The Tudor Society Magazine

Members Only Nº 19 March 2016

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TUDOR PERSONALITIES The Dudleys - Derek Wilson Elizabeth of York - Lauren Browne Mary I - Roland Hui Isabella of Spain - Kyra Kramer Henry Howard - Beth von Staats **TUDOR PLACES** Greenwich - Jane Moulder Wroxhall Abbey - Andy Crossley 87

> An insider's guide to the Tower of London - Part I

IDGI Nelcome!

March 2016

Thank you for taking the time to read this magazine - are we allowed to say that this month the Tudor Society magazine is better than it's ever been? Packed full of fascinating articles about Tudor personalities, Tudor places, Tudor facts, Tudor fun ... all things Tudor!

The magazine has gone from strength to strength with a wide variety of contributors from across the historical world, and this edition doesn't disappoint in any way. Originally this magazine was to be about war - which of course was an activity that the Tudors were often involved in. But it's grown from that idea into a great collection of articles... all the best laid plans...

So, without further ado, onwards into the world of 500 years ago... enjoy.

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TIM RIDGWAY

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QUEEN OF ENGLAND AND BRIDE OF PEACE

THE LEGACY OF ELIZABETH OF YORK

by Lauren Browne

LIZABETH of York's legacy is usually underpinned by her representation as the bride of peace, whose marriage to Henry VII ended the Wars of the Roses. In the centuries after her death, Elizabeth's representation was manipulated by those seeking to cash in on her powerful representation. Her reputation as a pious queenconsort, mother to the Tudor dynasty, and an

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Elizabeth of York was born on 11 February 1465, the daughter of King Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville. On 18 January 1486, she married King Henry VII.

Elizabeth and Henry's eldest son, Arthur, died soon after his marriage to Catherine of Aragon and their second son Henry later married her. Several children who did not survive infancy are buried in Westminster Abbey – Elizabeth, Edmund and Catherine. Their surviving daughters were Margaret Tudor, who married James IV, King of Scots and Mary, who married Louis XII of France.

Elizabeth Woodville died in childbirth in the Tower of London on her birthday, 11 February, 1503. almost perfect queen stood the test of time. After the death of Henry VII there was no longer a reason to emphasise her submissive role in the unification, and in later Tudor representations she was given an equal-footing with her husband.

Elizabeth I, whose namesake was her grandmother Elizabeth of York, was crowned as Queen-regnant of England on 15th January 1559, and in the pageants welcoming her to London the day before her coronation much was made of her York heritage. Unlike during her lifetime, Elizabeth of York was not cast in a submissive position during this pageant, which took place at Gracious Street. An account was made by Richard Mulcaster to officially commemorate the events. It was also reprinted and 'the surviving evidence suggests that this handsome black-letter printing... sold like hot cakes.' Therefore, the document provided not only a commemoration of the event, but possibly propagandised it as well. The representation of Elizabeth of York during the pageant presents her as the joint sovereign with Henry VII, as 'by this time it was no longer politic to negate her lineage but it became necessary to celebrate the heritage that it gave to her children and grandchildren.' Therefore, Elizabeth's heritage no longer threatened the role of the regnant; instead it bolstered Elizabeth I's position as the physical embodiment of the union of the Houses of York and Lancaster. The pageant was displayed on a stage erected across the middle of the street, was split into three tiers, and was named 'The vniting of the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke'. On the bottom tier sat figures representing 'king

ELIZABETHA HENRICI

VXOR VII *

> Elizabeth of York, Artist Unknown – NPG

Henrie the seventh proceeding out of the house of Lancaster [who] was enclosed in a read rose, and... Queeene Elizabeth being heire to the house of York enclosed with a whyte rose, eche of them royallie crowned... with Sceptours in their hands.' Johnson argues the importance of Elizabeth being described as the heir of York, whereas Henry is only described as proceeding from the house of Lancaster. 'In terms of their own heritage, it is explicitly stated here that while Henry is a king, it is Elizabeth that is heir to a royal house.' They sat side by side, their hands presumably joined and out of a 'ring of matrimonie... two roses sprang two branches gathered into one, which were directed toward the second stage', upon which sat Henry VIII. This portrayal offers Elizabeth an equal representation in the union, one which was not afforded to her in York Minster or in other representations of her in life. This equal status represents them as if they reigned in a state of joint sovereignty; an implication that Henry VII actively tried to avoid. An image of Elizabeth I was seated on the uppermost tier, showing that the pageant represented her family tree, or rose bush in this case. The account of the pageant goes into further detail about the importance of Elizabeth I's grandmother and namesake:

It was deuised that like as Elizabeth was the first occasion of concorde, so she another Elizabeth might maintaine the same among her subjects. So that vnitie was the end wherat the whole deuise shotte, as the Quenes maiesties name moued the first ground.

Mulcaster names Elizabeth of York as the one who brought peace to England, not Henry VII. It seems he links the name Elizabeth to the success of the Tudor dynasty, 'which is all the more significant if it is considered that Elizabeth I was an active and interested participant in the planning and execution of the pageant series.' David Bergeron shows how Elizabeth I was actively involved in the organisation of the pageant from new manuscript evidence found in the Folger Shakespeare Library, and states that 'they reveal Elizabeth's eager interest in such festivities.' The first manuscript is a letter written by Elizabeth I to Sir Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Revels, in which she states that she will provide the costumes 'at the tyme we are to passe thorough the same towards our Coronation.' The second manuscript is a list of costumes sent by Elizabeth for the pageant, Bergeron surmises that 'Item ij garments longe of red saten striped with gold and sleves of white cloth gold and red' could have been used in the pageant featuring Elizabeth of York and Henry VII, due to the colours featured in the garments. Therefore, Elizabeth I understood the political importance of the tableau and could have been involved in showing Elizabeth of York as a more dominant queen than she was represented in her own lifetime.

Henry VII was born at Pembroke Castle on the 28th January 1457. His parents were the 13 year old Lady Margaret Beaufort and his father was Edmund Tudor, 1st Earl of Richmond, who, unfortunately, had died of the plague three months before Henry's birth.

Neither of Henry's parents had a strong claim to the throne, with Edmund having no English royal blood and Margaret being descended from a line which was deliberately excluded from the succession, but this did not stop Henry VII from claiming the English throne after his Lancastrian forces defeated Richard III's Yorkist forces at the Battle of Bosworth Field on the 22nd August 1485 when Richard was killed.

The marriage between Henry and Elizabeth was happy and successful, and his reign was a successful one.

At 11pm on Saturday 21 April 1509, King Henry VII died. His death was kept secret for two days and then his son was proclaimed King Henry VIII on the morning of Tuesday 24 April at London. It was the start of a new era.

Portrait of Henry VII of England (1457-1509), Artist-Unknown – NPG

TO



Elizabeth I was not the first Tudor Monarch to use the symbolism of her ancestry and the union rose to her advantage. Another example of Elizabeth's changing reputation can be seen in Edward Hall's 'The Vnion of the two illustrat familes of Lancashire and Yorke.' It was written during the reign of Henry VIII and was first published in 1548 with a dedication to Edward VI. Hall's chronicle was printed and edited by Richard Grafton, who was one of the devisors for Elizabeth's coronation pageant. The title page of the 1550 edition depicts various participants in the War of the Roses scattered about the page which is decorated like a rose bush. It culminates at the top of the page, with Henry VII and Elizabeth of York growing out of roses and joining hands, and above them Henry VIII grows out of a rose that branches from the two supporting his parents. The parallels between the two representations of Elizabeth of York are clear, and she is presented as an equal to Henry VII as the parent of a monarch. The chronicle states that after the marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth:

peace was thought to discende out of heauen into England, consyderyng that the lynes of Lancastre & Yorke, being both noble families equiualent in riches, fame and honour, were now brought into one knot & connexed together, of whose bodies one heire might succeede, which after their time should peaceably rule.

Therefore, her status was elevated after her death, ensuring that she would be represented in a role which was denied to her during her lifetime. Her representation could be manipulated according to what was needed by the monarchy, and after her death it became necessary to emphasise her lineage in order to maintain the stability of the monarchy.

Perhaps the earliest depiction of Elizabeth of York in historical drama was her brief appearance in Shakespeare's *Richard III*. She is not listed in the speaking parts, although in some plays she is depicted on stage, but her marriage and dynastic importance are mentioned in the final scene, once again showing her importance as a mother;

O, now let Richmond and Elizabeth, The true succeeders of each royal house, By God's fair orinance conjoin together! And let their heirs, God, if Thy will be so,

Enrich the time to come with smooth-faced peace, With smiling plenty, and fair prosperous days!

Richard III could be described as a type of Tudor propaganda, and in the same vein the representation of Elizabeth of York subscribed to her importance in the dynasty and her apparent lack of involvement in politics. This representation of her does not seem to suggest that she was a queen-regnant alongside Henry VII. Despite this, the theme of Elizabeth's role as a mother and provider of heirs again links to the lineage of Elizabeth I and her Yorkist connections. The symbolism of the rose is once again used, 'We will unite the White rose and the Red', which refers to the physical unification in the Tudor emblem of the union rose, as well as the symbolic unification of the blood as seen in Elizabeth I. This once again shows how the lineage of the Tudor line, especially pertaining to Elizabeth of York, could be used by Elizabeth and her supporters as a stabilising factor for her reign.

Elizabeth of York's representation could also be used to destabilise the monarchy, and bolster the claims of her other descendants. Elizabeth's youngest surviving daughter Mary married the aging king of France on 9th October 1514, and within two months of her being crowned queen of France her husband King Louis XII died. Mary then seized the chance to marry Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, who had headed the delegation sent by Henry VIII to congratulate Louis XII on his marriage. Mary bore Suffolk a son, Henry, and two daughters, Frances and Eleanor. Following the early death of Edward VI, Frances, who had married Henry Grey the grandson of Elizabeth of York's half-brother Thomas Grey, supported her eldest daughter's claim to the throne. Lady Jane Grey is known in history as the 'nine days queen,' and the abortive coup which placed her briefly on the throne was supported by her lineage to her great-grandmother Elizabeth of York, as well as her Protestant faith. Similarly, after the death of Elizabeth I in 1603, attention turned to her younger sister Catherine Grey. After Catherine's death in 1568 the Suffolk claim for succession was opened out to the children of Lady Margaret Strange, but their Catholic religion meant they lost some support. On the other side of the succession crisis stood the descendants from Elizabeth of



Henry VII Tomb Elizabeth of York Tomb

York's elder daughter Margaret and specifically her granddaughter Mary Queen of Scots. Mary's claim to the throne seemed stronger than the Grey's, but Mary was deemed an 'alien' because she was from Scotland rather than England. During the secession crisis, a number of pamphlets were produced supporting either side of the debate. It is thought that The Most Pleasant Song of Lady Bessy was written in the early seventeenth century for such a purpose. It is not entirely clear who wrote the poem although several historians, including Johnson and Thomas Haywood, state that it was most likely Humphry Brereton, 'one of the household of Thomas second Lord Stanley.' The song paints Elizabeth of York in an autonomous position. She pleads with Stanley to help her regain what is rightfully hers, stating that her father told her 'But you shall be Queen and wear the crown, So doth express the prophecye.' This expresses Elizabeth's status as the rightful heir of York, and the song seems to position Elizabeth 'clearly as a dispossessed monarch.' She pleads with Stanley to help her bring Henry Richmond to fight for her 'how we shall letters to Richmond convey.' It seems to have Yorkist leanings, as it represents Elizabeth as the heir of the house of York, 'I am King Edward's daughter right, The Countesse clear, young Bessy', whereas Henry is merely summoned by Elizabeth to regain control of the crown. It 'manipulates the

accepted agenda associated with representations of the union of Lancaster and York.' She is given the active role in organising Henry's invasion with Lord Stanley, a role usually given to Henry VII's mother Margaret Beaufort. The final stanza of the poem also denotes Elizabeth's dominant role, with Henry described as 'the Red Ross,' but Elizabeth described by name. Their marriage made their 'two bloods are made all one' and they are crowned together: 'upon their heads he set the crown so fair.' Elizabeth is not presented as the subordinate partner in a somewhat unequal alliance, as she was in York Minster, but again her lineage was needed to bolster the claim of her non-Tudor descendants to the throne. Therefore, her representation could not only be a stabilising force for the monarchy, but it could threaten the Tudor line of succession.

Elizabeth I finally relented and named the Protestant James VI of Scotland her heir. Therefore, at the end of the Tudor dynasty, Elizabeth of York was still the ancestor of a king. Despite the manipulation of Elizabeth's representation after her death, her reputation was always based on her role as a mother or grandmother, which emphasised the importance of her role in terms of dynastic claims and ultimately how her marriage had brokered peace amongst the houses of York and Lancaster.

LAUREN BROWNE

TUDOR Society <u>Expert Talk</u> <u>Elizab eth I &</u> <u>Robert Dudley</u>

Robin Maxwell & Christopher Gortner

THE UNHAPPIEST LADY IN CHRISTENDOM: THE LIFE OF QUEEN MARY I

by Roland Hui

or Mary Tudor, England's first Queen, life had held much promise, but in the end proved so disappointing. In her youth, Mary was the 'chiefest jewel' of the court of her father King Henry VIII. Sadly, it was to be a brief happiness. By the time Mary was a young woman, she was declared a bastard, and was even in danger for her life. It was only as Queen of England afterwards that Mary was to know safety, and some measure of joy. Yet her reign, which began with so many hopes, went down as a tragedy.

'UNIVERSALLY ADORED'

Mary Tudor's birth on February 18, 1516 at the Palace of Greenwich was a great relief to her royal parents. The security of the Tudor dynasty was at stake as there had been no heir to carry on the royal line. Her mother Katherine of Aragon had miscarried several times prior. Henry VIII, if not ecstatic in having a daughter, was at least optimistic that 'by the grace of God, the sons will follow.' To the King, a 'Prince Edward' or a 'Prince Henry' was preferable over a princess. The 12th century Empress Matilda had proved to be a dangerous precedent. As the only heir of King Henry I, she had attempted to assert her rule in place of her cousin King Stephen, only to plunge her country into a civil war. Still, Henry VIII loved and doted on his new daughter. Mary was given the status and education befitting a princess of the Renaissance, and was 'universally adored' by the people.

For her mother Queen Katherine it was a less happy time. The strain of many stillbirths took its toll on the once pretty and petite Princess from Spain. Katherine was now a plump ageing woman whom her husband's rival, King Francis I of France, described as being 'old and deformed.' The Queen could hardly have failed to notice her husband's wandering eye. It was commonplace for a king to take mistresses, but Henry's latest amour, the Lady Anne Boleyn was different. She was to have 'all or nothing', and this was to cost Katherine everything.

In 1527, formal proceedings were begun to have the royal marriage annulled on the grounds that the Queen was formerly wedded to the King's late brother Prince Arthur. That Katherine's first marriage was supposedly never consummated allowed her to be married to her brother-in-law Henry Tudor in accordance with Biblical teaching. But now Katherine's claim of virginity was called into question. It was



not simply a domestic affair, but one with far reaching international consequences. Katherine refused to agree to an annulment, and she was supported by the Pope and by her powerful nephew the Emperor Charles V. Mary sided with her mother, but came out on the losing end. By 1533, Katherine was divorced, and a pregnant Anne Boleyn took her place at the King's side.

'CURSED BASTARD'

To Mary, the next few years took on the form of some dark fairy tale – a saintly queen was banished from court, and a beloved king put under the spell of an enchantress. From Mary's perspective, Anne Boleyn fulfilled the part of the 'wicked stepmother.' When Mary refused to acknowledge her as Queen, Anne was determined to bring the obstinate Princess to heel. She was heard to exclaim that Mary ought to be 'slapped like the cursed bastard' she was, and that was the least of her threats. It was reported that Anne even considered having Mary put to death behind the King's back.

Mary must have felt great satisfaction when the longed for heir, born in September 1533, turned out to be a girl. Just as she would not recognize Anne Boleyn as Queen, Mary refused to call the baby Elizabeth 'Princess'; 'sister' was as far as she was willing to go. The resentment Mary already felt towards her new sister was aggravated by the King's new orders. Mary was to lose her own household, and join that of Elizabeth's. Her status and privileges were also gone as Elizabeth was now the rightful heir. Mary was declared illegitimate, and was shamed as a dependant living under her baby sister's roof. Further sadness came when Queen Katherine, shut away in obscurity, died in January of 1536.

But within months there was hope. Anne Boleyn's success as a mother was as poor as Katherine's had been. After the birth of Elizabeth, she had miscarried twice, and so in May, Anne went the way of a discarded queen. She was accused of adultery with several men, including her own brother. The charges were nonsense, but effective. In a little more than a fortnight after her arrest, Anne lost her head at the Tower of London. With her hated stepmother gone, Mary was confident of a reconciliation with her father. Yet the price was high. She was ordered to renounce the authority of the Pope and accept Henry VIII as the Head of the Church of England. Furthermore, she was to acknowledge herself a bastard. Refusal was high treason, and Mary reluctantly gave in, signing away her birthright and what she held dear.

Once persecuted and neglected, Mary was now welcomed back at court where her father and his new wife, Jane Seymour, showered her with affection. With this newfound peace in her life, Mary even warmed towards her sister – they were now both illegitimate, both equals. Despite her restoration, the stigma of illegitimacy remained, hindering Mary's chances in the marriage market. There were few prospects for a bastard princess. She would always be a spinster Mary lamented, 'the unhappiest lady in Christendom'.

QUEEN OF ENGLAND

The calm Mary had known after her reinstatement was upset by the death of her father in January 1547. His successor was Mary's 9-yearold stepbrother Edward (Henry VIII's son by Jane Seymour). The young King was brought up by tutors committed to the New Faith, and as such, Edward was determined to transform England into a wholly Protestant nation. Mary, a devout Catholic was ordered to give up her celebrations of Mass on penalty of treason. The Princess was in such despair during this period that she even considered fleeing abroad to her cousin the Emperor. However, her supporters counseled Mary to stay firm and remain in England if she ever hoped to inherit should the King die unexpectedly.

Her advisors proved correct. Never a robust youth, Edward VI was stricken by tuberculosis. Even while sick and dying, Edward had all the willfulness of his father, and was set on tampering with the royal succession. His religious scruples would not tolerate the idea of a Catholic heir, nor one tainted by illegitimacy. Edward overturned Henry VIII's Act of Succession (which reinstated Mary and Elizabeth), and instead named their cousin, the Protestant Lady Jane Grey as next in line to the Throne.

The King's death in July 1553 was kept secret at first, and Mary was summoned to court. No doubt she was expecting the usual harangue about her household Masses by her brother and his Council. But on the way she was warned of a trap – Edward VI was dead, and supporters of Queen Jane meant to imprison her once she arrived in London. Mary quickly made way to Suffolk instead, and there declared herself the rightful Queen of England.

Very shortly the country was hers. Deserted by everyone, Jane Grey was made a prisoner in the Tower of London where she reigned for a mere nine days. A joyous Mary, with Elizabeth in tow, entered the city in triumph, and on October 1, she was crowned England's first Queen Regnant in Westminster Abbey. To Mary, it was all a great miracle. God was on her side – He had preserved her through countless perils, defeated those who stole her birthright, and He now set her on the Throne. Surely it was her duty to restore rightful religion to her people.





THE SPANISH MATCH

Not all of England was enthusiastic about a Catholic Queen. During Edward VI's reign, Protestantism had made great strides, and its followers were horrified at the prospect of a return to Rome. Matters were brought to a head when it was announced that the Queen was to marry the Catholic Philip of Spain, son and heir to the Emperor Charles. Sir Thomas Wyatt of Kent and his followers rebelled, hoping to dethrone Mary and replace her with the Princess Elizabeth who was inclined to the New Faith. The Queen courageously rallied the people of London against the rebels. "Fear them not," she thundered, "for I assure you I fear them nothing at all!" The rebellion was over in a matter of days. With her Throne secured, there was however, one loose end to be dealt with. Mary knew that her cousin Jane Grey was no more than a pawn of ambitious

nobleman, but there were few options for dealing with an ex-queen – one in whose name rebellion might still be incited. In February 1554, Jane, still but a girl of sixteen, went to the block.

With the kingdom safe in her hands, Mary reunited England with the Roman Catholic Church, setting the stage for her fiancé Philip's arrival. As to her marriage, the Queen harbored much anxiety. Although attractive in her youth, time and the many difficulties she had endured had had taken their toll on Mary's looks. Now she was to marry a man she had never met, and who was her junior by eleven years. Also, she was sexually inexperienced; she had 'never felt that which is called love', Mary admitted. Yet for the sake of an heir, and in her own belief that no woman could possibly rule alone, Mary married Philip at Winchester Cathedral in July. Whereas the Queen wedded for both love and duty, Philip did so merely for the latter; it was by order of his

father the Emperor. As a husband, Philip treated the love struck Mary with the greatest respect in public, yet with his Spanish entourage the Queen was ridiculed as a flabby old woman who dressed badly, and lacked all 'fleshly sensuality'.

Sensual or not, Philip did his duty in the bedroom, and a joyful Mary soon announced her pregnancy. But after months and months of waiting, no child ever appeared. Did Mary miscarry? Was it actually a tumor in her womb? Did her desperate hopes for a baby produce false symptoms? The Queen was often found in a state of depression sitting alone on the floor with her knees drawn up close to her belly (belying her supposed pregnancy). Mary's prayer book with supplications for hopeful mothers was said to be covered in tears. Her torment must have been agonizing. How could God who had been so bountiful, deny England a prince, Mary must have thought. A prince who would one day unite England with Spain, and destroy the hateful heresy in the land. And if she had no heir, who would inherit instead? Elizabeth - the offspring of a notorious whore? Was her barrenness a sign that she was not doing enough to suppress the Protestant heresy?

'MORE THAN EARTHLY COMFORT'

The burnings began in the Spring of 1555, and in three years' time some three hundred men and women were put to the flames. There were actually few individuals of prominence (the Bishops Ridley and Latimer, the Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, and a handful of other clergymen), the majority were simple folk who either went to the fire out of conviction, or were simply ignorant when interrogated about the Old Faith. Who was to blame – an overzealous Queen, her Spanish Prince, her ministers, or her priests? Perhaps it really didn't matter. The orders were in Mary's name, and thus the responsibility rested with her. How strange that a woman who was universally known for her humility and kindness was equally referred to as *Bloody Mary*.

To many of her subjects, the closing of Mary Tudor's reign could not have come sooner. Their eyes were upon the rising sun - the Queen's 25-year-old sister Elizabeth. As Mary lay stricken by an influenza epidemic at St. James' Palace in the late fall of 1558, it must have galled her that all she had done lay in ruins. She had no heir of her body (a second 'pregnancy' had also proved false), Philip had deserted her, and the daughter of Anne Boleyn was to succeed. Elizabeth was known for her Protestant beliefs, and would surely undo the reconciliation with Rome once she was Queen. Not only that, the port of Calais, England's last continental possession was lost back to the French in a wasteful war waged on Spain's behalf. It was a humiliation keenly felted by the English. Perhaps in her last days, Mary gave up caring. Instead of dwelling on her misfortunes, she spoke of angel-like children appearing before her singing 'pleasing notes, giving her more than earthly comfort.' Reassured of a better life to come, Mary died peacefully on Nov. 17, 1558.

Roland Hui holds a degree in Art History, and is a Tudor enthusiast. His blog *Tudor Faces* is at: http://tudorfaces.blogspot.ca/ Roland's other passion is for miniature painting.



THE DUDLEYS A Drama in Four Acts by Derek Wilson

As a university fresher many years ago I paid my first visit to my supervisor of studies. The interview was brief in the extreme. He handed me a slim volume and said, 'Write me an essay'. Back in my digs I opened the book and read its title page...

The Tree of Commonwealth – a treatise written by Edmund Dudley, Minister to King Henry VII whilst he was in prison in the first year of King Henry VIII.

What I could not know as I did my poor best to explain the argument presented in this document written by a fallen Tudor politician during the weeks before his execution was that the remarkable story of Edmund and his family would fascinate me for the rest of my life. The dynasties of Dudley and Tudor were closely intertwined throughout the entire 16th century. Four generations of Dudleys served their sovereigns as political advisers, soldiers and friends. Three were executed as traitors. One ruled the country as uncrowned king. One came within an ace of sharing the royal throne with the queen. One eventually left England to put his prodigious talents at the service of a foreign ruler because the first Stuart, foolishly, failed to appreciate him. That, in outline, is the story I am going to tell, in serial form, in the next few issues of *Tudor Life*.

Edmund was born in 1472 into the baronial family of Sutton de Dudley, the title taken from the Midlands town which was dominated by their impressive castle. Today, it is a less impressive ruin and the grounds are occupied by Dudley Zoo. There was little chance of Edmund inheriting the title, for his father was the second son of the sixth baron and, as such, had to make his own way in the world. This John Dudley married a wealthy heiress and established himself on his new estate at Atherington, Sussex. These were dangerous and bloody times and all men of substance had to manoeuvre their way through the winding labyrinth of Yorkist and Lancastrian rivalries. The Dudleys were better at this than most. Although Edmund's grandfather, as Constable of the Tower of London, was responsible for the brutal murder of Henry VI, he was able to wriggle his way into favour when the Lancastrians emerged finally triumphant in the person of Henry VII. John of Atherington was on close terms with some of the leaders of the Tudor regime so his son had the advantage of important court contacts when he set out to make his career.

The new king was the last of a series of usurpers who, during the 'Wars of the Roses' took the Crown by force. And the most successful. One of the reasons for his survival was his brilliant and single-minded administrative reform. His tyranny was supported by an efficient system of 'chamber government'. His small group of confidential advisers and administrators exercised power which exceeded the authority of the courts and the officers of state and headed up a 'secret service' of agents throughout the country which kept the government informed of malcontents and potential troublemakers. This administrative machine is unpleasantly reminiscent of Stalinesque totalitarianism and there is no disguising the means by which Henry systematically brought to heel the noble families and established the absolutism of the Tudor Crown. All that can be said in its favour (and it is a major consideration) is that it put an end to the dynastic and aristocratic rivalries that had plagued England since the deposition of Richard II in 1399. Part of

Henry's governmental machine was the Council Learned in the Law and it was to this body that Edmund Dudley was appointed in 1504. At the age of thirty-two he was a member of the inner circle of royal advisers.

His talents and character well fitted him for this important office. After studying at Oxford and Gray's Inn, he emerged as a clever and industrious lawyer. He had a private practice in London, was elected to parliament and became Speaker of the Commons. This was impressive progress, but nowhere near as impressive as his being catapulted into the inner sanctum of Henry's government. He had been spotted by the king as just the sort of man he needed to give respectability to his regime. Englishmen had a deep regard for the law and looked to it to safeguard their freedoms. For the new regime this meant that, irrespective of whether justice was actually done, it must be seen to be done. To avoid the charge of dictatorship, Henry needed to demonstrate that his regime was based squarely on precedent. There is no doubt that, after decades of anarchy, the legal system needed overhauling. Transactions had not been properly recorded. Payments had gone by default. Deeds and wills had been forged. The Council Learned in the Law set about tidying up the mess, setting all land-holding on a proper footing, closing loopholes, ensuring that the Treasury received all payments it was due, punishing offenders (usually by fine) and generally making the system work in the government's favour. This involved close scrutiny of documents held in the Chancery archive and in private muniment chests. It also included receiving evidence from paid informers. To the wealthy nobles, landowners and merchants on the receiving end, this activity was regarded as government snooping. Dudley never reached the upper ranks of royal councillors but he did become a 'snooper-in-chief'. With his close colleague, Richard Empson, he came to represent the unacceptable face of the Tudor regime. By 1622, when Francis Bacon wrote his History of the Reign of Henry VII, the 'villainy' of Empson and Dudley had become firmly embedded in popular mythology. The king, Bacon explained,

had gotten for his purpose, or beyond his purpose, two instruments, Empson and Dudley, whom the people esteemed as horse-leeches and shearers: bold men and careless of fame, that took toll of their master's grist [i.e. made profit from the king's business]... These two persons...turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine...[*Op. cit.* ed. J. Weinberger, Cornell, 1996, pp. 183-4]

Did Edmund Dudley deserve this notoriety?

Apart from his obvious ability, the London lawyer had another great advantage for a ruler who had grabbed the throne by force and by doing deals with the aristocratic leaders in the shires: Dudley had risen from relatively obscure origins. He was not the protégé of any great magnate. He depended for his advancement on the king alone. He was a tool in Henry's hands. Cardinal Wolsey, in the next reign, would observe that the secret of success as a Tudor councillor was 'to give the king what he wants'. Henry VIII knew the importance of placing in positions of trust men of undivided loyalty on whom he could rely to do his bidding. It was a principle he had learned from his father. The first Tudor was never free of rebellion and the threat of rebellion. If he was not to be the last Tudor he had to have about him men of his own making, who were not allied to other dynasties older than his own, who did not have their own ideas about how the country should be run, and who were not unduly burdened by conscience. Edmund Dudley matched this blueprint. He accepted his promotion eagerly. He strove mightily to deserve the king's confidence. He enjoyed the rewards for pleasing his master - and they were substantial. He was doing very nicely, thank you and probably never entertained scruples that would have spoiled the good life. But, in reality, he was in a gilded cage. Had he decided he could no longer support official policy and sought to escape he might well have found himself in the same position as fellow lawyer, Thomas More, who endeavoured to leave the employ of Henry VIII.

The methods used to strengthen the Crown, weaken the nobility and prevent a resurgence of Yorkist support were established before Dudley's elevation. He simply made them work more efficiently. He kept the royal account books with studious accuracy and discussed them in camera with his master. We know this from the surviving records which carry the king's signature and comments on several pages. Various stratagems were used to hit the wealthy in their purses. Payments were levied on substantial subjects when they inherited land or married their daughters. Maintaining large numbers of liveried retainers (virtually private armies) carried swingeing penalties. Recognisance was a particularly useful source of revenue. Men found guilty of offences in the king's courts and even others who were under suspicion of malpractice were obliged to enter financial bonds to ensure their future good behaviour.

Henry encouraged the diligence of his agents by providing them with generous incentives. Dudley received his cut from every transaction that brought cash into the royal coffers. His personal wealth grew hugely and rapidly. He extended his landholding in the south of England and added estates in Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire and Oxfordshire. He owned one of the finest mansions in a fashionable quarter of London and so great was his influence in the city that critics complained that 'Dudley was de facto mayor and what his pleasure was was done'. Such men make enemies and it is not surprising that Edmund Dudley was widely hated. He was resented for his support for royal rapacity, for his personal ostentation and for being an upstart. It is inconceivable that he never reflected on what might happen when his royal protector died. Yet that event, on 21 April, 1509, seems to have caught him on the hop. Before the news was out he wrote panicking letters to relatives and friends to come to his aid with armed retainers. Other members of the inner circle did the same. But for Dudley this was the time of reckoning and there could be no escape. Within days he found himself in the Tower.

The reasons for the immediate, drastic

reaction were twofold. As well as the unpopularity of Henry VII's regime there was the expectation that that of his fun-loving, seventeen-year-old son would be very different. In a sycophantic oration he welcomed the dawning of a golden age in which every man could enjoy the fruits of his labour and social harmony would prevail.

'No longer is it a criminal offence to own property which was honestly acquired...no longer does fear hiss whispered secrets in one's ear...Only ex-informers fear informers now.' [*The Complete Works of St Thomas More*, ed. C.R. Thompson, New Haven, 1980, III, pt. 2, pp. 102-3].

I wonder if he reflected on this eulogy twenty-six years later when he, like Dudley, was in the Tower awaiting execution.

Dudley languished sixteen months in his cell while the new king and his council decided what to do with him. The top people wanted revenge. No-one dared blame Henry VIII's father directly. Other members of the outgoing regime were desperate to distance themselves from it. What everyone needed was scapegoats. In the end it was Empson and Dudley who paid the price for the ruthless establishment of centralised Tudor government. They were beheaded on 17 August 1510, victims of a flawed legal process from which they had both once profited.

While Edmund Dudley was in the Tower he wrote The Tree of Commonwealth, ostensibly a political manual for the guidance of his new sovereign. Whether he hoped that it might earn him a reprieve or whether he wished to purge his own conscience before facing a Higher Court, we cannot know. What is clear is that he used this book to distance himself from the policies and practices of Henry VII. In an extended metaphor he likened England to a tree which would flourish only when everyone, from highest to lowest, practised true religion, honoured the law, kept to his own station and lived in peace and concord with his neighbours. In this ideal commonwealth the king expected loval obedience from his people over whom he presided like a loving father, ensuring their peace and security.

Almost certainly Henry VIII never read *The Tree of Commonwealth* and was little interested in the fate of its author. Edmund was as forgotten as his treatise. He and his family should have slipped back into regional obscurity Strangely, things did not quite turn out that way, as we shall see next month...

DEREK WILSON



Derek Wilson is the author of The Uncrowned Kings of England – The Black Legend of the Dudleys

"In the political ferment of 16th-century England, one family above all others was at the troubled center of court and council. Throughout the Tudor Age the Dudley family was never far from controversy. They were universally condemned as scheming, ruthless, overly ambitious charmers, with three family members even executed for treason."

The Black History of the Dudleys and the Tudor Throne

UNCROWI

AM INSIDER'S GUIDE TO HER MAJESTY'S PALACE AND FORTRESS

HE TOWER

OF LOIDON

The White Tower as seen within the Tower of London today

PART ONE

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WRITTEN BY

TARA BALL

Café

The White Tower as viewed from the south-west, with the remains of the wall that once enclosed it.



ondon is a city where the past and the present live beside each other. The erection of new glass skyscrapers is changing the old familiar skyline and ancient buildings gracefully surrender to the dazzling new structures. Yet there is one old "queen" that still retains something of her former authority and that still captures the imagination. She still stands strong, guarding the River Thames as she always has done over the past ten centuries, keeping old traditions alive amongst the new generation. She is an ancient survivor of a past long gone, and she is a link to the memories of those bygone eras. She has presided over the reigns of forty monarchs; she has seen their rise and fall. She guarded their most dangerous enemies and saw them live their last moments. Having survived a devastating fire, two civil wars and seen her walls breeched by a revolt, her role now is to overlook her thousands of visitors year upon year and to continue her ancient role of guarding the mystical crown jewels. Her name is The White Tower, the original Tower of London.

Beginnings – William the Conqueror

No one knows for sure when work on the White Tower was begun. However, work was certainly underway by about 1078 and the project was conceived by William I, better known today as William the Conqueror.

Some years before, in 1066, William, then Duke of Normandy, won the crown of Wessex after defeating Harold II, the last Saxon King, on the battlefields of Hastings in Southern England. Both William and Harold had claimed that their distant relative, the late pious and childless King Edward the Confessor, had promised them the throne. Now, as the victor, William the Conqueror was crowned king at Westminster Abbey on Christmas Day that very same year.

William had been born in about 1027 and had become Duke of Normandy in France in 1035, when his father left for pilgrimage to Jerusalem and had died on the way back. William was then just a child and an illegitimate one. He had the support of the King of France to keep his dukedom and by the time of the conquest was already experienced in unrest and rebelling people, and the people of England were no different to their new and foreign king.

William spent a large part of the early years of his reign crushing rebellions and increasing his land further north, so that at his death he ruled the land we know today as England. The present monarch, Queen Elizabeth II is a direct descendant of William, as were all her predecessors.

With his new country in an uproar, William was always aware that there was a threat of invasion from abroad too. He appointed Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, to design and oversee building a number of castles and fortresses on the country's borders. The two impressive castles at Rochester and Colchester (that can still be seen today) were designed and built by Gundulf, but the White Tower was to be his masterpiece.

The White Tower was designed to be both a palace and fortress, and was therefore built with features of luxury and security. The Tower (as it was then known) was designed to impress, to protect and to instil fear. Its existence was to demonstrate William's power and that his dynasty was here to stay. William, however, was not destined to see its completion. He died in 1087 and with the succession of his son William II, the Tower was completed in 1100 and William II was the first monarch to use it. He did not use it for long, as he was also killed that year whilst out hunting in the New Forest and his brother, Henry I, took the crown and with it the control of the Tower of London.

The Anatomy of The White Tower

William the Conqueror's creation stands a colossal ninety-two feet high. The walls are around twelve foot thick. It was the tallest and strongest building in London for centuries. It could be seen for miles around. An old Roman settlement had once originally occupied the site, on the edge of the River Thames and just inside the ancient Roman wall, but nothing in the Tower site remains of it today. Fragments can, however, be found on Tower Hill, just beyond the site. The White Tower was built on the former Roman site, carefully chosen by William the Conqueror because it was at the entrance of the old city, where everything came in and out.

Recent restoration work on the exterior walls has revealed that over thirty-three different types of stone were used. The main stone used is a type of limestone called Caen ('Carn') stone, quarried from France near the city of that name, where William the Conqueror is buried. Caen stone is naturally white in colour and is responsible for the Tower's white appearance and maybe also its name. The name is something of mystery. We do know that the White Tower was whitewashed in the thirteenth century, under the orders of King Henry III. Interestingly, it was also built on a sloping hill that was once known as 'White Hill'.

Inside the White Tower, it was a luxurious palace. It originally consisted of three floors but today it has an additional fourth floor, which was inserted in about 1490, some three hundred years after the building's completion in 1100. The building boasted four large fireplaces and six 'garderobes' (indoor toilets), a great luxury even for royals at the time. The windows in the walls were very small, allowing little natural light inside and had only wooden shutters as glass was very expensive. It was possible that vellum (treated deerskin) was at one time stretched over the openings.

The White Tower Floor by Floor

Despite originally having three floors, the White Tower was always designed to give the illusion of a top fourth floor. The walls rose high enough and windows were even inserted. This was a defensive measure, as kings living in the building would always use the top floor as living chambers. With this knowledge invaders would always seek to access the top only to find in the White Tower's case, the timber roof. This would give time to escape and invaders a long fall should they penetrate the roof.

There are many defensive measures throughout each floor. The four fireplaces themselves were designed to defend. In Norman times, the fireplace was usually in the centre of the room with the smoke being allowed to collect on the ceiling and escape through several large holes in the roof. William built his fireplaces into the wall, where the hearth was brought into the room and the smoke collected into a hollow that was separated into two flues. The flues gently let the smoke out through small openings on the side of the exterior wall. This let the smoke out gradually and with it escaping out the side of the wall, by the time it floated up to the roof most of it had dispersed into the atmosphere. Potential invaders would look for the amount of smoke a fortress produced and could judge whether the building was occupied or not. A good amount of smoke meant that the king and his court were in residence. The idea was to confuse invaders by never letting on how many occupants were in the building.

The six garderobes were not only a creature comfort but were also designed to defend the building. It was a private space that had a wooden seat with a hole where the occupant could relieve themselves without ever having to leave the comfort of the building, important in the event of a siege. The waste would fall through a chute going through the thick wall and would fall down the side of the building. It would be collected and either used for farmland or thrown into the Tower's moat. The idea was that it would flush out with the tide of the River Thames. The chute of the garderobe was designed to get narrow towards the internal opening, to prevent the enemy wishing to make his entrance any way he could.



One of the six original Norman Garderobes found throughout the White Tower. This one is located on the First Floor.

Many different institutions have come and gone over the centuries in the Tower of London and some were based within the White Tower. Some no longer exist and others have moved out. Others have stood the test of time and still have the responsibilities and functions they practised over the centuries, just as the Ceremony of the Keys has taken place every single night at the Tower, to the same script, for at least seven hundred years. The Royal Armouries is one of the oldest institutions still operating at the Tower of London. Today, they are in charge of the armour and weapon object displays in the White Tower. The Board of Ordinance was also an institution and was once based within the White Tower. They were in charge of the distribution of weapons to the army. The basement was built to be a large storage area, probably for food supply. It still has the original large Norman well which provided the castles' water supply. It once held gunpowder barrels that were in control of the Board and also stored military weapons and soldiers' berths; more famously though, it was used to store prisoners and to torture them. Today it is a dark and gloomy space displaying a collection of cannons and a door nearly three hundred years old. The Board was abolished in the nineteenth century and the War Office was formed in its place. The Headquarters are now at Whitehall, London.

Entry to the building was gained on the south side via a wooden structured staircase. Though the entry point has changed over history, today this entrance remains the same as it was in the Norman period. The wooden stairs were not attached to the Tower. Again, this was a defence feature. The wooden stairway could be set alight or pushed away from the wall should an invader try to gain entry that way. The entrance itself was very grand and designed, of course, to impress. You entered onto a floor that was not at ground level, but at some height above it. The room was open-plan, save some stone supports with arches. There were two fireplaces and two garderobes; one of each is now in a dilapidated state. It is unclear who occupied this room or how it was furnished. On the Eastern side it is believed there was a throne under a canopy of state. The room was likely occupied by someone who was in control of entry to the White Tower and access to the king, whose living quarters were on the floor above. This was possibly the Constable of the Tower. The position was appointed by William the Conqueror, and was the most senior person in the Tower; effectively the monarch's representative when absent. The first constable was Geoffrey de Mandeville. It is estimated there have been one hundred and fiftynine constables to date, but with no complete list this number is uncertain. Today the position is held by Richard, Lord Dannatt, and is now ceremonial rather than occupational. All the same, he is still respected as the most senior authority at the Tower of London.

By the time of Queen Elizabeth I, this entrance floor was an armoury. In the early twentieth century it was given over to the Royal Armouries to display its collection, which is its main function to today. Armours of King Henry VIII, Prince Henry Stuart (the 'Lost Prince') and King Charles I are on display alongside those used by the Line of Kings, the world's oldest visitor attraction, based at The Tower of London.

For over three hundred years, the First Floor of the White Tower was the top floor of the building. This was until the installation of the top floor we know today in about the year 1490. This First Floor was the most luxurious yet its layout mirrored the entrance floor below. Like the Entrance Floor, it boasted two large fireplaces in the walls, one on the West side and the other on the East side. It also had four garderobes. The West room acted as a 'Great Hall' and was used for court banquets and entertainments. The Eastern side was the more private Royal Apartments. Again, it is uncertain how the Royal Apartments would have looked. No descriptions or artistic impressions survive, except in the form of an illuminated letter of a poetry book showing the imprisonment of its author Charles, Duke of Orleans, in the White Tower, in the fifteenth century. What we do know is that the ceiling was twice as high then as we see it today, with wooden posts supporting a prism-shaped timber roof. The windows would have been much smaller than the eighteenth century ones there today. A partition ran wall to wall at the Northern end to restrict access further. In the North-East corner was a 'Great Staircase' that linked all the floors and which consisted of a hundred and nine steps. The visitor can still climb down these stairs today.

The White Tower has its own chapel, the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist which lies adjacent to the private Royal Apartments. This chapel is one of the oldest in London and still bears its original stonework. I will talk about the chapel a bit later. From the reign of King Charles II (1660 – 1685) to the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign (1837 – 1901) this First Floor and the Chapel was used as a Records Office. It stored state papers dating all the way back to the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558 – 1603). The windows were enlarged at this



One of the White Tower's four turrets. The roofs were first added by King Henry VIII and the weather vanes were added by King Charles II.



time, as well, to allow more natural light to work by rather than using flammable tapers and candles. The Keeper of the Records, William Prynne, complained to King Charles II (when assigned to his post) that he found the records full of dust and rust that ate into his gloves and twice each day their dirt made him as black as a chimney sweep. The Tower ceased to be a Records Office when more space was required in 1854. All records had gone by 1858 and most can be found at the National Archives at Kew.

The Top Floor was a later addition, as has been mentioned before. Evidence of the original plan is still noticeable today. In the western room the visitor can still see an old Norman drain in an opening within the floor. An original Norman window is found on the southern end of this same room. It had been walled up in the sixteenth century and re-discovered recently. In the eastern room a large black triangular shape can still be seen by the curious eye at the southern end. This was where the original timber roof was placed and the soot and smoke from the fireplace in the Royal Apartments below collected under the beams and, over time, stained the stonework. The Top Floor was mainly built for storage purposes. Unlike the other floors, there are no signs of domestic use such as fireplaces or garderobes. Indeed, by the seventeenth century, thousands of barrels of gunpowder were installed in tall racks throughout the floor. They survived the Great Fire of London in 1666, where officials rushed to the White Tower's store of gunpowder in case the fire in the west reached the Tower of London. Thankfully, it never did as the wind changed direction. In 1694, the weight of the barrels proved too much for the racks and the ancient timber floor supports. Over ten thousand barrels crashed through to the floor below. It is believed that more barrels were stored than were on the inventories. By a miracle, the gunpowder was not sparked and the floor was repaired and restrictions on the number of barrels stored were tightened. More recently, this floor was also used as a design office to record maps of the realm as part of the Ordinance Office.

The roof of the White Tower is accessible from the building, but is a private and hazardous place, with sheer drops. The White Tower has four turrets, one in each of its corners, and a huge flagpole made from an ancient oak that was supposedly felled in

the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. The Union flag will always fly unless HM The Queen is in residence where, like Buckingham Palace and any palace Her Majesty visits or stays, the Royal Standard will fly. The four turrets have little use other than access and storage. There are three small and square-shaped turrets and a larger round-shaped turret which was once used as an observatory. John Flamsteed was staying in the Tower of London in 1675 and used this round turret to observe the skies. Legend has it that the wild ravens that lived on the site ruined his equipment and Flamsteed appealed to King Charles II to have them culled, which he agreed to. However, before the cull someone told Charles the legend of the Tower's ravens, i.e. that if the ravens leave the Tower then the kingdom, the monarchy and the physical Tower itself would fall and cease to exist. Charles II had survived civil war and had seen his father executed and dethroned. He did not want to tempt fate again and so agreed that all but six of the ravens would remain to ensure the peace of the kingdom. Flamsteed was installed in the newly built observatory at Greenwich, which can be visited today. This made a nice story and its authenticity is debated. It is believed to be the invention of Victorian Yeoman Warders who entertained visitors with legends like the ones of the ravens and Queen Katherine Howard rehearsing her execution. Another legend is also told

that a beautiful young lady by the name of Maude (some tales call her Rosalind or Rosamund) was kept there for ten years when she refused King John's favours. The story goes her father tried tirelessly to have his daughter released but she died having gone insane due to her incarceration. Her ghost dressed in a long green dress is said to haunt the Great Stairs which connect the round turret to the floors within the White Tower.

DON'T MISS PART 2 NEXT MONTH!

- TARA BALL

More information about the formal role of HRP can be found on their website **www.hrp.org.uk/aboutus**

Author's Note:

This work is dedicated to all Staff of HM Tower of London. The Author has also made a donation to Historic Royal Palaces in recognition of their dedication to their cause.

All images are from the Author's personal photo album.

Sources/Further Reading:

- 1. Prisoners of the Tower Pitkin Guide
- 2. The Beefeater's Guide to the Tower of London G. Abbott
- 3. The Mysteries of the Tower of London G. Abbott
- 4. (Other works about the Tower of London and its history by this ex-Yeoman Warder are also a gem to read)
- 5. The White Tower Edward Impey
- 6. The Tower of London: An Illustrated History Edward Impey

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

Wroxall Abbey and Wren's Cathedral

HE history of Wroxall Abbey dates back to the 12th century when a Benedictine Priory of Black Nuns was established here. Like all of the great abbeys of England, Wroxall became crown property in the 16th century under King Henry VIII's Dissolution of the Monasteries It was the dissolution that was largely responsible for the significant alteration in the appearance of Wroxall Abbey, as crown appointee Robert Burgon destroyed much of the original priory and replaced it with a structure representative of the distinctive Elizabethan style. Further adaptations were made in the 18th century when Wroxall became the country seat of one of England's most revered architects, Sir Christopher Wren, designer of the newly rebuilt St Paul's Cathedral.

In the 19th century, a new mansion house was built on the Wroxall Estate in the Victorian Gothic style, but many of the older buildings remain to be viewed today. Wroxall's most recent incarnation as a hotel means that the Tudor enthusiast is able to discover Wroxall's many treasures and to stay overnight on this most enchanting of English estates, set in parkland within the beautiful Warwickshire countryside.

Highlights include

- Wren's cathedral a 12th century church, which is the resting place of Sir Christopher Wren's wife and which has some of the oldest stained glass in the country
- Rooms with traditional four-poster beds
- The site of the old abbey with its ancient cedar trees and abbey ruins
- Twenty-seven acres of scenic gardens, parkland and lakes

http://www.wroxall.com/

Wroxall Abbey Hotel & Estate, Birmingham Road, Wroxall, Warwickshire CV35 7NB Tel: 01926 484470



TUDOR PLACES: WROXALL ABBEY AND WREN'S CATHEDRAL



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TUDOR PLACES: WROXALL ABBEY AND WREN'S CATHEDRAL


TUDOR PLACES: WROXALL ABBEY AND WREN'S CATHEDRAL









Charlie The Temptation of Elizabeth Tudor

LIZABETH Tudor, later Elizabeth I, had an eventful life even before she became queen, but her early years are often overlooked. In her latest book, Elizabeth Norton investigates one of the Virgin Queen's biggest scandals in her youth, her involvement with Thomas Seymour. In her book, Norton carefully examines the evidence surrounding rumours of the affair and discusses the larger implications these rumours had.

The book is split into three parts, with the first part setting the scene and covering Elizabeth's childhood and Henry VIII's reign. Norton covers the details of Henry's reign well, but without dwelling too much on the subject, explaining how Thomas Seymour, brother of the late Queen Jane, came to take the dowager Queen Catherine Parr as his bride following Henry VIII's death. However, as Norton explains, this was not the only bride he was considering:

'He was still a bachelor at almost forty and a desirable one at that. His own marriage could lead him to greatness – and his thoughts turned to Princess Mary, the thirty-year-old heir to the throne. The daughter of Catherine of Aragon was slight, with reddish hair and pale skin. Henry VIII, who had declared her illegitimate, never troubled himself to arrange a marriage for her.'

Thomas Seymour was an eligible bachelor, being the uncle of the current king, and wanted to make a match that suited his status. Many historical dramas and novels speak of Thomas immediately choosing Catherine as his bride, but, as Norton makes clear, this was not the case. His thoughts at first turned to the Princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, before finally settling on Catherine.

Norton talks a lot about Thomas Seymour's relationship with Catherine Parr and, without sidetracking too much, fills the reader in on the story and how it ended up effecting Elizabeth. Her opinion is that 'Thomas, in spite of his earlier attempts to find a more prestigious bride, was deeply attracted to Catherine. He probably even loved her'. This is a different yet refreshing view to other historians researching the matter. Thomas is often seen as heartless and just wanting power and status, which he partly achieved by marrying Catherine Parr, but not many historians agree that he loved her. Yet the evidence Norton puts forward is compelling; his letters to her and secret meetings seeming to mean he had genuine feelings for her. However, he was still a very ambitious man.

Norton also gives the reader insight into how sleeping arrangements were organized for royalty in the 16th century, which puts in to context Thomas Seymour's early morning visits to Elizabeth. She explains how Elizabeth's sleeping arrangements were very unusual. At first, she had one of her ladies, Kate Ashley, sleep on a small pallet bed beside her own, as was the custom. However, it suddenly changed one day and this would lead to the scandal later on:

'Kate ordered the removal of the pallet bed from Elizabeth's bedchamber, on the grounds that the room 'was so little'... Henceforth, Elizabeth was to lie alone and unchaperoned at nights in her great bed at Chelsea. It would leave Elizabeth

ELIZABETH

OFMPTATION

GUZABETH GUDOR exposed. For the sake of her virtue, she badly needed protection.'

Lady Jane Grey is included in the book as well, someone who is often forgotten about in the scandal and sometimes in general too. She was said to be in the same household as Elizabeth when it happened and so I am glad we are given a little insight into her life as well. Norton comments on their relationship: 'the girls respected each other, but Jane was not someone in whom Elizabeth could confide once Seymour began his early-morning visits'. Jane was also close to Catherine and Thomas, another fact that is rarely mentioned, 'for her, Seymour had 'been towards me a loving and king father', while Catherine became a 'second mother'.

Norton also offers an explanation for Catherine Parr's involvement later on with Elizabeth and Thomas, saying that she had 'resisted seeing it as anything other than a man taking an interest in his wife's child. She would later join in the tickling herself on occasion, as if to show the world – and herself – how innocent it was'. However, Norton still acknowledged that Catherine was submissive and powerless against her husband, participating in an infamous garden scene later on:

'Thomas Seymour had tried to strip away the clothes from Henry VIII's daughter, and with the acquiescence of his wife. If Kate was hoping that the queen would be an ally in reining in Seymour's unwanted attentions towards Elizabeth, this incident seemed to suggest she was to be sadly disappointed.'

Kate Ashley was Elizabeth's only ally against Thomas, and Norton also follows Kate's relationship with the princess in the book. Unfortunately, there was not much Kate could do and it was up to Elizabeth to try to deal with the affair carefully. It is obvious in the book how Elizabeth felt for Catherine Parr, despite her involvement in some of Thomas's games: 'Although Elizabeth had tried to save her stepmother's feelings and had commanded Seymour to stay away, ultimately she could do little to resist him in his own house; and Thomas was too dangerously attracted to Elizabeth, for her youth and beauty and for her position as second in line to the throne. Catherine's actual words to Elizabeth and Thomas were not recorded. Perhaps Thomas sought to blame Elizabeth, reminding his wife of Anne Boleyn's reputation. It took considerable effort on Catherine's part to regain her composure.'

I also like how Norton shows the genuine emotion and passion between Catherine and Thomas, even near the end of the relationship and after the scandal with Elizabeth:

'his [Seymour's] main concern was with Catherine, and he asked Lady Tyrwhitt what he should do to ease his wife's suffering. He thought that he might lie down beside her on the bed 'to look if he could pacify her unquietness with gentle excommunication'. Lady Tyrwhitt, aware of the genuine passion that had also existed between the couple, believed he might be right.'

The Temptation of Elizabeth Tudor is very readable and is almost story-like in the way Elizabeth Norton describes the events concerning Elizabeth's younger years and her relationship with Thomas Seymour. However, despite it only covering a short period of the life of the future queen, it successfully sheds light on an often overlooked subject. It is well-paced and I would recommend it to anyone wanting to learn more about the subject. It is more in-depth than some of the biographies of Elizabeth and therefore is also worth reading for anyone who knows a little about the subject already.

CHARLIE FENTON

The Tower of London word Search

F	Х	R	Е	W	Ο	Т	N	21	Т	R	А	М	F	R
F	Ζ	E	Y	U	С	I	G	Т	А	L	Ι	L	J	Е
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Inspira

tion for Artists

BY MELANIE V. TAYLOR

"The job of the artist is always to deepen the mystery." Francis Bacon

HIS month I have decided to look at some of the broader inspirations for artists both in classical times and the Renaissance because there is very little in the way of painting or sculpture that survives in England from before 1500 other than a small amount of religious art. This has survived more by accident than design as much was destroyed during the Reformation, particularly during the reign of Edward VI.

In Greek mythology the god of war, Ares, does not feature as prominently as does the same god, Mars, in roman mythology. To the Greeks, Ares was considered to be a destructive and destabilising god , whereas to the Romans, Mars is second only in importance to Jupiter, the head of the panoply of gods. Together with the god Quirinus, in the early days of the Roman Empire Jupiter and Mars formed something called the Archaic Triad. Quirinus is thought to be another name for the double headed god, Janus, but not much is known about him. However, Mars is a different matter.

Mars was the son of Juno, who, according to Ovid, gave birth to him after having had her stomach touched with a magic flower by the goddess Flora that is to say he was a virgin birth. This is said to have happened on 1st March, which coincided with the beginning of the Roman new year. It is as the aggressive military god of war that most people think of Mars, especially when they come face to face with his statue in the Capitoline Museum, Rome by an unknown 1st century sculptor. This sculpture portrays the god as the epitome of martial splendour. We can learn a lot about the armour worn

by the elite Roman soldiers from these statues, but we have to make an educated guess that Mars is holding a spear or javelin in his right hand.

Today, most of us instantly recognise the male gender symbol. This represents Mars's shield and his spear, and in astrology it is the symbol for the planet Mars. The spear was an important accoutrement as a way of identifying Mars in exactly the same way that the god Jupiter is recognised by the thunderbolts he hurls and the sea god Neptune who is portrayed holding a three pronged trident.

Like most of the ancient gods, Mars is not a faithful husband. One of his earliest consorts is the minor goddess Nerine, who represents valour so their partnership balances the more martial elements of Mars's character. Her identity only comes to us through the playwright, Plautus, writing in the 3rd century BC and his story may well have its roots in Sabine mythology.

Mars was considered to be the father of the founders of Rome itself, the twins Romulus &

Remus who, according to legend, were found abandoned on a hillside and suckled by a mother wolf. But who was their mother? According to legend it was the Vestal Virgin, Rhea Silva, who had been placed in the Temple of Vesta by her uncle, Amulius, who killed had her brother and displaced her father, Numitor, as king of Alba Longa. The Vestal Virgins served the temple for 30 years, therefore, by placing his niece to be one of the servants of the goddess Vesta, Amulius, clearly intended to remove the possibility of any future

heirs to challenge the validity of his kingship. Unfortunately for Amulius Rhea Silva found she was pregnant. The princess knew that the penalty for no longer being a Virgin meant she would be walled up with enough bread and water for one day, so would die either of suffocation or starvation. This was the way a Vestal Virgin was punished for transgressing. However, Rhea claimed she had become pregnant when she was visited by Mars while she was asleep in the forest and, luckily for her, the temple authorities believed her story. After



the usual gestation period, Rhea gave birth to twin boys who she called Romulus and Remus.

In this ancient carved relief now in the Palazzo Mattei the god Somnus (Hypnos in Greek mythology) is giving Rhea Silva a libation that makes her fall asleep, thus absolving her of



blame should anything happen to her while she is asleep. Mars is the tall male nude just left of centre, nude except for his cloak thrown casually over his shoulder. His strength and athleticism dominates centre of the relief. Wearing his helmet, and carrying a shield and all important spear, he strides towards her and the rest is left to our imagination. While it was intended to absolve Rhea of blame for breaking her vows as a Vestal Virgin and read as such by a Roman audience, a modern audience might have a different take on the story shown in this relief.

The Roman writer Livy is suitably cynical about Rhea's story, but despite Livy's written opinion that the young woman was raped, the myth created captured the Roman imagination.

Let us return to the story of Rhea's semi divinetwins, Romulus & Remus. After they are born their great uncle, King Amulius, orders that they be killed, but the servant given this grisly task, and presumably not wishing to upset the god of war, sets them adrift in a basket on the River Tiber. They are washed to the shore and found by a she-wolf who has lost her cubs. As the legend goes, the she-wolf suckles them, thus saving them from death and the twins are discovered by a shepherd. The boys are raised by the good shepherd, Faustulus, and his wife: Rhea Silva is rescued by the river god Tiberius and becomes his wife and sometime during their growing up, the boys discover their true identity. Finally, the grown up twins take it on themselves to kill their wicked great uncle and restore their grandfather, King Numitor, to the throne of Alba Longa.

There has been much debate as to the meaning of this poor unfortunate woman's name. The German writer, Carsten Neibhur (1722 - 1815), argued that Rhea meant guilty and Silva is latin for woods, therefore the meaning was 'guilty woman of the woods'. This explanation sounds too simplistic and ignores the idea that Rhea was the daughter of Gaia and the sky god, Uranus.- In Greek mythology, the goddess Rhea was married to Cronus and together they had six children. Because Cronus had been told that he would be usurped by one of his children, he ate five of them and the last one, Zeus, only survived because his mother Rhea asked her mother and father to help her save her unborn baby. When



Zeus was born he was hidden in a cave and goes on to fulfil the prophecy. There are similarities between these stories in that the both goddess and the Vestal Virgin become founders of either a set of deities as in the case of the Greek Rhea or a nation as per Rhea Silva's story.

Mars was also the lover of the goddess, Venus. Venus was married to the Vulcan, but marriage did not hinder her bestowing her favours wherever her fancy fell. Venus was the goddess of beauty, desire, and seduction. In Roman mythology, she was the mother of the Trojan hero Aeneas who is also said to have been one of the founders of Rome and whose father was the mortal Prince Anchises. Clearly Venus was more than generous with her favours so it is not surprising that the testosterone driven Mars was attracted to the beautiful and seductive goddess.

Excavations at Pompeii have unearthed exquisite wall paintings of many subjects, including this one of Mars, Venus and their son, Cupid.-

Reading these myths and legends as recorded by the ancient writers not only provided inspiration for the anonymous classical artists and sculptors, but also well into the Renaissance.-

In the quattrocento Botticelli portrayed Venus and Mars in a painting now in London's National Gallery. The Florentine master painted this image in 1485 on poplar wood using tempera and oil. It is 173.4 x 69.2 cms. The



shape of the painting suggests this may have been part of a bed-head, or perhaps the back board of a day bed, or it may have been a stand alone painting to be hung in a bedroom.

Unlike the Pompeii wall painting, Venus is decorously clad, while Mars reclines, wearing nothing but a piece of linen draped across his lower abdomen. He remains fast asleep despite the chubby satyr blowing the conch shell noisily in his ear. Two of the satyrs are playing with the god's spear and helmet demonstrating how he is disarmed. It is argued that he is disarmed by the love he feels for the goddess and Botticelli has painted this as an allegory of love being stronger than war.

Botticelli has included wasps buzzing around a wasps nest just to the right of Mars's head. This may allude to the stings of love and this link should take you to a high resolution image of the painting which you can then zoom into any part of the painting. http://www.nationalgallery. org.uk/cid-classification/classification/picture/ sandro-botticelli,-venus-and-mars/267741/*/ moduleId/ZoomTool/x/-5908/y/-681/z/7

It has also been suggested that this is a painting defining post-coital languor. Or, since the satyrs are also linked with Bacchus, the god of wine, perhaps our god has imbibed too much of the grape? Venus does not give much away, but I think her expression is just a little peeved.

This is a painting that may reveal elements of the lives of certain fourteenth century Florentine characters. It has been suggested that the models for the two divine beings were Giuliano de Medici, Lorenzo de Medici's dead brother who had been assassinated at Easter 1478 by the Pazzi conspirators during Mass in the Duomo: and Simonetta Vespucci, who had been a celebrated beauty and in 1475 had been married in the Medici's private chapel to Marco Vespucci.

The quattrocento is the time of courtly love and every young man in Florence had fallen in 'love' with the incredibly beautiful blonde Simonetta. For a jousting tournament in 1475, Giuliano had commissioned Botticelli to paint a portrait of Simonetta as Pallas Minerva on his shield. Below this was the legend, *La Sans Pareille* (we are not told why it was not written in Italian.) Giuliano won the jousting competition for his lady, but despite this very clear statement of Giuliano's devotion it is not recorded whether or not they became lovers. That Venus is fully clothed while Mars is asleep could interpreted that Giuliano's feelings for Simonetta are just a dream.

The positioning of the wasps nest close to Mars's head may also be a reference to Simonetta since the latin for wasp is vespa. That Botticelli has painted the wasps next right by the head of the sleeping god may be the artist's way of telling us how Simonetta had become the darling of all the young men of Florence and is buzzing inside their heads, like wasps in a wasps nest.

Simonetta certainly settled inside Botticelli's head as she is thought to be the woman portrayed in many of his allegorical paintings. Unfortunately Simonetta died, aged 22, in 1476 and when Botticelli died in 1510 he was buried at the foot of her tomb in the Chiesa de Ognissanti.

Those of you who have read my novel, The Truth of the Line, may recognise this Botticelli image as the model painting that Nicholas Hilliard paints on the roof of his wooden four poster



marriage bed, using his beloved Alice's face as the model for Venus & a self portrait as Mars.-

In this painting of 1600 by the Venetian artist Carlo Saraceni, we see the divine couple in bed inside a sumptuous palace. Again there are cherubim playing with the god's armour and instead of a spear, there is a sheathed sword. Saraceni portrays the moment the couple are about to be caught *inflagrante* by Venus's husband, Vulcan. What is never addressed is that theirs is an adulterous relationship. This painting is in the Thyssen-Bornemisza museum in Madrid.

What is evident in these Renaissance portrayals of Mars is that Mars as a lover was a popular theme. Not something that would immediately spring to mind considering he was the God of War. Even though these paintings depicting the love between the two Roman deities showed the softer side of Mars, his presence could be a subtext suggesting the animosity that comes from adulterous relationships. There are a myriad number of paintings during the Renaissance depicting the various myths and legends of the ancients. While these were inspirational and gave the artists an opportunity to paint the much desired nudes, it does not mean that they were not inspired by events of the day.

The two lost paintings of the Battles of Cascina and Anghiari were the result of a personal battle between two artistic Renaissance giants. Originally intended to cover opposing walls in the Salone dei Cinquecento in the Palazzo della Signoria, Florence, we only have tantalising references to these two lost paintings.

We have a copy of Michelangelo's cartoon for the central portion of his Battle of Cascina depicting the conflict between the rival city states of Pisa and Florence fought on 28th July 1364. Florence won.

In this copy by Michelangelo's pupil, Sangallo, there is a fevered feeling to the twisting naked bodies. The event Michelangelo has chosen to portray is from the beginning of the battle when some of the Florentine soldiers had been surprised by a Pisan force as they bathed in the River Arno. The original cartoon was destroyed, but some of Michelangelo's smaller sketches have survived.

Unfortunately, we only have a Rubens copy of the da Vinci's original painting of his Battle of Anghiari. This celebrated a Florentine victory against Milan. The tight formation of four horsemen fighting over the flag is an intensely dramatic composition. Da Vinci has captured the horribleness of war in the snarling features of both horses and men. Like Michelangelo's composition, there are only surviving sketches of elements of Da Vinci's lost battle.

Neither artist completed their commissions and neither is visible today. In 1563, Vasari painted The Battle of Marciano in Val di Chiana (Florence –v- Siena) over Da Vinci's unfinished fresco.

However, has Vasari left a clue to the fate of Da Vinci's painting? Maurizio Seracini believes so.

Twelve metres up in Vasari's fresco a Florentine soldier waves a flag with the words *Cerca Trova written* on it. These translate as *He who seeks*, *finds*. Seracini is an expert in high technology art analysis and believes this is a message left by Vasari. Despite the Anghiari painting being unfinished and damaged, Vasari writes enthusiastically about it, which suggests he may have been hesitant about painting over it. In his *Lives of the Artisst*, Vasari writes : *"It would be impossible to express the inventiveness of Leonardo's design for the soldiers" uniforms, which he sketched in all their variety, or the crests of the helmets and other ornaments, not to mention the incredible skill he demonstrated in the shape and features of the horses, which Leonardo, better than any other master, created with their boldness, muscles and graceful beauty."*

Seracini is an art historian who uses noninvasive techniques to analyse original art works and has made a full survey of the walls in the Palazzo della Signoria using thermographic cameras and high frequency surface penetrating radar. He discovered that Vasari built a curtain wall on which to paint his battle scene, leaving a gap of between 1 and 3 centimetres behind it. This tiny space is sufficiently big enough to allow an endoscopic camera to be inserted into the gap. Seracini's team found pigment on the back wall, suggesting the presence of a fresco, and took samples. Analysis showed that the black pigment was similar to that





in the glazes used by Da Vinci in his paintings of the Mona Lisa and St John the Baptist.-

Seracini's hypothesis has been vehemently opposed by Alfonso Musci and Allessandro Savorelli, The Italian academics have disputed Seracini's interpretation of these two words in a paper published in the Journal of the Italian Institute of Renaissance Studies.

The Italian academic article is a scholastic analysis of the events of the time and all the flags contained in the Vasari painting. They argue that the the two words come from a verse from Dante's Purgatorio, (Canto I : 71-72), as do messages on other green flags being carried by the Florentine forces. This seems a very reasonable argument as there are documents that show just how Duke Cosimo I used Dante's words as part of his propaganda to put off the Sienese forces led by the Medici enemies, the Strozzi.

What I find odd is that the Italians decided not to address the scientific analysis of the pigment taken from the wall itself. There has also been much criticism about the way Seracini was allowed to drill holes in the Vasari original, despite these being in areas of restoration so none of the original paintwork were compromised. Since 2012 there has been a verbal battle between all the interested parties, not to mention a distinct lack of funds. If these warring factions ever settle their differences and further non-invasive investigations are undertaken it is unlikely Da Vinci's fresco will be revealed in glory since we know, from contemporary sources, it was not in good condition when Vasari was asked to paint his battle all those centuries ago.

This might seem to a storm in an Italian tea-cup, but I wonder if there is more to this than scholars arguing about the interpretation





of a two word motto on a green flag. In 2013 Seracini founded the company, "Great Masters Art Authentication", which is dedicated to using scientific analysis to authenticate paintings from the time of the Renaissance to the 19th century. The company is based in San Diego. Knowing this makes me think it is more possibly a case of professional jealousy that is preventing further investigation into what may be on the wall hidden behind the Vasari painting.

Despite the battles between the various Italian city states and duchies art flourished in quattrocento Italy. We English were far too busy knocking each other about in the Wars of the Roses and fighting France in the Hundred Years War to bother about making a visual record of our various victories. We left the visual recording of the Hundred Years War to the French probably because we did not have any artists worthy of the task – but that is a story for another time.

MELANIE V. TAYLOR



MEMBERS' PHOTOS

Hi, my name is Catherine Brooks, and amongst other things, I'm the UK marketing manager for Madeglobal Publishing. As I live near to Leicester I naturally have an interest in Richard III, but my true love is the Tudors! I'm so happy to be a member of the Tudor Society.

I hope that you enjoy my photos, and yes, I do know thatr these are not Tudor! Some of these photos are from the day I went to see Richard III in Leicester Cathedral, the day after the re-interment procession through the city. The others are when I went to the 'Leicester Glows' event a few days later.

CATHERINE BROOKS



















Bellona's Daughters

Fernand and Isabel

BY KYRA KRAMER

OST people know that Mars was the god of war, but it was Bellona, the goddess of war, to whom the Romans turned to for help in battle. While Mars was as much an agricultural guardian as a god of bloodshed, his analog Bellona was devoted wholly to military combat. When a Roman Emperor wanted to open hostilities with a foreign enemy, he would command priests to sacrifice pigs to Bellona in her temple, and it was only after she was honored that he dipped a javelin into the sacrificial blood and cast it in Field of Mars to declare war.

Isabella of Spain, the co-ruler of Castile and Aragon, was an ardent Catholic – but she would have been a fitting high priestess to Bellona. Not only did Isabella demand equal co-rule with her husband, King Ferdinand of Castile, she was a very capable military leader. Isabella was smart, strong, tough, and the bane of anyone who met her armies on a battlefield. Not only did Isabella have to claw her way to the throne of Castile, she defended and expanded the joint kingdoms of Castile and Aragon.

As queen, she ruled with an iron fist. She instituted a police force in Castile, established a monopoly over the royal mint, demanded that her nobles pay the crown the money they owed it, and brought civil order to the country. Isabella became renowned for her wisdom and adherence to justice, which she often preferred to mercy. Those who opposed Isabella and her reforms learned the hard way not to cross her. In 1476 an uprising started in the Castilian region of Segovia while Ferdinand was away fighting the Portuguese. If the Segovians thought the king's absence would help them win their rebellion, they were sadly mistaken. Isabella led her troops into Segovia and personally settled the insurrection by force of arms.

She was also determined to retake the Iberian Peninsula for Spain. The last holdout was the Emirate of Granada, a Muslim-ruled tributary state occupying what is now the Andalusia region of Spain. Isabella was as much as presence during the war against Granada as her husband, perhaps even more so. There is a persistent myth that Isabella's youngest daughter, Catalina – the future first wife of Henry VIII who would come to be known as Catherine of Aragon – was born in the midst of a combat zone. Although Isabella did not give birth in the field, it is true that she remained on a heavy military campaign while pregnant with her last child, withdrawing to prepare for birth only after a major victory.

Like Bellona, not everything about Isabella was admirable. She was lauded for being devout and pious, but her loyalty to the Catholic Church opened the door for a great evil; the first step of the creation of the Spanish Inquisition under Torquemada. Although Isabella and Ferdinand had promised the Muslims and Jews of Granada the freedom to practice their religion in the Treaty of Granada, within a few months of conquering the territory in 1492 they issued the Alhambra Decree that targeted the Jewish population for expulsion or death. The Jews were given an ultimatum that they could convert to Catholicism, leave the country (but not take any money with them), or die. Tens of thousands of Jews perished as a result of this decree. Some died from the hazards of life as refugees, and many were murdered by covetous neighbors for their processions. Sometimes the Jewish evictees were slaughtered and disemboweled by thieves because it was rumored that they were swallowing gold and gems in an attempt to take their wealth out of Spain. The Jews who tried to leave Spain aboard ships were all too often thrown overboard to drown by greedy captains who wanted to confiscate the escapees' goods.

Isabella and Ferdinand also began a policy of forcible conversions to Christianity that infuriated the Muslim community of Granada into a revolt in 1500. Spain used this revolt as an excuse to void the

Don fernanco y coña y fabel Reyes a calhila y aragon.



Isabella I of Castile, Queen of Castile and León, with her husband Ferdinand II of Aragon

treaty and institute a pogrom against the Moors. Like the Jews before them, the Muslims were ordered to become Catholic, emigrate, or be killed.

Isabella's fearsome reputation is one of the reasons Henry VIII would later become so afraid of his ex-wife. Henry worried that Catherina was "of such high courage ... with her daughter at her side, she might raise an army and take the field against me with as much spirit as her mother Isabella." Henry was right to fear Catherina's



Isabelle of Castiles crown – photo by shakko

prowess as a leader and military commander, since she had ably demonstrated her abilities earlier in their marriage. In 1513, Henry left his pregnant wife to act as regent and defend England from Scotland while he was away fighting the French on the continent. Like her mother before her, the stalwart queen didn't let the fact she was carrying a baby slow her down or curb her readiness for warfare. During her regency the English army defeated and killed the king of Scotland, James IV, at the Battle of Flodden. Not one to be squeamish in military victory, Henry's exultant queen sent her husband a blood-stained piece of the dead Scots king's coat-armor as a trophy.

Catherina's daughter Mary would also prove herself to be a chip off of Isabella's block. Mary raised an army against Queen Jane of England after the death of Edward IV, and was successful at deposing her young cousin. Mary took the throne, and when Protestant rebellions threatened her crown, the new monarch had her overthrown teenage kinswoman beheaded to discourage political and social dissent. Mary also followed in Isabella's footsteps by attempting to force her subjects to accept a Catholic religious monopoly. As a result of her persecution of those she saw as heretics, Mary is remembered by the moniker "Bloody Mary". This sobriquet is unfair; Mary's victims numbered in the hundreds, while victims of her grandmother's fanaticism numbered in the thousands, yet Isabella of Spain is not known as "Bloody Isabella".

Then again, perhaps the title "Bloody" is an appropriate tribute for a monarch who ascended her throne after victory in battle and who was the daughter and granddaughter of warriorqueens. The feast day of Bellona is March 24th, and was known as *dies sanguinis* or *Sanguem* – the Day of Blood. Mary was brave, bold, fierce and willing to fight for what she saw as a just cause. Like Isabella and Catherina, Mary was a worthy avatar of the goddess of war.

KYRA KRAMER

Unicorn a laFule

OLGA HUGHES Lamentable Lenten Dishes

It is not surprising that the British Library managed to fool so many people with their delightful Unicorn a la Fule hoax a few years ago. Scholars claimed to have discovered a long-lost cookbook penned by Geoffrey Fule, who worked in the kitchens of Philippa of Hainault, Queen of England from 1328 to 1369. The fictional recipe instructed that the unicorn be marinated in cloves and garlic, and then roasted on a griddle. Illustrations of an unfortunate unicorn dancing over a fire, the head brandished on a platter and the hoofs, tail and horn discarded in a bucket seemed to go a long way towards convincing the public that the recipe was real.

The other factor that probably helped fool a guileless reader is the fact that there are many strange dishes in the history of food, and probably none so varied as a medieval royal court, who had both the money and time to devote to endless banqueting. While there have been many debates over the dispensations that could be sought for various Lenten restrictions in the medieval period, medieval society still had many "fish days" to observe over the year. These were days significant to the Catholic faith where one would refrain from consuming animal products, although eventually fish and other seafood was permitted on these days, while dairy and eggs were still avoided.

Because there were so many fish days to observe, and because the wealthy household had so many people to not only feed, but to entertain and impress, the range of seafood consumed was both vast and rather "creative". A fishmonger's stock would include fare we easily recognise, like oysters, crabs, trout, sprats, salmon, haddock, mackerel, codling, shrimps, red and white herring, whiting, 'pickerelle' [young pike], gurnards and tench. He would also sell stockfish, a dried and salted fish that took several days of soaking before it was edible, but kept well for long periods. The range of eels might include "strikes of pimpenelle"[small eels] lampreys and conga eel.¹ There were also various animals consumed that were considered fish and allowable during lent, even if they were certainly not seafood!

1

¹ Wilson, C. Anne, Food and Drink in Britain: From the Stone Age to Recent Times, Penguin, 1984, pp. 37

Puffin in a Pickle

People are often surprised when puffin appears on medieval menus, but the sea birds have long been hunted for their meat, eggs and feathers. Nowadays puffins are only hunted in Iceland and the Faroe Islands. They are served simply, poached in milk or ale or stuffed and roasted. Cooking methods don't seem to have varied much over the centuries, with roasted puffin appearing on medieval and Tudor menus, and an eighteenth century Kensington Palace

A French Puffin

Take and make a very fine piece of paste with yolks of eggs and sweet butter and sugar: and drive your cakes very thin and fine, six or seven, and put butter molten between every one of them, make your cakes little round ones, and let there be a good deal of butter in the dish bottom and then set them in the Oven till they be baked enough, then strew on sugar upon it and serve it out.⁵

cook book lists roasted puffin being served to King George II.

Puffin flesh apparently tastes so 'fishy' that the medieval church classified the sea bird as fish, with one 1530 writer describing them as "a fysshe lyke a teele".² A seventeenth century account describes hunting in Cornwall, using ferrets to chase the puffins out of their cliff-side holes. The puffins were then "being exceeding fat, [they were] kept salted, and reputed for fish, as coming nearest thereto



¹ Wilson, C. Anne, Food and Drink in Britain: From the Stone Age to Recent Times, Penguin, 1984, pp. 37 2 Brears, Peter, All the King's Cooks: The Tudor kitchens of Henry VIII's Hampton Court Palace, Souvenir Press 2011, pp. 32

in taste".³ Roasted puffins were part of the fish feast held for the enthronement of the Archbishop of Canterbury William Warham.

A.W's Booke of Cookrye describes puffin being baked in a pastry case, in two different recipes. The first details a Lamprey pie, the base recipe which can also be used for puffin and porpoise. The "French Puffin" recipe is curious, using a very sweet pastry and no spices, with no mention of preparation of the puffin meat, and could perhaps be something else altogether.

The sweet that is fish... which is not fish at all

How to bake a Lamprey

When you have flayed and washed it clean, season it with Pepper, and salt, and make a light Gallandine⁴ and put to it good store of butter, and after this sort you must make your gallandine. Take white bread toasts and lay them in steep in Claret wine, or else in verjuice, & so strain them with vinegar, and make it somewhat thin, and put sugar, cinnamon and ginger, and boil it on a Chafing dish of coals, this Galandine being not too thick, put it into your pie of Lampreye, and after this sort shall you bake Porpos or Puffins.



This illumination shows the Beaver's tail portrayed as a fish – from Platearius, Livre des simples médecines, c. 1480

The tail of the beaver being considered fish seems very odd indeed. It was Pliny, in his Naturalis Historia, who described the beaver as having "the tail of a fish, and soft fur on its otter-like body". Gerald of Wales described them as having

"broad, short tails, thick, like the palm of a hand, which they use as a rudder in swimming; and although the rest of their body is hairy, this part, like that of seals, is without hair, and smooth; upon which account, in Germany and the arctic regions, where beavers abound, great and religious persons, in times of fasting, eat the tails of this fish-like animal, as having both the taste and colour of fish."⁴

However popular the dish was, there are few surviving recipes. Edward Topsell, in his The history of four-footed beasts and serpents, describes the preparation of beaver tail.

"There hath been taken of them whose tails have weighted four pound weight, and they are accounted a very delicate dish, for being dressed they eat like Barbles: they are used by the Lotharingians and Savoyans [says Bellonius] for meat allowed to be eaten on fish-dayes, although the body that eareth them be flesh and unclean⁵ for food. The manner of their dressing is, first roasting, and afterward seething in an open pot; that so the evill vapour may go away, and some in pottage made with Saffron; other with Ginger, and many with Brine; it is certain that the tail and forefeet taste very sweet, from whence came the Proverbe, The sweet that is fish, which is not fish at all."

John Russell's The boke of nurture suggests "To peasoun or frumenty take the tayle of the bevere". The thirteenth-century Forme of Curye suggests making a pottage of peas with almond milk, thickened with rye flour and seasoned with ginger, saffron and salt.⁶

A whale of a Feast

Although is is often said that whale featured regularly on the table of King Henry VIII, whale meat was more commonly consumed in France, while the English preferred salted herring for Lent. While it was considered a luxury item, roasted whale

Le mèsnagier de Paris, 1393, details the preparation:

Craspoix. This is salted whale meat. It should be cut in slices uncooked and cooked in water *like fatback: serve it with peas. On lean days, when the peas are cooked, you* have to take onions that have been cooked *in a pot for as long as the peas, exactly the* same way that on meat days, lard is cooked *separately in the pot and then peas and stock* added. In that same way, on a lean day, at the time the peas are put in a pot on the fire, you should put finely chopped onions and in a separate pot cook the peas. When everything *is cooked, fry the onions, put half in the peas* and half in the stock – and salt. If that day is during Lent get crapoix and use it the same way that lard is used on meat days.



⁴ Cambrensis, Giraldus (Gerald of Wales) The itinerary through Wales : and The description of Wales

5 When Topsell describes the body as "unclean", he refers to blood, obviously forbidden during Lent.

⁶ Hieatt, Constance B., Butler, Sharon, Curye on Inglysch: English Culinary Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century (including the Forme of Cury), Early English Text Society, 1985 pp. 114

meat needed to be very well done and could be very tough. By the Elizabethan era whale was well out of fashion.

Despite being considered a 'royal' fish in England, along with sturgeon and porpoise, in French society whale fed both the rich and the poor. The rich favoured the whale tongue as a delicacy, while the working classes ate salt-cured strips of the fattier meat of the whale, called lard de carom or craspoix. Craspoix was one of the principal foods available to the peasantry for fish days.⁷ In England it was still a luxury item and sold for high prices in London. Craspoix was apparently still tough after a full day of cooking. Like the beaver tail, it was commonly eaten with pea pottage.

The goose which is not fish

Barnacle geese are another somewhat baffling addition to the Lenten table, and a strange legend that surrounds them is described by Gerald of Wales.

There are likewise here many birds called barnacles[...]Being at first gummy excrescences from pine-beams floating on the waters, and then enclosed in shells to secure their free growth, they hang by their beaks, like seaweeds attached to the timber. Being in process of time well covered with feathers, they either fall into the water or take their flight in the free air, their nourishment and growth being supplied, while they are bred in this very unaccountable and curious manner, from the juices of the wood in the sea-water. ⁸

Gerald also claims the birds have never been seen to lay eggs, nor had ever been seen to breed. However, even if Gerald was of the opinion the birds simply sprang magically out of driftwood, he did not approve of them being consumed during Lent.



Barnacle geese from Giraldus Cambrensis on Irish birds, British Library, Harley MS 4751

⁷ Kurlansky, Mark, Salt: A World History, Walker and Co, 2002, pp. 94

⁸ Forester, Thomas, [trans.], Wright, Thomas, [ed.]Cambrensis, Giraldus (Gerald of Wales) The Topography of Ireland Medieval Latin Series Cambridge, Ontario 2000 pp. 20-21

Hence, in some parts of Ireland, bishops and men of religion make no scruple of eating these birds on fasting days, as not being flesh, because they are not born of flesh. But these men are curiously drawn into error. For, if any one had eaten part of the thigh of our first parent, which was really flesh, although not born of flesh, I should think him not guiltless of having eaten flesh.⁹

Not everyone believed in the barnacle goose "tree", the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II examined some barnacles and commented that "these bore no resemblance to any avian body". Leo of Rozmital, who visited England between 1465 and 1467, described eating barnacle goose at Salisbury where he was dining with the Duke of Clarence:

Among other dishes they gave us to eat what should have been a fish, but it was roasted and looked like a duck. It has its wings feathers, neck and feet. It lays eggs and tastes like a wild duck. We had to eat it as fish, but in my mouth it turned to meat, although they say it is indeed a fish because it grows at first out of a worm in the sea, and when it is grown, it assumes the form of a duck and lays eggs, but its eggs do not hatch out or produce anything. It seeks its nourishment in the sea and not on land. Therefore it is said to be a fish.¹⁰

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Porpoise-ful

You might expect that the porpoise, which is till considered a 'royal fish' under English law, might be prepared in exotic dishes with expensive spices. However porpoise, along with seal, was mainly poached in broth or added to frumenty and pottage. The Forme of Curye features an almond-based frumenty. A simpler recipe for porpoise in broth instructs the cook to "Make as you made noumbles¹¹ of flesh with onions". The meat would be parboiled and diced, then the stock thickened with grated bread and seasoned with vinegar and wine. The onions were parboiled, then grated and returned to the stock, which was finally seasoned with salt and "coloured with blood".

Another Lenten version of the 'noumbles' in broth was made with conga eel and pike, flavoured with wine, vinegar and saffron and again thickened with grated bread.

A recipe for "Puddyng of purpaysse" from Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery-Books describes the sort of pudding we know Henry VIII favoured. The recipe instructs the cook to combine the blood and lard of the porpoise with oatmeal, salt, pepper and ginger and stuff the stomach with the mixture, boiling gently until cooked and then broiled before serving.

What are some of the strangest foods you have tried? Do you have any exotic recipes to share, or favourite vegetarian recipes? Be sure to drop by the Tudor Society forums for a chat.

OLGA HUGHES

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MARCH FEASTDAYS

1 March – St David's Day

1st March is the feast day of St David (Dewi Sant), patron saint of Wales. According to Rhigyfarch's *Life of Saint David*, David lived in the 6th century and founded religious centres including Glastonbury and Croyland. He then travelled to the Holy Land and was made archbishop at Jerusalem before travelling back to Wales and settling at Glyn Rhosyn (Rose Vale), or St David's, in Pembrokeshire, Wales. There, he founded a monastery whose site is now marked by St David's Cathedral.

Dewi (David) and his community were said to have performed many miracles which included Dewi causing the ground to rise beneath him while preaching at the Synod of Llanddewibrefi so that everyone could see him.

Dewi died in 589 and was recognised as a Catholic saint in 1120. His feast day, 1st March, is now no longer a religious feast but is a national celebration of Wales and Welsh identity. It is traditional for Welsh people to wear a daffodil or leek on 1st March, and the leek as a symbol of Wales is linked to two legends:

The legend of the soldiers of the ancient British king, Cadwaladyr, wearing leeks so that they would know who their comrades were in battle.

The legend that the Welsh archers fought in a field of leeks at the Battle of Crécy in 1346 when Edward, Prince of Wales, defeated France. It was said that Welshmen then wore leeks on their caps on St David's Day to remember the courage of the archers.

Steve Roud, in *The English Year*, points out how William Shakespeare's *Henry V* (1599), has a scene "in which the English braggart Pistol makes fun of the Welsh captain Fluellen's wearing of a leek on St David's Day, and is forced to eat the vegetable, skin and all." Roud also writes of how, in the 17th century, Samuel Pepys recorded in his diary for March 1667 the practise of hanging out dolls and scarecrows with leeks on their heads, and calling out after Welshmen "Taffey" or "David" to tease them.

W. Carew Hazlitt, in the book *Faith and Folklores*, writes of how King Henry VII "having Welsh blood in his veins" felt particularly obliged to observe the feast day and records show that he paid £2 one March for a feast for Welshmen. According to the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII's daughter, Princess Mary, she was presented with a leek by yeoman of the guard on the feast day in 1537, 1538 and 1544. Here's the record of a payment made to the Yeoman of the Guard in 1544:

"Itm gevin to a yeoman of the garde for bringing a Leeke on saint Davys day - xv s."

6 March – Mothering Sunday

Mothering Sunday is the fourth Sunday in Lent and so, like Palm Sunday, Easter etc. is a moveable feast. Although I have never found any reference to it in 16th century records, Steve Roud points out that it is mentioned in Robert Herrick's 17th century collection of poems, *Hesperides* (1648):

"I'll to thee a simnell bring Gainst thou go'st a mothering."

And in Richard Symonds' diary from 1644:

"Every mid-Lent Sunday is a great day in Worcester, when all the children and god-children meet at the head and chief of the family and have a feast. They call it the Mothering-day."

So it was definitely celebrated by the mid 17th century.

20 March – Palm Sunday

Palm Sunday is the sixth Sunday in Lent and marks the start of Holy Week. It commemorates the triumphal entry of Jesus Christ into Jerusalem on a donkey the week before the Resurrection. It is an event which features in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, and here it is from John:

"On the next day much people that were come to the feast, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took branches of palm trees, and went forth to meet him, and cried, 'Hosanna: Blessed is the King of Israel that cometh in the name of the Lord.' And Jesus, when he had found a young ass, sat thereon; as it is written, 'Fear not, daughter of Sion: behold, thy King cometh, sitting on an ass's colt'." (John 12: 12-15, King James Version)

In Tudor times the priest would read out the story and then bless branches of greenery to be used in processions. Apparently, a wooden donkey on wheels was used in some processions! In many countries today, we celebrate Palm Sunday with palm leaves or crosses made out of palm leaves, but these leaves were hard to come by in Tudor England, so they would use local greenery, which was blessed before it was made into crosses. The crosses were taken home and placed over the doorway to protect the family from misfortune and witchcraft. The cross was a reminder of Christ's message and the greenery also symbolised spring and new life. The crosses were later burned to make ashes for the following year's Ash Wednesday ceremonies. A special shrine would also be prepared for Palm Sunday. This shrine contained the blessed Sacrament to represent Jesus Christ, and the church's own relics. The clergy carried this special shrine around the outside of the church as the laity processed around the church in the opposite direction, with the two processions meeting at the church door. The Lent veil (a veil hiding the chancel from the nave during Lent) was drawn up and then dropped down again as they passed. In rural communities, the local priest would also lead a procession to bless the fields for a good harvest. He would carry a solar monstrance, i.e. a sun shaped receptacle with a glass centre containing the consecrated Host. The Host was held in place by a luna, a container of glass and gilded metal. Blessing the fields with this solar monstrance was seen as a blessing from Christ himself. A good harvest was, of course, vital to a rural community.

Palm Sunday celebrations were suppressed in the reign of Edward VI, brought back again in Mary I's short reign, but then suppressed again in Elizabeth I's reign.

25 March – Lady Day, or the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin

Lady Day, or the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, was a feast day commemorating the day that the Virgin Mary was first told by the Angel Gabriel that she was carrying Jesus. It is, of course, nine months before Christmas Day, the day in which Christ was born.

Lady Day was the first day of the calendar year in England until 1752, when the first day of the year was changed to 1 January and the Gregorian Calendar replaced the Julian Calendar. Although the calendar year officially started on 25 March in Tudor times, New Year's gifts were still given on 1 January, which came from the Roman tradition of New Year.

Historians and researchers have to bear Lady Day in mind when reading primary sources and reading things like tomb inscriptions. For example, according to primary sources Thomas Boleyn died in 1538 and Lady Jane Grey was executed in 1553, but this is because their deaths took place before Lady Day that year. When we take into account the modern calendar, Thomas and Jane died in 1539 and 1554 respectively.

On Lady Day in 1555, during Mary I's reign, diarist Henry Machyn recorded jousting at Westminster which was in celebration of the feast day:

"The xxv day of Marche, the wyche was owre lade [day,] ther was as gret justes as youe have sene at the tylt at Vestmynster; the chalyngers was a Spaneard and ser Gorge Haward; and all ther men, and ther horsses trymmyd in whyt, and then cam the Kyng and a gret mene [menée or retinue] all in bluw, and trymmyd with yelow, and ther elmets with gret tuyffes [tufts or plumes] of blue and yelow fether, and all ther veffelers [whifflers or forerunners] and ther fotemen, and ther armorers, and a compene lyke Turkes red [rode] in cremesun saten gownes and capes, and with fachyons [falchions] and gret targets; and sum in gren, and mony of clyvers colers; and ther was broken ij hondred stayffes and a-boyff [above]."

The only knight named is Sir George Howard, but the knights were both English and Spanish, and a record two hundred staffs were broken.

Trivia: The UK tax year starts on 6th April which dates back to 1753 when rents were due on Lady Day (it was a Sunday so the taxes were due on 26th March), the old New Year, but because 11 days were skipped due to the implementation of the new Gregorian Calendar they became due on 6th April.

29, 30 and 31 March – Borrowed Days

As an article on the Independent.ie website explains, "March is one of those months around which lots of weather lore has accumulated. Its final three days were often called 'the borrowed days'. It was believed that they had been borrowed by March from April. They were considered to be days of wintry relapse and of ill-omen when no enterprise was willingly begun." The article goes on to explain that "The origins of the story are given in verse-form in the folk-wisdom of Scotland:

'March said to Aperill,/ I see three hoggs upon a hill, And if you'll lend me dayes three,/ I'll find a way to make them dee. The first o' them was wind and weet,/ The second o' them was snaw and sleet, The third o' them was sich a freeze,/ It froze the birds' nebs to the trees: When the three days were past and gave,/ The three silly hoggs came hirpling hame.'"

Steve Roud gives an early 18th century quote regarding these borrowed days and their "blustering weather" and how people "would wish to borrow three days from the month of April in exchange for the last days of March." (c.1709) Although I haven't found mention in English 16th century records of these "borrowed days", Roud believes that the traditional saying dates back to the at least the mid-sixteenth century in the British Isles, so perhaps it was just in Scotland and Ireland.

CLAIRE RIDGWAY

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Tudor Poet, Soldier, Courtier, Knight and Rogue

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey

BY BETH VON STAATS

hrough blunt and arrogant, yet often courageous actions – and through sweet and gentle, yet always profound words, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Knight of the Garter, was likely Tudor History's most complex study in contrasts. Son of Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk and the Lady Elizabeth Stafford, the Earl of Surrey was the direct descendent of both King Edward Longshanks, Hammer of the Scots and King Edward of Windsor. As such, Henry Howard's pedigree was arguably the most "royal and true blood" of any courtier during the tumultuous reign of King Henry VIII. This was not necessarily a good thing. King Henry VIII's pedigree stemmed from the royal blood of a king's bastard. Consequently, throughout his reign, one by one, nearly all royal blooded perceived "threats to the throne" were eliminated. Henry Howard, the great Tudor Era warrior and renowned poet, was the English tyrant's final prey, butchered just days before the King's own death.

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, was born on a date lost to history in 1517 in Hundson, Herefordshire. Tutored by none other than John Cheke, Surrey was provided with a rich humanist education common solely to the high nobility and upper merchant classes alongside King Henry

VIII's son, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond. The boys became close friends, then later brothers-inlaw when Richmond married Surrey's sister Mary. In 1532, Surrey and Richmond accompanied King Henry VIII and the Lady Anne Boleyn, Marquess of Pembroke to France, both remaining after the



King and his soon to be second wife returned to England to serve in the court of King Francis I. The young men eventually returned, Surrey arriving at court in late August 1533. Much took place while they were gone. Not only was Anne Boleyn now Queen of England, but Surrey's return heralded the impending birth of Princess Elizabeth.

Though some historians believed Anne Boleyn attempted to play "match maker" by orchestrating a marriage between Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey and the then Princess Mary Tudor, after back-peddling by the Duke of Norfolk, in 1532 Surrey instead married Lady Frances de Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford. Due to their young ages, the Countess of Surrey initially continued to live with her family, finally joining her husband in 1535. Though arranged, the marriage was a successful one, and apparently far more loving than the acrimonious coupling of his parents. The couple bore and raised five children together: Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk; Henry Howard, 1st Earl of Northampton; Jane Howard Neville, Countess of Westmorland; Baroness Margaret Howard Scrope, and Baroness Catherine Howard Berkeley.

Upon arriving back in England from his sojourn with Henry Fitzroy in France, Surrey took up residence with his wife at the Norfolk estate at Kenninghall. Witness to the estrangement of his parents due to his father's ongoing relationship with his mistress Elizabeth Holland, Surrey sided with his father throughout the acrimony that followed. 1536 turned out to be an "annus horribilis" for the entire Howard family, Surrey in particular. In May 1536, Surrey's first cousins, Queen Anne Boleyn and George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford, were executed, Surrey himself presiding as Earl Marshall at their trials. In reward for his "service to the crown", the Norfolk family rival Thomas Cromwell was named the King's Principle Secretary. Worse, the man was knighted, named Lord Privy Seal, and was fully aligned with the "Seymour faction".

Less than two months after the fall of the Boleyns, Henry Howard was devastated when his beloved childhood friend Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and King Henry VIII's acknowledged bastard, died. As a testament to the close rapport between Surrey and Richmond, the King gifted Surrey his friend's favorite horse, an ink black Spanish Jennet. Surrey's memories of his closest friend harken for all eternity in his poetry, the following written while imprisoned at Windsor Castle for several months in 1537. (Howard struck a courtier after being slandered as a sympathizer to the rebels who fought in the Pilgrimage of Grace.)

So cruel prison how could betide, alas, As proud Windsor, where I in lust and joy With a king's son my childish years did pass In greater feast than Priam's sons of Troy?

Where each sweet place returns a taste full sour: The large green courts, where we were wont to hove,

With eyes cast up unto the Maidens' Tower, And easy sighs, such as folk draw in love.

The stately sales, the ladies bright of hue, The dances short, long tales of great delight, With words and looks that tigers could but rue, Where each of us did plead the other's right.

The palm play where, dispoiled for the game, With dazed eyes oft we by gleams of love Have missed the ball and got sight of our dame, To bait her eyes, which kept the leads above.

The graveled ground, with sleeves tied on the helm, On foaming horse, with swords and friendly hearts,

With cheer as though the one should overwhelm, Where we have fought and chased oft with darts.

With silver drops the meads yet spread for ruth, In active games of nimbleness and strength, Where we did strain, trailèd by swarms of youth, Our tender limbs that yet shot up in length.

The secret groves which oft we made resound Of pleasant plaint and of our ladies' praise, Recording soft what grace each one had found, What hope of speed, what dread of long delays.

The wild forest, the clothèd holts with green, With reins availed and swift breathèd horse, With cry of hounds and merry blasts between, Where we did chase the fearful hart a force.

The void walls eke that harbored us each night, Wherewith, alas, revive within my breast The sweet accord, such sleeps as yet delight, The pleasant dreams, the quiet bed of rest,
The secret thoughts imparted with such trust, The wanton talk, the divers change of play, The friendship sworn, each promise kept so just, Wherewith we passed the winter nights away.

And with this thought, the blood forsakes my face, The tears berain my cheeks of deadly hue, The which as soon as sobbing sighs, alas, Upsuppèd have, thus I my plaint renew:

"O place of bliss, renewer of my woes, Give me accompt, where is my noble fere, Whom in thy walls thou didst each night enclose, To other lief, but unto me must dear."

Each stone, alas, that doth my sorrow rue, Returns thereto a hollow sound of plaint. Thus I alone, where all my freedom grew, In prison pine with bondage and restraint.

And with remembrance of the greater grief To banish the less, I find my chief relief.

Though most renowned today for his outstanding contributions to British poetry and verse, particularly the introduction of sonnet composition in the English language, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, was also an outstanding warrior. Rather than the Pilgrimage of Grace rebel sympathizer painted by the Seymour faction, after perfecting his horsemanship, swordsmanship, armor combat and archery along with the Duke of Richmond at the Windsor Castle archery grounds and tiltyards, Surrey, along with his father, the Duke of Norfolk, quelled the rebellions that nearly toppled the crown.

Henry Howard shared his father, the Duke of Norfolk's disdain for the "men of low birth raised high" in the court of King Henry VIII, especially people such as Thomas Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell, as well as the "new men" in Henry's favor, Thomas More, Thomas Cranmer and Edward Seymour. Unlike the Duke of Norfolk, however, he lacked political acumen and the ability to conceal animosity. Handsome, dashing and formidable, Surrey was vain to the extreme. Thus not only do portraits of the great Tudor poet abound, but so also do stories of his arrogance, tantrums and fights with rival courtiers - at least twice arrested for his efforts. To paint Howard solely through his impulsive outbursts, vanity and arrogance would be an enormous



Henry Howard, detail

disservice, however. This was also a man of great courage, fortitude, loyalty and poetic grace.

Biding his time for better days, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey – along with the entire Howard faction, raised once more within King Henry VIII's favor. Ever swaying between his conservative and evangelical courtiers and clergy, the tide turned in the Howards' favor once more with the passage of the Six Articles of 1539. By May 1540, Surrey was jousting before the King. One month later the family nemesis Thomas Cromwell fell, arrested and convicted by the very attainder process he mastered. Surrey declared jubilantly, "Now is the foul churl dead, so ambitious of other blood; now he is stricken with his own staff?" He further explained to his his peer Sir Edmund Knyvet, that "new erected men" deserved no respect, because they "would, by their wills, leave no nobleman a life." Sadly for Surrey, he would later prove accurate in his appraisal.

With the fall of Thomas Cromwell and the further rise of Surrey and his father the Duke of Norfolk through Henry's marriage to Catherine Howard, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, reached the zenith of his influence. Surrey was knighted, appointed the duchy of Lancaster, with his father appointed grand seneschal of Cambridge University, and received the Order of the Garter. Though he survived the fall of Henry's fifth Queen Consort and a variety of Howard family members along with her, by 1542, Surrey was in prison again, this time at Fleet for a violent disagreement with John Leigh. After ponying up 10,000 marks, he was released, soon joining the Duke of Norfolk in the Scottish expedition. In February 1543, Surrey was in prison once more, this time for breaking windows throughout the city, along with Thomas Wyatt the Younger and a group of rogues. Once again, the poet, courtier, soldier and knight fell victim to his own rash behavior and impulsiveness.

By October 1543, Surrey was out of prison and back on his horse in Flanders, fighting alongside Sir Francis Bryan, affectionately known by many in the English court as the "Vicar of Hell". The following year saw Surrey serving as a Field Marshall for his father at the Siege of Montreuil. Though unsuccessful in that battle, Surrey moved on to command English troops in Boulogne, ultimately earning the rank of lieutenant-general all English possessions on the European Continent. A study in contrasts, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, transitioned smoothly once more from a boorish rogue to "knight in shining armor". After failing in battle at St. Etienne, Surrey was called home once more in March 1545, his nemesis Edward Seymour sent out to fight in his place. There he found conservatives such as his father, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and their faction in a religious battle for survival against evangelicals Sir Anthony Denney; Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury and their alliance. The King was ill, his leg festering. Though predicting Henry VIII's death was by law treason, all knew that who ever held the winning hand when he breathed his last, controlled the destiny of the new child king, and with him, the realm and its religion.

After years of tug-of-war between evangelicals and conservatives dating back to the submission of the clergy to King Henry VIII's ultimate authority in 1532, the failure of a conservative plot against Queen Katherine Parr in May 1546 and then the ultimate return to England of Edward Seymour ended any hope conservatives would prevail to hold control during the regency of the impending King Edward VI. In the ensuing months, as Henry VIII's health gradually deteriorated, conservatives began falling like dominoes one after the other, first Bishop Stephen Gardiner, and then by the approaching holiday season, the Howards, both Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey and his father, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. What was Surrey's crime? Evidently, his long and well earned reputation for arrogance came back to haunt him.

As the story goes, Surrey displayed his own heraldry, the royal arms and insignia, with "three labels silver", signifying his decadency of Edward the Confessor. Though the specifics used as proof were patently false, evangelical forces pounced on the opportunity to paint Surrey as consequently threatening the King's title to the very throne itself, this charge used due to an inability to prove far more ominous suspicions. Evidently reformist George Blagge asserted that Surrey blustered to others that he believed his father, given his premier noble status, had the obvious task of acting as regent to Prince Edward. Surrey also allegedly bragged of how his star would rise once his father held the Kingdom in his hands. With this typical boasting believed by his adversaries, his alleged words were used against him to suggest a plot was afoot to murder King Henry and his heir.

On 12 December 1546 both Surrey and his father were arrested and imprisoned in the Tower of London. While imprisoned, the great Tudor poet spent his time setting to poetic prose Psalms 55, 73 and 88. In his paraphrasing of Psalm 88, Surrey in part scribes:

O Lord! Upon whose will dependeth my welfare, To call upon thy holy name, since day or night I spare, Grant that the just request of this repentant mind, So pierce thine ears, that in thy sight some favour it may find.

My soul is fraughted full with grief of follies past; My restless body doth consume, and death approacheth fast:

Like them whose fatal thread, thy hand hath cut in twain;

Of whom there is no further bruit, which in their graves remain.

O Lord! Thou hast me cast headlong, to please my foe, Into a pit all bottomless, whereas I plain my woe. The burden of thy wrath it doth me sore oppress; And sundry storms thou hast me sent in terror and distress. Surrey's trial, such as it was, was held at Guildhall on 3 January 1547. Charged with high treason for "illegally" using the arms of Edward the Confessor, Surrey defended himself valiantly. Still, with no "*means to attain a happy life*", he was convicted and condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn. Henry VIII with his typical last minute "benevolence" commanded the great Tudor poet be beheaded at Tower Hill instead, his orders carried out on 19 January 1547. Just one week later, the monarch himself perished.

Martial, the thing that do attain The happy life be these, I find: – The richesse left, not got with pain; The fruitful ground, the quiet mind; The equal friend: no grudge, no strife; No charge or rule, nor governance; Without disease, the healthful life; The household of continuance;

The mean diet, no delicate fare; True wisdom join'd with simpleness; The night discharges of all care, Where wine the wit may not oppress.

The faithful wife, without debate; Such sleeps as may beguile the night: Contented with thine own estate Ne wish for death, ne fear his might.

> ~ Henry Howard, 3rd Earl of Surrey – KG, 1517 to 1547 ~

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GREENWICH AND ITS HIDDEN TUDOR HISTORY

by Jane Moulder

NE of the highlights of my year is attending the Greenwich International Early Music Festival and Exhibition. This is one of the largest events of its kind in the world and features over 100 exhibitors from around

the globe together with a series of concerts, talks and other musical events. I am there for a specific purpose – to exhibit instruments. When I'm not researching and writing about Tudor music or playing in my group, Piva, I work with my husband making reproductions of double reed Renaissance woodwinds – instruments that would have been familiar to Henry VIII and Elizabeth I.

Despite being in Greenwich on business, I can't help but count my lucky stars that I am in such a wonderful venue steeped in history. The exhibition is held in what must be one of the grandest settings for a trade fair – the Painted Hall in the Royal Naval College buildings. The spot that Eric and I occupy is also quite special – at the top of the hall in front of the great mural depicting King George I and just behind the spot where Admiral Lord Nelson laid in state for 3 months. The exhibition table is decked with candelabras – not the most practical for seeing fine details on the instruments – which lend a very grand air to the whole proceedings!

The Royal Naval College buildings, designed and built by Christopher Wren and Nicholas Hawksmoor, were originally commissioned by Queen Mary in 1692 as a hospital for retired and injured seamen. Today the complex houses Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance and it is lovely to walk around these splendid buildings and hear music coming from all the different rooms! The College is, not surprisingly, quite a tourist attraction and one of the most iconic views of the complex can be gained from the river, although it looks good from every angle!

The development and history of the Greenwich Hospital and Naval College buildings, which commenced in the last decade of the 17th century, makes for a fascinating read. However, what is less well known (and of much more interest to Tudor





Eric Moulder's exhibition stand displaying a variety of reproduction Renaissance reed instruments such as dulcians, shawms, crumhorns, kortholts and rauschpfeifen.



Old and new meld together. Taken from the Royal Observatory, the Naval College architecture is in stark contrast to the high rise offices of Canary Wharf in the background.

Society members!) is that the current complex was built on top of a much older and equally grand palace, the Tudor Palace of Placentia. This was the favourite palace of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. It was also the location for a number of grand musical extravaganzas, entertainments and jousts.

The site at Greenwich has been occupied since Anglo Saxon times, when it was the location for a cemetery and later, a manor house was established there in medieval times. But it wasn't until 1433, when the Duke of Gloucester decided to make Greenwich his chosen location for a palace, named "Bella Court", that the site took on a much grander appearance. The residence was then taken over by Margaret of Anjou, the wife of Henry VI, who renamed it the Palace of Placentia (or the Palace of Pleasure), before it was remodelled and rebuilt by Henry VII, who gave it it's third name – Greenwich Palace. This grand palace was one of the most luxurious of the royal residences and a

firm favourite with all of the Tudor dynasty. It had quite a revolutionary design because it had no moat and no fortifications - thus establishing itself as a residence rather than a castle. Five stories high, it commanded a broad river frontage and its position, to the east of London, meant that it was used as the venue to receive foreign dignitaries. Built around three courtyards, the palace had a series of huge bay windows looking out onto the river and it was faced in red Burgundian brick. This imposing building was then surrounded by gardens with fountains, lawns and orchards. In 1491, Greenwich was the birthplace of Henry VIII and it was reputedly the place he loved above all others. Henry continually improved and adorned the palace and the complex which included the first tiltyard in England, a theatre, kennels, a cockpit, a mews for hawks and a real tennis court. By the mid-16th century, it could accommodate a full court of approximately 600



An early 17th century view of Greenwich. This picture can be found in a National Trust property at Kingston Lacy, Dorset.

people – one of only a handful of palaces that could do this.

In the 1530's John Leland, the antiquarian, wrote this description:

Lo! With what lustre shines this wished-for place, Which, star-like, might the heavily mansions grace. What painted roofs! What windows charm the eye! What turrets, rivals of the starry sky!

As one of the principle palaces, Greenwich was the venue for a whole host of special occasions throughout the Tudor dynasty. Not only was Henry VIII born at Greenwich Palace, it was also the birthplace of Mary Tudor in 1516 and Elizabeth I in 1533. It was also the venue for the solemnisation of the marriage of Henry to Katherine of Aragon and where he married Anne of Cleves. On a more sombre note, it was the place where Edward VI died in 1553. Anne Boleyn also loved the palace and she made it her principle residence and, as such, it was also the venue of her arrest on May Day in 1536.

So, considering this wealth of Tudor history it is sad that next to nothing of this glorious palace survives today. How did such a loved building be so totally eradicated? It seems that the answer is all down to fashion. During the Civil War, in the 1640's, the Palace sustained serious damage and it was used as a place to hold prisoners of war and, of all things, a biscuit factory. After the Restoration, Charles II commenced some rebuilding works but only a small section was completed before he put his energies into developing other residences. Eventually, the entire palace was demolished before the current complex was erected in the 18th century.

Today there is only a marker set in the ground to tell visitors of the rich Tudor past of the site. It's not at all obvious and I had been visiting Greenwich for many years before finally spotting it. Until recently it was believed that any structural remains of the old Tudor palace had been completely obliterated by the construction of the Naval College. So it was with great excitement that in 2005, when excavating on site for the upgrade of part of the drainage system, some late medieval floor tiles were discovered. In January 2006 a full archaeological excavation took place and they found the location of Henry VII's chapel and vestry with its tiled floor in situ. The archaeologists now know that the Vestry



An undated sketch of the Tudor Palace at Greenwich



of the old Palace was not demolished after all and it later became the home of the Treasurer of Greenwich Hospital. Archaeologists also know that some of the footprint of the Tudor buildings and the tiltyard still survive, but have not been disturbed due to the other buildings and structures that have now been built on the site.

The only other visible reminder of the old palace complex is in the grounds of Greenwich Park – it is an old oak tree which is known at "Queen Elizabeth's Oak". Legend has it that Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn used to meet under the tree and, later, the young Elizabeth, would play under its shade.

On my last visit to Greenwich in November 2015, I took time out of the music exhibition to call in at the Visitors' Centre where there is an excellent display charting the history of the site and the buildings. There are a few remains from its Tudor heyday on display, the largest of which are two fantastic life size sculptures. Both are believed to have come from the Buttery at the Palace: the Buttery being a screen which divided the dining area from the kitchens. These figures are a very rare survival both of the period and the Palace. What makes them so special is that they depict the working classes and give us an



The excavation pit showing the medieval tiled floor of Henry VII's Chapel.



accurate representation of the clothing of everyday Tudor men rather than the more usual portraits of the upper classes. The figure on the left is named "beer" and the one on the right, in the slightly more upmarket clothes, is called "gin". Gin was not really known in Tudor times but the name gives us a hint as to why these figures have survived to this day. It is thought that they were moved to the Tower of London in the mid-17th century – a period when gin drinking became much more popular in England.

The naming of these figures after alcoholic beverages is very appropriate as Greenwich Palace was the venue for many grand celebrations and entertainments during its heyday and no doubt a vast quantity of drink was consumed! In the early 16th century, Henry VIII held annual jousts there, calling in hundreds of people to take part in the event. Likewise, Elizabeth continued the trend and even had the tilt yard extended and modernised to suit her fashion. Henry's Christmas festivities at Greenwich were particularly renowned and they were "with great and plentiful cheer" "with dancing, disguising, mummeries, in a most princely fashion". There are a number of first-hand accounts of some of the entertainments and it seems that temporary artificial gardens and tents were erected in the



grounds and a huge cast of characters were dressed in elaborate costumes. Just one of the costumes for one man cost a staggering £52.00, five times the annual wage of an average working man.

Edward Hall (1497-1547), a lawyer and MP, wrote in his Chronicle, "The king, after parliament was ended, kept a solemn Christmas at Greenwich to cheer his nobles, and on Twelfth Night a Mount was brought into the Hall. The Mount was set full of rich flowers of silk, the branches were green satin, and the







An engraving depicting Greenwich Palace from the river.

flowers flat gold damask. On the top stood a beacon, giving out light. Round about the beacon sat the King and five others, all in coats and caps of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold damask, the coats set full of spangles of gold. The mount was drawn until it came before the Queen and then the King and his company descended and danced. Suddenly the mount opened and out came six ladies, all in crimson satin embroidered with gold and pearls and French hoods on their heads and they danced. Then the lords took the ladies and they danced together. Then the ladies reentered the Mount, it closed and was conveyed out of the hall. Then the King came and sat next to the queen and they banqueted, which was very sumptuous".

In 1515 Hall described the first ever Masque being performed at an English court. (Masques became particularly fashionable in the reign of Elizabeth and James I. They were lavish entertainments, consisting of staged theatrical performances involving dance, song and music.) *"The King this year kept the feast of Christmas at Greenwich were there was such an abundance of meats served to all comers as hath been few times seen.... On Epiphany, at night, the King with eleven others, were disguised in the Italian manner, called a maske, a thing not seen before in England.* They wore long, wide garments which were covered in gold, with visors and hoods made from gold. The maskers came in with six gentlemen, disguised in silk, bearing torches and invited the ladies to dance. After they danced and came together, as is the fashion of the masque, they took their leave and departed and so did the Queen and all the ladies."

Ceremonies and entertainments were not confined to the Palace buildings, it seems that the river Thames also played a part. Henry, having just married Anne Boleyn, wished to have the relationship made public and have her crowned as his Queen. He therefore arranged to have a grand procession on the Thames to bring Anne to Greenwich, accompanied by the Lord Mayor of London and other local dignitaries. A flotilla of 50 decorated barges made its way up the Thames. Some were filled with costumed characters, such as a fire breathing dragon, and others transported musicians. The Royal Barge bore "two embroidered banners of the king and queen, besides escutcheons splendidly wrought in every part of the vessel. On the left side was another foist, in the which was a mount, and on the mount stood a white falcon, crowned, upon a root of gold, environed with white and red roses, which was the Queen's device, and about the mount sat virgins, singing and playing melodiously."

Greenwich is also home to the story of Sir Walter Raleigh. He famously took off his cape and laid it



Sir Walter Raleigh

on the ground so that Elizabeth I could walk on that instead of getting her feet muddy. The exact location of this deed (if it ever actually took place!) is not certain, but popular belief is that it was on one of the landing stages at Greenwich. Whilst this may be a nice tale, what is certain is that Raleigh was first introduced to the Queen at Greenwich, having successfully won a campaign at Munster in Ireland. He quickly became one of her favourites and achieved a high position at court . A statue of Raleigh is now to be found in the grounds of the Naval College, having been moved there fairly recently from another location in central London.

Having discovered the long history of Greenwich over the years and, in particular, it's pivotal role in Tudor history, it confirms to me that the Royal Naval College really is an ideal venue for the Early Music Exhibition! Many of the exhibitors, including Eric and me, make reproductions of musical instruments that would have been known to all of the Tudor kings and queens. The sound of music filled the air of Greenwich during the 16th century and it continues to this day.





The exhibition is held in the building on the right hand side.



Inside the Painted Hall (our stand is right at the top of the hall underneath the large mural)



A customer tries out an early viol



Lutes, a Rebec and Renaissance Violins on show



A variety of harps



Details showing some decorative carving on the heads of stringed instruments. Here, today's makers can let their imaginations run wild and personalise the instruments to suit the customer's needs and personalities.



Instrument making skills are still taught today. West Dean College in Sussex attracts students from around the world to study the art of stringed instrument making. Here are some examples of the student's work – all viols of different sizes.



MARCH'S ON THIS

1 March 1522 On the evening of Shrove Tuesday, 1st March, Anne Boleyn played the part of Perseverance at the pageant of "The Château Vert", her first recorded public appearance at court since her return from France.	21545 Birth of Sir Thomas B diplomat and founder Library, in Exeter. He University library in 19 opened in 1602 as Bod Bodleian Library.	of the Bodleian re-founded the Oxford 598, and it was re- lley's Library, or the	3 March 1528 Marriage of Margaret Tudor, sister of Henry VIII and her third husband Henry Stuart (Stewart), 1st Lord Methven.
	8 March 1495 Birth of John of God (João Cidade) in Montemor-o- Novo, Portugal. He created, the Brothers Hospitallers of St. John of God.	9 March 9 1566 David Rizzio, the private secretary of Mary, Queen of Scots was assassinated in front of Mary, who was heavily pregnant.	10 ^{March} 1524 King Henry VIII suffered a jousting accident after he forgot to lower his visor in a joust against Charles Brandon, Duke o Suffolk.
David Rizzio	15 March 1493 Arrival of Christopher Columbus (Cristóbal Colón), explorer and navigator, at Palos in Spain after his 1492 voyage.	16 1485 Death of Anne (née Neville), Queen Consort of Richard III. She was buried on the south side of the high altar at Westminster Abbey.	17 ^{March} 1473 Birth of James IV King of Scots, at Stirling in Scotlan He was the eldest son of James III and Margaret of Denmark.
222 March Burial of Henry Fitzalan, 12 th Earl of Arundel, at Arundel's collegiate chapel.	23 March 1534 This was an important day for King Henry VIII and Queen Anne Boleyn. Parliament passed the "First Act of Succession".	24 March Queen Elizabeth I, daughter of Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII, died at Richmond Palace at the age of sixty-nine.	25 th March a day known as Lady Da or the Feast of the Annunciation of t Blessed Virgin.
	28 ^{March} 1552 Death of John Skip, Bishop of Hereford, in London. Skip is known for being the chaplain and almoner of Anne Boleyn.	29 ^{March} 1613 Burial of Sir Thomas Bodley, scholar, founder of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. He was laid to rest in Merton College Chapel, Oxford.	30 March 1533 Thomas Cranmer was consecrated as Archbishop of Canterbury in St Stephen's College, Westminster Palac

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

March 1526 Henry Carey, 1 st Baron Hunsdon, ourtier and dministrator, was orn. He was the nly son of William Carey	5 March 1496 King Henry VII of Er patent to John Cabot the Italian navigator. Of Asia and instead disco America, including an found land", although was in fact present day	(Giovanni Caboto), Cabot set off to find vered parts of North island he named "new it's not clear that it	6 March 1536 Introduction into Parliament of the "Act for the Suppression (or Dissolution) of the Lesser Monasteries"	Z March 1544 Executions of Germaine Gardiner, nephew of Stephen Gardiner, and John Larke for denying the royal supremacy.
March 1513 Giovanni di orenzo de' Medici vas proclaimed Pope eo X after being lected on 9 th March. He was Pope until December 1521.	122 March Execution of William Haydock, Cistercian monk. He was hanged for his involvement in the <i>Pilgrimage of Grace</i> . Interestingly, his remains were discovered in the family's home, Cottam Hall, in the early 19 th century because his nephew had saved his body and hidden it there.		13 March Death of John Woolton, Bishop of Exeter, from asthma at the bishop's palace in Exeter. He was buried in the cathedral choir.	14 March Death of Sir John Port, Judge. He is known for mumbling in 1535 in Lord Dacre's case and being counted on the wrong side!
18 March 1496 Jenry VIII's beloved s 'udor, was born at Ric he was the youngest of clizabeth of York's ch ofancy, and was sister 'rincess Margaret and	chmond Palace. of Henry VII 's and ildren to survive to Prince Arthur ,	19 March 1577 Death of Edmund Harman, former barber of HenryVIII,atBurford in Oxfordshire. He had retired there after Henry VIII's death.	200 ^{March} 1549 Thomas Seymour, 1st Baron of Sudeley, husband of the late Catherine Parr and brother of Jane Seymour, was executed, charged with treason.	211 March 1556 Archbishop Thomas Cranmer was burned at the stake in Oxford for heresy.
PT EB WAR		26 March 1533 Convocation was asked to pronounce on the validity of a papal dispensation allowing a man to marry his brother's widow Henry and Catherine of Aragon.	27 March 1599 Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, left London for Ireland as Lieutenant General.	
Cristóba	li Colón	31 March 1509 The dying Henry VII made his last will and testament at Richmond Palace, three weeks before his death.		

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