Tudor Life

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EDWARD VI

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EXCLUSIVE

440 Years
since
the death
of
Levina Teerlinc

Welcome!

July 2016

THERE IS an inevitable allure with lost potential and squandered youth. As Emma Taylor discusses in her fantastic article on The Prince and the Pauper, Edward VI has been invented and re-invented many time since his premature death in 1553. He has often been portrayed as a tragic figure, manipulated by his guardians, sickly but clever, and cut down in his prime. But was Edward VI really the bambi-eyed innocent of posthumous fancy? As Ruth Irwin shows in this month's edition, the young King leant all of his support to policies that radicalised his subjects' religion and view of the afterlife. I have contributed a piece on Edward's attitude towards kingship, as has Adrienne Dillard, with an account of the sovereign's harrowing death and controversial political testament. Along with our regular contributors taking in the length and breadth of Tudor England, it's been fascinating to hang this month's issue around the enigmatic, compelling figure of the last Tudor king. This magazine affords us, both readers and contributors, a wonderful opportunity to explore the big and small of life in Tudor England.

GARETH RUSSELL

Tudor Life

Contents

EDWARD VI

TUDOR LIFE EXCLUSIVE

A true Tudor Artist

Four hundred and forty years ago Levina Teerlinc, the first woman to be appointed as an official artist to a European court, died. Our regular art historian & Teerlinc expert **Melanie Taylor** gives us an overview of her life...

Teerlinc was born Levina Bening and was the oldest of five daughters of the illuminator Simon Bening (1482-1561). Her grandfather Alexander (Sanders) Bening (d1519) was also an illuminator and his wife was either the sister or niece of the artist Hugo van de Goes famous for creating the Portinari altarpiece now in the Uffizzi Gallery, Florence.

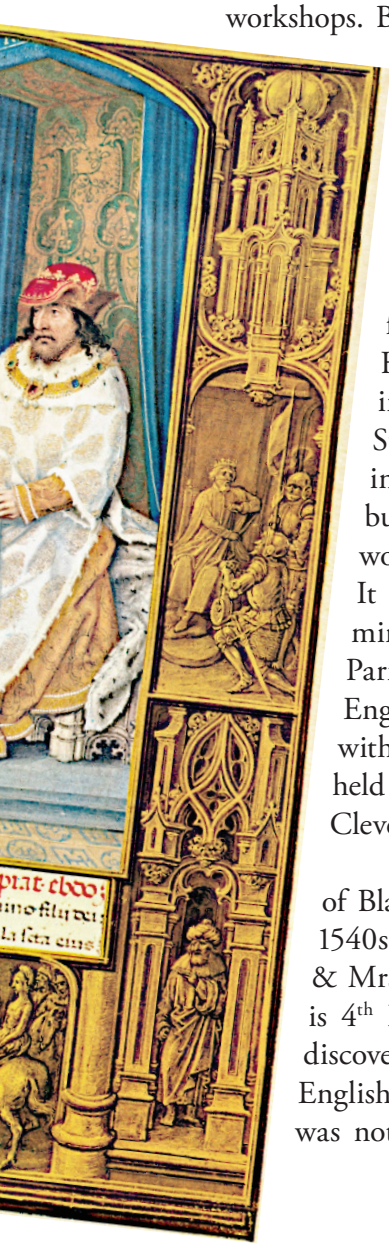
Having no brothers, Levina was the heir to the Bening workshop. Due to her gender it is extremely difficult to discover evidence of Teerlinc's training or of any art created during her early years in her father's workshop as she was not eligible to be enrolled as an apprentice in any Guild.

During her lifetime her talents were extolled by various contemporary critics as being as great as her father's. To give you an idea of the type of work created in the Bening workshop here is f339 of the Grimani Breviary depicting the Arrival of the Queen of Sheba at the court of King Solomon.

In 2002 Eric Drigsdhal discovered that Alexander and his son, Simon, had included their portraits in the full-page illumination (detail shown above).[1] Father and son are immediately to the right of the king

and Simon Bening stands directly behind the kneeling Sheba. The inclusion of Alexander and Simon Bening in this scene places them at the centre of a royal court. Perhaps this was done deliberately to show the type of clientele the Bening workshop attracted?

Created between 1510 and 1515 The Grimani Breviary is considered to be the result of the collaboration of the Bening, Horenbout and David workshops. Between them these three families created some of the most exquisite manuscripts of the late 15th and first half of the 16th century. The Horenbout family moved to London in the mid 1520s and the Horenbout name appears in royal accounts from 1526 until 1544. Gerard Horenbout's English workshop included his children, Lucas and Susannah. Lucas's name appears in the accounts as 'king's pictor', but it is difficult to attribute specific works to either Lucas or Susannah. It is believed Susannah created miniatures for Queen Katherine Parr. Susannah married twice to Englishmen who held minor positions within the English court. Later she held a position in the court of Anne of Cleves. Lucas died in March 1544.



Levina married George Teerlinc of Blankenburge sometime in the early 1540s and the last entry we have of Mr & Mrs Teerlinc in any Flemish archives is 4th February 1545.[2] Susan James has discovered payments to Levina in the English Queen's accounts of 1545, but it was not until 1546 that Teerlinc's name appears in the King's accounts. It is not known for sure how Levina came to be at the English court, but it cannot be coincidence that Katherine Parr's secretary, William Bucler, had been in Flanders a short time before Levina comes to England. Bucler was in Antwerp conducting secret negotiations with the princes of the Schmalkaldic League to form a Protestant alliance with England. He arrived in Antwerp only days before the funeral George Teerlinc's father. Perhaps Bucler had been given the order to also travel to Bruges to try and persuade Simon Bening to move to England in as much the same way as Bening's colleague Gerard Horenbout had done in the 1520s. However, as a young married woman and talented artist, perhaps Bucler was persuaded by Levina's youth and talent to invite her to England instead of her sixty two year old father. There had been a close relationship between the Horenbouts and the Benings so it is also possible that the surviving Horenbout at the English court, Susannah, had suggested Levina as a suitable replacement as the official court illuminator for her late brother Lucas.

Unlike Susannah Horenbout, Levina arrived at the English court as a married woman. George Teerlinc was a minor Flemish aristocrat and thanks to the support of the queen's brother, William Parr, was appointed a Gentleman Pensioner at the court of Henry VIII. Parr was captain of the Pensioners who formed the bodyguard for the king. George held this position until he died in c1577/8. Thus it was that the Teerlincs enjoyed a central role within the royal court. From the accounts we see that Levina was awarded an annuity of forty pounds paid 'at the King's pleasure', topped up by a further twenty pounds per annum directly from Queen Katherine. Because she was paid a retainer we can only make an educated guess at what images she created for the aging Henry VIII.

ENRICVS octauus dei gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie, Rex. fidei defensor. et in terra ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice supremum caput. OMNIBS et singulis ad quorum manus presentes littere. peruenerint salutem. NOTVM facimus. & cum tractatus quidam perpetue pacis inter ora tores nostros et oratores et deputatos potentissimi principis Francisci eadem gratia Francorum regis ter fratris et consanguinei nostri charissimi. initus. conuentus. concordatus et concluſus fuerit. cuius tenor sequitur. NOS Johannes vicecomes Lisle baro de Malpas et Somercy. predicti ordinis gartery eques auratus. Dominus de Basset et Tyasse. magnus Anglie Admirallus. Guillielmus Paget eques auratus. et Serenissimi ac inuictissimi principis Henrici eius nominis octaui Anglie Francie et Hibernie regis. fidei defensoris et in terra ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice supremi capitis Secretarius. et Nicolaus Wotton legum doctor. ecclesiarum Metropoliticarum Cantuarien et Eboracen decanus consiliarij. dicti Serenissimi principis in consilio suo priuato. ac commissarij oratores Ambassiatores procuratores et nuncy speciales dicti Serenissimi principis. cum illustri et excellenti domino Claudio domino Dembault. Barone de Labumondaye de Retz et du Houmet. equite auratu. ordinis diui Michaelis Archangeli. Mariscallo et admirallo Francie. locumtenente generali potentissimi et inuictissimi principis Francisci primi eius nominis Francorum regis christianissimi in omnibus exercitibus illius sub et in absentia potentissimi et inuictissimi principis domini Delphini dicti christianissimi regis filij. ac Magnificis viris Petro Remon equite. Corsilam domino eiusdem christianissimi regis in priuato eius consilio consiliario ac senatus Rothomagen primario presidente et Guillielmo Bochetel Sathasi domino. eiusdem christianissimi Regis consiliario et status regni a secretis. ac etiam dicti ordinis diui Michaelis grapharij commissarijs oratoribus procuratoribus et ambassiatoribus eiusdem christianissimi regis Francorum. conuenientes de sedandis belli tumultibus et pace conciliande tractaturi. NOTVM facimus vniuersis. Q. cum dei benignitas. calamitatum miseria quas bella intulerunt pacis et concordie studia presenti rerum conditioni minuum

In the Bibliotéque Nationale de France is the English version of the 1546 Treaty of Ardres.[3] Previously this has been attributed to the artist William Scrots who had been court painter to Mary of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands. Scrots painted large oil portraits and while he was probably quite capable of creating this treaty, it was not his specialisation. However, it was Levina's, therefore it is logical to conclude that the illuminated opening page of this treaty is by her.

A tiny circular miniature portrait of the aging Henry VIII is placed in the cross bar of the illuminated H of Henricus. This portrait is no more than twelve millimetres in diameter. This page oozes Renaissance flourishes with the use of caryatids, goddesses denoting peace – Pax sits between the coats of arms of England and France and holds olive branches. The borders are made up of classical architectural elements and are decorated with typical Italianate motifs.

During her training, Levina would have been witness to, and probably part of, the creation of the illuminations for the Order of the Golden Fleece where similar border decorations of caryatids etc abound. The various portraits for this Order were designed and painted by her father, Simon Bening, many of which were figments of Bening's imagination because few portraits of the early knights existed and he may not have had access to these. Simon Bening also collaborated with the Portuguese artist Antonio de Hollanda in the creation of the genealogy of the Portuguese royal family (British Library Add Ms 12531) during the 1530s. Bening was supplied with drawings of the Iberian Royal family trees, which he then painted. Within folios 2, 4, 5, 5* and 10, which are attributed to Bening, are marginal vignettes of various important historical events in the history of Spain and Portugal. **Add Ms 12531** will take you to the beginning of this document and if you click on the link to folio 4r on the right hand side of the screen, you will see this depicts a battle within the bas de page. The innovative use of historical narrative is typical of the Bening workshop.

In England one of the commissions that Teerlinc undertook would have been the illumination of the Ps on the front sheet of the proceedings of the Court of Common Pleas known as the Coram Rege Rolls. The illumination of these Ps was another way to underline the fact that the enthroned monarch was divinely appointed by God and whose duty was to rule with justice and mercy. The Latin word Placita is the first word on these front sheets and the illumination of the letter P followed a formula showing the reigning monarch seated on the throne holding the orb and/or the sceptre or sword. All of these items are used during the coronation service and are physical symbols of the sovereign's right to rule. The front sheet is in Latin and tells us which law term is being recorded, which sovereign rules over "Anglia, Hibernia & Francia" and the regnal year of the monarch. The rest of the document records the cases that come before the court during that law term and the penalties meted out to wrongdoers by the judges of the King's Bench. In the Hilary term of 1547 the portrayal the nine year old King Edward as a small boy dwarfed by the throne on which he is sitting, has all the hallmarks of a Flemish artist.[4]

After the death of Edward VI in 1553 the closest claimants the throne were seven women. Despite the Act of Succession of 1544 there had been the attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne, but as history relates, Jane only ruled for a matter of days before Princess Mary was rightfully declared queen.

When it came to recording Mary's accession, the P for the Michelmas law term of 1553 is clearly painted by someone trained in the Flemish style of illumination and is very similar in style to the accession P of 1547 of Edward VI.[5]

During my research into Teerlinc for my Master's dissertation it became apparent that whoever painted the narrative of Mary's accession must have seen the de Hollanda/Bening Royal genealogy since the scene to the right of the seated queen has echoes of the marginalia in BL Add Ms 12531 f4r.[6] In the 1553 P the scene immediately to the right of the throne shows four mounted soldiers who have thrown down their arms. These men can only be John Dudley, 1st Duke of Northumberland (1504 – 1553), father of Lady Jane Grey - Henry Grey, 1st Duke of Suffolk (1517-1554); William Parr, Marquis of Northampton (1513-1571) and brother of Queen Catherine Parr and, finally, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (1501 – 1570). Mary's victorious army is shown in the distance and is identified by the pennant showing the cross of St George, the patron saint of England. It was not unusual to portray armies within manuscripts and the various illuminations in various 15th century illuminated versions of Jean Froissart's Chronicles by The Master of the Harley Froissart and The Master of the Vienna *Chroniques d'Angleterre* have images containing battle scenes.[7] BL Ms Burney 169 was another illuminated manuscript created in Flanders in the 15th century by the same two '*Masters of*'.[8] Therefore, while it is common to portray military events in manuscripts, by the middle of the 16th century only the Bening workshop was producing work of a premier quality and as we have seen this type of narrative is very close to that in the margins of the de Hollanda/Bening Royal genealogy (BL Add Ms 12531).

On his death in c1519, as Sanders Bening's eldest son and heir, Simon would have inherited all the workbooks and templates in the workshop in addition to his father's prestigious client list. As a trainee illuminator, a student would have built up their own collection of sketchbooks of plants, flowers, people, and architectural motifs. We know from rare surviving sketches by other artists that this was so. It stands to reason that Levina would have created her own sketchbooks as well as having access to those of her grandfather and father during her training. As the sole heir to the Bening artistic legacy after her father's death in 1561 she would have inherited their sketchbooks to add to the collection of her own studies.[9]

To the left of the central image of the enthroned queen, angels guide the princess to her destiny. In reality the head of this figure is not much larger than the head of a large pin so if we are in any doubt as to who this figure is, in addition to the heavenly assistants the Princess Mary can be identified by her distinctive headdress. Finally, she is shown seated on the throne, the sword of justice in one hand and while it is not very clear, it appears she holds the sceptre in the other. Again, angels flank Mary and hold the corners of a banner. Clearly it was important to inform the viewer that this was a queen in her own right, plus Mary was unmarried. The simplest way of doing so would be to portray her in a similar manner to The Queen of Heaven. By the time the front sheet for the Michelmas term of 1553 was painted Mary had proclaimed that the wished the Catholic faith to be restored.[10] Professor Eamon Duffy's chapter on Mary's restoration of the Catholic faith in his book *The Stripping of the Altars* relates how the cult of the Virgin Mary was second only to that of Christ and that Englishmen were encouraged to think of their country as being Mary's Dowry.[11] While the Ps of the Coram Rege Rolls follow a traditional format, they have become important for making visual statements regarding the monarch, in this instance, reinforcing Mary's right to rule. Unfortunately the banners are all empty so we will never know what the Holy Spirit, the Queen or the angels would have told us. It is an image that is steeped in the tradition of illuminations for Catholic manuscripts.

This small representation of Mary marks a turning point in the history of England. The name of Mary's first lord chief justice, Bromley, is illuminated at the foot of this particular front sheet so it is likely that it was he who commissioned the illumination of the P, which not only marks the coronation of England's first queen regnant, but also the restoration of the Catholic faith.

When Elizabeth I succeeded to the throne we have an entry in the royal accounts for January 1559 of £150 being paid to Teeerlinc. This suggests that during Mary's reign Teerlinc had been unpaid.[12] Teerlinc's name appears on a line adjacent to that of the goldsmith Robert Brandon who, like Teerlinc, is paid a large sum. These sums appear to be in settlement of debts incurred during Mary's reign and are being paid as per a clause in Mary's last will and testament.

In 1559, Elizabeth I grants Teerlinc a lifetime annuity in the sum of 40*l*.[13] This document makes reference to another payment of 40*l* for arrears during the reign of Edward VI. Teerlinc was absent from the court from sometime after September 1548 and did not return until after the birth of her only child, Marcus, in 1551. The royal accounts for the period of midsummer 1547 to September 1548 detail payments to the artist of £10 every quarter, which then cease until 1552.[14] Whether the new queen was making an ex gratia payment to cover Teerlinc's absence is not known, but the reference is very specifically for her time as King's pictrix.

In 1556 George Teerlinc took out denization papers for himself and his family.[15] During the same year the family were granted the lease of a property in Stepney and built a house to the value of £500. In today's money this house would cost £6,649,000.[16] Likewise Teerlinc's annuity of £40 per annum would be the equivalent to an annual income of £241,00 today.[17] Given in this context these sums provide a modern audience with an idea of the standard of living the Teerlincs would enjoy had they been alive today.

One of the first individual portrait miniatures accepted by most art historians as being by Teerlinc is the Coronation portrait of Elizabeth I held in the Portland Collection, despite that collection listing it as being a Hilliard. It is not in the traditional round format and, like the image of Mary in the P of Michelmas 1553, portrays the new queen as a virgin. The gold coronation robes were the ones originally worn by her sister Mary at her coronation and had been altered to fit Elizabeth. Cloth of gold and the ermine fur lining were the privilege of kings, queens and dukes. The sumptuary laws were very specific about what fur, colour of fabric and the fabric itself i.e. gold and silver tissue, velvet, silk, wool and linen could be worn by what level of society, but these laws were more honoured in the breach than in the abidance. There is a real diamond set at the centre of the cross on the orb.

The portrait miniature became popular as a way of declaring love, as a diplomatic gift or as way for the queen to give as a gift to honour a loyal subject. In the Duke of Buccleuch's collection at Bowhill House near Edinburgh there are several interesting portraits of members of the court that are dated to the period 1554 – 1572. At this period the only artist producing top quality miniatures for the court was Teerlinc. Members of the court would have had access to her because of her position as *pictrix domine regine* and

unless specifically requested by the queen, these commissions would have been in addition to Teerlinc's annuity.[18] Unfortunately the personal accounts of the Teerlinc family have not survived. Erna Auerbach identified a miniature of Robert Dudley in the Buccleuch collection as being from this period.[19] This miniature contains similarities to the style of the Coronation portrait and is clearly by the same hand.

Today it is generally accepted by art historians that it was Teerlinc who trained Nicholas Hilliard in the art of illumination. His style is somewhat similar to hers and, despite him being a Protestant, there are elements in his use of symbolism that hark back to those used by the illuminators of Catholic manuscripts. People would have recognised and understood painted messages conveyed by the addition of a specific type of flower, the position of a hand over the sitter's heart, or perhaps the inclusion of words or dedication that only the recipient would understand.

I believe this Hilliard portrait of an Unknown Lady of 1572 is a portrait of Teerlinc created for the purpose of introducing Hilliard to the queen as a replacement for herself.[20] The miniature is in the Buccleuch collection at Bowhill House. It is not on display and this image was scanned from the catalogue of the 1983 V&A exhibition *Artists of the Tudor Court: The Portrait Miniature Rediscovered 1520*. In her book on Hilliard, Auerbach describes the costume worn by this lady as being Flemish in style.[21] Our lady wears the colours of the queen's livery, black and white.

The reason I believe this is a portrait of Teerlinc is not just because of her Flemish style costume. Let us compare the features of this Unknown Lady with the portraits of Alexander and Simon Bening that Eric Drighsdal discovered in folio 339 of the Grimani Breviary and Bening's own self-portrait now in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Alexander's portrait in the full-page illumination of the arrival of the Queen of Sheba in the Grimani Breviary is a candid rendition of his age showing his scraggy neck and hollow cheeks. It is in marked contrast to the fresh face of his son standing next to him. He appears to be deep in thought as if contemplating his own mortality and position in society. Despite the splendour of his red robes of the official uniform of Nestor of the Guild of St Luke it is very apparent this is an old man.

The way that Simon Bening looks out at us suggests that he is the one who painted his portrait, which might lead us to conclude that he was the artist responsible for this execution of the whole of this particular scene.

Bening's self-portrait was painted in 1558 when he was aged seventy-five and this version is in the Victoria & Albert collection. There is another version in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Bening has portrayed himself as if he has been disturbed during his painting of the illumination we see on the easel in front of him. He sits next to a window where the light falls over his left shoulder. What this portrait also reveals is that the artist wears spectacles.

The words written in Latin under his portrait translate as follows: "*Simon Bennink the son of Alexander, painted this himself at the age of 75 in 1558*".

By comparing these portraits certain genetic similarities in the length of nose, the set of the mouth, the height of the forehead and the depth of the septum are apparent. Admittedly the height of the lady's forehead may have been manipulated to follow the fashion of the day. Both in the Hilliard portrait and Simon Bening self-portrait the hair is virtually hidden by head coverings, which is one of the recommendations made in Hilliard's draft treatise of 1598 regarding the apparel of a painter of a gentleman artist. The reason he gives for covering the hair is to

stop dandruff or loose hairs dropping on to the work and spoiling it.

Certain art historians have attributed miniatures of varying quality painted between 1545 and 1569 to Teerlinc, describing them as 'weak'.[22] This comment appears to be based on a personal concept of the abilities of women artists and ignores the critical analysis of Teerlinc's work made by her contemporaries. The 16th century Florentine historian, Ludovico Guicciardini, described her talents as "*being as being as great as that of her father in painting miniature portraits*"[23]. Simon Bening's workshop was commissioned to create manuscripts and books for kings, princes, dukes and cardinals. Giving due consideration to the Bening workshop reputation and Guicciardini's description it is apparent that the English royal family thought his daughter was worth her high salary.

After 1578 Nicholas Hilliard became the queen's miniature artist of choice. He would have had to learn the art of limning separately from goldsmithing. From the surviving records held by the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths we learn he was apprenticed to the goldsmith Robert Brandon in 1562. Despite the royal household numbering hundreds of people, Brandon and Teerlinc were part of a decorative elite, so it is very probable that they were acquainted and that Brandon set and supplied the diamond for the Teerlinc miniature Coronation portrait of Elizabeth. How Teerlinc came to know the young Hilliard and how he came to be apprenticed to Robert Brandon is not known The eight year old Hilliard had gone into exile with the Bodley family in 1555. In my novel, *The Truth of the Line*, I have speculated that it was because Hilliard stayed with the Bodley household in London after their return from exile in Geneva during the reign of Queen Mary.

As Elizabeth aged, Hilliard created the concept of what we now call the Mask of Youth miniatures, reducing the queen's aging features to a few lines and focussing on creating glittering renditions of her famous jewels.[24] In his draft treatise of 1598 Hilliard describes how he creates the faux jewels in his miniatures dating from the 1580s onwards. This treatise was never finished. What is clear to anyone who has studied it is that it is based on a 1573 publication written in English and printed in London. The prose of the 1573 book has certain phrases that suggest it was not written by a native English speaker.

This 16th century publication was not the first book detailing the preparation of the painting surface and the pigments for illuminating documents. At the beginning of the century Albrecht Dürer had printed several theoretical books covering geometry and its use in architecture, engineering and typography. In further four separate books he discusses human proportion and anatomy, aesthetics and describes the best way to paint portraits. Dürer has clearly drawn on 15th century treatises by Renaissance worthies such as Alberti, Piero della Francesca and others. Dürer embraced the invention of the printing press to ensure his works were affordable. He covers the basic preparation of pigments and the painting surface, but not in the same detail as this 1573 volume. There is a marked difference between the title pages of the 1573 publication and Dürer's books that is not immediately obvious to a reader. Dürer's name is very visible, but the 1573 Treatise has no author's name.

There are other examples of anonymous publications during the time of the English Reformation. Two books, one of Psalms & Prayers published in 1544 and Meditations published the following year were published anonymously. James argues that the reason for the author's anonymity is because the writer was a woman and that the author of the anonymous Treatise was also a woman, and Teerlinc in particular.[25] However, the reason for publishing the 1544 and 1545 books anonymously might just be because the author was Queen Katherine Parr. Perhaps it would be better to consider the status of women at this period in order to offer a reason as to why any work by a woman might be published anonymously.

Until 1st January 1974 when the law in England and Wales was changed by the enactment of the Matrimonial Causes Act, women married before this date were deemed to be chattels of their husband. This Act of Parliament gave women legal independence and was the last event in a long battle for the emancipation of women. Since married women had no individual recognition in the 16th century, why would any credibility be given to a publication written by someone who was a mere chattel? As if to underscore Teerlinc's position as a chattel the quarterly payments of 10*l* are paid 'into the hand' of Teerlinc's husband, George, not directly to the artist. Levina died shortly before husband George was to receive the quarterly payment due to her in June 1576. Under the terms of

the annuity her death meant that this payment did not have to be made, but the queen commanded that it should

". . .as oure gyfte . . . in respecte of the former service donne unto us by the saide Levyne Teerlinge, as of the presente service of our Servaunte George Terlinge . . ."[26]

Did Teerlinc train Nicholas Hilliard? There was no other candidate who had the level of artistic ability or the social connections to introduce him either to the master goldsmith, Robert Brandon in order for him to learn the art of goldsmithing, or to facilitate an introduction to Queen Elizabeth giving him the opportunity to become the next court illuminator.

The fact that Teerlinc was lost to view for centuries is not because she lacked talent. Some of her work has been attributed to her student Hilliard or given the attribution "in the style of Hilliard" because her work was never signed. From contemporary critics we learn she was a woman of considerable talent. Modern (male) art historians have chosen to ignore this 16th century written evidence and have assigned any unsigned miniature portraits and illuminations of dubious quality of the period 1546-1576 as being by her without affording credible evidence or analysis as to why they came to this conclusion.

Is this a portrait of Levina Teerlinc? I believe it is. Perhaps it was created as a way for Teerlinc to introduce Hilliard as her possible successor by providing an example of his genius so that the queen could compare the portrait with the living person. If you accept that this portrait is of her, then this Hilliard portrait not only gives us a face for the name, but provides us with the year of 1520 being the definitive date for her birth.

Teerlinc died aged fifty-six on 23rd June 1576.

MELANIE TAYLOR

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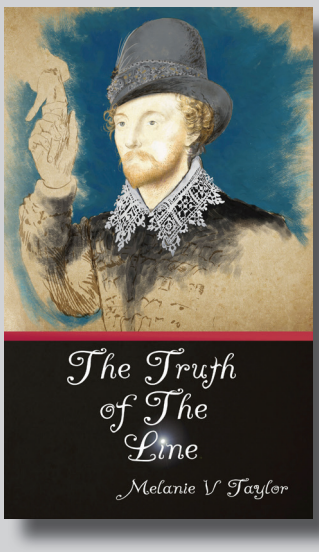

Melanie Taylor is the author of "*The Truth of the Line*" and a regular contributor to the Tudor Life magazine. She's making a name for herself in the Tudor and Medieval art world, specialising in works by Teerlinc and Hilliard. She is also preparing a course for the new online courses website **MedievalCourses.com** as well as working on a number of new non-fiction works.

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Edward VI's attitude to monarchy

by Gareth Russell

With his grey eyes and thin lips, the nine-year-old Edward VI strongly resembled Queen Jane Seymour, the mother he had never known. Both of his parents had pale skin and Edward, perhaps unsurprisingly, took after them both in that regards. In a fascinating case for nature versus nurture, he also inherited the enigma of his mother's personality. Five hundred years after her horrible end, Jane Seymour continues to divide historians and Tudor enthusiasts. Was she the archetypal Tudor good wife, a schemer who used honey rather than vinegar to get what she wanted, or a dull and passive victim of circumstance? Her son, whose birth caused her death twelve days later, exhibited the same almost-unsettling levels of detached serenity in times of horror and crisis. He also developed his father's callous attitude towards failed servants, but, and I think this is crucial, he seemed to take the duties of monarchy far more seriously than Henry VIII ever had, particularly when it came to the issue of marriage.

With Henry VIII's death in January 1547, Edward VI became not just king but also the last living Tudor male. It was therefore unsurprising that the young monarch was surrounded by his Seymour relations, who were not slow to capitalise on their position as kin to the king. The chief promoter of familial unity, and thus the chief beneficiary of the new reign, was the King's uncle Edward, Earl of Hertford, who leapt up the ranks of the nobility to become Duke of Somerset and *de facto* ruler of the realm while his nephew remained a child. This riled a younger Seymour uncle, Thomas, who caused a scandal by eloping with Henry VIII's elegant widow, Katherine Parr, only a few months after the old king's funeral. When she died in childbirth in 1548, Thomas was accused of making inappropriate advances to the King's adolescent sister, Elizabeth. Fear of the scandal and envy of his brother prompted Thomas Seymour down a path of the suicidal lunacy when he smuggled himself into his nephew's apartments at Westminster and shot the King's barking dog. This idiocy provided enough evidence for Thomas Seymour to be charged with the attempted kidnapping of the King. He was beheaded on 20 March 1549 and both Edwards, Seymour and Tudor, regarded the death of one of their closest relatives with eerie detachment.

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Thirteen at the time of his uncle Thomas's downfall, Edward VI had an intelligence that bordered on the genius. The historian Dale Hoak argues that the young man's memory may have been photographic, a theory he believes is illustrated by the fact that Edward could apparently remember ever creek, bay and rivulet in England, Scotland and France, and because at the age of nine had memorised four books

Edward VI of England, c 1546, artist unknown (public domain)

Jane Seymour by Hans Holbein the Younger, 1536 (public domain)
Jane was Edward's mother, who he resembled in many ways

by the Roman philosopher, Cato. Linda Porter, a biographer of Edward's eldest sister Mary and of his final stepmother Katherine Parr, thinks Edward's abilities might have been exaggerated by fawning tutors and courtiers who were keen to impress on him, an the country, that Edward was like the second coming of the brilliant, divinely-appointed, idol-smashing kings of the Old Testament. Yet, even allowing for some inevitably courtly flattery, Edward VI does emerge from the sources as a remarkably clever young man. A rigorous schooling in ancient history, theology, languages, mathematics and more modern history had helped build on his natural intellect to produce an extraordinary mind.

As king, Edward was as athletic as his father had been as a young man, which challenges the idea that he was always sickly. The image of Edward as a life-long invalid is a case of hindsight writing history. Simply because we now know that he died young does not mean that Edward was always in poor health. He loved to hunt and joust, with some close friends of his own age, principally the boy who seems to have been his closest friend, Barnaby Fitzpatrick, son and heir of an Irish nobleman, Barnaby Fitzpatrick, 1st Baron of Upper Ossory.

Edward had been raised and then surrounded by men who were strongly sympathetic to the Protestant Reformation. He maintained Thomas Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury, who lost no time in revealing that he was far more radical than he had ever allowed himself to appear when Henry VIII was alive. He urged Edward VI to pursue the Reformation by eradicating the last signs of Catholic worship. It turned out that Edward needed

Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset (Public Domain)

little persuading, but his heir and eldest sister Mary, politely blamed his advisers. Mary insisted that the King was surrounded by men who were taking advantage of his youth to pursue their own agenda and her version of events has largely been followed by subsequent historians, at least until the twentieth century. It is doubtful that even Mary believed what

she was saying and instead used it as an excuse to subtly disobey her brother's increasingly anti-Catholic policies. Like their second cousin, Lady Jane Grey, King Edward was in fact ferociously sectarian and

Mary I by Eworth, 1554
Trouble in the Heir: Edward's relationship with his sister and heir, Mary, deteriorated significantly during his reign.

his public tirades against Mary, in which he mocked the Mass and upbraided her for her disobedience, tell their own story about where the King's sympathies lay.

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Mary Tudor was not the only person uncomfortable with the rising tide of religious radicalism. The Edwardian Reformation collided with economic difficulties, which in turn produced more and more inflation, itself inherited from Henry VIII; there was also unrest in the countryside, both over changes to land enclosure laws and rural conservatism on religious matters; Edward Seymour was deeply unpopular with most of the kingdom; and there were ruinously expensive wars with Scotland and France, again caused in no small part by the legacy of Henry VIII. Perhaps it is no wonder that by 1549, Edward's government was faced with a series of massive rebellions. In the ensuing bloody crackdown, Edward Seymour was accused of treason and met the same fate as his brother on. Like Thomas, Edward Seymour tried to hold onto power by holding onto their nephew, but when he hurriedly moved Edward to Windsor Castle, the King caught a fever and loudly complained that the castle had not been made ready for his residence. Once again, he recorded an uncle's downfall with little-to-no emotion.

Edward Seymour was soon replaced by another ambitious politician, John Dudley, son of one of Henry VII's favourites and father of one of Elizabeth I's. Unlike the Seymour uncles, Dudley realised that Edward would soon legally be an adult and while he was ambitious enough to climb through the aristocracy to the same high title of duke, he did not make Edward Seymour's mistake of trying to smother the King, who had clearly come to resent his late uncle's control. Dudley, now Duke of Northumberland, served in a court that reflected the King's taste, not his own.

All courtiers were required to attend three-to-four-hour long sermons which Edward loved to listen to. It is hard to imagine that they all looked forward to it with the same zeal as their monarch. Yet, there were also masquerades and jousts, with the King, who loved to dress in elegant finery, spending a great amount on jewels and insisting on a strict adherence to etiquette, which won admiring applause from that of the Valois royal family across the Channel in France.

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Northumberland, himself a Protestant, wisely tried to soften some of Edward's more extreme religious policies, specifically in regard to Mary Tudor, whose powerful Hapsburg relatives felt pressured to intervene in England on her behalf. All the Emperor asked was for Mary to be allowed to hear Mass on her estates. To avoid a diplomatic incidence, it seemed a small price to pay, but Edward resented it as a compromise on a spiritual non-negotiable. More friendly noises were coming from the other continental superpower, France, which had moved from compliments on English manners to a marriage proposal. Who Edward should marry became a frequent topic of conversation in government: King Henri II's daughter, Elisabeth de Va-

The power behind the throne?: John Dudley, 1st Duke of Northumberland (Public Domain)

lois, was the preferred candidate, particularly from Edward's perspective. Like most royal children, Edward had been linked to other putative fiancées almost from the moment he was born. When he was still in his nursery, his father had wanted to marry him to his third cousin Mary, Queen of Scots, thus uniting England and Scotland. That plan was opposed tooth and nail by most of the Scottish nobility, who had actually been prepared to go to war to prevent it, and by Mary's mother and regent, Marie de Guise, who sent the child-Queen to live with her maternal relatives in France, safely beyond Henry VIII's reach. Early in the Edwardian reign, Thomas Seymour had promoted the idea of Edward marrying one of his own subjects, his second cousin Lady Jane Grey. For the eight decades before Edward, every English king had married an Englishwoman, apart from his father, whose marriages to foreigners had both ended in annulment and who had, in any case, a 2:1 ratio of English-to-foreign brides. Thomas Seymour's promotion of the Marquess and Marchioness of Dorset's eldest daughter was not therefore such a hare-brained idea. In fact, it might have enjoyed more merit had it not been Thomas who promoted it. Jane, who was descended from Queen Elizabeth Woodville on her father's side and Henry VII on her mother's, shared the King's love of learning and his zealous Protestant faith. She had been a ward in Katherine Parr's household and she shared many of her late guardian's qualities, which suggested she might have made a superb queen consort. However, Thomas Seymour's disgrace had perhaps permanently dented Jane's chances of a consort's crown, although Edward continued to treat her with great respect.

Edward VI did not have his father or maternal grandfather's romanticism. He felt no compulsion to marry one of his own subjects. Nor did he have Henry VIII or Elizabeth I's aversion to marrying somebody he had never seen. This was a young man with a vital sense of his own exalted position and he wanted a match worthy of it. Elisabeth de Valois fitted the bill. She was the eldest daughter of one of the greatest monarchs in Europe and a marriage to her might help heal the rift between their two countries. Henri II was as secure in his Catholicism as Edward VI was in his Protestantism; his wife, Queen Catherine de Medici, was the niece of the late Pope

Bride or successor?: Edward's pious relative, Lady Jane Grey, was considered as a potential queen in different ways during his reign (The Daily Telegraph)

Clement VII, and his influential mistress Diane de Poitiers was a zealous defender of French Catholic interests and the Counter-Reformation. One of Princess Elisabeth's younger sisters eventually married a Prot-

The one that got away: Elisabeth de Valois, Princess of France, eventually married the King of Spain, but in the 1550s she was a potential bride for Edward (Public Domain)

estant king, but so many safeguards were put in place to ensure that the bride's religion was left unmolested that it seems impossible to believe that the French ruling family would never have countenanced Princess Elisabeth's conversion to Protestantism. Whether Edward was prepared to compromise in order to win such a high-born bride of peace or if he would have placed pressure on Elisabeth to convert to Protestantism once the ring was safely on her finger is unknowable. Protestant princesses were thin on the ground in the 1550s, but the candidacy of Elisabeth de Valois tentatively raises the possibility that Edward was becoming more flexible, by a margin, than he had been with his eldest sister.

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All his plans for a long-term Protestant monarchy collapsed with his health in 1553. A variety of theories have been put forward about what went wrong, including renal failure, tuberculosis and measles, which left him fatally weak to secondary pulmonary infections. (See Adrienne Dillard's article in this issue). In March 1553, an Italian diplomat visiting London wrote that the King of England and Ireland was a very handsome young man, but that he was quite clearly dying. Realising that death was closing in on him, Edward VI was wracked not just with physical pain but emotional horror at the realisation that he was about to leave his kingdoms to his Catholic sister. He could skip over her to bequeath the crown to their middle sibling Elizabeth, who was a Protestant, but to say that was legally questionable was an understatement. Instead, he tossed Elizabeth to the wolves as collateral damage in his quest to permanently disinherit Mary on the grounds that since her mother's marriage was annulled, she was ineligible to succeed. Criteria which, if applied to Mary, also mandated the demotion of Elizabeth.

With Northumberland's help, and some said pressure, Edward moved to the next line stipulated by his father's will: Lady Jane Grey, or Lady Jane Dudley as she had become ever since her parents had allied with Northumberland by marrying her to his son, Guildford. When some of Edward's courtiers voiced concerns over how Mary Tudor's disinheritance would be received by the wider public, Edward, on his deathbed, rebuked them with 'sharp words and angry countenance'. Not long after, he died cradled in the arms of Barnaby Fitzpatrick. I do not believe Edward had needed much nudging from Northumberland to promote Jane at the expense of Mary and Elizabeth. To the end, Edward VI remained forceful, controlling and autocratic, a true Tudor, with just a hint of the enigma, dignity and secrecy of a Seymour.

GARETH RUSSELL

The Boy-King's Influence

Protestantism's impact on popular beliefs under Edward VI.

by Ruth Irwin

In an age of *Harry Potter* and *Twilight* it might be difficult to believe, but since the Middle Ages we have been experiencing a slow rejection of magical belief in the Western world. The word magic is commonly associated with witchcraft but my focus is on magical charms put to use daily by the everyman. The use of charms in everyday life is something which thrived in the medieval and early modern periods. They were used for protection, revenge or medicinal cures. Looking at sources like sermons and church court records can tell us a lot about religious teaching on the use of magic and charms, which was controversial at times and commonplace at others if we can believe writings on the subject. During the Tudor period, many religious and political changes occurred, effecting monumental transformations in society. King Edward VI's reign brought about dynamic shifts to the religious and cultural landscape. In theory, the surge in evangelicalism reduced the rate of ritual and magical charms that had been routine for many under Catholicism. Yet in fact, there seems to have been a level of continuation in the ritual acts which had been banned by the new regimes. How extensive this continuation and indeed how close to religion some of those ritual acts actually were is difficult to say, but this article will discuss the extent of Edwardian Protestantism's impact on popular beliefs and how it changed attitudes to the so-called supernatural.

It has been said that dismissing Edward VI in favour of studying his two older sisters and their tumultuous reigns is unfair and even academically irresponsible, as it skips a significant period in Brit-

Rebellions against Edward VI's religious policies were significant and brutally suppressed. Their support was overwhelmingly rural (Public domain)

Abolishing saints' day was only one part of the Edwardian government's sustained promotion of Protestantism (Public domain)

ish history. Edward's father had, of course, already dismissed the Pope from official religion in England so subsequently the Vatican wasn't a huge concern for Edward, whose boyhood influences led his approach to religion. Edward's uncle, the newly titled Duke of Somerset, also had considerable sway during the king's short reign, announcing himself Lord Protector at Edward's accession and advising the young king for the following two and a half years. In the six years Edward was in power, he invested a lot of time in religious matters and grew to be 'strongly anti-papal and suspicious of superstition'. It is not surprising that a closer look at his tutors shows an inclination towards Protestantism and religious reform. By the end of Edward's relatively short reign, church services were in English for all to understand, churches were stripped bare and priests could be family men with wives and children. So extreme are these changes that the good people of England could not help but revolt in some way. Revolt they did, for political as well as religious reasons, as it happens; indeed one is rarely found without the other. While inflation and enclosure of land triggered widespread discord in the north of England, resulting in riots and rebellion, Edward's religious reforms were not as wholly accepted as he might have thought.

Before the Reformation and Edward's accession to the throne, people were casually uttering nonsense words three times over to heal 'an ague', putting the tooth of a corpse in their mouth to remove a toothache, or hiding a bottle of urine in their walls to protect themselves from witches. Was that still the case afterward? Early modern science was not incompatible with witchcraft beliefs; Henry VIII himself issued a bill against it in 1541, announcing it not just heresy, but a felony. Not even do our contemporary scientific times find themselves without an existence of witchcraft. Yet Keith Thomas has written that in spite of such bills as Henry's, the clergy often found it simpler to overlook their parishioners' superstitious beliefs than to combat them. An Irish contemporary writing in the Diocese of Down and Connor in 1711 recorded a similar charm to those found in earlier English records. The cure for a rabid dog bite required the afflicted person to say the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary and the words 'I believe in God' over five balls of barley bread before kneeling, placing the bread in their mouth, and saying, 'A grew, earth, air, fire, water. May this good blood not be corrupted by that bad blood. Amen'. This sort of thing was hardly something Edward VI would have considered ac-

ceptable, but it demonstrates how difficult it was - and is - to suddenly make something embedded in culture illicit. The adoption of amulets and talismans as a form of protection dated back to classical times; it's likely the people found it hard to see these as 'magic' or any sort of threat. Do we view our own 'lucky charms' as magic today?

Nevertheless, so concerned was the king that his subjects have no other focus but God, that he ordered the removal of stained glass windows, lest they 'stand between humanity and God' as the object of devotion. Yet even those who saw Edward as a Puritan hero later believed in and promoted prophesies that saw Edward rise to take the throne again after Mary, thus rescuing the Protestants suffering at her hands. And wasn't any form of divination part of the 'evil science of magic'? This all comes down to the blurred line between religion and magic. Anthropologically, the notions of 'magic' and religion reflect the thought processes and traditions of society and can be found in most, if not all, cultures; bearing this in mind, and looking at the fluctuating political, religious and cultural situations in Medieval and Tudor England, it is easy to see how the fractured belief systems came to coexist.

Numerous celebrations we consider to be religious even today have elements of pagan ideas. The Church needed to distract people from their old ways of thinking, and so settled their holidays on or around dates of Pagan festivals. Christmas originated as the Winter Solstice, and was adapted to Christian beliefs as Pagans became Christianised. Even Easter is touched by it with the word itself said to have come from the name of an ancient goddess of love and fertility, Astarte – or, in case some readers are more comfortable with Babylonian, Ishtar. Interestingly, although perhaps unsurprisingly, her symbol was a rabbit, hence our seemingly obscure connection between the insatiable creature and our holiday to celebrate the death and resurrection of our Lord. Pieces of magical culture have crept through the centuries, surviving numerous religious and political attempts to squash them. Crucially, certain features of magical belief have reached the inner circles of religion itself, such as the adoration of relics, for instance, or holy water. There must be a reason for its survival, besides the Church simply absorbing pagan festivals and adding their own twist to divert attention from the old religion. Functionalists look at religion in terms of its purpose; solving the world's 'ultimate' problems, or 'answering fundamental questions about the human condition'. Others define it in its simplest terms: belief systems based on the existence of higher powers. Similarities are found in magic and religion both appealing to higher powers and both often involving ritual of one sort or another. The difference is the manipulation apparent in magical practice, the idea of directing these 'higher supernatural powers' in the direction to best suit needs, or, functionally, solve problems. When the Reformation and later Edward VI removed many of the rituals people saw as part of daily life, it is presumable that they would have begun looking for ways to continue to use such rituals in order to gain the comfort they previously provided. Magical charms incorporating religious messages were one way of doing this.

Magical or ritual practice was not specific to Roman Catholics; Alexandra Walsham has shown how Protestants could show the same level of magical belief as Catholics, simply adapting sacred areas such as holy wells to their own use. With society in a state of flux, magical practice remained a constant in the life of the layman; whether the people viewed what they were doing as magic or religion is another question entirely. 'Magic was stylized and inherited; men did not invent it at moments of stress and it did not cater for every problem'. Popular charms were passed through the generations as we might pass a cherished recipe for scones. Their formulae were often bred in the Church, and they evolved only to accommodate developments in religion and the needs of society. It would appear that magic served the people during the technological gap where religion could not, and where science had not yet evolved.

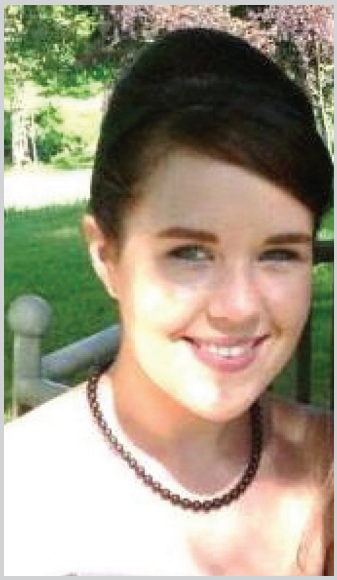
Of course, by no means did everyone harbour a belief in magic. In the 17th century Robert Burton commented on the 'religious madness' of a time when there were 'so many professed Christians yet so few imitators of Christ, so much talk of Religion, so much science, so little conscience, so much knowledge, so many preachers, so little practice', and all with 'such absurd and ridiculous traditions and ceremonies'. To him, any efficacy of charms was produced as a placebo effect of 'confidence' by the user. This may be the case, but it does not change the fact that the popularity of magical charms and the rate at which they continued to be passed down through generations implies a strong belief in their efficacy and either a flagrant disregard of the law or an ignorance as to what constituted 'magic'.

It comes as little surprise that the people of Tudor England found it difficult to cope with the

changes implemented by the monarchy, with each new ruler introducing an entirely new set of rules. For doing something encouraged by one monarch, one could be burned alive by the next, not to mention the possibility of new economic crises with new approaches to ruling. It was hard to keep up. Considering the extent to which the church was involved in every aspect of life, it is easy to see that the laity might have felt lost once the Reformation and then Edward's new laws removed a lot of the comfort they had found in the old rituals. Even Protestants found it hard to live without magic. Not to mention habit; have you ever tried to break the habit of a lifetime? These little beliefs and rituals people went through were what they had always known; and who would ever think that Grandmother's scone recipe was dangerous?

RUTH IRWIN

Encouraging a more purely-Protestant style of worship was a major concern of Edward's regime, which ensured it was praised by future generations of Puritan historians



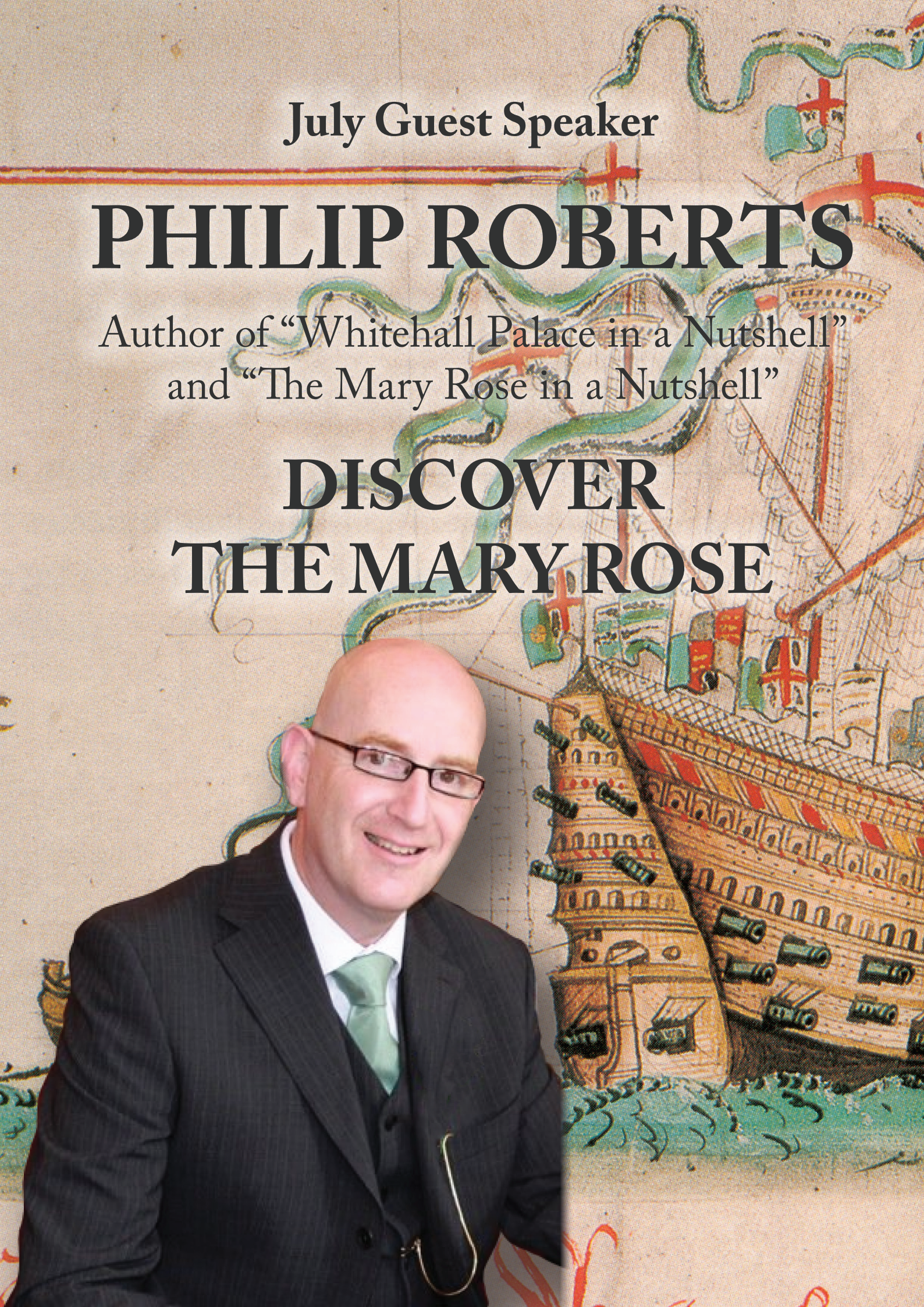
RUTH IRWIN completed her masters in medieval history at Queen's University, Belfast, in September 2012 by focussing her research on early modern concepts of the paranormal – and how the impact of the Protestant Reformation helped change that. She currently lives in Carrickfergus, Northern Ireland.

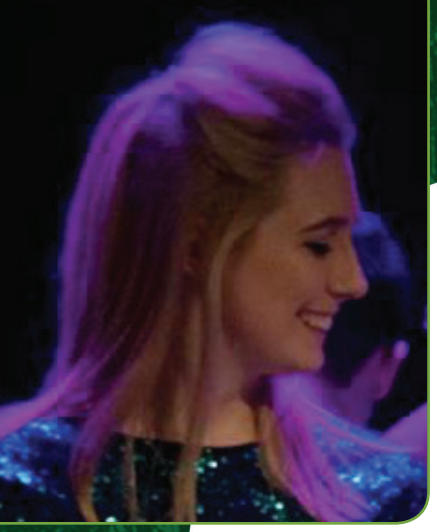
July Guest Speaker

PHILIP ROBERTS

Author of "Whitehall Palace in a Nutshell"
and "The Mary Rose in a Nutshell"

DISCOVER THE MARY ROSE





The Boy King and Costume

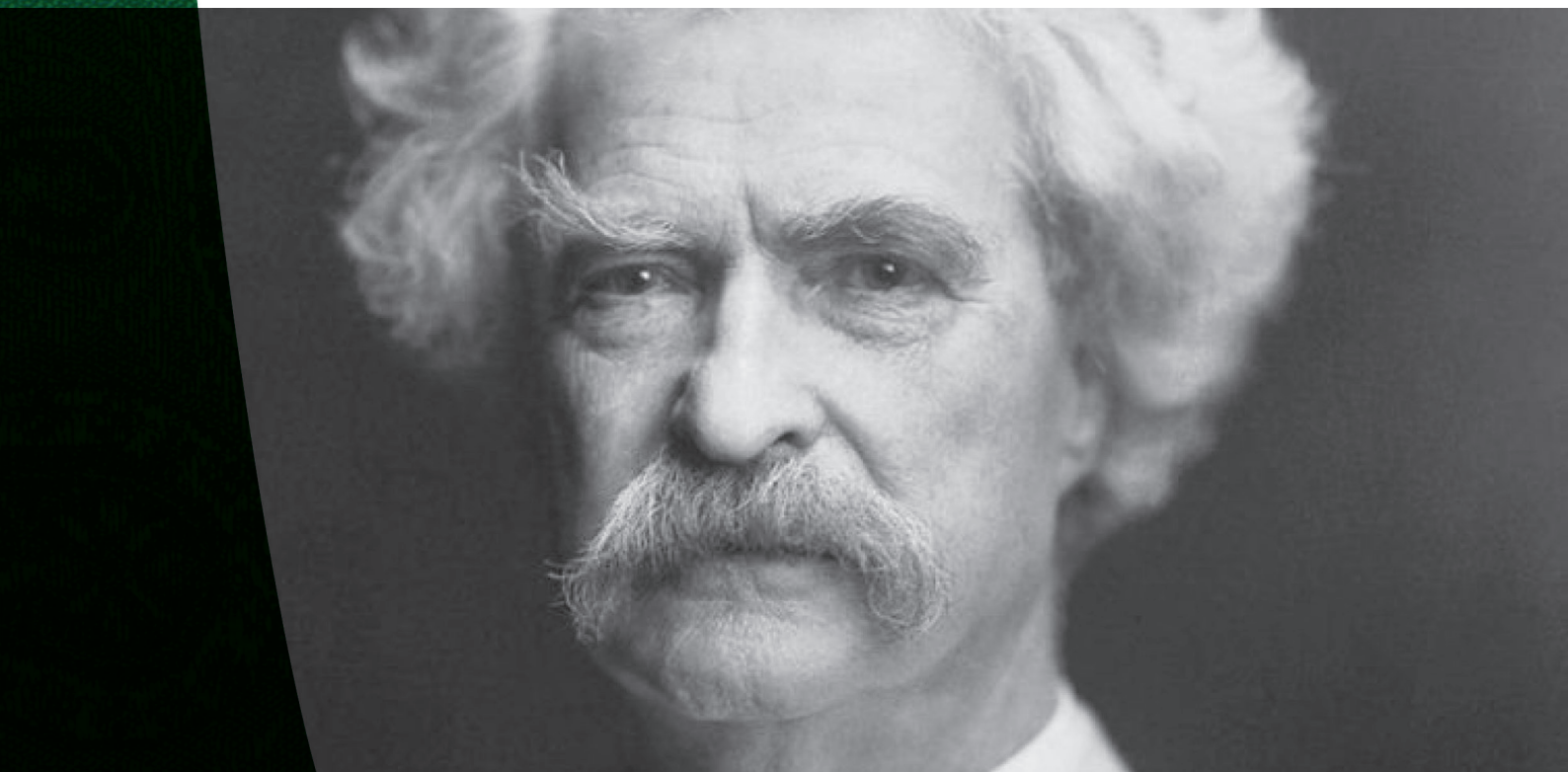
A Look at Costume Design in The Prince and the Pauper

by Emma Taylor

In today's world, we are all hyper-aware of Henry VIII and his reign. His ever-expanding waistline, his 6 wives, and his habit of sending his wives to the executioners block, has all become something of a modern pop-culture legend. Similarly to this, his flame-haired daughter, Elizabeth I: the Virgin Queen, whose only husband was England. Henry's older daughter, Mary I has her famous reputation; though this has, over time, transformed into the less than flattering sobriquet, 'Bloody Mary'. Even Lady Jane Grey, Queen for nine days, has her place in popular culture. So where, some may ask, is Edward - England's very own boy king, who died at the age of only 15?

Edward's reign is often disregarded by popular culture; for many authors and film-makers, the interesting part of the Tudor story continues after Edwards's death, with the inheritance crisis that sent Lady Jane Grey to the executioners block. However, Edward's character remains as one of the most fascinating and unexplored personalities of the Tudor Era. While he has not received an equal treatment in popular culture as that of his father and sisters, he plays a central role in Mark Twain's 1881 novel, *The Prince and The Pauper.* The book is a work of historical fiction set in 1547, focusing on the lives of two very dif-

The great American novelist Mark Twain helped keep Edward's name alive in the annals of legend through his novel "The Prince and the Pauper" (The Huffington Post)



A publicity still of the American Mauch twins on set as Edward VI and his fictional doppelgänger Tom Canty in 1937's "The Prince and the Pauper" (Public Domain)

ferent boys: Tom Canty, from a poor part of London, and the Prince of Wales: Edward VI. The two boys have nothing in common; except their looks. After noticing that they look remarkably similar, they decide the swap clothes 'temporarily', and experience the life of the other boy for a short while. However, in a twist of fate, the two boys are separated and thrust into completely different lives; with no-one believing that they had switched in the first place. After a series of adventures, the story ends happily; with both boys restored to their rightful place: with one exception. Edward names Tom 'the king's ward': a privileged position he holds until the end of his life. The story, while swashbuckling, is entirely fictional, and yet it remains one of the only representations we have of Edward VI in popular culture. In light of this, it is truly fascinating to see how Edward, son of the infamous King Henry VIII, is presented. The story, and the way it is told, lends itself to cinema, a more visual medium, and the timeless nature of the story is one of the reasons that it has spawned countless adaptions in film and television. Here, I'm going to look at 2 famous adaptions in particular: the 1937 film version of the book and the 1977 version, which was renamed *Crossed Swords*. Starring some of the best and brightest actors of their time, these films have retained a charm that the years have failed to diminish.

Specifically, I am going to look at the costume in two movie adaptions of *The Prince and The Pauper*. Costume, as a medium for representation, is limitless. Countless historical characters have been brought to life once more through its power: it has the ability to create and define a character with a sin-

gle look. Therefore, the role of costume in the representation of real, historical characters is imperative to understanding the filmmaker's perspective on that person. Costume is especially important in *The Prince and the Pauper:* it is the defining physical characteristic that sets the two boys apart. Without it, the boys look one and the same. Costume, here, becomes an manifestation of power and position; without his kingly costume, Edward cannot convince anyone that he is the Prince of Wales, nor can Tom convince the court that he is not; therefore, privilege is afforded to the boy with the Prince's costume. Clothes become ideologically entangled with the two boy's places in the world; and thus, an examination of these adaptions through their use of costume seems one of the most interesting ways to look at the character of Edward VI.

Hollywood heart-throb Errol Flynn as Miles Hendon in "The Prince and the Pauper" (Public Domain)

In the 1937 version of *Prince and the Pauper,* the roles of Edward and Tom were played by twins; Bobby Mauch and Billy Mauch respectively. Bobby and Billy performed the roles when they were both 16; one year older than Edward at the age of his death. However, at the death of King Henry VIII, Edward was, in fact, only 9 years old, which naturally, causes the plotline to deviate from the real historical timeline. However, due to the piece's fictive nature, the inclusion of an older Edward can be overlooked. The famous Errol Flynn stars in *The Prince and the Pauper* also, in the role of Edward's amused if disbelieving protector, Miles Hendon. Harrison's Reports, at the time, called it 'a fine costume picture', and it is indeed. Produced with all the lavish sets and costumes of the Golden Age of Hollywood, the picture is beautifully designed, and holds up well in terms of historical accuracy in costuming; something that remains relatively rare in historical fiction. One lovely moment occurs between Hendon and Prince Edward; the Prince, dressed as a pauper, chastises Hendon for sitting before him. Edward, small in stature and cloaked in rags, cuts a pitiful figure, and yet retains his princely manners and observation of custom; an antithesis to his lowly appearance. One downside to this otherwise wonderful film is the lack of colour; one cannot see the undoubtedly beautiful colours of Edward (or Tom's) costume, and thus, it remains difficult to draw conclusions on the film's use of colour in their creation of the boy king. However, one can assume that the costumes colour is similar to that of the remaining portraits of Edward, usually bedecked in kingly red and gold, with a bejewelled flat cap – a flat hat with a soft crown, often favoured by King Henry VI. Edward's costume also features what appears to be a chain of office; similar to that worn in a 1546 portrait of the prince. It is another obvious display of power and wealth; indicating Edward's position and power within the court, despite his young age. Edward's original costume, later donned by Tom is resplendent – beautifully rich and unapologetically accurate to the time period. Edward looks almost identical to his father; a king in miniature. The design of the production culminates in a wonderfully sympathetic representation of the young King; while he is dressed like his father, he couldn't be further from the maniacal monarch during the last few years of his reign. Edward, here, is presented as a loveable child; a representation which makes his early demise after the film that much more heart-wrenching to a knowledgeable viewer. While *The Prince and the Pauper* remains firmly within the realms of historical fiction, its representation of the splendour of King Henry's court and the character of Edward is a useful one in examining how we, today, look at Edward VI.

Mark Lester as Edward VI with Oliver Reed and Raquel Welch in "Crossed Swords" (Public Domain)

The 1977 version of *The Prince and the Pauper,* starring child star Mark Lester in the leading roles of Edward and Tom, did not perform well at the box office upon its first release. Lester, having starred in the famous musical *Oliver!* at the age of eight, was widely criticised for his performance as Edward and Tom, and the harsh critiques of this film caused him to abandon his acting career at 19 years old. Lanter played the role of 15 year old Edward at the age of 19; therefore, an even further deviation from the historical reality of Edward's real age. The film was released in America under the name *Crossed Swords,* and featured an all-star cast of Charlton Heston, Rex Harrison and Raquel Welch, amongst many others. The costumes, designed by Judy Moorcroft, were once again general historically accurate; and in this case, featured both the upper hose and the nether hose in menswear; something often neglected in more modern period dramas. A common feature of period dramas produced around the 1950's, 1960s and 1970's is their attention to historical detail; there is now, in period dramas, a tendency to ignore historical accuracy in the face of modernising characters. This change, seemingly to make the character more palatable to a 21st century audience is understandable, yet it tends to trick the audience into not noticing the large cultural differences between the past and the present. While this can be positive in some representations, it can also present a version of a character that is arguably inaccurate; historical fiction without correct historical context tends to warp representations of characters. By adding modern sensibilities, the character becomes changed, and arguably, less representative of the real historical person. However, this is not the case with *Crossed Swords,* a film which seems to have attempted to remain historically accurate where possible. The costume and set design of this movie speak of a large budget; the court and King Henry VIII are cloaked in rich, decorative fabrics and lavish costumes and jewellery, and throughout the film, the worlds of Edward and Tom are separated through the use of colour. Edward's world of the Tudor court is richly coloured and textured; including gold gilding, deep red velvets, bright lights and swathes of fur and fabric. Everything about Edward's world is luxurious and beautiful, in contrast to the grey and brown world inhabited by Tom.

A lack of colour

and texture defines the on-screen world of the pauper; outside of the court, the world's colours lack vibrancy and excitement. One particular costume marks this difference; not long after Edward and Tom's separation and subsequent swap, Tom, dressed as Edward, sits before the court for dinner. He is dressed entirely in whites, creams and golds, in an opulent doublet, matching feathered hat and fur lined robes. Tom's wild hair has been smoothed down to resemble Edward's, and he is surrounded by a set of red, gold and mahogany wood and served by men in red livery gilded with gold. It is a beautiful scene and costume, and serves as a contrast to the next; we see Edward in an open town square, dressed in a dirty brown jacket, trousers and undershirt, with comically ruffled hair and a dirtied face. Interestingly, at the movie's end, Edward is crowned King of England in his paupers clothes, after Tom places the coronation robes on his shoulders. This symbolic exchange of clothes, once again, is indicative of the passing of power, and the identity that the clothes are symbolic of. The amalgamation of these costumes at the movies end shows us, as an audience, that the clothes are only symbolic of power; Edward once again becomes the Prince, or soon to be King, once he dons his coronation robes, and Tom's removal of the robe is indicative of his transfer of power back to the monarch. Few movies invest so much importance in the donning and removal of costume; here, we see a narrative that is completely connected to costume as a device to drive forward the plot.

The story of *The Prince and the Pauper* endures because of its timeless nature; the countless adaptions and re-workings of the story are testament to this. While the story is not a factual one, it is an excellent historical fiction; a reworking of history to explore one of the most frequently unexplored characters of the Tudor dynasty. Edward is so often overlooked due to his short reign, and poor health, but the story of *The Prince and the Pauper* allows a version of Edward to take its place within the realms of popular culture; a luxury so often afforded to Edward's mother, father, and two sisters. Exploring this representation of Edward has been a delight; through these movies, we can begin to see Edward not just as a political pawn, or as a sickly little boy, but a King of England whose reign and personality is just as fascinating as that of the famous family to whom he belonged.

EMMA TAYLOR

Oscar-winning actor Charlton Heston starred as a dying Henry VIII in "Crossed Swords" (Public Domain)

Emma Taylor is based in Belfast, Northern Ireland, where she is currently researching on the impact of post-colonialism, history, and cultural identity in theatre. As an actress, she appeared as Imogen Dawson in all the theatre adaptations of MadeGlobal's "Popular" novels. She has styled costumes for productions of "Les Misérables" and "Little Shop of Horrors". Her next project is the costumes for "The Gate of the Year", set in the court of Marie-Antoinette.

The Boy King Quiz

Did any of these things happen?

by Claire Ridgway

1) Edward VI's first parliament repealed the heresy law of 1414.
TRUE or FALSE

2) On 10th September 1547 the English were victorious against the French.
TRUE or FALSE

3) The Prayer Book Rebellion was a popular revolt in Norfolk.
TRUE or FALSE

4) In 1549, Parliament ruled that priests could get married.
TRUE or FALSE

5) The Act of Uniformity meant that churches had to use the Book of Common Prayer and hold services in English, rather than Latin.
TRUE or FALSE

6) In 1548 the Putting away of Books and Images Act was passed by Parliament.
TRUE or FALSE

7) The Ale Houses Act of 1551 is considered to be the foundation of modern licensing laws.
TRUE or FALSE

8) Kett's Rebellion of summer 1549 was a revolt sparked off by the sweeping religious reforms.
TRUE or FALSE

9) Two of Edward VI's uncles were executed during his reign.
TRUE or FALSE

10) Archbishop Cranmer called Edward a second "King David" at his coronation.
TRUE or FALSE

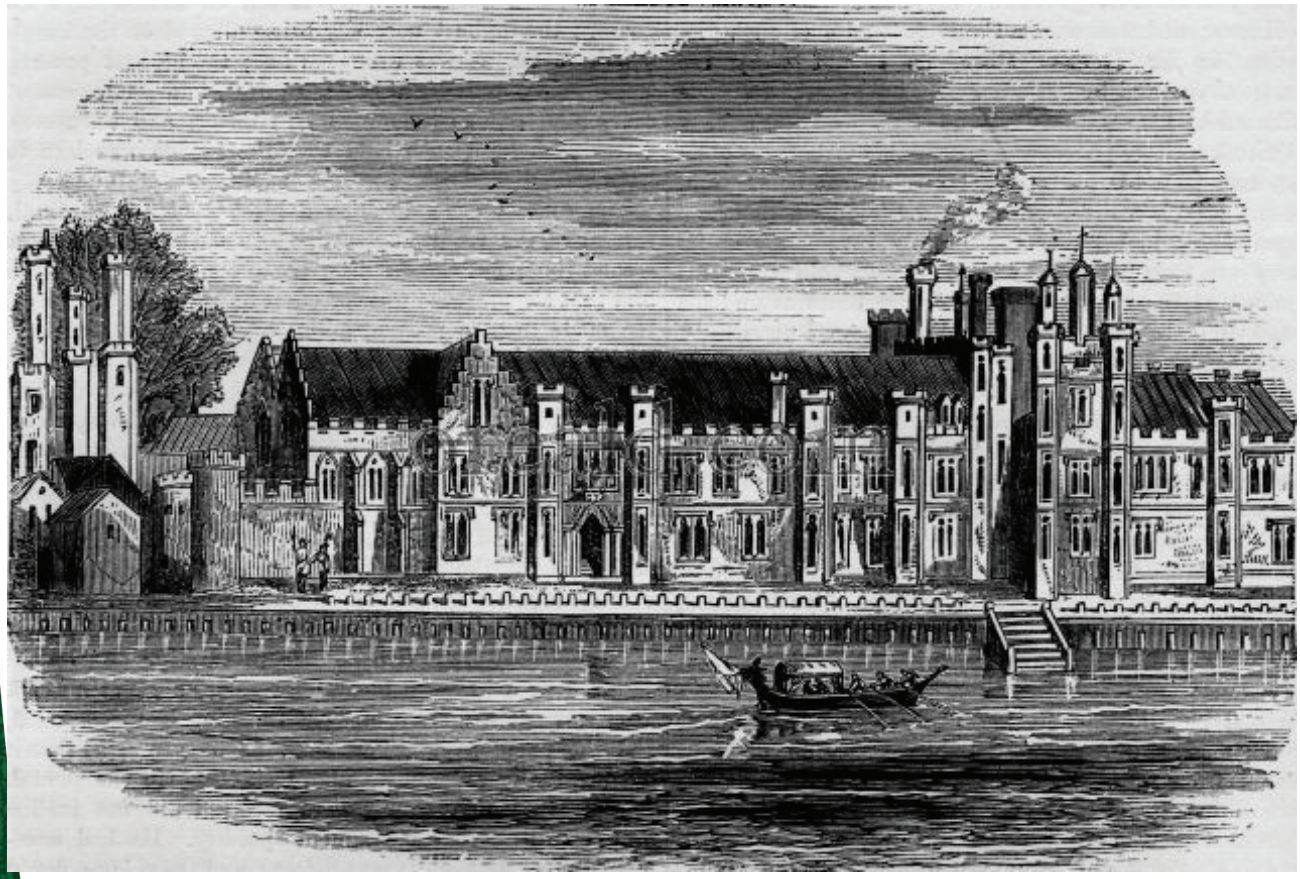
ANSWERS ON PAGE 45

An Allegory of the Tudor Succession, painted in the 1570s, shows Edward upholding his father's sword, but proclaims the legal inheritance of his two sisters, not Jane Grey (The Yale Center for British Art)

The Birth of the Boy King

Henry VIII's glorious triumph

by Adrienne Dillard



Greenwich Palace, where Edward died on 6 July 1553
(Public Domain)

We all know the infamous line from William Shakespeare's play about Richard III: *A horse! A horse! My kingdom for a horse!* What most people don't remember is the line Richard's nephew, Henry VIII, uttered in the play based upon his life: *An heir! An heir! My kingdom for an heir!*

Oh come on, that was a good one! At least I could get some light applause!

All joking aside, it would certainly be a fitting line if Shakespeare was into recycling prose because Henry VIII was so focused on getting his heir, he was willing to move Heaven and Earth to accomplish his mission. It was an easy task, to be sure. All it required was three weddings, a divorce and an annulment, multiple executions, and a religious reformation that split the country in two. Oh yes, and the small detail of excommunication from the Catholic Church. Not a

huge deal if you don't mind sentencing your soul to eternal damnation. You thought I was serious when I said all joking aside, right?

The autumn of 1537 was a fairly good season for Henry VIII, all things considered. The most recent and threatening of the religious uprisings in the north of the country had been squashed, the leaders having been put to death. Money from the dissolution of the monasteries was flowing into the royal treasury. The king was still relatively enamoured of his third wife and his dream of having a boy-child was on the verge of finally coming true. Relations with the king of France and the Holy Roman Emperor could have been better, but for the most part things were going well.

In the weeks leading up to the birth of Prince Edward, the city of London was besieged by the plague. It was definitely not uncommon for disease to make its way through the crowded city. It's a matter of historical record that sickness broke out there at least once a year, if not more. It is, however, ironic that the little prince made his entrance into the world during a plague outbreak when we consider just how ill he was only fifteen short years later. The names of the diseases may have been different, but their symptoms were very similar.

As the time for Edward's birth approached, Queen Jane Seymour took to her chambers at Hampton Court Palace to await the labour pains that heralded the coming of the prince. During the aptly named 'confinement' period, the queen was restricted to her bed with only female servants to attend and comfort her. The windows would be shut with the curtains drawn closed to keep the room dark and the 'evil airs' out for the health of the mother and the baby. There would also be a well-stoked fire in the hearth. Not too bad as the weather got cooler in the autumn, but likely Hell on Earth for the mothers giving birth during the stifling heat of the summer months.

When the queen went into labour on the 9th of October, the king was recalled to London. He had been keeping court in the country as he usually did during a plague outbreak as most of the courtiers had been banned from Hampton Court in an effort to keep the queen and her attendants from the illness. Jane was spared the plague, but she still suffered a tumultuous labour. For two days and three nights, the king waited in great anticipation for her to bring forth his child. Finally, in the early morning hours of the 12th day of October, the queen was delivered of a bouncing baby boy.

"By the provision of God, Our Lady St. Mary, and the glorious martyr St. George, on the 12th day of October, the feast of St. Wilfrid, the vigil of St. Edward, which was on the Friday, about two o'clock in the morning, was born at Hampton Court Edward son to King Henry the VIIIth, which was not christened till the Monday next following."

The bells rang out and *Te Deum* was sung at St. Paul's Cathedral and every other church in the city. The people of London lit bon fires on every street corner and celebrated with lavish banquets, making good cheer. The peal of gunfire could be heard during all hours of the day and the roads leaving the city were packed with messengers carrying the good news to all the nobles who had remained in the countryside. Edward's birth was, very likely, the most joyous occasion of Henry VIII's life. The only thing that could sour the occasion was the death of the woman who gave him his heart's greatest desire.

Three days after Edward's birth, he was christened in the chapel at Hampton Court. The little prince was carried to the font under a canopy of estate in the arms of the Lady Marquis of Exeter. He was followed by his half-sister, known then as the Lady Mary, who was named as his godmother. The Duke of Norfolk and the Archbishop of Canterbury, two of the highest ranking members of Henry's court, stood in as godfathers. Once the torches were lit, the Garter King at Arms proclaimed Prince Edward as Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester. After the chapel service was over and the rituals had been performed, the baby was returned to his mother's rooms to receive a blessing from her and the king.

The celebrations in honour of the new heir continued through the following days. On the 18th, Edward's uncle, Edward Seymour was created Earl of Hertford and Sir William Fitzwilliam was created Earl of Southampton. The prince's other uncle, Thomas Seymour, was knighted along with five other men. As the king and his courtiers celebrated with a lavish in the council chamber, the queen's health began its rapid decline. Jane had been struck by one of the most feared by-products of Tudor childbirth, puerperal fever.

Puerperal fever was just one of the many risks of giving birth during a time in history when antibiotics were unheard of. The onset of this post-partum infection could occur at any time between twenty-four hours and ten days after childbirth. It

could be caused by premature rupture of the membranes, multiple vaginal exams, manual removal of the placenta, prolonged labour, and other various complications. The symptoms included chills, lower abdominal pain and a fever. It often resulted in death.

Queen Jane fought bravely against the infection, but delirium had set in on the 23rd and on the morning of the 24th, her confessor was called to minister the Sacrament of Unction. She would not live to see the dawn of another day.

"My good lord, I pray you to be here tomorrow early to comfort our good master, for as our mistress there is no likelihood of her life, the more pity, and I fear she shall not be alive at the time ye shall read this. At viii at night, with the hand of your sorrowful friend, T. Norfolk.

Following Jane's death, the young prince was placed in the care of Lady Margaret Bryan. Lady Bryan was well versed in the bringing up of young royals, having been the primary caretaker for both of Edward's half-sisters, Mary and Elizabeth.

The birth of the heir that Henry longed and prayed for was a momentous occasion. The king was finally able to reap the benefit of all the discord he had sown. In that moment his actions, good and bad, were justified. However, fate was a cruel mistress to Henry. His glorious triumph was blighted by the death of the one wife who had made good on her promise to give him his heir.

ADRIENNE DILLARD

Mary I's triumphal entry into London was also her victory over her brother's last wishes. This painting by Byam Shaw is currently housed at the Palace of Westminster. (Public Domain)

The Image of the Boy King

The art that survives from a short reign

by Melanie V. Taylor

As an art historian I find it incredibly frustrating that there are so few surviving examples of English medieval art. The stained glass that has survived in our cathedrals and churches is thanks to the unpredictability of the English weather. There are very few examples of medieval wall paintings, even fewer altarpieces and as for statues, where these have survived the lack of faces demonstrates the reforming zeal of the faithful. This visual evidence stands testament to the iconoclasm of the Protestant Reformation.

Henry VIII is often accused of destroying all the art of this period, but perhaps this is not quite the picture. The greater iconoclasm happened during the short reign of

the boy king, Edward VI. Since the heir to the English throne was a mere nine years of age when he came to the throne, who were the shakers and movers of behind this wholesale destruction of church art and what, if anything, replaced it?

Some years ago I asked a small boy what he had learned about the Tudors. He told me "*Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries because the Pope would not grant him a divorce from Katherine of Aragon. He then married Anne Boleyn and cut her head off because she had had sex with her brother*!"[1] This is a very simple view of a complex subject, but clearly whoever taught this child had managed to make some of the facts stick.

When Luther posted his ninety-five theses on the door of Worms cathedral in 1517, did he have any concept that his actions would lead to Europe being torn apart by war? Did his followers have any idea that England's king would break with Rome and dissolve the monasteries that had been integral to everyday life for a thousand years? I very much doubt it, but happen it did.

The dissolution of the monasteries, the break up of precious libraries containing magnificent illuminated books, and the pillaging of church treasures took less than a couple of decades. The destruction of Thomas Becket's tomb in Canterbury Cathedral yielded wagon loads of loot that added substantially to the royal coffers. But is it fair to lay all the blame at Henry's feet?

The monasteries were the focus of Henry's efficient administrator Thomas Cromwell and the inventories of the various monasteries are documented in the 1535 Valor Ecclesiasticus held in the National Archives at Kew (catalogue ref: E344/22).

One of the objections of the Protestant reformers was the use of images, so it is somewhat ironic that the first line of Cromwell's Valor Ecclesiasticus has this magnificent traditional illuminated letter and border. Or perhaps it is not so odd. This document holds the inventories of church assets as assessed by the state so it stands to reason that it should have visual element that underscores the king's supremacy as set out in the 1534 Act of Supremacy.

It is not known who created this illumination, but we can make an educated guess since there are only two credible candidates - Lucas or Susannah Horenbout. Since the mid 1520s Lucas appears in the royal accounts being paid for creating illuminations. Lucas held an official position so it is more likely he designed and produced illuminated initials that appear on various royal charters, indentures and, of course, the Ps for the Coram Rege rolls. However, since they were both trained as limners it is possible that either one of them could have been responsible. It is tempting to speculate that brother and sister dis-

cussed the best design for such an important document before discussing it with Thomas Cromwell, but it is more likely that Cromwell gave clear guidelines as to what he wanted represented in this image.

Despite the content of the document, there could be no reference to anything ecclesiastical. The purpose of this image is to underscore the supremacy of the king. The artist has fallen back on the standard design for the Ps on the front sheets for the recording of the proceedings of the Court of Common Pleas, but with a twist. Henry dominates the central space and is shown seated on a throne under a cloth of estate placed in a panelled room. He is wearing magnificent clothes, but these are neither the coronation robes nor the robes of state.

The Englishman, William Tyndale (1494-1536), had published *The Obedience of a Christian Man* in 1529 wherein he proposed that a king of a county should be the head of all matters including religion, not the Pope. At some point before 1534 a copy of Tyndale's book had been given to Henry VIII and the concept of a king being the head of the church in his own country took root. The 1534 Act declares Henry VIII to be "the only head of the Church of England so far as the law of God allows".[2] In 1535 and despite Thomas Cromwell's intervention, Tyndale was arrested in Antwerp on charges of heresy and in the autumn of 1536 suffered execution at the stake.

Let us return to the illumination of this document of 1535. To the right and left are various members of the Court. We do not see recognisable features on these men. Some are dressed as clerics, but there is one who stands out because of his yellow attire. We can only wonder at the identity of this individual.

At the top of the page runs an illuminated border, but very specifically two winged putti holding heraldic shields stand either side of the royal coat of arms that is held by two royal beasts, a lion and the red dragon of Wales. One of the shields can be identified as being the cross of St George, but we see this on a black ground when it should be white. The black background we see is oxidised silver leaf, so like the larger shield in the centre of the border, this shield would have been of burnished silver leaf. The imperial crown sits on top of the coat of arms, with the cross standing proud of the yellow line that runs across the top linking the columns. This little scene is centrally placed above the seated king making a visual link with the illuminated letter below and the rest of the top border. There are various floral decorations within the uprights of the letter and within the top border. Except for the red rose, these are too small to identify on the screen.

The top border is neatly divided into four. The first is the scene above the illuminated letter. The central focus is the shield surrounded by what is clearly a chain of office with enamelled red roses from which probably hangs the order of St George. Another imperial crown sits on top and to the left is a lion guardant holding a banner. The separating columns are not of any specific classical order. A column separates a seated red Welsh dragon holding a banner from the large easily recognisable red and white Tudor rose. A third imperial crown sits on top of the rose.

The crosses on the top of the three imperial crowns can be seen above the top of the top yellow line. This creates an illusion of perspective. The pillars are set immediately above the first and last less ornate letters of the first line and the central shield and surround sits on top of a more individual letter S.

The letters of the first line are painted in gold with a deep red shadow behind if the letters are carved in stone.

This document marks the destruction of England's medieval art, but, despite the zeal of the reformers, it is not until the reign of

Edward VI that the mass destruction of wall paintings, statues and 'old' religious artefacts, such as chalices, monstrance and reliquaries, takes place. Aged only nine when he succeeds to the throne, Edward's ruling Council consists of ardent Protestants. However, from various incidents during the previous reign, it was obvious that the new reforms were not popular with the people. Archbishop Cranmer was concerned that to proceed to rapidly would be seen as the Council manipulating the young king. As the senior archbishop Cranmer was the one to anoint Edward at his coronation, but it is not until Cranmer publishes his *Homily of Good Works* in July 1547 that the extent of the proposed Edwardian reforms becomes evident.

During the Henrician reforms of the 1530s, there had been an element of restraint because the king was still attached to the traditional church services. Cromwell may have wanted to sweep away all elements of the Catholic Church, but recognised that this would be very bad public relations. Then, as now, people were slow to adjust to change and both Henry and Cromwell did not want to anger the public. The news of events in Europe may well have stayed the reforming hand of Cromwell who knew he would be blamed if the people rose up in rebellion against the new reforms. In Strasbourg in 1530 Protestant reformers had carried out wholesale destruction of anything that was even vaguely Catholic. The justification for this iconoclasm had been made in a book entitled *Das Einigleri Bild* by a man called Marcus Bucer, which had been translated into English and distributed. In 1535 both the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Audley, and the Imperial ambassador to the English Court complained to Cromwell about its distribution, but both Archbishop Cranmer and Thomas Cromwell were well aware of the book's existence. Whatever, the king preferred, the translation of this book suggests that Cranmer and Cromwell both hoped to achieve some similar Protestant reformation in England. The translator of Bucer's book was an Englishman, William Marshall, and his colophon claimed "*The King's most graciouse privilege*".[3] However, after the death of the king in January 1547 any restraint that might have been applied to the Protestant Archbishop was gone.

In his book, *The Stripping of the Altars*, Eamon Duffy gives a very clear description of how the Edwardian reforms were undertaken, the effect on the people and what records still exist as evidence. A set of injunctions were set in 1547 and one of these states *"Clergy and people were to take away utterly extinct and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindles or rolls of was, pictures, paintings and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition; so that there remain no memory of the same."*[4] This injunction had a devastating effect on the art market. In a stroke of the pen those who produced small diptychs for personal devotion at home, sculptors employed in the upkeep of cathedrals and churches, painters of wall paintings on church walls are all deprived of their livelihoods. It is now that the greatest destruction of England's medieval religious art takes place. Gone are the painted rood screens, statues of saints are defaced, altarpieces destroyed, statues to the Virgin torn down. Psalters and illuminated books of hours that have survived do so probably because they were small enough to be hidden away in a safe place, their owners preferring to ignore the words of Cranmer and his fellow reformers.

Considering his zealous antipathy towards imagery, it is curious that we know what this reforming Archbishop of Canterbury looks like. Cranmer had his portrait painted by a German painter called Gerlach Flicke. Cranmer had succeeded Archbishop Warham as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1532 and it is interesting that he did not take advantage of com-

missioning Hans Holbein who became King's Painter at a salary of £30 per annum. Like Cranmer, Holbein was patronised by both the Boleyns and Cromwell.

Cranmer's precedessor was William Warham and in his Holbein portrait of 1527 the artist defines Warham's position as a Catholic Archbishop by including the pearl covered archbishop's mitre and gold crucifix. Both artefacts are set with precious stones. In Flicke's portrait of the first Protestant archbishop of the Anglican Church we see nothing of this type of badge of office.

Cranmer, like Warham, sits behind a desk.[5] Unlike Warham, whose hands rest on a cushion made of cloth of gold, Archbishop Cranmer is holding a copy of the *Epistles of St Paul*. A copy of St Augustine's *Of faith and Works* sits on the turkey carpet covered table. Cranmer is seated on an ornate, mother of pearl inlaid chair which appears to have a red cushion on the seat for the prelate's comfort. X-rays have revealed the word 'rot' is written under this cushion – it is the German for red.

To the left of the archbishop is a carved Renaissance pillar with a piece of paper attached to the pillar, but at the time of writing I have no idea of what it says. I will need to make a note of this the next time I visit the NPG; likewise I will have to study the words written on the folded paper on the table.

Unlike Holbein, who has portrayed his archbishop in front of an expensive jacquard weave green curtain, Flicke has chosen to place Cranmer in front of a window containing broken panes of glass. The red curtain is drawn back. The NPG entry for this portrait states that the reason for the inclusion of the broken panes is unknown. However, knowing that there was destruction of religious imagery (including stained glass), is it possible that Flicke is referencing this event? The glass is undecorated and any religious stained glass that had been smashed by the reformers would have been replaced with clear. Since the main function of glass windows was to keep the weather at bay, and the English weather is infamously unpredictable, it is the cost of replacing the stained glass that saved much of the medieval glass we see in our churches and cathedrals today. Even during Oliver Cromwell's Commonwealth, those carrying out those religious purges did little damage to the stained glass and probably for the same reason.

There are certain elements that suggest that Flicke is paying homage to the great Holbein – the positioning of his subject, use of the curtain, the use of specific items to define the religious persuasion of the sitter. Even though Cranmer became Archbishop in 1532, he did not take advantage of having his portrait painted by Holbein while the artist was still alive.[6] Perhaps the unknown German born Flicke was more appealing because he was cheaper and his religious persuasion was as ardent as Cranmer's own. The date of the NPG portrait is 1545, the same year the French engaged the English fleet in the Solent and Henry VIII's favourite ship, the Mary Rose, sank.

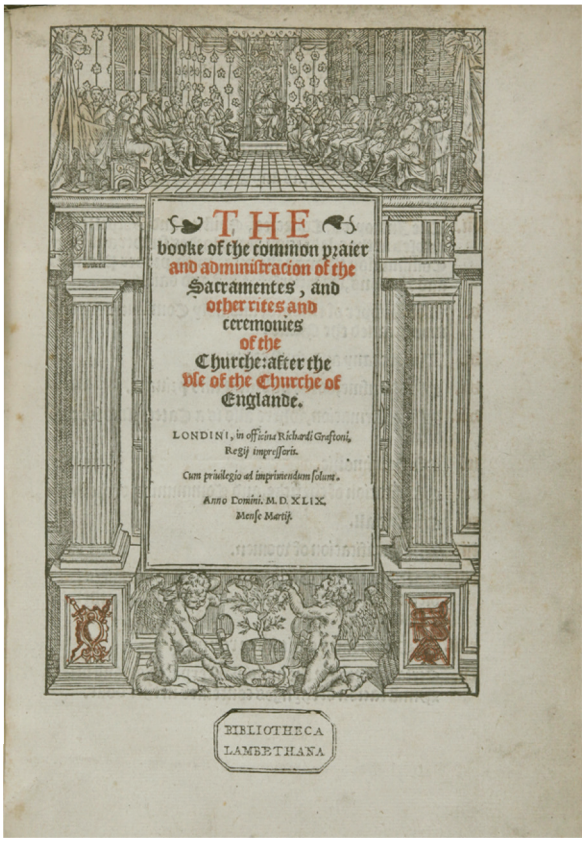
It is also the year of the commencement of the Council of Trent, convened by Pope Paul III to condemn the Protestant doctrine. The deliberations of the Council lasted until 1563 and included specific instructions that artists were to refrain from painting anything containing references to classical mythology ie references to pagan gods and very specifically, nudes. Paintings were to instruct the viewers of the word of God. This is completely opposite to Protestant teachings who precluded any form of imagery.

It is also the same year that the artist William Scrots arrived in England. Scrots had been court painter to Mary of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands since 1537. Perhaps it was the lure of being painter to a king as opposed to a mere regent, albeit a Hapsburg regent, that appealed to Scrots. Various portraits of the Edward as a prince and

then as the teenage king are attributed to his brush.

The other replacement required for the royal court was that of manuscript illuminator.[7] Levina Teerlinc (1520 – 1576), daughter of the great illuminator, Simon Bening (1483-1561) appears in the royal accounts from March 1546 onwards. She is the first woman artist to hold such an official post in any European court. Trained in her father's workshop, she would have been well versed in the latest Renaissance styles, but because she is paid an annuity it is virtually impossible to identify examples of her early work. The 1546 Treaty of Ardres in the French national archives is very probably by her. Teerlinc appears in the royal accounts up to 1549 then she disappears until the summer of 1551 when her quarterly payment of £10 is recommenced.

After the accession of Edward VI and the imposition of the reformist injunctions through the various Articles, artistic focus shifted to portraits and designs for interior decoration. The illumination of secular indentures, treaties and charters would have still been in demand. The presence of two European artists well versed in the decorative elements of the Renaissance i.e. winged putti, grotesque masks, swags of flowers and foliage and in treaties and paintings the use of specific pagan gods symbolising peace, beauty, wisdom and plenty would have been sufficient to attract commissions from outside the remit of their official roles. That these decorative elements in no way represented anything to do with Christianity is another factor in their adoption.



In 1549 the famous cloistered Pardon Churchyard to the north of St Paul's Cathedral, decorated with a magnificent wall painting of the Dance of Death and with John Lydgate's verses translated from the French, was demolished by order of Protector Somerset. Work commenced on 10th April. The construction and decoration of this cloistered area had been financed by one Jenken Carpenter, during the reign of Henry V. The churchyard also contained a chapel and the eastern part of the cloister had a library "*well furnished with well written books in vellum*".[8] As a famous visible example of the 'old religion' its destruction was inevitable. Protector Somerset was not a man of waste and he used the wainscoting and rubble in the building of his brand new house in the Strand. No doubt the re-use of dressed stone helped reduce his building costs.

His new residence was being built on the site of the medieval parish church of St Mary le Strand and Somerset had had the church demolished to make way for his brand new London home. This was nothing more than a deliberate land grab and demonstrates Somerset's unbridled ambition as being thinly disguised within a cloak of Protestant reform. In the light of the March 1551 proclamation that the "*King's Majestie had neede presently of a mass of money*"[9], followed by the taking of inventories of all church plate in 1552, it comes as no surprise that the church plate was sequestered for use by the Treasury. Chalices, monstrances, reliquaries all went to be melted down. It is estimated that England lost over 90% of its medieval artistic legacy between 1535 and 1553.

1549 also saw the first publication of Cranmer's Book of Common Prayer. Two very different illustrated title pages still exist. These show the publishers Edward Whitchurch and Richard Grafton. Whitchurch and Grafton were publishers of the Great Bible of 1539. This had originally been published in Paris, but after the French seized the presses, Whitchurch and Grafton set up a printing house in London to complete the task. They came to be publishers more by accident than deliberate intent.

Each page has a central rectangle telling us that this is *The Book of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites of The Church : after the use of the Church of England.* The publication

date shown is March 1549 and we learn the names of the publishers and that they both have the sole privilege of printing this book (Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum). Grafton's page has another titbit of information – *Regij Impressoris*. Does this mean's The King's Impression (version)? The Grafton title page shown here carries the stamp of the Lambeth Palace Library, which was founded in 1610.[10]

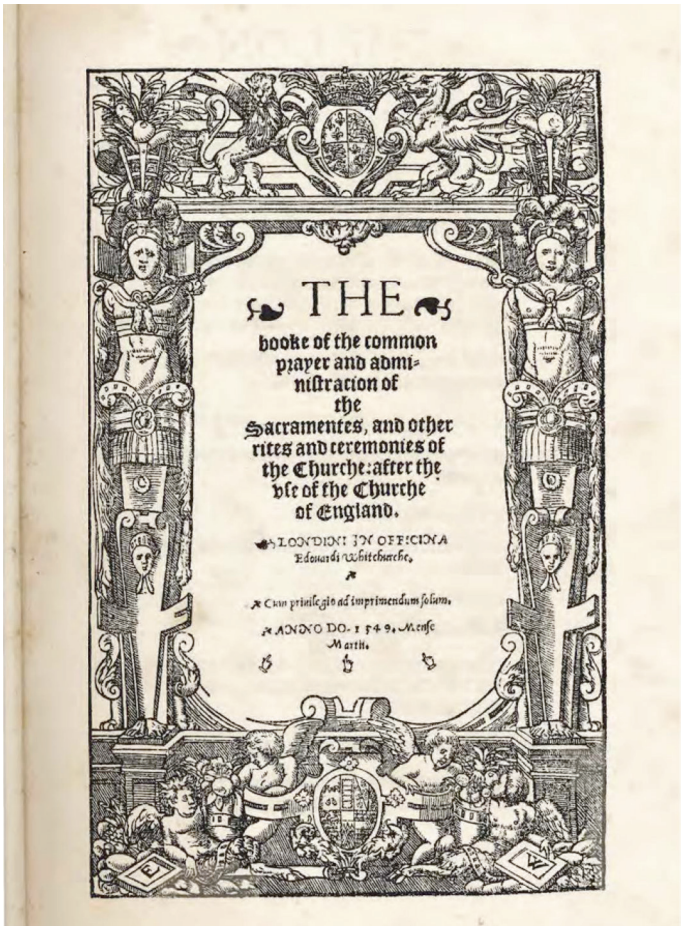
The design of the illustration carrying Grafton's name is much more restrained that that of Whitchurch. Yes, there are two winged putti at the bottom holding a cartouche showing a tree growing from what appears to be a barrel and there are two shields in the bottom parts of the two fluted pillars. Since the thrust of the Reformation was to educate people about the teaching of Christianity, the artist has used a tree as a symbol of knowledge. The pillars support a scene showing the king on his throne surrounded by 'advisors'.

The narrative of the Court scene is more in keeping with a book that carries the legend, *Regij Impressoris* on its title page.

The title page with Edward Whitchurch's name has Renaissance style caryatids supporting a top section containing a lion guardant and the Welsh dragon holding the royal coat of arms topped with an imperial crown. In the bottom section winged putti support a coat of arms and satyrs lie on the ground. Whitchurch's initials can be seen in square plaques in the two bottom corners. Typical Renaissance floral elements are shown topping the two caryatids. Caryatids are usually female, but these portrayed here are androgynous.

In 2013 the English Law Society sold their Mendham collection of books, which contained a copy of Whitchurch's 1549 publication of the prayer book (Lot 31). We see that the title page was updated to reflect that this was copy printed in June 1549 and rubrics have been added highlighting certain elements of the page. [11] The Sotheby's page tells us that the coat of arms is that of Queen Catherine Parr.

Catherine Parr had died in in September 1548 so why are her coat of arms included on this title page and who made that decision? Was it a tacit recognition of Catherine's involvement in Edward's upbringing and her devotion to the Protestant reformation? Who was it wanted them included in the design? Were the two designs for the Whitchurch and Grafton title pages created by the same artist? Was Grafton given the privilege of producing copies for the king and the Anglican Church while Whitchurch had been granted the publication rights for producing copies for the general public? These are questions that titillate and tease and at some point I will have to pursue.


THE
booke of the common prayer and administration of the Sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Churche: after the vse of the Churche of England.
LONDINI IN OFFICINA Edouardi Whitchurche.
Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.
ANNO DO. 1549. Mense Martij.

For those interested in the results of sale of the Mendham prayer book, the Sotheby's website tells us that it sold for £11,250, exceeding their estimate of £5 – 7,000 sterling. Sotheby's also provide us with more information about the king's wishes regarding the cost of the book in 1549. Printing had brought down the cost of book production to affordable levels, but even so copies were still quite pricey. The cheapest version was to cost no more than 2s 2d (unbound). If the book were bound in cheap parchment known as *forell* then the price rose a bit. If you wanted the deluxe version bound in *calfe's leather* it would cost you a whopping 4shillings – but that was the maximum price that could be charged, by royal decree.

With the Edwardian Protestant reforms bringing about the abolition and destruction of all religious images, paintings, statues, altarpieces and so on, those who had pre-

THE

booke of the common prayer and administracion of the Sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies of the Churche: after the vse of the Churche of England.

LONDINI IN OFFICINA
Edouardi Whitchurche.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

ANNO. DO. 1549. Mense Junij.

viously relied on creating these artefacts for the Church had to turn their hands to other things. In particular, the production of illuminated manuscripts was in rapid decline and the day of the hand illuminated book of devotion was over.

MELANIE V TAYLOR

Further Reading on the Reformation of the English Church

Professor Eamon Duffy
The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580: Yale University Press; 2nd edition, March 2005.
Saints, Sacrilege & Sedition: Religion & Conflict in the Tudor Reformation; Bloomsbury Continuum, May 2014.
Professor Sir Diarmaid MacCulloch KT, FSA FRHISTS, FBA
Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI & the Protestant Reformation (1999) republished as *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (2001). Published by Alan Lane.
Thomas Cranmer: A Life; Yale University Press; December 1997.

1 I was so pleased that an 8 year old boy was sufficiently interested in the Tudors to engage me in a conversation, but as our conversation continued I realized he was more interested in the gory details of the execution of Anne Boleyn about which he was extremely knowledgeable! His knowledge was very specifically to do with the height of the swing made by the swordsman, the speed of delivery and the length and sharpness of the sword required to have sufficient force to take remove her head. He is now choosing to do all the sciences for his GCSE choices! What a surprise.
2 These books by Tyndale were published in Antwerp by Merten de Keyser. After Tyndale's publication of his English translation of the Bible in 1526, Henry had called for Tyndale's extradition, but surprisingly the Emperor Charles V (& nephew of Katherine of Aragon) evidently refused on grounds of lack of formal evidence.
3 P386: *The Stripping of the Altars. Chapter 12: The Attack on Traditional Religion I*
4 P480: *The Stripping of the Altars. Chapter 14: The Impact of Reform: Parishes.*
5 Cranmer's portrait is in the London National Portrait Gallery, Ref 535. This image is © of the NPG.
6 Holbein died in November 1543.
7 Lucas Horenbout had died in March 1544.
8 P29 *London Past & Present: It's History Associations and Traditions:* Henry Benjamin Wheatley & Peter Cunningham; John Murray; Albermarle Street, London 1850. (Out of print but available free as an Ebook)
9 p476 *The Stripping of the Altars. Chapter 13. The Attack on Traditional Religion III*
10 Anyone wanting to do research into Grafton's impression of the 1549 Book of Common Prayer might start with the Lambeth Palace Library database.
http://archives.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/CalmView/Default.aspx?
11 http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2013/the-mendham-collection-l13409/lot.31.html#

EDWARD VI - QUIZ ANSWERS

1) TRUE
2) FALSE, it was the Battle of Pinkie Cleugh and it was the Scots who lost.
3) FALSE, it was in Devon and Cornwall.
4) TRUE.
5) TRUE.
6) FALSE, it was passed in 1549.
7) TRUE.
8) FALSE, the rebels' main grievance was enclosure, the fencing of common land by landlords for their own use.
9) TRUE, Thomas Seymour, Baron Seymour of Sudeley, was executed in 1549, and Edward Seymour, the former Lord Protector, was executed in 1552.
10) FALSE, Cranmer called him a second Josiah.

The Music of the Boy King

The Courtly Entertainments of Edward VI

by Jane Moulder

Whoever knew that apes could play bagpipes?

Back in November last year I presented the Expert Talk for the Society (still available on the website) and I spoke about the lives of the professional musicians of the period. I mentioned in passing that that the court of Edward VI employed about 65 musicians, far more than either his music loving father or half-sister, Elizabeth. In the follow up Expert Chat, Claire Ridgway picked up on this fact and

asked why it was that he had employed so many musicians. That was a very perceptive question and one that I didn't have a direct answer to! I suggested that maybe it was to show his power, or maybe his protectors were attempting to exert their influence – I could not be sure. Months later, I still can't give a full and definitive reply and I am no further forward in understanding in detail the musical life of Edward's court. It is, however, a fascinating question as to why the young boy king saw fit to retain so many musicians.

Perhaps a clue lies in the precarious state of Edward's health and the large number of protectors that he had. With rumours continually circulating about the health of the king, and the fact that he was seen far less in public than his father, perhaps his advisors deemed that he should present himself in different ways? Music and court spectacles have always been employed as a way of impressing status and wealth upon others. Entertainers were also used to promulgate both political and religious ideologies. Was this the reason the number of artists increased? By staging more music, both liturgical and secular, Edward could give the impression of being robust and in control of his government and kingdom.

It is clear that the use of music and entertainment was not purely for exhibiting political power as there is strong evidence that Edward had genuinely inherited Henry VIII's love of music and pageant. Dr Christopher Tye, the well-known composer and organist, was held in high regard by Edward and was appointed as his music tutor. Even as a four year old child there is an account of how Edward danced to the music of his own company of minstrels, which had been paid for him by his sister, Princess Mary. For entertainment, Edward also kept his own menagerie managed by John Allen, yeoman of the prince's beasts, who staged fights and bear baiting once a month; a sport that the young prince seemed to have enjoyed. As well as all other "princely sports" such as tilting, he studied French, Latin and Greek and also seemed to enjoy tennis, cards, chess and backgammon. Keen to improve his son's musical abilities, as well as Tye, Henry VIII asked his own principal musician, Philip van Wilder, to teach Edward singing, dancing and playing the lute. This education produced a youth skilled in both social and intellectual arts.

A significant proportion of the musicians employed by Edward's court were the Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal, amounting to over 40 choristers, including the composer Thomas Tallis. Edward used to invite the Children into his private chambers to sing to him. But looking through the court records it is clear that Edward, as well as increasing the number of musicians, retained many of Henry's musicians as well as the court fool, Will Somers. In Edward's employ were players of trumpets, viols, sackbuts (early trombones), keyboards, harps, flutes, lutes, rebec (early bowed string instrument) and bagpipes as well as singers and *minstrels* and *musicians* (these generic terms indicate that they would have been players of more than one instrument). In addition, the accounts show payments to "*makers of instruments and players on instruments and enterludes*".

Edward's short reign is often overlooked in musical terms and it can be difficult to determine exactly what his wishes were as opposed to the wishes of his advisors and protectors. But it is clear that Edward personally chose many of his own court entertainments and he certainly had a love of revels, maskes and plays. Three people were primarily responsible for these entertainments, Sir Michael Stanhope was the Lord Chamberlain and First Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, Thomas Cawarden was Master of the Revels and, finally, George Ferrers, the Lord of Misrule. Whilst some of the maskes or masques appear lavish and elaborate, the Revels only occurred at Shrovetide and Christmas – the traditional time for this form of entertainment.

The exception to this was the masque which took centre stage at Edward's coronation banquet – the Masque of Orpheus. The masque was concluded by a number of sermons where the young king was compared with biblical heroes such as David, Samuel, Solomon and Josiah, all of whom had come to power at a young age and were known for their religious influences. In line with Edward's Protestant leanings, there was also an anticlerical and an antipapal masque at the end of the entertainment and the records indicate that he himself played the part of a priest. It is clear that Edward, like his father, enjoyed appearing in the court entertainments as he took part in the Shrovetide maske in 1548 dressed as a Moor, wearing black hose and gloves (perhaps he also had his face blackened as others did when depicting Moors). In 1551, the accounts of the Christmas revels state "*a devyse by the kinge for a combat to be fought with Wylliam Somer*" . Whether that means that Edward designed the entertainment or simply appeared in it is unclear.

It is interesting to note, by looking at the accounts of the

revels, that whilst appearing lavish, the total cost of the entertainments over a four year period was still less than just one pageant staged during his father's reign! Money was clearly saved by the fact that some of the staging and the props were re-used in a number of entertainments. However at least five painters were permanently retained (including one woman) for painting and re-vitalising the scenery and props. The most expensive and splendid revels of Edward's reign took place at Christmas in 1551/1552 when the appointment of the Lord of Misrule was revived after 15 years. To illustrate the impact the Lord of Misrule had on the accounts, one need only compare the £151 19s 6½d spend in 1547 with the £509 0s 9½d spent in 1551! The resulting festivities were *"passed and spent with much mirth and pastime"* and had obviously impressed observers:

"in shew of sundry sightes and devises of rare invention, and in act of divers enterludes and matters of pastime, played by persons, as not onely satisfied the common sorte, but also were very well liked and allowed by the counsayle and others of skill in the like pastimes".

The reintroduction of The Lord of Misrule was warmly welcomed, other than by Sir Thomas Cawarden, the Master of the Revels. He seems to have resented having to play the games (and spend the money) devised by the mock king. Letters between the two gentlemen survive and there are some obvious frictions between them and on one occasion Ferrers signs his letter to Cawarden as "*fferyes, the lorde Myserabell*"!

Looking at the titles of the masques and entertainments staged by these two gentlemen, they indicate that the majority had a slightly burlesque, even raucous nature. *The Dronken Maske, the Masque of covetus men with longe noses, a masque of cats, a masque of goddesses and huntresses".* The masques were interspersed with other entertainments such as mock jousts using hobby horses and a range of games and other pastimes. Music obviously played a part in all of the events and there is a description in the diary of Henry Machyn describing the procession from Greenwich, where the revels had taken place, into the City of London. The entourage was led by Ferrers as the Lord of Misrule and he was to meet with the Sherriff of London's own Lord of Misrule.

"they went in order, furst a standard of yellow and grene sylke with Sant Gorge, and then gonnes and skyybes and trompets and bagespypes and drousselars and flutes, and then a gret company all in yellow and grene and docturs declaring my lord grett, and then the mores danse [morisco dansers] *dansyng with a tabret* [tabor drum].

Whilst some historians have derided the maskes of Edward VI as being quite restrained, even boring, when compared with those staged by Henry VIII, reading the inventory accounts makes absolutely fascinating reading. Personally, I was staggered by the details and lengths that were gone to just for what, in reality, would have been a passing moment. My researcher's nose started twitching though, as it always does when I came across any reference to a bagpiper, when I saw the accounts of the *Maske of Bagpypes*. As bagpipes are my favourite instrument I always take an interest in how and where they were played, especially as it was an instrument that was used both in the court and in the country. In fact, one of the musicians listed in the Royal household accounts was named as Richard Woodward, *"Bagge piper"*. Richard had been employed by Henry VIII, he also played at Edward's coronation and, following Edward's death, he continued to play bagpipes for both Mary and Elizabeth before finally disappearing from the accounts in 1568. On further reading of the accounts of the maske, it became clear that the bagpipes were being played, not by humans – but by apes! The concept of a monkey playing an instrument would have been a familiar one in the period as bagpipe playing apes make a number of appearances in illuminated manuscripts from across Europe. There are also several misericords showing a bagpipe playing ape.

Looking in detail at the various costs involved in building the maske (or the cart containing the tableaux) it is clear that the six apes were fashioned from wickerwork. The woven ape "costumes" were large enough to fit over the bodies of real pipers which would enable them to *"blowe & pype in the same"* . Whilst baskets shaped like apes may not have been as impressive as some of the fantasy castles, ships and mountains as described in other maskes, they were still complex to make as the accounts show that they took four basket makers some 15 days and 5 nights to produce . Not only was money paid to the weavers (75s 5d) but money was paid for the willow (36s 10d) as well as 10d paid for transporting it all to the work-

These are just a few of the various illustrations from illuminated manuscripts depicting monkeys and apes playing bagpipes. There are also similar depictions on misericords.

shop. *Barrel hoopes* were also bought in at a cost of 4s 8d. Having constructed the wicker frames, there were then covered in canvas and then it seems that some form of moulding (presumably to make them appear like apes) was made of *paste and cemente*. The resulting figures were then decorated at a cost of 50s for "*payntinge gylding and garnishing*". The gilders were paid 10s. The cost of the materials for the paint, gold and silver gilding came to a staggering £6 11s 10d Not only were the "apes" gilded and painted, it seems that they were then covered in rabbit fur – 72 *conyskynnes* were supplied at the cost of 8s. A woodcarver received a sum of 32s for *dyvers and sundry properties lykwyse made and provided for a maske of bagpipes"* which seem to include model bagpipes for the counterfeit apes to play. Without the cost of a cart, (which must have been used as a float), the total expenditure for just this one part of the maske came to over £17.00. (To put this sum into context, Richard Woodward, the court bagpiper, was paid an annual salary of £12 13s 4d.) Amazingly, considering that the pipers would not have been seen, as they were hiding inside the "apes", money was also spent on their clothing and dressing them. Not only was over 37 yards of material bought, a tailor was commissioned and paid for making full clothing, including breeches, hose and coats, but new shoes were also made for them. Three sets of bagpipes were purchased (presumably three musicians used their existing instruments), two of them coming from *Brydgett, the Bagpypers wife"*. She provided (made?) *one pere of lowed* [loud] *pypes* (10s) *and one pere of softe pypes* (6s 8d). Whilst accounts can be fascinating to read, this is where they can be equally frustrating – who was Bridget – was she a maker, was she the widow of a bagpiper who was selling her dead husband's instruments? We also know nothing about the bagpipers themselves. Was Richard Woodward, the court piper, among them? What on earth did they think about having to play inside a basket ape? Similarly, we know nothing about the music which was played. Presumably, some was quiet and some was loud, judging from the inventory of the pipes, but that is all we know. I have not come across any other reference to this many bagpipers playing together during the 16th century, so it is really quite unusual. Maybe this is why the extra instruments were commissioned – to ensure that they were made and sounded at the same pitch.

Esaias van Hulsen : Illustration of the Stuttgart Masque (1616) – depicting grotesque heads which were capable of holding people. Were the construction methods of these heads similar to the musical apes in Edward's maske?

Each of the different maskes that made up the Revels are accounted for in similar, forensic financial detail and, by piecing it all together, it is possible to build up a picture of this type of courtly entertainment. It is clear that, despite costing less than in his father's day, Edward was prepared to spend considerable money to ensure that his court had good entertainments. Ferrers went on to spend more money in the following Christmas Revels and sets out his plans for the Twelve Days in a very self-important way and he was clearly enjoying the power of his role. He also took a personal interest in the design of each of the maskes and the overall impression, drilling down to small details. He would have made an excellent theatre or movie producer today!

The maske of Bagpipes appeared in the last revels of Edward's reign, in 1553, and had to be postponed from Shrovetide until Easter due to him being in ill health (Edward died in July of that year). Interestingly, there was also a "*maske of deathes*" with players wearing two-faced masks with one side showing death's head. This seems very inappropriate considering the young king's state of health, but perhaps it would have been less so had the event actually taken place at Shrovetide, with the Lenten *memento mori* being pertinent at that time of year?

One can't help but wonder what would have happened had Edward lived into adulthood and what his impact would have been on the musical and artistic life at court. Would he have grown into a magnificent patron of the arts like his father? What is clear is that during his short life, he loved music and did much to influence liturgical music but he also had a sense of the theatrical and enjoyed staging entertaining spectacles. Now, I wonder if I can replicate the ape maske for my group's next appearance?!

JANE MOULDER

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Nichols, John Gough, ed *The diary of Henry Machyn, citizen and merchant-taylor of London, from A. D. 1550 to A. D. 1563*, British Museum, Cotton Vitelllius F, v

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Historic Rochester

ON Saturday 21st May, fellow writer, Elaine Currie[1], and I clambered into my little yellow car and zoomed round the M25 to meet up with fellow authors, Toni Mount (author of *The Colour of Poison* & many other titles), Phil Roberts – his book on Whitehall Palace is excellent (he is a man of many talents) and Toni's lovely husband, Glenn. We were destined to meet at The Quill's at 10.45 a.m., but the 'best laid plans' etc meant that we finally got together about 11.30.[2] Being with fellow historians, enjoying a splendid light lunch in the surroundings of a fine Tudor building was an uplifting experience. Not only is the coffee superb, but the food is beautiful too. It just proves that good food does not need to be complicated to be delicious.

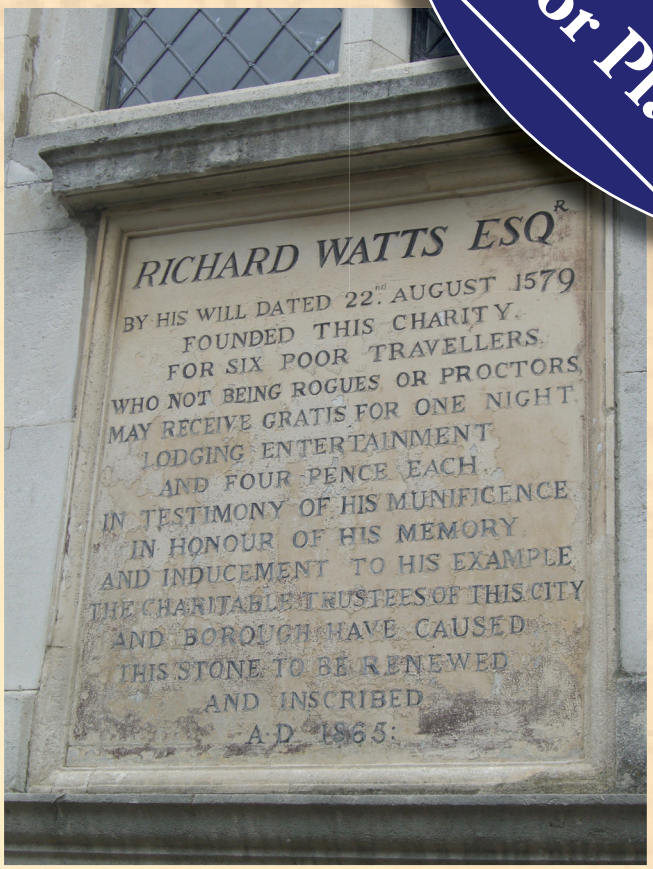
I had not been to Rochester since 1970 something when I was sailing on the River Medway. I had forgotten that this part of the world is so ancient. Neolithic remains have been found in the area and there has been on-going settlement since the Roman

invasion of Britain. The Roman walls can still be seen and stand, in places, up to ten feet or so in height. I managed to park all day for £3! Admittedly, if this had been five centuries earlier we would have been parked our ox cart on mudflats, which demonstrates how much the river has silted up since Tudor times. This area has now been reclaimed and provides parking and space for local industries. Chatham is only just a mile or so away. Until recently it was a royal naval dockyard since the founding of the English royal navy. We were only a few minutes walk from the High Street, which is closed to traffic on a Saturday.

Walking down what is an old Roman road, now cobbled in such a way that the outline of the Roman gatehouse is shown by the way the pattern changes, you cannot fail to be astounded by the layers of history that peel away as you pass 16th century buildings standing next to Georgian ones, adjacent to art deco or 1960s – er – um – I can only describe them as brick monstrosities! The Hendeersons is a gift shop and incredibly old. When they were filming scenes for the latest version of Dr Jekyll & Mr Hyde, I think this could have posed a problem, but with CGI you can do anything these days. Having said that, I understand that it is still cheaper to film on locations like Rochester High Street, than build a set!

There is a very ancient house where, thanks to the charity of 16th century local worthy, Richard Watts, under the terms of his will this accommodation allowed six poor travellers could rest for a night and be given four pence to help them on their way the next day. It was not open for 'proctors' and vagabonds, only genuine poor people. I was mystified by the specific exclusion of proctors and why they would be excluded from taking advantage of this largesse. However, there was a reason given inside, which was all to do with these people being mainly crooks. I should have taken a photo of this, or notes, but didn't. You will have to visit this medieval gem of a museum to find out.

A collection of alms houses specifically for Huguenots stand just off the street reminding me that Rochester was once a thriving port with European connections. Everywhere you look, history leaps out at you. A current major restoration project, Eastgate House, was wreathed in scaffolding. By peering through a gap in the protective temporary hoarding, we were able to see the exquisite Tudor brickwork



and leaded windows. When this is fully refurbished I shall have to return to see inside.

Restoration House – so called because Charles II rested there on his first night back in England, is now a private dwelling, but open to the public on Thursdays and Fridays.[3] It was originally two medieval buildings with a space between. This building dates from the Elizabethan era and has been lovingly restored by the current owners. Dickens used this building in Great Expectations as the house where Miss Haversham lived. It faces a wonderful green space called The Vines. This park gets its name from being where the medieval monks had their vineyard. Walking across it you get to a secluded Georgian residential area, which is directly behind the Cathedral. All of this area is for the various officers of the Cathedral.

The Cathedral dates from the 11th century and the shape of the towers reminded me of various French cathedrals. We did not enter as there was a service in progress. What I found heartening is that this cathedral would not have charged us to enter. They are phenomenally expensive to upkeep and I have to wonder how the church authorities manage this without levying an entry charge. It is sad that the fabulous medieval wall paintings discovered in the 1920s have now faded into oblivion. Thankfully

they were photographed for posterity before this happened. I was struck by the peace and tranquillity of this space. The sadly collapsed century old Indian Bean tree forms a wonderful organic sculpture to the front of the building.

The Cathedral faces directly on to Rochester Castle, which sits atop a small rise. There are the three square corner towers and the one round tower. King John's sappers mined under this tower and brought it down by burning the carcasses of forty pigs causing the whole corner to collapse. The castle was repaired and by then architecture had moved on, hence the one odd rounded corner.

This alleyway runs up the side of Hendersons toward the Castle and the is connected by many similar alleys. This is where the imagination takes flight. Are those the footsteps of one of Dickens's characters behind you, or is it a 16th century cutpurse. You turn and are disappointed to find that it is only another tourist.

Tony and Glenn were fabulous guides around and by 5 o'clock their parking

ticket was about to run out so they left Phil, Elaine and I to enjoy a cup of tea sitting under a magnificent tree in the Cathedral close.

Phil showed us various photos of the finds from the Mary Rose and told us all about the new museum in Portsmouth. He is currently working on a children's book about Henry VIII's great flagship. As I said earlier, Phil is a man of many talents, one of which is sugar sculpture. This led to an interesting discussion regarding Tudor sugar art! As you gather, it is difficult to get away from the subject of food when you are in the company of people who clearly enjoy all the goods things in life!

Whether you are a writer wanting to get the feel for a particular period of history, or just wanting to escape the humdrum of London city life, Rochester is well worth a visit. It is easily accessible by rail as it is only 29 miles from central London.

I shall return to Rochester soon as I want to sample more of this fabulous gem of English history and hopefully meet up with Toni to enjoy one of her history evenings at The Quills.

MELANIE V. TAYLOR

1 Elaine writes vampire/horror stories! Visits to places like this city are great for inspiration. She has a story on a website called Shadows at the Door. http://www.shadowsatthedoor.com/2015/09/scratches/
2 The photo is courtesy of www.bookatable.com All the others are mine.
3 http://www.restorationhouse.co.uk

Other websites:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rochester,_Kent
http://www.rochestercathedral.org
http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/rochester-castle/

Anne Boleyn in Pointillism
drawn by
Gary Ransom

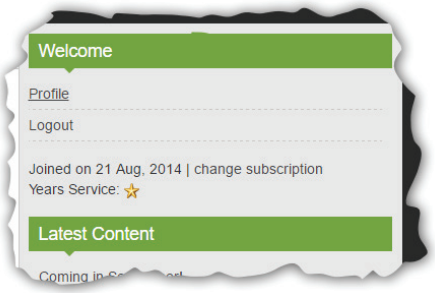
THE TUDOR SOCIETY

Members Bulletin

The Tudor Society has some exciting things planned for September as we really want to take the society to go from strength to strength. We're producing e-books for each of the Tudor monarchs (Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Jane Grey, Mary I and Elizabeth I, as if you didn't know!). These books will be available to all members in the society in September, and will contain a bio of the monarch and interesting articles from across our network and the society. We have collected a wealth of information about each monarch and we're looking forward to sharing these books with you.

IMPORTANT INFORMATION FOR MEMBERS...

We've been asked by a number of members how they know when their membership renews. We have implemented a section at the top of the sidebar on the Tudor Society website which tells you the date you joined, and also how many years of "service" you've given to the Tudors.



There are links to change your subscription to a different type, and you can also change your profile, including your password and display name. It's all there to make life easier!

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

Charlie on Books

EDWARD IV AND ELIZABETH WOODVILLE

by Amy Licence

The story of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville's relationship has become more popular in recent years with numerous novels and TV shows coming out about them. Amy Licence has taken this opportunity to write the first non-fiction work on their relationship and she explores it very well. Licence starts by providing context to Elizabeth's birth and early life, describing the events at court and Henry VI's marriage to Margaret of Anjou. She then moves on to Jacquetta, Elizabeth's mother, the recent widow of John, Duke of Bedford. Bedford was a prominent nobleman and Licence argues that 'ironically, it was in dying that Bedford made the most significant contribution to the love story of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, and to the future of the English monarchy'. His death paved the way for Jacquetta to marry Richard Woodville, one of Bedford's knights, even though it wasn't an acceptable match for someone of her status:

'In terms of competency for his commission, Woodville was an admirable choice, but when it came to the personal aspect of her charge, the king's trust was misplaced. At some point on the journey from Rouen to London, Jacquetta either succumbed to Richard's amorous attentions or she initiated a relationship, directly or indirectly, as the result of an existing or a new attraction between the two. At some point in 1436, or early in 1437, they were married in secret.'

As well as recounting their lives, Licence also investigates several chronicles and their reliability. For example, she disputes the source 'Elizabeth Wydeville's Diary' and argues against the idea that it is a genuine account written by Elizabeth while living with her parents at Grafton. This is interesting for someone who has never heard of these accounts before and Licence includes excerpts of it, which may help the reader make up their own mind.

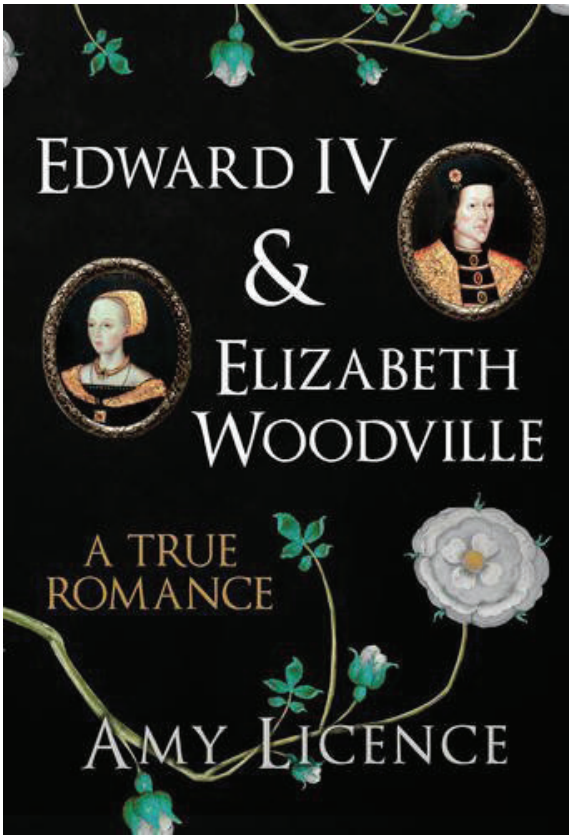
In the second chapter, Licence moves on to Edward and his childhood. The first thing she addresses is the doubts over his legitimacy, as Licence admits would suit his enemies, but she concludes:

'It is unlikely that a woman of Cecily's stature, raised to understand the importance of lineage and inheritance, would have compromised the paternity of her eldest surviving son, York's heir... Later rumours that Edward was fathered by a French archer named Blancbourne or Blaybourne were part of a political smear campaign designed by Edward's enemies to discredit him in the 1460s.'

Licence explores all possibilities as to why Edward married Elizabeth, from love to a fling that he would later deny, she admits it is hard to figure out Edward's intentions that day. She was an unsuitable match and not politically advantageous, yet Licence suggests that maybe 'the young Edward, still flushed

with success, thought there was little point in having fought his way to the throne if he could now allow himself the reward of choosing his own queen':

> *'It was not a decision she would have taken lightly - to marry the king - and by agreeing to go through the private ceremony, she must have trusted him enough to ensure that he would honour his word and that the proceedings that day were perfectly legal and legitimate. There is a chance, however, that Edward had no intention of honouring the marriage; that going through the ceremony was the only means by which he was able to inveigle Elizabeth into his bed and that he later intended to deny the match. He may have done similar things before with other women, especially those who would have been considered unsuitable to become queen... However, this time the king fell in love.'*



The thing that Licence cannot explain is that Edward had already allowed Warwick to start preparations for an alliance with France through Louis XI's sister-in-law, Bona of Savoy. Edward was already married at the time, although he had kept it secret, and he had sent Warwick to make these arrangements before, at the last minute, Edward announced his marriage to Elizabeth. Warwick was a close ally to Edward and this was 'a personal insult to the earl: a public rejection of his French aspirations and a break in their previous close conspiracy. Warwick had been a mentor to Edward in Calais and during his early reign, his confidant and ally, who had now not just been excluded from an important decision, but deceived regarding Edward's intentions.'

Licence makes many interesting comments throughout her book and draws parallels between the couple and Elizabeth's grandson Henry VIII's future relationship with Anne Boleyn. She states that 'It may be that when she initially refused him, saying that she was not good enough to be his wife, nor low enough to be his concubine, she had no intention of drawing him into marriage. Yet as she saw his affection increase, the possibility of wedlock may have dawned upon her as a reality.'

There is a temptation with any book on the relationship of Edward IV and Elizabeth to focus too much on events after Edward's death. Luckily, Licence only briefly covers these events and what became of Elizabeth and her children, not dwelling too much on this or moving too far away from the relationship.

Amy Licence brings the couple to life in this book and draws as detailed a picture as she can, without imposing her own opinion too much on the reader. She makes sure to include other historians' theories, enabling the reader to come to their own conclusions about the 'love match' and other uncertain matters. She shows respect when discussing the theories of these fellow historians; whether she agrees with them or not.

This biography of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville leaves no stone unturned as Licence discusses every legend related to the couple, explores the development of their relationship and its effects on the lives of the couple, their families and England itself. The book itself is easy to read and a must-read for all lovers of history, romance and the Wars of the Roses.

CHARLIE FENTON

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OLGA HUGHES' Tudor Kitchen

Setting the Sallat

My Lord Guilford Dudley, recently married to Suffolk's eldest, one of his brothers, the Admiral and other lords and ladies, recently fell very ill after eating some salad at the Duke of Northumberland's, and are still suffering from the results. It seems the mistake was made by a cook, who plucked one leaf for another.[1]

1 *Calendar of State Papers Spain, Vol XI, 1553, June 12*

Many Tudor enthusiasts are familiar with the story of Guilford Dudley falling ill after eating salad at his wedding celebrations. Salads are not amongst the foods we generally associate with the Tudors. Vegetables certainly appeared on the Tudor menu, usually cooked in with pottages or meats, and occasionally prepared as dressed dishes on their own. But the richer tastes and trends of food cooked for the medieval nobility did not lend themselves to fresh greens. An early recipe for "Buttered Wortes" from Two fifteenth-century cookery-books minces and boils the vegetables, then drowns them in butter.

> ***Take all manner of good herbs that thou may get, and do them as is foresaid; put them on the fire with faire water; put here clarified butter of a great quantity. When they are boiled enough, salt them, let no oatmeal come in. Dice bread small in dishes, and pour on the wortes, and serve them forth.[2]***

While it is true that uncooked fruit was still frowned upon, many vegetables and herbs were thought to have medicinal properties, and were not treated with the same level of suspicion. Sixteenth century food still retained the medieval love of heavy spicing and slow cooking, but the seventeenth century saw some pivotal changes in cooking. One of those, influenced by Tudor cookery developments, was the growing popularity of salad.

The early recipe for "Buttered Wortes" shows the link between pottage and vegetables, it instructs the cook not to use oatmeal to thicken the broth, as oatmeal was commonly used to thicken pottage. In 1600, garden vegetables were still classified as 'herbs and roots', and greens such as cabbage, sorrel, spinach and aromatic herbs had all been popularly used in pottage. As pottage was going out of favour in the seventeenth century, new ways of serving vegetables were emerging. And the Elizabethans has set the bar with their love of elaborate salads.

> ***First the sallats must be marshalled in their proper order — the grand sallat, the green sallats, the boiled sallats — then some smaller compound sallats.***
> **- Gervase Markham**

Gervase Markham's The English Housewife establishes the importance of salads early on in its Of Cookery section. In Of Sallats. Simple Sallats he explains*:*

> ***First then, to speak of sallats. There must be some simple and some compounded; some only to furnish out on the table, and some both for use and adornation: your simple sallats are chibols peeled, washed clean and half of the green tops cut clean away, so served on a fruit dish; or chives, scallions, radish roots, boiled carrots, skirrets, and turnips, with such like served up simply; also all young lettuce, cabbage lettuce, purslane, and divers other herbs which may be served simply without anything but a little vinegar, sallat oil and sugar; onions boiled, and stripped from their rind and served up with a little vinegar, oil and pepper is a good simple sallat; so is samphire, bean cods, asparagus, and cucumbers, served likewise with oil, vinegar, and pepper, with a world of others, too tedious to nominate.[3]***

The evolution of taste can be seen between the preparation of vegetables in the medieval style and Markham's dishes of lightly dressed raw vegetables. We can still see the Tudor sweet tooth with the addition of sugar in the salad dressing, but they also had a love of sour. Vinegar was so popular in salads that an Italian traveller named Castelvetro, who spent sixteen or seventeen years in England during Elizabeth's reign, complained that English salads were served up "swimming in vinegar", without the benefit of either salt or

2 ***Austin, Thomas, Two fifteenth-century cookery-books : Harleian MS. 279 (ab 1430), & Harl. MS. 4016 (ab. 1450), with extracts from Ashmole MS. 1439, Laud MS. 553, & Douce MS. 55, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Humanities Text Initiative 1999***

3 ***Markham, Gervase, Best, Michael R., (ed) The English Housewife, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013 pp. 64***

oil.[4] Thomas Dawson has a recipe for a "Sallet of Lemons" in his Good Housewife's Jewel.

> ***Cut out slices of the peel of the lemons, longways, a quarter of an inch one piece from another. Then slice the lemon very thin and lay them in a dish cross[ways]. The peels about the lemons. Scrape a good deal of sugar on them and so serve them.[5]***

Salads were not always restricted to vegetables. Thomas Dawson also has several salads for fish days strewn with sea snails. A simple salad of fine green herbs is garnished with periwinkles and dressed in oil and vinegar, another calls for white endive dressed in oil and vinegar to accompany the snails, another has Alexander buds cut lengthways and adorned with whelks. Another of Dawson's "sallet" calls for salmon cut long ways, garnished with onion slices and violets and dressed in oil and vinegar.[6] His tuna salad (tawney, or tunny) is elaborately plated.

> ***Onions in flakes around the dish, with minced carrots laid in the middle of the dish, with boiled hip in five parts, like an oak leaf: made and garnished with tawney, long cut, with oil and vinegar. [7]***

The precursor to the Georgian "Grand Salad" was the Compound Salad, described by Gervase Markham as "the first young buds and knots of all manner of wholesome herbs at their first springing, as red sage, mint, lettuce, violets, marigolds, spinach and many other mixed together and then served up to the table in vinegar, sallat oil and sugar".[8] Thomas Dawson's "Sallet of all Kind of Herbes" instructs:

> ***Take your herbs and pick them very fine into faire water, and pick your flowers by themselves, and wash them clean, then swing them into a strainer, and when you put them into a dish, mingle them with cucumbers or lemons pared and sliced. And scrape sugar, and put in vinegar and oil, and throw flowers on top of the dish, and garnish the dish with about every sort of the aforesaid things, and hard eggs, boiled, and laid about the dish and upon the salad.[9]***

The Elizabethan addition of the hard-boiled egg on salads lasted well into the seventeenth century, becoming a popular feature on the Georgian "Salmagundi". Gervase Markham's compound salad features a gorgeous array of dried fruit, fresh fruit and nuts.

> To compound an excellent sallat, and which indeed is usual at great feasts, and upon princes' tables, take a good quantity of blanched

4 *Wilson, C. Anne, Food and Drink in Britain: From the Stone Ages to Medieval Times, Penguin Books 1984 pp. 324*
5 *Dawson, Thomas, The Good Housewife's Jewel, Southover Press 1996 pp. 111*
6 *Ibid pp. 113*
7 *Ibid*
8 *Markham, The English Housewife, pp. 64*
9 *Dawson The Good Housewife's Jewel pp. 111*

almonds, and with your shredding knife cut them grossly; then take as many raisins of the sun, clean washed and the stones picked out, as many figs shred like the almonds, as many capers, twice as many olives, and as many currants as all of the rest, clean washed, a good handful of the small tender leaves of red sage and spinach; mix all these well together with a good store of sugar, and lay them in the bottom of a great dish; then put them into vinegar and oil, and scrape more sugar over all, then take oranges and lemons, and, paring away the outward peels, cut them into thin slices, then with those slices cover the salad all over; which done, take the fine think leaf of a red cauliflower, and with the cover the oranges and lemons all over, then over those red leaves lay another course of old olives, and the slices of well-pickled cucumbers, together with the very inward heart of your cabbage lettuce cut into slices; then adorn the sides of the dish, and the top of the sallat with more slices of lemons and oranges, and so serve it up.[10]

Hot vegetable dishes were served as "boiled salads" and were also fairly restrained dishes. Gervase Markham's "excellent boiled sallat" is a simple dish of minced and sautéed spinach garnished with currants.

> ***To make an excellent compound boiled sallat, take of spinach, well washed two or three handfuls, and put in fair water, and boil it till it be exceeding soft, and tender as pap, then put it into a colander and drain the water from it; which done, with the backside of your chopping knife chop it, and bruise it as small as may be: then out it into a pipkin with a good lump of sweet butter, and boil it over again; then take a good handful go currants clean washed, and put to it, and stir them well together, then put to as much vinegar as will make it reasonable tart, and with with sugar season it according to the taste of the master of the house and so serve it upon sippets.***[11]

While the Tudors enjoyed raw onion salads, as we saw earlier, baked onions were also popular. Thomas Dawson's recipe recalls the sort of slow-cooked caramelised onions we enjoy today.

> ***A Sop of Onions: Tale and slice your onions and out them in a frying pan with a dish or two of sweet butter, and fry them together. Then take a little fair water and put in salt and pepper, and so fry them together a little more. Then boil them in a little earthen pot, putting to it a little water and sweet butter.***[12]

Looking at this wonderful array of ingredients used in Tudor salads shows a very different side of Tudor cookery. The use of Middle Eastern and Mediterranean flavours, married with wintry English leaves, pickles and bitter herbs show a complexity of both flavour and texture, and belies the notion of heavy, over-spiced and overcooked Tudor vegetables.

OLGA HUGHES

10 *Markham, The English Housewife, pp. 65*

11 ***Ibid***

12 ***Dawson The Good Housewife's Jewel pp. 112***

JULY'S ON THIS

1 July 1543
The *Treaties of Greenwich* were signed on this day. In these treaties between England and Scotland, it was agreed that **Prince Edward**, the future **Edward VI**, would marry **Mary, Queen of Scots**.

2 July
FEAST DAY
Visitation of the Virgin

3 July 1557
Mary I bid farewell to her husband, **Philip of Spain**, at Dover as he set off for war with France.

4 July 1550
Appointment of Dr **Robert Huick** (Hewicke) as Physician Extraordinary to **Edward VI** by letters patent. His annual stipend was £50.

8 July 1540
Abolition, by **Henry VIII**, of all heretical books and those containing errors.

9 July 1553
Mary (future Mary I) wrote to the Privy Council stating her claim to the throne and demanding their allegiance.
At the same time, **John Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland, was informing his daughter-in-law, **Lady Jane Grey**, of **Edward VI**'s death and informing her that the King had nominated her as his successor.

10 July 1553
As **Jane** was proclaimed queen in London, **Mary** was gathering support for her cause in East Anglia. Jane was going to have a fight on her hands.

11 July 1564
The plague hit Stratford-upon-Avon in Warwickshire. The epidemic lasted six months and killed over 200 people, around a fifth of the population.

15 July
FEAST DAY
St Swithin's Day

16 July 1557
Death of **Anne of Cleves**, fourth wife of **Henry VIII**, at Chelsea Old Manor after a few months of illness.

17 July 1497
Death of Sir **James Ormond** (Butler), administrator and illegitimate son of **John Butler**, 6th Earl of Ormond, in a duel with Sir **Piers Butler**, near Kilkenny.

18 July 1553
While **John Dudley** and his forces made their way from Cambridge to Bury St Edmunds to stand against Mary's men, the Earls of Pembroke and Arundel called a council meeting and betrayed Northumberland and Queen Jane. They persuaded many council members that Mary's claim to the throne was legitimate.

22 July
FEAST DAY
St Mary Magdalene's Day

23 July 1543
Mary of Guise and her daughter, **Mary, Queen of Scots**, escaped from Linlithgow Palace, where they were being watched, to Stirling Castle.

24 July 1567
Mary, Queen of Scots was forced to abdicate. Her one year old-son became **King James VI** of Scotland.

25 July
FEAST DAY
Feast of St James the Great, Feast of St Christopher

28 July 1588
Five *hell-burners* were ordered to be sent amongst the galleons of the Spanish Armada at Calais. The high winds at Calais caused an inferno which resulted in complete chaos, and the Armada's crescent formation was wrecked as galleons scattered in panic.

29 July 1588
The *Battle of Gravelines* against the Spanish took place. Spain was defeated, losing at least five ships. Spain lost around 2,000 men, England just 50.

Tudor Life

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

5 July 1589
Hanging of **Joan Cunny** (Cony), one of the 'Essex Witches', at Chelmsford. Cunny had been accused of killing her neighbours and causing a great storm. Cunny had told of how she knelt in a circle and prayed to Satan to conjure her familiar and spirits.

6 July 1537
Execution of Sir **Robert Constable** in Hull. Constable had been a participant in the *Pilgrimage of Grace Rebellion* but had received a royal pardon.

7 July 1553
Goldsmith **Robert Reyns** informed **Mary** (future Mary I) of **Edward VI**'s death. Mary was staying with Lady Burgh at Euston Hall, near Thetford, and Reyns had rushed from London to give her the news.

12 July 1537
Execution of **Robert Aske**, lawyer and rebel. He was hanged in chains outside Clifford's Tower, the keep of York Castle.

13 July 1626
Death of **Robert Sidney**, 1st Earl of Leicester, poet and courtier, at Penshurst Place. His notebook, which still survives, holds a collection of poems and sonnets.

14 July 1551
Deaths of **Henry Brandon** and **Charles Brandon**, sons of the late Charles Brandon from sweating sickness.

The execution of Joan Cunny

19 July 1545
Henry VIII's flagship, the *Mary Rose*, sank right in front of his eyes in the Battle of the Solent between the English and French fleets.

20 July
FEAST DAY
St Margaret's Day

21 July 1553
Arrest of **John Dudley**, Duke of Northumberland for his part in placing his daughter-in-law, **Lady Jane Grey**, on the throne.

26 July 1588
4,000 men assembled at Tilbury Fort, the fort built on the Thames estuary by Henry VIII.
The Spanish Armada had first been spotted off English shores on 19th July, the time when, according to legend, Sir **Francis Drake** insisted on finishing his game of bowls on before leaving.

27 July 1553
Edward VI's former tutor and principal secretary, Sir **John Cheke**, was sent to the Tower for his part in putting **Lady Jane Grey** on the throne. He was released in spring 1554.

30 July 1553
Princess Elizabeth left her new home, Somerset House, to ride to Wanstead and greet her half-sister, **Mary**, England's new queen.

31 July 1544
The future Elizabeth I wrote her earliest surviving letter to her stepmother, Catherine Parr. It was written in Italian:
"No less pray I God, that He would preserve your most illustrious highness; to Whose grace, humbly kissing your hands, I offer and recommend myself."

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