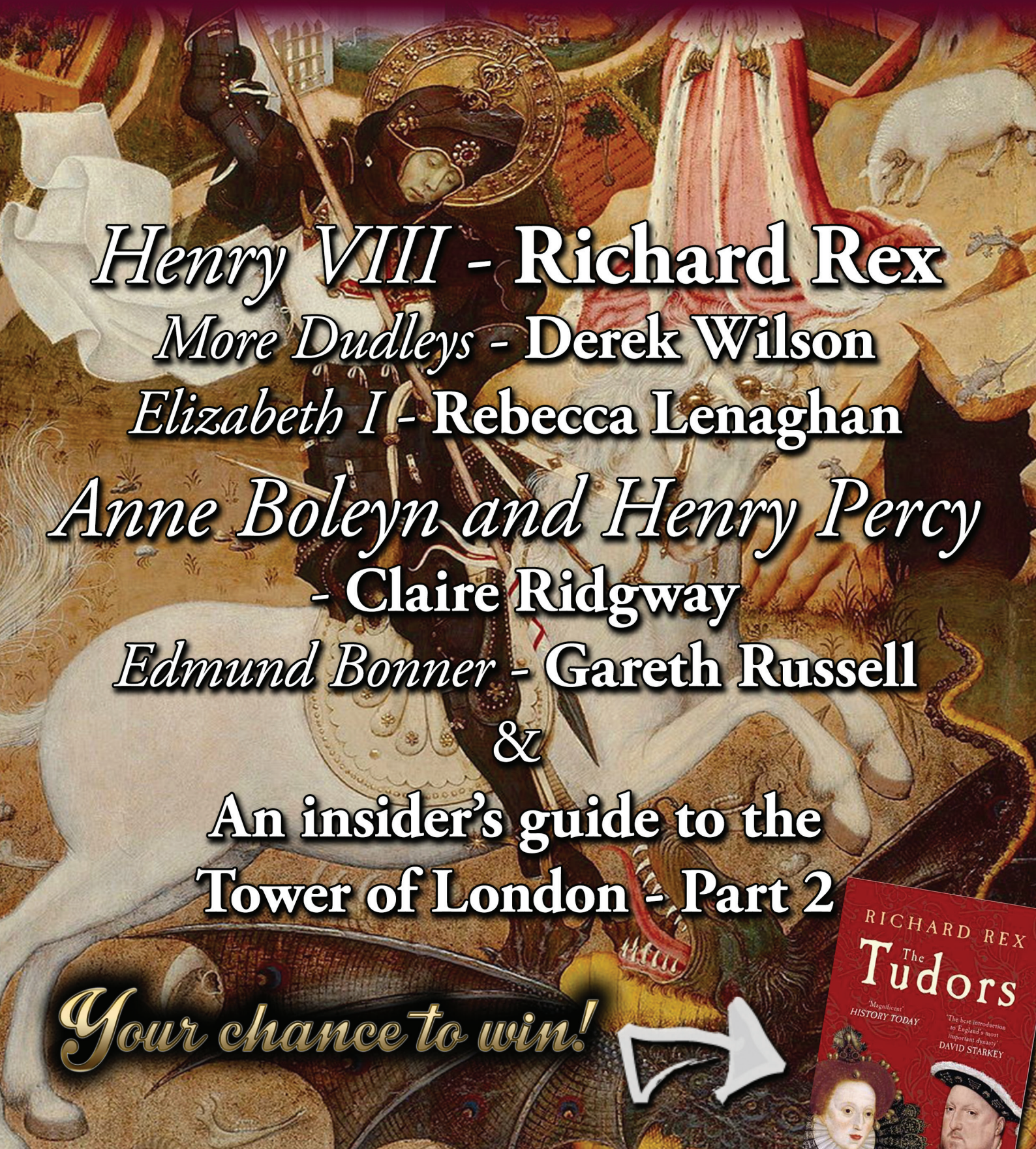
Tudor Life

The Tudor Society Magazine

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

Members Only
№ 20
April 2016



Henry VIII - Richard Rex

More Dudleys - Derek Wilson

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Edmund Bonner - Gareth Russell

&

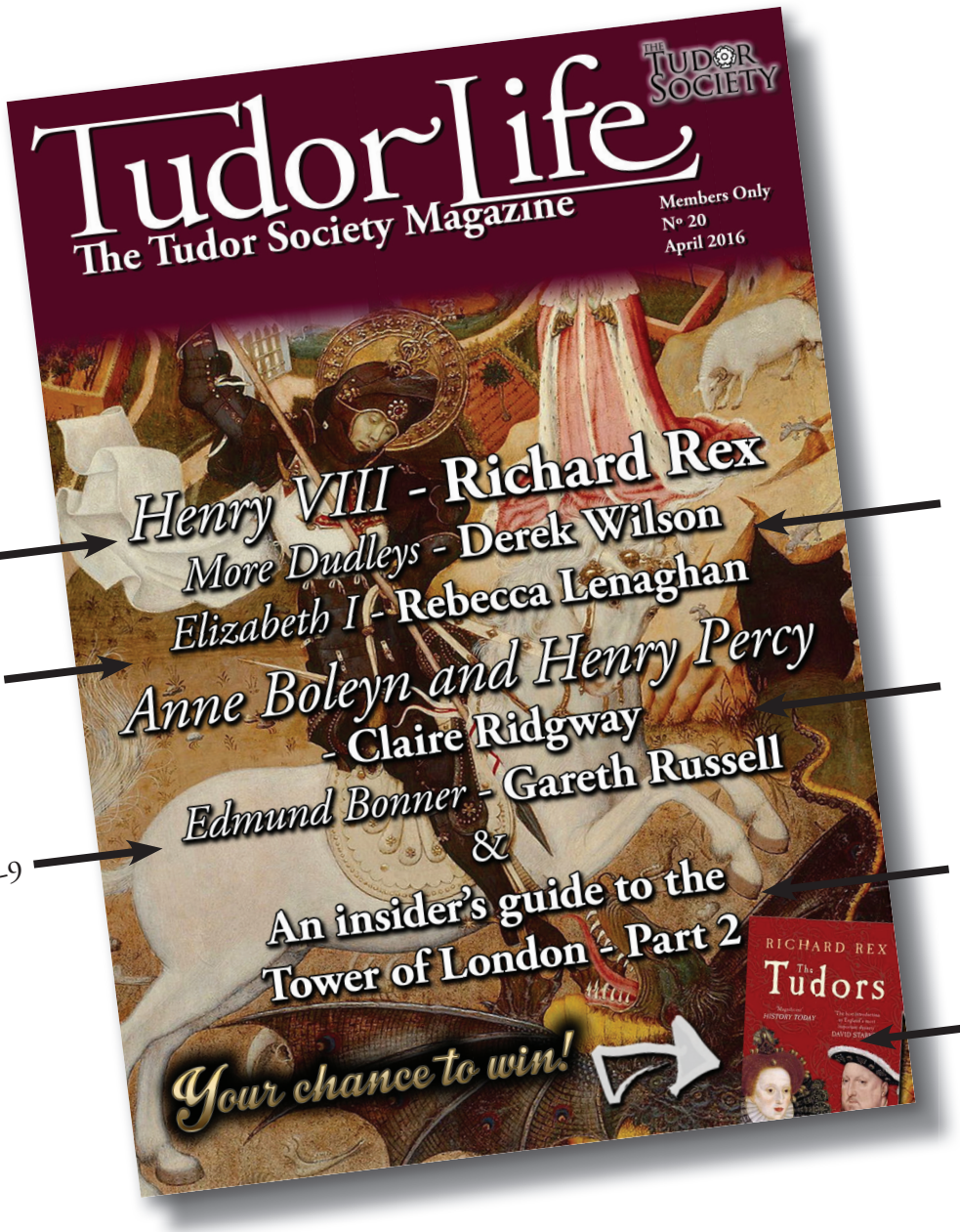
An insider's guide to the Tower of London - Part 2

Your chance to win!

Welcome!

April 2016

APRIL usually coincides with the festival of Easter, a season associated with resurrections and restorations. In that mood, we look at some of the many kinds of comebacks which were possible in the Tudor world. I have contributed an article on one of the era's many political survivors, Edmund Bonner, the notorious Bishop of London, who, like many Tudor courtiers, had to make often difficult moral decisions when it came to pursuing his career. Claire Ridgway examines the long-established story of Anne Boleyn's alleged rustication from court in the 1520s, as punishment for her romance with Lord Percy, while Rebecca Lenaghan looks at the many ways in which the reputation of Anne's daughter Elizabeth had been remoulded as we explore our own society's changing attitudes to femininity. Along with our superb regular contributors, we are also delighted to host a guest article from Cambridge University's Dr Richard Rex, in which he chronicles Henry VIII's changing and reviving religious beliefs after he became Head of the Church.



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Cover: Saint George killing the dragon c1435 by Bernat Martorell

ANNE BOLEYN AND HENRY PERCY

by Claire Ridgway

In late 1521 Anne Boleyn was recalled from serving Queen Claude in France. She had been on the Continent since the summer of 1513, when she had joined the court of Margaret of Austria, and moved on to France to serve Mary Tudor, Queen of France, and then Queen Claude in late 1514. The imperial ambassadors reported to Emperor Charles V in January 1522 that Anne had been called home to England because Cardinal Thomas Wolsey "intended, by her marriage, to pacify certain quarrels and litigation between Boleyn and other English nobles." The Boleyns and St Legers (Thomas Boleyn's aunt's family) were, at this time, arguing with Piers Butler over the title Earl of Ormond, following the death of Thomas Boleyn's grandfather, Thomas Butler, 7th Earl of Ormond. Cardinal Wolsey was attempting to broker a marriage between Piers's son, James, and Thomas Boleyn's daughter, Anne, to put an end to the dispute.

We don't know exactly when Anne arrived back in England but we know that she was back in time to play the part of Perseverance in the Château Vert pageant held at York Place on 4th March 1522, Shrove Tuesday, as part of the Shrovetide celebrations which also celebrated the negotiations between Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, and Henry VIII for a joint attack on France.

In Volume 1 of his T*he Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, written in the mid-to-late 1550s, George Cavendish, who served as gentleman usher to Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, records how Anne Boleyn returned from France and was admitted to Queen Catherine of Aragon's household, "among whom for her excellent gesture and behaviour, [she] did excel all other; in so much, as the king began to kindle the brand of amours; which

was not known to any person, ne scantily to her own person."

The king wasn't the only man who noticed Anne. Cavendish tells of how Henry Percy, a member of Cardinal Wolsey's household and the son and heir of the Earl of Northumberland, who was and would often spend "his pastime" in the Queen's chambers, also fell for Anne and "there grew such a secret love between them that, at length, they were insured together, intending to marry."

According to Cavendish, the king found out about the couple's relationship and was "much offended". Cavendish explains that the king spoke to Wolsey and "consulted with him to infringe the precontract between them". Wolsey called Percy to him and in front of other members of his household, including Cavendish, berated him for his "peevish folly" and reminded him of his status and how he needed the consent of his father and the king for a relationship. Wolsey went on to explain that Percy had offended his father and his king by matching himself with "one, such as neither the king, ne yet your father will be agreeable with the matter." Wolsey explained that he had sent for Percy's father, who would either break off the pre-contract or disinherit his son, and that the king had a match in mind for Anne Boleyn.

Percy is said to have reacted by weeping and apologising. He defended his choice of Anne as a potential wife, by talking of her noble birth, and asked Wolsey to intercede with the king on his behalf. When Wolsey was not willing to do so, Percy then apparently said "but in this matter I have gone so far, before many so worthy witnesses, that I know not how to avoid my self nor to discharge my conscience." However, when Wolsey assured him that it could all be sorted out, Percy agreed to submit to the king and the cardinal.

Percy's father was then called to court. He was furious with his son, saying that he's always been "a proud, presumptuous, disdainful, and a very unthrift waster". After a good telling off, he departed with some last advice: "see that you do your duty". The mess was then sorted out and it was arranged for Percy to marry Mary Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

Cavendish then tells of the reaction of Anne Boleyn to this news. According to him, she "was greatly offended" and swore revenge on the cardinal, which Cavendish believed to be unfair seeing as Wolsey was only doing the king's bidding.

R W Hoyle, Percy's biographer at Oxford DNB states: "According to the cardinal's biographer George Cavendish, Wolsey stopped the courtship because the king had designs on Anne, but the dating makes this impossible. The likely reason for his intervention was the threat to existing plans to marry Percy to Mary Talbot and Anne to James Butler, son of Piers Butler, who was then claiming the earldom of Ormond against Anne's father, Sir Thomas Boleyn. Wolsey summoned Percy's father to court, and he admonished his son sharply for his recklessness. By the end of 1523 the affair was over; Percy married Mary Talbot between 14 January and 8 February 1524."

A PRE-CONTRACT?

Margaret Schaus, in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, explains that "precontract was the most frequent region alleged for annulment of marriage by the ecclesiastical courts" in the medieval period. Conor McCarthy, in *Marriage in Medieval England: Law, Literature, and Practice*, writes that "a previous contract rendered a subsequent one void" so if a couple had entered a secret marriage or betrothal, i.e. swapped promises, and one of them had gone on to marry again then this second marriage would be invalid and could be annulled. Of course, in 1483 Richard III had become king after it was alleged that Edward IV had been pre-contracted to Lady Eleanor Butler at the time of his marriage

to Elizabeth Woodville. This alleged pre-contract made Edward's marriage to Elizabeth invalid and his children, who included Edward V, illegitimate and therefore out of the line of succession.

According to a letter from Eustace Chapuys, the imperial ambassador, to Charles V in July 1532, Henry Percy had to deny, in front of the king's council, a pre-contract between himself and Anne Boleyn after his wife, Mary Talbot, had reported that he had told her in a quarrel that he was not really her husband because he had previously been betrothed, or legally contracted, to Anne. Mary Talbot had written of the quarrel and alleged pre-contract in a letter to her father, the Earl of Shrewsbury, asking him to tell the king, but, instead, the Duke of Norfolk was informed of the matter and he told his niece, Anne Boleyn. Anne boldly decided that it was best to confront Henry VIII with the matter and ask him to investigate it. Percy was interrogated and denied the pre-contract by swearing an oath on the Blessed Sacrament, in front of Norfolk, the archbishops and the king's canon lawyers. Anne Boleyn also denied the pre-contract.

In May 1536, after Anne Boleyn's arrest, Percy denied the pre-contract once again. It appears that he had been approached in the hope that he would admit to there being a pre-contract between himself and Anne Boleyn, thus providing grounds for an annulment of the king's marriage to Anne. Thomas Cromwell had sent Sir Reynold Carnaby to exert some pressure on Henry Percy. Carnaby was a king's officer in the north of England, and someone Percy knew well, but Percy refused to be bullied into confessing. He stuck to his story: there was no pre-contract.

It is impossible to know what happened between Henry Percy and Anne Boleyn. Cavendish refers to a "precontract" and writes of how Percy said that he had "gone so far, before many so worthy witnesses", but it is unlikely that he was privy to all Wolsey's conversations with the young man and he was writing his biography thirty years after the events. Wolsey doesn't seem to have had any qualms about sorting the situation out and helping marry Percy off to Mary Talbot, and then later helping the king with his quest to annul his first marriage so that he could marry Anne Boleyn. Something that has made me doubt the veracity of Cavendish's account is his insistence that the cardinal broke up the romance because of the king's interest in Anne Boleyn. We don't have any firm evidence of the king's interest in Anne until 1527, around four or five years later.

WAS ANNE PUNISHED?

Cavendish writes of how Percy was "commanded to avoid her company" and that Anne was "commanded to avoid the court and sent home again to her father for a season; whereat she smoked: for all this while she knew nothing of the king's intended purpose." However, we don't know how long she stayed at Hever Castle, the Boleyn family home in the Kent countryside, and when she returned to court, or even if Cavendish's account is even true.

We also don't know Anne's feelings on the matter of her romance with Percy being broken up. Was her heart broken? Had it been true love? We don't know, but if Cavendish's account is true then Percy wept over it and Anne vowed to take revenge on the cardinal. Cavendish was, of course, writing from hindsight. He was writing long after the fall of his beloved master and then the subsequent fall of Anne Boleyn, so perhaps this coloured his views and we don't know how he heard of Anne's reaction. It's certainly not enough evidence to blame Wolsey's fall in 1530 on Anne Boleyn. The late historian Eric Ives wrote in his biography of Anne: "To go about making threats against the cardinal in 1522 or 1523 was both unwise and childish, and Anne was neither. When we have some first-hand evidence of her relationship with Wolsey some six or seven years later, it is far more subtle than is explicable by a long-held grudge." And David Loades notes: "Anne had no incentive to undermine Wolsey's position with the King as long as he seemed to be the most likely person to secure the annulment of Henry's marriage."

Whatever her feelings regarding Henry Percy, it must have been humiliating and disappointing to have been sent home to Hever, when she'd spent the last few years at the dazzling French court and had only just arrived at the English one. Was there gossip about her and Percy? If Percy's father came to court and tore strips of his son, and if Anne was ordered home to Hever, then there

surely must have been quite a few tongues wagging. Heartache and scandal, not a great way to make a debut at the English court.

Henry Percy was forced to marry Mary Talbot and it appears to have been an unhappy marriage. R.W. Hoyle, in Percy's Oxford Dictionary of National Biography entry, states that the couple were living apart from around late 1529, following the birth of a stillborn child in the April. Hoyle comments that although it is uncertain just how far Percy's relationship with Anne went, "There was nothing uncertain about the earl's relationship with his wife, however: Northumberland clearly loathed her and took pleasure in leaving her unprovided for at his death." The Earl suffered with ill-health, thinking he was dying in 1529 from his "old disease", and he had further bouts of illness between 1532 and 1534. It is reported that he collapsed in May 1536 at Anne Boleyn's trial, after finding her "guilty" as one of the peers chosen to judge her. He died on 29 June 1537, just over a year after Anne, at Hackney, where he was buried in the parish church. He died a natural death, his ill-health preventing him from becoming tangled up in the Pilgrimage of Grace rebellion like his brothers.

His story seems such a sad one: a love affair broken up, an unhappy marriage, the loss of a child, a separation, seeing the woman he loved marrying the king, having to sit in judgement on Anne and then knowing that the judgement led to her execution, suffering with regular bouts of illness, seeing one brother executed and the other imprisoned, and then dying at the age of about 35. But although he had to sit in judgement on Anne, he did not ever change his story about their relationship and the alleged pre-contract. The truth about their relationship died with them.

CLAIRE RIDGWAY

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REGULAR COLUMNIST GARETH RUSSELL

EDMUND BONNER:

FROM ROYAL DIPLOMAT TO SCOURGE OF PROTESTANTISM

Edmund Bonner

BY the time of his final disgrace in 1558, Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, was detested by English Protestants for his zealous persecution of their community during Queen Mary's reign. They gave him the unflattering nickname of "Bloody Bonner" and they enjoyed circulating rumours about him, including a tale that he had been born illegitimate. Although John Strype, researching in the eighteenth century, seemed to prove that Bonner was not born out of wedlock, the suggestion that he was the bastard son of a man called George Savage was current in the Elizabethan era, along with the implication that his true surname, Savage, suited Bonner's real personality.

Like many talented men born in obscurity in the Tudor period, Edmund Bonner's path to prominence passed through the Church, by way of Oxford or Cambridge. In Edmund's case, the former; he gained his bachelors, masters, and doctorate there at Broadgates Hall (now Pembroke College). In October 1526, he moved to London to pursue his career and a year later he was sent on his first diplomatic expedition as an attaché on a mission sent by Henry VIII to the Hapsburg Netherlands. Fiery-tempered but clever, Bonner came to the attention of Cardinal Wolsey, at the wrong time. He joined the Cardinal's service in 1529, just as the prelate's favour with the King was coming to an end. However, Bonner had a friend in another former Wolsey-dependent, Thomas Cromwell, who ensured that Bonner's career continued to rise even after his patron's fell.

The 1530s saw Bonner in slow but steady ascendant. As with so many ambitious clerics, the Great Matter of Henry's divorce from Katherine of Aragon provided Edmund with ample opportunities to serve the Crown, both at home and abroad. He represented Henry at the French court, the Vatican, the Hapsburg court, and in Denmark, loyally expressing his anti-papal views as England rushed through its schism with Rome. His position in the newly-independent Anglican church prospered with appointments to various ecclesiastical livings and

Henry VIII and Catherine Howard, as played by Keith Michell and Lynne Frederick in "Henry VIII and his Six Wives". Bonner performed their wedding service in 1540. (Public Domain)

The torturing of a heretic in Bonner's care, from Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" (Reformation History)

then, in 1537, Cromwell secured Bonner's promotion to one of the King's chaplains. Bishoprics landed in his lap, first the diocese of Hertford in October 1538 and then, a year later, he was elevated to London. Bonner's flammable temper nearly derailed his career on several occasions – many people found his manners objectionable – but every time, Cromwell stepped in to quiet the waters and restore Bonner to favour.

Just as he had been tied to Wolsey and survived, Edmund Bonner was determined to save himself when Cromwell, the author of his career, fell. The new Bishop of London did not lift so much as a finger to help his former mentor and on the same day as Cromwell's execution, Bonner was the officiating priest at the King's wedding to Catherine Howard. It seemed that he had survived once more, but he had been so closely tied to Thomas Cromwell that Bonner was evidently nervous that he might be tarred with the same accusations of heresy that had helped bring down the great minister. In reaction to this, he lurched to the theological Far Right and began a remorseless crusade against religious radicals and Protestant sympathisers in London. His fevered, unpalatable panic to save himself and wash his hands of his former allegiance led to one of the most ghastly examples of his cruelty and dishonesty.

A few weeks after Cromwell's death, Bonner arranged the arrest, torture and trial for heresy of a fourteen-year-old city apprentice boy called Richard Meekins. The adolescent inmate admitted that he had learned his evangelical religious beliefs from Protestant preachers who had flourished under Cromwell's protection. Since Meekins had confessed

and recanted, normal protocol would have allowed him to be pardoned and set free. Instead, Bonner had the lad burned to death at Smithfield.

This execution stunned a city that had already witnessed more than its fair share of horrible exterminations, and the spectators blamed Bonner. In destroying the young man, Bonner had been nothing short of remorseless. He had demanded Meekins burn for what he had said and he had bullied the jury when they had initially refused to return a guilty verdict. When Meekins was marched up to the stake, the crowds were treated to a chilling speech in which the young man blamed another one of Cromwell's former protégés for leading him astray, denounced all Protestant beliefs and even lavished praise on Bishop Bonner for 'the great Charity, that he had showed him'. As Edward Hall, a contemporary chronicler, concluded, 'the poor boy would for the safe guard of his life, have gladly said that the twelve Apostles taught it [heresy] him, for he had not cared of whom he had named it, such was his childish innocency and fear'. Bonner's reputation suffered badly in his diocese, since most Londoners believed he should have spent the same amount of effort and 'laboured to have saved his life, than to procure that terrible execution, saying that he [Meekins] was such an ignorant soul, as he knew now what the affirming of an heresy was'.

Bonner's position was sustained while his reputation plummeted for the rest of Henry's reign, particularly as the conservative faction seemed to be victorious before they over-played their hand in the plot against Queen Katherine Parr in 1546. Henry VIII's death in 1547 prompted a crisis of conscience for the conservative bishop who had once been such a loyal supporter of royal control over the Church. Edward VI's government seemed to be using the Royal Supremacy to promote the beliefs that Bonner had spent the best part of a decade trying to crush. If he began his swing towards violent conservatism as part of an attempt to save himself from being dragged under with Thomas Cromwell, by the late 1540s Bonner passionately believed in it. He was still ambitious enough to try to survive in government, despite his misgivings, but in 1550 he was demoted from his bishopric and imprisoned. He had made too many enemies in his persecution of Protestants under Henry VIII. Yet, one last comeback was made possible when Mary I took the throne in 1553. The new Queen annulled Bonner's demotion. Once again, he was Bishop of London, tasked with eradicating heresy in the capital.

As the number of evangelical martyrs under Mary I grew, Bonner was blamed by Protestants even more than the Queen or Cardinal Pole, the new Archbishop of Canterbury. Protestant tomes referred to Bonner as a 'cannibal' for devouring so many fellow Christians and his career finally collapsed when Mary I passed away in November 1558. Elizabeth replicated her brother's actions in dragging "Bloody Bonner" from office. He died in prison eleven years later.

Even if Edmund Bonner was not quite the genocidal pyromaniac of subsequent Protestant propaganda, there seems little doubt that he was a monumentally unpleasant individual. He pulled himself up from humble backgrounds, thanks to his brains and tenacity, but in the process he abandoned many friends and allies, and even by sixteenth-century standards he behaved with appalling, unmitigated and often extraordinary cruelty to his opponents. The fluctuations of his career remind us of the instability of Tudor politics; the degeneration of his morality remind us of the anaesthetising power of a lack of empathy or kindness.

GARETH RUSSELL

Gareth Russell is the author of many fiction and non-fiction books, including "The Emperors", "A History of the English Monarchy", "Young and Damned and Fair", "An Illustrated Introduction to the Tudors", "Popular" and "The Immaculate Deception". He is currently working on a number of projects including a course for MedievalCourses.com and the manuscripts for future history books.

Henry VIII's Conversion

BY RICHARD REX

What Henry VIII did to the Church of England in the 1530s, Henry's 'Reformation', has often been misunderstood, though it has never been underestimated. It is still sometimes said that Henry was introducing Protestantism, but this is wildly off target. Henry never forgave Martin Luther for his intemperately offensive reply to the royal censure of his doctrines, the *Defence of the Seven Sacraments*, that had earned the king the papal accolade 'Defender of the Faith' in the early 1520s. Henry remained a lifelong opponent of the central Protestant doctrine of 'justification by faith alone', upheld the freedom of the will against Protestant denials, insisted not only upon the Mass and transubstantiation but upon all seven of the traditional Catholic sacraments, and would not tolerate any relaxation of the requirement for clerical celibacy. Whatever he was, he was never a Protestant.

The ease with which one can assemble that sort of litany of Catholic doctrines and practices in Henry's Church of England has led other historians to the opposite extreme, where his achievement is characterised simply as 'Catholicism without the Pope'. But this will not do either. Catholicism had been characterised for over a thousand years by monasticism. In 1500 there was scarcely a form of Christianity on the planet in which monks and monasticism did not hold a place of spiritual honour. Yet Henry VIII completely eliminated English monasticism in five years. Nor was there a form of Christianity on the planet in which the cult of the saints was not one of the mainstays of popular piety: prayers to saints, tales of their miracles, pilgrimages to their shrines, and veneration of their relics and images were almost universal. Yet by the end of 1538 Henry VIII had shut down and looted the shrines and stamped out pilgrimage, had destroyed or consigned to obscurity almost all England's relics, had prohibited talk of miracles, and had smashed the most famous sacred images. Prayer to saints and the observance of their liturgical festivals were still part of England's religion, but the splendour of the cult of the saints was no more. Religion is not just about what you believe: it's also about what you do. This may not have been Protestantism, but it was no longer Catholicism.

One has little alternative but to concede that Henry's religion was unique, *sui generis*, an idiosyncratic mixture to taste, a cocktail shaken

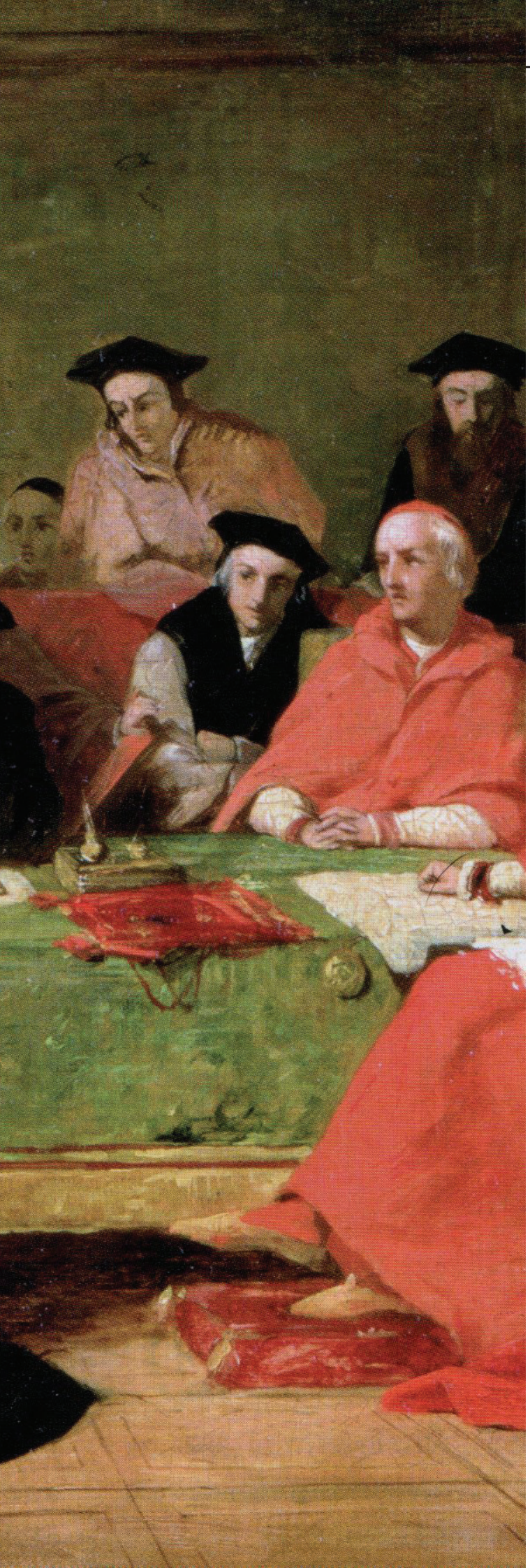
up by a man with a supreme confidence in his role as the caretaker of the consciences of his subjects.

Explanations of this vary. The French ambassador Marillac saw nothing but cynical opportunism. Henry, for him, left religion alone except when he could derive personal profit from changing it. Some see him as the plaything of faction, lurching erratically between reformation and reaction as conservatives and evangelicals rose and fell around him. But while there is something in this, in that G. W. Bernard's vision of Henry as the unmoved mover of religious change scarcely stands up to scrutiny, Henry was (as Bernard emphasises) the deciding and decisive figure in the religious changes of his reign – not to mention in the rising and falling of those in prominent political positions around him at court. Bernard's counter-vision of a king pursuing a long-held and newly-liberated Erasmian ideology with the aid of the royal supremacy is overthought and overargued. Henry's Church does not look much like anything Erasmus ever dreamed of, even if Erasmian tropes and themes could be plausibly invoked in Henrician rhetoric.

Much of this discussion ignores two crucial features of Henry's psychology: his conscientious self-righteousness and his monumental self-assurance. Henry did take religion very seriously. Even in the early years of his reign, foreign visitors to his court commented on his assiduous piety. He was interested in the theological work of Erasmus in the 1510s and in the Reformation debates in the 1520s. His engagement in the academic discussion about the rights and wrongs of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon was not what brought him into the field as a theologian. It was his established self-image as someone with an informed interest in theology that led him to engage so closely in a

After the Break with Rome, Henry VIII cast himself as the spiritual leader of his people (The Daily Telegraph)

Henry's divorce from Katherine of Aragon was viewed by English reformers as part of God's plan (Public domain)



debate which he might otherwise have left to the professionals. The title 'Defender of the Faith', which he insisted on keeping even when he had repudiated the papacy itself, nourished an ego that was never a delicate plant, and fostered in the king's mind a sense of royal responsibility for religion and the Church which was rooted in contemporary ideals of Christian kingship.

Henry's original petition for a divorce (as it was usually called at the time, though 'annulment' is the legally precise term) was not, as some historians have occasionally inferred, a challenge to papal authority. On the contrary, it was based on the principle that it was for the pope to make such judgements, and on the assumption that, after everything that Henry had done for the papacy over the previous 15 years, the pope would grant his petition out of gratitude. Henry had not only defended papal authority against Luther's challenge in the 1520s, but had made defence of the interests of the papacy and the Church the formal justification for his declaration of war on France back in 1512. Even while the first moves were being made towards a divorce, Henry published a second little book against Martin Luther in which he reiterated his recognition of papal authority, avowing that he knew 'how far the estate of a king is inferior' to that of a pope. Although it is sometimes suggested, on the basis of an inattentive reading of one or two comments Henry made in the 1510s about the temporal sovereignty of the English crown, that he was in some sense always cagey about papal authority, this idea really does not stand up. This is not the place to explain the rather technical exegesis which justifies this claim, but one can instead look to another comment that Henry allowed to be published over his name: 'We princes wrote ourselves to be inferiors to popes; as long as we thought so, we obeyed them as our superiors. Now we write not as we did, and therefore they have no great cause to marvel if we do not as we did.'

Henry's contemporaries had a very clear idea of the magnitude of the change that his convictions underwent in middle age. 'Of all the miracles and wonders of our time,' one of them wrote in 1539, 'I take the change of our sovereign lord's opinion on matters concerning religion to be even the greatest'. 'The king himself,' remarked another, 'till God

opened his eyes, was as blind and obstinate as the rest'. Henry himself envisaged his religious history in exactly the same terms, and routinely described it with the vocabulary of conversion. His eyes had been opened to the true significance of the Word of God, and the truth of the royal supremacy in and over the church was the substance of this revelation. Everything else in Henry's religious structure needs to be related to this pivotal event in his life, to the realisation that, as king, he was a divinely ordained minister in the church as much as in the kingdom (indeed, the Christian church under the Christian king was inseparable and indistinguishable from the kingdom), and that therefore he had the right and duty to monitor in every way the religious observance and doctrinal purity of his subjects, clergy and laity alike. The king might not be a priest (Henry probably leaned towards the view that he was: after all, like a priest, he had been anointed, though in the sacramental ritual of coronation rather than in the sacrament of ordination; but if so, he was not able to carry enough of his bishops and theologians with him on that), but in any case he was more: he was the image of God on earth, appointed by God as 'his vicar and high minister'.

Like all proper conversions, Henry's had brought him, as he told the French ambassador in 1535, 'ease and repose of conscience'. And like all true converts, Henry was anxious to share this blessing with others. As early as autumn 1532 he was talking of the possibility that he might seek to 'open the eyes of other princes', who were not as 'learned as he was on such subjects' to the emptiness at the heart of papal pretensions. And just as he insisted, on pain of death, that his subjects accept the truth of his new insights, so he expected them to adopt the same language of conversion. The oath which he required of all officeholders and churchmen says it all:

I, A. B., having now the veil of darkness of the usurped power, authority, and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome clearly taken away from mine eyes…

His subjects were prompt to follow his lead. Henry Parker, Lord Morley, penned perhaps the most egregious tribute to the religious achievements of this new Moses:

Martin Luther, whom Henry detested (Public domain)

> Blessed art thou, whom God hath taught to spy out the perilous doctrine of the Bishop of Rome, whereby the people of England are brought from darkness to light, from error to the highway of right knowledge, from danger of death eternal to life that never ends, in short, even from hell to heaven.

The purported scriptural justification for the royal supremacy was rooted firmly in the Old Testament, in the authority of the kings of Israel over the priests of the Temple and in their responsibility for enforcing the observance of the Law. The changes subsequently introduced by Henry look remarkably like an attempt to revive Old Testament kingship in the Christian dispensation, and royal publicists were swift to highlight these resemblances. Dissolving the monasteries was akin to the overthrow of the temples of false gods. The campaign against shrines and images in the later 1530s echoed

the determination of the better kings of Israel to suppress idolatry in their dominions. Even the official promulgation of the printed English Bible looks something like an updated re-enactment of Josiah's reading of the scrolls of the Law to the priests and people.rkably like an updated re-enactmentt of the s. Even the promulgation of the 0s echoed the determ

After 1530 or so, Henry VIII no longer thought of himself as a loyal son of the Church of Rome, as what now came to be called a 'papist'. Nor, however, did he think of himself as a convert to the religious path mapped out by Luther and his followers. But he did think of himself as a convert, as one whose eyes had been opened to the truth through the grace of God and the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Echoing or, rather, appropriating the language of the 'evangelicals' (as Protestants were known before the word 'Protestant' became current), he affirmed that his religious way, the way of truth, was embodied in the pure 'Word of God'. But the essence of this pure doctrine was distilled in 1535 by the Dean of the Chapel Royal, Richard Sampson, in this telling remark: 'The Word of God is to obey the King, not the Bishop of Rome'. There was, in the end, something rather self-serving about the faith to which Henry VIII found himself converted. The primary obligation this faith imposed upon his subjects was obedience to himself. The most powerful representation of the new religion was to be found in the title-page of the Great Bible issued on Henry's authority to his people in 1539. There Henry, with a vigilant God immediately above him looking on, is depicted handing out Bibles (labelled 'Verbum Dei', i.e. 'the Word of God') to Archbishop Cranmer on his right and to his chief minister, Thomas Cromwell, on his left. They in turn hand on the Word down the social scale and eventually to the people, who listen dutifully at the foot of the page and respond, like good Christian subjects, 'Vivat Rex' and 'God save the King'.

RICHARD REX

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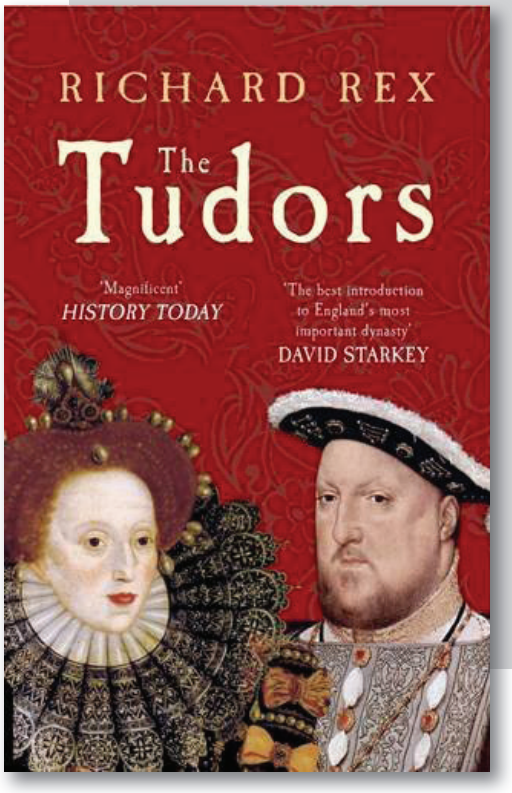


Dr Richard Rex is the Director of Studies in Theological and Religious Studies at Queens' College, Cambridge. He is also a Reader in Reformation History and the author of "Henry VIII and the English Reformation", "Tudors: The Illustrated History" and "The Lollards".

THE DUDLEYS

A Drama in Four Acts

by

Derek Wilson

PART TWO

Henry VIII killed two birds with one stone. One was a relative who had a call on his bounty and who also had to be watched carefully. This was his uncle, Arthur Plantagenet, illegitimate son of Edward IV and, therefore, the half-brother of Henry's mother, Elizabeth of York. Bird number two was Elizabeth Dudley, widow of the late, unlamented Edmund Dudley, decapitated on a charge of treason. Elizabeth belonged to the rich and influential Grey family and there was no reason to antagonise them unnecessarily. The widow had four infant children and no means of caring for them, since all her husband's property had reverted to the Crown on his attainder. But the death of Dudley had served its purpose. By disposing of his father's unpopular minister Henry VIII had distanced himself from the rapacity of the previous administration. It was time to close the gates on the past and build bridges. The neat answer that suggested itself to the king or one of his close confidants was to restore to the widow her late husband's property and then marry her off to Arthur. The wedding took place in November 1511, fifteen months after Edmund's encounter with the headsman on Tower Hill. Thus was the Dudley twig grafted into the Tudor tree.

Of Elizabeth's two sons to survive infancy the elder was John, who was probably six or seven at the time of his mother's second marriage. He was now of the right age to be 'farmed out'. It was the custom among noble families to have their young children reared in other aristocratic households where they would learn all the skills and attitudes necessary for those of their class. John was sent to High Halden, near Tenterden in Kent, the principal residence of Sir Edward Guildford. To say that Fortune smiled on the young John Dudley would be an understatement; she positively *beamed*. Edward was one of the top three landowners in South-East England. He was an old friend of the Dudleys. He was a confidant of the king and the holder of several court offices – Master of the Armoury, Warden of the Cinque Ports and Master of the Horse. To crown all, John would eventually inherit the Guildford estates. This came about thanks to the conventions surrounding wardship. When great magnates died before their heirs came of age, those heirs became wards of court. The Crown assigned their care and all their legal rights to applicants from among their own chosen followers (usually for cash). Edward Guildford, not only became John's guardian, he betrothed him to his own daughter, Jane Guildford. Years later (1534) Edward, having no surviving son, made Jane the principal beneficiary of his will. Later still (1540) John inherited the Grey lands which had come to his mother – again by default of male heirs. Materially, then, John Dudley prospered by inheritance rather than by energetic ambition.

His wealth enabled him, as he grew to manhood, to play an active role in the life of the royal household. Under his guardian's patronage John acquired the skills of the courtier. The fun-centred regime of the young Henry VIII offered excellent opportunities to athletic young men with personality and charm. John performed well in the tiltyard and, when *real* war loomed, in 1523, he quitted himself so well on the battlefield that he was knighted. The following year he became an esquire of the body to King Henry. By his early twenties he was being employed on diplomatic missions to France and Spain. He had established himself as a very dependable royal servant. That word 'dependable' probably best sums him up. He was no 'flashy' extrovert. A contemporary said of him, 'he seldom went about anything but he had three or four purposes beforehand'.

In the revolutionary 1530s Dudley was one of the 'advanced thinkers' at court who supported Thomas Cromwell's Reformation policies. Not that Sir John was academically inclined. We don't know how he came to espouse radical religious opinions. His children were tutored by men of the fashionable humanist tradition. He was closely associated with the Boleyn faction. After his father-in-law's death (1534) he took over the role of MP for Kent and, as a member of the Reformation Parliament supported the Dissolution of the Monasteries and other reformist legislation. During his years in power Cromwell had been assiduous in furthering the careers of his own friends and protégés by placing them close to the king in court and Council. Thus, after his fall and execution in 1540, there was no effective Catholic backlash or purge of household and government personnel. On the contrary, there was now a clear 'Reformation party' in the Privy Council and Dudley was recognised as one of its leaders. We will think more about this next time.

I want to conclude by emphasising the most important office John held during the reign of Henry VIII. It was an office he was very enthusiastic about and one he fulfilled creatively. Henry's bellicose, if sporadic, foreign policy involved massive expenditure on defence from seaborne attack. He studded the vulnerable parts of the coast with up-to-date fortifications and carried out an unprecedented expansion of the Royal Navy. He had always been fascinated by ships and commissioned a number of men-o'-war carrying formidable amounts of ordnance.

The responsibility for the maintenance and equipping of the royal fleet lay theoretically, with the Lord Admiral. I say 'theoretically' because, like other high-sounding offices of state, this one was something of a sinecure. The real work was carried out by deputies and there was little in the way of overall strategic planning. All this changed in 1543 when John Dudley became Lord Admiral.

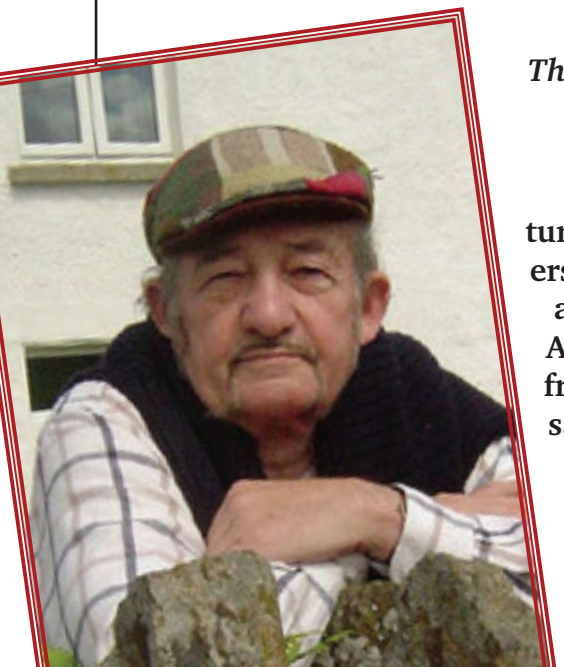
Over the years he had served energetically in campaigns against the French and the Scots and was now one of Henry's top generals. As Master of the Tower Armouries – a post he had taken over from his father-in-law - he was up-to-date with all the latest developments in field and naval artillery – and that development was rapid. Warships had always been, essentially, troop carriers and naval battles consisted largely of grappling and boarding enemy vessels. The French were experimenting with oar-powered galleys, which were more manoeuvrable in the English Channel than sailing ships. The answer developed by naval architects was to turn the king's ships into floating batteries, crammed with cannon. The age of fighting sail had arrived. An extensive shipbuilding programme was set in hand in the 1540s and this involved a thorough modernisation of the administration.

Throughout 1545 a series of discussions took place which eventually led to the establishment of the Council for Marine Causes, the direct forerunner of the Navy Board and the Board of Admiralty. Its establishment marked – if the pun may be forgiven – a sea change in the nature of the royal navy. This new body was modelled on Dudley's Ordnance Office. It comprised six officials directly answerable to the Lord Admiral, each with clearly defined responsibilities and a salary commensurate to the considerable volume of work he had to undertake.

It is no accident that the single most important institutional reform in the whole history of the navy occurred as soon as John Dudley had settled into his role as naval chief. He was a new kind of Lord Admiral, a hands-on leader with experience of command by land and sea, but also a permanent official, rather than a 'sea general' only active in wartime. Henry VIII is sometimes spoken of as the 'father of the royal navy'. For my money, John Dudley is more deserving of that accolade.

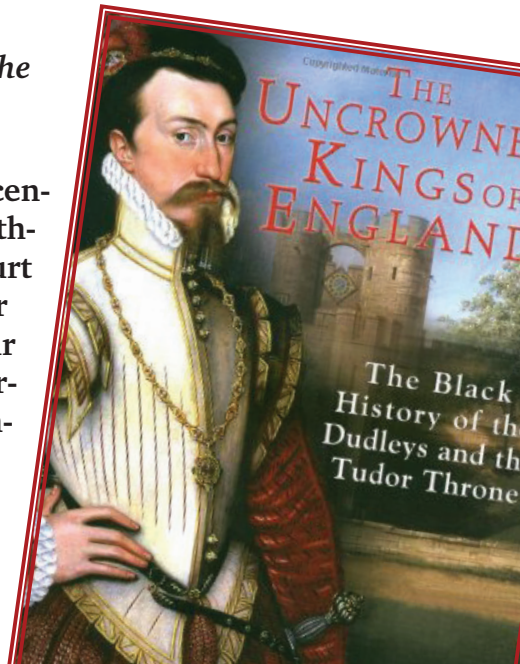
The Lord Admiral's was a job he loved but it had one other attraction: the Lord Admiral was an ex-officio member of the Privy Council. Three years before Henry VIII died, John Dudley became one of the men who governed England. The traitor's son had come a long way but he had further to go.

DEREK WILSON



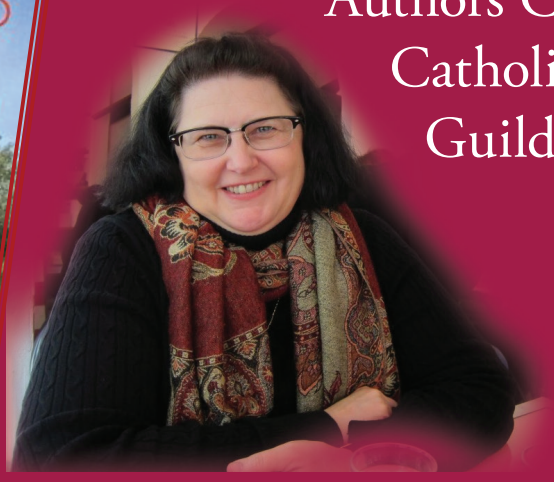
Derek Wilson is the author of *The Uncrowned Kings of England – The Black Legend of the Dudleys*

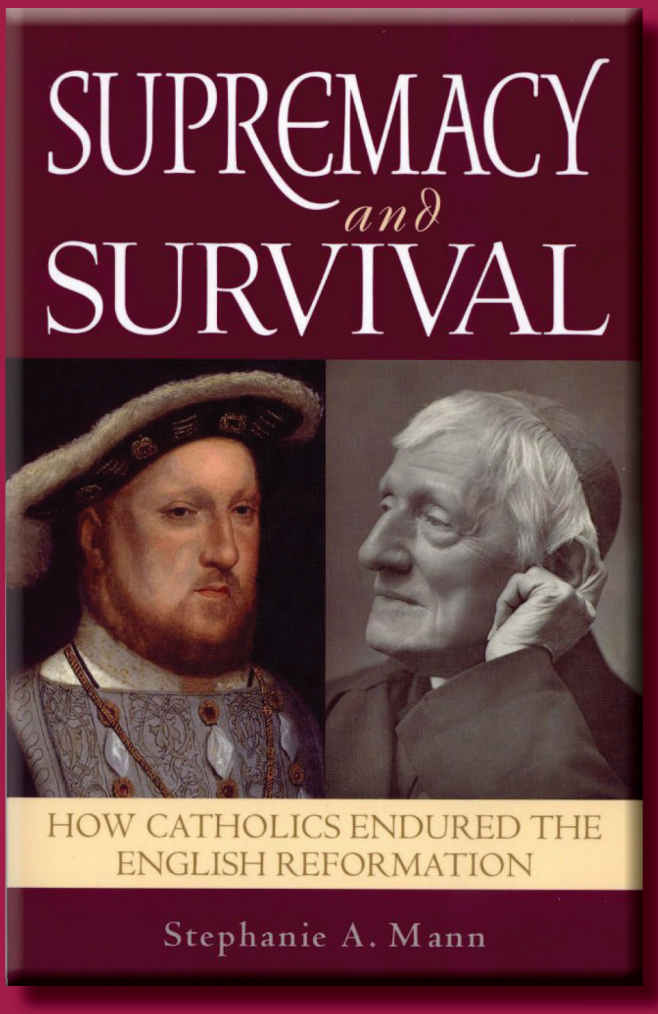
"In the political ferment of 16th-century England, one family above all others was at the troubled center of court and council. Throughout the Tudor Age the Dudley family was never far from controversy. They were universally condemned as scheming, ruthless, overly ambitious charmers, with three family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



Stephanie A. Mann
is
April's
TUDOR SOCIETY
Guest Speaker
"THOMAS MORE"

Stephanie A. Mann earned Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts degrees in English Language and Literature from Wichita State University. She is a member of the Kansas Authors Club and the Catholic Writers Guild.





Elizabeth's Effervescent Endurance

BY REBECCA LENAGHAN

Throughout the last one hundred years, the life and reign of Elizabeth I has been analysed from every possible angle. From the tribulations of her childhood to her 'Golden' sovereignty, historians and filmmakers alike have understood the universal nature of the Tudor queen's appeal. The dominance of Elizabeth's enduring representation speaks volumes for both her contemporary and posthumous popularity while simultaneously providing an icon upon which each successive generation can project its own preoccupations. The unrelenting focus on this royal figure has allowed for developments in historiography which link the society of Elizabethan England to current events in Britain. Similarly, the presentation of the striking queen in filmic portrayals has captured public imagination in a way which might encourage the further pursuit of historical knowledge amongst general audiences. Yet, perhaps the most significant of all reasons as to why the presentation of Elizabeth I persists so successfully is simply because she continues to be recognised as one of the greatest monarchs in British history.

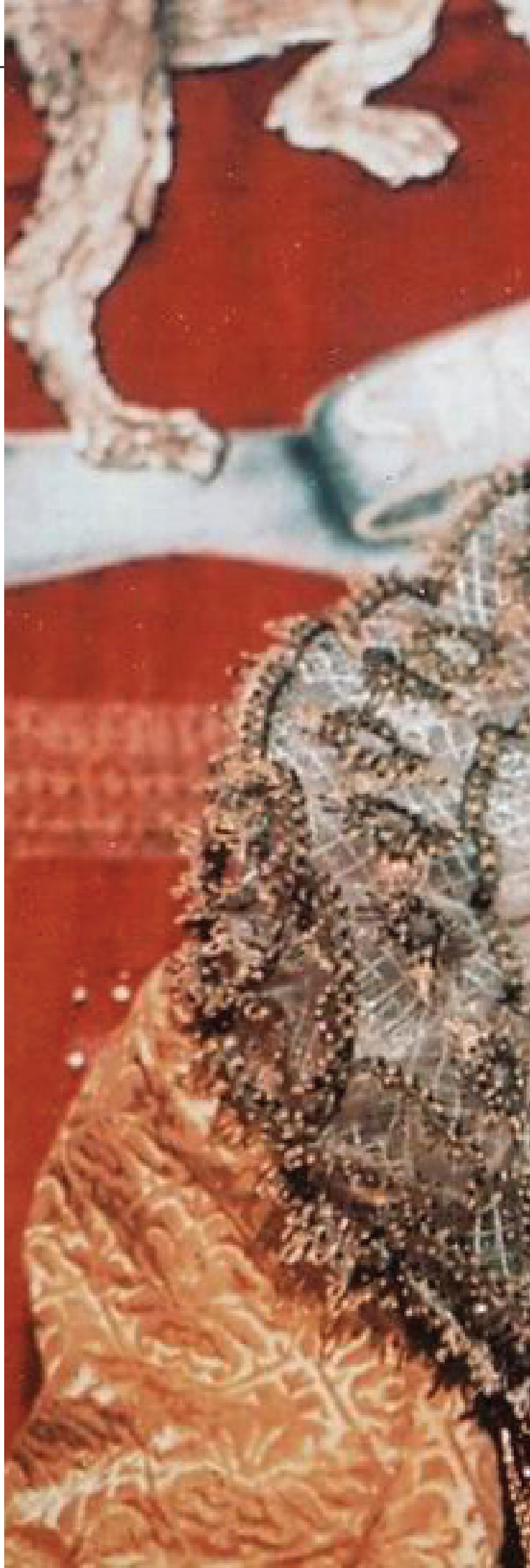
Elizabeth I
(The Guardian)

In order to maintain any kind of analytical focus in the vast range of biographies produced during the twentieth century, from John Neale's sympathetic tome in 1934 to Lisa Hilton's captivating offering in 2014, it is important to reduce the abundance of criticism to at least one common aspect of Elizabeth's charm.[1] In this endeavour, an acknowledgement of the queen's shrewd utilisation of her femininity cannot go unnoticed. Elizabeth was aware of the impact her gender could have on the unfolding events of her life from a very early age. As Henry VIII's daughter, one would assume that the princess might at least remain safe in the sixteenth century, if nothing else; however, hark back to the fate which befell her mother and historians become devoid of any such assumption. During her life, Elizabeth successfully manipulated the people around her and any emerging national circumstances through the use of her femininity. Without this assertion of gendered power, she could not have exercised the same level of authority among her courtiers; 'the virginity of the queen was used as a powerful political weapon all through her reign…she coquetted them, played them off against one another, and never married.'[2] Equally, despite living in the conditions of a rigid patriarchal society, Elizabeth's confidence was not undermined. As women's liberation evolved from a concept to a movement in the latter half of the twentieth century, it seems only natural that historians would look to the great women of the past for inspiration and, although the pool from which to draw is not abundant, those who did exercise power within the 'constraints' of their femininity were rather magnificent.

Over the course of evolving Elizabethan analysis, biographers were empowered to make judgements independently of the history which preceded their own. Towards the end of the previous century, it became acceptable to criticise the Virgin Queen in a way which almost certainly would have been considered disrespectful in

1 See John Neale, *Queen Elizabeth*, (London, 1934); and Lisa Hilton, *Elizabeth: Renaissance Prince,* (London, 2014.

2 Frances Yates, *Astraea, the Imperial theme in the sixteenth century*, (London, 1975), p.86



British actress and politician Glenda Jackson as Elizabeth I in "Mary, Queen of Scots" (Public Domain)

The grave of Elizabeth I at Westminster Abbey (Westminster Abbey)

decades prior. This move can undeniably be linked with the diminishing of a general necessity for national unity during and after the Second World War, and towards an age of increasing political scepticism. The very discipline of historical writing requires a constant freshening of interpretation and the ongoing analysis of Elizabeth is no exception.

If we move away from biographical presentation to filmic interpretations of female power, the portrayal of Elizabeth should (in theory) pass any contemporary Bechdel test. The medium of film is a powerful propagandist tool regardless of its period and the presentation of any historical event or figure on screen is the primary means by which the general public receive their understanding of history outside school. Once history has been portrayed on such a large scale, it is difficult for academics to reshape the information which has been received and, suddenly, filmic fiction has become 'popular' fact. It is understandable that filmmakers choose to craft their productions in order to make a contemporary political comment, yet for biographical historians, the damage of a widespread film on a delicate reputation is almost irreparable.

The relationship between developing biographies and eminent film representations of Elizabeth I throughout the twentieth century is intriguing. Along with all other cultural pastimes, these media have gone through periods of regeneration which were dependent on current events. Biographies have tended to remain positive, certainly during the first half of the century, with historians such as Neale and Jenkins praising

the queen for her ability to maintain authority despite the natural 'impediment' of her gender.

Equally, film representations developed during the period from extravagant regal depictions to farcical cameos reflected a general shift in attitudes about authority. It is interesting to consider how, or even whether, academic biographies influenced the work of filmmakers or if their motivations came from external societal influences. There can be no doubt that improvements in technology during the period played a major role in the development of filmmaking objectives, yet it is still very clear that script writers have tried to incorporate preceding scholarly work, perhaps in order to legitimise their claims of historical authenticity. During the period considered to be the second wave of feminism in the 1970s, Glenda Jackson's Elizabeth was revered as an icon for independent women, and this is also how the Bassnett biography depicts her influence.[3] Furthermore, Christopher Haigh refers to Elizabeth's 'appalling political handicap: she was a woman in a man's world', a theory echoed through Judi Dench's character in *Shakespeare in Love.*[4]

In post-feminist presentations of the Tudor queen, biographers have deemed Elizabeth's femininity irrelevant to her ability to govern a nation, while contemporary filmmakers have moved away from the actual history itself in favour of finding a way to unite twenty-first century resonances with the events of the past. However, the queen's most recent biographer seems to follow the example of directors by connecting historical trends with present events. Lisa Hilton observes that the modern obsession with the monarchy and the right of succession has been a 'preoccupation' of the British public since 1400 which, unfortunately for Elizabeth, means that such speculation is not likely to end any time soon.[5]

Historiography and filmmaking advance with the fashionable theories of each new decade. It may not be their principal motivation but historians require some level of societal relevance in order for wider recognition while directors certainly need to ensure the attention of a Cineplex audience. It would be almost impossible to recreate the past without imposing the slightest of contemporary bias. Antonia Fraser encapsulates the importance of maintaining historical representations while acknowledging the existence of perspective and interpretation, 'On the one hand, one should keep faith with the history itself…and on the other, recreate the excitement of life as it was once lived. True objectivity is quite impossible, given that we are all human, all creatures of our time'.[6]

The presentation of Elizabeth I will surely evolve for decades yet and it is with eager anticipation that historians should await what may come next. Will future filmmakers see the queen as a victim of rogue internal forces (as the possibility of potential 'Brexit' looms) or will it be the threat of foreign invasion once again (as Islamic fundamentalism appears to prosper in major European cities) which presents an Elizabeth du jour?

Each generation continues to project its hopes and fears onto Elizabeth I. Part of Gloriana's appeal is that she began as an anomaly, the misfit daughter of a queen whose reign was regarded as illegitimate by much of Europe; retrospectively, it seems unusual to consider one of the greatest British monarchs as an underdog but in many respects, that was certainly how her position began. The timeless appeal of the Tudor queen has, perhaps, endured so successfully because the British love an underdog; the notion of a small nation fending off foreign giants as the spectre of Philip II provided ample resonance for the fear of 'Herr Hitler' in the patriotic Elizabethan-set movies of the 1940s.

Nevertheless, for the moment, 'our' Elizabeth is a monarch whose femininity is the prism through which contemporary popular cinema and historical biographers choose to see the Virgin Queen, 'Here, Elizabeth, at last, is human.'[7]

REBECCA LENAGHAN

3 See Susan Bassnett, *Elizabeth I: a feminist perspective,* (Oxford, 1998).

4 Christopher Haigh, *Elizabeth I*, (London, 1988), p.171

5 Hilton, *Elizabeth: Renaissance Prince,* p.169

6 Antonia Fraser, 'The Value of Biography in History', Norton Medlicott Medal lecture delivered on 7th April, 2000

7 Hilton, *Elizabeth*, p.324

Charlie on Books

TUDOR TALES

by Dave Tonge

THE everyday life of ordinary people in Tudor England is a subject that has been the focus of many recent book releases and documentaries. However, their lives have never been told like this before. *Tudor Tales* by Dave Tonge is a unique book as it is part fiction, part non-fiction. Tonge gives some context to the tales and Tudor life, and then tells several stories from the period about ordinary people, bringing them to life as the master storyteller he is.

As far as the hunchback was concerned his wife was akin to a painting displayed upon the wall of his cabinet, hanging there for his enjoyment only and not for the pleasure of others.

The book is divided into 8 chapters with several stories in each, making 33 tales, and the chapters reflect the themes of the stories. For instance, chapter one is about the struggle for control in marriages, chapter two is about women, chapter three about youth and so on. This allows the reader to pick and choose which types of stories they want to read. Each story is also accompanied by an illustration which is tailored to its theme. They are unique and in the style of the woodcuts of the day, adding to the charm of the book.

Tonge explains a few details about life in Tudor times before he starts telling his stories, introducing real-life scenarios from the sixteenth century, supported by well-sourced information. The research is detailed and produces some interesting insights into Tudor life. Tonge states some information that people may not know, such as the fact that, even though Tudor society was a patriarchal society, women still had a voice. He explains that some of his stories reflect that fact, such as the first one, 'a comic tale that deals with the troubles between husband and wife'. It is refreshing to hear an old story but told in a way that is easy to understand, the first being one of my favourites. A merchant loves his wife, for she is beautiful, yet she is mute. He goes to a stranger one day who has a solution,

> *'Take this bone home and bind it with a lock of your own hair... then place it beneath your sleeping wife's tongue for one hour before midnight, till exactly on hour after midnight. No more, no less!'*

However, he soon finds that he got more than he bargained for,

> *'Then there was her tongue – he had never seen a tongue as busy as hers and the merchant took to likening Elizabeth's tongue to a sharp blade, for every time she scolded him it cut that man to the bone!'*

After visiting the stranger, he confesses that he is not really a man, he is a demon and *'like any demon*

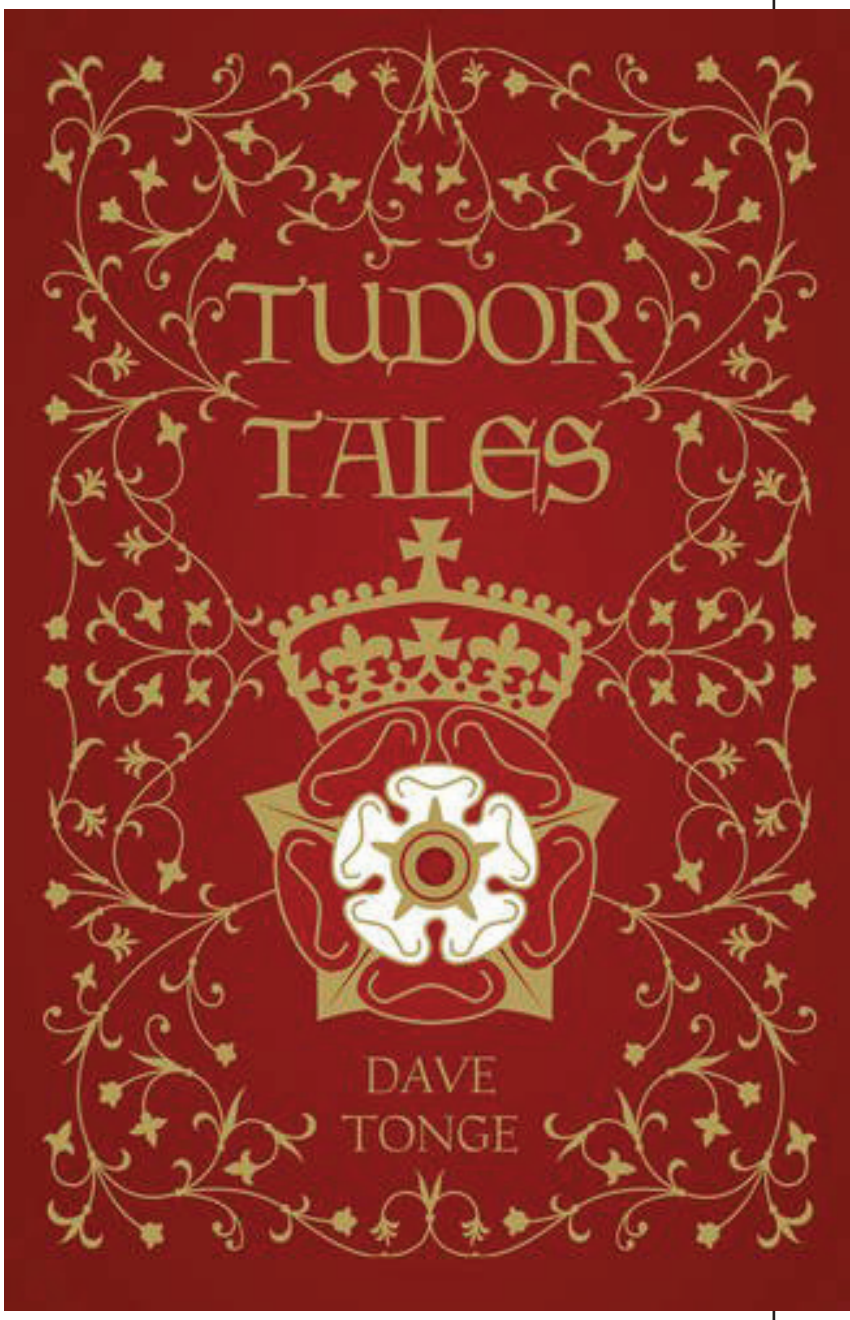
from down below I can work many wondrous spells including giving the gift of speech. But know this, rich merchant, neither I, nor any demon from hell, why not even the very Devil himself, can shut a woman up once she has started!'

Most stories in this book are about husbands and wives and are very comedic, if seeming a bit outdated for us on their views on men and women's roles. One example of this is clearly stated in another one of Tonge's tales,

> *'The hunchback listed all of his belongings in a great ledger, including his young wife, for like many old men with young wives he had a jealous eye and regarded his bride as HIS property. As far as the hunchback was concerned his wife was akin to a painting displayed upon the wall of his cabinet, hanging there for his enjoyment only and not for the pleasure of others.'*

All of the stories are unique to the period and so each one is a delight to read and they come with unexpected twists and strange plot lines. For example, a jealous man who went away often to work as an artist,

> *'lay his wife upon the bed and there did use all the cunning of his craft to paint a lamb upon the lower part of the young woman's belly. It was a rendering so finely wrought that none could lie with his wife lest both the image and his wife be defiled. It was an image so lifelike that if it was spoilt, then none could repair the damage nor replicate the lamb that he had crafted just below his wife's navel.'*



When the wife becomes lonely and wants to have an affair, they come up with an ingenious solution that is comedic and unusual. Despite some stereotyping of women in the tales, this one shows that women weren't just in the background and did have a voice, as well as playing at least as big of a role as men.

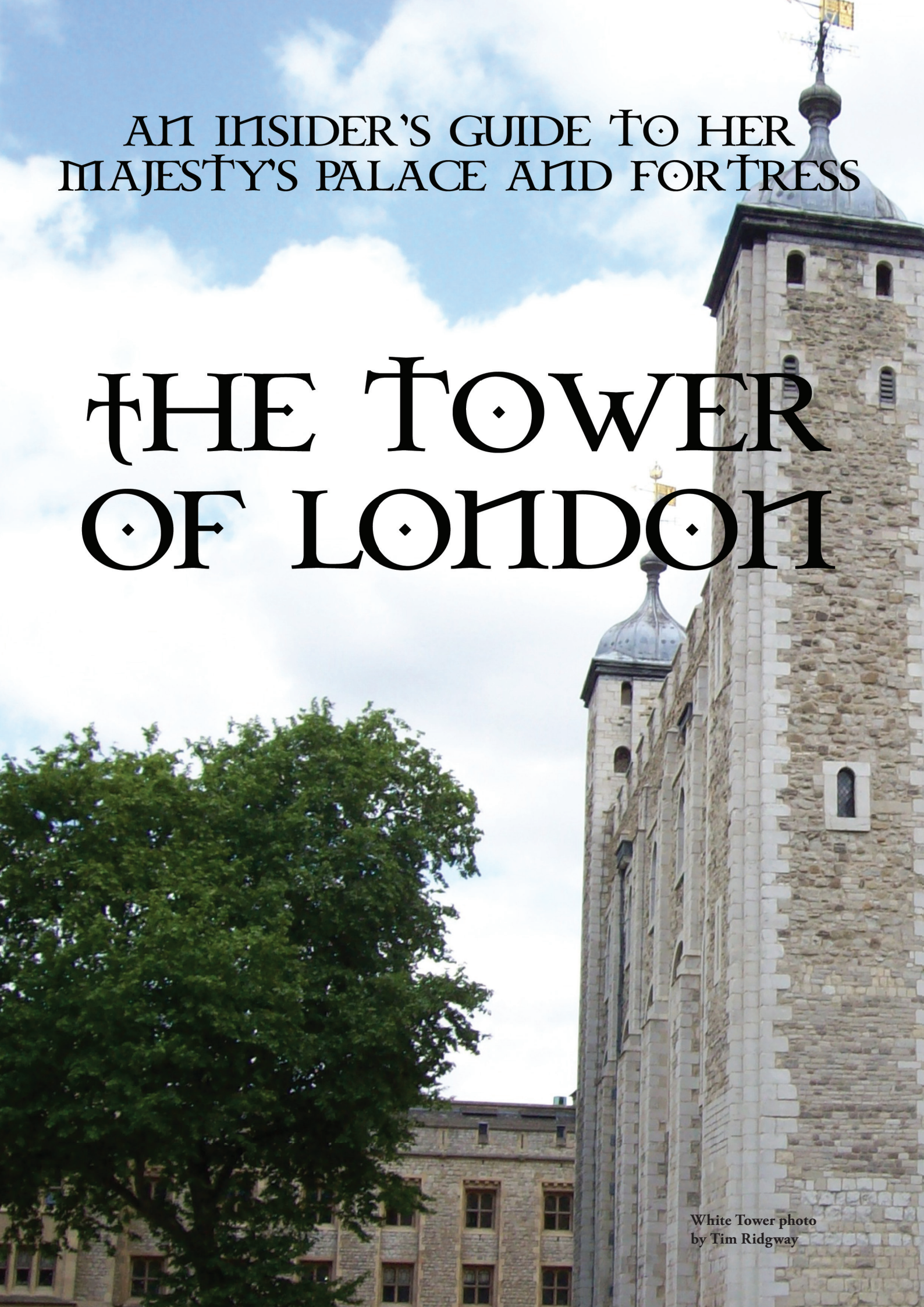
This book also allows the reader to see the common themes in these stories, each seem to have a moral to them but are comedic in nature as well. Each tale still ends with the protagonist or antagonist receiving their comeuppance with an underlining moral conveyed. They tend to use a lot of repetition, adding to the charm of the stories and allowing us to compare to stories and old wives' tales that we know today. Tonge's voice is clear throughout and his book completely absorbs the reader whilst educating them about the period at the same time.

I would recommend this book to anyone wanting to learn more about Tudor life, old Tudor folk tales or just wanting to read entertaining and interesting works of literature in just one book.

CHARLIE FENTON

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

THE TOWER OF LONDON



White Tower photo by Tim Ridgway

PART TWO

WRITTEN BY
TARA BALL

St John's Chapel,
Tower of London

The Chapel of St. John the Evangelist

This beautiful chapel is as old as the White Tower itself and thus one of the finest examples of Norman architecture that survives to this day. The chapel has been changed variously over the years but what the visitor sees today is mostly how the Normans would have seen it. The stone work is all original. The chapel is characterized by a vaulted ceiling, arches and twelve sturdy pillars. Each pillar is said to represent one of the twelve apostles. Some of them are adorned with a 'T' symbol on the top, an early symbol of the Holy Cross. Like the exterior walls, the main stone used is caen stone and it was once white-washed at the same time that King Henry III painted the White Tower's exterior walls. He also decorated the chapel with three stained-glass windows behind the altar, two paintings and a royal pew at the back, which included a huge royal canopy.

The mystical history of the chapel is in its role for the second highest order in Britain today, the Order of the Bath (second to that of the Order of the Garter). The Knights of the Bath were created at the coronation of the monarch where each knight was bathed and spent the night in prayer in the chapel, wearing a monk's habit. In the morning (the day of the coronation) each would be knighted by the King and given their sword and robes. They then accompanied him to Westminster Abbey for the coronation ceremony. This was begun by King Henry IV and King Charles II was the last monarch to perform this ritual in 1661. The Order of the Bath still exists, having been revived in Georgian times and is given to the highest ranks in the military. Their banners now hang in the Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey.

Many events have taken place in this chapel over the centuries. The first was the scene of a brutal riot within the Tower of London's walls that ended in a shocking murder. In 1371, during the reign of the boy-King, Richard II, the Peasants' Revolt led by Wat Tyler descended on the Tower. They were protesting the poll tax, a tax that was levied (where all men paid the same no matter what his rank). This was the only time the Tower of London faced something that resembled a siege and it is thought that the walls were only breached because the Yeoman Warders sympathised with the rebels and

let the drawbridges down. Upon making their way to the Royal Apartments inside the White Tower, the rebels discovered the King's mother and disrespected her by lying in her bed and kissing her, making rude gestures. They found Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury (also the Lord Chancellor) in sanctuary in the chapel next door. They dragged him to Tower Hill and subjected him to a mock trial and beheaded him. Whilst this brutality was carried out, the King was in talks with Wat Tyler at Mile End, not far from the Tower, and had no idea what was going on. Sudbury's death could be the first beheading to take place on Tower Hill, but as the King did not sanction his execution (as the law required), this is now seen as an act of murder.

The chapel played a part in some happier times and sad times too. Arthur, Prince of Wales was married by proxy to Katherine of Aragon in 1501 in the chapel. A proxy marriage was as good as a marriage where the actual persons were present. It sealed the deal of a dynastic alliance between two countries. In some cases it was all that was needed other than to bring the bride and groom physically together. Arthur died early into the marriage and Katherine of Aragon eventually married his younger brother, King Henry VIII. Many years after, their daughter Princess Mary held a private Catholic mass for her brother King Edward VI after his death in 1553 whilst his Protestant funeral service was held in Westminster Abbey. She also used the chapel again within the same year for her own proxy marriage to Prince Philip of Spain, her cousin. Earlier still in 1471, King Henry VI (having been deposed and now a prisoner in the Tower) was murdered in the Wakefield Tower and his body was laid in state in the chapel. Elizabeth of York, the daughter of his usurper, King Edward IV, and queen of his half-nephew, King Henry VII (and the mother of Prince Arthur and King Henry VIII), died a few days after giving birth at the Tower in 1503 and was laid in state in the chapel with her baby daughter Katherine (who also did not survive) surrounded by five hundred candles.

It was on the orders of King Charles II that the chapel ceased its long history as a Chapel Royal and became part of the records office. In the 1860s, Queen Victoria proposed it become a tailor's workshop to supply uniforms for the soldiers billeted in the Waterloo Block across the parade ground from the White Tower. Her husband Prince Albert opposed the idea and wished to see it return to its former purpose as a chapel. The Queen agreed to this, but sadly Prince Albert never got to see it. He died in 1861 and the chapel restorations were completed shortly after. However, it was never reinstated as a Chapel Royal. Today, it still functions as a chapel, with services taking place on the first Sunday of every month. It does occasionally hold weddings and christenings too.

The Prisoners of the White Tower

The Tower of London was never intended to be a prison, yet, almost as soon as it was complete, the first prisoner was installed there. His name was Ranulf Flambard, Bishop of Durham and minister to William the Conqueror's unpopular son, King William II. He was imprisoned by William II's brother, King Henry I, shortly after William's death while hunting in the New Forest. He did not remain there long, as his friends delivered some barrels of wine to Flambard and he invited his guards to dine with him. The guards took the lion's share of the drink and were soon asleep. In one of the barrels was a rope, which Flambard used to climb out of a window and down to his waiting friends. He escaped to Normandy where King Henry I eventually pardoned him.

The last native Prince of Wales, Griffith, was held prisoner comfortably, as befitting his rank, in the White Tower, by King Henry III in 1241. However, despite his luxury, he made an attempt to escape in 1244, much the same as Flambard did. He tied bedsheets together to make a rope out the window, but they came apart before he climbed down fully and he fell to his death. His son Llewellyn had also been imprisoned with him and he made a successful escape. However, Llewellyn was killed and his head, crowned with ivy, was brought back for display on the roof of the White Tower.

Other distinguished prisoners were foreign royals that were prisoners of war: King John of France in 1360, King James I of Scotland captured at sea in 1406 and Charles, Duke of Orleans, captured at the Battle of Agincourt in 1415. Even kings at home, who had fallen, found themselves prisoners in the

strong Tower they once ruled. King Richard II was held in the White Tower for a time in 1399 before being later murdered at Pontefract Castle. King Henry VI was believed to have been held prisoner in the Wakefield Tower before being murdered and was laid in state in the chapel of St. John the Evangelist, in 1471. Chillingly, according to legend, in the reign of King Richard III (1483 – 1485), the King was dining in the White Tower when Lord Hastings drunkenly accused him of being responsible for the disappearance of his nephews, the Princes in the Tower (sons of King Edward IV). Richard III demanded Hastings to be executed before he went to dinner, and the Lord was taken outside to Tower Green and beheaded on a log. So the legend goes. Lord Hastings' beheading was the first to take place on Tower Green. Its next victim would be Anne Boleyn, wife of King Henry VIII, in 1536.

The basement of the White Tower was almost certainly used as a place of torture. It became a prison for over six hundred Jews under King Edward I in the 1280s, accused of coin clipping and debasing the currency. Guy Fawkes, an instigator of the Gunpowder plot in 1605 was said to have been racked in the dark basement to extract a confession and the names of his accomplices. A woman called Anne Askew was imprisoned there in the closing years of King Henry VIII's reign accused of heresy. She was racked without the King's permission, it is said, and when they took her to her execution by burning, they had to carry her in a chair as all her joints had been dislocated.

The White Tower Today

Today the White Tower is a museum, along with the rest of the Tower of London. Thousands of visitors cross its entrance and are greeted by spectacular displays of royal armour, from the collection of the Royal Armouries. Visitors marvel at King Henry VIII's surviving pieces of armour, after most were destroyed during the Commonwealth in the 1650s. The collection includes his armour as a slim, athletic twenty-four year old King in 1515, where his initials are entwined with lovers' knots with those of his first wife, Katherine of Aragon, as decoration on the armour – a far cry from the King who famously became so bloated that he needed winches to hoist him onto a horse and who was notorious for marrying and discarding his wives in his quest for a son. He is more recognisable in a curious armour of 1540, known as a garniture armour, where pieces were put together to make various suits of armour for different functions like jousting and foot combat. His famous codpiece causes many a giggle from child and adult alike, though most do not realise that it was an important fashion statement in the sixteenth century.

To date, on the entrance floor, is the awesome display 'The Line of Kings' which is the world's longest running visitor attraction. Armour was stored in the White Tower and people wish to visit and wonder over the stores. In the seventeenth century, King Charles II turned it into royal propaganda as he returned to the throne. By the eighteenth century, many were flocking to the White Tower to see manikins dressed in the armour and mounted on specially carved wooden horses. Carved wooden heads sat in the helmets giving each king a face to recognise. Not only did Henry VIII's famous armours feature in the exhibition, but visitors could also gasp at the sight of a huge suit of armour called 'John of Gaunt's Armour' (son of King Edward III in the fourteenth century and an ancestor of the Tudors). Standing nearly eight foot tall, the armour is actually German in origin and from the reign of King Henry VIII.

In the eighteenth century, a Spanish armoury was set up featuring the infamous Queen Elizabeth I, who sat on a white horse with her page in attendance to celebrate the victory of the Armada. In the nineteenth century, the Line of Kings took on a more scholarly approach and more accurate historical reference.

Today, the Line of Kings is the first exhibition to see and many of the objects mentioned above still survive and can be seen in the exhibition. As you make your way through, you can still see the garderobes and ancient fireplaces. You can walk through the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist and take a mini tour hosted by one of the White Tower Wardens. The cabinets are filled with the Tower's history, with its ancient institutions such as the Board of Ordinance, and some of the most treasured pieces of the Royal Armouries collection, like handheld guns containing thousands of Swarovski crystals. Right at the top is the White Tower's own dragon, Keeper, who represents how the Tower of London played its

part in the history of the nation. It was not just a prison, but also, among other functions, the keeper of the crown jewels, overseer of the production of the coinage (the Royal Mint was based at the Tower for nearly eight hundred years) and it kept the coasts safe by recording detailed maps. An object that can't be missed on this floor has to be the famous block and axe. The block is solid oak and has two crevices carved out of the wood. This was supposedly the block used at the last execution on Tower Hill in 1747; that of Simon Fraser, Lord Lavat, for his part in the Jacobite rebellions. Blocks were usually destroyed after use, but this one was set aside and presented to Queen Victoria who put it on display for the curiosity of visitors. The axe has a sixteenth century blade and an eighteenth century handle. There was no such thing as a specific 'execution axe'. The weapon was simply taken out of the stores or supplied by the attending executioner. Often, they were agricultural tools. Finally, the tour takes you down to the basement where even though it is well-lit today, you can get an eerie sense of doom from the enclosing walls and cold atmosphere.

Historic Royal Palaces: The Tower of London's Legacy

The White Tower was the beginning, but today it lies in the centre of an eighteen acre complex which is known officially as 'Her Majesty's Palace and Fortress the Tower of London'. Over the centuries, the Tower expanded to contain royal apartments, prisons for the aristocracy, a place of execution for queens, a secure place for some of the world's most precious stones and breath-taking crowns, a factory where the coins of the realm were made for nearly eight hundred years, and even, at one time, a royal menagerie to house some of the most exotic animals found on Earth. However, in today's modern age of technological advances, the Tower of London is proud to keep its old traditions and none more so than the people whose lives it touches today.

The Tower of London is a home and workplace for hundreds of people; from the Yeoman Body that live there and look after all the Tower's security round the clock, to the guides, volunteers, Wardens of the Crown Jewels and of the White Tower, administrators and retail staff. The Tower of London

The Tower of London is currently well known in modern society, not only for its gory history but also for the recent art installation "Blood swept lands and Seas of red" which the Tower's moat contained nearly 900,000 hand-made ceramic poppies to commemorate the centenary of the First World War in 2014.

is a large part of these people's lives and they are committed to giving the thousands of tourists, enchanted by the Tower's story, a day of fun and education. They all part of a new institution, an organisation called Historic Royal Palaces (HRP).

HRP is a charity and they look after not just the Tower of London but five other palaces too. They are (aside from the Tower): Hampton Court Palace, Kensington Palace, Kew Palace, Banqueting House (Whitehall Palace) and the newly acquired Hillsborough Castle in Northern Ireland. HRP's aim, known as their cause, is quite simply **to help everyone explore the story of how monarchs and people have helped shaped society, in some of the greatest palaces ever built.** HRP receives

no funding from the government or the crown, it simply relies on the support of donors, volunteers, sponsors, members and, of course, its many visitors. In brief, HRP was established in 1989 and became an independent charity in 1998. The palaces ceased to be used for royal court purposes in the eighteenth century and were officially opened to the public in the nineteenth century under Queen Victoria, although they were open to specially selected visitors earlier than this. Most of the collections in the palaces are part of the Royal Collection (the collections in the White Tower which are owned by Royal Armouries for example) and representatives from these institutions are part of HRP's Board of Trustees. In short, HRP is an important organisation to British Royal History and indeed the Nation.

It is thanks to HRP that we are able to visit and learn about these great palaces at ease. The visitor engagements are both enjoyable and entertaining, from the Yeoman Warder tours to day/part-time courses that can be taken on site. Without HRP, the success of the art installation "Blood swept lands and Seas of red" would never have happened. Between 17th July and 11th November 2014 the Tower of London's moat was filled with 888,246 ceramic hand-made poppies, each one representing a life lost by the British in the First World War (1914 – 1918). It attracted record numbers of visitors flocking to the Tower and all the poppies were sold and the proceeds given to six military charities.

Historic Royal Palaces will continue to look after The Tower of London and its 'sister' palaces and take them further into the twenty-first century, combining history with the modern technology that brings people together. With them, the White Tower will still remain standing; haunting, protective and beautiful for generations to come.

– TARA BALL

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

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.

Sources/Further Reading:

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

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

Comebacks in Tudor Britain

BY MELANIE V. TAYLOR

FROM an art historical aspect, this month's theme of '*comebacks in Tudor Britain*' is not easy. The Tudor period is where English art as we know it, starts, so we have to look to the period of Elizabeth II for examples of what can be called artistic 'comebacks' from the Tudor period.

In 2007 the Philip Mould gallery held an exhibition called "*Lost Faces: Identity and Discovery in Tudor Royal Portraiture*." The guest curator was Dr David Starkey and the editor of the catalogue – Dr Bendor Grosvenor. In the Acknowledgements we are told that the exhibition ". . . seeks to raise questions, stimulate debate, and, where appropriate, suggest answers. Its purpose is intentionally provocative." The exhibition had loans from The Yale Centre for British Art, The British Library, Hever Castle, Appleby Castle, The Bodleian Library, Oxford, The Society of Antiquaries, The National Trust, The Lord Egremont, Lambeth Palace Library & many private lenders.

Within this exhibition was a portrait originally listed in an inventory sale document of 1932 as *L Cranach. Portrait of a lady in a pink jewelled dress, holding a book, panel 29" x 21½"*.[1,2] Establishing provenance is the first thing any art historian will seek to do and the provenance for this painting seems to have been lost. In May 1932 this painting was it was sold through Christies sale room, by Sir John Ramsden who was

1 D/RA/3-109q, Bulstrode Papers. See exhibition catalogue.

2 The image is scanned from the exhibition catalogue and is held in a Private Collection.

married to Lady Guendolen Seymour, daughter and co-heir of the 12th Duke of Somerset who was a direct descendant of Thomas Seymour, Protector Somerset. The painting was then sold again in May 1962 to a private collector.

In the 2007 catalogue Dr Grosvenor describes how probably in Victorian times, two outer panels had been attached to this painting and that the face and the background had been over painted rendering it flat and characterless. As a result of this Victorian 'restoration' and the two subsequent sales, the identity of this young woman had been lost. The later outer panels and over painting has now been removed revealing a 16th century portrait of Princess Elizabeth. Readers may recognise this as being similar to the portrait of the young princess that has always been in the Royal Collection and is attributed to William Scrots. It currently hangs in the Queen's Drawing Room, in Windsor Castle. [3] Clearly the paintings derive from the same template suggesting the artist of the 'pink' portrait had access to the artists at the Tudor court – perhaps he was a member of Scrots' workshop?

Both paintings show that the Princess Elizabeth is a young lady of learning because she is holding a book. Is this a prayer book? In the Royal Collection version, there are two books – is the one on a lectern a Bible? In the much smaller pinker portrait, only one is present, but the lack of a book does not detract from the similarity of the two paintings.

The version in the Royal Collection is approximately 41.5 x 31 inches and is painted on panel. Dendrochronology has shown the wood came from the same tree as the wood for the painting of a young Prince Edward VI, (also attributed to Scrots), that now hangs in Hunsdon House. It is thought these two Scrots portraits were painted as a pair for their father, Henry VIII? If so, who commissioned the second portrait of Elizabeth and from whom? The answer is – we do not know, but we can make an educated guess.

What we can establish is that the painting was created before the death of her brother in 1553. It could be the painting mentioned in Elizabeth's

letter of May 1547 to her brother, now King Edward VI. This was attached to a portrait of herself and read: "*For the face, I graunt. I might wel blushe to offer, but the mynde I shal never be ashamed to present . . . when you shal loke on my picture you wil sitsafe to think that as you have but the outward shadow of the body afore you, so my inward minde wischeth that the body it self were oftener in your presence.*" [4] However, since there was a larger painting of the princess than this one already in the Royal Collection why would Elizabeth send another one? It has been suggested that the image Elizabeth was sending was a miniature of herself, which her brother could have for his personal contemplation, rather than a table portrait that was hung on a wall and anyone could look at it.

3 Downloaded from the Royal Collection website: **https://d9y2r2msyxru0.cloudfront.net/sites/default/files/collection-online/1/8/329955-1350464449.jpg**

4 p 90 Catalogue of Lost Faces: Identity & Discovery of Tudor Royal Portraiture.

Perhaps the pink Elizabeth was commissioned by Queen Katharine Parr? She was a prolific commissioner of portraits and we know from the Royal Accounts that she commissioned John Bettes the Elder and Susannah Horenbout. Levina Teerlinc was being paid an annuity 'at the king's pleasure' so may well have also created miniature portraits for the queen – but not this one. Not to mention immigrant artists such as Hans Eworth & William Scrots both of whom were artists who created panel portraits and it was Scrots who created the original template.

The dendrochronology gives us a date for the felling of the tree for this panel portrait as 1546. The artist would have therefore not painted this version before the latter part of 1547 at the earliest and more likely, 1548. We know that Catherine Parr was very fond of the Princess, so perhaps she commissioned it for her private apartments.

It is also possible that Thomas Seymour may have commissioned the 'pink' princess portrait, which is clearly a copy of the Scrots original. The Princess was living with Catharine Parr (now Lady Seymour) in 1548, which was when Thomas Seymour started taking a rather closer interest in the Princess than was proper! We also know that Elizabeth was sent away from Catharine's household in the May of that year. Notwithstanding the history of events, we should remember that the 1932 sale was at the behest of the spouse of a direct descendant of Thomas Seymour. It is all circumstantial evidence, but sometimes that is all we have to go on.

As to the attribution of the artist, again we have to speculate, but examination of the accounts, inventories and previous research throws up some interesting names.

Whoever painted this portrait was clearly very skilled. The flesh tones and modelling of the young princess suggest this artist may have an Italian background. The original version is in a Flemish style and attributed to William Scrots. His name as a Court artist first appears in the 1536 accounts of Mary of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands. Following the death of Hans Holbein in late 1543, Scrots name then appears in the English Royal accounts in 1546. However, there are other artists listed in the Royal accounts about which little is known and whose styles are thought to

be more in keeping with the 'pink' portrait. The Florentine artist, Bartolomeo Penni first appears in the Royal accounts in late 1529 and is still being mentioned in 1554. His brothers, Gianfrecesco and Luca, had been a pupils of Raphael in Florence & Rome and had worked for Francis I of France on the Chateau de Fontainbleu and may have come to England. Bartolomeo seems to have first worked for Cardinal Wolsey, perhaps on Hampton Court, and then later for Henry VIII on Nonsuch Palace. However, what little we know of Bartolomeo Penni's work, he appears to be more concerned with interior design than portraiture.

Another candidate may be Antonio di Nunziato d'Antonio (1498 – 1554) also known as Antony Toto, who had trained under Domenico Ghirlandiao in Florence before moving to England in 1519 and working briefly with Pietro Torrigiano before Torrigiano left for Spain. His name appears as Serjeant painter in 1544.

Again, we have no known works by Toto to compare with this portrait for style. Therefore the answer to the question of who painted the pink Elizabeth will probably remain ever unsolved.

In July 2012 an article about the re-discovery of a portrait of one of the great characters of Tudor History appeared in Art History News. Bendor Grosvenor was visiting Petworth House when he looked up at a wall covered with paintings by artists such as Van Dyck, Gainsborough and Turner and spotted a portrait that was listed as "*Unknown Man – German School*".[5]

Dr Grosvenor was surprised at this listing because this is clearly a detailed sketch of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex. Who painted

it is another question and the attribution to the German School still stands.

However, after Dr Grosvenor published his article in the Art History News an undisclosed person in Whitehall responded saying that in the 1950s, when the contents of Petworth House were offered to the Nation in lieu of death duties, the offer document listed this particular portrait as "*German School XVI Century: Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex; head and shoulders, with black cap, tunic and surcoat, green background. 19 ¼ by 14 ins.*" So far, so good, so how did the 1950s detailed attribution become so abbreviated?

The portrait of Holbein portrait of Cromwell that hangs in the Frick Gallery in New York shows a marked similarity to the Petworth House sketch. I find the sketch more interesting as it defines certain elements of Cromwell's physiognomy not seen in the Frick portrait, such as the shape of his ears, which are quite distinctive. Also Cromwell's hair is shown cut short while in the Frick image his hair is shown as being quite long and covers his ears. The Frick version does not show the fur-lined tunic he is wearing in the sketch, only the fur-lined surcoat, but both portraits have him holding a folded note. Looking at both portraits, there appears to be much more 'life' in the Petworth portrait. Perhaps this was a preparatory sketch for the Frick oil painting? If so, then much more research has to be undertaken to identify a specific German artist – and there are no prizes for knowing which German artist is considered to have painted the Frick portrait.

Somehow, during the years when the 'in lieu of death duties' inventory was taken and the collection was given labels beside the specific images, this portrait became listed just as "Unknown Man – German School". Was it a lack of education on the part of the person annotating the paintings, or plain sloppy referencing that relegated Thomas Cromwell to the realms of obscurity until 2012?

Today we tend to forget that in the 1950s Britain was still suffering from aftermath of WW2. Art history was a subject studied by an elite cadre of academics and people taking probate inventories, or copying them into other inventories, would be more interested in getting through the pile of boring documents than checking to see what painting referred to which entry on the original 'in lieu' offer document. Those in Whitehall would have known the importance of this portrait, but perhaps the individual making the list at Petworth was in a hurry. Such are the vagaries of making inventories!

These two examples of rediscovered paintings from the Tudor period underline just how difficult it is to attribute artists to various works. What is surprising is how easy it was for both portraits of such distinguished members of the Tudor Court to end up with the epithet "Unknown" in the titles. The Cromwell portrait was clearly the victim of where the taxman was more concerned with offsetting the sum of accumulated death duties with the total value of an art collection. Thankfully the Petworth House image of the Earl of Essex is once again labelled with his name and title and hangs in his usual place for all to enjoy.

For those of you who do not know Petworth House, it is in West Sussex and was originally part of the Percy family holdings. In 1947 Edward Wyndham, 5th Baron Leconfield gave the house to the Nation and now the house, including the extensive art collection, is managed by the National Trust and is open to the public.

As for the "*Portrait of a Girl in a Pink Jewelled Dress*", thanks to the Victorians passion for all things Tudor and their determination to make original Tudor artefacts more 'authentic', this too sank into obscurity. Thanks to modern restoration techniques this portrait has been taken back to the original surface and is now revealed as a rare, lost portrait of the teenage princess Elizabeth. Thanks to the generosity of a private collector, it was possible to see it in the 2007 exhibition.

Perhaps we can go on our own investigation to discover, or perhaps re-discover the identity of a Tudor 'Unknown Man'. There is a miniature that I referred to in my December talk on Hilliard, when I invited you to suggest who you thought this Unknown Man might be. That discussion never happened in the ensuring live chat.

Currently this portrait is listed as an 'Unknown Man", but at least we know the identity of artist who was Nicholas Hilliard. The green background

5 Article dated 16th July 2012 In Art History News.

is very unusual and the portrait dates from the end of the 1570s, just when Hilliard was entering the peak of his career. There are other miniatures by Hilliard, and another larger portrait by "Anon" in the English National Portrait Gallery of someone who I believe resembles this Unknown Man against the green background.[6]

Sometimes we need to use our eyes and a bit of common sense to judge who the sitter of an 'Unknown' might be. By comparing these four paintings I believe the three miniatures could be of the same individual because of the way the eyes and eyebrows are set and the shape of the face. Do you think it could be an early portrait of Sir Christopher Hatton (c1540-1591)? The fact that all the miniatures are by Hilliard suggests that Hatton was a regular patron of his. The full-length Hilliard miniature of Hatton in his regalia as Lord Chancellor is in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.[7]

6 NPG 2162 by Anon: head and shoulders of Hatton by Hilliard is NPG 5549.

Alitiamuscia quam ipsamet eos molesequi officab orepelectem idestrundi iusae volupti

The National Portrait Gallery states that this larger portrait is of Sir Christopher Hatton, but we do not know the identity of the artist Perhaps, by non-invasive analysis of the pigments of the miniatures and the oil panel portrait we can prove/disprove the possibility that the large portrait is also by Hilliard.

The non-invasive technique used for identifying pigments is what has revealed many modern fakes. Using special laser technology, it is possible to identify natural pigments that occur in various paintings of the period; plus in the case of certain pigments it is also possible to identify the mines and the areas of the world these came from. From this information the art world can begin to build up a database that may lead to the identification of specific artistic workshops. I believe the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge is currently working on a project of this nature.

Many readers will know Dr Grosvenor as the man who applies science to authenticate (or not) various paintings in the BBC TV series 'Fake or Fortune'. Art historians can argue over attributions of sitters and artists by referring to various supporting documentary evidence such as inventories, and we have seen how easy it is for these to be inaccurate, until the cows come home. However, it is often the scientific analysis of the wood, the pigments and then the cleaning and restoration that will confirm a painting to be a 'lost' masterpiece – or perhaps not! The way that science and art come together has made Fake or Fortune one of my favourite TV series and the Philip Mould Gallery has found more than its fair shares of 'lost' works over the years thanks to the appliance of science and academic rigour of their team.

With the ability to look at paintings in collections in far off lands via the Internet, it makes it so much easier for us to compare images, but there is no real substitute for seeing the original. In the future I am sure that more sitters will be identified and perhaps artists identified too. Without a signature, it will always be very difficult to establish the identity of artists so it is likely that we will have to rely on science to provide the evidence for identifying various workshops. The identification of sitters can only enrich our knowledge of the great and the good, and sometimes not so good, members of the Tudor Court.

MELANIE V. TAYLOR

7 Victoria & Albert Museum No. P138-1910 RM 57a, case 3.

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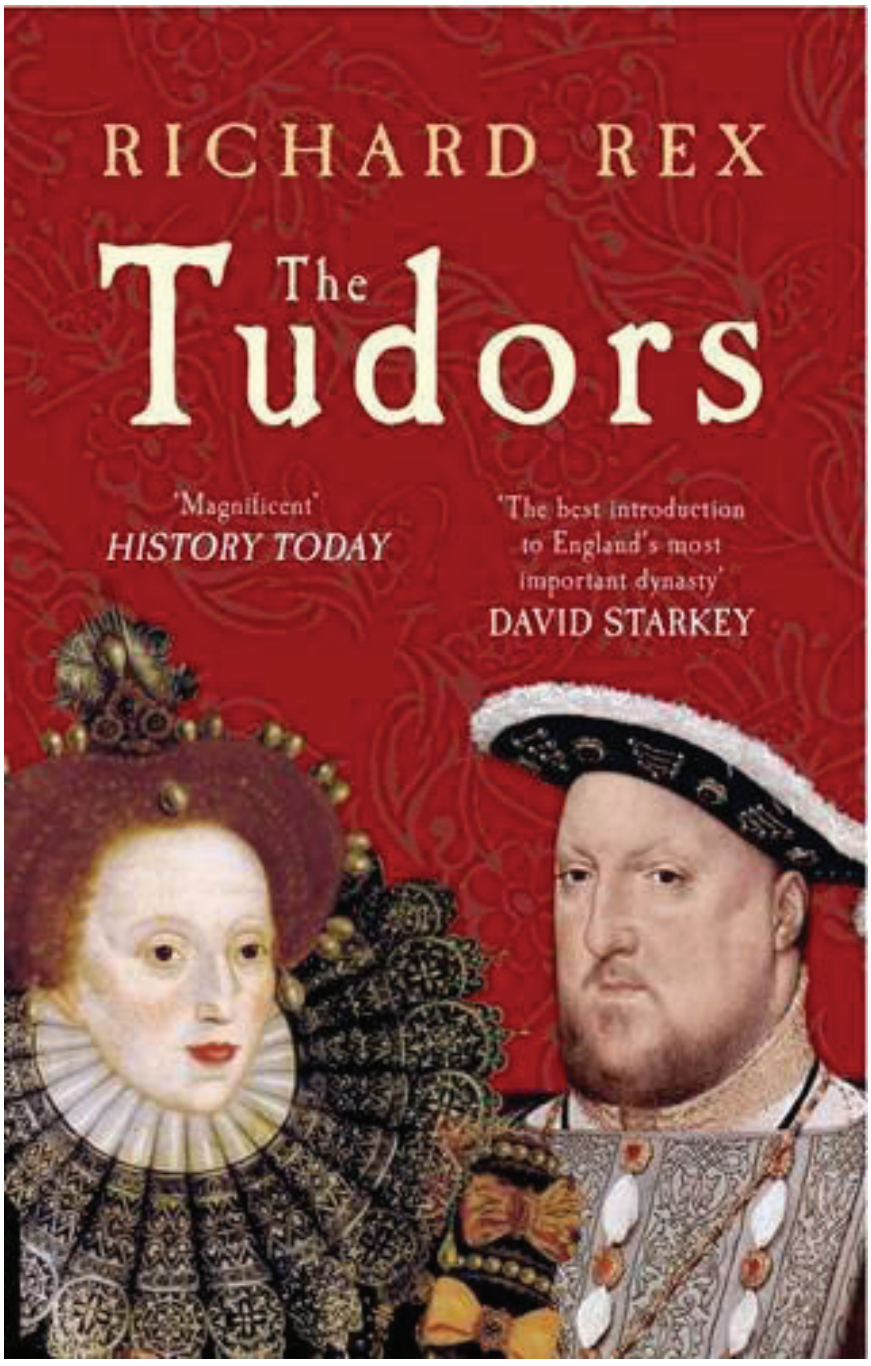


George and the dragon, Paolo Uccello c. 1456

The Feast day of St. George

by Kyra Kramer

APRIL 23rd is the feast day of St. George, the patron saint of England and one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers venerated by the medieval church. Unlike several saints who have been declared by the Catholic Church to have been based on fiction, the man venerated as St. George really existed. He was born as a Greek Christian named Georgios in what is now present-day Israel during the third century. Georgios served Emperor Diocletian in the Roman army, gaining a reputation as a good commander and excellent fighter, eventually becoming a Tribune. When Diocletian ordered that Christian soldiers recant or be put to death, Georgios chose to be tortured and beheaded rather than relinquish his faith. He was declared a martyr of the church, and subsequently canonized after miracles were attributed to him.

The most famous miracle attributed to St. George is his legendary defeat of a dragon and his rescue of a princess from its clutches, using the enthrallment of the beast and the salvation of the beauty to convert an entire city to the Christian faith. According to the modern Catholic Church, the 'dragon' in the story is metaphorical, but was taken as a literal event for several centuries.

It was Edward III who declared St George to be the patron saint of England, usurping the spotlight from the former patron saint, Edward the Confessor. Edward the Confessor was the next to last Anglo-Saxon king, and his main claim to sainthood was his theoretical chastity

(his wife, Edith, never bore him children) and his reputed gentleness. However, both of those claims are very historically sketchy and what is actually known about Edward the Confessor is that his legacy was a muddle. Harold Godwinson, Edward's father-in-law, claimed that Edward had declared him to be heir to the throne just before dying, but Harold's right to rule was contested by the the previous heir apparent, William of Normandy, who maintained that he was Edward's only legalized and formal successor. Who would actually wear the crown was decided in 1066 at the Battle of Hastings, where Harold died and William the Bastard – who claimed St George as his patron – became William the Conqueror.

To a warrior-king like Edward III, a soldier and martyr like St George was a much more fitting figure with which to rally the troops rather than a milquetoast former monarch who failed to father an heir and bungled the line of succession. To reinforce the idea of a patron saint worthy of warfare, the king established the Knights of the Garter in 1348 and declared St. George to be the spiritual head of that order of chivalry. The twenty-four Knights of the Garter (plus members of the royal knights of the monarch's family) are still chosen personally by the monarch, and their investiture into the knighthood continues to be done at St. George's chapel in Windsor Castle, where St. George's heart is putatively enshrined.

Henry VII agreed with his royal forbearer and took steps to increase the symbolic connection between the newly formed Tudor reign and the cult of St. George. Henry's forces had carried a banner of St. George when they marched into the Battle of Bosworth and defeated Richard III, and several works of art commissioned during Henry's reign show the king or the royal family kneeling before St. George as the dragon was slain. To honor his mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, the first Tudor king inducted her into the order of the Knight of the Garter to honor St. George, and she remains one of only a handful of women to have ever belonged to that illustrious group.

Henry VIII was as reverent a devotee to the cult of St. George as his father had been. As a prince, Henry had been inducted into the Order of the Garter at age three, and had more images of St. George in his personal collection than any other religious figure. As a king, he issued a coin depicting St. George defeating the dragon, and the Order of the Garter became the epicenter of his favor and patronage. Even when Henry began dismantling Catholic ritual in England, his veneration of St. George remained. For example, when Henry VIII restricted the adoration of saints and banned religious processions with images in 1536, the only exceptions to his strictures were those saints specifically named the New Testament … and St George.

The third generation of Tudor monarchs also participated in the cult of St. George, whether they were Catholic or Reformist in their day-to-day faith. Henry's uber-Protestant son, Edward VI, who was ruthless in the removal of "Papist idols", did not strip away the emblem of St. George from the Knights of the Garter. Mary I, a devout Catholic, naturally reinstated St. George into the English liturgical calendar, but her devoutly Protestant sister, Elizabeth I, also maintained the veneration of St. George as cornerstone of English religious practice. In some of her official portraits, Elizabeth holds up the Badge of St. George, and in 1560 she reintroduced the Feast of St. George as a public holiday. The standard of St. George was the insignia used by Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh to represent Elizabethan England during their excursions to North America and their privateering activities in the Atlantic. One could make a strong argument that St George was the go-to saint for any English person of the Tudor period, regardless of his or her religious and political affiliations.

St. George isn't just a Christian saint; he is also a religious figure for Muslims as well. Because he sacrificed himself in devotion to God, Muslims regard him as having died "in a state of Islam". George is traditionally associated with Al-Khidr, which translates as 'the Green One', who would turn barren ground green if he sat upon it. Al-Khidr is described in the Qur'an (18:60-82) as a kind of spirit-guide who tutors Moses on the mysteries of the divine. Over time, St. George and Al-Khidr have melded into one archetypical religious persona as a Muslim martyr, and there are several mosques dedicated to him, including the Qubbat Al-Khidr on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem and the Beirut mosque of Al-Khidr. These mosques are considered especially important pilgrimage sites for women who are praying for fertility.

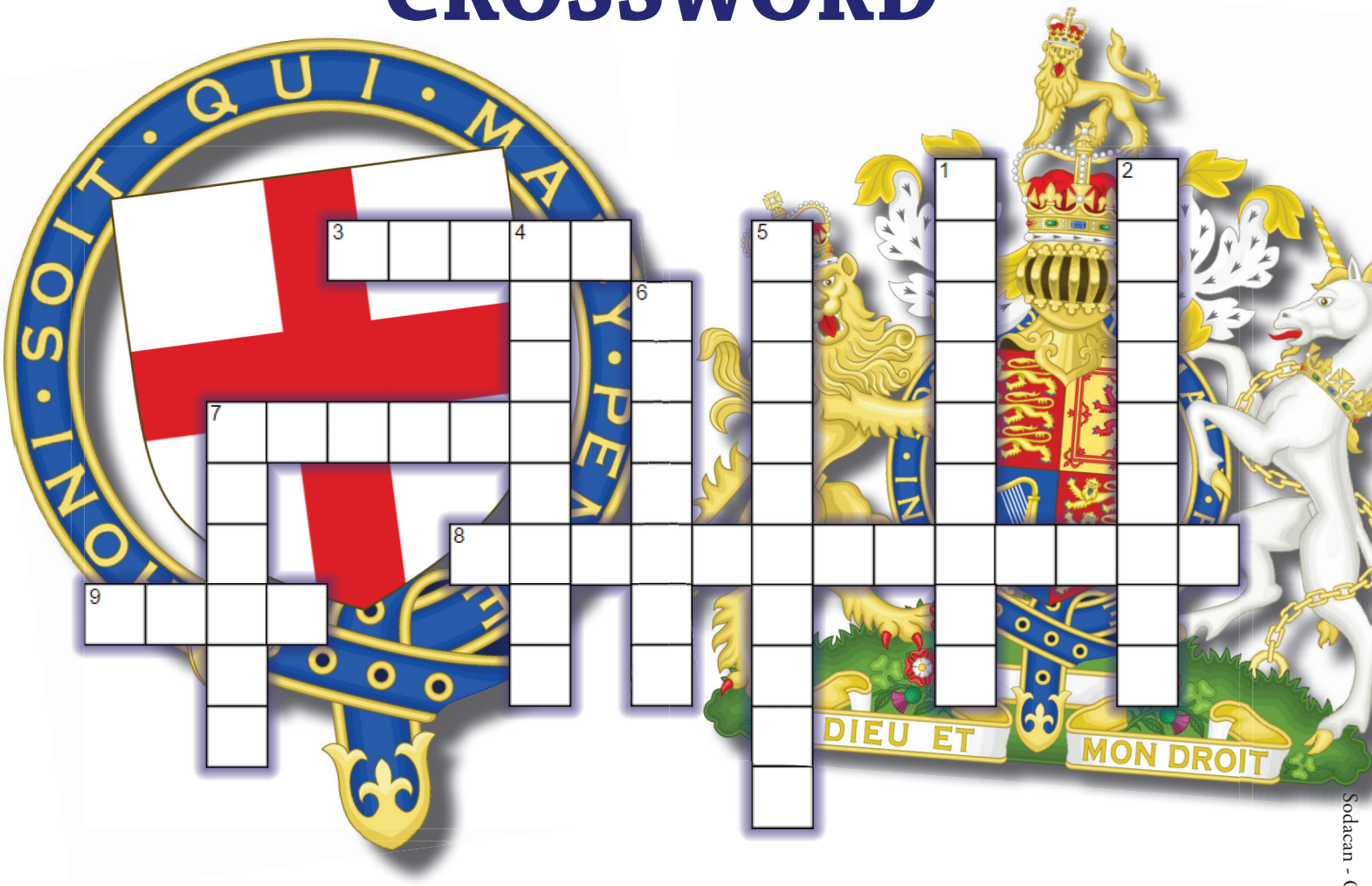
The collar and badge of St. George

In another bout of convoluted religious synergy and syncretism, the English also have an iconic Green Man associated with St. George (who is also known as Green George throughout Europe) and the 'greening' up of the countryside in late April. Carven images of the Green Man – a man's face composed of or covered with foliage or oak leaves – are often part of the fretwork and decorations in medieval buildings or churches. Originally the Druid/Norse spirit/god of nature and fertility, the Green Man was incorporated into Christianity during the conversion of the British Isles, and St. George's feast day was traditionally accompanied by the older rituals to awaken the earth and welcome the renewed arrival of the vegetation. In Europe and Britain, St. George was invoked to bless fields and orchards to ensure crop yield and to bless the livestock for successful reproduction. Moreover, prior to the Reformation, the shrines dedicated to St. George were considered the ideal places of pilgrimage to cure infertility, just like the mosques of Al-Khidr.

All in all, St George has left quite a legacy throughout the Western world. He may just have been a small-town solider executed for his faith, but I think we can all agree he made one heck of a comeback as a saint who figuratively headed legions.

KYRA KRAMER

ORDERS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM CROSSWORD



The letters at the end are the rank "letters" to help you!

ACROSS

3 The Order of ____ - OM
7 The Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint _____ - GCMG/KCMG/DCMG/CMG
8 The _____ Service Order - DSO
9 The Most Honourable Order of the ____ - GCB/KCB/DCB/CB

DOWN

1 The Royal _____ Order - GCVO/KCVO/DCVO/CVO/LVO/MVO
2 The Most ____ Order of the British Empire - GBE/KBE/DBE/CBE/OBE/MBE
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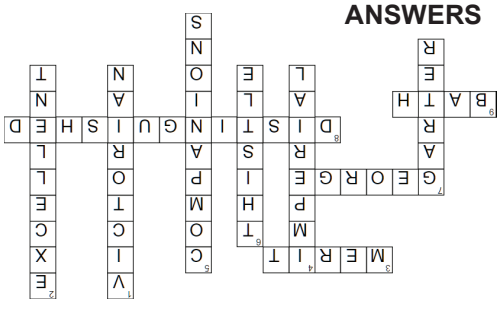
ANSWERS



OLGA HUGHES'

The Tudor Kitchen: Adventitious Almonds

Diet has changed a great deal over time, and the main factor that drives those changes is more than a matter of taste. Changing production techniques and social constructs are the biggest influences on diet, from when hunter-gatherers became producers, from producers to consumers, from consumers to mass-consumers, a mono-culture that has eroded diversity and driven an economics of mass-production, which demanded longer-life food, the need for preservatives and chemicals in food, which is presently affecting humanity in unpredictable ways, namely and increase in both genuine food allergies, obesity and in food fads.

Lactose intolerance is something that used to be typical in adults, and it is actually only a mutation that has developed over the centuries that has allowed most adults to consume animal milk. Prior to that only children consumed milk. As the production of animal milk has increased and changed and as medicine has progressed we now recognise lactose intolerance as a common food allergy, and along with vegetarian and vegan diets, the demand for dairy substitutes has increased. However, dairy substitutes are certainly not a modern invention.

There was a great necessity for the cooks in upper class and royal households to come up with creative substitutes for animal products during Lent. Fish may have been allowed after a time, but eggs

and milk were still forbidden up until the 16th century. Last month we discussed some of the strange animals used to replace fish during Lent. The Tudors, and their predecessors, also took an interesting approach when it came to replacing other animal byproducts, such as eggs and dairy, in their diet. You'd be surprised that some of the foods created in the Middle Ages for Lent are now popular in vegan and vegetarian dishes. And there is one particular product that was essential, the rather humble almond.

Almond Milk

Almonds were a dominant flavour in medieval cookery, mainly because of the widespread use of almond milk in cooking. Almond milk was not just popular during Lent, cooks found it a more reliable and long-lasting milk product than animal milk. There were various issues with animal milk, it generally soured during transport due to a lack of refrigeration, and it was also often watered down by vendors. Because of the short shelf-life animal milk had to be used immediately. Almond milk could be made on the spot as required or made in advance and stored easily.

Llet d'ametla de Mallorca

Almond milk was made by grinding blanched almonds in a mortar into meal and then straining the liquid from the mash. *Take almonds and draw a good milk thereof with water*. The milk could also be sweet or savoury, *Take fair almonds and blanch them and grind them with sugar water into fair milk,* or, *Take raw almonds and blanch them and grind them and draw them through a strainer with fresh broth and wine into good stiff milk.*

In the last few years almond milk has become more popular than soy milk, but recently some brands of almond milk were found to contain very few almonds at all! Fortunately, almond milk is very easy to make at home if you'd like to try it. You simply need:

1 cup raw almonds, soaked overnight
2 cups filtered water

You may soak the almonds for up to two days, which yields creamier milk. Drain the almonds and discard the soaking water. Rinse the almonds thoroughly. Place almonds in a food processor with the filtered water and blend on high until completely pulverised. You may either keep blending the almonds until all of the meal is absorbed or strain it for a lighter milk through a strainer lined with cheesecloth. Sweeten to taste with some honey if desired. Store in the fridge, covered, for up to three days. Leftover almond meal can be dried in the oven and used for baking.

Almond Butter

Almond butter was more often a Lenten food than almond milk. Butter made from cows milk was heavily salted and had a long shelf-life, so substitutes were not required unless it was a fish day. A recipe for almond butter from the *Forme of Cury* instructs:

> ***Botere of almand melk: (original)*** *Tak fikke almound melk & boyle it, & as it boyleth cast yn a litel wyn or vynegre, & þan do it on a caneuas & lat þe whey renne out. & þan gadere it vp with þyn hondes & hang it vp a myle wey, & ley it after in cold water, & serue it forth.*
>
> ***Butter of Almond Milk: (modernised)*** *Take thick almond milk and boil it; and as it boils cast in a little wine or vinegar, and then [put it in] canvas and let the whey run out; and then gather it up with your hands and hang it up a mile wey* and lay it after in cold water; and serve it forth.*
>
> *A "mile wey" indicates as long as it would take to walk a mile. You will often find 'timing instructions' like this in medieval recipes; a sauce to be stirred as long as it takes to say three Paternosters, mead to be boiled for as long as it takes to walk around a field. Of course if your field was very large, this could well lead to over-fermentation.

An Italian recipe from the *Cuoco Napoletano* instructs:

> ***Butiro Contrafata:*** *Get a pound and a half of blanched, well ground almonds; get half a beaker of good rosewater and strain the almonds – if that rosewater is not enough, use however much you need so that the amount of almonds can be strained; then, so the almond milk will bind well, get a little starch, a little saffron if you want, and fine sugar, and lay this mixture into a mold as if were butter; like that it is good to eat.*

If you would like to make your own almond butter I would suggest making it directly from almonds rather than milk. As with any nut butter you would like to make, simply place the raw nuts in a food processor and blend them until they release their oils. It can take up to ten minutes or more to get a good creamy consistency so be patient.

People in the lower classes apparently ate 'bean butter' as a substitute during Lent, as almonds were expensive. I was unable to find a recipe, but the physician Andrew Boorde took a rather dim view of beans in his *Dyetary of health*. "Pease potage is better than beane", he warns. Boorde says that

> *"Beene-butter is used much during Lent in diverse countries. It is good for plowmen to fill the paunch; it doth engender gross humours."*

Almond "Eggs"

While this is not a typical use of almonds, this is a wonderful recipe for sweet "eggs" made from almond paste.

> ***Eyroun in Lentyn: (Original)*** *Take Eyroun, & blow owt that ys with-ynne atte other ende; than waysshe the schulle clene in warme Water; than take gode mylke of Almaundys, & sette it on the fyre; than take a fayre canvas, & pore the mylke ther-on, & lat renne owt the water; then take it owt on the clothe, & gader it to-gedere with a platere; then putte sugre y-now ther-to; than take the halvyndele, & colour it with Safroun, a lytil, & do ther-to pouder Canelle; than take & do of the whyte in the nether ende of the schulle, & in the myddel the yolk, & fylle it vppe with the whyte; but noght to fulle, for goyng ouer; than sette it in the fyre & roste it, & serue f[orth].*

Lenten Eggs: (modernised) *Take eggs and blow the yolk and white out of the shell, and wash the shell clean in warm water; Take a good milk of almonds and set it on the fire; then take a fair canvas and pour the milk thereon and let the water run out; and then remove it from the cloth and out in on a platter, and add sugar; then take half of it and colour it with a little saffron and then cinnamon powder, then pour the white [mix] in the end of the shell, and in then in the middle the yolk, and fill it up with white, but not to full, for [it will come] out, then set it in the fire and roast it.*

Almond Broth

This is an interesting 'broth', made with almond milk and rice flour flavoured with minced dates from *Two fifteenth-century cookery-books*.

Bruet of Almaynne in lente: (original) *Take fyne fikke Mylke of Almaundys ; take datys, an mynce hem smal f er-on ; take Sugre y-nowe, & straw f er-on, & a lytil flowre of Rys ; sylt, & serue forth whyte, & loke fat it be rennyng.*

Broth of Almonds in Lente: (modernised) *Take fine thick milk of almonds; take dates, and mince them small thereon; take sugar enough, and strew thereon, and a little flour of rice; salt; and serve forth with, and look that it be runny.*

Despite cooks favouring almond milk for its versatility and shelf-life rather than merely a substitute for milk during Lent, by the Elizabethan era Lenten food restrictions were relaxing and eggs and milk were back on the menu on fish days. The labour-intensive almond milk fell out of fashion in the 16th century. Now several centuries on, almond milk is again the flavour of the month.

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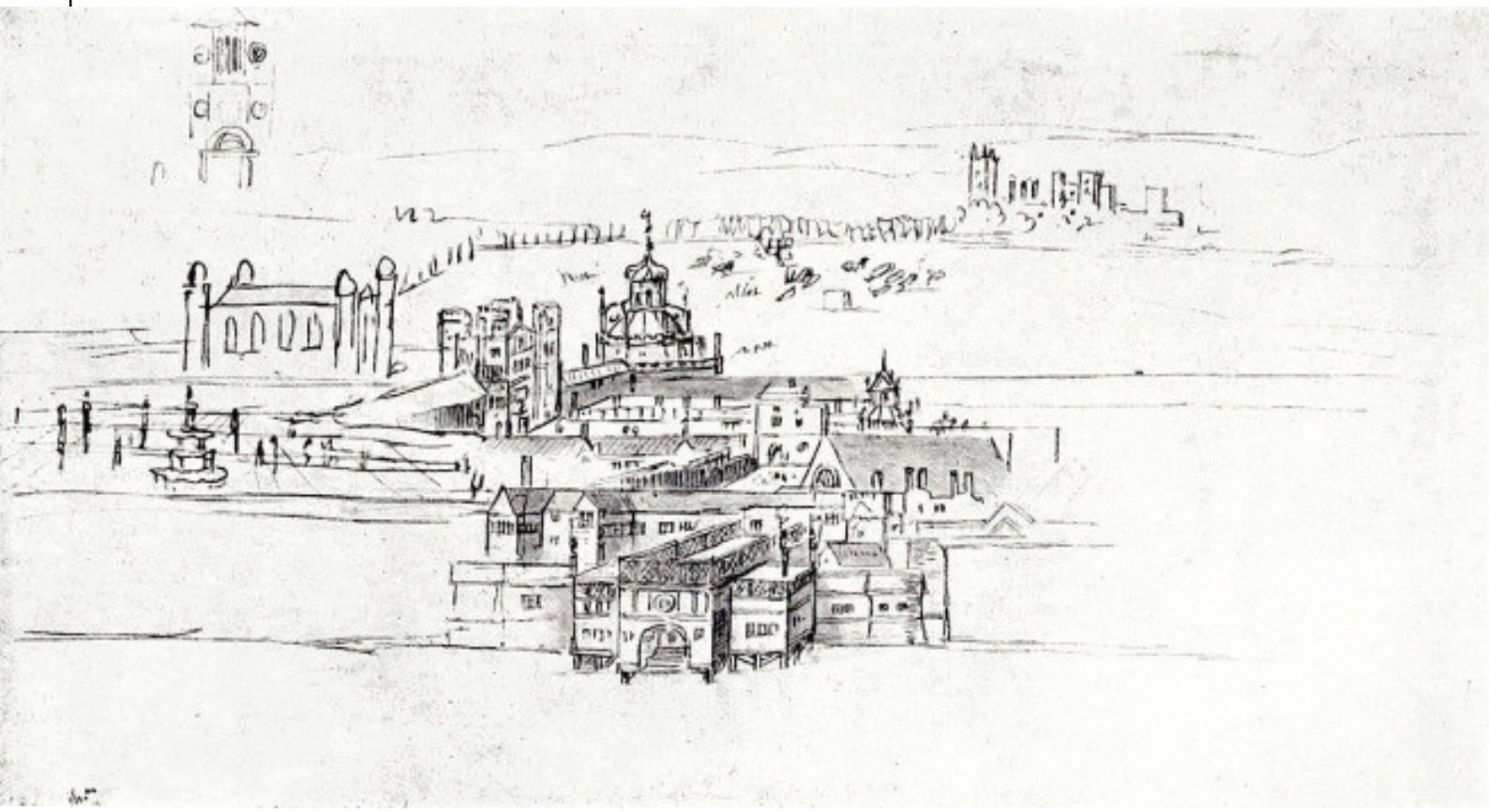
MASKINGS AND MORESCOS
LAVISH TUDOR ENTERTAINMENT

by Jane Moulder

FOLLOWERS of the Tudor Society will, I am sure, be familiar with the circumstances under which Henry VIII first came into contact with Anne Boleyn in 1522. They were both present at a staged entertainment, or mask, at the Tudor Court. This event was known as the "Chateau Vert" and there's an account of the occasion written down in Edward Hall's chronicle, first published in 1548, a number of years afterwards. From the account, it seems to have been an extremely lavish affair. Held at York Place, Cardinal Wolsey's palace in Westminster, the pageant involved constructing a mock castle (the Chateau Vert) and dressing a whole cast of characters in elaborate costumes and masks. Along with a number of musicians and dancers, a variety of props and sound effects were used to add to the overall spectacle. There was even co-ordinated cannon fire from outside to symbolise the bombardment of the building. In Chateau Vert, Henry, along with seven other allegorically named knights, wooed Lady Beauty and her female



A sketch of Whitehall Palace made by Anthony van de Wyngaerde in 1544. This was originally York Place, the location of the mask where Anne Boleyn was first introduced to the English court.

companions and encouraged them to descend from the castle and dance:

> *"Then entered eight Lords in cloth of cold capes and all, and great mantel cloaks of blue satin, these lords were named Amorous, Nobleness, Youth, Attendance, Loyalty, Pleasure, Gentleness and Liberty, the king was chief of this company, this company was led by one all in crimson satin with burning flames of gold, called Ardent Desire, which so moved the ladies to give over the castle, but Scorn and Disdain said that they would hold the place, then Desire said the ladies should be won, and came and encouraged the knights, then the lords ran to the castle.*

Anne was cast as *Perseverence* one of the eight court ladies depicting the feminine virtues and Henry played the part of the noble virtues of Nobleness, Attendance and Loyalty. There is no record of Anne having had any form of personal interaction with Henry (despite the depiction of the event in the TV series, The Tudors), but it was certainly an impressive debut appearance at Court.

Today, the performance of masques is more closely associated with the Stuart court rather than the Tudor one. Certainly it was in the early 17th century, under James I, that the masque reached its zenith. Masques were regularly performed at the Stuart Court, each one taking weeks or months of planning, involving professional actors, musicians and designers and often costing many thousands of pounds, in today's money, to stage just one performance. Ben Johnson, the celebrated playwright, wrote over 25 different productions and his collaborator, responsible for designing the elaborate costumes and stage sets, was Indigo Jones, the well-known architect. These Masques were immensely lavish and stylised affairs, with a set running order, and they were designed principally to reflect the glory and power of the royal family. The Stuart Masque would consist of three distinct parts, each with their own form – the Masque, the Anti-Masque (or antics, as they were sometimes called) and, finally, the Dance, which included Measures and Revels. The Masque and the Dance would often star members of the court and the royal family, whereas the Anti Masque would normally be performed by professional dancers and actors. The involvement of the courtiers in the masque was integral to the whole event. Lords and ladies would arrive at the venue wearing disguises and only divest themselves of their masks at the very end of the evening.

A masque costume design by Indigo Jones

Masques were also staged at the Inns of Court and other notable venues, again with the purpose of showing the wealth and influence of the host. The masque was also popular in the French court. And it was Louis XIV's love of these theatrical, staged entertainments that spurred the development of ballet as a distinct art form. But whilst one automatically associates masques with the 17th century, their origins lie further back in the Tudor and medieval period. The earlier forbears had many of the same characteristics as the Stuart Masque, such as elaborate costumes and props, but they had not yet developed the strict running order and form as their Stuart successors.

Staging courtly entertainments as a vehicle to establish the wealth and power of a ruler was a well-established practice by the early Tudor period. In fact, nobility across Europe had used music and entertainment as a means of glorifying their position over their subjects since early medieval times. In England, the exact origins of masques are hard to pin down, however a variety of different celebratory events and entertainments had developed from the early 14th century onwards. Over the years, these different genres intermingled with a variety of local customs as well as importing elements of entertainments found in the European courts. Royal courts would hold "pageants" but "mummings" (plays or enactments carried out without words) and "maskings" or "disguisings" were popular at all levels of society and also formed part of the folk tradition. But the Mask or Masque was always the domain of the aristocracy and well to do. (I will adopt the "mask" spelling for the Tudor entertainments to distinguish between these and the very stylised and set form of the Stuart Masque.)

Disguisings, mummings and maskings usually took place on celebratory occasions or holidays, notably Christmas or Shrovetide. This was when people would be gathered together, giving rise to a heightened expectation of the entertainment to be provided at court. The festivities were organised, co-ordinated and overseen by the Master of the Revels. His role was to oversee all royal festivities. In Henry VII's time, the position seemed to have been fulfilled by a minor official of the royal household. However, with increase in the number and scale of entertainments during Henry VIII's reign, the post became more important, even attracting an assistant – The Officer of the Wardrobe. By 1544, the Master of the Revels was an official, full time position commanding a certain influence and a team of staff. The Master had to ensure that everything was well organised both before and during the event. As Edmund Tilney, holder of the post, wrote in 1608, the Office "*consisteth of a wardrobe and several rooms for artificers to work in, together with a convenient place for the rehearsals and setting forth of plays and other shows".* The artificers would have included tailors, embroiderers, property and scene makers, painters, carpenters and a whole range of other craftsmen.

In the royal Burgundian courts of France, entertainments took place between each of the banqueting courses, giving rise to the term "entremet". For these, intricate costumes and props were developed. For one feast in 1468, the grand finale involved "*the arrival of two giants who entered the hall armed with staves dragging after them a great whale sixty feet long, moving his fins and body and tail as if alive*". The whale then moved around the hall before disgorging sirens, soon followed by a dozen knights who "*jumped out one after the other in a Moresque*". In all, the body of the whale contained 40 people! Even allowing for a slight exaggeration by the chronicler, it still must have been an amazing sight.

The French custom of hiding people and creatures in food or pies was also very popular. In another feast hosted by Philip of Burgundy there was "*a pie that contained twenty-eight living people who played on musical instruments*". (I'm glad I wasn't a musician involved in that event!) The fashion for this spectacle was transported to England and I'm sure everyone is familiar with the nursery rhyme "Four and Twenty Blackbirds baked in a pie". It's not as bad as it sounds as a pre-prepared pie crust was baked and the live birds were placed in the pie just before bringing it into the dining chamber. (It's important to know at this point that in the Tudor period, the pie crust was never eaten – being made from just flour and water it was tough and inedible, so only the contents were consumed.) In fact, there's even an Italian cookbook from 1549 which gives the recipe for this type of dish! "*to make pies so that birds may be alive in them and flie out when it is cut up".* This type of "disguising" appealed very much to the English sense of humour and spectacle as the Tudors took a great liking to the concept of something not appearing as it seemed.

Disguisings developed into lavish courtly spectacles. One of the best and most splendid accounts of such an occasion is of the wedding of Henry VII's heir, Prince Arthur, to Catherine of Aragon in 1501. When the court was assembled there entered a "*most goodly and pleasant disguising conveyed and showed in pageants proper and subtle*". I don't think there was much subtlety involved as a castle was drawn into the hall by four animals "*a castle right cunningly devised sett upon certaine wheeles and drawn into the said great hall of fower great beastes with chaines of gold".* The beasts in question were a golden lion, a silver lion, a hart with gilt horns and an ibex. Eight disguised ladies looked out of the

Sculptures of Italian Morisco Dancers by Erasmus Grasser made in 1480. These fantastic carvings clearly show their lavish costumes and the stylised movements associated with the early Morisco. Munich Museum

windows of the castle whilst seated in each of the four turrets were young boys, dressed as girls, who was sang whilst the castle was hauled into place. The castle was followed by a ship, complete with moving waves. On the ship was a Spanish princess and a captain and crew, who were behaving in a "*nautical fashion*". On disembarking from the ship there was then a scene where "Hope" and "Desire" attempted to court the people from the castle with no success. Finally, a mountain was dragged into the hall to complete the scene. The mountain hid eight "*goodly knights*" who then attacked the castle and induced all the ladies to dance with them.

The morris dance or morisco, as mentioned earlier in the Burgundian feast, was another form of stylised courtly entertainment. Moriscos or Moreschos probably originated in Italy in the mid 15th century. The morisco consisted of costumed dancers and performers, who acted out scenes in a stylised fashion. The performers were often skilled acrobats or jugglers.

In 1491, Henry VII paid for a group of Italian "theatricals" to come and perform a morisco or morris at his Christmas court. In 1514, his son Henry VIII employed "a moresks of 6 persons and 2 ladies" to entertain the Christmas guests at Richmond Palace. The accounts also mention the purchase of 348 bells and 42,000 spangles (!) for the costumes for the moriscos, together with cloaks. These cloaks would be used, according to the old mumming tradition, for disguising the wearer who would then grab a lady and then spend the evening courting her. At the end of the evening, if the signals were good, then the cloak (or disguise) would be removed.

In Italy, the home of the morisco, in 1501, a dynastic marriage was celebrated between Alphonso from the court of Ferrara to Lucrezia Borgia, daughter of the Pope. On new year's day, "triumphs", (a type

Costume designs for dancing girls for a staged entertainment as part of the Medici wedding celebrations by Bernardo Buontalenti, 1592. From the V&A Museum, London

of dramatic tableaux), depicting various heroes of antiquity were performed in the streets of Rome and comedy sketches were acted out in the Vatican. A morisco was performed in the Pope's chamber upon a stage decorated with foliage and lit by torches. After a short opening scene, a jongleur, dressed as a woman, danced the morisco to the accompaniment of tambourines. Cesare Borgia himself took part in the performance and was recognised by the guests, in spite of his disguise. Trumpets then sounded as a tree appeared with a 'Genius' sitting in the branches, reciting verses. Out of the top of the tree dropped down nine silk ribbons which were taken up by nine masked persons who then proceeded to dance about the tree. The whole tableau amazed the wedding guests who called out for more.

It is easy to see then, from these different accounts, how the Tudor mask developed at the beginning of the 16th century. It was a combination and development of the many existing staged, stylised courtly entertainments dating back to medieval times. It seems though, that the origin of the Tudor mask is more closely aligned to the Italian morisco than anything else. The first event to be specifically described as a 'mask' took place in 1512 took place

A modern interpretation of a Tudor mask by The Lion's Part theatre company which took place at The Royal Naval College, Greenwich. They re-enacted The Arraignment of Paris which had originally been presented to Elizabeth I in 1581 by the Children of the Chapel Royal.

at Henry VIII's court on the feast of Epiphany. Hall gives a clear description in his Chronicle:

> *"On the day of Epiphany at night, the king with eleven others were disguised, after the manner of Italy, called a mask, a thing not seen afore in England, they were apparelled in garments long and broad, wrought all with gold, with visors and capes of gold and after the banquet was done, these Maskers came in, with six gentlemen disguised in silk, bearing torches, and desired the ladies to dance, some were content, and some that knew the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thing commonly seen. And after they danced and communed together, as the fashion of the Mask is, they took their leave and departed, and so did the Queen, and all the ladies".*

There has been considerable debate over the years about what differentiated this new form of 'mask' in England from other existing, similar, entertainments, such as mummings or disguisings. It is clear that, from the accounts of the time, a definite distinction was made between the formats. This can be illustrated by the following description of a mask staged by Henry VIII at a banquet given

by Cardinal Wolsey: *"the banquets were set forth, with masks and mummeries, in so gorgeous a sort, and costly manner, that it was a heaven to behold. There wanted no dames or damsels, meet or apt to dance with the maskers. I have seen the King suddenly come in thither in a mask, with a dozen of other maskers, all in garments like shepherds."* The account goes on to describe how the maskers attempted to dance and flirt with the ladies and people thought, wrongly, that the maskers were foreign and could not speak English.

From the written accounts, there is a consistent pattern of the maskers attempting to pick a lady out of the assembled company and entertaining her with dancing. There seems to be a risqué, flirtatious element to these encounters. The maskers wore large cloaks and they would use these to sweep the women up in them and then hold them in an amorous way under cover of the garment. No wonder that the women were initially afraid to join in. This element of danger is the key difference between the old established mummings and the new form of masking brought in by Henry VIII. Up until this time, pageants and performances had followed a set, courtly or chivalric routine. The introduction of the 'morisco' style from Italy brought mayhem, flirtation and a sense of danger. Once the English court (and especially the women) understood that this was all part of the act, it is no surprise that masks became incredibly popular.

Although the mask went on to develop into a more stylised form, the blueprint was clearly set at this early date: tableaux, usually mythological, allegorical or symbolic, designed to be complimentary to the royal or aristocratic host. Many of the masks also included the active involvement of the monarch in the spectacle as well as some of his or her courtiers. This practice became one of the key elements of the mask and led to its popularity at court and it became an important part of the later Stuart Masque.

After Henry had established the mask in the Tudor court, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth continued to stage them throughout their reigns. However, the form of the mask changed slightly over the years and, by Elizabeth's time, some of the tableaux developed a more dramatic element, opening the way for the Stuart Masque. Some masks even ventured to be a vehicle for political commentary, with a few going as far as being critical of the State. One thing is clear though, masks were a popular courtly entertainment throughout the Tudor era.

In this article, I have tried to give a concise overview of the development of the Tudor mask. It is a vast subject and I plan to return to the subject in the future so that I can explore a bit deeper into the various courtly spectacles laid on by Edward VI and Elizabeth, thus revealing more about this entertaining side of aristocratic life.

JANE MOULDER

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THE TUDOR SOCIETY

Are you aware of all that's part of your membership?

Recently the attendence on our monthly **"Live Chat"** sessions has been falling away, which is a real shame when historians and authors are giving up their valuable time to do these - plus they're really good fun too! Our **guest speakers** create educational and interesting **expert chats** so it's great to support them and show how much we've enjoyed their talks by commenting on their talks and coming to the chats on the **Chatroom**. We arrange Live Chats at times to suit the historian, but also so that members from across the globe can attend at a reasonable time of day. We have a core of members who attend every event (thank you!) but we need MORE. Did you know that at every Live Chat Event we give away a free book to one lucky member who has attended. We've now had **more than 20 live chats with expert historians** and authors, had more than 20 guest experts available for you to speak to, and given away more than 20 books?

Since you're reading this page, you're clearly one of the people who **reads the magazine**, THANK YOU! Did you know that all of our past issues are available on the website? Do have a good browse. Have you been watching the weekly **Claire Chats** videos? Are you aware that there are now over 80 of these talks on the Tudor Society website? Claire enjoys researching them and doing them but it would be good for her to get some feedback, so do comment and share your views.

Did you know that there is an **online quiz** put onto the website once a week, and that there are now over 80 of these quizes too? They're normally 10 questions long, so that is over **800 Tudor-related questions** for you to test your skills on.

And have you been to the **Forum** recently? There are some regulars (thank you!) who love to post there, but not enough of our members make the effort to pop in and comment and discuss.

Please do get involved with the Tudor Society
WE RELY ON YOUR ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP

Arundel Castle — A brief History.

Aerial photo: Arundel Castle Trustees Ltd.

IN my family album there is a photograph taken in 1938 of me, aged, 5 and my sister in the grounds of Arundel Castle in West Sussex, not that I can remember anything about that visit! So it came as a great interest to me when, 77 years later, I again visited this Castle, this time to take photographs for The Tudor Society.

The building of this castle started nearly 1000 years ago, and over the years since then there have been many changes in ownership, from Lords, Dukes and Kings, many of whom have added to or redesigned the structure. As I was not permitted to take photographs inside for security reasons, I confined my visit to only taking photographs of the outside of the castle, the castle grounds and in the Fitzalan Chapel.

Arundel Castle has been the home of the Dukes of Norfolk for over 400 years, whose duties as Earl Marshall of England by tradition have included officiating at State funerals, investitures and coronations. Holders of this position were caught up in the political turmoil of medieval and Tudor times, where their staunch Roman Catholic faith placed many of them in jeopardy. Some met an untimely death on the scaffold or in battle, but one, Thomas the 3rd Duke of Norfolk, (1473-1554) was lucky not to be beheaded and was reprieved because King Henry VIII died on the night before his execution. Thomas was uncle of both Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard, but his son the 4th Duke (1536 – 1572) was not so lucky because he was executed at the Tower of London in 1572 for treason. The cause of this was his plotting with King Philip II of Spain to put Mary Queen of Spain on the English throne and to restore Roman Catholicism in England. I found the link between Tudor history and Arundel Castle to be fascinating, and I hope that my photographs show how stunning this historical site really is.

This castle is well worth a visit, and there are always staff around to talk about its history. A more detailed history and times of opening and entry prices, are available on the Internet.

Please note that as the present 18th Duke of Norfolk is in residence at the castle, the part of the castle where he and his family live, as well as some parts of the gardens, are closed to the public. I don't see this as an inconvenience, but more as a bonus where I know I'm close to a continuing line of history and nobility.

GEOFF RIDGWAY

Photo Credits:
For most photos: Arundel Castle Trustees Ltd & Paul Barker – www.paulbarkerphotographer.co.uk

TUDOR PLACES: ARUNDEL CASTLE

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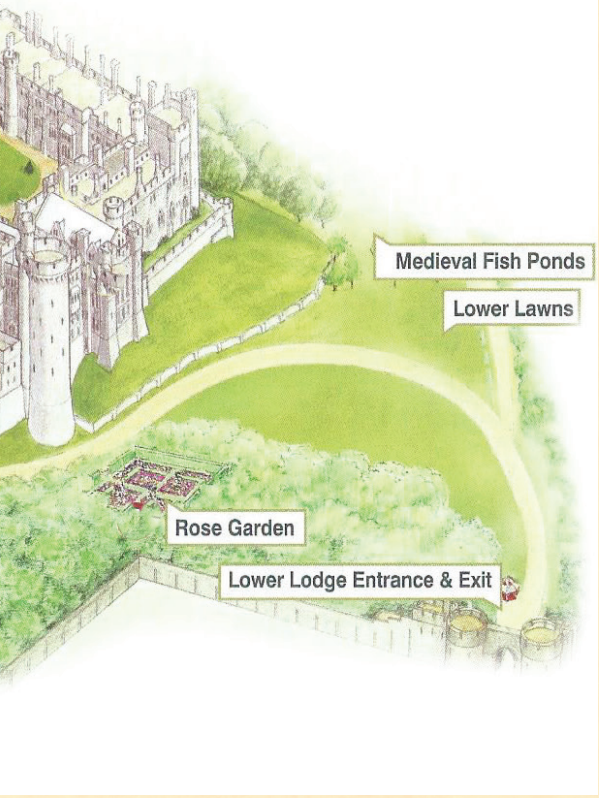

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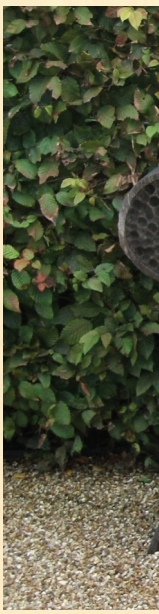

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APRIL FEAST DAYS

23 APRIL – ST GEORGE'S DAY

23rd April is the feast day of St George, who we know today as the patron saint of England. It is the traditional date given for his execution in 303 AD. St George was a Roman soldier who was imprisoned, tortured and beheaded for his Christian faith after he he protested against the persecution of Christians.

He is famous for the St George and the Dragon legend, a tale which was brought back to England by the Crusaders and told and retold as a great chivalric tale. According to the most well-known version of the story, the Golden Legend, the people of a town known as Silene, in Libya, were feeding two sheep a day to a plague-ridden dragon which lived in the town's lake. Unfortunately, the townspeople eventually ran out of sheep and so were forced to sacrifice their children, choosing them by a lottery (a bit like the Hunger Games really!). One day, the king's daughter's name was chosen and she dutifully made her way to the lake dressed as she would be on her wedding day. The king was desperate to save her and so before she went he offered half his kingdom (yes, half!) and all his gold and silver to the townspeople if they would spare his daughter. They, of course, refused. Fortunately for this damsel in distress, St George happened to be riding by the lake that day and as the dragon emerged to eat the princess he gave the sign of the cross, charged at the beast and wounded it. He then told the princess to throw him her girdle and he put the girdle around the dragon's neck and they were able to lead the dragon back to the town as if it were a tame dog. Of course, the townspeople were terrified of this huge, diseased dragon so St George said that he would slay the beast if the townspeople converted to Christianity and were baptised. They agreed. All of the townspeople, including the very grateful king, became Christians and St George killed the dragon. The king built a church where St George had killed the beast and it is said that a spring of healing water flowed from the church's altar.

There are several versions of the legend but St George is always the Christian hero.

George was canonised as a saint in the 5th century but he did not become the patron saint of England until 1552. Before that, Edward the Confessor was England's patron saint. However, St George's feast day was still celebrated in Tudor England because this warrior saint had been important to the crusaders. During the crusades, his emblem of a red cross on a white background was adopted by the crusaders, eventually becoming England's flag. The Order of the Garter, the highest order of chivalry, was established under his banner in 1348 by Edward III and an annual chapter meeting always took place on 23 April.

23 APRIL 1016 – SHAKESPEARE 2016

23 April is also the traditional date for the birth of William Shakespeare, the famous English playwright, based on the fact that he was baptised on 26 April 1564. He also died on 23 April, in 1616. 2016 is a special anniversary year because it is 400 years since

his death. "Shakespeare's England" are hosting various events to mark this occasion and you can find out more at http://shakespeares-england.co.uk/shakespeare-2016

24 APRIL – ST MARK'S EVE

St Mark's Eve was all about divining the future, although what on earth that has to do with St Mark is anyone's guess!

In *Folklore of Lincolnshire*, Susanna O'Neill writes of how this was the night for young women to "divine who they were to marry". Ladies in North Kelsey would visit the Maiden Well, "walking towards it backwards and then circling it three times, still backwards, whilst wishing to see their destined husbands. After the third circling, the girl would kneel and gaze into the spring, where she would supposedly see the face of her lover." Other ways of divining who you were going to marry, according to O'Neill and Steve Roud (*The English Year*), included hanging your washed chemise in front of the fire and waiting for a man (your future husband) to turn them, setting the table for supper and leaving the door open and waiting to see which man would come and join you, picking grass from a grave at midnight to put under your pillow so that you would then dream of your future beau, sitting in a barn at midnight and waiting for your future lover to walk through the door, and throwing an unbroken apple peel over your shoulder and then seeing whose name it had spelled out when it landed. A man could also divine who his future bride would be by visiting the local church at midnight and seeing whose reflection he would see in the church window at midnight. Still another tradition, according to www.mostly-medieval.com, was for a woman to "fast from sunset and then during the night make and bake a cake containing an eggshell full of salt, wheat meal, and barley meal. Then she should open the door of her home. Her future lover should come in and turn the cake."

I bet there were lots of disappointed young people on this night!

25 APRIL – THE FEAST OF ST MARK THE EVANGELIST

25th April is the feast day of St Mark the Evangelist, one of the apostles and the man said to have written the Gospel of Mark. He is known as the founder of Christianity in Alexandria, where a church was founded in his name, and as the founder of the Coptic Orthodox Church. As a result of his Christian work in Alexandria and his attacks on the worship of idols, at Easter 68AD he was dragged through the city by a rope around his neck before being imprisoned, where he is said to have had visions assuring him of eternal life. The next day he was dragged until his head parted from his body. Some say he was tied to a horse's tail. Copts believe that his head is in his church at Alexandria and that other parts of his relics are housed at St Mark's in Cairo and San Marco Cathedral in Venice.

St Mark's Day was the traditional day for praying for fertile land and a good harvest. According to Keith Thomas, in *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, people would process across fields carrying the cross, banners and bells to bless the crops and drive away evil spirits. It derived from the Roman pagan tradition of asking the gods for a good harvest.

The symbol of St Mark is a winged lion and he is often depicted as a lion or with a lion beside him. According to one legend, he survived being thrown to the lions because instead of eating him they slept at his feet.

CLAIRE RIDGWAY

APRIL'S ON THIS

1 April 1578
Birth of **William Harvey**, English physician and the man who discovered the circulation of blood.

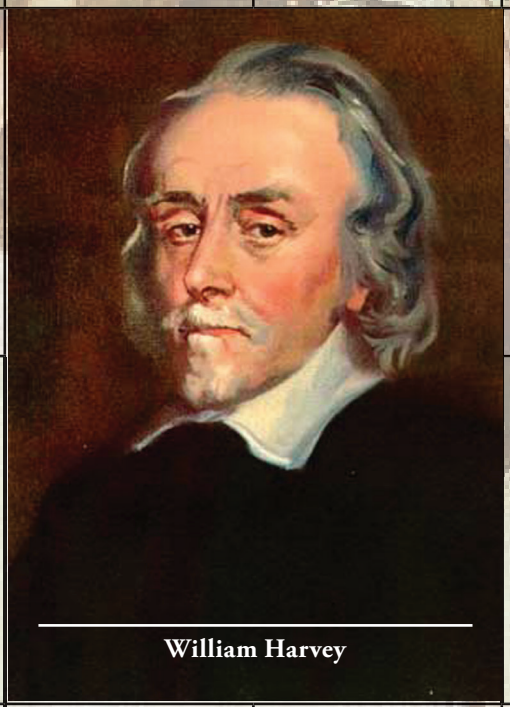
2 April 1552
The fourteen year-old **Edward VI** fell ill with measles and smallpox. Fortunately, he survived.

3 April 1559
The second session of Parliament, in **Elizabeth I**'s reign, met after Easter to obtain sanction for royal supremacy and Protestant settlement.

4 April 1581
Francis Drake was awarded a knighthood by **Elizabeth I**. He was dubbed by **Monsieur de Marchaumont** on board the Golden Hind at Deptford.

5 April 1531
Richard Roose, Bishop **John Fisher**'s cook, was boiled to death after confessing to poisoning the soup (or porridge) that was served to the Bishop and his guests.

8 April 1554
A cat dressed as a priest was found hanged on the gallows in Cheapside. **John Stow** describes how the cat's head was shorn and it was dressed in vestments.



William Harvey

9 April 1557
Cardinal **Reginald Pole**'s legatine powers were revoked by Pope **Paul IV**.

10 April 1585
Death of Pope **Gregory XIII**, the Pope known for his introduction of the Gregorian Calendar, in Rome. He was succeeded by Pope **Sixtus V**.

14 April 1556
Death of Sir **Anthony Kingston**, former Constable of the Tower of London, at Cirencester while on his way to be tried in London.

15 April 1599
Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, was sworn in as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

16 April 1570
Guy Fawkes was possibly born 13th April 1570, but he was baptised on 16th April at the Church of St Michael le Belfrey in York.

20 April 1483
Burial of **Edward IV** in St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle.

21 April 1509
Henry VII died. He had known that he was dying for some time, and had retired to Richmond at the end of February to spend his last days there.

22 April 1542
Death of **Henry Clifford**, 1st Earl of Cumberland. He supported **Henry VIII** during the Pilgrimage of Grace.

23 April 1564
The day that traditionally marks the birth of the Bard, **William Shakespeare**, the famous Elizabethan playwright and actor

26 April 1536
Anne Boleyn met with her chaplain, thirty-two year-old **Matthew Parker**. Parker recorded later that Anne had asked him to watch over her daughter, the two year-old Princess **Elizabeth**. It is not known what part Parker did play in Elizabeth's upbringing, but she made him her Archbishop of Canterbury in 1559.

27 April 1536
A letter was sent to **Thomas Cranmer**, Archbishop of Canterbury, asking him to attend Parliament.

Tudor Life

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

6 April 1590

Elizabeth I's Principal Secretary, Sir **Francis Walsingham**, died at around the age of fifty-eight. Although he had served the Queen for many years, he died in debt, as he had underwritten the debts of Sir **Philip Sidney,** his son-in-law.

7 April 1590

Burial of Sir **Francis Walsingham**, **Elizabeth I**'s principal secretary, at St Paul's at 10pm, in the same tomb as Sir **Philip Sidney**.

Francis Walsingham by John De Critz the Elder

11 April 1554

Sir **Thomas Wyatt the younger** was beheaded and then his body quartered for treason, for leading *Wyatt's Rebellion* against Queen **Mary I**.

12 April 1533

Thomas Cromwell became Chancellor of the Exchequer.

13 April 1534

Sir **Thomas More** was summoned to Lambeth to swear his allegiance to the "Act of Succession"

17 April 1534

Sir **Thomas More**, Henry VIII's Lord Chancellor, was sent to the Tower of London after refusing to swear the "Oath of Succession". On arriving, he wrote a letter to his eldest daughter, **Margaret Roper**, to inform her. Unfortunately, More's refusal to swear the oath led to him being accused of treason and being executed on 6th July 1535.

18 April 1536

Eustace Chapuys, Imperial Ambassador, was tricked into acknowledging **Anne Boleyn**. As Anne entered with the King, she turned, stopped and bowed to Chapuys. He had no choice, and had to bow and recognise the woman he called "the concubine" as queen..

19 April 1558

Mary, Queen of Scots and **Francis**, the Dauphin, were formally betrothed at the Louvre.

24 April 1558

Mary, Queen of Scots married **Francis**, the Dauphin of France, at Notre Dame in Paris. Mary was fifteen, and Francis was fourteen. Francis became King Consort of Scotland at the marriage and then he became King of France, and Mary Queen Consort of France on the death of his father, **Henry II**, in July 1559. Unfortunately, Francis's reign only lasted 17 months, because he died in December 1560 from an abscess in the brain caused by an ear infection.

25 April 1551

Death of **Alice More**, Lady More, second wife of Sir **Thomas More**. Her exact date of death is not known, but it was near the 25. She was buried at Chelsea.

28 April 1603

Elizabeth I's funeral took place in London. Elizabeth was buried at Westminster Abbey in the vault of her grandfather, Henry VII.

29 April 1536

Anne Boleyn argued with Sir **Henry Norris**, rebuking him with the words "You look for dead men's shoes".

30 April 1536

Alexander Alesius witnessed an argument between **Anne Boleyn** and **Henry VIII**, and at 11pm, the King and Queen's visit to Calais was cancelled.

Saint George killing the dragon c1435 by Bernat Martorell

TudorLife

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