

TudorLife

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TUDOR
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Wales Scotland & Ireland

Dominic Pearce

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Nathen Amin

Gareth Russell

Marcia Wadham

Kyra Kramer

D.K. Wilson

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Claire Ridgway



Top Article

WALES AND THE TUDOR LEGACY
by Nathen Amin

An evening with the authors



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Welcome!

In July 1540, Joan Bulmer sent a letter to the soon-to-be Queen Catherine Howard, in which she referred to Catherine as ‘the queen of Britain’. Technically, Mrs Bulmer was incorrect. In 1540, Catherine Howard was “only” the Queen of England. Ireland was not recognised as a monarchy with its own kingship until a parliamentary act of the following year, Wales was a principality, and Scotland was a separate nation ruled over by the House of Stewart. Legally, Great Britain would not exist for another 167 years.

This edition of “**Tudor Life**” magazine seeks to explore something of the other British aspects of the 16th-century story – the Irish, Scottish, and Welsh experience. I am pleased to include an excerpt from my book “*A History of the English Monarchy*”, discussing Henry VII’s career and what he did for Wales; while Nathen Amin gives his expert opinion on whether the Tudors really did turn their backs on their Welsh ancestry; Timothy Venning wonders what might have happened if Henry VIII’s Scottish or European relatives came to power earlier, while Dominic Pearce, biographer of one of the Stuart monarchy’s most gutsy and tenacious queens consort, Henrietta-Maria of France, discusses Scotland and Ireland. Along with our regular contributors, this issue shines a light on the ever-fascinating history of sixteenth-century Britain.

GARETH RUSSELL

Tudor Life

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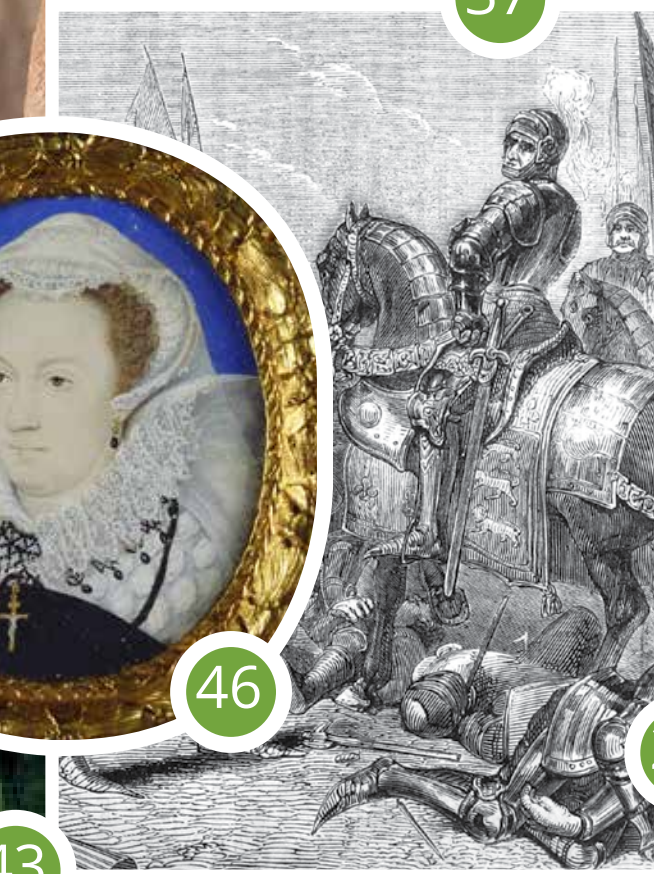
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16th Century Scotland and Ireland

Dominic Pearce starts off our look into the other dominions of the Tudor dynasty

Compare the beginning of the Tudor period with the end, and you will see how the authority, or the claims, of the English sovereign expanded, in geographical terms. Henry VIII raised the status of Ireland from a lordship to a kingdom in order to increase royal control. After the death of Elizabeth I, English royal authority reached up to the Orkneys. James I of England was King James VI of Scotland on his accession, so with Ireland he had three crowns to wear.

Seeds of Rebellion

In 1638 and 1641 these politics collapsed, when first the Scots then the Irish rebelled against Charles I – *before* the outbreak of civil war in England. *Tudor Life* is not the place to analyse the seventeenth century, however nobody contests that the ‘three kingdoms’

inheritance of the Stuarts was part of the problem. Does the sixteenth century tell us anything that helps us understand why?

Scotland in the fifteenth century was a single, ancient realm under one monarch. Noble families



Henry VII
Lord of
Ireland

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vied for power and possessions, the Highlands and Islands were hard to control, but the monarchy unified Scotland symbolically and legally. For three hundred years, Scotland had been aligned with France against the common enemy England in the 'Auld Alliance.'¹

By contrast Ireland was fragmented. Large parts of the island, notably the north (Ulster), were ruled by a multiplicity of Gaelic kings. The south (Munster) was mainly controlled by the 'Old English,' descendants of the Norman lords who invaded Ireland in the time of Henry II - the most influential were the Fitzgeralds and the Butlers. The one part of Ireland under direct English control was a fertile strip of land about forty miles in length on the east coast centred on Dublin Castle, and extending inland perhaps twenty or thirty miles: this was known as the Pale.

Irish legislation was not the same as English legislation, however thanks to Poyning's Law of 1494 legislation could only be introduced into the Irish Parliament if the English Privy Council had agreed it first. Nonetheless, the truth was that at the end of the fifteenth century the reach of parliamentary legislation was modest. Henry VII was 'Lord of Ireland' but that did not mean much more than the Pale. Nor did his authority prevent the coronation in Dublin on 24 May 1487 of Lambert Simnel as "King Edward VI" – thanks to the support of the Fitzgerald Earl of Kildare who was Henry VII's Lord Deputy. Like Simnel, Kildare was pardoned in due course.

One thing Scotland and Ireland shared with England at this time: until the early sixteenth century history divided but religion united the British Isles.

¹ Michael Lynch, *Scotland – a New History* (Century 1991) p 117 The alliance was first made in 1295.



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Silken Thomas

Henry VIII broke with Rome by marrying Anne Boleyn in January 1533 and formally refuting Papal jurisdiction. The Statute in Restraint of Appeals of that year declared England an empire, with an imperial crown which was not subject to the Pope in secular or religious matters. Other English legislation followed. Reformation statutes were passed by the Irish Parliament in the next few years. After the Irish parliamentary session 1541-43, some religious houses were dissolved on the English model, and the Protestant Church of Ireland came into being, but most Irish people remained Catholic because of the limits of English control.

Henry VIII, acting through Thomas Cromwell, had by this time taken steps to increase his authority in Ireland.

"Silken Thomas"
The rebel
Earl of
Kildare.

The symbolic change was the appointment in 1534 of an Englishman, Sir William Skeffington, as Lord Deputy. From then on, the Lord Deputy would always be English. It was the beginning of the collapse of Geraldine (Fitzgerald) power. The Earl of Kildare, who had undermined Skeffington's earlier term as Lord Deputy (and then briefly replaced him in the post) was summoned to Whitehall Palace, then put in the Tower.

In reaction Kildare's son Thomas, Lord Offaly, staged a show of defiance by

renouncing allegiance to Henry VIII. Offaly became known as Silken Thomas after the trappings of the men who accompanied him when he rode into Dublin on 11 June 1534, surrendered the sword of state to the Irish council, and formally defied the king. This was intended to force Henry VIII to recognise Kildare as Deputy, but Henry VIII (and Thomas Cromwell) did not condone proud subjects. Silken Thomas found himself at war.²

He used a pair of black dice as his emblem, showing that in deciding on rebellion he trusted to chance – *alea jacta est*.³ Silken Thomas surrendered in August 1535, having been promised his life. Nonetheless on 3 February 1537 he and five uncles were executed at Tyburn. This created a power vacuum in Ireland. The solution was to fill it with English royal power but to do so peacefully. In June 1541 the Irish Parliament recognised Henry VIII as King of Ireland.

Henry VIII grumbled about his new kingdom. He said the 'title of a King' seemed unwise and dishonourable if the 'state of a King' could not be supported by revenue.⁴ There was little Irish revenue, even after conciliation was found with the Gaelic chiefs through the policy of 'surrender and regrant,' whereby the chiefs surrendered their authority as lords over their septs (clans) to the King of Ireland, who returned it with new English titles (earldoms, knightships) and obligations to pay feudal dues.⁵

Paradoxically the establishment by fiat of the Kingdom of Ireland was a pacific move. It signified the end of the notion that the English were bent on perpetual conquest of Irish territory. The Gaelic chiefs could accept the protection of their new king in return for confirmation of their old position.

2 His father died on 2 September 1534 and was posthumously attainted of treason by the Irish Parliament in 1536.

3 Nicholas Canny, *From Reformation to Restoration, 1534-1660* (Helicon 1987) p 20

4 *State Papers Henry VIII* 3.331

5 Less than the dues that were originally required, but those original obligations had been ignored. The reduction was really an increase.

TUDOR LIFE EXCLUSIVE

The O'Neills and Desmond Fitzgeralds

Yet politics is rarely pure and never simple. For fifteen years Ulster was then destabilised by Shane O'Neill, youngest son of Conn O'Neill, 1st Earl of Tyrone, who challenged his elder brother, Baron Dungannon, for succession to the earldom and more particularly for the Gaelic title 'the O'Neill', which empowered him as the leader of the most powerful northern sept. His claim denied primogeniture, one of the principles that the chiefs were required to respect under surrender and regrant (Shane argued that Dungannon was illegitimate).

Shane's career included facing down the Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy and then Lord Lieutenant from 1556 to 1564; a visit to the Virgin Queen's court in 1562 to make a formal appeal, where he and his followers impressed by dressing native – 'golden saffron under-shirts... loose sleeves, short tunics, and shaggy lace';⁶ and a brutal war with the second most powerful Gaelic family of Ulster, the O'Donnells.

In 1567 Shane was killed – then hacked to pieces – by Scots settlers (Macdonalds) with whom he was attempting to negotiate an alliance.⁷ Scottish settlements in Antrim were a further complication for English royal government, since the Scottish-French alignment (see below) threatened England's flank.

6 W. Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum annales, regnante Elisabetha* (1649) p 69

7 Christopher Maginn, *ODNB, Shane O'Neill*

To tighten their grip in the face of such disturbances, and to increase tax revenue, the Tudors followed a policy of Irish 'plantations' (colonies). Land was taken with no or minimal compensation from either the Norman-Irish lords or the Gaelic chiefs and settled with English settlers. Two such settlements were attempted under Mary I. These were the Queen's County (Laois) and the King's County (Offaly) in the centre of Ireland, with their main towns respectively Maryborough and Philipstown. We can note that the queen's and her husband's pious Catholicism did not deflect their imperialism.

Not unnaturally the result of plantation and similar land-grabs was further rebellion. The first Desmond rebellion broke out in June 1569, eleven years into the reign of Elizabeth I, the second ten years later. Both failed. These were again Geraldine attempts, the first led by James FitzMaurice Fitzgerald, the second by the Fitzgerald Earl of Desmond.⁸ Between the two came Pope Pius V's Bull *Regnans in Excelsis* of February 1570 which declared Elizabeth I a usurper and excommunicated those who obeyed her orders. Although appeals had been made before to the Pope, by both Silken Thomas and his father, the second Desmond rebellion was the first time the Counter-Reformation energised Irish leaders.

8 Initially by his kinsman Sir John of Desmond.

The Nine Years War

Shane O'Neill showed how problematic Ulster was for the English. It was geographically remote in the early modern era, separated from the midland Irish plain by uplands that were hard to traverse – the Mourne, the Glens of Antrim, the Bluestacks, the Sperrins. Woods and marshes were further barriers.

There were therefore attempts, sanctioned by the royal court, to settle Ulster by colonisation. These encouraged the ambitions of the first Devereux Earl of Essex (father of Elizabeth's favourite) who, having failed to carve out a Devereux fief in Antrim, died of dysentery in Dublin in 1576.



Henry VIII the first King of Ireland

Resistance to English moves to control Ulster broke into organised war in 1594, catalysed when Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, nephew of Shane (and ultimately elected as the O'Neill) joined the rebels in 1595. Tyrone endorsed the appeal of his new allies (the O'Donnells, Maguires, MacBarons) to Philip II of Spain for financial support in the cause of a common religion. Rebellion spread throughout Ireland. This was the Nine Years War.

Having consumed his father, Ireland now destroyed Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex who was sent in 1599 as Lord Deputy. He commanded the largest English army that left England under the Virgin Queen (16,000 troops). Rather than confront Tyrone in battle, Essex personally negotiated with him. Essex, on his horse, stood on the bank of the River Lagan, while Tyrone, on his, stood in the midst of the flowing waters as they parlayed unattended, but watched by both armies at a distance.⁹ The result of this un-minuted dialogue was a truce.

The queen had expressly ordered Essex to confront and defeat the enemy. The truce was therefore against instructions. Despite a personal appeal to his sovereign – he surprised her in the morning of 28 September 1599 at Nonsuch before she was properly dressed, and when she thought he was still in Ireland – Essex was replaced as Lord Deputy by Lord Mountjoy, a man 'of stature tall, and of very comely

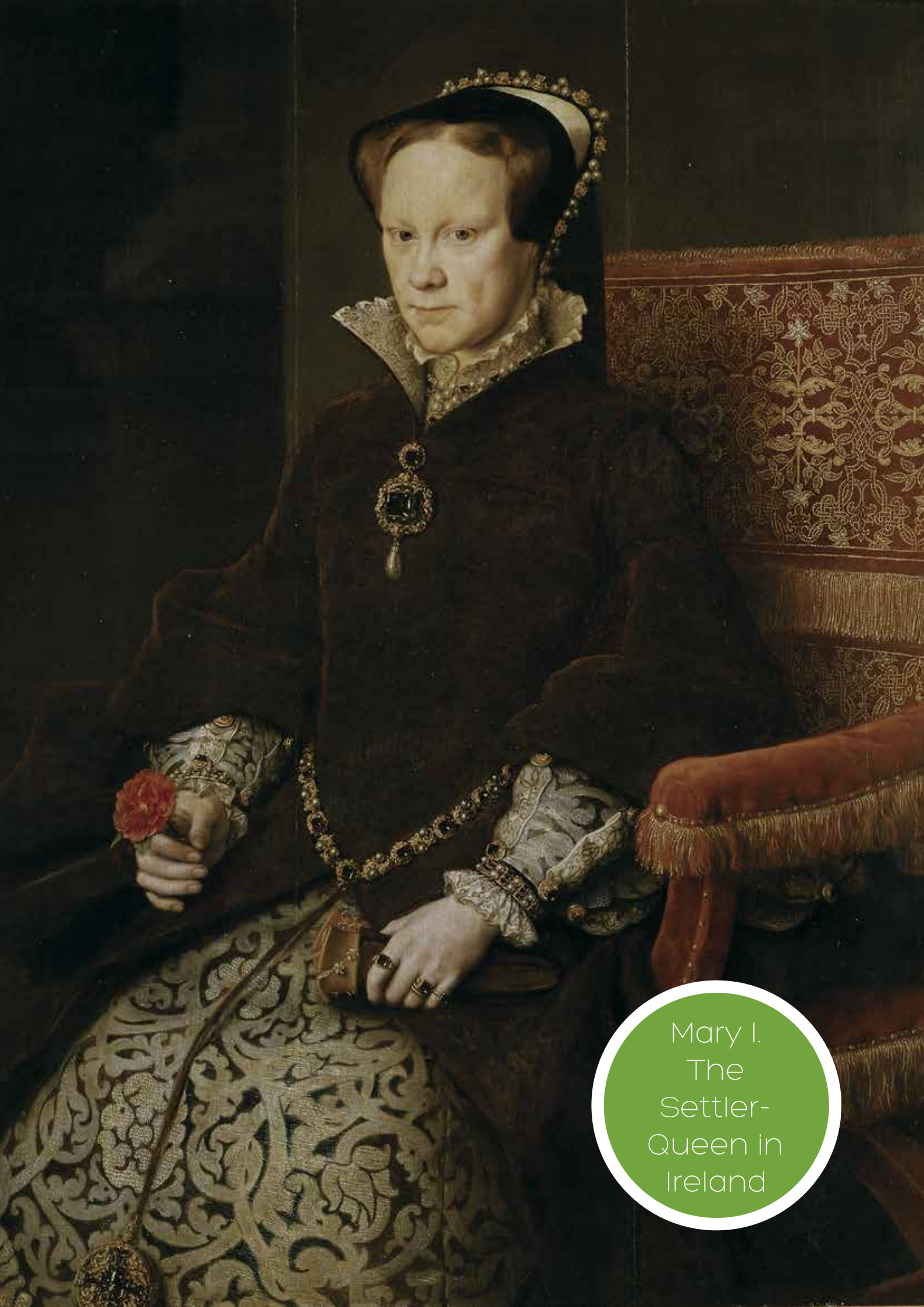
proportion.'¹⁰ Essex's theatrical attempt at a *Putsch* followed in 1601 and his death as a traitor.

In September 1601 3,500 Spanish soldiers landed at Kinsale in the far south. Mountjoy's troops found themselves sandwiched between the rebels who marched from the north and the new arrivals, but the English triumphed at the Battle of Kinsale (24 December, a rare winter battle, and during a harsh winter). The Spaniards then surrendered. Mountjoy now had the momentum but Tyrone continued to resist, against a scorched earth policy in Ulster, until his surrender in 1603.

On 31 March 1603 the Treaty of Mellifont concluded the Nine Years War on generous terms to Tyrone. He did not know that the Queen of England had died on 24 March, but that did not alter the peace agreement. The Privy Council hated the Irish war for its costs, and Mountjoy was keen to provide for a peaceful aftermath. However the failure of the English government to see Gaelic (and Catholic) Ireland as anything but a barrier to domination was perfectly well understood. Moreover there were two other pressure groups to handle, that is to say the Old English and now the new arrivals in the plantations and elsewhere – those who planned to exploit what seemed to them an untilled land. Despite the Treaty of Mellifont, the mix was unstable at the beginning of Stuart rule.

⁹ Christopher Hibbert, *Elizabeth I – a personal history of the Virgin Queen* (Penguin 1990) p 235

¹⁰ F. Moryson, *An itinerary containing his ten yeeres travell through the twelve dominions*, 4 vols. (1907–8) 2.261–3



Mary I.
The
Settler-
Queen in
Ireland

TUDOR LIFE EXCLUSIVE

Scotland, England and France

The Reformation had a different outcome in Scotland. Yet before religion is considered, there is the royal wedding celebrated by proxy at Richmond Palace on 25 January 1503. The bride was Margaret Tudor, elder daughter of Henry VII, and the groom, represented by the Earl of Bothwell, was King James IV of Scotland. The political agreement the previous year between England and Scotland, which was signed at the same time as the marriage treaty, is known as the Treaty of Perpetual Peace, which speaks volumes about Anglo-Scottish history so far.

James IV had at least ten illegitimate children by several mothers. By his Tudor wife he had six of whom just one survived infancy – to rule as James V (1512-42). Their second son (who died in 1510) had been christened Arthur after his dead uncle of England. In short James and Margaret had their eye on their English connections from the start. Until the birth of Mary Tudor in 1516, so for the first thirteen years of their marriage, Margaret was the heir to England after her brother Henry.

The shifts in Scots politics during these years cannot all be described in a short piece, but here are salient points. Despite the Treaty of Perpetual Peace James IV renewed operations against England. In 1513 he led an army of invasion across the border to the Battle of Flodden (9 September 1513) taking advantage of Henry VIII's absence in France. At Flodden the king, twenty-three Scots peers and two bishops were killed. James V at once succeeded to the throne aged fifteen months. Margaret took on the regency but on 6 August 1514 she remarried (her new husband was the Earl of Angus) and was succeeded as regent by the Duke of Albany, a Stuart cousin, himself in the line of succession.

Albany had been brought up in France – was essentially a Frenchman – and was closely associated with the French interest. Although his regency was terminated in July 1524 when Margaret engineered the declaration of the majority of her son (aged twelve), Albany was a stabilising force. Margaret

was less so. She regretted her second marriage and managed to secure an annulment from Pope Clement VII in 1527, whereupon she married her new passion, Henry Stewart, Lord Methven (a marriage she also came to regret).

Although, against Scottish tradition, Margaret manoeuvred for an English alliance – to include the marriage of her son James V with his first cousin Mary Tudor – she failed to keep the confidence of her brother Henry VIII. He was a bully but she was unreliable. However it is interesting that the sister obtained exactly what her brother did not, papal agreement to the termination of an existing marriage.

Albany meanwhile negotiated the Treaty of Rouen in 1517 between Scotland and France which renewed the Auld Alliance against England, and paved the way for the marriage of James V with a French princess. The King of Scots married first the delicate Madeleine of France in 1537, and after her death the following year he married Marie of Guise. Marie gave birth to two Scottish sons who soon died, and was pregnant again in the summer of 1542.

Like his father, James V chased women. He sired at least nine illegitimate children. Like his father James V also died after a defeat at English hands. He was not present at the Battle of Solway Moss on 24 November 1542, another crushing defeat at the hands of the English, but he suffered intensely from it. Two weeks later, Marie of Guise gave birth to a daughter (8 December). That seems to have added to the king's depression. He was already ill with a fever. James V died on 14 December 1542 aged thirty. The baby was now Mary, Queen of Scots, and Henry VIII started his assault on Scotland that is called the Rough Wooing.

Control of the sovereign was always the mark of Scottish politics. Henry VIII wanted the infant queen in his own family, married to his son Edward. He was thinking of the enlarged state later called Great Britain, but also of the baby's potential rights as an English princess. Mary was his great-niece. The



Robin Ellis as the Earl of Essex and Glenda Jackson as Elizabeth I in the 1971 television series "Elizabeth R". The earl's involvement in Irish politics helped cause his ruin and provoked one of the last great crises of Elizabeth's reign.

marriage would have unified the English royal family on the pattern of his parents' marriage.¹¹

The Treaty of Greenwich of 1 July 1543 provided for Anglo-Scottish peace and for the marriage of Mary and Edward. When the Scottish Parliament refused to endorse the treaty Tudor bullying began. The Rough Wooing included an attack on Edinburgh in 1544, the English occupation of Haddington and much of southern Scotland. The general in charge of most of this brutality was the Earl of Hertford, who in February 1547, after the death of Henry VIII, became Protector Somerset.

The English campaign to win Mary's hand failed because of Scottish resistance, fired by

nationalism, and because the regent, the Earl of Arran (later French Duke of Chateauherault), called for French help. French troops were sent to Scotland after Somerset defeated the Scots at the Battle of Pinkie (10 September 1547). The political upshot was the engagement of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the Dauphin of France in 1548. The child queen was removed from Scotland to protect her from the English, and went to live at the French court the same year.

In this way the Rough Wooing failed. In 1550 the Treaty of Boulogne between France and Scotland, then in 1551 the Anglo-Scottish Treaty of Norham, provided for peace.

¹¹ Henry VII and Elizabeth of York both descended from Edward III.

Marie of Guise and the Scottish Reformation

In 1554 Marie of Guise became Regent of Scotland. Her appointment resulted from pressure by the French royal government. After the wedding of Mary Tudor, Queen of England since 1553, and Prince Philip of Spain (25 July 1554), France feared Habsburg influence on England. Religious distinctions now began to bite.

Arran had declared himself Protestant shortly after the death of James V then, within less than a year, reverted to Catholicism. However Protestantism, which had been fiercely rejected by James V, was seeping into Scotland, helped by the English invasions. Hertford/Somerset was a convinced reformer. His troops brought to Scotland, for instance, Bibles in the vernacular, the Protestant hallmark. And the suppression of Protestantism by the Scottish hierarchy was counter-productive.¹²

In April 1558 Mary, Queen of Scots, married the Dauphin. She became Queen of France in July 1559 when her father-in-law (King Henri II of France) died after a jousting accident. It was reasonable to assume that Scotland, if there was no change, would become a French province.¹³ Protestantism was therefore the ally of patriotism. The Scottish Reformation followed. It was a *coup d'état* by a small pressure group called the Lords of the Congregation, a group of nobles and lairds in favour of alliance with England and the abolition of Catholic practice. They were enthused by the ministry and the sermons of John Knox in

particular. There was a further complicating factor, that the death of Mary I of England (17 November 1558) left Mary, Queen of Scots, as an English claimant.¹⁴ The situation was the same as under James IV – the Scottish queen was the most plausible heir to the English sovereign.

Both French and English troops returned to Scotland as Marie of Guise attempted to stamp out what seemed to her a rebellious movement that was using religion as a front. However this remarkable woman died in June 1560 (aged forty-four). Very quickly peace terms were then agreed in the Treaty of Edinburgh (July 1560) under which both English and French left Scotland to sort itself out.¹⁵ The Scottish Reformation Parliament met in August and approved a reformed Confession of Faith and made celebration of the Mass an offence.

I will not attempt the history that followed: the return of the widowed Mary (1561) her marriages to Darnley and Bothwell, her abdication, her flight to England (1568). The story so far is enough to illustrate the Scots struggle of the sixteenth century even before Mary's well-known drama. But it is important to understand that development of Scottish Protestantism under her son James VI was radical. First the Scots Kirk became a symbol of national identity that rivaled the monarchy, and second the Kirk was not shy of challenging the king.

Andrew Melville was the most prominent minister in the Kirk during the second half of the century. He developed the doctrine of two kingdoms – the kingdom of Scotland, the kingdom of God – which aimed to deny the King of Scots authority over

12 In 1546 George Wishart was found guilty of heresy and was burned. This led to the murder the same year of Cardinal David Beaton. Wishart had led the drive to popularise the latest Protestant thinking, that of John Calvin and Ulrich Zwingli.

13 The official marriage agreement treated Scotland as a separate realm from France, but Mary also signed secret articles pledging Scotland to France until French costs in Scotland, and those of her upbringing in France, were repaid; and leaving Scotland to France if she had no children.

14 The will of Henry VIII cut the Stuarts out of the English succession, however we know what resulted in 1603.

15 One of the provisions was that Mary, Queen of Scots, and her husband would stop using the arms of England and Ireland (which they had assumed on the argument that Elizabeth I was a usurper)



Henry VII's daughter Margaret, Queen of Scots, and heiress to the English throne in the early 1500s. (Explore-Parliament)

TUDOR LIFE EXCLUSIVE

church structures and doctrine. In Falkland in 1596 Melville grabbed the sleeve of James VI and told him that he, the king, was 'God's sillie vassalle.' Ordained ministers, he said, had the power to govern the 'spirituall kingdome' and did not owe obedience to the king in these matters.¹⁶ There were more substantial

challenges from the Melvillean Kirk, which James VI handled with aplomb, but there is no doubt that they led to the formulation by the bookish king of the doctrines of royal absolutism that he recorded himself and handed on to his son Charles I.

16 *The autobiography and diary of Mr James Melvill* ed. R Pitcairn Woodrow Society 1842 p 370

The legacy

Without straying too far into the seventeenth century, I think it is fair to say that Irish unrest, which led to the entirely unexpected rebellion of 1641, can be laid to the policies which were developed under the Tudors. Most Irish were Catholic but the Church of Ireland, with its rich patronage, was Protestant. Plantations continued. The Gaelic tradition was regarded as a barrier to domination. Stuart policies just continued to follow these empathy-free English doctrines. By contrast my account of the Scots has emphasised dynastic issues. They go to the heart of the matter. If James VI had not been the senior heir to his cousin Elizabeth, the Scots would have continued as an independent nation which survived the sixteenth century with a beating heart. Certainly an accommodation with England was always needed, but I am not going to write an alternative history. As history actually happened, the Scottish Reformation, the break with France, the strengthening of the

monarchy (under a highly accomplished king), were considerable achievements. These were frankly demoted when James VI happily travelled south in 1603. They were directly challenged by his son Charles I.¹⁷ The result was catastrophic for Charles but we cannot hold the Tudors responsible for that.

DOMINIC PEARCE

17 Charles I tried to model the Kirk on the Church of England which, through Archbishop Laud, he moved away from the Calvinisk of the English Puritans. It was the Scots reaction against the new Prayer Book which he tried to impose that caused the 1638 rebellion, and this led to the English Civil War because of English parliamentary support for the Scottish position.



WHAT IF? • Part 1

If Henry VIII had not had his marriage to Catherine of Aragon annulled, could his siblings have provided an heir? Timothy Venning explores what might have been...

CATHERINE OF ARAGON was over five years her husband Henry's senior, having been born in December 1485 to his June 1491. Given this problem, the 'window of opportunity' for her providing children was limited – and when Henry was old enough to marry her by contemporary custom, aged fourteen (June 1505), his father Henry VII did not proceed with the marriage that has been arranged between them in 1503. This was not due to qualms over Catherine marrying her first husband Prince Arthur's brother in defiance of Old Testament law, as a Papal ruling on the legality of this had been received – one which accepted that the Arthur/Catherine marriage had been fully legal, ie the pair had consummated it, rather than questionable over non-consummation. However, there were potential 'holes' in the legal case which English Church jurists were aware of – and the alternative of sending Catherine home would entail having to hand her dowry back which Henry VII wanted to avoid. Thus the issue was put into 'cold storage' for the latter's lifetime, to April 1509, and his son Henry was required to issue a formal declaration of not wishing to marry Catherine which he ignored once he was King. He then married her in June 1509. The period of Catherine's pregnancies from 1510 to 1518 should have been sufficient for several surviving children given the normal survival-rates in the Royal nurseries

in previous generations - only two of Edward IV's seven daughters died young. The death of the infant Prince Henry in 1511 was followed by the survival of only one child, a girl, Mary, in February 1516 – presenting the problem of her marriage to some foreign prince of equal status and the possible union of England with the latter's realm. Had Henry's younger brother Prince Edmund (1499 – 1500) also survived infancy it is possible that Henry VIII would not have been determined to re-marry, as he would have had a male heir to fall back on or even to prefer to his daughter. Similarly, although his later will of 1546/7 shows that he intended to disregard the offspring of his elder sister Margaret (1489 – 1541) by James IV of Scotland) he could have had the alternative open to Richard III in 1484-5 – naming an English-born nephew.

Margaret had been married off to James IV in 1503, the linking of the 'Thistle and the Rose' ending the period of Anglo-Scottish tension arising from her husband's backing of 'Perkin Warbeck' in 1496. James and Margaret's son, the infant James V, survived his talented but reckless father who was killed at Flodden while invading England to assist his French allies in summer 1513. James V, foreign-born though genealogically the closest male heir after Henry's children, never seems to have been considered as a potential heir for the English

throne. His succession to Henry would have carried out the union of crowns which the King sought in the 1540s. But Margaret was widowed aged 34 and was thus young enough to have more children; had she returned to England and acquired an English noble husband her heirs by a second marriage would have been eligible for the throne under the terms of Henry's will in 1544. As of autumn 1513 she was

possible; as the late king's cousin, the French-backed Duke John of Albany, had taken over the regency she could have left Scotland more easily than in 1513-14 - possibly forced out by the distrustful pro-French regent, the Duke of Albany. She actually married another Scotsman, a dashing and younger guards-officer called Henry Stewart.

An heir from Henry's other, younger sister Mary, born in 1495, was more feasible. She had been due to marry Charles of Habsburg (born 1500) as per her father's plans of 1507-8, but Henry VIII (then intended to marry Charles' sister) had reversed this plan. Had he not been disappointed with the results of his alliance with Ferdinand of Aragon and Emperor Maximilian to attack France in 1512, her marriage to Charles would have been more likely. A son she had by Charles would thus have had a chance of becoming King of England by genealogical claim as well as conquest had Charles invaded England after Henry had the Catherine of Aragon marriage annulled. This boy could then have been married off to his



Catherine of
Aragon

unable to leave Scotland easily as she was pregnant and also needed to back up the infant James V's regency regime in person. She married one of the leading Scots nobles involved in the regency council, Archibald Douglas, the new Earl of Angus, in 1514; their child was Margaret Douglas. But by 1517 Margaret and Angus were at odds, and an annulment and third marriage (with children) was

cousin,
Princess
Mary.
Instead,
high politics
intervened. Henry's rapprochement with France after Ferdinand's failure to support his Aquitaine invasion in 1512 and the failure of his own invasion



KING IAMES THE FERDYE FLOVR
OF POLECYE OF IVSTICE VISDOME AND
ACTENITE THE KING OF INGLAND
DOCHTER YE SEVINT KING HARRY
GRIT HONOR AND VORSCHIP HE
MAR

King
James IV
and his Tudor
bride, Queen
Margaret.

of Flanders in 1513 led to his younger sister being married to the much older King Louis XII of France (born 1462) in 1514. No heir from this marriage was likely, and Louis died suddenly within months; the 'Tudor Rose' then returned to England. She unexpectedly remarried to Henry's close companion Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (about ten years her senior), son of the Tudor standard-bearer cut down at Bosworth by Richard. This pair had a son, Henry, born in 1516 (died 1534) as well as two daughters, and the boy could have been married off to Princess Mary had the status-conscious King not had doubts over his sister's 'inferior' marriage and insisted on a more 'suitable' royal marriage for his daughter.

Had Henry's sisters Elizabeth (1492-5) or Catherine (born and died 1503) not died as infants one of them could have married a foreign prince – not due to succeed to a throne so available to live in England - and produced a potential heir. The likelihood is against the ever-cautious Henry VII allowing her a domestic match had he still been alive at the time of her planned betrothal, even with a lack of potential foreign suitors. Any English husband had to be of high social standing - Henry had married off his wife's sisters, Edward IV's daughters, within the English nobility, mostly to Lancastrian nobles although he had needed foreign alliances for his new regime at the time. But Tudor

princesses married to nobles could produce heirs whose aristocratic paternal relatives might back them in a succession-dispute, as seen by the claims of Edward IV's sister Anne, Duchess of Suffolk's De La Pole sons to the throne in 1487-1525. Henry VII in his later years showed substantial mistrust of the main noble dynasties by seeking to bind their freedom of manoeuvre by

extortionate Royal fines and 'cognizances' for good behaviour, to be paid up if they annoyed him. Henry VIII was notably angry when his widowed sister Mary married an English aristocrat without his permission in 1515, though the culprit was his own close friend Charles Brandon, and seems to have thought the match beneath her rank. A potential aristocratic marriage for Elizabeth or Catherine might well have had similar problems, and it should not be assumed that had more princesses been available to marry in the 1510s they would have been permitted to marry English nobles.

But Henry VIII might also have had half-brothers or sisters to rely on for the succession. His mother Elizabeth of York, dying in childbirth in February 1503, left Henry VII a widower at the age of 46 – younger than the age at which the widowed Edward I had re-married to a much younger French



Glynis Johns as Mary Tudor in "The Sword and the Rose"

princess and had three more sons. The concentration of previously separate neighbouring European states in the hands of Bourbon (Brittany and Anjou/Provence to add to France) and Habsburg (Burgundy and its Low Countries constituents, with Spain following in 1516) reduced the number of suitable English diplomatic allies and hence Royal brides available in the later 15th and early 16th centuries. Henry VIII, always a law unto himself, preferred to seek native-born English wives. The repeated unions of crowns in the European royal marriage-market had indirect effects on English Royal dynastic history, as France swallowed up the Duchy

of Brittany and most of the kingdom of Navarre and the Habsburg domains in central Europe, already united with the Burgundian 'Low Countries' by Maximilian I marrying Mary of Burgundy, united with Spain (itself a union of Castile and Aragon) Thus made it less easy to find a suitable overseas Royal bride and meant that a (frequent) English diplomatic rift with France or the Empire/Spain reduced the possibilities further. France being the most frequent English foe but now lacking as many Valois cadet lines as in the time of Charles VI and VII to provide brides, English Royal marital diplomacy was more likely to centre on the Empire or

Spain (who were dynastically united in 1519 under Charles V, former fiancé of Henry VIII's sister Mary). The crown of Naples/ Sicily was united with that of Aragon from 1506, despite French efforts, and the Duchy of Milan (source of Edward III's son Lionel's second wife) was fought over by France and the Habsburgs and usually in the latter's hands. The Medici of Florence were only sporadically in power until 1527, had few females available, and were anyway regarded as ex-merchant 'parvenus', though Francis I of France secured Catherine de Medici for his son Henri in 1533.

In the North, the united crown of Denmark/Norway could provide a marital ally but Sweden, in successful revolt against it from 1523, was also governed by 'parvenus', the Vasa dynasty, with no princesses available anyway. This left only Portugal, where Richard III had considered a bride in 1485- and it was a satellite of Spain so a marital link there would annoy France.

The early 16th century thus provided limited choice for England in seeking out a marital ally, and the situation continued to deteriorate. In effect, a husband for available princesses – in due course, Henry's probable heiress Mary (born 1516) – was limited to France or the Habsburg realms. The vast Habsburg 'conglomerate' of states duly encompassed



Henry VII's
queen,
Elizabeth of
York

Hungary and Bohemia as well under Charles' sole brother Ferdinand. Born in 1503, this prince was married to the Hungarian heiress so he had no need of a wife - and his sons were too young to be married to Mary. There was no younger Habsburg prince who could marry Mary, unlike the plethora of Habsburg males that had been available in the 14th and 15th centuries, when their Central European realm had been divided into several dynasties. All this reduced the number of available princes and princesses for an English royal union, and once it was clear that his heiress Mary would have no younger brother it meant that Henry VIII could not marry her to a European prince without nationalistic fear of this leading to a union of Habsburg realms and England. The chances of a successful overseas marriage were also reduced by the speed in which alliances altered for European political reasons - England often did not stay allied to one rival for long enough to enable a marriage to be concluded.

This was illustrated in the confusing diplomatic 'volte-face' concerning the marriage of Henry VIII's sister Mary in the 1500s - she was variously intended for a Habsburg or Bourbon bridegroom according to which neighbouring 'Power' Henry VII was currently allied with. Henry VIII's daughter Mary was also to have several potential husbands in her father's shifting diplomatic alliances of 1516-27, as he moved between alliance with the Empire/Spain and France. Had his alliance with Francis I of France lasted, Henry could have married her off to one of his sons in the 1520s - providing her with a child who would hence have been her heir when she became Queen in 1553?

Henry's second marriage and possibility to give his son more siblings also failed to occur. In 1505, as Ferdinand's ally, he had expressed great interest in marrying the latter's niece Joan, widowed Queen of Naples, and had sent ambassadors to investigate her with detailed questions about her person and a request for a portrait. This fell through after Ferdinand's rapprochement with Henry's current enemy Louis XII and marriage to a French lady (Germaine de Foix, of the royal house of Navarre) in 1506. A similar fate befell the alternative choice of bride as part of Henry's Habsburg alliance - Maximilian's widowed daughter Margaret of Savoy (1480 - 1530), regent of the Netherlands, who Henry

investigated in 1505. The crucial questions for a satisfactory Tudor/Habsburg alliance were the extent of a dowry, the danger of Maximilian allying with France, and the nature of his hospitality to the refugee English Yorkist pretender Edmund de la Pole. In the end Henry was able to persuade Maximilian's son Philip (governor of the Netherlands to his early death), driven ashore in Weymouth Bay by a storm in 1506 with his wife Juana and offered hospitality at Court, to surrender the pretender without a marital alliance. As an alternative to the Habsburg alliance, Louis XII offered Henry the hand of his niece Margaret of Angoulême in 1505 and promised Henry's ambassador as great a dowry as Ferdinand would give for Joan of Naples.

Nothing came of any of these rival proposals, but the marriage with Margaret of Savoy was still in discussion as late as 1507/8 when she turned Henry down. Had she not done so, the commercial difficulties over English trade in her Netherlands domains been sorted out, and the acquisitive Henry been satisfied over the dowry, the Tudor-Habsburg alliance of 1508 might have seen Henry, now fifty, marry Margaret, in her late twenties, as well as his daughter Mary being betrothed to Charles. The difference in age was regarded as immaterial in that era. If Henry's tuberculosis had not intervened and he had married Margaret in 1509 and lived for a few more years, their offspring would have been in the same position to Henry VIII in the 1520s as Edward I's younger children, Edmund of Woodstock and Thomas of Brotherton, were to their half-brother Edward II in the 1320s. Their children (born c. 1510-14?) would have been in prime position to succeed Henry if he had no children, and it is possible that he would have preferred an adult half-brother to his daughters Mary or Elizabeth as heir pre-1537 - his successor would not have needed to have been a woman who would marry a foreign ruler and be tied to their realm's priorities.

There were no cases of a European ruler marrying a niece this early to give Henry the idea of marrying a half-brother off to his own daughter, the first such marriage being by Philip II of Spain in the 1570s. A grandson of Henry VII's second marriage (born in the 1530s or 1540s?) could marry Elizabeth Tudor in the early 1560s or succeed her in 1603, unless they had already fallen victim to an

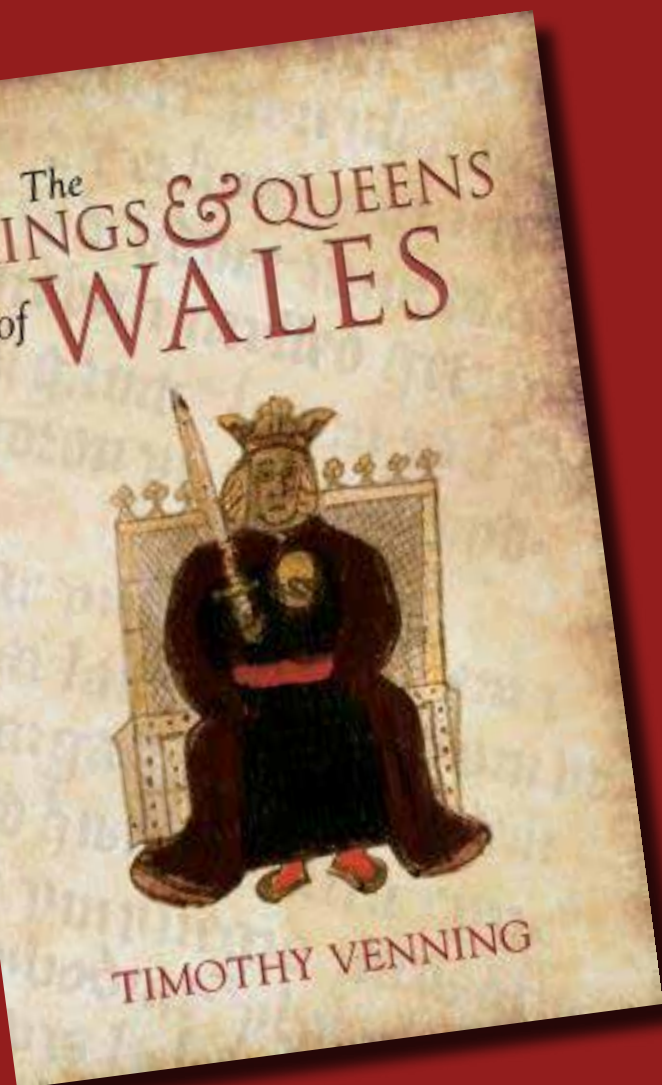


Queen
Germaine de
Foix, Katherine
of Aragon's
stepmother

epidemic or the snake-pit of Tudor court politics. Any surviving half-brother of Henry's would have been placed in a dilemma over whether to accept the King's marriage to Anne Boleyn in the early 1530s or plot to secure Princess Mary's succession with himself as her 'strongman' – in real life Henry's sister Mary opposed the marriage and backed Catherine of Aragon but died during the crisis in 1533. Henry was paranoid enough to arrest or even execute his brother had the latter challenged his 'Break with Rome' and seemed to be willing to overthrow him, or the latter could have fled abroad to seek Charles V's aid. Even had Henry not had any half-brothers, his sister Mary's son Henry Brandon's survival into the 1540s would have raised the possibility of him marrying the King's daughter Mary, his first

cousin, and so succeeding to the throne as her consort in 1553. In that case Mary could have had a son by Henry Brandon and this boy replaced Elizabeth as heir in 1558 – or if Mary did not marry Henry and the latter had turned Protestant he could have been Edward VI's choice as his heir in 1553.

TIMOTHY VENNING



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His fascination with the 'what ifs' of history was first kindled by a comic strip he read in *Ranger* while at primary school in the late '60s and has endured ever since.

He lives in Hampshire.

Wales and the Tudor Legacy

by Nathen Amin







The Welsh Legacy

The Tudors are often perceived to be the quintessential English family, three notorious generations of monarchs who oversaw the glorious rise of England from a relative backwater to European superpower, setting in motion the subsequent dominance of the British Empire over large parts of the globe. When one hears a person bemoan the loss of Englishness, or English culture, the idealised image often conjured up is one of black and white timbered buildings, Bluff King Hal and his many wives, and the Virgin Queen courageously scattering the Armada. It was the Tudors who sent Rome packing and brought the Spanish to heel. The combined skills of Shakespeare, Drake and Raleigh helped solidify the greatness of the Tudor Dynasty, England's brave champions against Continental tyranny. Poetry, drama, music, art and architecture all made significant leaps during their eventful tenure on the throne, each of which only served to enhance England's status on the global stage.

Of course, the Tudors had their origins in Wales, with the first Tudor king Henry VII born in Pembroke Castle on 28 January 1457. Whilst it is indisputable that the children and grandchildren of Henry VII were born and raised in England and clearly identified with England, the Welsh connection has long persisted. To this day the question is often posed, '*What exactly did the Tudors do for Wales?*' The answer often given is 'nothing'. To some within modern-day Wales, the Tudors are even denigrated as *bradwyr*, or traitors, the belief being that the family turned their back on the homeland as soon as they found something better in England. In effect, they rejected their Welshness. Is this a fair summarisation? Did the Tudors do nothing for Wales? Did they truly play down their heritage? Well, not quite.

To understand the matter fully, and to come to a well-rounded conclusion, one must first add some background context to the status of Wales before the Tudors acceded to the English throne. Wales had stubbornly held out against Norman-English incursion for two centuries until their final capitulation in 1282. The old Welsh royal families were destroyed in the process, with English dominance established through a prolific castle-building campaign across the newly-established Principality. In 1400 a land dispute-turned-national uprising, led by Owain Glyn Dŵr, threatened to re-establish Wales as an independent nation in a bitter and protracted affair that lasted over a decade. Crucial to Glyn Dŵr's attempt to re-assert self-sovereignty in Wales, with himself as prince, was the assistance of his first cousins from Anglesey, the Tudurs. In one notable episode on April Fool's Day

in 1401 Rhys ap Tudur and Gwilym ap Tudur tricked their way into Conwy Castle and overwhelmed the English garrison which was holding the fortress for King Henry IV. Their ingenuity had been a vital morale-boost for the Welsh, whose campaign had begun to flounder shortly after its initial rising. The pair's younger brother Maredudd ap Tudur, also a part of the Welsh nationalist cause, is better remembered today as the great-grandfather of Henry Tudor, who would ironically become a future King of England. From Welsh rebels to English kings, it was some transformation for the Tudors.

After the collapse of the Glyn Dŵr uprising, the people of Wales were harshly penalised. Oppressive laws were put in place, restricting the opportunities available to Welshmen and women. They were unable to obtain public office, from owning property in English towns, from gathering in public or even educating their children in Welsh. Many Welshmen flocked to the English army to chance their luck in the French wars or to London to reinvent themselves; one such man was Owain ap Maredudd ap Tudur, or Owen Tudor. Wales was conquered, oppressed and punished. The people were poor, the land was ravaged and the opportunities few. This remained the situation until Henry Tudor came to the throne in 1485, having defeated Richard III at Bosworth Field. The Welsh were treated as inferior to the English, whether it was culturally, professionally, legally or economically. So what exactly did change for the Welsh from 1485, when one of their own Henry Tudor seized the crown, to the death of his granddaughter Elizabeth I in 1603? To analyse such a sizable topic, it's perhaps best to break down the most significant changes into separate categories.

The Welsh Legacy

LAW AND ORDER

As Wales had been conquered and annexed part-by-part over two hundred years, by the reign of the Tudors there was a patchwork of independent courts, with different areas ascribing to different interpretations of law. The various smattering of Marcher Lordships along the border of Wales and throughout the South led to a disparate dispensation of justice. Crime and lawlessness were rife, with offenders often evading punishment by simply moving from area to area. It was a hazardous time for the common, law-abiding Welsh, surviving whilst vicious outlaws operated with impunity throughout their communities.

This problem was largely solved by the passing of the Laws in Wales Acts between 1535 and 1542, which removed all autonomous courts operated by Marcher Lords and introduced a sole adjudicator of justice, known as the Council in the Marches, to be based at Ludlow. The lordships became English-style shires, with English law and English justice introduced throughout the entirety of the country. In fact, Welsh lawsuits were not only allowed to be heard in Westminster, but Welsh Members of Parliament were permitted for the first time, albeit one per county not the two allowed in England. Examples of early Welsh MPs include Rice ap Philip for Caernarfon in 1541, John Adams for Pembroke in 1542, Gruffydd Williams for Carmarthen in 1542 and Owen ap Hugh for Newborough on Anglesey in 1545.

There was increased interaction with the holders of senior office in London, namely the Secretaries of State and the Privy Council, with a concerted attempt to ensure that Wales was forthwith governed in a similar manner to England. They were successful in their objective, with Wales becoming as settled a part of the Tudor kingdom as anywhere else under their control. Lawlessness, whilst never fully eradicated, was certainly nowhere near the levels of pre-Tudor Wales. The Welsh certainly did not raise in rebellion in a manner witnessed across England during the sixteenth century.

Regarding law and order, a member of the gentry named Rice Merrick wrote in his 1578 work *A Book of Glamorganshire Antiquities* that since the laws had been passed the Welsh were now 'exempted from the dangers before remembered'



adding that 'what was then justifiable by might, although not by right, is now to receive condign punishment by law'. Merrick, with a sentiment probably indicative of members of his prospering class, even added with a writer's flourish that the relationship between Wales and England once inspired 'slaughters, invasions, enmities, burnings, poverty and such fruits of war' whilst the new reality for the Welsh after the acts was 'friendship, amity, love, alliance, assistance, wealth and quietness'. In 1594 meanwhile George Owen praised the 'sweet and wholesome laws' of the government in his book *Dialogue of the Government of Wales*.

It should be noted that there had been some concessions made to the Welsh before the Acts of the 1530s. It is often claimed that Henry VII never revisited Wales after his accession and did nothing for his country. This is not strictly true; he visited Holt Castle in Flintshire in 1495, whilst his wife Elizabeth was a notable visitor to Raglan in 1502. Furthermore, he oversaw a number of charters agreed in the last few years of his reign, allowing

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Welshmen to buy and hold land in England and the English-controlled boroughs of Wales. These charters of privilege were agreed for Bromfield and Yale (1505), Chirk and Denbigh (1506), Ceri and Cydewain (1507) and Ruthin (1508). The people in

these areas were freed by the charters from the constraints of the Penal Laws, and placed them on an equal footing with their English counterparts more three decades before the Acts brought such freedoms to the remainder of the Welsh.



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CAREER OPPORTUNITIES

The Welsh had been excluded from social progression since the Edwardian Conquest in 1282, a situation that only begun to change with the accession of the Tudors in 1485. The best they could have hoped for pre-Bosworth was to be recognised as an *uchelwyr*, a member of the gentry known to be descended from the ancient Welsh princes. These gentlemen had respect in their own communities, but no tangible titles or positions of power. They were the reserve of the English. Excluding the half-Welsh, half-royal Jasper and Edmund Tudor in 1452, the only Welsh member of the nobility from 1282 to 1485 was the Yorkist soldier William Herbert of Raglan, a man who had risen high in the confidence of Edward IV during the Wars of the Roses for his military feats. Few Welshmen attained public office of any kind, a direct consequence of the harsh Penal Laws passed in 1401. Quite simply, the Welsh were not a people the English trusted.

Under the Tudors, that changed. The king, after all, was a Welshman whom had marched through the country on his way to Bosworth, encouraging the people to join him on his quest for glory, albeit personal glory and not national it must be stressed. The first prominent Welshman who came to the fore after Bosworth was Henry VII's ally in battle, Sir Rhys ap Thomas. In 1507 he was inducted into the prestigious Order of the Garter, a very public and very honoured gesture which was celebrated with a lavish tournament at Carew Castle in Pembrokeshire. The new king employed a Welshman, Lewis Caerleon, as his personal

royal physician and established the Yeoman of the Guard, a retinue of bodyguards that included many Welshmen in their ranks. The king even went as far as marking St David's Day for the benefit of his compatriots in his service.

Scores of Welsh families emigrated to England after the Tudor accession, seeking riches that had hitherto been denied them for generations. One such commoner who prospered was Edward Apryse, who owned a beerhouse in Fleet Street appropriately named 'The Welshman'. The children of these emigrants gradually became some of the most powerful men in the kingdom within a generation or two, including the Cromwells, the Cecils and Welsh astrologer-mathematician John Dee. Thomas Parry even became Comptroller of the Household under Queen Elizabeth.

More pertinently to our assessment, the Welsh who stayed in Wales were given opportunities from which they had long been barred. Welshmen were appointed to positions such as sheriffs, constables, coroners and bailiffs. Rhys ap Thomas was made Chamberlain of South Wales and William Gruffydd was named Chamberlain of North Wales. During the Tudor age John Morgan and Edward Vaughan became bishops of St David's whilst Dafydd ab Ieuan and Dafydd ap Owain became bishops of St Asaph. Welshmen also became Justices of the Peace, entrusted with keeping law and order. A churchman of Welsh parentage, Richard Vaughan, even became Bishop of the English diocese of Chester in 1597, a significant appointment

unfathomable a century earlier. He was eventually translated to the Bishopric of London under James I, another Welshman who succeeded in the English capital.

The accumulated wealth of these newly-advance Welshmen is still evident today in the survival of their homes; one only needs to visit Plas Mawr in Conwy, Gwydir Castle in Llanwrst or the Merchant's House in Tenby for evidence of the

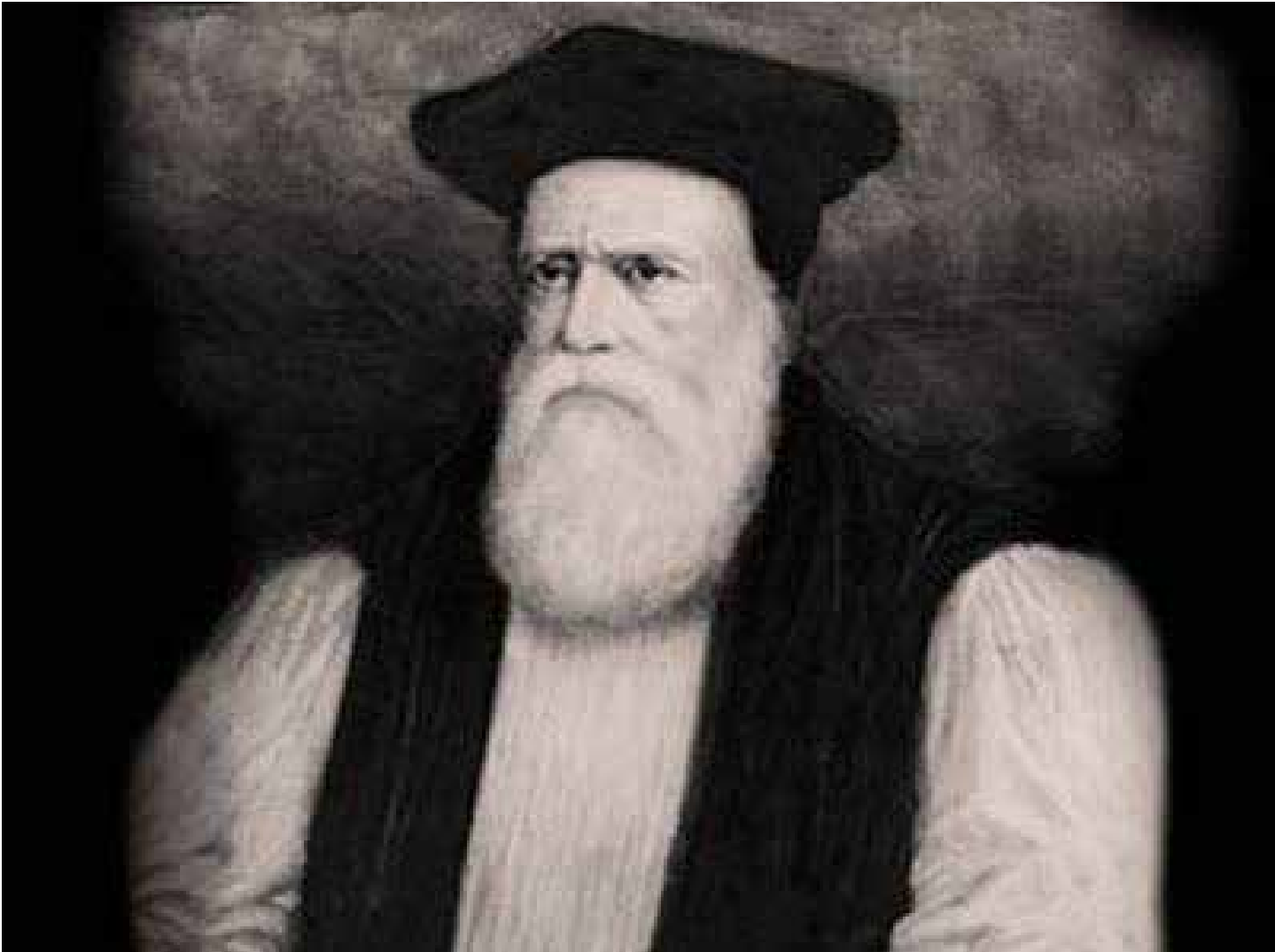


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money Welshmen begun to make during the sixteenth century.

Ultimately, the Laws in Wales Act brought an equality to the Welsh that allowed the Welsh to prosper, or at least removed any legal restriction to any hypothetical advancement. As the Act itself stipulated;

“...all and singular Person and Persons, born and to be born in the said Principality Dominion or Country of *Wales*, shall have enjoy and inherit all and singular Freedoms Liberties Rights Privileges and Laws within this his Realm, and the King’s other Dominions, as other the King’s Subjects naturally born within the same have enjoy and inherit.”



WELSH LANGUAGE

The Tudors get a raw deal when it comes to the Welsh language, although perhaps at first glance this is understandable. It was under Henry VIII that the Welsh language was specifically forbidden to be used by any man wishing to hold public office, in effect giving a job opportunity in one hand but taking away a language and identity with another.

The rationale from the king’s side was sound; The kingdom of England needed one language in the courts of law, and that couldn’t be Welsh, Latin, French etc. It was English and English only, and in the interests of clarity, all were to communicate in that one language.

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Section 20 of the 1535 Act stipulated, in part, that;

‘henceforth no Person or Persons that use the *Welsh* Speech or Language, shall have or enjoy any manner Office or Fees within this Realm of *England, Wales*, or other the King’s Dominion, upon Pain of forfeiting the same Offices or Fees, unless he or they use and exercise the *English* Speech or Language’.

It is troubling rhetoric to read in today’s bilingual world, and many modern Welshmen interpret the act as an aggressive and vindictive policy intended to rid the Welsh of their identity. It is this act, and by extension the Tudors under whom it received assent, that is often blamed for the alleged dearth of Welsh speakers today (around 20% in Wales as a whole, although up to 70% in rural areas).

It needs to be pointed out that the Welsh gentry passionately supported the Acts passed during this period, including this particular section as ultimately it gave them the opportunity to attain those public offices that they so evidently craved. It was a route to power and prosperity and to converse in English seemed a reasonable compromise. Of course we do not have the testimonies of the common Welshman, who may have been alienated by this act, unable as they were to understand any legal proceedings conducted in a language they had no knowledge of.

The perceived result of the Acts was that many scores of Welshmen, although actual statistical evidence is lacking, suddenly cast aside

their mother tongue of Welsh and forthwith only used the English language. This is considered by some to have been devastating to the Welsh language and caused an inherent decay that has continued today, where it is only spoken by roughly a fifth of the country. But let’s consider a key fact for a moment; Welsh is not only in a far greater state of health than Scottish Gaelic, Irish Gaelic or Cornish, languages which have barely endured, but the country remained almost monoglot deep into the Victorian period, some three hundred years after the death of the last Tudor. There is good reason for this, and it has to do with the introduction of the Welsh Language bible in 1588 under the reign of Elizabeth I.

Bishop William Morgan’s Welsh Bible provided the Welsh access to the Holy Scriptures in their own language and in effect codified the language into a formal, universally recognised entity. With the translation, Welsh became a liturgical language, conferring upon it officially sanctioned status in spite of the earlier Acts. Welsh became the only non-state language in Protestant Europe to be granted its own Bible, which was the foundation stone on which the modern Welsh language is based. Whatever the inspiration behind the translation, and it probably had much to do with Elizabeth seeking to crush any latent papist loyalties in a deeply conservative part of her kingdom, the fact remained that it was a Tudor that ordered a Welsh Bible, and it was that same book which helped save the language for many more generations to use.

LITERATURE, CULTURE AND EDUCATION

As well as the Welsh Bible, the Tudor era witnessed the beginning of Welsh literature in book form, another development which helped the language survive whilst other regional tongues gradually disappeared. In 1546 John Price published the first book in Welsh, known as *Yny Lhyvyr Hwnn* (In this Book) whilst in 1561 William Salesbury published a partial translation of the English Prayer book, a precursor to Bishop Morgan’s Welsh Bible two decades later. Meanwhile in 1573 came Humphrey Llwyd’s *Cambriae Typus*, the earliest known map of Wales. Other well-known Welshmen who produced various works, in either English or

Welsh, included Robert Recorde, John Dee, Andrew Boorde, Gruffydd Robert, Maurice Clenock, David Powel, Morris Kyffin and William Vaughan.

Elsewhere during the reign of the Tudors was the hosting of a famous Eisteddfod in Caerwys in 1568, organised on the orders of the Queen. An Eisteddfod was an ancient Welsh festival of music, poetry and culture, which had gradually fallen out of favour after the collapse of the Welsh royal dynasties. The Caerwys Eisteddfod witnessed prizes awarded to poets, fiddlers, singers and harpists in what must have been a wonderful celebration of Welsh culture. Although the revival proved to be



short-lived, this Elizabethan Eisteddfod does serve to highlight the resurgence and appreciation of the Welsh arts during the mid-sixteenth century, a curiosity which eventually led to the permanent revival of such events in 1861.

Regarding education, it may be considered that formal schooling in Wales would have naturally progressed without the Tudor Dynasty, and that may be true, although we will never know. But nonetheless there were developments

in education that did happen during the sixteenth century that should be noted. Prior to the Tudor period, organised education could only be found at schools in Haverfordwest and Ruthin. The middle of the sixteenth century witnessed the foundations of Christ College, Brecon (1541), Henry VIII School, Abergavenny (1542), Friars School, Bangor (1557), John Beddoes School, Presteigne (1565) and Beaumaris Grammar School (1603).

NATIONHOOD

It may seem bizarre to argue that the Tudors helped to establish Welsh nationhood on a country that legally and politically ceased to exist with the introduction of the Laws in Wales Act, but in a perverse way, those same laws solidified the entity we recognise as Wales today. The borders, counties and areas we recognise as Wales today originate from the Laws passed in 1535-1542. Prior to that there existed the Principality and the March, two separately governed entities in which the people were recognised as Welsh of sorts, if without a unified nation as we would recognise it. They

were people without a country. To aspire, they had to become legally English by seeking terms of denizenship, an honour very rarely given out by the distrustful English authorities.

After the Acts were passed and the modern Welsh nation as we know it was created, a political construct originating in the mind of a certain Thomas Cromwell it should be noted, there was no longer any need for the Welsh to seek English denizenship in order to free themselves from the shackles of oppression. The Welsh could now prosper for the first time in almost three hundred

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years by being, legally, Welsh. The confirmation of the borders, and what and where exactly constituted Wales, only served to gradually bring about universal acknowledgment of the nation of Wales. And so, by the end of the Tudor reign

in 1603, Welsh people living in an area regarded as Wales could proudly boast of their Welsh identity knowing it would not prohibit them from advancement in any field they sought to enter.

CONCLUSION

As briefly seen above, it is incorrect to suggest that the Tudors distanced themselves from Wales and the Welsh during their tenure as kings and queens of England. Whilst it is true that each monarch was often preoccupied with state business in and around the south east of England, Wales did not receive any less attention than other corners of England such as Yorkshire or the South West. The Tudors were not rulers who spent too much time outside the relatively safe haven of London, and with good reason; throughout their reign they were fending off attackers and rebellions left, right and centre. All that is, except in Wales. Other than a few minor instances of civil disorder, Wales remained at peace throughout the 118-year reign unlike any other period in the previous five hundred years. The Welsh of the sixteenth century were generally content with their lot; after all, it was a whole lot better than what their grandparents and great-grandparents experienced. Of course, this is simplifying matters somewhat and painting a rosy picture. Life was not good for those on the lower rungs of Welsh society, Tudors or no Tudors. But this is consistent with how terrible life was for all nationalities of a certain level, throughout the island. The point remains that those of the emergent middle classes were able to dramatically improve their lot, where once there would have been nothing but a bleak future ahead.

It is difficult to discount modern bias when casting a look back to the sixteenth century, and a modern nationalist or royalist will inevitably seek to justify their ideology by castigating or justifying Tudor actions. Could the Tudors have done *more* for Wales, her people, her nation? Possibly, yes. But that is an argument that could stretch to any part of their kingdom. Henry VII in particular, as a Welshman, is often accused of not doing enough to further the interests of his own people, but one needs to put themselves into his shoes to understand his actions. This was a man who had seized a throne in battle, and remained unsafe upon that throne throughout his reign. Rebellion, betrayal and treason was all

around him, and until his later years it wasn't clear whether he would survive long enough to secure his own dynasty, let alone bother himself with the problem of Wales.

Considering the question of whether the Tudors were *good* for Wales, is another instance where I compel the reader to put themselves in the shoes of the contemporary Welshman. These were a people with no rights, no privileges and no hope until Henry Tudor became king. It was then, and only then, that prospects gradually begun to improve, culminating in the Acts in Wales Laws which legally removed any shackles from those of an aspirational nature. It seems particularly telling for me that, unlike large parts of England (Cornwall, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Yorkshire for example), the people of Wales by and large never rose up in a popular uprising. This is an extraordinary fact over a one-hundred-year reign when one considers that prior to the Tudors, the Welsh were notoriously restless and regularly rebellious. The Welsh underwent a degree of cultural oppression later in British History, particularly during the nineteenth century, but I feel that, under the Tudors, life was as good for the Welsh as it could ever have been. It was a time of peace, relative prosperity and upward social mobility. Did this come to the long-term detriment of Welsh culture, language and nationhood? Well, we still remain a distinct part of the United Kingdom in all three matters, so that is not an argument that stands up.

At the start of the Tudor reign, a visiting Venetian ambassador made mention of Henry VII's background, stating 'The Welsh may be said to have recovered their former independence, for the most wise and fortunate Henry VII is a Welshman'. It may not have been the kind of independence many in the twentieth and twenty-first century wished to see, but without the Tudors, the fate of Wales could have been a lot worse. Perhaps the final words should go to the poet Sion Tudor, who wrote to Elizabeth I about her grandfather Henry VII;

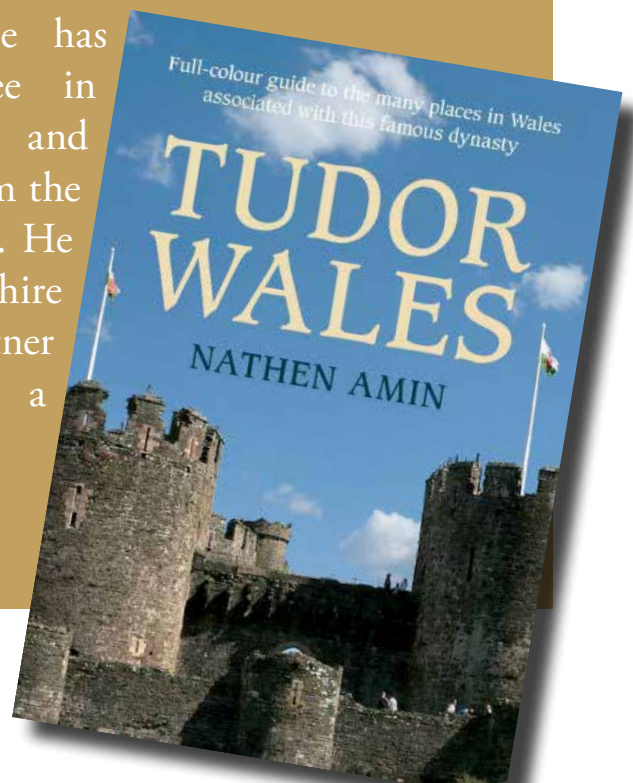
The Welsh Legacy

“Harri lan, hir lawenydd,
Yn un a’n rhoes ninnau’n rhydd,
I Gymru da fu hyd fedd,
Goroni gwr o Wynedd”
(Fair Harry, our long lasting joy,
The one who set us free,
Good was it for Wales all his life,
That the man of Gwynedd was crowned)



Nathen Amin grew up in the heart of Carmarthenshire, Wales, and he has had a long interest in history. He runs the Henry Tudor Society and he is the author of the book, “Tudor Wales”, published in 2014. He is a strong advocate for the Tudor dynasty.

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Kyra Kramer is
September's Expert Speaker
HISTORICAL SEXISM



Her Infinite Variety

Mary, Queen of Scots and the Silver Screen's Imagination

by Gareth Russell

In the 1972 television series “The Shadow of the Tower”, the episode “The man who never was”, focused on Perkin Warbeck’s rebellion against Henry VII. It contains many scenes set in Tudor Dublin, the original epicentre of Warbeck’s threat. In one flashback, the handsome Warbeck (played by Richard Warwick, a suitably Yorkist-sounding name) is hoisted over the shoulders of the Earl of Kildare (Gawn Grainger) and carried off for what looks suspiciously like a night of unchecked bedroom merriment.

It’s pure imagination, of course, perhaps designed by the writers (Julian Mitchell and Anthea Browne-Wilkinson) to highlight the ambiguities of Warbeck’s origins, mainly that many of his most prominent backers, like Lord Kildare, clearly did not actually believe they were dealing with a prince, since it is Kildare who takes the violent initiative in the scene.

To let, or not to let, one’s imagination run riot is the eternal crux of historical dramatisations and the debate, as well as the drama, helps explain why we have seen so many Mary Stuarts on our screens. Her execution scene was one of the first silent movies ever made and since then, far more so than her Irish contemporaries, Scotland’s famously tragic royal has been re-imagined over and over again. At times, scenes with no more firm documentary evidence than Lord Kildare’s (implied) one-night stand with Perkin Warbeck have peopled accounts of Mary’s stories. After all, Mary is currently, to quote a 16th-century poet enraptured with her beauty, ‘rising on the world’ once again in the guise of the indisputably lovely

Australian actress Adelaide Kane, who is playing Mary in a highly-fictionalised soap opera based on her life, “Reign”.

Katharine Hepburn suffered a rare flop after playing Mary, whom she considered “a ninny”, in 1936’s “Mary of Scotland” and it was thirty years before Mary’s dramatic life received the big-budget Hollywood treatment, this time earning an Oscar nomination for Vanessa Redgrave, who played to the hilt Mary as a passionate romantic heroine, opposite Glenda Jackson as a fiery, tortured, manipulative Elizabeth I. Jackson went on to reprise her role in the acclaimed 6-part BBC series “Elizabeth R”. In that version, Scottish Mary did not come off so well, played by Vivian Pickles as a snobby self-obsessive, clueless to the dangers she faced and created. She was also played by future “Dynasty” star Stephanie Beacham in the series “The Queen’s Traitor”.

In 2004, the television series “Gunpowder, Treason and Plot”, chronicling Mary’s career and that of her son, James VI, was the first to stress Mary’s French upbringing, by casting *Harry Potter* alumna Clémence Poésy as an elegant, beautiful woman adrift in a kingdom she barely understood. A French Mary was the running theme a few years later, in the Helen Mirren-starring series “Elizabeth I”, where a middle-aged Mary was played on the eve of her death by Barbara Flynn. In 2013, the model Camille Rutherford played Mary in a French and Swiss-produced biopic, based on the 1930s biography of Mary written by Stefan Zweig, which stressed Mary’s supposedly romantic personality.



In direct contrast, and in total contrast to what we know of the real Mary, Samantha Morton played her with a thick Scottish accent in “Elizabeth: The Golden Age”, starring Cate Blanchett as the titular queen. Here, Mary was stripped of any and all sympathetic characteristics and Morton, a dazzlingly good actress, played the deposed monarch as a game-playing schemer who, in the final move, over-reached herself.

Flitting across the screen as the vixen, victim, heroine, and cautionary tale, Mary, Queen of Scots, English claimant, or French princess is still, like Shakespeare’s Cleopatra, a creature of infinite variety.

GARETH RUSSELL



TOP: Katharine Hepburn in “Mary of Scotland” (Alchetron)

ABOVE: Adelaide Kane in “Reign” (Belfast Telegraph)

RIGHT: Clémence Poésy in “Gunpowder, Treason, and Plot” (BBC Northern Ireland)





TOP: Oscar-nominated Vanessa Redgrave in
“Mary, Queen of Scots” (Public Domain)

ABOVE: Camille Rutherford
in “Mary Queen of Scots” (Public Domain)

RIGHT: Samantha Morton as
Mary in “Elizabeth: The Golden Age”
(Public Domain)

Henry VII: The Welsh Moses

This is an extract from
*“A History of the English Monarchy:
From Boadicea to Elizabeth I”*
by **Tudor Life** editor, **Gareth Russell**

AT THE SAME time as Henry VI's lifeless body crumpled onto the floor of the Tower of London, the future Henry VII was being bundled into a small boat in the bay of the village of Tenby in southern Wales. The fourteen-year-old, tall, lean, fit, with pale skin, dark hair and watchful eyes, was pitched out into the tail-end of an Atlantic storm that tossed the ship in swells of seasickness-inducing agony until it limped into unexpected safety in the harbours of Brittany. There, Henry VI's nephew and Catherine de Valois' grandson stepped ashore in the company of his uncle Jasper, the dispossessed Earl of Pembroke, to seek sanctuary at the court of François II, ruler of an independent Brittany. Henry Tudor grew up there, fell in love or lust, perhaps fathered a bastard child called Roland, read a lot of Arthurian legends, pined for his brilliant, domineering and devoted mother Margaret, who was working feverishly on his behalf back in England to ingratiate herself with the Yorkist court, and struck up enough of a friendship with the Duke that the latter loyally refused all English attempts to have Henry extradited.

When Richard III seized the throne in 1483, the disappearance of Edward V and his brother revived Henry Tudor's chances. If hitherto he and his mother had only dreamed of persuading Edward IV to restore his father's earldom of Richmond to the boy, the shattering of the Yorkist political class and the trickle, then flood, of political émigrés making their way to Henry's side turned him into a viable contender for the throne itself. His claim was hardly watertight. However, he was all the Lancastrians had left and as Richard III's popularity plummeted, Henry became the rising

sun. When Duke François' mental health declined to the point that his treasurer was able to strike a deal to hand Henry over to the English, he was tipped off thanks to one of his mother's spies at Richard's court, faked sickness, donned a disguise and rode hell-for-leather to the Breton border with France where, as the great-grandson of a French monarch, he could expect an offer of sanctuary.

It was from France that he set sail with a medium-sized army, returning to the homeland he had last seen fourteen years earlier, and fell to his knees to recite Psalms and kiss the ground as

he landed. The Welsh people still groaned under penalising legislation introduced to punish them for Owen Glendower's rebellion against Henry IV eighty-five years earlier and so the sight of a Welsh-born lord progressing towards the English throne stirred many hopes. (These were justified given Henry VII's removal of the anti-Welsh laws which had impacted on the Welsh since the principality's rebellion against Henry IV in 1400.) A Welsh bard referred to him as 'a Moses who delivered us from our bondage'. Crucially, Henry Tudor was also able to attract significant support in England and his mother used her most recent marriage to the Yorkist Lord Stanley as a convenient cloak under which to intrigue shamelessly with Richard III's disaffected supporters, a policy that paid dividend when he was abandoned by many of them on the battlefield on 22 August 1485.

As Richard's body was carted off for burial, Henry progressed to London to be crowned, proclaimed rightful Sovereign by Parliament and marry Edward IV's eldest daughter, the nineteen-year-old Elizabeth of York. In that order. Henry was very keen to stress that his crown came from military victory and a religious mandate, like the Anglo-Saxons, Normans and early Plantagenets, rather than more recent monarchs' reliance on convoluted ancestral nit-picking and parliamentary quiescence. Those who had supported him in exile were richly rewarded, none more so than his mother and uncle Jasper. A triumphal tour of the northern parts of England amid bumper harvests and beautiful weather culminated in his arrival to joyful scenes in York of all places, where the fountains flowed with wine and the interlocked white and red roses of the York and Lancaster families proclaimed the union of two warring clans through

the new King and Queen's marriage, a hope solidified by the Queen's successful delivery of a son nine months after her wedding. The baby was christened Arthur.

New beginnings are more easily proclaimed than realised, however, and the corpse of the Wars of the Roses kept twitching throughout Henry VII's time as King, aggravating the corrosive paranoia he became so famous for. An early uprising led by the rump of Richard III's most devoted adher-

ents ended in ignominious failure when they were deserted by most of their common supporters, thanks to Henry VII's decision to issue promises that if the rebels set down their arms, they could go home unpunished.

Two more serious threats arose against him later, both of which tested Ireland's fluctuations in loyalty, volatile ever since Edward I weakened the monarchy's influence there by becoming too distracted with his wars in Wales, Scotland and France. The Wars of the Roses had resulted in a further dilution of the Crown's authority and the rise of the local nobility at its expense. Welsh Henry's seizure of the throne

was not popular in Ireland and the Irish Parliament that met in Dublin two months after the Battle of Bosworth insisted upon opening in King Richard's name, rather than Henry VII's. The country was riddled with internal divisions, particularly on what might tentatively be called ethnic grounds. Its geopolitics were explosively divisive. Tensions festered between the Anglo-Irish, the descendants of the settlers in the twelfth century, and the native Irish, despite the fact that both groups had repeatedly intermarried with each other. Fact did not matter very much and to those who self-identified as native Irish, the Anglo-Irish were contemptuously referred to as the *Gaill* (foreign). In the words of one historian,



Henry VII, "the Welsh Moses" (Public Domain)

the Anglo-Irish, 'were bound by the same statutes, and to the same allegiance as the English of England, and spoke English, yet they were also clearly distinct from the English of England, for they were born in Ireland, and most also spoke Irish. The English of Ireland lived in close but uneasy proximity to a culture profoundly different from their own.' It was a set of complex identities that the Tudor government struggled with, just as much as those in Northern Ireland in the twentieth century.

As the fifteenth century wore on, royal control in Ireland had more or less contracted to a region around Dublin that was eventually ringed-in by defensive dykes, walls, fortresses and castles. Within the Pale, English customs like a parliament, a chancellery, a royal council and an English judicial system were maintained and ties to England deepened in reaction to what was seen as the violence of the *Gaedhil* (native Irish). Dublin had a thriving civic and religious life which saw the city's upper classes invest in hospitals, almshouses for the poor, leper sanctuaries and schools, much like their equivalents in England or on the continent. Dublin's women were particularly keen to participate in the culture of wealthy female benefactresses, endowing establishments like the city's hospital of Saint John the Baptist. Yet even within Dublin, tensions remained. It is a fallacy to assume that everything within the Pale was complacently anglicised and everything outside it implacably hostile.

It was this schizoid sense of identity, running through Irish society, which led Polydore Virgil to conclude, 'these Irishmen excel the others in ferocity, and – being more eager for revolutions – are found readier to support any type of upheaval.'

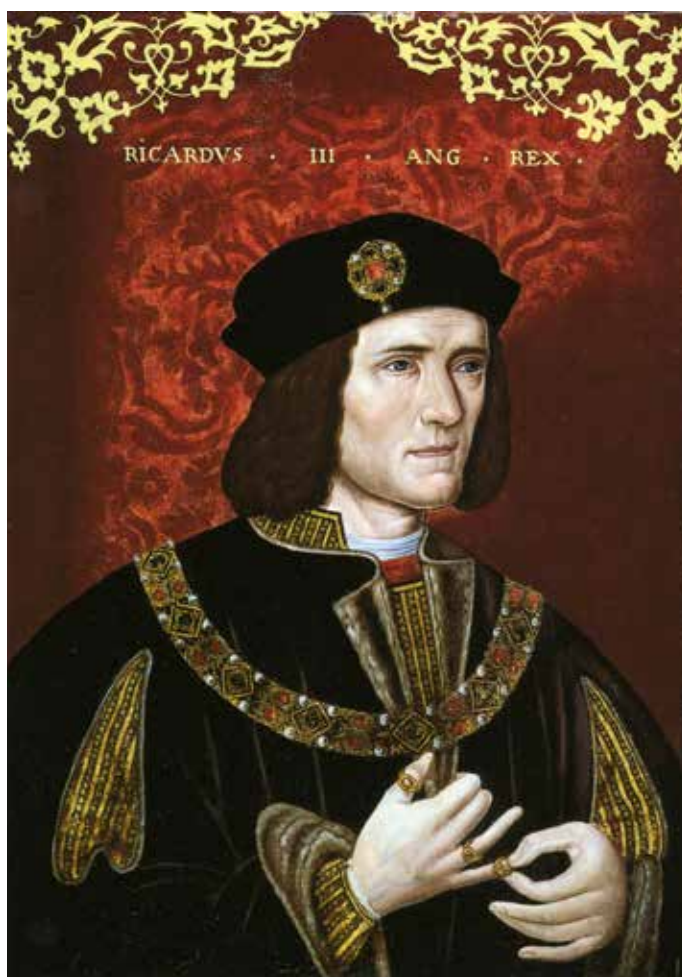
When Henry VII took the throne in 1485, he unintentionally exacerbated Ireland's uncertain sense of identity. He was not popular, not even with the powerful clans of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy, and when a pretender arrived on their shores claiming to be a long-lost prince of the House of York, they knelt before him. Henry's own Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Kildare, helped organise the adolescent boy's coronation as 'King Edward VI' in

Dublin's Christ Church Cathedral, where he was crowned with a make-do crown plucked from a statue of the Virgin Mary.

The boy, who claimed to be the Earl of Warwick, Edward IV and Richard III's nephew who had languished in the Tower ever since Henry VII's seizure of the throne, was in fact an Oxford joiner's son called Lambert Simnel. He bore a passing resemblance to the York family and he was being carefully schooled by priests and former courtiers in his entourage, most of whom knew that the real Warwick was still alive and well, hidden behind the looming walls of the Tower of London. They hired two thousand German mercenaries and sailed the

child to Ireland, where they met with local nobles. One Irish priest, Cathal Maguire, archdeacon of the northern diocese of Clogher, applauded the nobility's actions, remarking that the King of 'the Welsh race' was an unacceptable King of England or Lord of Ireland, and that everyone preferred 'Edward VI'.

However, when Simnel's army landed on the Lincolnshire coast, the enthusiasm was more muted, even as they processed through the former Yorkist heartlands in the north. As Francis Bacon observed a century later, 'Their snowball did not gather as it went'. They passed Sherwood Forest and encountered the royal army at the Battle of Stoke, which proved a resounding victory for the



King Richard III

Tudors. Most of Simnel's prominent supporters either fell in battle or drowned in the river trying to escape. Touchingly conscious of the fact that the boy had been plucked and groomed for the role based on his appearance, Henry VII pardoned him and threw in a job in the royal kitchens, where Simnel turned the spits in the palace's cavernous fire pits. He proved as conscientious a study as he had when preparing for a throne and he ultimately rose to become master of the King's prized falcons. In the meantime, the real Earl of Warwick was conducted from the Tower to attend Mass at Saint Paul's Cathedral to prove that he was still alive and in the King's custody.

However, while producing the real Earl to disprove the Simnel threat was easily done, when, Anastasia-like, another pretender rose from beyond the grave, it was a lot harder to quash the rumours. The handsome and confident Perkin Warbeck insisted that he was Elizabeth of York's younger brother Richard, who had vanished in the Tower with their brother Edward V in 1483. Elizabeth's estranged aunt Margaret, Dowager Duchess of Burgundy, naturally detested the Tudors and she supported Warbeck's claim. However, given that she had also lent her support to Lambert Simnel, it is difficult to know how accurate this identification was. Exploiting Henry's difficulties as they once had Edward IV's and Richard III's, the governments of France and the Hapsburg Empire endorsed Warbeck's claim. Even more damagingly, given its proximity, was the court of Scotland's support, which was so enthusiastic that it allowed Warbeck to marry their King's kinswoman, Lady Katherine Gordon. Warbeck, styling himself King Richard IV, went to Ireland to finish what Simnel's

team had started. He arrived at Cork in 1491 and his subsequent invasion of England helped spark a serious rebellion against the Tudors in Cornwall.

In the end, Warbeck's cause also fell on the battlefield and he was captured and executed, after confessing to fraud, in 1499. The cost to Henry VII's Exchequer had been enormous and the cost to his already fragile sense of trust even greater. For a brave young man with a talent for acting, Perkin Warbeck had come far too close to toppling Henry's throne. Frantic attempts to find the bodies of Edward V and his brother, which could be publicly displayed to refute Warbeck's claim, came to nothing; it was not until the reign of Charles II in the seventeenth century that skeletons allegedly belonging to the two princes were found buried beneath the bottom of a staircase in the Tower.

In the meantime, Queen Elizabeth of York had provided enough children to stabilise the fledgling dynasty... Along with her mother-in-law, who penned strict guides on court etiquette, Elizabeth of York added to the pomp of the Tudor court, bringing to it the sophistication and polish

she had experienced growing up at her parents'. Both women helped smooth over the roughness of Henry's own manners and the occasional *faux-pas* which inevitably arose from someone who had spent most of his developmental years in Brittany and France. At times, the King seemed unaware of the full significance of Parliament and his expectation to rule like the French autocrats he had seen as a young man was nowhere more apparent than his desire for money. This he needed badly to financially ground the Crown after years of it haemorrhaging money.

In the first half of his reign, as splendid palaces like Richmond, one of the finest



Perkin Warbeck (Alchetron)

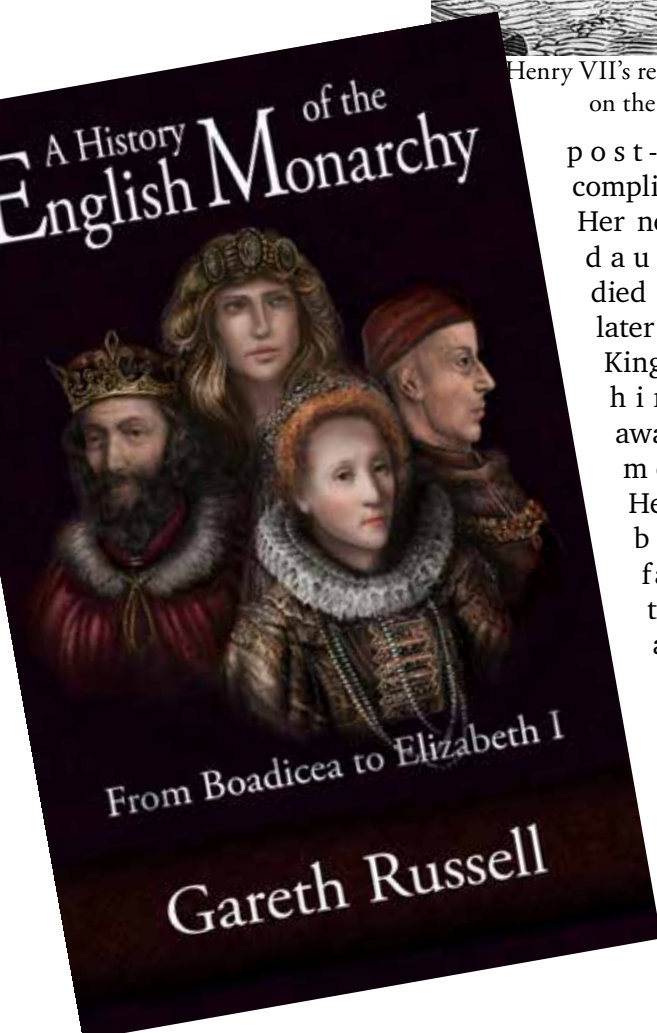
examples of Renaissance architecture in northern Europe, rose along the banks of the Thames and the court sparkled under the watchful eyes of Lady Margaret and Queen Elizabeth, Henry VII's avariciousness was not so blatant. However, a series of bereavements pushed him into a long and dark decline – his eldest son Arthur died during an outbreak of the plague in 1502, only a few months after marrying the Spanish monarchs' youngest daughter, Katherine of Aragon, and a year later Queen Elizabeth died on her thirty-seventh birthday as a result of



Henry VII's reign was born, and initially sustained, on the battlefield. (Public Domain)

throughout their marriage which, although born from political necessity in the dying days of the Wars of the Roses, seems to have been a happy one.

The final six years of his reign saw [Henry] tightening the screws on anyone and everyone, bleeding them dry and making his councilors hate figures not just for the outraged nobility, who detested Henry VII's preference for the company of hardworking lawyers and civil servants over the blue-bloods of the aristocracy, but also to the vast majority of his subjects. The unpleasantness seeped into his private life. Funds to his widowed daughter-in-law were cut off as he had



post-natal complications. Her new-born daughter died a week later and the King locked himself away to mourn. He had been faithful to Elizabeth

second thoughts about re-cementing the Spanish alliance as planned by marrying her to his teenage son Henry, now heir-apparent. Princess Katherine worked herself up into a resentful hysteria at her treatment, a mood in keeping with the rest of the country. On the rise legal students like Thomas More launched blistering criticisms on the government's rapacity, there were anti-taxation riots in Yorkshire and when Henry VII began to sicken and die from tuberculosis, losing his battle in the spring of 1509, there were few who pitied him and even fewer who mourned. In years to come, Tudor panegyric airbrushed the decline and focused solely on Henry's success in ending the turmoil of the previous generation, restoring England's position as a force to be reckoned with in European politics, and leaving the monarchy rich and solvent for the first time in decades.

GARETH RUSSELL

Basing House

PHOTOS AND TEXT BY MARCIA WADHAM



Basing House may not be one of Britain's most iconic Tudor sites, but in its day it was one of the largest houses in the country – claiming to be even bigger than most of the King's palaces. It was the home of the Paulet family and was visited by Henry VIII in 1535 and later by Edward VI. Mary I and Philip honeymooned there on their way home from their wedding in Winchester and Elizabeth I was known to have stayed at least five times, including once where she entertained the French Ambassador and his entourage at the house.

The final royal visit was made by Queen Anne of Denmark, wife of James I of England. She and the royal court were left at Basing House while James went hunting in the Hampshire countryside. The family was forced to sell some of the estate to cover the debt created by this visit, and they deliberately destroyed part of the house to make it less attractive to royal visitors.

Although they ceased to enjoy the royal favour they had under the Tudors (William Paulet, who built the house, was a member of Henry VIII's Privy Council), the Paulet family remained loyal to the Crown. Sadly this led to the eventual destruction of the house.

Basing held a strategic position between London and the south coast, and became the site of a number of sieges during the Civil War. It was finally destroyed in 1644. Parliament then decreed that locals could take the bricks and use them for anything they wished. They did, and rebuilt their devastated

homes and church. The town of Basing was able to survive, but there was no hope of the grand house being re-built.

All that remains of the house today are the Civil War ruins, but these allow the visitor to grasp the scale on which the house was built. There is also a Lego model of what the house would have looked like, and there are definite similarities to Hampton Court Palace in its architectural style.

Most impressively, though, the Great Barn is still standing, and is a huge piece of Tudor architecture. It has been dated to 1535, most probably built for the visit of Henry VIII in that year. Somehow this building survived the Civil War, and is now the largest surviving Tudor barn in the UK. It is an enormous building, and is often used for weddings and other functions including a spectacular Christmas craft fayre at the beginning of December. The sheer size of this one building is further testament to the scale on which the house must have been built.

It is a really interesting place to visit, but you do need to be wearing good walking shoes! Parking is a fair distance away from the site itself, although the walk along the tranquil River Loddon is very pretty, and passes through the courtyard of a picturesque English country pub, serving good food and proper English beer!

Archaeological digs are still taking place around the site, and more is being learned about the history of the house all the time. There are a number of special events held every year, including a Tudor

Day when the Tudor tunnels are open to the public and other Tudor-related activities are put on.

William Paulet's motto was to be 'like willow, not like oak'. The fact that the family held royal favour throughout the turbulence of the Tudor dynasty is perhaps testament to this. It is such a shame for modern visitors and history lovers that the family did not hold so dearly to this motto in the Civil War. It would be amazing to be able to visit the house in all its splendour. Sadly, we have only the ruins to visit, but the sense of history on the site is still palpable.

MARCIA WADHAM



Tudor Places



Fool's Gold

Our resident art historian looks at an interesting aspect in the life of Nicholas Hilliard

Melanie V. Taylor

FROM AN ART history perspective the England, Scotland, Ireland theme for this month gave me a considerable problem that is until I remembered that my muse, Nicholas Hilliard, had been involved in a disastrous financial investment in a Scottish goldmine.

Hilliard returned from Paris sometime between August 1578 and 30th April 1579. He had gone to France in 1576 “to get a piece of money of the lords and ladies [of France] for his better maintenance in England at his return.”¹ These are the words the English ambassador Sir Amayas Paulet wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham. Unfortunately Hilliard did not succeed in his desire to line his pockets with French gold. Regarding the date of his return, there is an existing indenture between him and his father-in-law, Robert Brandon that Hilliard dated 30th April 1579 and which Hilliard signed on 14th July 1579 before the Lord Chan-



cellor.² Brandon loaned his son-in-law 70l secured against a property in Exeter then owned by Hilliard's father, Richard. The loan was for a year and if Hilliard failed to repay this vast sum within the given period, then the property was to be forfeit. Brandon was a very sharp businessman and later Hilliard fell out with his father-in-law because of his appalling ability to manage money. What we do not know is whether or not Hilliard managed to repay the loan or if he defaulted and the property became part of Brandon's extensive property portfolio.

Hilliard's wife, Brandon's daughter Alice, had returned from Paris

earlier in 1578 husband and had given birth to their first child, Daniel, in the May. Did she stay with her father until Nicholas returned? Despite failing to make a fortune in Paris, we know from the various surviving miniatures Hilliard probably had commissions in London waiting for his return.

One of these may have been the portrait he executed of Mary Queen of Scots in the Royal Collection. If so, then it is likely that this was painted at the request of Lord Burghley or Sir Francis Walsingham.

At the time Mary was the 'guest' of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. Maybe this portrait was commissioned in order to give the queen an idea of what her cousin looked like.

The cost of £3 to £4 was considerably less than the larger portraits such as the Sheffield portrait. The Royal Collection entry suggests that perhaps Hilliard painted this as an 'ad vivum' portrait before he went to France in 1576, but there is no documentary evidence for this. This particular miniature has a twin in the V&A. The difference between the two is that Hilliard has used the expensive ultramarine for the blue in this one and the cheaper pigment known as 'bice' for the blue background in the V&A version. Mary is known to have given miniatures of herself to her loyal supporters, but again it is unlikely that Hilliard painted these. He would not have wanted to lose the patronage of Queen Elizabeth which he would have done had he

become regularly employed by her cousin. There were other painters of miniature portraits as this was a very popular genre, so perhaps Mary was allowed to indulge herself by using one of the Hilliard "wannabees". They would have been cheaper than the great man. Unfortunately we have not, as

yet unearthed any evidence to support this idea. It may have been destroyed either in The Great Fire of London of 1666 or even the Blitz.⁴

For the purpose of this article we need to consider why did Hilliard took out a 70l loan with his father-in-law? If the Mary Queen of Scots portrait was painted in 1578 he would probably have had to wait for payment, but whoever commissioned the miniature would only have paid between £3 and £4, so why did Hilliard borrow 70l?⁵ ⁶



Sheffield Portrait of Mary Queen of Scots ³

Was he looking to invest in a goldmine?

Writing in 1619, Stephen Atkinson (a fellow goldsmith) tells the story of three artists who embarked on prospecting for gold in Scotland some forty years before.⁷ You might think this is a fool's errand, but a nugget weighing 18.1 grms (0.6ozs) worth approximately £10,000 was found in southern Scotland in 2015.⁸ On 3rd August this year an Australian company, Scotgold Resources, began processing ore at the Cononish mine near Tyn-drum in central Scotland that is hoped to produce some four to six hundred ounces of gold in the first six months.⁹

Atkinson speaks to us across the centuries and tells us that Cornelius Devosse (*a most cun-*

ning pictur maker), Arnold von Bronkhust a friend and agent of Devosse, persuaded Nicholas Hilliard (then principall drawer of small pitcures to the late Queene Elizabeth) to join with them to prospect for gold in Scotland. Not much is known about Devosse's artistic ability, but we do know that he was a bit of an entrepreneur.

Cornelius Devosse was a shareholder in the Society of Mines Royal (formed 1568), but before looking at the structure of this company, perhaps we should know why it, and the Company of Minerals & Battery Works (1565) were formed. The case of Regina –v- Earl of Northumberland brought in the Court of Exchequer established that theoretically, all the gold and silver found in England and Wales belonged to the Crown. Thanks to the diligence of the Victorian antiquarians who transcribed many of the original documents and these have now been digitised.¹⁰

The names that appear on the list of investors of the Company of Minerals & Battery Works (thirty nine stockholders) and the Society of Mines Royal (twenty four stockholders), included Sir Robert Dudley, Sir William Cecil, William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke (1501 - 1570 and James Blount, 6th Baron Mountjoy (1533 – 1582). Blount evidently spent the family fortune as an alchemist, which is probably why he wanted an investment in a goldmine.¹¹ According to the Wikipedia entry Sir William Cecil encouraged Blount in the manufacture of alum and copperas, (which is actually ferrous sulphate).¹² But I digress. Apart from Atkinson telling us that Devosse was a 'most cunning pictur maker' and a shareholder in the Company of Mines Royal, that is about all we know about the man, except that he was a native of Flanders.

It is Devosse's birthplace that gives us a tiny clue about how he may have come to know Hilliard. Auerbach thought that the two had known each other from 1572. This is purely speculation, but perhaps Devosse knew another Flemish merchant, George Teerlinc, the husband of Hilliard's teacher Levina. The same goes for the other Fleming in this venture, Arnold von Bronkhurst, which is perhaps how Hilliard came to know these two artists; but as I said, this is pure speculation.

According to Auerbach writing in 1961, Devosse obtained a grant from the Earl of Moray in March of 1567/8 to search and develop the Crawford Muir Mines for the production of gold for nineteen years.¹³ Her source was the Register of Privy Council of Scotland, Vol I No 97, p 612. The Wikipedia entry for James Stewart, Earl of Moray, states that he was the illegitimate son of James V of Scotland (therefore half brother to the Scottish queen) and did not return to Edinburgh until 11th August 1567. Perhaps we should take the later date of March 1568 for the patent given to Devosse because it was not until 22nd August 1567 that Moray was appointed Regent of the one year old king, James VI.¹⁴

As to what Devosse was like as a person there is a clue. Auerbach found a reference to a letter dated 1566 sent to William Cecil by James Thurland, another prominent shareholder of the Society of Mines Royal. Thurland described Devosse as being of 'dubious character' who apparently exaggerated his report on the amount of gold he thought was in the ground, but whereabouts in England or Wales we are not told.¹⁵ This was just before the formation of the Society of Mines Royal so perhaps Devosse put a gloss on his findings in order to get more money out of the investors.



A decade later Devosse had sold his shares in the Society and formed a similar company, but this time in Scotland. Hilliard seems to have been persuaded by Devosse to invest in this venture and used his influence to obtain a royal patent to mine gold as proposed by Devosse & von Bronkhurst. From the little we know, von Bronkhurst acted as the agent in Scotland and return to England with any gold dug out of Scottish soil.

We now return to the patent granted to Devosse by the Earl of Moray in 1568. Unfortunately the Earl had been assassinated in 1570 and the Regency had then passed to the 4th Earl of Lennox (father of Lord Darnley and the king's grandfather) who was regent until he was shot in 1571 when it passed to the Earl of Mar, who was regent for a year.¹⁶ The last Regent was James Douglas, 4th Earl of Morton. Under his regency Devosse had to renew his patent, but unfortunately for Devosse, Morton did not allow the export of gold. This resulted in von Bronkhurst being detained and since he was an artist he was given the option of becoming the principal painter to the king. We are not told what the other option was, but we can imagine it was not going to be too pleasant!

The post of principal painter to the king was a new post at the Scottish court and thanks to von Bronkhurst we know what Regent Morton looks like. This portrait is in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

We lose sight of Devosse after the failure of this venture, but we know from the Scottish accounts that von Bronkhurst stayed in Scotland until 1583 when he returned to London, then he too disappears from view. Whether Hilliard ever went to Scotland, it is unlikely. It seems as if von Bronkhurst was the only one who made it north of the border.

In the Wikipedia entry whoever wrote this argues that von Bronkhurst and Devosse may not have been in business with Hilliard and that all the previous researchers have mis-read the text. The Victorian antiquarians who transcribed many of the original documents in the State Papers, and various personal archives were dedicated men with the time and money to dedicate themselves in transcribing these documents. In 1825 Gilbert Laing Meason presented The Bannantyne Club with his definitive transcription of Atkinson's book. The Bannantyne Club had been founded by Sir Walter Scott in 1823 to honour the 16th century Edinburgh merchant George Bannantyne (1545-1608) and numbered many Scottish nobles and worthies among its members.¹⁷ Bannantyne

was also a literary man who collected various Scottish poems that he compiled into an eight hundred page anthology. Clearly Meason deemed a transcription of Atkinson's 17th century book as something that the Club should have within its collection. Here is the transcription from the 1825 version of Stephen Atkinson's book so you can decide for yourselves as to whether or not we should or should not accept the 19th century antiquarian's interpretation of the original document.

"...what is written of Arthur Van-Brounckhurst, (viz 1 .) he searched sondry Moores, and found gold in sondry places ; but he was forced to leave it all att the Mint-house in Scotland, by speciall command from his Majesty, being then in minority.

Whereas before, it was conditioned betwixt Mr Halliard and Cornelius of the one parte, and Van-Brounckhurst of the other parte, that the said Brounckhurst should pay the full valliation for all such naturall gold as should be gotten by him in Scotland, unto the King in minority, or unto the Regent, for the use of his Majesty. And to that purpose he had both gold and silver store out of England, to performe it, as by his pattent he was obliged so to doe.

And it is written, that the Earle of Moreton being then Regent, Moreton, would not give way unto Van-Brounckhurst [his] pattent, although the e 8 ent- said Brounckhurst became a suitor, at least for the space of 4 moneths, and did not prevaile unto this day. And so at last [he] was forced to become one of his Majesties sworne servants at ordinary in Scotland, to draw all the small and great pictures for his Majesty. And by this meanes, Mr Milliard and Cornelius Devosse lost all their chardges, and never since got any recompence, to Mr Hilliard's great hinderance, as he saith, who yet liveth, and confirmeth the same."

Perhaps the idea that Hilliard was not involved with Devosse and von Bronkhurst has been suggested because there are three different spellings of Hilliard? I cannot find any other evidence in either the original patent rolls, or the Victorian transcripts of the same to support this suggestion. As far as historians are concerned, it is known that Atkinson knew Hilliard personally so it is unlikely he would have been wrong in the telling of this sorry tale in his 1619 publication.

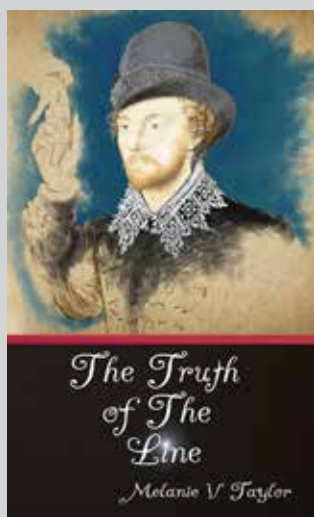
Hilliard died on 7th January 1619 and Atkinson's publication came out later in the year. For me this raises certain questions. We know that Hilliard was not successful with his choice of investments; neither does he seem very good at collecting money he was owed. In his draft treatise of 1598 he tells us how it is sometimes necessary to make a gift of a piece of work in order to promote himself.¹⁸ We also know that he complained that his patrons were tardy in paying him? In the Goldsmiths' archives there are accounts of various cases where he defaulted on repaying a debt and ends up in court; that he fell out with his father-in-law over his inability to manage his financial

affairs. Brandon went so far as to change his Will because of this. Regarding Atkinson's recording of the Scottish mines affair, did Hilliard know of Atkinson's book? I do not think so because Hilliard was very aware of his public persona and in this affair he is portrayed as gullible. Unfortunately, like much of the history of the time we shall have to continue to wonder. Perhaps one of those uncatalogued boxes in the attic of a stately home or a basement of an archive somewhere will one day provide the answer.

MELANIE V. TAYLOR

NOTES

- 1 P16 *Nicholas Hilliard*: Erna Auerbach; Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1961
- 2 C54/1055 held at National Archives; Kew.
- 3 Philip Mould Historical Portraits Image Library.
- 4 The National Archives at Kew, and other museums, have lots of boxes in their basements that require cataloguing. Perhaps the evidence lies in one of these.
- 5 According to www.measuringworth.com £3 in 1578 is equivalent to £827.90 today & £4 equal to £1,104 in today's money. This is approximately what it would cost today to have your portrait miniature painted. The price today of a Hilliard miniature depends on the identity of the sitter, so up to the maximum value of £375,400 proposed on this website is a possibility, especially if that sitter were Queen Elizabeth I.
- 6 Again, www.measuringworth.com gives us a 2015 labour earning value of between £247,600 and an economic power value of £6,570,000!
- 7 *The Discoverie and Historie of the Gold Mines in Scotland* pages 33-35. This book was republished in 1825.
- 8 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-33020195>
- 9 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-business-36953804>
- 10 *Select Charters of Trading Companies A.D. 1530 - 1707*
- 11 Wikipedia entry for James Blount, 6th Baron Mountjoy.
- 12 <http://www.archaeologyuk.org/ba/ba66/feat2.shtml>
- 13 p18 *Nicholas Hilliard*: Erna Auerbach, 1961.
- 14 Stevenson, Joseph, ed., *Selections from Unpublished Manuscripts*, Maitland Club (1837), pp.200-1, 269-271: Calendar State Papers Scotland, vol.2 (1900), pp.380-1 no.595. This is the reference in Wikipedia for the date of the Earl's return from France.
- 15 p18 *Nicholas Hilliard*, Erna Auerbach, 1961.
- 16 <http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/higherscottishhistory/ageofreformation/jamesandthekirk/minorityofjames.asp>
- 17 *The Bannantyne Club* Wikipedia Entry
- 18 The actual draft treatise is kept in Edinburgh University.



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.



What do Ireland, Scotland, and Wales all have in common?

Kyra Kramer



The repeated attempts at cultural genocide by the English, and the willingness to fight cultural genocide tooth and nail. In hindsight, the English could not pry national identity of the Celts out of their cold, dead hands ... but it was not for the lack of trying.

Cultural genocide “is the systematic destruction of traditions, values, language, and other elements which make a one group of people distinct from other groups.” Since this article cannot encompass the centuries of colonialism and the pernicious secondary outcomes of modern globalism on culture (for more depth on the topic I recommend **The Broken Harp** by Tomas Mac Siomoin, **Making Sense of Wales** by Graham Day, and **The Origins of Scotland’s National Identity** by T. J. Dowds), I will concentrate on the beginnings, a clear place in history wherein English rulers first *purposefully* tried to erase the identity of the Irish, the Welsh, and the Scots.

The Welsh were the earliest targets of cultural imperialism and colonialism by the English, and would prove the prototype for the attempted destruction of national identity. The assault against the Welsh by English forces had been happening for most of the thirteenth century, with multiple attempts by Henry III to conquer the remaining independent principalities in Wales. Nonetheless, Llywelyn the Great was able to hold off the English and consolidate power, becoming the dominate Tywysog Cymru, or Prince of Wales.

Henry III’s son and heir, Edward I the Longshanks, also wanted to annex Wales, and to do that he had to go through Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, the grandson of Llywelyn the Great. For that end, Edward bribed Llywelyn’s younger brother, Dafydd ap Gruffudd, and Gruffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, the usurped Prince of Powys, to fight against Llywelyn by promising them both some of the Welsh lands

Llywelyn held. With the turncoat Dafydd and the would-be prince Gruffydd on his side, Edward was able to force Llywelyn to sue for peace in 1277. That is when Edward I revealed his true plan; to make Wales just another piece of England and all Welshmen into Englishmen. The Longshanks tried to strip away Welsh law and replace it was English law, and demanded tributes and homage from his new Welsh “vassals”, and kept giving away . Unhappy with the

In addition to killing the inhabitants of those countries, he stripped them of their symbols of nationality. He wanted no one to remain Welsh or Scots; it was Englishman or nothing. He had sadly underestimated the Welsh and Scots regarding their attachment to their heritage, but he did a lot of damage trying to enforce cultural uniformity.

Edward moved against the Welsh in 1277, and again in 1282. During the English conquest of Wales, English forces under Edward were accused of slaughtering the old, infirm, children, women, and priests during their rampages. When the English divided up the newly-annexed territory, thousands of Welsh peasants were uprooted from their farming lands and left to survive or starve on their own. The Welsh leader, Dafydd ap Gruffydd was ritualistically tortured to death in 1283, but a worse fate awaited his sons by Elizabeth Ferrers. Llywelyn ap Dafydd (b. 1267) was in his early teens when he was captured by the English after his father’s defeat, and his younger brother Owain ap Dafydd (b.1275) was only seven or eight. The boys were imprisoned in Bristol Castle under Edward’s orders, and there Llywelyn died “mysteriously” in 1287 or 1288, but Owain remained in captivity for the next forty or so years ... forced to sleep in “a wooden cage bound with iron”.

KYRA KRAMER

The Devil's Chalice

D.K. WILSON

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The Devil's Chalice

D.K. WILSON

Prologue



THE MAN WITH no name was taken in a covered wagon. It was dusk before the wagon arrived at its destination - the destination with no name. The flaps were unlaced. The man stretched as the wagoner helped him down. It had been a long journey.

Looking round, he was confronted by a massive stone wall, decayed and blotched with creeping ivy. Mounds of weed-robed rubble lay everywhere. From one, a horned devil glared stonily. A damp mist filtered through the elms bordering the track. The man shivered.

'This way.' His guide steered him along the wall to a heavy oak door – substantial yet seeming too small for the massive masonry in which it was set. Within seconds of the wagoner's heavy knock the door opened inwards. A whispered conversation and then the man was ushered inside.

The first thing he noticed was the smell – acrid, smoky, yet mingled with an aromatic fragrance he could not identify. The chamber was small and seemed even smaller because of the cluttered objects strewn and piled everywhere. The only light came from two candles set on iron pricket sticks standing on a trestle table in the centre of the room. The flames were reflected in bottles, jars and a large glass alembic which had pride of place among the scattered tools, books, papers and potted plants cramming the oaken surface.

As the door closed behind him the man peered into the surrounding gloom. To this moment, he had felt no anxiety about his self-imposed mission. Now his heart raced with sudden panic. This alien space clamped him like a carpenter's hand-vice. He started as something brushed against his leg. Glancing down, he saw a hooded crow hopping across the floor, trailing a silver chain. He stood motionless, left hand on his sword pommel, ears straining for any sound. None came save the sputtering of the cheap candles. What creatures might lurk in those tomb-dark corners or the blackened rafters above? Had he, perhaps, been lured into a trap? Was this scholar, supposedly skilled in arcane studies, in reality a cut-throat with a novel way of luring victims into this choking hellhole?

'Hello,' he called and the word sounded like a croak.

'Have you brought the money?' The voice came from behind him.

The man spun round.

The magus was standing by the door, his features partially obscured by the man's own shadow thrown by the candles. The man could make out a thin face; below it an unkempt dark beard; above it a square cap such as clergy wore. All else was only a faint outline. The long, black robe merged with the shadows as though its wearer had appeared from the darkness and might melt back into it at any moment.

'Have you brought the money?' The repetition was calm, emotionless.

'Er ... yes ...' The visitor fumbled in his purse and held out gold coins.

'Take the money to the table.'

The man turned – and let out a strangled cry. There on the other side of the table stood the magus. Not a breath before he had been by the door. There had been no movement in the room – or so his senses told him, and yet ...'

'Come, man, the money. We have not all night!'

Trembling the man advanced and let fall his fee upon the table.

'Good. There is your potion.' The magus pointed with a short wand to a phial of violet liquid.

The man stared at it. 'You're sure it will work?'

'It worked for the Bishop of Trier and the Elector of Brunswick. Why should it lose its potency for a mere English gentleman.'

'Oh, I ... I did not mean to suggest ...'

'But you must employ it properly. The potion must be administered when the moon is in cancer. That will be three and four days hence. Be sure that the elixir is served in a silver chalice and swallowed at one draught. Once administered you must say the Lord's Prayer and the Creed three times daily for seven days.'

'I see ... your ... yes ... Thank you.' The man reached for the phial.

Swiftly, the magus covered it with his left hand. 'One more thing is needful to conclude our business.' He pressed the sharp point of his wand against the flesh between the man's thumb and forefinger. A swift jab drew blood.

The man yelped and held the wound to his lips. 'What in the name ...?'

'A simple precaution.' The magus held out a clean kerchief. 'Wipe your hand with this.'

The man made no move to comply. 'There is trickery here. Poison on the cloth or some such devilry.'

The magus smiled. 'Devilry? No 'tis to avoid devilry that I need this safeguard. Wipe your hand. You will come to no harm.'

Cautiously the man dabbed the cut. The magus took the stained kerchief. 'Now I have your blood. I will know from it the moment you tell anyone of this meeting or in any way betray me.'

'Why should I do any such thing?'

'There are many who are enemies of the ancient ways. Someone might try to reach me through you. I have to protect myself in every way possible. If you should be persuaded to reveal to anyone what has passed between us today ... Well, let me just say that I would not want to send spirits to set a permanent lock upon your tongue.'

He held out the phial. 'Now, you will be anxious to return to London. I wish you safe journey.'

The man pouched his potion and turned towards the door, which was once more open. On the threshold, he thought of one question he had forgotten to ask.

When he looked round there was no sign of the magus.

SEE DEREK WILSON READ FROM HIS BOOK

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HlZPH1Zvnfc>



THE TUDOR SOCIETY

Members' Bulletin

Aren't the Tudors an interesting bunch of people! Their legacy, as we repeatedly see through the articles of the experts in the Tudor Society, still lasts today. As a member of the Tudor Society, I know that you love the Tudor period, and that's amazing.

We would like to ask you to consider either physically attending MadeGlobal's "An Evening with the Authors" event on 24 September (7:30pm UK) if you are able to, or if not, enrolling to be a part of the LIVE VIDEO STREAMING event that is being put on. Assuming all goes to plan, you'll be able to see and interact with many of the people who make up the Tudor Society, both members AND expert historians. People like Melanie Taylor (art history), Claire Ridgway (Anne Boleyn), Derek Wilson, Philip Roberts, Gareth Russell, Toni Mount, Sarah Bryson, Sandi Vasoli, Conor Byrne ... the list is HUGE ... will ALL be there and you'll be able to ask them questions about history. The event has panel discussions which should be amazing as they are on Henry VIII, Tudor affairs and the Medieval period.

DO NOT MISS THIS EVENT!

Please do get involved with the Tudor Society

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Music in the Royal Courts of Scotland

This month we learn all about the music of the Stewart Court in Scotland...

Jane Moulder

When discussing music of the British Isles in the 16th century, it seems that the focus is always on what was happening at the English Tudor Court. The musical worlds and tastes of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I dominate both the history books and the pages of the internet. But what about the music of the Stewart Court in Scotland? Was the music the same as in England? Were there the same musical styles? What instruments were played? What is known of the musicians? These, and many more questions can be difficult to answer but the evidence is there, although not as accessible as when researching English music of the period. In fact, in mentioning “Scottish music”, the picture that is often brought to mind is that of Celtic folk music, violins, harps and bagpipes, not the courtly music of the 16th century! Whilst there is no doubt that the Scottish Bard, the unique combination of poet, storyteller, historian and musician, was prevalent throughout the 16th century, there was an equally rich and vibrant musical culture taking place in the royal courts of Scotland.

The establishment of the Auld Alliance between Scotland and France is very well known in political terms as it gave rise to very strong links between the two kingdoms. But the influence of France and its European neighbours also had an impact on Scottish music and culture. In fact, one of the earliest Scottish collections of music, dating

from the 13th century and known as ‘Wolfenbüttel 677’ contains mainly French pieces, albeit infused with a localised style. That trend of French influenced music was to continue right through until the 16th century.

Accounts of French chansons, Italian viols and Anglo-Flemish sacred polyphony all being heard at the Scottish court indicate that 16th century Scotland was anything but an inward looking or isolated nation. These foreign influences were further strengthened by education and alliances forged through marriage. James V had a French governor as a young prince, he later married two French princesses and made frequent visits to French court, so it is not surprising that he brought what he saw and heard on those visits back to his home land.

Despite all this, sadly little “Scottish” music from this period survives even though there is evidence that each of the Stewart rulers had musical interests. At the beginning of the 15th century, James I of Scotland had a reputation as a poet and composer. He had been held captive in England for a number of years as a young man and on his return to his court he brought back English and continental musical styles to his homeland. He commissioned new music and instruments, including an organ, for his court in Scotland. From this same period, there are also records indicating that



a number of Scottish musicians travelled to the Netherlands to be trained before returning to Scotland to live and work.

The Chapel Royal of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I was renowned throughout Europe and, through personal royal patronage, many choral compositions were commissioned and performed. Like England, Scotland also had a Chapel Royal and a choir retained by the court for the performance of sacred music. Although there had been a chapel royal dating back to at least the early 13th century, it was re-founded by James IV in 1501 and based at Stirling Castle. He established a new and enlarged choir and it rapidly became the focus of Scottish liturgical music.

During the time of James V, the choir consisted of approximately 16 men as well as six boy choristers – a considerable size of choir. Sadly, the financial accounts are very sketchy from this time, so we don't know the names of any of the singers. It is also not clear whether the choir was permanently based at Stirling or whether it trav-

The Chapel Royal, Stirling Castle, Scotland built by James IV in 1501.

elled with the King when visiting other palaces such as Holyrood and Linlithgow. But we do know the choir sang at the opening of Parliament in Edinburgh in 1532. It also performed at the entry of Queen Madeleine to Scotland in 1537 as well as the coronation of Mary of Guise in 1540. The liturgical music of the period was influenced by French and Flemish fashion and the Chapel produced one of the most important Scottish composers of the early 16th century, Robert Carver (1488-1558). He was the Canon of Scone as well as Canon of the Chapel Royal. He composed some extremely fine sacred polyphonic music, which was of the highest quality. Today, Carver is overlooked and is somewhat in the shadow of William Byrd and Thomas Tallis of the English Chapel Royal. The music produced by the Scottish Chapel Royal at this time was described as “musick fyne” and Carver, along with other that of other composers, Robert Johnson and David Peebles, reflected and certainly matched the High Renaissance styles of Europe.



Anonymous portrait of James V

The Reformation, which commenced in Scotland in 1560, had a severe impact on church music. The song schools of the abbeys, cathedrals and collegiate churches were closed down, choirs disbanded, music books and manuscripts destroyed and organs removed from churches and destroyed, often by mobs of people. A few organs survived destruction, especially those in private hands or in the royal court. (In fact, organs would not start to return to churches in Scotland until the mid-19th century.) However, music in church was not to die out and the new Scottish Reformed Church began to adopt Lutheran chorale melodies as well as French and English psalms. A new generation of Scottish composers, including David Peebles, John Angus and John Buchan, set psalms to music and the first printed Scottish psalter appeared in 1564. Despite this, there was not any real provision for music in the new service structure, and with the organs largely destroyed, composition and performance of church music lapsed. There was an attempt to accommodate Catholic musical traditions into the new worship structure and in 1567 *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis* was published. This consisted of spiritual satires on popular ballad tunes and whilst never adopted by the Kirk, they were popular amongst the general populace and remained popular and were reprinted through to the 1620s.

Although the Reformation affected sacred music making throughout the country, music at court continued to be performed. The Scottish court had always been influenced by French, Burgundian and English styles and culture, no doubt reinforced by occasions such as the marriage of Margaret Tudor to James IV in 1503. James IV was known to play both the lute and the clavi-chord and employed a large musical staff. Their son, James V, was also known to be a talented lute player, and he introduced French chansons and consorts of viols to his court and was patron to a number of composers.

A marginal comment in a part book made by Thomas Wood, a clergyman of St Andrews, in 1562, describes James as musically knowledgeable and states that "*the King has a singular good ear and could sing that he had never seen before but his voice was rasky and harsh*". James V's musical interests were clearly passed on to his children as Mary, Queen of Scots, was a noted music lover.

Perhaps one of the reasons that Scottish Renaissance music has a poor reputation today is due to the paucity of surviving records and descriptions of musical activities as well as little surviv-

ing written music. This differs significantly from the records of the English court. For example, unlike the highly detailed inventories of Henry VIII, where all of the court instruments are listed, there are no surviving equivalent records detailing the goods owned by James V despite the fact that it is known that he purchased lutes and organs and employed many musicians. Our most valuable records are "*The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*". These detail the liveries and pensions of members of the royal household, including information on musicians in the service of the King. In all but a few cases these accounts contain the only known references to courtly musicians in Scotland during the mid-16th century – and even these are poor and incomplete.

The accounts note that a William Galbraith, a royal servant, was sent to buy a lute '*at the king's command*' in 1526. Again, on 14th October 1531 a lute and strings was purchased for the king costing 50s, and Galbraith purchased another lute in 1533. In 1537 a pair of organs was bought from William Calderwood for the huge sum of £66 13s 4d. The organ was for the King's chapel although it is not clear whether the chapel in question was at Stirling Castle or Holyrood Palace. As there are records of the Stirling Castle organs being repaired in 1532, it is likely that this is where the instrument was installed.

As with the English Tudor court, the Scottish records make a distinction as to whether the musicians were players of 'soft' or 'loud' instruments. Trumpeters, as always, were listed separately as their role was more 'ceremonial' than 'musical'. The Tudor court was populated by musicians from across Europe, and this was also the case with the Stewart court. It seems that a family of Italian musicians were employed by James IV and like the Bassanos, who worked for Henry VIII, they settled in their new homeland and further generations of the family continued to be employed by later Stewarts. However, unlike the Bassanos, they changed their name to sound more "Scottish", adopting the new name Drummond. Despite this, the records continue to refer to them as the Italians despite the second generation being Scottish born and raised. The Drummonds seemed to have been well respected musicians and on one occasion Sebastian Drummond was given leave to return to Italy to "*visit his friends*" but was also required to "*return in haste*". Looking at the accounts of the musicians, the names listed do not easily infer nationality. As well as the "Italian" Drummonds, a George Forest seems to have trained in Italy. A

Frenchman, named Anthony, looked after some of the instruments and another musician with the name Brown also seems to have been Italian. There was a tabor player (the tabor being a drum which would have been accompanied by a pipe) with the surname Taburner or Taverner and he appears to have been French. The court accounts indicate a number of regular payments to a variety of unnamed Italian minstrels and money was also paid to three French trumpeters and a French Viol (string) player called Jacques Columbell. Pipers are also mentioned as having worked and played at court but it is unclear whether this term refers to bagpipers or other wind instrument players.

According to the court accounts, all the musicians were fitted out with official livery in the Stewart's colours of yellow and red and it seems that the materials were of fine quality, such as satin, and their hats were adorned with ostrich feathers.

The musicians were employed for providing music for dancing, state banquets and great ceremonial occasions. The musicians would also travel with the king on his travels. For example, in 1536 they played at the reception for James V when he visited the Duke of Vendome (whose daughter he was engaged to marry): *"Then there was nothing but merriness, banqueting and great cheer and lusty communing between the king's grace and ladies, with great music and playing on instruments,*

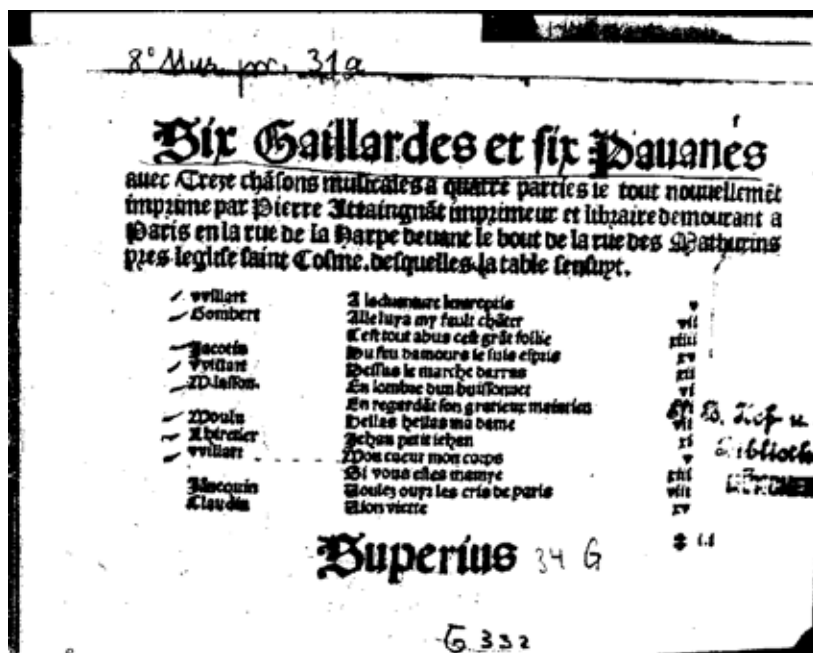
that is to say trumpets, shawms, lutes, viols, virginals and spinets and all other kind of instruments, playing melodiously with galliard dancing in masks and pretty farces and plays".

Whilst today we associate the bagpipe with Scotland, it is interesting to note that it hardly ever makes an appearance in the Stewart court accounts. Whilst we know that Henry Tudor employed at least one, if not more, bagpiper, a dedicated piper is missing from the Stewart household. However, that is not to say that there was an absence of bagpipes it's just that the surviving records are so poor. Another instrument linked with Scotland is the harp but, again, interestingly, the Stewart court did not employ a harpist. Despite this, there are three one-off payments made to a harper in 1520, 1529 and 1534 – this last payment was a *"clairsochtar"* indicating that it could have been an Irish or Highland harpist as clarsach is Gaelic for harp. The lute rather than the harp or bagpipe seems to have taken pride of place as the principal instrument of the Scottish court. This reflected the popular 16th century trend for the instrument, particularly evident in the English elite. As already noted, James V played the lute and again a number of foreign musicians were employed to play the instrument.

The other popular stringed instrument during the mid to late 16th century was the viol. This instrument was played in consort rather than as a

A depiction of a consort of viols





A title page from one of Pierre Attaignant's dance collections.

solo instrument. The instrument became fashionable at both the Italian and French courts at the beginning the 1530s and so it seems the Scottish court wanted to follow suit. In November 1535 an Englishman, Richard Hume, was given £20.00 to buy the materials to make a consort of four viols for the king. There then elapses a three year period with no mention of the instruments until in 1538, a Frenchman, Jacques Columbello, was employed to play them. Three other "ministrals" were also employed to play the rest of the consort. Like other musicians at court, they were also given a yearly wage and livery. Their appointment coincided with the arrival of Mary of Guise and it could be possible, that it was she who recommended Columbello or insisted that she should have viol music at her court.

Francis I of France was a great supporter of both the literary and musical arts and some of the most eminent composers of the day, such as Clement Janequin and Claudin de Sermisy, were present at his court. When visiting France and the French court, it is likely that James would have heard their music and even met them. The French chanson, developed by these two composers, would have provided rich musical material for the viol consort back at his court in Stirling. The French consort of viols remained in service well into the 1550's.

When examining the surviving Scottish songs and music of the period, it is easy to detect a definite "French feel" and the structure of them

follows that of the French chanson. One of the most significant factors that allowed the spread of French and Flemish musical styles within both England and Scotland was the establishment of the first single impression music printing techniques by Pierre Attaignant of Paris in 1530. With this new technique, printed music became more readily affordable and therefore much more available. We know that some of Attaignant's publications arrived in Scotland following a visit to Paris by James V for his first marriage to Madelaine of Valois in 1537. Despite knowing that James bought books of music in Paris, frustratingly the records don't indicate exactly which pieces they were.

The return of Mary, Queen of Scots from France in 1561 gave a new lease of life to the choir of the Chapel Royal, but the destruction of

Scottish church organs meant that instrumentation to accompany the mass had to employ bands of musicians with trumpets, drums, fifes, bagpipes and tabors. Like her father she played the lute, virginals and she was also a noted singer. Her reign yet again reinforced the French influences at the Scottish court and she also employed a number of foreign musicians, including David Rizzio. Rizzio rose in the ranks to become her Secretary, only to



David Rizzio, painted in 1564, holding and playing a lute.

be murdered by Lord Darnley who suspected him of adultery.

The young King, James VI, instructed that, in 1579, that statutes be passed commanding the revival of song schools, “*for the instruction of the youth in the art of music and singing The patrons and provosts of the college’s choir song scholars are founded to set up and sing with skill and the master should be sufficient and able for the instruction of the youth in the said science of music*” Song schools had been disbanded with the Reformation. They had initially been under the control of the church but once re-established by James, the song schools were the responsibility of the burgh. James VI must have loved song because during his reign, there is a clear fashion for setting poems and songs to dance music and popular tunes. The legacy of songs set to dance tunes is something that has continued in tfolk culture in Scotland to this day.

James VI was also clearly a lover of music as he encouraged the provision and development of music in a wide variety of forms. As well as song, popular music and dance, he was known to have composed and set psalms to music. The King also employed a number of his own musicians, the most well-known of which were a family of English musicians from York. The Hudsons had been originally employed by his father, Lord Darnley. They were both singers and musicians and they played the viol and whilst they did not appear to compose music, they no doubt influenced the type of music played at court. One of the Hudsons, Thomas, was also a respected French scholar. As well as performing music, the Hudsons were involved in other aspects of courtly life, including staging court masks and entertainments, carrying out treasury duties for the Chapel Royal and William Hudson received a fee of £100 for acting as dancing master to the king. The Hudsons were also granted licences to trade and they set up various merchant links for transporting goods from England.

Another eminent court musician was James Lauder. He had been employed by Mary, even being in attendance with her during her custody in Tutbury Castle, and, after her death, he continued to serve for James. He was commanded to buy a pair of virginals in London specifically for the king’s use.

Despite the view of the Protestant Kirk, which took a dim view of entertainments and theatre, James VI seems to have encouraged music and masks at court. There are surviving, if somewhat

sketchy accounts, of celebrations laid on for visiting ambassadors and dignitaries, which, of course, involved music. Whilst there are no surviving specific references to the repertoire played by the musicians at the Scottish courts, there are a number of records of dances being performed and there is no reason to suppose that they would have been other than the popular dances seen at other European royal courts. In “*The Complaynt of Scotland*” (a Scottish political piece of propaganda about the breaking of the alliance with England), printed in 1549, shepherds in the story are recounted as dancing the “*basse dances, pavans, galliards, tourdions, branles and buffons, with many other like dances*”. The instruments listed as being played by the shepherds include a “drone bagpipe, bladder pipe, reed pipe, cornpipe, hornpipe, recorder and fiddle). These dances and instruments would have been familiar to any court across Europe.

It is easy to dismiss or overlook the musical and cultural influences of the Scottish Stewart Court but this would be wrong. The fact that the records are sparse does not mean that this was a backward or inward looking court. Clearly the Stewarts looked to France, Flanders, England and the rest of Europe to gain inspiration for their musical tastes and whilst it would never be a fashion leader or shaper, it would be wrong to accuse the Scottish court of being behind the times. Polyphony of the highest standard was composed and performed at the Chapel Royal; each generation of Stewarts were patrons of the arts and brought many foreign musicians to live and work in Stirling, Edinburgh and elsewhere; the latest musical instruments were commissioned; music was composed and the latest dances were known and performed.

JANE MOULDER

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James VI as a young man in 1586

Charlie

THE PRIVATE LIVES OF THE TUDORS

by Tracy Borman

Our Books



Tracy Borman's latest book explores the lives of all of the Tudor monarchs; Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I. Many books only focus on Henry VIII and Elizabeth I due to their popularity, so it is refreshing to read more about the other monarchs.

The book is broken up into sections for each monarch and then chapters within those for the monarchs with longer reigns. Henry VIII, for obvious reasons, has the most chapters, followed by his daughter Elizabeth.

One thing I am glad of in *The Private Lives* is that Borman dispels many of the myths surrounding Henry VII's reign and character. One of the most common myths is that he was a bitter man who was only interested in money, however, the author shows us that this just isn't true:

'Henry VII has long had the reputation of a dour man, but he had a more light-hearted side. His household accounts reveal he was fond of playing cards, even though he regularly suffered heavy losses - most notably in June 1492 when he was obliged to raid the royal coffers for £40 (equivalent to almost £20,000 today) in order to pay his creditor.'

When he was younger, he was not so worried about money and was more fun than we give him credit for. It was only after he had lost his heir, Prince Arthur, followed months later by his wife and newborn, that he changed into the man we think of now.

With Henry VII being the first Tudor monarch, the author uses his reign to describe the ceremonies and rituals associated with royal marriages. His marriage to Elizabeth of York is an obvious example and, as well as giving an insight into the event as a historian, she also describes it in an almost story-like way. She tries to get into the mind of the couple but still stay distanced as an expert and outsider. The couple couldn't relax until they had an heir to continue the line, which was emphasised even in the food they were served:

'In between each course the royal couple would have been served with a 'subtlety' - a lavish sculpture of marchpane (marzipan) or spun sugar, covered with gold leaf. A popular design for weddings was a model of the new wife shown in the last stages of pregnancy - just in case she was not already aware of what was expected of her.'

Borman then explores one controversy surrounding Henry and Elizabeth's marriage, whether they had consummated it earlier. She looks at both sides of the argument, evaluating and not letting her own views get in the way, and allows the reader to make their own conclusions. She even tries to assign plausible reasons as to why they may have consummated their union before the wedding:

'Given the vital importance of producing an heir, Henry may have bedded Elizabeth early because he believed she would be more likely to conceive than on the wedding day itself'. There were some claims that 'if a wife hated her husband, her womb would not open' and so 'the pressures of the wedding night, with all of its exhausting ceremonies and formalities, were hardly conducive to female pleasure. Henry might therefore have resolved to ensure his betrothed's enjoyment in more relaxed conditions before the night itself'.

Despite having a lot of information on the children, Borman confesses that the contemporary sources do not mention how long Elizabeth was in labour. She does not speculate, as some historians do, instead just mentioning *'at one o'clock in the morning of 20 September, she gave birth to a longed-for prince. Henry VII's fledgeling Tudor dynasty had taken a step closer to security'*.

Elizabeth of York's death is another interesting subject that the author touches on. Using modern medical knowledge and contemporary sources, we can make assumptions as to what she died of:

'The queen's symptoms are not clear, but it is possible that she had succumbed to a post-partum infection such as puerperal fever, or that she was suffering the consequences of iron-deficiency anaemia. The more babies a woman bore, the greater the risk of sickness or death due to the increased physical toll on her body, coupled with her advancing age. The infant princess also began to wane, and on 10 February she died. Elizabeth followed her to the grave the following day, her thirty-seventh birthday.'

In the section on Henry VIII, the pregnancies of the iconic king's wives are a common theme. Catherine of Aragon's pregnancies, in particular, are explored in great detail, due to the frequency and significance of her losses. Borman explores several theories as to

why she lost so many children, including Henry VIII having syphilis, Catherine having a rhesus negative blood type, her frequent fasting, and poor hygiene. Once again the author suggests what she thinks was the major factor without pushing it too much on the reader.

Henry VIII's Great Matter is explored in great detail in many books, however, probably due to this, Borman does not go into the matter much. She does bring up something that many have left out, the fact that there was a war of clothing between Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn, which was particularly interesting:

'Personal attire was one of the foremost weapons in the increasingly public battle between Anne Boleyn and Catherine of Aragon. When, in June 1527, Henry told his wife that he had begun to doubt the validity of their marriage, one of Catherine's first responses was to dress more richly than before. Determined to assert her superiority over Anne, she doubled her expenditure on dress that year, as her wardrobe accounts prove.'

Some of Borman's assertions have been questioned in other works, such as the report that Anne wanted to breastfeed Elizabeth, which may not be true:

'It was highly unusual for a queen to keep her child with her, rather than entrusting it to the royal nursery, but Anne went further still by declaring her intention to breastfeed Elizabeth herself. This was such a shocking concept that it called into question Anne's suitability as queen. When he heard of it, the king was outraged and insisted that Anne employ a wet-nurse as her predecessors had done.'

This still seems highly unlikely, as Anne would have known that this was not the way queens acted, and Borman does not explain why she believes this story. Although a doubtful story to some people, it does not detract too much from the quality of her work.

The author only briefly covers Edward VI's reign, yet she does give a sound explanation for his death, and even mentions the surprising yet interesting fact that he was the only Tudor monarch to keep a diary. As well as this, she explains that he was not the sickly child that many imagine him to be, instead, he rarely became sick and was a fairly normal boy. The reason

why Edward died, Borman states, was down to a previous illness suppressing his immune system:

'In April 1552, Edward recorded in his journal that he was 'sick of the measles and smallpox'... Although the young king recovered, declaring that 'we have shaken that quite away', his constitution may have been fatally weakened. Measles can suppress natural immunity to tuberculosis, and it is likely that Edward contracted this soon afterwards - with fatal results.'

After mentioning Lady Jane Grey (or Queen Jane's) short-lived reign, she focuses on Mary I and her phantom pregnancies. As she has done previously, she puts forward her own theories as to what caused the pregnancies and her subsequent death, explaining it clearly and confidently to the reader:

'A number of theories have been put forward by modern-day medical experts as to the cause of Mary's condition. One is that she had an ovarian tumour, which would have explained her lack of periods, swollen abdomen and frequent stomach pains... Her symptoms are also synonymous with prolactinoma, a benign tumour of the pituitary gland. This condition often causes infertility and changes in menstruation, with some women losing their periods altogether. Women who are not pregnant or nursing may begin producing breast milk.'

One detail I find particularly interesting in *The Private Lives* is that Elizabeth I may have thought about her mother more than we think. Other than the locket ring, which contains a miniature of a woman that is most likely her mother, we do not read of many other occasions in which Anne is mentioned. However, Borman disagrees with this popular assumption:

'The fact that Elizabeth seldom referred to Anne Boleyn has been taken as an indication that she shared her late father's distaste for the fallen queen. But Elizabeth's personal possessions suggest otherwise. These included a beautiful linen damask napkin that was made for her in the Flemish town of Kortrijk. It was embroidered with two busts of Elizabeth, above which were the falcons of Anne's emblem, together with her coat of arms'

I would strongly recommend this book to anyone who is interested in the Tudor dynasty, especially their relationships and lives behind closed doors. Tracy Borman confidently proposes many suggestions for certain illnesses or actions, yet still leaves the reader the privilege of coming to their own conclusions. Her expertise comes through clearly, yet her work is easy to read and understand, as well as being enjoyable. It is a large book, which may be daunting for some people, but, once started, it is hard to put down.

CHARLIE FENTON



The Tudor Society would like to extend their congratulations to Charlie Fenton for her amazing exam results. We hear that Charlie will be studying Ancient, Medieval and Modern History at the University of Kent. We can't think of a better match of person and degree.

Just as important ... Charlie has confirmed that she'll be carrying on as the book reviewer for the Tudor Society, so we'll still be able to benefit from her hard work.

WELL DONE CHARLIE!

Exclusive Tudor Society Books Available from September

Henry VII



Henry VIII



Edward VI



Jane Grey



Mary I



Elizabeth I





OLGA HUGHES' Tudor Kitchen

A tale of toasted cheese

"I do love cause boby, good roasted cheese" declared the Welsh physician Andrew Boorde in his 1542 Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge. It may be difficult to picture the Tudors tucking in to a grilled cheese sandwich, but toasted, or "roasted", cheese was a popular Tudor menu item.



Savoury Toasted or Melted Cheese

It is apparent that roasted cheese was a Welsh favourite, as evidenced by the medieval tale of St Peter tricking the Welsh out of Heaven.

Find written among olde jests how God made St Peter porter of heaven. And that God of his goodness suffered many men to come to the kingdom with small deserving. At which time, there was in heaven a great company of Welshmen which with which with their krakyng and babelyng troubled all the others.

Wherefore God says to St. Peter that he was weary of them and would fayne have them out of heaven. To whom St Peter said, 'Good Lord, I warrant you that shall be shortly done'. Wherefore St Peter went outside of heaven's gates and cried with a loud voice, 'Cause Bobe! Cause Bobe', that is as much as to say 'Roasted cheese!' Which thing the Welshmen hurrying ran out of heaven a great pace. . . And when St Peter saw them all out he suddenly went into Heaven and locked the door! ¹

The original "Rabbits", or "Rarebits" as they are now known, were cheese sauces poured over

Cut pieces of quick, fat, rich, well tasted cheese, (as the best of Brie, Cheshire, or sharp thick Cream-Cheese) into a dish of thick beaten melted Butter, that hath served for asparagus or the like, or pease, or other boiled Sallet, or ragout of meat, or gravy of Mutton: and, if you will, Chop some of the Asparagus among it, or slices of Gambon of Bacon, or fresh-collops, or Onions, or cibols, or Anchovies, and set all this to melt upon a Chafing dish of Coals, and stir all well together, to Incorporate them; and when all is of an equal consistence, strew some White-Pepper on it, and eat it with toasts or crusts of White-bread. You may scorch it at the top with a hot Fire-Shovel.

toasted bread. There is much discussion over the name of the dish, and the Oxford Dictionary suggests "Rabbit" has been folk-etymologised; although "Rarebit" doesn't seem to have much more of a connection with cheese. The first record of the "Welsh Rabbit" that has been discovered thus far is in John Byron's *Literary Remains* (1725): 'I did not eat of cold beef, but of Welsh rabbit and stewed cheese.' Whatever the origins of the word, in Tudor times it was "something of a national

dish" in Wales.²

*"The Welchman he loves toasted cheese, and makes his mouth like a mouse-trap."*³

The cheese sauce on a Welsh Rabbit might use Cheddar, mixed with butter or mustard, beer or wine. There are variations on the Welsh Rabbit; with a poached egg on top it is known as "Buck Rabbit", "American Rabbit" has whisked egg whites, an "English Rabbit" has wine-soaked bread, "Irish rabbit" adds onions, gherkins, vinegar, and herbs and "Yorkshire rabbit" is served with bacon and a poached egg.⁴

There are plenty of medieval and Tudor recipes that contain grilled or baked cheese, such as early

¹ adapted from Hazlitt, William Carew, *A hundred merry tales: the earliest English jest-book*, 1887, <<https://archive.org/details/hundredmerrytale00hazl>>

² Wilson, C. Anne, *Food and Drink in Britain: From the Stone Ages to Medieval Times*, Penguin Books 1984, pp. 147

³ Kitchiner, William, *The Cook's Oracle and Housekeeper's Manual*, 1830 [online]<<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/28681/28681-h/28681-h.htm>>

⁴ "The origin of Welsh rabbit (rarebit)" Oxford Dictionaries, [online]<<http://blog.oxforddictionaries.com/2014/07/origin-welsh-rabbit/>> (accessed July 2016)

pasta recipes and recipes for quiche-like cheese pies. But written recipes for “Rabbits” seem to come much later on. One of the earliest I could find was a delicious, fondue-like recipe from Sir Kenelm Digby from 1669.

Iron “salamanders”, an instrument made of cast iron, with a thick round flat plate attached to a long handle, were used for browning cheese. The plate was heated in the fire and held over food to broil or toast it. As they would have been expensive many recipes, such as Sir Kenelm’s, state that a fire-shovel will do the same.

Mrs. Bradley’s recipe for Welsh Rabbit from 1756 gives very precise instructions for cooking and serving:

Mrs. Bradley’s welch Rabbit (London: 1756)

Cut a handsome piece of Bread and an even Slice of Cheese, let the Bread be of the Shape of the Cheese, but a little larger every Way. Put a Salamander in the fire, or a large Poker, or the Bottom of a Fire-Shovel will do. While the Iron is heating toast the Bread carefully on both Sides, without making it hard or burning it. Then toast the Cheese on one Side, lay the Bread in a Plate, lay the Cheese upon it with the toasted Side downwards, hold the red hot Iron over the other Side to toast and brown that. Put a little Mustard on it, and send it up very hot. Two should go up together.

Hannah Glasse’s recipes from 1774 give a very simple version of Scotch and Welsh rabbit, with more elaborate English Rabbits.



To Make a Scotch rabbit

Toast the bread very nicely on both sides, butter it, cut a slice of cheese about as big as the bread, toast it on both sides, and lay it on the bread.

To make a welsh rabbit

Toast the bread on both sides, then toast the cheese on one side, lay it on the toast, and with a hot iron brown the other side. You may rub it over with mustard.

To make an English Rabbit

Toast the bread brown on both sides, lay it in a plate before the fire, pour a glass of red wine over it, and let it soak the wine up; then cut some cheese very thin and lay it very thick over the bread, and put it in a tin oven before the fire, and it will be toasted and browned presently. Serve it away hot.

Or do it thus.

Toast the bread; and soak it in the wine, set it before the fire, cut your cheese in very thin slices, rub butter over the bottom of a plate, lay the cheese on, pour in two or three spoonfuls of white

wine, cover it with another plate, set it over a chafing dish of hot coals for two or three minutes, then stir it till it is done and well mixed. You may stir in a little mustard; when it is enough lay it on the bread, just brown it with a hot shovel. Serve it away hot.

William Kitchener, in 1830, takes his grilled cheese very seriously indeed.

Toast and Cheese

Cut a slice of bread about half an inch thick; pare off the crust, and toast it very slightly on one side so as just to brown it, without making it hard or burning it.

Cut a slice of cheese (good fat mellow Cheshire cheese, or double Gloster, is better than poor, thin, single Gloster) a quarter of an inch thick, not so big as the bread by half an inch on each side: pare off the rind, cut out all the specks and rotten parts, and lay it on the toasted bread in a cheese-toaster; carefully watch it that it does not burn, and stir it with a spoon to prevent a pellicle forming on the surface. Have ready good mustard, pepper and salt.

If you observe the directions here given, the cheese will eat mellow, and will be uniformly done, and the bread crisp and soft, and will well deserve its ancient appellation of a “rare bit.”

Toasted Cheese, No. 2.

We have nothing to add to the directions given for toasting the cheese in the last receipt, except that in sending it up, it will save much time in portioning it out at table, if you have half a dozen small silver or tin pans to fit into the cheese-toaster, and do the cheese in these: each person may then be helped to a separate pan, and it will keep the cheese much

hotter than the usual way of eating it on a cold plate.

Mem. Send up with it as many cobbles as you have pans of cheese.

Obs.— Ceremony seldom triumphs more completely over comfort than in

the serving out of this dish; which, to be presented to the palate in perfection, it is imperatively indispensable that it be introduced to the mouth as soon as it appears on the table.

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SEPTEMBER'S ON THIS

1 September
1566

Birth of **Edward Alleyn**, actor, theatre entrepreneur and founder of Dulwich College and Alleyn's School, in the parish of St Botolph without Bishopsgate, London. The business side of his career saw him partnering with **Philip Henslowe** and becoming part owner of the Rose Theatre, the Paris Garden and the Fortune Theatre.

2 September
1554

Anthony Browne, son of Sir Anthony Browne, was created 1st Viscount Montagu as part of the celebrations for **Mary I's** marriage to **Philip of Spain**.

3 September
1597

Death of Sir **John Norreys**, military commander, at his brother Thomas's home, Norris Castle in Mallow, co. Cork. He died in his brother's arms.

4 September
1590

Death of Sir **James Croft**, Lord Deputy of Ireland. Croft was one of the leaders of Wyatt's Rebellion in 1554, but was eventually pardoned.

9 September
1543

The infant **Mary, Queen of Scots**, daughter of **James V**, King of Scotland, was crowned queen at Stirling Castle.

10 September
1547

The *Battle of Pinkie Cleugh*, part of the *War of the Rough Wooing* between England and Scotland. It took place near Musselburgh, in Scotland, on the banks of the River Esk. The English forces, led by **Edward Seymour**, Duke of Somerset, defeated the Scots, killing thousands.



11 September
1561

Mary, Queen of Scots began her first royal progress, visiting, amongst other places, Holyrood Palace, Dundee and Edinburgh.

12 September
1573

Sudden death of **Archibald Campbell**, 5th Earl of Argyll, Protestant reformer and a leading politician in the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots.

16 September
1541

King **Henry VIII** entered the city of York through Walmgate Bar, and was met by the city's officials at Fulford Cross.

17 September
1558

Death of **Walter Devereux**, 1st Viscount Hereford, at the Devereux seat at Chartley in Staffordshire.

18 September
1559

The fifteen year-old **Francis II** was crowned King of France at Rheims by the Cardinal of Lorraine, following the death of his father **Henry II** in July 1559 after a jousting accident. **Mary, Queen of Scots** was Francis' consort.

19 September
1560

Baptism of **Thomas Cavendish**, explorer, navigator and privateer, known for his imitation of **Francis Drake's** circumnavigation of the globe.

23 September
1568

Battle of *San Juan de Ulúa*, near present day Veracruz, Mexico, between Spanish forces and English privateers led by **John Hawkins**. The Spanish forces were victorious.



Mary, Queen of Scots

26 Sept
1580

Sir **Francis Drake** arrived at the port of Plymouth in the *Golden Hind*, which was laden with treasure and spices after his three year world voyage.


27 Sept
1501

At 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the fifteen year-old **Catherine of Aragon** left the port of Laredo in Spain for England to marry **Arthur, Prince of Wales**.

28 Sept
1582

Death of **George Buchanan**, Scottish historian, humanist scholar and poet.

DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

5 September 1569 Death of Edmund Bonner , Bishop of London, a man nicknamed “Bloody Bonner” In Mary I ’s reign, he was in charge of burning reformers in London, hence his nickname. He was imprisoned in Elizabeth I’s reign for refusing to follow the “Book of Common Prayer”, and for refusing to take the “Oath of Supremacy”.	6 September 1578 Sir Francis Drake and his ship, the <i>Golden Hind</i> (or <i>Pelican</i> as it was called then), entered the Pacific Ocean on its circumnavigation of the globe.	7 September 1587 Burial of Richard Barnes , Bishop of Durham during Elizabeth I ’s reign, in the choir of Durham Cathedral.	8 September 1462 Birth of Henry Medwall , playwright. His 1497 play “ <i>Fulgens and Lucre</i> ” is the first known secular play written in English.	
13 September 1598 Death of Philip II of Spain at El Escorial, near Madrid. He was buried there the next day. It is thought that he died of cancer, and he had been ill for fifty-two days.	 Replica of the Golden Hind		14 September 1585 Sir Francis Drake set sail from England on a mission to raid Spanish ports. He had royal approval for these raids, and raids in the West Indies.	
20 Sept 1554 Death of Sir William Paston , courtier and landowner. Paston was the one chosen to welcome Anne of Cleves to court in January 1540.			21 September 1579 Burial of Sir Edward Fitton , president of Connacht and Thomond, He was buried at St Patrick’s Cathedral in Dublin, Ireland.	15 September 1564 The final day of Mary, Queen of Scots ’ fourth progress.
24 Sept 1516 Birth of Richard Pate , lawyer, member of Parliament and refounder of Cheltenham Grammar School, now known as Pate’s Grammar School.			22 September 1515 Anna von Jülich-Kleve-Berg , or Anne of Cleves , was born near Düsseldorf	
25 September 1586 Mary, Queen of Scots was moved to Fotheringhay Castle in Northamptonshire.				
29 Sept 1528 The papal legate, Cardinal Lorenzo Campeggio , landed at Dover on the Kent coast. Michaelmas, or the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels	30 Sept 1515 Margaret Tudor , sister of Henry VIII and former Queen Consort of James IV , fled to England. Margaret was pregnant with the child of her new husband, Archibald Douglas 6th Earl of Angus.			



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~OCTOBER~
TUDOR LIFE MAGAZINE

THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE

ROLAND HUI

Negative portrayals of
Jane Seymour

CONOR BYRNE

16TH century attitudes to queenship

STEPHANIE A. MANN

The Pilgrimage of Grace

TIMOTHY VENNING

What if? Part 2

BETH VON STAATS

Richard Rich and the dissolution
court cases

JANE MOULDER

A double agent

DON'T MISS
OUR MONTHLY
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