general, Holofernes, with his own sword.

Judith beheading Holofernes, Carravagio, 1598-99

Judith was a rich widow of great beauty whose town of Bethulia was being besieged by the Assyrian army. She and her servant Abra took themselves into the camp and the general Holofernes was so taken by Judith's beauty he wined and dined her. The general clearly drinks a lot and when he falls asleep Judith smites his head from his shoulders (presumably with his own sword.) The two women then return to Bethulia with the head of Holofernes and display it on a spike above the walls. The Assyrians are so dismayed that an enemy woman has managed to sneak into their camp and kill their general they flee in terror!

Judith was considered a very proper subject during the Counter Reformation and artists had portrayed her from the early Renaissance. She appears immortalised in bronze (Donatello, Florence), Michelangelo di Buonarroti included her on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, Botticelli has her returning to the town of Bethulia carrying a sword and an olive branch while her maidservant, Abra carries a basket on her head containing the general's head (left) This painting is now in the Uffizzi; and there are many more examples by less exalted names.

Caravaggio captures the actual moment of the general's murder. This dramatic painting is in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica.

Perhaps the most famous portrayal of this moment is by Artemisia Gentileschi. Artemisa was learning her craft when Caravaggio was part of her father's artistic circle, so no wonder

her work shows his influence. Rather than show you her version of the beheading of Holofernes, I am showing you her *Susannah & The Elders*, which I think really captures the virtuous Susannah's feelings towards these lecherous men and demonstrates Artemisia's use of dramatic lighting to create the drama. This is a story of the triumph of virtue, but the story gives the artist an opportunity to portray the female nude for her patron without transgressing the rules about subject matter as set out by the Council of Trent, so no wonder it was popular subject with patrons. Gentileschi painted this in 1610 when she was only 17 and you can see it if you go to Schloss Weisenstein, Pommersfelden, Germany.

Susanna and the Elders
by Artemisia Gentileschi, 1610

Meanwhile, in all those countries that had embraced Protestant Reform, altarpieces, stained glass and religious statues were all being smashed to pieces and wall paintings were being covered in white. In England, especially during the reign of Edward VI, church walls were being whitewashed and English art generally was in the

Judith by Botticelli

doldrums. We do have some beautiful medieval glass remaining in some of our cathedrals. Canterbury Cathedral has a particularly fine set of windows. I like to think that the medieval glass was preserved because the iconoclasts realised the stupidity of destroying something that kept out the damp, cold English weather.

In 1550 the foreign community, mainly Protestant Germans, Dutch and Frenchmen, were granted the use of the nave of a church that had previously been the home of a priory of Augustinian Friars, founded in 1253 by Henry de Bohun, 2nd Earl of Hereford and dissolved in November 1538. The Stranger Church was granted a royal charter from King Edward VI on 24th July, 1550. The Dutch community was by far the largest community of strangers in the City being approximately 5% of the population. There were many skilled artisans who had come to London as economic migrants, but many were religious refugees fleeing Catholic/Hapsburg persecution. The artist Hans Eworth and his brother, Nicholas, appear in the list of members dated 1550. Hitler's bombs destroyed this ancient church during the

night of 15-16th October 1940, 390 years after the founding of the Dutch Church. However, it was rebuilt and is still a place of worship for the Dutch community.

The photographs of the wall paintings from the three medieval places of worship gives us a hint of the richness of English religious art prior to the Reformation and, I for one, am glad I am able to visit these and compare them with the various Italian churches known for their frescoes. The restoration of the Fisherman's Chapel in Jersey particularly shows how our church walls were once a riot of colour so giving a glimpse of what our ecclesiastical imagery once was and the art of Catholic Europe shows what we have lost.

MELANIE V. TAYLOR

NOTES

1 Many of you will recognise the pelican as an ancient symbol of sacrifice. It pops up on illuminated documents, carved misericords and here on a rare English wall painting.
2 Pêtcheurs is old Jersey French for sinners, but was mis-translated as meaning fishermen (les pêcheurs). Jersey French is still spoken and is the closest you will get to the original Norman French.
3 The original stone altar in the Fisherman's Chapel was removed at the latter end of the 20th century and two skeletons of children were found under it. This has led to the idea that perhaps the chapel was built on a very much older place of worship, possibly pagan.
4 Various Ps for the KB27 series, being the proceedings of the Queen's Bench.
5 Proper name of an illuminator of documents.
6 A poesie in this instance is a visual poem.
7 Technical term for the dramatic contrast of light and dark.
8 **http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/italy/1396127/Red-blooded-Caravaggio-killed-love-rival-in-bungled-castration-attempt.html** Well worth a read

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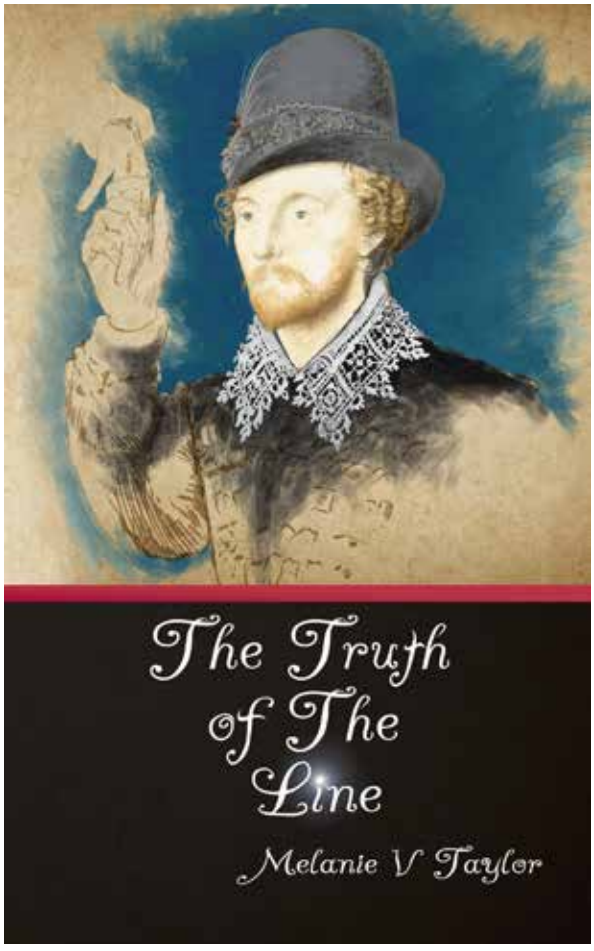
Melanie V. Taylor is very active in the world of Tudor art history. She spends her time lecturing, giving presentations and researching the Tudor period. Her specialisms are the artists Levena Teerlinc and Nicholas Hillyarde. Their story is covered in her thrilling read **"The Truth of the Line"** which we definitely recommend as a *must read* book. In her book, Melanie raises a fascinating theory about one of Hillyarde's paintings "Portrait of an unknown man", and who this man may be. Don't take our word for it ... read her book and discover the secret for yourself!



CROMWELL: MARTYR OR MERCENARY?

by Kyra Kramer

Thomas Cromwell, one of the strongest and smartest supporters of the Reformation, was judicially murdered by Henry VIII on July 28, 1540 for the false accusations of treason and heresy. Although everyone should acknowledge that his death was a travesty of justice and ingratitude of the highest order on the king's part, some people think Cromwell died as a result of his own machinations while others believe he died a martyr to the Protestant faith. Which was is? Was he 'hoist on his own petard', or did he die for his faith?

Most historians believe Henry's irrational wrath against his ever-loyal Lord Privy Seal was spurred by Cromwell's success in finding the king a Germanic wife for his fourth bride, Anna of Cleves. Henry took an immediate and unreasonable dislike to Anna, and blamed Cromwell for the subsequent marriage. Even though Cromwell found a way out of the union, by declaring Anna the king's new 'sister' and buying her off, Henry was still determined to punish his best servant via beheading.

For those who see Cromwell as a key player in Anne Boleyn's cruel death, the fact that the king's anger turned against him the same way he used the king's anger against Anne seems like a delightful hybrid of irony and karma. In this view, Cromwell's death as his just deserts for arranging the execution of Anne Boleyn and the five men accused with her even though he *had* to have known they were innocent. Personally, because I a proponent of the theory that Henry was rendered mentally unstable by McLeod's syndrome I am of the opinion that Cromwell manipulated the ailing king into killing Anne Boleyn by playing up her comment to Norris about 'dead men's shoes' and fomenting Henry's rage against her. Therefore, I view Cromwell's downfall as a classic case of playing with fire until he was burned; he enjoyed manipulating the erratic king but discovered that Henry was uncontrollable only when Henry's ire focused on him.

There are those, however, who do not see Cromwell's death as connected to Henry's temperamental tyranny but as a result of his religious convictions. From this perspective, Cromwell was a martyr because he was someone who willingly suffered death rather than renounce his religion or principles. Certainly Cromwell was pro-Reformist, and was as savage in his dismantlement of the Catholic Church as he had been loyal to it when he served Cardinal Wolsey. For those who view Cromwell as a Protestant martyr, his fall truly began the late spring of 1539 when the king pushed the Six Articles through Parliament.

The Six Articles laid out the six key beliefs which were to be embraced by English subjects

based on Henry's own beliefs. They were referred to as "the whip with six strings" by Reformers, because the articles reinforced some of the basic tenets of Catholicism, including the belief in transubstantiation and the celibacy of the priesthood, which was anathema to Protestants. After the Six Articles passed, a person who openly expressed a doubt about any parts of Henry's personal dogma could be burned at the stake as a punishment for their disbelief. It was a powerful weapon in the hands of anti-Reformation zealots, a formidable legal cudgel that inspired Martin Luther to insist "the devil sits astride [Henry] so that he vexes and plagues Christ". The best Cromwell had been able to do was to get the Six Articles modified to allow people a chance to recant their reformist views and avoid being burned at the stake.

Three prominent Reformers and allies to Cromwell – Robert Barnes, William Jerome, and Thomas Garret – had gotten into hot water with the king during Lent of 1540 when they preached sermons at St. Paul's cross arguing *against* passive obedience, the idea that the absolute supremacy of the crown meant that any dissent or disobedience to the monarch's will was as sinful as it was unlawful. Henry, obviously, was very much in favor of passive obedience and all three men were required to publicly recant in Easter sermons at St. Mary Spital. This was the Lenten crisis that made Cromwell, as a patron of Barnes, Jerome, and Garret, vulnerable to accusations of treason and heresy. The pro-Catholic faction at court made much of the connection between Cromwell and the three troublesome Reformers, encouraging Henry to doubt the devotion of his Lord Privy Seal.

Nevertheless, even those who consider Cromwell to have been persecuted for his Reformist beliefs, have to concede that Henry's desire to shed himself of Anna of Cleves was at least a part of Cromwell's undoing. As historian John Schofield wrote in his book *The Rise and Fall of Thomas Cromwell*, "Cromwell's ruin began with the Lenten crisis, and it was sealed by Henry's passion for Catherine Howard … Henry now saw his Lutheran Vicegerent as a threat to the king's headship of the church,, and … the barrier to [Anna's] removal and Catherine's coronation." Notwithstanding the factor of Anna of Cleves, Schofield is adamant that Cromwell would have survived this crisis if he had

Thomas Cromwell

not chosen "to made a stand for what really was his 'great matter', namely the Reformation in England."

The main problem with this argument, in my opinion, is that there is no real evidence that Cromwell went about and beyond trying to save his friends or to defy Henry. Although in his *Book of Martyrs*, John Foxe repeatedly states that 'popish sycophants' worked against Barnes, Jerome, and Garret he does wax large on any attempts Cromwell might have made to save them. If anything, the focus is on Cromwell's connection to the three reformers being exploited by the 'popish sycophants' to drag him down, rather than any actions on Crowell's part connecting him to his friends. Cromwell's 'defense' seems to consist of the fact he never openly betrayed or denied his friendship with the doomed men. That does not appear to be a significant stand for the Reformation. Cromwell was not passionately defending his comrades OR their doctrinal arguments. At best, he didn't throw them to the wolves.

I cannot be said that John Foxe wasn't an ardent admirer of Cromwell, and thus did him a disservice. Nor did John Foxe claim Cromwell *wasn't* a martyr. Rather, it is that Fox claims that jealous enemies of Cromwell and of the Word of God drug Cromwell down, rather than Cromwell's actively defending the Gospel to the king:

"Thus (I say) as he was labouring in the cōmon wealth and doyng good to the poore afflicted Saintes, helpyng thē out of trouble, the malice of his enemies so wrought, continuallye huntyng for matter agaynst hym, that they neuer ceased, till in the end they by false traynes and crafty surmises, brought him out of the kynges fauour … These snuffyng Prelates as hee could neuer abide so they agayne hated him as much, whiche was the cause of shortenyng hys dayes, and to bryng him to his end … Furthermore being in the Tower a prisoner, how quietly he bare it, how valiātly he behaued himself, how grauely and discretely he aūswered & enterteined þ^e Cōmissioners sent vnto him, it is worthy noting. Whatsoeuer articles or interrogatories they propoūded, they could put nothing vnto him, either concerning matters Ecclesiasticall or temporall, wherein he was not more rypened, and more furni shed in euery condition then they them selues."

Mainly, I am skeptical that for his faith instead of for politics because we don't know if Cromwell would have refused to recant his 'heresy' inasmuch as he was never give the CHANCE to recant. To be honest, I would have been very surprised if he hadn't. In the first volume of Roger Bigelow's work *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell*, we find that Cromwell had been making overturns, even 'groveling' to Biship Stephen Gardiner, the very man who was the driving force behind the deaths of Barnes, Jerome, and Garret. Cromwell had also opened parliament in April of 1540 with a speech praising the suppression of religious dissention on the king's behalf. Yes, when Cromwell was arrested he (reportedly) declared he needed no pardon because he had committed no crimes, but when he wrote a letter to Henry a few weeks later he was nothing loathe to beg ""Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy!", in spite of his undoubted innocence of the charges of treason and heresy. In is not contested that Cromwell died professing his faith, but he nonetheless couched his phrases regarding his "Catholic" faith in such a way that they could have been read in multiple ways. Cromwell was canny to the bitter end.

Added to this, Henry wasn't singling out Reformers for death. A few days later he executed Cromwell he beheaded six well-respected men for the feeblest of reasons. Three of the men were the religious reformers Barnes, Jerome, and Garret, but the other three men – Edward Powell, Richard Fetherston, and Thomas Abel – were all devout Catholics. There were no plausible explanations for any of their deaths and the French ambassador wrote that it was a "perversion of justice of which both parties complained …. they had never been called to judgment, nor knew why they were condemned." If Henry was feeling very anti-Reformist, how come Stephen Gardiner could orchestrate Cromwell's death but not his friend Thomas Abel's release?

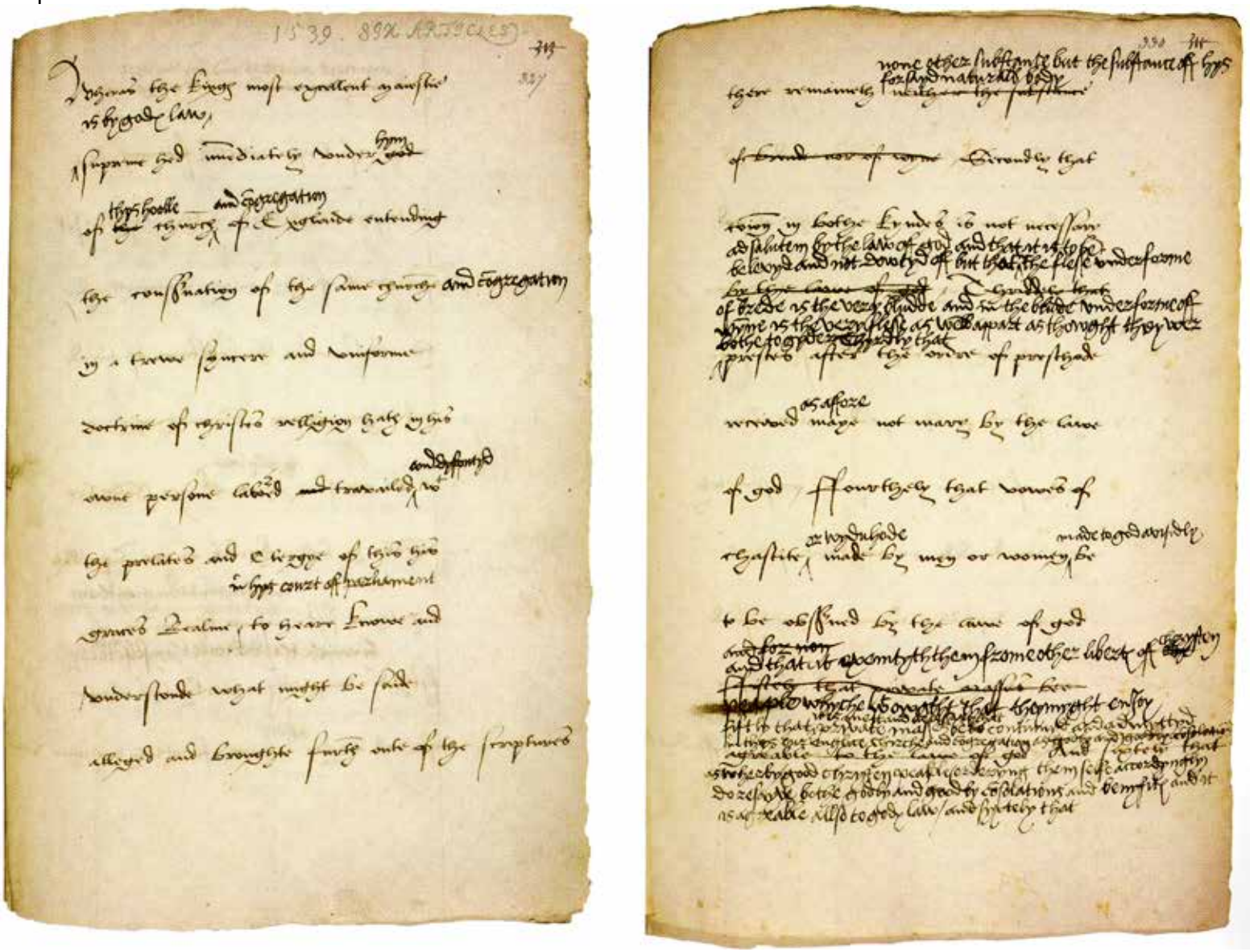
Finally, Thomas Cromwell had taken the credit for connecting Henry with the Low Countries and the Schmalkaldic League via Cleves, in the hopes the Protestant confederacy would help England against the Holy Roman Empire. Instead, William of Cleves was provoking the HRE and making noises as if England would have to come to the aid of Cleves. This, on top of Henry's desire to rid himself of Anna, would have vexed the king severely. Henry was also prone to blaming Cromwell for unhappy news from Ireland and Scotland, rather than praising him for his preservation of an uneasy peace with France.

John Foxe from NPG, cleaned

I think that Cromwell was murdered from a combination of failed policies, an irked king, and malicious slander by his enemies, rather than because he was devoted to the Reformation. His beliefs, assuming they were sincere rather than politically prudent for his goals, were merely the "light pretexts" used to enable Henry to lash out at his former favorite and to explain away the death of the Lord Privy Seal. Henry would later regret his temper tantrum and want Cromwell back, but it was too late; the king had to endure the fact he could not raise the dead.

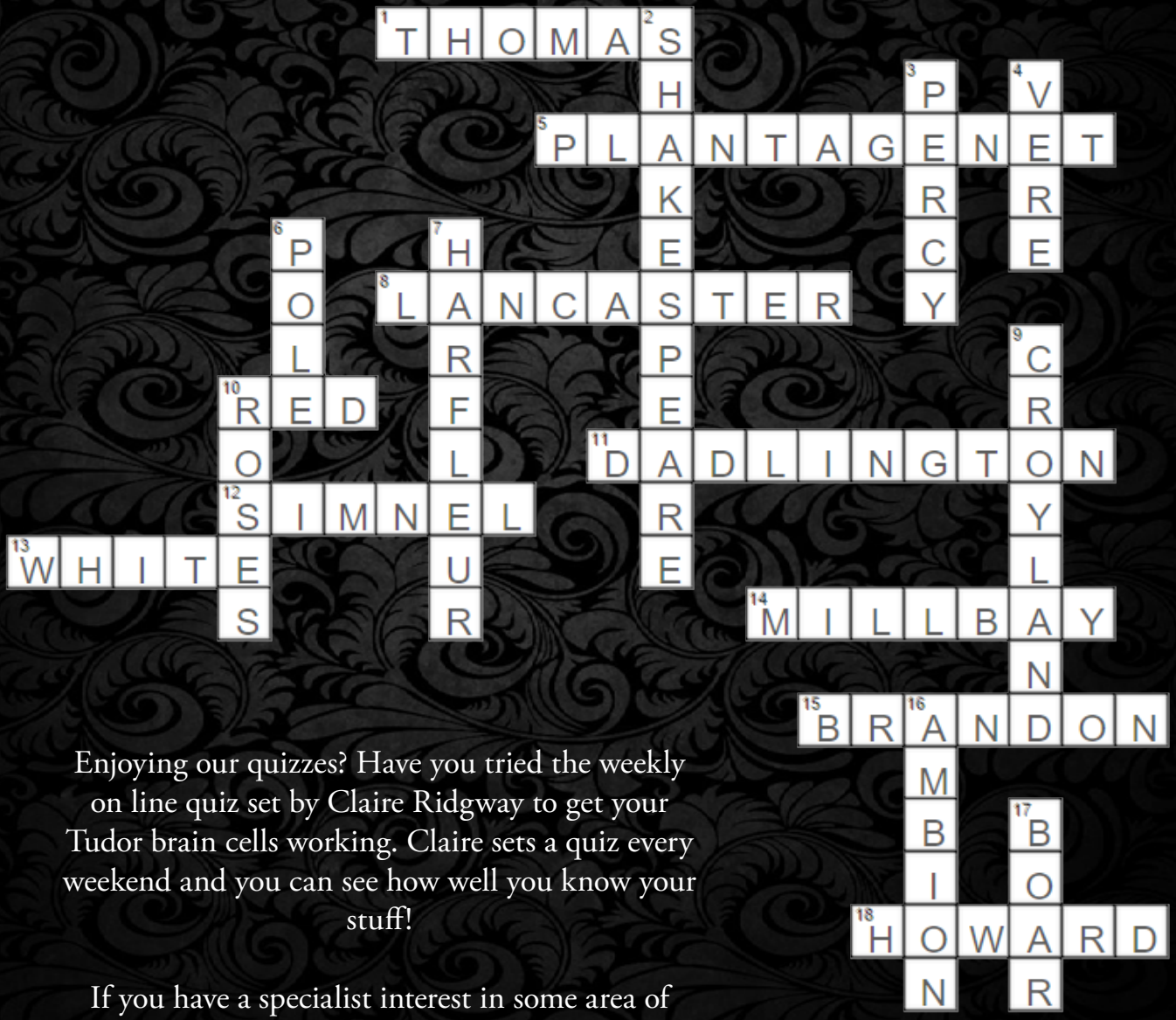
Cromwell may have been dead, but the Reformation and his family would thrive and go on to write English history in a way that rivals even the influence of Henry VIII. It was the ultimate Reformers, the Puritans, led by Cromwell's many-times-great-nephew, Oliver Cromwell, which would overthrow the monarchy in England, executing Charles I in 1650. Looking at the larger picture, Thomas Cromwell was a martyr or mercenary is small beer compared to the larger effects of his efforts on behalf of the Reformation, but scholars cannot resist tackling any conundrum about such an enigmatic and consequential figure in English history. What is your opinion? Did Cromwell die for his faith, or his politics?

KYRA KRAMER



One of the final drafts of the Six articles, amended in King Henry VIII's own hand from 1539

BOSWORTH CROSSWORD ANSWERS



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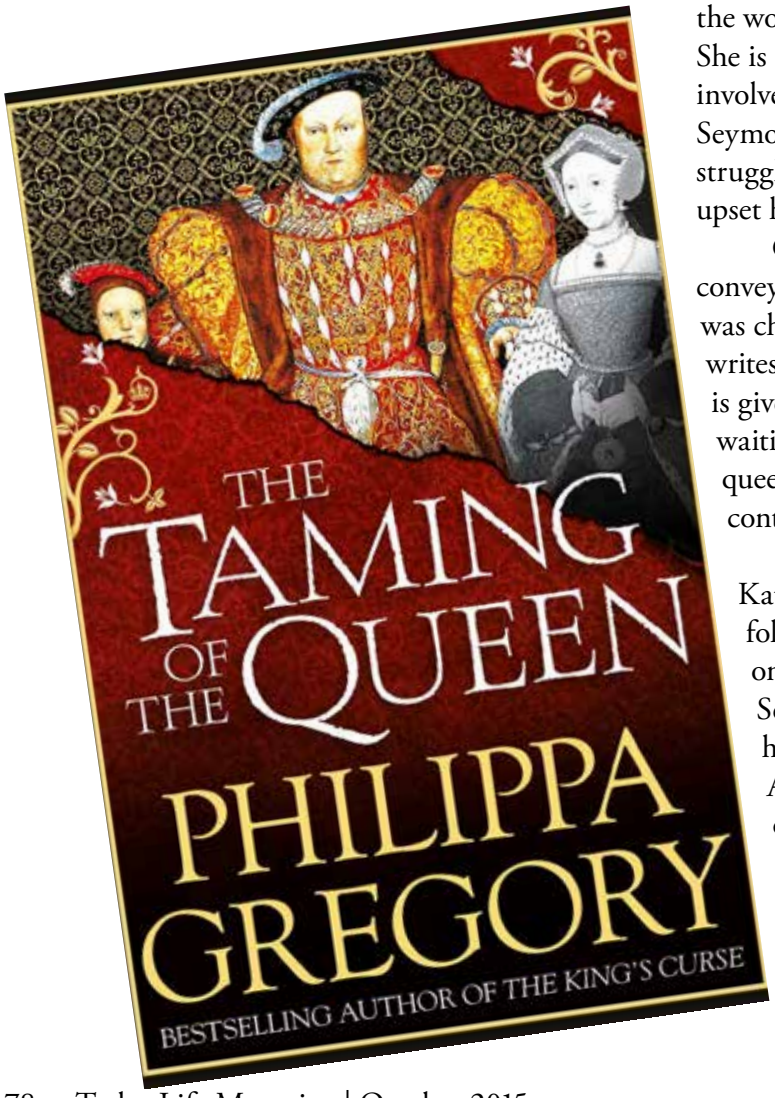
Charlie on Books

The Taming of the Queen

Philippa Gregory is well known in the historical fiction world, particularly for her *Cousins' War* and *Tudor Court* novels. *The Taming of the Queen* is the latest of her Tudor novels and, as usual, she doesn't fail to bring the Tudor court to life. As always with her novels, and historical fiction in general, the book has to be taken with a pinch of salt and has to be read knowing that a lot of the facts have been changed and information made up due to lack of evidence.



The Taming of the Queen begins in 1413, at the end of Henry VIII's reign. Henry is no longer the athletic and attractive king he once was and now has a tyrannical reputation, especially when it comes to his wives. Unfortunately for Kateryn Parr, who has just lost her second husband, she is the woman chosen to be his sixth and final wife. She is unable to refuse, despite being in love and involved with someone else, a young Thomas Seymour. The novel follows Kateryn as she struggles to ignore her romantic feelings and not upset her new husband.

Gregory brings Kateryn to life and tries to convey how she could have been feeling when she was chosen to be Henry VIII's sixth wife. She writes a particularly telling scene where Kateryn is given the Queen's jewels by Nan, a lady in waiting who had served all of the previous queens, and it is revealed to her that each queen contributed to the collection:

"Nan is as pale as me. She wrapped Katherine Howard's emeralds in their leather folders and put them in that very jewel box on the day of her arrest. She fastened Jane Seymour's sapphires around her neck on her wedding day. She handed Katherine of Aragon her earrings and here they are now, on the table in my privy chamber for my use."

Henry VIII's third and 'beloved' queen, Jane Seymour, is frequently mentioned in the book. It is something not often explored by historical fiction

authors, what Henry's wives felt about their predecessors, especially one that Henry still loved. It comes across that Kateryn is jealous, despite not being in love with Henry, that his deceased wife is still so highly regarded.

It also soon becomes clear how delusional Henry himself is. He thinks he's still the young man he used to be, a man who could woo any woman, not the obese old man he now is. Despite his new reputation, he is kind to Kateryn at first and even nearly convinces her that she will grow to love him. He seems to trust her with his kingdom and his children, and, in the words of Gregory as Katherine, "who could not love a man who trusts a wife with his kingdom? With his children? Who pours treasure at her feet? Who offers his love so sweetly?"

Despite his initial kindness to Kateryn, Henry's moods do change frequently and it is put down to the pain he is in with his leg ulcer. Gregory describes how his servants, and even his wives and children, would have had to tiptoe around him, making sure not to upset or worsen his mood. It is hard to imagine a life like that, although Gregory does a pretty good job at expressing the moods of the court as well as Kateryn herself.

One of the things I liked most about this novel was the way Gregory portrayed Kateryn's relationship with Henry's children. Princess Mary (later Mary I) is presented in a positive light in this book, compared to some other works. She is relaxed and friendly with Kateryn, a nice change to the strong image of her as just being fiercely religious and the restoration of the Catholic faith in England being her only focus. Kateryn is, however, wrong when she thinks that Mary will change her mind and come round to her way of thinking about religion. Kateryn starts off cautious around Henry's other two children, Elizabeth and Edward. Elizabeth is the daughter of Anne Boleyn and is unsure of her place in the world, in limbo between princess and Henry's illegitimate daughter. There is no hint in Gregory's work as to how Kateryn and Thomas Seymour would later get involved in with Elizabeth. I couldn't help but pity Edward when Kateryn was first introduced to him, every word he said sounded scripted and rehearsed and, as Kateryn also noted, he did not act like a child. As well as rehearsing his introduction, he did not act familiarly with his father, another thing that Kateryn sadly points out. On a positive note, I am glad that Gregory wrote these scenes so that we could see how estranged the three siblings are with their father before Kateryn brings them all together as a family.

The one thing that did start to annoy me about this novel is its repetitiveness. As much as Kateryn was very religious and did accomplish many things that were unheard of for a woman of the time, it sometimes feels as if Gregory thinks the readers have forgotten. She constantly reminds us of the divide between the Catholic Church and the Church of England, as well as how different they are. I am glad Gregory doesn't just focus on Kateryn's relationships, as there is more to her character than that, however I didn't feel that the reminders of the differences between the churches was needed.

Overall, I did not expect Kateryn's story to be as engaging and interesting as it is in this novel. There are no obvious flaws or inaccuracies on a first read and the majority of the feelings Gregory expressed as Kateryn feel legitimate and realistic. I would recommend this book to anyone who likes reading historical fiction, in particular about Henry VIII and the Tudor dynasty. However, I would still recommend this as more of a starting point before reading a non-fiction book on Kateryn, something to help flesh out and understand her character before moving on and figuring out what is true in this novel and what's not.

CHARLIE FENTON

Want to see a book reviewed?
Let us know ...

TL

OCTOBER FEAST DAYS

by Claire Ridgway

FIRST SUNDAY – DEDICATION SERVICE

In the medieval period, wakes were held to mark the end of summer and to dedicate the local church. The feasting and partying could go on for days, so, in 1532, Henry VIII stamped down on this practice and ordered that the first Sunday in October was the day for local parish churches to hold their dedication service.

13 OCTOBER – FEAST OF ST EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

The feast of St Edward the Confessor, the Anglo-Saxon king who reigned from 1042 to 1066 and who was canonised in 1161, was the traditional day for the mayor of London to be chosen by the freemen at Guildhall.

18 OCTOBER – FEAST OF ST LUKE THE EVANGELIST

The 18th October marked the feast day of St Luke the Evangelist, one of the four authors of the canonical Gospels of Jesus Christ and the author of the Acts of the Apostles. He is the patron saint of artists, physicians and surgeons, brewers, notaries, students and butchers, and is often depicted in paintings with an ox or calf (sometimes winged) which are seen as symbols of sacrifice, referring to Christ's sacrifice for mankind.

25 OCTOBER – FEAST OF ST CRISPIN AND ST CRISPINIAN

The 25th October marked the feast day of Saints Crispin and Crispinian who were brothers (some say twins) and who were martyrs of the Early Church, being beheaded on 25 October 285 or 286 during the reign of Diocletian. Following the victory of England over France on 25 October 1415 at the Battle of Agincourt, the day became a celebration of that event too. Celebrations included bonfires, revelry and the crowning of a King Crispin.

St Crispin and St Crispinian are the patron saints of shoemakers, saddlers and tanners.

Photo "St. Peter's Church, Hever at night" © 2012 Tim Ridgway

28 October – Feast of St Simon and St Jude

The 28th October marked the feast of Saints Simon (Simon the Zealot) and Jude (Thaddaeus), the Apostles. It was known as the day that the autumnal rains often began.

St Simon is the patron saint of tanners and St Jude is the patron saint of hope and hopeless/desperate cases.

31 October – All Hallows Eve

The 31st October was and is, of course, All Hallows Eve or Halloween. Although it was a religious festival in medieval and Tudor times, it has its roots in Pagan celebrations and it comes from Samhain, the Celtic new year festival which was celebrated from sunset on 31st October to sunset on 1st November. On that night, it was believed that the veil between the world of the living and that of the dead was at its thinnest and that the souls of the dead and evil spirits could walk the earth. Church bells were rung, bonfires were lit and people wore masks to ward off these spirits and to send them on their way. Farm buildings and homes were also blessed to protect them from evil spirits and witches.

When Pope Gregory III chose 1st November as a day to remember and honour the apostles and all the saints and martyrs of the Church in the 9th century, the traditions associated with Samhain became incorporated into this and the evening of 31st October became a night to mark the passage of souls through Purgatory, the place where souls resided between death and the Last Judgement.

A popular tradition on All Hallows Eve was for poor people and children to go "souling". This involved going door-to-door begging for alms and spiced cakes known as soul cakes. Each soul cake was said to represent a soul in Purgatory and in exchange for a cake the souler would promise to pray for the dead of that household. You can find a recipe for soul cakes in the 2014 October Tudor Life magazine.

Another tradition associated with Halloween was apple bobbing, which started out as young people diving for apples stuck upon a hanging beam which had a lit candle at the other end. Their hands were tied behind their back and they could only use their mouths to bit at the apple. It also appears to be customary to crack nuts with one's teeth or to fling the nuts into the fire and watch them crack. It is unclear how old these practices with nuts and apples are, but in the early 19th century book *Observations on Popular Antiquities* John Brand and Henry Ellis note that the author of a letter printed in a book in 1728 wrote of his servants demanding apples, ale and nuts for the last day of October. Another name for Halloween does appear to have been Nutcrack Night, although one source says this is because it was customary for nuts to be cracked at this time for their seeds to be used in charms and divinations (Superstitions and Folk Remedies, Charles Raymond Dillon). Whatever the truth of the matter, do have fun with soul cakes, apple bobbing, ale drinking and nut-cracking this Halloween. It's not just fun, it's history!

Saint Edward the confessor, courtesy of Catholic Tradition

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