



Tudor Life

The Tudor Society Magazine

THE
TUDOR
SOCIETY

Members Only

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January 2016

40 PAGE ELIZABETH I SPECIAL EDITION

Elizabeth I and her Catholic Subjects - *Stephanie Mann*

Elizabeth I, Musician and Dancer - *Jane Moulder*

Vivat, Vivat, Vivat Regina - *Melanie V. Taylor*

Shaming Queen Elizabeth - *Kyra Kramer*



The Tudor Kitchen - *Olga Hughes*

PLUS a HUGE *Photo Feature* on
Warwick and Lord Leycester's Hospital



Happy New Year!

January 2016

WHETHER IT IS winning Oscars for Dame Judi Dench or dominating the publishers' lists, **Elizabeth I** has lost none of her power to attract attention. In 2003, a public poll voted her one of the top ten greatest Britons of all time. Evelyn Waugh, the mid-century novelist most famous for writing the beloved classic "Brideshead Revisited", described her as one of the worst examples of femininity in history. Elizabeth, intellectually brilliant, has been castigated by recent historians like Christopher Haigh as an actress who "often fluffed her lines", or praised by David Starkey for essentially living as a practical guide to good government. The Queen's private life, policies and cultural afterlife are still sources for reverence, debate and criticism.

In this edition of **Tudor Life Magazine**, we try to look at what was, what might have been and how Elizabeth came to become such a controversial sovereign. ENJOY!

Gareth Russell

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ELIZABETH I
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SHAMING QUEEN ELIZABETH I

Queen Elizabeth I is one of the most famous and charismatic monarchs ever to rule over England, and considering the dramatic personalities that are threaded through the history of British royalty, that is saying something. Her political and cultural successes were legion and are well-documented. Although her accomplishments are sometimes slighted by sexist historians, her record speaks for itself.

by

Kyra Kramer

Elizabeth's personal relationships have gotten nearly as much attention as the particulars of her reign. During her lifetime and the centuries that followed, rumors have abounded speculating on the various men – and women – at court who might have been one of her lovers. There is next to nothing in the way of evidence to 'prove' these theoretical lovers, yet the attention they garner is both avid and salacious. Sadly, conjectures and tittle-tattle about the queen's suppositional inamoratos are almost always used in an attempt to discredit or degrade Elizabeth. Any sex that the queen *might* have been having is implied to be a sign of weakness or misconduct on her part; she is maligned for her sexuality in a way that her male counterparts are not. For an unmarried woman who lived very

much in the public eye and was known as the Virgin Queen, she has been no stranger to slut shaming.

Elizabeth's assumptive naughtiness has little to do with the act of sexual intercourse. As I point out in my book *The Jezebel Effect*, "a slut is a girl or woman who broke a gender based cultural taboo; she did something women aren't *supposed* to do" and slut shaming is "the go-to method of punishing woman for her perceived sociocultural transgression, sexual or otherwise". Elizabeth's proposed promiscuity and postulated paramours are more often than not a method of representing the queen's *gender* malfeasance; *she* acted more like a *he* and should be punished for it. This is not to say that the slut shaming of Elizabeth I has been done



Elizabeth I by George Gower c. 1588

deliberately by those who formulate hypotheses about her sex-life. Slut shaming permeates so deeply into the Western cultural zeitgeist that it leaks into historical research without conscious thought on the part of the researcher. Elizabeth was famous for her lack of proper femininity, and would thus be a natural target for subliminal slut shaming. Her 'masculine' traits of intelligent and willpower were so acute that for centuries there has been a ridiculous whisper that the real Elizabeth died at age 10 and a village boy was found to replace her. (The ladies of the chamber who bathed her never noticed a penis?)

One of the men rumored to have had sex with Elizabeth is Thomas Seymour. There is ample evidence he *tried* to bed Elizabeth when she was barely into her teens, but there is no evidence he succeeded. His wife, who was also Elizabeth's former stepmother and Henry VIII's sixth queen Kateryn Parr, removed the young girl from the Seymour household when she discovered Seymour's attempts to beguile the orphan under their care. This removal was probably done out of concern for her stepdaughter, but is often claimed that Elizabeth was cast out because of Kateryn's catty jealousy of the budding ingénue's looks. Past and modern historians have bolstered the idea that Kateryn was envious of her stepdaughter's sexual allure by expressing a belief that Elizabeth was a teen temptress.

For example, author Gaia Sevadio claims Seymour "seduced" Elizabeth, and Sevadio also claims that "judging from her character, it is more likely that it was Elizabeth who seduced him" (p.191). Not only is there no evidence that Seymour succeeded in having sex with the young girl living under his roof, the suggestion that the 14 year old princess was the active agent in any putative sexual relationship the 40 year old man – one who was moreover married to her surrogate mother -- makes one's flesh

creep. If (and it is a big if) Elizabeth had sex with Seymour then it was rape and abuse, not consensual intercourse. Blaming Elizabeth for her own possible rape is slut shaming at its nadir.

Thomas Seymour's prurient interest in Elizabeth should not be mistaken for her interest in him. When he asked for her hand in marriage in 1548, in a revoltingly short time after his wife's death, the 15 year old girl turned him down. When Seymour's attempts to marry the princess and kidnap King Edward VI were revealed, Elizabeth interrogated by Sir Robert Tyrwhit. She maintained, in spite of formidable pressure, that she was a virgin and that she had never agreed to marry Seymour. Her staunch defense was so well done that she procured a public announcement from the crown

that she was innocent of all charges of impropriety and misconduct. Nonetheless, then and for years afterwards, she had to repeatedly deal with the innuendo that she has born Seymour a child. In 2010 author Philippa Jones suggested that Elizabeth gave Seymour a baby, and indeed had other illegitimate children throughout her reign. This is a remarkably feat, considering the physical scrutiny Elizabeth was subjected to at all times as a princess and a queen.

Not only is it practically impossible that Elizabeth, who had people who attended her during her baths and even during her bowel movements, could hide a pregnancy or convince so many witnesses

to stay mum, the theories regarding her children and the fathers of these mythical offspring veer off into the farcical. Sir Francis Bacon, the renowned philosopher and scientist born in 1561, was supposedly the queen's natural son, smuggled into the Bacon household by Elizabeth's loyal servant William Cecil. There is moreover a postulation, known as the Tudor Rose Theory, which claims that Edward de Vere – who was not only the 17th Earl of Oxford but also the secret author of

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the works published under the name William Shakespeare – impregnated Elizabeth in 1573 and their son was raised as Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton. If that is not unlikely enough for you, there is also a hypothesis called Prince Tudor II that suggests Oxford was Elizabeth’s son, and he was therefore both Wriothesley’s father *and* elder half-brother.

There were certainly men Elizabeth loved, although there is no evidence that love was conjoined to physical intimacy. The most famous of her beaux was Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester (1532 - 1588). Did Elizabeth ever have sex with Dudley? It’s doubtful. For one thing, Elizabeth wouldn’t have risked her crown (which we tend to forget sat gingerly upon her ginger head for many years) by committing adultery with the already married earl. When Dudley’s first wife, Amy Robsart, fell down the stairs and broke her neck in 1560, there was gossip suggesting that she was murdered in order to free the earl for the queen. The need to disprove this rumor kept Elizabeth and her beloved apart even after he was a widower. If Dudley had ever consummated their love affair, I think he would have tried to pressure her to wed him rather than secretly eloping with her cousin, Lettice Knollys, in 1579. Elizabeth forgave Dudley for his amorous transgression, but the queen never forgave his wife for marrying him. Lettice Knollys, who was the granddaughter of Mary Boleyn Carey, was not only the wife of Robert Dudley; through her first marriage she was the mother of another of Elizabeth’s known favorites, Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex. Devereux was a hotheaded and spoiled gallant, and although he was the queen’s sweetheart from 1587 to almost 1599 he was so

disgruntled by the loss of her partisanship that he staged a failed coup and was beheaded in 1601.

Although the queen was supposed to have had infatuations with other men (she had at least 26 proposals of marriage, all told), such as Sir Christopher Hatton, who was her Lord Chancellor from 1587 to 1591, or her French suitors Henry and Francis (sons of the French king Henry II and the 3rd and 4th Dukes of Anjou), the only other man that can be reasonably supposed to have actually inspired a reciprocal infatuation in her was Sir Walter Raleigh. Raleigh was handsome and full of derring-do, and the posited relationship between them is spiced by the almost certainly fictitious idea that Elizabeth was thrown into a jealous rage by his marriage to Bess Throckmorton because the queen was involved in a lesbian relationship with that beautiful lady in waiting. As with Dudley,

Elizabeth forgave her swain for taking a wife, but never forgave Bess for becoming his wife.

While no one can say with 100% certainty if Elizabeth had intercourse or not, I am inclined to take her word on the matter and believe she remained chaste. She famously wrote that “*And to me it shall be a full satisfaction, both for the memorial of my Name, and for my Glory also, if when I shall let my last breath, it be*

ingraven upon my Marble Tomb, Here lieth Elizabeth, which Reigned a Virgin, and died a Virgin”. If anyone would know, she would. Nonetheless, Elizabeth herself seemed to relish leaving doubt in the public mind, noting that if she decided to have sex, she did “*not know of anyone who could forbid me!*”

KYRA KRAMER

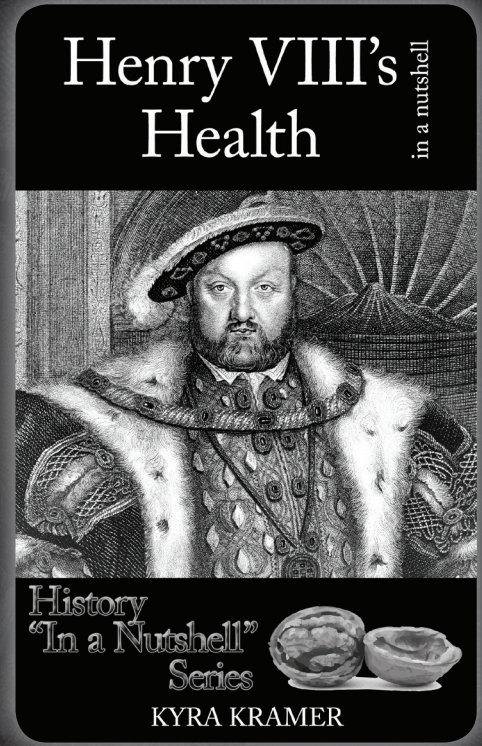
... the theories regarding her children and the fathers of these mythical offspring veer off into the farcical.

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1. Jones, Philippa. 2010. *Elizabeth: Virgin Queen?* New Holland, London.
2. Kramer, Kyra Cornelius. 2015. *The Jezebel Effect: Why the slut shaming of famous queens still matters.*
3. Ash Wood Press, Bloomington, IN.
4. Servadio, Gaia. 2005. *Renaissance Woman.* I.B Tauris & Co. Ltd, London and New York.



Elizabeth I attributed to
William Scrots c. 1546



*JANUARY'S
GUEST SPEAKER*

THIS MONTH THE TUDOR SOCIETY WELCOMES

KYRA KRAMER

WHO WILL BE SPEAKING ABOUT

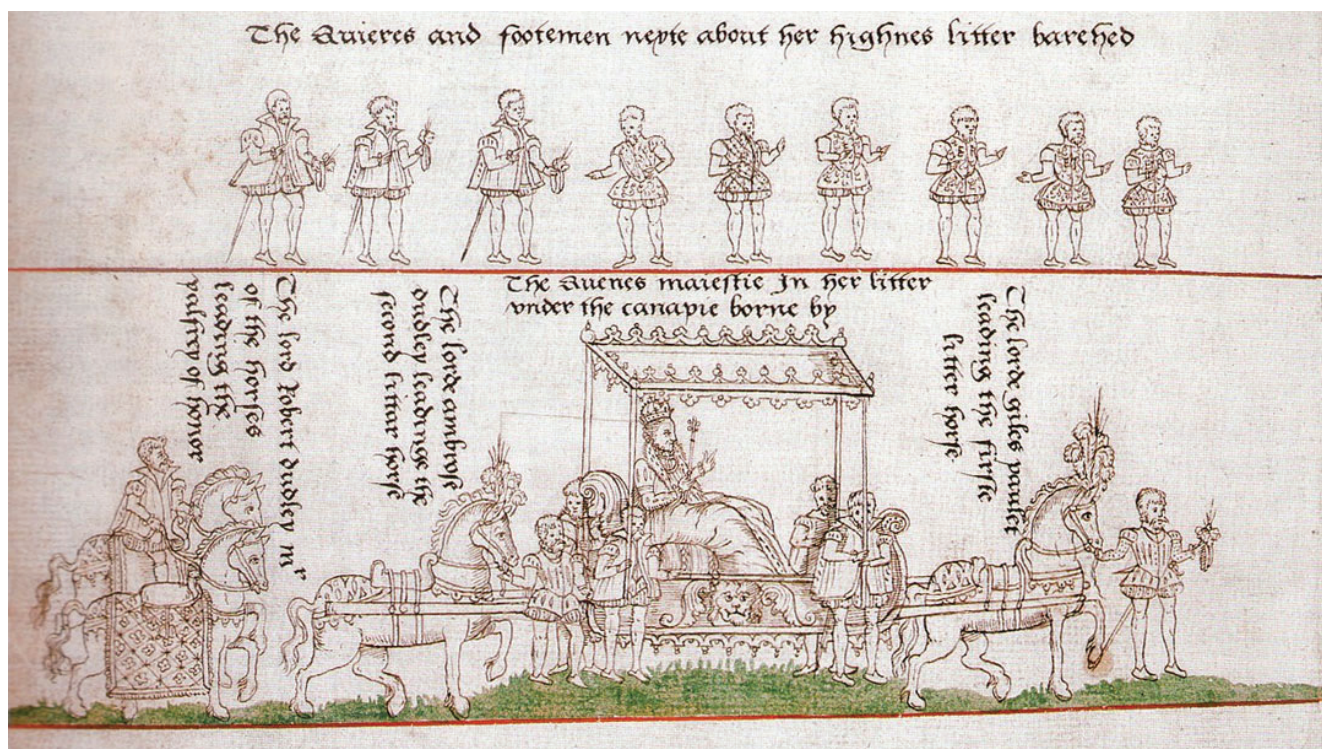
HENRY VIII'S HEALTH

Vivat, Vivat, Vivat Regina

Enjoy this detailed trip into the art surrounding **Queen Elizabeth I** by art historian **Melanie V. Taylor**

The images that spring to mind when thinking about the coronation of Elizabeth I come from the contemporary descriptions of those four days of celebration in January 1559, the large portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, a miniature in a private collection and a few random sketches of the queen in sketchbooks in the British

Writing in *History Today* in May 1953 the historian A L Rowse describes the events of 1559 at the dawn of the second Elizabethan Age. His article was re-published on the fiftieth anniversary of our current queen's accession in *History Today* in 2003, as was his book *The England of Elizabeth*.¹ Rowse mentions a book with sketches detailing



Library and the College of Arms. There are various written descriptions of how the queen made her way to the Tower by barge, of the pageants as she made her way through the City to Westminster Abbey; the coronation ceremony itself and, finally, the Coronation Feast in Westminster Hall.

the proceedings of 1559 and concludes that this book was created as an aide memoire of what was to take place and that these proceedings had been agreed by the queen. I assume Rowse is referring to the sketches held in the College of Arms such as this one showing Elizabeth being carried through

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the streets in a litter. This shows the Princess Elizabeth on her way to the Abbey as all the men are bareheaded. Not until Elizabeth is crowned will they place their caps on their heads. However, she is shown wearing a crown and holding the sceptre,

Arms on her coronation day, but this image dates from 1570, over twenty years after the event.²

It is not dissimilar to an engraving of *The Triumphal Cart of Emperor Maximilian* by Albrecht Dürer held in the Royal Collection and first



which is confusing if she is not yet anointed.

Rowse describes how Lord Ambrose Dudley leads the first horse, but if we examine the drawing it is quite clear from the words on the sixteenth century document that the man leading the front horse is Giles Paulet. Ambrose Dudley leads the second litter horse and his brother, Robert (appointed as Master of the Queen's Horse immediately on Elizabeth's accession to the throne) comes immediately behind riding his own mount and in his official role, leading the palfrey of honour shown with a side-saddle ready for the queen to ride to Westminster Hall after the coronation ceremony in the Abbey.

The image in Sloane MS 1832 (British Library) shows Elizabeth riding in a chariot accompanied by Fame and a mounted Herald of

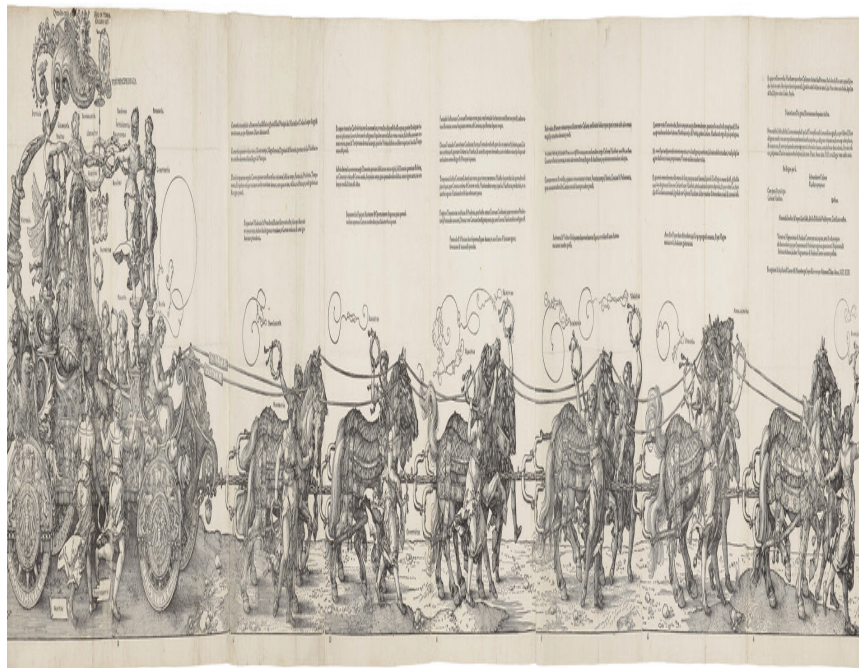
published in 1523. Durer portrays the Emperor seated in a chariot while being crowned with a laurel wreath by Victory. The chariot is driven by Reason and the horses are reined with nobility and power. Willibald Pirckheimer (Durer's great friend) wrote an extensive Latin text for this two metre long engraving and was responsible for the extremely complex iconography of the chariot, which he discussed with the Emperor in a series of letters. The feel of this image is one of joy and we have to ask ourselves whether the artist who created the 1570 image of Elizabeth on her coronation day knew of this complex engraving and if so, how. Was the image a celebration of the twenty first anniversary of Elizabeth's accession?

While the engraving was published after Maximilian's death, it was a continuation of a long

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tradition of decorative triumphal processions and the British Library has a collection of contemporary books describing these. The Elizabethan images are part of that tradition, but unlike the Holy Roman Empire, they are in the less expensive form of a sketch in a book, which suggests they were created for the organisers, as opposed to being a lasting memory of the day.

The 1559 coronation ceremony would have been conducted according to the ceremony set out in the *Liber Regalis*, but we are told there were very different elements to the traditional ceremony included because of Elizabeth's adherence to Protestantism. Very specifically it was the inclusion of English



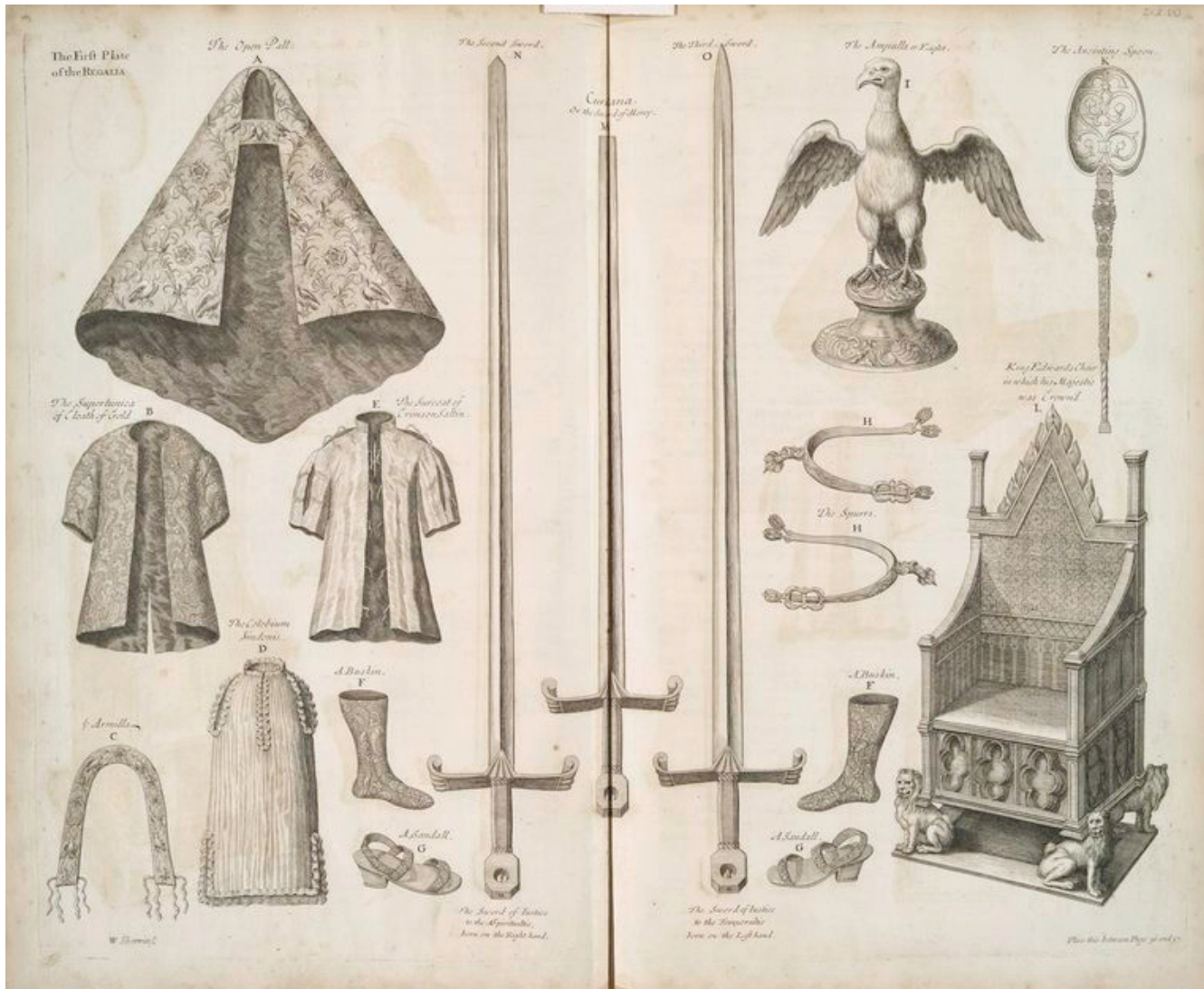
as well as Latin in the coronation service and her coronation is the last time that Latin is used in the coronation service.

The *Liber Regalis* is thought to have been created in 1382 when there was no other Church except that of Rome, hence the use of Latin. The document is kept in the Muniment Room of Westminster Abbey³. There are words to cover the coronations of a king, a king and queen together, a queen alone and, finally, there are instructions for the funeral of a king. This illumination shows the coronation of Richard II's first wife, Anne of Bohemia, the daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles IV in 1382 and we can see from this image that Richard is marrying a virgin therefore confirming that any offspring of the marriage will be his.

Like the sovereigns before her, during the ceremony in January 1559, Elizabeth would have worn various special garments. As she entered the abbey she would have worn the crimson Robe of State. In 1953, unlike her namesake, Elizabeth II wore a newly made gown. During the anointing, the queens wore the plain white anointing gown.

In this engraving of the regalia used at the coronation of James II we are able to see the robes as well as other elements necessary for the coronation ceremony. These include the three swords: Cortana with its broken





blade – the sword of mercy; the Sword of Justice to the Temporality & the Sword of Justice to the Spirituality. St Edward’s Chair, the Ampulla and the anointing spoon. Evidently only the spoon dates from the 12th century, all the other jewels having been melted down during the Commonwealth and re-created for the restoration in 1660 at a cost of £13,000.⁴

Returning to the robes, the *colobium sidonius*, made of fine white linen is an undergarment and the first garment the sovereign is invested with. It represents how royal power derives from the people.

The Robe of State is of red velvet with an ermine cape and is worn as the sovereign enters the Abbey and is the one we see in Elizabeth I wearing as she is seated on the throne in the P of the Hilary Law Term of 1559. The sovereign is depicted wearing the crimson surcoat under the Robe of State in the P of the various law terms.

The *supertunica* is made of gold and held in place with a sword belt. On top of this is placed the *pallium regale*, a square mantle worn during the actual coronation, followed by the *armilla* or Stole Royale, which is a gold silk scarf. For James II, we are told this is lined with rose coloured silk.

During the final part of the ceremony the sovereign wears the purple surcoat and to exit the Abbey, the Imperial Robe of purple velvet is placed on her shoulders. This has an ermine cape with a train of purple silk velvet.⁵

All of the regalia is shown in the engraving of the coronation regalia of James II comes from a book by Francis Sandford dated 1687.⁶

Unfortunately, we only have written contemporary descriptions describing the events of the four days in January 1559. Only three images created during the first years of her reign portray the queen at the time of her coronation. One is on the front sheet of the proceedings of the Queen’s

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Bench for the Hilary term of 1559. The second is the Coronation Miniature (private collection). The third is the Coronation portrait, which we know from the dendrochronology was painted at the end of Elizabeth's reign and now hangs in the Tudor Section of the National Portrait Gallery, London. In 1559, the Elizabethan visual propaganda machine did not exist.⁷

Since the coronation ceremony took place at the beginning of the Hilary law term it is in the P of the front sheet of the proceedings of the Queen's Bench where historians have the first recorded image of England's second queen regnant. Seated on a throne under a cloth of estate, Elizabeth is shown in profile in a similar manner to the profile portraits of Roman emperors. Like every sovereign before her, in the P of the first full law term of their reign, Elizabeth wears the



crimson robes of state and is seated under cloth of estate. Unlike Mary's Accession P (Michellmas Term 1553), this is not a glorious narrative.

The large portrait of Queen Victoria by Sir George Hayter in the National Portrait Gallery is a 1900 copy of the 1837 original. Just like the P of the Hilary Term of 1559 Victoria is shown seated under a cloth of estate wearing the crimson Robe of State over the anointing gown, which is tied around her waist by a golden cord.⁸

The 16th century coronation miniature is a celebration of Elizabeth I's accession and rich with colour. The queen does not wear the crimson Robe of State, but a robe of cloth of gold, lined with ermine and in her left hand she cradles the orb (with a real diamond) symbolising Christ's dominion over the world. In her right hand she holds a sceptre. Mindful of the cost Elizabeth had her sister's coronation

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robes adjusted to fit her. Cloth of gold was made of silk, subject to the sumptuary laws and hugely expensive.

One of the first acts made by Oliver Cromwell was to destroy the crown jewels in order to remove all references to the monarchy. The gold and jewels made a useful contribution to the economy. After the Restoration, Charles II ordered new crown jewels to be made for his coronation, so it is difficult to identify which particular sceptre the queen is holding.⁹ During the modern ceremony the monarch is presented with two: the sovereign's sceptre with a cross that represents the monarch's temporal power under God and the sceptre with Dove, representing equity and mercy. What we see in the coronation miniature is a sceptre

mounted with three diamonds (they are black) and form a triangle representing The Trinity.

At the last coronation of an English monarch, Elizabeth II's gown, designed by Norman Hartnell, is embroidered with the floral emblems of the United Kingdom. In this sketch, Hartnell has also shown the purple Imperial robe.

Elizabeth II married in 1947 and the heir apparent, Prince Charles, was born in 1948. Hartnell has included a bouquet of lilies in this sketch, which may (or may not) represent the virginity of the queen in a similar way that Flemish artists such as Roger Campin & Hugo van der Goes used the lily to represent the chastity of the Virgin in the 15th century. This is very much like a wedding bouquet and, just as the first Elizabeth was to say she was, de facto, married to the nation, is Hartnell alluding to the 20th century Elizabeth's dedication of her life to her people (and of her virginity when the heir apparent was conceived)?

A complex interpretation perhaps, but our way of engaging with the world around us has





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changed so much in the past ten years that we never give a second thought to any possible symbolic messages in today's images. Sixty years ago ancient traditions were followed, albeit with a modern twist, and although the coronation service was televised and, for the first time, beamed around the world, not every household owned a television set so everyone crowded into the front room of those who did. In 1559, only those able to get to London would have seen the new queen, but as in 1953, those who lined the streets to catch a glimpse of the future queen would have recognised the emblems and symbols displayed in the pageants, masques and entertainment enacted during the 1559 coronation celebrations.

In Room 2 of the London National Portrait Gallery hangs what appears, at first glance, to be a large version of the Coronation Miniature. The gallery has done extensive conservation work and analysis on this portrait, which is painted on Baltic Oak.¹⁰ Using dendrochronology the oak boards have been dated to 1581 providing an estimated date of production between 1598 – 1601 and the painting is painted by Anon.

What we cannot see today are the stray strands of hair against the blue background just as they stray in the Coronation Miniature, but the conservators discovered them. Analysis of the paint layers show just how much has been done to this large oil painting over the centuries. X-ray shows that certain areas have been altered and infrared reflectography has revealed marks around the hands, especially the left hand. Unfortunately paint obscures any under-drawing.

According to the NPG website there are further versions in The National Gallery of Ireland and at Windsor Castle. I searched both websites, but could not find online versions for you. That there are several versions suggests these paintings were created for a ceremonial purpose of some sort and the NPG state their version is a copy of a 'lost' original. The NPG bought this particular portrait in 1978 at Sotheby's. It is recorded as being in the collection of the Earl of Warwick since 1762, but there is no provenance before this date. Tudor historians will immediately make the link of the title of the Earl of Warwick with Ambrose Dudley, but it is unlikely that Ambrose commissioned the

painting as he died in 1590 and this painting is dated to being produced between 1598 and 1601.

It has been proposed that the miniature is either by Levina Teerlinc or Nicholas Hilliard and the NPG suggest that this too is a copy of a 'lost' original. There are various other miniature portraits in private collections that are so similar in technique to this one that it suggests they are all by the same hand and the candidate for the artist is Teerlinc. This demonstrates just how difficult it is to attribute unsigned pieces of work to a specific artist, but clearly this portrait provided the inspiration for the large coronation portrait in the NPG.

Whether the large painting is a copy or perhaps the original of the three paintings of Elizabeth I in her coronation robes, there is a clue as to who may have painted the 'lost' original.

Mary Edmond published her analysis of her research into the lives and works of Nicholas Hilliard & Isaac Oliver in 1983.¹¹ This book is essential reading if you want to know more about these two artists. Edmond spent a considerable time in the archives of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths and came across the terms for the renewal of a lease of a property in Gutter Lane in 1598. The tenant was Nicholas Hilliard and the terms for the renewal the lease on the property where he had worked and lived with his wife, Alice and his many children since 1578, included that he paint a 'great' painting of the queen to hang in the Goldsmith's Hall.

Two large portraits dating from the 1570s of Elizabeth I attributed to Hilliard and known as *The Phoenix* and *The Pelican* portraits are also painted on Baltic oak. Analysis of the wood has shown these two paintings are painted from panels made from the same tree. The two faces are created from a template of a three quarter profile that has been reversed. The paint is handled very tightly and the symbolism shown on these two portraits shout the queen's virginity to all who see them. They would have hung in a space visible to all visitors to the Court and were created as part of the queen's official propaganda.

From the Goldsmith Company archives we know that Hilliard was apprenticed to the queen's goldsmith, Robert Brandon, between 1562 – 1569 and it is generally accepted he was taught how to paint miniatures by Teerlinc. The similarity

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between the miniature and the large portrait is striking, suggesting that whoever created the later portrait had knowledge of the miniature.

The Coronation portrait is designed to hang in a semi-public space. The NPG are very cautious about making attributions and say that they believe it is a copy of a 'lost' original. Perhaps it is a copy of Hilliard's 'great' portrait as demanded as part of the terms for the renewal of the lease of 30 Gutter Lane. We know Hilliard did not finish the painting in time for the renewal of the lease, but he did finish it. Could the original be this version?

Hilliard was both a goldsmith and an artist famous for his miniature portraits of the queen, plus it is now generally accepted he painted larger portraits of the queen. Therefore, the Goldsmiths wanting an example of his work to hang in their livery hall is not a surprise. If we accept Teerlinc painted the coronation miniature then perhaps Hilliard either knew, or had access to her sketchbooks: he may even have inherited them. Using the miniature as inspiration, the Goldsmith's terms for renewal of his lease would have provided Hilliard the opportunity to pay tribute to the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, of which he was a Master, by showing the sceptre, orb, crown, belt and collar – all of which would have been made by members of the Goldsmiths' Company. Tribute would be made to the woman who had kept him in work and for whom he had created The Mask of Youth miniatures for her to give to favoured ambassadors and courtiers; and by copying Teerlinc's coronation miniature from 1559, to the woman who had taught him how to paint and into whose role he had stepped on Teerlinc's death in July 1576.

The NPG states the large portrait was painted between 1598 and 1601, which coincides with the records in the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths for the delivery of Hilliard's 'great' portrait. That there are other versions of this portrait is no surprise. It would be more of a surprise if this painting had not been copied. Whether the one in the NPG (originally in the Earl of Warwick's collection) is the original required by the Goldsmiths' Company is speculation on my part, but I find it curious that, insofar as I am aware, no one has discussed the connection between the terms for the renewal of Hilliard's lease on 30 Gutter Lane, the dendrochronology of the oak of the NPG image and the dating of this large portrait of Elizabeth I in her coronation robes.

Perhaps scientific analysis and comparison of the pigments used in all the large portraits attributed to Hilliard could help establish who might have painted this iconic portrait? Or perhaps not!

Vivat Regina!

MELANIE V. TAYLOR

NOTES

1. <http://www.historytoday.com/al-rowse/coronation-queen-elizabeth>
2. <http://www.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/stuartengland.html>
3. The image from the Liber Regalis comes from <http://www.history.ac.uk/richardII/images/liberbig2.jpg>
4. This amount was the cost at the time, so today would amount to millions of £s.
5. <http://members.boardhost.com/coronation/msg/1359190252.html> This w/site has some historic photographs of the coronation of Elizabeth II. The entries with photographs are gold/yellow in colour. Well worth a look.
6. http://library.brown.edu/readingritual/handlin_jamesII.html gives details of Sandford's works.
7. The well known Procession Portrait was created at the end of Elizabeth's reign c1601, which is evident from the style of clothes worn by the queen & courtiers. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Elizabeth_I,_Procession_Portrait..jpg
8. <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw06506/Queen-Victoria>
9. <http://www.royal.gov.uk/the%20royal%20collection%20and%20other%20collections/thecrownjewels/overview.aspx>
10. <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitConservation/mw02070/Queen-Elizabeth-I?search=sp&stext=5175&firstRun=true&rNo=0#summary>
11. Edmond, Mary: *Hilliard & Oliver: the lives & works of two great miniaturists*. Robert Hale Ltd., June 1983.

WHICH OF THESE HAPPENED DURING THE LIFE OF ELIZABETH I??

1. THE GREAT FIRE OF LONDON
2. ST BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY MASSACRE
3. THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE REBELLION
4. THE RISING OF THE NORTH
5. DEATH OF CATHERINE DE' MEDICI, MOTHER OF THREE KINGS OF FRANCE
6. THE BABINGTON PLOT
7. DEATH OF THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
8. ITALIAN NAVIGATOR AND EXPLORER JOHN CABOT WAS GIVEN A ROYAL PATENT FOR HIS EXPLORATIONS
9. DEATH OF ANNE OF CLEVES
10. PHILIP III BECAME KING OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL
11. THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO
12. ENGLAND LOST CALAIS TO FRANCE
13. THE BATTLE OF KINSALE
14. BIRTH OF GUY FAWKES
15. THE MIDLAND REVOLT

TudorLife
Quiz

Elizabeth I

in the Age of Empire and Before the Age of Feminism

by Rebecca Lenaghan



Bette Davis and Errol Flynn in "The Private Lives of Elizabeth and Essex" (1939), which was heavily inspired by Strachey's version of Elizabeth's femininity. (Public Domain)



Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn - historians are fascinated but divided by the question of how her mother's fate influenced Elizabeth's sexuality. (Public Domain)

THE impact of war on British historical analysis had the inevitable effect of arousing national pride among scholars. When considering the first half of the twentieth century, it is difficult to argue that any sphere of public life was untouched by the reverberations and anticipation of the two world wars. At a time when the need for national unity was foremost, it seems appropriate that historians would look to one of the most celebrated and

accomplished English monarchs as the starting point of national glorification. Elizabeth I rebuilt the Reformed Church after its persecution under her half-sister; eviscerated the threat of Spanish invasion and, through the succession of James I, united the kingdoms of Britain, all of which she did as an independent ruler. It is through this prism of veneration that early representations of Elizabeth's femininity were examined, specifically in the work of Strachey, Neale and Jenkins.

Lytton Strachey, most notable for his study *Eminent Victorians* (1918), wrote the quasi-biographical *Elizabeth and Essex: a tragic history* in a more entertaining than historically accurate fashion. However, there are certainly aspects of his writing which stem from a popular understanding of the Queen's enigmatic character as well as a pre-feminist sympathy for the husbandless ruler. Although undoubtedly generous in his depiction of Elizabeth, Strachey's decision to write a biographical

novel which focuses on the ambiguous relationship between the Queen and one of her closest courtiers reveals his tendency for dramatic flair rather than a scholarly historical study.

In terms of Elizabeth's ability to rule, this focus on her femininity and decision-making as a result of her fiery romances reflects what appears to be a typical approach of male writers in the early twentieth century. Strachey rightly emphasises the importance of the Queen's intimate council of male advisors, a relationship with whom was, of course, instrumental in the governance of the nation throughout her tenure. However, the author considers the 'supreme

influence' in England not to be that of the Queen herself, but of Lord Burghley whose 'masculine quality' of leadership and the benefit of a close circle of male courtiers allowed him to, effectively, control the state. The very premise of the book seems to be that Elizabeth's dependence on men and an absence of immediate advisors, post-Armada, allowed a vacancy for the young Essex to step in and exert a disproportionate influence. Strachey views these relationships as necessary for the Queen's guidance whose defining characteristic of 'feminine guile' was the 'crowning example' of her sex. The author's further emphasis on the male and female spheres

is practically medieval in outlook as he defines specific gendered temperaments as indicative of an ability to rule.

Strachey exhibits a clear sense of deference in relation to Elizabeth's achievements, yet argues for her success in a specifically gendered fashion. He argues that the Queen's outward displays of femininity must have provided the shell for her tougher manly interior in terms which might induce the most radical of twenty-first century feminists to recoil. However, he does go on to praise Elizabeth for her legacy in spite of her natural female weakness. The Queen managed to succeed with all the qualities a typical (or

Elizabeth Jenkins,
author of the sympathetic
"Elizabeth the Great"
(The Daily Telegraph)

Machiavellian) hero should be without: 'pliability, parsimony, indecision, dissimulation and procrastination.' Strachey praises the utilisation of such qualities but fails to acknowledge that not only are they equally applicable to men but that Elizabeth chose to reign using these traits rather than simply displaying them as a result of her innate womanhood.

Strachey's consideration of the Queen's temperament is an interesting construction and one which was set to be continued by fellow historians throughout the twentieth century. He

develops the idea that Elizabeth's personality was a concoction of masculine and feminine qualities which, combined, allowed her to survive the chicaneries of court life throughout her reign. The difficulty of studying this argument from a present-day perspective is its definition of instinctive gendered characteristics. However, perhaps as a product of interwar Britain, Strachey may be justified in this polarised understanding. Following the Great War, when the population had specific male and female roles in order

to overcome foreign terror, the position of women as submissive could be seen as the natural assumption. Yet, this period could equally be viewed as a time of empowerment for women who stepped in to fill the void of the 'Lost Generation'; in 1928, the same year as the publication of Strachey's study, the Conservative government passed the Representation of the People (Equal Franchise) Act giving the vote to all women over the age of 21. This perhaps allowed Strachey to admire Elizabeth safely in the knowledge that women were



Flora Robson in
"The Seahawk" (1940)
encapsulated the patriotic
Elizabeth I as the British
Empire faced the crisis of
the Second World War.

QUEEN ELIZABETH I



'A work of exquisite and, what is still rarer,
of just and balanced scholarship.'

Listener

Sir John Neale's
biography of Elizabeth I,
which became an
academic classic.

J. E. NEALE

ELIZABETH

being afforded higher levels of public influence in his time.

The impact of Elizabeth's parentage has been examined widely in recent historiography. The reputation of Anne Boleyn in the centuries since her execution has been overwhelmingly critical of the supposed ruthless, power-hungry temptress. A combination of Henry VIII's insatiable lust and Catherine of

Aragon's inability to produce a male heir secured Anne's path to the throne. However, as the birth of a girl had caused the estrangement of the Spanish queen, the same fate befell Anne, the youngest Boleyn daughter, whose dependence on a son had been her only possibility of maintaining power. A number of earlier twentieth century historians have deemed her

mother's meeting with the executioner's blade as a definitive influence on Elizabeth's own abstinence from matrimony.

While Strachey records the impact of her mother's death as fundamental to the development of her character, a slightly later biographer begs to differ. John Neale, a traditionalist historian in the first half of the twentieth century, wrote a glowing account of Elizabeth's life. In his 1934 biography of the 'Faerie Queen' Neale considers that, at two years old and living in a separate household, Elizabeth was unlikely to have understood the effects or importance of Anne's demise. Instead, Neale argued for the significance of the Queen's other female influences in the early years of her life. The figures of Catherine Seymour (née Parr), Kat Ashley and Blanche Parry were, he argues, undoubtedly more significant for Elizabeth's understanding of Tudor life, as was her extensive education, her personal relationships and even her decisions as monarch. He suggests that the memory of Catherine of Aragon, 'bloody' Mary and Anne Boleyn provided mere cautionary instruction.

As a British historian writing in an inter-war period, Neale's emphasis on national upheaval through the constant fluctuation of religious interplay during the reigns of Henry and his offspring undoubtedly incorporated contemporary concerns regarding unwanted foreign influence. The alarming rise of National Socialism in the 1930s was already casting an uneasy shadow across parts

of Europe and was a source of political anxiety in Britain. Neale argues that through the Spanish marriage, Mary alienated her subjects and aroused their 'Englishry' as well as nurturing rebellion toward her ruthless papist regime. In contrast, he claims that it was Elizabeth's intelligence in avoiding this very trap which allowed her such a celebrated affinity with her nation.

So, however important the impact of religion during their period, Neale contended that the crucial difference between the two women was in their marital decision-making. Mary's election to marry the unpopular Philip II of Spain in 1554 proved pivotal in terms of her fatal public demise. The question of Queen Elizabeth's marriage and provision of an heir has been a constant focus throughout ensuing historiography due to the astonishment with which her lone reign has been regarded, but, for Neale, her reluctance to forge a foreign alliance through marriage was a natural consequence of the public opprobrium surrounding Mary's match.

In contrast, members of the Elizabethan court were certain that their queen was far and away the best female marriage prospect in Europe; Neale asserts that Elizabeth's acquisition of a husband was assumed by her contemporaries to be a matter of course, especially considering her potential connections. A Habsburg, a Spanish widower King or an English nobleman; the queen had her pick of marriage for legacy or love, an unusually generous option

by early-modern standards. However, such options were reliant on an initial marital desire which was not overwhelmingly evident in the preferences of the Queen. It is clear the Queen could have married whomever she wanted, not simply because of the politically advantageous nature of a Tudor marriage, but also because her personal attributes could not be overlooked. Elizabeth was physically striking, confidently talented and intellectually brilliant; again, it was unusual to find the combination of these characteristics in a woman whose line of regal female predecessors was not equally noteworthy. Perhaps, the fiery ambition fuelling Anne Boleyn's pursuit of marriage equally boosted Elizabeth's longing for all-powerful unity with her nation.

The Queen's ability to dodge the burden of marriage in the early decades of her reign was based on a multiplicity of factors which made each emerging suitor incompatible. The most divisive subject of religion entangled initial negotiations. Despite her varying protestations, which the Spanish ambassador Feria claimed were only to be 'expected' from a country governed by a woman, Philip II was still prepared to proceed with plans to wed. Yet, it was not just the Queen but all of Protestant England which was loth to see another of their monarchs fall victim to the lure of European Catholicism during a period of burgeoning stability. Elizabeth experienced first-hand exposure to public mockery and monarchical condemnation under

the tenure of her half-sister and the addition of Philip did naught but worsen matters. Therefore, as practical as a Spanish marriage might have been in order to safeguard England, its promise was insufficient to quash the Queen's doubts about marriage. The overarching argument in terms of a spousal choice, according to Neale, was that Elizabeth purposed never to marry, based on her sister's defining blunder.

The biography, *Elizabeth the Great*, written by Elizabeth Jenkins in 1958 reiterates many of the arguments propounded in the work of earlier historians. In alignment with Lytton Strachey, she discusses the theory that an association with the executioner's blade left the young princess in 'an irremediable condition of nervous shock' which subsequently affected all future sexual and marital relations. Jenkins' biography is a post-war and female impression of Elizabeth's reign, which seems to firmly analyse the events as products of the sixteenth century rather than imposing a contemporary viewpoint in a form more characteristic of Neale and Strachey. In contrast with previous biographers, she also pursues an interesting hypothesis about the influence of Catherine Howard, Henry VIII's fifth wife, and the effect of her death upon the princess. Where Neale claims that Elizabeth's desire to remain unmarried stemmed from a first-hand experience of Mary's Spanish union, Jenkins explores the concept that the execution of her stepmother in 1541 was the starting point for the Queen's

aversion to men. Undoubtedly, she argues, Elizabeth's experience of the hasty rise and yet swifter fall of Catherine Howard must have borne great significance for the heiress, who would certainly have been aware by this stage of the corresponding fate which had befallen her own mother.

Jenkins relies heavily, in her analysis, upon the anecdote of the Earl of Leicester's revelation of the Queen's words to him, 'I will never marry', following Catherine's death. However, Leicester's report of these remarks during the Anjou marriage negotiations over two decades after they were first made, seems somewhat too convenient to be credible. It is certainly not unfeasible that the princess could have known from the age of eight that the perils of Tudor married life were perhaps a trial to be avoided. For a well-educated astute child, and a female no less, Elizabeth was sure to be aware of the speculation

surrounding her future marriage from a young age. The general propensity for younger marriages during the early modern period and especially her position as the daughter of an English King are clear indications that Elizabeth would have been considering the consequences of wedlock even from such a tender age. Whether, however, she relayed such musings to Leicester for the purposes of his dramatic disclosure at a later date is, surely, highly questionable.

In sympathy with Strachey's perspective, the idea of gendered temperaments is, surprisingly, evident in the Jenkins biography. She argues that Elizabeth still loved her father regardless of his ruthlessness to both her mother and stepmother; so her aversion was to the love of men but not their company, a fact established in her willingness to be surrounded by male courtiers in later life. For Jenkins, Elizabeth

foisted the blame for the execution of both of her father's wives upon the injudicious actions of the women rather than the intemperate impatience of her father.

The work of Strachey, Neale and Jenkins confirms a modern understanding of how biographers in the first half of the twentieth century were influenced by the period in which they wrote. Although each historian presents nothing short of a deferential view of the queen's reign, there remains a sense in their writing that Elizabeth managed to control events *in spite* of her femininity. It was not until the 1970s that biographers were prepared to acknowledge Elizabeth's achievements as an independent, capable woman rather than one constantly overcoming natural gender boundaries.

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Tudor Life





Elizabeth I and her court's attitude towards Catholics remains one of the most controversial topics in her historiography

The Other Face

Elizabeth I and her Catholic Subjects

Stephanie A. Mann

IT is difficult to discern Elizabeth I's religious beliefs vis-à-vis Catholicism: she left us no personal confession of faith and her public statements are both politique and confusing. Even a biographer like Alison Weir confuses what Elizabeth believed, for example, about Holy Communion. In two chapters of her 1999 biography *The Life of Elizabeth I* ("The Most English Woman in England" and "God Send Our Mistress a Husband"), Weir presents examples of Elizabeth's actions and reaction denying the "miracle" of transubstantiation

of the bread and wine at Mass (on Christmas Day 1558 when she asked the celebrant not to elevate the Host and at her coronation Mass in January 1559 when she hid while the celebrant elevated the Host). In the next chapter, "Disputes over Trifles", Weir seems to contradict those examples:

Her [Elizabeth's] views on transubstantiation were perhaps expressed in a doggerel verse traditionally ascribed to her and first printed in Richard Baker's Chronicle in 1643:

*Christ was the Word that spake it
He took the bread and brake it
And what His words did make it
That I believe and take it.*

This could be a matter of confusing the doctrine of the Real Presence of Jesus in the Holy Eucharist and the scholastic theological explanation of transubstantiation (the accidents of bread and wine remain apparent to the senses, but the substance has become the Body and Blood of Jesus), but it illustrates the problem. If Elizabeth I accepted the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence, she was following her father's example—and even her mother's, since Anne Boleyn availed herself of the sacraments of Confession and Holy Communion while in the Tower of London, awaiting her trial. Henry VIII upheld that doctrine before and after his break from Rome.

But Elizabeth's other statements, like "There is only one Jesus Christ" as she told one French

ambassador, and "the rest is a dispute over trifles" seem to offer an enlightened—in twenty-first century eyes—view of adiaphora that did not exist in the sixteenth century. Elizabeth also averred, to Parliament, that she had studied "divinity" throughout her youth, so she would have known that Church history was filled with examples of disputes over "trifles": the Person of Jesus (explaining how He was both God and Man), what books to include in the Canon of Scripture, icons and iconoclasm, etc.—her comment is either naïve or insouciant. In the midst of the Protestant Reformations led by Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, Melanchthon and others, a student of divinity would have known that disputes among Christians about how to live and die to achieve salvation and heaven were not trifling.

Other gestures are contradictory: Elizabeth protested when John Feckenham, the gentle and genial last Abbot of Westminster, greeted her in procession with incense and candles. But she also protested when the Dean of St. Paul's attacked the presence of crucifixes and candles in the Chapel Royal. While she required services in English for her

subjects, Catholics like William Byrd and Thomas Tallis wrote liturgical music with Latin texts for her chapel.

Her public religious statements and gestures were designed to further her diplomatic or domestic goals; her private faith is still a mystery.

THE VIA MEDIA: AN UNHAPPY COMPROMISE

The *via media* of the Church of England as ordained by Parliament pleased neither Catholics nor the more reform-minded Protestants (Puritans). English Catholics, who had accepted Henry's Supremacy, could not be happy with a religious settlement that eradicated and forbade the crucial sacraments of Confession and Holy Communion. The Puritan divines pressed throughout Elizabeth's reign for greater reform and the elimination of whatever vestiges of Catholicism (Popery) that remained. She withstood their efforts to get rid of the episcopal hierarchy, the use of vestments and other liturgical symbols, as well as their desire to prophesy in their preaching. Elizabeth expected her subjects to be subject to the religious settlement of the Church of England as she governed it.

If her Catholic subjects outwardly conformed to the Anglican settlement, Elizabeth was not going to inquire into their individual consciences. Elizabeth had "decapitated the Marian church" as G.J. Meyer puts it, and was able to appoint 26 bishops; about half the clergy had conformed. Elizabeth evidently



The arrival of Mary, Queen of Scots in England greatly heightened sectarian tensions

because Catholics were not conforming as quickly as expected, according to the bishops' visitations in the 1560s—Elizabeth refused. The recusancy laws were never consistently enforced throughout England, but Catholic priests and laity were being fined, arrested, and imprisoned, including Sir Edward Waldegrave (and his wife Frances Neville) who had served Queen Mary and had been imprisoned during the reign of Edward VI for refusing to enforce the Council's directive against the Princess Mary hearing Mass in

did not want to repeat the pattern of execution created by her father and his eldest daughter. The non-juring Catholic bishops were placed under house arrest or went into exile. She and her government hoped for the gradual decline of Catholicism without creating martyrs.

At the beginning of her reign, Elizabeth was prepared to be patient with her humble Catholic subjects, especially since some noble Catholics held important administrative positions. Even when Parliament wanted to increase the recusancy fines to a crippling financial level—

her house. Waldegrave died in the Tower of London in 1561 because he had heard Mass in *his* house.

THE CRACKDOWN ON CATHOLICS IN THE 1560'S

As K.J. Kesselring demonstrates in her 2010 monograph, *The Northern Rebellion of 1569: Faith, Politics, and Protest in Elizabethan England*, the government was cracking down on Catholics in at least seven ways:

- Arrests for attending Mass were increasing;
- More Catholics were going into exile (some were studying for the priesthood in the seminary former Oriel College Fellow William Allen had started in Douai);
- Fines for not attending Church of England services were increasing;
- The Court of High Commission and the bishops' visitations demonstrated increased vigor in detecting and correcting recalcitrant "papists";
- Iconoclasm and punishment of those who protected religious imagery offended and humiliated Catholics;
- The Council expanded the number of men who must take the oath of allegiance; and
- The Inns of Court expelled Catholics and barred them from commons and court.
- The period of what Norman Jones called "tolerant confusion" at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign was over.

Additionally, established Catholic nobles like Thomas Percy of Northumberland and Charles Neville of Westmorland felt slighted and ignored by Elizabeth. The tension between Catholics and Elizabeth's religious policies resulted in the Northern Rebellion in 1569 and the untimely response of Pope Pius V with the Papal Bull *Regnans in Excelsis*. The Northern Rebellion repeated themes of the Pilgrimage of Grace in Henry VIII's reign with banners displaying the Five Wounds of Christ and the slogan "God Speed the Plow". As Kesselring notes in her study, the northern rebels expressed "genuine and widespread discontent" with *The Book of Common Prayer* and great delight in the celebration of Holy Mass in Durham Cathedral.

Partially because—like Robert Aske and the other leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace—neither Percy nor Neville developed a strategy to win a civil war against Elizabeth and her government, the Northern Rebellion failed. Asked by exiles to support Percy and Neville's uprising, Pope Pius V issued his Papal Bull after the cause was lost. Martial law and executions of Percy and other leaders followed, and additional penal legislation against Catholic targeted not just those who actively opposed the regime but anyone who practiced the Catholic faith as a priest or lay person. The presence of Mary Stuart, the former Queen of Scotland and of France as Elizabeth's

"guest" meant that plotters from Thomas Howard to Thomas Babington had a focus for their efforts to depose Elizabeth and restore Catholicism.

But Elizabeth was still reluctant to prosecute the noblest and most regal among her opposition. With Thomas Howard, the Anglican Duke of Norfolk conspired with Percy and Neville by proposing himself (and not Robert Dudley) as the spouse and perhaps consort of Mary Stuart, Elizabeth had to order the execution of a member of her mother's extended family. She delayed Howard's execution as long as she could and was even more obstinate about trying and sentencing her royally anointed and consecrated cousin Mary to death, refusing to sign the final order for her execution and blaming her council for it when the deed was done.

Now no Catholic noble or knight could prove his loyalty to Elizabeth unless he renounced his faith. Two examples serve to demonstrate the dilemma as Philip Howard, the Earl of Arundel and Thomas Arundell, the future Baron Arundell of Wardour struggled to find a way to be both Catholic and English.

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY REPEAT

PHILIP HOWARD: AFFLICTION AND GLORY

Philip Howard, son of that Duke of Norfolk so reluctantly condemned for treason by Elizabeth, succeeded to the earldom of Arundel in West Sussex when his grandfather Henry FitzAlan died in 1580. Wealthy and handsome, with a wife left in the country, he came to Court, vying to be one of Elizabeth's favorite courtiers. He jousted and feasted in the glorious style Gloriana desired, displaying beauty, youth, and prowess. As a member of the House of Lords he was one of the pre-eminent peers of England.

Then two things happened: his wife Anne converted to Catholicism (and Elizabeth had her detained and questioned) and Howard went to the Tower of London to see Father Edmund Campion, SJ dispute with a group of Protestant divines in the Chapel of St. John in August, 1581. Campion's composure and ability to contend with the unfairness of the debate rules (he was allowed no books, no materials, and not allowed to ask any questions, only answer them) after his recent torture on the rack impressed Howard. In 1584 he too became a Catholic: a peer, courtier, and member of the House of Lords with a priest hidden in his London house—and uxorious too!

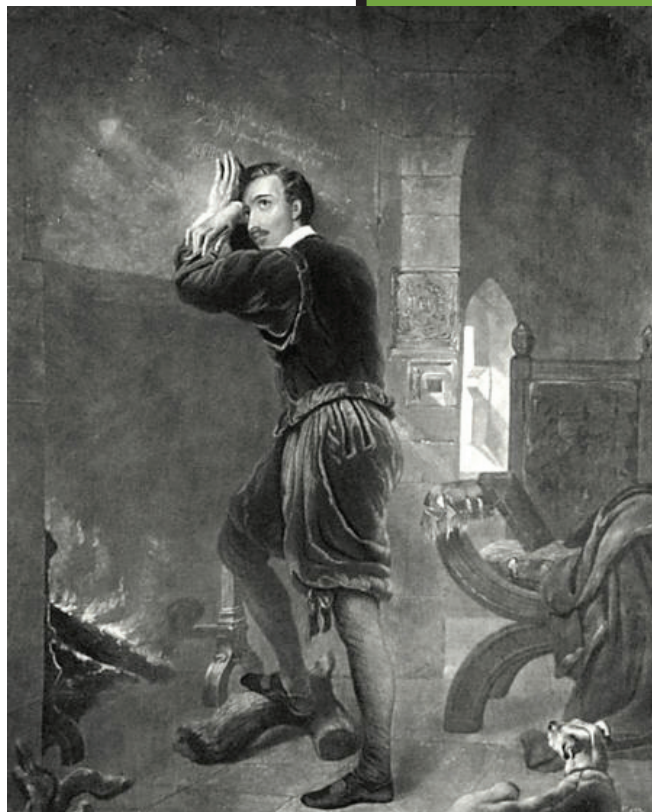
Too close for Elizabeth's comfort, especially when the Earl wrote to William Allen at Douai and planned to leave England so as to better serve the Catholic cause. Howard was captured on his way to the Continent, arrested and brought to trial at Westminster. There was no proof of any conspiracy against Elizabeth; it was enough that he was a Catholic convert, a high-ranking noble, and had been in contact with known Catholic agents. Howard was attainted and confined in the Tower of London at Her Majesty's pleasure—he

As fate—or Titus Oates' false Popish Plot—would have it, the grandsons of both Philip Howard and Thomas Arundell would encounter suspicion during Charles II's reign.

William Howard, the First Viscount Stafford was beheaded on December 29, 1680 after trial in the House of Lords for treason against his monarch. His grandfather would eventually be canonized as one of the Forty Martyrs of England and Wales in 1970; William Howard was beatified as a martyr by Pope Pius XI in 1929.

Henry Arundell, the Third Baron Arundell of Wardour, was imprisoned in the Tower of London from October 1678 to February 1684, until the perjury of Oates and his other witnesses was revealed.

The charge of conspiracy between these two Catholic peers was particularly ridiculous because they had not spoken to each other for years after a quarrel. It demonstrates the anti-Catholic hysteria of the Popish Plot.



Saint Philip Howard, whose martyrdom for his faith showcased great bravery

was 28 years old and his wife was pregnant with their second child.

In 1588 he was accused, tried, and found guilty of having prayed for the success of the Spanish Armada. He was sentenced to death, again at the Queen's pleasure. Elizabeth delayed his execution as she had his father's and he used the seven years that followed to prepare for death. He fasted, abstained, prayed, and both read and translated Catholic spiritual works, writing on the wall of his cell in Latin: "Quanto plus afflictionis pro Christo in saeculo, tanto plus gloriae cum Christo in futuro." ("The more affliction we endure for Christ in this world, the more glory we shall obtain with Christ in the next.")

Howard finally died of dysentery on Sunday, October 19, 1595. At the beginning of his illness in

August that year, he asked his jailer to request a favor of Elizabeth: that he be allowed to see his wife and children, including the son who'd been born after his arrest. (He also wanted to see a Catholic priest for Extreme Unction and Viaticum, but he knew that request was impossible.) The jailer conveyed Elizabeth's message: if he attended a Church of England service he would not only see his wife and children but he would be freed and restored to all his estates and honours. Howard replied that he could not accept such a condition and, anticipating the American patriot Nathan Hale, regretted that he had but one life to give for the cause (of his Catholic faith). Howard was 38 years old and was buried in his father's grave in the Chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower.

THOMAS ARUNDELL: THE VALIANT COUNT

Another Arundell scion demonstrates the difficulty or impossibility rather of being both a courtier and a Catholic at Elizabeth's Court. Thomas Arundell of Cornwall, future First Baron Arundell of Wardour, was arrested and imprisoned at least thrice (in 1580, 1595, and 1597) because of his fervent Catholicism and certain foreign entanglements. He was the grandson of the Sir Thomas Arundell who had been executed during the reign of Edward VI in connection with the fall of Edward Seymour, Protector Somerset and Margaret Howard, Queen Catherine Howard's sister. His father Matthew had conformed to the Church of England, holding important positions in Elizabeth's administration.

Thomas Arundell had talent and intellectual gifts, but his faith meant he had no avenue for using them in England; he had to seek glory outside his native land. He left England in 1595, with horses and cash from his father and a recommendation from his queen, to fight against the Turks in the armies of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II. Arundell stormed the city of Esztergom, now in Hungary, replacing the Turkish standard with the Imperial Eagle. In recognition, Rudolf made Arundell a Count of the Holy Roman Empire on December 19, 1595; he was called "the Valiant". Neither the Valiant's queen nor his father appreciated this achievement.

Returning to England against his father's wishes, Arundell's ship ran aground at Adleburgh, Suffolk; he lost everything but survived. Elizabeth

had him arrested and held in the Fleet prison; she "would not have a sheep branded with another man's mark"; especially when that other man was the Holy



Emperor Rudolf II

Roman (Catholic) Emperor. (Note that Rudolf was not a particularly faithful Catholic and was more tolerant of Protestants in his empire than Elizabeth was of Catholics in hers.) Arundell the Valiant was released into his father's reluctant custody—he did not appreciate his son having a foreign title higher than his own—in April of 1597.

Arundell was arrested again, and released, under suspicions of espionage for the Emperor. Arundell had two marks against him: his Catholic faith and his Imperial title. Elizabeth would not allow him to return to Court and even though he pledged money and troops to defend England from any land invasion as a result of the Spanish Armada, he was still under suspicion, although finally restored to favor after his father died in 1599. He was careful to distance himself from the Earl of Essex's conspiracy against Elizabeth, even turning on his brother-in-law Henry Wriothesley, the Third Earl of Southampton.

Arundell survived through the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, named First Baron Arundell of Wardour just in time to come under suspicion in the

Gunpowder Plot in 1605. His troubles continued as the Eleventh Edition of *The Encyclopedia Britannica* concludes:

In 1623 he once more got into trouble by championing the cause of the recusants, of whom he was himself one, on the occasion of the visit of the Spanish envoys, and he was committed to custody, and in 1625 all the arms were removed by the government from Wardour Castle. After the accession of Charles I he was pardoned, and attended the sittings of the House of Lords. He was indicted in the king's bench about the year 1627 for not paying some contribution, and in 1631 he was accused of harbouring a priest. In 1637 he was declared exempt from the recusancy laws by the king's order, but in 1639 he again petitioned for relief. The same year he paid £500 in lieu of attending the king at York. He died on the 7th of November 1639. Arundell was an earnest Roman Catholic, but the suspicions of the government as to his loyalty were probably unfounded and stifled a career destined by nature for successful adventure.

CONCLUSION

As the examples of Philip Howard and Thomas Arundell demonstrate, it was dangerous for a courtier to remain a Catholic, even one who tried to prove his loyalty to Elizabeth I. There was no via media for them in Elizabeth's religious settlement

perhaps because of the catalyst of Pope Pius V's Papal Bull or because of the Henrician model of royal supremacy over the Church that Elizabeth emulated.

STEPHANIE MANN

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She's also our guest speaker in March!



ELIZABETH I

ELIZABETH I, MUSICIAN AND DANCER - AS OBSERVED BY VISITING COURTIERS BY JANE MOULDER

“Elizabeth, as well as the rest of Henry VIII’s children and, indeed all the princes of Europe of that time, had been taught music early in life”.

THIS quote is from Charles Burney’s 18th viewpoint on English history. He continued; *“there is reason to conclude that she continued to amuse herself with Music many years after she ascended the throne”.*

There is, in fact, plenty of evidence to suggest that Elizabeth did indeed continue to play music throughout the whole of her life and she was a seemingly accomplished musician who took great delight and pleasure in playing music. She told a visiting courtier that she played music *“when she was solitary to shun melancholy”.*

Throughout Elizabeth’s reign, various noblemen, diplomats and ambassadors wrote down their observations on the Queen’s ability as a musician and dancer, either in their own personal journals or in the official

reports of visits to the royal court. When studying Elizabeth’s life it is clear that, in many ways, she wanted to prove that she was very much her father’s daughter and accomplishment at music was an essential skill. There’s no doubt that Henry VIII was not only a great lover and patron of music but he was an excellent musician himself.

Elizabeth had been assigned a music tutor, Roger Ascham in her youth. According to Asham, the teenage princess did not show much enthusiasm for music. He wrote in 1550, when Elizabeth would have been aged 17 *“In music she is very skilful but does not greatly delight”.* Maybe she was the same as many young people – objecting to having to practice and not liking instruction! Anyway, it seems that by the time she came to the throne, her views on music had changed considerably.

Paulo Tiepolo, the Venetian ambassador wrote at the beginning of her reign; *“The Queen’s daily arrangements are musical performances and other entertainments and she takes marvellous pleasure in seeing people dance”.* The Queen’s love and abilities in music became well known and Richard Mulcaster, writing in the preface to ‘Cantiones Sacre’ which contained music by the eminent composers, Thomas Tallis and William Bryd stated that: *“Her Royal Majesty, the glory of our age, is accustomed always to have Music among her pleasures. Not content simply to hear the venerable works of others, she herself sings and plays excellently”.*

The Virginal, or Virginals, is the musical instrument that Elizabeth is most closely associated with. It is also known as a spinet and can sometimes, confusingly, be referred to as a

harpsichord. There is only one surviving depiction of the Queen actually playing music and this is a miniature by the renowned painter, Nicholas Hilliard. The portrait shows Elizabeth playing a lute so it can be assumed that she also played this instrument. This is backed up by the household accounts which records that during the first ten years of her reign, she spent a staggering sum of £75.00 on lute strings! (She must have either broken a lot of strings or had a number of instruments to have spent this much money!) Despite these two references to the lute, we have no witness observations of her playing this particular instrument.

We do, however, have numerous references to her mastery and accomplishments on playing various keyboard instruments. Thomas Platter, a Swiss visitor to England, wrote in 1599 having visited a number of her residences; *"We saw in addition many more costly virginals, instruments, positive organs and organs of which Her*

Royal Majesty is a great lover and connoisseur. And amongst others, we were shown an instrument or virginal whose strings were of pure gold and silver and they said the queen often played this very

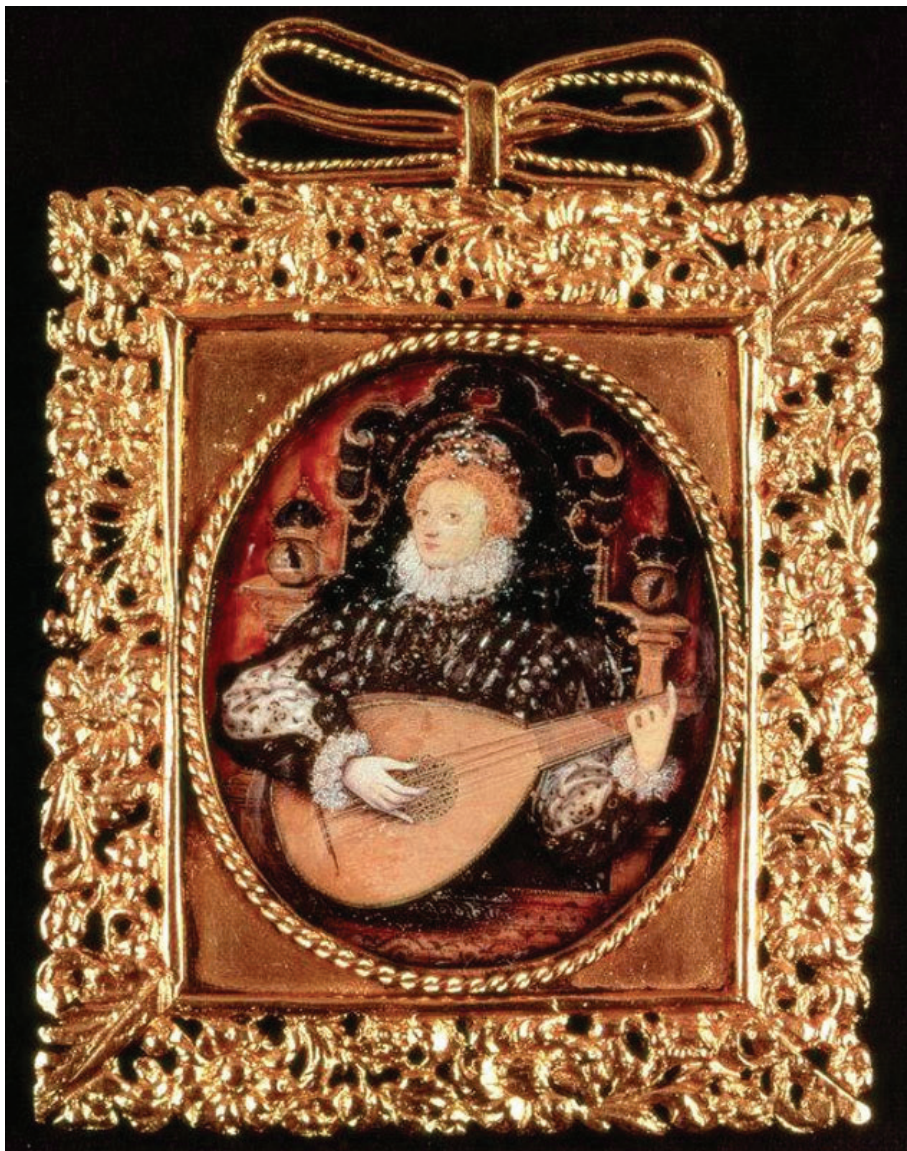
that the Queen's instrument had special strings, as stated below.

From the surviving accounts of Elizabeth's prowess as a musician, it becomes clear that hearing her play was something

of a privilege and may have been granted as a favour. Jacob Rathgeb, secretary to Frederick, Duke of Wirtemberg, recorded that during an audience with the French ambassador in 1592, at which Frederick was present, *"Since Her Majesty held Monsieur de Beauvois in especial favour, after he had been conversing with her Majesty very lively and good humouredly, he so far prevailed*

upon her that she played very sweetly and skilfully on her instrument, the strings of which were of gold and silver".

At the end of her reign, Virginio Orsino, the Duke of Bracciano, would write *"Before I depart, she wishes to enjoy me*



Queen Elizabeth playing the lute by Nicholas Hilliard. Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire. C.1580.

charmingly."

It must have been a precious instrument indeed to have been strung in gold and silver wire. One could assume that this may just be hyperbole were it not backed up by another courtier noting

again, in private; and I hope from the speech I have had with her that she will favour me by playing and singing". Bracciano ("the most brilliant nobleman of his day") was a supporter of the Earl of Essex and visited England for the first time in December 1600, when he attended the Royal Court's Christmas Revels as a guest of honour. It was on this occasion that Shakespeare's play, *Twelfth Night*, had its premiere, performed by Shakespeare's very own Chamberlain's Men. In this play it is the character, the Duke of Orsino, who was obviously modelled on Elizabeth's important guest, which utters the immortal lines, "If music be the food of love, play on!".



Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, (1572 – 1615) a guest at Elizabeth's court for the Christmas Revels in 1600/01 and characterised in Shakespeare's Twelfth Night.



The Queen Elizabeth Virginal by Giovanni Baffo, 1594, Venice, Italy. This was Elizabeth's own instrument (although this example does not have gold or silver wires) and is in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. It has been richly embellished and has magnificent sgraffito (scratched) ornamentation in red and blue glazes on gold, an elaborate laminated wood and parchment rosette set into the soundboard, keys inlaid with various materials, and key fronts decorated with embossed and gilded paper. It bears the royal coat of arms and the falcon holding a sceptre, the private emblem of her mother, Anne Boleyn.

Whilst it seems that the Queen made no secret of the fact that she played an instrument and was musical, she was not as much as a show-off as her father and she kept her public performances to a minimum. It also seems that she was either coy about her abilities or she genuinely wished to keep her prowess private. Below is an anecdote told by John Melville, the Scottish ambassador who visited her court in 1564. It is a fascinating insight into the mind and attitudes of the Queen. Is she shy or is she just being very astute?

"The same day after dinner my Lord of Hunsdean drew me up to a quiet gallery, that I might hear some music (but he said that he durst no avow it) where I might hear the Queen play upon the virginals. After I had hearkened a while, I took by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber and seeing her back was toward the door, I entered the chamber and stood a pretty space hearing her play excellently well. But she left off immediately so soon as she turned

her about and saw me. She appeared to be surprised to see me and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand, alleging she used not to play before men, but when she was solitary, to shun melancholy. She asked how I came there, I answered, 'As I was walking with my Lord of Hunsdean, as we passed by the chamber-door, I heard such melody as ravished me, whereby I was drawn in here I knew how, excusing my fault of homeliness, as being brought up in the Court of France, where such freedom was allowed.'

She enquired whether my Queen [Mary, Queen of Scots] or she played best. In that I found myself obliged to give her the praise.... She inquired of me, whether she or my Queen danced best. I answered, the Queen danced not so high and disposably as she did.

I think that John Melville's response was very clever and diplomatic as he was somewhat caught in the middle of the rivalry between the two monarchs. This is an excellent example of artfully engineered courtly behaviour by both parties!



As well as being able to play musical instruments, Queen Elizabeth had a keen interest in dancing. This is evidence by the numerous references in written accounts by visiting dignitaries and

court observers. In 1589, when Elizabeth was in her mid-fifties, John Stanhope, secretary to Lord Talbot, wrote that the Queen “is so well as I assure you six or seven galliards in a morning besides music and singing, is her ordinary exercise”. Now, a galliard is a very energetic dance and to have been able to dance this number is no mean feat. She could well have danced them on her own as a means of physical exercise and may even, in private, have taken the man’s role. In this dance, the lady is usually quite demure and stays ‘grounded’, it is the gentleman that show’s off with leaps, jumps and fancy footwork. Not only did she play and dance but it seems that she may also have composed dance tunes and choreographies . The French ambassador recorded that the Queen had told him that “in her youth she danced very well and composed measures and music, and had played them herself and danced them.” He noted also that, in January 1598, “she takes such pleasure in it that when her maids dance she follows the cadence

with her head, hand and foot. She rebukes them if they do not dance to her liking, and without doubt she is a mistress of the art, having learnt in the Italian manner to dance high”.

The reference to dancing high in the Italian manner is an interesting one. Dance styles differed from country to country but the fashion for most things, whether art, music, food or fashion, was for everything Italian. As Queen, there is no doubt that she would want to appear to be at the height of fashion. Italian dance manuals had been printed and no doubt there were dancing masters who could teach these dances which were quite different from the English style. There is tentative evidence that Elizabeth employed an Italian dancing master – a woman called Lucretia de Tedeschie from Milan. Tedeschie was granted an annuity of £30.00 by Elizabeth in 1567. There are no firm details (financial records can only give so much of a picture) but she was probably the same person as “Lucretia the dancconyng mayde” who was employed in Queen Mary’s household in 1547.

With regards to dancing, it seems that the Queen was more often an observer in public than an active participant. This may have had something to do with courtly decorum which dictated that public dancing, which could

often be viewed as an acting out of the game of courtly love, should be left largely to the young. As Baldassar Castiglione had stated in the ‘Art of the Courtier’: (a 16th century book on behaviours and how to advance at court – a big hit throughout Europe), “these exercises ought to be left of before age constraineth us to leave them whether we will or no”. Again, as with her playing music, to witness the Queen dance was a mark of particular favour. When Elizabeth was of an age not to dance publically, the chance to do so became a much coveted honour. Virginio Orsino, writing of his visit to the Court and of his meeting with Elizabeth on 11 January 1601;

“As soon as I came, her Majesty received me with so gracious a countenance that I could not ask more and led me into a chamber with all the ladies and gentlemen, where a most beautiful ball took place. Her Majesty was pleased to dance, which is the greatest honour that she could do me, according to the word of those informed of this

court. She had me view all the ladies and gentlemen who danced well in couples, willed me also to stay ever near to entertain her, making me be covered and to be seated, under compulsion of express command.”

Towards the end of her reign, when she was quite aged and no doubt feeling the physical effects of her advanced years, it was reported that during the festivities she came out into “the presence” almost every night “to see the ladies dance the old and new country dances, with the taber and pipe.” This witness intimates that she had about given up dancing for herself but apparently not altogether; a secret agent in London reported to the Spanish in 1599 that “on the day of Epiphany the queen held a great feast, in which the head of the Church of England and Ireland was to be seen in her old age dancing three or four galliards.”

One can imagine that a dance at the royal court was quite a formal affair and participants had to be aware of the appropriate behaviour and customs. Fortunately we have a fascinating and detailed account of the character of a dance at Elizabeth’s court on 27 December, 1585. A German traveller, Lupold von Wedel, wrote;

“Men and women linked hands as in Germany, The men donned their hats or bonnets, although otherwise no one, however exalted his rank, may put on his hat in the Queen’s chamber, whether she be present or not. The dancers danced behind one another as in Germany and all the dancers, ladies and gentlemen wore gloves. Though

the dance at first sight seemed to be of German nature, it was no German dance, for they made a few steps forward and then back again. Finally they separated. The couples changed among one another but at the right moment each dancer returned to his or her partner.

Whilst dancing they often curtsied to one another and every time the men bowed before their lady partners, they doffed their hats. Slender and beautiful were the women who took part in this dance and magnificently robed. This dance was danced only by the most eminent who were no longer very young. But when it was over the young men laid aside their rapiers and cloaks and, clad in doublet and hose, invited the ladies to dance. They danced the galliard and the Queen meanwhile conversed with those who had danced. The dancing over, the Queen waved her hand to those present and retired to her chamber. But as long as the dancing lasted she summoned young and old and spoke continuously.”



Detail from a painting by Marcus Gheeraerts the elder, c 1568
courtiers of Queen Elizabeth dancing.

It is clear from all of these first-hand accounts and observations that Elizabeth not only loved and appreciated music and dance but she was also a proficient and able musician. But were these observations written by courtiers keen to flatter and favour the Queen or were they an accurate description of her abilities? We will never truly know but one statement may give us a clue. Written soon after her death a courtier stated that “in matters of recreation, as singing and dancing and playing upon instruments, she was not ignorant nor excellent”.

JANE MOULDER

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A couple dancing la volta at a ball at the Court of Henri III (1551-1589). Anonymous. Musée des Beaux Arts, Rennes.



This painting has wrongly been described as depicting Queen Elizabeth dancing with Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Artist unknown but possibly by Marcus Gheeraets / French Valois School, c1580 Penshurst Place, Kent. This painting is clearly based on the above painting of the French Court.

ALTERNATIVE HISTORY & POSSIBILITIES

Timothy Venning discusses the missed opportunities of 1555-60 for Elizabeth I

Elizabeth has become defined as ‘The Virgin Queen’, the sovereign who never married and told her Parliament that she was married to her realm, not to a person. Her reasons for her choice seem to have been partly personal, partly political. Acres of academic study, psychological analysis, and historical fiction have been expended on them.

Whether or not she had any deep-seated trauma over the concept of marriage being personally ‘safe’ arising from her father executing her mother when she was aged two, Elizabeth had certainly learnt to be cautious after her unwise flirting with Sir Thomas Seymour when she was fourteen. Probably seeking to replace his elder brother, Edward Seymour Duke of Somerset, as regent, the risk-taking Sir Thomas had been playfully ‘romping’ with his then wife Queen Katherine Parr’s ward Elizabeth in her bedchamber and chasing her in the gardens at Chelsea Palace in summer 1548. More seriously, when Katherine died in childbirth at Sudeley Castle, he appears to have considered marrying Elizabeth, the next-but-one heir to the boy-king Edward VI’s throne, as one way to power. This was combined with financially generous attention to the King to encourage the latter against the bossy and niggardly Somerset.

Things came to a head when Somerset sought to curtail his ambitious brother’s meddling (the prelude to a coup?) and Sir Thomas tried to burst into the King’s bedchamber at Whitehall to appeal for his help or even kidnap him, shooting his pet dog for raising the alarm (January 1549). He ended up executed for treason, and Elizabeth was questioned

closely by the Council about his and her intentions – with her isolation at remote manor-houses for some months suggesting that they may have feared Sir Thomas had got her pregnant.

This youthful crisis would have ingrained caution in Elizabeth about arousing dangerous antagonism from the country’s ‘power-brokers’, and arguably without the Seymour incident she could have been more willing to risk danger of revolt by alienated nobles by marrying a contentious candidate. Her cousin Mary Stuart, by contrast, twice took this risk (with Lords Darnley and Bothwell), both disastrously – clearly ignoring the hostile likely reaction of her elite.

A domestic claimant to a royal hand would need to be a man of high rank but as such would probably have political enemies – and the complexities of mid-Tudor politics from c. 1530 to 1558 meant that the Court at Elizabeth’s accession was particularly prone to splits between rival factions. Marrying a Protestant husband from one of the dynasties linked to Edward’s reign (such as Elizabeth’s personal favourite and close contemporary Robert Dudley, son of the 1549-53 chief minister Northumberland) would arouse fear from the Catholic partisans of

Mary who had been in power in 1553-8, and vice versa. Would she have felt safer to marry had she succeeded a stable Edwardian regime, not one riven by recent coups and plots? This could have happened had Edward – whose health was, contrary to myth, normal until 1552 – lived into the late 1550 or 1560s.

Elizabeth also did not want to become eclipsed by a foreign husband and tied to their country or political faction as her sister had been. Her sister's and father's marriages had been a succession of traumatic disasters, and if she chose one candidate in the 'marriage stakes' it would upset the delicate political balance of her realm and foreign policy by alienating their rivals.

At the time of Elizabeth's accession in November 1558, it was assumed that she would undoubtedly marry, as had been the case with Mary, and an

unmarried woman exercising authority as Queen Regnant without a husband was unnatural by the standards of universal custom. Conversely, as women were subject to men - husbands

then fathers – in law and by Biblical authority, her husband would have a right to exercise authority over her, though Mary had specifically limited her husband's legal rights in England by statute and this could be repeated.

A foreign Prince or King, of equal rank to the Queen as was socially seemly, would subject England's interests to his own state's – and the mere threat of Philip doing this to England had set off a bloody revolt led by Sir Thomas Wyatt in 1554. In that case, the legal heir – Elizabeth – had been accused of an equivocal attitude to the rebellion and put in the Tower of London; as of 1558-68 the nearest equivalent was Lady Catherine Grey, grand-daughter of Henry VIII's sister Mary Tudor and younger sister of Lady Jane Grey. A domestic husband of high social standing from the nobility would arouse jealousy from his rivals – by one estimate, half the kingdom's great men would oppose any noble who was so chosen, presumably in arms.

If Elizabeth chose someone of lower social rank who did not have these enemies, the 'insult' to the

nobility of their having to defer to a man of lower rank would allegedly cause them to rise as one and murder both Elizabeth and her husband. It did not reflect appreciation of the new Queen's cautious and canny personality, or of the effects of the trauma of her investigation for alleged dalliance with Seymour in 1548 and imprisonment and near-execution in 1554-5.

As was to be the case throughout her life, Elizabeth chose the wisest course of never alienating one powerful party or faction - domestic or foreign – by throwing her lot in with their rivals unless absolutely driven to it. This was visible even in her first months in power, as she did not hurry to restore Protestantism or to evict the resented persecuting Marian bishops, or even to prosecute particular abuses of authority in the recent religious persecutions. Even the loathed

As was to be the case throughout her life, Elizabeth chose the wisest course of never alienating one powerful party or faction - domestic or foreign – by throwing her lot in with their rivals unless absolutely driven to it.

Bishop Bonner of London initially kept his see; nor was Elizabeth's unpopular mother Anne Boleyn's tomb moved to a 'higher-status' site from the Tower. Her caution was thus present even in winter 1558-9 – and

choosing one candidate for her hand would risk an unnecessary crisis. But one prominent potential candidate, none other than her sister Mary's discarded potential husband Edward Courtenay, had been suggested as Elizabeth's partner by the Wyatt Revolt plotters in 1554. He was around three years Elizabeth's senior, apparently not too intelligent or politically minded, and so 'controllable', unlike the vain and determined Robert Dudley. Courtenay was of suitable rank as her cousin – descended, like her, from a daughter of Edward IV. Under suspicion following the Wyatt revolt, he had found it safer to go abroad and had died of pneumonia after being caught in a storm in Venice in 1556. But would he have been a less controversial contender than Dudley had he been alive in 1558-9, and been backed by Parliament?

Was Elizabeth's decision not to marry inevitable? Would personal feelings ever have caused her to throw caution to the winds, or a desire for one particular alliance abroad with a strong 'Power' have caused her to risk alienating their enemies by marrying their candidate? She certainly seems to have considered

marrying her long-time admirer, friend, and contemporary Robert Dudley in 1560 despite the bad reputation and many senior aristocratic enemies that the 'parvenu' Dudleys had acquired during the 1550s. Their indiscreet conduct gave despair to the prudent William Cecil who feared the Queen would disregard his pleas and such a marriage would cause rebellion.

Elizabeth's closest female confidante and 'mother-figure' Kat Ashley, who had been in charge of her domestic attendants since her early years, was driven to beg her, on her knees, not to marry Dudley and thus cause civil war, citing the fact that she would have to answer to God for ruining the country if that happened. Mistress Ashley was not previously known for her political acumen; she had been arrested for encouraging Thomas Seymour's near-treasonable flirting with the Princess. Elizabeth was able to operate on a separate personal and political 'level' and to enjoy flirting and showing off her new power without closing her eyes to the consequences of acting on her emotions – unlike Mary Stuart.

Elizabeth showed her attentions to a number of handsome young(-ish) admirers in her first years as Queen, not just Dudley - and in spring 1559 rumours about an engagement also centred on the gallant and good-looking Protestant courtier Sir William Pickering, recently returned from exile, of gentry not noble blood, and in his mid-thirties. She was to continue to 'play the field' and lap up admiration from admirers into late middle age, as was notorious. She was already taking her lifetime 'line' that she considered herself married to her country, not to a man, and was content for this to remain so, as she addressed a Parliamentary delegation asking her to marry in January 1559.

As far as the Spanish diplomats in London and their masters at home were concerned, the domestic candidate to watch out for was Dudley – who had fought for Spain against France in 1557. He was evidently seen as an acceptable compromise if the match that Philip proposed for his ex-sister-in-law with his cousin, the Archduke Charles, did not succeed – and neither Philip II nor the Archduke's

father Emperor Ferdinand thought fit in 1559-61 to nudge the Archduke into paying suit to Elizabeth in person to speed up matters. Indeed, at one Thames river-party on a barge in 1561 Bishop de Quadra, the Spanish ambassador, is said to have offered to marry Elizabeth and Dudley on the spot – which would have given Elizabeth the diplomatic bonus

Elizabeth showed her attentions to a number of handsome young(-ish) admirers in her first years as Queen, not just Dudley

of tying the military might and Catholic zeal of Spain to supporting her choice of husband. Would this have conceivably given Elizabeth the reassurance that she could get away with marrying Dudley, with Spanish troops in the Netherlands at hand to aid her if her husband's domestic enemies revolted? Or was the memory of the indignant reaction to the last unpopular Royal marriage (Mary and Philip) in 1554, the Wyatt revolt in Kent, too vivid?

As with the proposal by Henry VIII to marry Anne Boleyn in Calais in 1532 with King Francis of France as witness and supporter, there were advantages for a cautious and politically isolated Tudor ruler in having a major international ally visibly associated with their controversial marriage. Certainly the Queen showed no willingness to consider other, more appropriately 'old nobility' suitors such as her own cousin Thomas Howard, widower Duke of Norfolk (born 1536), and the older and more conservative Council veteran Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel (born 1514). Both were of semi-royal descent. Her personal approval lay with her contemporary and fellow-ex-prisoner of 1554, Dudley, despite the dislike of most of the Council for him and his ambition and arrogance.

There were also hereditary fears of or distaste for the 'low-born' Dudleys as 'arrivistes' by great nobles of ancient birth, in particular those with partial Royal descent. In addition to the aristocratic disdain which Norfolk's grandfather had shown for Cardinal Wolsey as a 'butcher's cur' and a variety of nobles forced to pay up extortionate bonds for good behaviour had shown to Robert Dudley's grasping ministerial grandfather Edmund Dudley in the 1500s, there was the matter of feuds left over from Edward VI's minority and the 1553 coup.

Conservative Arundel, more comfortable with Mary Tudor's Catholic regime than with the radical

Protestant tone of Edward VI's government, which Robert Dudley's father Northumberland had led, had backed Northumberland against the Duke of Somerset in 1549-53 but then abandoned him - literally - as Northumberland left Arundel in charge at the Tower and tried to attack Mary Tudor in Norfolk in July 1553. This gave rise to fears on Arundel's part that Robert might seek revenge for this betrayal, which had ended with Northumberland being executed by Mary - and other Councillors who had abandoned the Dudleys in 1553 were still in office too, led by Lord Treasurer Winchester.

There was thus a danger of Council alarm at Robert's power and capacity for revenge, which would have worsened significantly had he married Elizabeth and so become 'Consort' as well as a personal intimate of the Queen's. The shrewd Elizabeth was unlikely to have given Robert, son and grandson of executed 'traitors', the 'Crown Matrimonial' and thus legal authority which her cousin Mary Stuart was to give to her immature and greedy young husband Darnley in Scotland in 1565. In any case, Darnley was Mary's cousin and of Royal descent; the rank was more appropriate for him than for Robert, whose father had come from the gentry. Robert's perceived arrogance to his Court rivals would have increased with a semi-royal rank and the Queen's hand, but his actual power would probably have been limited - and he was not yet a proponent of a vigorous anti-Catholic, anti-Spanish foreign policy as he was to be in the 1570s. Indeed, his relations with the Spanish ambassadors were cordial. Thus his marriage would not have alarmed Philip II, though it would have ended his hopes of marrying off Elizabeth to the Archduke Charles. Nor did the potentially alarmed nobles have a rival candidate lined up to replace an Elizabeth/ Dudley alliance in an armed revolt. The heir under Henry VIII's will, Lady Katherine Grey (born 1539), was young, impulsive and malleable - and Protestant - but now caused a scandal and was imprisoned for secretly marrying the son of the Duke of Somerset, a man who Arundel and his allies had also abandoned (in 1549). It would have made no sense to overthrow a 'Dudley puppet' Elizabeth in

favour of the wife of another heir of an executed rival of theirs who could seek revenge.

The likelihood is that even if Elizabeth had married Dudley the resulting criticism would have not turned into a widespread revolt as long as Elizabeth kept her policies and her access to Court and other lucrative offices unchanged. Unlike in 1554-8 when France backed the enemies of Mary Tudor, as of 1560-4 Elizabeth had not irrevocably alienated either France (ravaged by civil war from 1562) or Spain to the point of them invading to assist a rebellion - and the majority Catholic population of the North had not been persecuted for defying the ban on the Mass either.

However this does not rule out the chance of an affronted noble, infuriated by Dudley arrogance, taking his offended sense of honour as far as

The likelihood is that even if Elizabeth had married Dudley the resulting criticism would have not turned into a widespread revolt...

launching a 'revolt' - or at least an armed protest that was not supported by enough armed

men to be a serious threat - based on his own obedient tenantry. Elizabethan nobles did not necessarily consider their own self-protection above all else if they had been personally slighted, and a futile armed protest is likeliest to have come from Norfolk, Dudley's principal personal rival in the 1560s, given his real-life sulking on his estates and refusal to attend the Queen over her ban on his marrying Mary Stuart in 1569. Norfolk notoriously threatened Dudley with violence with his tennis-racquet at a match in front of the Queen after the 'favourite' borrowed his sovereign's handkerchief to mop his brow in real life, and it is highly plausible that he would have refused to do obeisance to a 'jumped-up' new Consort and withdrawn from Court under threat of arrest for insolence. But, as of 1569-70, Norfolk was a particularly dangerous threat, as Elizabeth's potential heiress Mary Stuart had taken refuge from her subjects in England so he could seize and marry her and Elizabethan Anglican persecution of Northern Catholics helped to touch off a major revolt in Durham and Northumberland.

An alienated Norfolk in the early-mid 1560s would not have had that backing available, and so been less of a threat. Nor would Spain have backed him, as Philip II's ambassadors were on good terms with

Dudley. Possibly Arundel would have revolted instead, even without Spanish help, but Spain's rival France was unlikely to help either once Elizabeth's foe Henri II – who recognised Mary Stuart as Queen instead – was killed in a tournament accident at the celebrations for the Franco-Spanish peace in summer 1559. Dudley's deadliest foes were possibly the underhand intriguers not the noisy openly hostile

ones, and it has been suggested that the mysterious 'suicide' of his ailing wife Amy Robsart was the work of Elizabeth's secretary of state William Cecil and was intended to blacken Dudley's name as a wife-murderer and so scare Elizabeth off marrying him.

TIMOTHY VENNING



Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.
Artist unknown, c. 1564

WARWICK & LORD LEYCESTER HOSPITAL

THE **Lord Leicester Hospital** was never a medical establishment. It comprises a series of unique, ancient and historic buildings, continuously occupied since Tudor times as a place of retirement for ex-servicemen and their wives. So it remains today and welcomes visitors from all over the world throughout the year.

In 1571, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, favourite of Queen Elizabeth I, founded a retirement home or 'hospital' for disabled soldiers in the ancient buildings. The hospital, a self-supporting charity, continues to provide a home for 'The Brethren' as they are known. The hospital comprises the Chantry Chapel of St James, built over the arched vaulting of the West Gate of Warwick; the guildhall, built in 1450 by Neville, the 'Kingmaker', which contains an eclectic collection of artefacts, many brought back as trophies by generations of old warriors who spent their declining years as Brothers; and the great hall, with its magnificent timbered roof, which was built in 1450 for celebrations and banquets. King James dined in the great hall in 1617.

Nearby is **The Collegiate Church of St Mary in Warwick** which dates back to 1123 when it was created by Roger de Beaumont (or de Newburgh), 2nd Earl of Warwick, who also established the College of Deans and Canons there. Later building work was carried out in the 14th century by Thomas de Beauchamp. Unfortunately, the nave and tower were destroyed in the 1694 Great Fire of Warwick and the crypt is the only surviving part of the original Norman building. The church was rebuilt in 1704 in a Gothic style by William Wilson. Within the church there is the **Beauchamp Chapel** which houses the tombs of Richard de Beauchamp, 13th Earl of Warwick; Ambrose Dudley, 3rd Earl of Warwick; Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester and Elizabeth I's favourite, and his wife Lettice Knollys; and their son, Robert, the "Noble Impe".

Lord Leicester Hospital Photos © **Andy Crossley**
Collegiate Church Photos © **Tim Ridgway**

NOTE: Warwick Castle is also nearby!







LORD LEYCESTER HOSPITAL

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The plaque reads:

The guilds of St. George of the Holy Trinity and of the Virgin Mary raised these buildings about the year 1400 A.D. These guilds were dispersed in 1546.

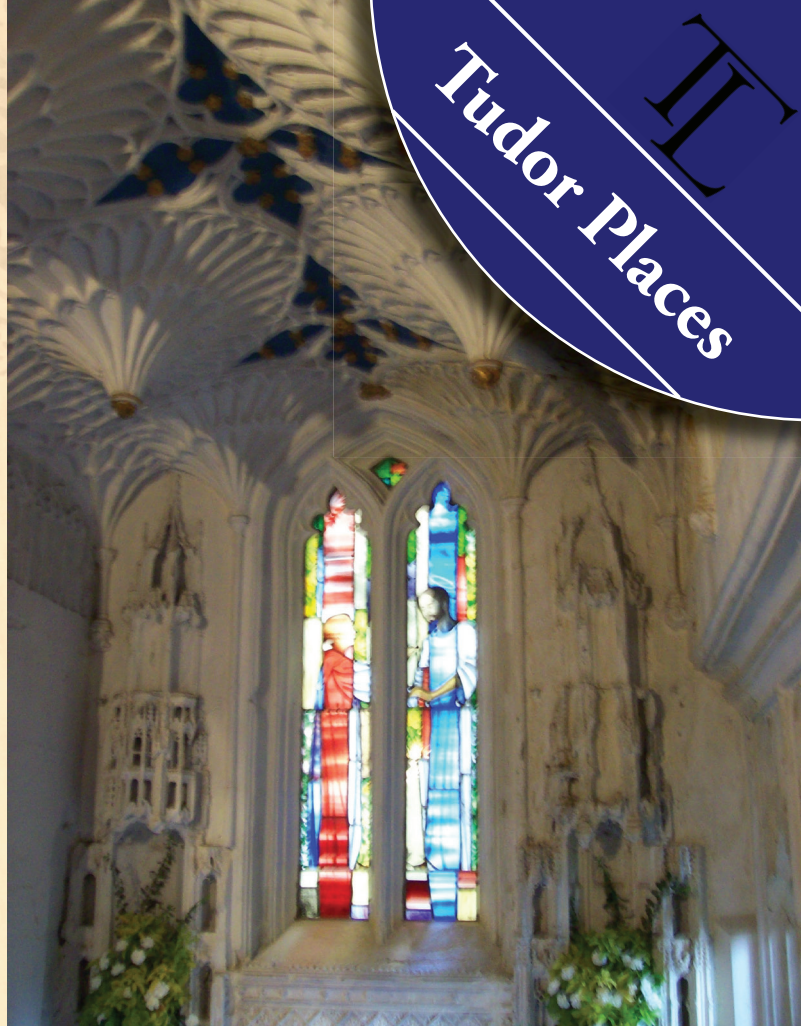
In 1571 Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, founded here his hospital for aged or infirm men, who had seen service in the wars, together with their wives.

By 1950 the buildings had become seriously decayed and the bretherens' quarters were no longer fit for use. During the period 1958 to 1966 the buildings were restored and their quarters modernised.

The hospital was re-opened on the 3rd November 1966, by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother.



Tudor Places







SECRET ECHOES: TUDOR PORTRAIT DISCOVERY

by Tara Ball

It was in March 2007, when I was commuting in London that a woman caught my eye. She was very familiar to me and it was her picture, in a newspaper, that boldly stood out to me. Her name was Anne Boleyn...



The simple sketch by Holbein that began my journey in Tudor Portrait Discovery. Marked as "Anna Bollein Queen" how can we be sure it is correct?

-ROYAL COLLECTION-

This was not her famous picture with the black, the pearls and infamous 'B' pendant, but a humble sketch drawn by the well-known Tudor artist, Hans Holbein the Younger.

Upon purchasing my own copy, I discovered it was a feature about an exhibition by Philip Mould with Dr. David Starkey as Guest Curator. The exhibition shed new light and new research on Tudor portraits, particularly those of doubtful authenticity. Through the use of surviving documents and inventories, they managed to put names to anonymous faces and put forward very strong evidence against those whose identities rested on legend. It also explained the use of conservation and the science of dendrochronology (wood dating) in discovering that there is more to these portraits than just a simple image.

The Origin of Portraits

Before the Tudor period (1485-1603), portraits were not very popular and if produced, were for formal purpose and available only to the rich. The people saw their monarch appear on his coinage or in stained glass that adorned churches. Occasionally they appeared on illuminated letters on important texts or in works that commemorated historic events; The Bayeux Tapestry is a good example.

During the Tudor period, advances were made in printing and painting production,

thus the demand for artists to illustrate books and illuminate letters on printed texts increased. Artists relied on the rich for patronage and were commissioned to paint their likenesses, feature them in allegories and paint them in token miniatures. Often they would be employed to decorate for an event or new building.

Tudor art was regarded as a craft and artists had to be members of a guild and

produce a work, known as a 'Masterpiece' to demonstrate what they had learnt.

From there, if rich enough to afford the large fee to the guild, the apprentice could become a master and set up his own business. If not he became a Journeyman and seek work when and where he could get it.

King Henry VIII was a willing patron. He built vast palaces and required artists



Illuminated letter of King Henry VII being presented with the manuscript. Such pictures were often inaccurate on true likenesses, but it is exemplified on the early role of an artist.

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therefore be bound to strict rules of how to work and get paid or risk a fine. Artists started out as apprentices in childhood to a Master Artist. They would assist in the studio or workshop, learning the skills of the Master. After seven years they would

to decorate them. He often personally came to oversee the work at his approval. His wives and children often commissioned their portraits to send to him.

His daughter, Queen Elizabeth I was also an enthusiastic patron and



ABOVE: Queen Elizabeth I in her later years

It was during the later years of her reign that her portrait turned her into an immortal icon, like her father King Henry VIII. Portraits of herself had to meet with her approval before being distributed.

CREDIT: UNKNOWN

RIGHT: A miniature thought to be of Katherine Howard, the fifth of Henry VIII's six wives by Hans Holbein the Younger. At just 5.1cm diameter, this intricate, detailed work demonstrates the talent Holbein found in painting miniatures. The miniature holds charm, romance and mystery to the beholder.

ROYAL COLLECTION

her courtiers created 'Long Galleries' by building their homes in an 'E' shape. They commissioned portraits of her Royal ancestors in a demonstration of loyalty and acknowledgement of her right to be their Queen. Many surviving portraits of monarchs and their consorts that we have today are survivors from these Long

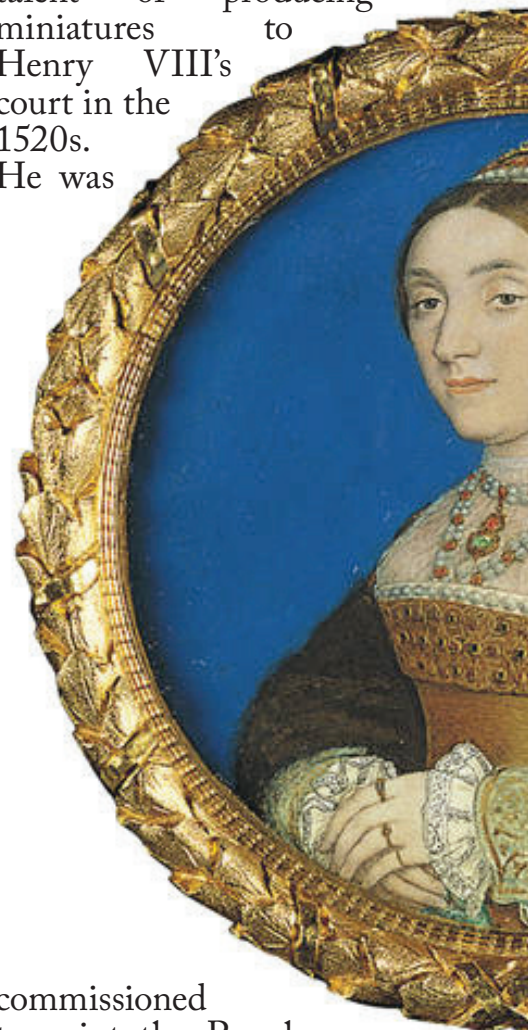
Gallery collections but were often based on lost originals and subjected to be influenced by legend. It is because of artists like Hans Holbein the Younger and his followers, as well as Lucas Horenbout, Nicholas Hilliard and John Bettes the Younger, that King Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth I became iconic in their personal image, which

they used to demonstrate their authority and as propaganda.

Miniatures

The origin of miniatures lies with the illuminated first letter of texts, which often included an important figure, like a saint or the monarch for example.

An artist from the Netherlands, Lucas Horenbout, introduced his talent of producing miniatures to Henry VIII's court in the 1520s. He was



commissioned to paint the Royal Family and top ranking courtiers. Miniatures of Henry VIII, his first wife, Katherine of Aragon and their daughter, Princess Mary from this time survive in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, in London today. They became

popular gifts among the courtiers and by the 1540s Horenbout had passed on his skill to Hans Holbein who produced fine and intricately detailed miniatures of Henry VIII's court in the latter years of his reign. They remained popular after Henry's death and revived their romance in Elizabethan times with Nicholas Hilliard as the fore-runner.

Miniatures were produced on a simple playing



card, cut to the desired size (sometimes only a few centimetres in diameter) and then covered in vellum (deerskin that was processed to become transparent). To achieve the smooth



King Henry VII in the year 1505. This is one of the oldest surviving portraits in the world, painted to capture as true a likeness as possible.

NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON

background, water was brushed onto the vellum and the pigment was allowed to fill the space, creating a smooth back-colour. Often this was a bright blue. Then using a brush containing only a few hairs the figure was painted on top. Gold leaf and silver were added as an extra eye-catcher. The recipient often wore

miniatures on their clothes to demonstrate loyalty or as love tokens.

Panel Portraits

Panel portraits had a more formal use. Before the Tudor period only the very rich could afford their portrait painted. It was rare for a portrait to



You can clearly see where over-painting has occurred on this posthumous portrait of King Henry VIII
 ROYAL ARMOURIES COLLECTION

be full-length and the sitter was posed with hands resting on a ledge or as if sitting at a window. The idea was to capture the subject's likeness, and was often subjected to flattery by the artist to encourage more commissions.

Portraits were painted on wooden panels, known as tables and the paint was made from natural materials. Oil paint became more popular to use, as they allowed the artist to correct mistakes easily as the oil paint took longer to dry. Blue was the most expensive colour and conservators have found crushed sapphires in the pigment. Canvas was not used until Elizabethan times and proved to be much popular,

as an artist could easily roll up canvas to travel with.

To produce a portrait, the artist would spend some time with the sitter and sketch them onto paper in different positions until the desired one was decided. Textile patterns and jewellery details was noted and sketched as well. Corrections were also written down onto the sketches. Holbein drew a considerable amount of sketches of Henry's courtiers, before producing painted copies. He used them in his workshops and with his apprentices. That is why today we have surviving painted copies by other artists in his style. Holbein died in 1543, and his sketches became part

of the Royal collection and Henry's son King Edward VI, came across them and gave them to his tutor Sir John Cheke to identify. Cheke's identifications are reliable as a leading courtier he would've known most of Henry's court, if not personally, at least by sight. Yet even he had trouble remembering faces of nearly thirty years prior, as some of the eighty-six that survive in the Royal Collection today (having been re-discovered in a drawer in the eighteenth century) some have been positively re-identified. There has been considerable debate over these sketches and historians still differ in opinions on who is who, especially as many faces have been lost, and no other authenticated portraits survive for comparison.

Conservation, Over-painting and Identification

The Tudor portraits that we have today are true survivors. Many of them were produced in workshops for the Elizabethan Long Galleries, as mentioned above, and being made from natural materials, they have naturally deteriorated over time. The paint has faded and flaked from decades of sunlight. The wooden tables have bent and cracked, or been infected by wood worm.

The romance and tragedies of the Tudor period captured the imaginations of the Victorians. Victorian artists painted imaginative scenes

of historical events and in an attempt to refresh historical portraits they 'over-painted' them to suit their tastes.

Fortunately today conservers have developed the technology and skill to restore these historic portraits, removing the Victorian over-paint to reveal the original picture underneath. The use of UV rays and X-rays can also reveal what is underneath and discover the skill of painting Tudor artists used. We can also date the paintings by discovering when the wood was felled. Even by simply identifying colours and discovering when they were first used has proven to re-date Katherine of Aragon's most known portrait. This process of research and discovery still continues today.

Epilogue: So what did Anne Boleyn really look like?

Let's face it. After reading that, this is the question you want me to explore. Ok, when it comes to Tudor Portraits there is so much to talk about. If like me, you have such an interest in Tudor history, 'What Did They Look Like?' is a question we all want answered. There's a lot of material out there

and historians have debated, written and talked about their theories on the appearance of our long-dead heroes and heroines. Eventually though your image of say, Anne Boleyn, is of a petite but tall woman, who had fair yet dark hair, whose eyes were soft and subtle yet dark and deep. I think Henry VIII himself has the right opinion on this: 'Alas, whom can man trust?' Exactly who can you trust, when all we want to know is the truth? What really happened? What did they really look like?

Well the answers are there, and that is to take a deeper look at the portraits and accept the simple things. It doesn't take an expert to see a family resemblance between these two pictures.

On the left is a Holbein drawing, inscribed 'Anna Bollein Queen' and on the right is Anne's daughter, Queen Elizabeth I, when a girl of thirteen. Both sitters share the same dark eyes, similar nose and jaw. Despite being at different angles, it is a real possibility that these two could be mother and daughter. I personally believe the sketch is of Anne Boleyn towards the end of her life. The resemblance to her daughter's early portrait is just too clear. Yes, it can be

argued that Anne is 'dressed down', which is hard to believe a Queen would do. However this was not meant to be the finished product. The purpose of a preliminary sketch was to concentrate on details. By dismantling her finery and jewels this allowed Holbein to concentrate on her face. Contrary to opinion that Kings and Queens were always dressed in their finest, in private they actually wore lighter, informal clothes. The gowns and jewels were saved for public appearances and ceremony. Modesty is still observed. As a married lady, her chemise comes up to her neck and her hair is appropriately covered. Sadly, due to the angle we cannot see the whole face, but it is enough to get a good idea. And Holbein's expertise in capturing the realism of his subjects, almost like photographs, we see Anne much better than later artists' less realistic depictions.

Another clue is that no oil copy exists. Perhaps the idea was scrapped; the angle is an odd one when sitters are depicted in oil copies showing the whole face. It's fancying to think that this may have been drawn close to her downfall, so there was no desire to complete the project and no



one to pay Holbein. There is no proof of that. It is pure speculation. The inscription has to have come from somewhere. Someone who would think this lady is Anne Boleyn. Another Holbein sketch, along with its later oil copy, has inscriptions claiming they are of Anne Boleyn. From visual, it is unlikely to be the same woman. On this sketch, the note is more informal, barely seen and entered at a much later date. Whilst the

other one is more formal, in keeping with Sir John Cheke's formal labelling on the other sketches he identified for King Edward VI. If we want to find Anne's real appearance I believe it can be found, in both portrait and written description. Anne's remains are strong archaeological evidence that strongly conforms to notable traits with her daughter Elizabeth, such as her long fingers, as recorded in the official report

when they were found in 1876. Anne's appearance must echo in the portraits of Queen Elizabeth I, no matter how subtle. The answer is there.

To me all Tudor portraits are echoes of the past, and they reveal secrets long forgotten by the passage of time. And we are still waiting to discover them.

TARA BALL

About the Author

Tara was just eight years old when she first 'discovered' The Tudors, after studying it in Primary School. Since then it has defined her life for over twenty years. Through encouragement, passion and a very talented memory 'for dates', she is an entirely self-taught Tudor expert. She has also completed a short course on Henry VIII: Portraits and Propaganda with Birkbeck, University of London. She has worked in tourism in a well-known historical landmark for over ten years. She lives near London in the UK with her husband, baby daughter and five guinea pigs.

In Loving Memory of my mother, Ingrid Judd, who always told me to 'write it down' And for my father, who still patiently listens when I rabble on about all I know.

Bibliography:

- ◇ Henry VIII: King and Court – Alison Weir
- ◇ 'Lost Faces': Identity and Discovery in Tudor Royal Portraiture – Philip Mould Ltd (Guest Curator: Dr. David Starkey. Edited by Bendor Grosvenor)
- ◇ Tudor Art – Susie Hodge
- ◇ Notices of the Historic Persons buried in the Chapel of St. Peter Ad. Vincula in The Tower of London (1877) – Doyne Courtenay Bell; Kessinger Legacy Reprints

Points of Interest:

- ◇ The National Portrait Gallery, London, UK.
- ◇ New research and conservation has just been carried out and the Tudor Gallery redisplayed. Read the accompanying book 'The Real Tudors: Kings and Queens Rediscovered'
- ◇ HM The Tower of London, London, UK.
- ◇ The Royal Armouries Galleries within the White Tower holds surviving armours belonging to King Henry VIII, displaying the physical size and appearance of the iconic King.

Right: Anne Bullen Painting at Hever Castle

Photo © Tim Ridgway



• ANNE BULLEN •
after HOLBEIN

TudorLife

Charlie

Exploring English Castles

Our Books



ENGLAND has a rich history of castles and historic buildings, from the motte and bailey castles of Anglo-Saxon times to the richly furnished royal castles we recognise today.

IN *“Exploring English Castles”*, Dr. Edd Morris provides a detailed account of how the castle has changed throughout history, in both its purpose and its style. For a book that consists mainly of beautiful full colour images, there is plenty of information inside too. After focusing on the history of the castle, Morris then moves on to different key castles and the events that surround each one; this includes iconic castles such as Dover Castle and Kenilworth.

Morris first sets the scene with describing the events of 1066, which, along with a change of king and dynasty, brought about a building in which Morris describes as ‘the flat-pack castle’. He then quotes directly from a Norman contemporary source to describe the castle which had been erected,

‘the carpenters... threw down from the ships and dragged on land the wood which the Count of Eu had brought there, all pierced and trimmed. They had brought all the trimmed pegs in great barrels. Before evening, they had built a small castle with it and made a ditch round it.’

This description outlines one of the first castles in England. The Normans quickly built these wooden castles, as they knew that a castle equalled strength and would help them hold onto the country they had just invaded. Morris gives

some examples of these early castles which were later transformed and rebuilt in stone, such as those of Canterbury and Pevensey Castle. The main purpose of these castles, after William the Conqueror had become king, was to intimidate and suppress the English people.

The next section in Edd Morris’ book focuses on medieval castles and how they were built to withstand attack. Every aspect of a medieval castle was designed in a way that would help during a siege. Certain design aspects were developed by looking at past flaws in castles,

‘it’s not as though designers plucked these ideas from the air; instead, they studied the Achilles heels of other fortresses and attempted to out-think the flaws and weak spots that had led to the capture of other castles.’

Morris explains how these simple ideas on how to improve castles evolved over time. This includes the simple arrow-slit which grew increasingly complex as time went on.

In the last section of the book, Morris explores the decline of the castle. From the late fourteenth century, castle building went out-of-favour and palaces became popular instead. This was due to England becoming a much safer, more stable country than it had been following the Norman invasion. People did not need buildings to protect and defend anymore, instead they needed a building to demonstrate the power, wealth and

might of its master. Morris does not spend much time on these later buildings, instead focusing on earlier castles which were still in use by later generations, such as with Elizabeth I and Kenilworth Castle.

After the history of castles has been established, Morris moves on to nine individual castles. This includes exploring general life in a medieval castle at Goodwich, Dover Castle and Bodiam Castle. My two personal favourites have stories associated with them during the Tudor period, Framlingham Castle and Kenilworth Castle.

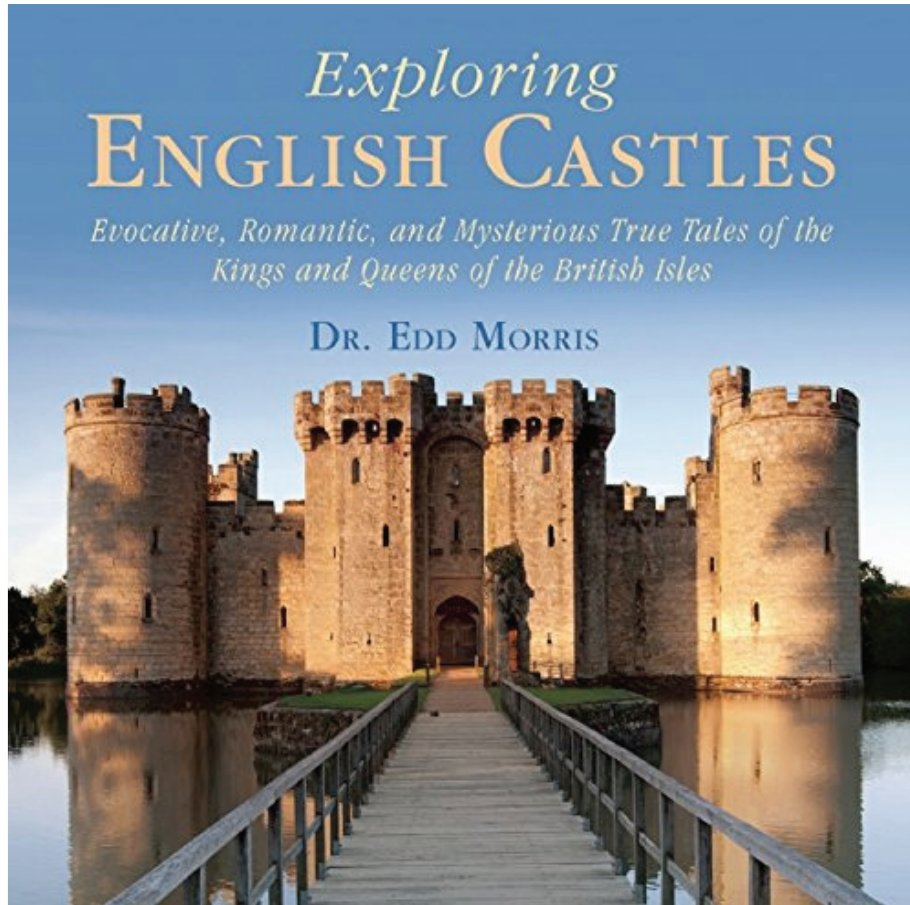
Framlingham Castle's story is about the events after Edward VI's death and concerns someone that is often forgotten in history books, Lady Jane Grey. Mary (later Mary I) used Framlingham castle as a place to bide her time and build her forces against Jane and her faction,

'Framlingham Castle was a perfect location to mount her campaign to become queen. It was, of course, founded as a mighty medieval fortress and its grand walls, tall towers, and surrounding ditch afforded the same defensive potential in 1553 as when the castle was first designed and constructed in 1190.'

Morris describes these events in great detail, although still with accessible enough language to read and understand easily. After this story, he then moves on to the building and state of the castle in present day, as he does with each one.

The story of Kenilworth Castle and Elizabeth I is generally a more familiar story to those interested in the Tudor era. Morris explains Dudley's rise to power and life previously, so putting the story of the proposal into context, this includes the death of Amy Dudley and his conversion of the now war-worn castle into a palace. However, it did not end well for Dudley,

'Indeed, in light of Dudley's not-too-subtle invocations, Elizabeth curtailed her visit to Kenilworth – leaving with very little notice a couple of days before her stay was officially due to end. Looking back at the whole sorry episode, it appears that Dudley had



overreached himself: his invocations were inappropriate, and the queen simply had little inclination to marry. Nonetheless, it was a devastating blow – and a resounding rejection.'


Not just Kenilworth and Framlingham but all of the stories associated with Morris' nine castles are very interesting, there is something here for everyone.

There are several small sections throughout the book that explore interesting facts, this includes a section of prisoners and dungeons and even one he has named 'booze and the buttery'. Morris tells the story behind why the butteries were one of the most popular places in a castle and why it is so often confused with butter and the dairy.


'The confusion arises because the term buttery derives from the French boutille, which means "small barrel" or "bottle." The buttery would usually have been a small storeroom adjacent to the Great Hall of the castle and would have been filled with containers of wine and ale.'

This book is very well set out and easy to read, the reader can clearly realise that Edd Morris has a great passion and knowledge of castles. This is a book for anyone interested in history and castles.

CHARLIE FENTON



ENGLISH STEREOTYPES OF THE WELSH IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD



by Rhiannon Creffield

THERE have been tensions between the constituent peoples of the British Isles for hundreds of years, stretching back through history as different ethnicities emigrated, colonised land and displaced other ethnic groups. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was an influx of Welsh people into England, and London in particular, which exacerbated the tensions between the English and the Welsh (who were also known as ‘the British’). Shortly before the outbreak of civil war in the mid seventeenth century, pamphlets began to appear in London attacking the Welsh in particular. The prejudices and stereotypes they used throughout were rooted in truth but exaggerated, playing on and developing perceptions of the Welsh which had been around in England for centuries. But what were the origins of these existing stereotypes, and how far did they feed into Civil War anti-Welsh propaganda in this period?

The prevalent view has been that the expression of anti-Welsh sentiment in England shifted from being light-hearted and affectionate to being more sinister in the build-up of the Civil War. This interpretation has been supported by historians like J.O. Bartley. His 1954 essay on the figure of *The Stage Welshman* in the early modern period is an invaluable resource as a foundation, but his perhaps overly-optimistic view of the way the Welsh were presented on the early modern stage is problematic, and at times he seems to gloss over the darker aspects of xenophobic ridicule. This article argues that a menacing undertone had always been present in English literature, but that this strand did not achieve prominence because it was mixed with a variety of other material which was more genial, even affectionate in tone. By the outbreak of civil war the more benign element had largely died out, leaving the splenetic and antagonistic attitude in the ascendant. The aim of this piece is to trace the origins of the more aggressive literature in earlier examples and to illustrate the continuity and commonality between the two. By studying several examples of pre-civil war plays and similar literature this essay will fix on some of the more prevalent tropes and trace their usage prior to the outbreak of war, then study their application in propaganda during the conflict and the months immediately prior to the outbreak of war.

The Welsh characters in Tudor and early Stuart plays are almost universally nationalised through attempts to replicate the Welsh accent. The fact that these characters would have been speaking English as a foreign language means that it is only natural that there might have been errors and quirks of pronunciation in their speech which the playwrights capitalised on and played to the hilt. The use (or misuse) of language becomes the signature of the stage Welshman, announcing his identity as soon as he appears. Almost all of the plays which fall into the scope of this essay feature characters which are nationalised in this way.

One of the most common ways of expressing this accent is the substitution of 'p' for 'b' in many, if not all, of the words spoken. In John Fletcher's 1621 play *Pilgrim*, for example, the Welsh madman cries: 'give me some Welsh-prew; I have hunger in my pellites; give me apundance' and the rest of his lines are full of the same alliteration.¹ One phrase in particular which is used to denote Welsh characters is 'pibble pabble' or some variant on this, playing on mispronunciation. This nationalised version of the English 'bibble babble' is used to make the Welshman sound foolish, as he cannot engage with language in the same manner as the English audience.

1 John Fletcher, *Pilgrim* (1700) <<http://bit.ly/1OsuAli>> [Accessed 23/12/13].

This characteristic appears in nearly all of the early sources.² Another feature of Welsh pronunciation which the writers exploit is the use of 'sh' or 's' at the beginning of words. Although this is grounded in linguistic reality, its use in literature seems entirely arbitrary.³ In various plays 's' is used to replace several letters, from 'f' in 'sedge her' ['fetch her'] to 'ch' in 'seese and putter' ['cheese and butter'] and (more realistically) the 'g' in 'shentleman', a particular usage which is found in many texts.⁴

In addition to the accent itself, there are several specifically 'Welsh' expressions used in the pre-war plays to denote a Welsh character. The stage Welshman loves to swear oaths; whether this is a reflection of his character or just an excuse to indulge amusing mispronunciations is debatable. There are many variations along the lines of 'Cats plutter a nailes'.⁵ 'Cod', 'Cat' and 'Cad' are frequently used in place of 'God'. This is also found in *A [Hundred] Mery Talys*, a Tudor Jest-Book of short amusing stories, and a source which will be returned to later. In this collection there are eight stories about Welshmen, all derogatory, with most using such phrases wherever direct speech is employed. Swearing by some version of 'Saint Taffie' (David) is also a Welsh character hallmark. Caradock in Thomas Randolph's *Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery* can hardly forebear mentioning his patron saint in every line he speaks.

Besides all these signifiers of national identity, the stage Welshman generally speaks a kind of broken English, understandable as he is almost certainly speaking his second language, but something which is again exaggerated for comic effect. His speeches are often long-winded. Caradock in *Hey for Honesty* has longer speeches than any of his fellow rogues and seems prone to circumlocution, as does Fluellen in Shakespeare's *Henry*

2 See *Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery; Patient Grissil; The Royall King and the Loyall Subject; Henry V; Summer's Last Will and Testament* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* for further pre-war examples of this trope. Bibliographic information for these plays may be found in subsequent footnotes.

3 'G's are always hard sounds in Welsh and there is no 'j' in the Welsh alphabet; the only words starting with 'j' in modern Welsh are borrowed words, such as 'jam', 'jar' and 'jwg'. Generally 'j' sounds are replaced with 'Si' (pronounced as 'Sh' in English) e.g. Siôn for John, so it is only natural that it would be used for a soft 'G' sound.

4 Thomas Dekker, *Patient Grissil* (1603) <<http://bit.ly/1PwOs2j>> [Accessed 23/12/13]. William Shakespeare, 'The Merry Wives of Windsor' in *The Riverside Shakespeare* (London: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974), pp.290-326, V.v.136.

5 Thomas Randolph, *Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery*. (1651) *Early English Books Online* <<http://bit.ly/1YOgTi8>> [Accessed 23/12/13], III.i.

V. It always takes a nationalised stage Welshman far longer to say something than it would an Englishman, and misuse of pronouns, alongside other grammatical mistakes, can obfuscate the meaning to the point of unintelligibility. For example this speech of Sir Owen ap Meredith from *Patient Grissill* combines many specifically ‘Welsh’ features in order to render the meaning obscure on first hearing: ‘By Cod is swears terrible to knog her pade, and fling her spingle legs at plum trees, when her come to fall to her tagger and fencing trigs.’⁶

Almost all the nationalised Welsh characters in these pre-war sources confuse their pronouns, referring to themselves as ‘her’ and exclusively using the female word rather than the male or even the first person. This probably originated in the fact that Welsh has no neutral gender, so that a Welshman may have used male and female genders for nouns in English to correspond with their gender in Welsh.⁷ However, the trait is developed beyond this to the almost exclusive use of ‘her’ deliberately to make the characters seem ridiculous.

There may be some sort of semiotic link here with the feminisation of the Welsh man in general. British women were thought to be fiercer and more independent than their English counterparts.⁸ In Dekker’s 1603 play *Patient Grissill*, a retelling of Boccaccio by way of Chaucer with the addition of two prominent Welsh characters, Sir Owen first woos and marries the widow Gwenthyan, then attempts to ‘tame’ his new wife. However, Gwenthyan is too much her own woman to succumb to his domination. Much of her shrewishness is a façade designed to teach her husband a lesson about the limits she will accept and she ends the deception on her own terms.

Given the enduringly misogynistic nature of the wife-taming trope and the violence against women which taming plays of the period usually contain, this failed taming narrative is a marked departure from the norm.⁹ Although Owen is given a final speech where he crows about how he has successfully subdued his wife, this comes across as rather hollow after their storyline has consistently displayed dominant femininity triumphing over masculinity. When Owen wishes Gwenthyan would

hang herself for her shrewishness, she turns the situation to her advantage, pretending to be deeply hurt, so that he ends by apologising profusely to her for his cruel words. The narrative is perhaps playing on the alleged failings of Welsh masculinity in the face of assertive Cambrian femininity, twisting the expected ‘taming’ so that in fact; it is the man who is ‘tamed’.

The feminised man also appears in the figure of Caradock in *Hey for Honesty*, who is willing to let the female Penia Poverty lead him into battle, until his English companion Higgen castigates him for fighting ‘under th’ Ensigne of a petticoat’.¹⁰ In the eyes of the English, this is another example of the feminisation of British culture. The authorial stance on Caradock, however, is very different from that on Gwenthyan and Sir Owen. The treatment of the couple in *Patient Grissill* is affectionate, rather than malicious. Although there is much humour to be found in their stereotypical language and eccentric pronunciation, the gentle fun poked at the pair is nowhere near as spiteful as the abuse heaped upon Caradock’s head. Although Gwenthyan and Owen both have a stereotypically ‘British’ temper, hot-tempered and combative, their sparring is almost admired by their friends and family and they even make affectionate jokes about the pair: ‘Oh they two will beget brave warriors: for if she scolde heele fight, and if he quarrel sheele take up the bucklers: shee’s fire and hee’s brimstone, must not there be hot doings then think you?’¹¹

Again, Caradock illustrates the more negative aspect of the stereotypically combative, hot-tempered Welshman. Professedly bloodthirsty and violent and prone to boasting about it, he is offered up as a figure of mirth for his bravado and ultimate cowardice. When Penia Poverty accuses him of disgracing his pedigree by running away he protests that ‘Her do follow her petticee from head to foot: Her Grandsire *Eneas* ran away before’, referencing the creation myth popularised by Geoffrey of Monmouth that the British people were descended from Trojans who escaped the ruin of their city and fled to the British Isles.¹²

The unfortunate Caradock is also poor. Poverty is a major trope of the stage Welshman in the pre-civil war plays. Many of the Welsh characters are beggarly or just generally impoverished. Caradock is perhaps the most beggarly of them all. He enters with the allegorical figure of Penia Poverty, at the head of ‘an Army of Rogues’ alongside several other beggars who represent the four major peoples of the British Isles. Significantly, the Scottish Brun, the Welsh Caradock and the Irish

6 *Patient Grissill*.

7 J.O. Bartley, ‘The Stage Welshman, 1592-1659’ in *Teague, Shenkin and Sawney* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1954), pp.48-77, p.73.

8 Gwyn A. Williams, *When Was Wales* (London: Black Raven Press, 1985), p.52.

9 Anne Barton, ‘Notes to *The Taming of the Shrew*’ in *The Riverside Shakespeare* (London: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974), pp.106-111, p. 106.

10 *Hey for Honesty*, III.i

11 *Patient Grissill*.

12 *Hey for Honesty*, III.i

Termock are all nationalised but Higgen is not and it is actually the absence of dialect or national stereotypes which makes it clear he is English. Later in the same play, Mercurius, the god of theft, equates being Welsh with begging.¹³ The Welshman in *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject* is also introduced as a tattered beggar, this time one who has lost all his wealth and lands in war. He is an impoverished figure, who embodies all conceivable Welsh stage stereotypes within the one scene where he appears.¹⁴ Typically, like Caradock, his impoverishment and the loss of his wealth are compounded by his hot-headed nature.

Despite this beggarliness, the English stereotype of the Welshman in the pre-civil war sources is obsessed with his heritage, or 'pettigree'. The Welsh preoccupation with genealogy becomes a rich vein of satire, with the supposed nobility of descent set against the actual poverty of the proud Welshman. Many can trace their ancestry back to 'great Prute' [Brutus], descendant of Troy, and are proud of their British heritage. Caradock even makes a ludicrous claim for the ancestry of his fleas in a satire of Welsh pride in ancestry, listing their pedigree 'ap Shinkin, ap Shon' and so on until he reaches 'ap Brutus, ap Silvius, ap Eneas.' He claims that their ancestors fought in the wars of Troy and made Hector's lice look like 'Nits in comparison of her magnanimous Lice.'¹⁵ This stereotype of the Welshman obsessed by his pedigree is present in several Tudor and early Jacobean plays and can be clearly seen through the names of the Welsh characters. Surnames did not exist in medieval Welsh culture and heritage was traced instead through patronymics (e.g. 'ap Rhys' or 'ap Morgan') but the characters in these plays stretch credibility by the length of their names, listing generation after generation.

The presence of toasted cheese or 'caws boby' is another ubiquitous signifier of the Welshman in English literature of the early modern period. It is presented as his favourite dish and it is something for which he would do anything. In *A [Hundred] Mery Talys*, for example, heaven is overrun with Welshmen 'crakyng and babelynge' until St Peter stands outside the gates of heaven and cries 'Cause bobe', causing them all to run out in search of roasted cheese as St Peter locks the gate behind them.¹⁶ Its function in these texts is to render the

Welshman ridiculous for his almost veneration of such a commonplace commodity.

Many of the tropes which signify the stage Welshman also appear in the anti-Welsh propaganda that sprung up around the time of the Civil War. Although the earlier portrayal of the Welsh was not without malice, this new material developed several stereotypes into something more sinister whereas others diminished according to the agendas of the propagandists. The appropriation and use of these tropes had shifted slightly to cast a more serious and threatening light on the Welshman's worst characteristics.

In the Civil War tracts, the pamphlet Welshman still uses 'Cod' in place of God and talks of 'pipple pables'.¹⁷ He is still verbose and still swears by 'Saint Taffey' and cries 'Cods plutter a Nailes', as in the earlier sources.¹⁸ These continued use of these tropes attests to their semiotic power to signify 'The Welchman' in the popular English imagination. The substitution of 'p' for 'b' is another stereotype which survives into the Civil War material. *The Welchmans Protestation* in particular plays this trope to the hilt and applies several other minor linguistic quirks to build up a composite picture of the Welshman's oddly-accented English, exemplified by his bequeathing his son 'a create stone house tat stands in te pottome of te Mountaine'.¹⁹ In one pamphlet, after the mock-Welsh author has made a lengthy protestation against the mice who plague his country, a mouse replies to him and jeers at his 'broken English, false Writing, unproper words and so many Hers in every line'.²⁰ The use of mice in opposition to the Welsh is significant, and will be explored later in this article.

The trope of substituting 'sh' for 'g' to make 'shentleman', although present in pre-war sources, is particularly stressed in Civil War anti-Welsh pamphlets, making it one of their main emphases with the aim of making the Welsh seem ridiculous. The long names of the stage Welshmen carry over into the pamphlets, but are exaggerated to an even greater extent. Most of the purportedly Welsh authors of the tracts have names which stretch back over many generations to the point of ridiculousness, for example the mock-Welsh author of *The Welchmens Prave Resolution*, who goes by the name of 'Shon, ap William, ap Richard, ap Thomas, ap Meredith, ap Evans, ap Loyd, ap Price, ap Hugh, ap

13 *Hey for Honesty*, V.i

14 For example, his speech is riddled with 'Welsh' phrases and pronunciation like 'Cad' and 'p' for 'b's. Heywood, Thomas, *The Royal King and The Loyal Subject* (1637) <<http://bit.ly/1TpnXuE>> [Accessed 22/12/13].

15 *Hey for Honesty*, *Down with Knavery*, III.i.

16 *A C. Mery Talys* (1567) <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/29821/29821-h/29821-h.htm#Page_ii54> [Accessed

29/12/13].

17 E.136[18] *The Welchmans last Petition and Protestation* (1642) <<http://bit.ly/1NVBLJN>> [Accessed 28/12/13].

18 *The Welchmens Prave Resolution*.

19 E.137 [16] *The Welchmans Protestation* (1642) <<http://bit.ly/1VpwizV>> [Accessed 28/12/13].

20 *The Welchmans last Petition and Protestation*.

Rowland, ap Powel, ap Shinkin, ap Shones.²¹ In these, these overly long names of the mock-Welsh authors combine with their insistent status of 'Shentleman' to maximise their ludicrousness. In *The Welchmens Protestation*, for example, much is made of this stereotype as the author replaces every possible 'j' or 'g' with the 'Welsh' pronunciation. The Welshman's whole family have names which begin with 'sh' ('Shillian', 'Shennie' and 'Shon') and he even stresses the 'Shentlemanly' nature of his servant as he bequeathes unto him his 'Mourning Shaket.'²²

The exclusive use of the female pronoun is still ubiquitous in these Civil War tracts and feminises the Welshman in much the same way as it had in earlier literature. The English stereotype of the fierce nature of Welsh women which was discussed earlier appears in Civil War material at a more literal level. Whereas plays like *Patient Grissil* limited the fierceness of Welsh women to a hot-tempered demeanour, Civil War tracts talk of the potential for physical violence which these women possess. The playful assertiveness of Gwenthyan has become a direct and bloody threat to English masculinity. A 1643 issue of the weekly Parliamentarian periodical *Certaine informations from severall parts of the kingdome* makes mention of 'many [Welsh] women, which all had knives neere halfe a yard long, to effecte some notable Massacres with them'.²³ To reference Welsh women with knives would be to evoke the cultural memory of the battle of Bryn Glas in 1403, part of Owain Glyndŵr's rebellion, where the corpses of English soldiers were said to have been brutally mutilated by Welsh women in the aftermath.²⁴ The women were said to have cut off the genitals of the English in a display of literal emasculation at the hands of Welsh womanhood. Holinshed's 1577 chronicle of states that 'The shameful villanie used by the Welchwomen towards the dead carcasses, was suche, as honest eares woulde be ashamed to heare' and the fact that historians were squeamish about this female-perpetrated desecration even one hundred and seventy four years later attests to the grip this reported mutilation had on the English imagination.²⁵

21 *The Welchmens Prave Resolution*.

22 *The Welchmans Protestation*.

23 E.94[29] *Certaine informations from severall parts of the kingdome* (27 March-3rd April 1643) <<http://bit.ly/1JJ2OWX>> [Accessed 3/1/14].

24 Owen Rees, 'The Battle of Bryn Glas (1402): Glyndwr's Finest Hour' in *Medieval Warfare Magazine* (II.4) pp.43-47 <<http://owenrees.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Bryn-Glas-MW-version.pdf>> [Accessed 3/1/14].

25 Raphael Holinshed, Volume 4, (1577), King Henrie the fourth, <http://www.english.ox.ac.uk/holinshed/texts.php?text1=1577_5322> [Accessed 3/1/14].

It was therefore powerful propaganda for the anti-Welsh pamphleteers.

Welsh women were not alone in becoming more threatening in these civil war sources. In general, the broken and eccentric English of the pamphlet Welshman presents him as ridiculous in much the same way that it did in the pre-war sources. However, the unrelentingly negative tone of the 1640s material casts rather a darker shadow around this trope. The stereotypical trademarks of Welsh pronunciation are applied to a language full of threats of violence. In *The Welchmans last Petition and Protestation*, produced in February 1642 before the outbreak of civil war, the Welshman threatens that 'all her Countrey-men will march out with her in Warlike proportions and kill her enemies.'²⁶ Caradock's hollow threats in *Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery* are now not so unconvincing. The pamphlet Welshman often comes complete with an armoury of weapons. *The Welch Mans Inventory* catalogues the household goods of the mock-Welsh author and shows them to be mean and the Welshman impoverished. However, it also lists his collection of assorted antiquated but still potentially deadly weaponry, something with which the Welshman might attack his enemies, implicitly coded to mean the English.

Although he is still represented as impoverished compared to his English counterparts, this effect is lessened because of a shift in focus towards viewing the Welshman as a more violent figure. The Welshman is poor, but not as beggarly as he was before. Maudlin the Englishwoman in *The Welch-Mans Complements* mocks her Welsh suitor Shinkin because of his cultural impoverishment, an idea not explored in the pre-war literature. His idea of a compliment is to tell her 'in you cheeks appeared more Roses and Lyllies than there be leakes in her gardens in Wales'.²⁷ This is hardly the language of romance and she ridicules him for this prosaic attempt at flattery.

The idea of the Welshman's obsession for cheese still features heavily in the civil war material. In anti-Welsh Civil War pamphlets the mention of it is often followed by references to mice or rats, the Welshman's natural enemy as a rival for his beloved caws bobie. Two plays from the late Tudor or early Stuart period, Fletcher's *Pilgrim* and Middleton and Rowley's *Changeling*, reference mice or rats with regard to the Welsh. In both these plays there is a scene with a Welshman who has been driven mad because a mouse or rat has 'eat up' his

26 *The Welchmans last Petition and Protestation*.

27 E.91[30] *The Welch-Mans Complements* (1643) <<http://bit.ly/1OxvDwS>> [Accessed 3/1/14].

cheese.²⁸ From this it is clear that this trope was not a new innovation but had its roots in an earlier period. However, the idea of setting up an opposition between the Welsh and rodents is more fully developed in the Civil War material.

Mark Stoye has said that the English and the proto-Parliamentarian faction identified themselves with the mouse during the 1640s²⁹ and this view is supported by a contemporary pamphlet which references the 'English Mouse' in comparison to other nationalised animals like the 'Flemish Frog ... [and] Spanish Kite'.³⁰ Indeed, references to Welsh or British 'goats' had been around for decades if not centuries, cropping up in several plays from Shakespeare to Randolph.³¹ Therefore it would not be beyond the bounds of reasoning for the English to become associated with an animal of their own.³² Many of the mock-Welshmen of these anti-Welsh tracts of the early 1640s complain about the English mouse who eats up Welsh cheese as well as all other commodities and provisions.³³

February 1642 saw the publication of *The Welchmans last Petition and Protestation* which centres around the eponymous mock Welshman's struggle to subdue 'her home-bred enemies'.³⁴ 'Master Little-eyes' is positioned as the bane of the Welshman's life, causing him all manner of strife and as the main object which the Welshman wishes to destroy via perhaps allegorical 'Mouse Traps'.³⁵

The association of the English nation with the mouse and the way in which these pamphlets position the Welsh as the natural enemy of mice introduces a sinister political element to this trope. Whereas referencing a mouse where a Welshman was concerned was previously

used only to highlight his obsessive love of cheese and make him appear ridiculous, now it marked the Welsh out as a potential threat to the English. Welsh armouries filled with antiquated but deadly weapons to rid Wales of 'her Round-head, Long-tayld Enemies'³⁶ appear in *The Welch-Man's Inventory* and the mouse-traps called for by tracts like *The Welchmans last Petition and Protestation* illustrate the English stereotype that the Welsh were a people with a 'latent capacity for violence'.³⁷ Although present in earlier texts like *Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery*, the idea of the hot tempered Welshman is developed further in Civil War anti-Welsh material as a coded warning to Englishmen of the threat posed by these dangerous 'foreigners' on their doorstep. The stereotypically choleric and violent Welsh are determined on the extermination of these foreign rodents. No longer is the quarrelsome and boastful hot-head a figure of fun; he is now a direct threat to the English nation.

In conclusion, English stereotypes of the Welsh were deeply embedded in English culture by the time of the Civil War. Many of the hallmarks of the 'stage Welshman' which developed during the course of the sixteenth century went on to be included in the anti-Welsh propaganda produced in the build up to and during the Civil War in the 1640s. The stereotypical broken and oddly accented English of the Welshman and his love for cheese continued to make him a figure of ridicule although his beggarliness was not as pronounced as it was in some of the earlier texts. Instead, his hot-tempered and fierce nature became more sinister and his propensity to violence was developed into a latent threat to English nationhood to suit the political agenda of the pamphleteers. The Welsh woman too became something more than an instrument to humiliate and feminise the Welsh man, assuming a nightmarish bloodlust which threatened her English neighbours. The main alteration in the presentation of the Welshman was that the geniality which accompanied the portrayal of some of his incarnations in the earlier plays was replaced with a universally malicious attitude. Although the earlier plays were by no means as affectionate as historians like Bartley wish to believe, Civil War anti-Welsh propaganda was more acrimonious as it wished to actively set its English readers against the Welsh.

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28 For quote, see John Fletcher, Pilgrim. Also Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, *The Changeling* (1653) <<http://bit.ly/1miod4l>> [Accessed 22/12/13].

29 Mark Stoye, 'Caricaturing Cymru' in *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Diana Dunn (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp.162-180, p.170.

30 E.129[3] *I Marry Sir, Heere is Newes Indeed*, (5 December 1642) <<http://bit.ly/1ZByCX2>> [Accessed 3/1/13]

31 *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, V.v.136. See also *Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery*.

32 It is interesting to speculate on the origins of the equation between the Parliamentarian faction and mice. Perhaps it had something to do with an expressed wish to 'bell the cat', meaning Charles I?

33 For example, *The Welchmans last Petition and Protestation*.

34 *The Welchmans last Petition and Protestation*. See also E.147[4] *Newes from Wales, or The Prittish Parliament* (1642) <<http://bit.ly/1QYetsW>> [Accessed 28/12/13].

35 *The Welchmans last Petition and Protestation*.

36 *Newes from Wales, or The Prittish Parliament*.

37 Stoye, 'Caricaturing Cymru', p.170.

A photograph of a Tudor kitchen set in a brick building. The room features a large brick fireplace on the left, a wooden table in the center, and a window in the background. The table is covered with various dishes, including bread, bowls, and a large white swan-shaped object. A red banner with gold text is overlaid on the top left corner.

Tudor Life's Brand new series

OLGA HUGHES'

The Tudor Kitchen

There are many common themes in social history that tie cultures together, and if there is one thing that still brings cultures together now, it is food. The Tudors enjoyed discovering and sampling new delicacies as much as we do, and during their long reign many new food and dining trends were introduced. Over the coming months I am going to discuss the Tudor kitchen, from peasant households to town houses to the vast palace kitchens that fed hundreds of courtiers a day. We'll look at the layout of kitchens, kitchen equipment, dining and banqueting, cutlery and crockery, brewing and cooking; gaining a unique insight into the everyday lives of the Tudors.

There is no better place to start than the centre of every Tudor home, working class, aristocrat or royal, the kitchen itself.

The Peasant Kitchen

The perception of the typical peasant house has changed with the progress of archeology, but the image of one-roomed dirt floor shacks with people and animals sleeping in the same room is difficult to shake. In reality most peasant homes had at least two rooms, could have anywhere from one to ten acres of land, and were flanked by agricultural buildings. In the early medieval period peasant houses had a 'byre', or barn, attached to the lower end of the house for the livestock, but people slept in a separate part of the house. After the mid-fourteenth century detached agricultural buildings became the norm.

A popular device in film, the image of peasants felling trees and building their houses in an afternoon is quaint, but, like hunting, peasants were unable to go into woods and simply help themselves. Timber was purchased from the local lord who owned those woods, and hired tradesman provided the specialist work needed on dwellings. The working class might contribute to the building of their house by digging foundations and filling in walls.

Most peasant houses consisted of a large hall divided into two rooms, and upper floors for sleeping quarters became increasingly popular from the fifteenth century onwards. A house, depending on the size, was usually divided into three areas, the hall, sleeping quarters and kitchen. Some houses were designed with detached kitchens or bakehouses. Most peasants kept some animals, and outer buildings might consist of a stables, sheepcote, pigsty, or poultry house, a wainhouse for storing carts and wagons, and sheds for storing hay and grain. The garden would contain herbs, vegetable plots and sometimes beehives.

Peasants lived within communities with communal facilities, which usually consisted of the local church, the village green, the mill (for milling of flour) and the bakehouse. Thus, household kitchens were simple rooms. The main permanent fixture was the open hearth, usually in the middle of the room, for cooking. Water was brought in to the kitchen in pitchers and basins and taken out in the same manner. Washing up was usually done in a large tub on the bench, and the water then carried outside to empty into a 'sink', which was simply a hole in the ground. The rafters could be used for drying herbs, and to hang meats for smoking.

A recipe for avoiding bee stings from the 10th century 'Geoponika':

Take flour of roasted fenugreek, add the decoction of wild mallow with olive oil so that it has the consistency of honey; anoint the face and bare skin with this thickly, take it into the mouth and blow into the beehive three or four times.



Cruck Framing: Leigh Court Barn, Worcester, England.

Inventories were only recorded for people with ‘movable goods’ worth more than £5, so it is difficult to obtain documentary evidence of a peasant’s typical household goods. However, evidence from a little higher up the wage bracket exists. One example is tenant farmer Robert Dene, who rented a cruck-framed farm house in Stoneleigh in 1530. The inventory taken after his death in 1552 gives us an insight into the structure of a typical farm house and its furnishings.

*From Robert Dene’s kitchen inventory:
In the Kechen*

15 Pecys of putur, 4 pottes, 3 posnettes, a chafin; 4 brasse pannys, a scellet, a scymer, a pere of pottehoukys with a chene, a grydyron, a pere of tonnges, 5 spittes, 5 gouberttes

3 Lomys, 2 fattes, 4 payllys, dyschys, trenchers with oder implementtes

Robert’s house was divided into four rooms, the hall, chamber, solar and kitchen. The hall served as a living area, the chamber served as the main bedroom and the solar as the smaller bedroom. The inventory of goods from the kitchen show us a wide range of dinnerware and utensils, including pewter plates and cups and wooden trenchers, pottery vessels, pots, brass pans, a skillet, pot hooks, spits

and cob irons, a griddle and a pair of tongs. Robert’s kitchen lacked a table, and records of furnishings from the hall indicate it was used as a dining area. The Hall contained a folding table, tablecloth and cushions to furnish the benches.¹

In a world of slow cookers, pressure cookers, dry-fryers, thermo-mixers, suvée machines and other frivolous gadgets, the thought of only a handful of pots and pans and utensils and an open fire to cook on might seem like madness. Yet the working class diet was very simple. A kettle or cauldron for

¹ Robert Dene’s inventory from: Alcock, Nat and Miles, Robert, *The Medieval Peasant House in Midland England*, The David Brown Book Company, 2013 pp. 158-159



An assortment of medieval pots and pans on display at the Tewkesbury Medieval Festival

cooking the daily pottage would have been essential, a good heavy pot for boiling or a spit for roasting meat would have been required, and a skillet for frying. Fuel for fires, mainly wood, was expensive, so the communal oven would have been welcome for both economic and for safety reasons - wattle and daub walls cannot contain brick ovens. In a Tudor peasant kitchen you might see the pottage simmering in the kettle suspended over the fire, a bacon hung from the rafters above the fire to smoke, dried stock fish soaking, eggs roasting in ashes at the edge of the hearth, oat cakes baking and ale brewing. The kitchen not only provided the family meals for the day but could provide extra money - a woman could sell surplus from her kitchen such as ale, eggs and butter to help supplement the family income.



Hampton Court kitchen hearths

The Manor House Kitchen

The biggest difference between the peasant's kitchen and the aristocrat's kitchen was, of course, size and staff. The kitchens of the royalty and aristocracy were usually a male-dominated area. Women might be employed as pot-washers or general hands in the grander households, but far less often as specialty cooks, which suggests a deep-rooted patriarchal system in the kitchen rather than any perceived lack of skill. After all, there was a local 'wife' at Hampton Court Palace who made savoury puddings especially for the king. There is also a woman

After Henry VII's victory at the Battle of Stoke, he pardoned the rebel's figurehead, Lambert Simnel. The ten year-old boy had been forced to pose as a lost York prince coming to reclaim his throne. Henry VII gave Simnel one of the lowliest positions in the kitchen, as a spit-turner. Simnel remained with the Tudors for the rest of his life, later working his way up to the more desirable position of falconer.

recorded as working in Henry VIII's confectionary, although we know nothing else about her.

The highest position in the kitchen was that of the clerk, who ordered the food, kept an eye on the supplies and doled supplies out to the chefs. Expensive ingredients needed to be kept under lock and key. The clerk also kept the kitchen accounts which were then given to the household steward. Like modern kitchens there was a head chef who organised the menu. Supporting the head chef were the pastry chefs, confectioners, bakers, butchers, sauciers and more. At the very bottom of the kitchen hierarchy were the young boys, the scullions. They were responsible for not only pot-washing and cleaning the kitchen, but keeping the courtyards and surrounding areas clean as well. An existing example of a 15th century kitchen in Dijon contains great sinks hollowed out of stone. These are positioned under a large window and fitted with drains to empty the dirty water into a cesspool.

A manor house kitchen could be made up of a series of rooms, depending on the size of the house and staff; set well back from the main living quarters of the house because of the heat, smell and risk of fire. Servers were required to carry the finished dishes from the kitchen to the hall and, as we know, food rarely arrived to the table hot.

The kitchen relied on the hearths built along the walls. A window set close to the hearth provided much needed natural light in a room illuminated mainly by firelight and candles. Hearths did not usually have individual chimneys, a central 'chimney', a vent in the roof, let out some smoke and let in fresh air. Fire dogs were used to hold the fuel and keep the logs well-ventilated while burning, and

sometimes as supports for the spits (when they would be called cob irons). Iron firebacks were used against the rear wall of the fireplaces to prevent the brick from splitting due to changing temperatures. They also reflected heat back into the room.

Fuel was a major expense in the kitchen. The Duke of Savoy's chef Master Chiquart discusses the fuel supply in terms of cartloads and barnfuls. For four meals he estimated the hefty load of one thousand cartfuls of wood. Illuminating the kitchen was also necessary, and for the duration of a banquet Master Chiquart estimated the staff required "sixty torches, twenty



the feet of genteel ladies warm. One story goes that one Sunday the Bishop of Gloucester was giving a service in Bath Abbey. Preaching from the book of Ezekiel he turned to his congregation and shouted "It was then that Ezekiel saw the wheel!". At the mention of the dreaded word 'wheel', a witness reports that several turnspit dogs doing their Sunday foot warming duty "clapped their tail between their legs and fled from the church".



Meat on the spit, a display at Hampton Court Palace

pounds of tallow candle and sixty pounds of suet tapers”.

Great, cavernous brick ovens were the other major necessity in large kitchens, chiefly for baking bread, pastries and pies. They required a great deal of space and only houses large enough could contain one, whatever the wealth of the owner. Narrow town houses could rarely fit an oven. The structure of wood-fired ovens has changed little over the centuries. The hearths provided the fires needed for roasting, boiling and stewing. Long handled saucepans and skillets could be pushed directly into the fire, as well as the sturdy three-legged pots called *posnets*. Kettles and small cauldrons were hung on hooks over the flames, bacon and hams were smoked high above the fires. Using the different parts of the fire for so many different methods must have required a great deal of skill, with cooking times and heat determined by sight. Special stoves were built in some kitchens for delicate work such as sauces, these looked like modern day barbecues built into the stonework above the hearths.

Although other methods of roasting meat could be employed, most kitchens, even in the humble households, contained a spit. Until clockwork mechanisms were invented the spit was turned by hand, a tedious job. ‘Turnspit Dogs’ were eventually bred to work in kitchens, running on a treadmill to keep the spit turning. They are mentioned in *Of English Dogs* in 1576 as *Turnespete*. The small dogs would run on a treadmill device that would turn the spit, a tiring job that called for the poor mites to work in shifts.



The great kitchen chimney at Fontevraud Abbey

Now every chef dreams of their perfect kitchen, and our medieval ancestors were no different. The wonderful fifteenth century kitchen in Fontevraud Abbey shows the medieval chef's dream kitchen layout.² The octagonal-shaped room contains eight semi-circular alcoves, five of which remain today, which would have contained hearths. The three alcoves that have been removed over time due to changes to the building probably contained workspaces. Each hearth has its own chimney, and other chimney flues received smoke from fires set in hearths further out in the room, so there is twenty chimneys in all around the circumference of the building. A great chimney central to the building provided fresh air and a good draught for the fires. Such a remarkable structure shows the skill and passion of the chef who consulted in the design.

NEXT TIME...

One of the most awe-inspiring Tudor kitchens still stands today at Hampton Court Palace. Next month we'll take a journey through the vast network of buildings that fed up to 1200 people a day in Henry VIII's reign.

Olga Hughes and Nerdalicious

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JANUARY'S FEAST DAYS

Claire Ridgway delves into the customs
and traditions of the Tudors in her
monthly feature...

1 JANUARY – NEW YEAR’S DAY

In medieval and Tudor times, the calendar year actually began on 25th March, Lady Day, but confusingly (for us anyway!) the Roman tradition of New Year was celebrated on 1st January. This was a time for the nobility and monarch to exchange gifts. The king would get dressed in his chamber and then wait for one of his consort’s servants to bring in the gift from the queen. He would then accept gifts from other courtiers and the queen would do the same in her chamber. This gift giving was an ideal opportunity for a courtier to try and win favour from the monarch or to impress the monarch with a lavish gift.

1 JANUARY – FEAST OF THE CIRCUMCISION OF CHRIST

1st January was also the feast of the circumcision of Christ. Circumcision, according to Jewish law, was to take place eight days (according to the Semitic calculation, which is actually seven days by a northern European calculation) after birth. It was also the day on which a child was formally named. Christ’s circumcision is recorded in the Book of Luke:

“And when eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child, his name was called Jesus, which was so named of the angel before he was conceived in the womb.” (Luke 2:21, King James Version)

6 JANUARY – EPIPHANY

This feast day brought the Twelve Days of Christmas to a close and celebrated the visit of the Magi to the Christ child. The Book of Matthew records: “And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him: and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense and myrrh.” (Matthew 2:11, King James Version) These gifts from the Magi were remembered each year by the reigning monarch. The British Monarch website explains:

“A service of Holy Communion is celebrated on 6 January (Epiphany) each year in the Chapel Royal, St James’s Palace, when an offering of gold, frankincense and myrrh is made on behalf of The Queen. These are the gifts offered, according to tradition, by the Magi to the infant Jesus.

This service has its origins in royal ceremonies which date back to the Norman Conquest. According to Psalm 72, the Wise Men were three kings, so it was fitting that an earthly king should make an offering at Epiphany. It became a crown-wearing day in the 15th century, and the Sovereign always attended the ceremony in person.”

Twelfth Night was a time to celebrate and it was marked at the royal court with entertainment like masques, plays and pageants, and the people might also share a communal bowl of wassail or Lambswool. Chronicler Edward Hall recorded a masque taking place for the first time at court at Epiphany 1512:

“On the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the kyng with a. xi. other were disguised, after the. maner of Italie, called a maske, a thyng not seen afore in Englande, thei were appareled in garmentes long and brode, wrought all with gold, with visers and cappes of gold & after the banket doen, these Maskers came in, with sixe gentlemen disguised in silke bearyng staffe torches, and desired the ladies to daunce, some were content, and some that knewe the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thyng commonly seen. And after thei daunced and commoned together, as the fashion of the Maske is, thei tooke their leaue and departed, and so did the Quene, and all the ladies.”

People would feast on sumptuous foods and then share Twelfth Night Cake. Inside this cake was hidden a dried pea and the person who found the pea in their slice of cake became the Lord of Misrule at the feast, being in charge of the revelry.

PLOUGH MONDAY

Plough Monday was the first Monday after 6th January and was the day on which things would return to normal after the Twelve Days of Christmas and people would return to work. It was also the first day of the new agricultural year and 16th century poet and farmer Thomas Tusser wrote:

“Plough Monday, next after that Twelfth tide is past
Bids out with the plough, the worst husband is last.”

Ronald Hutton, in his book “Stations of the Sun”, writes of how there are records from the 15th century of ploughs being dragged around the streets “while money was collected behind it for parish funds” and that this money might be spent on the “upkeep” of plough lights, which were candles that were kept burning in church at this time to bring the Lord’s blessing on those working in the fields.

7 JANUARY – ST DISTAFF’S DAY

This is a day that I had never heard of until I read Steve Roud’s “The English Year”. Roud writes of how this was the day on which women would resume their spinning following the Twelve Days of Christmas. He explains that there would also be fun as the young men would try to steal the women’s flax and tow to burn them, while the women retaliated by soaking the men with water. Robert Herrick (1591–1633) writes of this tradition in his poem “St Distaff’s Day or the Morrow After Twelfth Night”:

“Partly work and partly play
You must on St. Distaff’s Day:
From the plough soon free your team;
Then come home and fother them;
If the maids a-spinning go,
Burn the flax and fire the tow.
Bring in pails of water then,
Let the maids bewash the men.
Give St. Distaff all the right;
Then bid Christmas sport good night,
And next morrow every one
To his own vocation.”

Roud notes that St Distaff didn’t actually exist, a distaff was an implement used for spinning.

13 JANUARY – FEAST OF ST HILARY

The 13th January (sometimes celebrated on 14th) is the feast day of Hilary of Poitiers, who was Bishop of Poitiers and a Doctor of the Church in the 4th century. He was raised to “Doctor of the Universal Church” (Universae Ecclesiae Doctor) by Pope Pius IX in 1851. He is considered by some to be the Patron Saint of Lawyers, and others write of him being the Patron Saint against snakes and for snake bites, and of parents of problem children. The legal (and academic at some universities) session the Hilary Term is named after him and runs from January to March.

25 JANUARY – FEAST OF THE CONVERSION OF ST PAUL

This feast day celebrated the conversion of St Paul (formerly Saul) on the road to Damascus. While Saul, who had persecuted Christian, was travelling to Damascus, “there shined round about him a light from heaven” and a voice spoke to him. The voice identified itself as Jesus “whom you are persecuting”. This experience led to Saul’s conversion and he turned from Saul, a man who persecuted Christian, to Paul the Apostle and great evangelist.

In Mary I’s reign, the Feast of St Paul’s was celebrated with torchlit processions and bonfires. Perhaps this light symbolised the light from Heaven which Saul saw.

CLAIRE RIDGWAY



Claire Ridgway worked in education and freelance writing before creating The Anne Boleyn Files history website and becoming a full-time history researcher, blogger and author. The Anne Boleyn Files is known for its historical accuracy and Claire’s mission to get to the truth behind Anne Boleyn’s story. Her writing is easy-to-read and conversational, and readers often comment on how reading Claire’s books is like having a coffee with her and chatting about history.

Claire is also the founder of The Tudor Society.

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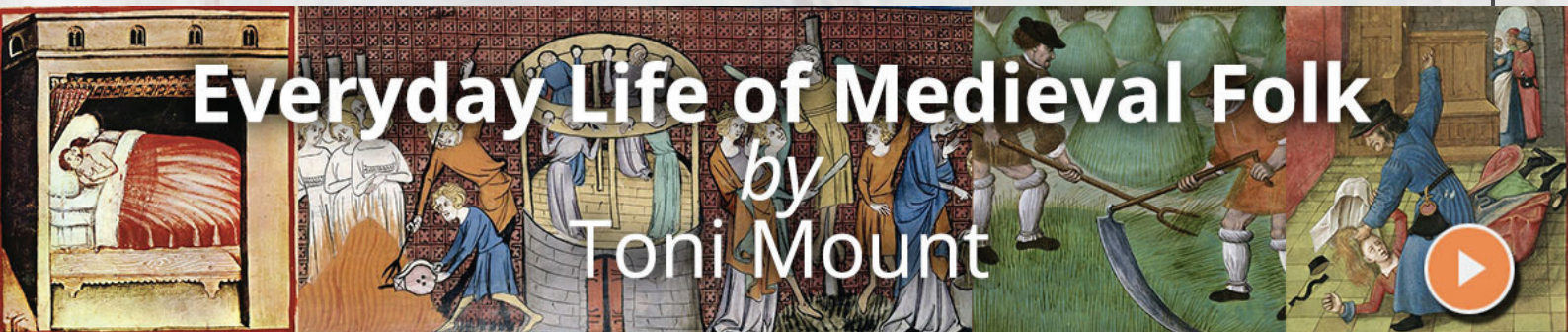
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JANUARY'S ON THIS

<p>1 January 1540</p> <p>Henry VIII met his bride-to-be, Anne of Cleves, at Rochester. Following the great chivalric tradition, Henry disguised himself and attempted to kiss her, but a shocked Anne did not recognise him as King. It was a disastrous first meeting, and Henry was sorely disappointed that she could not recognise him as her true love.</p>	<p>2 January 1492</p> <p>King Boabdil surrendered Granada in Spain to the forces of King Ferdinand II of Aragon and Queen Isabella I of Castile.</p>	<p>3 January 1541</p> <p>Anne of Cleves visited Hampton Court Palace to greet her former husband, Henry VIII, and his new wife, Catherine Howard, and to exchange New Year's gifts. It was only a year since they had first met!</p>		
<p>9 January 1539</p> <p>Executions of Henry Pole, 1st Baron Montagu, and Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, on Tower Hill.</p>	<p>10 January 1603</p> <p>Probable date of death of Arthur Dent, religious writer and Church of England clergyman, from a fever. Nothing to do with "<i>The Hitchhiker's Guide</i>".</p>	<p>11 January 1569</p> <p>The first recorded lottery, "<i>a verie rich Lotterie General</i>", was drawn at the west door of St Paul's Cathedral.</p>	<p>12 January 1510</p> <p>Henry VIII jousted for the first time as King. Nobody knew whether it was William Compton or the King involved in an accident. The King took off his disguise to reassure worried spectators that he was not injured. Someone cried out "God save the King!"</p>	
<p>16 January 1549</p> <p>Edward VI's uncle, Thomas Seymour, was alleged to have broken into the King's apartments at Hampton Court Palace to kidnap the young King.</p>	<p>17 January 1541</p> <p>Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder, courtier, and poet, was arrested and sent to the Tower of London after being accused of corresponding with Cardinal Pole.</p>	<p>18 January 1486</p> <p>The twenty-nine year-old Henry VII married the twenty year-old Elizabeth of York.</p>	<p>19 January 1636</p> <p>Death of Marcus Gheeraerts, painter, in London. He is known for his "Ditchley" portrait of Elizabeth I.</p>	<p>20 January 1557</p> <p>"The Queen's Grace's pensioners did muster in bright harness" before Mary I.</p>
<p>24 January 1597</p> <p>Death of Thomas Molyneux, Elizabeth I's Chancellor of the Court of Exchequer, and Receiver of Customs and Imposts on Wines.</p>				

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The "Ditchley" Portrait of Elizabeth I

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

<p>4 January 1493 Christopher Columbus (Cristóbal Colón) left the New World on return from his first voyage. SEE THE IMAGE BELOW.</p>	<p>5 January 1511 Baptism of Henry, Duke of Cornwall, son of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, at the Chapel of the Observant Friars, Richmond.</p>	<p>6 January Epiphany. It would be celebrated with a church service, feasting and entertainment. SEE JANUARY FEAST DAYS</p>	<p>7 January 1536 At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, Catherine of Aragon died at Kimbolton Castle. She had been ill for a few months.</p>	<p>8 January 1536 When a messenger arrived at Greenwich with the news of his first wife's death, Henry VIII cried out, "<i>God be praised that we are free from all suspicion of war!</i>"</p>
	<p>13 January 1593 Death of Sir Henry Neville, Groom of Henry VIII's Privy Chamber. He was buried at Waltham St Lawrence in Berkshire.</p>	<p>14 January 1515 Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was sent to France to bring back Henry VIII's sister, Mary Tudor, Queen of France.</p>	<p>15 January 1535 Henry VIII declared himself head of the Church in England.</p>	
	<p>21 January 1542 A Bill of Attainder was passed against Catherine Howard, Henry VIII's fifth wife.</p>	<p>22 January 1561 Birth of Francis Bacon, Viscount St Alban, the Elizabethan Lord Chancellor, politician, philosopher, author and scientist.</p>	<p>23 January 1571 Official opening of the Royal Exchange in London by Elizabeth I. It had been founded in 1565 by mercer and merchant, Sir Thomas Gresham.</p>	
<p>25 January 1559 Elizabeth I's first Parliament was inaugurated.</p>	<p>26 January 1554 Mary I wrote to Elizabeth I summoning her to court, warning her about Wyatt's Rebellion. Elizabeth did not obey the summons.</p>	<p>27 January 1606 The Trial of the eight surviving conspirators of the Gunpowder Plot, including Guy Fawkes, began in Westminster Hall.</p>	<p>28 January 1457 Henry VII, or Henry Tudor, was born at Pembroke Castle in Wales. On the same day 90 years later, Henry VIII died.</p>	
<p>29 January 1536 Catherine of Aragon was laid to rest in Peterborough Abbey, now Peterborough Cathedral.</p>	<p>30 January 1606 Execution of Robert Winter and three others, at St Paul's. He was hanged, drawn and quartered for his part in the <i>Gunpowder Plot</i>.</p>	<p>31 January 1547 Thomas Wriothesley announced the death of Henry VIII to Parliament and Edward VI was proclaimed King.</p>		

Painting of Christopher Columbus



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