Tudor Life

The Tudor Society Magazine

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

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THE EARLY TUDORS

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EXCLUSIVE: THE ROAD TO BOSWORTH

by Debra Bayani

Welcome!

August 201

IT WAS two years ago, back in August 2014, when the first edition of Tudor Life magazine saw the light of day. Interestingly, that magazine, just like this one, had an article by Leanda de Lisle. A number of this month's contributors have also been with the magazine for the long-haul. It's wonderful to be part of such a strong community of historians, people who passionately love history, people who love to share their knowledge, findings and research.

This month we delve into the world of the early Tudors, with a range of articles from those who know! Thank you to you as a member of the Tudor Society for allowing these historians to share their work. And thank you to the historians who continue to support the Tudor Society. We salute you all.

TIM RIDGWAY AND THE TUDOR SOCIETY TEAM.

Tudor Life

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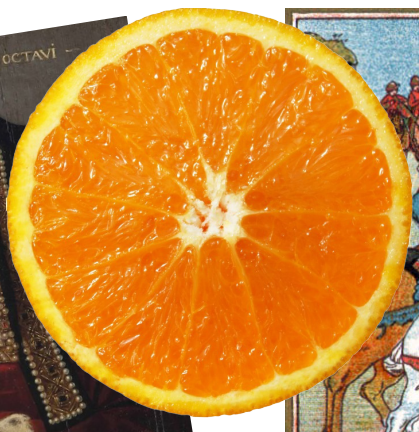
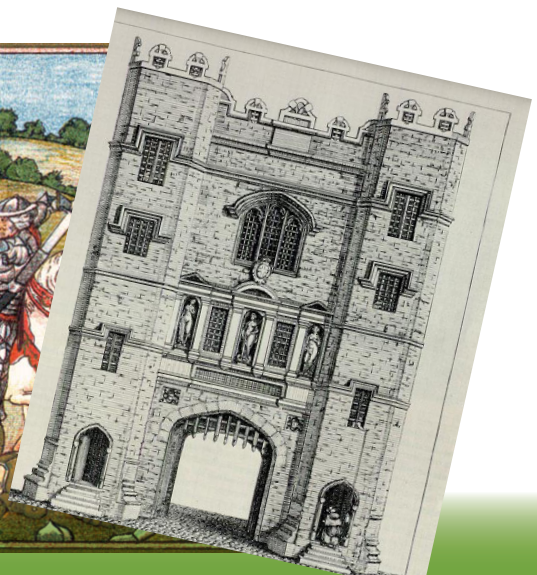




TUDOR LIFE EXCLUSIVE

Owen Tudor

a forgotten hero

Born at the turn of the fifteenth century, Owen is a mysterious figure. Historian Leanda de Lisle gives us an insight into his life from birth to death, with a little adventure along the way...

The story of Owen Tudor, the humble Welsh progenitor of the England's best known dynasty, is a largely forgotten tale in the Tudor canon. Yet it is a story with as much drama and romance as that of any of his royal descendants.

Owen was born to a landed family ruined after a great Welsh rebellion against Henry IV. He left for England to seek a better life, and in around 1427 found a position as a chamber servant to Henry V's widow, Queen Catherine of Valois. Owen's Welsh name meant, 'Owen son of Meredith son of Tudor', but in English he became simply, 'Owen Tudor'. If the attempts to anglicise it had gone differently we might have had a dynasty of Merediths. Not that it had seemed likely Owen would spawn a dynasty at all.

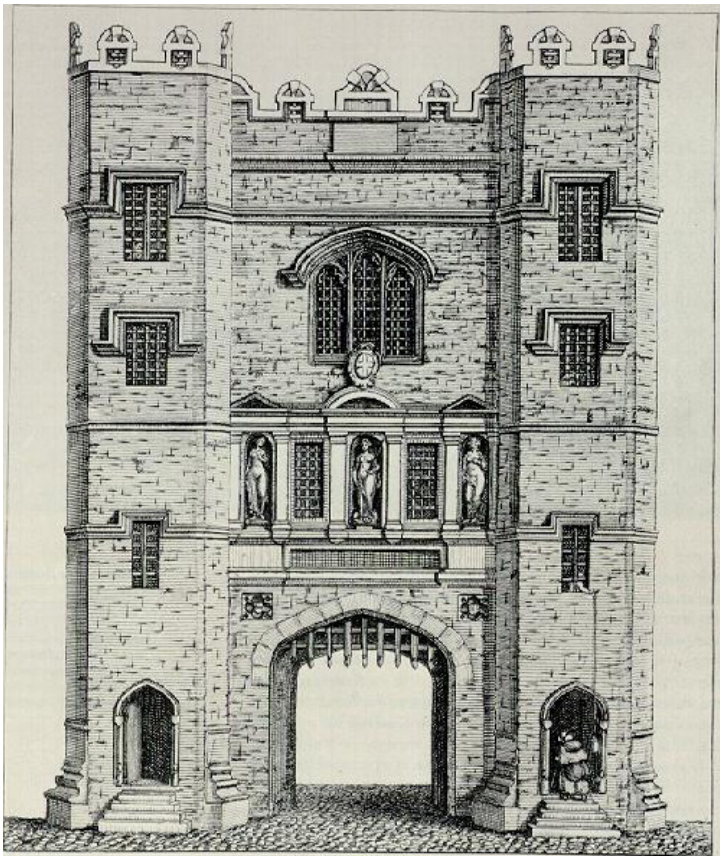
The twenty-six year old Queen Catherine was lonely, however. The Council had forbidden her from re-marrying until her six-year old son, Henry VI, had grown up. An Act of Parliament had threatened to punish any great man who ignored this injunction. It seems never to have occurred to anyone that Catherine might marry instead a mere servant. But this was exactly what would happen. Later some wondered if Katherine chose to marry Owen specifically because he was, 'a poor man', who posed no threat to the king or his nobles, and so the Council, 'might not reasonably take vengeance on his life.' But if so, Owen also appealed to Katherine in a more straightforward way.

The early Tudor historian, Polydore Vergil, explained that Owen was 'adorned with wonderful gifts of body and mind'. Yet we hear little about his mind from anyone else. Other reports point exclusively to his good looks. One account describes how the Queen fell in love with Owen after coming upon

him swimming naked. But the most repeated story, and the one most likely to have some basis in fact, describes how Owen came to her attention in dramatic fashion during a party in her household. There was music playing, and her servants were dancing. As Katherine watched, Owen performed a leap which span out of control, and he fell straight into her lap. As an Elizabethan poet asked, 'Who would not judge it fortune's greatest grace, Since he must fall, to fall in such a place'? It was not long before Katherine and her handsome chamber servant were married and, according to a rather disapproving sixteenth century account, when they made love she would scream in ecstasy.

By 1437 they had four children. The English elite complained bitterly that the Queen should have 'proved unable to control her carnal passions', and with ' no man of birth neither of livelihood'. Katherine tried to defend herself, by insisting that although Owen's Welsh family did not speak any language she knew, they were 'the goodliest dumb creatures that ever she saw'. Appearance, as well as behaviour, mattered during the fifteenth century and she was convinced Owen's handsome family must be of noble origin. But as Sir John Wynn of Gwydir observed acidly, 'Queen Katherine being a French woman', failed to understand that there were considered to be racial differences between the English and the Welsh, and that Owen's 'kindred and country were objected to … as most vile and barbarous'. The Council decided it was best therefore that the marriage remain secret until Henry VI had grown up and could decide what to do about it.

The king was sixteen and his mother was dying from a 'grievous malady', before he learned she had married, and that he had four half siblings, bearing the strange name, 'Tudor'. Fearful of the king's anger, Owen fled for Wales, but within months he was imprisoned at Newgate. The three hundred year old gates that formed the prison had recently been restored and rebuilt. Owen could drink fresh water from newly laid pipes and eat in an airy central hall. There were terrible dungeons where prisoners were kept chained to the walls, but Owen was allowed a servant, access to his own chaplain, and he was locked in some of the better rooms. These all had privies and chimneys, while those in the turrets also had access to the roof and fresh air. Nevertheless Owen resented his loss of freedom and the prison food at Newgate was not only disgusting, like all prisoners he was obliged to buy it at the inflated prices set by the prison staff.



Newgate prison, replaced in the 18th Century

By early February 1438 Owen had had enough and planned to break out of Newgate, along with his chaplain and his servant. They attacked the guard who fought hard to prevent the escape, knowing he would be fined for losing him. But the escapees fought harder and after they had fled it took weeks for the Council to track Owen down and capture him. He was imprisoned once again, this time in Windsor, and accused of 'hurting foul his keeper' at Newgate. That might have been the end of Owen, had he angered a different King. But Henry VI proved merciful and the following year Owen was pardoned. His charm and loyalty stood him in good stead thereafter, and by 1444 Henry VI was even referring to him as 'our well beloved squire'.

Henry VI had, meanwhile, taken charge of the upbringing of the Tudor children, and was determined to keep a close grip of future marriages within his

family. In 1453 it was Henry VI who arranged the betrothal between Owen's eldest son, Edmund Tudor, and the nine-year old Margaret Beaufort, who, like the king, was descended from the royal House of Lancaster. That year was, however, to be a disastrous one for Henry VI. He lost the English war in France and had a mental collapse. This weakness encouraged the ambitions of the rival House of York, and a spiral of violence began. Owen Tudor fought loyally for Henry VI in what later became known as the Wars of the Roses, and was one of the commanders of the royal forces confronting Yorkists at Mortimer Cross, Herefordshire in 1461.

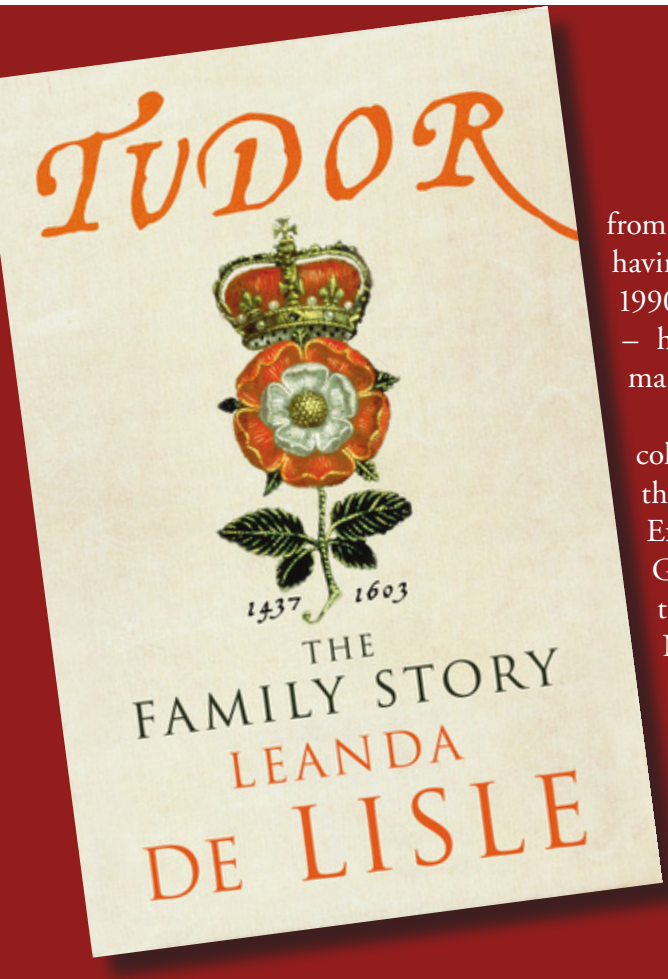
The battle is remembered for the three suns that appeared in the sky, a phenomenon caused by light passing through ice crystals. Under those suns the Lancastrians fought and lost. Owen was captured and taken to Hereford. It was only when a Yorkist solider grabbed the collar of his red doublet to expose his neck, that Owen realised he was to be executed. Facing the block he managed a joke, recalling with dry wit how, 'The head that shall lie on the stock was wont to lie on Queen Katherine's lap'. At the fall of the axe the life that began with a trip at a party was ended.

Owen's handsome head was placed on top step of the market cross where a woman, 'combed his hair and washed away the blood off his face'. The watching crowd thought her mad. She was surely, however, the grief-stricken mother of Owen's illegitimate infant son, David 'Owen'. Even in his fifties Owen had the power to attract a woman's love.

Owen Tudor's royal grandson, Henry Tudor – the son of Margaret Beaufort and Edmund Tudor – was then four years old, and little David would grow up as loyal to the future Henry VII, just as Owen Tudor had been loyal to Henry VI. David was knighted in 1485, the year the first Tudor king was crowned. He lived well into the reign of Henry VIII, when he built a grand tomb for Owen at the Hereford Greyfriars. Sadly it was swept away at the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Henry VIII did not think the memory of a humble Welsh squire worth saving.

Today, Owen Tudor's body lies under a 1970s housing estate. The forgotten ancestor of our best-known dynasty, his story is buried with the Catholic world of the Middle Ages.

LEANDA DE LISLE



Leanda de Lisle graduated from Somerville College Oxford having read history and in 1990 she completed an MBA – her thesis was on political marketing.

Leanda has written columns for Country Life, the Sunday and Daily Express, The Spectator, The Guardian, the Daily Mail, the Sunday Telegraph, the New Statesman and now, of course for Tudor Life!

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An evening with the authors

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The Road to Bosworth

A Countdown to the Battle

Debra Bayani, author of *Jasper Tudor: Godfather of the Tudor Dynasty,* gives us a day-by-day account as **Henry Tudor** and **Richard III** move steadily closer to the battle which would mark the start of the Tudor dynasty...

1 AUGUST

Henry Tudor, along with his uncle Jasper and 4,000 supporters from exile in Brittany and France, left the harbour of Harfleur on the continent with their armada of around thirty ships with just one aim, to claim the English throne from Richard III.

7 AUGUST

Without encountering any obstacle at sea, they arrived safely at Mill Bay, close to Milford Haven along the rocky Pembrokeshire coastline.

Preparations had been going on for their arrival and amongst those waiting on the shore was Jasper Tudor's half-brother and Henry's uncle, the 26-year-old David Owen, the illegitimate son of Owen Tudor who had spent the first years of his life with Henry at Pembroke Castle.

Henry's mixed sense of relief and anxiety was obvious. He *'kissed the ground meekly, and reverently made the sign of the cross upon him'*. Soon after their landing Henry also decided to knight eight of his foremost followers – his uncles David Owen and John, Lord Welles, Philibert de Chandée, James Blount, Edward Courtenay, John Cheyne, Edward Poynings and John Fort.

Their first task was to climb up the steep sea cliff, followed by a decision to go the village of Dale and its castle. Accordingly Henry, mindful of his troops, reprimanded his men not to do anything to others, 'either by word or by deed, that you not wish to have done to yourselves'. Rules of war were crucial if authority was to be maintained and order kept.

Both Jasper and John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford inspected the French troops in order to determine what gear and weaponry they were short of. Meanwhile, the constable of Pembroke, Richard Williams, hastened 200 miles over 4 days, to reach King Richard at Nottingham to tell him the news about the invaders' landing. Good news also came, the people of Pembroke were prepared to serve their Earl Jasper and stand beside them.

Henry arrives at Mill Bay, taken from "All About Henry VII" by Amy Licence

8 AUGUST

The following, morning, at the break of dawn, they began their march to Haverfordwest, some 12 miles away, crossing a branch of the Western Cleddau river at Radford Bridge. Arriving rapidly at the town, Henry and his army were received *'with great goodwill of all men'*. On the same day, John Morton, Bishop of Ely, came with rather disappointing news: Rhys ap Thomas and John Savage (son of Thomas Stanley's sister), both powerful landowners, were keeping their distance for now. They were reluctant to openly announce their support to Henry's cause until they found the right moment to do so. It may even have been their cautious strategy to deliberately deceive and confuse King Richard III and Rhys may even have communicated precisely this to Henry after he landed. It is hard to believe that many of Rhys's associates defected to Henry's side, while Rhys himself was still hesitating to do so. 'The Life of Sir Rhys ap Thomas', first published in 1796, authored by Rhys ap Thomas's direct descendant Henry Rice (c. 1590–c. 1651), even states that Rhys had already met with Henry soon after the landing at Mill Bay and was committed to his cause.

Both Rhys and John had good reasons to fear Richard and his powerful Welsh supporters, Sir James Tyrell and Richard Williams. Rhys ap Thomas's family (grandfather and uncles) had been very supportive in the past towards Henry's father, Edmund Tudor, and to Jasper. John Savage was a nephew to Henry's stepfather William Stanley and had already been arrested in May at Pembroke, probably, for intriguing for Henry's cause and, even though he had been released, needed to be extremely careful. Also, because the Stanley family were kept under close watch by Richard III,

William Stanley's son, Lord Strange was taken to Nottingham as a hostage as soon as Richard heard of Henry's invasion.

Reginald Bray, who had promised a large sum of money for Henry to pay his troops, had yet to arrive. More good news arrived. Arnold Butler, Henry's servant prior to his exile in 1471 *'came to tell him that the entire nobility of the County of Pembroke was prepared to serve him, provided that he would grant pardon for and wipe out the memory of anything they had done against him and against Earl Jasper during the time when they were both in Brittany.* The support of Arnold Butler was important, not only because Pembrokeshire would follow his lead, but also because Butler himself was a long-time associate and close friend of Rhys ap Thomas. This would have made Henry more certain of Rhys's support.

That same afternoon, Henry and his troops departed from Haverfordwest, heading for Cardigan, 27 miles away. At some point, having made good progress, Henry is said to have decided to set up camp at a location called 'the fifth milestone' so that his soldiers could rest. While resting, a rumour sprang up and spread throughout the camp that Sir Walter Herbert, son of Henry's childhood custodian William Herbert, and Rhys ap Thomas were encamped near Carmarthen and were preparing to challenge them with a large force . Uproar immediately followed and men geared up for an attack. Henry decided to send out scouts on horseback to find out what was going on. It appeared to have been false alarm. More and more of Rhys ap Thomas's associates joined Henry's army. By now it was late in the day and so the army remained encamped at the 'fifth milestone'.

9 AUGUST

The following morning, Henry felt confident enough to begin the next part of the journey, leading his army up over the rough Preseli Hills to reach the farmstead of Fagwr Llwyd. This was a difficult stretch of around 12 miles, and they probably arrived in the evening.

10 AUGUST

Continuing his journey the next day, after a march of 10 miles, Henry and his men crossed the river Teifi at the fortified town of Cardigan. Tradition has it that Henry stopped at the Three Mariners Inn and stayed at the castle to gather further support. Letters were written to be sent out across the region to his friends and supporters in North Wales.

Henry and his force then left Cardigan and moved northwards, along the coastline. After stopping for water at Ffynnon Dewi, north-east of Cardigan, they arrived at a country mansion at Llwyn Dafydd, 15 miles further north-east. Henry rested that night at a house called 'Neuadd', the home of Dafydd ap Ieuan, a descendant of the ancient Welsh nobility. Henry was lavishly entertained and would later reward Dafydd ap Ieuan for his trouble with a precious 'Hirlas Horn', a drinking horn that rested on a silver stand decorated with the Welsh dragon, a greyhound and images of the Beaufort portcullis and Tudor roses engraved on a silver band around its rim.

Henry choose the road they marched for good reasons, Richard III's loyal adherent Richard Williams had wide-ranging authority in the south-west as well as Sir James Tyrell. A route towards Brecon was quickly ruled out because Henry's army would need to cross the River Severn and this would have been too risky. That area had fallen into the hands of Sir Thomas Vaughan, son of Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower who had been executed by Jasper Tudor in 1471 - it would have been too risky to go that way. Moreover, Henry had high hopes for North Wales and Cheshire where the Stanleys ruled. There seems to have been no other and better option than the direction they were following now.

11 AUGUST

Henry and his troops continued their march northwards and, according to tradition, stopped at the home of Einion ap Dafydd Llwyd at Wern Newydd in the parish of Llanarth, to enjoy some hospitality. After this, they marched on to spend the night at St Hilary's Church in Llanilar, where

Henry is supposed to have slept at the old mansion of Llidiardau, overlooking the Ystwyth Valley. It was also on this day that Richard became aware of Henry's invasion and immediately summoned his supporters to meet at Nottingham.

12 AUGUST

Henry and his supporters reached Aberystwyth,a town held for Richard's ally, Walter Deveraux, Lord Ferrers. However, the occupying force was insignificant and the castle was easily taken. Hearing the news that Aberystwyth had fallen must have been a significant blow to Richard III, for he had considered Henry and his forces as being of little consequence. For Henry it must have seemed as if his onward march was unstoppable. After the town was taken, Henry possibly stayed the night and paused to send scouts to locate the armies of potential opposing forces. After consultation with some of his advisers, possibly Jasper and the Earl of Oxford, Henry recognized that he had pushed as far north as he could and it was now time to turn inland towards the English border.

13 AUGUST

The following morning, Henry's army continued their march, heading up the Dyfi Estuary and making for Machynlleth, 23 Miles away, where Henry and his forces arrived in the evening to spent the night.

14 AUGUST

Henry wrote several letters from Machynlleth. One of these, addressed to Sir Roger Kynaston, a Shropshire knight and a kinsman to John, Lord Grey of Powys, still survives. We know that other letters were also written, at least one to William Stanley at Holt Castle and one to Gilbert Talbot, uncle of the Earl of Shrewsbury. In addition, Henry's chaplain, Christopher Urswick, was sent to Thomas Stanley and his mother at Lathom. According to tradition, Henry spent the night at the home of the elderly Welsh bard Dafydd Llwyd, five miles east of Machynlleth, at Mathafarn. There the story of Henry's request for a prophecy was born. Obviously Dafydd told Henry what he wanted to hear, that he would be successful in his campaign and win the English throne. If the outcome had been the other way around, Henry would not have been able to return to Dafydd and ask for an explanation!

15 AUGUST

Encouraged by the bard's prediction, Henry and his men now had to go through the most physically challenging part of their march, a 30 mile march through the rocky mountains of Snowdonia, to Dolarddun, just a few miles west of Welshpool. Local tradition says that Henry spent the night at Dolarddun, and was presented with a fine white horse which carried him all the way to Bosworth.

16 AUGUST

Henry and his troops marched through Welshpool and carried on up to the Mynydd Digoll, known in English as Long Mountain. Here, Henry was joined by several forces, including that of Rhys ap Thomas. Rhys was finally willing to openly pledge his loyalty to Henry and brought with him, under his Black Raven standard, a force estimated at between 1,800 and 2,000 men. This swelled Henry's troops significantly. A number of other Welshmen joined them before they reached Shrewsbury, including Sir Walter Herbert and Rhys Fawr, who both brought along a sizable retinue (the latter also brought many fat cattle).

17 AUGUST

Henry pressed on from Long Mountain to cover the 11 miles to Shrewsbury with its gate to England. On arrival, the Shrewsbury's bailiffs refused them permission to march through. One of them, Thomas Mitton, had been Richard's loyal servant, and insisted if *'….he should enter there he should go over his belly'*. Upon hearing this, Henry and his force retreated five miles north-west to cross the river at Montford Bridge instead, and stayed the night at the nearby village of Forton in the house of Hugh of Forton.

18 AUGUST

The next morning, Henry decided to send his messengers to Shrewsbury to negotiate entrance. After the assurance that Henry would respect the bailiff's loyalty towards King Richard, a promise of good behaviour in the town, and most importantly, the arrival of one of Sir William Stanley's men, Rowland Warburton, Shrewsbury eventually surrendered to Henry. A local chronicler captured the scene with the bailiff maintaining the oath he had made the day before - as Henry's men entered the town through the gate, the bailiff *'lay along the ground with his belly upwards and so the said Earl, Henry, stepped over him*. (It is interesting to note that Sir William Stanley's assistance at this stage strongly suggests that the Stanleys' alliance with Henry existed before the decisive battle that would shortly take place and was not just a decision taken at a crucial moment during the battle, as has been maintained by many historians.)

Henry and his troops probably did not stay the night in Shrewsbury, however, a strong tradition has it that Henry paused for refreshment in a 15th-century house called Wyle Cop, a building still to be seen today. From Shrewsbury, Henry took the road through Shropshire and marched 15 miles north-east into Staffordshire, where they spend the night in Newport.

19 AUGUST

Sir Gilbert Talbot joined Henry with about 500 armed Shropshire men, led by Sir William Stanley's stepson, Sir Richard Corbet. From there, the entire force moved 12 miles east to Stafford, being joined by more and more important supporters along the way. The last few miles of the road to Stafford were completed rapidly. At this point, Henry and Richard III were just one march-day apart. In Stafford, a most encouraging meeting with Sir William Stanley took place. Following this, Henry's army moved 15 miles south-east to Lichfield, where they spent the night just outside the cathedral city.

20 AUGUST

The following morning, Henry, as arranged by his stepfather, entered the city of Lichfield. It was only now that Richard learned how close his rival was and he immediately left for Leicester to hinder Henry's passage into London. At this point, two noblemen on whom Richard had counted on for support for were missing – Thomas Stanley and the Earl of Northumberland.

Henry gave the impression of 'noble courage' as his forces increased in number but in private he continued to be nervous, especially about the estimated number of Richard's army. Henry needed to rethink his strategy and, with the intention of catching up later on horseback, allowed his troops to continue their march while he remained behind with twenty armed men. According to Vergil, Henry somehow lost track of his army. It's probably because of Henry's trusted men like his uncle Jasper and the earl of Oxford that the leaderless army continued its march. Later that evening, Henry's troops reached Tamworth to set up camp by the river in the shadow of Tamworth Castle. Their numbers were further increased. Richard III had ordered Sir Robert Brackenbury to travel up from London and to bring Hungerford and Bourchier with him, but along the way to Leicester, Brackenbury was deserted by both men.

21 AUGUST

Whatever the actual reason for Henry's vanishing the night before, early the following morning, he marched across the River Anker to Atherstone for a secret meeting with the two Stanley brothers at the Cistercian Abbey at Merevale. Henry and Stanley took each other by the hand and were moved to great joy. After plans were made for the positions of both Henry's and Stanley's armies, Stanley ordered four of his knights to strengthen Henry's front line. Henry and his troops parted from Stanley. Before the day ended, more defectors arrived at his camp. A campsite for the night was found between the neighbouring villages of Witherley, Fenny Drayton and Atterton, just outside Atherstone.

Both Richard III and Henry Tudor must have had trouble sleeping that night, knowing it could be their last one on earth.

22 AUGUST

Many accounts have been written about the actions of 22 August, but the majority of them are based on non-contemporary reports. Polydore Vergil's is one of very few whose writers had direct contact with eyewitnesses, including Christopher Urswick.

Dawn came at about 5 a.m. It was reported that Richard did not have a good start to the day, looking more drawn than usual, Richard told his followers he'd had a bad night, with nightmares about evil spirits and demons. Richard took his last mass Sutton Cheney church, a church which can still be visited today.

THE BATTLE

Henry's force began its advance towards the royal army and it is said that Henry nervously recognized that his troops were too few in number to defeat Richard's army. According to Vergil, Henry's force was around half the size of Richard's impressive army.

All would now depend on whether the Stanley brothers, with their combined forces of an estimated 6,000 men, would come to Henry's aid. It is said that Henry became 'anxious and began to lose heart' and that he was advised by the Earl of Oxford to draw up a single battle line, given the few men he had compared to Richard. Oxford had been placed in charge of the military leadership of Henry's army and commanded the vanguard. Henry had Gilbert Talbot on his right and Sir John Savage on his left. Behind this line, Henry was positioned, surrounded by just one squadron of cavalry and a few infantry, including his loyal friend William Brandon, his standard-bearer. It is said that Henry remained on foot and his uncle Jasper stayed close to Henry at the rear.

Richard positioned the elderly, but experienced, John Duke of Norfolk and Sir Robert Brackenbury in his vanguard, leading the archers. His rearguard was to be commanded by the Earl of Northumberland, with the king himself at the rear of the extended battle line.

When the two vanguards saw one another, final preparations were made, helmets were put on and finally, a shout for battle sounded. It was Oxford against Norfolk, the two leaders were old rivals, jostling for the leadership of their East Anglian region. It was now Oxford's chance for revenge.

When battle was well commenced, Richard caught sight of Stanley's motionless forces in the distance. Furiously, he ordered Lord Strange to be brought to him at once to pay the ultimate price for the behaviour of his father and uncle. Richard was urged that now was not the time for executions and advised to delay until both Lord Stanley and Sir William Stanley were captured.

Within a short period of time, Oxford was able to separate Richard's forces from Northumberland's. The Norfolk's forces now had the disadvantage that the sun was shining directly into their eyes. It was not long before Norfolk's troops had been completely routed and many of his men killed in the flight. According to many sources, men started to defect to Henry's side, or to flee the field, even before it was clear who held the winning hand. It is said that Northumberland's troops on Richard's left flank waited motionless because he had made a secret pact with Henry prior to the battle. Northumberland now actively turned on Richard's men and, mainly because of treachery, the battle now turned against the king. King Rich-

Finding the crown, taken from "All About Henry VII" by Amy Licence

ard was urged to escape, but instead he is reported to have said *'God forbid I yield one step. This day I will die as a King or win.'* By now Richard must have realized that his day of judgement had arrived. He placed his royal crown upon his head before making his final charge.

Henry, was still unmounted because he wanted to be on foot amidst his men. Richard now charged valiantly at Henry's standard-bearer, William Brandon, and instantaneously killed him. The fighting was now ferocious and intense. Coming under attack in the thickest press of the enemy, Richard's own standard-bearer, Sir Percival Thribald, is recorded as continuing to hold on to the King's standard while losing both his legs. Richard continued to cut his way through Henry's ranks and it became clear that Henry was at great risk. It was at this moment that Lord Stanley ordered his brother William to charge into the battle, allegedly together with Rhys ap Thomas. Their attack caught Richard by surprise and it was not long before the King was killed.

Later there would be many who claimed the credit for the death of King Richard III, including Rhys Fawr and one Thomas Woodshawe. However, according to many Welsh bards it was the Welshman, Rhys ap Thomas himself who was responsible for delivering the fatal blow.

THE AFTERMATH

Henry ordered his men to take care of the wounded and bury the dead. Many of the fallen were buried at the nearby church of St James in Dadlington. Among the casualties from Henry's side, Brandon was the only one from the nobility to die. The casualties from Richard's side were, of course, heaviest. The Duke of Norfolk, Sir Robert Brackenbury, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Percy, John Kendal and Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers, together with at least thirty others of the nobility, were killed.

As for Richard himself, since the discovery of his remains in Leicester in 2012, it is apparent that he suffered a number of head wounds, two of which would have proved to be fatal. Other wounds like one to the pelvis caused by a dagger driven into the right buttock were likely to be an 'insult' injury inflicted after death. The report of

the Grey Friars Team confirmed many of the contemporary accounts on the death of Richard III.

This almost unbelievable victory, had taken around two hours to accomplish. Not since the Norman conquest of 1066 had an invasion resulted in a King's death on the battlefield. Bosworth would be the last battle on British soil that would cost the life of a king. Legend has it that it was none other than Henry's stepfather himself who noticed Richard's crown in a thorn bush and ceremoniously placed it upon his stepson's head with the words 'Sir, here I make you King of England'.

The Tudor dynasty was born.

FURTHER READING

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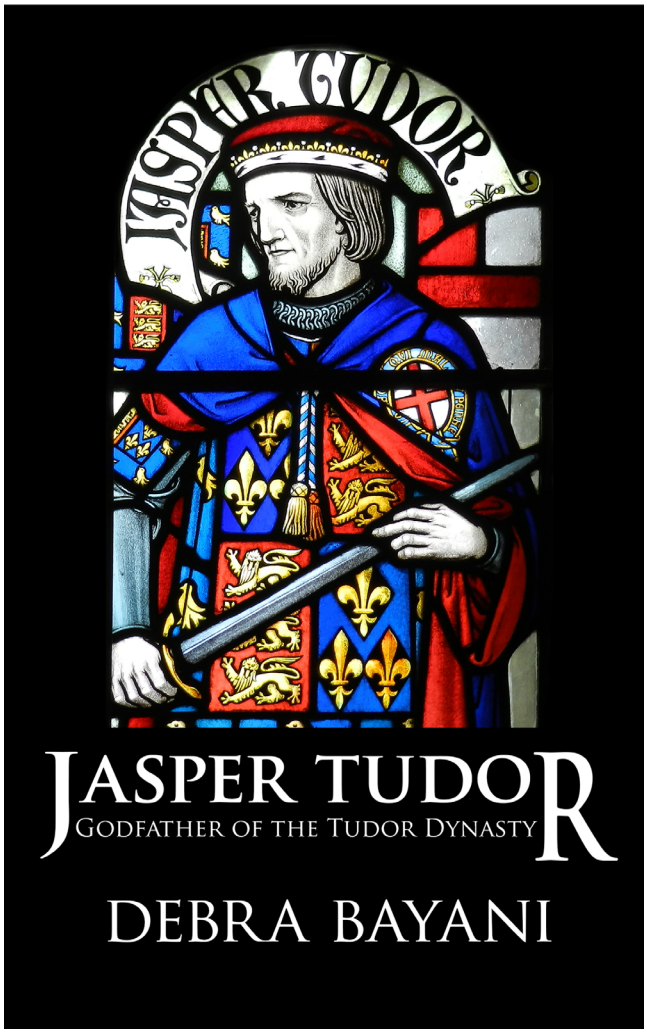
On the effigy of Sir David Owen, W.H. Blaauw (London 1854).



Debra Bayani is a researcher and writer, living in the Netherlands with her husband and children. She studied Fashion History and History of Art. Her first non-fiction book, a biography on Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford and Earl of Pembroke, was first published in August 2014 and has been fully revised for re-publication in 2015 In 2012 she created the Facebook page "The Wars of the Roses Catalogue", which coordinates with this website, a page dedicated to documenting historic events, sites, news and books associated with this period of British history. Debra is fascinated by all aspects of life in Medieval Britain and the Middle Ages in general and has spent years researching the period.

In August, Debra will be visiting sites throughout Wales to capture photos for her forthcoming book, a visitor's guide to the sites of the Wars of the Roses. We've heard that she will be giving us daily updates on the sites she visits, so watch this space...

17th Century Portrait of Elizabeth of York (1466-1503), half- length, holding a white rose.

Elizabeth of York and her sisters

CONOR BYRNE

BORN on 11 February 1466, Elizabeth of York was the eldest surviving child of King Edward IV and Queen Elizabeth Wydeville (sometimes given as 'Woodville'). Following the defeat of Richard III at Bosworth in August 1485, Elizabeth became Queen of England upon her marriage to the Bosworth victor, Henry Tudor. In total, Elizabeth had nine siblings: six sisters and three brothers. However, by the time she became queen, it is likely that only four of her siblings remained alive: Cecily, Anne, Katherine and Bridget.[1]

1 Historians continue to furiously debate whether Elizabeth's younger brothers Edward and Richard (the so-called 'Princes in the Tower') had been murdered in 1483 on the orders of Richard III. The majority conclude that this was the case; others suggest that they were murdered, but at the orders of another individual (candidates include Henry VII, Margaret Beaufort, and the duke of Buckingham). Others suggest that at least one of the princes escaped abroad.

Elizabeth's marriage to Henry VII afforded the new king an excellent opportunity to enhance the prestige and standing of his dynasty. This was because marriage to Elizabeth presented him with four new sisters-in-law, all of whom could be married off to loyal supporters of the new regime. Undoubtedly, Edward IV and Elizabeth Wydeville had had ambitions for their daughters. Cecily of York had briefly been betrothed to the king of Scotland, while there had been talk of marrying Anne to the heir to the dukedom of Burgundy. Negotiations had been in place for Katherine to marry the Spanish heir Juan (the brother of Katherine of Aragon). However, the ambitions of Edward and Elizabeth were to remain unfulfilled. Henry VII's accession raised new questions about who the Yorkist princesses should marry.

Historians have demonstrated that Henry remained concerned about the Yorkist claim to the throne. During his reign, he was threatened by rebellion on several occasions, and the 'White Rose' continued to haunt not only his reign but that of his son Henry VIII, with tragic consequences for the Yorkists. While Henry VII appreciated that marriage to Elizabeth of York had bolstered his claim to the English throne, he was determined to show that his rule was legitimate on account of his Lancastrian blood, as the son of a Beaufort. Given his uneasiness about the Yorkists, it is understandable why Henry VII was resolved to marry his sisters-in-law to his adherents, men whose loyalty could not be questioned. For the sisters of Elizabeth of York, there were to be no splendid marriages with foreign princes.

At Henry's accession in 1485, only one of Elizabeth's younger sisters was of marriageable age: Cecily, then sixteen. In the reign of Richard III, Cecily had been married to Ralph Scrope of Upsall, whose brother Thomas was the ally of Richard. The marriage was dissolved in 1486. A year later, she was married to John Welles, first Viscount Welles, who was known to support the Tudor king. John was the maternal half-brother of Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII, and thus he was half-uncle to the king. Cecily's husband was nineteen years older than her. Together, they had two daughters: Elizabeth and Anne, both of whom died in childhood. John died in 1498. In his will, he described Cecily as 'my dere beloved lady and wife Cecille' and granted her 'for terme of her lif, all my castelles, manors, landes and tenements'. There is very little evidence concerning Cecily and John's relations with one another, but it has been suggested that the two enjoyed a harmonious marriage. Certainly, Cecily played a prominent role in court ceremonies as the oldest of Queen Elizabeth's surviving sisters. She carried her nephew Arthur, Prince of Wales at his christening, and bore Katherine of Aragon's train at her wedding to Arthur. Cecily also reputedly enjoyed an excellent relationship with Lady Margaret Beaufort.

Cecily's decision to marry secretly, however, cost her severely. In 1502, four years after John Welles's death, she remarried. Her husband was the Lincolnshire esquire Thomas Kyme of Friskney. When Henry VII found out, he banished his sister-in-law from court and confiscated her estates. Fortunately for Cecily, Lady Margaret intervened, and some of Cecily's lands were restored to her. She lived the remainder of her life away from court. Cecily died on 24 August

1507 at the age of thirty-eight, and she was buried at 'the friars' at Hatfield, Hertfordshire. The experiences of Cecily of York demonstrate that Henry VII was determined that his sisters-in-law would marry loyal supporters of the Tudor regime. Fearful of the Yorkist claim to the throne, the king viewed the marriage alliances of his family as vital to securing stability for his dynasty. Whether Cecily was disappointed that it was not her destiny to become queen of Scotland, as her father had hoped, is unknown; but her third marriage to a relatively obscure esquire seems to suggest that, as Fuller suggested, she sought 'comfort' and happiness.

Anne of York was only nine years old when Henry became king of England, and thus it would be some time before she was married. During Richard III's reign, she had been betrothed to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk (who was later the uncle of Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard). Howard remained eager to marry Anne. In February 1495, the two married at Westminster Abbey. None of their children survived to adulthood. Like her sister Cecily, Anne was conspicuous at court festivities. She carried the chrisom at the christenings of both Arthur and Margaret Tudor. Very little evidence survives for relations between Thomas and Anne. She died on 23 November 1511 and was buried at Thetford Priory in Norfolk. Unlike Cecily, Anne does not seem to have ever displeased her suspicious brother-in-law Henry VII.

Like Anne, Katherine of York was not of marriageable age when Henry became king in 1485. The king initially desired Katherine to marry James Stewart, duke of Ross, the second son of James III of Scotland. This would have been a splendid marriage for Katherine and it would have meant that she would have considerably outshone her sisters (with the exception, of course, of Queen Elizabeth). However, the marriage did not take place, and in 1495 (the same year in which her sister Anne married Thomas Howard), Katherine wed William Courtenay, who became earl of Devon in 1511. Katherine was, therefore, hereafter known as the countess of Devon. They had three children together: Henry (who was executed in 1539 for plotting against Henry VIII); Edward (who died young); and Margaret (who married Henry Somerset, second earl of Worcester). William Courtenay died only weeks after becoming earl of Devon. Katherine was expected to remarry, but she instead took a voluntary vow of chastity in the presence of the bishop of London. Katherine was allegedly favoured by her nephew Henry VIII, who 'brought her into a sure estate' (Holinshed), and certainly she played an important role at court, for example serving as godmother to Princess Mary in 1516. She died in 1527 at Tiverton.

Henry VII had arranged important marriages for his wife's sisters Cecily, Anne and Katherine in a bid to strengthen his authority and nullify the pretensions of the Yorkists. Queen Elizabeth's youngest sister Bridget was not fated to marry at all. Between 1486 and 1492, when she was between the ages of six and twelve, Bridget was entrusted to Dartford Priory in Kent, where she became a nun. During her life, Bridget continued to correspond with her sister the queen. The queen paid several of Bridget's expenses and kept in touch with her via messengers. Bridget died in 1517 at the age of thirty-seven.

The experiences of Elizabeth of York's sisters indicates that marriage alliances were viewed as a crucial way of securing noble support for the Tudor dynasty. By marrying Cecily, Anne and Katherine to loyalists, Henry VII hoped to weaken the continuing threat of the Yorkist claim to the throne. Ultimately, he was largely successful in his policy. Anne and Katherine played significant roles at court, but usually spent their time on their husbands' estates. Bridget was no trouble at all, for she resided as a nun at Dartford. Cecily proved more troublesome for the king. Her third marriage greatly angered him, and it was only Lady Margaret Beaufort's intervention that prevented Cecily from being more severely punished. How Elizabeth of York regarded her husband's arrangements for her sisters is unknown. Certainly, the marriages made for them were not the grand, prestigious alliances planned by their father, in which it was anticipated that Cecily, Anne and Katherine would become the queen of Scotland, duchess of Burgundy and queen of Spain, respectively. Perhaps they and the queen were strongly disappointed; possibly they were resentful of Henry VII's choices. However, the Yorkist princesses had lived through adversity and tragedy. They were surely accustomed to the vicissitudes of fortune and the ever-present shadow of loss. Having lost their father to an unexpected death and their brothers in suspicious circumstances, the Yorkist princesses perhaps accepted that who they married was not something that they could control.

CONOR BYRNE

Set Decorators of the Tudor Era

Saxon Henry, author and "Improvateur", discusses the people behind the scenes of the Tudor Court...

One of the things I find fascinating about the early Tudor Era is the amount of effort and expense that went into temporary construction for entertainment—finely decorated backdrops that remain relevant for short periods of time. We have an equivalent today in the movie industry, though these built environments survive far into the future through the recorded projections we watch, be they on film or digitized.

During Henry VIII's reign, there are written descriptions that exist of the efforts dreamed up by Sir Henry Guildford, initially the master of the revels for the King and then the comptroller of the household of Henry's court. Guildford was in charge of organizing banquets, parties and pageants, a role that had gained intense momentum since this Tudor King took the throne. Nicola Shulman explains his involvement in planning and producing constructed venues to satisfy the King's whims in her book *Graven with Diamonds*. She quotes Henry VIII's biographer, Scarisbrick, who said the King unleashed "a world of lavish allegory, mythology and romance." In short, it was Guildford's job, as it was each of the party planners of the day, to make the metaphorical world that Henry VIII craved a physical reality.

Echoing my comparison to the film industry, Shulman notes they used wood, cloth, canvas and cheap theatrical labor to pull it off. "Carpenters and painters built enchanted castles outside and made magical forests grow inside 'with rocks, hylles and dales'," she says. "Or they might drag a galleon 'in ful sayle' into the park where the king, riding by with his companions, could happen upon it by accident and then, after a manful exchange with its 'captain' (who 'sayed he was a mariner and was come from many a strange port, and had come hither to see if any dedes of armes were to be done in the countrey, of the which he might make report in other countries'), follow the ship—which now, impressively, took off overland with all guns firing—into the tiltyard."

Given the complexity of the metaphorical backdrops the masters of revels who created such contrivances were expected to achieve, architecture and engineering were required in equal measure to the decorative arts. Consider this example Shulman presents in which Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon are entertained as they were riding to Shooter's Hill to "fetch the May," or cut sprigs of the new-leaved May tree to tuck into their hats in a tribute to the new season.

On that May morning in 1515, which had been deemed a festival day in the Romance calendar since Henry's accession, they were accosted. "As they were cantering by the way, whom should they meet but Robin Hood, and 200 of his merry men?" Shulman writes. "After a salvo of novelty whistling arrows, Robin invited the royal party to breakfast 'in the grene wode, and to se how the outlawes lyve. The kyng demaunded of the queen and her ladyes, if they durst adventure to go into the wood with so many outlawes.'"

What interests me the most as this anecdote moves along is the lengths the person creating the venue into which they were invited had to go to accomplish such a lavish ruse—skills which would require an architect, an engineer, a general contractor and an interior designer in modern times! "And the comptroller had so organized it that Robin Hood's living quarters were arranged as a perfect sylvan replica of the royal chambers," Shulman explains, "all in boughs and flowers, with the same tripartite structure of outer hall, great chamber and inner chamber: the whole fantasy perfectly devised to make the legendary past flow into the political present and anoint Henry's monarchy with English myth. It was a conceit of genius, and the crowning moment came with the breakfast. 'Sir,' said Robin (Hood), 'outlawes breakfastes is venison, and therefore you must be content with such fare as we use.' Historically, venison was the meat of kings, available only to those nobles with extensive deer parks or—as Guildford's production makes clear—to poachers."

Just as legendary as these allegories were Henry VIII's jousting tournaments, which also required feats of engineering, architecture and lavish decorative embellishments for structures—the earliest ones contrived during his reign not meant to last. In an illustration of Catherine of Aragon watching Henry VIII jousting in her honor after giving birth to a son, the tournament is taking place in a temporary tiltyard. "This clearly shows the wooden boarded tilt used there, across which the participant knights tried to unhorse each other with lance blows," Brian Harwood writes in *Chivalry & Command: 500 Years of Horse Guards*. "The wooden tilt is identical to the one that existed on Horse Guards' site for more than a century from 1530."

Along with showing the finery of the King's mantle and other accoutrements, the artwork illustrates how much effort was put into the decorative arts, in the ornate patterning covering the walls of the gallery erected beside the tiltyard for the court to watch the jousting an example. An even older depiction of tiltyard stands—one from 1500—illustrates the same intricacy of decoration on both the interior and exterior walls in Christopher Gravett's *English Medieval Knight 1400-1500*, a similar amount of effort going into these temporary venues that flourished until Henry VIII began building permanent structures for jousting in 1514.

In his book *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*, Simon Thurley notes that building permanent structures had become necessary because tilting was no longer just an occasional diversion but a regular activity: "Between 1510 and 1520 there were at least fifteen tournaments at Greenwich alone, justification enough for the construction of such elaborate structures."

When I see a film or a television series depicting the Tudor Era, what comes to mind for me as I watch it is how the set decorators bringing that world to life, are, at least in part, a plumb line through history to the set decorators who originally created the entertainment the courtiers enjoyed at the time. It's like entertainment squared!

SAXON HENRY

Saxon Henry, an author, poet and content creator, is a literary adventurer on The Diary of an Improvateur on SaxonHenry.com. Also the founder of The Literary Blog to Book Movement on Google+, Saxon has four books to her credit. She is a member of the American Society of Journalists and Authors, and, as a journalist for over two decades, has written for a variety of national publications, including "The New York Times," and "The Wall Street Journal."

Member Spotlight:

TONY RICHES

Today we talk to one of our new members, historical fiction author Tony Riches, from Pembrokeshire in Wales, about his best-selling Tudor Trilogy, which follows the origins of the dynasty.

Can you briefly tell us about yourself and how you became interested in the Tudors?

I was born in Pembroke, within sight of Pembroke Castle, birthplace of Henry Tudor, so was naturally intrigued by how Henry became King of England. Surprised to find there were no books about Owen Tudor, I began researching his life and discovered the fascinating story of how the Tudor dynasty began. I collected enough material for a book and decided to write the trilogy, with Henry being born in the first book, coming of age in the second and becoming king in the third.

Your latest book is based on Jasper Tudor, a fascinating character. Can you tell us what drew you to his story in particular?

Owen Tudor's eldest son Edmund died in the gaol of Carmarthen Castle without ever seeing his son Henry Tudor, so it fell to Edmund's brother Jasper to take care of his young nephew. I wanted to show Jasper not just as the two dimensional character of so many historical accounts, but as a man with his share of human weaknesses. He always seemed to flee from battles to save himself, he wasn't a military tactician, often failed to listen to advice and didn't settle down and marry until he was fifty-five. At the same time, Jasper was an easy man to like, as he always put the needs of others before his own. There is no question of his loyalty to Henry Tudor or his diplomatic skills, qualities which were vital for the future of the Tudor dynasty.

The Wars of the Roses spanned many battles, including the battle of Bosworth which marked the beginning of the Tudor period. Is there another of the battles that you find fascinating, and can you tell us about why it interests you?

It would have to be the pivotal Battle of Barnet, which I describe in my novel **WARWICK – The Man Behind The Wars of The Roses**. Sir Richard Neville (also known as 'Warwick the Kingmaker') should have been a match for the outnumbered forces of the young Edward of York. He had spent most of the night unsportingly firing his cannons into the darkness, even though he wasn't sure of the enemy positions. What he didn't expect was that his former friend would take the initiative and counter-attack before dawn under the cover of an early morning mist. Tragically for Warwick, his ally the Earl of Oxford's men wore a similar badge to the Yorkists, were mistaken for the enemy and were fired upon by Warwick's archers, resulting in chaos

for the Lancastrians. Warwick would have done well to follow the example of Jasper Tudor and escape to safety while he could.

What interests you more - the history of the events surrounding the Wars of the Roses, or the individual stories of the people involved? Why is that?

What we know of as 'The Wars of The Roses' are a series of power struggles between friends and families which began because the country was ruled by a weak, unstable king. The reasons are complex but at their heart are individual stories of heroism and treachery more amazing than any fiction. The Earl of Warwick, for example, fought with equal enthusiasm on both sides, while Edward was originally avenging the Lancastrian murder of his father, Richard, Duke of York. I find these relationships fascinating – not least because there were so many opportunities for history as we know it to have been changed entirely. Henry Tudor's mother Margaret Beaufort knew what she was doing when she arranged for her son to marry Elizabeth of York – and they combined the red and the white in the powerful symbol of the Tudor rose.

The Wars of the Roses period seems very complicated. Was there anything that you struggled to explain through the narrative of your books?

I have to strike a balance between readers who are extremely well informed and those who are new to the history of the time, particularly in the US and Australia. Key events have also been over-simplified for the purposes of popular history such as Philippa Gregory's 'White Queen', so I try to explore the deeper issues without losing the narrative. I have an extensive library of books relating to almost every aspect of the Wars of The Roses and have immersed myself in the details over many years, so I am able to ensure my writing is always factually accurate. One of the challenges when writing Jasper was to show how his character was changed by the outcomes of the battles, as in book one of the trilogy he wished to reconcile Lancaster and York.

We've heard that you will be at the celebrations at the Bosworth Visitor's Centre over the battle weekend, can you tell us more about your involvement there?

As part of the research for my books I began something of an 'odyssey', following Jasper and young Henry Tudor from Pembroke Castle to their exile in Brittany. I've recently returned from Brittany and visited Mill Bay in Pembrokeshire, close to where I now live. This secluded, stony bay is where Henry and Jasper made landfall with their mercenary army to take on the might of King Richard III, so Bosworth marks the end of my own journey. As well as taking as many photos as I can, I'm also looking forward to meeting other Tudor specialists and authors, and doing what I can to support the Tudors.

And now, onto your book series. Can you give us an overview of the series?

The trilogy begins at Windsor Castle in 1422 with **Owen**, the unlikely story of how a Welsh servant meets and marries Queen Catherine of Valois, the lonely young widow of King Henry V. Her infant son is crowned King of England and France, and while the country simmers on the brink of civil war, Owen becomes her protector. They fall in love, risking Owen's life and Queen Catherine's reputation—but how do they found the dynasty which changes British history – the Tudors?

This is the first historical novel to fully explore the amazing life of Owen Tudor, grandfather of King Henry VII and the great-grandfather of King Henry VIII. Set against a background of the conflict between the Houses of Lancaster and York, Owen's story was particularly difficult to research. I found inconsistencies in the historical accounts – but also discovered some fascinating details which help bring Owen's story to life.

In the second book, **Jasper**, we follow Owen's son as he flees to Ireland after the fateful Battle of Mortimer's Cross and plans a rebellion to return his half-brother King Henry to the throne. When King Henry is imprisoned by Edward in the Tower of London and murdered, Jasper escapes to Brittany with his young nephew, Henry Tudor. After the sudden death of King Edward and the mysterious disappearance of his sons, a new king, Edward's brother Richard III takes the English Throne. With nothing but his wits and charm, Jasper sees his chance to make young Henry Tudor king with a daring and reckless invasion of England.

I am currently working on the final book of the trilogy, **Henry**, which follows Henry Tudor's life from the Battle of Bosworth to his death at

Richmond Palace on the 21st of April 1509. It will be published in the spring of next year.

I am encouraged to see the first two books become international best-sellers, and would like to think in some small way I have helped raised awareness of the origins of the Tudors. I am now supporting the fundraising for a life-size statue of Henry Tudor outside Pembroke Castle and the development of a Tudor Heritage Centre in Pembroke.

WANT TO BE FEATURED IN TUDOR LIFE? SEND AN EMAIL TO *INFO@TUDORSOCIETY.COM* AND WE'LL BE IN TOUCH!

About the Author

Tony Riches lives with his wife in Pembrokeshire, West Wales and is a specialist in the history of the fifteenth century, with a particular interest in the Wars of the Roses and the lives of the early Tudors. For more information about Tony's books please visit his popular blog, **The Writing Desk** and his **WordPress website** and find him on **Facebook** and Twitter **@tonyriches**.


Acton Court
1535

ACTON COURT is said to be the the most original Tudor building in England. The owner of Acton Court, Nicholas Poyntz, built a magnificent new East Wing on to the existing moated manor house for the pleasure of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn who visited while on their summer Progress around the West Country in 1535.

The new wing was a splendid testament to Nicholas Poyntz's loyalty to his King. He went to immense trouble and expense, decorating the state apartments lavishly and fashionably. He was well rewarded as it is thought he was knighted during the royal visit.

Today, the East Wing, which was built in just nine months, comprises most of what remains at Acton Court. It offers a rare example of 16th century royal state apartments and some decorations which are the finest of their kind in England. Also surviving, hidden in the masonry until it was discovered during conservation work, is the King's 'en suite' garderobe.

Sir Nicholas went on building at Acton Court until his death in 1556. The surviving Eastern half of his long gallery can still be admired. It was a daring construction with large windows and a painted frieze of biblical text and moralising verses in Latin.

During archaeological excavations at Acton Court, there were many exciting finds, thought to be associated with King Henry's visit. These included examples of the finest Venetian glass of its time, Spanish ceramics, and some of the earliest clay tobacco pipes yet discovered. Dating from the 16th century, these support the view that Sir Walter Raleigh gave one of the first demonstrations in England of the technique of smoking during a visit to Acton Court.

One item of particular importance was found by chance in a nettle patch next to the building. It is a Cotswold limestone sundial designed by the royal horologist Nicholas Kratzer, dated 1520.

Sir Nicholas Poyntz

All artefacts are currently held at Bristol city Museum. The Poyntz family owned Acton Court from 1364 until 1680 when the direct line of succession ended and the house was sold. It was subsequently reduced in size and converted for use as a tenant farm house. The building's fortunes declined to the point of dilapidation in the 20th century. It is due to this neglect that Acton Court was left largely untouched and as a result a unique Tudor building has been preserved virtually intact.

Restoration work was largely funded by 'English Heritage'. It is Grade 1 listed and the house and grounds are also Scheduled Monuments.

Today Acton Court is preserved as far as possible in its original state. Acton Court is a Soil Association Certified organic site and the grounds are managed to try and support native wildlife species. There is a walled wildflower meadow and orchard and a kitchen garden. We cultivate Old English and wild roses. The house is open to the public for a limited period in the summer. Due to the fragile nature of the construction,

only small, escorted groups can view the rooms at any one time.

Full access to the house and grounds is with a professional guide only. Acton Court is open to the public **6 July to 14 August 2016, closed Mondays and Tuesdays.** Groups must book in advance.

Tour times: 2pm and 3:30pm Wednesday to Sunday inclusive.
No tours Sunday 14 August, closing event only.
Admission prices: £8 | £6 concessions
Teas and home made cakes are available.
There is partial access for disabled visitors. Parking and loos on site.
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Information line: 01454 228 224
Website: www.actoncourt.com

Art in the time of the Early Tudors

Our resident art historian brings some of the world's finest illustrators to light

Melanie V. Taylor

WHEN HENRY TUDOR married Elizabeth of York in January 1486, it was the unifying of two warring noble houses and the birth of a new artistic age. Elizabeth was the daughter Edward IV whose collection of books formed the basis of the Royal Library, which is now housed in the British Library. Edward was an avid collector of illuminated manuscripts as well as the king who encouraged new technology. In 1476 William Caxton set up the first printing press in England at Westminster and the first book produced was Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. Caxton had learnt the art of printing in Cologne and as well as being a printer of books, he was also a translator and editor. During his time in Bruges he had been encouraged to translate and print *The Recuyell of the Histories of Troye* from French to English by none other than King Edward's sister, Margaret of York who was, by then, the third wife of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. This book was the first book ever to be printed in English.

Until the invention of printing all books and legal documents were scribed by hand. Many were illuminated and these manuscripts remained a luxury item until the middle of the 16th century for those who could afford the extreme cost of production. Both Edward IV and Henry VII were both interested in the printed book and added many of these to the royal collection, in addition to various incunabula from other sources. Henry VII was particularly interested in the books being produced by the Paris printing houses.

In 1492 Henry VII appointed Quentin Poulet, a Frenchman from Lille, to be the keeper of the Royal library. Poulet's name is found in a 1472 – 1473 list of apprentice illuminators in Bruges, but we have no idea why he came to England. In 1496 he presented a manuscript to Henry VII known as Royal Ms 19CVIII, which contains instructions on how to be a good king.[1] We have examples of

Vous mon tresredoubte
souuerain seigneur le
tresshault tresexcellent
trespuissant et tresuic
torieux prince Henry
septiesme de ce nom
Roy dangleterre z de
france. Seigneur dir
lande. Ie vre leal
et petit seruiteur qui nommer ne se doit en
toute vraye humilite vous presente ce petit
traictie lequel par maniere de passe tempe
et pour eschieuir oyseuse mere de tous vices ay
mis et reduict par lescript de ma simple z rude
main. Et pource que la matiere est asses lon
gue affin de la mieulx entendre lacteur la com
prinse et departy en sept parties. Supliant
a vre maieste royalle que de vre habundante
grace il vous plaise prendre en gre le pouoir
de ma petitesse et se daucuntre y trouuez aucun
deffault quil soit Imputte a mon tresgrant ig
norance z a la correction de vre debonnairete.
et se bien ya quil soit attribue a vre tresnoble
plaisir et a celluy dequi tout bien vient lequel
par sa diuine grace vous doint sauoir pouoir

Ie veul ie monstrer et mfoz
mer quel eſtat eſt ordre de che
ualerie et aquoy elle doit ſer
uir / et des ce que ie nõme or
dre / le nom declaire ſon expo
ſicion cest aſſauoir / que ceulx
qui en ſont / doiuent viure par reegle et ordon

this type of book from the time of Emperor Charlemagne (either 742, 747 or 748 until 814) and, in particular, they became very popular in France during the time of Louis IX (1214-1270). During 13th century English texts called *Secretum Secretorum* performed a similar function. These texts were allegedly letters written by Aristotle to his pupil, Alexander the Great. BL Additional 47680 is an example of the genre that was presented to Edward III (1312 – 1377) at the beginning of his reign.[2] The *Secretum Secretorum* derives from the translation of a 9th century Arabic script and may not have been written by Aristotle at all since no evidence of any Greek letters of this nature has survived.

From an analysis of the content of the many books of instructions in the royal library we can conclude that it was necessary for a prince to have a comprehensive knowledge of history in order to learn the lessons "of wisdom, virtue and knightly conduct".

Returning to Quentin Poulet's manuscript of 1496, today he might be accused of plagiarism because there is little difference between this and an earlier manuscript attributed to Sir Hugh de Lannoy (a knight of the Golden Fleece) and known as L'*Enseignement de la vraye Noblesse*.[3] Poulet appears to have copied Lannoy's text and merely changed the title to *L'Imaginacion de la vraye noblesse,* while claiming original authorship. It would be a staggering impudence by Poulet to suggest that Henry VII required this type of advice, which is why it is generally agreed that this manuscript was more probably meant for Prince Arthur. What is puzzling is why Poulet chose to hand scribe the text in cursive Gothic script knowing that the king was a collector of fine printed books. We know that Poulet paid just over £23 to have the manuscript illuminated, which equates to a modern equivalent of £138,900.00.[4] Here is the first page showing Poulet on his knees presenting his manuscript to the king.

The text relates the tale of the strange encounters of a knight on his way to the sanctuary of Our Virgin in the city of Halle (situated in central Germany). On the road he encounters Lady Imagination who instructs him on how to lead a virtuous and noble life. The full-page illumination depicting this meeting has the royal coat of arms in the bas-de-page, which leads us to conclude that this intended recipient was of royal blood. There are six full-page illuminations highlighting the main points of Lady Imagination's lessons. In one they come across three more ladies who personify the three aspects of nobility. These ladies represent the desire for good renown, the love of justice and most importantly, the love of God. In another illumination shown here (f32), the knight is introduced to someone dressed as a merchant. However, this man's arms are portrayed as disconnected from his shoulders, which was a recognised motif to denote untrustworthiness. Is our knight to understand that all merchants are untrustworthy? Perhaps it is something to do with the rule nobles were not allowed to be involved in trade. Lady Imagination's message to the knight is clear. He is to demonstrate the three cardinal virtues by his words and deeds and to live a good life as an example to those lower down the social scale.

We do not know much about Quentin Poulet, but his appearance in the Bruges register of apprentices of illuminators suggests why he chose to have a Flemish master illustrate this book, which is attributed to "The Master of the Prayerbooks of around 1500". What we do not know is how the commission was conducted? Was there collaboration between scribe and illuminator? Whose idea was it to include the visual pun of Poulet's name of a cockerel and a chicken hatching from an egg in the bas-de-page of this particular page?

It might appear that Poulet has misjudged his intended recipient's preferences, but the king was keen to establish the reputation of the Tudors as a dynasty that was more than upstart throne

grabbers and the best way of doing this was to promote learning and the arts. What we often forget is that from the age of thirteen, Henry Tudor had grown up in the Duchy of Brittany with his uncle Jasper for guidance and a few loyal supporters. All of these exiles were dependent on the largesse of the Francis II, Duke of Brittany. Being beholden to a foreign Duke for his board and lodging might be the reason for Henry's reputation for being very careful with money and why he preferred to purchase printed books as opposed to commissioning expensive illuminated manuscripts.

When it came to making an architectural statement we only have to look at the Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey and Richmond Palace to see how Henry VII lavished money on this most expensive of art forms. We have no record of the names of the master masons responsible for creating the Lady Chapel, but it is possible they were Robert Janyns and William Vertue.[5] This serene space with its soaring pillars supporting one of the most beautiful late medieval van vaulted ceilings is one the last buildings in England constructed in the decorated perpendicular gothic style. Construction started in 1503 and was completed in 1516 when it was described as being the wonder of the world. This would have been music to Henry Tudor's ears had he lived to see the chapel completed. Today it houses the tombs and monuments of various Tudor royals, the most spectacular of which is the tomb of the Henry VII and his wife Elizabeth of York commissioned by Henry VIII from the Italian sculptor Pietro Torrigiano.

Pietro Torrigiano was in England by 1507 and it is thought that he may have come at the invitation of Lady Margaret Beaufort.[6] Torrigiano had studied sculpture at Lorenzo de Medici's Academia in Florence and is probably better known for having broken Michelangelo's nose during an argument when they were students together. The original designer of a tomb to house the bodies of the first Tudor king and his queen was Guido Mazzoni who drew up several designs during the Henry's lifetime one and was agreed upon before Henry VII's death. However, after Henry VII died, Henry VIII chose to ignore his father's wishes and employed Torrigiano to create what he considered a more suitable tomb. Whether Henry VIII's change of designer was a deliberate slight to his father's wishes is not known. Perhaps Lady Margaret Beaufort instigated the change because Torrigiano had the greater reputation? Lady Margaret outlived her son by some weeks so this is not an unreasonable supposition.

Architecture was and remains the most expensive of art forms and Henry VII spent 'lavish sums' on many building works.[7] He built Richmond Palace and changed the face of the old Greenwich Palace to make its façade a suitable statement of Tudor power for anyone sailing up the Thames and seeing the palace for the first time. In his Will he left a substantial sum of coin in a metal-banded coffer for the completion of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, but he was not the only early Tudor to leave their artistic mark on the canvas of history.

Henry VII was fortunate to have his indomitable mother, Margaret Beaufort, by his side

throughout his reign. She was a devout woman, endowing colleges and chapels and she too was a patron of William Caxton. In 1489 she commissioned an edition of the 13th century romance, *Blandardyn et Eglantine* from his press because she considered the story was not dissimilar to her own.[8]

Through examination of the various early illuminated manuscripts dedicated to the new royal family it is possible to track the development of what we now know as the Tudor rose. The unknown artists have taken the red and white roses of the Houses of Lancaster and York and they appear as separate flowers, quartered red and white until finally around 1500 the combined flowers emerge as the amalgam of the red and white roses which we now recognise as a Tudor rose, but there is one emblem that has remained the same since its inception. It is the Beaufort Portcullis.

It too appears in the margins of manuscripts, but more overtly we see it carved into the space above the gatehouse of St John's College Cambridge. St John's College was founded by charter in 1511 as a charitable corporation. The college was to be on the site of the 13th century Hospital of St John at Cambridge and in order for this to be turned from a religious Hospital into a college required approval from the king, the Pope and the Bishop of Ely. Unfortunately Lady Margaret had not left a bequest for the foundation of the college and there were a series of complex legal issues culminating in December 1512 when the Court of Chancery permitted the executors of Lady Margaret's last will and testament to release funds for the foundation of this new college. Only the Chapel of the original buildings was incorporated into the new buildings and a magnificent brick gatehouse was constructed incorporating the Beaufort coat of arms. In this photo (© Andrew Dunn) we see how both the Tudor rose and the Beaufort portcullis dominate the entrance.

Within the college is a portrait by the artist Rowland Lockey. Lockey had been apprenticed to Nicholas Hilliard in 1581 as a goldsmith and was painting at the end of the 16th century. His portrait of Lady Margaret at her devotions is on panel and contains all the Tudor emblems: the rose, the royal coat of arms and the portcullis. I have counted twelve. Is it a coincidence that this is the same number as Christ's disciples? This was a type of subtle visual reference typical of the period that would associate the devout founder with Christ, plus the college was named after St John the Evangelist who was one of the original Apostles and the author of the Book of Revelations. We see the Tudor rose in the roof of the cloth of estate immediately above Lady Margaret's head. The royal coat of arms appears twice: once the cloth of estate above the Beaufort portcullis and again in stained glass in the window to the left of the stained glass portcullis.

Here's the link to the painting on Wikipedia: **Lady Margaret Beaufort St Johns College Cambs - Rowland Lockey 16th century** so you see it in more detail.

Visual references to Lady Margaret continued to be made in illuminated margins later in the

16th century in various patents and charters with the continued use of the Beaufort portcullis.

In his funerary sermon her chaplain, John Fisher, described Margaret Beaufort as follows: *She was bounteous and lyberal to every Person of her Knowledge or acquaintance. Avarice and Covetyse she most hated, and sorowed it full moche in all persons, but specially in ony that belong'd unto her. She was of syngular Easyness to be spoken unto, and full curtayse answere she would make to all that came unto her. Of marvayllous gentyleness she was unto all folks, but specially unto her owne, whom she trustede, and loved ryghte tenderly. Unkynde she woulde not be unto no creature, ne forgetful of ony kyndeness or servyce done to her before, which is no lytel part of veray nobleness. She was not vengeable ne cruell, but redy anone to forgete and to forgyve injuryes done unto her, at the least desyre or mocyon made unto her for the same. Mercyfull also and pyteous she was unto such as was grevyed and wrongfully troubled, and to them that were in Poverty and sekeness, or any other mysery.*[9]

This description suggests a woman who lived a Christian life much in the way Lady Imagination instructed our young knight in Poulet's manuscript.

Patronage of Flemish illuminators was not confined to members of the English court. The rising middle classes were keen to show off their newfound status. These letters patent for Thomas Forster (d1528) were illuminated between 1524 and 1528. This beautiful illuminated document is held by in a private collection, but is on loan to the V&A, London. The decoration is very much in the Italian style, but there are three royal motifs that stand out: the Tudor rose, Katharine of Aragon's pomegranate and the Beaufort portcullis. Look to the left of the illuminated capital H containing Henry VIII's portrait and you will see them. The only one of these three emblems that is repeated on the right hand side of the manuscript is the portcullis.

After the violent establishment of the new dynasty in 1485, by 1509 England was attracting artists and artisans from all over Europe. In addition to Torrigiano & Mazzoni, names of other Italian artisans such as Bartolomeo Penni, Antonio de Annuziata de Toto (known in England as Antony Toto) and Guido da Maiano appear in various accounts. After the accession of the eighteen-year-old Henry VIII, England continued to draw craftsmen and artists to her shores like a magnet

One might conclude that this magnetic attraction was due to the youthfulness of the king and it is generally taught that these men came, often with their families, seeking royal patronage. Perhaps many of them did, but it was more likely that it was Wolsey who attracted these artisans because of his position both as Cardinal and as the king's administrator.

Illuminated books were a less expensive way of promoting yourself than commissioning buildings and Magdalen College and Christ's College Oxford both have manuscripts commissioned by Thomas Wolsey when he was Cardinal. These are Christ Church College Ms 101 (Wolsey's Epistolary) & Magdalen College Ms 223. The illumination is of the very highest standard, but the artist(s) remain unidentified. Examination of the artwork suggests they are Flemish and are attributed to The Master of Cardinal Wolsey. We know the scribe of both these manuscripts was Pieter Meghren, a one eyed Dutchman. This link **http://www.magd.ox.ac.uk/libraries-and-archives/treasure-of-the-month/news/wolsey-lectionary/** will take you to Magdalen College Oxford's

post for 18th December 2014 where you can see MS 223 in detail; just click on the image for a larger size.

Wolsey's most famous surviving architectural contribution is Hampton Court Palace started in 1515.

The freehold of Hampton Court was owned by The Knights of the Order of John of Jerusalem and in 1514 Wolsey took over the lease inherited by the heir of Henry VII's Lord Chamberlain Giles Daubeny, Lord Daubeny. The Knights Hospitallers retained the freehold until Henry VIII acquired ownership in 1528.[10]

The book, *De Cardinalatu* written in 1510 by Paolo Cortese, included advice on building a suitable palace for a cardinal and the architectural historian Jonathan Foyle believes it was this book that influenced Wolsey's design. Peter Parker has identified two further influential Italian authorities on architectural design for consultation by cardinals and the aristocratic elite when designing palaces, these being Francesco Priscianese and Cola de Benvento.[11] Whoever it was that Wolsey studied, from the surviving elements of his private apartments we can see for ourselves that the Cardinal was well versed in the decorative elements of the Italian Renaissance.

Wolsey famously rose from being a commoner to being a Prince of the Church and, like Margaret Beaufort and his fellow bishops, founded schools and colleges and commissioned some beautiful buildings that were renamed, or are only referred to in documents or as lumps in the ground. Hampton Court was the first example of Renaissance architecture and decoration, but incorporates elements of the perpendicular gothic style. The eight moulded terracotta busts of various Roman emperors set into the brickwork are considered to be the work of the Italian sculptor Guido da Maiano. The use of brick was re-introduced into building during the 16th century and was expensive. Its use gave the unknown bricklayers working on the palace, an opportunity to demonstrate their decorative skills when building the chimneys.

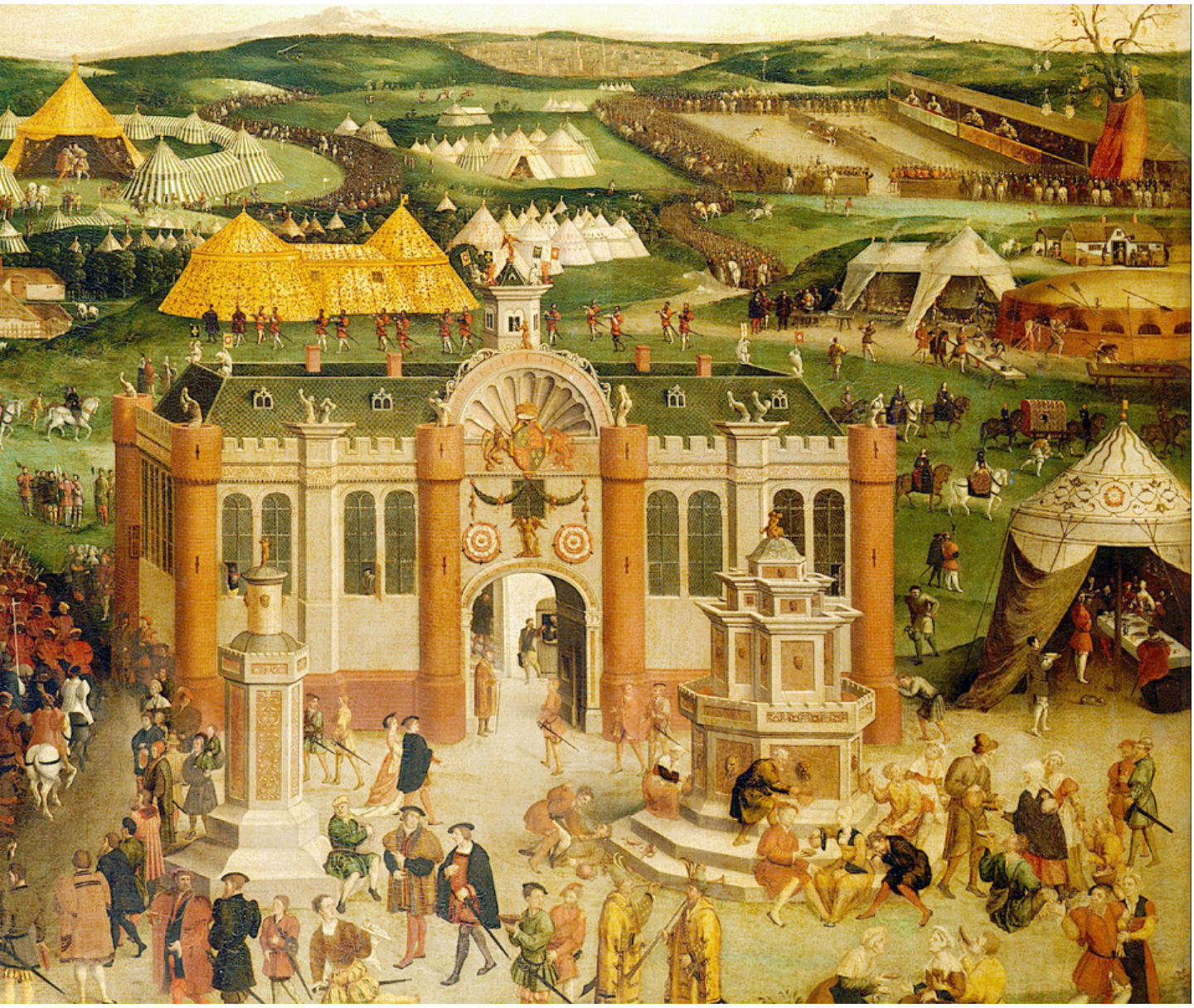
The Anne Boleyn gatehouse has Wolsey's restored coat of arms immediately above the opening. This was broken up after Wolsey's fall and found centuries later when it was restored to its current position. In this photograph also see two of the terracotta busts by da Maiano set above the polychromatic brickwork laid in a diamond pattern in the lower part of the walls; three and a bit chimneys with various ornamental designs worked in brick and the famous zodiac, clock that was added in 1540.[12] It should be remembered that the Polish astronomer, Nicolaus Copernicus, did not publish his theory that the planets rotated around the sun until 1543. One of his famous quotes is as follows: *"Perhaps there will be babblers who, although completely ignorant of mathematics, nevertheless take it upon themselves to pass judgment on mathematical questions and, badly distorting some passages of Scripture to their purpose, will dare find fault with my undertaking and censure it. I disregard them even to the extent as despising their criticism as unfounded."*[13] For a modern audience, Copernican theory is accepted fact, but in an age when this type of statement would lead to charges of heresy and very probably being burnt at the stake, no wonder Copernicus did not publish his heliocen-

tric theory until he knew he was dying. Despite this advance in astronomy in the 1540s, the clock at Hampton Court is a beautifully decorative piece of engineering and a rare example of late medieval horology based on pre-Copernican theory of the movements of the planets.

Wolsey's apartments have been restored and give us a glimpse into the great man's taste for the opulent. Unfortunately, during the various marriages of Henry VIII the various decorative elements that had any reference to either previous queens or the Cardinal were removed during Henry VIII's reign. This included the stained glass windows at the east end of the Chapel Royal which is now hidden behind an 18th century reredos carved by Grinling Gibbons during the reign of Queen Anne.

The changes made to the palace by Henry VIII were concerning his interests and comfort: the tiltyard (subject of a Time Team dig some years ago), the archery butts, the real tennis court, the kitchens and corridors. Whoever suggested these added greatly to the privacy of those within the royal apartments.

Any interior decorative statements referring to the king's wives were removed as each one fell from grace. In addition to the addition and removal of visual references to Henry's various wives, later monarchs have made their mark by demolishing much of Wolsey's original buildings and replacing it with architecture of a an ancient classical style. We are lucky that Henry's Abraham tapestries have survived and are today hung in the great hall under the wonderful hammerbeam roof affording us the opportunity to experience his idea of interior design. If you look up at the roof using binoculars or a zoom lens, you can make out



the faces of 'eavesdroppers' carved into the wood. If only they could speak!

Wolsey commissioned gold and silver plate from London goldsmiths as well as manuscripts and illuminated charters when he founded the Oxford college now known as Christ's College, but all of his wealth was confiscated when Wolsey was indicted on a charge of praemunire in 1527.

For any serious student of art history of the English early modern period, it becomes apparent that it was probably Wolsey who guided the young Henry VIII in the early years of his reign to employ the best craftsmen for building the many hunting lodges and other building projects the king undertook. We only have to consider how Wolsey organised the English meeting of Henry VIII & Francis I at Guisnes in 1520. An examination of the painting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold in the Royal Collection depicts the scene with the arrival of the king and his entourage, plus the temporary banqueting house, which is similar in style and Italianate decoration to Hampton Court.

Apart from Hampton Court Palace, mention in various Letters & Papers of Wolsey's luxurious display of plate and furniture, plus the entry in the accounts of the removal of any reference by way of emblem or picture (stained glass?) relating to the Cardinal, this painting is the only visual the evidence that remains of Wolsey's appreciation of theatre and display which he used to promote the splendour and glory of his English master.

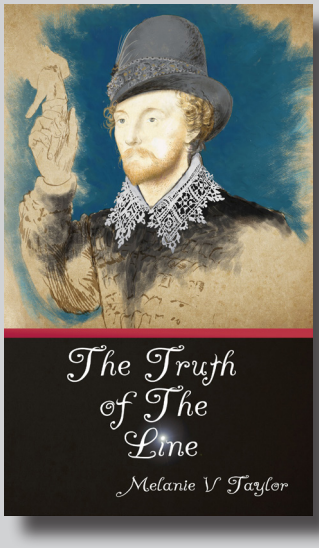
After the death of Elizabeth I in 1603 it would be natural for the visual Tudor tropes of portcullises and roses to be consigned to the dustbin of history, but the use of the Beaufort portcullis has survived the centuries. Today it is displayed on the letter head of the Houses of Westminster, which demonstrates that Lady Margaret Beau-

fort was the most successful of all the Tudors in establishing a logo that has lasted five hundred and seven years.

MELANIE V. TAYLOR

(Endnotes)

1 **Royal_MS_19_C_VIII digitised page at the British Library**
2 **Add. Ms 47680**
3 **Royal_MS_19_C_VIII digitised page at the British Library**
4 **www.measuringworth.com** accessed 7th July 2016.
5 **http://www.westminster-abbey.org/archive/visit-us/highlights/the-lady-chapel**
6 I am extremely grateful to Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch Kt, FSA, FRHistS, FBA for his patience in answering my emails. It was in one of these exchanges that I learnt that Torrigiano was in England several years earlier than is usually discussed, which suggests that perhaps he came at the invitation of Lady Margaret Beaufort to design her last resting place. I understand that research to establish this for certain is ongoing.
7 **http://westminster-abbey.org/our-history/royals/henry-vii-and-elizabeth-of-york**
8 **http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=cme;idno=Blanchardyn** this site has the full text of this romance for those interested in reading it.
9 **https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Margaret_Beaufort,_Countess_of_Richmond_and_Derby**
10 **http://www.chapelroyal.org/tudor.html**
11 p121 *Renaissance Rome, 1500 – 1559: A Portrait of Society*: Peter Parker: University of California Press: 1992.
12 Photo from Wikipedia (GNU Free Documentation License) and taken by Richard James Lander on 1/06/2004.
13 **http://www.nmspacemuseum.org/halloffame/detail.php?id=123** accessed 11/07/2016.



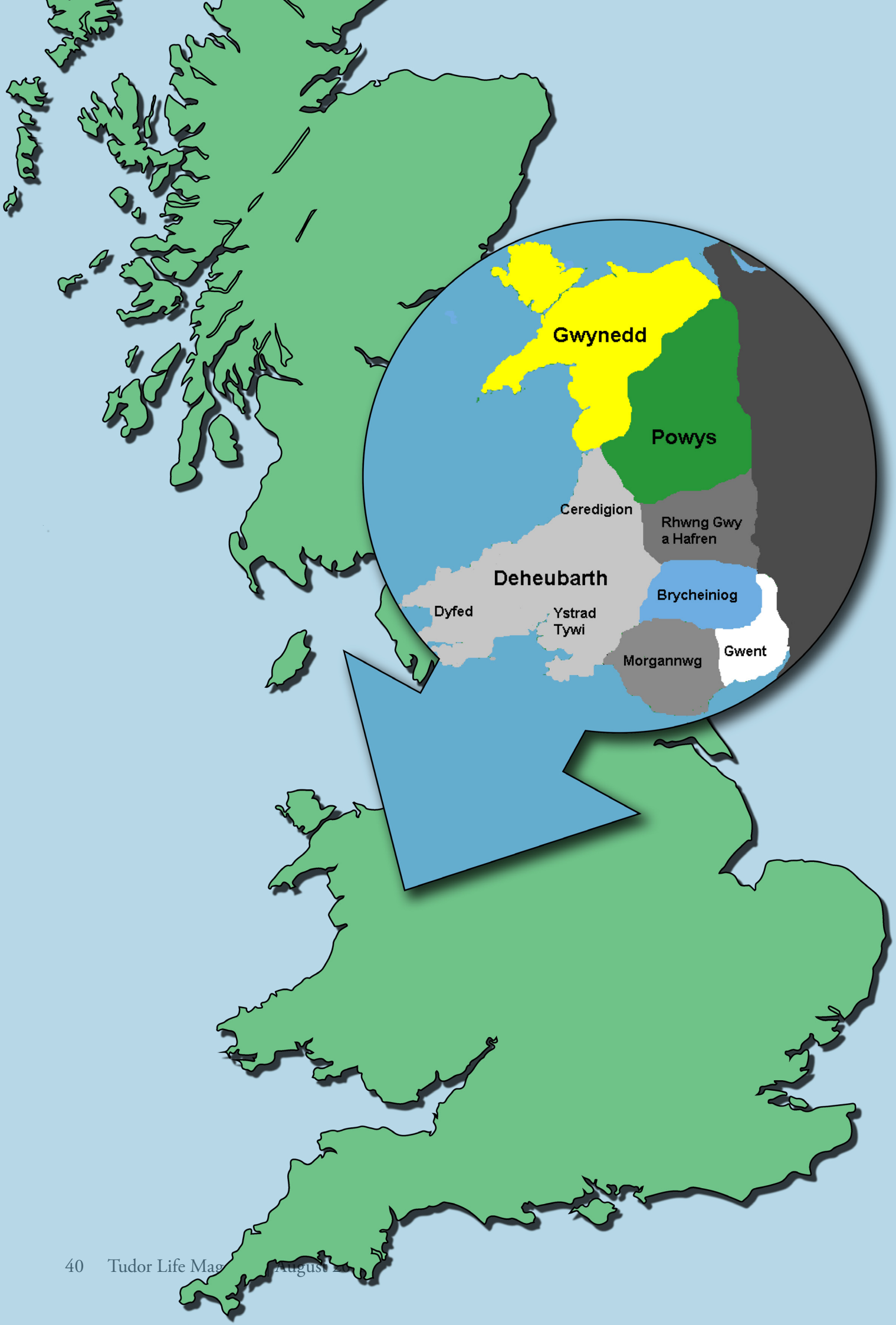
Melanie V. Taylor is the author of "*The Truth of the Line*" and a regular contributor to the Tudor Life magazine. She's making a name for herself in the Tudor and Medieval art world, specialising in works by Teerlinc and Hilliard. She is also preparing a course for the new online courses website **MedievalCourses.com**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

THE TUDOR SOCIETY WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A SPECIAL POINT OF THANKING MELANIE FOR HER DEDICATION TO ART HISTORY AND TO THE TUDOR SOCITY. WITHOUT HER HARD WORK AND DEDICATION, THE SOCIETY WOULD BE MUCH REDUCED. THANK YOU SO MUCH MELL! *TS*.

Elizabeth of York and late medieval queenship

August's Tudor Society Guest Speaker

LAUREN BROWNE is currently studying for her masters in History at Queen's University, Belfast. For her undergraduate degree, she completed her dissertation on the reputation and importance of Queen Elizabeth of York in shaping the Tudor dynasty's perception of itself. She has written several times for Tudor Life magazine and is becoming well respected on the subject of Elizabeth of York.


Gwynedd
Powys
Ceredigion
Rhwng Gwy
a Hafren
Deheubarth
Brycheiniog
Dyfed
Ystrad
Tywi
Morgannwg
Gwent

Tudor Kings and Would-be Kings

The Welsh have had a lasting impact on the British Isles

Kyra Kramer

WHEN CATHERINE OF VALOIS, the daughter of the French King Charles VI and widow of English King Henry V and mother of King Henry VI, began hooking up with Owen Tudor it was quite the scandal. Her blood was so blue she could have been a Smurf, but she married (it is assumed that an actual marriage took place) Owen Tudor, who was a lowly steward and Welsh to boot. How could a dowager queen sink so low?

Well, she *didn't*. Owen Tudor was *Owain ap Maredudd ap Tudur* and he was decendant of Welsh princes, who were de facto kings of their domain. (Welsh principalities shown below)

The acknowledged founder of the Tudor bloodline, Ednyfed Fychan, was a warrior and seneschal for King Llewellyn the Great, and was granted lands across North Wales for his service to his liege. These lands included much of the Isle of Anglesey, which was part of the kingdom of Gwynedd. Ednyfed Fychan was, himself, a decendant of Marchudd ap Cynan, King of Gwynedd. He married Gwenllian ferch Rhys, the daughter of Rhys ap Gruffydd, a mideval king of Deheubarth powerful enough to sign documents as *Tywysog Cymru,* or Prince of Wales.

Owen Tudor was theoretically born on the Isle of Anglesey, possibly in or near the village of Penmynydd, which is closely associated with the Tudor family. His maternal grandfather was Thomas ap Llywelyn ab Owain of Cardiganshire, the last direct male descendant of the kings of Deheubarth. Owan's mother was a direct decendant of Hywel Dda, or Hywel the Good, the King of Deheubarth who eventually controlled all of wales except Morgannwg and Gwent. Hywel is the ruler credited with codifying the Welsh laws, which were more sophisticated and merciful than those of the English.

The abiding love the Welsh had for their own legal rights is one of the reasons they rose up against King Edward I in 1283. Only a few years before Llywelyn ap Gruffud, the ruler of Gwynedd and most of North Wales who had been recognized by King Henry III as the *Tywysog Cymru* in the Treaty of Montgomery, had made peace with the English. King Edward I had invaded Wales when Llywelyn's brother Dafydd and the King of Powys, Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, allied with him due to their resentment of Llywelyn's presence as overlord. After these two major betrayals, Llywelyn had seen no choice but to come to terms without engaging in a single major battle with the English army. The peace was not that peaceful, though, because Llywelyn continued to skirmish with the Marcher Lords, such as Gilbert de Clare and Roger Mortimer, who tended to act as kings on their own lands and overreach into Welsh territory. Confident in his victory, Edward I tried imposing English law on the ceded Welsh lands. The Welsh were having

none of that, and this time they were convinced to unite to drive out the English. Edward's forces were soundly defeated multiple times, until Llywelyn was killed in battle. Llywelyn's turncoat brother Dafydd wasn't the leader Llywelyn was, and Welsh unity crumbled, leaving Edward a clear path to victory. Edward named his infant son, the future Edward II, the Prince of Wales and the heir to the English throne has retained that investiture ever since.

The Welsh were not quite done resisting English tyranny and English law, however. There was sporadic guerrilla warfare against the Marcher Lords, but no confederated Welsh revolt until the Glyndŵr Rising (known to the Welsh as the Last War of Independence) in 1400. The leader of the uprising, Owain Glyndŵr, was the descendant of multiple Welsh kings and the last true Welshman to be named *Tywysog Cymru*. Glyndŵr fought the English for the next fifteen years, and Owen Tudor's father, Maredudd ap Tudur, who was the maternal first cousin of Owain Glyndŵr, rallied behind the charismatic new leader. Most of Maredudd ap Tudur's kinsmen fought for Glyndŵr as well, and it almost inconceivable that Owen Tudor didn't join his father and uncles in the rebellion. Unfortunately for the Welsh, Glyndŵr was eventually defeated, although his defeat came more from the canny economic blockade instigated by Edward III's son Henry than any losses in battle. With the English in control of the Welsh government once more, the descendants of the Welsh nobility had to choose between death, exile, or learning to live with English overlords.

Owen Tudor chose to make his peace with the English, and went into service for an English lord, possibly the "Owen Meredith" (the English version of ap Maredudd) who was listed as one of Sir Walter Hungerford's men in 1421. Hungerford was the steward of Henry V and one of the executors of the king's will. Hungerford was so respected and important that he was one of the councilors for Humphry of Lancaster, the 1st Duke of Gloucester and Lord Protector of the infant Henry VI. Unlike the 2nd Duke of Gloucester, the future Richard III, Humphry was a devoted uncle. As such, he was a frequently near his nephew and titular king. Thus, Hungerford would have moved in the sphere of Henry VI's household, and Owen Tudor would have moved with him. Details are unknown, but somehow Hungerford's man was given an upper position of service to Henry VI's widowed mother, Catherine of Valois. In this role, he caught the attention of the lonely, young, and lovely dowager queen. The rest, as they say, is history.

Through their descendant Owan Tudor, the Princes/Kings of Wales had the last laugh on the Plantagenet kings who had subsumed and decimated their lands. Although Owan Tudor was beheaded on the orders of Edward of York (the soon-to-be Edward IV), it was Owan's grandson, Henry Tudor, who would defeat Edward IV's brother, Richard III, the last of the Plantagenet kings, at the Battle of Bosworth Field; a scion of Welsh nobility would henceforth rule England as Henry VII. Henry Tudor married Edward IV's daughter, Elizabeth of York, to merge the bloodlines and finally bring an end to the War of the Roses. Their son, Author Prince of Wales, was the first English heir to have any real claim to that title.

The Welsh were enamored enough of the idea of a Tudor king that they made no demur when Wales as annexed into England via the Laws in Wales Acts 1535 and 1542, making a Welshman and Englishman legally equal at the expense of Welsh sovereignty ... at least in name. The people of Wales remained resolutely Welsh rather than English. As time passed, England became more resentful of Wales' continued cultural independence and non-English identity, resulting in prejudice against the Welsh, and the Industrial Revolution allowed the exploitation of the Welsh populace by English landlords and company owners. The Welsh naturally disliked the exploitation, and even resorted in armed insurrection during the early part of the nineteenth century. Inasmuch as direct fighting wasn't working, the Welsh turned the battles political. In 1886, Cymru Fydd ('Young Wales') was established to promote the ideal of Welsh 'home rule'. The struggle was long, but ultimately successful. As of 2011, Wales has enjoyed its own independent governing body.

In a bit of historical irony, Wales may now be free from English rule, but England is not free from the Welsh. Owain ap Maredudd ap Tudur's direct descendant, Queen Elizabeth II, still wears the crown.

KYRA KRAMER

TUDOR PALACES WORDSEARCH

R B Q T C C L D H M V Q V L E

I E E L U M T C G A Q U F L H

E S T A E R I H K H F A U A A

F Q M S U W Z Q T T D X J H W

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U T C E U I I E C E K Q L T W

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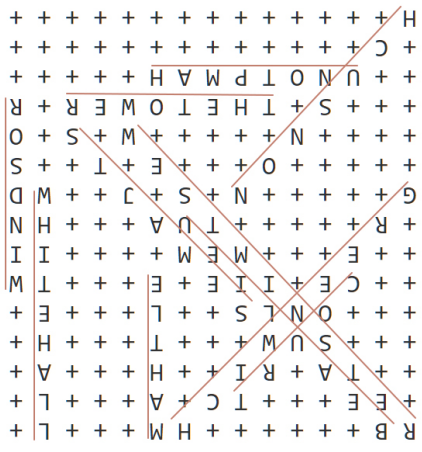
BEAULIEU
GREENWICH
NONSUCH
THETOWER
WHITEHALL

ELTHAM
HAMPTON
STJAMES
WESTMINSTER
WINDSOR



Dancing Low:– The Stately Basse Dance

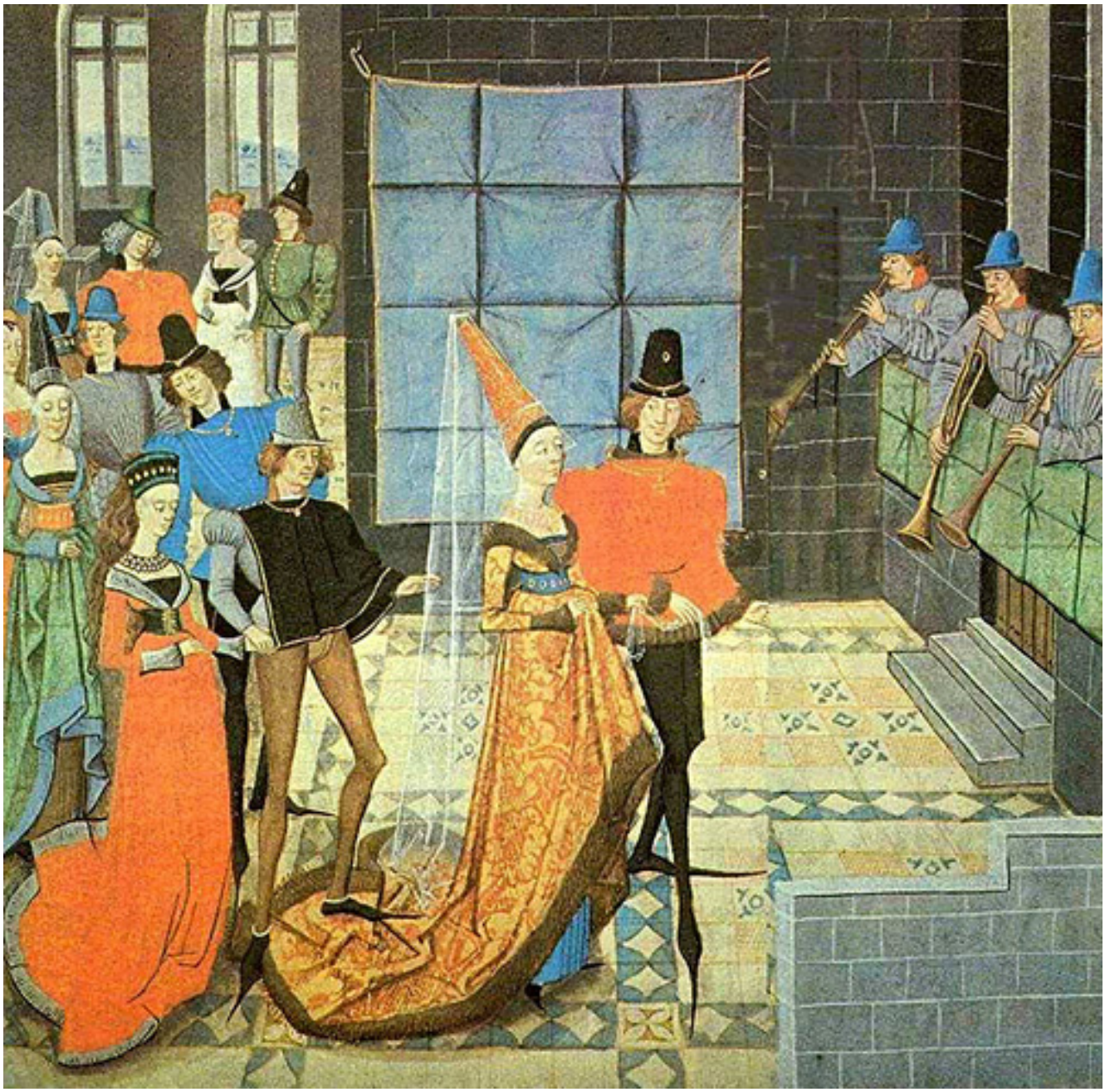
Ask kids of today and they'll tell you about how important bass is to music. How right they are...

Jane Moulder

History books and articles can often contain glib and sweeping statements that can cause an expert in a particular field to take a sharp intake of breath. This is certainly the case in references to the court of Henry VII in relation to the arts. It is often said that the early Tudor period was lacking in its cultural influence and Henry VII's court was closed to foreign influence, backward, and boring. However, investigation shows a completely different picture and the court of the first Tudor monarch is revealed as a vibrant centre with the musical, dramatic and visual arts literally taking centre stage. It is undoubtedly true that it would be Henry VII's son who would become a major patron of the arts and kick start the English Renaissance, but that doesn't mean to say that Henry did not make a significant contribution to the artistic landscape. In fact, it could be argued that the cultural explosion that took place under Henry VIII could only have happened because of the solid foundations laid down by his father in the preceding years.

I have written recently about the Court Revels and maskes both in Henry VIII's and Edward VI's time but it was Henry VII who first engaged Italian performers and musicians to entertain at court. A quick look through the treasury accounts from 1485 onwards shows that musicians, dancers and entertainers were regularly employed, musical instruments were purchased and maintained, and singers were engaged for the Chapel Royal. Also, it is clear that Henry VII engaged many foreign musicians for specific entertainments. Musicians from France, Spain, Italy and Flanders make regular appearances in the expenditure columns. This shows that, despite statements to the contrary, the early Tudor court was undoubtedly outward looking and influenced by continental trends and this is particularly the case in relation to dancing.

Dance, in particular, has always played a significant part in everyday social life regardless of whether it is performed at court or on the village green. Dances that were initially and exclusively danced in court gradually filtered down through the various social strata until, perhaps a little changed in style, they would be performed by commoners. But where did the dances originate before appearing in court? Sometimes a dance became inextricably linked with a particular period or region and that is certainly the case with the bassedance - and its "home" was the Burgundian



A 15th century illustration of a bassedance being performed at a Burgundian court.

court of the late medieval period. This is despite the fact that there were variations of the basic dance being performed in Italy as well as other parts of France. With the increasingly strong political links between the Burgundian and English court, the dance eventually came across to this country in the late 15th century. It became a popular and established dance with the court and nobility and was performed in England through to the middle of the 16th century.

Bassedance translates literally as "low-dance" and this gives a clear indicator as to its style. It was danced low to the ground and it differed considerably from the high, or "haut-dances" such as the saltarello or piva, which included jumps and skips, which were often performed after it. This style of dancing gave it a regal or stately air, perfect for being performed by courtiers and royalty. It was a processional dance and it consisted of only five different steps – a single step, a double step, a sideways step (a branle), a backward step (a reprise) and a reverence. These different steps were accompanied by a slight raising and lowering of the body or by slight swaying motions. The overall effect was courtly and delicate, as the steps taken were very small and refined and perfectly suited to the long heavy robes and dresses of the period. The choreography didn't specify a set floor

pattern or "route" and would have been performed by a couple, or a number of couples, standing side by side holding hands. These couples would form a "train" which would then process slowly around the hall using the proscribed movements.

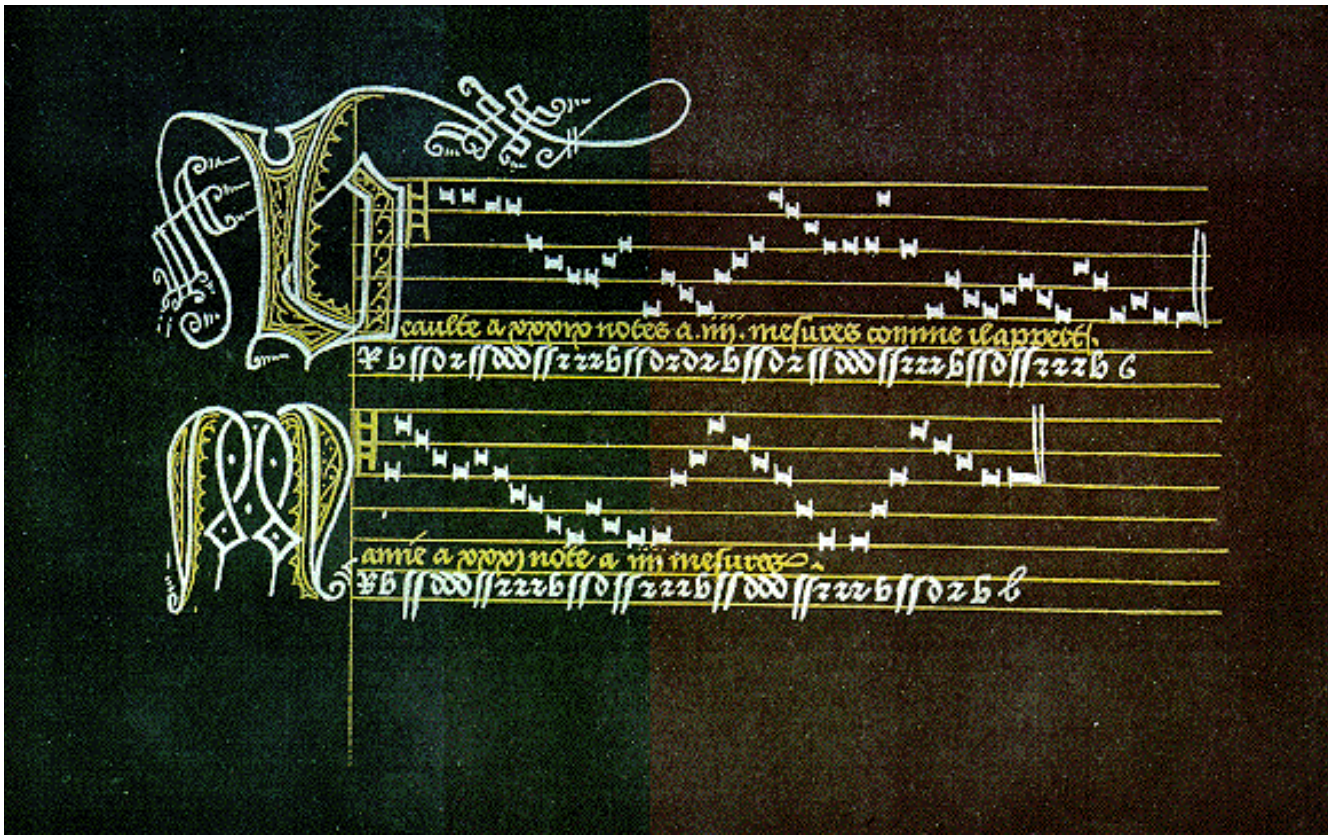
The dance, whilst made popular in Burgundy and France, was believed to have originated in Italy in the early 15th century. According to the various dance treatises, such as those by Domenico of Ferrara and Guglielmo Ebreo, the Italian version, or bassadanza, was very similar to the Burgundian one except there were more variations on the steps and there were set 'figures' or patterns to be danced out on the floor.

The musical style of the dance, whether Burgundian and Italian, is very similar. The "tune" is held by the tenor instrument, or cantus firmus, and then two other higher instruments, would improvise on the base tune (the descant and counter-tenor lines). Often, only the tenor or cantus firmus line survives as the improvisatory upper lines were rarely written down. This combination of lines was often played by a sackbut (early trombone) on the tenor and two shawms playing the countertenor and descant lines. This particular combination of instruments was often referred to as "alta capella".

However, for more intimate settings, softer more mellow stringed instruments could be used.

Burgundy at this time covered an area which we know today as eastern France, Luxembourg, Belgium and the Netherlands. Links between Burgundy and England were strong and were aided by the marriage of Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV, to Duke Charles the Bold in 1468. Edward enjoyed the artistic influence of the Burgundian school and personally collected many illuminated manuscripts and books. Consequently, Burgundian tastes in music, dance, the arts and architecture began to appear in England and so by the time Henry VII took control in 1485, these styles would have been familiar to him.

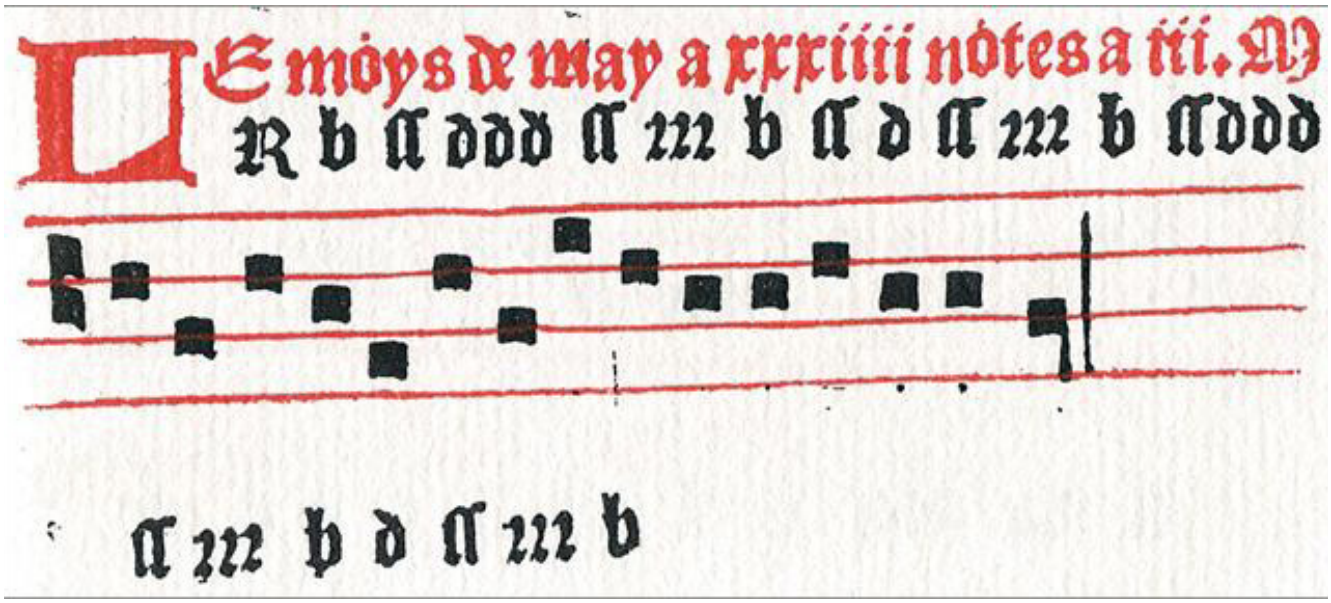
In late Medieval and early Renaissance Europe, cultural centres tended to move from one place to another, partly due to changing political stability. In the early 14th century, the centre had been in Northern France, then, due to the location of the Pope in Avignon, it moved to Southern France, and then to Florentine Italy. But by the mid 15thcentury the cultural hub had migrated to the area of Burgundy and Flanders, therefore attracting musicians and artists from across Europe. The Burgundian rulers were not merely patrons of the arts but also took an active part. For example Charles the Bold was known as a musician and he played the harp and also composed music. Notable composers linked to the Burgundian school



A page from the book belonging to Margeurite d'Autriche (Manuscript #9085 at the Royal Library, Brussels, Belgium) The musical staves are in gold and the notation and dance steps are in silver, on black dyed vellum.

are Guillaume Dufay, Gilles Binchois and Antoine Busnois.

The bassedance came to prominence in Burgundy in about 1440. One of the most significant documents containing the dance is a small book dating from around 1450. It is quite remarkable because the 25 pages are black and the lettering is all in gold or silver. It's official title is "*Le Manuscrit des Basses Danses de la Biblioteque de Bourgogne*" although today it is more commonly known at The



The dance of Le Moys to Mai from Toulouze's book. A somewhat less lavish publication!

A processional dance by Jakob Mennel, 1503, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Austria

Brussels Manuscript due to its current location. We know it belonged to Marguerite of Austria in 1490 before being passed to Marie of Burgundy, who was also Queen of Hungary and Governor of the Hapsburg Netherlands. The book contains music and descriptions of more than 50 bassesdanses.

Many of the same bassedances are described again in the first book to be printed on social dance *"l'art et instruction de bien danser"* by Michel Toulouze which was published sometime between 1490 and 1500.

There is considerable evidence that Henry VII was influenced by the artistic and cultural movements taking place in Burgundy. A number of English writers, including John Skelton, mimic the style and subject of Burgundian poetry and romances and Flemish musical styles also begin to appear in England at this time. A play written by Henry Medwall, c1497, espouses the worth of the Burgundian ideals of nobility and at one point, instructs entertainers to enter the stage and perform a bassedance. The play received its premier at Lambeth Palace and was performed in front of the Flemish and Spanish Ambassadors. This provides clear evidence that the bassedance was now in England and shows a direct link between the artistic interchange between the English and Burgundian courts.

In Salisbury Cathedral library there is a Latin Primer, printed in 1497, which has French bassedance instructions copied on to both sides of a flyleaf. This shows that the dance was beginning to spread out from the Royal Court into the well to do of England. More bassedances are to be found in an English translation of a French grammar (it's very odd how dance instructions are to be found at the backs of grammar books!). Robert Copland included an appendix to his book in 1521 called *"The Manner of Dancing Basse Dances after the use of France"*. As Copland did not go into detail about how to perform the steps, just describing the dance sequences and patterns, this is a clear indication that he expected his English audience to already be familiar with the dance.

There are numerous description of how the bassedance was performed at important or cer-

emonial gatherings and it was usually the first dance after the official salutes and greetings. In 1503, at the celebrations of the wedding of Margaret to James IV of Scotland, an account states: "*the minstrels began to play a basse dance, which was danced by the Queen and the Countess of Surrey. After this they played a round, which was danced by Lord Grey leading the Queen, and accompanied by many lords, ladies and gentlewomen.*"

Having been introduced to the court of Henry VII, the bassedance continued to be popular with the English nobility well into the 16th century. Two well-known songs, Helas Madame and En Vray Amoure, which are in the Henry VIII music manuscript, are based on bassedances.

By the mid 16thcentury, the bassedance had passed out of fashion and was superseded, in courtly circles at least, by the Italian Pavane. However, it did not die out immediately and for a time it was probably still danced in the provinces. As late as 1589, Thoinot Arbeau in his Orchesography (a tutor for the middle classes) describes the bassedance but he has to acknowledge to his student, Capriol, that the dance was now out of date. The bassedance he describes is clearly a variation on the original late 15th century ones showing that, in the intervening years, the dance had developed in style in an attempt to keep its popularity. Similarly, the bassedance tunes printed by Pierre Attaingnant in 1530, have changed in pattern from their late 15th century forbears, again indicating a variation from the originals. Perhaps these are indicators of how the dance changed as it transferred out of the rarefied atmosphere of court and into popular culture.

By looking in detail at just one small aspect of court cultural life, such as a dance, it is clear that Henry VII was open to foreign influences and more outward looking than some historians would have us believe. I have no doubt that his court was far from parochial and boring - the presence of the bassedance in England is proof of that.

JANE MOULDER

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Two Stunning Shakespearean Sites

MARY ARDEN'S FARM AND ANNE HATHAWAY'S COTTAGE

When you think of Stratford upon Avon, you inevitably think of William Shakespeare, the Tudor poet and playwright who is beloved throughout the world. Many people have seen or visited the "Shakespeare's Birthplace" building in the centre of Stratford, which is a restored 16th-century half-timbered house situated in Henley Street. However, there are many other Shakespeare-related buildings in the area, and if you get a chance, you should definitely take the opportunity to visit them.

These pictures were taken by me a while ago and I've been meaning to send them to the Tudor Life magazine for the "Tudor Places" feature for a while. I hope you like them.

The first set of photos are from Anne Hathaway's Cottage. If you were wondering, Anne Hathaway was Shakespeare's wife. This cottage is just over a mile from Stratford upon Avon, and it was the childhood home of Anne. It's a truly beautiful building, with its thatched roof, white plaster and wooden beam construction and it's lovingly maintained gardens. It's close enough to the centre of Stratford that if you're fit and healthy you can walk to it. Well worth it! When you get there you can even enjoy the gift shop and a welcome break at the cafe ... why not have a nice English tea while you're there?

The second set of photos are from Mary Arden's Farm. For those (like me) who weren't sure who Mary Arden was, she was the mother of William Shakespeare. This farm is a great place to visit for all who love history or Shakespeare's life. It is set up as a historic farm with traditional archery and falconry, rare breeds and nature trails to explore. The farm is one of those "get involved" places, and it is really good for children (and grown up children!) to enjoy.

There's so much history in and around Stratford upon Avon, so it's well worth a visit.

ANDY CROSSLEY

THE TUDOR SOCIETY

Members' Bulletin

As mentioned in last month's magazine, and also in the emails which you should have received, in September we'll be releasing some exlusive books for Tudor Society members. There will be one book for each of the Tudor Monarchs, with a wealth of interesting information, articles and so on about that monarch.

We're in the process of putting it all together now, and as long as you're a member in September, you'll get access to these books in e-book format for free. We're also thinking about making them as exclusive paperback books, as we know that having physical books can be a very important thing for history lovers!

On the next page there is an exclusive sneak peak at the covers of the six fantastic books...

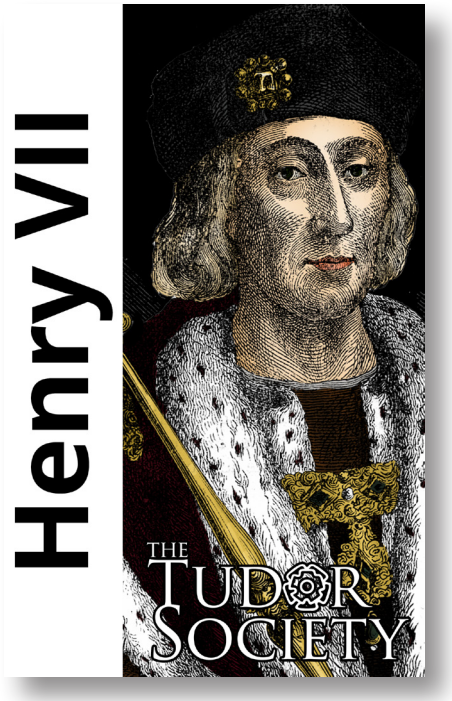
A while back we asked people to comment on their thoughts about a printed/physical version of the Tudor Life magazine. Members were split about 50/50 as to whether this would be something they wanted. Although we'd love to have these magazines on paper, we still haven't been able to find a way to do it without making our memberships prohibitively expensive. One of our driving concepts is that we want everyone to be able to benefit from the Tudor Society, and putting up the price doesn't fit with that goal. However, we are still thinking about what we can do, as we know it's important to many members!

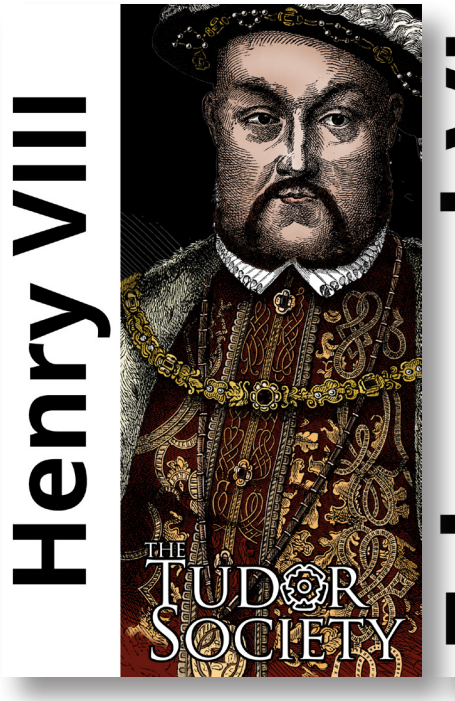
Our current thinking is that we will take some of our regular contributor's work (such as Jane Moulder and Melanie V. Taylor) and put them into combined "journal style" books for members to buy at a little over production+postage. We love our regular contributors as they work so hard each month. Our plan is to allow members to "tip" the author when they buy these journals. Watch this space!

Please do get involved with the Tudor Society

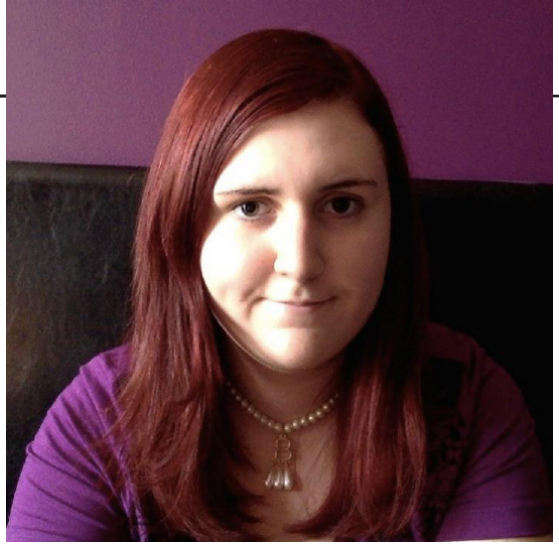
WE RELY ON YOUR ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP

Exclusive Tudor Society Books Available in September





Charlie on Books



RED ROSES
by Amy Licence

The Wars of the Roses have been explored in several books in recent years, yet it seems that there has been more interest in the Yorkist side than the Lancastrian. There are books on the discovery of Richard III's body, the Princes in the Tower, Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, but the prominent Lancastrian figures have been neglected, particularly the women. Amy Licence corrects this with her new book Red Roses: Blanche of Gaunt to Margaret Beaufort, which aims to explore the lives of the Lancastrian women, from the mother of Henry IV to the matriarch of the Tudor dynasty.

Licence starts with a prologue that shows how significant the Lancastrian women were in putting an end to the Wars of the Roses and uniting the two royal houses. She starts with the coronation of Henry VIII in 1509 and discusses Margaret Beaufort's role in this event. Margaret had organised the coronation of her grandson, outliving her son, and was the mother of the Tudor dynasty. The coronation was a significant event in destroying any sign of discord between the two houses, with even the new king's wife having Lancastrian blood flowing through her veins:

> *'They made a handsome couple, with the blood of the dynasties of York and Lancaster flowing in Henry's veins and Catherine's Spanish heritage tempered by her descent from Catherine of Lancaster, the daughter of John of Gaunt. Their marriage brought the Lancastrian dynasty full circle, tracing its oath from its earliest days, with the children of Edward III, through 150 years of turbulent history.'*

Licence then moves on to the irony that Margaret only just outlived her son. 'The coronation of Margaret's grandson marked the end of her journey' and she died five days later. The author leaves exploring her state funeral for later and instead goes back 150 years to tell the story of her Lancastrian ancestors.

After the prologue, the book is split into five parts, with each part reflecting the different reigns of the kings and events in England. The first Lancastrian woman in this book is Blanche of Gaunt, John of Gaunt's wife. Licence gives us a brief overview of their marriage, speculating on Blanche's possible age at the time of the marriage. Women's birthdays were rarely noted as they were of little consequence, so Licence uses the details of the marriage to give the reader an estimate:

> *'On Sunday 19 May 1359, Blanche and John of Gaunt were married at Reading Abbey. A papal dispensation had been issued on 6 January as the couple were third and fourth cousins through their mutual descent from Henry III. Gaunt was 19, Blanche at least 14, perhaps a few year older. The age of consent for girls was 14, and it was common for marriages to be consummated once the bride reached that significant age.'*

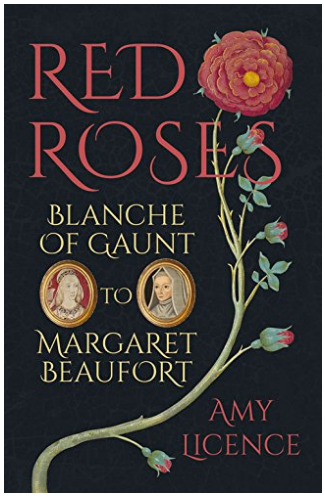
Licence spends the majority of her section on Blanche discussing the birth of her children, especially her unfortunate record in the first few years of her marriage to John:

'To date [1366], Blanche had carried five children to term and while both her daughters survived, all three of her sons had died. High rates of infant mortality were not uncommon, with miscarriages,

still births, birthing injuries, cot deaths and infections accounting for losses which were often inexplicable to midwives at the time.'

Despite these sad events, Blanche still managed to give John a son, Henry Bolingbroke (later Henry IV) and was very much loved by her husband. Her importance is often overlooked by historians, and so Licence tries to challenge this with her section on Blanche. As well as her political importance in giving birth to the future Henry IV, the emotional side of her relationship is explored as well, especially with Gaunt's reaction to her death:

'Gaunt observed the anniversary of Blanche's death for the three decades that he outlived her and would ultimately request to be buried beside her. Their life together had been a happy and harmonious one, the result of genuine affection and resulting in the conception of seven children.'



One of the good things about looking at the lives of several women, especially for the ones with few details certain about them, is that it does not become boring. It also means that Licence doesn't have to keep guessing what the women were up to, which often happens with full biographies of these types of women.

After discussing Blanche, Amy Licence moves onto another woman in Gaunt's life, Katherine Swynford. Much has been written about this mistress-turned-wife, yet the author's short-but-sweet take on her was refreshing. She puts forward ideas as to why Gaunt married Katherine, including evaluating one by a contemporary:

'Froissart explained that his choice was 'due to affection', but the most likely scenario is that, ever-mindful of family and inheritance, he did it to secure the futures of his Beaufort children. He only had one legitimate son and his boys by Katherine - John, Henry and Thomas - already promised to be assets for the family. Declared legitimate after their parents' wedding, their status was confirmed by a papal bull in February 1397.'

One interesting point which the author frequently refers to is the idea of female power and why certain women wielded it. She proposes that:

'it was wives marrying into the dynasty from another family, even perhaps from another country, who were to wield most influence with their characters, fertility and maternity. Whatever the circumstances of their birth, it was the women who bore children with Lancastrian blood in their veins who moulded the dynasty. Nowhere would that be clearer than in the second half of the fifteenth century.'

This idea is well supported by the examples she gives the reader throughout the book. Each woman in Licence's book had their role to play in the cogs of the Lancastrian dynasty. The dynasty was held together by these women, and they were essential to its survival.

Licence soon returns to Margaret Beaufort and her actions and role in the Wars of the Roses. She supports the theory that the absence of the provision for heirs in her contract to marry Stanley is 'evidence that Margaret wished to live chastely, almost like a vowess, under the protection of her husband'. She also speculates that this is because, if she had entered a nunnery instead, she would be unable to take a political role to help her son.

The book goes full circle, ending where the prologue began: Henry VIII's coronation. This gives the reader an insight into how much work had gone into keeping the Lancastrian dynasty alive, mainly due to the behind the scenes help from all these women. Licence sums up this dynastical success in her description of the newly crowned Henry VIII, 'the figure who united the dynasties of Lancaster and York', created by the Lancastrian women.

Amy Licence uses the many lives of the Lancastrian women like a jigsaw, putting the pieces together to describe the events surrounding the dynasty. She links the stories of the women together well with her excellent use of narrative. The book can, however, become a little confusing if you are not familiar with the period due to the many similar names. I would suggest a little background knowledge before reading, but otherwise, Licence has created a well-researched and readable book on a long-neglected subject.

CHARLIE FENTON

OLGA HUGHES' Tudor Kitchen
Oranges and Lemons

Oranges and lemons,
Say the bells of St. Clement's.

You owe me five farthings,
Say the bells of St. Martin's.

When will you pay me?
Say the bells of Old Bailey.

When I grow rich,
Say the bells of Shoreditch.

When will that be?
Say the bells of Stepney.

I do not know,
Says the great bell of Bow.

Here comes a candle to light you to bed,
And here comes a chopper to chop off your head![1]

---

1 Opie, Iona and Peter, *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes*, Oxford University Press, The Softback Preview 1992, pp. 337

Although it has long been rumoured that the old nursery rhyme *Oranges and Lemons* alludes to Henry VIII's disastrous marriages, the last two lines were not added to the rhyme until centuries after Henry started executing his spouses. The connection between Henry VIII and oranges is rather less sinister, his first wife Katherine of Aragon loved oranges, and they were often seen on Henry and Katherine's menus.

Although Katherine made oranges popular during her reign, the Mediterranean fruit had been introduced to England centuries before. It was, however, expensive and difficult to obtain.

Although Katherine made oranges popular during her reign, the Mediterranean fruit had been introduced to England centuries before.

Oranges and lemons were grown in southern Europe. Originally cultivated in northern India, they were known to the Romans as 'Median Apples', thought to have arrived from Persia. They were used for medicinal purposes and also to sharpen the taste of vinegar.[2] Arabs began to propagate the fruit widely around the Mediterranean, as far as Sicily and Spain. They used Persian methods to cultivate the fruit, and the trees were grown in special 'orangeries', the gardens irrigated by water channels so they could bear fruit in the hot climate.[3]

Richard I's crusaders would have sampled oranges and lemons when they wintered in the fruit groves around Jaffa in 1191-1192, but oranges did not arrive in England until about a century later.[4] Records show seven oranges and fifteen lemons being brought into England along with two hundred and thirty pomegranates for Queen Eleanor of Castile in 1289. The following year the enormous sum of twenty shillings (around £988[5] today) was paid for thirty-nine lemons for Eleanor, who was in the stages of her last illness before her death.

The oranges common to the early Tudor period were Seville oranges, which were a particularly bitter variety that were best consumed cooked. The China orange, which was much sweeter and could be eaten fresh, was not introduced into England until 1529. But by this time oranges and lemons had become a staple in the Tudor kitchen. They were used as a garnish for foods, as an alternative to vinegar or verjuice, they were made into marmalades and succades, and the juice was used in medicines. You may be surprised at the variety of recipes to be found in old cook books and herbals, they certainly show how popular the fruits were, which challenges the tradition that the Tudors ate very little fruit.

Last month we looked at one of Thomas Dawson's lemon salad recipes, which was very straightforward.

> ***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.***[6]

Some seventy years on, the Stuart period herbal A Book of Fruits and Flowers, shows a rather different method for A Lemon Sallet, which seems to use mostly pith.

> ***Take lemons, rub them upon a grate, to make their rinds smooth, cut them in halves, take out the meat of them, and boil them in faire water a good while, changing the water once or twice in the boiling, to take away the bitterness of them, when they are tender take them out and scrape away all the meat (if any be left) very clean, then cut them as thin as you can (to make them hold) in a long***

2 Wilson, C. Anne, *Food and Drink in Britain: From the Stone Ages to Medieval Times*, Penguin Books 1984, pp. 297

3 *Ibid*

4 Wilson, *Food and Drink in Britain pp 297*

5 Calculated at measuringworth.com

6 Dawson, Thomas, *The Good Housewife's Jewel*, Southover Press 1996 pp. 111

string, or in reasonable short pieces, and lay them in your glass, and boiling some of the best White-wine vinegar with sugar, to a reasonable thin syrup, pour it upon them into your glass, and keep them for your use. [7]

The 1653 recipe indicates that the Stuarts didn't quite share the Tudor love of sour flavours in their cooking! In any case the recipe is more of a preserving method, rather than a 'sallet'. But there are many, many preserving recipes for oranges and lemons. Thomas Dawson has no less than five methods in his Good Housewife's Jewel. This is one of the simpler methods.

You must cut your oranges in half and pare them a little round about. Let them lie in water for four or five days. You must change the water once or twice a day. And when you preserve them you must have a quart of fair water to put in your sugar, and a little rose water. Set it on the fire and scum it very clean. Put in a little cinnamon and put in your oranges. Let them boil a while and take them out again. Do so five or six times, and when they be enough, put in your oranges [8] ***and let your syrup stand till it be cold. Then put your syrup into your oranges.*** [9]

Dawson's other recipes include one that uses a "raft", as we call it now, to clarify the orange syrup; after the oranges have been removed from the syrup, ten beaten egg whites are poured in to the hot syrup and left to simmer, forming a "raft" of cooked egg that collects scum from the syrup as it rises to the top of the pot. Stock is still clarified using this method, centuries later. Another recipe, wonderfully titled *To Confit Orange Peels, Which May Be Done At All Times In The Year And Chiefly In May, Because Then The Said Peels Be The Greatest And Thickest*, gives instructions on preserving orange peels in honey and storing them in vessels studded with ginger, cloves and cinnamon. Another directs the cook to add beaten sugar and egg to preserved peels to candy them. The recipes grow ever more complicated, with *A Goodly Secret For To Condite Or Confit Oranges, Citrons and All Other Fruits in Syrup* instructs the cook to boil the fruit for half an hour and then replenish in fresh water repeatedly for eight days, with a further two days dedicated to preparing and clarifying the honey syrup for preserving. Dawson's simpler recipe is adapted in *A Book of Fruits and Flowers*.

TO PRESERVE ORANGES OR LEMMONS

Take your Oranges or Lemmons, lay them in water three days, and three nights, to take away their bitterness, then boil them in faire water till they be tender, make as much Syrupe for them as will make them swim about the pan, let them not boil too long therein, for it will make the skins tough; then let them lie all night in the Syrup, to make them take the Syrup in the morning, boil the Syrup to his thickness, and put them in gally pots or glasses, to keep all the year, and this is the best way to Preserve Orenges, Lemmons, or Citrons. [10]

Henry VIII was the only person given a fork when he dined at Hampton Court Palace, which he used to eat his preserved fruits, often called "succades".

TO MAKE SUCCADE OF PEELS OF ORANGES AND LEMONS

First take off your peeles by quarters and seeth them in faire water, from three quarts to three pints, them take them

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7 Wilson, C. Anne, *A Book of Fruits and Flowers 1653*, Prospect Books 1984 pp. 1

8 At this stage in the recipe it would appear the oranges need to be taken out of the syrup, rather than put in.

9 Dawson, Thomas, *The Good Housewife's Jewel*, Southover Press 1996 pp. 95

10 Wilson, C. Anne, *A Book of Fruits and Flowers 1653*, Prospect Books 1984 pp. 2

out, and put to as much more water and seeth them likewise, and do again, till the water wherein they are sodden have no bitterness at all of the peels, then you are ready, now prepare a syrup the same liquor . Use one pint of rosewater, and for every quart of liquor one half pound of sugar; seethe them again together on a soft fire till the sugar be incorporated with the liquor, then put in your peels, let them seeth softly till you perceive that your syrup is as thick as light honey, then set them to cool. [11]

Henry especially loved marmalade, as did his daughter Mary.

Henry especially loved marmalade, as did his daughter Mary. We have discussed marmalade recipes in The Tudor Banquet, and their connection with sex and fertility. Citrus fruits were thought to have many other medicinal benefits as well. Lemons were often used to dress seafood as it was thought they cut through the "gluey humours" of seafood and made it easier to digest,[12] which is an interesting origin for what we now consider a perfect partnership. French physician Joseph Duchesne said orange juice comforted the heart and stomach when taken in the morning, and being acidic it dissolved kidney stones.[13]

A VERY GOOD MEDICINE FOR THE STONE.

Make a Posset of a quart of Rhenish wine, a pint of Ale and a pint of Milk, then take away the curd, and put into the drink, two handfuls of Sorrell, one handful of Burnet, and half a handful of Balm, boil them together a good while, but not too long, least the drink be too unpleasant, then take of the drink a quarter of a pint, or rather half a pint, at once, at morning, and to bed-ward, putting therein first two or three spoonfulls of juice of Lemons, this is an excellent Medicine for the Stone in the Kidneys, to dissolve and bring it away. It is very good in these Diseases of the Stone, to use Burnet often in your drink at Meals, and often to steep it in over night, and in the morning put in three or four spoonfuls of juice of Lemons, and to drink thereof a good draught every morning a week together, about the full of the Moon, three days before, and three days after. [14]

This draught seems to contain a good deal more wine and milk than it does lemon juice! A rather more surprising use for lemon juice was for acne.

TO TAKE AWAY THE SPOTS, OR RED PIMPELS OF THE FACE.

Take half a pint of rain water, and half a pint of good Verjuice, seeth it till it be half consumed, then whilst it boils fill it up again with juice of Lemmon, and so let it seeth a pretty while; then take it from the fire, and when it is cold put to it the whites of four new laid Eggs, well beaten, and with this water annoynt the face often.[15]

Citrus fruits were also popular ingredients in home made perfumes. There are far more complex recipes for pomanders, but a simple one was an orange studded with cloves. Gervase

11 Adapted from Partridge, John, *The treasurie of commodious conceits, & hidden secrets and may be called, the huswiues closet, of healthfull prouision*, 1573 [online] <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A68556.0001.001?view=toc>

12 Albala, Ken, *Food Through History : Food in Early Modern Europe*, Greenwood Press 2003, pp. 51

13 *Ibid* pp. 52

14 Wilson, C. Ann, Anne, *A Book of Fruits and Flowers 1653*, Prospect Books 1984, pp. 3

15 *Ibid* pp. 2

Markham's recipe for damask water calls for the peels of six oranges. The combination of citrus and rose was popular and also used to scent linen.

SWEET BAGGES TO LAY AMONGST LINNEN.

Take Orris, Cyprus, Calamus, Fusis, all of them grosse beaten, and galangal roots, of each a handful, and as much of the small tops of Lavender, dried, and put them into bags to lay among your clothes. You may put in a handful or two of Damask Rose leaves dried, which will somewhat better the scent.[16]

And finally, returning to the kitchen, another drink we still enjoy today was made from oranges and lemons, although it is not strictly a Tudor drink. According to C. Anne Wilson lemonade is a French invention. There are records of citrus juice being drunk in the very early medieval period but lemonade and orangeade seem to have become popular around the 17th century, in the Stuart period. The Tudors used lemon juice in drinks as a medicinal cure rather than a beverage.

The earliest English recipe gave directions for a lemonade made of sugar and water with a whole sliced lemon infused in it .[17] Joseph Duchesne called oranges "the most beautiful of fruits, and the most useful, and the juice of them is used commonly on all the best tables",[18] and orangeade was made much the same way as lemonade, or drinks could contain both of the fruits. Some recipes were alcoholic. English recipes for both orangeade and lemonade date much later than the Tudor period, and are often alcoholic, such as W.M's "Orange Water' from 1659.

Take a bottle of the best Malligo Sack, and put in as many of the peels of Oranges as will go in, cut the white clean off, let them steep twenty four hours; still them in a glass still, and let the water run into the receiver upon fine Sugar-candy; you may still it in an ordinary still.[19]

French chef François Pierre La Varenne's French lemonade recipe is a non-alcoholic drink.

HOW TO MAKE LEMONADE

It is made several waies, according to the diversity of the ingredients. For to make it with Jasmin, you must take of it abouttwo handful, infuse it in

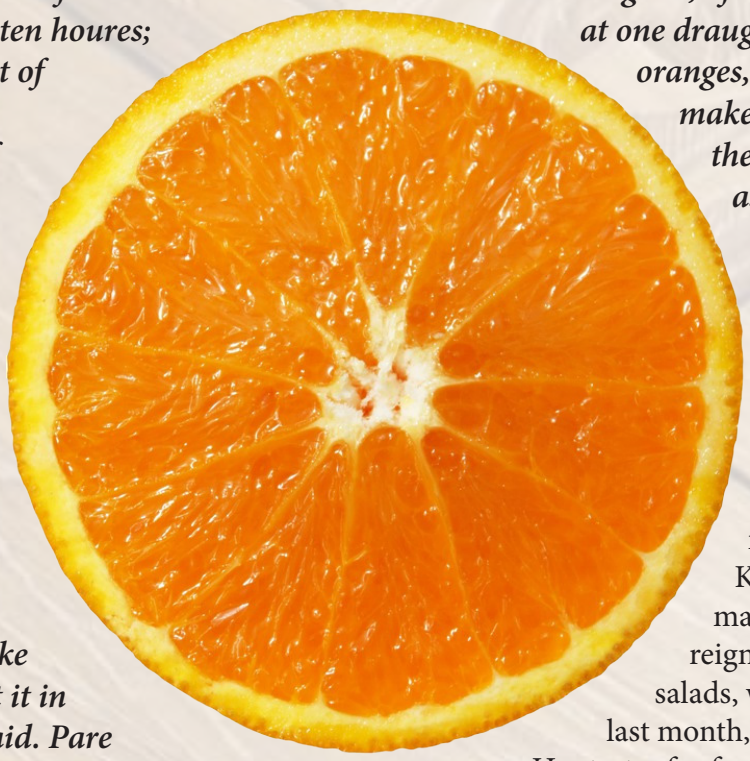
16 Ibid pp. 2

17 Wilson, C. Anne, *Food and Drink in Britain: From the Stone Ages to Medieval Times*, Penguin Books 1984

18 Albala, Ken, *Food Through History : Food in Early Modern Europe*, Greenwood Press 2003, pp. 51

19 "W.M.", *The Queens closet opened incomparable secrets in physick, chyrurgery, preserving, and candying &c. which were presented unto the queen* [online]<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A52209.0001.001/1:7.1?rgn=div2;view=fulltext>

two or three quarts of water the space of eight or ten houres; then to one quart of water you shall put six ounces of sugar. Those of orange flowers, of muscade roses, and of gelliflowers, are made after the same way. For to make that of lemon, take some lemons, cut them, and take out the juice, put it in water as abovesaid. Pare another lemon, cut it into slices, put it among this juice, and some sugar proportionably. That of orange is made the same way.[20]



And Samuel Pepys was a bit sceptical of the "new" fashion of drinking orange juice in the Stuart era.

I drank a glass, of a pint, I believe, at one draught, of the juice of oranges, of whose peel they make comfits; and here they drink the juice as wine, with sugar, and it is very fine drink; but, it being new, I was doubtful whether it might not do me hurt.[21]

Oranges were not the only food that Katherine of Aragon made popular during her reign, she also introduced salads, which we discussed last month, to the Tudor table.

Her tastes for fresh foods certainly influenced changes in Tudor cookery. Would Katherine have imagined that 500 years after her death marmalade would still be one of England's most beloved foods?

Olga Hughes

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20 La Varenne, Francois Pierre, Scully, Terence (ed) La Varenne's Cookery, Prospect Books, 2006.

21 "Tuesday 9th March 1668-9" *The Diary of Samuel Pepys [online]* <*http://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1669/03/09/*>

AUGUST'S ON THIS

1 August 1555
Apothecary and medium **Sir Edward Kelley** was born. Kelley claimed to be an alchemist. He possessed a red powder which, with the help of the alchemical book "The Book of Dunstan", he claimed he could make into a red tincture to transmute base metals into gold.

Lammas or "Loaf Mass"

2 August 1595
The Battle of Cornwall. Spanish forces landed at Mount's Bay and the English militia fled, allowing the Spanish troops to move on and burn Penzance, Mousehole, Paul and Newlyn.

3 August 1553
Queen Mary I, rode with her half-sister, *Elizabeth*, from Wanstead to Aldgate to be greeted by the city as its new Queen

8 August 1553
Burial of **Edward VI** in a white marble vault beneath the altar of **Henry VII**'s Lady Chapel in Westminster Abbey. His grave was unmarked until a memorial stone was placed in front of the altar in 1966.

9 August 1611
Death of **John Blagrave**, mathematician and land surveyor. His works include "The Art of Dyalling" (1609).

14 August 1473
Birth of **Margaret Pole**, Countess of Salisbury, daughter of **George, Duke of Clarence** (brother of Edward IV), and his wife **Isabel Neville**.

15 August 1551
Robert Dudley, future Earl of Leicester, was appointed Gentlemen of **Edward VI**'s Privy Chamber.

Assumption of the Virgin

16 August 1513
The Battle of Spurs took place at Guinegate in France. It was a battle between the English, backed by Imperial troops, and the French.

21 August 1535
King **Henry VIII** and his wife, Queen **Anne Boleyn**, visited Sir **Nicholas Poyntz** at his home, Acton Court, in South Gloucestershire as part of their progress to the south-west. In preparation for the royal visit, Poyntz had added an entire new wing to Acton Court, just for the royal couple.

22 August 1485
King Richard III and Henry Tudor faced each other at the Battle of Bosworth Field.

23 August 1535
Anne Boleyn and **Henry VIII** visited the Walsh family at Little Sodbury Manor

27 August 1610
Funeral of Lady **Anne Bacon** (née Cooke), mother of Sir **Francis Bacon**, at St Michael's Church, near St Albans.

28 August 1583
Burial of **William Latymer**, Chaplain to Queen **Anne Boleyn.**

29 August 1538
Arrest of **Geoffrey Pole** on suspicion of being in contact with his brother, Cardinal Reginald Pole

Beheading of St John the Baptist

Tudor Life

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

4 August 1549
The Battle of Woodbury Common, part of the Prayer Book Rebellion.

5 August 1549
The Battle of Clyst St Mary during the Prayer Book Rebellion. The Devonian and Cornish rebels were defeated by Lord Russell's troops, and around 900 prisoners were massacred later that day on Clyst Heath.

6 August 1504
Birth of **Matthew Parker**, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the parish of St Saviour, Norwich.

7 August 1514
Peace treaty signed between England and France, arranging the marriage of the widowed 52 year old **Louis XII** and 18 year-old Princess **Mary Tudor**.

10 August 1512
The Battle of Saint-Mathieu between the English and Franco-Breton fleets off the coast of Brest. **Henry VIII**'s largest ship, *The Regent*, sank as did the Breton ship *The Marie La Cordelière*.

11 August 1534
The friars observant were expelled from their houses due to their support of **Catherine of Aragon** and their refusal to accept the King's supremacy.

12 August 1596
Burial of **Henry Carey**, 1st Baron Hunsdon, in Westminster Abbey at the expense of his cousin **Elizabeth I**.

13 August 1514
Princess **Mary Tudor**, sister of **Henry VIII**, married King **Louis XII** by proxy at Greenwich Palace.

17 August 1510
Henry VII's chief administrators, Sir **Edmund Dudley** and Sir **Richard Empson**, were beheaded on Tower Hill, guilty of treason.

18 August 1587
The first European Christian, **Virginia Dare** was born in the New World, in what is now North Carolina.

19 August 1531
Burning of **Thomas Bilney**, Protestant martyr, at Lollard's Pit, just outside Bishopsgate

20 August 1588
A thanksgiving service was held at St Paul's in London to give thanks to God for England's victory over the Spaniards. The Spanish Armada had been defeated, obliterated in fact, yet the English fleet was left intact, and only around 100 English men were lost in the skirmishes.

Thomas Bilney

24 August 1595
Death of **Thomas Digges**, known for expounding Copernican ideas and an infinite universe.
St Bartholomew's Day

25 August 1540
Date traditionally given for the birth of Lady **Katherine Grey**.

26 August 1555
Mary I and her husband, **Philip of Spain**, departed from Whitehall in preparation for Philip's return to the Low Countries.

30 August 1596
Death of **George Gower**, English portrait painter and Sergeant Painter to **Elizabeth I.**

31 August 1545
A contagious disease known as the 'Bloody flux' hit Portsmouth, killing many men serving on the ships stationed there.

Tudor Life

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OUR MONTHLY EXPERT TALKS!