

# TudorLife

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TUDOR  
SOCIETY

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## Tudor Propaganda

The Tudor Sense of  
the Past

Barren and Blessed

The Propaganda of  
Spectacle

AND

NEW YEAR'S  
GIFTS

# TUDOR



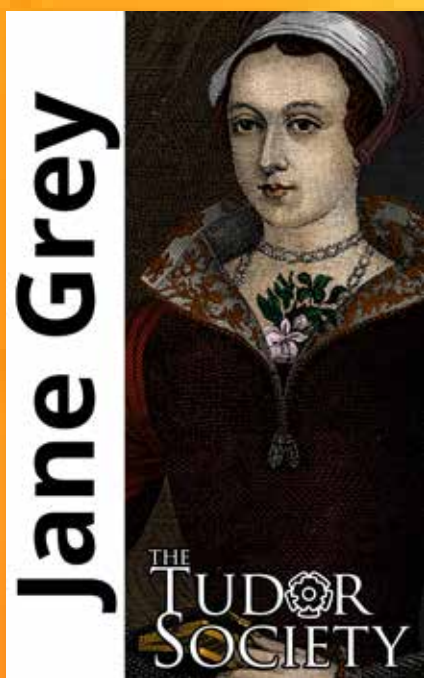
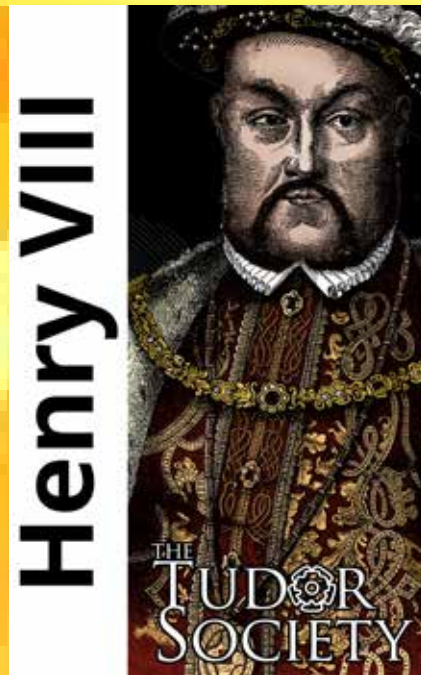
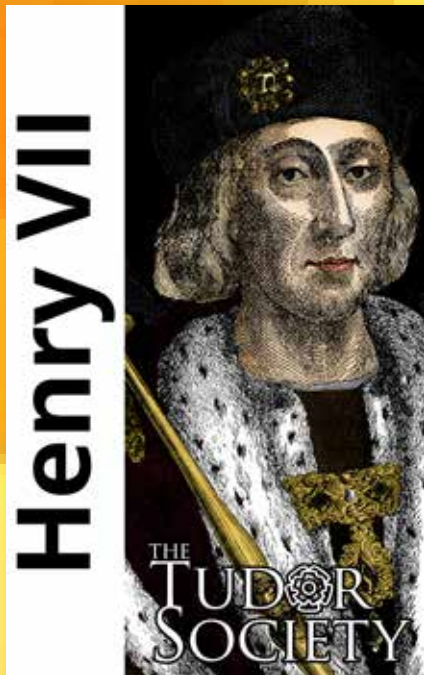
# Propaganda



*William  
Salesbury*

**Selfless propagandist**  
*by James Pierce*

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# HAPPY NEW YEAR!

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For those of us born in the second half of the 20th century, it's impossible to have any other view of propaganda than dread. The horrors it justified and even celebrated under fascist and Communist regimes justly earned it the suspicion and hatred of subsequent generations. Yet, as we have the pleasure of a competition to win a copy of James Pierce's new book *The Life and Work of William Salesbury*, it's important to remember that many of the Tudors' subjects regard propaganda as a force for good. William Salesbury was a Welsh scholar who became the principality's Deputy Attorney General in 1532. His learning and connections played a vital role in helping to secure the survival of the Welsh language, but as James Pierce shows in his article in this month's issue, Salesbury often pursued this goal alongside his desire to publish propaganda justifying the religious policies of Henry VIII and Edward VI. Propaganda, in music, art, and literature shaped not just people's obedience to their government, but also, as Lauren Browne argues, the country's very idea of its heritage. In contrast, regular columnist Conor Byrne discusses how, in the centuries since, gender prejudice and academia became a kind of propaganda inflicted upon the Tudor sovereigns, rather than by them. The multi-faceted legacy of Tudor propaganda forms the backbone to this month's issue.

**GARETH RUSSELL**

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# Tudor Life

## Contents

**2** MARY NORRIS, LADY CAREW  
*by Teri Fitzgerald*

**5** WILLIAM SALESBURY, C.1507-C.1584  
The selfless propagandist  
*by James Pierce*

**17** TUDOR ARTIST WORDSEARCH  
*by Tim Ridgway*

**18** THE TUDOR SENSE OF THE PAST  
*by Lauren Browne*

**24** BARREN AND BLESSED  
The propagandistic historiography of the  
Tudor Queens  
*by Conor Byrne*

**30** HISTORIC BRIDGEND  
*by Councillor David Unwin*

**38** THE PROPAGANDA OF SPECTACLE  
*by Jane Moulder*



# JANUARY



2

**52** TO MAKE CLARETT WINE WATER  
*from Elinor Fettiplace's Receipt Book*

**53** MEMBERS' BULLETIN  
*by Tim Ridgway*

**54** THREE SISTERS, THREE QUEENS  
BY PHILIPPA GREGORY - BOOK REVIEW!  
*by Charlie Fenton*

**56** JANUARY'S ON THIS DAY IN HISTORY  
*by Claire Ridgway*

10

18

# Mary Norris, Lady Carew

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In January 1541, Henry VIII's young queen Katherine presented gifts of jewellery to each of the king's daughters, and to her favourites: Lady Baynton, Lady Surrey, Lady Rutland, Lady Margaret Douglas and "to the Lady Carew, late Mrs. Norrys, against her marriage" ...

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BY TERI FITZGERALD

CO-AUTHOR OF "GREGORY CROMWELL: TWO PORTRAIT  
MINIATURES BY HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER" WITH  
DIARMAID MACCULLOCH

**M**ary Norris (c.1522-1570), was the daughter of Henry Norris (d. 1536) courtier, second son of Sir Edward Norris and his wife Frideswide, daughter of Francis, viscount Lovel, and Mary Fiennes. Her mother was the daughter of Thomas Fiennes, 8<sup>th</sup> Baron Dacre, and Anne Bouchier, daughter of Sir Humphrey Bourchier and Elizabeth Tilney. Elizabeth Tilney, the only child of Sir Frederick Tilney and Elizabeth Cheney, married as her second husband, Thomas Howard, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Norfolk, establishing a connection to the Howard family.

Portrait of Henry Norris or Norreys,  
1st Baron Norris of Rycote, c.1585



Mary Fiennes accompanied Mary Tudor to France for her marriage to Louis XII in 1514 and, after the king's untimely death in early 1515, remained in France in the service of Queen Claude. On her return to England, she joined the household of Queen Catherine of Aragon, whom she attended at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520, and soon afterwards married Henry Norris, Henry VIII's Groom of the Stool. The couple would have three children: Mary (c.1522-1570), Edward (1524-1529) and Henry (later Baron Norris of Rycote) (c.1525-1601). Following the king's repudiation of his first wife, she went on to serve her successor, Queen Anne Boleyn.

Y o u n g Mary's mother died, probably in 1533 and after her father's execution in May 1536, she was appointed to the household of the king's daughter, Elizabeth.<sup>1</sup> She would briefly serve as a maid of honour to Jane Seymour in 1537, and following Queen Jane's untimely demise following the birth of a son, subsequently served as maid of honour to Anne of Cleves and her cousin, Katherine Howard, then as Lady-in-waiting to Catherine Parr.

In late 1540 Mary married the dashing soldier and naval commander, Sir George Carew (c.1504-1545).<sup>2</sup> Her royal mistress,

Queen Katherine Howard presented Lady Carew with a necklace as a New Year's gift in 1541 in honour of her marriage.<sup>3</sup> Around the time of her marriage, it is not improbable that her likeness was captured by the king's painter Hans Holbein along with that of her husband. An unidentified woman who has, by tradition, been associated with

Katherine Howard is more likely to be one of the ladies of her household. The seventeen-year-old sitter's clothing and jewels are not sufficiently grand for a queen, and she might indeed be Mary Norris.<sup>4</sup>

T r a g e d y struck on 19 July, 1545 with the sinking in battle of Henry VIII's flagship, the Mary Rose and the death of her husband. Wearing full armour and the whistle placed around his neck by the king, vice-admiral Sir George Carew perished

along with almost all of the 500 men on board. Watching from Southsea Castle a mile away, Lady Carew fainted at the sight and was attended by the king.<sup>5</sup>

In 1546 Lady Carew remarried, as his first wife, Sir Arthur Champernowne (c.1524-1578). Sir Arthur was the second son of Sir Philip Champernowne and Catherine, daughter of Sir Edmund Carew. He was a nephew of Kate Ashley (née



PORTRAIT OF SIR HENRY NORRIS OF RYCOTE  
 PORTRAIT OF SIR HENRY NORRIS OF RYCOTE,  
 Attrib. John Decritz the Elder

Sir George Carew, c.1532-43,  
Hans Holbein the Younger

S G. Carow Kni





An unidentified woman c.1532-43,,  
Hans Holbein the Younger





Champernowne), former governess and later close friend and confidante of Elizabeth I.<sup>6</sup>

Although her first marriage had been childless, this union would produce five sons: Gawen, Philip, Charles, George and Edward as well as a daughter, Elizabeth.<sup>7</sup>

Lady Champernowne died at Dartington Hall, Devon in 1570 and was buried 24 October. Her husband died at Dartington on 1 April 1578. Dartington Hall, acquired by Sir Arthur in 1559, remained in the Champernowne family until 1925.



A Lady called Catherine Howard  
(after Hans Holbein the Younger),  
Henry Pierce Bone

## Notes and Sources

1. LP x, 1187, 2(ii).
2. ODNB 'Carew, Sir George'.
3. LP xvi, 1389. The inventory is BL Stowe MS 599, ff. 55-68.
4. The cameo worn by the sitter appears to depict two heads, possibly male and female (Zeus and Hera?) symbolising marriage. See Ainsworth, Maryan W., and Joshua P. Waterman. ; contributions by Timothy B. Husband [and six others]. *German paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1350-1600*. New York : Metropolitan Museum of Art ; New Haven : Distributed by Yale University Press, 2013. 155-57, 306-7, no. 37, ill. (colour) and figs. 130-31.
5. Phillipps, Sir Thomas. *The lyffe of Sir Peter Carew of Mohun Ottery, co. Devon*. Communicated by Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., F.R.S., F.S.A. in a letter to Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary. *Archaeologia: or miscellaneous tracts relating to antiquity*. 1840, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 96-151 at pp. 110-111.
6. HPO Members 1509-1558 Champernon (Chamberlain, Chamborne), Sir Arthur (by 1524-78), of Modbury and Dartington, Devon.; ODNB 'Champernowne, Sir Arthur'.
7. Vivian, J. L. *The visitations of the county of Devon : Comprising the herald's visitations of 1531, 1564, & 1620*. [1895]. p. 163.





Dartington Hall in autumn sunshine  
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TUDOR LIFE EXCLUSIVE

# William Salesbury, c.1507-c.1584, the selfless propagandist

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*By James Pierce*

In 1550 William Salesbury, scholar and Deputy Attorney General for Wales, wrote two works of Protestant propaganda, *The baterie of the Popes Botereulx*, [Battlements] commonlye called the high Altare and *A Certaine Case Extracte*. Both were printed by Robert Crowley, a radical priest and outspoken critic of the conspicuous profligacy of the governing class.

Crowley was a close and supportive colleague of Salesbury and a prominent member of the political circle of Nicholas Ridley, the bishop of London, who had ordered the destruction of all the stone altars in

his diocese. The command was carried out over the Whitsun weekend of 1550. Just one altar, St Paul's, was spared, but its reprieve was brief; the following month it, too, fell to the iconoclasts' hammers.

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*Bishop Nicholas Ridley, later a Protestant martyr (Source: Anglican Rose)*

The Council was alarmed at the strength of feeling that the destruction had provoked and wrote to Ridley requesting him to, "cause to be declared to the people by some discreet preachers" the reasons for the royal policy, "to persuade the weak

to embrace our proceedings in this part." One of those who took up the defence was Salesbury. It is not known whether he was approached directly by Ridley or if it was a unilateral act which went on to gain the

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*Richard Rich, William Salesbury's superior as Attorney General of Wales (Source: Luminarium)*

bishop's approval. Salesbury was not a preacher, but he was his nation's senior lawyer. (Richard Rich, Sir Thomas More's betrayer, had been appointed Attorney General for Wales in 1532, but his perpetual absence from the principality meant that Salesbury,

as his deputy, was the de facto holder of the post.)

Salesbury praises Ridley, "the victorious Metropolitane of Englande" and "grand captaine", and Cranmer, "chiefe undermyner" [of the Pope's battlements], and sustains the mili-

# TUDOR LIFE EXCLUSIVE

tary metaphor throughout the book's ninety eight octavo pages.

In one section he recalls his Catholic childhood in Wales, "Whan I was a holye Papiste, at what tyme I was at thys poynte wyth god. That if I had hearde masse boeth Sondaye and holye day, had sayde our Lady Mattens, or our ladyespsalter, kissed and lycked devoutly saintes fete (for so called thei their images) and besprinkled my selfe well favouredlye with conjured water ... "

The strength of his commitment to the new religion is never in doubt, but what is notable about Salesbury's book is that although the language is strong:-

*... as one of the best lerned papistical Doctors in England gave me occasion by defending his aultares, and that with toth and nayle and fumish fearcenes, rather with the auctoritie of wrested Scriptures*

it is never coarse. Nor does he resort to personal abuse, as did John Ponet who would later routinely refer to Cardinal Pole as "Carnal Phoole" and Edmund Bonner as "the Arch-butcher of London". (Even the saintly William Tyndale referred to Wolsey as "Wolfsee".) Nor did Salesbury resort to the scatological language that Thomas More and Martin Luther hurled at each other.

Salesbury's work is the product of humanism. Just as his great hero, Erasmus, would have done, he presents both sides of the argument and does so fairly. His language is that of a scholarly lawyer, full of the rhetorical techniques of the Classical world, but especially those of Cicero. He is especially fond of the tricolon: "to suppress, beate downe, and utterly abolish al vayne supersticion", "to favoure, upholde, and maintaine".

## The medium is the message

The other polemic of that year was *A Certaine Case Extracte*, which supported the marriage of priests. That particular controversy (the act had been passed in 1549) had pre-dated the destruction of the altars and so it is likely that this was the work that had brought him to Ridley's attention. The book is very brief, just eight pages. What is most notable about it is its bilingualism. (Its Welsh title is *Ban wedy i dynny air*.)

The case extract of the title is taken from the tenth century laws of King Hywel Dda and it is the Welsh element that is the most significant part of the work. Indeed, it is the prime motive for its appearance. There was no real need for this book. John Ponet's *A Defence for Mariage of Priestes, by Scripture and aunciente Wryters* (1549) had made the case forcefully and persuasively and the public's attention was now focused on other matters, but Salesbury understood that propaganda can be a far more nuanced affair than merely putting forth arguments.

In 1547, in the preface to his second book, a collection of Welsh proverbs, inspired by Erasmus's *Adagia*, he had called for the translation of the scriptures into Welsh. No one supported him. Salesbury realised that if he were to achieve his goal he must do so in London. By presenting Protestant propaganda in Welsh he was demonstrating to the governing elite that there was no practical reason why the Bible, too, should not appear in that language. He was also associating Wales (a country that was overwhelmingly hostile to the new religion) with the Protestant cause and countering the belief of his com-

# TUDOR LIFE EXCLUSIVE

patriots that it was “ffydd y Saeson” (the faith of the English).

Other cultural messages were being sent. By using the “British” (Welsh) language and arguing that the marriage of priests had been lawful according to the legal code of King Hywel he was drawing attention to the Welsh roots of the Tudor dynasty. He was exploiting the break from Rome. Supporters of the break had sought precedents for the uniqueness of England/Britain. Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *History of the Kings of Britain* provided precedents aplenty and “proof” that Edward VI could trace his roots back to Brutus, the grandson of Aeneas, who established his reign in the island to which he gave his name and his language.

Whilst Salesbury was associating his language and his nation with Protestantism, he was also establishing himself as a faithful lieutenant of the new religion, someone who could be trusted with the translation of the scriptures.

## The personal is political

With the two books described above Salesbury was not trying to change the realm’s political direction, but seeking to win approval from the people for what had already occurred. Six years earlier his fine words had actually brought about a reversal of government policy. He had done so by addressing his arguments not to the people, but to the King.

It is estimated that in the century after the appearance of Gutenberg’s Bible (1450) twenty million volumes were printed in Europe. For the first ninety six of those hundred years not one had been in Welsh. It was unlikely that the language would ever appear in print. The Acts of Union (1536 and

1543) had stated that the language was to be “extirp’d” (destroyed).

A slow but inevitable death was to be expected, but in 1544 Salesbury suggested to Henry VIII that he should license two books in Welsh. One would set out the tenets of the Church of England, enabling his subjects in Wales to commit themselves to complete religious obedience. The second would be a dictionary so that the Welsh could learn English. With these two books Henry would achieve total unity, in religion and language, between two of the countries that made up his realm.

The Tudor claim to the throne was not strong. Rival claimants, such as the earl of Suffolk (1513) and the duke of Buckingham (1521), had been executed. The Cornish had marched on London in rebellion against Henry VII and the north of England had risen in the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536). Throughout Henry VIII’s reign there had been rumours of a Welsh rising, rumours enthusiastically passed on to Charles V of Spain by his ambassador, Chapuys.

Wales, despite its religious conservatism, did not rebel, but the fear that its remote and extensive coastline might play host to a foreign invasion was ever present in the Tudor mind-set, especially as that had been the means whereby Henry’s father had seized the crown. Salesbury had recognised an opportunity, had seen how Henry’s unease could be exploited and had acted effectively. In doing so he changed the course of cultural history.

The evidence for a royal meeting is circumstantial and yet in 1546 John Prise, Salesbury’s colleague, published *Yny lhyvyr hwnn* (In this book), which set out the doctrines of Henry’s church. On December 13<sup>th</sup> of that year Henry had, “graun-

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*Edward VI, a pious Protestant child-king, who delighted in works of evangelical propaganda (Public Domain)*

ted and geven priviledge and licence to our welbeloved subjectes William Salesbury and Jhon Waley to print or cause to be printed oure booke entitled a *Dictionarie bothe in englyshe & welche, whereby our welbeloved subjects in Wales may the soner attayne and learne our mere englyshe tonge.*"

As the King lay dying, the pages of the *Dictionarie* were being taken from John Whaley's press ready for folding and binding.

## For the greater good

Such awareness of opportunity, coupled with the drive and insight to achieve his goals, suggests a Machiavellian mind, but Salesbury had no great personal ambition and no desire for dark revenge. His prodigious verbal talents were used for two ends, to achieve the translation of the scriptures into Welsh, thereby ensuring the salvation of his countrymen's souls, and to introduce to his native land the learning of the Renaissance and of sixteenth century humanism.

Even when fulfilling the latter goal, he was smoothing the path to the first. His book on rhetoric, *Llyfr Rhetoreg* (1552), distributed in manuscript form, not only introduced the figures of speech of Classical Greece and Rome to the ultra-traditional bards, but also served to break down their hostility to his modernising projects.

Salesbury succeeded in his ambitions. In 1563, an act was passed for the translation of the Bible and the Prayer Book into Welsh. Salesbury had overseen the passage of the bill through Parliament through the agency of his closest allies, Humphrey Llwyd, M.P., and Bishop Richard Davies. Four years later the Psalms, Prayer Book and New Testament appeared in print, all had been translated by Salesbury apart from a few chapters of the New Testament,

He laboured on to complete the Old Testament, but the task proved too great for him. However, his success in introducing the new learning to his nation meant that there were

# TUDOR LIFE EXCLUSIVE

able scholars who could complete his work. William Morgan's Bible of 1588 was as important for Wales' survival as the victory over the Armada was for England's. Morgan's pupil, Dr John Davies, perhaps the greatest of the Welsh humanist scholars, produced a revised translation in 1620.

Had he not been driven by his great ambition to provide the scriptures in the language of his countrymen, as Tyndale had done in England, Salesbury might have found fame as a scientist or a translator of secular works. (He is credited as the author of the first science book in English, *The description of the Sphere* (1550) and *The baterie* is one of the earliest books to contain translations of the classical poets.)

Salesbury's life never did run smoothly, which makes his achievements even more remarkable. His estate was under constant threat from his ruthless brother-in-law, Elis Price, who tried everything in his power, including physical assault, to seize it. The dispute brought about

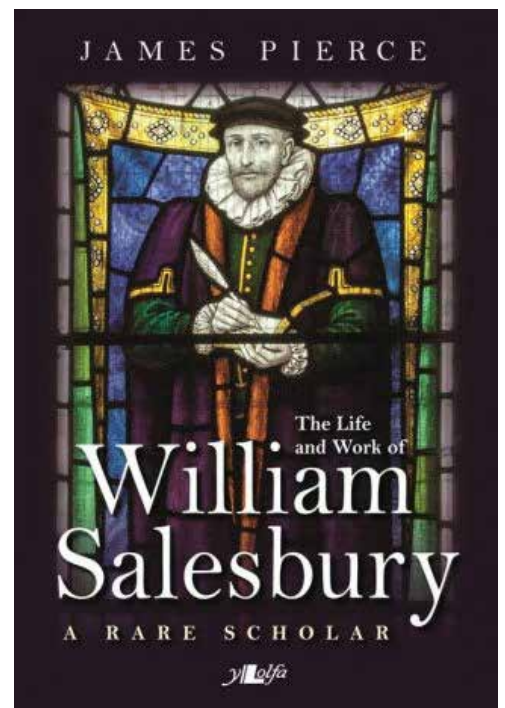
a twelve year estrangement from his wife, Catrin, and the author of Protestant propaganda must have lived in a constant state of anxiety during the five years of Mary's reign. Many of his friends and colleagues were either executed or went into exile, but Salesbury stayed and, somehow, survived.

In the perilous age of the Tudors for someone involved in politics to survive into old age and die from natural causes was a real achievement, especially when for twenty years he had worked for Richard Rich, the torturer of Anne Askew and Mary's most enthusiastic persecutor of Protestants. His life brought him into contact with many of the most fascinating characters of the sixteenth century: Henry VIII, Elizabeth I, Dr John Dee, John Leland, John Bale, William Herbert (the earl of Pembroke), Nicholas Ridley and Archbishop Matthew Parker. His scholarship and achievements mean that he, too, can be regarded as a major figure of the time.

**JAMES PIERCE**



Born in Gwent, James Pierce was a specialist teacher who worked with children from around the world. He learned Welsh as an adult and he has a lifelong interest in language and literature. He is married with two children and two grandsons. He is the author of *The Life and Times of William Salesbury*, published in 2016.

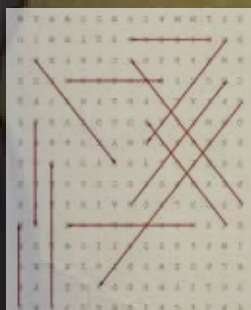


# Tudor Artist Wordsearch

T R J L G R Y Z B G O J H K S  
Y O L I Y M H E P S G Z I F E  
K L R O E W U P T G I N L E G  
I W S L H Y T R T I C W L Y A  
H S S H O R E N B O U T I H R  
T S C S L A D H A I H Z A T S  
P E P R R U O D C C S O R R P  
T S E E O L Y S S Y U Y D O Z  
K S E R B T N H Y E V R B W S  
G H M E L E S U O D T V B E Y  
G K I X L I F R Z F N T J F Q  
C N G U Y I N O Z Z A M E U Z  
X N E P E S H C C K B F N B U  
H M S I T T O W S Q T M W I O  
S S L M M A U V N C O W N X W

Horenbout  
Holbein  
Teerlinc  
Bettes  
Eworth  
Meulen

Gheeraerts  
Hilliard  
Segar  
Sittow  
Scrots  
Mazzoni





# The Tudor Sense of the Past

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During the Tudor period there appears to have been an increased concern with the past, and many people, of varying backgrounds, began to engage with history in different ways.

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BY LAUREN BROWNE

It has been suggested that it was during this period that the foundations of modern historical practice and criticism were laid. Indeed, the past could prove incredibly useful to those in the present. Antiquarians made historical inquiries in order to resolve disputes of jurisdiction and precedence, landowners could use historical records to prove their property rights, and genealogies or origin myths were used to legitimise the prevailing distribution of power. The way in which people engaged with the past had changed due to the advent of the printing press, and so history was no longer confined to the chronicles produced and stored in monastic orders, hidden away from a wider audience.

It is important to note that the Tudor approach to history was far removed from our own today. The line between truth and historical fiction was much more blurred during the Tudor period, and this led to fabulous origin myths of noble and royal families. It was common for illustrious families to claim descent from Noah or Brutus. Sir

Arthur Heveningham of Norfolk's genealogy states that his line could be traced back to 'Arphaxad, who was one of the knights that watched Christ's sepulchre'.<sup>1</sup> The prestige that such origin myths awarded appeared to be more important than their historical validity. Origin myths were not only implemented by noble or royal families, they were also used by local communities to reinforce their civic rights, uphold their common land or claim immunity from certain forms of jurisdiction. Such local myths usually involved a local hero, who was usually either a saint or a mythical figure, whose deeds had secured benefits for the community.

It has been suggested that the past was used to control the present, to provide precedent and to ratify the present. Historian Keith Thomas argues that works of history were used to comment on the present, and even their choice of subject-matter sublimi-

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Keith Thomas, 'The Perception of the Past in Early Modern England', *The Creighton Trust Lecture*, (1983), p. 2



*Arphaxad the Knight was one of many antique points of identity-creation in Tudor England (painting-mythology)*

nally told readers what was important, not just in the past but in the present. The Tudor chronicles focused on wars, dynasties, kings and the aristocracy, and so the virtual exclusion of a vast majority of the population from the history books paralleled their exclusion from social and political power.<sup>2</sup> On paper, this seems like an effective and implicit method of social control, however in reality such a goal was impossible to achieve. The past was everywhere; buildings and ruins populated the landscape, coins, weapons and bones were frequently turned up by the plough, the names of houses, fields, streets and villages recalled previous inhabitants and vanished institutions, and calendar traditions preserved centuries of folk memory.<sup>3</sup> The way in which the past surrounded the present meant that there

was a risk of it subverting the officially prescribed and accepted history.

Popular history could be entirely indifferent to the subjects deemed important by members of the upper classes, for example, where is the ballad of Magna Carta? The subject-matter adopted by popular histories, both written and oral, was usually more colourful or humorous in nature. Margaret Spufford states that 'the English were extremely fond of reading stories set in a vague and idealised version of the past.'<sup>4</sup> Fantastic tales of English heroes, kings, and knights, contained in chapbooks, were the bestsellers of the Tudor period, however the popularity of such historical works does not mean that their readers were well-informed about the past. The historical past represented in such chapbooks was a high-

2 Keith Thomas, 'The Perception of the Past in Early Modern England', *The Creighton Trust Lecture*, (1983), p.3

3 *ibid.*, p. 3

4 Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth Century England*, (Cambridge, 1989), p. 219

ly romanticised, stylised version which was often set in a vague yesteryear rather than a particular moment in history; like the past contained in children's fairy tales today.

The representation of the monarchy in cheap literature such as ballads and chap-books is rather surprising to the modern reader. Both Henry II and Henry VIII were popular characters, but the events of the reigns were not commented upon. Instead, they were represented as jovial, unpredictable kings who brought great fortune to the ordinary people they met. The theme of a disguised king seeking assistance from a poor man who is then lavishly rewarded when the true identity of the king is revealed was an extremely popular trope. Another popular genre of history was that of the chivalric love between kings and their mistresses, and stories about Jane Shore and Fair Rosamond sold extremely well. Tudor audiences loved tales of adultery and the lavish lifestyle of medieval kings, which usually ended with a strong moral tone where the king and mistress repented their misdeeds.

The way in which more formal histories were written evolved during the Tudor period. The period saw a move away from the longstanding tradition of clerical historiography even before the dissolution of the monasteries. Although they were no longer solely produced in monastic houses, chronicles continued to be the definitive form of the history book and, initially, it appeared that it had adapted itself rather well to the age of print. A large number of new chronicles were produced in the first three-quarters of the sixteenth century, and they faced little competition other than a few ancient texts that had been reproduced for the Tudor audience. One of the earliest bestsellers was Higden's *Polychronicon* and its continuators. It was split into seven books, one for each age of man, and covered a variety of topics including geography, natural history, religion, social customs, and numerology. It also included a number of entertaining, if at times rambling, stories with no obvious moral which proved very popular with



*Polydore Vergil (Richard III Foundation)*

readers. It was first translated by Trevisa in 1387, which was then later chosen by Caxton as one of the first historical works to emerge from his press; in part in 1480 and then as a completed work in 1482 (with a continuation of the narrative up to the year 1461). It was then republished in 1495 and again in 1527. The steady appetite for the past began to draw the chronicles of past eras out of abbey libraries and collections and into print for the first time. But it was not just pre-existing chronicles that were being printed; continuations were added to them in order to make them more relevant to a modern audience and new chronicles were also being produced to fit the demand for historical works. The format of such works was kept the same as the older chronicles, illuminations which were present in older hand-written chronicles were replaced with woodcuts, and the roll was replaced by the folio or quarto page, but aside from this they remained remarkably similar. A typical entry was headed with the year in question with a miscellany of events underneath, both national and local events

were recorded without much differentiation between the two.

The dynastic or nationalistic themes that were prevalent in the medieval chronicles were continued in the early Tudor chronicles, and some were even directly encouraged by court patronage. Henry VII employed a number of foreign authors, poets and historians, such as the Frenchman Bernard André. Arguably the most famous of such imports was Polydore Vergil, a papal functionary from Urbino, who arrived in England in 1501 and stayed there most of his life. Although such works were not on the same power with the royal sponsored chronicles of the French and Spanish courts, they promoted a view of the monarchy that was sponsored by Henry VII himself. Vergil was influenced by the continental humanism movement and was the first to write a humanist history of England, the *Anglica Historia* (1534), which was written in Renaissance Latin and was organised by reigns rather than annalistically. Vergil challenged the existing historiography by disputing the line of Galfidian (derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth) British kings, and the myth of a Trojan foundation.<sup>5</sup> This incurred the wrath of English and Welsh critics and sparked, what Woolf calls, 'the first great historical controversy of the print age.'<sup>6</sup> The influence of continental humanism was not as widely felt in England as in other corners of the continent. Despite Vergil's *Anglica Historia* and Sir Thomas More's biographical history of Richard III, humanism failed to take root during this period. However, Edward Hall did adopt the regnal format over the annalistic in his *Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre [and] York*, (1548).

5 Daniel Woolf, 'Historical writing in Britain from the late Middle Ages to the eve of the Enlightenment,' in José Rabasa et al (eds.), 'The Oxford History of Historical Writing, vol. 3, (Oxford, 2012), p. 476

6 *ibid.*, p. 476

Between the 1530s and the 1580s there was a shift away from dynastic concerns in history writing. The dramatic rupture of the Reformation shaped attitudes towards the near past, and this led to two sharply opposing myths circulating about the medieval period in Tudor England. The opposition was not between the popular and elite cultures, but between the scholars themselves. One school of thought imagined the medieval period as a brutal and dark time, which was populated by lazy monks and immoral friars and marked by barbarous poetry and low culture. This was the official line, Reformers and humanists made a self-conscious breach with the medieval past which was punctuated by superstition and ignorance, propagating the myth of the 'dark ages' that can still be found today. The breach between the medieval past and Tudor England as described by those following this line of thinking was not as distinct as they presented. The universities held on to their scholastic syllabus, lawyers continued to look to medieval examples for guidance and precedence, literary works by Chaucer and Lydgate were still read, the chivalric romances of the medieval period continued to delight Elizabethan readers, while at court jousts, tournaments and pageants harkened back to the Arthurian past. This second school of thought gave rise to the myth of 'Merry old England', a simpler time in England's past where people were sober, streets were safer and people were more charitable and friendly. This notion, especially that every citizen remained stone-cold-sober, is obviously untrue, but the general power of the myth prevailed. Indeed, the power of the propaganda on both sides of the argument can be seen in popular culture today; on the one hand it is the 'dark ages', rife with death, disease and crime, and on the other we have the village fairs, English hospitality and 'Merry old England'.

**LAUREN BROWNE**





*Thomas More, saint, scholar and propagandist, with his daughter, Margaret Roper (Public Domain)*

# Barren and Blessed

## The Propagandistic Historiography of the Tudor Queens

BY CONOR BYRNE

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Since their deaths in 1558 and 1603, respectively, the historiography of the reigns of the Tudor Queens, Mary I and Elizabeth I, could hardly have been more different.

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Mary has traditionally been perceived as an indecisive, uncharismatic and politically inept ruler, whose decisions to marry Philip of Spain and to reinstate the medieval heresy laws in England have been deemed counterintuitive, even idiotic. She has been termed 'profoundly conventional' and it has been claimed that 'positive achievements there

were none' during her five-year reign. Indeed, Mary's reign was often viewed alongside that of her predecessor and brother Edward VI as a negative period of history, the 'mid-Tudor crisis' during which England suffered a host of social, economic and political ills, exacerbated by an ineffective monarchy. By contrast, Mary's successor Elizabeth

was lauded during her lifetime as the Virgin Queen, and was praised by subsequent historians as a cautious, conscientious ruler who preferred not to make windows into men's souls. While Mary was a religious bigot, Elizabeth was a moderate who ruled without prejudice. The defeat of the Spanish Armada, coupled with the flowering of England's literary and dramatic culture, has enhanced Elizabeth's golden reputation as a woman born to rule, just as the disasters that bedevilled England during the mid-1550s indicated that her sister had no aptitude for queenship.

Beginning in the late twentieth-century and gathering momentum in the early twenty-first, this simplistic, black and white view of Mary and Elizabeth has been comprehensively challenged by historians, who have, in particular, paid greater attention to contemporary understandings of gender alongside sixteenth-century conceptions of female monarchy. Scholars have appreciated that Mary was negatively affected by circumstances that were out of her control. When she succeeded to the throne in 1553, she was thirty-seven years of age and unwed, an advanced age to the sixteenth-century mind. In a bid to provide England with a Catholic heir, she chose to marry, despite her personal inclination to remain single. This decision, coupled with her preference for the Spanish prince Philip, could be interpreted positively, for it indicated her concern that England's political stability should not be compromised in the long-term. Mary's lifelong closeness to her Habsburg relatives perhaps meant it was natural that her first choice of husband was a member of that family; moreover, an Anglo-Spanish alliance enabled England to remain politically and diplomatically relevant in wider European affairs.

Furthermore, it has recently been suggested that the queen's decision to ally England with Spain, sealed with the marriage to Philip, was not necessarily perceived by her subjects solely in negative terms. While indicating that the queen's subjects could view their new king appreciatively, Alexander Samson has demonstrated that the Anglo-Spanish court was neither devoid of entertainment nor lacking in cultural entertainments. This is an important point, given that Mary's modern biographers, such as David Loades, have usually accused the queen of failing to encourage a lively, artistic court. Aside from her marriage to Philip of Spain, Mary's religious policies

have drawn criticism from both contemporary and modern authors. However, Counter-Reformation historians such as Eamon Duffy have more recently asserted that Mary's decision to persecute heretics, which controversially culminated in the public burning of almost three hundred Protestants in a period of four years, was neither ill-fated nor wholly unpopular among her English subjects. The exact nature of her involvement in the drive to stamp out heresy remains an issue of debate. At her accession in 1553, Mary was not to know that she would die only five years later without an heir of her own body. Her efficiency as an administrator, coupled with the reforms made to the navy, have been recognised by the likes of Ann Weikel.

By contrast, historians have moved from uncritically commending Elizabeth as a great achiever to what Patrick Collinson terms 'a consummate survivor', and have noted that the Virgin Queen enjoyed more than her fair share of luck. In his recent study, John Guy has demonstrated that the last decade of Elizabeth's rule was undermined by political, dynastic and socioeconomic tensions that negatively affected contemporary views both of the queen and of her suitability to rule. Other historians have indicated that Elizabeth was politically indecisive and was unable to suppress criticism of her policies, while her failure to marry and produce an heir jeopardised a smooth succession for her country. Undoubtedly it is both inaccurate and anachronistic to regard Mary as a religious bigot and her sister as a religious moderate, for while Elizabeth did not persecute heretics on the scale that Mary did, after the issuing of the papal bull of excommunication in 1570 Catholic recusants were subjected to gradually harsher treatment from the government. The executions of notable individuals such as Margaret Clitherow and the Babington Plot conspirators, alongside those involved in the Northern Rebellion of 1569, bear witness to Elizabeth's readiness to exact vengeance on those she deemed traitors, whether they were motivated to act politically or religiously. Controversially, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, presented herself as a martyr for the Catholic faith when she went to the scaffold in 1587, accused of treason against her cousin and fellow queen. Although it was understood and celebrated by several of her contemporaries, Elizabeth's decision to order





*The Allegory of the Tudor Succession showed a "failed" Mary (left), flanked by the spectral figure of the god of war, while a triumphant Elizabeth (right) is followed by Spring and prosperity (The Yale Center for British Art)*



*Elizabeth I was presented in her own time as a glorious, ethereal sovereign (Luminarium)*

Mary's execution undermined the contemporary conviction of the divine right of kings. Sixty years later, another British monarch was executed.

From a methodological perspective, the traditional historiography of Mary and Elizabeth is questionable, given that, as Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock note, the two queens experienced reigns of radically differing lengths, meaning that it makes little sense to compare the respective achievements of Mary's five-year reign with that of Elizabeth's forty-five-year reign. As the first English queen regnant, Mary demonstrated that a woman could rule the kingdom in her own right, and thus paved the way for her younger sister. Undoubtedly Elizabeth learned from Mary's mistakes, and it is what Ann Weikel describes as 'the futility of religious persecution' that explains Elizabeth's initial decision not to make windows into men's souls – although, as earlier noted, this policy became untenable when the pope excommunicated her. England's gradual emergence as a Protestant nation during the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries ensured the subsequent negative interpretation of Mary's religious policies, as seen most vividly in the work of John Foxe. Modern historians are

more sceptical regarding contemporary attitudes to the religious changes ushered in by the later Tudor monarchs, for on a popular level it is largely unknown how the religious policies of either Mary or Elizabeth were received. Irrespective of this, the triumph of Protestantism was neither inevitable nor necessarily wholeheartedly welcomed. It was largely due to Mary's unexpected death, only five years into her reign, which ensured the failure of the Counter-Reformation in England.

Recently, a more nuanced understanding of the reigns of Mary I and Elizabeth I has emerged in the work of modern historians. Mary has benefited from a plethora of studies into her queenship and brief reign, demonstrating that she was a pioneer who 'charted a new path for women rulers, successfully establishing and retaining her authority as regnant queen, and adroitly negotiating many of the challenges to female sovereignty', as Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte assert. It was this success, however qualified by circumstances, which ensured the acceptance of Elizabeth as queen regnant upon her sister's death in 1558. While continuing to be appreciative of her successes during her long reign,

historians have conveyed a greater recognition of Elizabeth's weaknesses and the very real conflict that threatened to undermine her rule during the last decade of the sixteenth-century. It is perhaps appropriate to close this article with the words penned on the plaque of the tomb commissioned by James I in 1606 that houses the remains

of Mary and Elizabeth. It reads: 'Partners both in throne and grave, here rest we two sisters Elizabeth and Mary, in the hope of one resurrection', for it is a poignant reminder of the difficulties faced by the first women to rule England as queen regnant, who nonetheless were able to do so ably and skilfully.

**CONOR BYRNE**



**Conor Byrne** studied History at the University of Exeter. He is the author of *Katherine Howard: A New History and Queenship in England*, both published by Made Global. Since 2012 he has run a historical blog and was formerly editor of Tudor Life Magazine. He specialises in late medieval and early modern European history, with a focus on gender, sexuality and the monarchy. His current project is a study of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century queenship in England, which builds on previous research.

*Kathy Burke (left) as Mary I, with Cate Blanchett as her younger sister in 1998's Elizabeth, which dramatised traditional interpretations of the Tudor queens (Cineplex)*

# HISTORIC BRIDGEND

CELEBRATING THE 500TH ANNIVERSARY OF  
THE BRIDGEND MARKET CHARTER



# A few historic facts...

Thanks to Councillor David Unwin from Bridgend Town Council for sending us information about the 500th Charter Anniversary, an event which saw Henry VIII meeting his loyal subjects around the town in September this year.

- ✿ Newcastle Castle is most likely to date from around 1100 when local lands had been granted by King William II, soon to be established as the Lordship of Glamorgan
- ✿ Old Stone Bridge across the river Ogmore was thought to have been established in 1425
- ✿ The earliest record of “Bridgend” was 1444 and in the early Tudor period it became one of the four major market centres in South Wales, along with Cowbridge, Cardiff and Swansea
- ✿ Bridgend Market Charter was granted in 1516 by King Henry VIII
- ✿ By 1631, Bridgend still consisted of only EIGHT buildings
- ✿ Bridgend stands on an ancient Roman road that tracked from beyond Cardiff.
- ✿ Before the Old Stone Bridge was built, in 1425, there was a ford where citizens, travellers and pilgrims could cross to continue towards Margam Abbey and beyond
- ✿ St John’s House is the oldest surviving domestic dwelling in Bridgend. It is known locally as “The Hospice”. It is in the class of buildings called a heart-passage house, and it is a protected Grade II\* building. It was built around 1500 and the crenelated beams in the house have been described as “the only known domestic examples in Glamorgan”

Photos of Newcastle Castle © Lewis Clarke

Photo of Henry VIII © Historical Promotions

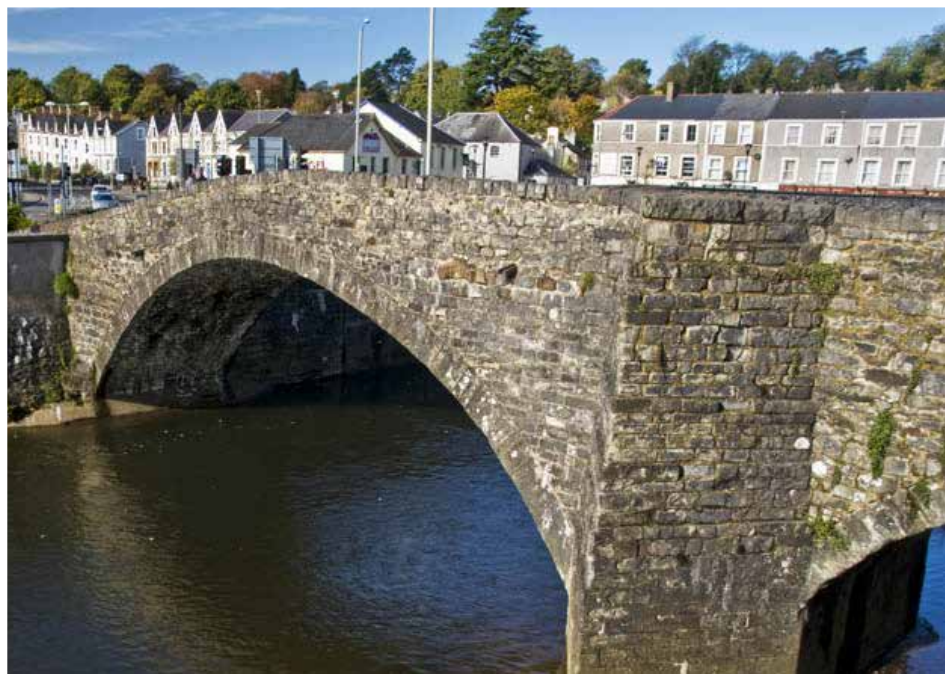
Photo of Bridge Plaque © Jaggery

Photo of Old Stone Bridge © Tim Wood Gallery

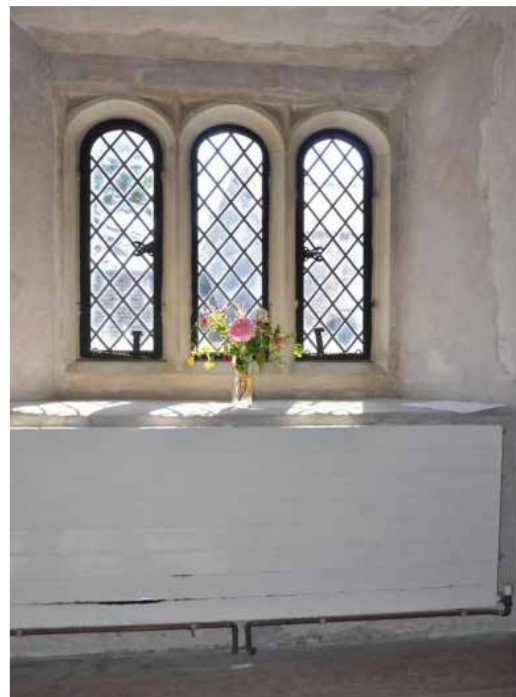
Photos of Margam Abbey © Antony McCallum and Jeremy Bolwell

Photos of St John’s House © St Johns House Trust

Photo of the event © Glamorgan Gazette













A photograph of a stone building with a tiled roof and a window. The building is made of rough-hewn stone and has a dark tiled roof. A window with a decorative frame is visible on the right side. The image is slightly blurred and has a vintage feel.

## **OPEN DAYS**

**Last Saturday  
of every month  
(except December)  
11am – 3pm**

# *The Propaganda of Spectacle*

*The pomp and Power of Tudor Monarchs*

*by Jane Moulder*



Festivities, parades and processions, organised by the state, have long been used to symbolise the power of a monarch, ruler or country: they are designed to show off to and impress, not only their own citizens, but the rest of the world. This was done very successfully in 2012, with the celebrations of Queen Elizabeth II's Diamond Jubilee. Echoing the river parades of the Tudor period, the climax of the festivities was a flotilla of ships and boats sailing down the Thames with the Queen being transported in a golden gilded boat. This was not only a celebration of 60 years on the throne but a statement about the monarchy and the Queen's position as the head of Great Britain and the Commonwealth. It showed how the state sponsored image was still relevant and real in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It was, in short, an exercise in propaganda. The use of a grand staged event has been around for hundreds of years and no pomp and circumstance would be the same without music and musicians.

Today, Great Britain may not be the global power it was during the Victorian Empire and no modern day propaganda would change anyone's view on this. But in Tudor times, the establishment of England's portrayal as an international player was a key priority for the monarchy. It was essential that the Tudor dynasty should place itself firmly on the European and world map. The Tudors used the glorification of the king or queen, through devices such as courtly spectacle, to not only celebrate power over their own citizens but to declare that the

monarchy was a significant protagonist in European affairs. This was vitally important as Henry VII's hold on the throne had only been confirmed several years into his reign and throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century there were a succession of various pretenders and political enemies, all intent on usurping the Tudor's claims to the throne.

From the very beginning of his reign, Henry VII was keen to develop an international outlook for the English court. Strong links with the Burgundian court had already been established by Edward IV but there were very few other alliances with other European states and some of the existing English were distinctly separatist in nature. From a cultural perspective, the English court had begun to be influenced by its continental neighbours and Henry VII set about expanding them. To aid this process, Henry developed a series of ceremonial procedures which were designed to help advertise and glorify his own image. They were intended to show that he was outward looking, ready to work with other courts and not at all insular. Consequently, Henry began to recruit foreign musicians and composers to come and work at his court.

The early Tudor period saw a huge burgeoning of international thought and influence and the universities gave a home to a wide range of foreign scholars and writers. Scientists and academics were invited and welcomed by Henry to live and work in England. Artists, writers and poets also found patrons in this country

and musicians from France, Spain Italy and Flanders were employed by the court and nobility. This influx of foreigners had the effect of strengthening Henry VII's role and image as King and as well as developing the notion that England was now an outward looking nation and a force to be reckoned with; from an academic and artistic viewpoint as well as a political one. The message that England was changing and had designs to be a major powerhouse was taken across Europe via the visiting merchants, ministers and ambassadors.

However, the employment of a large number of foreigners did not always go down well with the local population. It is interesting to note that some of the views expressed in the recent Brexit referendum debate have changed little in the last 500 years! Writing of the English, around 1500, a Venetian observer wrote, "*They have an antipathy to foreigners, and imagine that they never come into their island, but to make themselves master of it, and to usurp their goods.*" A Spaniard writing at the same time noted "*the king has the greatest desire to employ foreigners but can not do so for the envy of the English is diabolical*".

With an influx of foreign courtiers, ambassadors and agents into the royal court, Henry VII felt the need to impress this audience with lavish court entertainments. Sadly, the records from this period are not comprehensive and it is this paucity of documentation that has led to the belief that Henry's reign was lacking in artistic endeavours and innovations.

However, I don't believe that this was the case.

From the records which have survived, it is clear that right from the very beginning of his reign, Henry VII knew about the importance of staging a spectacle and how it could be used to convey the appropriate image of his kingship amongst his citizens, rivals and observers. An account of his coronation in 1485 described how, "*...with great pompe he rowed unto Westminster, & there the thirtith daie of October he was with all ceremonies accustomed, anointed, & crowned king*". Whilst the accounts don't specify the type of music or the number of musicians involved, and this was not unusual for records from this period, there is no doubt that music would have played a significant part in the celebrations. As well as the coronation ceremony, banquets, jousts and tournaments were held to mark the installation of the new king and it goes without saying that all of these events would have been accompanied by trumpets. The use of trumpets was, in itself, a form of propaganda. Since the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, if not before, trumpets were routinely employed to herald the arrival of a dignitary, whether it was into a town or even into a room. Trumpets were a status symbol – you weren't anyone unless your arrival was accompanied by a blast of trumpets – and they would have been present at every type and form of ceremonial occasion. A blast of trumpets was the signal that a king, ambassador or dignitary was about to appear. This convention became so well established that individuals, whose rank did not

necessarily warrant such a fanfare, would personally hire trumpeters to play for their arrival thus increasing their perceived personal status and inflate their own importance.

Throughout Henry VII's reign a number of lavish court entertainments were staged. These were used not only for personal amusement but as a means of establishing the Tudor identity and displaying the wealth and importance of his court. John Heron, who was Treasurer of the Chamber, kept an account of the day to day expenses of Henry VII. These fascinating documents, covering the period 1495 to 1509, show what Henry personally paid for rather than what the state commissioned. These accounts give us a rare and valuable record of the entertainers and musicians he employed: from organists, bagpipers and minstrels through to jesters, fools, tumblers, dancers, stilt walkers, rope dancers and puppeteers. Some of these were English but many were brought in from other royal courts in Europe, thus helping to cement ties and establish links with his continental neighbours. When travelling around the country, despite taking his own trumpeters with him, Henry would specifically arrange and pay for the local town musicians (or waits, as they were called) to be ready to greet him with music. As with trumpets, this was intended to reinforce the importance of the king to the local citizens.

However, it was for the official state occasions that the true extent of Henry VII's use of show and pageantry was used to its full effect. The instatement of

Prince Henry as Duke of York in 1494, the marriage of Prince Arthur in 1501 and the betrothal of Margaret to James IV of Scotland in 1502 all merited grand entertainments and pageants, employing large numbers of musicians, which helped enhance the image of majesty and the importance of the Tudor state. Katherine of Aragon's entry into London was another occasion when a number of pageants were staged. Some of the lavish arrangements included lining the whole of her procession route with tableaux and decorations and many musicians were engaged to play for the entourage. Once the processions had ended, there were dances, disguisings (staged, theatrical events) and a tournament.

A wide range of foreign diplomatic missions and meetings were carried out to the accompaniment of music. A good example of this is detailed in a pamphlet printed in 1508 which gives a description of the betrothal ceremony of Mary Tudor to Prince Charles of Castile. The visiting ambassadors were treated to music and entertainment at every stage of their journey from Calais to London. After a night's rest at Canterbury, the ambassadors attended a high mass London. This afforded the opportunity for the Gentleman and Children of the Chapel Royal to sing. The high reputation and excellence of this choir had already spread across Europe, no doubt aided by occasions such as this. After the service, there were days of banquets, bonfires, tournaments and other celebrations: *"there lacked no disguisings, morisques*

*nor interludes made and apparelled in the best and richest manner*". Instruments employed at the various festivities included organs, trumpets and sackbuts and there is no doubt that the use of music played a key role in enforcing English royal magnificence on the foreign visitors.

The style of the celebrations in 1508 closely followed a model which had been established at the fashionable Burgundian court but this was the first time the format had been staged in England. There was a certain pattern and etiquette to the Burgundian style and it was closely followed by the English. Whilst the jousts and tournaments were a means of displaying both the knightly and equine skills of the combatants, they were also highly important diplomatic occasions. The tournaments would have been accompanied not only by trumpeters but by a number of musical interludes. The financial records show that Henry VII personally paid for the musicians at these occasions illustrating the importance he put on this aspect of the events.

The scene therefore was set for the heir, Henry VIII, to continue and build on the use of courtly entertainments as a means of political propaganda. Henry VIII took this concept to extremes and he became a master of manipulation. Henry, it seems, was intent on dazzling the world with his princely magnificence and his appetite for "pastyme". The entertainments staged during the early years of his reign were unequalled with anything that had happened before in England and he understood the importance of employing

ceremony and splendour to magnify his image both at home and abroad. Initially, after coming to the throne, Henry followed the established pattern of celebration set by the Burgundian court and the one that had been copied by his father. However, he went on to develop his own style and he was hugely influenced by what was happening elsewhere in Europe, which is where he looked for the latest trends in dance, music and instruments. Henry then set about employing a large number of foreign musicians and entertainers using agents to seek out the very best talent and to liaise with their employers to negotiate terms in order to bring them to England. This "buying in" of talent did not go unnoticed and it all helped to put Henry's England firmly on the European map. Continental dance styles and music began to appear in England exemplified by the different titles. Pieces were named, for example, "a la spagnola" (Spanish), "alla Francese" (French), "a la Italiana" and "a la ferarese (Ferrara, Italy). And it was Italian music and fashion that influenced Henry the most. He imported the Italian form of masque to build on the already well established English format. *"After the manner of Italie, called a maske, a thing not seen afore in Englande"* was how someone described the Twelfth Night revels staged in 1512. Henry wove music into his military pursuits as well as his entertainments. Having won the significant offensive to gain the city of Tournai in France, Henry entered the town ceremoniously *"to the sound of drums and minstrelsy"*. There followed pageants,

feasting, music and dancing together with a tournament, banquets and a masque. One of the Italian observers remarked that Henry VIII not only danced but personally showed off his musical abilities by singing and playing the harp, lute, lyre, flute and horn.

However, the grandest and most spectacular event of the whole of the Tudor period took place in 1521. The Field of the Cloth of Gold was the perfect vehicle for displaying Henry's wealth, grandeur and power. The meeting between Henry and Francis I of France was a major political event and the culmination of various Anglo-French treaties and negotiations which had taken place in the preceding years. On the surface, this was a major propaganda exercise by both monarchs to publically seal an everlasting friendship and peace treaty. In that sense, it was a failure as, even at the event itself, political suspicions ran high and by 1522 the two countries were at war again. Whilst the counsellors were busy with negotiations, the two kings 'competed' with a series of tournaments and entertainments designed for a public display of wealth and ostentation. Henry wanted to gain acceptance in international affairs and no expense was spared on his part to secure European prestige.

There was music, fanfares and entertainments at every stage of the proceedings. When, on Sunday 10<sup>th</sup> June, the two kings dined together, Francis treated Henry with a lavish meal and *"with each course there was vocal and instrumental music, the instruments*

*being of various sorts and the like was never heard before"*.

Whilst the Field of Cloth of Gold was designed to stamp Henry's authority on the French court, nearer to home, Henry wanted to establish power of his own citizens. One way he set out to achieve this was by conducting a series of progresses around the country, which took place during most years of his reign. These were not the lavish affairs of his daughter, Elizabeth I (which were known to bankrupt many a host) and sometimes Henry would just have a small retinue to accompany him. These progresses gave him the opportunity of not just helping to stamp his mark on the people but they gave him the time to relax, to hunt and to enjoy the pleasures that his kingdom afforded. More often than not, he would take with him a number of musicians and singers who would play for him and sing mass on a daily basis. These progresses also had the effect of spreading courtly music and dance into the provinces. In 1541, following the discovery of a conspiracy against him in Yorkshire, "The Great Progress" was organised. This progress was different from the others - it was armed, consisted of more than 3000 people and was to travel further than any other progress for 50 years. Its aim was to shock and awe and to show the power of the king, establish his authority and to gain submission of his subjects.

The use of the progress to not only visit the kingdom but to assert political power was taken to the ultimate level by Henry's heir, Elizabeth. She used the annual





progresses to shape her royal persona and to bolster her popularity and authority. They were, in effect, a major propaganda exercise. Elizabeth would “invite” herself to a wealthy courtier’s house and he was then expected to host the Queen her retinue, at his own personal cost. Providing suitable entertainments was considered to be as important a part of the visit as it was feeding and watering the huge retinue. The progresses would give the (unfortunate?) host an opportunity to both impress and influence the queen and there are numerous accounts of the various entertainments, both theatrical and musical, laid on for her.

The royal visits were notoriously expensive for the host. For example, the visit by Elizabeth to Lord North’s Cambridgeshire estate, Kirtling Tower, cost a grand total of £762, 4s, 2d for a stay of only three days. To put this into context, at this time a quart of ale or a ticket to the Globe would have cost a penny and the

average farm worker earned about £15.00 per annum. North paid £32 for various home improvements, bought £209 worth of gifts for his visitors and spent £16 just on sugar! Not only did Lord North provide food and lodging, he also organised some elaborate entertainments. For the visit, he commissioned music and songs to be especially composed and employed a poet to write in her honour. He also staged a masque, which was never a cheap undertaking and he ensured that there was music and dancing throughout the visit. Finally, he arranged a grand firework display.

Lord North wasn’t the only one to go to great lengths but it seems that none could surpass, Edward Seymour’s, the Earl of Hertford, entertainments at Elvetham in 1591. Seymour was lucky to still be alive having spent a period in the Tower, along with his wife and sons. His crime seems to have been to marry Lady Katherine Grey, sister to Lady Jane Grey. Whilst in

*Elizabeth I arriving at Nonsuch, Franz Hogenberg after Georg Hoefnagel. Hand-colored engraving from Braun and Hogenberg’s Civitates Orbis Terrarum, ca. 1598. Folger Shakespeare Library.*



A Description of the great Pond in Eluetham, and of the properties which  
it contained, at such time as her Maieslie was there presented  
with faire Shewes, and Pastimes.

- A. Her Maieslies presence  
seate, and traine.
- B. Nereus, & his followers.
- C. The Pinnace of Neera,  
and her musicke.
- D. The Ship-Ile.
- E. A Boate with musicke,  
attending on the Pin-  
nace of Neera.
- F. The Fort-mount.
- G. The Snail-mount.
- H. The roome of Estate.
- I. Her Maieslies Court.
- K. Her Maieslies wardrop.
- L. The place, whence Syl-  
vanus and his companie  
issued.



prison, the marriage was annulled, their sons declared bastards (eliminating any claim to succession) and he was then consequently charged with deflowering a virgin of royal blood! So, it was important that he give the right impression to Elizabeth when she came to Elvethem, in the hope that both he and his sons could have their favour restored.

There is a comprehensive record of the preparations for the entertainments and it seems that no restraint was shown by the Earl. He had a crescent shaped lake especially built, its moon-like shape supposedly a testament to her chastity and Virgin Queen image. Over the four days various tableaux were played out and performed. Which included cornet-playing virgins, laurel-wreathed poets, dancing fairies, and musicians aplenty. In

between the 'plays', there were speeches and serenades, ceremonial volleys fired from the Snail Mount and the Ship Isle, demonstrations of sporting prowess, a garden banquet lit by a hundred torchbearers, and "*all manner of fire-workes.*"

The pageant concerned Sylvanus (god of the woods) declaring his love the sea nymph Neaera, who then spurns him and then is mocked by the Sea-god, Nereus. The masque is full of allusions and allegory glorifying Elizabeth and her reign. There were "*divers boats prepared for musick*" on the lake and they contained musicians and singers. The famous song by Edward Johnson, "*Eliza is the Fairest Queen*", was performed on this occasion. Instrumental accompaniment included cornets, lute, bandora, viols, cittern and flute.

It seems that Seymour's efforts were successful in the short term as "*Her Majestie was so highly pleased with this and the rest,*" reports the chronicler, "*that she openly said to the Earle of Hertford, that the beginning, processe, and end of this his entertainment, was so honorable, she would not forget the same. And manie most happie yeares may her gracious Majestie continue, to favour and foster him, and all others which do truly love and honor her.*" Despite this, in the long run, the Earl found himself back in the Tower again as a result of him pushing his luck as he tried, unsuccessfully, to overturn the annulment to his marriage and restore the inheritance rights to his sons.

Elizabeth fully understood the propaganda game and knew how

important her image was to her position and status and she famously managed how she was portrayed. She also used propaganda to extol her reign and assert her right to the throne. A vehicle for this was the annual event of Accession Day, first celebrated twelve years into her reign, on 17<sup>th</sup> November 1570. The day comprised of a range of church services, public entertainments and celebrations. Across the country there was bell-ringing along with prayers, sermons, bonfires, the giving of alms and pageants were performed in the streets. Poetic tributes to the day frequently evoked images of singing, music-making and dancing. George Peele's poem '*Anglorum feriae*' (1595), for example exhorted nymphs: '*paean singe and sweet melodious songs; Along the chalky cliffs of Albion [England]*' and

## THE FOVRTH DAIES ENTERTAINMENT.



ON Thursday morning, hir Maiestie was no sooner readie, and at hir Gallerie window, looking into the Garden, but there began three Cornets to play certain fantastike dances, at the measure whereof the Fayerie Queene came into the Garden, dancing with hir maides about hir. She brought with hir a garland made in forme of an imperiall crown, which in the sight of hir maiestie, she fixed vpon a siluered staffe, and sticking the staffe into the ground, spake as followeth.

The speech of the Fairy Queene to hir Maiesty.

**I** That abide in places vnder ground,  
Aureola, the Queene of Fairy land,  
That euerie night in rings of painted flowers  
Turne round, and carroll out Elisacs name:  
Hearing that Ncreus and the Syluane Gods  
Haue lately welcomde your Imperiall Grace,  
Opend the earth with this inchanting wand,  
To doe my ductie to your Maiestie,  
And humblie to salute you with this Chaplet,  
Geuen me by Auberon, the Fairy King.  
Bright-shining Phoebe, that in humane shape  
Hid it heauens perfection; vouchsafe t'accept it:

And

at the Earle of Hertfords.

And I Aureola, below'd in heauen,  
(For amarus starres fall nightly in my lappe)  
Will cause that heauens enlarge thy golden daies,  
And cut them short, that enie at thy praise.

After this speech, the Fairy Queene and hir maids danced about the Garden, singe a song of fixe partes, with the musicke of an exquisite consort, wherein was the Lute, Bandora, Base-violl, Cittern, Treble-viol, and Flute, & this was the Fairies song.

The Queene of Fairies song, danst and sung  
before hir Maiestie, the morning be-  
fore she went.

**E**lisa is the sayrest Queene,  
That euer trode vpon this Greene.  
Elisacs eyes are blessed starres,  
Inducing peace, subduing warres.  
Elisacs hand is chrisfall bright:  
hir wordes are balme, hir lookes are light.  
Elisacs brest is that faire hill,  
where vertue dwels, and sacred skill.  
O blessed be ech day and hower,  
where sweete Elisa buildes hir Bower.

This spectacle and Musicke so delighted hir Maiestie, that she commanded to heare it sung and to be danced three times ouer, and called for diuers Lords and Ladies to behold it: and then dismissed the actors with thanks, and with a gracious larges, which of hir exceeding goodnesse she bestowed vpon them.

D3

With-



Queen Elizabeth, attended by Fame, and a Herald of Arms, riding in an elaborate chariot. Sir William Teshe, England 1570.

described how ‘*court and country carol in her praise, And in her honour tune a thousand days*’.

Initially, celebrations took place in a limited number of towns and cities but by the early 1580s, Accession Day was brought under government control as a feast day of the church. A special service and liturgy was formalised in which Elizabeth was heralded as having delivered the realm from the catholic tyranny of Mary’s reign and the influence of Spain. Sermons were developed which reinforced the message and were delivered in churches across the country. However, in London, as well as in her own court, the celebrations took on momentous proportions. A huge tournament, open to the public, was held at Whitehall, the

splendour of which was matched only by grand state occasions. Elizabeth would make a formal entry into London in a procession accompanied by the sound of trumpets and musicians; cannons were fired and bonfires lit. In 1588, following the Armada, the celebrations reached epic proportions and Elizabeth rode in triumph into the city on a symbolic chariot “*imitating the ancient Romans*” as musicians played and the lord mayor of London waited to greet her. At St Paul’s Cathedral banners of the vanquished Spaniards adorned the walls, and from a specially constructed closet Elizabeth heard the sermon of thanksgiving at Paul’s Cross before returning by torchlight to Whitehall.

This article has highlighted just a few of the many examples of how the Tudor royals used music and entertainments to bolster their image at home and abroad. It is clear that the Tudors clearly understood the effective use of personal propaganda and that their public portrayal was as important as political diplomacy. I am impressed by their use of grand

spectacle incorporating the full panoply of performing arts to glorify their own image and the various techniques employed certainly helped create an image of them as powerful and enigmatic rulers. Those images endure to this day and it is partly why we are still so fascinated with the personalities and lives of the Tudor monarchs.

## JANE MOULDER

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**Jane Moulder** (*far left*) has been playing traditional and early music for many years and is a researcher into music and manners of the 14<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries. She has compiled and edited four tune books on Medieval, Renaissance and 17th century popular music. She plays various bagpipes, recorders, renaissance flute, crumhorn, shawm and curtal.





**GUEST SPEAKER Rioghnach O'Geraghty** is an Australian re-enactor based in the Barossa Valley in South Australia. She has been involved in the Australian medieval reenactment scene since she was first introduced to the Society Of Creative Anachronism (Barony of Innilgard), during her undergraduate years at the University of Adelaide in 1989.

Rioghnach has always had a passion for medieval history and culture and her involvement in the Barony of Innilgard has allowed her to learn and explore through the use of reconstructive archeology.

Of particular interest to Rioghnach is the history and use of spices during the periods of the Hundred Years War, Medieval and Tudor England. She has participated in numerous baronial feasts in the Kitchen Autocrat, researching recipes and spices from primary resource.

**“WELCOME TO THE SPICERY”**

**January's Guest Speaker**

***FREE FOR ALL FULL MEMBERS***

# To make Claret Wine Water

*Take a Quarte of stronge aquavita, as much of good Claret wine, a pound of the best sugar, beate yo' suger smale then powre the wine and the aquavita to the suger and stir the wine and the suger together untill yo' suger bee dissolved, then ad to it whight pep, ginger, nutmegge, large mace, Red jylloflowers the whights cut of and two dayes dried as many as will give it a good coloure you must cut yo' giner and nutmeggs in greate peeces, and yo' peper must bee divided in the midst shake it well together and put some brused cloves therein when you put in the other spices*

For aquavita you should use either whisky or brandy - clearly a quart is a large amount (1 litre!) so you might want to start with a smaller amount first, to see if you like this drink.

- ✿ 500ml brandy or whiskey
- ✿ 500ml Red wine
- ✿ 500g white sugar, ground fine
- ✿ 1 tsp white pepper corns, crushed lightly
- ✿ 3 cm of ginger, chopped roughly
- ✿ 1/2 nutmeg, chopped roughly
- ✿ 1/2 tsp mace
- ✿ 2 dates, finely chopped
- ✿ The flowers of a red carnation or clove pink (if you can find them!)
- ✿ 4 cloves, lightly crushed



1. *Put the sugar and brandy in a large heatproof bowl and add the sugar.*
2. *Heat very gently, stirring until the sugar fully dissolves. Then remove from the heat.*
3. *Add half of the pepper, all of the ginger pieces and all of the nutmeg. Stir well.*
4. *Add the flowers, dates, mace and the rest of the pepper (to taste). Stir well, then allow to cool for 10 minutes.*
5. *Finally, add the cloves to the mixture, stir and allow to sit until the taste is to your liking.*
6. *Strain the liquid from any solids left, and ...*

ENJOY THIS JANUARY DRINK SAFELY!

# THE TUDOR SOCIETY

## Members' Bulletin

Happy new year to you!

Years come and years go by so quickly these days. It only seems like yesterday that we were putting together the January 2015 (new year themed), and then the January 2016 (Elizabeth I theme) editions of Tudor Life.

Some of our members wanted to have the new membership levels explained again, so here goes...

**Magazine - only subscribers** (monthly, six-monthly and yearly) can access ALL magazines from the month they joined the society. Six and Yearly magazine subscribers can also get a certain number of back issues.

**Full members** can access ALL of the website, get our free monarch series e-books, the weekly videos, monthly expert videos, access to the chatroom including directly chatting with our experts each month, plus the forum to ask questions and help others.

The other question we're regularly asked is, "*can we have the magazine as a physical copy*". It's something we dearly want to be able to do, but we haven't found a way to do it cost effectively for members. If you or someone you know is in the printing industry ... please ask if they can help!!!

TIM RIDGWAY

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

## Charlie

THREE  
SISTERS,  
THREE  
QUEENS

by Philippa Gregory

John  
Books

Just the mention of Philippa Gregory's name sparks discussion amongst those interested in the Tudor period, however this can often be a negative thing as much as positive. Yet Gregory's latest novel *Three Sisters, Three Queens* explores someone who is often ignored in favour of her siblings and descendants, Margaret Tudor, Henry VIII's sister. The book itself is from Margaret's point of view, although it almost constantly refers to the lives of her sister-in-law, Katherine of Aragon, and her younger sister, Mary Tudor.

From the start of the book, Margaret instantly doesn't like Katherine and this is put down to the fact that her arrival means Margaret is no longer the centre of attention. At first she seems spoilt and childish, repeating how lucky Katherine is to be marrying into the family:

*'we all go out with bobbing torches to see Katherine leave, as if she were a queen crowned and not merely the youngest daughter of the King and Queen of Spain, and very lucky to marry into our family: the Tudors.'*

Margaret even goes on to nickname her '*Katherine of Arrogant*' and it is very difficult to like her when she is portrayed like this. She wants people to focus on her own upcoming marriage to the King of Scotland, not Katherine's marriage to Arthur.

Unlike her other novels and other historical fiction in general, for once Margaret Beaufort is not just

portrayed as a harsh and overly pious woman. Briefly, due to her advanced age at the start of the book, we are shown a scene between the young Margaret Tudor and her grandmother. Margaret is unhappy with the fact that she has to wait to see her husband, which provokes some emotion in the Tudor matriarch:

*"But when will I go? I have to go now!"*

*"When you are fourteen years old," my grandmother rules, and when my mother seems about to say something, she raises her hand and goes on: "I know - no-one knows better than I - that an early marriage is very dangerous for a young woman. And the Scots king is not... He cannot be trusted not to... We felt that the King of Scots might..."*

*For once, she seems to be lost for words.'*

For those who do not know, Gregory quickly explains why Margaret Beaufort is so against her granddaughter leaving. This links back to her own childhood in which she was married at a young age to Edmund Tudor, resulting in her giving birth to Henry (the future Henry VII) at the age of just thirteen. This was a very difficult labour and it is likely that it permanently damaged her fertility, which is why Henry was her only child. Even though consummation under the age of fourteen was unusual, she does not want this for her granddaughter and is not prepared to risk it. This also makes it very clear as to who is in charge in the family, Margaret Beaufort, not Henry VII.

One of my favourite characters is the King of Scots, who is surprisingly kind to Margaret, almost turning the novel into a romance during their brief relationship:

*'Then the king turns to me, and says with a slight smile: "I am informed that you don't like my beard, Your Grace. This too can be at your command. Behold, I am a willing Samson. I will be shorn for love."*

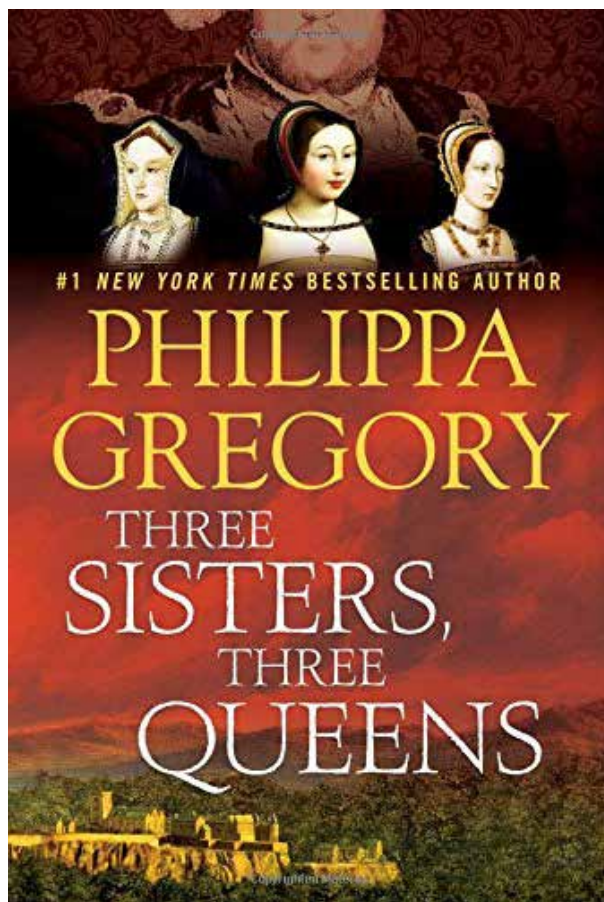
*He has surprised me. "You will?" I say. "Who told you? I never said anything about it."*

*..."You do it," he says teasingly: "You don't want my beard, you take it off. Or are you afraid?"*

He is very well written, with flaws such as his numerous illegitimate children, which Margaret struggles to handle, yet seems the most human out of all of the characters in the book.

Unfortunately, Gregory keeps to the claims in her previous books that Perkin Warbeck really was Prince Richard (one of the Princes in the Tower) and says that the Tudor family is cursed, that all their firstborn sons will die. This was also featured in her book *The White Queen* and the series by the same name. Many historians do not believe this and there is no real evidence that Perkin Warbeck was Richard, yet this is only a minor point in the novel.

Many of Katherine's actions hint at what is to come in her marriage to Henry. She is a firm believer in staying by her husband and that divorce is a sin. Throughout the majority of this book, Henry agrees with her, which is ironic considering his later actions. Both women experience marriage



problems, with only Mary managing to find 'true love' with Charles Brandon, meaning that Katherine and Margaret have the strongest bond throughout the novel.

Luckily for those who might get annoyed with Margaret's childish attitude and competitiveness with her sisters, she really does grow up in the book. This is particularly evident in her second marriage to Archibald Douglas, especially once she finds out about his ulterior motives and adultery:

*'Archibald can be Janet Stewart's husband; she can have him. I will not*

*be his step to the regency, his drawbridge to my son, his entry to power. He can keep Janet Stewart and her insipid daughter, and his little life, and I will be Regent of Scotland without him. I will be Regent of Scotland with the support of the French, not the English. I will forget my hopes of my brother just as he forgets me.'*

Overall, despite a slightly annoying narrator in Margaret, the events are interesting enough that they make the reader still carry on through it. The story has not been told often, with people opting to focus on Henry VIII or Margaret's descendants such as Mary, Queen of Scots. Surprisingly, there are very few obvious inaccuracies in this novel, which is a relief due to the problems with some of her earlier novels. For those who had previously been bothered by this, I would even suggest giving this latest novel a try. Other than Margaret being a slightly annoying narrator at times, Gregory has told a previously neglected story and exposed links between the three queens and sisters which were not immediately obvious.

**BOOK REVIEW BY CHARLIE FENTON**

# JANUARY'S ON THIS

**1 January**  
1514

Death of **Louis XII** of France, less than three months after his marriage to **Mary Tudor**. He did not have a son, and so was succeeded by **Francis I**, his cousin's son and the husband of Louis' daughter, Claude

**2 January**  
1492

**King Boabdil** surrendered Granada to the forces of King **Ferdinand II** of Aragon and Queen **Isabella I** of Castile

**3 January**  
1541

**Anne of Cleves** visited Hampton Court Palace to greet **Henry VIII** and **Catherine Howard**

**4 January**  
1493

**Christopher Columbus** left the New World on return from his first voyage

**8 January**  
1536

**Henry VIII** celebrated **Catherine of Aragon's** death by dressing in "yellow, from top to toe, except a white feather"



**9 January**  
1554

Birth of Pope **Gregory XV**, born as **Alessandro Ludovisi**, in Bologna, Italy

**10 January**  
1603

Probable date of death of **Arthur Dent**, religious writer and Church of England clergyman, from a fever.

**15 January**  
1559

Chosen by her astrologer, Dr **John Dee**, Elizabeth processed from Westminster Hall into Westminster Abbey.

**16 January**  
1572

**Thomas Howard**, 4th Duke of Norfolk, was tried and found guilty of treason at Westminster Hall.

**17 January**  
1517

Birth of **Henry Grey**, Duke of Suffolk and father of Lady **Jane Grey**, at Bradgate, Leicestershire

**21 January**  
1510

**Henry VIII** opened the first Parliament of his reign.

**22 January**  
1561

Birth of **Francis Bacon**, at York House in the Strand, London. Bacon is known as "the Father of the Scientific method" and developed an investigative method, the Baconian method, which he put forward in his book *Novum Organum* in 1620

**23 January**  
1516

Death of **Ferdinand II** of Aragon. He was laid to rest in la Capilla Real, the Royal Chapel of Granada

**24 January**  
1536

The forty-four year-old King **Henry VIII** had a serious jousting accident at Greenwich Palace

## FEAST DAYS

**1 January** – New Year's Day  
**Feast of the Circumcision of Christ**  
**6 January** – Epiphany  
**7 January** – St Distaff's Day  
**13 January** – Feast of St Hilary  
**25 January** – Feast of the Conversion of St Paul

**27 January**  
1596

Sir **Francis Drake**, explorer, sea captain and pirate, died of dysentery in Portobelo harbour, Panama. When he realised that death was near, he asked to be dressed in his armour. Although he requested burial on land, Drake was buried at sea in a lead coffin, along with Sir **John Hawkins**

**28 January**  
1457

**Henry VII**, or Henry Tudor, was born at Pembroke Castle in Wales

# DAY IN TUDOR HISTORY

<b>5 January</b> 1511 Baptism of <b>Henry, Duke of Cornwall</b> , son of <b>Henry VIII</b> and <b>Catherine of Aragon</b> , at the Chapel of the Observant Friars, Richmond	<b>6 January</b> 1540 <b>Henry VIII</b> married <b>Anne of Cleves</b> , or Anna von Jülich-Kleve-Berg	<b>7 January</b> 1557 England lost Calais. <b>Thomas Wentworth</b> , the Lord Deputy of Calais, was forced to surrender when French troops led by the <b>Duke of Guise</b> stormed the castle. It was a huge blow for <b>Mary I</b> and England	
<b>11 January</b> 1569 The first recorded lottery, “a verie rich Lotterie Generall”, was drawn at the west door of St Paul’s Cathedral. Its purpose was to raise funds for the “reparation of the havens and strength of the Realme, and towards such other publique good workes”	<b>12 January</b> 1559 <b>Elizabeth I</b> travelled to the Tower of London to prepare for her coronation	<b>13 January</b> 1593 Death of Sir <b>Henry Neville</b> , Groom of Henry VIII’s Privy Chamber. He was buried at Waltham St Lawrence	<b>14 January</b> 1559 <b>Elizabeth</b> left the Tower of London for her eve of coronation procession at 3pm
<b>18 January</b> 1486 The twenty-nine year-old <b>Henry VII</b> married the twenty year-old <b>Elizabeth of York</b> .			<b>19 January</b> 1636 Death of <b>Marcus Gheeraerts</b> , painter, in London. He is known for his “Ditchley” portrait of <b>Elizabeth I</b>
<b>25 January</b> 1533 According to <b>Thomas Cranmer</b> , <b>Henry VIII</b> married <b>Anne Boleyn</b> on St Paul’s Day	<b>26 January</b> 1533 <b>Henry VIII</b> appointed <b>Thomas Audley</b> as Lord Chancellor to replace Sir <b>Thomas More</b>		
<b>29 January</b> 1547 <b>Edward Seymour</b> and <b>Anthony Denny</b> informed <b>Edward VI</b> that his father, <b>Henry VIII</b> , had died the day before.	<b>30 January</b> 1593 <b>Ippolito Aldobrandini</b> was elected as Pope <b>Clement VIII</b>	<b>31 January</b> 1510 Queen <b>Catherine of Aragon</b> gave birth to a still-born daughter	

TudorLife

# Tudor Life

TL

~IN THE~  
~FEBRUARY~  
TUDOR LIFE MAGAZINE

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EXPERT TALKS!