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The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1969
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1970
THE TUDORS AND THEIR TUTORS:
A STUDY OF SIXTEENTH CENTURY ROYAL EDUCATION IN BRITAIN

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Craig Dean Willis, B.A., M.A.

The Ohio State University
1969

Approved by
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APPENDIX ACKNOWLEDGMENT

With permission from the British Museum, I copied the Appendix from the preface of Volume I of The Progresses and Public Processions Of Queen Elizabeth by John Gough Nichols (London: John Nichols and Son, 1823).
INTRODUCTION

During the period of the Tudor monarchy (1485-1603), there lived four generations of the family consisting of only twenty-one individuals (plus eight illegitimate children) who reached educable age, if we include the founders of the family, Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. (See the genealogical charts, pages two and three). Of the twenty-one, twelve were either reigning monarchs or consorts of reigning monarchs.

The Tudors ruled at a time in England when Parliament was in one of its most docile periods.¹ The English love of liberty has been sublimated at some periods of the national life. The Tudor Era was such a period because Parliament and the people wanted executive stability and material prosperity after the disastrous Civil Wars of the fifteenth century.² The Tudors were so absolute that they could veto bills that had been passed by both houses of Parliament. Elizabeth I, for instance, vetoed forty-eight of the ninety-five bills Parliament passed during her reign.³ The Tudors executed literally

²Ibid., p. 33.
a See page 3 to follow the grandchildren of Henry Tudor (Henry VII) who had issue.
b Elizabeth Blount, mistress of Henry VIII, bore his natural son, Henry Fitzroy.
The members of the generation who had issue. Mary Stuart and her cousin, Henry Stewart, produced the future James I of England. Charles Stewart became the father of Arabella Stuart. Katherine Grey bore two sons, and Margaret Clifford had five children who survived to maturity.

James Stuart (James V of Scotland) fathered seven acknowledged natural children: three named James, plus John, Robert, Adam, and Jane.
hundreds of people between 1485 and 1603, yet they ruled with no
standing army, and only a handful of palace guards, so they could
not and apparently did not oppress the common people beyond a certain
point. 4

The majority of people, in educating their children (particularly
today) do not know what the future holds for their progeny. In the
case of the Tudors of the sixteenth century, however, any child living
beyond infancy was likely to be destined for power, position, prestige,
and wealth. Since during this 118-year period, this family had more
power than any other group of individuals of the period in England,
examining their education for the four generations should give us a
picture of sixteenth century English education at its best or at
least of what was perceived to be best by the rulers of England.

In examining the education of the Tudors, the following hypotheses
will be tested: 1. Differences in the nature of education between
heirs to the throne on the one hand and the remainder of royal
children on the other hand existed. 2. Royal male children received
more extensive training than royal female children. 3. Different
kinds of education occurred in the various generations, and indeed the
differences were more than normal generational differences due to the
4. Leading scholars were used by the Tudors as tutors for their children.
5. The outcome of education in all cases meant better rulers and/or
leading citizens.

4 R.B. Mowat and J. D. Griffith Davies, A Chronicle of Kingship,
Before beginning to look at actual Tudor individuals, it seems appropriate to examine the method of research used and then to look at the general background of the period and an overview of the period's educational scene. Let us look first at the method of research.

To the best of my knowledge, no work on the education of the Tudor monarchs has been written. Morris Marples has written *Princes in the Making, A Study of Royal Education*, an interesting account which is necessarily limited because it included the Tudor, Stuart, Hanover, Saxe-Coburg, and Windsor rulers of England.

To get the names of all the family members and of all their tutors, my first step was to read the biographies of the Tudor family by such authors as Conyears Read, Francis Hackett, Garret Mattingly, Arthur S. MacNalty, Hester Chapman, James Gairdner, A. F. Pollard, Mandell Creighton, Beatrice White, and R. L. Mackie. To get the feeling of education during that time, I read several works on sixteenth century English education, a variety of textbooks used during the period, and also the writings of Roger Ascham, Juan Luis Vives, Thomas Elyot, Desiderius Erasmus, and Thomas More. The letters and works of Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Lady Jane Grey, Mary I, Mary Queen of Scots, James V, and Elizabeth I, as well as the writings of the fifty-odd tutors appointed to educate them and their relatives were a primary source of information for the study. Works listed in the bibliography on Tudor history edited by Conyears Read were a supplemental source, although many had little or nothing to offer regarding Tudor education. The libraries of The Ohio State University and Ohio Wesleyan University together with the Reading Room of the
British Museum contain substantially all of these works. The chronicles of John Harding, Richard Grafton, Edward Hall, John Nichols, John Hayward, Thomas More, Francis Godwyn, and Francis Bacon; the Calendars of State Papers; and all the works of Agnes Strickland who wrote about most of the royal women of the era are to be found in the British Museum. The Public Records Office on Chancery Lane, London, and the Manuscript Room of the British Museum contain numerous examples of Tudor handwriting (see Appendix) and original letters.

One of the biggest frustrations of this study was the lack of agreement among authors regarding Tudors and their tutors. Henry Brandon, one of the nephews of Henry VIII, was reported by three different authors as dying in infancy, at twelve, and at nineteen. To one concerned with political events, Henry Brandon's death as a minor and without issue is more important than his actual age at death, but for our purposes it is important to know whether he lived long enough to be educated. Differences of interpretation regarding personality characteristics were to be expected for most of the personages in the Tudor drama have been seen both as good and bad. The tutors have also been perceived in different ways: John Skelton, tutor of Henry VIII, has been described as a fine teacher on the one hand, and a poor teacher and a bad moral influence on the other. Sixteenth century spellings are also lacking in uniformity. Katherine,

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5It was Agnes Strickland's volumes on the Queens of England which I had read as a youth that first interested me in the Tudor times and personalities.
for instance, was spelled in several different ways, even by the same Katherine. I have standardized spellings, insofar as possible, except when using a direct quotation.

General Background

The Tudor Era began in England in 1485 when Henry of Richmond's forces defeated and killed Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth, the last and decisive battle of the Wars of the Roses. Henry found a country decimated in quantity and quality; one of the reasons he could become king was that so many other noblemen had been killed. England presented a weak front to Europe because of her sixty-odd years of internal strife during the struggle for power between the Yorkists and Lancastrians. During the years that followed, under Henry VII and his heirs, there were high points and low points; but generally progress was made, so that in 1603, at his granddaughter Elizabeth's death, England was a confident world power, lord of the seas, and poised for empire.

Three events happened during the Tudor Era which were of immeasurable consequence: 1. the advent of the printing press; 2. the new learning or the Renaissance; and 3. the Reformation. The last two events, while indeed part of wider European movements, at the same time made themselves felt in England in unique ways, of which more will be noted later as we deal with education. The first event,

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printing, became more common as the era progressed. The pamphlets printed during Elizabeth's reign clearly imply that her government had harnessed the printing presses for propaganda purposes, for such subjects, by way of example, as why Essex was regarded a traitor.

Some of the other changes during the Tudor period were the rise of the merchant or middle class and successive attempts to deal with the problem of the poor. Also mirrors and clocks came in, carpets succeeded rushes, pillows were introduced, pewter replaced wooden trenchers, wall panelling was employed, light and air were introduced in housing design, and a fairly high level of nutrition was maintained. The Spanish people in the party of Philip II (husband of Mary Tudor) in the 1550's were struck by the differences between England and Spain in this last regard.

On the other hand, there was still plenty of room for improvement. By 1603 there was still no police protection or fire protection. Waste flowed in open ditches. The royal family with its large retinue of retainers had to keep on the move every few months at the most in order to let each palace get aired out and refreshed. Queen Elizabeth, who was supposed to have been extremely sensitive to odors, must have suffered greatly. Prisons, death, and maiming penalties were still terribly barbaric and hundreds lost their lives for all sorts of trivial reasons. In addition to the usual hanging, beheading, drawing and quartering, boiling was a valid death penalty for suspected poisoners between 1531 and 1547. The low value on human life plus the bull and bear baiting, cock fighting, and badger drawing made it a cruel age.
Paradoxically, however, the new learning, new schools, English Bible, and a revived interest in all scholarly things gave some humanitarian balance to the era.  

Educational Background

For many centuries, the Byzantine Empire had preserved the treasures of Greek thought, learning, and philosophy. In 1396, Manuel Chrysoloras, who had been a pupil of the Greek Platonic philosopher, Gernistas, at Constantinople, moved to Florence and began to teach Greek there. The growing threat of the Turks and the fall of Constantinople in 1453 drove many Greeks to Italy. This emigration reinforced the growing interest of northern Italians in humanism and Greek. Thus Florence and then all of north Italy became the center of an intellectual revival, an important feature of which was a renewed interest in the Greek language and all things Greek.  

In the late 1400's, education in England at Oxford and Cambridge, at the public schools, and at the monasteries and religious houses could be classified as medieval. At the turn of the century, university training had become a farce. Boys of ten or twelve passed through Oxford and Cambridge to archdeaconries before they could say matins. Ecclesiastical and scholarly appointments depended upon money. Monasteries had ceased to produce great chronicles, and learned and zealous monks  

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8 Ibid., p. 13.
were not common. The Renaissance had not yet come to England. There was in fact some resistance to it on the part of churchmen and scholars who knew about it. They did not want to give up the dry Latinity in which they were hidebound. The new learning eventually did come, however, because several scholars studied abroad and several continental scholars sojourned in England. Several persons of influence — among whom were John Fisher, Richard Fox, Cardinal Wolsey, Henry VII, his mother Margaret of Richmond, and Henry VIII gave them encouragement in the early 1500s. The nobility in general expressed almost no interest in education until the time of Henry VIII. Even then a typical nobleman would rather have his son be hanged than be a bookworm.

Thomas Linacre, William Grocyn, William Latimer, John Colet, and William Lily studied in Italy and learned Greek as well as partaking of the spirit of the new learning. Grocyn is supposed to have been the first Englishman to study under the Greek exile, Chalcondylas.

After his return to England, Linacre became royal physician and royal tutor. Colet founded St. Paul's School. Lily wrote a new Latin grammar. These three men taught Thomas More and others, and they

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11 Fisher, pp. 156, 207.

helped encourage Desiderius Erasmus and Juan Luis Vives to visit England several times.

This is not to say that the path became smooth for the new learning. The proponents of the new learning wanted young men to learn just as the Roman writers had. This meant studying Greek, and it also meant learning it in Latin, which was still a living language in those days. Learning Greek meant rediscovering ancient authors who had ideas in philosophy, science, theology, medicine, and law that did not agree with the medieval textbooks, so the Renaissance in education went beyond language and literature.\(^\text{13}\)

The Renaissance was first manifest in St. Paul's School which Colet founded in 1509. Pure Latin was spoken there, and Greek was an important part of the course of study. Erasmus wrote *De Copia* for St. Paul's and helped to plan the curriculum. Pagan authors such as Plautus, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Aesop, and Ovid were read. Lily's new Latin grammar was first used at St. Paul's. In 1540, Henry VIII ordained that it should be used everywhere, and Elizabeth later confirmed the mandate.\(^\text{14}\) We must assume that learning at St. Paul's School was a fairly serious matter since the 153 boys went to school from seven to eleven in the mornings and from one to five in the afternoons, winter and summer, with no play-days. There was no cock fighting, drinking, or betting. Poor boys who attended classes cleaned the rooms, emptied urine cans, and did other odd jobs.\(^\text{15}\)

\(^{13}\) Clarke, pp. 3-21.
\(^{14}\) Ibid.
Oxford was the first university to receive the new learning. Grocyn, Linacre, More, and Lily were all Oxford men. In 1517, Bishop Richard Fox with help from Cardinal Wolsey founded Corpus Christi College to which the Spanish scholar, Juan Luis Vives, came to lecture. At Corpus Christi there were three public lectures: Latin, Greek, and divinity, the former two being a novelty among the Oxford colleges. The Latin lecturer was to cover Cicero, Sallust, Valerius Maximus, Suetonius, Pliny, Livy, Quintilian, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Juvenal, Terence, and Plautus. The Greek lecturer was to cover Greek grammar, Isocrates, Lucian or Philostratus, Aristophanes, Theocritus, Euripides, Sophocles, Pindar, Hesiod, or some other poet, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Aristotle, Theophrastus, or Plutarch.

Those opposing the new learning at Oxford were called Trojans. In spite of a royal letter from Henry VIII which officially forbade the Trojans and a widely-publicized statement by Thomas More that while Greek was not necessary for salvation, its utility was obvious; the new learning had rough going at Oxford. It was fortunate that the universities were organized by colleges so that one college could be "Greek" and another "Trojan."

Greek came to Cambridge quietly through the influence of Chancellor John Fisher. Cambridge, like Oxford, had recently come out of its worst depression, but in addition, it had had many deaths from sweating sickness, town-gown riots, and the loss of a number of literary patrons. It needed a revival or something new. 16 Erasmus

16 Fisher, p. 1521.
taught Greek at Queen's College, Cambridge, as early as 1511. In 1518, a professorship of Greek was established. The fact that the early holders of that chair were successful, dynamic, and charismatic teachers helped establish a Renaissance spirit at Cambridge that Oxford did not achieve. Richard Croke was the first Greek professor at Cambridge from 1518 to 1529. Thomas Smith taught from 1533 to 1540. In 1540, John Cheke took over and at that time the chair was endowed by Henry VIII as the Cambridge Regius professorship. It is significant that Henry VIII chose Croke and Cheke to tutor his two sons (Croke taught his natural son, and Cheke taught the future Edward VI). Cheke's leaving Cambridge after only three or four years at his post meant the loss of the leading Grecian scholar. His successor and those at Oxford (by this time Oxford had a Regius professorship at Christ Church) apparently did not stimulate the same enthusiasm as he did for Greek studies and humanism.

There was a controversy at Cambridge over the pronunciation of Greek. In 1528, Erasmus had criticized the continental pronunciation which had been learned from Greeks. Smith and Cheke took up his cause and found themselves opposed by Cambridge's Chancellor Gardiner. The question was finally resolved in their favor only after Gardiner's death.  

Humanism was checked at the universities during the reign of Mary I (1553-1558). With Elizabeth I on the throne, the atmosphere was free once more for the new learning, but the spontaneity was gone.

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17Clarke, pp. 22-30.
Her reign was not known for classical scholarship. In 1535, Thomas Cromwell, under Henry VIII had ordered the destruction of all scholastic textbooks. He also decreed that Latin and Greek lectures were to be held at each college. The subjects for the arts course were to be logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geography, music, and philosophy. Under Edward VI in 1549 the statutes were changed so that grammar was discarded as the first stage in the trivium. Arithmetic was to be studied first, followed by dialectics and philosophy. The master's course was to include philosophy, perspective, astronomy, and Greek. The textbooks were prescribed and were mostly classical. Perhaps the enforced study of the humanist curriculum and of Greek helped to dampen the spark of classical scholarship as much as Mary's repression did.

During Elizabeth's reign, Oxford and Cambridge parted company. Cambridge kept Edwardian statutes (except that rhetoric took the place of arithmetic for the first year subject) while Oxford returned in 1564-65 to the arts course of the later Middle Ages: the trivium and quadrivium and three branches of philosophy. Greek was discontinued.18

We are given a picture of medical training at Oxford in 1550 by John ab Ulmis: The day started with morning prayers and breakfast. The rest of the morning went as follows:

6 to 7 a.m., the students studied Aristotle's book on physics;
7 to 8 a.m., the students studied the common places of Galen on diseased parts;

18 Ibid., pp. 30-31.
8 to 9 a.m., the students studied Aristotle's Republic or his books on morals or civil government; 9 to 10 a.m., Peter Martyr lectured on the Epistle to the Romans; 10 to 12 noon, they studied the Galen treatises on natural qualities; 12 noon, questions in natural and moral philosophy were proposed.

The afternoons were for public disputations with the various colleges taking turns. Each area had a fixed moderator, for example Peter Martyr always moderated disputations on theology. 19

Grammar schools showed more inclination to adopt Greek and humanism than the universities to the point where, by midcentury, an Etonian would probably have felt at home in the school of Quintilian. At first, it was difficult for the sub-university schools to find persons qualified to teach Greek. The language was introduced at Eton in the 1520's but was not commonly taught until about 1550. Clendamus published a Greek grammar in 1530 (in Latin) which was commonly used. Greek was learned more with a view toward reading and writing than conversation. Isocrates, Homer, and Euripides were quite often used, also the Greek Testament, Aesop, Lucian, Demosthenes, Cebes, and Hesiod. 20 The grammar schools (or public schools as they later came to be called), however, were still primarily Latin grammar schools using by 1540 the required Latin grammar by Lily. Evening was the accepted time for memorization and morning for recitation. One method

19 Williams, pp. 1071-1072.
20 Clarke, pp. 17-20.
of teaching was by asking each other questions, called appositions. Grammatical disпутations were also considered important and were conducted in public. The first books in Latin usually were moral maxims of Publilius Syrus, Aesop's Fables (in a humanist Latin version), and the Distichs of Cato, an old favorite of the Middle Ages reedited in verse by Erasmus. For conversational Latin, Erasmus's Colloquies (1519, used at Eton by 1528), Vives's Colloquies (1532), and finally Marturin Cordier's Colloquies (1570) were used. For poetry, students studied Lily's Carmen de Moribus, Erasmus's Christiani Hominis Institutum (which was Catholic-oriented and did not last after the Reformation) and Mancinus's De Quattuor Virtutibus. Writing Latin poetry was considered important, and pupils were given ample practice at it.

Latin drama was important, and the acting of it was also considered important: indeed it was required at Westminster. Terence was good for teaching colloquial Latin. It did not seem to bother the English that the subject was illicit love. Ovid, Virgil, and Horace were also used with occasional use being made of Italicus, Silius, and Martial.

Cicero (Sturmius's edition) was highly important for Latin prose, including letter writing. His style was much copied in letter writing and expository writing. Erasmus's De Copia was used for theme writing, a subject which was used for expanding a moral maxim by various devices enumerated in handbooks of rhetoric rather than to convey original views or information.
History was not studied for its own sake but for moral example and style. Caesar and Sallust were the historians usually studied. The English schools usually preferred Sallust, to the opposition of Erasmus who preferred Caesar.

Much time was spent in conversational Latin and in the "making of Latins," that is translating English sentences into Latin. Schoolmasters used William Hormans (Eton, 1519) Vulgaria or devised their own. Roger Ascham, for one, did not like Horman's work. Declamations with positive and negative sides were held in Latin.21

The beginning of the Tudor era in 1485 found the educational institutions all oriented towards the Middle Ages. The sixteenth century brought such changes as humanism and Greek (the latter being key to the former), but the institutions retained their heavier Latin and Christian influence. The new learning in England was less literary, less human than on the Continent, but more moral, religious, and practical regarding society and politics.22 More's Utopia comes to mind as the prime example of this with its emphasis on human rights. The effect of the Reformation in England was also unique in that the two monarchs (Henry VIII and Elizabeth I) who essentially steered the Church of England away from Rome had no wish or zeal for a true reformation -- just the separation of the English church. The Reformation had many adherents and had a strong theology, but so did Catholicism, so

21Ibid., pp. 4-17.

22Green, p. 206.
the Crown was able, rather successfully, to let them check one another while establishing a middle-of-the-road Church of England. While some students read Melanchthon and even Luther, they also read Vives, Erasmus, and even Aquinas.
When Katherine, daughter of Charles VI of France, widow of Henry V of England, and mother of Henry VI, took her gentleman usher, the Welshman, Owen Tudor, for her second husband, she probably never dreamed that any issue from the marriage would reach the throne of England. The older son of this union, however, Edmund Tudor, married Margaret Beaufort, and from them came Henry Tudor, the first Tudor king.

Henry Tudor, King Henry VII

Henry Tudor's father, Edmund Tudor, died around the time of his son's birth and thus had no influence on Henry; but it is of interest to note that Edmund and his brothers (the second son Jasper was helpful to and influential with the young Henry) were given into the charge of the Abbess of Barking, Katherine de la Pole, for education. When Henry VI found in 1440 that his mother had remarried and that he had three half-brothers, he sent them to priests for further education.

1David Williams has pointed out in "The Welsh Tudors", History Today, Vol. 4 (1954), pp. 77-84, that Owen Tudor's name in Welsh was Owen ap Maredadd (ap meaning "son of"). Owen, in choosing an English style name, chose his grandfather's first name for his surname. If he had followed custom in this practice, the Tudor name would have been Maredadd or perhaps Meredith.


3Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (eds.), Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. 19 (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), p. 121. This section on "Edmund Tudor" was written by William Arthur Jobson Archbold. Hereafter these volumes will be referred to by author and the abbreviation D. N. B.
Margaret Beaufort, mother to Henry VII, was the only surviving child of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, a grandson of John of Gaunt by his mistress (later his third wife), Katherine Swynford, whose children were legitimized by Parliament during the reign of Richard II but supposedly were barred from the throne.¹

Margaret Beaufort bore Henry when she had not yet turned fourteen at Pembroke Castle in Wales on June 28, 1456. Margaret was an exceptional woman, and it seems appropriate to examine her life and her education in order to understand her influence on her son and grandchildren. She was born on May 31 in 1441 or 1442.²

Margaret’s great-aunts, daughters of John of Gaunt, were supposed to have been the first ladies in England who learned to write. Margaret followed this tradition. Her mother brought her up very carefully since her ancestry made her a possible claimant for the throne, or at least a prospect for an important marriage. Margaret was taught to be a good housekeeper and a skillful needlewoman. She was taught reading and writing in English and was supposed to be one of the best letter writers of her time. She learned French and became

¹Gairdner, p. 3.
²Gairdner (p.3) believed that her early maternity interfered with her growth. As an adult, she was a very tiny woman.

⁶According to Routh (pp. 12-15), her father, John Beaufort, died in 1444. Her mother, Margaret Beauchamp, was first married to Sir Oliver St. John, then to Beaufort, and finally to Lionel Welles. Margaret Beaufort’s aunt, also Margaret Beaufort, married James I of Scotland.
proficient at it and obtained a "lytell percyvynge" of Latin. She translated books from Latin and French to English for pleasure and exercise.\textsuperscript{7} Above all, she was taught to be a true Christian and daughter of the Roman Church.\textsuperscript{8}

After her father's death, Margaret continued under her mother's care but was made a ward of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolke, who doubtless anticipated the financial and other advantages accruing to a guardian. Suffolk wanted Margaret to marry his son, but she preferred to marry Edmund Tudor, being guided by a dream at the age of eight. Margaret's first marriage ended with her husband's early death of the plague,\textsuperscript{9} and she took for her second husband, Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. After his death in later years, she married Lord Thomas Stanley, steward of Edward IV's household, whose influence for her son Henry proved crucial at the Battle of Bosworth.\textsuperscript{10} Routh has indicated that her first marriage was for love, her second for affection and expediency, and her third for policy.\textsuperscript{11} Certainly, with regard to her third marriage, the statement tends to be supported by the fact that her terms for the marriage were that it would not be


\textsuperscript{8}E. M. G. Routh, \textit{Lady Margaret; A Memoir of Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, Mother of Henry VII} (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), pp. 13-16.

\textsuperscript{9}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 14-21.

\textsuperscript{10}Gairdner, pp. 8-9.

\textsuperscript{11}Routh, p. 32.
and that she could devote herself to a semi-monastic life and good works.\(^{13}\)

Margaret's attributes seem to be that she was a good judge of character and was able to use her intelligence for social, domestic, and religious good. In 1495 she met John Fisher, who became her confessor, confidante, and protege, and through her aid became the leading spirit and chancellor of Cambridge.\(^{14}\)

In her later days, Margaret lamented that she had not been able to study her Latin better in her youth. Not only was she very concerned about the education of her grandchildren, but she had several other boys of good family educated in her household. She cultivated Erasmus and Thomas More,\(^{15}\) and, primarily through John Fisher's influence, she became the patroness of scholars and divines, founding or supporting various colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, the most famous being St. John's at Cambridge which became a breeding ground for future royal tutors, as we shall see.\(^{16}\)

She helped support Caxton, the great English printer and acquired a considerable library of more than two hundred books when such a

\(^{12}\) Lodge, p. 8.

\(^{13}\) Pollard, p. 24.

\(^{14}\) Routh, pp. 45-46, 63.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., pp. 72-98.


\(^{17}\) Pollard, p. 20.
collection was quite rare. John Fisher convinced her that active learning rather than lazy secularism was necessary to preserve the Roman Church from the pagan spirit of the Renaissance. She seemed to be a good woman in a cruel age.

Because of her later marriages and because of Henry's status as a political pawn, mother and son were separated for long periods. Henry is said to have had a Welsh foster-mother after his own mother's remarriage. Margaret's influence over Henry as an adult, however, leads to the conclusion that she must have retained her early influence. This was not an age when relatives, even mother and son, were close just because they were relatives. Her concern for education must have been important in shaping his learning and his attitudes toward it.

Henry's health was reportedly delicate during his childhood, and he was frequently sent around to various castles in Wales for a change of air. It is possible that he was moved around between the ages of five and twelve to keep him in hiding from the Yorkists. The tutors who accompanied him were chosen by his Uncle Jasper and his mother. One of them, Andreas Scotus, who was in later years at Oxford, reported that Henry was extremely quick in learning and had great capacity and

\[\text{\textsuperscript{18}}\text{Marples, p. 22.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{19}}\text{Henry Avery Tipping in D. N. B., "Margaret Beaufort", Vol.II,p.49.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{21}}\text{Ibid.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{22}}\text{Wardner, p.6.}\]
aptitude for study. Henry was also tutored by the Dean of Warwick.

When Henry was twelve years old, the Yorkists under Edward IV were victorious, and he was attainted and remained in Wales under the guardianship of the Earl of Pembroke, William Devereux, Lord Herbert. Herbert liked Henry, even though they were technically political enemies, and wanted him to marry his daughter, Maud, when they grew up.\textsuperscript{23} Lady Herbert, who took over Henry's education after her husband's death, said that he was well and carefully educated. One author has asserted that Henry studied at Eton at one time, but he is not listed in the rolls of that College.\textsuperscript{24}

Henry's Uncle Jasper took him from Lady Herbert to London when his half-uncle Henry VI was restored to the throne. Then, shortly later, when Edward IV was again victorious, Jasper took Henry out of the country for his safety. He meant to go to France, but the winds blew them to Brittany, which was then a separate country.\textsuperscript{25} For fourteen years Henry lived either in Brittany or in France. There remains no evidence of how he may have been educated during this time. At any rate, Henry could hardly be said to have been English when he was crowned at the age of twenty-eight, for one-half of his life had been spent in Wales and the other one-half in Brittany and France.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{23}Gairdner, pp.4-5.


\textsuperscript{25}Gairdner, pp. 6-7.

\textsuperscript{26}Williams, p. 84.
Henry apparently received a sober but sound education. He was studious rather than learned. His education does not appear to have been influenced by the Renaissance, but he recognized this (probably while in Europe) and was eager to have a Renaissance education for his sons. While we have no evidence of Henry's learning in areas other than language, it seems safe to assume that he must have acquired some knowledge of mathematics and economics since as king he displayed finesse in financial matters concerning both himself and England.

We know that Henry read easily in French and was well acquainted with Latin. It would be almost certain that he knew Welsh. His years in Wales and Brittany and France undoubtedly strengthened both of these languages. We gain some insight into his language facility, as well as his interest in religion, by examining the books in his library. He had the Bible and the works of Livy which were almost certainly in Latin. The following works written in French were in his collection: Froissart's Chronicles, The Government of Kings and Princes, La Forteresse de Foy, The Book of Josephus, and The Bible Historical. It is not clear what the remaining book, The Holy Trinity, was written in, but it was probably Latin or French.

Henry's language facility can perhaps best be shown by a letter in English to his mother (which incidentally shows how intimate

27 Marples, pp. 19-21.
28 Timbs, p. 62.
Margaret was with John Fisher. The letter reflects the style of the

Margaret was with John Fisher. The letter reflects the style of the
time, but yet it is strong and clear:

Madam, My Most Entirely Wellbeloved Lady and Mother:

I recommend me unto you in the most humble and lowly
wise that I can, beseeching you of your daily and continual
blessings. By your Confessor, the bearer, I have received
your good and most loving writing, and by the same have heard at
good leisure such credence as he would show unto me on your
behalf, and thereupon have sped him in every behalf without delay,
according to your noble petition and desire, which rests in
two principal points; the one for a general pardon for all manner
of causes; the other is for to alter and change part of a license
which I had given unto you before, for to be put into Mortmain
at Westminster; and now to be converted into the University of
Cambridge for your soul's health, etc. All which things,
according to your desire and pleasure I have with all my heart
and good will given and granted unto you. And, my Dame, not
only in this but in all other things that I may know should
be to your honor and pleasure and weale of your soul I shall
be as glad to please you as your heart can desire it, and I
know well that I am as much bounden so to do as any creature
living, for the great and singular motherly love and
affection that it has pleased you at all time to bear
towards me. Wherefore, my own most loving mother, in
my most hearty manner I thank you, beseeching you of your
good continuance in the same. And Madam, your said Confessor has
moreover shown unto me on your behalf that you, of your
goodness and kind disposition, have given and granted unto
me such title and interest as you have or ought to have in
such debts and duties which is owing and due unto you in
France, by the French king and others, wherefore Madam in
my most hearty and humble wise I thank you. Nowbeit I verily
think it will be right hard to recover it without it be
driven by compulsion and force rather than by any true justice,
which is not yet as we think any convenient time to be put
into execution.

Nevertheless, it has pleased you to give us a good interest
and mean if they would not conform them to ransom and good
justice to defend or offend at a convenient time when the
case shall so require hereafter. For such a chance may fall
that this your grant might stand in great stead for a
recovery of our Right, and to make us free, whereas we be
now bound. And verily, Madam, as I might recover it at
this time or any other, you may be sure you should have
your pleasure therein, as I and all that God has given me
is and shall ever be at your will and commandment as I have instructed Master Fisher more largely herein as I doubt not but he will declare unto you. And I beseech you to send me your mind and pleasure in the same, which I shall be full glad to follow with God's grace, which send and give unto you the full accomplishment of all your noble and virtuous desires. Written at Greenwich the 17th day of July, with the hand of your most humble and loving son.

H. R.

After the writing of this letter, your Confessor delivered unto me such letters and writings obligatory of your duties in France which it has pleased you to send unto me, which I have received by an indenture of every parcel of the same. Wherefore, oftentimes in my most humble wise, I thank you, and I purpose hereafter, at better leisure, to know your mind and pleasure further therein. Madam, I have encumbered you now with this my long writing, but methinks that I can do no less, considering that it is so seldom that I do write. Wherefore I beseech you to pardon me, for verily Madam, my sight is nothing so perfect as it has been; and I know well it will impair daily. Wherefore I trust that you will not be displeased though I write not so often with mine own hand, for on my faith I have been three days before I could make an end of this letter. 30

Henry's original biographer, Lord Bacon, said Henry was "fair and well-spoken with a devotional cast of countenance; for he was marvellously religious both in affection and observance."31 Bacon in general, however, did not give a flattering picture of Henry. Later historians believe that Bacon was responsible for errors regarding Henry, and they believe Henry was more intelligent and more disposed toward learning than Bacon gave him credit for.32

31Timbs, p. 59.
Henry's contemporary, Polydore Vergil, gave generally a more positive verbal portrait of Henry than Lord Bacon did. Vergil had come to England as an emissary from Rome. Henry VII retained him to write Anglica Historia. Vergil was trying to be objective while at the same time justify the rise of the Tudors—a difficult task. According to Vergil, Henry was at least outwardly very religious and while not the most learned man in the kingdom, he was not devoid of learning. Vergil indicated that one of Henry's greatest assets was an extremely retentive memory. This would have helped him in learning languages and was an important characteristic to pass on to his progeny.  

We can gain further insights into Henry's personality and interest in education by noting the following facts about Henry VII as an adult: He was smart enough to know or to listen to advice to fight Richard III at a place (Bosworth in Leicestershire) that gave an advantage to his smaller force. He was his own prime minister. He was the best legislator in England after Edward I. He set the precedent for the Tudors to "reign indeed" by using churchmen and lawyers rather than nobles to govern and by attainers of the peerage which removed position and power from all the old peers in England but two by the time of his death in 1509. He was a patron of commerce and financed

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34 Sairdner, loc. cit., p. 29.

35 Pollard, loc. cit., pp. 36-37.
John Cabot's voyages. He encouraged drama. He was pure Welsh in his love for music. He encouraged architecture, particularly the new Italian style. He, with his mother, picked court personnel as tutors for his sons and encouraged More and Erasmus to visit the nursery of his children.

Henry was hard, cold, cautious, and prudent. His living under the shadow of danger and intrigue for many years taught him to keep his own counsel. He apparently was overcome by avarice in his later years. Yet Henry was reported to be an affectionate, dutiful son, a good husband, and an indulgent father. His mother was happy with him and only deplored his habit of acquiring other people's money.

Since Henry was more of a businessman and administrator by instinct and training than a man of learning and culture, it is not surprising that his court was basically unintellectual and uncultured. He and his mother did, however, keep making motions and gestures toward culture and the intellectual life. So while we have Henry on the one hand going to the Cambridge disputations in 1505, having Italian furniture, an Italian chaplain, and the previously mentioned

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38 Williams, p. 84.

39 Routh, p. 61.
items of education; we have on the other hand the Henry who liked
tools, freaks, cock fighting, wrestling, bull baiting, and betting. Henry VII seemed to be, thanks to his education and upbringing, a
pre-Renaissance king who had seen the winds of change and was smart
enough to try to prepare his sons for the reality of the English Renaissance.

Henry probably would not or perhaps could not have tried for the
throne if Richard III had not murdered his young nephews. Richard
sowed the seeds of his own undoing. After the murder of the young
Edward V and his brother, the rightful heir of the Yorkist faction
was Elizabeth of York, eldest daughter of Edward IV and his queen,
Elizabeth Woodville, and sister of the murdered princes. Before
fighting Richard III, Henry had agreed to marry Elizabeth, and thus
unite the two rival factions.

Elizabeth Plantagenet, Elizabeth of York

Elizabeth was born in February, 1465. She was reared as a royal
princess and at a young age was betrothed to Dauphin Charles of France.
Since she was to be Queen of France, she was taught at a young age
to read and write French as well as English. Her father hired the
best London scrivener to teach her (and her sister Mary) to write a
good court hand. She was taught old English characters that were soon
to be replaced by the modern or Italian hand. She was also exposed to

\footnote{Fisher, pp. 150-151.}
Spanish. Although I could find no evidence of it, it would not have been surprising if she were exposed to Latin.

As a child Elizabeth had a great household and was known as Madame la Dauphine. She knew Margaret Beaufort, her future mother-in-law, since Margaret was her state governess, and for a brief period before her marriage, she lived with Margaret and her third husband. In spite of her early calling to be Queen of France, there seems to be no reason to believe that Elizabeth was educated any more than necessary to be a noble woman. Since Margaret Beaufort had something to do with the education of Elizabeth, she (Margaret) may have tried to give the girl an education similar to her own. Neither of Elizabeth's parents seemed especially interested in education, and there is no evidence to suggest that Elizabeth was a friend to education or that she was concerned with the education of her own children. It is true though that Elizabeth may have seemed to show little or no interest in the education of her children since she seemed to defer to her husband and his mother in all matters not directly relating to herself.

Elizabeth excelled in music and found great pleasure in it. In addition, she loved dancing, masques, jesters, games, cards, the chase, and gardening. Some historians have described her as tall and beautiful, but some recent ones have discounted both facts. A Venetian ambassador described her as a person of great beauty and

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2 Simons, p. 244.
ability, and Erasmus said she was sound in judgement, prudent, and pious. A later historian, however, has said that she was happy, pleasure-loving, and only outwardly religious, that is, she sent her servants on pilgrimages while she participated in pleasure journeys, picnics, disguises, musicals, and dancing. The same historian also believed that Elizabeth possessed and passed on the undesirable Yorkist qualities of excessive pride, vanity, and a love of show and finery which in her children were called Tudor qualities. One must say in the defense of Elizabeth, however, that her early years were filled with adversity as well as grandeur and that in her fifteen years of married life, she bore seven or eight children. It does not seem just to picture her as leading strictly an idle, pleasure-filled existence.

After Elizabeth died in 1503, Henry's personality is generally thought to have deteriorated in the six years that he survived her. His mother outlived him a few months, but she lived long enough to assist her grandson in assembling his first Council of State.

The founders of the ruling Tudor dynasty who united the Yorks and the Lancasters seem to have had the traditional pre-Renaissance education of the nobility. Languages were stressed, at least Latin and French. Latin was necessary for any further learning, for religious usages and for communication with the Church. French was

\[ ^{3}\text{Pollard, pp. 20,39.} \]
\[ ^{4}\text{Mary Croom: Brown, Mary Tudor, Queen of France (London: Methuen and Company, Limited, 1911), p. 47.} \]
used for communicating with the nearest continental neighbor and especially with that part of England which was still across the English Channel. The fact that both Henry and Elizabeth possessed linguistic and musical abilities may have helped set the tone for the next three generations of the Tudor family: a family that excelled in languages and music.
THE FIRST GENERATION

One author has reported that Henry VII had a natural son in Brittany prior to 1485, who bore the name Roland Velville, and was knighted by Henry who made him Constable of Beamaris Castle. In later years his great-granddaughter was executed by Elizabeth I in the suppression of the Babington plot. No reference is available regarding Roland's education, hence he will not be considered at length here since neither he nor his heirs were considered part of the royal family.

Henry and Elizabeth Tudor had seven children: Arthur, Margaret, Henry, Elizabeth, Mary, Edmund, and Katherine. Elizabeth (who is reported to have been very precocious) died at age three, Edmund died at age one, and Katherine died when a few days old. One author reported that there was a fourth son who also died in infancy. At any rate, the four children who lived past infancy were Arthur, Margaret, Henry, and Mary.

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3 Edward Hall, Hall's Chronicle; Containing the History of England During the Reign of Henry the Fourth and the Succeeding Monarchs to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth, (London: J. Johnson; F. and J. Rivington; T. Payne; Wilkie and Robinson; Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme; Cadell and Davies; and J. Mawman, 1809), p. 504.
Arthur Tudor

Arthur, born in September, 1486, was named for the legendary Arthur, evidently to emphasize the Tudor link to the ancient Celtic line. He was christened at Winchester, the old West Saxon capital, was made Duke of Cornwall at birth and Prince of Wales at three, but he died at the age of fifteen before his education was completed.\(^1\) He and his brother, Henry, were the first English princes to receive training that had been influenced by the Renaissance. Since the two boys had mostly common tutors, their training was quite similar. Arthur, however, was the one who was exposed (although for a short time) to a leading humanist.

Arthur's first tutor was his chaplain, John Rede, of whose qualifications nothing is now known. Apparently Arthur learned the basic elements of English and Latin from Rede before Arthur was placed, at the age of ten, under the charge of Bernard Andre, the royal historiographer. Henry VII evidently did not appoint special tutors for Arthur, but thriftily used learned men who were attached to the court and who were plainly his men. Besides Rede and Andre, Arthur's teachers were the royal librarian, Giles d'Ewes, a Frenchman who taught him French, and the court poet, John Skelton.\(^5\) Arthur was reported to be very learned and studious beyond his years. Andre said

\(^5\)Marples, p. 19.
that Arthur was very bright and that by the time he was fifteen, he had either memorized or read standard works on grammar and selections from Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Terence, Cicero, Thucydides, Cæsar, Livy, and Tacitus. While Arthur was given a complete classical education (without Greek), he was also instructed in grammar, poetry, oratory, and history. In addition, a company of actors was organized around Arthur called The Prince's Players. Arthur was fluent enough in Latin to use that language in his correspondence with his future bride, Katherine of Aragon.

In the year 1501, Thomas Linacre, a court physician and a leading humanist, was appointed by the King as Arthur's tutor, but it is questionable whether Linacre actually served in the post before Arthur's premature death. Another author, however, felt sure that Linacre did tutor Arthur and that Arthur progressed in Latin and began Greek and

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7 Marples, p. 19.
8 Timbs, p. 60.
9 Thiselton-Dyer, p. 335.
Italian under Linacre in 1500 and 1501. Linacre dedicated his translation from Greek to Latin of Proclus's On the Sphere to Arthur.\(^\text{12}\)

The fact that Henry appointed Linacre tutor to his heir in 1501, regardless of whether the new tutor ever taught the lad, leads to the conjecture that there was a conflict of educational ideas and that Linacre won out over Andre. Andre, who probably was a little older than Linacre, was an Augustinian monk, and a member of a distinguished family in Toulouse. He either accompanied Henry VII on his return to England from Brittany or came shortly afterward. He served as royal historiographer throughout the reign of Henry VII, whose biography he was never able to complete. He lectured at Oxford, where he may have become acquainted with the humanists who were increasingly active about the turn of the century. Erasmus did not think highly of him and accused him of abusing literature, of prejudicing Henry VII against Linacre (whom Erasmus considered to be an excellent scholar), and of having "mean abilities."\(^\text{13}\)

Thomas Linacre, born about 1460, received his first education from William de Selling, a scholar who had gone to Italy and there learned Greek. At Oxford Linacre probably studied Greek under Cornelio Vitelli, who was believed to be the first teacher of Greek in

\(^{12}\) MacNalty, Henry VIII ..., p. 18.

\(^{13}\) Pollard, Henry VIII, p. 20.
England, and he became an intimate friend of Grocyn and Latimer, fellow scholars.

About 1495 Linacre went to Italy in the party of de Selling, whom Henry VII had appointed ambassador to the Pope. Linacre studied under various persons in Italy, learning more and more Greek and Latin. He had returned to England and Oxford by 1500 after studying at Padua and receiving a Doctor of Medicine degree from there. Linacre was quite instrumental in founding England's College of Physicians. He was esteemed as a scholar by Vives, Budé, Erasmus, Melanchthon, Aldus, and others. It seems unfortunate that he did not have more to do with the education of the royal children during their formative years and his prime. Arthur's brother Henry, was nine in 1500, but it is not recorded that he and Linacre had any educational encounters. As an adult, Henry VIII recognized Linacre's talents by giving him a part in the education of his daughter.

Linacre and other humanists reportedly were on the "outs" during the reign of Henry VII who, as he became older, was more conservative and less open to new ideas. When Andre ceased as Arthur's tutor in 1500 to write Henry's biography, it is reported that an unknown Scot took over as Arthur's tutor.\(^\text{15}\) Since Fisher reported that about

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that time money was paid to the Scottish poet, Dunbar, it makes one wonder if he could have been that tutor. If so, Arthur would probably have received a less humanistic, more traditional type of training than he would have received with Linacre.

Giles d'Ewes held the office of librarian for nearly forty years in the courts of Henry VII and Henry VIII, and during this period he also taught French to Arthur, Henry VIII, and the daughter of Henry VIII, Mary, for whom he also wrote a French manual.

John Skelton who taught both the royal brothers was born about 1460 and was evidently educated at both Oxford and Cambridge. After receiving his Master of Arts degree at Cambridge in 1484, he became the poet laureate of that institution. His irregular metre of short rhymes was probably adopted from French verse. From a young age, he was an avid student of the classics and French literature, and wrote verses in honor of nobility and royalty (for example, Edward IV, Henry VII, Arthur, and Henry VIII). In 1490 he was admitted to holy orders, and before 1500 he had been appointed tutor to Arthur and Henry. Skelton seems to have been young Henry's chief tutor and was constantly in and out of court favor because of his practical jokes; his well-placed satire, and his blunt disenchantment with the insincerities

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16 Fisher, p. 151.

of court life, whereas Andre evidently was Arthur's chief tutor.

Arthur had been betrothed at an early age to Katherine of Aragon, youngest child of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. Their ambassadors had examined the infant Arthur awake, asleep, and naked; and England's ambassadors to Spain had undoubtedly done likewise to Katherine. As was previously stated, Arthur and Katherine exchanged love letters in Latin. If Arthur had had Spanish instruction, it evidently was not effective since the young couple had problems in verbal communications after Katherine arrived just a few months before Arthur died. They had gone to Wales to hold court as Prince and Princess of Wales. Whether or not they consummated their marriage is one of the mysteries of history, for Katherine steadfastly maintained that they did not; but years later at the divorce trial of Katherine and Henry VIII, "friends" of Arthur said that he called for water, saying that marriage was a thirsty business. The morning after the wedding night, he supposedly said that he had been in Spain the night before. Since Henry VIII could get people to say anything he wanted them to, one can only wonder about this phase of Arthur's education.

Racon's Chronicle reported that Arthur's too rigorous education was the cause of his early death. Most of the Tudors were studied from a medical standpoint by the physician Arthur S. MacNalty who

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18 According to Mattingly (p. 3), Katherine was also descended from John of Gaunt. One of his legitimate daughters, Katherine of Lancaster, married into the royal family of Castile. Katherine of Aragon was her namesake and great-granddaughter. Katherine technically had a better right to the throne of England than the Tudors.

believed that Arthur was delicate from birth; that he was a complete contrast to his brother, Henry, in health, physique, and outlook; and therefore he did not believe that education had anything to do with Arthur's early death. From the little that is known about Arthur, his temperament and personality seem somewhat similar to those qualities of his nephew, Edward VI. At any rate, Arthur appears to have been the first English prince whose education went beyond the Latinity and controversies of the Middle Ages and grappled with the ideas of the ancients (particularly if he really studied with Linacre).

Arthur's death in adolescence left his younger brother, Henry, then ten years old, heir apparent. Henry was declared Prince of Wales ten months after his brother's death when it became obvious that Arthur's widow was not pregnant. Actually, Margaret Tudor was the next surviving child, but her education will be dealt with following a discussion of Henry's education.

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Henry Tudor, Henry VIII

Henry was born in June, 1491, at Greenwich, the third child and second son of his parents. His mother suffered much bearing him, which must have been a great deal by today's standards. He was baptized at the Church of the Observant Friars.

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Young Henry was not heir to the throne. His father was supposedly grooming him to be Archbishop of Canterbury (according to his biographer, Lord Herbert), and so his education was early geared towards a clerical career. Henry VII reasoned quite logically that it would be easier to provide for a younger son from ecclesiastical rather than royal revenues.22 There has been debate about the intentions of Henry VII, but even if he was not aiming his son, Henry, for Canterbury, there is little doubt that Henry could have fit into a clerical position with the education he received.

When it became common knowledge that Henry was being given a classical education like Arthur, many people were surprised. The Canterbury idea was not formally acknowledged by Henry VII, so young Henry's classical education was considered all the more unusual because the notion of an educated layman was unheard of. Henry VII was determined that all of his sons, however, should have the kind of education being offered on the Continent.23 The nobility was poorly educated at this time,24 and it is understandable that they would look askance at "too" much education. With infant and child mortality what it was then Henry VII really was wise to give young Henry the kind of education he believed appropriate for Arthur.

22 Pollard, Henry VIII, p. 16.
23 Marples, p. 19.
24 Timbs, p. 62.
Henry was a strong and healthy child who was vital, lively, broad-shouldered, and had small, crafty eyes. He had a general air of dominance, shrewdness, and self-importance. With these qualities, his fresh complexion, and his golden red hair, he made quite a contrast to the more passive, introspective Arthur.

All accounts agree that Henry's educational program was rigorous (like Arthur's) and that it began early. Erasmus reported that Henry was set to studying when no more than a child.

Henry grew up in an era when boys started studies at four, Latin grammar at six, were introduced into company at twelve, started hunting at fourteen, started jousting at sixteen, and entered public life at eighteen. Girls were considered adult and marriageable at thirteen or soon after.

It has been assumed by some that Charles Brandon, Henry's playfellow and future brother-in-law, was his childhood schoolfellow and playmate. Brandon's father had fallen at Bosworth, and Henry VII felt kindly toward young Charles. Brandon was evidently a playmate for Arthur and Henry, but there is nothing to indicate that he received the learning they did. One of Henry's boyhood study colleagues was

25MacNalty, Henry VIII, p. 12.
26Pollard, Henry VIII, p. 19.
William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who had previously been tutored by Erasmus, and was appointed in 1499 as Henry's mentor and companion. Henry's other learning partner was Sir John St. John, Margaret Beaufort's half-nephew. Evidence for this is the fact that St. John had inscribed on his tomb that he had been educated with Henry VIII.\footnote{Theodore Maynard, Henry the Eighth (Milwaulke: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1949), p. 11.} that Henry appears to have studied first with John Fisher, his grandmother's chaplain. This may have been when he was destined for Canterbury, although he would have been too young to study much theology. As has been previously stated, Henry VII tended to use men already about the court to tutor his sons. After examining the lives of leading scholars of the day such as Erasmus and Vives, one can easily imagine that persons of their caliber would have tutored the royal boys, for scholars wanted and needed nothing more than generous patrons. Erasmus, Skelton, Ascham, and Flyot all complained of poor pay for teachers. Henry VII could have had a man of Erasmus's stature for a relatively low rate. That he did not do so may indicate that he believed that the education (and possibly the discipline involved) was as important or more important than the teacher.

\footnote{Frank A. Mumby, The Youth of Henry VIII: A Narrative in Contemporary Letters (Boston and New York: Houghton and Mifflin Company, 1913), pp. 3-5.}

Bernard Andre and Giles d'Ewes probably had a part in Henry's early education. One or the other of them certainly trained his handwriting which was a compromise between the old English hieroglyphics his mother learned (and humbler individuals for some time to come, Shakesphere for example) and the bold and clear Italian style, soon to be adopted by well-educated Englishmen. It is known that Giles d'Ewes taught French to Henry and also gave him lessons on the lute.

The person most associated with Henry's education, however, is the poet, John Skelton, who began tutoring Henry in the mid-1490's and continued until 1502. As Skelton said

The honor of England I learned to spell
I gave him drink of the sugared well
Of Helicon's waters crystalline,
Acquainting him with the Muses nine.

Skelton was the greatest name in English verse from Lydgate to Surrey and was the leading poet of his generation. He was a good scholar and a good Latinist, was the author of several Latin grammars, and wrote verses in Latin as well as in English. The thing that particularly endeared him to Margaret Beaufort and probably helped him to get the position as tutor was an epitath which he wrote for Margaret's brother-in-law, Jasper Tudor, who died in 1495.

33 Brown, p. 24.
34 Scarisbrick, p. 5.
36 Marples, p. 20.
37 MacNalty, Henry VIII, p. 19.
Skelton did not know Greek and despised the language as one of a decadent people. He also believed it served no useful purpose; as he said, a man could not order hay for his horse in Greek. If Henry had been tutored by Linacre, More, Lily, or Colet; he would have learned Greek or at least have been exposed to a different attitude regarding it.

Skelton could be elegant and learned, but generally he was a boisterous, rowdy, ill-bred, coarse, and vulgar person. On the one hand he wrote a moral treatise in Latin for Henry in 1501, but on the other hand his sharp satire, his open criticisms of the Church and court life made him seem what he apparently was: a disgruntled man. Skelton was in his thirties when he tutored Henry; however, it was not until later that he did his worst clowning in the pulpit and was secretly married after taking holy orders. Skelton's fierce satire made him many enemies, including Wolsey. We have no way of knowing how much of his anticlericalism Henry absorbed. Skelton, in addition to his other vices, evidently had a deep hatred of the Scottish people which he may have passed on to Henry.

In writing the previously mentioned moral treatise, Speculum Principis (A Prince's Mirror), Skelton was the first English royal

38 Marples, p. 20.


tutor to follow the continental custom of writing an educational
guideline manual. According to this manual, the prince was to
avoid gluttony, drunkenness, luxury, lewd women, and adultery; and
he was to cultivate self-restraint and sobriety and choose a wife
carefully and prize her forever. 41

Skelton was evidently a good Latin teacher—at least Henry
had a good command of the language by the age of nine. Young Henry
absorbed, one supposes from Skelton, a love of poetry and a vigorous
knowledge of his own language. Skelton's rhymes were tattered, ragged,
and jagged and belonged to the Middle Ages with a French influence,
however, Henry's showed more Renaissance influence.42 Some examples
of Henry's verses follow:43

Pastime with good company
I love, and shall until I die;
Grudge who lust but none deny,
And God be pleased, so live will I
For my pastance
Hunt, sing, and dance:
My heart is set!
All goodly sport
For my comfort
Who shall me let?

41 Warples, p. 21.
42 Ibid., pp. 22-23.
Youth must have some dalliance,
Of good or ill some pastance;
Company me think then best,
All thoughts and fancies to digest,
For idleness
Is chief mistress
Of vices all;
Then who can say
But mirth and play
Is best of all?

Company with honesty
Is virtue, vices all to flee
Company is good and ill,
But every man hath his free will
The best ensue
The worst eschew,—
My mind shall be;
Virtue to use
Vice to refuse
Thus shall I use me.

Skelton and his mother, Joan, talked too freely of palace and
court matters; so she was fined, and he was jailed for a short time
and was released from his tutoring position in 1502. Henry as king
brought Skelton (who died in 1529) back to court as orator regis,
and did not appear to either favor him or to be against him.\textsuperscript{45}

Succeeding Skelton as Henry's tutor was William Honne who is lost
in the mists of history. We do not know about his effectiveness or
specialties, but we do know that Henry continued to learn. Since
Henry seemed to have been influenced by schoolmen as much as by
humanists, one could make a case for Honne not being one of the men

\textsuperscript{44} MacNalty, \textit{Henry VIII} \ldots , p. 20.
\textsuperscript{45} Marples, pp. 20-21.
\textsuperscript{46} Scarisbrick, p. 5.
of the new learning; and this case is strengthened by the fact that none of the English or continental humanists mentioned him. It was probably during this time that Henry was led into the study of the controversies of the schoolmen which was then fashionable. Although many of the controversies were barren, Henry's study of Aquinas was helpful, for he found out that the Pope could dispense with canon law but not divine law.

In 1499, Erasmus was in England and, along with More and Arnold, found himself near the younger court. They visited Henry, age eight; Margaret, age ten; and Mary, age four (Edmund was an infant). Erasmus found Henry courteous and dignified, and More and Arnold presented Henry with some writing. Henry asked Erasmus for a written tribute, causing Erasmus to become angry with his colleagues for not warning him in advance about such an event. He promised to write a poem and did so in three days, praising Britain and Henry VII and his children. The poem was dedicated to the Duke of York (Henry), and an accompanying letter praised Henry's devotion to learning.

About the turn of the century, Henry was reported to be self-willed but docile, manageable if his petulance was understood, and intelligent; but, like most boys of eight or nine, he did not like to concentrate too long on any one thing.

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147 Mattingly, p. 173.
148 Timbs, p. 61.
149 Pollard, Henry VIII, pp. 22-23.
50 Hackett, p. 419.
Henry must have been intelligent; and, according to Pollard, he was as forward as Edward, Elizabeth, and Jane Grey. Henry has been rated as the most accomplished monarch in a wide variety of areas—even more accomplished than James I. Marples accredits Henry with all the Tudor precocity. Henry's areas of accomplishments were in languages, music, mathematics, theology, poetry, athletics, and the social graces.

As stated previously, Henry obtained a vigorous command of his mother tongue, and he had a distinctive literary style whether he was writing in English, Latin, or French. He had a love of and was engrossed by detail in language. A study of papers (state and otherwise) shows that he was an inveterate proofreader and that he himself wrote clear and powerful state papers (as good as those of Wolsey and Cromwell). He corrected all kinds of mistakes and often changed the literary style to suit his own. He was a vast reader. He enjoyed writing verses, some of which are still in anthologies (such as the verses previously quoted).

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51 Pollard, Henry VIII, p. 19.
52 MacNalty, Henry VIII ..., p. 21.
53 Marples, p. 19.
55 Timbs, p. 62.
There seems to be no doubt that Henry was quite proficient in both Latin and French. Giles d'Ewes reported that Henry had "clear and perfect sight in French." Henry VII, of course, could speak French fluently from all of his years of living there, but whether or not he helped young Henry has not been recorded. It has been reported on the one hand that at the age of forty-one, Henry could still speak, read, and write both languages with ease. Conversely, it has been reported that as a grown man Henry used only English. There is no doubt about the fact that Henry wrote Anne Boleyn letters in French in the late 1520's. One follows:

By turning over in my thought the contents of your last letters, I have put myself into a great agony, not knowing how, whether to my disadvantage, as I proved in many places, or to my advantage, as I understood some others; I beseech you now, with the greatest earnestness, to let me know your whole intention, as to the love between us two. For I must of necessity obtain this answer of you, having been above a whole year struck with the dart of love, and not yet sure whether I shall fail, or find a place in your heart and affection. This uncertainty has hindered me of late from naming you my mistress, since you only love me with an ordinary affection; but if you please to do the duty of a true and loyal mistress, and to give up yourself, body and heart, to me, who will be, as I have been your most loyal servant (if your rigour does not forbid me).

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57 Hackett, p. 10.
58 Brown, p. 21.
60 Marples, p. 22.
I promise you that not only the name shall be given you, but also that I will take you for my mistress, casting off all others that are in competition with you, out of my thought and affection, and serving you only. I beg you to give an entire answer to this my rude letter, that I may know on what and how far I may depend. But, if it does not please you to answer in writing, let me know some place, where I may have it by word of mouth, and I will go thither with all my heart. No more for fear of tiring you. Written by the hand of him, who would willingly remain yours.

H. Rex

It would seem that although Henry ceased the active study of the two languages, he had enough intelligence and aptitude for languages to maintain a fairly good skill.

Some of Henry's letters in Latin were quite good. When Henry's brother-in-law-to-be, Philip of Burgundy, died, (Henry was fifteen) Erasmus wrote a letter of consolation to Henry and Henry's reply was so good that Erasmus thought Henry must have had help. Erasmus's suspicions were allayed, however, by his old pupil and Henry's friend, Lord Mountjoy. Although Henry said nothing, he said it well. The letter follows:

Jesus is my hope.

I am greatly affected by your letter, most eloquent Erasmus, which is at once too elegant to be taken as written in haste, and at the same time too plain and simple to seem premeditated by a mind so ingenious. For in some ways those epistles which by a mind thus-endowed are brought

61 VanThal, p. 79.
62 Pollard, Henry VIII, p. 23.
forth with the more designed elaboration, in like manner carry
with them a more studied difficulty. For while we apply
ourselves to a purer eloquence, that expert and clear
manner of speech escapes us almost unawares. But this
your epistle is to be esteemed as much for its evident
perspicuity, so that, in fine, you seem to have achieved
every point. But wherefore do I determine to laud your
eloquence, whose renown is known throughout the whole
world? Nothing that I am able to fashion in your praise
can be enough worthy of that consummate erudition. Where­
fore I pass over your praises, in the which I think it the
more fit to keep silence than to speak in manner too niggard.

The news of the death of the King of Castile my
wholly and entirely and best-beloved brother, I had
reluctantly received very long before your letter.
Would that the report thereof had either reached me much
later or been less true! For never, since the death of
my dearest mother, hath there come to me more hateful
intelligence. And to speak truth, I was the scantier
well-disposed towards your letter than its singular
grace demanded, because it seemed to tear open again
the wound to which time had brought insensibility.
But indeed those things which are decreed by Heaven
are so to be accepted by mortal men. Continue, there­
fore, if in your parts there be any occurrences, to
advertise us by letters, but may they be of happier
sort. May God bring to a fortunate issue whatsoever
may happen that is worth thus to be remembered. Farewell.

From Richmond, the seventeenth day of January.64

Henry's attainments in Italian and Spanish seem to have been
more modest. He learned some of each language, but evidently not
enough to read, write, or speak freely. He could, however, under­
stand both languages. It is probable that he learned Spanish from his
first wife, Katherine of Aragon.

64 VanThal, pp. 78-79.
66 Pollard, Henry VIII, p. 22.
In 1519, at the age of twenty-eight, Henry developed an interest in Greek, and therefore had himself tutored in the language by Richard Croke, who later tutored Henry's natural son. There is no record of Henry's becoming proficient in Greek, but it is of interest to note that he should undertake the study of a language at that age with the burdens of his kingly responsibilities. That must have indeed been a triumph for the humanists. 67

All authors agreed that Henry showed great mathematical ability. 68 The only qualification was the statement by Marples indicating that Henry's aptitude in mathematics was not so superior as his aptitude in languages. 69 No record exists concerning how far Henry advanced in mathematics or by whom he was taught. The only practical application of this skill is seen in his engineering abilities, as evidenced by his fondness for designing artillery, armour, ships, and nautical equipment. 70

Henry's training in theology was such that the subject became an intellectual hobby for him. 71 This statement is traditional, but

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67 Scarisbrick, p. 15.
69 Marples, p. 22.
70 Timbs, p. 62.
could well be exaggerated since his training and inclination made him basically conservative, dutiful, and pious. He loved ritual, and was, especially in his early years as king, a person who attended five masses a day and vespers. Henry's mind was acquisitive, but he was not troubled by skepticism or uncertainties. His training in theology was apparently thorough but aimed toward the orthodoxy of the Tudors and Lancastrians. When as king he broke away from Rome, he did not have reformist tendencies in the theological sense; he merely substituted himself for the Pope.

Henry's reputation as a theologian came about primarily, it is believed, because he wrote a book against Martin Luther. Although he undoubtedly had some help from More, Fisher, Colet, and Wolsey, his book was his own and was an acceptable treatise showing that he knew the subtleties of theology. For his efforts against Luther, Pope Leo X made Henry Defender of the Faith. One wonders about the deepness of Henry's real convictions as he matured, for in 1533 he said that further study made him think contrary of what he had written about Luther; but that if the Pope changed his decision regarding Henry's divorce from his first wife, he (Henry) could study further and reconfirm what he had written earlier.

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72 Cook, p. 120.
73 Hackett, p. 28.
76 Great Britain, Public Records Office, p. 135.
Henry in his early years as king liked to read and discuss Thomas Aquinas with Wolsey, and he liked to talk about religion and the Reformation with More. Henry also admired Melanchthon and acquired a Lutheran Library. Henry's interest in religion and theology was evidently genuine, but his easy manipulation of his conscience in later years would tend to support the idea that his interest was selfish and shallow. His training in the area, however, was evidently more than adequate. Whether his later religious manipulations were due to the times, or due in some measure to a tutor who mocked the Church and flaunted its customs (Skelton), or due to a chief adviser who used the Church for his own advancement (Wolsey), or a reaction to his overly pious first wife, or to a possible personality change in the late 1520's can not be determined. They were undoubtedly due to a combination of all these factors.

Henry excelled in music. It is not clear how he got his start in music or by whom he was trained, but as a young child he had had minstrels and musicians in his retinue. It is clear that by late adolescence he understood music theory, wrote musical compositions, sang parts, and played instruments. His early biographer, Herbert, found it curious that he was so trained in music. Music was, after


79 Herbert, p. 2.
all, one-fourth of the quadrivium, so it does not seem surprising that he was trained so well in this area.

Henry could sing parts and play the flute and the recorder, according to Herbert. Pollard records that he could also play the lute, the organ and the harpsichord. As an adult, he had twenty-six lutes, as well as trumpets, viols, rebecs, sackbuts, fifes, drums, harpsichords, and organs on which he practised all his life. Also as an adult, Henry sent all over England for boys and men with good voices for his chapel choir and for Wolsey's (which he came to consider better than his own); and from Venice he enticed Dionysius Memo, organist at St. Marks. Henry would sit rapt for Memo's recitals for four hours while the rest of the court fidgeted.

Henry's understanding of music theory was such that he could write the melody and harmony for vocal and instrumental pieces, and his hymn, "O Lorde, the Maker of All Thynge," ranks with the best of that type and is still a favorite in English cathedrals. Erasmus testified of his own knowledge that Henry could compose a six-part

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80 Ibid., p. 13.
82 Scarisbrick, p. 15.
83 Pollard, Henry VIII, p. 25.
84 Ibid., p. 25.
mass. According to another author, Henry wrote anthems, masses, songs, and ballads in English, French, and Latin. Henry's enthusiasm for music appeared to be completely natural, and his talent and technical knowledge also appeared to come naturally.

Henry rounded himself out by being a physical Apollo. He and his friend (and later brother-in-law) Charles Brandon, were often compared to Achilles and Hector. Henry's physical appeal and prowess endeared him to the populace just as his learning endeared him to the humanists. At twenty-three, he was six feet, two inches in height and had a forty-two inch chest and a thirty-five inch waist. By the age of fifty, he had a fifty-seven inch chest and a fifty-four inch waist. He greatly resembled his grandfather, Edward IV, physically; and he inherited many of his characteristics, but he did not inherit his grandfather's military skill. It has been reported that Henry VII and his mother were overly strict with young Henry because his physique and temperament resembled his maternal grandfather.

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86 MacNalty, Henry VIII, p. 22.
87 Marples, p. 23.
88 Pollard, Henry VIII, p. 41.
89 MacNalty, Henry VIII, p. 167.
90 Pollard, Henry VIII, p. 37.
91 Maynard, p. 10.
Henry loved physical activity and was fortunate to live in an age when excellence in this area was so appreciated. At the age of forty-one, he was still an extremely handsome man who was superior in tennis, jousting, archery, and hunting.\(^\text{92}\) Another author stated that he was also excellent at gambling, cards, and dice.\(^\text{93}\) As Henry grew, he became more and more of a body culturist, and he seemed to exalt physical above mental or moral qualities.\(^\text{94}\) This was probably because he sensed he was more admired for his physical qualities. At his father's death in 1509, he was tall and handsome and had a fair and bright complexion, short, straight auburn hair, fine calves (which he was proud of showing off), a round beautiful almost girlish face, and a long thick neck. He could draw the long bow supposedly better than any man in England, joust superbly and without tiring, exhaust eight or ten horses in hunting, and beat all comers at tennis.\(^\text{95}\) A natural athlete, he was also outstanding in wrestling, hawking, horsemanship, and dancing.\(^\text{96}\) Another author added running, walking and quarter-staffing.\(^\text{97}\) Yet another author included Henry's excellence in


\(^{93}\) Thiselton-Dyer, p. 8.

\(^{94}\) Hanger, p. 42.

\(^{95}\) Pollard, Henry VIII, pp. 39-40.

\(^{96}\) Marples, p. 24.

\(^{97}\) MacNalty, Henry VIII ...., p. 22.
the use of the battle-ax and the two-handed sword. Henry's early and middle years as king (especially in the summer) were spent in an endless round of hunting, jousting, tennis (he had an indoor court) and other sports. He assured his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Aragon, that he was not neglecting his duties, however, Guistinian, the Venetian ambassador, thought Henry was the most handsome monarch in Europe. He loved to watch Henry play tennis: "his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture."99

Physical prowess and personal bravery can be two different things. One author indicated that Henry showed great personal bravery in jousting, especially when he came close to being killed twice.100 He learned about practising the art of arms, but he never had a real bravery test in that area. As an armed forces person, he limited himself more to appearances and to improving harbors, piers, shipbuilding, and artillery; and he sensed the importance of a navy for an island kingdom and built it up from scratch.101 His mental training proved to be more important for him in the art of arms than his physical training.

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98 Herbert, p. 13.
100 Smith, p. 170.
101 Cook, p. 117.
102 MacNalty, Henry VIII .... , pp. 53-54.


If there was an area where Henry did not show personal bravery it was in the area of disease. He seemed fascinated by and at the same time fearful of diseases, especially the plague and sweating sickness. Henry was interested in and dabbled in the study of medicine. It was reported that he pounded pearls up with ointment into a mortar for a leg ulcer salve. He followed Thomas More's suggestion for beginning a public health administration. Evidently he had formal training in medicine; and like other scholars of the time, when medicine was far less of a speciality, studied it on his own for pleasure and information.

While all authors laud Henry's abilities, they are not all in accord that his education was wonderful. One author deplored the fact that Henry was trained more by schoolmen than humanists, and he believed that Henry's first wife, Katherine of Aragon, was better schooled in the new learning than Henry. He also mentioned the bad influence of John Skelton and the fact that Henry was reared and educated in isolation. Henry's grandmother and father were particularly worried after his brothers died, and they isolated Henry all the more. After Arthur's death, Henry slept in a room off his father's,
was very closely supervised, and from that time on, there was no mirth and no set of young friends in the household. Another author believed that the high-strung, wayward Henry was too restricted and cowed, and that his father gave him no experience in statecraft, while a third author reported that Henry VII took young Henry with him everywhere to acquaint him with statecraft. A fourth author indicated that Henry VII did not take his son with him everywhere so as not to interrupt his studies. Yet another author believed that Henry's education was bad and not fit for a future king. Henry received a smattering of education in the sciences, theology, law, medicine, languages, and literature (because Henry VII felt inadequate in these areas) while he learned nothing of administration, politics, finance, and war. Most of his good qualities were stifled in the bud so that he could be an academician.

Once when Henry VII was reported to be whipping Henry, the Bishop of Ely tried to interpose and was told by Henry VII not to take young Henry's part for the boy would be the undoing of England.

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108 Maynard, p. 10.
109 Scarisbrick, pp. 6-7.
110 Temperley, p. 331.
111 Mumby, p. 50.
113 Maynard, p. 10.
At this point it seems appropriate to examine Henry's nature. Being an authority figure and a person of ultimate power meant he had to pay a great price in human relationships because of flatterers. This tended to make him imperious and intense, but he was often good-natured and good-humored in private. Erasmus, probably seeking favor but also really impressed, reported that Henry (as a young king) was pious and loved learning. A later author believed that pleasures were more important for Henry than learning. Still others reported that Henry was highly strung, unstable, cruel, and a hypochondriac, as well as being proud, vain, and believing himself to be infallible. At least one author believed Henry's nature was affected by the fact that he was undersexed (as the rest of the Tudors were believed to be). Although Henry was not a weakling and had a magnificent physique, it is believed the baby face, the skimpy beard, and the nose without thrust showed this defect and made Henry feel inferior and hence manifest more meanness.

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114 Smith, p. 134.
115 Timbs, p. 62.
118 Scarisbrick, p. 17.
Some authors stressed the theory that Henry's personality changed drastically in 1527 when at that time he suffered a bad head injury from jousting and his leg ulcer appeared. It was also reported that Henry had a Jekyll and Hyde personality with the worse part coming to the fore in the latter one-half of his life. Some people attribute Henry's bad qualities to syphilis, but two contemporary authors, MacNalty and Shrewsbury, both believed Henry did not have syphilis. Syphilis entered Europe in 1493 and spread like wildfire for the first thirty or forty years. Henry's leg trouble did not kill him, they assert, and Henry was noted for being extra hygienic for the age and for being very careful and unpromiscuous for his station and time.

The point of discussing Henry's nature has been to relate his nature to his education. When Henry became king, the humanists and scholars rejoiced and flocked to his court. Thomas More said, "What may we not expect from a king who has been nourished by philosophy and the nine muses." Henry's formal learning was indeed helpful to him in the long run as an individual, but it did not overcome faults in his nature which his heredity and environment gave him. Henry's emergence from an apparent state of repression and restriction at the

121 MacNalty, Henry VIII ..., pp. 73, 83.
122 Ibid., p. 8.
age of eighteen to the situation of being the star of the universe must have undone much of the goodness that his education had been supposed to achieve.

That the Tudors were not a happy family has been indicated by one author. Even though Henry VII and Elizabeth of York presented no outward hostilities, their families hated each other, and Margaret Beaufort seemed to dominate her daughter-in-law. How much effect this had on the Tudor children is hard to assess, yet it is certain that Henry and his sister Margaret certainly did not turn out to be happy people.

There was nothing commonplace about the mature Henry. His education and physique probably helped give him the supreme confidence he had. He was careful of law, but careless of justice. His greatest sin was egotism which at first was only in the personal sphere, but it gradually moved into the realm of national policy and religion. Not being able to divorce his first wife was the first check he received in the gratification of a personal whim. The further he went, the more he perceived how much power he had. He found that his people wanted material prosperity but that they had an absolute indifference to human suffering in general. Henry's ego killed two queens, one cardinal, twelve high peers, eighteen knights and

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125 Morris, p. 37.

barons, seventy-seven clerics, and multitudes of others. It is difficult to see how education could have prevented this egotism, for as Garvin said, "The-worship of a man as a god is apt to make him a devil."

Henry never appeared to be sorry for his education as an adult. He founded and endowed Trinity College at Cambridge, and he saw that his children were carefully educated. In 1545 he authorized the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Creed and Ten Commandments to be printed in English so that more people could read them.

Although Henry turned out to be more trained by schoolmen than humanists, he was the first English sovereign educated in the spirit of the Renaissance thanks to the fact that Henry VII saw that it would be desirable for his sons to be products of a new age. Henry VII could have done better by them with men who seemed more imbued with the new learning, but he certainly did not ignore their education, and did not fear educational overpressure for them. Henry VIII, while at least to some degree being a product of the Renaissance, was able to use it to his own advantage when he realized that the

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127 Morris, p. 37.
128 Smith, p. 133.
129 Timbs, p. 62.
Renaissance brought a new sense of national unity and purpose to nations with kings as the centers and emblems of national aspirations. Much was expected of England's first Renaissance king with an intelligent, vigorous mind and a princely body. With no checks and balances, however, Henry enjoyed his education but did not live up to the higher human ideals and aspirations it espoused (as exemplified, for instance, by the virtues listed by Skelton in his treatise for Henry).

It seems appropriate to examine two men who, although they did not tutor Henry, had an educational influence on him and on the times. They were two of the scholars who were among the most verbal in expecting the most from the scholarly Henry: Desiderius Erasmus and Thomas More. Erasmus was in England six times between 1499 and 1514, the last time for four years; and he was far ahead of his time, for he was humanistic before it was popular. He rescued theology from the pedantries of the schoolmen, and he exposed some of the abuses of the Church. He abhorred partisanship and saw truth on both sides of nearly every issue. His ideas on education were also advanced and

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132 Pollard, Henry VIII, p. 31.
133 Herbert, p. 570.
134 Ibid.
136 Cowell, p. 3.
may have had some influence on Henry VIII and his children. His educational ideas follow: Education is a social aim in that a child has a duty to his family and community. The purpose of education is to gain knowledge to uplift the standard of religion and conduct in the community. Universal darkness can be conquered by enlightened Christianity and the wisdom of the ancients. Character is the supreme end of education and this comes from the family. Reason is the mark of the educated man. Education is a duty owed by parents to the state and to God.

Erasmus recognized that persons need enough fresh air and exercise to keep healthy, but he believed education of the mind and spirit more important than education of the body. He saw the importance of heredity and counseled men to choose wives with this in mind. Mothers should nurse their babies themselves and should be with their children since children pick up so much through unconscious imitation. Discipline should be pleasant and given with kindly interest. A child should have home instruction or be in a very small school until seven. By the age of seven, he needs the company of peers, but he should also have a private tutor and should begin to learn to draw.

Latin, not the vernacular, is the language of learning and should be learned very early, from parents if possible. The child should be taught to speak, then read, and then write Latin. Erasmus believed too many tutors were ignorant and brutal, so he stressed
that tutors should be serious, vigorous, healthy, not too old nor
too young, not gloomy nor passionate, and above all, patient. The
tutor needed to understand the moral and intellectual disposition of
his pupil and deal with it.

In 1516, Erasmus wrote the Education of a Christian Prince (in
Latin, of course) for Charles V, nephew of Katherine of Aragon. Like
all writers on this subject from 600 to 1600 A.D., Erasmus stressed
that the prince must be wise, just, self-restrained, religious,
devoted to the welfare of his people, and he must realize that he is
subject to law. Erasmus elaborated further saying that the seeds of
morality should be sown in the prince from the very beginning. This
made the selection of a tutor very important. The tutor was to tear
out any base ideals and substitute good ideals for them. Erasmus
complained that too many parents took more care in selecting someone
to care for their horses than selecting someone to tutor their children,
and too many tutors, he said, were paid less than cooks for their very
important responsibility.

No leniency should be shown for the prince at fault, and he must
not be indulged in any way. Erasmus stressed that the things learned
early were the most deeply and tenaciously rooted; thus the prince
should have his excellent tutor at an early age so the tutor could
guide and develop the prince's natural and goodly inclinations. The
prince was to be taught to think of himself as a father, not a master,
ruling free men. The prince must learn to rule before ruling--ruling
is not a magical gift, and only a good man could be a good king. The
prince needed to be taught to avoid flatterers, to levy only just taxes, and that laws bind everyone (including the king) equally. Erasmus wanted the prince to understand that state marriages (between countries or opposing parties) are bad and cause divided loyalties in the children and that princes should not be bound by and to hereditary succession. The prince was to be taught to avoid war and to strive to leave his country in a better condition than he found it. In short, the prince had to know that his obligations were equal to his honors and that he should be motivated only by what was good for the state.

Erasmus wanted the prince to read Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, The Book of Wisdom, the Gospels, Plutarch's Apophthegmata, Morals and Lives, Seneca, Aristotle's Politics, Cicero's Offices and Laws, and Plato's Republic. Erasmus indicated dislike of folklore and national heroes; he believed Old Testament stories were enough. He did not seem to sense national life and culture.

Erasmus was won over to the education for women by the household of Thomas More. More tutored his own daughters, and they turned out to be excellent scholars. Henry VII was also impressed by More's achievement.139


139 Ibid., pp. 64-186.
Since Erasmus wrote the *Education of a Christian Prince* at the age of fifty when he was the recognized intellectual leader of Europe, it is possible and even probable that the book was read by the monarchs with whom Erasmus was friendly: Charles V, Philip I, Francis I, and Henry VIII. Since Henry VIII was still admiring Erasmus as late as 1528, evidently the book did not antagonize him. On the contrary, since Henry thought of himself as near perfect and Erasmus was still praising him, the book's main impact was possibly that of encouraging the early and continued education of Henry's children.

Henry VIII wanted Erasmus to spend the rest of his life in England, therefore he was made Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Queen's College, Cambridge, and in 1512 was made rector of the parish at Aldington. He quit after three months. In 1514, Henry VIII also gave him a house and pension, but he left. In 1517, Erasmus was still praising Henry for his personal genius and his encouragement of learning and scholars. Even in 1528, Henry was still writing Erasmus to come back to England to help promote true religion in England.\(^\text{140}\)

Thomas More exercised influence through his excellent example of learning in the home and by the fact of his discussions with the young and middle-aged king, Henry VII, on religion, reform, astronomy, geometry, theology, and all sorts of worldly affairs. More's book, *Utopia*, was published abroad in 1516, and in this book he indicated\(^\text{141}\)

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\(^{140}\)Cowell, pp. 9-24.

\(^{141}\)Scarisbrick, p. 15.
his feelings about religion as a social as well as an individual experience. He was for the voluntary communism of the early Christians when people gave up private property to share with those in need under the divine impulse of charity. He was against state imposed communism as Godless and without charity.

More saw unemployment as the great evil that causes wars and enclosures. He said the cure for unemployment was not corporal punishment but education. More believed that the king who could not cope with unemployment or had to rely on a standing army (Henry VIII did not) had no business ruling a nation. It is not clear whether Henry read Utopia or not, but he must certainly have been exposed to the ideas contained in it from his discussions with More.

Henry VIII was married six times. Since some information is available about the education of his queens, it is interesting to note the contrasts among them. His first and last wives, Katherine of Aragon and Katherine Parr, were quite well educated. His second wife, Anne Boleyn was superficially educated; his third wife was slightly educated, while the two remaining wives, Anne of Cleves and Katherine Howard had hardly any training.

Henry VIII was first married to his brother Arthur's widow, Katherine of Aragon, after the Pope had given special permission for such a liaison. By Henry, Katherine had several miscarriages and

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six children who were either stillborn or died as infants. They had one living child, Mary. Henry divorced Katherine, he said, because of lack of male issue and the realization that the Pope did not have the power to change God's law that a man should not take his brother's widow to wife. Because of Katherine's will, intelligence, and continental connections, Henry finally had to break away from the Church of England. Since Katherine was so important in the education of her daughter, Mary, she will be discussed mainly in that section. She was probably Henry's most educated, most cultured, and least pretentious wife, and she may have been a better scholar than Henry. At that time Spanish noblewomen were much more highly educated than English noblewomen. While she was educated well, the Spanish court was not in tune with the new learning to the extent that England finally became involved. She was very proficient in Latin and needlework and was pious, charitable, and kind. Her faults were that she was not pliant in her disposition (this sometimes proved to be a virtue), she was not tactful or delicate, and she had no

\[^{143}\text{Pollard, Henry VIII, p. 174-176.}\]
\[^{144}\text{Mattingly, p. 173.}\]
\[^{146}\text{Smith, p. 20.}\]
\[^{147}\text{James Gairdner in D. N. B., "Catherine of Aragon," Vol. IV, pp: 1199, 1212.}\]
comprehensive scheme. 148

Henry's second wife, Anne Boleyn, was his one passionate affair. He waited five years for her and set aside Katherine, his wife of twenty-four years, for her and for his desire to produce a male heir. There is a controversy about whether she was born around 1501 or around 1507. Those who believe that she was born earlier think she went with Mary Tudor (sister of Henry VIII) to France as a lady-in-waiting. This would have been unlikely if she had been born in 1507 as she would have only been seven years old.

Anne did get to France at some point in her young life, and her main education came in the court of France as a lady-in-waiting to Queen Claude of France. Claude directed her young ladies' efforts at the loom, embroidery, and devotional and virtuous thoughts. The education was for ornamental rather than academic purposes and stressed pride, vanity, and ambition. 151 Anne developed a quick wit and became an extremely good horsewoman. In addition to making herself proficient at all the court graces and learning a little Spanish and Italian, she learned to speak French really well. She was tutored in French by a tutor named Semmonet and also possibly by Palsgrave, the

151 Benger, p. 88.
tutor of Mary Tudor (sister of Henry VIII). The only good French letters that she wrote to her father were the ones obviously dictated by her tutor. Anne sang beautifully, danced exquisitely, and played the lute, harp, flute, and rebec excellently.

Anne wore high collars to cover a large wen on her neck, and she had a small sixth finger growing on her left hand. She had a small bust and a wide mouth. She was, however, sparkling, vivacious, had fascinating Irish eyes and Irish blue-black hair.

After her marriage, Anne had a couple of miscarriages and a stillbirth in addition to her living child, Elizabeth. When Henry found he had thrown over Katherine (who was still immensely popular) and the established church for only another daughter and a wife whose queenship brought out her worst qualities, he allowed himself to believe that she was unfaithful. She was unwise and overbearing, but probably not unfaithful. Henry's courts always endorsed his decisions, so Anne was beheaded in 1536, a few months after the death of Katherine of Aragon, when Elizabeth was not quite three.

Those who try to make Anne the champion of the Reformation in England believe that she learned to love Protestantism in France from Margaret of Valois. There is no evidence to suggest she cared deeply for any cause other than her own.

152 According to Cowell (p. 16) Anne's father, Thomas, hired Erasmus to write three tracts for him.


154 Thiselton-Nyer, p. 387.

155 Lodge, p. 55.
Henry's third wife, Jane Seymour, was from an old Norman family. Her birth occurred around 1509. Strickland thought Jane went to France when Anne Boleyn did, but this is now discredited. She had been lady-in-waiting to both Katherine and Anne. There is no evidence to suggest that she was as educated as Anne was. Chapuys, the Spanish ambassador, said she was intelligent, of middle stature, and no great beauty. Henry married her within days after Anne's beheading. She died several days after the birth of her first child, Edward, Henry's long sought son. She, too, has been tied to the Reformation because of her son, Edward, but Luther called her "an enemy of the gospel" and the Catholic Cardinal Pole declared her "full of goodness." She was also very friendly toward Henry's Catholic daughter, Mary.

The widower, Henry, decided his next marriage would be a state marriage. After dickering with several continental princesses and having Holbein paint some of their portraits, he settled on Anne of Cleves as a gesture toward the Protestants since Anne's father had established Lutheranism in his domains. Anne and her sisters had been educated by their mother. Anne was good at needlework and could read and write German, but no other languages. At that time, German noblewomen were not supposed to know about music. Although a meek

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156 Strickland, Queens of Henry VIII, p. 218.
157 Burke, p. 461.
and gentle woman, Anne was probably even less educated than her predecessor, Jane Seymour.

Upon meeting Anne, Henry took a dislike to her, and although he felt he had to go through with the marriage, he reportedly never consummated it and asked for a divorce in a few months. Anne, unlike Katherine, willingly consented so this divorce took six days instead of six years. Despite her family's injured dignity, Anne remained in England with the status of Henry's sister. Ironically, after Henry's death, she changed to Catholicism.159

While divorcing Anne of Cleves, Henry had his next wife picked out: Katherine Howard, a first cousin of Anne Boleyn, who was one of ten children of a younger son and thus poor. She was sent to the home of her step-grandmother, the dowager Duchess of Norfolk, to be brought up along with a household of other children. She was to learn what other young noblewomen learned: how to read and write and run a household.160 Strickland, however, believed that Katherine never learned to read or write.161 The old duchess had a music tutor for the children who, along with one of the young men of the household, were lovers of Katherine.

In 1539 Katherine was sent to court as a lady-in-waiting for Anne of Cleves in order to advance the Howard interests. Katherine, like

159 Strickland, Queens of Henry VIII ..., 275, 279-280.
161 Strickland, Queens of Henry VIII ..., p. 305.
the dominant Howards of the time was orthodox in religion (as opposed to Lutheran), conservative, and superstitious. Henry, seemingly for the first time since Anne Boleyn, fell in love and married the beautiful Katherine even though she was six or seven years younger than his daughter, Mary. Katherine probably was the least educated of any of his wives, but he seemed very happy with her until he found out that she was being unfaithful and had not been a virgin when he married her. She was beheaded for her indiscretions.\footnote{162}{Smith, p. 53.}

Henry's last queen, Katherine Parr, was the first Protestant queen of England. Although she differed in religion with Katherine of Aragon, the two were the best of Henry's queens in that they were both well-educated, modest, virtuous, and motherly. Katherine Parr was the first queen since Katherine of Aragon to correspond with the universities. Roger Ascham, Elizabeth's tutor, praised her learning, Katherine even wrote a book, Lamentations of a Sinner, in which she deplored her earlier devotion to the Church of Rome and wrote on the imperfections of human nature in its unassisted state and the utter vanity of all earthly grandeur and distinction.\footnote{163}{Strickland, Queens of Henry VIII ..., pp. 323-326.}

Katherine's father, who was her earliest teacher, died when she was five. Her mother could have married again, but instead she devoted herself to her three children and their education. Katherine
became an outstanding scholar considering her sex and station. Although probably not as learned as her two step-daughters, she had a full command of Latin and was acquainted with Greek; and in modern languages, she had a great facility in French and could speak some Spanish and Italian. 164

Katherine, widowed twice before she married Henry, interested herself in the education of her new step-children, Edward and Elizabeth, and she probably was the most instrumental person in planning their education. Strickland believed that since her handwriting and Edward's were so similar that she taught Edward to write. Katherine gave Henry several years of relative tranquility before his death in 1547.

With this knowledge of the education and lives of Arthur and Henry Tudor and their wives, let us turn to the training received by their sisters, Margaret and Mary Tudor. The sisters had a minimal education compared to their brothers, so there was no advance in the education of women in this generation. Neither Henry nor his mother seemed to favor equal education for women. Margaret's grants to universities proved nothing about women's education. If Henry VII had believed in the equality of women, his wife or his mother would have been on the throne.


165 Strickland, Queens of Henry VII, p. 325.
Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scotland

Margaret, born in November, 1489, was named for her grandmother, Margaret Beaufort, and she appears to have been the least educated of the Tudor children, yet ironically she was the child who, in default of male issue after the next generation, became the progenitress of the Stuart line of English kings.

Margaret's governess was Lady Guildford. Margaret's early years were spent at Farnham in Surrey with her brother, Arthur, for whom she felt a special bond. 166 Although it has been reported that Margaret was the first English princess to write easily and fluently and that she must have been carefully educated since Arthur, Henry, and Mary all were, 167 evidence points to the fact that Margaret's education was broken off early. She could write what she called an "evil hand." Her handwriting was reported to have been better than that of her sister or mother, but not as good as that of her brother, Henry. Although her faulty orthography was probably due to the training of the times, Strickland believed her spelling was worse than usual for the age. She gave several examples, one of which follows:

Guff ve fynd the sayd Byshope of Saynt Tandroz ory vay to be trw tyll owz, ve had lever hav hym, bot as zet I can not parsoff it. There for, vee man doo as ve fund beast for owz, trostynge that the Kyng's Grace, my brethar, vyl suple owz, and not lat owz vant.

167 Ibid., pp. 68-69.
Strickland believed Margaret's spelling to be guided by sounds, and furthermore, the persons who taught her placed strong accents on vowels. 168

Margaret Tudor was by no means well-educated, but she did possess natural talent in music: she played the lute and clavicord well, and she excelled in dancing. 169 In spite of Margaret's value in a dynastic marriage (which was settled long before she was of age), Margaret did not have an education to compare with her first husband, James IV of Scotland, who was a Latin scholar, a student of religion, spoke all the leading European languages, and was a student of surgery and medicine and astrology. 170 He started the University of Aberdeen, and he sent one of his illegitimate sons to be tutored by Erasmus. He insisted that all barons and freeholders send their sons to grammar school until their Latin was perfect. 171

All authors seem to agree that Margaret was an attractive girl with a bright complexion and lovely golden hair. She looked a great deal like her brother, Henry—portraits clearly show the resemblance. Margaret was a capricious, sensual, unprincipled, unstable,


169 James Paterson, James the Fifth, or the "Gudeman of Ballanreich:" His Poetry and Adventures (Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo, 1861), p. 25.


high-tempered girl and woman. All during her life, she had no settled policy regarding England, Scotland, or France. She followed her passion of the moment even if it was against her husband, son, brother, or even against her previous state policy. In character, too, then she is reminiscent of Henry VIII. Strickland attributed Margaret's bad ways to little education and being pampered and spoiled. Other authors believed that Margaret's leaving home for marriage at the age of fourteen hindered her educational and personal development.

It seems clear that Margaret profited little from the Renaissance in a personal way. Her book learning was minimal and her character and social development left much to be desired. In the personal realm, she married James IV of Scotland and had six children, only one of whom survived infancy. She was made regent of Scotland on the death of James IV, but she ruined herself by marrying Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, soon after the birth of the posthumous child of James IV. By Douglas, she had Margaret Douglas, Margaret Tudor soon tired of Douglas and obtained a divorce from the Pope on flimsy grounds and married Henry Stewart. Later on she would have divorced Stewart if she could have. Strickland reported that Margaret had two surviving children by Stewart, Henry and Dorothea, both of whom died as adolescents.

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172 Strickland, Queens of Scotland .... , p. 6.
173 Wood, p. 68.
174 Strickland, Queens of Scotland .... , p. 267.
I could find no other references to these children except that they were probably born to Stewart's second wife.

There is no evidence to suggest that Margaret Tudor was a patron of education, and her letters show no special interest in the education of her children. She died in October of 1541. As far as training and education, she was not better, perhaps even worse, than her mother and grandmother; and as far as good character development, she seems to be the poorest of the group. Perhaps, however, that is because she had more power to abuse than the others.

Mary Tudor, Queen of France

Mary Tudor, Margaret's younger sister, was born in 1495 or 1496. Mary had the same governess or head of the household as Margaret, Lady Joan Guildford, or Mother Guildford, as they called her. Lady Guildford was a strict person like Margaret Beaufort. By the time Mary was two, she, like other noble children, was dressed as an adult. Both Margaret and Mary joined their mother's ladies and sought to emulate them as soon as they were out of the nursery.

176 Brown, p. 74.
177 According to Brown (pp. 8-10), records show that Mary's clothes were ordered by her grandmother, Margaret Beaufort, except for her mourning clothes when her brother Arthur died in 1502. Those dresses were ordered by her mother.
Mary's education was to be similar to the education given to Margaret; that is, she was to learn to read, write, embroider, speak easily and wisely, sing, and play the lute and other instruments. She, too, loved music, dancing, and revelry; and she showed a natural skill in the area. Henry VII admired French ways and accordingly placed Mlle. Jane Popincourt, a French noble girl of similar age, as companion to Mary in 1498. He was disappointed that Mary did not become bilingual; she had to be taught French later. Jane, however, learned English very well and became Mary's best friend. 178

For some reason that is not now clear, Mary's education went beyond the training Margaret received. Mary evidently was carefully tutored in French, Latin, music, dancing, and embroidery. She was reportedly tutored by William Honne, who also was tutor to her brother Henry. Mary's household from her sixth year on had a schoolmaster and a physician. The latter seems to have been especially necessary, particularly between 1504 and 1509 when a lot of payments were made to her apothecary. Mary's mother died when she was seven. In 1506, Mary danced and played the lute (a gift from her father), clavicord, regals, and claregulls for Philip of Castile, the father of her intended husband, Charles. 179

178 Brown, pp. 8-10.
It would appear from the records available that Mary must have had more formal education than Margaret, but considerably less than Arthur and Henry. Assuming it is true that Mary learned Latin and French and was tutored by Henry's tutor, Margaret's education seems pale by comparison. A difference between the training of the two sisters might be for some of the following reasons: 1. New learning and new ideas were advancing rapidly during the closing years of the century. Each year could make a difference in royal attitudes regarding the education of a princess. 2. Margaret was growing up at a time when it looked as if there would be lots of Tudor children. By the time Mary was past infancy, the number had dwindled to three, with only one male. 3. Elizabeth of York was alive until shortly before Margaret went to Scotland. Elizabeth was not known to favor a great deal of education for girls. Mary was released from Elizabeth's influence and her sister Margaret's influence relatively early. Their departures probably pushed her closer to her father and grandmother, who while not favoring equal education for women, may have wanted to educate Mary more than Margaret for political as well as personal reasons since Mary was headed for a Spanish marriage and actually later did make a French marriage. While Margaret married an extremely well-educated man, the court of Scotland was not considered to be as cultured as those of Spain and France. 4. Perhaps Mary was brighter than Margaret. It must be said, however, that they both had brilliant descendants. 5. Margaret was married at fourteen and was
given the duties of wife, queen, and mother at the period when she could have been ready for more sophisticated studies. Mary was not married until she was eighteen or nineteen.

Two other facts need to be mentioned regarding Mary's education: Her French tutor was John Palsgrave. He started tutoring her in earnest in 1512 in preparation for her forthcoming marriage with Louis XII of France. Palsgrave, a native of London and a graduate of Cambridge (Corpus Christi College) also had a Master of Arts from Paris. He went to France with Mary as her secretary and probably interpreter. He was noted as a fine teacher, story teller, and chess player. Mary apparently remained attached to Palsgrave because he petitioned her for money all during her life, sometimes successfully, in spite of the fact that she always had money problems. Later, Palsgrave tutored Henry Fitzroy, Mary's bastard nephew; and in 1530, he wrote one of the first grammars with the object of teaching French to the English in English. 180

The other fact in Mary's education was the influence of her sister-in-law, Katherine of Aragon. The two young women were intimate associates. Mary was a typical Englishwoman believing in astrology and witchcraft and being strongly influenced by her confessor, except for the influence of Katherine who had come from the most refined, cultured court of Europe. She will be described more extensively in the section regarding her own daughter, Mary, but she is worth mentioning here for her influence on her young sister-in-law. History

records no overt act except that when both were adults and mothers, Katherine persuaded Mary to resume the serious reading and study of Latin. There is no evidence to suggest, however, that Mary took the education of her son and daughters as seriously as Katherine took the education of her daughter.

Although Mary was considered to be a beautiful woman, many thought the most glamorous woman at court, there has been debate about her physical dimensions. Early historians indicated that she was more like her mother and less like her siblings, and better as a result.\(^\text{102}\) She evidently was a true Tudor in willfulness and temper, but she was the most amiable and respectable of the group.\(^\text{103}\)

After Mary's engagement to Charles of Castile was broken by his father, Mary was wed to Louis XII in France in October, 1514. He was fifty-two and died on January 1, 1515. Mary had been promised by Henry VIII that she could choose her second husband herself (it was common for women of means to do this). Mary chose Charles Brandon, who later became Duke of Suffolk, Henry's childhood friend and chief sporting companion. Henry VIII was quite angry at first, but he gradually became consoled, especially after Mary agreed to give her

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101 Mattingly, p. 179.
102 Wood, p. 113.
Mary was caused unhappiness because Brandon had been married twice before, and the wife that was still alive was not considered to be properly divorced. For that reason, her first two babies were considered by some to be bastards.

Mary and Charles Brandon had three children who survived infancy: a son, Henry, and two daughters, Frances and Eleanor. Mary died fairly young in June, 1533, three months before the birth of her most famous niece, Elizabeth. Her last months were apparently troubled by her brother's divorce of Katherine of Aragon (to whom Mary remained loyal) and marriage to Anne Boleyn.

In summary, the two Tudor sisters of the first generation were not given an education commensurate with that of their brothers. The persons in a position of influence and example over them (parents, grandmother, and to some extent, tutors) did not educate them beyond the expectation of the age, unless it was in music, where they both seemed to excel. It is possible that Mary was exposed to a little more classical education than Margaret, but Mary's education could not compare to the training received by Arthur and Henry. Arthur and Henry were pacesetters for young men of their generation. It had been surprising for Henry to receive a full classical education since he was a second son, but Henry VII seems to have had a fairly simple aim: train his sons as scholars and train his daughters in accord or a

Mary was known throughout her life as the French Queen and the White Queen, since the French queens at that time wore white for some time after becoming widows.
little in advance of the training of the time for noblewomen. The three Tudors from this generation who became adults, Margaret, Mary, and Henry, coupled themselves with at least seven and possibly ten partners to produce the next generation of Tudors. From here on, educational aims and purposes become much more diversified.
THE SECOND GENERATION

Since Henry VIII carried on the Tudor name, it seems logical to begin this chapter with his children. He had four acknowledged children who lived past infancy, the older two, Mary and Henry, being old enough to be parents of the younger two, Elizabeth and Edward. Elizabeth and Edward will be discussed in the third generation since they were born in that time span. Strickland reported that Henry had a natural daughter, Ethelred Dyngley by Joanna Dyngley or Dobson who passed as the illegitimate daughter of his tailor, John Malte, and that he also had an illegitimate son, John Perrot, who as an adult greatly resembled the Tudors.1 Since other evidence does not support Strickland and since neither of them were acknowledged by Henry VIII, I have not concerned myself with them. This generation of Henry's children, then included his daughter, Mary, and his acknowledged natural son, Henry Fitzroy. Mary was to be a pioneer in the education of women in England, and Henry was to be a pioneer in Greek studies and humanism in the royal family.

Mary Tudor, Mary I

Mary, born in February, 1516, to Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon, was their fifth and only surviving child. At Mary's birth

Katherine was thirty-one, and Henry was twenty-five. The baby was named after her aunt, her father's favorite sister, Mary; and until she was weaned, she was reared in the apartments of her mother.2

After weaning, Mary was given her own establishment with a chaplain, a laundress, a gentlewoman, a wet nurse, and most important of all, a governess. There was a state governess, Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, who was a second cousin of Henry, a dear friend of Katherine, and was an Amazon of a woman, the tallest and largest at court.3 Although Margaret's position was largely official, she and Mary became close friends. There was also more of a working governess, Lady Margaret Bryan, who performed this service for all three of the legitimate children of Henry VIII. Both women were exceedingly kind and conscientious. A governess (or governor for a male) at that time meant the person who oversaw deportment, manners, social accomplishments, dancing, and horsemanship and relieved royal or noble parents of the burden of rearing children.4 The rearing of her daughter was not a burden to Katherine of Aragon, however. She was the only mother of the Tudor era, with the


3 Katherine's parents, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, had insisted that Margaret's brother be executed before Katherine came to England in order to help insure the Tudor succession. Katherine felt badly about this and made every effort to be friendly to Margaret.

4 Marples, p. 47.
possible exception of Mary Stuart's mother, Mary of Guise, who was personally close to her child and remained so.

Since Katherine was so important to the education of Mary, let us look at her background. Katherine's mother, Isabella of Castile, was the only reigning queen of her time. Isabella's education had consisted of learning to read and write in Spanish, dance, draw, sew, embroider, weave, and spin. She taught herself Latin as an adult. Isabella realized the importance of education and also was in a country where there were more educated women, even more than in Italy. There were women lecturers at Alcala and Salamanca. Isabella made sure her daughters had a much better education than she did, although she did not move completely away from the double standard in that she made sure that her son received an even better education than his sisters.\(^5\)

Katherine of Aragon learned dancing, drawing, music, history, sewing, embroidery, weaving, spinning, baking, heraldry, genealogy, horsemanship, falconry, and the chase. In addition, Katherine and her sisters were taught the classics, Christian poets (e.g., Prudentius, Juvenecus), and Latin fathers (e.g., Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, Jerome), pagan sages such as Seneca, Latin history, and civil and canon law. The girls could speak fluent, correct, classical Latin in private and on state occasions. They were taught by the Italian poet Antonio Geraldini, and after his death, by his brother, Allessandro Geraldini. There was no Greek in their curriculum.

\(^5\)Mattingly, p. 178.
Katherine saw in her mother a courageous and driving woman of certain and steadfast purpose: winning Spain from the Moors for Catholicism. Katherine at seven saw Columbus return from the New World. She grew up with a gracious dignity, a slightly aloof manner, a directness, a moral earnestness, and a vigorous intelligence. Like most other noblewomen, she was extremely close to her confessor, so close in fact that there was a scandal in her teen years which was probably unfounded.6

After coming to England, Katherine had to face Arthur's death soon after they were married, several years of near poverty and misery while her destiny was being decided by her father and father-in-law, and the joy of her marriage to Henry darkened by repeated stillbirths, miscarriages, and infants who died young. These unhappinesses might have crushed another person (her sister, Joanna, reportedly went mad with lesser provocation); but Katherine, for the most part, kept her composure and was a friend to education. Her physician, Fernando Vittoria, and Thomas Linacre founded the Royal College of Physicians. She was a friend to William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, who was the only English nobleman connected with the humanists. Although Katherine was eventually against the new learning because of its threat to the established Church in the late 1520's, she encouraged and supported humanist scholars until her influence waned around 1530. She even did what she could to strengthen the serious reformist tendencies of the

6Ibid., pp. 8-36.
English Reformation believing that the end of right learning is right living, and the foundation of sound faith is sound knowledge. She encouraged into the royal circle humanists such as Linacre; John Colet, her favorite preacher; Thomas More and Richard Pace for their wit and elegance; Richard Whitford for his pious scholarship; and John Leland, who became the famous antiquary. She and Erasmus maintained a mutual admiration society, for he reportedly thought her to be a better scholar than Henry VIII (and he thought Henry was excellent). Vives described her as extremely learned.

Katherine acquired many books and shared them with scholars, and she maintained poor scholars at Oxford and Cambridge and contributed to lectureships. In 1518 Katherine stopped at Oxford while Henry was hunting nearby and was lovingly and joyfully received. When the battle raged over the introduction of Hellenic studies, Katherine placed herself on the side of the schoolmen against it, and it is interesting to note that on this matter she and Cardinal Wolsey, who often disagreed on other matters, agreed. Henry opposed them, and as was stated in the previous chapter, studied some Greek himself. Katherine, however, evidently held the influence over their daughter, for if she was exposed to Greek at all, it was a very small exposure.7

Katherine found herself in the position of finally having a child, and a daughter at that. Her last pregnancy occurred in 1518 and as the years passed, and she had no more children; it began to look

7Ibid., pp. 172-176.
more and more certain to Katherine that her daughter would be Queen of England. In any event, Mary had great potential for a dynastic marriage, and Katherine hoped to marry her back into her own family, There is no evidence that either Henry or Katherine wanted to repeat the pattern of Tudor females of the previous generation. Although Henry certainly believed in man’s dominace and the importance of the male Tudor line, he had seen Thomas’s daughters become scholars, and he had the example of Katherine herself. He did, however, make no effort to have Mary instructed in areas he considered important for his son: modern history, political theory, and statecraft. It is difficult to believe that Henry gave a great deal of thought to Mary’s education, but it is easy to imagine Katherine giving a lot of effort to the matter. Katherine’s efforts set the pattern for future generations of the Tudor family.

Katherine met the problem of Mary’s education at first by taking charge of it herself. She tutored Mary from age four on her ABC’s, taught her to read and write, and gave her basic Latin instruction. Henry sporadically instructed her on the virginals and lute. Henry and Katherine were quite affectionate with Mary, especially for sixteenth century parents, Henry in a teasing, boisterous way, and Katherine in a quieter way. While her parents were in France in

8Benger, p. 99.

9Marples, p. 42.

1520, at the age of four, Mary was put on display to the court, and she showed signs of being very precocious.¹¹

At that particular time the question of the proper education of a prince was in the foreground, as was exemplified by Erasmus's work *Education of a Christian Prince*. The humanist philosophers hoped to make philosopher-kings out of the current crop of princes but no one wrote about the education of princes to become queens. At the time, especially in England, learned women were regarded with tolerant surprise or much as performing animals would be.¹² Some persons thought it was dangerous to educate a woman, like giving a madman a sword. They would be corrupted by music, by what they read, and by male tutors; and after being educated, they could not be trusted.¹³ Rather, women were to be trained for obedience, submission, and needlework as Rousseau still recommended 250 years later.

Katherine of Aragon was not to be daunted by medieval attitudes; and so she asked one of the three greatest Renaissance scholars, Juan Luis Vives (who shared the honor along with Erasmus and Bude), to come to England in 1522 to consider if women could be educated as men.

Vives, born in 1492 in Valencia, Spain, was tutored and went to school in Valencia where schoolmen reigned supreme, and the new learning was unpopular, to say the least. Although all subjects were

¹² Mattingly, p. 178.
¹³ Marples, p. 41.
taught, the dominant subject was dialectic, and the main method of education was the disputation. Vives was in training to be the Archbishop of Toledo, and in 1509, he went to Paris to study. Between 1509 and 1522, he spent his time in France and Flanders where he met Erasmus and Budé. After meeting and studying with these men and others like them and probing his soul, Vives changed his course toward the new learning.

Vives accepted the invitation of Katherine to come to England, however, he did not like his life in England. He said he had a bad room with no table or chair and that he could not get sick, or they would cast him like a mangy dog on a dunghill. He felt he could not study in England, so he saved a portion of his money to return to Flanders for a part of each year. Vives had these feelings of discontent in spite of the fact that Henry, Katherine, and Cardinal Wolsey all favored him, Oxford made him a Doctor of Classical Letters, and Corpus Christi, the first college to emphasize Greek, made him a fellow.

Vives's ideas on education seem trite now, but he was revolutionary in the sixteenth century, for his book marked a turning point

1
1 Vives was so impressed with Erasmus that he believed that Erasmus should tutor the Spanish royal family.


from medieval cloistering and a domestic tradition for women to the ideal of the educated woman. The book, titled *The Instruction of a Christian Woman*, was completed in 1523 and dedicated to Katherine. Vives divided the book into segments dealing with woman as virgin, wife, and widow. He recommended Puritan austerity: no makeup, jewelry, splendid dress, tasty foods, cards, wine, or dice. The woman could drink beer or ale, however, if she were veiled. In education, Vives advised that the functional difference between the sexes dictated differing education, but intellectual power does not necessarily differ between the sexes. Vives further stated that each tutor must go by the aptitude of the pupil regardless of sex. An intelligent girl should pursue the "two crafts left to us from the old innocent world" (spinning and weaving flax and wool) plus needlework and embroidery, but she also was to pursue grammar, rhetoric, Scripture, and moral philosophy. Vives placed a strong influence on Latin with Plato being the only Greek author represented.

Vives wanted Mary to read More's *Utopia* and Erasmus's secular works as well as his *Paraphrases of the Gospel* in order to acquire a good Latin vocabulary and to mix Latin with divinity. He advised her to read the New Testament (morning and night), Seneca, Plutarch, Lucan, Cicero, Horace, Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, and Plato.

17 Marples, pp. 42-44.
He instructed her to commit her lessons to memory each day and to read over what she was to memorize at night before bed and then to repeat it the first thing in the morning. He gave instructions for Latin and Greek pronunciation, although Mary evidently did not do Greek. Katherine of Aragon, on the suggestion of Vives, formed a little school of noblemen's daughters around Mary; however, the identity of the girls is not known, nor is it known how much learning they acquired. Katherine, evidently impressed by Vives's treatise, gave it to Thomas More to translate into English.

There are some similarities between Erasmus and Vives in their thoughts on education, but Vives seems more harsh and strict. He felt parents should not be the least bit indulgent, for he believed that cherishing marred sons and destroyed daughters. He was proud of the fact that his own mother had been stern, unaffectionate, and unyielding. If she knew he had a problem, she would show no concern. Vives liked this and claimed he knew she was really deeply concerned. When Vives said the tutor should have the affection of a father, he meant a stern father. He felt that girls should be taught by women or staid older men. Although Vives obviously favored education of women he emphasized a double standard by insisting that girls should:

21 Mattingly, p. 179.
22 Peacham, p. 35.
not read about wars, romances, fairy stories, or vicious or sexy affairs.

In 1523 Vives also wrote for Mary *A Plan of Study for Girls* dealing with how to learn written and spoken Latin. There was more emphasis on devotional reading than in his companion volume for boys. Vives wanted Mary to lose no chance of speaking in Latin. Vives also wrote *Sattelitium (Bodyguard)* for Mary. It was a collection of 293 short wise saws or sayings in Latin, each accompanied by a brief commentary. Some of them were "war upon vice; no complaints; nobility lies not in truth but in virtue; the more fortune smiles, the less she is to be trusted." More than twenty years later, Mary's half-brother, Edward, also studied them.

Vives aided the cause of education for women be indicating that women could be the intellectual equals of men, but all in all, his system repels rather than attracts.\(^2^3\) Henry and Katherine of Aragon both contradicted his non-academic suggestions by permitting Mary the pleasures of jewels, fine clothes, the dance, the chase, revels, devices, pageants, and all kinds of music and cards.\(^2^4\)

Vives seems ahead of his time in emphasizing the value of play, but he has been criticized for believing in very early and strict religious training and for believing that religion is developed by exercise rather than through thought and theory. Vives has been


\(^2^4\) Marples, pp. 45-46, 49.
criticized also for putting Latinized Greek words in his books, but he did this before Greek teaching was common, and thus helped to set the stage for the later study of Greek.

It is doubtful that Vives actually tutored Mary to any great extent since he was in and out of the country and was at Oxford some of the time. When Henry's "great matter" (first divorce) came up, Katherine asked Vives to defend her. He was her counsel in 1528 and during that winter gave Mary lessons in Latin. Henry eventually curbed the freedom of Vives by placing him under house arrest, however, and so he left the country, much to Katherine's annoyance and regret. From abroad he wrote Henry to try to reconcile him with Katherine, saying that a second marriage could not insure a son and that the thing to do was to get Mary married and have a grandson.

Thomas Linacre who became Mary's physician and reportedly her Latin tutor, wrote a Latin grammar for her, *Rudimenta Grammatices*, in 1523 which turned out to be one of the popular textbooks of the century. In the dedication, Linacre commended Mary's love of learning. William Lily added some verses in the text of the book. Since

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27 According to Watson (p.xvi), one of Vives's books on teaching Latin by a conversational method was successfully revived by the head-master of Perse School, Cambridge, 400 years later (1529-1931).
Linacre was then an old man and busy with his medical duties, medical teachings, and his circle of scholars, it is doubtful that he actually tutored Mary a great deal. It does seem to be commonly believed that he tutored her since he wrote the Latin book for her.

With the support and encouragement of persons like Vives, Linacre, and Katherine of Aragon, it is not surprising that Mary Tudor turned out to be an excellent Latinist. Her lessons were copious and exacting, but by the age of nine, she could write superior letters in Latin. At about that same time, she responded to an envoy from Flanders in Latin, and she was said to have responded extremely well, more like a twelve year old. This shows what was expected of a twelve year old scholar. At the age of eleven, Mary skillfully translated a prayer of Thomas Aquinas into English.

Katherine spent a lot of time with Mary on Latin, but by the age of nine, Mary had a tutor named Richard Fetherstone who was also one of Katherine's chaplains. There is no reference to indicate that Fetherstone was a renowned scholar, but Katherine must have been satisfied with his Latin. Fetherstone took Katherine's side in the divorce action—a very unpopular position with Henry VIII. Although he was still listed as one of Mary's schoolmasters as late as October, 1533; he had been in prison for some time. Because of his position in the divorce case, he was eventually hanged, beheaded,

A poignant little story emerged out of an incident when Mary was under the control of her hated step-mother, Anne Boleyn. Fetherstone came to visit, and Mary asked to see him alone. When this was refused, Mary said she needed to practice her Latin, and since no one else in the room understood Latin well, she told Fetherstone all of her troubles in Latin, including a reported death threat from her father. Fetherstone got the point and later related her problems to the Spanish ambassador; but for the benefit of the others in the room, he told her that her Latin was bad and that she needed much practice. It would appear that not only could Mary communicate well in Latin, she could use her wits well in a crisis. When Katherine and Mary were separated forever by Henry VIII, Katherine wrote Mary to do well with Master Fetherstone's lessons, and she sent Mary two books: *De Vita Christi* with the *Declaration of the Gospels and Epistles of Hierome* (St. Jerome).

Mary, being a Tudor, was good at languages in general. There is no evidence to suggest that her mother was good in any languages except Latin and Spanish. Katherine still claimed to have trouble with English after twenty-five years in England, so Mary seems more like her father in this regard.

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33 White, p. 28.
Mary learned French from Giles d'Ewes, the same man who had taught her father. In the Calendar of State Papers, he is also listed as one of her gentlemen waiters, and his wife is listed as one of her ladies. He wrote a manual or grammar for her regarding the learning of French. Mary was also reported to be competent in reading Spanish and Italian, but she did not speak either language well unless she specifically prepared a speech. In Latin, Mary was not only adequate, but elegant. She was definitely bilingual in that she could express herself equally well in Latin or English. Mary probably had the capability for learning Greek, but evidently her mother did not want her to learn the language of a "degenerate people."

Mary had been advised by Vives to write for speed rather than elegance, so her handwriting was not so beautiful as her half-sister's (Elizabeth), who was taught to do just the opposite. Mary's handwriting was simple and unaffected. (See Appendix.)

Mary reportedly studied astronomy, geography, natural sciences, 

35 Marples, p. 48.  
38 Madden, p. cxxix.
and mathematics.\textsuperscript{39} If the mathematics included arithmetic and geometry, then in order for her to have the liberal education outlined by Vives, she would have needed only music to complete the elements of the quadrivium.

Music was almost as natural for Mary as it was for her father. At age four, she could play compositions for French visitors on the virginals, a keyboard instrument which contained three octaves and was placed on a table in front of the performer.\textsuperscript{40} Mary also became very good on the arpicorda (harpsicord), lute, dulcimer, regals (small portable organ), and spinet. Philip van Wilder taught Mary the lute; a man named Paston was her teacher on the virginals. She also had a Mr. Giles (possibly Giles d'Ewes) for a lute teacher.\textsuperscript{41} Strickland thought Mary's passion for music amounted to a mania, but she also called Mary a prodigy since she could play a tune at three.\textsuperscript{42} While performing music was apparently easy for Mary, there is nothing to suggest that she excelled in music theory, arranging, or writing. Whether due to her sex she was not taught music theory, or whether she was just not as gifted as her father remains a mystery. Probably the latter is the case, however, since someone with music training

\textsuperscript{39} Lee in D. N. B., "Mary I," Vol. XII, p. 1220.
\textsuperscript{40} Richard Davey, \textit{Mary Tudor} (Westminster: The Roxburghe Press, 1897), p. 5.
\textsuperscript{41} Madden, p. cxxl.
\textsuperscript{42} Strickland, \textit{Queens of England} ..., pp. 101, 287.
can learn theory by himself if he wishes and is so motivated.

Mary also learned needlework and embroidery and spent much of her leisure time sewing. She learned riding and became a good horsewoman who loved the chase. She was proficient in dancing and participated in the court revels. Mary also loved drama, and at age twelve acted a part in one of Terence's comedies in the original Latin before the entire court. Her public speaking was quite good and was perhaps considered even better because she had a deep loud voice (such as Katherine and Isabella are reported to have had)\(^4\) that was often mistaken for a man's voice. At the age of twelve, when Mary, for the benefit of ambassadors, responded in kind to addresses in French, Italian, and Latin, and performed a concert on the spinet, she was easily the most accomplished young scholarly lady of her age.\(^4\)

Some of Mary's other habits and acquirements were a love of children;\(^4\) a love of animals, particularly dogs and birds;\(^4\) a love of clocks (she bought many); a love of flowers and seeds;\(^4\) a love of

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\(^i\)Great Britain, Public Records Office, Vol. IV, p. 204.


\(^4\)Thiselton-Dyer, p. 251.

cards and minstrels; and a love of wagers and betting. To counter-
balance the last-mentioned vanity, she paid for the education of a 
poor boy and his apprenticeship.

Mary, as a child, had the red Tudor hair and a bright, clear 
skin. Later she was described as attractive but not beautiful and 
with less dignity of bearing than Elizabeth. The Venetian ambassador, 
who did not have to please her, reported her to be more beautiful than 
average but not exceedingly handsome. She was small in stature, as 
her mother was and thin and delicate though both parents were stout.

While Mary was able and industrious, she was apparently not so 
bright as her sister, Elizabeth. She was intelligent and perceptive 
enough to be well-educated, but she lacked the power of imagination 
to be a natural scholar.

Some writers believed that Mary's studies were injurious to 
her health. It was reported that Mary was given the same study load

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18 Madden, p. cxxi.
20 White, p. 9.
24 Madden, p. clv.
25 Marples, p. l8.
26 Williams, C. H., pp. 17, 398.
as Henry VIII, and that while this load was all right for him, it was too much for her. Strickland believed Mary suffered from too much brain exercise and quaintly attributed her high broad forehead (and Jane Grey's also) to this fact. Mary probably never had a child's life of fun (though she had her parents' affection), and, in addition, she was dressed in the Spanish style (since she was betrothed to Charles of Spain) which was too heavy and confining. Even as a child, she had severe headaches and neuralgia and toothaches. Her health broke down when she was parted from her mother, but this was understandable. There is some historical evidence to show that Henry was concerned about Mary's education being too much for her. When she was sent to Wales as Princess of Wales, he instructed the Countess of Salisbury, her governess, to see that she learned Latin, French, dance, virginals, served God, and got enough fresh air and exercise. He directed that she should not become fatigued or weary. Even when she was out of grace with her father, he sent his physician to her when she was reported to be ill.

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57 White, p. 12.
59 Davey, Mary Tudor, pp. 5, 10.
60 Prescott, p. 102.
61 Davey, Mary Tudor, p. 18.
62 White, pp. 13-14.
Mary at ten was Princess of Wales and had a household of six gentlemen, ten valets, fifteen garciones, one stable boy, three children of the kitchen, and one woodbearer. Mary's life was greatly disturbed at the age of twelve when Henry tried to divorce Katherine. It was shaken still further when he also renounced the Church, separated Mary from her mother and governess, and married Anne Boleyn. It was completely shattered when Mary was put in Anne's charge and was stripped of her style as princess, and as a plain lady and a bastard at the age of seventeen, was made to serve Anne's daughter, Elizabeth. While there definitely is evidence that Henry cared for Mary, he was out to bend her to his will. She did eventually comply with his request to recognize the Church of England and the invalidity of her parent's marriage, after her mother's death. Since her mother and her religion had been the focus of her life, and in light of her actions as queen during her five year reign, it is difficult to imagine that Mary believed in either of the things to which she attested. She realized that her life in England would be unbearable until she complied.

Mary had seen the pleasant world of childhood come crashing down, so it is no wonder that the happy, precocious child became an embittered youth. Yet her education continued, and she seemed to find in it her

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64 Madden, p. xxxi.
65 Davey, Mary Tudor, pp. 18-19.
66 Morris, p. 37.
chief solace. Henry gave a Dr. Wolman, Mary's schoolmaster and Archdeacon of Richmond, a New Year's present in 1532 (about the time he married Anne Boleyn). 67 After Fetherstone's dismissal, she was also tutored by Dr. Voisie whom Henry later made Bishop of Exeter. 68 So it does appear that Mary had tutors at that time in her life although they may not have been to her liking. Her governess under Anne Boleyn was Anne's aunt, Lady Shelton. 69

Anthony Crispin, a Frenchman living in England, noted Mary's studies at the age of twenty. Her day was divided into three parts of which the first part was for scriptures. The second part was for the study of ancient and modern languages (Greek may now have been included) or to natural philosophy and mathematics. Natural philosophy would have introduced Mary to Aristotle, Galen, and Ptolemy, for in this respect scholastic instruction and Renaissance instruction were alike. The third part of the day was devoted to music. She still had Mr. Paston and Mr. van Wilder for music and shortly shared them with her half-brother, Edward. Mary also spent some of her time teaching music to members of her household. 70

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68 Strickland, Queens of England ..., p. 123.
69 White, p. 38.
70 Marples, p. 51.
71 Prescott, p. 102.
Mary found a friend and mentor in her last stepmother, Katherine Parr. They were close to the same age (Katherine being about four years older) and although they were not of the same religious persuasion, they got along amiably, talking together in Latin. Katherine encouraged Mary to translate Erasmus's Latin Paraphrases of the Gospel of St. John into English. In the preface to her very good translation, young and learned ladies were praised, and it was noted that gentlewomen now spoke of grave matters and talked in Latin and Greek with their husbands and read Psalms and devout meditations or homilies instead of vain communications like the moon shining in the water and playing cards and instruments of vain trifling.\(^72\)

For Mary, religion was a basic need of her heart, divorced from reason. Simplicity and sincerity were her fundamental traits of character, and she was loyal, stubborn honest, had little imagination, and hated decisions. In physical danger she was a lion, but in judgment and policy, she was a sheep or a mule.\(^73\) She was also rigid, had fixed prejudices, was melancholy, and often in tears, yet she was gentle, merciful, sensible, gracious, and generous. In many ways she was the best of the Tudors. Her problem was that she was obsessed with her religion and her Spanish ancestry.\(^75\) Katherine had successfully

\(^{72}\)Ibid., p. 98.

\(^{73}\)Ibid., pp. 185-186.

\(^{74}\)Williams, C. H., pp. 17, 400.

transmitted her religious faith and her own good and bad characteristics to her daughter. 76

During her reign (1553-1558), Mary elevated women by appointing one lady as justice of the peace for Gloucestershire, another lady as justice of the quorum for Suffolk, etc. Shortly before her death, Mary granted new rights and privileges for the women of London, which Elizabeth withdrew. 77 As queen she was good to the poor, had a decent court, and cut out summer progresses when she found out they were quite costly to farmers. Mary left money for poor students at Oxford and Cambridge; she founded grammar schools at Walsall, Clitheroe, Leominster, Boston, and Ripon; and she educated promising children at her expense. She would not, however, permit the new learning in her household. 79

Mary found her knowledge of languages helpful to her as Queen. She, like her father and sister, did not have to rely on intermediaries, especially in Latin and French. Her education as a Roman Catholic naturally led her to adopt a Catholic policy.

76 Marples, p. 444.
Henry Fitzroy

In 1519, when Mary was three, Elizabeth (Bessie) Blount, daughter of John Blount, esquire, gave birth to a son whom Henry VIII acknowledged as his own and named Henry Fitzroy: he had shown his wife and the world that he could sire a son. During her time at court as a lady-in-waiting to Queen Katherine, Bessie had impressed all with her beauty and had exceeded all in singing and dancing and all the goodly pastimes. After her son's birth, she was married to Gilbert Tallboys and was assigned certain manors for life, and she seemed to play no active role in the rearing of young Henry.80

At six Henry was made Knight of the Garter, Earl of Nottingham, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, plus many other titles. He was to take precedence over all but Henry's lawful issue. It was rumored that Henry VIII intended to make him King of Ireland, and at another time, Henry reportedly toyed with the idea, with the Pope's full approval, of marrying young Henry to his half-sister, Mary.

Young Henry was a courteous, handsome, intelligent boy who very much resembled his father in figure and bearing while also having his mother's beauty. According to Lord Herbert, he was very personable.


and his good mind led to great expectations. His best friend, playmate, and study fellow was Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, who later became known as Surrey the poet. As one might expect, Surrey celebrated their friendship in poetry.

Henry VIII entrusted his jewel to two tutors, Richard Croke and John Palsgrave. Richard Croke, born about 1489, descended from the Blount family and was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, where he received a B. A. in 1510. After studying Greek under Grocyn at Oxford, he went in 1513 to Paris to attend the Greek lectures of Hieronymus Aleander. He was a protege of Bude and Erasmus, wrote several books, and visited a number of continental universities. He lectured in Greek at Louvain, Leipzig, and Cologne and was invited to lecture at Prague. In his scholarship, he stressed Greek grammar and Plutarch, but he knew all the Greek literature. In 1517 he returned to England and took an M. A. at Cambridge. In 1518, as was mentioned in the last chapter, he was employed to teach Greek to Henry VIII. At the same time, he began reading Greek lectures at Cambridge and did so well it earned praise for him from Erasmus.

In 1522, Croke was elected the first public orator at Cambridge and remained there at King's College until 1528. He earned his D. D. in 1524 and had by then become a priest. Although he was offered a higher salary at Oxford, Fisher, chancellor of Cambridge, was able to

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82 Herbert, p. 13.
Induce him to stay. Later the two had a falling out when Croke believed Fisher should not be honored as St. John's founder (Croke had been made a fellow there and delivered lectures) since it had been founded by Margaret Beaufort. Croke became tutor to Henry Fitzroy between 1523 and 1528. During part of this period, Henry lived with him at King's College.

In the year 1529, Croke was sent to Italy to gather opinions regarding Henry VIII's divorce from Katherine of Aragon. Croke reported that there was popular sentiment in favor of the divorce, but no one dared oppose the Pope. While Croke said he did not buy opinions, he did liberally reward those who spoke in favor of Henry VIII. Croke was made vice-chancellor of Cambridge in 1531, and the next year he was given a D. D. from Oxford. Later he became cardinal and subdeacon of King's College, and he finally retired to Exeter College in the year 1545. He died in the year 1558.

Young Henry's other tutor, John Palsgrave, has previously been mentioned in connection with Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII. Palsgrave, a protege of Thomas More, was appointed tutor to Henry in the year 1525, but it seems clear that Croke also continued as the boy's tutor. It is difficult to know what each man taught, except it is fairly certain that Croke taught Greek and Palsgrave taught French. Palsgrave received thirteen pounds, six shillings, and eight

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83 During 1554 Croke testified to Cranmer's hearsay. Cranmer had been the chief agent for Henry VIII in establishing the Church of England. It seems evident that Croke's politics swayed with the times.

pence per year for his efforts. In the year 1531 he obtained an M. A. and a B. D. from Oxford. He wrote a number of works, including one of the first French-English dictionaries. Eventually he went to Louvain to study law and continue Greek and Latin. True to his friend, Thomas More, he was against the Reformation, but he did not suffer his friend's fate and died in 1541.

It is clear that Henry VIII in choosing two top scholars was being as careful with the education of his son as Katherine was with the education of Mary. Both of young Henry's tutors took great pains with him and became personally devoted to him. Croke wrote to him from Italy offering to send him models of a Roman bridge and galley. At the age of ten, Henry had read some of Caesar, Virgil, and Terence and knew some Greek. Palsgrave wrote Henry VIII that Henry was coming along fine in Greek and Latin and that he (Palsgrave) was trying to instill in him a love of learning.

Henry and Surrey worked at classics and sciences in the morning; they relaxed with modern languages in the afternoon; and they had music lessons (voice and virginals) in the evenings. They studied Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian. John Skelton was friendly with the boys and dropped in for a visit from time to time.

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89 Chapman, Two Tudor Portraits, pp. 20-21.
Croke and Palsgrave had a problem with Henry's governors who did not share their enthusiasm for academic studies. Croke had great disputes with Henry's gentleman usher, George Cotton. Cotton, claiming to think of Henry's health, refused to call him at six a.m., disrupted routines, lured him from his lessons, criticized the clergy, refused to punish Henry, and brought in jesters, tumblers, and musicians at all hours. In addition, Cotton was secretly teaching Henry the Roman handwriting style instead of the decorative, embossing style Croke preferred. In 1528, Croke considered Cotton to have won the disputes, and Croke left, although he and young Henry remained fond of one another. 90

Palsgrave seemed to have trouble with Masters Parr and Page who were to guide Henry's body while Palsgrave instructed the young man in virtue and learning. Palsgrave felt they took too much time on the gentlemanly arts and that they too frequently interrupted Henry's studies. 91 In the year 1529, Palsgrave wrote to Thomas More to ask Henry VIII to fix an allotted time for his son's studies and then encourage no interruptions during that period. We do not know whether or how Henry VIII resolved the conflict. One can imagine that he wanted to see the boy develop in both areas. We can be sure that young Henry loved hunting and horsemanship since he wrote a number of letters to Cromwell concerning the need of places for him and his

90 Ibid., p. 33.

friends to hunt, sport, and fish. This is not to say that Henry did not care about his studies—every piece of evidence indicates that he did.

In 1532 Henry accompanied his father and Anne Boleyn to Calais, and from there he and Surrey went on to Paris for study at the court of Francis. They came home in September, 1533, probably for the birth of Elizabeth, since by custom all those close to the throne were supposed to attend royal births. His study in France probably did little more than help him brush up his French since it was for such a short time. He was, however, the only member of the English Tudors to study in France. His grandfather, Henry VII, was there, but we do not know that he engaged in serious study there.

Henry was married in November, 1533, at the age of fourteen to Mary Howard, the sister of Surrey, and a first cousin of Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard. He was to go to Ireland after his marriage, but apparently his health did not permit it. He was present at the execution of Anne Boleyn in May, 1536, and he died in July of that year at about sixteen years of age. The court was deeply grieved at his death because of his intellectual accomplishments and his great potential. The sentiment was shared by foreign ambassadors who did not need to show favor. Although Henry was described as

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92 Ibid., vol. VIII, p. 388.
93 Chapman, Two Tudor Portraits ..., p. 40.
robust, he curiously died at about the same age as his uncle and his half-brother and various Tudor cousins. The Tudor males had trouble surviving adolescence.

With the education of Henry Fitzroy, we see the introduction of Greek and a tutor (Croke) who was one of the pioneers of the new learning and the teaching of Greek in England. While Henry's academic education was probably not so thorough as his half-sister, Mary's, since he died young and there was a conflict of his studies with the gentlemanly arts, it was more modern and foreshadowed the training soon to be received by his other half-siblings, Edward and Elizabeth. He evidently was the first Tudor to study Greek as a child.

James Stuart, James V

The only other member of this generation of Tudors known to be well-educated was James Stuart, son of Margaret Tudor Stuart. James was born April 10, 1512, the oldest member of this Tudor generation, and also the only legitimate child of his father (James IV) to survive infancy. By the time young James was three, his father had been killed at Flodden, and his mother's hasty remarriage and demonstrated lack of interest in the Scottish people had made the situation such that the Scottish noblemen had taken him away from her. Nothing in Margaret's correspondence indicated a real concern for James's education. She is supposed to have made Gavin Dunbar (who had possibly tutored her brother, Arthur) his tutor, but this is unlikely
since there is no record of Dunbar actually being paid until 1517 after James was no longer in her care. Margaret Tudor, in fact, hindered the education of James by helping him become king in actuality as well as style at the age of thirteen. From that point on, his education deteriorated rapidly.

Although James was a sickly child at times, he grew up to be handsome, shrewd, and vigorous in mind and body. He had red hair, an oval face, small mouth, aquiline nose, weak chin, good figure, middle stature, and sharp wits. It was from him that his daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots, inherited her good looks. James had the characteristically frank and brutal language of the Tudors.

James's education was conducted by four or five tutors. Although his education was often interrupted and terminated early for political reasons and power plays, he did have fine tutors, and they found James to be warm and receptive.

The first tutor, the Scottish poet, David Lindsay (1490-1555) was officially usher to James from 1512 to 1522. His poems, which he began writing in 1527, were of local and temporary interest; however, they were reported to be good in satire and style. As usher to James,

96 Paterson, pp. 11-27.
97 Ibid., p. 34.
99 Ibid., p. 50.
he received forty pounds a year, and was married to James's seamstress. Lindsay carried around the infant James in his arms and told him stories and read him stories: fairy tales, legends of Arthur, and both the Homeric stories. He was really more of a playfellow and companion, and seems like a delightful one. Lindsay was impressed with and later wrote about James's playfulness in infancy and young boyhood. Lindsay eventually taught James music, ballads, and history, and told him about the planets as well as having charge of his recreation and idle hours. Because Lindsay did a number of things that parents do (at least now), he seems like the kindest and warmest tutor in this study. James continued to love Lindsay even when he knew Lindsay did not approve of some of his immoral practices and court hangers-on. After James died at the age of thirty in 1542, Lindsay wrote a poem about his life, and he personally went to England to return the Garter insignia which Henry VIII had awarded James for recognizing Anne Boleyn as Queen.

James Stuart's main academic tutor was Gavin Dunbar who was educated at the University of Glasgow. There he distinguished himself in classics, philosophy, theology, and canon law. His learning and personal character were above reproach; however, he tended to side more with the schoolmen than the humanists. James liked and

admired Dunbar, and Dunbar used his (James's) influence to keep the clergy powerful. A good and learned man, he was not at home in the arena of politics; his defect was that he did not realize it. One good thing he did was to advise James to establish a fourteen judge Court of Justice which was a step forward. He eventually became Archbishop of Glasgow and Lord-Chancellor of Scotland. He died in the year 1547.104

We do not know what Dunbar taught James. George Buchanan, tutor of some of James's illegitimate children, believed James's classical education was not so profound as it should have been. There is no evidence to show that he learned Greek, but he assuredly learned Latin, English, and French.

Dunbar was assisted by John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray, and William Stewart, a scholar-writer.106 who remains fairly obscure. Bellenden was born in the last decade of the fifteenth century, attended St. Andrews and later the Sorbonne where he received a D. D., and wrote poetry and translated Livy and Hector Boece into Scottish. It is not specifically clear what he or Stewart actually taught James. Bellenden was an ardent Roman Catholic and therefore left Scotland when Protestantism prevailed.107

105 Paterson, p. 98.
106 Ibid., p. 30.
James Inglis, Abbott of Culross, was at various times Clerk of the Closet to James IV, secretary to Margaret, and Chaplain to young James. James IV, father of young James, thanked him in a letter for some rare books of alchemy. He bought young James's clothes and provided his dramatic entertainment. The extent of his influence on young James has not been made clear.

By the age of thirteen, James was supposed to have had a competent knowledge of science, in which subject he showed the most interest. After age thirteen (when he became king-in-fact and a real adult) he moved about from place to place. He was no longer made to study, and he spent most of his time in horseback riding and racing, sliding down hills, playing tennis, playing cards and dice, hunting, and throwing eggs at people. He was subjected to extreme flattery and his courtiers were constantly bickering. His keepers during his adolescence, particularly his step-father Angus, catered to and fostered his vices to keep him out of government and to lessen his cognizance of his restraint. In addition to the above mentioned pastimes, his keepers introduced him to promiscuity which resulted later

109 Paterson, pp. 34-38.
in three illegitimate sons by three women before he reached the age of twenty.111

James's vices did not impair his natural kindness or his mind's vigor. As soon as he was really on his own, he made Dunbar high chancellor of Scotland and invested Lindsay as Lyon-King of Arms. He employed Bellenden and Stewart in literary pursuits such as translating Boece's *Chronicle of Scotland* into the vernacular in prose and poetry.112 James was almost always kind to and considerate of his mother, although her actions toward him were less desirable.113

The adult James loved people and mixed easily with them. For this trait he was loved and called King of the Commons. He loved music and song and field sports, and he, like his Uncle Henry, liked to write poetry. He wrote "Christ's Kirk on the Green," "The Jollie Beggar," and "The Gaberlunzie Man." This interest could have been nurtured by Bellenden, Lindsay, or both.

James V, as an adult, saw a need for reform in the Catholic Church, but he did not favor separation from Rome. He was not so pious and superstitious as his father was, and his vices were balanced by his good qualities as even John Knox admitted. James was first married to Magdalen, elder daughter of Francis I of France. When this marriage ended six months later with her death, he married the widow, Mary of Guise. Both sons died, and Mary, their only surviving child, was born a few

112Paterson, pp. 71-98.
days before James died in the year 1542. He is supposed to have said that it (the Stuart line) started with a lass (Marjory Bruce), and it will end with a lass. James also left seven acknowledged bastards by six high born women, one of whom, Janet Erskine, was supposed to have been his true love.

James Stuart, as King of Scotland and close to the throne of England, should have had an outstanding education. Perhaps it was amazing that he received the education he did from fine tutors since he was reared by a committee that changed as political circumstance changed, his father was dead, and his mother did not concern herself with his education. If Margaret Tudor had been well educated herself, perhaps she might have been more interested in this phase of her son's life. It seems fairly clear that James had a traditional education so far as it went. The one tutor who had been to Europe (Bellenden) was an old-line Catholic and thus would have favored a traditional education. Although one of James's illegitimate half-brothers had been tutored by Erasmus, the persons who influenced James seemed to associate the new learning with the threat of Protestantism.

Margaret Douglas

James Stuart's half-sister, Margaret Douglas, received no better treatment by their mother and was assuredly not well educated. Young Margaret was born in October, 1515, to Margaret Tudor and Archibald Douglas in Northumberland as they were fleeing from Scotland. Her father was just nineteen at the time, but he had another wife and child at Ayrshire. Margaret and Archibald proceeded on to London where Wolsey became young Margaret's godfather. Margaret was only four months older than Mary Tudor so the two infants were lodged together until Margaret was eighteen months old. Then her mother took her to Scotland where at age three she was kidnapped by her father. From that time on she was never under her mother's control again. Her parents had quarreled and separated and Margaret Tudor finally obtained a divorce, so from infancy on, Margaret Douglas was always with her father or with her Tudor relatives at the English court. Thus she grew up in Scotland, France (where her father was exiled for awhile and an ambassador for awhile), and England (where her father went occasionally). Although she was fiercely loyal to her father, he seemed most aware of her for her political and dynastic importance. All that is known of her education is that she learned

116 Strickland, Queens of Scotland ..., pp. 272-274.
to read and write and that the wives of her father's brothers and cousin acted as her governesses.

When her father was the most powerful man in Scotland, Margaret, about age twelve, became quite haughty. After her father's fall from power, she and her ladies spent a year wandering among castles on the border, refusing to be reconciled to her mother. In 1529, her aunt, Mary Tudor Brandon, sent for her; and from then on she was under the care and influence of her Tudor relatives. She was first lady to the baby Elizabeth Tudor, Anne of Cleves, and Katherine Howard.

Although she was a favorite with Henry and popular with the whole court, Margaret did anger her Uncle Henry by falling in love with two different Howards, Anne Boleyn's uncle and Katherine Howard's brother. Henry warned her to beware a third time. Finally, when she was thirty-two, he allowed her to marry Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, a Scottish nobleman reared in France whom Henry was advancing through his meddling with Scottish politics.

Margaret shared the fate of those near the throne of being often under royal suspicion and was in the tower three times for love matters (her own and her children's), as she said, not for treason. Margaret

and Henry VIII are supposed to have had a violent quarrel before he died, and he therefore excluded her from the succession. She was devoted to the Catholic religion, and this may have been the cause of the quarrel. This made her a staunch friend of her cousin, Mary Tudor, but not of Edward and Elizabeth. Margaret and Lennox who seemed quite devoted had eight children of whom only two (Henry and Charles) lived beyond infancy. 119

Margaret Douglas, so Strickland relates, was a patroness of the arts which probably means that she gave some money to artists and scholars. She lived until 1577 or 1578 and died at about age sixty-three, the last one of her generation to die. 120 It is not certain that Margaret Tudor had any other children than James Stuart and Margaret Douglas.

Strickland, however, reported that Margaret Tudor had two children by the third marriage; Henry Stewart and Dorothea Stewart. No other reference to these children could be found nor could any evidence regarding their education be uncovered. Strickland asserted that Henry died with his father at the Battle of Pinkie in 1547 and that Dorothea died in her teens; in any case, there was no further line.

119 Strickland, Queens of Scotland ..., Vol. II, pp. 280-342.
120 Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 431-443.
Henry Brandon and His Sisters

The remaining three persons in this generation of Tudors were the three children of Mary Tudor (sister of Henry VIII) and her second husband, Charles Brandon: Henry, born in 1515; Frances, born in 1517; and Eleanor, born sometime later. Of these three, only Henry is known to have received some education. In the cases of Frances and Eleanor, there is no evidence of fees to tutors, no letters regarding their studies, nor any other evidences of education. It seems almost certain that there would be some evidences if they had been well educated. This is all the more surprising since they grew up right under the noses of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon, and their cousin, Mary Tudor. When Katherine formed a school around Mary, the Brandon girls would have been logical choices for schoolmates, but since there is no evidence that the school functioned well or for a long period, the education they might have received in it would have been very little. Perhaps he and Katherine left the matter entirely to the parents, and since neither of them were well educated, they did not do much.

Although Henry VIII was always playing politics, he was known to favor the Brandon over the Stuart-Douglas children in default of his own issue. Thus, young Henry Brandon should have been educated.

Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon attended his baptism and although Henry VIII made the young man Earl of Lincoln, he considered him lower in rank than his illegitimate son, Henry Fitzroy. We do know that young Henry had a French text book written for him in 1520 by Pierre Valence who was likely his French teacher. This was probably the first French grammar written for the English. Although Valence remains obscure, it seems safe to assume from this clue that Henry Brandon was formally educated to some degree. His aptitude remains unknown. In the Calendar of State Papers he is reported as living until 1534, so he died young, unmarried and without issue.

Strickland mysteriously indicated that Frances, the elder daughter, was elaborately educated. No other evidence seems to bear this out, however. She did, however, have tireless physical energy and was an excellent sportswoman. She was quick-witted and resembled her floridly handsome father and her uncle, Henry VIII. She is reported to have been greedy, brutal, harsh, grasping, actively cruel, and incapable of affection. She was able to adjust her religious

views to suit the times. Her description sounds like (and she resembled) her Aunt Margaret and her Uncle Henry.

Henry VIII let Frances marry a relative of his, Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, in 1533 or 1534. Their only son died in infancy, and they had three daughters: Jane, Katherine, and Mary. In 1554, three weeks after her husband's execution for plotting to put their oldest daughter on the throne, Frances at thirty-seven married twenty-one year old Adrian Stokes. Nine months later she bore him a daughter who soon died. Frances herself died in 1559 and was given a state funeral by her cousin, Queen Elizabeth.

Eleanor Prandon was prettier than Frances with lovely hazel eyes and a tall graceful figure, and Henry VIII preferred her to Frances. There is no evidence to suggest that Eleanor was educated although she was undoubtedly taught to read and write. She was permitted to marry Henry Clifford in 1537. Before her death in 1547, she had borne four children, only one of whom, Margaret, survived infancy.

This, the second generation of Tudors was characterized by the influence of Katherine of Aragon on education for girls which was to


flower in the next generation. We saw the beginnings of the new learning and the teaching of Greek to Henry Fitzroy. With Henry Fitzroy and James Stuart we saw the conflict between academic learning and the gentlemanly arts and/or pranks and vices that were carryovers from the past centuries. Most of the members of the generation were educated as children of noble families still were—with an emphasis on functional reading and writing and a heavier emphasis on learning to live the physical life of the nobility. The next generation, beginning with Elizabeth Tudor in 1533, opened a new story in the education of the family.
THE THIRD GENERATION

The children in the second generation descended from Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York were born between 1512 and approximately 1520 (the birthdate of the youngest, Eleanor Brandon, is unknown, but she was married in 1537 presumably at age seventeen or eighteen). The next two children after Eleanor were Elizabeth and Edward Tudor born in 1533 and 1537. In 1537, the children of the 1512-1520 generation started to arrive, so for the purpose of this study, Elizabeth I and Edward VI are being considered in the third generation. This is reasonable since their half-sister, Mary, could have been their mother, and Henry VIII could have been their grandfather, rather than their father. This final generation includes eight children spanning the years 1533 to 1545, except for one born in 1556.

Elizabeth Tudor, Elizabeth I

Elizabeth Tudor was born September 7, 1533, and was baptized three days later.¹ We get some insight into the age by knowing that of the seventeen noble persons attending Elizabeth's baptism, ten were beheaded, died in disgrace, or saw family members suffer death or

disgrace. ² Henry VIII was less than pleased at the sex of the infant, but he had some reason for optimism since she was alive and healthy. He named her after his own mother.

Anne Boleyn wanted to nurse Elizabeth herself, but Henry VIII refused. Elizabeth passed her first two months in her mother's suite. Then a household was created for her and she was moved to Hatfield with it and her wet nurse. At thirteen months, Elizabeth was weaned by the order of the king and his ministers.³ Elizabeth's only known appearance at court in her infancy was in January, 1536, when her father paraded her around at the news of the death of Katherine of Aragon.⁴

There is still in existence a record of Elizabeth's toys: dolls of all sizes including one or two mechanical ones that could speak and walk (probably imported from Italy), a wooden rocking horse, a set of marionettes, miniature cooking utensils, and a Noah's Ark with "beesties and Noah with his familie."⁵

The quality of any child's care depends on the persons around it. Henry VIII rejected the application of a Mrs. Mary to be in Elizabeth's household because she (Mrs. Mary) was too young. He wanted only old

²Lucy Aiken, Memoirs of the Court of Elizabeth, Queen of England (London: Alex, Murray and Son, 1869), p. 12.
³Mandell Strickland, Elizabeth..., pp. 8-9.
⁵Davey, Sisters..., p. 65.
and sad persons about the royal children. Elizabeth's chaplain, Mr. Bingham, is supposed to have told her fairy tales (only moral ones) by the time she was three and one-half. Anne Boleyn is reported by one author to have asked her own chaplain, Dr. Parker, a zealous and learned reformer, to imbue Elizabeth with the principles of religious knowledge and the Reformation. Even if this were true, it is doubtful that it would have had much impact since Anne was beheaded before Elizabeth was three.

Probably the most important person to the infant Elizabeth was Lady Margaret Bryan, her governess, great-aunt, mother figure, and early mentor. Elizabeth was fortunate in that royal children were separated from their parents as a matter of course. While she may have been ashamed and embittered over what happened to her mother, it is doubtful that she felt a sense of personal loss. Lady Bryan had performed the same office for Mary Tudor, and since she knew and liked both girls, she must have helped the two half-sisters (particularly Mary) to coexist. At any rate she conformed to Henry's changeable religious moods and was

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8Aiken, p. 16.

judicious, sensible, and conscientious. Lady Bryan wrote Cromwell for more clothes for Elizabeth since after her mother's death, she was financially neglected; and Mary Tudor wrote her father regarding Elizabeth’s needs also. Lady Bryan did her best to see that Elizabeth’s real needs were met and that she had a fairly tranquil and disciplined early childhood, but shortly after Elizabeth was four, Henry requested the good lady’s services for the young motherless prince and heir, Edward. Lady Bryan died when Elizabeth was about eleven years old.

Continuity was provided for Elizabeth in the person of Blanche Parry, a Welsh maiden lady who said in later years that she watched Elizabeth being rocked as a baby. Miss Parry was devoted to Elizabeth, and Elizabeth loved her and made her custodian of the Queen’s Jewels after she became Queen. Miss Parry, who was superstitious and read palms, had high church attitudes and may have influenced Elizabeth in her formative years in this respect. Most of the others around Elizabeth (excepting Mary Tudor) were Protestants. Blanche Parry was reported to have taught Elizabeth the Welsh language.

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11 Marples, p. 52.
12 Sitwell, p. 136.
13 Anthony, p. 21.
14 Ibid., p. 17.
At some early point in her life Elizabeth came under the care of Katherine Champernowne (possibly when Lady Bryan took charge of Edward) who married and became Katherine or Kat Ashley. Mrs. Ashley must have taught Elizabeth the essentials of reading and writing since Elizabeth had a beautiful script before she worked with her later tutors. Mrs. Ashley was devoted to Protestantism and the new learning. She and her husband, John, who wrote the Art of Riding, were friends of Roger Ascham and helped him gain influence with Elizabeth. Mrs. Ashley was apparently a learned woman and really seemed devoted to Elizabeth. She became Elizabeth's confidante and was the only woman toward whom Elizabeth is known to have shown real warmth of feeling. She is the person about whom Elizabeth said: "St. Gregory sayeth that we are more bound to them that bringeth us up well than to our parents, for our parents do that which is natural for them that bringeth us into the world, but our bringers up are a cause to make us live well in it." Mrs. Ashley, however, was not a woman of disciplined and firm character. She indulged and spoiled Elizabeth. Although foolish and imprudent, she was interested in Elizabeth's education, and fortunately, Elizabeth was also interested in it. Mrs. Ashley's worst performance was when Elizabeth was a teenager and Mrs. Ashley encouraged her toward Thomas Seymour and then was not discreet in talking about the affair.

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17 Anthony, p. 22.
18 Creighton, p. 9.
19 Strickland, Elizabeth****, pp. 22-23.
She was dismissed from her post for this reason, but Elizabeth always remained loyal and rewarded both the Ashleys with good positions after she became Queen. These statements have not been meant to indicate that either Blanche Parry or Katherine Ashley were evil women, but with their superstitions and spoiling, they would hardly fulfill Erasmus's or Vives's ideals for tutors.

Another person who had a great deal of influence on young Elizabeth, since they were often housed together, was her half-sister, Mary, who had every reason to feel resentful and hateful toward Elizabeth, particularly when Elizabeth took precedence over her. After Anne Boleyn's death, however, both were declared illegitimate ladies of high rank by Henry VIII. Elizabeth looked to Mary as an example of royalty, and Mary had copied her mother; so, ironically, Elizabeth copied Spanish characteristics, including the low, loud voice. In the winter of 1539, when Mary and Elizabeth were together, Mary, who was helping to support Elizabeth, felt both love and hate for her young half-sister. Elizabeth's precociousness and appealing ways were a source of both jealousy and pride to Mary. Mary was a good influence for Elizabeth

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22 Anthony, p. 25.
when Elizabeth began to be educated since she was still studying herself. She encouraged Elizabeth to study, and her example as an educated woman was something to which Elizabeth might logically aspire.\(^{25}\) Regardless of their feeling toward one another, thanks to Elizabeth's successor, James I, they are buried together with the inscription, "Partners alike in throne and grave, we sisters Elizabeth and Mary sleep in the hope of resurrection." Mary had requested that she be buried with Katherine of Aragon. Elizabeth had not honored the request, so she got Mary for a grave partner herself.\(^{26}\)

Just as Elizabeth was fortunate to have a well-educated older half-sister to emulate, as it turned out, she was also lucky to have a younger half-brother with whom she could be educated. The three royal children (Henry Fitzroy was now dead) moved around from estate to estate, sometimes together, sometimes apart. When Elizabeth and Edward were together after Edward passed infancy, they were given lessons together and followed essentially the same course of studies. It was a mark of favor for Elizabeth to be with Edward, so her household was eager for the two of them to be together. According to Strickland, Elizabeth helped Edward with his first words and the two felt very warm toward one another.\(^{27}\) When she was six, Elizabeth made Edward a cambric shirt.

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\(^{25}\) Great Britain, Public Records Office, p. xi.

\(^{26}\) MacNalty, Elizabeth..., p. 243.

\(^{27}\) Strickland, Elizabeth..., p. 13.
name, so she was undoubtedly aware of his position. 28

Elizabeth and Edward both had a natural interest in and leaning toward learning, 29 and they called for their books first thing in the mornings. Their first hours were devoted to religious exercises and study of the scriptures. After breakfast, they studied languages and sciences and then moral learning. While Edward had active exercises outdoors, Elizabeth practiced her needlework or the lute or viol. 30

It was reported that Edward quickly caught up with Elizabeth educationally. 31 All evidence points to the fact that they were both bright children, therefore it seems more logical that Edward appeared brighter because Elizabeth had not been pushed along so rapidly as he had. When it was found what she was capable of, she was then given serious tutoring. She did not have professional tutors of her own as early as Mary and Edward did, and if she had not had Edward to share some studies with, her education might not have progressed as it did.

Elizabeth came along at the right time to get the full thrust of the new learning and Greek studies. Mary had been under the influence of Oxford tutors, men of the first generation of humanists who were essentially Catholic reformers. Their faith and hers was a more medieval faith. Elizabeth and Edward, on the other hand, were educated by

31 Anthony, p. 25.
Cambridge tutors, men of the second generation of humanists. These men had the Renaissance impulse and were Protestant reformers. Elizabeth was thus not tied to a medieval faith, but a more humanistic one. As queen, she could refuse to recognize the Pope’s right to give the New World to Spain and Portugal by saying that the use of sea and air is common to all and that prescription is not possession. Elizabeth was seven when the first Greek professorship was established at Cambridge. Greek was the great divide that separated the educations of Mary and Elizabeth. Elizabeth had Hellenism and Mary had Romanism. Elizabeth bettered Mary in language training by also learning to speak Italian and read Greek in addition to Latin and French.

A final person who was extremely influential in the education of Elizabeth was her last stepmother, Katherine Parr. According to Strickland, Katherine had admired Elizabeth before she became Queen, and after becoming Queen, she determined to continue Elizabeth’s education on a high plane. She also did her best to see that Elizabeth had as happy a life as possible. Katherine, a devout Protestant, was largely responsible for bringing the Protestant tutors (Grindal, Cheke, and Cooke) to Elizabeth and Edward, and she was personally responsible for

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34 Lingard, Vol. VI, p. 656.
35 Strickland, Elizabeth..., p. 16.
36 Marples, p. 52.
encouraging them in Protestantism. Katherine encouraged Elizabeth to do translations for her. At age eleven, Elizabeth translated Margaret of Valois's *Mirror of a Sinful Soul* from French to English. Elizabeth apparently did something to offend her father around her tenth year and was banished from his presence. During this time, Katherine wrote her encouraging her in her studies. Elizabeth wrote to Katherine, deploring not having seen her for a whole year, but glad of her love and thankful to Katherine for mentioning her to her father.

Before going on to Elizabeth's studies and tutors, it seems wise to look at her inherited traits, her character, and her intelligence. One author who believed that Elizabeth Tudor was more like her mother than her father, described Anne Boleyn as vain, unscrupulous, relentless, overbearing, full of bad temper, hard and coarse. He did not believe Elizabeth was "as hard and coarse as her mother." Another author believed Elizabeth inherited from her mother her pale complexion, black eyes, vanity, coquetry, and liking to be wooed and admired, while a third author believed she was like Anne in being sparkling and full of

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37 Scarisbrick, p. 457.

38 According to Anthony (p. 32), this treatise may have had extra meaning for Elizabeth if she knew (we do not know if she knew) that her mother and Margaret had known each other well in France.


40 Creighton, pp. 5-6.

41 MacNalty, *Elizabeth...*, p. 222.
repartee and in lacking warmth in social relationships.\textsuperscript{42}

From her father, Elizabeth seemed to inherit her red hair, a love of learning and scholarship, intellectual gifts, statecraft, autocracy, a way of dealing with the large public successfully, and outbursts of temper, irritability, and invective.\textsuperscript{43} She also seemed to inherit his royal imperiousness and personal charm, and was like Henry VII in caution, prudence, and hoarding.\textsuperscript{44} Elizabeth had to live with the terrible knowledge that her father killed her mother,\textsuperscript{45} perhaps without just cause, for as Melanchthon wrote (whom Elizabeth studied) Anne Boleyn was more "accused than convicted of adultery."\textsuperscript{46} One author wrote that Elizabeth was the favorite of her father because of her childish solemnity and great wit.\textsuperscript{47} Henry VIII apparently wanted Elizabeth educated, or at least had no objection to it, since she was his daughter. Yet he was imperious and hard to approach.\textsuperscript{48} It is more probable that he cared little for Elizabeth. Aside from dandling them as infants, Henry was not really close to any of his children, and Elizabeth had the added burden in his eyes of being her mother's daughter.\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{42}Anthony, p. 253.
\textsuperscript{43}MacNalty, Elizabeth..., p. 222.
\textsuperscript{44}Creighton, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{45}Morris, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{47}Prescott, p. 120.
\textsuperscript{48}MacNalty, Elizabeth..., pp. 10, 15.
\textsuperscript{49}Creighton, p. 8.
Therefore, their exchanges were neither frequent nor cordial. Yet Elizabeth seemed to be both fascinated and repelled by her father. She was proud of her relationship to him and proud of being a king’s daughter. She almost never spoke of her mother, but after she became Queen she was very kind to her mother’s relatives and friends.

What about the character of this princess whose mother was killed by her father and who was surrounded from girlhood by spies and enemies and well-meaning but inept friends? A young girl today with her background would almost surely be a candidate for a psychiatrist and/or the school guidance counselor. Elizabeth did not, however, crack under the strain, and she remains the sphinx of modern history, having eluded both psychologists and historians to a great degree. At her accession to the throne at twenty-five, Elizabeth was handsome, affable, frank, and popular. Danger and experience had taught her well. The darker side of her nature had not yet revealed itself. She was, as she said, "mere English," and she was elegant, fascinating, and learned with a rare capacity and great courage. Elizabeth had been a precocious but

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52 Maynard, Elizabeth... p. 9.


introspective child who learned a great deal from life and books. She had found out that happiness is fragile, power insecure, and all human affairs uncertain. She ripened too quickly to preserve the balance between emotion and restraint, but she could handle herself successfully. 55 She had a nature as hard as steel and a reason untouched by passion or imagination. She was capable as queen of tricking and lying to all the courts of Europe and her own ministers. Like her father, she was great at detail, intrigue, and diplomacy. She hated war because it closed these avenues to her. 56

Elizabeth was completely human in her love of flattery. 57 Perhaps it helped make up for early feelings of insecurity. She was good-natured and warm-hearted in her youth, particularly to her circle of intimates. 58 Jane Dormer described Elizabeth at twelve or thirteen as proud and disdainful, but Jane Dormer was a friend of Mary's. The more general view, and certainly the view one receives from her letters, is that she was gentle and witty. 59 She also was ambitious, so that beneath her gentleness and wittiness, she was using people and planning her moves. 60

56 Green, pp. 38, 737.
58 Thane, p. 350.
59 Jenkins, p. 22.
60 Strickland, Elizabeth..., pp. 50, 126.
Built into Elizabeth's character was the problem of her virginity, particularly after the age of twenty-five when she was one of the most sought after women in Europe. MacNalty believed that she was not congenitally deformed, too masculine, or intellectually or emotionally cold, but she simply did not want to be dominated. In addition to domination, as a married woman she faced the possibilities of childlessness or death in child-birth. The one time she would have married, her chosen one Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was unpopular; and his wife had died under the suspicion of murder. MacNalty attributed the fact that she could be hard, cold, ruthless, and ungrateful to difficult early years. Another author believed, however, that her virginity was a matter of policy not choice and that it naturally took its toll on her emotional life. It must be said that if it was a policy, it was Elizabeth's policy alone for her council and parliament repeatedly urged her to marry. Her hatred of marriage has been likened to a craze. She is supposed to have vowed shortly after Katherine Howard's execution that she would never marry. She had certainly seen many unhappy marriages. The deaths of her mother and Katherine Howard and her unrequited love for Thomas Seymour (which will be dealt with later) could have given her sexual system shocks hindering normal development. It is possible that she could only associate sexual intercourse with terror and death—

61 MacNalty, Elizabeth..., pp. 16, 100.
62 Morris, p. 37.
give yourself to a man and get your head cut off. 64 This was to Elizabeth's advantage as a ruler since she could concentrate more heavily on politics. 65

That Elizabeth's performing intellect was not marred by emotional problems is fortunate. Of ten authors who commented on Elizabeth's intelligence (some of them were critical of her in other areas), only one believed that there was no evidence for her superior intelligence. 66 Sir Thomas Pope was her keeper for part of the time during Mary's reign and was impressed with her intellect and learning and by her interest in Trinity College which he had just founded. Strickland was impressed by her ability to write one letter while dictating another and also listening to a conversation making appropriate replies. 67 It was said that she could have her eye on one person, be listening to another, talking to a third, and judging a fourth. 68 Elizabeth's memory was phenomenal, and her brains were greatest asset. She could have been a great classical scholar if she had not been barred by sex and nearness to the throne. 69 One author ranked Elizabeth in a class with Alexander, Caesar,

64Jenkins, pp. 17, 28, 100.


67Strickland, Elizabeth ..., pp. 92, 351.

68Sir John Hayward, The Life and Reigne of King Edward the Sixth with the beginning of the reigne of Queene Elizabeth (London: Robert Young, 1636), p. 449.

69Marples, p. 52.
Constantine, Napoleon, John Stuart Mill, and William Wooton.\(^\text{70}\) MacNalty believed her to be, along with James I of England and Christina of Sweden, one of the three most learned, intellectual, and erudite sovereigns in Western history.\(^\text{71}\) At the end of her life, Elizabeth wanted to see a Europe of equal states divided fairly evenly among Catholics, Protestants, and Muslims. This idea showed that she was using her intelligence to transcend her intense nationalism.\(^\text{72}\) Lest we believe she was a paragon, Strickland reminded her readers that Queen Elizabeth's intellect was duped into believing that there was an elixir for perpetual youth.\(^\text{73}\)

Elizabeth's earliest intellectual training seems to have come from Katherine Ashley, as mentioned previously. It was not until she was eleven, in 1561, that she was given a university trained tutor. Until then she worked with Mrs. Ashley and her brother Edward's three tutors. Since they were essentially Edward's tutors and not hers, they will be described in greater detail in the section concerning Edward Tudor, but it is proper to speak somewhat of them here in their relation to Elizabeth. Dr. Richard Cox was Edward's first tutor. Dr. Cox stressed both ancient and modern languages. He was suspected of being a Lutheran and was

\(^{70}\)Chamberlin, p. 17.


\(^{72}\)Ibid., p. 252.

\(^{73}\)Strickland, Elizabeth..., p. 191.
thought by at least one writer to be warm and kindly, but the study of him does not lead one to believe he was a likable man. Elizabeth made him Bishop of Ely after she became queen. There is the famous letter written to him when he had refused to give up a property for one of Elizabeth's court favorites:

"Proud Prelate,
You know what you were before I made you what you are now. If you do not immediately comply with my request, I will unfrock you, by God."

Elizabeth"

At least one author, however, indicated that the letter was a forgery. Edward's other two tutors were John Cheke and Anthony Cooke, and they both helped Elizabeth with her studies from time to time. Cheke, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, reigned supreme among the younger scholars. He probably taught Elizabeth separately when she and Edward happened to be residing at the same place at the same time. Cheke had an almost supernatural gift of tongues and an equal gift for teaching, so that the quality of his teaching was undoubtedly good for Elizabeth even if it was irregular.

76 Strickland, Elizabeth....., p. 16.
77 Marples, pp. 52-53.
Elizabeth finally received her own tutor in the person of William Grindal. Grindal, probably from Cumberland, went, as a poor student, to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he excelled as a Greek scholar and became a favorite of Roger Ascham, with whom he lived and studied for seven years. Grindal was made a fellow at St. John's in 1543, and was called to tutor Elizabeth (Roger Ascham recommended him to Katherine Parr, Katherine Ashley, and Edward's tutors) by Katherine Parr sometime between 1544 and 1546. One author who believed that Grindal was the best Greek scholar at Cambridge after Cheke described him as learned, studious, taciturn, obstinate, and full of fidelity. Grindal participated on Cheke's side in the dispute between Cheke and Chancellor Gardiner of Cambridge regarding the pronunciation of Greek. Marples described Grindal as charming and excellent with high standards. Grindal found Elizabeth receptive, and she found him stimulating. During their four years together, he introduced her to the classics, and is believed to have taught her more than any other one person. By the time Grindal died of the plague in 1548, Elizabeth was recognized as being unnaturally learned for her age and sex.

80 John Strype, The Life of the Learned Sir John Cheke: First Instructor, Afterwards Secretary of State to King Edward VI, One of the Great Restorers of Good Learning and True Religion in This Kingdom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1821), pp. 9, 14-19.
81 Marples, p. 53.
83 Marples, p. 53.
Yet during her time with Grindal and the ensuing intellectual accomplishments, Elizabeth was also getting an education of another sort. Henry VIII died when Elizabeth was thirteen, and shortly afterwards Thomas Seymour, maternal uncle of Edward VI and younger brother of the Protector, decided to marry a royal lady and considered Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, Katherine Parr, and Anne of Cleves. Mary and Elizabeth both refused, but Katherine Parr accepted him. At the same time, Elizabeth was placed in Katherine's custody so that she was thrown into daily communication with Seymour (nearly forty). Seymour was bluff and hearty with Elizabeth, and sometimes he came into her bedroom in the mornings in his nightshirt and mauled her playfully. Once Katherine Parr caught them kissing, and as a result, sent Elizabeth away from her household. Whether it reached it or not, the relationship approached a sexual union and Elizabeth received sex education of a sort. Thanks to Seymour, Elizabeth from that time on spat and swore like a man. 84

Katherine Parr died on Elizabeth's fourteenth birthday several days after giving birth to her first child, a daughter. Seymour once again conspired to marry Elizabeth with the blessings of Katherine Ashley and Elizabeth's cofferer, Mr. Parry (no known relation to Blanche Parry). Elizabeth apparently behaved indiscreetly with Seymour 85 and they were accused of conspiring to marry without the consent of Council. Elizabeth and her household were cross-examined. Mrs. Ashley and Mr.

84 Anthony, p. 51.
Parry broke down and admitted their wrongdoings, but Elizabeth amazed everyone with her assurance and resolve during this period. She was humble, polite, and courteous, but would admit to no wrongdoings. 86 Seymour was executed, but Elizabeth, by her own efforts, dealt successfully with the Protector. She even arranged for Mrs. Ashley and Mr. Parry to go free and won a proclamation from Council vindicating her character. 87 They undoubtedly had practical reasons, however, for doing the latter; for if they later wanted to marry her to someone, she would need a clean bill of character.

Elizabeth handled her defense without known adult advice. She learned that she had to keep her own counsel, 88 and the affair taught her the power of scandal. 89 She finally overcame blushing when Seymour's name was mentioned, 90 but he remained possibly the only man for whom Elizabeth showed real and honest affection. 91 The affair appeared to be injurious to her health, and it certainly added to her already mixed feelings about men and their ways. 92

86 Ibid., p. xxxv.
87 Anthony, p. 51.
88 Creighton, p. 16.
89 Black, p. 2.
91 Great Britain, Public Records Office, p. xxxix.
92 Chamberlin, p. 29.
After the Seymour affair a more settled and sedate Elizabeth went back to her studies, and from that time on, she appeared to be more studious. Mrs. Ashley was relieved of her duties as governess after her imprisonment but apparently returned to the household, however, and at some point was reinstated. Her place was filled in the meantime, however, by Lady Tyrwhit, a stepdaughter of Katherine Parr and one of the learned ladies of the Reformation. Lady Tyrwhit was a good woman and a deeply religious woman, who had both morning and evening prayers. Elizabeth was at first resentful of the new governess and said she would only be cared for by Mrs. Ashley. She gradually, however, came to admire the religious and scholarly pursuits of Lady Tyrwhit who won Elizabeth through graciousness and common interests in scholarship. With Grindal's death and the Seymour affair over, Elizabeth needed a new tutor and insisted (successfully over opposition) that it be Roger Ascham who had already had some indirect influence in her life as friend and adviser to Grindal. Possibly there was opposition because Ascham's wife was related to Katherine Ashley, but in any case Elizabeth won

93 Strickland, Elizabeth. . . . , p. 40.
95 Great Britain, Public Records Office, pp. xxxiii-xl.
96 Mumby, Elizabeth. . . . , p. 63.
97 Strickland, Elizabeth. . . . , pp. 34, 40.
98 Jenkins, p. 21.
Roger Ascham was born in 1515 at Kirby Wiske near Northallerton, the third son of John and Margaret Ascham. He was taught by his father and then was put into the family of Anthony Wingfield for further education. Wingfield taught the boy archery and hired a tutor named Bond to teach him English and classical studies. At age fifteen he went to St. John’s College, Cambridge, where his first tutor was Hugh Fitzherbert. For his Greek studies, he had Robert Pember, John Redman, and finally John Cheke. While teaching Greek to younger children, Ascham continued learning Greek, extant Latin literature, mathematics, music, and penmanship. In 1534 he received a B.A. and became a fellow in spite of his open avowal of the reformed religion. In 1537 Ascham obtained an M.A. and the next year was appointed Greek reader at St. John’s where he made Sophocles and Euripides familiar and popular. In the year 1539 he was also given a mathematics lectureship. His penmanship was recognized as beautiful, and he wrote many official letters for people.

Ascham had a petty quarrel with Redman and left Cambridge for Yorkshire to visit his parents. While there he became ill and remained there for two years, thus exhausting his financial resources. He obtained a position translating Greek to Latin but offended his patron and lost the job by favoring married clergy. He apologized and offered

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99 Jenkins, p. 34.
to abandon theology for pure classics. This was characteristic of him in money matters, for he had to live.

Ascham became involved in the controversy of how to pronounce Greek. He was first against Cheke and then for him in not using the continental method. Ascham wanted Cheke's position when Cheke left to tutor Prince Edward, but he did not receive it. He then wrote the book, Toxophilus, about the goodness and practice of the sport of archery. He dedicated it to Henry VIII in 1545, and Henry liked it well enough to give him an annual pension of ten pounds a year for it. In 1546 he was made public orator of Cambridge. Shortly before this, he had been ill again and had received permission from Cranmer to eat flesh rather than fish on fast days.

Whether it is true, as one author believed that Henry VIII hired Ascham about 1544 to teach Edward and Elizabeth penmanship, it is certain that Ascham began tutoring Elizabeth at Chestnut, the home of Sir Anthony Denny where she often stayed, probably in 1548. Ascham taught Elizabeth for two years and then had a petty quarrel with her steward and a coolness sprang up between the princess and her tutor. Ascham was also unhappy not to be able to go frequently to Cambridge, so he left. At Cambridge he taught the two young Brandon boys (younger half-brothers of Frances and Eleanor Brandon) until they died of the plague in 1551.


101 Watson, p. 18. No corroboration of this can be found.
He then went to the court of Charles V as secretary to the English ambassador, but he and Elizabeth were reconciled before he left.

Ascham returned to England in 1552 when Edward died. His prospects looked dim under Mary; but thanks to Gardiner, by 1553, he was Mary's Latin secretary for twenty pounds a year. He had to keep the Pope informed of the progress of Catholicism in England and maintain silence regarding his old friends, Cranmer, Ridley, and Cheke. He did remain friendly with Elizabeth and read some Greek with her. After Elizabeth's accession, he continued in the office and was made tutor to the queen. He read Greek with her and played chess with her until his death. Ascham believed he gave more service than he was paid for, and in 1567 he boldly asked Elizabeth for more money evidently to no avail. She did, however, forgive a debt and in 1566 had helped him to obtain another remunerative post.

Ascham wrote his famous book, Scholemaster, after Elizabeth was queen. It evolved from a conversation with friends regarding some boys who had run away from Eton for fear of flogging. Ascham hated flogging, and expounded his theories against it. His friends encouraged him to put his ideas in writing, which he did. Ascham's book had two parts: the first dealt with the discipline and method of bringing up youth, and the second part concerned the correct way to teach Latin. In the first part of Scholemaster, Ascham said that the master should never chide hastily and should admonish gently, that love is a better spur than fear. He said correction of mistakes should not degrade or discourage, but

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stimulate. He further stated that beatings should never be employed to promote learning, for they lead to tyranny and are often unjust. Beatings punish nature but do not correct faults. He indicated that the tutor should distinguish between quick and hard wits. Hard wits find it hard to learn and are hard to teach, but the teaching is retained longer, according to Ascham.

Ascham differed from Erasmus and Vives in distinguishing between discipline which is to promote progress in learning and discipline which is to form manners, root out vice, and promote virtue. Ascham recognized that the latter area needed reasonable severity, but he believed that the tutor was not concerned with the latter area. He lamented that men were more concerned with a man to care for their horses than a man to care for their children, therefore they got tame horses and wild children.

The cultivation of a small area in learning, and going forward only when that area has been mastered, was recommended by Ascham. He, unlike Erasmus, believed that a child should learn his vernacular and then Latin. He supported the use of the double translation method in which the student was constantly going back and forth between the two languages being studied, which he adopted from John Cheke. Ascham

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103 Watson, pp. 19-25.

asserted that the speaking of a language would come more easily after first learning well how to write it. He favored little court life and foreign travel, saying that both of these were bad for the child. Ascham is considered by some as a pioneer in modern methods of education, and he certainly seems more humane and loving than Vives or even Erasmus.

Though thought of as a classicist, Ascham helped English literature by encouraging an easy and natural style (which was not achieved with Elizabeth) in contrast to the pedantic style in vogue during his time. He said his aim was to speak as the common people do and to think as wise men do.

Ascham always seemed to be in financial straits because of diceing and cock-fighting. He also loved archery, and was very competent in music. He was like Skelton in loving English, and he rejected Italy just as Skelton has rejected Greece. Ascham died in 1568 after sitting many nights readying a poem for the tenth anniversary of the accession of Elizabeth. He was lamented by scholars both in England and

105 Ibid., pp. 17, 76.
107 Chamberlin, p. 25.
108 Maynard, Elizabeth, p. 16.
109 Watson, p. 18.
110 Marples, p. 53.
on the continent. Elizabeth is reported to have said that she would "rather have lost 10,000 pounds than her old tutor Ascham."

When Elizabeth was studying with Ascham, he wrote his friend Sturm in Strasbourgh (with whom he could be honest) that she had a masculine power of application and was free from female weaknesses. He said he never had seen a quicker apprehension or a more retentive memory. Ascham's emphasis on constant double translation made Elizabeth's English sound like a literal translation, and her translations were seldom smooth English. This caused an awkwardness and an obscurity of phrasing in all that she wrote. Ascham wished to educate a lot but not so much nor so fast as to injure the student, (he likened education to pouring water into a goblet slowly to the brim) but the effect of his method is debated. One author indicated that Ascham was soothing, but his regime did not help Elizabeth's headaches and eyestrain.

After Ascham had been tutoring Elizabeth about two years, he said that she could speak French and Italian as well as English. She spoke Latin excellently and Greek moderately well. Her handwriting was excellent in all languages. Elizabeth was extremely competent in music but was careful not to let it take too much time.

Twelve years later, as queen, Elizabeth was still studying with Ascham and was enjoying Demosthenes and Aeschines. While she looked at

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112 Anthony, p. 29.
113 Jenkins, pp. 21, 34-35.
114 Anthony, p. 29.
style, diction, construction, and verbal criticism, she was mainly interested in the arguments, the conflicting interests and their gradual resolution. In 1563, Ascham chided young gentlemen of England saying that the Queen read more Greek each day than churchmen read Latin in a week and that she could speak perfect Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish.

As early as 1550, Hooper, the Oxford-trained Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, had written to Bullinger in Germany that Elizabeth, then only seventeen years of age, was so good in Latin and Greek that she could successfully defend arguments in either language and usually won. In later years, William Turner, Dean of Wells, addressed Elizabeth in Latin in 1568, and he said that her reply was the best Latin he had ever heard from a woman. He also praised her knowledge of French, Italian, and German.115

Ascham asserted that Elizabeth spent more time studying as queen than any six scholars in the kingdom. At the end of his life, he considered his greatest blessings to have tutored Elizabeth and to have had knowledge of Christ's true religion.116 This man who had his faults and who (like most tutors) was underpaid was an interesting figure. He differed from Henry's Skelton, Mary's Vives, and Edward's Cheke in that Elizabeth chose him, and that he directed her highest endeavors rather than her first attempts. His philosophy of not meddling in the student's

116 Ascham, pp. 120, 121.
non-academic life, his gentleness, and his superior scholarship undoubtedly all appealed to Elizabeth.

Elizabeth was truly a Tudor, perhaps the best or perhaps second to Jane Grey, in her linguistic abilities. It has been reported by various authors that Elizabeth was acquainted with English, Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Flemish, Welsh, Scottish, Dutch, and Hebrew. Although it is extremely doubtful that she had a working knowledge of all those languages, she was quite proficient in several. As queen she found it was very valuable not to have to rely on interpreters and intermediaries, and on one occasion she replied to three envoys in Italian, French, and Latin, one right after the other. She composed her own book of prayers in four languages (Latin, Greek, Italian, French) and left it lying around carelessly for all to see. In 1597 when she was sixty-six, a Polish envoy said something in Latin thinking she would not understand. She delighted everyone with a fiery response in perfect Latin. She loved to visit Oxford, Cambridge, and Westminster because of the Latin ceremonies.

Elizabeth, like her sister, was an accomplished Latin scholar. She was taught Latin from infancy probably by Katherine Ashley. Leland, the antiquary, was very impressed with Elizabeth’s Latin when he was visiting Cheke and asked her to respond to his Latin. With Ascham she

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117 Anthony, p. 27.
118 Marples, pp. 57-58.
spent the better part of afternoons on Latin reading Cicero, Livy, St. Cyprian, and the *Commonplace Book of Melanchthon*. She also read Tully and Titus Livius. Like her royal predecessor, Alfred, Elizabeth translated Boethius's *Consolations of Philosophy* into English.

Elizabeth loved Erasmus's Latin and could not bear imitations of it.

Elizabeth spoke at Oxford at age thirty-three in perfect Latin saying:

> My parents took good care that I should be well educated, and I had great practice in many languages, of which I take to myself some knowledge; but though I say this with truth, I say it with modesty. I had many learned teachers, but they labored in a barren and unproductive field, which brought forth fruit unworthy of their toil and your expectations.

As late as 1598, Elizabeth was reported to have translated Sallust's *de Bello Jugurthino*, most of Horace's *de Arte Poetica*, and a little treatise by Plutarch. It seems quite likely that Elizabeth had a good working knowledge of Latin from childhood until her death.

Elizabeth probably did not start Greek until William Grindal started tutoring her, although it is possible that she received some Greek

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119 Ibid., pp. 52, 58.

120 Strickland, *Elizabeth...*, pp. 16, 22.

121 Timbs, p. 77. This manuscript was not discovered until 1830 in the State Paper Office. It was partly in Elizabeth's handwriting, and the rest was evidently dictated to her secretary.


123 Creighton, p. 94.

instruction from John Cheke first. When Elizabeth was studying with
Ascham in her teens, they spent mornings on Greek. First she read the
Greek testament and then authors such as Socrates, Demosthenes, and
Sophocles (Ascham's favorite). Elizabeth undoubtedly learned Greek
because it was in vogue when she was growing up.\(^{125}\) It was usually
stressed that while she could read Greek well, she could speak it only
moderately well.\(^{126}\) Jessop who appears to believe that Elizabeth's
accomplishments were not as thorough as other scholars do, believed she
was never much at home in Greek.\(^{127}\) Yet Elizabeth and Ascham reportedly
read and translated Greek until his death in 1568,\(^{128}\) and at one time
she translated a play of Euripides and two orations of Socrates from
Greek into Latin.\(^{129}\) Even if she was not so proficient in Greek as
Latin, she seemed to be able to "rub up her rusty Greek" when it was
necessary.\(^{130}\) One author believed that the influence of the Greek pagans
was not lost on Elizabeth. They gave her a balance in religious feeling
that neither Mary nor Edward had.\(^{131}\)

Elizabeth was reported to be learning Italian and French at age

125 Maynard, Elizabeth..., p. 17.

126 Strickland, Elizabeth..., p. 41.


128 MacNalty, Elizabeth..., p. 18.

129 Nichols, Vol. 1, p. x.

130 Green, p. 733.

131 Anthony, p. 28.
ten. 132 She seemed to have a natural aptitude for French as both her parents had, 133 but her accent was not so good. 134 Her letters in French, however, were reported by Jessop to be better than her English ones. 135 Elizabeth shared a French tutor, John Belmaine, with Edward. Belmaine, a Frenchman, was a zealous Protestant, a Calvinist refugee. As mentioned previously, Elizabeth did a French to English translation at twelve for Katherine Parr. Although the translation lacked fluency, depth and ease, it was good for her age, and Elizabeth was also smart enough to recognize the faults. 136 Elizabeth apparently made a positive impression on Belmaine. While she was confined at Woodstock and out of court favor during Mary's reign, Belmaine sent her a translation of St. Basil's Epistle on Solitary Life. In an accompanying letter, he praised her great knowledge of Greek, Latin, modern languages, history, philosophy, and liberal sciences and said she had become familiar with almost all the ancient books. 137

In Italian, Elizabeth had her own tutor, Battista Castiglione, a religious exile, who was made a gentleman of her bedchamber, and later during Mary's reign, he was put in the tower for sedition. By eleven,

132 Marples, p. 52.
133 Great Britain, Public Records Office, p. xxxiv.
137 Ibid., p. xxvii.
Elizabeth had written Katherine Parr in Italian.\textsuperscript{138} At one point, she translated a sermon of Oechines from Italian to English. Castiglione praised Elizabeth as the best student in Europe. The Venetian ambassador said in 1557 Elizabeth would only speak Italian with Italians,\textsuperscript{139} and she surpassed Mary in her knowledge of Greek and Italian. Another report had her speaking Italian with ease,\textsuperscript{140} but Jessop indicated that she spoke it with difficulty.\textsuperscript{141} It seems plausible that she spoke the language rather well, and its similarity to Latin probably made it easier for her. Since both Belmaine and Castiglione were avowed Protestants, it is quite likely Elizabeth received some Protestant ideas as well as conjugations and declensions from them.\textsuperscript{142}

Elizabeth was evidently taught some Spanish. She was reported as knowing the language,\textsuperscript{143} and even as being the mistress of it,\textsuperscript{144} but it is doubtful that she ever had a working knowledge of it. She was possibly taught Flemish, Welsh (the latter by Blanche Parry),\textsuperscript{145} Scottish, Dutch,\textsuperscript{146} and a smattering of Hebrew.\textsuperscript{147} She may have been introduced

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{Marques} Marples, p. 52.
\bibitem{Strickland} Strickland, Elizabeth, pp. 41, 89, 91.
\bibitem{Nichols} Nichols, Vol. 1, p. x.
\bibitem{Anthony} Anthony, p. 27.
\bibitem{Strickland1} Strickland, Elizabeth, p. 16.
\bibitem{Nichols1} Nichols, Vol. 1, p. x.
\bibitem{Jenkins} Jenkins, p. 21.
\bibitem{Nichols2} Nichols, Vol. 1, p. x.
\bibitem{Maynard} Maynard, Elizabeth, p. 17.
\end{thebibliography}
to all these languages at one time or another and was probably interested in them, for she excelled in the science of language study. A general consensus of authors seems to be that Elizabeth had very adequate conversational abilities in French, Italian, and Latin, and a good reading knowledge of Greek. In English, she had a distinctive style, and in spite of her awkwardness from years of double translation, Elizabeth was a master of English prose.\textsuperscript{148} Her early writings foreshadow the tendency to obscurity and involvement,\textsuperscript{149} but since this is what most of her adult correspondence was intended to convey, her natural style served her purpose. Elizabeth's orations in English seem definitely influenced by her study of the Greek and Roman orators. She was a master at public speaking and writing speeches. Passages of two of her most famous speeches will show the strength of her language. In the Tilbury speech, made when a Spanish invasion was expected, she said:

I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma of Spain, or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm.

In the House of Commons, a year and a half before her death, when she gave her Golden Speech, she proudly said:

What you do bestow on me, I will not hoard up, but receive it to bestow on you again; yea, my own properties I account yours, to be expended for your good, and your eyes shall see the bestowing of it for your welfare.\textsuperscript{150}

\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., p. 18.
\textsuperscript{150} Marples, pp. 58-59.
Elizabeth was fond of poetry and evidently wrote some poems that were considered to be fairly good. One follows:

Oh, Fortune! how thy restless wavering state
Hath fraught with cares my troubled wit,
Witness this present prison, whither fate
Could bear me, and the joys I quit.
Thou caus'dst the guilty to be loosed
From bands wherein are innocents enclosed
Causing the guiltless to be strait reserved,
And freeing those that death had well deserved,
But by her envy can be nothing wrought,
So God send to my foes all they have wrought.

Quoth Elizabeth, Prisoner. 151

According to one author, Elizabeth loved the new literature that developed during her lifetime,152 but according to Jessop she was impassive to literature and drama, thinking one author as good as another, including Shakespeare.153 Perhaps she was such a classicist that she never fully appreciated English literature. She was reported to have spent the last months of her life, however, pouring over Canterbury Tales.154

Elizabeth excelled in letter writing, and she was a master at conveying the widest variety of meanings possible if she chose. She rarely shared anything of herself in her letters, and her style changed

151 Strickland, Elizabeth, p. 81. I have corrected what is obviously a typographical error and changed caus'dst to caus'dst.
152 Green, p. 733.
154 Maynard, Elizabeth..., p. 369.
with her purpose. At the age of fifteen, Elizabeth turned out beautifully penned, graceful, logical letters to the Protector regarding the Seymour affair. Her letters made it impossible for her to reasonably be accused further. During Mary's reign when Elizabeth was sent to the Tower, she delayed going a day by requesting to write a letter (knowing the tide on the Thames would change before she finished the letter). The letter she turned out by herself in this crisis follows:

If any ever did try this old saying "That a King's word was more than another man's oath," I most humbly beseech Your Majesty to verify it to me, and I remember your last promise and my last demand that I be not condemned without answer and due proof, which it seems that I now am; for without cause proved, I am by your Council from you commanded to go to the Tower, a place more wanted for a false traitor than a true subject, which though I know I deserve it not, yet in the face of all this realm it appears proved. I pray to God I may die the shamefulest death that any ever died, if I may mean any such thing; and to this present hour I protest before God (who shall judge my truth, whatsoever malice shall devise), that I never practised, counselled, nor consented to anything that might be prejudicial to your person any way, or dangerous to the State by any means.

And therefore I humbly beseech Your Majesty to let me answer afore yourself, and not to suffer me to trust to your concillors--yes, and that afore I go to the Tower, if it be possible; if not, before I go further condemned. Howbeit, I trust assuredly Your Highness will give me leave to do it afore I go, that

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156 Chamberlin, pp. 7-9, 18.

thus shamefully I may not be cried out on, as I now shall be—yea, and that without cause!

Let conscience move Your Highness to pardon my boldness, which innocency procures me to do, together with the hope of your natural kindness, which I trust will not see me cast away without desert, which what it is I would desire no more of God but that you truly knew, but which thing I think and believe you shall never by report know, unless by yourself you hear. I have heard of many in my time cast away for want of coming to the presence of their Prince; and in late days I heard of My Lord Somerset say, that if his brother had been suffered to speak with him he had never suffered; but persuasions were made to him so great, that he was brought in belief that he could not live safely if the Admiral lived, and that made him give consent to his death.

Though these persons are not to be compared to Your Majesty, yet I pray God the like evil persuasions persuade not one sister against the other, and all for that they have heard false report, and the truth not known.

Therefore, once again, kneeling with humbleness of heart, because I am not suffered to bow the knees of my body, I humbly crave to speak with Your Highness, which I would not be so bold as to desire if I knew not myself most clear, as I know myself most true.

As for the traitor Wyatt, he might peradventure write me a letter, but on my faith I never received any from him. And as for the copy of the letter sent to the French King, I pray God confound me eternally if ever I sent him word, message, token, or letter, by any means, and to this truth I will stand to my death.

Your Highness's most faithful subject, that hath been from the beginning, and will be to the end.

I humbly crave but only one word of answer from yourself.

Elizabeth
Elizabeth's Ciceronian style which made many of her letters sound like orations remained with her all of her life.\textsuperscript{158} When one examines her correspondence with James of Scotland, one is struck by her powerful letters. Although precise thought is often obscure, there is usually a mass of meanings in a few words. Her letters were terse, emphatic, animated, and full of native vigor and homely natural illustration.

Elizabeth has been noted through history for her handwriting. (See her signature in the Appendix.) One author believed that her Italian master, Castiglione, taught her beautiful hand, and said she also had a clerkly hand for private long-hand which was carved and pointed like birds feet.\textsuperscript{159} The more common view is that Elizabeth copied her beautiful hand from Ascham.\textsuperscript{160} She probably obtained different ideas from various persons, but Ascham does seem to have inspired her in this respect. She wrote a firm, bold hand with each character as perfectly formed as the last. This skill did not fail her even at her worst moment; the previously quoted letter upon entrance to the Tower was written in her faultless, beautiful style.\textsuperscript{161} It was not until middle age that Elizabeth's handwriting began to deteriorate, gradually changing to a scrawl, but her worst effort was when she was writing French in a hurry.\textsuperscript{162}

\textsuperscript{158} Anthony, p. 26.
\textsuperscript{159} Jenkins, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{160} MacNalty, Elizabeth..., p. 18.
\textsuperscript{161} Anthony, pp. 28-29.
\textsuperscript{162} Harrison, p. xiv.
Elizabeth Tudor's favorite subject was history, and she tried to devote three hours per day to the reading of it. She read works in numerous languages on the subject, and even in later life, hardly a day passed that Elizabeth did not devote some time to reading history. Part of Elizabeth's greatness may have been due to her knowledge and sense of history. Other Tudor monarchs seem to have been less interested in the subject, although Henry VIII made an effort to have his son, Edward, educated in history, political theories, and statecraft. Perhaps Elizabeth was being tutored during some of these sessions with Edward or perhaps since she was so educated she could not be stopped from reading what she chose, and she chose history. It seemed to be a new departure in women's education. Mary had been taught so that she could be more religious and pious, but Elizabeth's teaching turned her toward a more practical outlook.

Elizabeth had also studied by age twelve geography, architecture, mathematics, astronomy, logic, and philosophy. Some of her mathematical ability was shown by the fact that she kept her own account books easily and accurately during Edward's and Mary's reigns. Mary had refused to do this during Edward's reign, saying that she was unsuited for it. Elizabeth was not generally superstitious and was not afraid

163 Strickland, Elizabeth...., pp. 16, 447-448.
164 Ibid., p. 16.
165 Chamberlin, p. 22.
166 Creighton, p. 19.
to look at a comet as others were. 167

In needlework, Elizabeth showed the skill expected of her. As previously mentioned, she at six made Edward a cambric shirt and the next year made a "brazen of needlework." 168 At twelve she was reported to be excellent in all kinds of needlework, 169 and apparently she did a lot of needlework during Mary's reign while she was in the Tower and at Woodstock. 170

Elizabeth was a typical Tudor as far as music was concerned, for she loved music and dancing and seemed to be proficient on the lute and viol, 171 and virginals. 172 Like Mary, she did not seem to inherit their father's ability in music theory. Elizabeth was never mentioned as a prodigy in music as Mary was and as Henry was, so she probably was not so good as they were. Strickland reported that Elizabeth was skillful in music but did not delight in it. 173 Her lower proficiency is surprising since both her parents were quite accomplished in this area. Yet she was a facile performer on several instruments, 174 who spent quite

167 Thiselton-Dyer, pp. 397, 407-408.
169 Anthony, p. 33.
170 Strickland, Elizabeth., pp. 81-82.
172 Marples, p. 56.
173 Strickland, Elizabeth., p. 42.
a bit of money for music and musicians (much more than for books).  
As Queen she allowed herself to be overheard playing the virginals excellently. Dr. Christopher Tye who had been one of Edward's music tutors (and had possibly taught Elizabeth also) played the organ in Elizabeth's chapel in his old age. Several times she sent someone to tell him he was out of tune; he countered by saying that she was out of tune. Elizabeth had musicians in her chamber during her last illness and death. The only mention to be found of Elizabeth's interest in other arts was, as Jessop evidently rightly asserted, that she had little taste for pictorial art. Her study of architecture did not seem to inspire her to be creative in that field.

In spite of the new religious doctrines he permitted, so long as Henry VIII lived, he continued to be Catholic in form, only with himself substituted for the Pope. This was the official religion Elizabeth had during her formative years until she was thirteen. Yet, Katherine Parr and Edward Seymour (later Protector during the reign of Edward VI) surrounded Edward and Elizabeth with all Protestant tutors. Cheke, Cox, Cooke, Grindal, Ascham, Mrs. Ashley, Belmaine, and Castigliano were all dedicated to the principles of the Reformation. Either Henry VIII was not very careful, or else he recognized that he did not want to

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change his own ways but that his younger children should be educated for a new era. Out of this teaching, Edward became as zealous a Protestant as Mary was Catholic. Elizabeth, although she appeared very religious in her youth, emerged as a thoroughly secular person. She had a humanistic outlook which was probably encouraged by her study of the classics. No more love was lost on the advanced views of Protestantism than on Catholicism. She had seen too much of both extremes of fanaticism, and she came to believe mainly in an overriding Providence. To her, the speculations of divines were no more than "ropes of sand or sea-slime leading to the moon." It did not seem to be in her nature to be fanatic. As an adult she said, "There is only one Jesus Christ and one faith; the rest is a dispute about trifles." During Mary's reign when Elizabeth was forced to become a Catholic or perish, she became a Catholic in form. Mary tried to test her sincerity by asking her about transubstantiation (one of the doctrines that assert the real presence of the Savior in the Sacrament of the Last Supper). Elizabeth wrote:

Christ was the word that spake it,
He took the bread and brake it,
And what His word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

Neither Catholic nor Protestant could argue with such a statement, so

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179 Maynard, p. 372.
180 Black, p. 4.
181 Jenkins, p. 19.
Elizabeth's wits had saved her again. 182

Elizabeth had no known athletic training; but she was a graceful dancer, a good shot, and good horsewoman who loved the hunt and the chase. She was often given the honor of cutting the stag's throat at the end of a hunt. 183

When Elizabeth was six, Thomas Wriothesley wrote that if "she be no worse educated than she now appears, she will be an honor to womanhood." From that time on, however, and especially in her teen years, she was educated to the point of doing honor to manhood. Her education was hard, prosaic, and masculine; and there was little in it to refine her tastes or soften her. The emphasis was on books and brains, but Elizabeth loved it and was extremely proud of herself. 185 Her masculine education perhaps gave her the right to a masculine voice and temper.

There was a consensus of authors, with only one dissenting, 186 that Elizabeth put her education to good use and therefore did not have too much of it. In addition to her book learning, Elizabeth had been educated in the critical affairs of life: disgrace, slander, scandal, libel, bastardy, poverty, and imprisonment. She had learned that friends are fickle, self-seeking, betrayers, and that no one could be trusted with a secret. She had learned that the spoken and written word meant little,

182 Strickland, Elizabeth..., p. 82.

183 Green, p. 733.


186 Morris, p. 37.
but action meant everything.\textsuperscript{187}

Elizabeth received education in queenship by observing the blunders during the reigns of Edward and Mary. She understood that her success as queen depended upon her interpretation and articulation of the national aspirations. She was therefore affable and thus popular with the people from the first. Elizabeth was not influenced by \textit{Utopia}. She believed in the doctrine of inherited monarchy and was in that sense old-fashioned.\textsuperscript{188}

Quite apart from her success as queen, it seems that Elizabeth Tudor was the best prepared of the Tudor monarchs and probably the whole family for the crown. She had a better balance of history and Greek scholarship and a lack of Catholic propaganda than was the case for Arthur, Henry VIII, and Mary I. If Edward Tudor or Henry Fitzroy had lived to maturity, they might have equalled Elizabeth, but her early experience with adversity imbued her with an added quality which gave more fiber to her character. Perhaps she was like her grandfather, Henry VII, in this respect. Mary's experience with adversity did not start until her teenage years, and while she was courageous, adversity generally seemed to have a negative influence on her.

Elizabeth's training did not prepare her to be a subservient woman, wife or mother. Yet it appeared that she would fulfill only those roles until she was in her early twenties, and Mary had proved to be

\textsuperscript{187}Chamberlin, pp. 149-150.

barren. Elizabeth was fortunate to be able to procure the position her education and life had prepared her so well for. She was also fortunate to inherit the crown at age twenty-five when she was clearly old enough to control affairs herself but not too old to capture the popular imagination.

Elizabeth as an adult loved handsome people, apes, little dogs, singing birds, repartee, masques, and finery. She hated dwarfs, freaks, and bad smells. She drank beer, but never wine since she did not want to cloud her faculties. 189 She was characteristically indecisive, to the frustration of those around her, for she always wanted room to finesse and maneuver, and decisions committed her. She did not surround herself with and give her favors to learned men (with few exceptions, such as Cecil), but to men whose physical looks appealed to her. 190

Elizabeth came under the influence of Dr. John Dee, the astrologer and mathematician, who had tutored Robert Dudley, her court favorite for many years. Dr. Dee made her believe in an elixir for perpetual youth among other things. She overlooked his many mistakes, took her whole court to visit him, and, as a mark of favor, made him chancellor of St. Paul’s Cathedral. 191

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189 Thiselton-Dyer, pp. 47, 266.
191 Strickland, Elizabeth, pp. 86, 191.
Elizabeth's only known contribution to education was the founding of Westminster School for boys. She cherished Westminster and inaugurated the Latin Play which has been performed annually in the same barbaric Latin of that era (Europeans of that time said that the English spoke terrible Latin). Ascham's son was among the first group to attend Westminster. Elizabeth did not seem to continue the tradition begun feebly by Margaret Beaufort and continued by Katherine of Aragon and Mary Tudor of more education and new freedoms for women. It is a pity that Elizabeth did not give back, in some measure, to education what she received from it. She might have been a great Queen without her education, but with it she had a sense of confidence in herself, a sense of timing in history, and an ability to communicate effectively for her purposes and England's in several languages.

Elizabeth lived until almost seventy years of age (quite old for a Tudor) and died in 1603 after forty-five years as Queen, ending the dynasty begun by her grandfather in 1485. She was the second English monarch educated in the spirit of the Renaissance and Reformation, for her half-brother Edward had preceded her on the throne.

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Marples, p. 57.
The first English monarch who was post-Renaissance and post-Reformation was Edward VI. Since he was a minor all during his rule, he did not have the impact that Elizabeth did. His education, however, was comparable to or better than the training of his half-sister.

Edward was born in the fall of 1537. After his mother, Jane Seymour, labored three days and two nights to deliver him, he was finally taken "by the knife." It was rumored that Henry VIII had finally ordered him to be torn from the womb and that the carelessness of the physicians caused his mother's death in several days. It is not known if Edward ever knew this, or whether or not it was true. At any rate, Henry VIII had another motherless child, and he chose Lady Margaret Bryan for the third time to supervise his child's household. Elizabeth Tudor was in the same household for awhile, so Lady Bryan's attentions were evidently not taken away from her abruptly.

Henry VIII had advanced ideas on hygiene for his time. No one could approach the royal prince on pain of death without being cleared by household officials. Henry also insisted on high standards in cooking and the personal hygiene of Edward's servants. A woman whom Edward

193 Hayward, p. 3.
called "Mother Jack" seemed to be sort of a mother substitute for him. It is not clear whether she was Lady Bryan; Sibylla Penn, his wet nurse; or some other person. Like other royal children, Edward had musicians from the first in his nursery.

Edward's first lessons were begun when he was three. Strickland reported that Edward was thought of an infant prodigy, but later historians believe that he was a clever but not brilliant boy and definitely not as brilliant as either of his half-sisters. He was, however, bright enough to be prattling Latin at four. Henry VIII was very interested in Edward's education, and in contrast to his own father, he brought in recognized scholars for Edward rather than using the persons already at court.

The one exception to the above-mentioned rule was the person of Edward's first tutor, Richard Cox. Dr. Cox was chaplain to Henry VIII and Granmer and was thus, I would presume, from around the court. Cox, who lived from 1500-1581, was born of humble origin at Whaddon in Buckinghamshire. After being educated at the Benedictine priory of St. Leonard Snelshall, he went to Eton and then on to Cambridge where he obtained a B. A. in 1523. Wolsey invited him to Christ Church at Oxford as junior Canon. He received a B. A. at Oxford in 1525 and an M. A. in

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196 Strickland, Elizabeth..., p. 277.
197 Chapman, Edward VI, pp. 46-49, 53.
198 Timbs, p. 73.
199 Marples, p. 25.
1526. Because he was known as a Lutheran, he had to leave Oxford, and he therefore went to Eton as headmaster. Cox earned an M. A. at Cambridge in 1535 and a D. D. in 1537, and at that time he became the royal chaplain and then tutor and almoner to Edward. Cox was one of those who pronounced Henry's marriage to Anne of Cleves null and void. In 1540 he was on a commission which wrote The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man for Henry VIII. He was on the ground floor of Protestantism in England. Between 1548 and 1550, he helped compile the first English communion, the English prayer book, and the first English ordinal.

After he ceased being Edward's tutor, Cox remained as almoner and had various other posts. During Mary's reign, Cox retired to Frankfort and engaged in bitter verbal battles with John Knox, who called Cox a pluralist. There were in the English Church the Knoxians and the Coxians. Cox finally won, and the service of Edward was restored there. Elizabeth made Cox Bishop of Ely (as mentioned previously), but he refused to minister in the Queen's Chapel because of the crucifix and lights there. He and his wife were at one point toward the close of their lives accused of corrupt practices, but they were able to clear themselves. 200

During his period of service to Edward, Cox was to teach him Latin and Greek. Cox believed in Ascham's principle that "no learning ought to be learnt with bondage. Whatevsoever the mind doth learn unwillingly with fear, the same it doth quickly forget." 201 Cox used


201 Chapman, Edward VI...., p. 51.
a playway with Edward by making a sort of military game out of each
object to be conquered, somewhat paralleling Henry's current campaign
in France. This worked for awhile, but Cox finally had to resort to
corporal punishment. Edward felt a sense of duty toward Cox, but
Cox did not achieve the rapport with Edward that his later tutor Cheke
did. Cox said in 1544 that Edward had conquered the eight parts of
speech, had learned to conjugate Latin verbs (except anomalies) and to
decline nouns. He was reading Solomon's Proverbs and was ready for Cato
and Aesop. Edward, Cox went on, had won over Captain Will and was ready
to tackle Captain Oblivion; he was an eager vessel ready to receive
learning and goodness.

Cox's style of teaching was considered to be the Ascham-Elyot
style, and certainly he was motivated by the spirit of these two lead-
ing English humanists. Ascham as we have seen was an important figure
in the education of Elizabeth. Thomas Elyot, it happens, never tutored
anyone. He had entered the educational scene in 1531 when he wrote
The Book Named the Governour, which was the first humanist treatise on
education in English and is important as one of the finest expressions
of the ideal of the complete gentleman.

Elyot was not a self-made man, for he came from a good West
country family, but he had no university education. He taught himself

202 Marples, p. 25.
203 Marples, p. 436.
Greek, as Erasmus and More had. He had formal education in his father's house from a tutor only until age twelve, but he continued studying liberal studies and philosophy. He came to agree with the humanists that education was the only way to human perfection for individuals and society. Elyot studied at some of the schools of law (Inns of Court, Inns of Chancery, etc.) where young men learned law and moral and religious training. Elyot came to believe young men should not study law until about age twenty-one and then only after they had completed courses in philosophy and liberal studies. They then would be ready for the logic and deep reason of law. Elyot also believed students should study law in English, Latin, or good French—not the poor "law" French that was then used.

Elyot probably studied Greek with Linacre sometime between 1510-1522, and during that time he would have undoubtedly observed Thomas More's household school which probably started about 1512 and almost certainly influenced Elyot's ideas on education. For his public services, Elyot was knighted in 1530. His book was popular and ran into eight editions before 1600. It dealt with the education and resulting characteristics, public and private, of the good ruler.

According to Elyot, the young prince should begin his education learning Latin and Greek by hearing them spoken perfectly. He would speak Latin and Greek before learning to read or write any language. He should live in surroundings with no taint of vice. At seven the young governor should have a tutor: an old, venerated, chaste, and
virtuous man who should attempt to understand the boy's inclinations and interests. Music should be taught for recreation and also painting and carving, if the child is interested.

Once the governour knew the parts of speech, he could study Latin and Greek authors or learn to read Greek while continuing to study Latin. His readings should be mostly from poets. At fourteen the governour was to begin logic, rhetoric, history (for utility and pleasure) and geography (to prepare for military activities). At seventeen the young man should engage himself in moral philosophy with much of the Bible, Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, and Erasmus's Education of a Christian Prince. Then the young man would be ready to tackle English law.

The young prince was to have physical training for health and strength. He should learn wrestling, running, leaping, the handling of the sword and battle ax, hunting, hawking, and dancing (for its harmony, concord, prudence, and symbolism of marriage). Elyot believed, as did Ascham, that shooting with the longbow was the finest exercise. For reasons not clear, he found tennis and bowling unsatisfactory, and he absolutely condemned football and pins. He was against dice, but he believed cards, backgammon, and chess were acceptable if used to teach morality and virtue.

Elyot also dealt with the personal and human qualities of the governour. He said magnificence belongs only to kings, but kings must know that these honors come from God. High position brings increased burdens. The governour must have a private life worthy of
imitation, have high virtue, and always consider the welfare of his people above his own. Elyot believed friendship was very important and could only truly exist between persons of similar educational background. Surprisingly, Elyot stressed that these true man-to-man friendships were more important than family or marital ties. It looks as if he may have been influenced by the Greeks on this point, for no evidence could be found to indicate that this was a common attitude of the English in the sixteenth century.

In another section of the Governour, Elyot indicated that every human has the right to his own soul and to benefit from light, air, water, sun, etc.; but he stressed that degrees of freedom and responsibility are necessary in order to have law and order. Elyot differed from More in that he (Elyot) favored the ownership of private property.

While Governour was of an age and not for all time, it was the first book in English recommending classical and liberal education, physical development, training for service in government, painting, drawing, music, and aristocratic, courtly behavior. The book was not important politically or religiously, but it did have an impact on educators such as Cox, Cheke, Grindal, and Ascham. Elyot later wrote The Defense of Good Women about women's capabilities; he was more conservative and pessimistic regarding women's education than Vives or Erasmus. He also wrote Image of Governance which dealt with...

what the ruler should do when actually ruling. Elyot favored monarchies but believed rulers should be virtuous and wise.

Elyot and Ascham are often regarded together as favoring humane treatment and favoring study goals as objects to be conquered. There is no evidence that they collaborated or were even good friends, but their methods seem to blend. Ascham did his writing later than Elyot, so he may have consciously or unconsciously copied from Elyot.

Edward continued learning with Vox, but his studies were interrupted at age four when he was quite ill. The French ambassador wrote Francis I that Edward was expected to die soon. He recovered, however, and Elizabeth was sent to study with him in 1543. 205

During his infancy and early childhood, Edward learned oral Latin and Greek (suggested by Elyot) as well as English. It was made certain that all of his attendants used good grammar. After mastering oral Latin and Greek, Edward moved on to Latin and English grammar and syntax and reading the Bible in English. He also began some elementary composing and translating. Edward was taught writing by an Italian named Vaines who taught the Roman hand which resembled printing or engrossing with lots of flourishes. It was very difficult—almost like drawing, and Edward never mastered it well. (See Appendix.)

At this time (before age seven) Edward was studying singing, the lute, and musical composition with Philip van Wilder, a Fleming, who had also taught Mary. He was being given preliminary experiences in

tilting, hawking, running at the ring (which he enjoyed most), tennis, cards, chess, backgammon, and dancing. The dance, which was considered important and symbolic, had the following steps: Honour, Maturity, Prudence and Industry, Circumspection, Judgment, Modesty, and Experience.

By the time Edward was seven, the social graces he needed had become automatic for him. They were bowing, kneeling, walking in long slow steps, beginning and ending interviews gracefully, changing the subject, acknowledging and exchanging courtesies according to rank, taking off and putting on his cap, knowing when his hand should be kissed, and permitting persons to rise, advance, and withdraw. He had learned how to stand: one hand at the side, forefinger of the other in his waistband, one foot slightly advanced.206

In the summer of 1544 when Edward was six and one-half, Henry VIII dismissed all the nursery people in Edward's household, except Cox who remained on as almoner, in order to establish a larger and more masculine household. As Edward later said in his journal, he was brought up among women until he was six.207 Cox was not in disgrace and still had something to do with Edward's education. Edward wrote Cox for awhile whenever they were separated, and in 1546 Cox wrote Cranmer that Edward had learned almost four books of Cato and was

206 Chapman, Edward VI, ...., pp. 50-58, 66.

reading the Bible, Aesop, and *Satellitium Vivis*, as well as composing Latin.\(^{208}\)

The main responsibility for Edward's education, however, was given to John Cheke for "the better instruction of the Prince and the diligent teaching of such children as be appointed to attend upon him."\(^{209}\)

As far as can be determined, Edward's relationship with Cheke was the closest Tudor-tutor relationship. Cheke's experience, personality and age admirably fitted him for being tutor to Edward. He had been born in 1514 in the parish of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge, received a grammatical education from John Morgan, M. A., and then went on to St. John's College, Cambridge, where George Day was his tutor. He was made a fellow in 1529, received the B. A. in 1530 and the M. A. in 1533.

In 1542, he was given an M.A. by Oxford. While at St. John's, he adopted the ideas of the Reformation, and he acquired his reputation as a linguist and Greek scholar. After promoting the study of Greek and Protestantism at St. John's, in 1540 Cheke was awarded the post of Greek lecturer there for forty pounds a year. As Greek lecturer he covered Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, and part of Herodotus. He espoused the new Greek pronunciation, which he believed to be the way the ancients pronounced the language. Gardiner, the Chancellor of Cambridge, made him stop, but Cheke's method ultimately won out. Cheke was the last "Master of the Olomery" at Cambridge. No one now knows what that office did. Among Cheke's pupils at Cambridge were William Cecil and Roger Ascham.
Cheke, like many learned people of his age, was a firm believer in astrology. In addition, he was quite interested in the orthography of Greek, Latin, and English. He would only use English words in English; he wanted to keep the language pure. His attempts to introduce an improved, standardized, phonetic spelling (which was needed) into English failed. It was to be many years before a system of standardized spelling was accomplished in the English language. Cheke, nevertheless, insisted on a high standard of spelling from his pupils.

Cheke was a friend and protege of Henry's physician, Dr. William Butts. Dr. Butts recommended Cheke, probably with the encouragement of Katherine Parr, for travels abroad at Henry's expense and then for the post as Edward's tutor. At the time he began with Edward, Cheke was thirty. With Edward he was watchful, critical, and demanding but never harsh; and he did not talk down to Edward. Cheke was more inspiring than Cox and made the three years preceding Edward's accession the happiest of his young life. Cheke and Edward completed the first Latin grammar in two years, and once a week during this time, Edward composed letters in Latin to persons such as his father, Katherine Parr, the princesses, Cox, Cranmer, and his uncle, Edward Seymour.

Cheke, as a sophisticated classicist, neglected the romantic or

211 Strype, pp. 161-162.
imaginative aspects of literature and agreed with Ascham that stories such as those about King Arthur were not good for young boys. This atmosphere contributed to Edward's being very dry and literal.

At nine, Edward became king and was considered an adult. He was frustrated by being made to seem extremely important while always having to defer to his Uncle Edward, the Protector, for actual decisions. Edward continued his lessons with Cheke and enjoyed them since they were an antidote to formality. Cheke wrote Ascham that King Edward VI was studying Plutarch, geometry, Italian, geography and history in Latin, and the English Bible: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the four Gospels. By 1550, at age thirteen, Edward was reading Aristotle, translating Cicero to Greek, and translating Isocrates and Demosthenes to Italian. By that time, Edward spoke fluent French and Italian and was learning Spanish. Cheke believed that the well-educated man, in addition to speaking the above languages, should be familiar with the Bible, Tully, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Isocrates, and Demosthenes (Cheke's favorite), and so it is quite likely that he covered them with Edward.

Edward's formal education was scheduled to end at fourteen. Although he had no time for writing, he continued classical reading with Cheke in the areas of history, geography, philosophy, poetry, rhetoric, and Roman law. By fourteen, Edward had achieved a standard in languages, although probably in no other area, comparable to Oxford and Cambridge graduates of today. His exercise book for

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212 Chapman, Edward VI , pp. 63-242.
Greek at age ten showed he was like other boys: there were uncompleted projects, and he guessed wildly at some words instead of looking them up. The key to his success in Latin and Greek is that he had to use them as a means of expression—particularly Latin.

In addition to the usual translations, he had to make free compositions and write letters, and he had to speak Latin, probably much as his father and sisters had. Cheke believed that Greek authors had a great deal more to offer than Latin authors, consequently Edward's Greek reading was four to one over his Latin reading. In his more advanced years, Edward, under Cheke's direction, read Sophocles; but for some reason he did not read Homer or Euripides—perhaps Cheke thought they were too romantic for Edward.

Ascham, in writing to Sturm in 1550, praised Cheke's wonderful methods with Edward which made him so facile at translating Greek to Latin at such a young age. Ascham wondered why Cheke was having Edward read Aristotle's *Ethics* before Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, but he said Cheke probably chose the former first because of its precepts with striking examples.

Edward completed a treatise in French in 1549 against the Pope. Although the argument that St. Peter was not the chief apostle was illogical, the whole project was quite remarkable for a boy of eleven. The non-logic of the argument is proof that Cheke did not correct the treatise. He seems to have let Edward operate within a

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213 Marples, pp. 28-30.

214 Williams, C. H., p. 396.
comfortable latitude. Edward was also taught history and geography and Cheke's special interests, astronomy and astrology. Edward learned so much that he could discourse intelligently on the origins of comets with Cardano, the famous Italian astrologer, mathematician, and physician. Cardano tested Edward in logic, philosophy, music, and astronomy, and found him "miraculous." Foxe, the martyrrologist, writing in 1563, stated that Edward knew all "ports, havens, and creeks" in England, Scotland, and France, as well as the tides and winds. In 1551, Sir William Thomas thought Edward's education had been too narrow and linguistic and offered to give him lessons in statecraft. Edward accepted, but Thomas found him already proficient in laws, history, and the constitution of England, for Cheke had been covering these areas for several years. Even though Henry VIII was dead, Cheke was following his former employer's plan in this regard.

In philosophy, Cheke's method was to teach from the general to the specific. In religion, Cheke taught Edward that heretics should be reasoned with, not burned—an unpopular idea.

At Cheke's suggestion, Edward kept a chronicle from March, 1550, to November, 1552. Working on it about two hours per week, Edward conscientiously kept it non-personal. Cheke also encouraged Edward in writing poetry and in his private correspondence, which was one of his favorite relaxations. Edward also enjoyed taking notes on sermons and reading from his library of more than one hundred books.

\[2^{15}\] Marples, pp. 31-32.
most of which concerned theology.

When Edward showed temper or ill will, Cheke told him that "every fault is greater in a King than in a mean man." Edward gave Cheke the nickname of Diligence, and he called Cranmer Moderation.

Cheke was associated with Edward from 1544 until Edward's death in 1553. Cheke was with Edward when he died. After his death, Cheke wrote a romanticized elegy about his former pupil. Edward had knighted Cheke and heaped honors upon him, perhaps the most unique being giving Cheke the privilege of the shooting rights of noblemen. In addition, Cheke had been made the provost of King's College, Cambridge, in 1548 even though he was not a doctor or clergyman; he was made secretary of state in 1553; and he was a member of Parliament in 1547, 1552, and 1553. In 1549, when Cheke was ill to the point of death, Edward declared with all of the Tudor forcefulness that God would spare Cheke, and He did.216

Cheke's zeal for Protestantism influenced him to favor Jane Grey for queen when Edward died. Mary Tudor put Cheke in the Tower, however, he was released in 1554 and encouraged to go abroad. He settled in Strasbourg as Greek lecturer there. On his way to visit his wife in Brussels, he was seized by the Queen's agents, returned to England and put back in the Tower. To avoid death he had to make a public recantation before Mary and the whole court; and soon after this,

216 Chapman, Edward VI .... , p. 251.
he pined away and died in 1557.  

During Cheke's time with Edward, he had founded a small school around Edward of eight or ten boys. One person expounding the idea of such a school was Count Heresback, the tutor of Edward's step-uncle, William of Cleves. Heresback believed that the "school" should be between four and eight pupils, the boys should not be foreigners, and they should be chosen for good dispositions and generous manners rather than for high birth. Cheke had control over the education of all the boys. Probably there was an inner circle around Edward and an outer circle that studied separately. Among the inner circle were the two young Brandon boys, the two male Seymour cousins, Henry Sidney, and Barnaby Fitzpatrick, an Irish boy. Edward really grew to love Sidney and Fitzpatrick, especially the latter. Barnaby Fitzpatrick has usually been thought of as Edward's whipping boy, for when Edward started to swear, Cheke reportedly whipped Fitzpatrick. Fitzpatrick and Cheke were the two persons to whom Edward became really attached.

Edward had an additional tutor named Anthony Cooke who lived from 1504 to 1576. Born in Essex, he was privately educated, and learned Latin, Greek, poetry, history, and mathematics. He devoted his energies to the education of his four sons and five daughters, and his success

217 Chapman, Edward VI ..., p. 251.
there led him to be appointed a tutor to Edward. At Edward's coronation, he was made a Knight of the Bath. Cooke went to Strasbourg during Mary's reign and became friendly there with Sturm but he returned during Elizabeth's reign, and she visited him at his home in Essex on one of her progresses in 1568. He probably taught Edward philosophy and divinity while Cheke worked in the other areas, particularly in Greek and Latin. Cooke did not become personally close with Edward as Cheke did, nor is there evidence that he was with either Edward or Elizabeth as much as Cheke was.

Roger Ascham worked with Edward, particularly on handwriting; and at one point in Edward's life, Ascham came several times a week for writing lessons. Edward found these sessions very irksome, partly because Ascham was always very humble and could not duplicate the friendly relationship Cheke had. Edward's handwriting remained inelegant and uneven although his spelling and punctuation were good. Cheke could be a boy again and saw formal education in its proper perspective, but Ascham evidently did not have a good sense of humor, and so he seemed more pompous and self-important. Ascham is reported to have directed Edward in the study of Melanchthon, Cicero, Livy,

221 William Cecil, who became secretary of state for Elizabeth, was married twice—first to Cheke's sister and after her death to Cooke's daughter. Another daughter of Cooke married Nicholas Bacon.
Isocrates, and some of the Greek testament.

Cox reported to Cranmer that Edward started French on October 12, 1546 (at age nine). His French tutor was John Belmaine, the Calvinist refugee, whom Edward shared with Elizabeth. Edward displayed the Tudor language facility and became quite proficient as remarked in French, Spanish, and Italian. His teachers in the latter two languages are not known, but he reportedly could speak them rather freely by age fourteen. There was a Randolph in Edward's entourage who was believed to be a German tutor, but there is no evidence of Edward ever speaking or writing German. Archbishop Cranmer maintained an active interest in Edward's education, encouraging Edward to correspond with him once a week to tell of his progress in Latin and other subjects. For Cranmer, Edward kept a journal divided into five parts, showing his progress in mythology, history, geography, mathematics, and philosophy.

Edward was given ostensibly the same religious training as Elizabeth, except he must have encountered zealous Protestantism sooner than she. Edward was very pious from an early age, and he loved sermons—he even took notes on them. Bishop Ridley's sermon on the

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223 Marples, p. 29.


225 Marples, p. 34.
diseases of the poor inspired him to found Christ's Hospital. He reportedly found Latimer the most inspiring. Edward admired John Calvin, who wrote him a long letter of advice and exhortation.

Edward loved theological debates, but he never appeared to be puzzled over the discrepancy between what he was taught and what his father believed. He had been taught that his father was the greatest man in the world and that imitating and surpassing his father would mean sure success. Edward's Protestant piousness made him seem like a prig. At the age of nine, he wrote Katherine Parr asking her to make his half-sister Mary stop foreign dances and merriment (gambling) that did not become a Christian princess.

Edward's relationship to Mary Tudor is a puzzle. Jane Dormer (friend of Mary's) reported that Mary was Edward's mother figure and that Mary and Edward were close in spite of their religious differences in a way that neither of them ever were with Elizabeth. Henry VIII did ask Mary on his deathbed to watch over Edward. Edward wrote both of his sisters as if he loved them dearly. He wrote Mary in 1546 telling her that she and Katherine Parr were chief in his affections, and later wrote telling her he loved her most of all. The same year he wrote Elizabeth when he left her that the change of place

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226 Nichols, pp. 112, 150.
228 Ibid., pp. 122, 382.
did not grieve him, but leaving her did, and he later wrote her that he hoped to follow her example in learning. Yet in his last illness, under the influence of Dudley, he passed over the birthright of both sisters indicating by his will that he favored Jane Grey for queen. Edward probably never achieved a real depth of emotional affection in his short life, for he was always flattered and cajoled and was not able to have normal relations with people. He had no real mother's love, and he had a father who was delighted to have him but was interested in him as an object more than as a person, and who was so moody and egocentric that none of his children dared approach him directly. Edward saw the execution of his two maternal uncles with little, if any, known remorse, other than being sorry he had brought no good to his family. In his bookish, religious, solitary way, he seemed closer to Cheke and Fitzpatrick than to any family members. Whoever could control them, particularly Cheke, seemed able to control Edward. That is not to say that Cheke was evil, for he always seemed to have the best interests of Edward and Protestantism at heart, and it is not surprising that he believed the two interests always coincided.

The boy who seemed emotionally shallow, at the same time had nice manners, a good wit, and was usually gracious, mild, and pleasant. He loved pageantry and ceremonials—they made him feel

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229 Ibid., Part II, pp. 258, 294.
230 Hayward, p. 341.
more like a king.²³²

Edward was not really a good athlete and could not compare with his father or half-brother, Henry Fitzroy. He inherited the Tudor enjoyment of and talent for music, although he was evidently not so good at the performance of it as his father or sisters. Cheke believed (as did Elyot) in relaxation through art and music, except communal singing—that was believed to be undignified for a gentleman of breeding. As previously mentioned, he was given lute lessons by the Fleming, Philip van Wilder. He learned to play the lute skillfully and at age thirteen gave a recital for the French envoys.

Edward possibly had voice lessons from his groom of the robes, Thomas Sternhold, who lived only until 1549.²³³ Sternhold, whom Edward loved to hear sing, attended Oxford and wrote the first metrical version of the Psalms.²³⁴ He was also taught music by Dr. Christopher Tye who lived from about 1497 to 1572. He was a choir boy at Cambridge in 1511–1512, and in 1536 he received a B. M. from Cambridge for studying, writing, and composing music for ten years. In 1545 Cambridge awarded him a D. M., for which degree he was required to compose a Mass to be sung at Communion.²³⁵ During his professional

²³² Hayward, p. 8.

²³³ Nichols, pp. 54–56.


²³⁵ Dr. Tye was permitted to wear a Doctor of Medicine robe since there were no Doctor of Music robes at that time.
life, he wrote six anthems and put the first fourteen chapters of
the Gospel of Acts to music. While Edward's taste in music was
highly developed, his taste in art ran only to jewels, clothes,
and pageantry.

Some believe that Edward's early death was at least partly
due to too much education. His early tutor, Cox, believed that
Edward was over-disciplined under Cheke. Others believe that
he was given time for relaxation and that his education was not too
overburdening. Certainly he did not seem as overworked as James I
of England was as a boy. Edward was undoubtedly worked harder,
however, than his half-brother, Henry Fitzroy. In Edward's house-
hold, there was a governor for riding and deportment, but there was
no question of his assuming precedence over Cheke, partly because of
the nature of Edward's educational endeavor and partly because of
Edward's nature.

Edward proved that languages could be learned by children of
young ages—he was considered a linguist at nine. Although this
young man did not seem so gifted as his father or sister; he,

236 Henry Davey in D. N. B., "Christopher Tye," Vol. XIX,
pp. 1337-1340.

237 Chapman, Edward VI .... , p. 74.

238 Mackie, p. 479.
like his brother and uncle, died too young for us to assess the complete education that he accomplished. Edward certainly was able to absorb two ancient languages, three modern ones, his mother tongue, and other subjects in a relatively short span of time. He seems to have been the member of the family who was given serious training by a professional, particularly in Greek, at the earliest age, but we must remember that he was the only Tudor besides Arthur Tudor who was trained from birth for the throne. Edward seemed to be well above average if not superior intellectually. He suffers by comparison, however, with other brilliant family members, and he died too young at age sixteen and was king too young for his education to have been very helpful.

Edward manifested an interest in education and schools were founded in his name at Birmingham, Lichfield, Tunbridge, and Bedford. He recognized that the void created by the dissolution of the monastery schools which had been destroyed by the Reformation needed to be filled.239

Because of Katherine of Aragon's failure to produce a living male heir, the children of Henry VIII went full circle educationally from the very Catholic education of Mary to the very Protestant education of Edward and the other members of his generation. If Katherine's son Henry (who died at six weeks) had lived, the Reformation might

239 Timbs, p. 73.
have come in a different form. The education of the Tudors would have probably continued along the lines laid down for Mary Tudor and Henry VIII. The effects of the Reformation had consequences for the grandchildren of Margaret Tudor and Mary Tudor (sister of Henry VIII). All their grandchildren had in common the fact of suffering from misfortune and intrigue for being too close to the throne. All seven of them died unhappy; and of the seven, two were executed, and one was murdered.

The Brandon Line

We shall next consider the children of the Brandon line begun by Mary Tudor Brandon since their education more closely resembled that of Elizabeth and Edward. Mary Tudor's daughter, Frances, married Henry Grey, who was descended from Elizabeth of York's mother's first marriage. After losing a son and a daughter in infancy, they had three living daughters: Jane, born in 1537 a few weeks before Edward Tudor; Katherine, born probably in 1538; and Mary, probably born in 1540. Frances Grey and her husband professed to be ardent Protestants and even supported Protestant scholars, but their chief interests seemed to be in gambling, hunting, and hawking and currying court favor. As Earl of Dorset, Grey maintained his family in a
luxurious fashion so that the girls grew up in better financial circumstances than Elizabeth Tudor. It would have been reasonable to expect that pleasure-loving, power-seeking, uneducated persons of probably average ability would not bother about the education of their children, particularly since they were all daughters. Yet the opposite is true. They wanted their daughters to be educated because they evidently believed that they could make better marriages for them. Good marriages could bring the Greys more power and wealth in the next generation. Thanks to persons such as Thomas More, Anthony Cooke, Katherine of Aragon, Vives, and Katherine Parr, it was now more commonly accepted that bright daughters of noble families needed to be educated. Behind Frances Brandon's brusque and athletic manner, she may have resented her lack of education. Unfortunately, in this case, the parents just seemed to want education for the girls for what it could do for them (the parents), and they actually resented the fact that the oldest girl, Jane, loved learning for its own sake, rather than for what it could get her or them.


Jane Grey

Jane had a wet-nurse, two nurses, two waiting women, two footmen, and a governess: Elizabeth Ashley, sister-in-law of Katherine Ashley. She had toys and of course swaddling clothes until somewhere between the ages of two and three when she was dressed as an adult. Jane's parents wanted to marry her to Edward Tudor and were preparing her for that role. Whether they consciously tried to give her an education equal or better than that of Edward and Elizabeth Tudor is not known. Perhaps the combination of the choice of tutors and Jane's brilliance produced an education that was at least as good as the training received by the Tudor cousins. It seems almost certain that Jane was not given the education she received because her parents loved learning, wanted her to love learning, or because they believed that she would be queen in her own right.

This was the first generation in the family where someone really remote from the crown had an elaborate education.

Jane's education started at four, and by five she had been trained in the public and social graces. By six she had been introduced to Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, and French in a much

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244 Chapman, Lady Jane Grey, p. 25.
heavier concentration than any other member of the family. Her first tutor was Thomas Harding from Devon, a Wykehamist, and Henry Grey's chaplain who evidently was her tutor for two or three years. Since Harding under Elizabeth became professor of Hebrew at Oxford, it is surprising that he did not begin teaching Jane Hebrew. When she was older and realized its value, she studied Hebrew on her own, along with Arabic and Chaldee (a variety of Aramaic). At six, Jane's Latin ability was said to be like that of a child of twelve or thirteen. In addition to Harding, Jane had a writing master and a dancing master, the latter of whom taught her not only the court galliards and pavannes but the underlying symbolism which was considered important.

Harding's replacement, John Aylmer, a brilliant man who had been educated at Cambridge at Henry Grey's expense, was a disciple of John Cheke. Aylmer, who took holy Protestant orders, was in exile during Mary's reign; but under Elizabeth he became Bishop of London. Although in his old age he was stern and quite harsh and unyielding toward religious opponents, as a young man he was said to have been spirited, witty, and affectionate and gave Jane understanding that she did not get from her parents. Aylmer must have tutored her when

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216 Marples, pp. 60-61.
she was still quite young, because he is reported to have carried her around in his arms while teaching her to pronounce Latin and Greek in the Elyot-Ascham way. Aylmer made every effort to make education attractive and alluring. At about the same time, Jane was also tutored by James Haddon, another chaplain of Henry Grey, and of course a Protestant who said Jane was the best scholar among the English nobility. It is not clear what Aylmer taught Jane and what Haddon taught her. They were both extremely interested in theology, and in addition, Aylmer was a well-versed linguist. Under the guidance of Aylmer and Haddon, Jane and her sisters had breakfast at six, then worked on Greek and Latin until dinner (at noon) and on modern languages, classical and Biblical readings and music until supper. Once or twice a week, however, this routine would be interrupted for a whole day's hunting or hawking trip or a trip to Leister. Jane did not enjoy the outdoor activities as much as her mother, and Frances rebuked her severely for it.

When she was somewhere around eight or nine, Jane was sent to the household of Katherine Parr, who also favored Jane's marrying Edward VI. This may have been before Henry VIII died; at any rate, Jane was in Katherine's household being educated sometimes with Edward and sometimes with Elizabeth until Katherine died. Jane was chief mourner, at age eleven, at Katherine's funeral. During her time with Katherine, Jane must have been exposed in varying degrees to Cheke, Cooke, Grindal, and Ascham. One author reported that

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247 Jenkins, p. 20.
as a result of this exposure, Edward loved Jane better than his sisters, but no other evidence for this could be found.\textsuperscript{248}

After returning to the family home, Bradgate, Jane was once again tutored by Aylmer and Haddon. At about age thirteen she began to show a speculative bent toward theology and philosophy. She could defend her Protestant, Calvinistic viewpoints logically and from the Bible. When Jane was in her early teens, Roger Ascham stopped by to pay his respects to the family and found Jane all alone while the rest of the family was away on a hunting expedition. She told Ascham that she would rather read her Greek authors in Greek than engage in such frivolities. Naturally this pleased Ascham. After talking with her and corresponding with her, Ascham is reported to have believed Jane was even superior in intelligence to Elizabeth Tudor and was equalled only by Anthony Cooke’s daughter (later Cecil’s wife).\textsuperscript{249} Ascham could have exaggerated a bit for he and the scholars to whom he introduced her and with whom she corresponded, all hoped and assumed she would be the wife of Edward VI.\textsuperscript{250} There is no question, however, that the scholars, Bucer, Bullinger, and Ulmer, were amazed at her range of ideas and impressed with her long, learned letters in Latin


\textsuperscript{249} Marples, pp. 59-64.

\textsuperscript{250} Chapman, \textit{Lady Jane Grey}, p. 52.
filled with Greek quotations. Sir Thomas Chaloner, one of Jane's contemporaries, believed that Ascham did not exaggerate her considerable abilities. Ulmer visited Bradgate for a period in 1550 and gave Jane and her sister, Katherine, lessons in Greek and Latin.

Jane became as narrow in her beliefs as Mary and Edward Tudor were in theirs, and she showed none of Elizabeth's flexibility. This narrowness made her seem priggish, obstinate, arrogant, intolerant, and egotistical. These qualities may have made her parents not like her, or she may have been this way partly because they did not like her. She did, however, have a real gift of tongues and a keen mind. Hers was a Tudor Renaissance-Reformation education at its best, with a content of classics and Protestantism and a purpose of knowledge of the ancients and the reformers and a language facility that opened the door to this knowledge. That the education helped make her fanatical, bitterly courageous, and mercilessly intolerant was probably not considered bad by her tutors. One author believed that Jane was not so well-versed in classics nor so proficient in modern languages as Elizabeth. He believed it would have been impossible for Jane to be fluent in the ten languages attributed to her by age sixteen. No one will ever know, probably, but it is known that her knowledge and range of languages was impressive. It must be remembered that Jane

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251 Lodge, p. 201.

252 Davenport, Lady Jane Grey .... , p. 19.

started a really serious education in classics and modern languages much sooner in her life than Elizabeth did.

Jane showed the Tudor aptitude and interest in music. It was her favorite hobby, and she would have liked to spend more time practicing the lute, harp, and cithern. She, unlike the Tudor children, showed skill in theory and music composition.  

Jane was a small, light, freckled girl with a small, well-formed figure. Her portraits and those of Queen Mary Tudor show striking resemblances. Jane was high spirited and gave evidences of loving finery, jewels, and nice clothes. With her intellectual gifts, she seemed a misfit in her immediate family. She is reported to have loved her sister, Katherine, and her father, but not to have loved her mother or sister, Mary. After her brilliant education, she was forced (her parents are supposed to have beaten her) to marry Guildford Dudley (brother of Elizabeth's favorite Robert Dudley) whom she did not love or even know very well, to suit the plans of her parents and the senior Dudley who controlled Edward VI in his last years. When Dudley saw that Edward VI would die without issue, he planned to pass over Mary and Elizabeth Tudor as illegitimate and go to the Brandon line, bypassing Frances for her daughter Jane. Jane and his son would be King and Queen. So Jane was Queen for nine days after Edward's death until Mary Tudor rightfully asserted herself.

254 Chapman, Lady Jane Grey, p. 28.
255 Sidney, pp. 5, 108.
Within a few months, Jane found herself a reluctant wife, queen, and prisoner. Mary evidently had no wish to execute Jane, but after Jane's father made another attempt at the throne, she felt forced to execute Grey, his brother, Jane, and her husband. It is not surprising that Jane at the end was as intolerant and fanatical as ever—she was firm in her beliefs, and hopefully they were of some comfort to her. 256

Jane's writings include The Complaint of a Sinner, The Duty of a Christian, four Latin epistles (three to Bullinger and one to her sister Katherine), four verses on her prison walls, and a prayer for her use in prison. 257 It is difficult to determine if Jane was more intelligent than her royal cousin, Elizabeth. It certainly can be said, however, that both young ladies received an education that would have been unlikely and almost impossible two generations or even one generation earlier. They received the benefit of the Renaissance and Reformation, and the impetus towards education for women. Jane and her sisters were quite willing to accept the ideas of Vives and Katherine of Aragon on the education of women while rejecting Catholicism. 258

\[\text{256} \quad \text{Marples, pp. 59-65.}\]

\[\text{257} \quad \text{Havey, Jane Grey ..., p. 364.}\]

\[\text{258} \quad \text{Hester W. Chapman, Two Tudor Portraits: Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey and Catherine Grey (London: Jonathan Cape, 1960), p. 157.}\]
Katherine Grey

Katherine Grey, the second daughter, was the beauty in the family. Her resemblance to Elizabeth Tudor as seen in portraits is remarkable. It is ironic that Jane and Mary looked alike and were protagonists, and Katherine and Elizabeth looked alike and were protagonists. In intellectual qualities, however, Katherine did not resemble Jane, Mary, or Elizabeth.

Katherine's parents showed her more affection than they did Jane, but they appeared to be more interested in her dynastic possibilities than in her as a person. Elizabeth Ashley was also the governess for Katherine, and she taught Katherine her letters and remained with her and her sister, Mary, until after Jane's death and the resultant purge of Protestants. Katherine loved Aylmer as much as Jane did, and she (Katherine) was tutored by the same persons who taught Jane. Either the tutoring did not take or was not as intense—perhaps the answer lies in a combination of both. Katherine seems frivolous when compared to Jane's superior intelligence and stronger personality. In comparing the calligraphy of the two sisters, we find Katherine's almost illegible and Jane's excellent. Katherine's prose was not well expressed, and Jane's was the opposite. In social graces and accomplishments, however, Katherine

259 Ibid., p. 233.

was equal to Jane. 261

After Jane's death, Mary Tudor put Katherine and Mary Grey in the household of Anne Seymour, widow of the Protector, and Mary Tudor's old friend. Katherine appeared to change to Catholicism. In this household, she and Edward Seymour fell in love and during Elizabeth's reign were secretly married, in spite of the fact that it was against the law for persons with royal blood to be married without the consent of the crown. When Katherine began to be obviously pregnant and announced her secret marriage, Elizabeth put Katherine and Edward in the Tower and ordered an investigation. This was the beginning of a life of despair for Katherine who could not prove her marriage. After bearing two sons, Edward and Thomas (the second one proved that there was some breakdown in prison security, for the parents were not to see one another), she was confined for the rest of her life and died at about age twenty-seven. At the end of her life, she was concerned to die like a princess of the blood. Her husband outlived her and eventually won Elizabeth's favor, but it was not until after Elizabeth's death in 1603 that the sons were declared legitimate. 262


262 Chapman, Tudor Portraits ...., pp. 159-237.
Mary Grey

All the Grey girls were small, but Mary at four feet was considered a dwarf. In addition, she was crookbacked and ugly, but she had the red hair and freckles of her sisters. The only thing known about her intellectual accomplishments is that she probably spoke French and Italian and was much interested in theology. At the time of her death, she had twenty-four books (a large library for that time and for her financial straits) on religion and the theology of Calvinism and Zwinglianism. Mary's parents did not mistreat her, but rather ignored her. She probably had access to the family tutors, but her parents did not push her, for she did not appear to have good marriage possibilities.

Mary was affectionate and domestic and evidently an intellectual. She showed the Grey independence and determination in 1565 when serving as maid of honor to Elizabeth by marrying, without the permission of Elizabeth, a six foot, eight inch widower of forty with six or seven children. He was Thomas Keyes, Porter of the Royal Water Gate at Westminster and a distant maternal relative of Elizabeth. They made a ridiculous looking couple due to their extremes in height. Elizabeth was furious and separated the couple by sending Keyes to sea and putting Mary under the care of her step-grandmother and then her step-father, in a kind of house arrest situation.

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263 Davey, Sisters of Lady Jane Grey ...... , p. 291.

264 Chapman, Tudor Portraits ...... , p. 155.
Mary tried to be helpful to her step-children, but she was not able to do much for them in her confined condition. Her unhappy life ended in 1578.\(^{265}\)

**Margaret Clifford**

The final member of this ill-fated Brandon quartet was Margaret Clifford, daughter of Eleanor Brandon and Henry Clifford. She was about the same age as her first cousins, the two younger Grey girls. Margaret's parents were not formally educated, and in addition, her mother (Eleanor Brandon Clifford) died when Margaret was seven, so she was removed from any direct Tudor influence at a relatively young age. There is no evidence that she received anything other than the most functional education, yet she was considered by many to be heir to the throne after Elizabeth, since Henry VIII had named the Brandon rather than the Stuart line for inheritance purposes, and since Eleanor Brandon was the first and only Brandon child born after the death of her father's previous wife who was not considered to be properly divorced.\(^{266}\)


\(^{266}\) Strickland, *Tudor Princesses*, pp. 298, 303.
In 1555 Margaret was married to Henry Stanley, Earl of Derby; and they had four sons and one daughter. Her husband was not faithful to her, but he was in high favor with Elizabeth. Margaret spent the last years of her life imprisoned for no other apparent reason than royal displeasure while her husband and children enjoyed court pleasures.

Elizabeth seemed to have no qualms about treating her female relatives as she had been treated during Mary's reign. Elizabeth's paternal female relatives living during her reign were Frances Brandon (who died a year after Elizabeth's accession and received a large state funeral), Margaret Douglas, Katherine Grey, Mary Grey, Margaret Clifford, and Mary Stuart. None of them received much quarter or sympathy from her. Mary Stuart perhaps suffered the most because her treatment in England was such a contrast to her earlier life.

The Stuart Line

The Stuart line which sprang from Margaret Tudor included ten children in this generation, seven of whom were the illegitimate children of James V and are not included here since only family members who had a recognized chance for the throne of England have been studied. While these children had Tudor blood and were recognized bastards, including all of them would change the emphasis from the Tudors to the Stuarts by sheer force of numbers. Also, while at least some of

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them were tutored, there is no evidence to suggest that their education was extraordinary. George Buchanan who tutored some of them was a scholar whose politics changed with the wind. Of the seven, three were named James and there was a Robert, a John, an Adam, and a Jane. One James, who became Prior of St. Andrews, studied in France. Another James who became Regent Morey embraced Protestantism, but no evidence could be found to suggest that this was because of his education, but rather because of opportunism and observed malpractices in the Scottish Catholic Church.

Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots

Discounting James Stuart's illegitimate children leaves only one child who survived from his two marriages: Mary Stuart. Erasmus had warned that state marriages are bad, creating divided loyalties, and this seems to be so in the case of Mary Stuart. Just as Mary Tudor could not forget her Spanish mother, Mary Stuart could not forget her French mother, Mary of Guise.

Mary was born in December, 1542, and she became Queen of Scotland a few days later upon the death of her father. Her coronation was held when she was nine months old. Until she was close to six, Mary resided at Stirling Castle; then because of a threat from the English, she was moved to an island fortress. Since Mary was already a queen


and would probably be a rich matrimonial prize, it is not surprising that a great deal of thought was given to her education, especially by her mother. Mary was different from most of the Tudors and like Mary Tudor in that she had a mother who loved her and was very concerned for her welfare. It seems quite clear that the best mothers in the Tudor family were the non-Tudor wives, not the female Tudors themselves. Mary of Guise stands with Katherine of Aragon and Katherine Parr as a decent and kind mother figure. That the three were Spanish, English, and French perhaps says something about the international qualities of motherhood.

Mary of Guise formed a school around Mary before or during her fifth year. It was composed of four other girls named Mary: Mary Beaton (niece of the Cardinal), Mary Fleming, Mary Livingstone, and Mary Smeaton. Mary Fleming's mother, Lady Fleming, an illegitimate daughter of James IV and thus Mary's aunt, was her governess. Her governors were Lord John Erskine and Lord Alexander Livingstone; and her spiritual governors were Rev. John Erskine, the parson of Balmacellan, and Alexander Scott, a canon and parson. Three of her natural half-brothers were sometimes companions: Robert, John, and James.\footnote{270}

The five little girls had begun the study of French and probably Latin and other subjects when it was decided (when Mary was six) to send the whole entourage to France to seal the French marriage treaty of Mary and the Dauphin of France, and to keep Mary safe from the

\footnote{270} Thomas Finlayson Henderson, Mary Queen of Scots: Her Environment and Tragedy (London: Hutchinson and Company, 1905), pp. 64-66.
English squadron. Mary, a lovely golden-haired lass, parted from her mother in public without a murmur.

In France, Mary and her party were received at Brest with great pomp by Henry II, King of France. There was a procession from Brest to Paris full of regal splendor, and all the prison doors were thrown open along the route in honor of the Queen. In France, Mary continued with her regular tutors, but at least six other powerful persons took a keen interest in her education: Henry II; Margaret de Valois, his sister; Katherine de Medici, his wife; Diana de Poitiers, his mistress; the Cardinal of Lorraine, Mary's maternal uncle; and Antoinette de Bourbon, Mary's grandmother. T. F. Henderson indicated that Diana de Poitiers had charge of the education of the royal children, including Mary and that Mary's French grandmother made her a devout and prejudiced Catholic. In writing about Mary in the Dictionary of National Biography, however, Henderson indicated that Margaret de Valois was the one who directed the studies of the royal children and Mary. It is a fact that Margaret was one of the most accomplished and learned ladies of her time. Another author believed that Mary's uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, directed her studies and stamped her character with hatred for John Knox and the reform movement.

271 Henderson, p. 80.
273 Headley, p. 35.
Two authors believed that Mary Stuart was sent to a convent soon after her arrival in France. She became so religious and pious that Henry II transferred her to his own apartments so she would not become too sainted. This reportedly drew more tears from the pious Mary than leaving home. She visited the sisters every time she could and made an altar piece for them. \(^{274}\) \(^{275}\) Strickland believed, however, that Mary was not schooled in a convent. She pointed out that Mary had two aunts who were abbesses and that Mary visited them a great deal. The latter seems like a more logical happening since Mary still had her governors or scholastic preceptors; a curator, Bishop Reid of Orkney; Lady Fleming; and her Marys.

Mary and her Marys, then, were brought up in the midst of the French court with Henry II's daughters, Claude and Elizabeth. It was an elegant, magnificent court but lax. All important men had acknowledged mistresses, and the court was half chivalric and half literary due to the Renaissance. \(^{277}\) Lady Fleming had to give up her job as Mary's governess because Henry II fathered her child—she went back to Scotland to bear the "Bastard of Angoulême." The woman who replaced her, Madame de Paroy, was a staunch Catholic friend of the


\(^{275}\) Timbs, p. 78.


\(^{277}\) Headley, pp. 25-26.
Cardinal of Lorraine. Mary could not abide the woman, but it took her two years to convince her mother and uncle by correspondence that she was not being willful in wanting a new governess. Madame de Paroy gave Mary strict training in the "old faith" while living in the gay debauched court of France. Madame de Paroy was replaced by Madame de Brene, a kindly woman whom Mary loved and who was a friend and appointee of Diana de Poitiers. One author indicated that Mary was tutored by the two best schoolmasters and language teachers in France: Claude Millot and Antoine Fouquelin. They probably taught all the royal children in a class. George Buchanan from Scotland was supposed to be teaching Mary Latin in France and when she returned to Scotland. He later turned against her and wrote a history of her that is not creditable for a scholar.

French was Mary's natural language. She was bilingual from birth, but her native Scottish (then a separate language) became rusty from disuse. She never did learn to write Scottish, and English was a foreign language to her which she studied but did not really learn until, as an adult, she was a prisoner in England. Mary loved French poetry and had a French poet who had been her mother's page,

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280 Mackie, p. 64.

281 MacNalty, Mary Stuart .... , p. 17.
Ronsard, for a tutor in this area. Her own verses, however, lacked distinction. Mary wrote good letters with a downhill schoolgirl slant, and she expressed herself well in French verbally and in writing. Her elocution was considered excellent.

Mary Stuart was above average in languages, but she was not so good in this area as her Tudor and Grey relatives. One would expect that she learned Latin, and she did. As an adult, she could converse in Latin, but she could not write it very well. She preferred reading gallant romances of chivalry in French rather than Latin or Greek authors. The elegant Latin she was reported to have written could have been well practiced or corrected by a tutor. Her Latin exercise book when she was twelve showed that she had a fair knowledge for her age. Also at twelve, Mary impressed the whole French court by delivering a self-composed oration in faultless Latin in praise of learned ladies.

There is evidence that Mary studied Italian, Spanish, and Greek. She found Italian the easiest due to its Latin base. She never became accomplished in reading, writing, or speaking any of them, however. She was sheltered from the new learning in a court that

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282 Harrison, p. xiv.
283 Henderson, *Mary Queen of Scots*, pp. 76-77.
285 Timbs, p. 78.
286 Henderson in D. N. B., "Mary Stuart," Vol. XII, p. 1258
was geared for pleasure, not scholarship. It is not surprising that Greek was not stressed.  

Mary, like Elizabeth Tudor, loved history and geography, and she became quite knowledgeable in both areas. 

Mary was not taught music to the extent the Tudors were since it was not thought of as something important for royalty to learn in France. Mary seemed to have all the Tudor precocity in and passion for music and dancing, however. She had a sweet, rich voice and could accompany herself on the lute, virginals, harp, and cithern. She wrote lyrics and music for songs in French, and as an adult she wrote music to try to please Elizabeth Tudor. 

The French court did provide Mary with a dancing instructor since this was considered important. Mary was reportedly a better dancer and singer than Elizabeth, but Elizabeth was a better instrumentalist, especially on the virginals, than Mary. Mary was like Jane Grey and unlike her Tudor cousins with an interest in and talent for musical composition. No one in the family could rival Henry VIII, however, in music theory and composition. 

Mary was truly skilled in needlework and took great pleasure in it. According to reports, she probably did the most intricate 

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287 Henderson, Mary Queen of Scots p. 77.
288 Strickland, Queens of Scotland, p. 37.
290 MacNalty, Mary Stuart, p. 17.
needlework of all the female Tudors.\footnote{Strickland, \textit{Queens of Scotland}, p. 37.} She was also carefully educated in the art of dressing, interiors, and pictorial art.

While Mary certainly received an education in France, particularly in French literature, it seems clear that mental cultivation was subordinate to the graces needed by sovereigns such as good carriage and demeanor, appropriate dress, manners, speaking in public, and reciting discourses. Thus when Mary of Guise came to visit Mary (and her son from her first marriage) when Mary was eight, young Mary coolly asked questions at their first meetings like: Are the noble families still feuding? Who was most attached to the ancient faith? Did the English still harrass? The questions had almost certainly been put into her mouth, but she showed that she was learning this phase well. Her education had all the elaborate culture, prejudices, and glaring faults related to a corrupt court and defensive Catholic teachers,\footnote{Headley, pp. 25-28.} yet her youth in France was the happiest period in her life.

Mary was almost six feet tall, arousing Elizabeth's jealousy. She inherited her height and her dark brown eyes from her mother, but from her father's side came her good looks and her chestnut, auburn hair. She was an excellent athlete who could do better than most men in archery and who excelled in horsemanship, the chase, and
While Mary was very feminine, she had a man-like courage and could get along easily with men. She once expressed a wish to be a man so that she could know their camaraderie and sleep in the open fields.

While Mary could be imperious and impulsive, her chief attribute was generally regarded to be her sweet personality which she had in spite of an early and lasting digestive disorder brought about probably because of over-pressure in studies, duties, and accomplishments. She was full of little kindnesses, for instance, she would not allow galley slaves to be lashed while she was on board. She developed, in the same manner as her father, a natural gift for predominance and could make friends easily with men and women of all ranks. In temperament, Mary was warm, passionate, emotional, feminine, and was sometimes able to be an actress and mask her feelings. She resembled her grandmother, Margaret Tudor, in that during all the emergencies of her life, nature rather than reason asserted itself.

While Mary was subject from the beginning of her life to flattery and intrigue, she did not have the sobering, grim experiences that Elizabeth had. While there was a difference in the innate natures of the two women who have been so often compared, Elizabeth's scholarly and bookish interests were encouraged, and Mary's non-scholarly, more feminine nature was encouraged. Mary found it difficult to govern

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293 Fleming, p. 17.
294 Henderson, Mary Queen of Scots, p. 70.
men; Elizabeth did not. Education may have made some difference here. It would seem that Elizabeth was above Mary in intellectual power, but Mary was the better in grace and royal bearing. Mary was conscientious about state matters but would let others take the initiative. She could lounge all day in bed and rise at night for music and dancing. Elizabeth, on the other hand, kept a much firmer hand on state matters. Mary Stuart was more like Mary Tudor who was conscious of being a woman and let Cardinal Pole act in her place too much.

Mary was educated to be French, not Scottish. Before her marriage at sixteen to Francis II, she signed documents that made Scotland the property of France, without the knowledge of the Scottish nobles. When Francis died after a year as king, and Mary returned to Scotland at about age twenty, she faced an education of another sort. She had made an excellent Queen of France, but being Queen of Scotland was another matter. In France, the Protestants (Huguenots) were being persecuted; but in Scotland, they were gaining in ascendency. Mary's religious training had been biased, to say the least, and as an adolescent she was unyielding in religious matters. That she could be tolerant at all was amazing, yet at least two authors believed that Mary was tolerant and showed flexibility during her few years as the active

296 Mackie, p. 65.
297 Green, p. 758.
From all accounts, Mary was fond of but not in love with her first husband, Francis II. There is a difference of opinion, however, regarding whether Mary was in love with her second husband, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, her cousin; or her third husband, James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell. She married Henry Stewart after her marriage plans with Don Carlos, Prince of Spain, failed. Stewart, who was tall and handsome and may have been her first love, became the father of her son, James. Since Stewart was the son of Margaret Douglas, he will be dealt with by himself in the next section. He became obnoxious to her by his actions and was murdered, most people thought, at her command. She was then married to Bothwell in a Protestant ceremony, so some believe she became a Protestant because she loved him. Others believe he physically captured Mary, made her pregnant (she miscarried twins after the marriage) and that she married him in a crazed condition. At any rate, Mary's return to Scotland was disastrous for her from a personal standpoint. John Knox gave her trouble because of her "ancient faith". Stewart did

299 MacNalty, Mary Stuart, p. 47.


302 MacNalty, Mary Stuart, p. 85.
not prove worthy as a husband and was responsible for the murder of her favorite, an Italian named Rizzio. Then with Stewart's murder and the elopement with Bothwell, her subject rejected her as Queen. She fled to England and lived by Elizabeth's sufferance for nineteen years. Mary was finally beheaded because of reported plots (maybe true and maybe not) to take over the throne of England. Her son, who had become James VI of Scotland was to realize her ambition and take over the throne of England as James I in 1603 when Elizabeth died. After Mary's execution, she was buried next to a fellow Catholic, Katherine of Aragon.

Mary Stuart was the first Tudor since Henry VII to live away from the island of Britain (except for Henry Fitzroy, whose stay in France was quite short). Her education fitted her for France, but not for Scotland. Her education seems the worst of all the Tudors because she was prepared to be a wife in a foreign nation. When her first husband died, she was forced to shift to a style of life for which she was not prepared. The people who planned her education were not evil and could not foresee the future; but with the best intentions, they committed her to a course which alienated her from her country.

Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley

The father of James I was Henry Stewart (or Stuart), the son of Margaret Douglas and Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox. Thus, James I
had a double dose of Tudor blood. Margaret Douglas was attached to Catholicism and was determined to rear Henry, who was born in December, 1545, a Catholic. Since Edward's reign began when Henry was two, this was difficult. Margaret removed him to the far county of Yorkshire and engaged John Elder, a priest of the Collegiate Church at Dunbarton to be his tutor when he was four or five. Elder was a Celtic highlander, and for this reason was called John Redshank. He was surprisingly in favor of the union of England and Scotland—a radical idea at that time. He was an excellent Latinist, good in English, a clever linguist; and he rivalled Roger Ascham in penmanship. Elder was determined to make Henry's education better than the training received by Elizabeth and Edward Tudor. 303

When Mary Tudor became Queen of England, she encouraged young Henry's Catholic education, and he and his mother were around the court a good deal. Mary probably would have made Henry her heir if she dared. Elizabeth disliked Henry because of Mary's interest. Henry wrote letters to Mary and did translations for her that prove his penmanship was excellent. He translated More's Utopia into English for Mary at the age of nine; and a little later, he did the

same with Valerius Maximus. Henry reportedly became really skilled in Latin and French, both speaking and writing. He specialized in French verse. Elder called him a prodigy and said he was more intelligent and a better scholar than Edward, Elizabeth, or Jane Grey. This is doubtful since he learned no Greek, but he was evidently quite talented and probably had a more serious education than Mary Stuart. He probably made a trip to France to meet Mary and Francis II at age fifteen.

Henry, who was very proficient on the lute and wrote the words and music for a ballad, sang beautifully and was an expert dancer. He was so extremely adept at all the manly arts that he was often compared favorably with Henry VIII. As a young man his attendance at Elizabeth's court gave him extra poise and polish. A bonus with all these virtues was the fact that he was overly handsome. Like other male Tudors, he was baby-faced and beardless, but he was over six feet tall, lusty, appealing, princely in bearing, and had pretty blonde hair. Like Mary Stuart, he had the beautiful Stuart complexion.

On the negative side, however, young Henry had evidently been pressured on the one hand by his mother and tutor and spoiled by them on the other hand. One author believed that there was no worse combination than the mixing of the Tudor and Lennox bloodlines; and

305 Strickland, Queens of Scotland, pp. 351-364.
306 MacNalty, Mary Stuart, p. 47.
307 Henderson, Mary Queen of Scots, p. 307.
he thought Henry's father was close to being feeble-minded and that while Margaret Douglas was one of the better Tudors, Henry received all the bad Tudor qualities and was much like his grandmother, Margaret Tudor. All authors agreed that he was morally weak. He was described as sensual, unstable, base, brutal, cowardly, course, callous, proud, and obstinate. One author did a medical study on his skeleton and said he had a wide and retracting forehead, a low skull, and a long face. He had a small cranial capacity and a disharmonic skull—the kind one usually finds in morons. He probably had syphilis at the time of his death; some believe that is the reason Mary no longer wanted him for a husband.

It has been commonly believed that Henry was not a match for Mary Stuart intellectually. The medical testimony would seem to confirm this. Elder could have greatly exaggerated his abilities. Yet it does not seem that he was feeble-minded or Mary and others would not have found his company acceptable. He was obviously on his best behavior while courting Mary, but it seems he would have had to have had average intelligence or better to have completed the accomplishments most authors agree on. We must remember, also, that

308 Pearson, p. 3.
309 Fleming, p. 120.
310 Pearson. p. 49.
he fathered the person considered to be one of the more intelligent and highly trained of all monarchs, James I. The fact that he represented Tudor passions at their worst may have made authors overreact to him in a negative way, but in reality, he appears to have been trained well and probably in a similar manner to Mary Tudor.

Henry was murdered in February, 1567, when he was twenty-one years old. He had betrayed his wife, but his conspirators betrayed him—both sides were in the pay of Elizabeth. Henry's nature and ambition evidently overcame ideals he had received in his Catholic training.

Charles Stewart

Of Margaret Douglas's eight children, only two survived infancy. The second one was born in 1556 when brother Henry was nine and when Margaret herself was forty-one. Young Charles looked much like his mother who resembled both Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stuart. It is quite probable that John Elder, his brother's tutor, instructed him as a young boy.

When Charles was nine, Queen Elizabeth put Margaret in the Tower because of Henry Stewart's marriage which Elizabeth had not approved in advance. Elizabeth sent Charles to Yorkshire and gave him into the charge of a couple named Vaughan. Charles's father was in Scotland with Henry. His father was killed (murdered) in

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311 Pearson, p. 22.
Scotland in 1571 while protecting the interests of his grandson, James. Margaret wrote William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Elizabeth's secretary of state, asking him to take Charles into his household and educate him with his own children. She indicated that the boy was hard to manage with no father and that she wanted to curb problems that had appeared in the older brother. She also wanted to stifle the resentment felt by those who had not approved (probably Elizabeth) of Henry's education. She saw no future in a Catholic education for the boy and wanted him instructed in the new faith. Apparently Cecil declined Margaret's request, for she soon employed Peter Malliet, a Swiss Protestant related to Zwinglius, as tutor for Charles. In 1572 Malliet wrote that Charles at sixteen was bright and had a great promise for the future.

One wonders about a boy of fifteen or sixteen changing his religion so glibly. It is possible, of course, but raises doubts. If he was like his brother, religious training of any kind would be to little avail. There is no evidence, however, that Charles had Henry's bad traits.

In 1572, Charles fell in love with and married Elizabeth Cavendish. They were married without royal permission so Margaret was sent back to the Tower and all concerned were under a cloud. Charles died of consumption in 1577 after siring a daughter, Arabella Stuart. It is not certain whether he died a Catholic or

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Protestant, but his sister-in-law, Mary Stuart, believed he was a Catholic.\(^3\)

Margaret Douglas appears to have been about the best Tudor mother from the standpoint of education. She was actively concerned about the education of her sons, and although she did not do a perfect job, she made an attempt and showed concern for her children in a humane way that her cousin, Frances Brandon, did not.

With this generation, the male Tudor line of Edmund Tudor became extinct. The great-great grandchildren of Henry Tudor and Elizabeth of York included James Stuart (James I), Arabella Stewart, Edward and Thomas Seymour, and the five Stanley children.

In the generation beginning with Elizabeth Tudor and ending with Charles Stewart, education had become a common denominator for the whole family, for girls as well as for boys except for Margaret Clifford, and she was not under Tudor influence after her mother died. Arthur and Henry Tudor had been the first English princes of the Renaissance. Mary Tudor had followed their tradition, becoming a pioneer in women's education. Henry Fitzroy had foreshadowed the final fruit of the New Learning: Greek. In the third generation, one sees the culmination of the finest Renaissance education blended with principles of the Reformation in the education of Elizabeth.

and Edward Tudor and Jane Grey and to a lesser extent Katherine and Mary Grey and Charles Stewart. In the education of Mary Stuart and Henry Stewart one sees the continuation of the Renaissance pre-Reformation education which was acceptable to Catholics of the time.

A generation of Cambridge scholars consisting of Cheke, Ascham, Cox, Grindal, Aylmer, and Haddon pushed the Tudor education to its zenith so that in addition to the learning of the previous generation, this generation read the Greek Testament and the other Greek authors in the original, and they could read Melanchthon and other Reformation authors. Mary Tudor's education in the previous generation had been an unusual thing. This generation saw the classical education of noble women who had little direct hope of reaching the throne.

The Cambridge scholars and Elyot extended the idea of kindness and sympathy to pupils that Erasmus and Vives had suggested. The Greys and the Tudors loved their tutors and were probably more efficient at education as a result.

The change in educational content and method due to the Renaissance and Reformation did not bring a corresponding advance in human relations. Everyone in the generation except Edward Tudor suffered at one time or another just for being a close relative of the sovereign. Elizabeth was the worst offender because of her long reign. Her education gave her an advantage in ruling and probably made her a better ruler, but it did not change her nature. Elizabeth was perhaps the best educated sovereign in British history because of the combination of
book-learning and adverse circumstances that took place in her youth.

In Scotland where the Reformation had no assistance from the throne, it took an extra generation for the Reformation to be reflected in the education of James Stuart (James I of England).
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Henry VII, although not himself well-educated in the tradition of the Renaissance (which had not yet reached England), surprised the English court around 1495 by giving his second son, Henry, a classical education that was equal to that of the heir apparent. Henry VII wanted Renaissance ideas included in the education of both boys, but for financial and political reasons he accomplished this by using scholars who were already at court and were not in the forefront of the English Renaissance movement. Henry VII was not so advanced as to give his two daughters a classical education.

Henry VIII became the first English monarch to have a Renaissance education. He and his first wife produced only one daughter in twenty-four years of marriage. Because his wife came from the court of Spain which was advanced at that time, she, with Henry's concurrence, gave their daughter, Mary, a full classical, Catholic education. They were encouraged in the project by the first generation of humanists in England, a group of Oxford scholars. In addition, Henry gave his natural son a complete education under the direction of a leading scholar, including, for the first time in the royal family, the study of Greek.

After the precedent had been established for educating noble girls as well as boys, the next generation starting with Elizabeth
Tudor in 1533 saw the elaborate education of children of both sexes who had little chance for the throne. In this generation, the Renaissance tradition, including Greek studies, continued. This generation, however, was encouraged and tutored by the second generation of humanists, a group of Cambridge scholars, who differed from the previous generation of Oxford scholars in that they had been influenced by the Reformation as well as the Renaissance, and in that they participated in actually tutoring the royal children to a much greater degree. These tutors passed along their ideas on the Reformation to the Tudors and Greys of this generation. The Catholics in the generation avoided this type of training for their children and gave them instead an education similar to that of Mary Tudor of the previous pre-Reformation generation.

It appears that Elizabeth and Edward Tudor and Jane Grey received the best and most thorough academic training in the family; indeed, they seem to have received the best education available in England at the time. Mary Stuart, Mary Tudor, and Henry and Arthur Tudor, and perhaps Henry Stewart also seem quite brilliant and may have proved just as versatile with a post-Reformation education. In assessing the family, it seems to me that Henry VIII and Jane Grey were perhaps the best scholars and had the most potential in a variety of areas. This is not to say that the others mentioned in this paragraph, particularly Elizabeth Tudor, did not also have great aptitude—this was a bright family during the generations studied.
Erasmus's comment on the evils of state marriages proved to be correct. In all cases where these occurred, the marriage turned sour or at least one partner was unhappy. It was a problem for a person to be reared and educated in one culture and be a monarch in another. This was true for Margaret Tudor in Scotland, Mary Tudor (sister of Henry VIII) in France, Katherine of Aragon, Anne of Cleves, Magdelen of France, and Mary of Guise in England and Scotland, and it was just as true for Philip of Spain in England. Mary Stuart had been prepared to cope with France by being reared there. When she had to return to Scotland, she faced the same problem the others had experienced only in reverse. In all cases where there were children from state marriages, the unhappiness of the mother was to varying degrees visited on the children.

In looking at these generations of Tudors, one is struck by the dearth of males. In addition to at least seventeen boys who died in infancy, six died in adolescence: Arthur Tudor, Henry Brandon, Henry Fitzroy, Edward Tudor, Henry Stewart, and Charles Stewart. Just two men, in addition to the progenitor, Henry VII, lived beyond the teen years or very early twenties: Henry VIII and James V, and the latter died mysteriously at age thirty. This absence of males probably resulted in a greater emphasis on the education of women than might have happened if the sex ratio had been more balanced. Katherine of Aragon probably would have been less interested in the education of Mary Tudor if her sons had lived, and then the chain reaction which she initiated might not have been begun or continued.
The Tudors, in spite of their training, did not associate much
with scholars, and they certainly did not pay their tutors much.
Most of the royal tutors had to scramble for money like all other
scholars. The Tudors evidently regarded their tutors as means to a
necessary end, and they showed no evidence of wanting to be like the
tutors in any way other than common learning. The tutors for their
part seem in retrospect slavishly devoted to their royal pupils.
One suspects that the devotion was in some measure related to the
need for more money and/or power. James V of Scotland was the only
one of Tudor blood who showed major gratitude to his former tutors
when he reached adult years. The tutors had their problems and
quirks, but since they had neither the power nor the money of their
royal masters, their imperfections seem less dire. They, however,
like the Tudors, had very human natures which could make Skelton a
course clown, Ascham a gambler, Cheke a recanter, Mrs. Ashley a
meddler, etc. The tutors seem to have been no closer to perfection
than the Tudors.

Woods, in his study of many royal families, which did not include
the Tudors, concluded that royal families as a whole are above
average in intelligence.\(^1\) Certainly the Tudors seem to fit this
picture. Those who were known to be well-educated gave every
indication of being well above average in intelligence. Woods also

\(^1\) Frederick Adams Woods, Mental and Moral Heredity in Royalty
concluded that mental and moral qualities are highly correlated in royalty, that is the most brilliant are the most moral. This did not seem to be the case for the Tudors. The two Tudor monarchs who reigned for long periods, Henry VIII and Elizabeth, were highly educated, and while they were not devoid of virtue, there is little evidence to suggest that they were more humane toward mankind in general because of their education and intelligence. They read the works of Erasmus, Skelton, Vives, Elyot, and More regarding the behavior and special obligations of princes, but they remained autocratic and insensitive toward the low value placed on human life. Most of the Tudors seemed very moralistic in adolescence, but those who lived into adulthood passed through the stage.

On the one hand, it does not appear that the Tudors were specially educated to be monarchs, for a scholarly education did not completely prepare one for kingship. It was all well and good for the monarchs to know languages and history and geography, but personal style and qualities seemed to transcend training. On the other hand, however, academic training served a very useful purpose, and Elizabeth, for instance, would have been less effective without it, even though her nature and innate qualities made her the Queen she was. The fact that the Tudors as a family were capable of successfully completing difficult educations perhaps indicates that they were probably capable of important jobs whether or not they were formally educated. They were specially educated in the sense that they read the books on

princely behavior suggested by the scholars of the age, and as children they learned the pious attitudes expounded by the scholars. As adults, however, they succumbed to the temptations of all persons through the ages with unchecked authority. It was a good idea to train future monarchs as scholars, but as the humanists had to find out, scholars were not necessarily virtuous.
Appendix

Biographies of King Edward VI, Queen Mary, Lady Jane Grey, Queen Elizabeth & Mary Queen of Scots

he queene grace.
Edward

Marye the queene
Jane the Queene

Votbe here home againe married

The Princess Elizabeth to King Edward VI.

O na quidem de re hoc loco falsi Illud sanctum
praeor & Deus confineat hume Maiestate quae dixisse incolumem ad
nominis sui gloria regnum visitate: Has illud 2 februrij,

S Maiestatis sue summis soror
& seren Elizabeth

Partium from the Princess Elizabeth's Translation of a Dialogue in Latin:

Think your

Country your home, the inhabitanls
your neighbours, all friends your
children, and your children your
own souls: enduring to surpass
all these in liberality and good
nature, for conquer once your
friends by well doing and;
care not what enemys
can work against you
this if you do, youshbe
happie and wise

happy to yourself
and plausible to
the world

[Signature]

Capt. J. Wright, Printer, 18 Martin, Lithographer, St. James, St. Paul, Oxford, 1811.
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