

# Tudor Life

The Tudor Society Magazine

THE  
TUDOR  
SOCIETY

Members Only

Nº 18

February 2016

Ssssssssssh.... it's our

# SEX

edition...

*Sex in Medieval London*

*The Debate Over Harry Percy*

*Modernising Sex in Tudor England*

*Courting is a Pleasure*

*The Stalking of Anne Boleyn*

*.... and much more*

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*PLUS the chance to win*

*Elizabeth Fremantle's "Watch the Lady"*

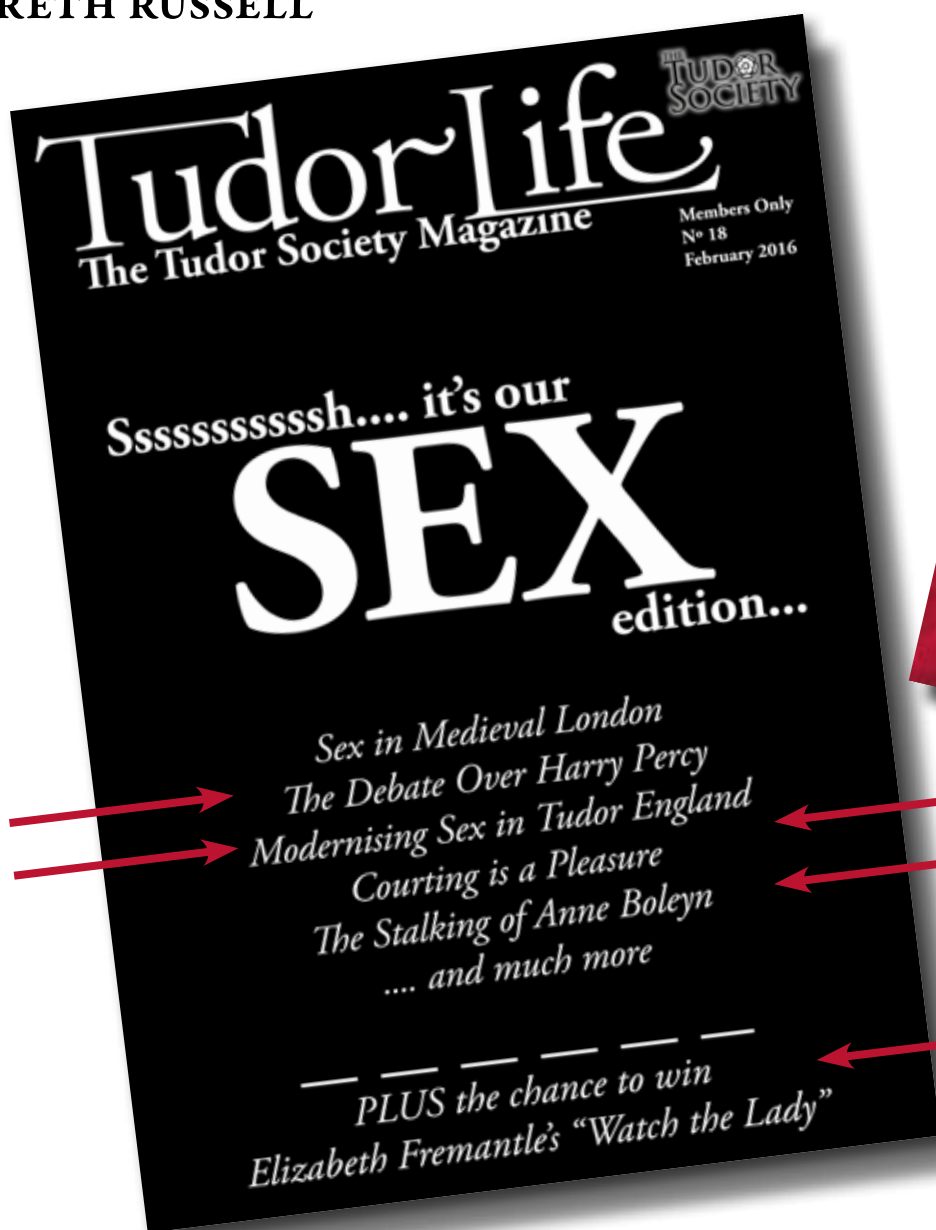


# Welcome!

February 2016

**S**EX, as they say, sells and nowhere is that more true than in the Tudors last surviving kingdom – their domain in popular culture. Violent scenes of sexual assault, as committed in the 2003 British television series “Henry VIII” or the 2008 movie “The Other Boleyn Girl”, generated great controversy, while – as Conor Byrne notes in his article – at the opposite extreme shows like “The Tudors” titillated their viewers with scenes of erotic frenzy and earthy sexuality. We are drawn to peep through the keyholes of the Tudors, speculating on their sexual morals and identities, but, as Lauren Browne discusses, sex is also gender and sexuality could be muted in the era to create the “perfect” woman, in this case Henry VIII’s idealised mother, Elizabeth of York. This issue, on sexuality, romance and gender tries to take seriously one of the most controversial areas of Tudor lore and in doing so, open fresh debates through a series of fascinating articles.

**GARETH RUSSELL**



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# Tudor Life



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# His Dear Bedfellow: *The Debate over Harry Percy*

**O**N the fringes of the academic world, Anne Boleyn was close to several prominent homosexuals. According to Professor Retha M. Warnicke, author of *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn: Family politics at the court of Henry VIII* (1989), Anne's only surviving brother and several of her closest friends were gay, to use a modern word for an eternal experience. This

theory has been critiqued and rejected by several of Anne Boleyn's biographers – most stridently by Eric Ives in 2004 – and also by biographers of George Boleyn, like Clare Cherry and Claire Ridgway in 2014.

Nonetheless, it has found its way into the narratives of several works of fiction – most prominently in a bestselling novel called *The Other Boleyn Girl* and the television show *The Tudors* – and from there it



settled into mainstream popular culture. Less well-known is the theory that Anne Boleyn's most famous early love interest, Lord Henry Percy, later 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Northumberland, might also have been involved in an homosexual relationship with Catherine Howard's future brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Arundell.

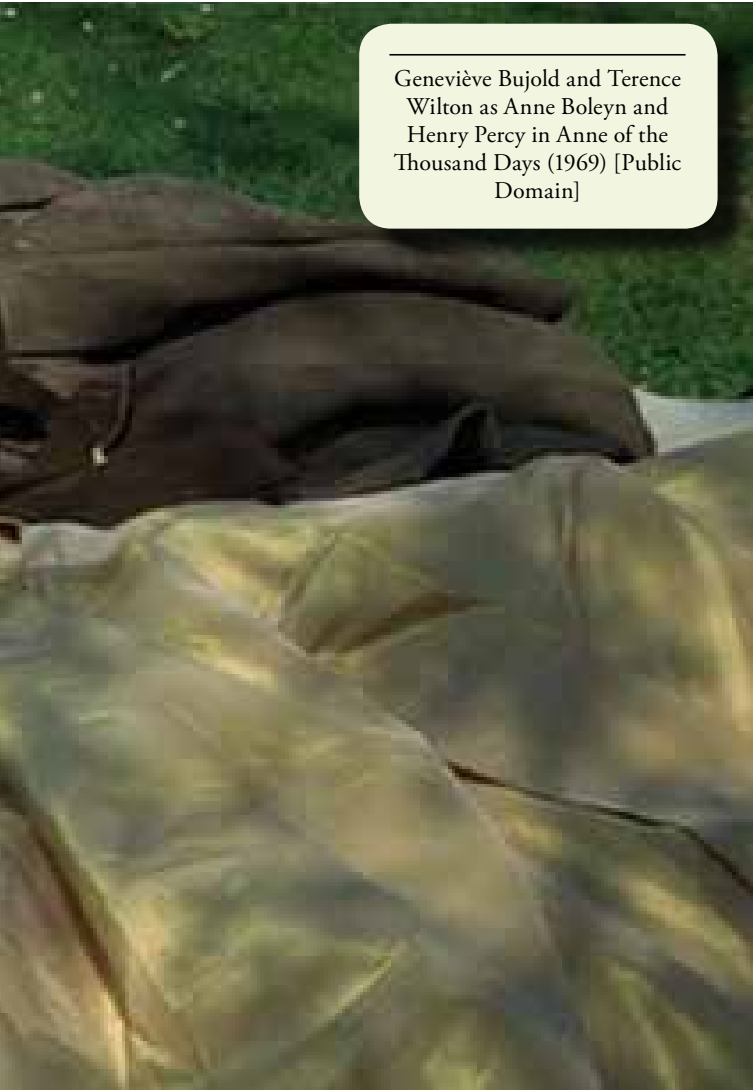
In the many novels and fictional takes on Anne Boleyn's life, Henry Percy (usually nicknamed "Harry"), often plays a prominent role. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century plays about her, like *Virtue Betray'd*, could not get enough of the romantic agony of the young debutante torn from the arms of her true love – a trope so arresting and rife with creative possibilities that it was resurrected in twentieth-century dramas, like Margaret Campbell Barnes' novel *Brief Gaudy Hour* or in Maxwell Anderson's play *Anne of the Thousand Days*, which of course later became an Oscar-winning movie.

The legend of the "one that got away" is a particularly aching one in Anne Boleyn's case, given the tragic finale of her spectacular marriage. There's also just enough documentary evidence

from the time to justify the story's longevity. George Cavendish, who served in Cardinal Wolsey's household at the same time as Lord Henry, explicitly described the King's alleged intervention in breaking off the pair's engagement, while at Anne's trial in 1536 Percy collapsed, which many subsequently interpreted as a reaction to the trauma of watching his would-be fiancée being condemned to death. His own marriage to Lady Mary Talbot was miserable and his life after his youthful romance with Anne was so unhappy that it has produced irresistible speculation about the extent of his broken heart. More recently, he has also speculatively been linked with Thomas Arundell. As an interesting side note, if Percy was romantically involved with both of them, his lovers do not seem to have had particularly happy exits. Like Anne Boleyn, Thomas Arundell's life ended on the scaffold – he was beheaded in 1552 after being accused of treason, equally unfairly, after a quarrel with Edward VI's protector, John Dudley.

Born into one of the greatest families of the European aristocracy, Lord Henry Algernon Percy was sent to serve in the household of Cardinal Wolsey, where he met and fell in love with Anne Boleyn. Famously, things came to an abrupt end and Percy married one of the Earl of Shrewsbury's daughters, then inherited his father's title in 1527, around the same time as Anne began her upward swing towards the throne. His health was terrible and the unhappiness of his marriage to Mary Talbot was only eclipsed by his deteriorating relationships with his younger brothers, Thomas and Ingram.

They watched aghast as the new Earl proceeded to blow through much of their inheritance with his lavish generosity to his friends and favourite servants. (By the eighteenth century, he was still being referred to in Percy family lore as "the Unthrifty Earl".) One recipient in particular raised the brothers' ire – Thomas Arundell was the son of ancient and respected family of the southern gentry. He was nothing if not ambitious. A skilled social climber, he was related to the Marquess of Dorset, a client of Thomas Cromwell, his sister eventually married the Earl of Sussex and sometime around 1530, he married Catherine Howard's sister, Margaret. He himself seems to have been a ward



Geneviève Bujold and Terence Wilton as Anne Boleyn and Henry Percy in *Anne of the Thousand Days* (1969) [Public Domain]

of the Earl of Northumberland and to have joined Henry Percy during his time with Cardinal Wolsey.

Henry Percy was besotted with Arundell. Before the latter's marriage, he habitually referred to him as 'his bedfellow' in their correspondence and as soon as Percy became the new earl, appointments and gifts fell into Thomas Arundell's lap. The family and their dependents began to complain, but Henry Percy defended his generosity on the grounds of the 'manifold kindnesses and goodness at many times before this time by the said Thomas Arundell to the earl'. The relationship was not entirely one sided. When a younger Percy had been in trouble for a gambling debt, Arundell had lent him the not-inconsequential sum of £50 to pay it off.

In his article, 'Henry Percy, sixth earl of Northumberland, and the fall of the House of Percy, 1527-1537', R. W. Hoyle tentatively dismisses the argument that the Earl's largesse and repeated references to his 'bedfellow' suggested a romantic relationship. However, he does also acknowledge that there was something intense about the Earl's repetition of the phrase. To quote, 'The form of address is clearly most unusual between men but hardly amounts (as some have believed) to evidence of homosexuality.'

In this, I would agree but quibble. Men frequently shared beds in aristocratic households, which leaves us either with Professor Warnicke's conclusion that what perhaps often went on stayed private or the opposite conclusion that sharing a bed so often removed any potential erotic associations. We can be guilty of projecting modern views on to ancient practices. For instance, the less said about the theories trying to sexually link Richard the Lionheart to Philippe II of France because they shared a bed in the twelfth century, the better. However, Hoyle is right to say that while

it does not clinch a romantic attachment, the Earl's language to Arundell is extraordinary. One need only look at the ways in which 'bedfellow' could be used between a happily married couple, like Gregory and Elizabeth Cromwell in their letters from 1539, to see that the apparently innocuous phrase could often be turned into a flirtatious and affectionate gesture. Gregory jokingly addressed one letter to 'my right loving bedfellow, at Leeds Castle in Kent'. The custom of sharing a bed may have been the norm, but referring to its fellow occupant as one's 'bedfellow' was not.

Hoyle is right to caution us against concluding definitively that the Earl and Arundell were tied to one another by something other than friendship.

Equally, however, it is impossible to dismiss entirely. Evidence of homosexuality or bisexuality in the sixteenth century is, for obvious reasons, extraordinarily rare. The Earl's affection for Thomas Arundell is, in fact, one of the most blatant leading pieces that we have, apart from men for whom there is little-to-no doubt (such as James I or Christopher Marlowe). Was Lord Northumberland romantically involved with his friend and did their relationship encourage him to fritter away his

patrimony to the fury of his wife and younger brothers? The answer to the first is impossible to know; the answer to the second is, yes. What is perhaps more important and exciting than the fragmentary and extremely tenuous evidence about Henry Percy's friendship with Thomas Arundell is what their letters and Dr Hoyle's commentary highlight – they point us to the world of ambiguity and innuendo, unknowable secrets and improvable possibilities, that lurk everywhere in the Tudor period and which keep us in thrall to its story. Henry Percy used the same language to a male friend that Gregory Cromwell used to a loving wife. What does that



mean? Any number of things, frankly, and not all of them mutually exclusive. An unreciprocated infatuation? A passionate friendship? Heterosexual jocularly? Exploited generosity? A misunderstood romance? A full-blown love affair? The thrill

of the Tudor era is that in many, though not all, cases there is just enough evidence to start a debate, but never quite enough to close it.

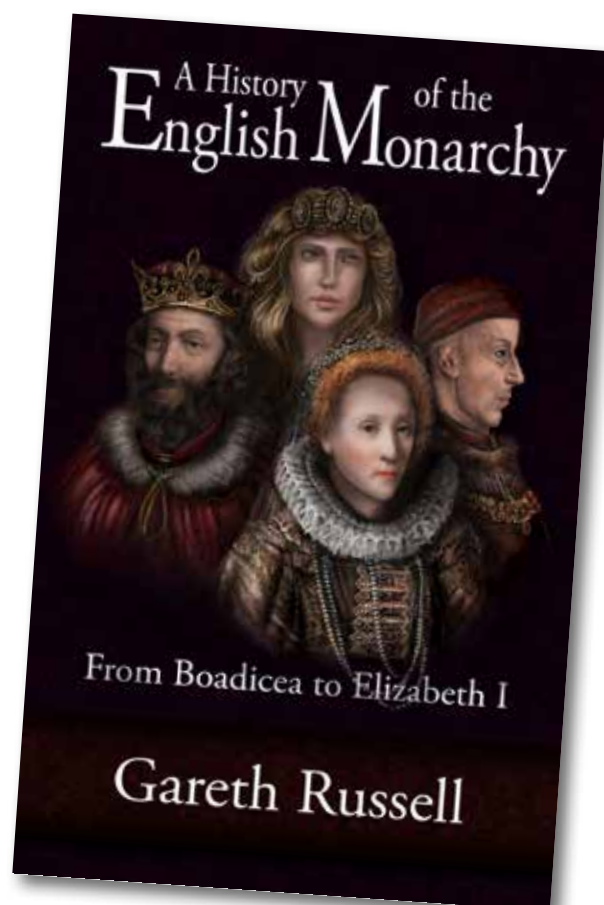
**GARETH RUSSELL**

### Further Reading

*Henry VIII and the English Nobility* by Helen Miller (Oxford, 1986); 'Henry Percy, sixth earl of Northumberland, and the fall of the House of Percy, 1527 – 1537' by R. W. Hoyle in *The Tudor nobility*, ed. G. W. Bernard (Manchester University Press, 1992); *Close Readers: Humanism and Sodomy in Early Modern England* by Alan Stewart (Princeton University Press, 1997).

**GARETH RUSSELL** read History at Saint Peter's College at the University of Oxford and he then gained

his honours in medieval history with a postgraduate at Queen's University, Belfast. His first novel, *Popular*, set in Belfast, was published in 2011. Since then he has written another novel, which was adapted for the stage, as well as two works of non-fiction and several plays. He is currently working on a full-length biography of Queen Catherine Howard. He is a columnist for *Tudor Life* magazine, and is the author of the blog *Confessions of a Ci-Devant*.



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# *Sex and Love in the Medieval Era*

BY TONI MOUNT

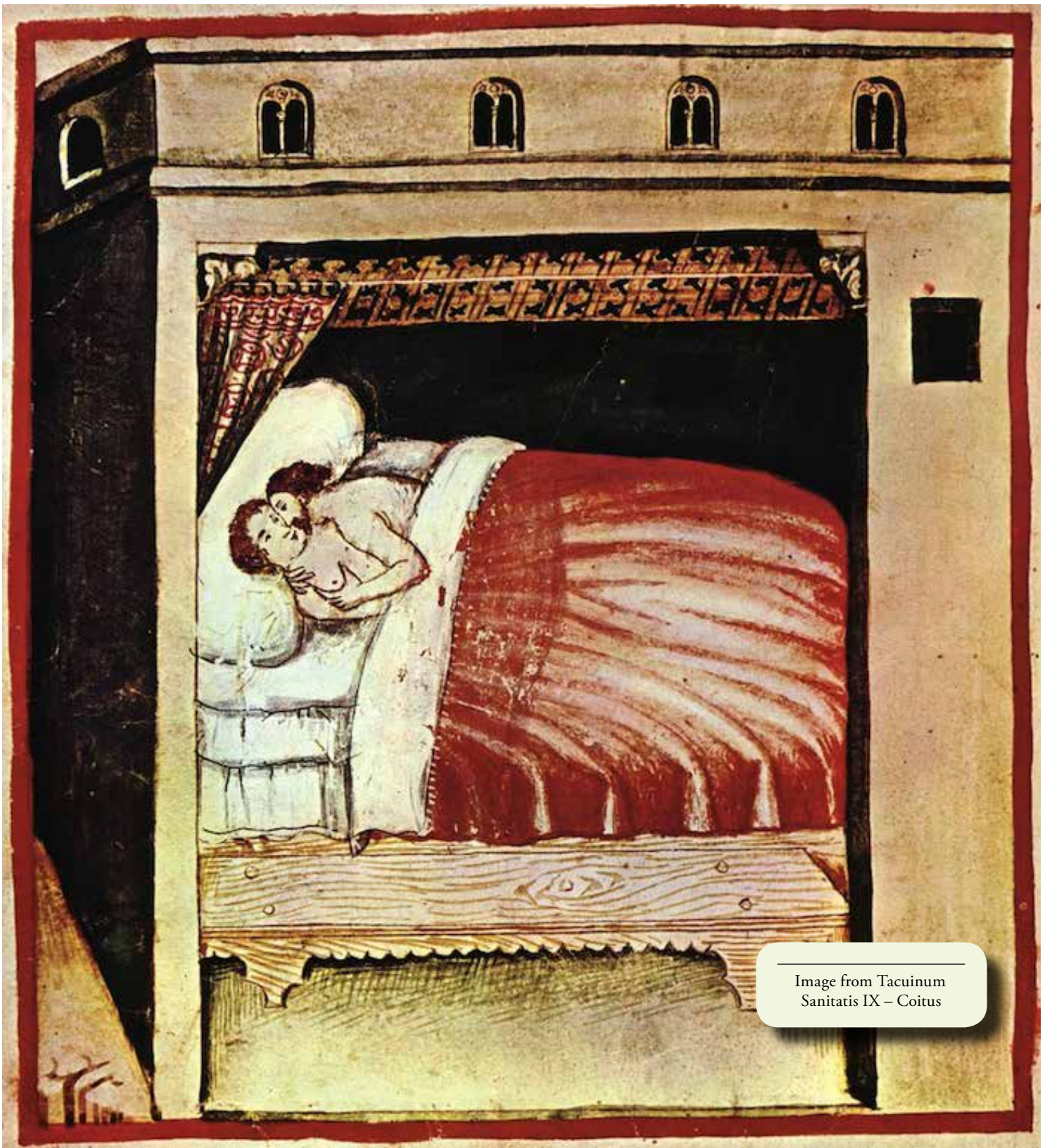


Image from Tacuinum  
Sanitatis IX – Coitus

**W**HAT about sex and love... The fact is that medieval folk were like us: youngsters wanted to enjoy themselves before settling down to marriage and the middle-aged – who should have known better – broke their marriage vows and suffered the consequences.

In medieval times, it was the law that was very different to today. For one thing, a simple exchange of vows between a couple – made in the tavern, the street or even in bed – followed by ‘consummation’ (i.e. sex), was considered a valid marriage in the eyes of the Church. No witnesses were required so it could prove difficult for either party to prove or disprove they were married afterward. This was the case for John Borell.

John was an apprentice wax chandler in London. Young, foolish and vain, he wore his tunic so short, it showed off his finely-stockinged leg and a good bit more. His master despaired. John was spending on clothes, wine and wenches, forgetting to save towards for the future. As for the women John entertained, his master worried that he might make a drunken declaration that could be interpreted as a marriage.

John was seeing Maud Clerk, a servant of Father Jeffrey. Father Jeffrey might have been a priest but there were rumours that he encouraged his female ‘servants’ to become intimate with up-and-coming citizens, then, when the young men arranged good marriages, he threatened them with prosecution for breach of prior contract, demanding money to keep quiet. John thought Maud was worth the risk. She dressed well, buying her finery from fripperers (second-hand clothes dealers). She boasted about breaking the sumptuary laws because she wore furs far above her rank. She also loved going to see the bear baiting and spending wild evenings at the pubs.

Twelve years on, John was a London citizen, having inherited property and enough money to set up his own shop. After a year in business, he wanted to marry a suitable young woman with a dowry. His master found the perfect bride: his niece, Leticia. She had just completed an apprenticeship in silk-working. Her fortune was only £40 but she would continue her silk-working after they were married, to bring in extra cash. John and Leticia liked each other immediately; he gave her a pearl ring, she gave him some

apples tied in a silk napkin she had made. The date was set for the wedding in St Paul’s and John bought his bride a ruby wedding ring.

Then, just before the big day, Father Jeffrey turned up, telling John he must appear at the Church Court of Arches because he had a prior marriage contract with Maud Clerk. John denied it, but hurried to court, demanding that the priest and Maud prove their claim. They couldn’t, but on the eve of the wedding, Father Jeffrey demanded £20 to keep silent. John didn’t have it so wrote an IOU. Next day with all the wedding guests present, Father Jeffrey arrived in the cathedral, saying there was a wronged woman – Maud – who would stop the marriage unless she was paid 20 shillings immediately. John gave the priest his own ring to pay off the woman and the wedding proceeded. A week later, John went to Father Jeffrey to demand the return of his ring.

To cut a long story short, the unfortunate bride, Leticia, saw her whole dowry disappear, spent to cover the cost of lawyers in a lengthy battle through the court. She was soon pregnant and it was a struggle to raise a child and keep her silk-business going as well, but at least John had managed to prevent the priest from having their marriage annulled, so her child would be legitimate and have a father.

Middle-aged, William Hobbys, surgeon to the Yorkist kings, should have behaved better. He had been married to Alice for twenty years and they had five children. While in France with the king, in the summer of 1475, his fellow surgeons noticed William sneaking off to the local brothel in the evenings. Then, back in England, one night before Christmas that year, surgeons were called to attend a brothel-keeper who had been injured in a fight at a Southwark stew.

Having tended the patient, one of the surgeons glanced through a spy-hole, into the next cubicle and saw his colleague, William Hobbys, in the arms of a pretty prostitute. Not only was he bringing his profession into disrepute, when his disgusted colleagues told Alice, she claimed she’d had no idea of her husband’s adultery. In 1476, she brought a case against him in the Church court held in St Paul’s and the court found in her favour. It was rare for a husband’s adultery to be considered such a serious breach of Church (canon) law. Divorce was never an option in medieval

England, but Alice was granted permission to quit her husband's 'bed and board'. In other words, the couple legally separated, but neither was free to marry again until their spouse died.

But what about true love? Was there a place for such feelings in medieval times? It seems there was, although it was frowned upon by families, high and low. Joan Plantagenet, known as the Fair Maid of Kent, was born at the palace of Woodstock in Oxfordshire. She was the daughter of the Earl of Kent. When he was executed in 1330, Joan was only two years old. Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III, had Joan brought up at court with her cousin Edward, the Black Prince. He was two years younger and called her his 'Jeanette'.

In 1340, aged twelve, Joan secretly married Thomas Holland without the king's consent. The following year, while Thomas was abroad, Joan was forced by her family to marry William Montacute, the thirteen-year-old heir of the Earl of Salisbury. She later claimed that she never revealed her existing marriage with Thomas, afraid he would be executed for treason. Several years later, Holland returned and the truth came out, causing a scandal. Thomas confessed to King Edward and appealed to the pope for his wife's return. William Montacute, unwilling to give up Joan, kept her a prisoner. Finally, in 1349, the pope annulled Joan's marriage to William and sent her back to Thomas. The happy couple had five children before Thomas died in 1360.

Edward, the Black Prince, Edward III's heir and Joan's cousin, had loved her since childhood. Now she was widowed, he wanted to marry her, but the king and queen didn't want a union between their son and a woman wed twice before. Incredibly, the lovers repeated Joan's earlier indiscretion and married in secret. However, Edward's parents were eventually persuaded and the couple had a second official wedding in October 1361, at Windsor Castle. In a letter sent to Joan in 1367, Edward calls her 'my dearest and truest sweetheart and beloved companion'.

The Black Prince had built a chantry for his adored wife in Canterbury Cathedral before he died in 1376, but Joan outlived him, until 1385. When she died, as requested in her will, she was buried at Stamford in Lincolnshire, beside her first husband, Thomas Holland, not with her royal husband at Canterbury. Thomas had been her true love.

True love could cause distress among the gentry folk too. In Norfolk, in 1469, Margery, the eldest daughter of Margaret Paston, had done the unthinkable and fallen in love with the family's steward, Richard Calle. This was a love match and they married in secret. When the family found out, they were horrified and tried to keep the couple apart. Here is a love letter Richard wrote to Margery:

*My own lady and mistress and very true wife ... It seems a thousand years ago since I spoke with you and I had rather be with you than possess all the goods in the world. Alas, alas, good lady, those that keep us asunder remember full little what they do ... I sent you a letter from London by my lad, and he told me he could not speak with you, as a careful watch was kept upon both him and you. ... I suppose that they think we are not contracted together [married] ...[despite] how plainly I spoke to my mistress [Margery's mother, Margaret Paston] at the beginning. ... I marvel much that they should take this matter so hard ... considering it is such a case as cannot be remedied ... and there should be no obstacle against it. ... I pray you let no creature see this letter. As soon as you have read it, let it be burned.*

Virgoe, R., *The Illustrated Letters of the Paston Family*, p.183.

Clearly, Margery couldn't bear to burn her lover's letter, else we would not know of it.

The Pastons utterly disapproved as we see in this letter written by Margery's brother, John, to their eldest brother, Sir John [RC is Richard Calle]:

*Sir, I understand that you have heard of RC's labour that he makes with our ungracious sister. But, whereas they write that they have my goodwill, they falsely lie. ... If my father were alive, and had consented thereto and my mother and you also, he should never have my goodwill to make my sister sell candles and mustard at Framlingham.*

Virgoe, R., *The Illustrated Letters of the Paston Family*, p.180.

The mention of his sister selling candles is a dig at Richard Calle's family who were respectable merchants in Framlingham. John was a snob: the Pastons themselves had

great pretensions but were only a couple of generations on from yeoman farmers.

Margaret Paston, matriarch of the family, had the couple summoned to appear before the Bishop of Norwich. They were questioned separately and the bishop reminded Margery of the shame her marriage brought upon her family. More importantly: was she certain that her secret vow to Richard was sufficiently binding that their union could not be in doubt? Margery replied that if the words of her vow were not enough, she would make them more certain, for in her conscience she was bound to Richard in God's eyes, whatever the words were. When Richard was questioned, his story confirmed Margery's. The bishop didn't want to upset the influential Pastons but could see no way around the issue and postponed his decision until later. In the meantime, he sent Margery home.

However, her mother, Margaret, had already decided. She sent a messenger to intercept Margery, saying she would never again be welcome under her roof. Margery returned to Norwich to beg the bishop's help. He found lodgings for her and, eventually, decided that their marriage was valid.

Margery's elder brother, Sir John, demanded that it be annulled but, having calmed down, wanted a proper, official wedding to be conducted quickly. Margaret was less forgiving and wrote to him:

*But remember you, and so do I, that we have lost of her but a worthless person, and ... if he [Calle] were dead at this hour, she should never be at my heart as she was.*

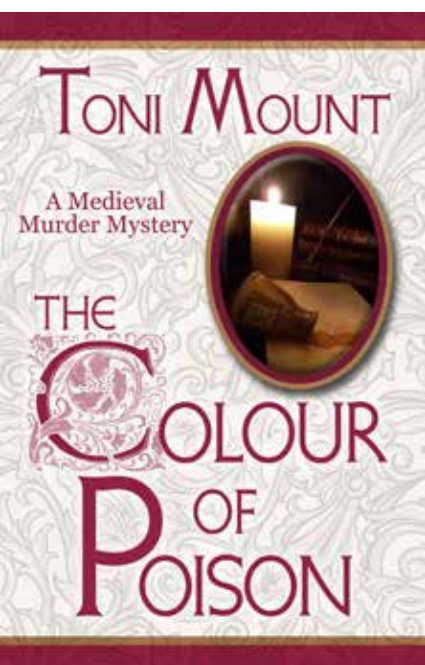
Bennett, H. S., *The Pastons and their England*, pp.45-46.

So her mother now considered Margery 'a worthless person'. However, Richard Calle was far from worthless and remained as the Pastons' steward, serving the family loyally and honestly for years without being accepted as one of them. Regarding Margery's relationship with her mother, little is known, whether there was a reconciliation or not. However, later, Margaret did acknowledge her daughter's children by Richard, leaving her eldest grandchild £20 in her will.

So sex was fun but medieval law might come down hard on those who enjoyed themselves, out of wedlock. As for true love... well that too could prove fraught with problems.

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in European Humanities are from the Open University. Her Cert. Ed (in Post-Compulsory Education and Training) is from the University of Greenwich. Recently, she completed a Diploma in Literature and Creative Writing with the Open University. She's currently studying a range of modules on contemporary science and technology also with the OU. She is also one of the course experts for MedievalCourses.com where her expertise on the "normal" people of the medieval era has been very well received. Toni has written and published books including *The Medieval Housewife & Other Women of the Middle Ages*, *Dragon's Blood & Willow Bark: The Mysteries of Medieval Medicine*, *Everyday Life in Medieval London*, and *Richard III King of Controversy*. Her first novel, *The Colour of Poison*, is due for publication soon.



# Modernising Sex in Tudor England

BY CONOR BYRNE

IN the popular imagination, the Tudor era is often associated with sex. This is in no small part due to the tremendous success of the television series *The Tudors* and the frequently bawdy novels of Philippa Gregory. Recently, Elizabeth Moss has published a series of novels entitled *Lust in the Tudor Court* which, according to one newspaper, promises to combine Hilary Mantel's *Wolf Hall* with E. L. James's *Fifty Shades of Grey*. English literature students are well aware of the bawdy undertones found in Shakespearean drama, while historians are frequently entranced, scandalised and captivated by the sexual scandals rife at the Tudor court involving colourful personages such as Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk; Lady Catherine Grey; and Elizabeth Throckmorton, maid of honour to Elizabeth I.

In popular mediums such as television, film and novels, Tudor couples are usually presented as engaging in sexual encounters that are remarkably close to modern forms of sexual activity. As Stefan Kyriazis notes: 'Gwyneth Paltrow in Shakespeare in Love and Miranda Richardson in *Blackadder* make it seem like Tudor women led merry, bawdy lives filled with satin, lace and lasciviousness. The reality was far less frivolous and fun.' In *The Tudors*, Henry VIII engages in sexual encounters more frequently than he attends meetings of the Privy Council and audiences with foreign ambassadors. The ravishing Anne Boleyn, played by Natalie Dormer, offers to masturbate the king during one episode in the series, and engages in sexual positions that were

Playing it for laughs: Miranda Richardson's critically-praised comedic turn as Elizabeth I in "Blackadder II" [Public Domain]



actively discouraged by contemporary physicians and medical writers. Her sister Mary demonstrates her attraction to Henry by fellating him early on in the series, while Katherine Howard leaves nothing to the imagination during her first encounter with the king, when she daringly raises her dress to reveal her bare leg, before taking one of Henry's rings and placing it in her mouth. Even the demure and inexperienced Anne of Cleves thinks nothing of sleeping with Henry in season four while he is married to Katherine. Similarly, in *The Other Boleyn Girl*, Mary Boleyn speaks openly to her sister Anne of her experience in sexually satisfying Henry, mainly in providing fellatio.

Most infamously of all, perhaps, in Brandy Purdy's novel *Vengeance is Mine*, Anne of Cleves and Katherine Howard participate in what critics have termed a 'lesbian scene' involving a pot of honey.

Depicting sexual scenes in the Tudor period in this manner is startlingly inaccurate and falsifies what we know of Tudor sexual behaviour. Modern novels, television and films modernise Tudor sex and present it as liberating, mutually satisfying, and ubiquitous. However, the reality could not be more different. Rather than prioritising pleasure, as modern individuals might do today, people living in the Tudor age were inculcated to focus on producing offspring. A woman's biological,






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Jonathan Rhys Meyer and Joss Stone in *The Tudors* [Public Domain]

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social and religious duty, both to her husband and to wider society, was to provide children. This was especially important for the aristocracy, for the production of heirs was essential to secure estates and the landed inheritance, as well as ensuring the continuation of one's lineage. If a woman engaged in extramarital sexual activity, as the wife of William Parr allegedly did, then she was liable to face imprisonment, if not worse, and would be branded a whore, to be shamed and ridiculed in society. It was generally expected that men would have mistresses; Henry VIII, of course, had several known lovers.

Contemporaries believed that it was vital for both the man and the woman to experience pleasure during the sexual act in order for seed to be released by both and, by extension, to ensure that the woman conceived. However, the primary goal of sex was procreation, rather than pleasure. While true, a woman could not be claimed to have been raped if she subsequently became pregnant, because it was believed that she must have experienced pleasure in order to have conceived.

In modern depictions of Tudor sexual encounters, the participants are usually naked. Yet contemporaries usually engaged in sex at least semi-clothed: Tudor women wore several layers involving ruffs, partlets, over-gowns and detachable sleeves. Removing clothing was a lengthy business, and it was reported that it took Queen Elizabeth several hours to get ready each day. Stomachers were tightly laced in place and skirts were held in shape with the help of farthingales and padded bum-rolls. While, perhaps, it was easier for men to remove their clothing, the portrayal of Tudor sex in media such as *The Tudors*, in which clothing is removed in seconds, is a fantasy. In modern western societies today, the removal of clothing before sexual activity is usually perceived as erotic or sensual, because the focus is on pleasure. However, given that the Tudors placed great importance on procreation, there was less, if any, emphasis on sexual anticipation.

Tudor people had access to contraception; wealthy men could use a 'quondam' made of a lamb's gut. Women could use vinegar soaked

wool or beeswax plugs to prevent pregnancy; others turned to concoctions of rue to induce miscarriage. Other forms of contraception included drinking herbal potions or the woman, following her partner's ejaculation, standing on her feet, jumping hard for seven or eight paces and descending a flight of stairs. It is, however, uncertain how widely birth control was practiced.

Perhaps most importantly, it is erroneous to depict the Tudors engaging in wild and titillating sexual positions. Contemporaries asserted that the missionary position was the only acceptable position in which to engage in sexual intercourse; any other position was viewed as dangerous (both to the woman and to the as yet unborn child) or offensive to God. The position known as 'woman on top' was condemned because it inverted appropriate gender norms, placing women in an unacceptable position of dominance and control. Sexual intercourse 'from behind' was similarly denounced because it was regarded as akin to animals copulating, rather than humans. Moreover, while we today view privacy as essential and as a right, as it were, the Tudors lacked this modern concept of 'alone time'. Servants were privy to their superiors' sexual acts, as the downfall of Katherine Howard proved. Lower down the social scale, in small homes, children were probably frequently privy to their parents' sexual activity, especially at a time when it was expected that women would give birth to many children.

Rules existed about sex, as decreed by the medieval Church, which remained influential in Tudor society. The impact of the Reformation saw a stricter control of sexual behaviour, and this became especially true later in the century and in the seventeenth-century with the triumph of Protestantism. Sexual intercourse was forbidden on a variety of dates and occasions, including Wednesdays, Saturdays and Sundays, Advent, Lent, feast days, fast days, and Easter Week. Moreover, sexual intercourse during menstruation was discouraged if not actively condemned, given that the menstruating woman was regarded as corrupt and polluting, potentially harmful to her partner. Sexual intercourse during pregnancy was similarly condemned because of the risk of harming the foetus. While it is impossible to ascertain individual understandings of sex across the social

scale, it seems fair to say that contemporaries generally heeded these warnings because of their worldview. Sexual aberration was closely associated with diabolic activity, and the threat of divine wrath, as manifested in the birth of a deformed foetus, was very real to sixteenth-century people.

Sexual activity was also, to some degree, regulated by age. Tudor women could legally marry at twelve and men at fourteen, although young marriages were extremely rare outside of the aristocracy. Historical research has indicated that the lower orders tended to marry in their mid-twenties, because of the importance placed on securing a stable household and financial income. Among the nobility, women tended to marry, on average, in their late teens or early twenties, while noblemen often married in their early-to-mid-twenties. Lady Margaret Beaufort was married to Edmund Tudor in 1455 at the age of twelve; rather than waiting for Margaret to physically mature, as was generally expected at the time, Edmund immediately consummated the marriage and his wife gave birth to their only son, the future Henry VII, at the age of thirteen in early 1457. The experience was so scarring for Margaret, both mentally and physically, that it left her unable to have any more children. While we lack evidence of contemporary views, it is likely that Edmund's decision to consummate his marriage immediately would have been condemned by his associates. The experience was undoubtedly harmful for his wife, and contemporary medical writers and physicians were usually agreed that sexual intercourse should be avoided if it threatened one's constitution or health.

Sexual intercourse when one was no longer 'ripe' or, more bluntly, when one was no longer young, was discouraged, if not actively condemned. Because the Tudors placed a great premium on procreation, sexual intercourse after a certain age was denounced because of the impossibility of producing offspring. This helps to explain prevailing suspicions and mistrust of the older widow, who was perceived to be unduly lustful and sexually unsatisfied, desirous of a young husband to please her. Older men could marry younger women without fearing the censure directed at widows, but these men could also be ridiculed if their marriages proved disastrous. Charles Brandon's decision to

marry his prospective daughter-in-law Katherine Willoughby in 1533, when she was aged fourteen and he forty-nine, was a source of mirth to courtiers at court.

Any sexual activity outside of marriage was condemned, and this was especially true regarding relations between members of the same sex. In an age in which divine wrath was feared, it is unsurprising that those accused of sodomy often faced ruin, although the consequences were more brutal in continental Europe. In 1533, Henry VIII instituted a law that established death by hanging for those accused of engaging in buggery, and it remained in force until the nineteenth-century. In this light, Mark Smeaton's open admission to George Boleyn of his lust for him during a court masque in *The Tudors* is both nonsensical and anachronistic.

Sexual activity was commonplace during the Tudor period, but it was not the same as that which occurs today in the modern West. Today, there is an emphasis on pleasure and an openness regarding sexual experimentation involving different acts, settings, and forms of stimulation. In the Tudor period, procreation was favoured above pleasure, and Tudor people did not usually engage in sexual intercourse fully naked. Sex was forbidden on a range of occasions, and intercourse in any position other than missionary was condemned and viewed as offensive to God.

**CONOR BYRNE**, author of "Katherine Howard: A New History" is a British Graduate of the University of Exeter.

Conor has been fascinated by the Tudors, medieval and early modern history from the age of eleven, particularly the lives of European kings and queens. His research into Katherine Howard, fifth consort of Henry VIII of England, began in 2011-12, and his first extended essay on her, related to the subject of her downfall in 1541-2, was written for

an Oxford University competition. Since then Conor has embarked on a full-length study of queen Katharine's career, encompassing original research and drawing on extended reading into sixteenth-century gender, sexuality and honour. Some of the conclusions reached are controversial and likely to spark considerable debate, but Conor hopes for a thorough reassessment of Katherine Howard's life. Conor runs a historical blog which explores a diverse range of historical topics and issues. He is also interested in modern European,

Russian, and African history, and, more broadly, researches the lives of medieval queens, including current research into the defamed 'she-wolf' bride of Edward II, Isabella of France.



# Kenilworth Castle

**KENILWORTH CASTLE** dates back to the early 12<sup>th</sup> century, when it was founded by Henry I's lord chamberlain, Geoffrey de Clinton, but was built over several centuries, benefiting from lavish spending by John of Gaunt in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, in the 16th century.

This medieval castle was an important building during Tudor times, being the home of Elizabeth I's favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Elizabeth I visited the castle in 1575 and, in anticipation of this visit, Dudley went to extraordinary lengths, building luxury state apartments, making a beautiful privy garden and pleasure grounds, and building a splendid gatehouse.

In 1649, the castle was partially destroyed by Parliamentary forces and is now in ruins apart from two of its buildings – Leicester's Gatehouse and the Tudor stables.

English Heritage have done much to improve the castle and you can now see exhibitions, an audio tour and a spectacular recreation of an Elizabethan garden.

## Highlights include:

- Leicester's Gatehouse
- The Tudor stables
- The atmospheric ruins of the medieval castle
- The Elizabethan garden

This wording is taken from "Tudor Places of Great Britain" by Claire Ridgway.

Photos by Andy Crossley and Tim Ridgway.

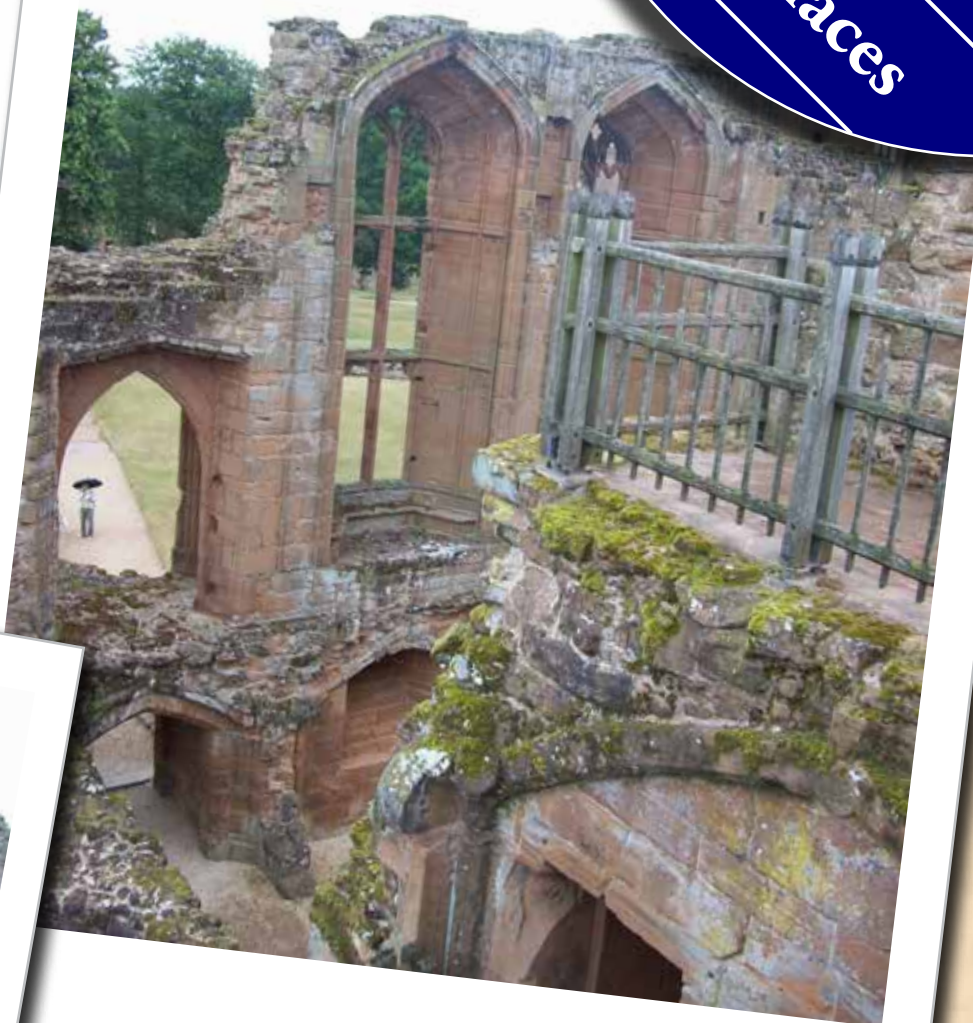


# Tudor Places





# Tudor Places



# COURTING IS A PLEASURE – OR HOW TO ACHIEVE AMOROUS DESIRES THROUGH DANCE

*by Jane Moulder*

**O**PPORTUNITIES to mix freely with members of the opposite sex were few and far between in the higher social strata of Renaissance

Europe. Court life would have been dominated by rituals and restraints, where “keeping up appearances” was essential. These factors would no doubt have conspired to make wooing and

courtship a somewhat difficult task. For those from the highest levels of society, there may have been little choice over your marital partner as arranged marriages were commonplace



Hieronymus Francken the Elder –  
A Dancing Party

in order to protect or gain estates, status or wealth. Even lower down the social scale, free choice of life partner may not have been a given and whilst opportunities to meet members of the opposite sex may have been more forthcoming, communities were still bound by fairly strict morals and the ever increasing power of the puritanical church.

However, it was possible to meet and converse openly with members of the opposite sex when one was engaged in dancing. Whatever the social background, whether the highest courtier or the lowliest peasant, dances and dancing formed an important and integral part of 16<sup>th</sup> century life. Sometimes, it seems, that dances lasted many hours and there are even accounts of dances lasting for days. Perhaps one of the reasons for this was, that whilst dancing, it would have been possible for a gentleman to converse with his partner without being overheard, thus allowing a private conversations in a public forums. A very rare occurrence.

Courtly life was governed by a plethora of rules, strictures and exact models of behaviour. Courtiers would have been continually required to prove themselves worthy through demonstrating a range of social skills, which included dance amongst them. During the 16<sup>th</sup> century there was a fashion for books of manners which dictated etiquette and guidelines on how to behave in all circumstances. These books contained a range of useful advice and guidance, from how to blow one's nose through to how to make "small



An Italian dance scene

talk" at a dinner table. These books were bought in their thousands and spread widely throughout Europe. The best sellers were translated into many languages and remained in print for many decades. Italian books of manners were the big sellers as, throughout Europe, Italians were considered to be the epitome of good taste. The Book of the Courtier by Baldesar Castiglione was first published in 1528 and translated into English by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1560. Likewise, Galateo by Giovanni Della Casa was first printed in 1558 and was translated into French, Spanish and German before the English version was printed in 1573 and was dedicated to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Whilst all of these books have their own characteristics, they all contain a similar message to their reader – and that is that if one wishes

to progress in life and be able to attract (and keep) members of the opposite sex, then one must attain excellence in the arts music and dance. Many people turned to a dancing master in order to help them achieve at least one of these skills. As the student, Capriol, states to his tutor in Orchesography, "*But without a knowledge of dancing, I could not please the damsels, upon whom, it seems to me, the entire reputation of an eligible young man depends*".

However, it seems that the role of a Dancing Master was not only to teach the art of dancing, the different steps and dance patterns, but also to teach manners, decorum and the art of liaison with the opposite sex. The very wealthy of society would have been able to afford a private tutor but for the majority of people this luxury was out of reach. Therefore, along



An illustration from Guglielmo Ebreo's dance manual

with the Books of Manners, printed dance manuals were developed and published. These contained not only the vital information of how to perform a step or a dance and the music it should be performed to – but they also contained advice on the requisite social skills to accompany the art of dancing.

Dancing was important from a courtship perspective; it not only allowed you to show off your grace and good health but it also allowed you to get physically close to someone of the opposite sex in a way that would have been impossible otherwise. This was important for more than one reason: the need to talk in private but also to find out if there were any problems with your chosen partner. Thoinot Arbeau puts it very clearly in his tutor, *Orchesography*, of

1589: “*dancing is practised to reveal whether lovers are in good health and sound of limb, after which they are permitted to kiss their mistresses in order that they may touch and savour one another, thus to ascertain if they are shapely or emit an unpleasant odour as of bad meat.*” Arbeau obviously considers dancing is a practical way of finding out what lies beneath the dress!

We can all, I am sure, attest to the fact that dancing can create an unspoken “conversation” between partners and nothing has changed in 400 or so years. Arbeau continues to state that good dance moves and some nifty footwork can convey whether or not one is “*gallant and worthy to be acclaimed, admired and loved*”.

Thoinot Arbeau was aiming his dance instruction manual at

the aspiring middle classes but the advice he offers is reflected in other books whose readers would have been in the upper echelons of society. One such best-selling book, was written by Sir Thomas Elyot. The “Book Named the Governor” was aimed at English court society and in it, Elyot defended the practice of teaching dance. He claimed that the harmonious movements of the dance and dance steps reflected the movements of the stars. Therefore, the very act of men and women dancing together symbolised perfect harmony as the aggressive attributes of a typical male would be counterbalanced and smoothed out by the softer virtues of a woman.

Dancing was considered to form part of one’s daily exercise regime and we know that, for example, that Queen Elizabeth would dance each morning to help keep her fit. This practice was replicated throughout Europe such as in the Estense court in Ferrara, Italy. Dancing formed part of the curriculum in the court school alongside hunting, walking and riding but one of the teachers, Vittorino da Feltre warned in his book that dancing should only take place where it was certain that it would not lead to either “*indolence or sensual excitement*”. For this reason, dancing often took place in private apartments, often the ladies’ chambers. Isabella d’Este the Duchess of Mantua received this report in December 1501 from an informant in Rome concerning her future sister-in-law, Lucretia Borgia: “*That evening I went to her room and*

her ladyship was sitting next to the bed and in the corner of the room were about twenty Roman ladies dressed and there were her ladies-in-waiting, ten in all. The dancing was began by a gentleman of Valencia with a lady in waiting. Then My Lady danced

elegantly with particular grace with Don Ferrante. A lady-in-waiting danced well; another was seductive.” From this account, the delicacy and grace of dancing could be considered alluring. In the various dance manuals, particular attention is paid to

deportment and appearance. Through dance, a woman could demonstrate her feminine attributes of gentleness and grace, while men could show off how fit and strong they were thus, by default, implying that they were also skilled soldiers as well.



The Dancing Master, Fabritio Caroso



An illustration from "Nobilita di Dame" by Fabritio Caroso



**The Wedding Dance by Pieter Breughel the Elder, Detroit Institute of Arts, Michigan**

In his “The Practice or Art of Dancing”, Guglielmo Ebreo advises that a women should ensure that *“her manner be sweet, discreet and pleasant. The movement of her body should be humble and meek, her carriage dignified and stately, her step should be light and her gestures shapely. Nor should her gaze be haughty or roaming but she should, for the most part, keep her eyes on the ground.”* Ebreo urges his pupils to take his advice on how to behave and

look and warns that if his lessons are not adhered to then there is a danger that they will look *“like a flock of sheep or like birds entangled in a net”*. The ultimate consequence of bad dancing and deportment is that it will *“pander and incite lust”*. Not only that but he warns that quarrels, enemies and murders will ensue!

Courtly life was dictated by hierarchy and this was reflected in the way that dancing was conducted. At entertainments and banquets,

seating arrangements denoted one’s status. Equally, the order of dancing, and who was allowed to dance when, was similarly carried out in order of social rank. However, it seems that the rules were there to be broken. The Italian dancing master, Fabritio Caroso, recounts stories of people who placed their chairs in front of others higher up the social ladder in order to get themselves noticed by more women and therefore, hopefully, secure more dances. Unsurprisingly, this was

frowned upon and he reports that this type of behaviour could result in quarrels which would, on some occasions, mean that the ball would have to be cancelled by the host. He advises that the correct rules of “*decent and honourable conduct*” be adhered to and that will be appreciated by the ladies – and other gentlemen!

Being noticed by members of the opposite sex was obviously one of the intentions by attending a dance and Caroso offers some advice for women. He recounts that, in their attempt to look demure, some women look down too low, and therefore the “come hither” look cannot be seen by the gentleman. He says that a woman must make it very clear whom she has chosen to be her dance partner by looking directly into the man’s eyes so that confusion and a scandal doesn’t ensue. If, however, she mistakenly beckons to a man standing behind her chosen target, she must dance with him so as not to cause offence. Under no circumstances must a woman beckon a man with her hands or head as that was considered too forward but the worst offence seems to have been calling out for a man by his name.

Advice for women is not confined purely to eye and hand gestures but Caroso also offers

a range of tips and guidelines on handling accessories such as gloves and handkerchiefs. But the difficulties of coping with clothing also merits some sage words and, in particular, how to cope with wearing a farthingale (the large hooped undergarment similar to a crinoline). Caroso states that when sitting down some women deliberately allow their farthingale to rise up to show their pretty petticoats underneath or worse – “*thus revealing such things as modesty will not permit me to mention*”. (Women didn’t wear panties in the 16<sup>th</sup> century!).

However, the path of true love never did run smooth – and there was also advice for women on how to behave if they were NOT asked to dance by a man. Basically, it seems that women should simply grin and bear it, not sulk, and talk to their friends instead! To counter this, men were equally advised to have no more than 4 or 5 dances with the same woman and they must not be seen to be favouring one woman above another.

Whilst this is all very good and appropriate advice for the upper classes, Arbeau’s advice for the lower ranks follows similar lines. However, it seems that whatever one’s rank, the ultimate aim of dancing was to

have a good time, to mix with others, to flirt and enjoy oneself.

Consequently, dancing came under attack from Protestant and Catholic reformers, some of whom tried to prohibit dancing. In Augsburg in 1549, “A God-fearing Tract on Ungodly Dancing”, criticised peasant dances for their overt sexuality. The author suggested that after a formal dance, some people performed a “*less disciplined dance, with nudging, romping about, secretive hand touching, shouts, other improper things, and things about which I dare not speak*.” Moralists feared such “improper” mixing of the sexes. To try to stop these practices, the civil authorities tried to curb the popularity of such occasions by limiting opportunities for dances or even going as far as prohibiting them altogether. Regulations against dancing were introduced and magistrates were sent out into the countryside to punish offenders and sometimes musicians’ instruments were confiscated or destroyed. Despite such draconian efforts, their efforts ultimately failed and the popularity of dance and dancing persisted – therefore allowing cupid’s arrow a slightly easier path.

**JANE MOUDLER**



**Jane Moulder** is our Tudor Life music history expert. She regularly performs and records with her group PIVA. She has also written four books about Tudor and Stuart Music, including fascinating insights into the lives of musicians and composers of the era, and these books are soon to be re-released as E-books by MadeGlobal Publishing.

## Together Forever or Never?

Some Tudor love matches were made in heaven, set to last forever, where as some never happened at all, though you might think they did.

Test your knowledge of Tudor relationships in this month's Tudor Life quiz to see if you know whether these couples were together forever... or never...

Were these couples **married**, or not?

| MAN                                  | WOMAN                            | Were they MARRIED? |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| King Louis XII of France             | Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII |                    |
| Galileo Galilei                      | Marina Gamba                     |                    |
| Thomas Wolsey                        | Joan Larke                       |                    |
| Francis I of France                  | Anne, Duchess of Brittany        |                    |
| Nicholas Hilliard                    | Alice Brandon                    |                    |
| King Louis XII of France             | Margaret Tudor                   |                    |
| Charles Brandon                      | Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII |                    |
| Catherine Parr                       | John Neville, 3rd Baron Latimer  |                    |
| James V of Scotland                  | Margaret Tudor                   |                    |
| Henry II of France                   | Catherine de' Medici             |                    |
| Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester | Lettice Knollys                  |                    |
| Ambrose Dudley                       | Lady Jane Grey                   |                    |
| Francis Knollys                      | Mary Boleyn                      |                    |
| Robert Dudley, 1st Earl of Leicester | Amy Robsart                      |                    |
| Francis Drake                        | Elizabeth Throckmorton           |                    |
| Walter Devereux, 1st Earl of Essex   | Lettice Knollys                  |                    |

It's not as easy as it seems, is it? We think we know who was a married couple, but maybe they weren't! Watch out for a couple of tricky ones in the list above. And don't worry, the answers are upside down on the page to the left. No peaking 'til you've had a good try at answering the questions!



# “MS KING’S 9” BOOK OF HOURS

*by Melanie V. Taylor*

**I**N the British Library is a Book of Hours referenced as MS King’s 9, which contains a private exchange between Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII.<sup>1</sup> This illuminated manuscript contains a great many illuminated pages and is a wonderful example of the work of a Master who worked in Bruges, or was trained in the style of Flemish illumination at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. A Book of Hours was a devotional book that was often used by ladies and from some private scribblings in the calendar and margins of two images we can see it passed through at least three different hands before forming part of the Royal Library that forms the core of our British Library.

The inscription at the front has the name Henry Reppes/Elizabeth Reppes and in the BL Provenance it is suggested that the inclusion of an image of St Eltheldreda is consistent with the patron who commissioned these Hours being from East Anglia.

We know that Henry Reppes died in 1558, but it is, in my opinion, that this book was already in the possession of his wife when he married her. The handwriting that appears in the calendar pages may be that of either Henry or his wife. They are certainly not the same as the other two hands that appear on f66v and f231v.

Elizabeth Reppes was the daughter of the secretary of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Norfolk and before she was married Henry Reppes, her name was Elizabeth

Holland, also known as Bess. Bess had been the mistress of the Duke of Norfolk and the Duke’s wife, Elizabeth Stafford, states her husband, the Duke of Norfolk, became enamoured of Bess in 1527.<sup>2</sup> We glean how the Duchess hated Bess Holland in the letters she wrote to Lord Thomas Cromwell. However, my story is not about the Duchess, but Bess Holland.

It is the letter to Cromwell dated 1538 that the Duchess says that Norfolk has been enamoured of Ms Holland for eleven years.<sup>3</sup> This gives us the date of 1527 as a possible start date of the affair between Bess Holland and the Duke of Norfolk. So how did this fabulous Book of Hours finally come into the hands of Henry Reppes?

In 1547 Bess Holland gave evidence against her former lover and his son. Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, was executed on 19<sup>th</sup> January 1547, but the Duke of Norfolk survived because Henry VIII died before the sentence of death was carried out. This same year Elizabeth “Bess” Holland marries Henry Reppes, gentleman of Suffolk, but dies in childbirth. Apart from the vitriolic diatribe of the Duchess of Norfolk about the Duke’s mistress, we know little about Elizabeth Holland. According to Wikipedia, the Duchess says she was a laundress, but if you look at Everett Wood’s transcription of the original letter she says Holland is “*a churl’s daughter who was but a washer in my nursery for eight years*” it is difficult

1 British Library: King’s 9. <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7991&CollID=19&NStart=9>

2 p371 Everett Wood, Margaret Anne: *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies* Vol II: 1846. You can access this through Google Books.

3 According to Everett Wood this original letter is Cotton MS Titus B I f383 for those who like prime source documents. The Cotton collection is in the British Library, but is not digitised so requires a visit to the library and a Reader’s ticket to access it.



to understand why the daughter of the Duke's secretary would be given such a lowly job. From other letters, including the Duke's response to his wife's allegations regarding a scar on her forehead, it becomes apparent that Lady Stafford was a shrew and throwing insults regarding Bess at every given opportunity. Stafford never loses the opportunity to denigrate either the Duke or his lover(s), or his friends. Apart from references to Bess in the various letters the Duchess writes we know nothing about her except that she gave evidence against her former lover, the Duke of Norfolk.

Quite often Books of Hours were given to a girl as a wedding present, so perhaps this is how it came into the Reppes household. I do not think that the inclusion of Eltheldreda is conclusive evidence that Reppes commissioned this work as is stated in the Provenance. For one, the dates are not consistent and two, according to David Nash Ford, the inclusion of Elthedreda, the 7<sup>th</sup> century Abbess of Ely, is often linked with royalty.<sup>4</sup>

So therefore, thus far we have a mystery of a Book of Hours that had perhaps been given to a former lover of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Norfolk on the occasion of her wedding in 1547 to a member of the East Anglian gentry. Perhaps Bess had been given it by a former mistress? She had, after all, been a maid of honour to both Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour.

At the beginning I mentioned there were three hands who had 'scribbled' on its pages. The second is under a full-page illumination of The Annunciation.

During her time at the Court of Margaret of Austria and in the household of Queen Claude of France, Anne Boleyn had access to the work of some of the greatest illuminators of the late medieval period and it is possible that this book was given to her at this time. The style of the naturalistic strew marginalia is suggestive that this is from the workshop of The Cast Shadow Master, who some experts believe may be Gerard Horenbout. Just as likely are the Bening and David workshops, so you can see how difficult it is to attribute artists to a specific work if they do not sign their work.

Both Margaret of Austria and Queen Claude were women of intellect and pious so it is possible that either one of them may have given the young Anne

this book as a gift. Her father, Thomas Boleyn, had been English ambassador to the Court of Margaret of Austria and he had also been ambassador to the French Court so it is not impossible that his daughter was given a gift of this value by one of the women she served. However, this is most unlikely as the rite would be that of Rome if this were the case. The fact that the book is identified as Use of Sarum shows this Book of Hours to be of English origin, because this rite was established in the 11<sup>th</sup> century by the Norman, St Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury. This suggests that perhaps this book was commissioned from someone who had access to an illuminator trained in Bruges, who may have been working in England. Perhaps the creators were the talented artistic Horenbout family who had come to London from Flanders in the mid 1520s. Since these books were expensive and suggests the owner was of considerable status. Perhaps Thomas Boleyn commissioned the Horenbouts to create the book as a gift for his daughter, or maybe it were her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk who gave it to her as a gift. If it were either Thomas Boleyn or the Duke of Norfolk this would be in keeping with the inclusion St Eltheldreda, the Abbess of Ely since the Boleyns and the Howards originally hailed from East Anglia. However, who created these Hours is not what concerns us today.

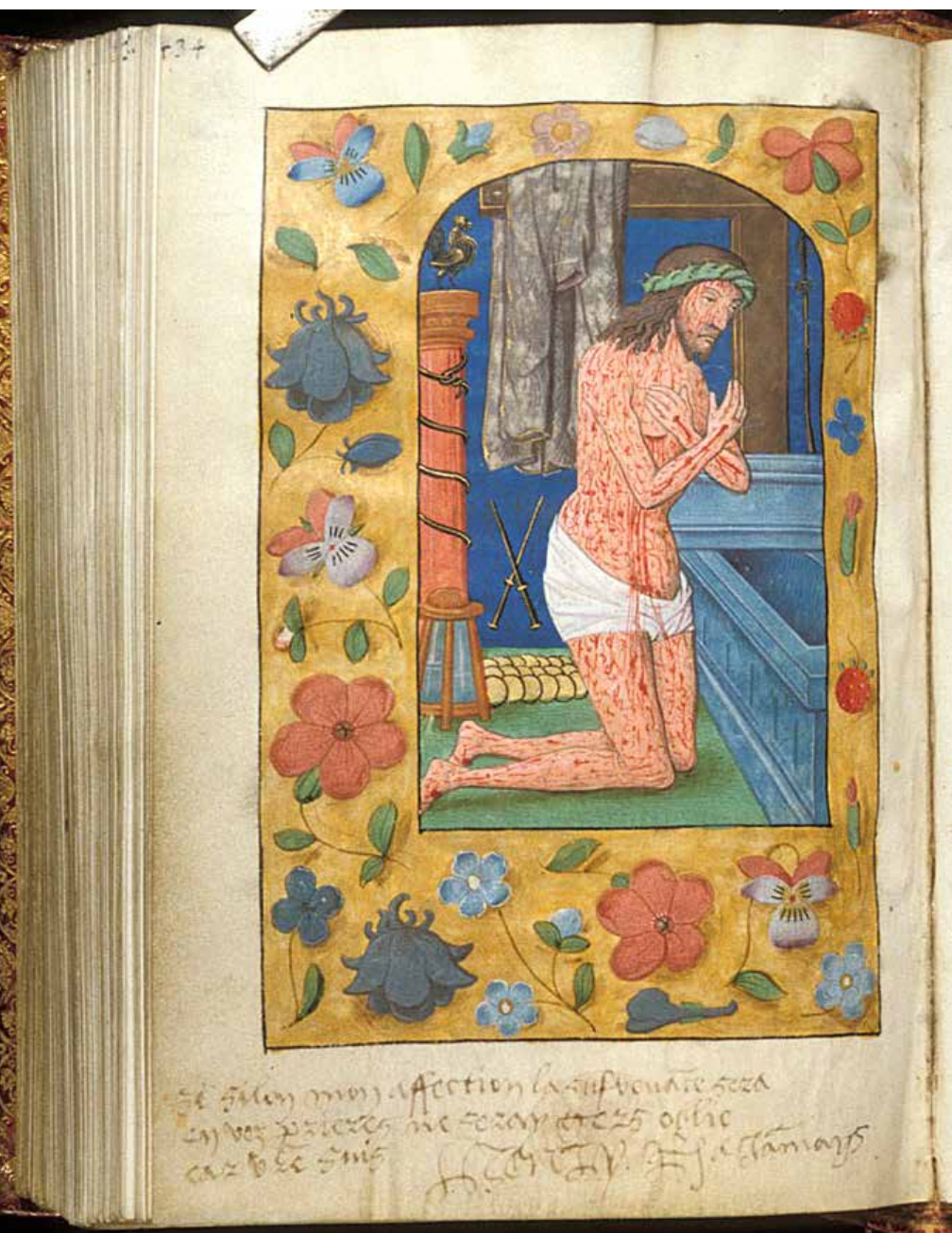
The story of the love affair between Henry VIII and Anne and how she kept him dangling before giving in to him is something that intrigues all lovers of Tudor history. In this book is a tender revelation of just how Henry was besotted with her.

History relates that in October 1532 Anne Boleyn accompanied Henry VIII to Calais where Francis I of France acknowledged her as consort to the King of England. On their return to England Anne and Henry are openly sharing a bed. Shortly after this Anne falls pregnant.

The words written beneath the image say "Be daly prove you shall me fynde To be to yu bothe lovyng and kynde", and are generally accepted to be written by Anne. What better way to tell her beloved of her pregnancy and the arrival of an heir to the throne of England?

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.earlybritishkingdoms.com/adversaries/bios/etheldreda.html>



a small matter of legitimacy of this child to resolve. The red rose, normally a symbol of the blood sacrifice the Child Mary is carrying, could also be interpreted as a reference to England. The red carnation (pink) in the bottom left hand corner may also be a reference to a commitment as this flower was a recognised Flemish emblem of betrothal.

Or is Anne replying to a proposal of marriage, which could also be understood from her words? The use of the Annunciation is perhaps a statement of what she hopes will happen after their marriage. However, I think this unlikely.

If you look at the other flowers, the violets, usually associated with grief, the pansies (from the French *pensée* – to think) and the strawberry (a symbol of the resurrection), you could be forgiven for thinking these emblems are also prescient of the experiences of the daughter who was born in September 1533. They would have been understood as emblems of Christ's life that will be,

Why would Anne use this method? What is she saying?

Is Anne reminding Henry that she was, like Mary, a virgin? This would be a refuting what the gossips, who did not like her, were whispering about her behind their hands. The hovering Holy Ghost (the white dove) is the indication that the unborn Child in the illumination is divine. By implication, this means that the child Anne is carrying is the rightful heir to a throne on earth, which it will inherit by divine right.

The various flowers in the margin have relevance. The forget-me-not is obvious, but in this instance may carry a gentle reminder to Henry that there is

but these emblems could also apply to the life of Elizabeth I. The inclusion of the snail mystifies me (and others). Snails appear in the margins of early illuminated documents and wherever they appear, they do not have apparent meaning. So why does a snail appear here? Perhaps, because of its ability to disappear then reappear, it is suggestive of the Resurrection?

If Anne used the image on f66v to tell Henry of her pregnancy, you can imagine pressure this puts on him (or rather the pressure Henry will place on his advisors) to resolve the issue of his divorce from Catharine of Aragon.

Under f 231v we see some handwriting, which has been identified as the king's.

Henry writes in French. *Si silon mon affection la sufvenance sera en voz prieres ne seray yers oblie car vostre suis Henry R. a jammays'* (If you remember my love in your prayers as strongly as I adore you, I shall hardly be forgotten, for I am yours. Henry R. forever).

You can imagine the two lovers exchanging these very private messages at a pivotal point in their relationship. Perhaps they kneeling were at Mass together and Anne covertly hands Henry this book with a marker at the page of the Annunciation? Did Henry open this page there and then, or did Anne bid him wait and look at it when he was alone. Perhaps the latter, because he would have taken time to consider the implications of her words and the image. You can almost see him searching through the images for a suitable place to write his reply, then planning how he will hand back her book.

Is it possible that by using this image of the Man of Sorrows he is expressing how he is sad because, as yet, the matter of his marriage to Catharine is unresolved and so he is unable to make an honest woman of his beloved? However, since the issue of Henry's marriage to Catharine was, in Henry's mind, shortly to be annulled, his intentions are clear.

The use of a Book of Hours for private devotional use meant that at this point Anne would be able to keep her pregnancy a secret. Only those women very close to her would know that she had missed a period and was therefore pregnant.

Anne married Henry VIII secretly at Whitehall on 25<sup>th</sup> January 1533, and the celebrant was Rowland Lee. Edward Hall (a contemporary chronicler) suggests there had been a previous secret marriage before this on 14<sup>th</sup> November (St Erkenwalde's Day), immediately after their return from Calais.<sup>5</sup> This suggests that Anne deliberately chose the illumination of the Annunciation to tell Henry of

her pregnancy. Since Anne and Henry were openly sleeping together after the Calais visit, this gives a possible time frame for this private exchange of these love notes of sometime in late December 1532, or early January 1533.

However, how did this Book of Hours end up in the Reppes household? Did it become part of the Royal collection and was given to Elizabeth Holland on the occasion of her marriage to Henry Reppes? Perhaps Henry VIII gave it to her himself because he knew of her forthcoming marriage to Reppes? It may be that Catharine Parr gave it to Ms Holland? Or perhaps it was it given by Jane Seymour? Somehow

I do not think it was either Catherine or Jane.

Why would either woman give a book that contained such a private exchange of love of their mutual husband to his previous (attainted) wife? Unfortunately we can only speculate how it came to belong to Mr & Mrs Reppes. If the person who commissioned the book were Thomas Howard, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Norfolk, it would be ironic that these Hours ended up in the possession of the lover who gave evidence at his trial.

This beautiful illuminated manuscript will continue to intrigue both the casual viewer and the scholar with its private exchange of love notes between a Tudor king and queen. Unlike many illuminated books of this period, this one is virtually intact. I have included a link to the British Library entry in footnote i that will enable you to see all the illuminations and the calendar pages. If you scroll down you will see all the various illuminated pages and if you click on an image to isolate it to a single screen, then click on it again, you can see the detail of each page. In the calendar pages there are scenes of everyday life for each month of the year together with the various zodiac signs and it is here where we see the neat hand of someone else. Was it Elizabeth Holland or her husband making notes in these calendar pages? Perhaps it was an even later owner, but we will never know.

**MELANIE V. TAYLOR**

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.theanneboleynfiles.com/25-january-1533-henry-viii-marries-anne-boleyn-whitehall/> It is Hall who says that the 14<sup>th</sup> November is St Erkenwald's Day,

which, according to other sources, is 30<sup>th</sup> April. Since he lived during the 16<sup>th</sup> century (d1547) I assume he knew his saint's days.

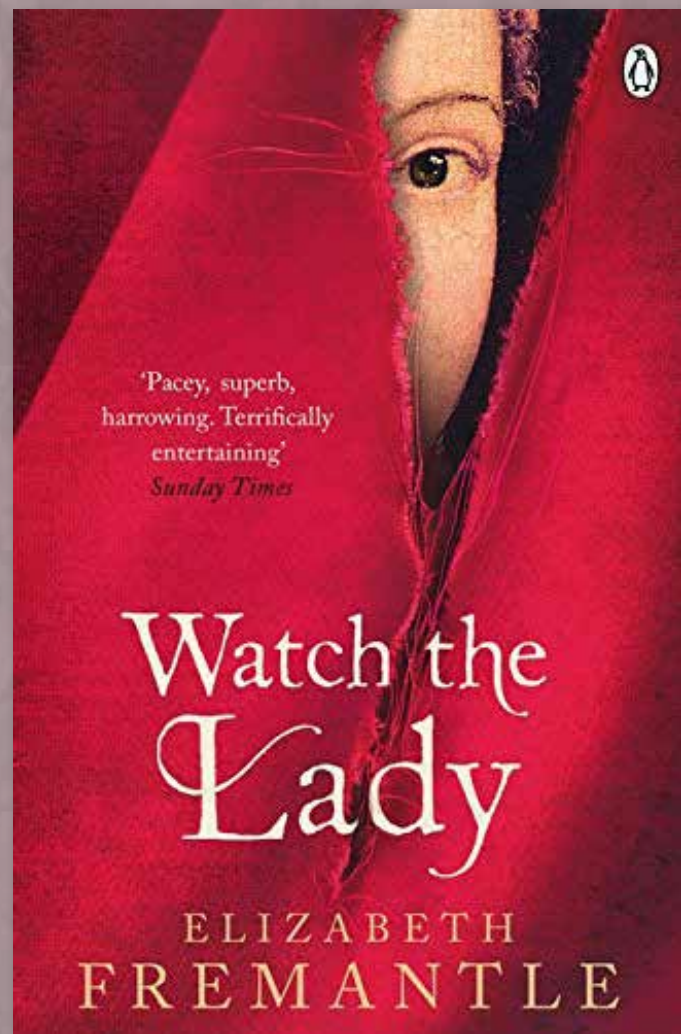
# **Elizabeth Fremantle,** **Watch the Lady** **Giveaway!**

**Out in paperback 11th February 2016**

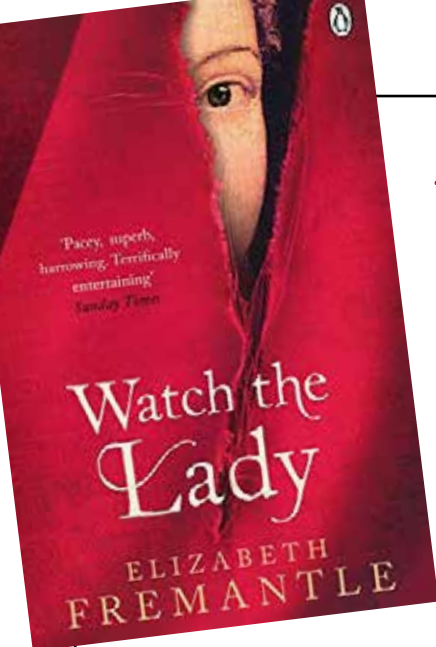
Tudor Life has an exclusive give-away of Elizabeth Fremantle's novel "Watch the Lady" (ISBN-13: 978-1405909440), open to all members. All you need to do to be in with a chance to win a copy of this book is to comment on the February magazine download page and we'll pick lucky winners!

## ***Here's some information about the book:***

- Penelope Devereux is a legendary beauty in the court of Elizabeth I but it's not just her looks which mark her apart.
- With her canny instinct for being in the right place at the right time, and her skilled political manipulation, she has become a formidable adversary to anyone who stands in her path.
- And now, Penelope must secure the future of the Devereux dynasty at whatever cost. Even treason. For the queen is just one more pawn in a deadly game.
- The last instalment of Elizabeth Fremantle's dazzling Tudor trilogy, Watch the Lady is not to be missed.



**Don't miss out – comment on the February Magazine page  
before the end of February to be in with your chance!**



# WATCH THE LADY

*by Elizabeth Fremantle*

*October 1589*

*Leicester House, the Strand*

The wax sizzles as it drips, releasing an acrid whiff. Penelope presses in her seal, twisting it slightly to make it unreadable, wondering if it – this letter – is folly, if it could be construed as treason were it to fall into the wrong hands.

‘Do you think...’ she begins to say to Constable, who is standing at her shoulder.

‘I think you risk too much.’

‘I have to secure my family’s future. You know as well as I that the Queen is not a young woman. Were she to –’ She stops and flicks her gaze about the chamber, though they both know they are alone as they had searched, even behind the hangings, for lurking servants who might be persuaded to sell a snippet of information to the highest bidder. ‘There have been attempts on the Queen’s life and she has named no heir. If one were to strike its target.’ Her voice is lowered to the quietest of whispers. She doesn’t need to tell him that there are eyes all over Europe on Elizabeth’s crown. ‘The Devereuxs need an established allegiance.’

‘And James of Scotland is the strongest claimant to the English throne,’ he says.

‘Some say so.’ Penelope closes the discussion firmly. Constable is not aware that this has been discussed endlessly with her brother – and their mother, for that matter, who understands diplomacy better than all of them put together. ‘I do it for Essex, not for myself. My brother is the one who needs powerful allies.’ She hands him the letter, meeting his eyes briefly.

He runs his fingers over the paper as if it is a lover’s skin. ‘But should it fall into the wrong hands...’

He is surely thinking of Robert Cecil, son of Lord Treasurer Burghley, the man who holds the reins of England. Cecil has a knife in every pie.

She meets his gaze with a half-smile. ‘But this is merely a missive of friendship, an outstretched hand. And it comes from a woman.’ She places her palm delicately to her breast and widens her eyes, as if to say a woman’s words count for nothing. ‘Secret communication with a foreign monarch might see Essex in trouble, but from one such as I...’ She tilts her head in mock humility. ‘Oh, I think I can get away with it.’

Constable laughs. ‘From a mere woman? No one would even notice.’

She hopes to God this is true. ‘You are sure you wish to accept this mission?’

‘Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to serve you, My Lady.’

She doesn’t doubt it. Constable has penned near on a hundred poems for her, and he is not the only one. Essex is a magnet for poets and thinkers who cluster round him like iron filings, hoping for his patronage, prepared to go to any lengths to gain his favour. By flattering his sister they think they help their cause. She wonders at the irony that, for all those lines of poetry written in celebration of her beauty, repeating incessantly the same figures of speech – her black starry eyes, her spun-gold hair, her nightingale’s voice, her marble skin – the man she is wed to has never got beyond his disgust of her. Beauty may make for pretty lines in a sonnet but it is eggshell thin, and as friable; it does not speak of what lies within.

‘You will give it straight into the hands of King James.’ She is aware of the danger she might visit on Constable with this secret mission, but so is he, and she can almost hear him panting with eagerness. Besides, he is no stranger to espionage.

‘But,’ he begins, then hesitates. ‘How can I be sure of admittance to the King?’

‘You are a poet; use your velvet tongue. My seal will get you into the privy chamber.’ She takes his hand and folds her signet ring into his palm. ‘After all, I am the sister of England’s most favoured earl, the Queen’s great-niece; that counts for something, does it not?’ Her tone is unintentionally sharp and he looks uncomfortable, as if admonished, so she offers him a smile.

‘Keep the seal separate from the letter. And give him this, as further proof.’ She opens a gilt box on the desk and takes out a limning, passing it to him. He inspects it a moment, his eyes swimming a little.

‘Hilliard has not done you justice. Your beauty is greater than this.’

‘Pah!’ she says with a sweep of her arm. ‘Beauty is as beauty does. It looks like me enough to serve its purpose.’ She watches as he caches the miniature carefully inside his doublet with the letter.

Her spaniel, Spero, begins to bark, scratching at the door to get out, and they hear the clang of the courtyard gate, then the din of urgent hooves on the cobbles below and a frenzied bout of shouting. They move swiftly to the window just as the door is flung open and her companion Jeanne rushes into the chamber flushed and breathless, crying out, ‘Come quickly, your brother is wounded.’ Her

French accent with its soft lisp delays the impact of her words.

‘How?’ Panic begins to rise in Penelope like milk in an unwatched pan, but she takes a deep breath to force it into submission.

‘Meyrick said it was a duel.’ Jeanne’s face is ashen.

‘How bad is it?’ Jeanne simply shakes her head. Penelope takes the girl’s elbow with one hand and, gathering her skirts with the other, calls to Constable, who is already halfway down the stairs, ‘Send for Doctor Lopez.’

‘If he is wounded then surely a surgeon is what’s needed,’ says Constable.

‘I trust Lopez. He will know what to do.’

They get to the hall as Essex is brought in, supported by two of his men, the broad bulk of loyal Meyrick striding ahead, concern written over his freckled face, eyes darting about beneath invisible eyelashes. He wipes a hand through his hair; it has a smear of dried blood on it.

‘A basin of hot water,’ she barks at the servants, who have gathered to gawp. Jeanne is shaking, she cannot bear the sight of blood, so Penelope sends her to tear bandages in the laundry.

Essex, his teeth gritted, is heaved on to the table, where he half lies, half sits propped up on his elbows, refusing to succumb to repose.

‘Just a scratch,’ he says, pulling his cape away from his leg so Penelope can see the slash across his thigh and the blood that has stained his white silk stockings, right down into his boot.

‘Meyrick, your knife,’ she says to her brother’s man.

Meyrick looks at her askance.

‘To cut off his stockings. What did you think?’ She checks the sharp tone that has appeared from nowhere. ‘Here, help me with his boots.’ She gets both hands around a heel and gently prises one boot away, while Meyrick works on the other, then takes up the knife and, pinching the bloody silk between her fingers, gently peels his stocking away from the wound. It has stuck where the blood is congealing, which causes Essex to wince and turn away. She then touches the tip of the knife to the fabric, slitting it from thigh to knee, revealing the full extent of the damage.

‘It is not as bad as I’d feared – not so deep. You will live.’

She kisses him lightly on his cheek, only now understanding how relieved she is.

A maid places a basin of steaming water beside her and hands her a clean muslin cloth.

‘That varlet Blount,’ Essex spits.

‘Who challenged whom?’ she asks, knowing it will have been her brother’s rash temper that provoked the spat. She dabs gently at the wound. The blood is surprisingly bright and still flowing, but she can see that no serious damage has been done. An inch further towards his groin where the vessels cluster close to the surface and it might have been a different story.

‘It was Blount’s fault.’ Her brother sounds surly. Penelope has seen Charles Blount at a distance once or twice at court. He gave the impression of being careful and measured. He is comely too, enough to give Essex some competition with the Queen’s maids – and, most importantly, the Queen herself. She’s heard that Blount has been attracting some favour and knows full well what her brother is like. He

wants to be the only star in the Queen's firmament. 'He started it!'

'You are twenty-three, not thirteen, Robin.' Her voice is tender now. 'Your temper will get you into serious trouble.' Penelope is his senior by less than three years but she has always felt older by far. She can sense his indignation at having lost in this ill-advised duel, when he supposes himself the foremost swordsman in the country. She wants to point out he is lucky to have got off so lightly, but doesn't. 'The Queen will hear of it. She will not be happy.'

'Who will tell her?'

She doesn't answer. They both know it is impossible to sneeze anywhere in the whole of Europe without Robert Cecil finding out, and informing the Queen, before you've a chance to take out your handkerchief.

'You will need to rest a day or two,' she says, rinsing the cloth in the basin where the blood billows out pink into the clean water. 'And your amorous intrigues will be curtailed for a week or so.'

Their eyes meet in silent amusement as he takes a pipe from inside his doublet and begins to stuff its bowl with tobacco.

Doctor Lopez arrives and, after a brief exchange of formalities, gets to work, tipping a measure of white powder into the gash 'to stem the blood flow', he says, offering Essex a length of wood to bite down on.

Essex refuses it, asking for Meyrick to light his pipe and saying he would rather be distracted by listening to his sister sing, so Penelope begins to hum as Lopez threads a length of catgut on to a needle. Essex blows strands of smoke from his nostrils and appears unperturbed as the needle weaves in and out, pulling together the mouth of the wound.

'Your gifts of stitching rival the Queen's embroiderers,' says Penelope, admiring the tidy sutures.

'It is a gift I learned on the battlefield.' He places an avuncular hand on her back and steps with her to one side. There is something honest about the close crop of his hair and beard, steely with age, and the way his smile reaches up to crease his eyes. 'Make sure he rests and keeps his leg up.'

'I will do my best,' she replies. 'You know what he is like.' She pauses. 'And...'

'It will go no further, My Lady,' Lopez says, as if reading her mind.

'I am grateful to you, Doctor.' It is not the first time she has felt gratitude for Lopez. If it were not for him she might have lost her first child.

\* \* \*

Later they gather about the hearth, listening to Constable recite a new poem.

*My Lady's presence makes the roses red  
Because to see her lips they blush for shame*

Penelope is thinking of the letter to King James tucked in the man's doublet, imagining him riding up the Great North Road to deliver it, feeling a shiver of fear-tinged excitement at the subterfuge.

*The lily's leaves, for envy, pale became,  
For her white hands in them this envy bred.*

'But you change tense there, Constable,' says Essex, who is seated with his foot propped on a stool. 'It should be "become" and "breed".'

'Don't tease him,' says Penelope. 'He does it so the rhyme scans. It is lovely.' She winks the poet's way.

'It's charming,' adds Jeanne, looking up for a moment, needle held aloft, pinched between thumb and finger. Her hands are delicate, small as a child's, and she has a frame to match. The two women are embroidering a row of hollyhocks on to the border of a shift, had started one at each end and planned to meet in the middle, but Penelope's concentration has wandered off and her own needle hangs idly from its thread. Essex's teasing of the poet has silenced the poor fellow, who now stands awkwardly, not knowing whether to continue his recitation. Odd he has such thin skin, thinks Penelope, given he served as Walsingham's emissary for such a time. And to be part of that man's network of spies takes mettle.

'We'd love to hear the rest,' she says, distracted by Meyrick entering the chamber and handing Essex a letter with what appears to be the royal seal attached.

Constable clears his throat and glances at Essex, who is ripping open the missive.

*The marigold the leaves abroad doth spread,  
Because the sun's and her power is the same.*

Penelope has stopped listening and is watching a flush take hold in her brother's cheeks. He screws up the paper and hurls it into the fire, muttering under

his breath, 'I am banned from court. Disobedience. Huh! She thinks it is time someone taught me better manners.'

'A few weeks away from court is probably a good thing,' says Meyrick. 'You wouldn't want to flaunt that wound. People might taunt you for it.'

How good Meyrick is with my brother, she thinks. But then they *have* been close since boyhood.

Essex expels a defeated sigh.

A page has popped his head around the door, beckoning Meyrick, who approaches him, listening to something the boy says, before returning to Essex and passing the whispered message on.

'Blount!' exclaims Essex. 'What the devil does he think he's doing turning up here?'

Penelope holds up a hand to silence Constable and turns to her brother. 'I expect he has come to pay his compliments and see that you are recovered. It is only out of respect, I'm sure.'

'Respect? The man has none.'

Meyrick puts his large hand firmly on her brother's shoulder. 'Leave Blount to me.' Penelope can see the tightly packed muscles of the man's neck tighten and a flash of brutality in those invisibly lashed eyes.

'You ought to see him, Robin,' she says. Essex brushes Meyrick's hand off his shoulder and begins to heave himself out of his chair. 'What are you doing? You need to keep that leg up.'

'If I am to receive the miscreant I will not give him the satisfaction of seeing me reposed like a milk-livered clotpole.' He limps over to stand beside the great memorial portrait of the Earl of Leicester, as if to gain strength from his illustrious stepfather. He positions himself, one hand aloft, fingers touching the gilded frame. His eyes are ablaze, which causes Penelope concern; she has seen that look before many times and it often signifies the onset of a bout of deep melancholy. That is Essex: wild fire or leaden heart but nothing in between. 'Send the villain in, then.'

As Meyrick leaves the chamber to fetch Blount, Penelope sees he has not yet washed the smear of blood from his hand.

Blount enters, dropping immediately to his knee and removing his hat. 'Forgive me, My Lord, if I interrupt your peace but I come to salute you and to return your sword.'

'My sword?'

'It was left at the scene, My Lord.'

'So where is it?'

'My man has it outside. I did not think it proper to enter your presence armed.'

'Feared it might provoke another spat?' says Essex, then adds grudgingly, 'You did right, Blount.'

'Of the duel, My Lord,' says Blount. 'It was naught but fluke that my blade caught you. It was you who had the upper hand. It should have been I who took the cut.'

Penelope catches herself staring and quickly pulls her gaze away, picking up her redundant needle, making busy with it.

'Get up, man,' says Essex. 'No need to stay on your knee on my account.'

Penelope thinks she can see the hint of a smile play at the edge of her brother's mouth. She knows only too well how he likes a show of humility. 'Get our guest a drink, and I'll have one too.'

Meyrick pours two cups from the flagon of wine on the table, handing one to his master, the other to Blount, who raises his cup saying, 'Pax?'

'Pax,' replies Essex and they drink back, he a little more reluctantly than the other man. But etiquette demands that to rebuff Blount's chivalry would occasion another duel.

Penelope's eyes have wandered back to Blount, taking in his halo of hair, dark as an Arab's, and the fine proportions of his face and the warm dark eyes. He is better looking than she'd thought. He doesn't wear a ruff, just a flat lacework collar and a notched satin doublet, quite beautifully understated. He has clearly chosen his garb carefully so as not to outshine Essex. So he is a diplomat too. But a single earring hanging from his left ear adds an appealing touch of dash. She is thinking this man might be a good ally for her brother, makes a mental note to talk to Essex about it later, to make him understand that it is not men like this who are his enemies. It is men like Cecil and Raleigh, who have powerful allegiances and the Queen's ear, men who would see him ousted, that he must be wary of. Besides, she would like to see more of Blount at Essex House. He glances towards her at that moment and she feels herself blush as if he can divine what she is thinking.

'Do you know my sister?' asks Essex.

'I am honoured to make the acquaintance of one who has inspired such poetry.' He is back on his knee now, and reaching out for her hand.

She wonders if he isn't spreading it a little too thickly, the charm, which he clearly has in abundance. She can see why the Queen has favoured this one. But he looks up at her and she can find nothing but sincerity in those eyes of his.

'Sidney's sonnets are unparalleled, My Lady. They have transported me at times.'

'And what makes you suppose me to be the subject of Sir Philip's poems?' She has wondered often at the fame that arose from being the muse of a great poet, how it seemed to have so little to do with her and so much more to do with Sidney. What is a muse anyway, she has asked herself many times – no more than a cipher.

Her brother laughs. 'Everyone knows that you and Stella are one and the same.'

"When Nature made her chief work, Stella's eyes, / In colour black why wrapped she beams so

bright?" recites Blount quietly. 'I recognize your likeness from his words, My Lady.'

'Now there is real poetry,' says Essex, causing poor Constable to shuffle uncomfortably.

'None surpasses Sidney,' exclaims the embarrassed poet.

'Enough of this,' declares Essex. 'Meyrick, fetch me my sword. Indeed, it is the very blade Sidney gave me.'

'And I'm sure he didn't intend that you use it for duelling,' says Penelope, trying to remain light-hearted, but all this talk of Sidney is churning up painful memories, forcing her thoughts back to the girl she was eight years ago. She remembers arriving at court, imagining it to be nothing but romance and cheerful intrigue. The woman she is now, restrained, secretive, political, is as different from that girl as an egg from an oyster.

## EXCERPT TAKEN FROM "WATCH THE LADY"

COMMENT ON THE [TUDOR SOCIETY WEBSITE](#) FOR YOUR CHANCE TO [WIN A COPY](#) OF "WATCH THE LADY!"

**Elizabeth Fremantle** lives in London. She holds a first in English from Birkbeck where she also studied for an MA in Creative Writing. She has contributed to titles such as *Vogue*, *The Sunday Times*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *Elle* and spent some time in Paris working at French *Vogue*. Her fascination with early modern culture and writing led to her debut novel *Queen's Gambit* the first of a Tudor trilogy, the second of which is *Sisters of Treason*. See Elizabeth's website for more information about her novels and future projects – [elizabethfremantle.com](http://elizabethfremantle.com)



# Gareth Russell

will be our

February  
Guest Speaker

on

# Mary I

Our thanks go to Gareth for stepping in at the  
last minute!

The guest speaker for February was scheduled to be Robin Maxwell, but due to unforeseen circumstances she has had to delay until March. It's something to look forward to for us all! Thank you for your patience in waiting for this anticipated guest speaker.



# *‘Well behaved Women Seldom Make History’:*

## ELIZABETH OF YORK’S REPRESENTATION AS A WIFE, MOTHER AND QUEEN.

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*by Lauren Browne*

**I**DEAS surrounding queenship in the medieval period were complex and oftentimes contradictory. In the patriarchal society of medieval England the queen’s intimacy with the monarch and her share in the royal dignity ‘made her an anomaly in the political structure.’ This was especially true of Elizabeth of York who, after the death of her father Edward IV and the presumed deaths of her two brothers Edward V and Richard of York, became the ‘heiress of York.’ Arguably, her claim to the throne was greater than her future husband’s, who went to great lengths to emphasise that she was his consort rather than a joint regnant. His actions reflected how her queenship would be represented, and from the limited contemporary descriptions of her, we are told that she was ‘very handsome... of great ability and beloved for her charity and humanity.’ The ideas surrounding her queenship had to be negotiated within the confines of Henry VII’s rule, and of all the surviving records, there is no mention of her being involved in politics or interceding on behalf of her subjects.

The rituals of queenship marked certain rites of passage, such as their marriage, coronation, the birth of heirs, and their death. It was during such rituals that the queen was most visible to her subjects, and the way her queenship was represented also showed how she fitted into her husband’s kingship. Elizabeth of York’s status as the heiress of York undoubtedly influenced how she would be represented as queen-consort;

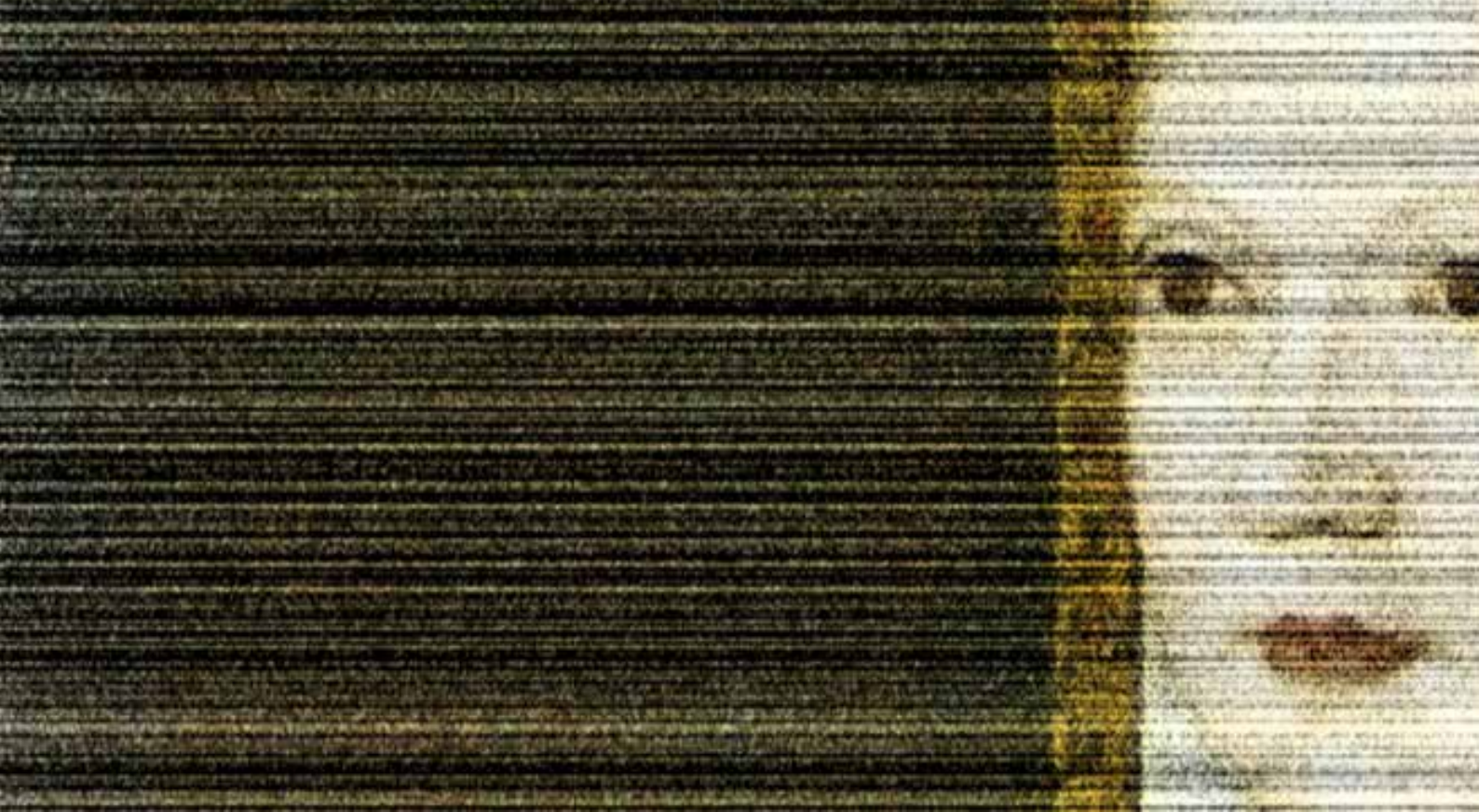
a careful balance was needed to emphasise how her marriage had ended the Wars of the Roses, but not overstate her dynastic claim. Henry VII’s coronation took place before his marriage, perhaps to avoid a double coronation, which may have suggested that they were to have joint sovereignty. Henry VII wrote an oration to be delivered to Pope Innocent VIII on his behalf, stating that although he could have made a fortuitous foreign alliance, he had chosen to marry Elizabeth of York because ‘the beauty and chastity of this lady are indeed so great that Lucretia nor Diana herself were ever either more beautiful or more chaste.’ Notably, Henry VII deliberately emphasised her character rather than her heritage, showing he emphasised his right as king away from Elizabeth’s claim. Innocent VIII provided the papal dispensation needed to allow the couple, who shared some degree of consanguinity, to marry and addressed it to King ‘Henry of Lancaster’ and ‘Elizabeth of York’. Loades surmises this was to emphasise ‘the healing of the dynastic breach’ which had disrupted England. The Papal Bull was used as an early form of printing for propaganda, as translations of it in English were widely circulated, and it expressly told the commons that this marriage served as the symbolic end to the civil wars. Medallions were also struck to commemorate the nuptials. On the obverse Elizabeth and Henry VII were depicted and on the reverse there were the phrases ‘uxor casta est rosa suavis’ (a virtuous wife is like a rose) and ‘sicut sol oriens dei mulier bona domus eius

ELIZABETHA  
HENRICI

VXOR  
VII



Portrait of Elizabeth  
of York (1465-1503) by  
unknown artist, c. 1500.

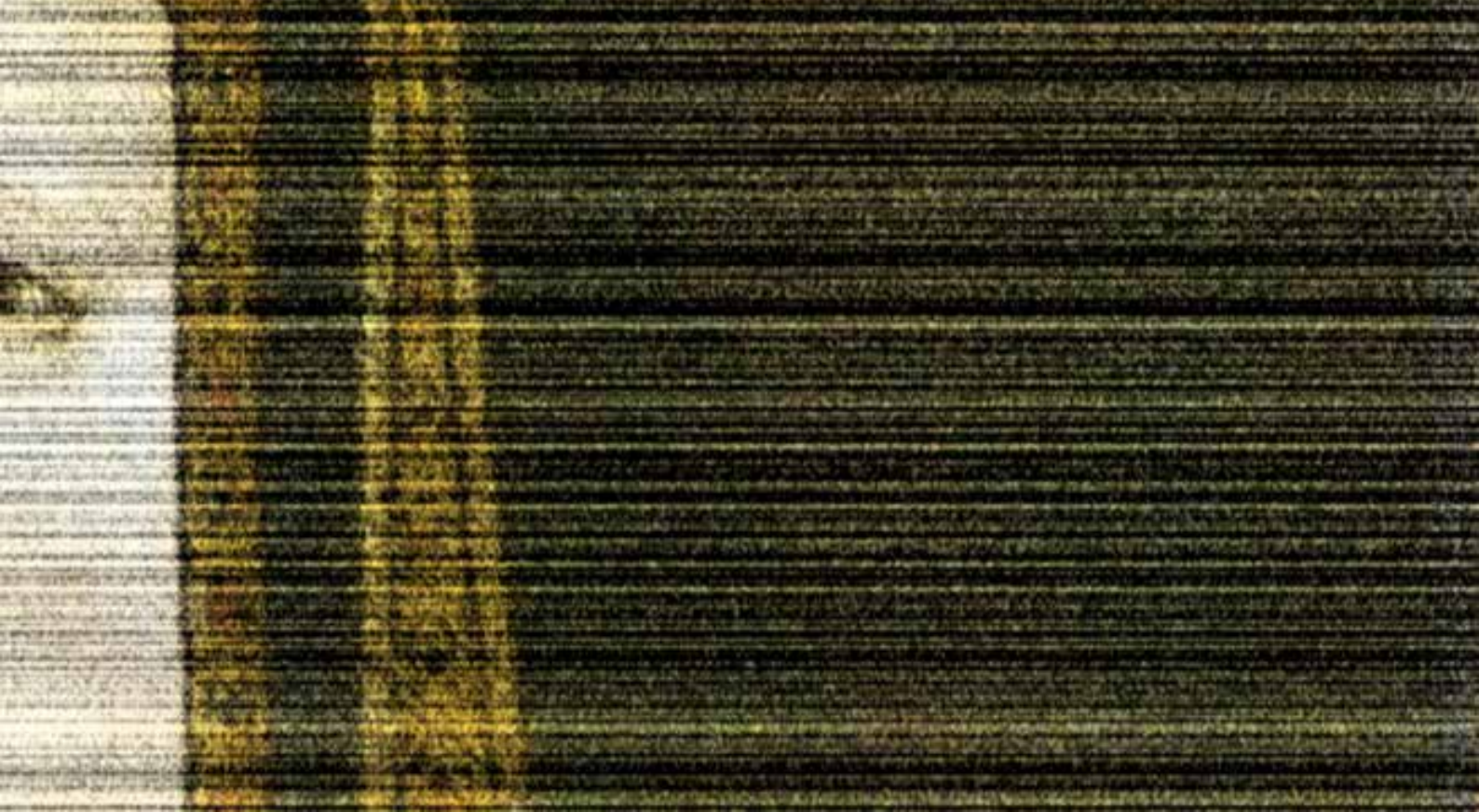


ornamentum' (just like God's sunrise so is a good woman an ornament of her house). Once more, Elizabeth's beauty and virtue make her a suitable queen, but the first line alludes to her status as heiress of the house of York, by referring to her as a 'rose'. Clearly, Henry VII tried to emphasise Elizabeth's other qualities, in order to show the realm that despite Elizabeth's lineage she would still be consort rather than joint regnant.

Elizabeth, unlike other consorts, was not crowned queen until after she fulfilled her duty to provide Henry with an heir. 'The coronation was the key rite of passage in defining the ideology of queenship.' The attendance at Elizabeth of York's coronation reveals how popular she might have been. All of the lords and their ladies were invited to attend coronations, and the list of attending guests shows that the archbishop of Canterbury, 13 bishops, 17 abbots, 2 dukes, 19 earls, 25 lords, 31 baronets and 150 knights, many accompanied by ladies and entourages, attended Elizabeth's coronation. Henry VII staged the event during Parliament, a time when most of the high clergy and nobility were in London, so this may be reflected in the attendance figures. Elizabeth's coronation also fell on the feast of St Katherine, a major female saint during the medieval period. St Katherine, said to have been born a princess, was also known as the bride of Christ, who disputed with fifty philosophers who were ordered to convince her of the errors of

Christianity. This may have reaffirmed Elizabeth's status as Princess of England, through birth, as well as her piety, which is often referred to.

It was customary for a queen to spend the night before her coronation in the Tower of London, and her procession to the Tower was marked with pageants along the route. Unlike Elizabeth Woodville and Margaret of Anjou, Elizabeth of York made her way to the Tower by barge rather than through the streets of London. This break from tradition may have been a way to show London that this was a new dynasty, with its own style and traditions. The pageants performed for queens usually had common themes, but the individuality of the queen was also expressed. The most eye-catching pageant barge in the procession was The Bachelor's Barge, which displayed 'a great red dragon spouting flames of fire into the Thames.' The dragon was a reference to Cadwalader, who in the romantic stories of Geoffrey of Monmouth was told a prophesy stating that one of his line would become king and restore England's glory. Henry VII claimed heritage from Cadwalader and had adopted the symbol of the red dragon as his own. Henry made the journey to the tower before Elizabeth, and was waiting to greet her when she arrived. Therefore, he was able to 'enact the role of welcoming his queen to his kingdom as if she were the foreigner and he the sovereign who had always been in England.' The emphasis of her submissive role in comparison to Henry's

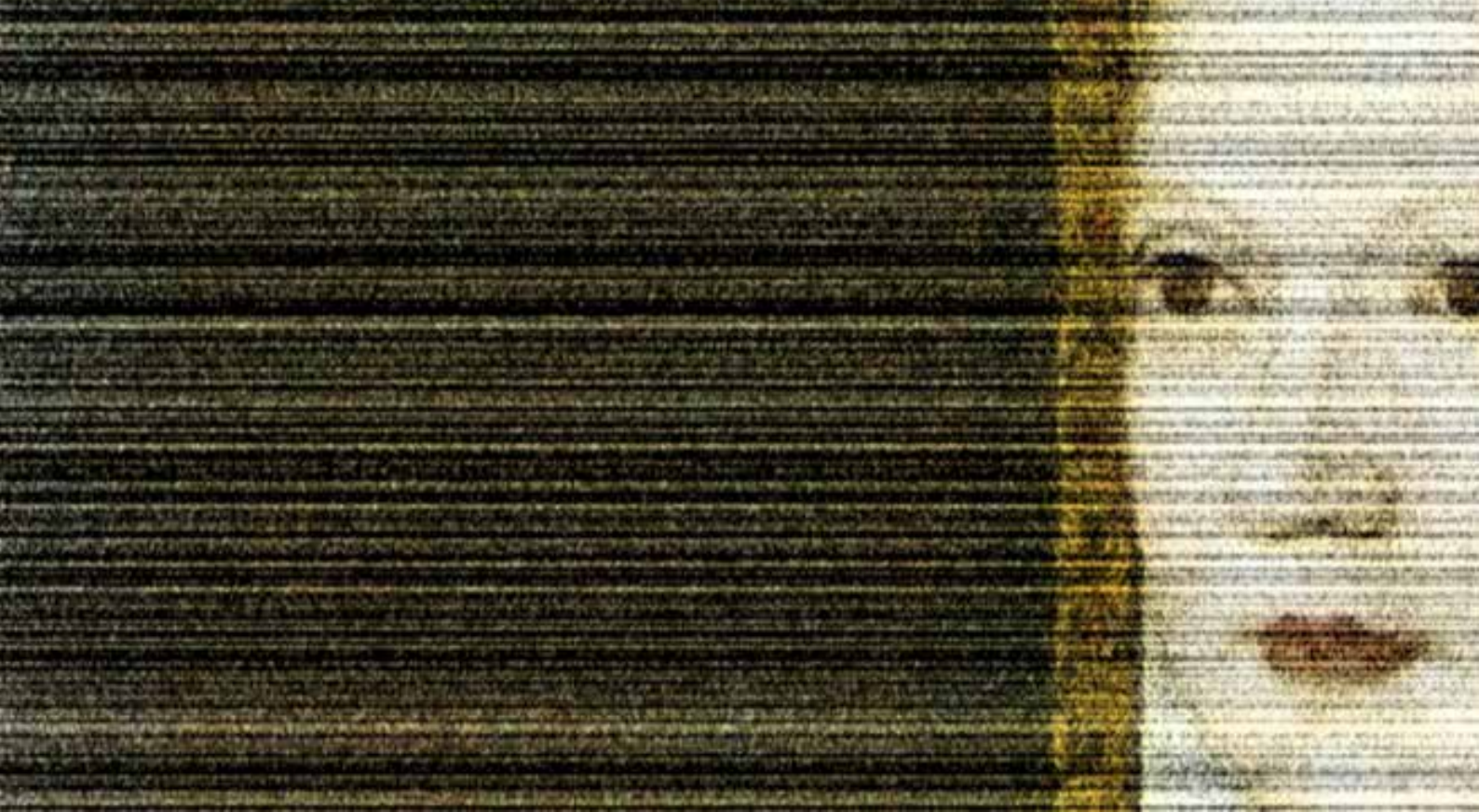


kingship once again reinforced the idea that he was to rule alone, and that his kingship would not be legitimised by his wife's descent but by his own.

Elizabeth's sumptuous coronation reflected the new dynastic power of the house of Tudor, but her Yorkist claim ensured she was a popular queen-consort. She had grown up in the public eye as Princess of England, her popularity clearly reflected in the reaction of the commons to her on coronation day. People hung out of windows facing the freshly cleaned streets to get a glimpse of Elizabeth draped in cloth-of-gold and ermine. Children met the procession at various points, some were dressed as angels or virgins and 'sang sweet songs as Her Grace passed by.' Her path from Westminster Hall to the pulpit of Westminster Abbey was covered in a ray cloth, of which according to custom the spectators could claim a piece after she had walked by. John Leland, in the early sixteenth-century *De Rebus Britannicus*, recounts how Elizabeth's popularity drove people to surge forward to cut it 'so that in the Presence certain persons were slain, and the order of the ladies following the Queen was broken and disturbed.' Despite this chaos, her high-standing amongst her subjects was clearly expressed by the way in which her ray cloth was deemed such a desirable prize. Elizabeth's coronation was a successful propaganda campaign and ensured her popularity as queen-consort. We do not know if she had made any contributions to the planning of the

pageants on the Thames or the actual coronation day itself, as the records do not survive. However, the imagery of Henry VII's dynastic claim on the Bachelor's Barge and the lack of iconographic imagery of the House of York in the procession implies that Elizabeth's queenship was firmly established from the outset as being complementary and submissive to Henry VII's kingship.

Prince Arthur was born eight months after the couple were married. The choice of Arthur as the name of her first son was no accident, since many people at the time believed the legend of King Arthur was true. In order to add more merit to Henry's own claim to the throne, firmly set apart from his marriage to Elizabeth, he 'sent a commission into Wales that produced a report tracing his ancestry through Geoffrey of Monmouth's King Arthur back to Brutus... who was the eponymous founder of Britain.' The link to Arthurian legend was once more established after the birth of Arthur, who was known as 'Arturus secundus'. The myth that King Arthur would return again was reinterpreted to mean his descendants would return to the throne in the form of Henry VII and his heir Arthur. This gave Elizabeth of York the privileged role in which her royal blood had been mixed with the line of King Arthur in her son; she would be the mother of Arthur II who was prophesied to unite the kingdom once more. She also provided Henry VII with three other children who lived past infancy;

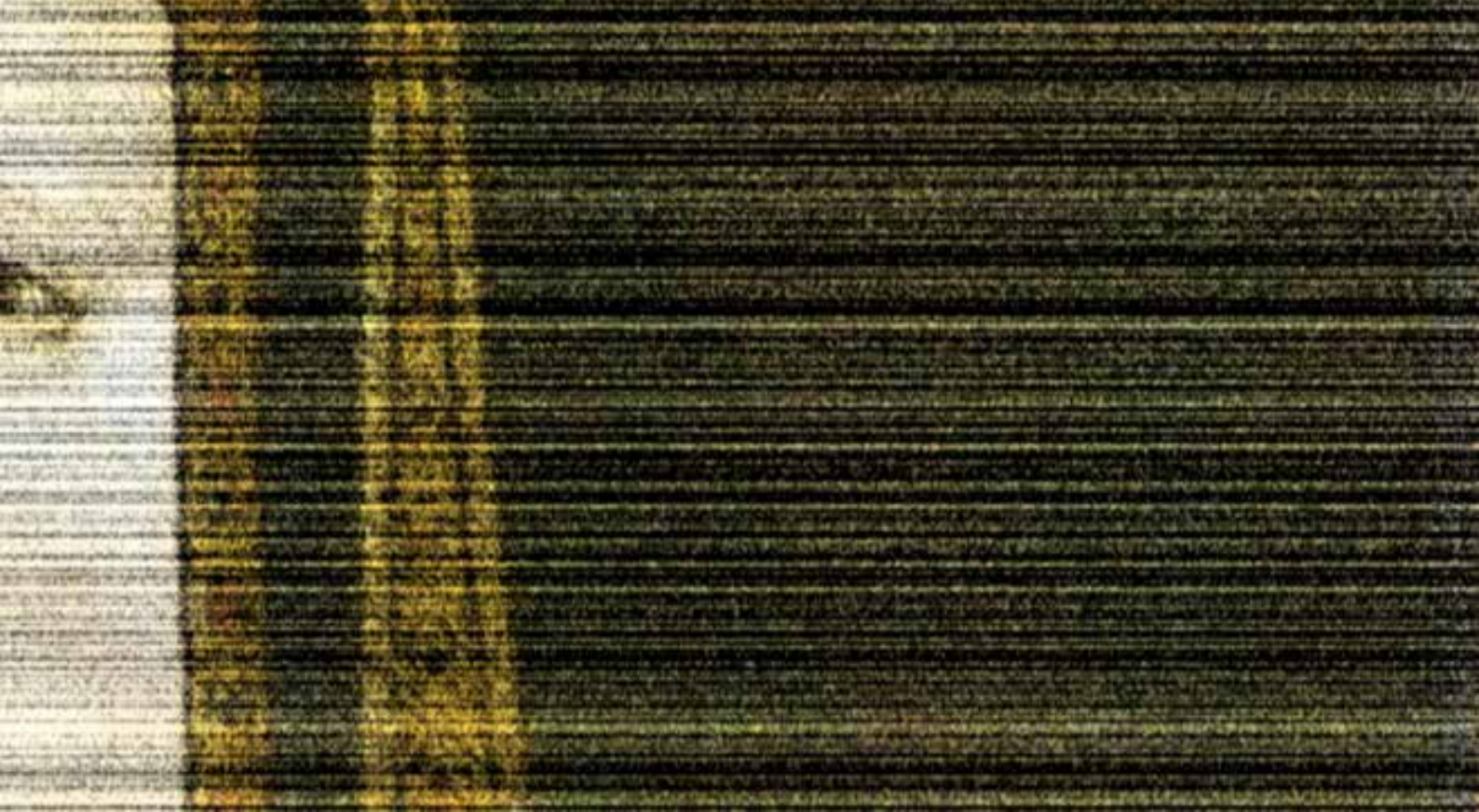


Prince Henry and Princesses Margaret and Mary. It is unclear how much influence Elizabeth had over the upbringing of Arthur, who was established in Ludlow as Prince of Wales. She may have had at least some degree of influence as Dr Argentine, the physician of her brother Edward V during his time at Ludlow, retained his role. She was more involved in the lives of her other children, and Prince Henry seems to have been particularly close to his mother. When he became king, Henry VIII favoured some of the men who had served her. Elizabeth's reputation as the mother of the Tudor dynasty rested on her ability to produce heirs, and although she did not enjoy as high a survival rate of her children as her mother, she was ultimately successful in providing two sons who could continue the line and two daughters who could make fortuitous foreign alliances.

There is a distinct lack of contemporary sources surrounding Elizabeth of York. Loades argues that this is because she was 'a model consort, never overstepping the traditional limitations, so comments upon her activities are comparatively rare.' She is remembered as a generous queen, who provided for her sisters' marriages by giving them £50 annuities for their private expenses and giving their husbands £120 per annum. She also appears to have been charitable to her servants. She bought her page his wedding clothes, recompensed another servant when their house burnt down, and paid her jester extra money

when he was ill. Her privy accounts show that she gave and received many gifts, including cherries and apples from the poor. These actions correspond with her reputation for having a good and charitable nature. This favourable opinion lasted even after her death, when the Venetian ambassador described her as 'one of the most gracious and best beloved princesses of the world.' Biographers of Henry VII, such as Stanley Chrimes and Thomas Penn, underplay the role she played in politics, and often cite Margaret Beaufort, the king's mother, as the greatest influence on Henry. Perhaps the apparent lack of evidence for Elizabeth's involvement in politics may stem from Henry VII's need to prove his independent kingship, and if she had become actively involved in politics it would have undermined him. Elizabeth was almost certainly aware of how she was perceived, given the demonstration of support by the crowd scrabbling for a piece of the ray cloth used at her coronation. She managed to cultivate a high opinion of her personality and actions through conforming to her prescribed role as queen-consort. Unlike her mother and Margaret of Anjou, she reflected an ideal version of passive queenship, leading Licence to describe her as a type of 'fifteenth century trophy-wife.'

The uniting aspect of Elizabeth of York's queenship was reflected in the way in which she and Henry VII were represented in the Tudor, or union, rose. It became 'part of the cultural



fabric of Tudor society', and it implied that the 'consolidation of the Tudor dynasty was based on genealogical evidence to establish stability, unity and history.' The use of the Tudor rose as a dynastic symbol was established during Elizabeth's lifetime, and it combined the red rose of Lancaster and the white rose of York in a symbolic representation of Elizabeth and Henry's marriage. Johnson argues that the union rose was 'a significant factor in Henry VII's tricky negotiation of his wife's position in relation to his own.' The rose is featured in many examples of Tudor art and architecture, in places such as Henry VII's Lady Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral, the church of the Observant Franciscans at Greenwich and York Minster.

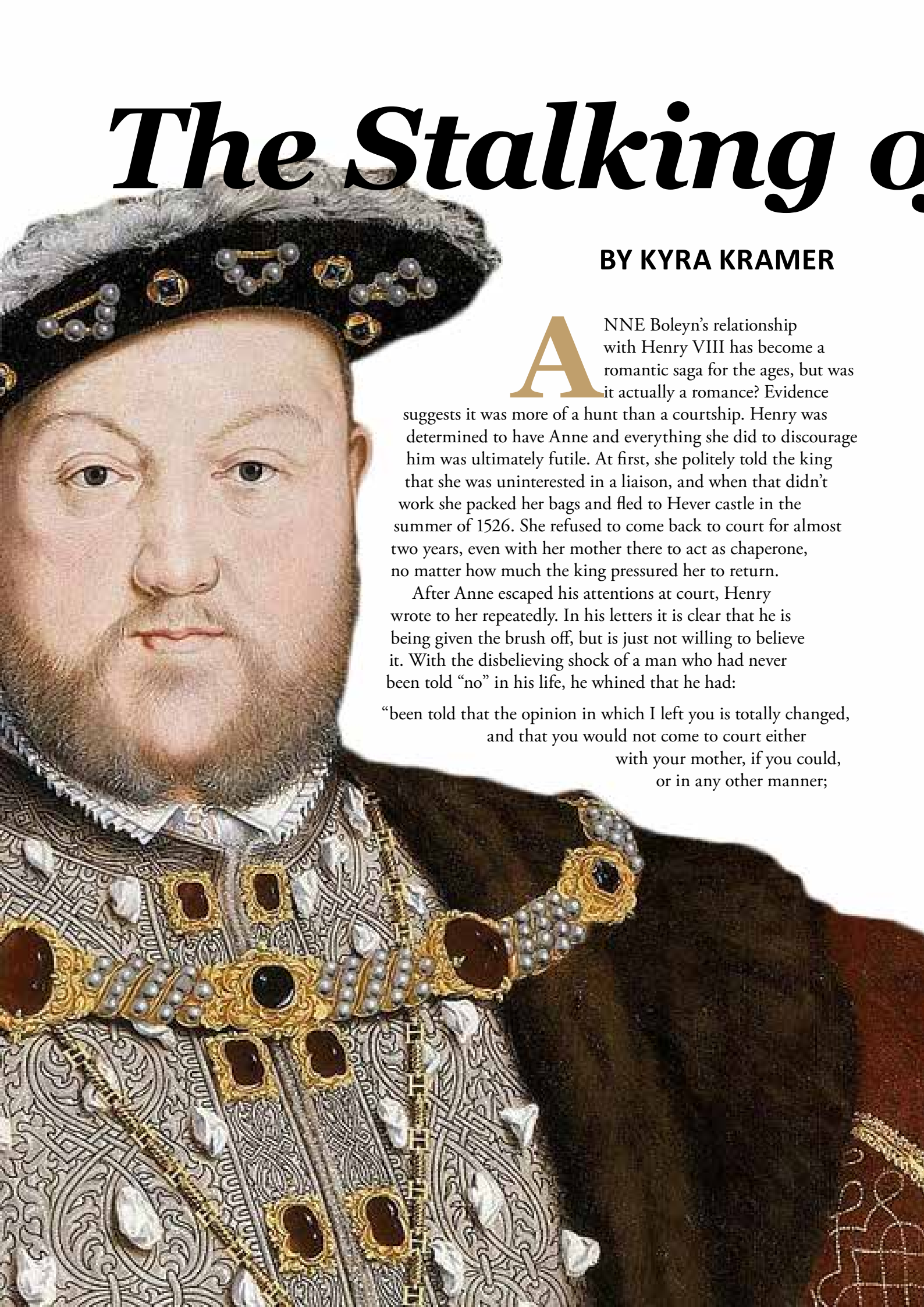
Elizabeth's representation throughout her lifetime seems to have been tightly controlled in order to give more weight to her husband's rule. This was a difficult task, as the negotiation of her status as queen-consort and heiress of York were often contradictory. Her marriage to Henry VII was carefully portrayed as the unification of the Houses of York and Lancaster, but her lineage was not allowed to be overly stated. As the daughter of Edward IV, she was technically allowed to use the royal arms as her heraldic symbol, but she and her sisters quartered it with the arms of Mortimer

and Clare instead, perhaps showing once more that Henry VII aimed to base his claim to the throne on his own lineage. Elizabeth of York's position was clearly unique. Unlike her mother she had more of a claim to throne than her husband, and unlike many other consorts she was an English bride, though her marriage did provide an alliance. She was able to fulfil her primary duty in providing heirs for the throne, as well as daughters who could be given in marriage to form profitable alliances. Her temperament and sweet nature, which was often commented on by ambassadors and other members of the court, made sure that she was never seen to dominate her husband, thus maintaining a domestic and inherently feminine queenship. Her representation in art and architecture cultivated her reputation as a pious and submissive queen. It is hard to prove that she had a great deal of influence over how she was to be represented, and the findings of this chapter seem to suggest that Henry VII kept a tight control over how she was portrayed due to her unique position. The evolution of the reputations of Elizabeth of York implies that although personal action played a certain part in how they were viewed in life and death, they were compelled to conform to pre-existing ideas on how they were to behave.

**LAUREN BROWNE**

# *The Stalking of*

BY KYRA KRAMER



**A**NNE Boleyn's relationship with Henry VIII has become a romantic saga for the ages, but was it actually a romance? Evidence suggests it was more of a hunt than a courtship. Henry was determined to have Anne and everything she did to discourage him was ultimately futile. At first, she politely told the king that she was uninterested in a liaison, and when that didn't work she packed her bags and fled to Hever castle in the summer of 1526. She refused to come back to court for almost two years, even with her mother there to act as chaperone, no matter how much the king pressured her to return.

After Anne escaped his attentions at court, Henry wrote to her repeatedly. In his letters it is clear that he is being given the brush off, but is just not willing to believe it. With the disbelieving shock of a man who had never been told "no" in his life, he whined that he had:

"been told that the opinion in which I left you is totally changed,  
and that you would not come to court either  
with your mother, if you could,  
or in any other manner;

# f Anne Boleyn

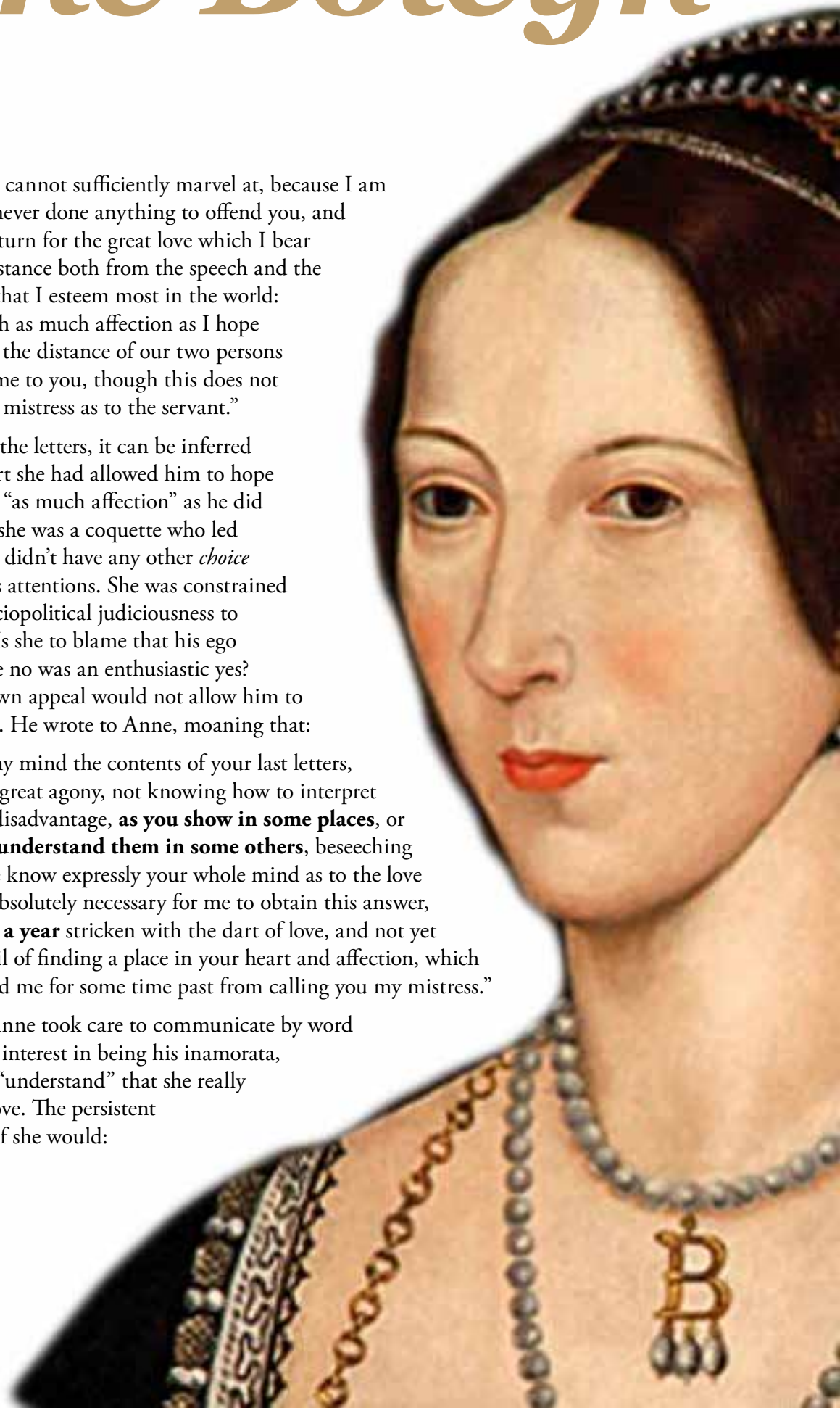
which report, if true, I cannot sufficiently marvel at, because I am sure that I have since never done anything to offend you, and it seems a very poor return for the great love which I bear you to keep me at a distance both from the speech and the person of the woman that I esteem most in the world: and if you love me with as much affection as I hope you do, I am sure that the distance of our two persons would be a little irksome to you, though this does not belong so much to the mistress as to the servant.”

Judging from Henry's the letters, it can be inferred that before Anne left court she had allowed him to hope that she viewed him with “as much affection” as he did her. Is that evidence that she was a coquette who led him on? Not really. Anne didn't have any other *choice* than to politely accept his attentions. She was constrained by court etiquette and sociopolitical judiciousness to be very nice to the king. Is she to blame that his ego made him assume a polite no was an enthusiastic yes?

Henry's belief in his own appeal would not allow him to comprehend her rejection. He wrote to Anne, moaning that:

“On turning over in my mind the contents of your last letters, I have put myself into great agony, not knowing how to interpret them, whether to my disadvantage, **as you show in some places**, or to my advantage, **as I understand them in some others**, beseeching you earnestly to let me know expressly your whole mind as to the love between us two. It is absolutely necessary for me to obtain this answer, having been for **above a year** stricken with the dart of love, and not yet sure whether I shall fail of finding a place in your heart and affection, which last point has prevented me for some time past from calling you my mistress.”

Despite the fact that Anne took care to communicate by word and deed that she had no interest in being his inamorata, Henry believed he could “understand” that she really did return his obsessive love. The persistent king swore to Anne that if she would:



“give up yourself body and heart to me  
... I promise you that not only the name  
shall be given you, but also that I will  
take you for my only mistress, casting off  
all others besides you out of my thoughts  
and affections, and serve you only.”

Anne’s response to this promise is not known for certain, since her letters to him were destroyed, but based on Henry’s reply she must have written to him that she was the king’s loyal servant *only* and that she was *uncomfortable* with being called his mistress, because Henry plaintively wrote to her again saying:

“it is not fitting for a gentleman to take his lady in the place of a servant, yet, **complying with your desire, I willingly grant it you**, if thereby you can find yourself less uncomfortable in the place chosen by yourself, than you have been in that which I gave you.”

How much clearer  
could she have been?  
He saw the feelings  
he wanted her to  
have, regardless of  
everything she said and  
did to the contrary.  
Henry didn’t even

understand Anne’s indifference to his suit even when she stopped responding to his letters entirely. Her epistemological silence is the early Renaissance equivalent to not returning a phone call, and it is hard to understand why Henry couldn’t grasp that her lack of answering letters was a sign of her lack of interest. Instead of accepting his brush off, the king complaining that:

“it has not pleased you to remember the promise you made me when I was last with you that it, to hear good news from you, and to have an answer to my last letter; yet it seems to me that it belongs to a true servant (seeing that otherwise he can know nothing) to inquire the health of his mistress, and to acquit myself of the duty of a true servant, I send you this letter, beseeching you to apprise me of your welfare, which I pray to God may continue as long as I desire mine own.”

*“give up yourself body and heart to me  
... I promise you that not only the name  
shall be given you, but also that I will  
take you for my only mistress, casting off  
all others besides you out of my thoughts  
and affections, and serve you only.”*

I find it hard to fathom how or why any historian has been able to interpret Anne’s lack of response as the ploy of a woman playing hard to get. If she had “played” any harder to get she would have had to beat Henry over the head with a stick. Yet there are historians who are as convinced of the king’s irresistibility as Henry was himself, and just cannot believe Anne was *really* saying no. Victorian writer Paul Friedmann explained that “Anne kept her royal adorer at an even greater distance than the rest of her admirers. She had good reason to do so, for the position which Henry offered her had nothing very tempting to an ambitions and clever girl ... it cannot be considered an act of great virtue that Anne showed no eagerness to become the king’s mistress” (1884). Alison Weir claims that Anne “often failed to reply to the King’s letters, probably deliberately, for everything she did, or omitted to do, in relation to Henry was calculated to increase his ardour (2007). David

Starkey writes that Anne’s coolness toward Henry was because she had “guessed” she was “beyond Henry’s power to give up” (2009). What could Anne have done that would prove her genuine

reluctance to become involved with Henry?

Clearly nothing she did to discourage Henry made a dent in the king’s determination any more than it has convinced historians of her sincerity. Henry just could not understand that when a woman runs away from you *and* gently tells you she doesn’t like in you ‘that way’ *and* insists she just wants you to think of her as a loyal subject, it indicates a decided absence of romantic feeling on the lady’s part. I find it astounding that anyone can accuse Anne of being “come-hither” when her letters to the king can be so clearly inferred to have said “go away”. Rather than just accept the fact that Anne did not want to be his lover, Henry wrote to her again that **if he just knew for certain** she didn’t love him then he “do no other than mourn my ill-fortune, and by degrees abate my great folly”. Regardless of how she phrased her rejection, or how far she went to escape him, Henry could NOT be sure that she *really* meant no.

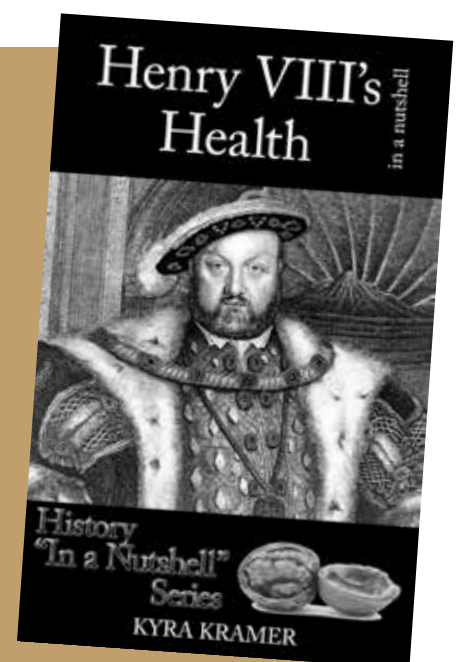
Henry never gave up; he simply changed his plan of attack. It seems that in his mind Anne was only saying no to the position of *mistress*. Thus, the king upped the ante by offering her marriage and matching crown. Henry had *already* been making plans to divorce Katherina and marry another noblewoman for the political alliance and potential heirs *before* he began harassing Anne Boleyn. He stopped having sex with Katherina altogether in 1524, and there is evidence he and Wolsey were plotting the dissolution of the marriage in 1525. The news of Henry's intent to divorce Katherina didn't become public until the later half 1527, but it had been in the works prior to the initial indication of the king's obsession with Anne. Even in the spring of 1527, Wolsey thought of Henry's divorce as a way to allow the king to marry a French princess. No one suspected that Henry wanted to make Anne anything but his chatelaine.

When the king started talking marriage it was no doubt plain to Anne that Henry was never going to let her go. No one, no matter how much he loved her, would agree to marry her as long as Henry wanted her. She was either going to wed the king or stay single for the rest of her life. The universal condemnation in that era for an unmarried woman who wasn't a nun made the choice of spinsterhood a very bitter pill to swallow. If she wanted security and a family and a place in society, she was going to have to marry her stalker.



Anne sent Henry a customary gift on New Year's Day, probably in 1527, that was of great import. The gift was a pendant in the shape of a ship with a small figure of a woman on board. Henry, no stranger to leaping to conclusions that best suited himself and familiar with romantic symbology, easily understood the gift to mean that Anne was seeking his protection. She had finally, after a long chase, given in. To this day her pragmatic bow to the reality of her situation has been taken as a sign she wanted Henry all along, and an indication that she was leading him on the whole time.

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# Charlie

## The King is Dead: The Last Will and Testament of Henry VIII

# Our Books



**H**ENRY VIII's last will and testament, drawn up a month before his death, is one of the most intriguing and contested documents in British history. It has also been the source of great controversy. It was overruled to enable the accession of Lady Jane Grey, and was deemed invalid by the supporters of Mary, Queen of Scots. The prevailing orthodoxy, until now has been that the will was the product of a conspiracy staged by a reforming religious faction. This book by Suzannah Lipscomb sets out to challenge this orthodoxy. Dr Lipscomb looks at the will and Henry VIII as a person, asking whether his will could really be changed and where these ideas have come from.

The early chapters provide us with a brief overview of the King's reign, but the majority of the book deals with the King's later years, death and aftermath. Henry's will had limited legal force, and depended solely on the thoughts and, more particularly, the ambitions of those who wielded the power after he was gone. As Lipscomb notes, 'seldom can a monarch of such terrible power have been so quickly forgotten', when within two months of his death, the careful plans he had made for the future of the constitution had been discarded.

In the first chapter of Dr Lipscomb's book, she briefly covers the events that would later affect Henry VIII's will, such as his divorces and his daughters being declared illegitimate. She explains

why Henry VIII took all these measures to ensure he had a son:

*'Henry VIII's will had a special legal importance, unique among royal wills. This is because, back in his annus horribilis of 1536, he had faced the situation of having, at the age of forty-five, two children but no heirs. In that year he had had a significant fall from his horse while jousting, which opened up an ulcer in his leg; had faced a major rebellion in the north of the country; had seen his seventeen-year-old, the illegitimate Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, die; and had faced the devastating allegation that the woman he loved had committed adultery with five men, including her own brother, for which Henry had ordered her execution.'*

The succession in Henry VIII's will is another thing that has been disputed and something which Dr Lipscomb dedicates a whole chapter to. One particularly interesting point in the Act of Succession of 1544 is that Henry seemed to still think he could have more children. This is evident in a quote that Lipscomb uses, saying that failing any heirs by Queen Kateryn, he next appointed his heirs after Edward to be from 'any other our lawful wife that we shall hereafter marry'. Henry still thought he could marry again after Kateryn, despite him having had six wives already and being fifty-two, an old man by the standards of the day. After Edward, and the possible children he still might have with either Kateryn or any other wife, Mary and Elizabeth were next in line in the succession. However, as Lipscomb points out, they

were still in fact illegitimate. This would bring up problems later on when Edward IV would nominate Lady Jane Grey as his successor instead of Mary, who was named in Henry's will.

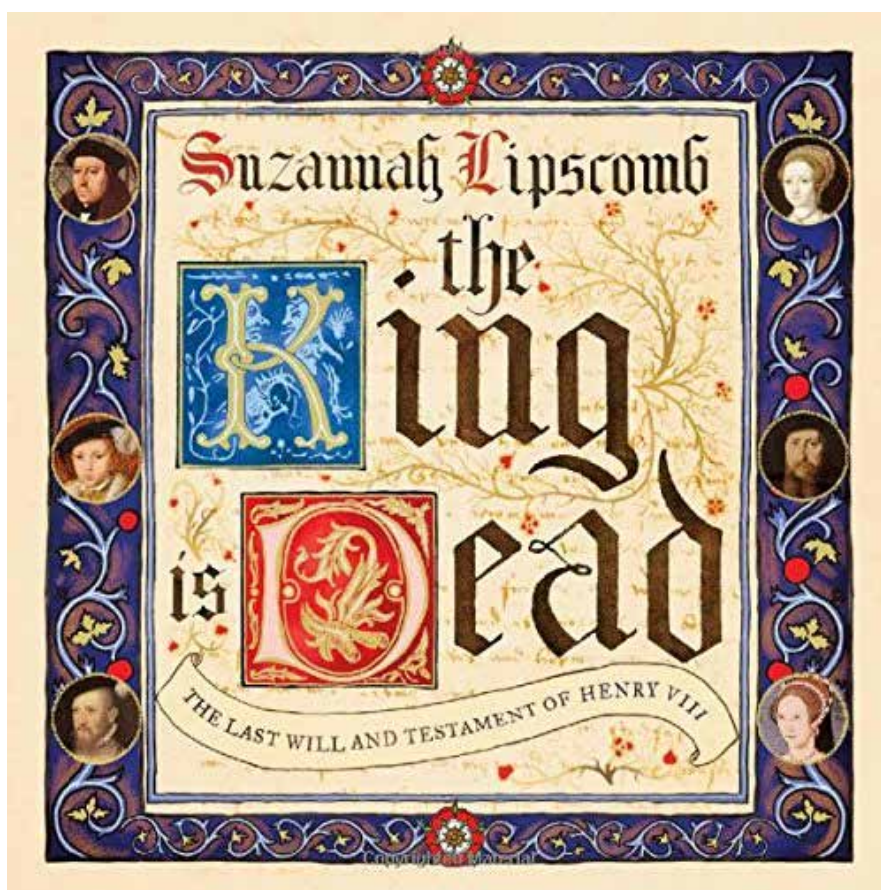
Dr Lipscomb then moves on to a subject that is often overlooked after the problem of Edward VI and his sisters, the fact that Henry himself ruled out the descendants of his older sister. Margaret Tudor's son was James V of Scotland and her granddaughter was Mary, Queen of Scots and:

*'by all the normal rules of hereditary and dynastic succession, Mary, Queen of Scots, ought to have had precedence over Lady Jane Grey; but in this instance, Henry exercised his right to determine the succession through his will very deliberately.'*

Dr Lipscomb does try to suggest reasons for this change in the succession; the fact that the treaty with Scotland after the war was all but renounced may have caused Henry to remove Mary and her descendants from the succession.

The sixth chapter, on the faith of Henry VIII, is the one I found the most interesting. It covers a complex topic: whether Henry was ultimately a Catholic or a Protestant. His Church's position, as Lipscomb writes, was on a 'precarious, idiosyncratic balance between Catholicism and Protestantism'. Lipscomb makes a case for Henry supporting some Catholic ideas and some Protestant ideas but ultimately decided that he was neither really. As she says, 'Henry didn't end his life – just as he hadn't lived it – as a Protestant, but rather in his own special idiosyncratic religious position: reform coupled with fairly orthodox Catholic theology'. She decides that he cannot be simply labelled as one or the other.

Following the main text of the book, separate appendices contain a transcript of King Henry's will as it exists in the National Archives in Kew, as well as a list of the executors and regency council



whom he had named in the document and an inventory of all his named possessions, including jewellery, clothes, games and toys, and musical instruments. This is very interesting and useful for those that want to read more about some of the clauses and information Lipscomb refers to.

Dr Lipscomb's style and account of the era is lively and thoroughly readable and the book is beautifully presented. Documents and images that complement the text are placed throughout, drawing the reader in and even allowing them to read parts of some of the documents the author refers to. Dr Lipscomb is not afraid to challenge some of the big name historians in her book, such as David Starkey whose opinions she mentions frequently. She is also not afraid to state her own opinions and provides a persuasive argument which rejects the view that changes in Henry VIII's will during his last months were as a result of a Protestant faction at court, as other historians have argued. Instead Dr Lipscomb demonstrates how Henry was fully behind the changes to his will and had control of these events right until his final days.

**CHARLIE FENTON**

# Tudor Life's Brand new series



OLGA HUGHES

## The Tudor Kitchen - The Royal Kitchen

One of the common misconceptions about medieval and early modern society is the supposed lack of hygiene in the preparation and consumption of food. The phrase that medieval people “didn’t know about hand-washing” makes little sense, yet it has been repeated so often that it has become a myth. Humans have instincts about cleanliness and grooming. We recognise dirt and odours. What has changed is how we understand the spread of infection and bacteria.

From ancient times until the nineteenth century it was widely thought that infection was spread by odours or “bad air”, known as *miasma*. We have evidence that people in the middle ages connected bad hygiene with the spread of infection. Tudor enthusiasts will be very familiar with the story that Henry VIII ordered the walls and floors of his infant son Edward’s apartments to be washed down thrice daily to protect him from disease. As science and medicine have developed, so has our understanding of how bacteria and disease are spread. Medieval society certainly knew about hygiene, even if they were unable to carry it out to our modern standards.

Medieval kitchens of large houses were the equivalent of the modern commercial kitchen, just as clean, organised and well-equipped as they are now. Kitchens are now divided into sections and stations, such as grill, larder and pastry. The large medieval kitchen was divided into rooms. One of the more exceptional examples was King Henry VIII’s Hampton Court Palace.



*Henry VIII did not enjoy having to return to the palace 'upon the time prefixed for dinner and souper', especially if he had 'gone further in walkeing, hunting, hawking or other disports'.<sup>1</sup> Henry had a privy kitchen built for both himself and Anne Boleyn at Hampton Court in 1533. The privy kitchen not only offered convenient access to hot meals for the King and Queen, it also kept their apartments warm.*



After acquiring Hampton Court Palace in 1529 Henry began extensive improvements. These renovations went on for over eight years, longer than the marriages and deaths and two of Henry's wives. Anne Boleyn was to enjoy the expansions at Hampton Court during her brief tenure, but Jane Seymour did not live to see her new apartments finished.

Henry's first improvements at Hampton Court Palace were to expand the main kitchens. The kitchen contained fifty-five rooms and covered 3000 square feet. The entire household, including the kitchen, was overseen by a small group of men who worked from the Counting House. The man in charge, the Lord Great Master, was responsible for the running of the entire vast household. Henry's best friend Charles Brandon, the Duke of Suffolk, held this position from 1540 to 1545. All of the household officers worked from the "greencloth", a table covered in green baize that sat in the centre of the Counting House, over which the Lord Great Master presided. The second-in-command was the Treasurer of the Household. This position was held by Sir Thomas Cheyney, who was responsible for keeping an inventory and overseeing the acquisition of all fuel, foodstuffs and beverages required for the household. The Comptroller of the Household, Sir John Gage, kept detailed accounts of the foodstuffs and fuel consumed by the household and managed the Treasurers accounts. Collectively, these men were known as the White Sticks, for the white staffs of office.

The White Sticks were assisted by a cofferer, three clerks of the greencloth, three clerks comptroller and four Masters of the Household, two for the King's household and two for the Queen's. The 'bouche of court', the food

*A Duke's Bouche of Court included: "in the morning one chett lofe [brown loaf], one manchett [small white loaf], one gallon of ale; for the afternoon, one manchett, one gallon of ale; and after supper, one chet lofe, one manchet, one gallon of ale, one pitcher of wyne, and from the last day of October unto the first day of April, one torch, one pricket [candle], two sises [small candles], one pound of white lights, ten talshides [timbers for fuel], eight faggots and...from the last day of March unto the first day of November, to have moyety [half] of the said waxe, white lights, wood and coals, which doth amount in money by the year to the summe of £39 13s 4d.<sup>2</sup> – the approximate equivalent of £16,900.00*



**The Tudor Kitchens at Hampton Court**  
(this is a costumed guide, not Olga!)

<sup>1</sup> Brears, Peter, *All the King's Cooks: The Tudor kitchens of Henry VIII's Hampton Court Palace*,



and fuel rations allotted to each household member, determined by position and rank, were also determined by the White Sticks.

Between eight and nine a.m. each morning, at least one of the White Sticks was required to attend the Counting House and inspect the accounts of the previous day. A Clerk of the Greencloth, Clerk Comptroller and Clerk of the Kitchen were then dispatched to the larders to inspect quantities and select what meat and fish would be served that day, along with instructions on “dressing”, the preparation and serving of dishes. The Clerk of the Kitchen was responsible for arranging the lists of supplies required, which were submitted to the Greencloth for inspection. Once approved the orders were issued to the appropriate purveyors of each office for purchase.

Meat made up a great deal of the household diet and the Acatery was responsible for the purchase of all meat; beef, mutton, pork, veal and fresh and salted fish. While a vast amount of money was spent on feeding the royal household, this was not for lack of good management. The Sergeant of the Acatery,

*Lumbard Mustard*

*Take mustard seed and wash, and dry it in an oven. Grind it dry and sieve it. Clarify honey with wine and vinegar and stir it well together and make it thick enough; and when you will make it thin with wine.<sup>4</sup>*

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Souvenir Press 2011, pp. 109

assisted by a Clerk Comptroller, attended markets and fairs to purchase livestock at the best prices he could, and secure contracts with suppliers for fish. The White Sticks were responsible for setting agreed purchase prices for household supplies and the household officers were expected to work within the budget.

## The set prices for poultry in 1545 included:<sup>3</sup>

|                                        |     |                            |        |
|----------------------------------------|-----|----------------------------|--------|
| Swans .....                            | 6s  | Mewes, the piece .....     | 8d     |
| Cranes, Storks, Bustard, the piece ..  | 8d  | Godwits, the piece .....   | 14d    |
| Hens of "gress" (fat), the piece ..... | 7d  | Dottrells, the piece ..... | 4d     |
| Hérons, Shovellers, Bittern, .....     |     | Quails, the piece .....    | 4d     |
| the piece .....                        | 20d | Cocks, the piece .....     | 4d     |
| Mallard, the piece .....               | 4d  | Plovers, the piece .....   | 4d     |
| Pigeons, the dozen .....               | 10d | Snipes, the piece .....    | 2 1/2d |
| Large and fat Geese from .....         |     | Larks, the dozen .....     | 6d     |
| Easter to Midsummer, the piece ...     | 7d  | Teals, the piece .....     | 2d     |
| Geese of "gresse" from .....           |     | Wigeons, the piece .....   | 3d     |
| Lamas till 22nd day, the piece .....   | 8d  | Sparrows, the dozen .....  | 4d     |
| Peacocks and Peachicks .....           | 16d |                            |        |
| Grebes, Egrets, the piece .....        | 14d |                            |        |
| Gulls, the piece .....                 | 16d |                            |        |

The outer court contained the Poultry, Bakehouse and Woodhouse. The Poultry and Scalding House were run by the Sergeant of the Poultry and his clerk, who received birds purchased by the purveyors. As we can see the Tudors consumed a vast variety of birds, far more than the chickens, turkeys, ducks and geese that we consume today, the latter two less commonly. The Scalding House lit the fires early in the morning, making sure the great pans of water were simmering when the birds were brought in. Once scalded in the boiling water, the birds could be easily plucked clean of feathers. Because the scalding process heated the skin the birds needed to be cooked that day, so they were never plucked before the day they were needed.

The Bakehouse was a huge and complicated operation, producing more than a thousand loaves of bread daily. Wheat was carried up staircases to the "yeoman garnetor" who cleaned and turned the wheat before it was sent to be milled. After it was milled labourers would sieve the meal, the bran was then removed and sold to the avener, the chief officer of the stables, to feed the King's horses. A "yeoman fernour" was responsible for seasoning the flour, preparing

### *To make a Venison Pasty*

*Take a Peck of fine Flour, and three Pounds of fresh Butter, break your Butter into your Flour, and put in one Egg, and make it into a Past with so much cold cream as you think fit, but do not mould it too much, then roul it pretty thin and broad, almost square, then lay some Butter on the bottom, then season your Venison on the fleshy side with Pepper grosly beaten, and Salt mixed, then lay your Venison upon your butter with the seasoned side downward, and then cut the Venison over with your Knife quite cross the Pasty to let the Gravie come out the better in baking.<sup>5</sup>*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* pp. 12

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* pp. 31

<sup>4</sup> Adapted from *A Forme of Cury*, from Hieatt, Constance B. and Sharon Butler. *Curye on Inglish: English Culinary Manuscripts of the Fourteenth-Century (Including the Forme of Cury)* Oxford University Press, 1985

the yeast or sourdough, inspecting the bread dough and lighting the ovens. Henry had his own baker, John Wynkell, who was titled “Yeoman Baker of the King’s Mouth”. John baked bread for the King’s table in the privy bakehouse. The main bakehouse supplied the whole court. 200 messes, a “mess” being a portion of four, of cheat loaf, the wholemeal bread consumed by everyone, were required daily, along with 150 additional loaves for breakfast for those who had bouche of court. 700 manchet loaves, fine white bread, were provided for the upper household. Bread was also used by the Confectionary and the Saucery, and an additional 102 loaves were sold to Officers of the Leash, for a farthing a loaf, to feed the King’s greyhounds.

The Greencloth Yard contained offices that house the more expensive household items, including the Jewel House, the Chandlery and the Spicery. It is often said that spices were used to disguise the flavour of tainted meat, but spices were an expensive commodity and were not used for this purpose – although meat that was turning was sometimes pickled in vinegar. The Chief Clerk of the Spicery Office was a very busy man, he also looked after the Chandlery, Ewery, Wafery and Laundry. Some spices that would be found in a Tudor spice house include ginger, pepper, nutmeg, mace, cloves, cinnamon, saffron and galangal. These were mostly distributed in whole form, and if they were required powdered they were ground by the Yeoman of the Spicery William Hutchinson. William’s equipment would have included a mortar, maybe in bronze, for crushing spices and a “mortar mill” which ground the spices between two iron plates. He would also have lockable spice boxes for storage and leather bags to ground spices in. The Spicery also stored fresh and dried fruit and, that precious commodity, sugar.

The Saucery prepared condiments rather than hot sauces, and the most important of the condiments was mustard. The mustard itself was a simple process, mustard seeds were soaked, dried again, ground and mixed with vinegar. Vinegar was mostly made from inferior wine from the Cellars.

Greensauce, what we now call Salsa Verde, was also a common accompaniment at meals. The Tudor version was sometimes made with sorrel or gooseberries, but more often with parsley, mint and breadcrumbs, similar to how we make it now.

The Pastry Yard contained larders, the Confectionary, Pastry House, Boiling House and smaller workhouses. The kitchens had wet and dry larders for fish and seafood, with salted fish stored in the dry larder and brought in to the wet larder when it required soaking. Saltfish had to be soaked for several days before it was edible. A meat larder stored all of the household’s ready-to-cook meat, butchered red meats and game and prepared birds and rabbits from the Poultry. The Boiling House contained enormous boilers, made of lead or copper, which could simmer enough meat for 200 messes, or 800 people, at a time. The smaller workhouses prepared hot sauces and some of the more delicate dishes, which were cooked on the small stoves built into the tops of the hearths. They also roasted meats, although on a much smaller scale than the main kitchens.

The Pastry House was responsible for baking both savoury and sweet pastries. This included making “coffins” for baking meats, pasties and pies of fish, beef, veal and mutton, pies with many different varieties of birds, and large venison pasties for the King’s own table. Sweet fruit pies, custard pies and open tarts were also produced in the Pastry House.

The Confectionary produced the most expensive, delicate and intricate dishes for the household and was one of the few offices that produced food especially for the King’s table. The art of sugarwork and confectionary requires an article to itself, but, in brief, the Confectionary produced all the expensive sweetmeats and ‘subtleties’ the upper household enjoyed at the end of the main meal. The king would enjoy spice plates after dinner, dishes containing elegant little ‘comfits’, spices coated in sugar.

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5 Translated by Elizabethan Era [online]<<http://www.elizabethan-era.org.uk/venison-pasty-old-recipe.htm> > accessed December 2015

6 Brears, Peter, *All the King’s Cooks: The Tudor kitchens of Henry VIII’s Hampton Court Palace*, Souvenir Press 2011, pp. 88-90

7 *Ibid*

8 *Ibid*

9 *Ibid*



**The Tudor Kitchen Fire at Hampton Court  
which is still used today for visitors to see.**

This was a lengthy process, spices such as caraway, coriander seeds and chopped ginger were placed in a swinging copper pan set over a chafing dish of charcoal. Sugar syrup was added gradually and hand-stirred until a hard, smooth coating was achieved. The Confectionary also produced preserves, fruits sweetened with sugar syrup, fresh fruit and marchpane. 'Subtleties', the beautifully crafted sculptures that adorned the King's table, were sometimes made of wax, but most often made of sugar. Hampton Court Palace even had a Wafery, which existed solely to provide the King and the upper household with delicate, thin wafers made from a sweet, spiced batter cooked in special irons.

The main palace kitchens were overseen by "The King's Master Cook", John Bricket. John's responsibilities confirm that cleanliness and hygiene was of the utmost importance in kitchens, and especially in a royal kitchen. One of John's many responsibilities was to see that not only the kitchens, but the staff were clean and well-presented. John had to get rid of all "corruption and uncleane...which doth engender infection, and is very noiseome and displeasent unto all nobleman and others".<sup>6</sup>

The Master Cook also had to prevent the scullions, the junior kitchen staff, from "going naked or in garments of such vileness as they now doe, and have been accustomed to doe, nor lie in the nights and days in the kitchens or ground by the fireplace".<sup>7</sup> Scullions were no longer permitted to sleep by the warm hearths which dirtied their skin and damaged their clothing, but were sent to sleep in the (much colder) servants quarters. The Master Cook was given a yearly allowance for "honest and whole coarse garments" for the scullions. In 1541 this cost £55, the modern equivalent of around £25,000.<sup>8</sup> The chefs and cooks wore broad white linen aprons to keep themselves clean. The more important chefs received an even larger allowance for clothing. While the scullions had an approximate £1 13s 4d yearly clothing allowance each, Henry's French cook received six times that. Pero Doulx received a staggering £10, around £4900, yearly clothing allowance in addition to his yearly wage of £13 16s 8d.<sup>9</sup>

As we can see there is far more to the royal kitchens than meets the eye. It was a vast, tightly-structured and highly organised operation which required hundreds of employees, administrative staff, cooks, cleaners and labourers, to operate. Hampton Court is one of only two of the many palaces Henry owned that still survives, and most of the Tudor sections of the palace were demolished by William III. But the great Tudor kitchens of Hampton Court Palace still stand today.

**OLGA HUGHES**

### **Sources:**

- ◇ Brears, Peter, *All the King's Cooks: The Tudor kitchens of Henry VIII's Hampton Court Palace*, Souvenir Press 2011
- ◇ Hieatt, Constance B. and Sharon Butler Curye *on English: English Culinary Manuscripts of the Fourteenth-Century (Including the Forme of Cury)* Oxford University Press, 1985
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# FEBRUARY'S FEAST DAYS

## 1 February – Candlemas Eve

If you haven't taken down your Christmas decorations yet then don't worry, you're just following the medieval and Tudor tradition of taking them down on Candlemas Eve. 1<sup>st</sup> February was the traditional day for removing the greenery, such as laurel, holly, ivy and rosemary, which had decorated homes over the Christmas period. However, Candlemas Eve really is your last chance to rid your home of decorations and please don't leave them up otherwise you may just get invaded by goblins!

“Down with the rosemary, and so  
Down with the bays and misletoe;  
Down with the holly, ivy, all,  
Wherewith ye dress'd the Christmas Hall:  
That so the superstitious find  
No one least branch there left behind:  
For look, how many leaves there be  
Neglected, there (maids, trust to me)  
So many goblins you shall see.”

From Robert Herrick's 17<sup>th</sup> century poem *Ceremony Upon Candlemas Eve*.

## 2 February – Candlemas

Candlemas, also known as the Feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple and the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, commemorates the purification (or churcing, as medieval people would have seen it) of the Virgin Mary forty days after the birth of Jesus Christ, when it was traditional for the mother to make an offering or sacrifice according to Jewish law, and the presentation of the baby Jesus at the temple in Bethlehem. Luke the Evangelist recorded this in his Gospel, Luke 2: 22-39:

“And when the days of her purification according to the law of Moses were accomplished, they brought him to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord; (As it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord;) And to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, A pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons. And, behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Ghost was upon him. And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ. And he came by the Spirit into the temple: and when

the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him after the custom of the law, Then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: For mine eyes have seen thy salvation, Which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel. And Joseph and his mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him. And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel; and for a sign which shall be spoken against; (Yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also,) that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed. And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser: she was of a great age, and had lived with a husband seven years from her virginity; And she was a widow of about fourscore and four years, which departed not from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers night and day. And she coming in that instant gave thanks likewise unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem. And when they had performed all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth.” King James Version.

In his book *The English Year*, Steve Roud explains that, as the name suggests, Candlemas’s “key element” was “the preponderance of candles”. Candles were blessed in church services and then carried around the parish, their light symbolising Christ lighting the way for his followers and harking back to Simeon’s words recorded in Luke about Christ being “A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel”. Ronald Hutton, in *The Stations of the Sun*, writes of how in the 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries the craft guilds of Aberdeen “provided pageants to accompany their members through the streets with their candles...” and that some towns and cities held municipal feasts and put on entertainment.

It appears that the practice of blessing candles was frowned upon after the Reformation, with Archbishop Thomas Cranmer writing to Bishop Bonner on 27<sup>th</sup> January 1548 informing him that the Lord Protector has decided “that no candles should be borne upon Candlemas Day, nor also from henceforth ashes or palms used any longer.” It was seen as superstitious.

## 3 February – Feast of St Blaise

St Blaise (Blaize, Blaze) was a Cappadocian bishop who became the English patron saint of wool-combers, as well as being the patron saint of wax-chandling and wild animals. On his feast day, wool combers would have special processions to celebrate their craft. St Blaise is also the patron saint of those with sore throats and people could (and still can in some Catholic churches) get their sore throats blessed on this day by the priest.

## 14 February – Valentine’s Day

Steve Roud, in *The English Year*, writes of how the origins of Valentine’s Day are “obscure” and that the romantic traditions associated with it have nothing to do with either of the martyrs believed to have been the St Valentine commemorated on this day.

Geoffrey Chaucer wrote in the 14<sup>th</sup> century of how birds would choose their mates on Valentine's Day and this theme has been repeated in other pieces of literature. In John Lydgate's 15<sup>th</sup> century poem, "A Valentine to her that Excelleth All", he writes of how it was custom on Valentine's Day for people to choose their love:

"To look and search Cupid's calendar  
And choose their choose, by great affection."

In her book *Pleasures & Pastimes in Tudor England*, historian Alison Sim writes of how the Tudors obviously did celebrate St Valentine's Day because it is mentioned three times in the *Paston Letters* in the 1470s. Apparently, "valentines were chosen by lot from among a group of friends, who then had to buy their valentine a gift." Sim goes on to describe how the steward's accounts of the household of William Petre show lengths of cloth and gold trinkets being given to valentines who were chosen by lot and that one year "one of the maids was even fortunate enough to draw Sir William himself one year, and was given a whole quarter's extra wages as her valentine."

## 24 February – Feast of St Matthias the Apostle

According to Acts, after Judas's death, two men were nominated to take his place as one of the Apostles: Joseph called Barsabbas (also known as Justus) and Matthias. The eleven Apostles prayed and then cast lots, "and the lot fell to Matthias". Acts 1:26.

## Lent

Shrove Sunday – 7 February 2016  
Collop Monday – 8 February 2016  
Shrove Tuesday – 9 February 2016  
Ash Wednesday – 10 February 2016

Lent was, and is, the lead-up to Holy Week and it lasted six and a half weeks. In Tudor times, it was a period of fasting, a time when meat, eggs, cheese and sexual relations were forbidden. Prior to this fasting was a time of celebration, Shrovetide, which began on the seventh Sunday before Easter, a day known as Shrove Sunday. The word "Shrove" came from "shriving", the confession of sins and the receiving of absolution for them.

The three days of Shrovetide – Shrove Sunday, Collop Monday (a 'collop' being a piece of fried or roasted meat) and Shrove Tuesday – were the last opportunity to use up those forbidden foods and to have some fun. Shrove Tuesday, the last day before Lent, was marked with court celebrations and entertainment such as jousting, plays, music and masques. Alison Sim, in *Pleasures and Pastimes in Tudor England* describes one Shrovetide entertainment, "threshing the cock", which consisted of tethering a cock and then people trying to kill it by throwing things at it. A prize was given to the person who killed it. Sim also writes of how "sometimes the cock was buried with just its head sticking out of the ground and then blindfolded people would try to kill it with a flail." Not nice Thomas Tusser wrote of this in Elizabeth I's reign:

“At Shroftide go shroving, go threshe the fat hen,  
If blindfold can kill her, then give it thie men.”

Games of football were also traditionally enjoyed on Shrove Tuesday. If you've seen my Claire Chats video on outside Tudor games then you'll know just how dangerous Tudor football was. There were deaths from rough tackles, collisions, knife wounds from playing with a knife tucked into one's belt. One teenager was killed from a fall after tripping over a molehill. Alnwick, in Northumberland, still have a special Shrove Tuesday game of football, which, according to Alnwick Castle website, takes “the form of a historic and brutal football match on the pastures behind the castle, during which the players aim to score ‘hailes’ on a one-furlong long pitch.” Atherstone, in Warwickshire, also keeps the tradition going, a tradition that dates back over 850 years and which has never been missed in all that time. According to BBC Coventry and Warwickshire, every year on Shrove Tuesday Atherstone's windows are boarded up and hundreds of people gather in the village “to knock seven bells out of one another in an attempt to grab hold of a heavy leather ball”. Go to Atherstone on Shrove Tuesday at your peril!

Ash Wednesday was the first day of Lent and was a day of penitence. Before the Reformation banned the practice, priests would bless ashes, which were traditionally made from burning the previous year's Palm Sunday ‘palms’, mix them with holy water and then mark the congregation's foreheads with the sign of the cross in ash. As the priest did this, he would say “Remember, man, that thou art dust and to dust thou shalt return.”

In churches during Lent, a Lent veil would hide the chancel from the nave and cloths would cover the lectern and altars. These cloths and veils symbolised the hiding of the way to salvation. The Lent veil would remain in place until the Wednesday of Holy Week when the priest would read out the passage from the Bible concerning the veil in the Temple in Jerusalem.

Pancakes were a way of using up eggs before Lent so eating pancakes became a custom in many countries. In the UK, pancake races became a way of using up the rich food forbidden during Lent and also having fun. The traditional pancake race of Olney in Buckinghamshire is said to date back to 1445. The story behind the tradition is that a housewife was busy making pancakes when the churchbells rang for the service. The lady was in such a rush to get to the service that she allegedly ran to church with her frying pan and pancake, tossing the pancake as she went!

## 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.

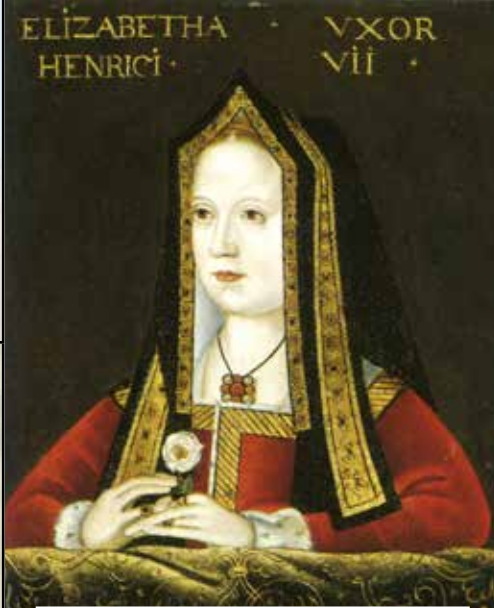
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# FEBRUARY'S ON THIS

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| <p><b>1 February</b><br/>1514</p> <p>Henry VIII granted the Dukedom of Suffolk to <b>Charles Brandon</b>, his future brother-in-law, and also made <b>Thomas Howard</b>, 3rd Duke of Norfolk, and Howard's son, Henry, the Earl of Surrey.</p>                                                                                            | <p><b>2 February</b><br/>1550</p> <p>Sir <b>Francis Bryan</b>, courtier, diplomat, poet and a man nicknamed "The Vicar of Hell", died suddenly at Clonmel in Ireland.</p> | <p><b>3 February</b><br/>1576</p> <p><b>Henry of Navarre</b>, future <b>Henry IV of France</b>, escaped from Paris after being forced to live at the French court and convert to Catholicism</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <p><b>4 February</b><br/>1520</p> <p><b>Mary Boleyn</b>, sister of <b>Anne Boleyn</b>, married <b>William Carey</b>, an Esquire of the Body and relative of <b>Henry VIII</b>.</p>                         |
| <p><b>9 February</b><br/>1554</p> <p>Original date set for the execution of Lady <b>Jane Grey</b> and Lord <b>Guildford Dudley</b>. Extra time was given for Dr <b>John Feckenham</b>, Mary I's Chaplain and Confessor, to try and save Jane's soul by persuading her to recant her Protestant faith and return to the Catholic fold.</p> |  <p>Henry IV of France</p>                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | <p><b>10 February</b><br/>1554</p> <p>Death of Sir <b>William Sidney</b>, former Steward to Prince <b>Edward</b> (future Edward VI), at Penshurst. He was buried at Penshurst parish church.</p>           |
| <p><b>14 February</b><br/>1547</p> <p><b>Henry VIII's</b> coffin was taken to Windsor for burial after resting overnight at Syon Abbey. Apparently, some liquid leaked out of it on to the floor at Syon, and this was thought to fulfil the prophecy made by Franciscan friar <b>William Peto</b> in 1535.</p>                           |                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | <p><b>15 February</b><br/>1564</p> <p>Birth of <b>Galileo Galilei</b>, the Italian physicist, mathematician, astronomer, and philosopher, in Pisa, Italy.</p>                                              |
| <p><b>18 February</b><br/>1516</p> <p>A healthy baby girl was born at the Palace of Placentia in Greenwich. Her name was <b>Mary</b>, the daughter of King <b>Henry VIII</b> and <b>Catherine of Aragon</b>.</p>                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                           | <p><b>19 February</b><br/>1592</p> <p>The Rose Theatre, an Elizabethan play house, was opened in London on Bankside.</p> <p>In 1585 <b>Philip Henslowe</b>, a London businessman and property developer, leased a tenement and gardens known as the <i>Little Rose</i>.</p> <p>In 1587, with the help of grocer <b>John Cholmley</b> and carpenter <b>John Griggs</b>, Henslowe built The Rose Theatre, which opened in 1592.</p> |                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <p><b>23 February</b><br/>1503</p> <p>Burial of <b>Elizabeth of York</b>, Queen Consort of <b>Henry VII</b> and mother of <b>Henry VIII</b>, at Westminster Abbey.</p>                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                           | <p><b>24 February</b><br/>1580</p> <p>Death of <b>Henry Fitzalan</b>, 12<sup>th</sup> Earl of Arundel, at Arundel House. He was buried in the collegiate chapel at Arundel</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | <p><b>25 February</b><br/>1601</p> <p><b>Robert Devereux</b>, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex was executed at the Tower of London. He said "<i>My sins are more in number than the hairs on my head</i>".</p> |

# DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>5 February</b><br>1576<br><b>Henry of Navarre</b> , the future Henry IV of France, abjured Catholicism at Tours, rejoining the Protestant forces, following his escape from Paris.                                                                                                                                                                                   | <b>6 February</b><br>1557<br>The remains of reformers <b>Martin Bucer</b> and <b>Paul Fagius</b> were exhumed and publicly burned, after being posthumously found guilty of heresy. They were burned, along with their books, on Market Hill in Cambridge. Fagius had died from the plague in 1549 and Bucer had died of tuberculosis in 1551. | <b>7 February</b><br>1587<br>Sir <b>Amyas Paulet</b> read out <b>Mary, Queen of Scots'</b> death warrant to her, and informed her that she would be executed the following day.                                                                                                                           | <b>8 February</b><br>1587<br><b>Mary, Queen of Scots</b> was executed at Fotheringhay Castle. It took him two blows to kill Mary.                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b>11 February</b><br>1466<br><b>Elizabeth of York</b> was born, the daughter and eldest child of <b>Edward IV</b> and <b>Elizabeth Woodville</b> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | <br>Elizabeth of York                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | <b>12 February</b><br>1554<br>Lady <b>Jane Grey</b> and her husband, <b>Guildford Dudley</b> , were executed for treason. Their bodies were then taken to the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula.                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>16 February</b><br>1547<br><b>Henry VIII's</b> body was interred in a vault in St George's Chapel Windsor, alongside that of his third wife, <b>Jane Seymour</b> .                                                                                                                                                                                                   | <b>13 February</b><br>1542<br><b>Catherine Howard</b> and Lady <b>Jane Rochford</b> were executed at the Tower of London. They were buried in the Chapel of St Peter ad Vincula.                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <b>17 February</b><br>1547<br><b>Edward Seymour</b> , uncle of King <b>Edward VI</b> , was made Duke of Somerset. Somerset became Lord Protector of England in February 1547, shortly after <b>Henry VIII's</b> death. Henry VIII's will had named sixteen executors who were to form a regency council, along with twelve other advisers, until Edward VI came of age. |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <b>20 February</b><br>1547<br><b>Edward VI</b> was crowned King at Westminster Abbey. However, the celebrations had begun the day before. The coronation ceremony was followed by a banquet in Westminster's Great Hall, more feasting and entertainment at Whitehall, and then two days of jousting and feasting.                                                      | <b>21 February</b><br>1590<br><b>Ambrose Dudley</b> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> Earl of Warwick, Master of the Ordnance and Privy Councillor, died at Bedford House on the Strand.                                                                                                                                                                       | <b>22 February</b><br>1540<br>Tragedy struck <b>Catherine of Aragon</b> and <b>Henry VIII</b> when their fifty-two day-old baby boy, <b>Henry, Duke of Cornwall</b> , died. We do not know what caused his death, but it was unexpected. Perhaps it was SIDS (Sudden Infant Death Syndrome or Cot Death). |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <b>26 February</b><br>1564<br><b>Christopher Marlowe</b> , poet, translator and playwright, was baptised at St George's Canterbury.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | <b>27 February</b><br>1545<br>The English forces were defeated by the Scots at the <i>Battle of Ancrum Moor</i> , near Jedburgh in Scotland.                                                                                                                                                                                                   | <b>28 February</b><br>1551<br>Death of theologian and Protestant reformer <b>Martin Bucer</b> He was buried in Great St Mary's Church at a funeral attended by around 3,000 people.                                                                                                                       | <b>29 February</b><br>1528<br>The burning of <b>Patrick Hamilton</b> , theologian and Scotland's first 'Protestant' martyr, took place on this day in outside St Salvator's College, St Andrews. It was an horrific death, with it taking around six hours for Hamilton to die. <b>Alexander Alesius</b> wrote of how Hamilton was roasted, rather than burned. |



# TudorLife

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