

The marriage of Philip of Habsburg and Mary Tudor and anti-Spanish sentiment in England : political economies and culture, 1553-1557.

Samson, Alexander Winton Seton

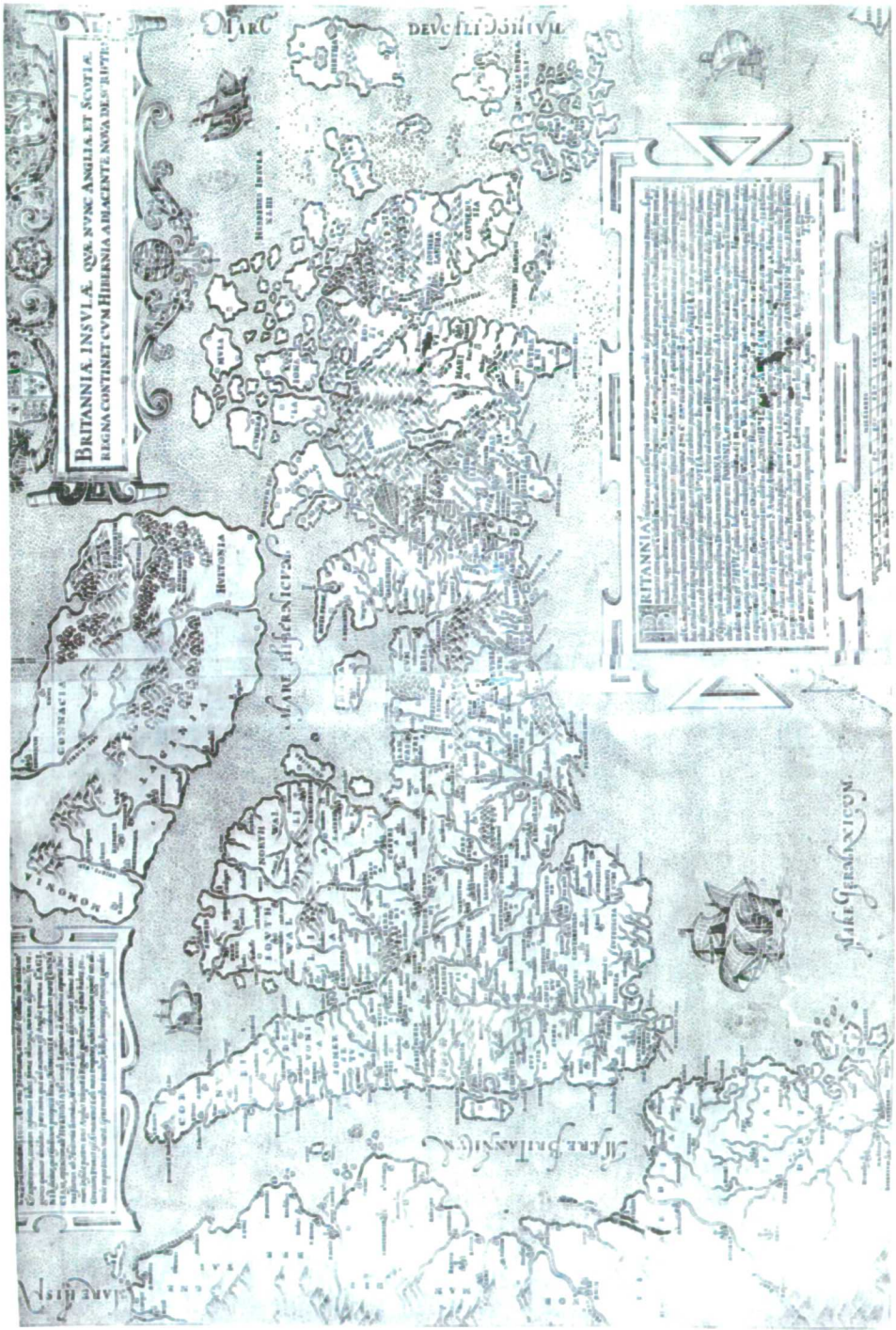
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The Marriage of Philip of Habsburg and Mary Tudor and Anti-Spanish Sentiment in England: Political Economies and Culture, 1553–1557.



PhD thesis by Alexander Winton Seton Samson.
Queen Mary and Westfield College.



Abstract

This thesis examines the early part of Mary I's reign, focusing on her marriage to Philip of Habsburg and the marginalisation of their co-monarchy in Tudor historiography. By looking at the diplomatic background and political opposition in England, I interrogate the notion that anti-Spanish sentiment was a central cause of the Wyatt rebellion, arguing that instead its aetiology lay in female sovereignty and the constitutional uncertainties produced by it. Dynasticism tended to alienate power from familiar, local and territorial sources of political authority. Infant mortality and the vicissitudes of the marriage market in this context threatened discrete 'national' identities with an incipient imperialist internationalism. I analyse in detail the marriage contract and 'Act declaring that the regal power of this realm is in the Queen's Majesty', using them as evidence to show that anxieties about property rights were not related to the repudiation of the Supremacy, repeal of Henrician legislation and return of papal jurisdiction. The staging of the wedding harped on Philip's inferior status, inverting that which the marriage ceremony rehearsed. The Castilian writing of England as a romance of chivalry sublimated a sexual licence which repeated the fears played upon by exiled polemicists that the kingdom had been transformed into the feminised subject of Spanish male authority. Anti-Spanish propaganda did not reflect popular xenophobia. It was literate and sophisticated, related to sectarian struggle and engaged with theories of justifiable disobedience. Finally, I treat the joint royal London Entry and representations of Philip and Mary welcoming his assumption of authority in relation to both England and his new queen.

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Abbreviations

AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional en Madrid
BL	British Library
<u>Cal. Dom.</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1547-1580</u> , Mary I, 1553-1558, (London: HMSO, 1856).
<u>Cal. For.</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Foreign: Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth I</u> , 25 vols. (London: HMSO, 1861–1950).
<u>Cal. Span.</u>	Royall Tyler (ed.), <u>Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations Between England and Spain</u> , vols. XI-XIII (London: HMSO, 1916, 1949, 1954).
<u>Cal. Ven.</u>	R. Brown (eds.), <u>Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice</u> , vols. 5 and 6 (two parts), ed. Rawdon Brown, (London: Longman and Co., 1873-1881).
<u>DNB</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u> , 63 vols. (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1885–1900).
<u>Greyfriars Chronicle</u>	<u>Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London</u> , Camden Society 53, 1st ser. (London: J. Nichols and Son, 1851).
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<u>Viaje de Felipe Segundo</u>	Andrés Muñoz, <u>Viaje de Felipe Segundo a Inglaterra y Relaciones Varias Relativas Al Mismo Suceso</u> , ed. Pacual de Gayángos and D. Manuel Zarco del Valle (Madrid: La Sociedad de Bilbiófilos Españoles, 1877).

Introduction

The reign of Mary Tudor, perhaps more than any other period in British history, is bedeviled by, what Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler called in 1980 in the volume which inaugurated a major reassessment of the mid-Tudor period, "the liberal and Protestant shibboleths of the Asquithean era".¹ J. A. Froude's characterisation of Mary's rule as a 'barren interlude' in the nineteenth century has had a tenacious hold on the historical imagination. As late as 1970, E. H. Harbison concurred, the "reign of Mary has been called a 'barren interlude' in Tudor history, and so it undoubtedly was."² A. F. Pollard, influenced by Froude, wrote at the beginning of the twentieth century: "Sterility was the conclusive note of Mary's reign",

in default of royal or ministerial leadership there could only be stagnation... the whole nation malingered in divers degrees. Debarred from the paths it wished to pursue, it would not follow in Mary's wake. A blight had fallen on national faith and confidence, and Israel took to its tents.³

Pollard's language closely echoed Froude's. The description of her reign with images of infertility is suggestive of why Pollard and Froude found Marian history unpalatable. Her childlessness signalled the end of Habsburg dynastic hopes in England and Catholic restoration. The bareness of the period is a corollary of Mary's fated and felicitous (for them) inability to produce an heir. Pollard's notion of the 'national faith', of England as 'Israel', resonates with the investment in sectarian and providentialist histories, which have been at the root of readings of Mary ever since. The parochial and anti-Catholic assumptions of both historians substantiated their judgement that in terms of our nation's destiny, "Mary's reign had been a palpable failure".⁴ In these Whiggish interpretations, "Mary represented the

¹Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler (eds.), The Mid-Tudor Polity c. 1540–1560 (London: MacMillan, 1980), p. 1.

²E. H. Harbison, Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary (New York: Books for Libraries Press, repr. 1970), Preface, p. vii. The original comment is from Froude.

³A. F. Pollard, The History of England From the Accession of Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth (1547–1603), The Political History of England, 12 vols. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1915), vol. 6, p. 172.

⁴A. F. Pollard, The History of England, p. 173.

failed past, while the Protestant Henry VIII and Elizabeth I stood for the glorious future".⁵ The recent film Elizabeth (1998) by Shekhar Kapur, typifies the hold which propagandist myths disseminated from the Reformation onwards have on our historical imagination. It plots a linear development from Henry's repudiation of Roman authority to imperial triumph via *Gloriana's* religious settlement; moving from the dark, torch-lit world of a hysterical and neurotic Mary whom Philip finds repulsive, to the absurd notion that by the end of Elizabeth's reign, England was the most powerful nation on earth.

Professor David Loades, the most important modern historian of Marian England, someone whose influence must be acknowledged by anyone writing on this subject, writes that "the picture painted by Froude and endorsed by Pollard was a grotesque caricature".⁶ He remains, however, "unrepentantly sceptical of the attempts which are sometimes made to claim that Mary's death at the relatively early age of forty three deprived England of a great catholic queen".⁷ The grounds for his position are that her reign, "did not command the same consensus of support as that of Elizabeth – or even the level achieved by Henry in the last years of his life".⁸ Here my reading differs from his, since I would tend to support such claims in order to counter and compensate for the bias which haunts this period. In the 1950s, S. T. Bindoff judged the Marian 'interlude': "Politically bankrupt, spiritually impoverished, economically anarchic, and intellectually enervated, Marian England awaited the day of its deliverance".⁹ Professor Geoffrey Elton's assessment of Mary in 1977 was no better. He described her as "arrogant, assertive, bigoted, stubborn, suspicious and (not to put too fine a point upon it) rather stupid... devoid of political skill, unable to compromise, set only on the wholesale reversal of a generation's history".¹⁰ This remains representative of the majority

⁵Edwin Jones, The English Nation: The Great Myth (Thrupp: Sutton Publishing, 1998), p. 226.

⁶David Loades, The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government and Religion in England 1553–1558 (London: Longman, 2nd ed. 1991), p. x.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹S. T. Bindoff, Tudor England (London: Penguin, 1950), p. 182.

¹⁰Geoffrey Elton, Reform and Reformation: England 1509–1558 (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), p. 376.

view.¹¹ The trouble with Mary and what makes the Marian period fascinating are two central and related problems.

Firstly, even where historians have recoiled from the excesses of earlier writers, it is true that, "the basically Whiggish and ultimately Protestant view of things is still a potent influence", albeit in a diluted, residual, and secularised form.¹² The official view of the British past is built around an understanding of the Reformation, in which Mary is necessarily antipathetic; an investment in the image of the Tudors riding on the back of popular anti-clericalism and turning their backs on a papacy which had systematically encroached and trespassed on the liberties and independence of the English Church and State during the medieval period. The concept of the Reformation as a movement of national liberation, restoring England to an original sovereign estate and laying the foundations for the nation's "divinely appointed role as the 'elect nation', destined to lead Protestantism in the old world of Europe and in the new world of the widespread colonies abroad", makes any recuperation of Mary atavistic.¹³ This moment is a watershed; the schism which fractures the British and European historiographical traditions. The misrepresentation of Mary's reign is a nationalist imperative.

Secondly, Philip's reign in England has to a considerable extent been erased from our historical memory. As David Loades has written in a recent review of historiography and research of the period: "Philip as king of England remains a shadowy figure, and his relationship with Mary appears less straightforward the more it is investigated".¹⁴ The flip-side of Mary's marginalization in Tudor historiography is the scant and lightweight treatment given to the 'enterprise of England' as much by Hispanist historians as in Tudor history. The most recent biographies of Philip II, by Geoffrey Parker, Henry Kamen, and Manuel Fernández Álvarez, cover this four year period of his career in a mere two, five and ten pages

¹¹Elizabeth Russell, 'Mary Tudor and Mr. Jorkins', Historical Research 63:152 (1990), 263–276, p. 263.

¹²Edwin Jones, The English Nation: The Great Myth, p. 239.

¹³Ibid, p. 192.

¹⁴David Loades, 'The Reign of Mary Tudor: Historiography and Research', Albion 21:4 (1989), 547-558, p. 556.

respectively. The lack of a full-length study of this symbolically fascinating period reflects how deeply embedded nationalist prejudice is in historical writing.

English Protestants and nineteenth century English liberals gladly accepted the 'Black Legend', depicting Philip as a 'monster iniquity', which had been created by William the Silent's *Apologia* (1572). This hostile presentation of Philip can be traced in all the Protestant historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and then in Robert Watson's History of the Reign of Philip II (1777) and through the influential works of the nineteenth century such as those of J. A. Froude, J. L. Motley and W. H. Prescott.¹⁵

The marriage of Philip and Mary has been seen as key by historians to her failure to achieve consensus. In the same article summarizing the latest research in the field, David Loades writes that scholars agree that the "Spanish marriage was unpopular" and "did nothing to help Mary".¹⁶ Although royal authority weathered this particular storm and proved "effective even in the hands of a woman of no political experience", "the extent to which her Catholicism was an asset or liability will continue to be debated", he claims.¹⁷ Her marriage to a stranger was necessarily an unpopular move, according to Whiggish history, a step back towards increased foreign influence.

My central contention, here, is that prejudice and anti-Spanish sentiment in the early modern period are more complex phenomena than this allows. Their origins were political and concerned with the jealousy born of intensely personal political relationships characteristic of the early modern period, rather than some form of national resistance. Cultural explanations of anti-Spanish sentiment in terms of modern notions of state and nation, produce anachronistic readings of history which fail to encompass the particularism of European cultural identities in this period. The internationalism of the Marian period works against the artificial separation of national histories, propping up anachronistically reading Mary's 'failure' in terms of the nation and nationalism.

¹⁵Edwin Jones, The English Nation: The Great Myth, p. 190.

¹⁶David Loades, 'The Reign of Mary Tudor: Historiography and Research', pp. 556–7.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

The first sympathetic modern treatment of Philip and Mary in the History of England to 1688 (1819-1830), by the Catholic, John Lingard, the first historian to consult original documents in Simancas and the Vatican, is simultaneously and unsurprisingly sceptical about the notions of an indigenous antique Church, a papacy encroaching on English sovereignty, and the Reformation as a movement of national liberation, central to the picture accepted within the mainstream historical tradition. The tendency to study British history in isolation from European history has entrenched the nationalist and isolationist bias implicit in the dominance of Protestant historiography.

The Spanish monarchy was the pivotal point of European politics and diplomacy in the sixteenth century, for here was the famous Hapsburg European Royal Family, ruling the Holy Roman Empire. The correspondence of the various Spanish envoys with Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles V and Philip II contained the keys to many problems not only of Spanish history, but also of the history of Germany, France, Italy and England. It was impossible to understand certain aspects of English history without knowing the Spanish side of the story.¹⁸

The multi-lingual, multi-national nature of the Habsburg empire in this period has posed both linguistic and physical difficulties to scholars working on Mary. The sources, crucial for the Marian period precisely because of its internationalism and intimate links with Europe, are dispersed through archives all over Europe; Brussels, Paris, Vienna, Rome, Madrid, Simancas, etc.. The reliance of scholars on the Victorian translations of documents by Royall Tyler collected in the Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations Between England and Spain, Vols. XI-XIII, (HMSO, London 1916, 1949, 1954) also remains a serious problem for the rigourousness and scholarly accuracy of the discipline. (I have been forced unfortunately to use the Cal. Span., although I avoid basing analyses on translations of original documents).

Mary's posthumous reputation has been based predominantly on the perceptions of foreign ambassadors; particularly the imperial envoy, Simon Renard. The fact that most of

¹⁸Edwin Jones, The English Nation: The Great Myth, p. 188.

Renard's intelligence came from Mary herself should perhaps arouse our suspicion. Elizabeth Russell has argued intriguingly that the "allegation of insuperable domestic opposition and strong anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish feeling" was specifically exploited by Mary to obtain greater concessions from the imperialists over the treaty of alliance, by exaggerating the weakness of her position.¹⁹ We might ask similarly whether to believe what Paget reported, concerning the weakness of the government and divisions in the Council, to the bishop of Arras during negotiations in Brussels on the 14th of November 1554, over Pole's coming to England:

It seemed to him that the only way to correct this evil, given the Queen's gentle character and inexperience in governing, would be that the King should take over the task himself with the assistance of the best qualified Englishmen in Council... At the same time, it must be remembered that the English had a natural hatred for foreigners and were not without some hostility towards Spaniards. These feelings were much stronger among the people than among the nobility²⁰

In whose interests was such a representation? Firstly, it served to enhance Paget's credibility as an ally of the imperialists and secondly held out the possibility that Philip would assume the strong role wished for him. Anti-Spanish here provided a convenient argument for curbing demands for greater power, without directly opposing Philip. The nature of such evidence calls for careful re-examination. There are signs that this is happening. John Guy, for example, has written recently that far "from 'sterility being the keynote of this decade... many fertile and enduring reforms were discussed or initiated in the 1550s. Among the most significant was the switch in the theory of taxation".²¹ Penry Williams has commented in relation to the debate about Mary's Catholicism, that the "one thing that can be said with certainty about England in 1558 is that it was not yet Protestant".²²

¹⁹Elizabeth Russell, 'Mary Tudor and Mr. Jorkins', p. 271.

²⁰Cal. Span., XIII, p. 88–9.

²¹John Guy, The Oxford History of the Tudors and Stuarts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 263.

²²Penry Williams, The Later Tudors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 465.

In 'International Relations and Seminal Exchanges: Commerce and the Political History of Romance', I argue that the marriage of Philip and Mary was a seminal moment in Anglo-Spanish relations and Tudor history, which has been deliberately and systematically marginalised in the historiography of the period. The Spanish marriage grew out of a series of dynastic marriages and commercial treaties which had linked the Tudors and Habsburgs in the sixteenth century. Mary Tudor had been an important political counter to French influence in England; from her engagement to Charles V himself in 1522, to the serious attempt made by the Habsburgs in the early 1550s to spirit her out of the country and use her as a pawn against the pro-French protectorate of Northumberland. The match was logical politically, economically and culturally. England was tactically essential to protect the commerce and trade linking Spain and the Low Countries and its historical and cultural links with Burgundy, which had been conjoined to the Spanish crown by the Holy Roman Emperor in 1548, solidified Philip's control over the unruly Low Countries estates. The Burgundian past determined the form in which the courtly cultures of England and Spain interrelated – *el caballeresco*. Mary was the first regnant queen of England and her coronation subtly inflected the confusions produced by a female sovereign. She was a representational hybrid in the pageants and interludes celebrating her accession; king and queen, male and female. Her marriage was perceived to pose a threat to English sovereignty and the dynastic continuity of the Tudors. Popular xenophobia and anti-Spanish sentiment inflected constitutional uncertainties surrounding female authority.

'A Nuptial Prelude and the Political Origins of Xenophobia' looks at the history of anti-foreign rioting in sixteenth century England, the perceived link between immigration, unemployment, and the disenfranchisement of the natural born, as a preliminary to examining the rôle anti-Spanish sentiment has played in shaping the historiography of Mary's reign; particularly as an explanation of a political opposition whose apogee was the Wyatt rebellion. I argue that specific prejudice against the Spanish originated in an entirely rational political concern about the influence of the sixteenth century's colonial power *par excellence* and the disruption of the homosocial ethos at the heart of patronage and power politics in the early sixteenth century. The allegation of popular xenophobia, common to both diplomatic correspondence about the marriage, its proponents and opponents in England, served to dampen expectations in the former, force greater concessions in the second, and as a justification in the latter case. In my detailed analysis of the marriage treaty in section two,

I show the extent to which the marriage was conceptualised exclusively as an Anglo-Burgundian political arrangement and the strain produced by its dual nature as marriage contract and international treaty. The contract's stipulations attempted to confront the legal and constitutional uncertainty attendant upon Mary's 'anomalous' gender, providing against patrilineal inheritance patterns of the common law. The same concerns were mirrored in anti-Marian propaganda which tapped into latent xenophobia. On the basis of representations which reflected pre-existing political concerns already enshrined in the contract surrounding gender, historians argue that anti-Spanish sentiment was central to the aetiology of the Wyatt rebellion. The marriage, however, came to denote overrunning by strangers and a disenfranchisement analogous to that threatened by immigration, related to much of the xenophobia of the early modern period, because the synecdoche between the body of the sovereign and the body of the kingdom came under intense pressure from dual nature of the agreement between England and Spain; as both a marital and political union. The causes of Wyatt's rebellion were more complex, specific and localised, than any generalised explanation through anti-Spanish sentiment allows.

'Comuneros, 1520: Dynasticism, Internationalism, and Locating Allegiance' develops an analogy between the Wyatt rebellion and Comuneros revolt of 1520. The marriage contract's stipulations were identical to the guarantees demanded by the Cortes of their Burgundian king, Charles I (V). The *comunidades* resisted the *alienation* of local sovereignty by an international ruler, whose imperial interests necessitated increasingly abstract forms of authority and allegiance, at odds with the intensely personal and intimate relations central in European political culture. The problem of possessing political authority where rulers did not possess a personal landed power base was a product of dynasticism; the accidents of the marriage market and infant mortality. The Wyatt rebellion defied non-localised governance. It was not an expression of national imperatives and the attribution of 'nationalist' motives represents a fundamental and anachronistic misreading of identity in the early modern period. This distortion is a function of the *ex post facto* construction of Marian history, through hindsight coloured by the black legend and modern notions of nation and nationalism. Fidelity in the early modern period was a genealogical category and as such bound lineage, land, and political status to religious orthodoxy and loyal service to the Crown. The alien was by definition infidel; outside the patterns of obedience and reciprocal obligation incurred by the rendering of services or performance of favours. The political arrangements implicit in

a multi-national, multi-lingual empire threatened social practices, essential for the trust and credit or belief which were believed to make communities possible.

'Sole Quene' turns to the constitutional issues, hing^ging on Mary's gender; the relationship between the political and common law, whether the nature of the monarch's title in the Crown comprehended freedom of testamentary disposition, the transmissibility of titles through the female line (the *jure uxoris* and notion of 'tenancy by courtesy of the realm'), the significance of the treaty's ratification by parliament, and the legislation twinned with this statutory ratification, the 'Act declaring that the regal power of this realm is in the Queen's Majesty as fully and absolutely as ever it was in any of her most noble progenitors Kings of this realm'. I argue, female sovereignty in spite of parliamentary guarantees produced the constitutional uncertainty from which the notion of England's imperial sovereign status being abrogated in this period has arisen. The perceived threat of dependence, the threat to property rights did not arise from the repeal of Henrician legislation and the return of papal jurisdiction, which underlies the idea of the Reformation as a movement of national liberation. It was the link between anxieties about female authority, imperial jurisdiction, and seisin in property, rather than the Catholic restoration and repudiation of the Supremacy, which produced the political opposition to this regnant queen. The transmissibility to and heritability of a title by a queen's husband and consort foregrounded the possibility of foreign claims through the female line. Mary's decision to marry, however, has been blurred into the repeal of legislation perceived to be central to England's constitutional independence. However, her legitimacy depended on statute, as did her title to the Crown. All the constitutional changes and important decisions of her reign went before parliament, including the crucial question of her marriage, contrary to royal prerogative. Acts passed in her reign assiduously reiterated the supreme jurisdiction of the Crown. Her political behaviour was consonant with the exaltation of statute law, seen to be at the heart of the Reformation and the sine qua non of the radical social changes tied in with the development of our liberal tradition and constitutional monarchy. She extended England's status as an *imperium* in more radical ways than either Henry VIII or Edward VI. She was the first English monarch to be crowned with an imperial crown. I examine the conceptualisation of female rule constitutionally as a kind of hermaphroditism, in a way that mirrors the gender confusion apparent at her coronation. The celebrated attacks on gynocracy in Mary's reign employed sexual slander and gender as a strategy to reinforce arguments fundamentally about legitimate

authority and justifiable disobedience in the context of a religious conflict. Rumour about a revenant Edward VI surfaced at moments in her reign which foregrounded her gender; marriage, pregnancy, and the plans for Philip's coronation. Conservatives celebrated precisely those aspects of her marriage which opponents found fearful and disturbing.

'A Marriage made in Heaven? The Anglo-Hispanic Court in England, 1554–1556', narrates Philip's coming to England, his reception and wedding to Mary. The marriage was an unprecedentedly public event, staged in Winchester cathedral on a specially constructed platform. Its visibility conferred a symbol of the political unification, activated in the ceremony; mediating between the private and public functions of the union. The respective statuses of the couple were encoded in the physical space of the cathedral and symbolically inverted the order which the marriage enacted. The Castilian writing of England and the marriage as a romance of chivalry reflected the ambivalence of their attitudes. It suggested a sexual licence which replicated the fears which had been played on to excite popular hostility, representing the kingdom as the feminised subject of Spanish male authority, available for sexual possession. The verses welcoming Philip to London represented him as the male lover of his new kingdom. The disillusion of Castilian courtiers, who were displaced by the English household which had awaited him in Southampton, and the political realities of the marriage, its explicit reproductive purpose and the violence attendant on 'diversity of nations', were sublimated in the world of romance literature. The king's London Entry, prepared by the Protestant printer Richard Grafton, culminated in a tableau in which a young enthroned virgin delivered the crown to Philip. 'Anti-Spanish sentiment' was a product of political tensions and the profound difficulties involved in the integration of her household with Philip's. It expressed the jealousies of groups of servants competing for the possession of Philip's intimacy. The political opposition to Mary was literate, theologically sophisticated and in no sense popular. The subtleties, contradictions and complexities of Marian history can not be accommodated by the widely accepted explanations, interpretations, and traditional patterns of thought consecrated in historiographical tradition.

In each chapter, the first citation of any particular source is given in full and thereafter I refer to the work by author and title. I have retained the original spelling in quotes and only modernised orthography where necessary, e.g. long 's' is written as the modern letter 's'. Illustrations appear immediately after the page on which they are mentioned. I have been

forced to make use of the Calendar of Letter, Despatches, and State Papers, Relating to the Negotiations Between England and Spain, for financial and geographical reasons. However, I have avoided basing textual analyses on these Victorian translations and wherever possible I have gone to the original documents.

1. International Relations and Seminal Exchanges: Commerce and the Political History of Romance.

The longevity and significance of Anglo-Spanish commercial relations is attested to by a manuscript collection of treaties in the British Library. Opening with the agreement between Henry III and Castilla dating back as far as 1292, it traces the successive confirmations of English mercantile privileges in Castilla in 1351, 1362, 1366, 1391 and 1409, and in Aragón in 1374 and 1387. The volume culminates in the Treaty of Medina del Campo of 1484 and the agreement reached by the Reyes Católicos and Henry VII in 1489; a preliminary to the 'Tractatus matrimonii inter Arthurum principem Wallice et Catherinam filiam Ferdinandi regis Castiliae Ferdinandus et Helizabet' of the 1st October 1497. Dynastic marriage bound mutual commercial interests with ties of blood and kinship. In February 1496, the year of the Spanish Infanta Juana's marriage to Philip the Handsome, a major commercial treaty, the *Intercursus Magnus*, had been concluded between England and the Netherlands. All three trade agreements were renewed under the treaties with which the volume closes; the 'Amicitia inter Henricum et Phillipum' of 1505 and 'Tractatus inter Henricum Septimum Regem Angliae et Phillipum regem Castilae' of the following year.¹

English merchants had possessed equal terms of trade with Castilian subjects since Edward IV's alliance with Castilla in 1467, which had extended the protection of subject-status to Castilians in England. A treaty of 1482 with Guipuzcoa made depredation subject to compensation; a provision prefiguring those in Medina del Campo which attempted to make international trade agreements more binding. Medina del Campo stated that individual infractions were not to undermine the treaty (clause 14) and that letters of marque were only to be issued if redress from the relevant sovereign was refused (clause 15). Henry VII established a guild in the precincts of Blackfriars, specifically for "strangers corvyours" from Spain or the Low Countries, 'The Fellowship of the Blessed Trinity'. When Henry VIII passed an act in 1513 against alien cordwainers buying uncurried leather, 'The Fellowship', with whom Charles V stayed during his visit to England in 1522, managed to procure within a year

¹BL MS Cotton Vespasian CXII.

an act excepting those born in the realms of the Emperor and prince of Castile.² After the Boleyn marriage, the imperial ambassador Eustace Chapuys, counselled Charles V against the mistreatment of English merchants in Spain and the Low Countries: "for they will be instrumental in maintaining and fostering the good-will and affection of the people to Your Majesty".³ He argued that prohibiting England's trade with Spain and the Low Countries was counterproductive. A papal interdict against Henry would turn the Council and people against the Boleyn faction, making the confiscation of English merchants' goods unnecessary. Spanish merchants and artesans in London were uniquely exempted from the assessment of a contribution towards the costs of Anne Boleyn's coronation and from swearing the oath of obedience to the Succession Act which made it law.⁴

The Low Countries were Spain and England's biggest wool export market. Spanish merchants often returned to the Iberian peninsula via London, Southampton, or Bristol with English cloth, wheat, and cereals.⁵ The greatest threat to this trade was French and Scottish privateering.⁶ A petition by Antwerp merchants of the 7th September 1551 put their losses

²W. Page (ed.), Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England, 1509-1603, vol. 8 (Lymington: Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 1893), pp. vi-ix.

³Cal. Span., IV(2) (1531-33), no. 1058, pp. 631-2.

⁴Ibid, no. 1073, p. 682. The ambassador wrote of the exemption, inspite of being a natural born of the Low Countries: "now they want to subject all foreigners to payment; but this time, as far as I can gather, Spaniards are to be exempted which is no doubt a compliment paid to *our nation*", Cal. Span., V(1) (1534-5), no. 58, p. 164. This is evidence of the inextricable intertwining of allegiance, faith and natio, which I argue, is characteristically early modern. Cf. Gordon Connell-Smith, Forerunners of Drake: A Study of English trade with Spain in the early Tudor Period, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, repr. 1975), pp. 102-3. In an anonymous Spanish account, we read: "Cromwell sent a gentleman to tell them not to summon the Spaniards... All the other foreigners were summoned, but what they swore need not be told, only that the Spaniards were free", Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England, ed. Martin A. S. Hume (London: George Bell and Sons, 1889), p. 38.

⁵Gordon Connell-Smith, Forerunners of Drake, Chapter 1 and 2. The literature on Anglo-Spanish trade is scandalously slight.

⁶James D. Tracy, 'Herring Wars: The Habsburg Netherlands and the Struggle for Control of the North Sea, ca. 1520-1560', Sixteenth Century Journal 24:2 (1993), 249-273, p. 256.

to pirates over the past eight to ten years at 1.6m Holland pounds.⁷ By 1535, however, religious issues had begun to intrude on commercial relations. John Mason in Valladolid noted in a letter to Thomas Starkey at Padua that,

Two marchaunts browght hyther off lat a follishe booke agaynst the Pope and war taken therewith, and there goodds all confiskyd, and theyr bodyes in daunger off burning, if we had not made for them great frinds and intreatance.⁸

In 1539, the merchant Thomas Pery did public penance along with four other English merchants in Tryane, after his examination by a priest, who had spotted a church bell amidst a recently-arrived cargo from England, in the warehouse he used in Ayamonte: "I answeyrd and sayde that I dyd believe hys Grace to be a good Crystyan" because there were "many other docters which be takin for gret lernyde men, and they do declare that all that his Grace hath downe he maye do hit be the atoryte of holly scrypture".⁹ In his letter of complaint to Ralph Vane, a gentleman of Thomas Cromwell, he protested: "I myselffe a good Crystyan and all the kyne I came of".¹⁰ Fidelity was for Pery a genealogical category which he defined through kinship and descent rather ^{than} doctrinal belief. This construction of faith is typical of the sixteenth century.

The deterioration of Anglo-Habsburg commercial relations after the Boleyn marriage was halted by a treaty in June 1542, which renewed the exemption of English merchants from a prohibition on the export of goods in foreign ships when Spanish vessels were available. This exemption had been granted in relation to the betrothal of prince Henry and Katherine, but suspended by Mary of Hungary in retaliation against Henry VIII's navigation act of 1540,

⁷James D. Tracy, 'Herring Wars: The Habsburg Netherlands and the Struggle for Control of the North Sea, ca. 1520–1560', p. 262.

⁸Henry Ellis (ed.), Original Letters Illustrative of English History: Including Numerous Royal Letters: From Autographs in the BM and one or two other Collections, 2nd ser., 4 Vols. (London: Harding and Lepard, 1827), vol. 2, p. 59. Original is at BL MS Cotton Vespasian C XIII, fol. 327.

⁹Tbid, p. 146. Original is at BL MS Cotton Vespasian C VII, fols. 91v–102.

¹⁰Tbid, p. 148.

which made rates for aliens and subjects the same, only if they transported goods in English ships.¹¹ Nevertheless duties and depredations continued to be a source of contention. The deterioration of trade-relations culminated in the despoliation by Robert Reneger in 1545 of the *San Salvador*, returning from Santo Domingo laden with silver, gold, pearls, and sugar. In retaliation Philip seized English merchants' goods in Andalucia, breaking the terms of Medina del Campo which had specified that reprisals await arbitration and appeal to the sovereign in question (clause 12). The provision had specifically been reiterated by Charles V and Henry VIII in the treaty they signed in February 1543,¹² an agreement renewed by the marital alliance of Philip and Mary in 1554. The treaties between the Low Countries and England of 1543 and 1546 served as templates for the commercial aspects of the treaty.

The Reneger incident is revealing about Anglo-Spanish commerce. A letter sent by the Casa de la Contratación in Sevilla to Philip outlined their opposition to the confiscations:

como se enbargan los bienes de los dichos yngleses no vienen a contratar como solian porque ellos principalmente conpraban todos los mas de los vinos y azeytes de todos estos pueblos y al no hazerse el mucho daño que se rrecibe asy en las rrentas rreales de su magestad como sus subditos y los destos pueblos que biben y se valen de sus cosechas y si vuestra alteza fuese seruido podria mandar suspender el embargo¹³

As the biggest buyers in the region, reprisals were damaging ultimately to Castilian interests. By the 1560s 40, 000 of the 60, 000 butts of wine produced in the Sanlúcar region were being exported to England and the Netherlands, as well as 2, 000 foals of thoroughbred Arabian

¹¹Letters and Papers, xvii, no. 440, Cal. Span., I (1485–1509), no. 380, p. 318 (granting English merchants equal terms of trade); nos. 405, p. 337 and no. 438, p. 366. Cf. also Gordon Connell-Smith, Forerunners of Drake, pp. 128–9.

¹²Gordon Connell-Smith, Forerunners of Drake, chapters 6–8. The 1543 agreement is in Letters and Papers, xviii (I), no. 144.

¹³*Ibid*, transcribed in Appendix D, p. 244. Original at Archivo General de Indias, Contratación, leg. 5103.

horse stock found in Castilla and Aragón.¹⁴ According to the Venetian ambassador, Soranzo, in 1554, English merchants "export annually from five to six thousand weight of unwrought tin, and to the value of 100, 000 ducats in the wrought metal, the greater part to Spain".¹⁵ English merchants' special privileges in the region were renewed by the duke of Medina Sidonia in 1566. The mercantile exchanges between England and Castilla and Aragón were material as well as cultural and technological. John Rastell, the adapter and translator of Fernando de Roja's La Celestina (Burgos: Fadrique de Basilea, 1st ed. 1499) was a friend of some of the most prominent English merchants trading with Spain; the brothers Robert and Nicholas Thorne, as well as the bishop William Barlow's brother Roger who had accompanied Sebastian Cabot on his voyage to the River Plate in 1526 and included his experiences in the first English translation of a Spanish navigational treatise in 1540 / 1.¹⁶

Anglo-Habsburg trade relations had always been intertwined with politics. In a letter of the 5th October 1551 to Antoine Perrenot Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, about the latest diplomatic manoeuvres in the Franco-Habsburg conflict, the regent of the Netherlands, Mary of Hungary, drew attention to the significance of Anglo-Imperial relations in neutralising the French threat. After the duke of Northumberland's recent alliance with the French, she speculated that to safeguard the commerce of the Iberian peninsula and the Low Countries the Habsburgs needed "the possession of one port there, if we managed to seize one, [which] would enable us to protect our shipping".¹⁷ Invading England would "deprive the French of the use of English harbours, lacking which they are unable to keep up a dangerous fleet" and could be secured through the marriage of the princess Mary Tudor to one of "three persons who might try their fortune, conquer the country, and marry our cousin";¹⁸ the archduke Ferdinand, Don Luis of Portugal and the duke of Holstein. Not only would it protect Habsburg commercial interests, but it was also "a task so good as the restoration of an

¹⁴Hugh Johnson, The Story of Wine (London: Mitchell Beazley International Ltd., 1989), p. 173.

¹⁵Cal. Ven., VI, p. 543.

¹⁶Gustav Ungerer, Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature (Madrid: Francke Verlag Berne, 1956), p. 31.

¹⁷Cal. Span., X, pp. 378–9. Queen Dowager to the Bishop of Arras, October 5th 1551.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

important kingdom to the fold of the Church".¹⁹ Mary of Hungary's plan in 1551 to seize certain English ports under the pretext of protecting Mary, who had been coming under increasing pressure from the regency council for her recalcitrant religious non-conformity, was the second time the imperialists had sought to ^{be}use of her to safeguard their stake in English neutrality. A year earlier an attempt had been made to spirit Mary out of the country to the safety of Antwerp, after which "the English believed his Imperial Majesty, once he had her in his court, would marry her to the Prince of Spain" and "wage war against the English for her".²⁰ On the 30th June 1550, two Imperial ships had appeared off Maldon in Essex, three miles downstream from Woodham Walter where Mary was staying. Jehan Dubois, secretary to the recently-recalled ambassador Van der Delft and then to his replacement Jehan Scheyfve, disembarked and was eventually conducted to Mary. She prevaricated and by the 13th July the Council had "sent Sir John Gates into Essex with troop of horse 'to stop the going away of the Lady Mary'".²¹ England was essential to counter French expansion.

In Charles V's 'Augsburg Testament', a memorandum of political advice to Philip dated the 13th January 1548, he advised his son against acting "sin ber primero que aya buen fundamento y oportunidad y que sea con el fauor y asistencia Delymperio y que franceses fuesen ympedidos con yngleses o de otra manera".²² England was important to Habsburg international political strategy as a counter to the Valois throughout the sixteenth century. On the 28th January 1552, the emperor responded to the queen dowager from Brussels that,

if any permanent result were to be achieved the effort would have to be made in the Low Countries, especially as you also suggest making an attack upon England at the same time, in order to secure some strong place there for the protection of navigation and commerce, I desired to ask you whether you could manage to raise in my Low Countries the sum that would be required

¹⁹Cal. Span., X, pp. 378–9. Queen Dowager to the Bishop of Arras, October 5th 1551.

²⁰*Ibid*, p. 145. On this incident cf. David Loades, Mary Tudor: A Life (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992), pp. 156–7.

²¹*Ibid*, p. 136.

²²BNM MS 1167, fol. 275r. Lecturas Varias, escripturas a Carlos V por el Almirante.

for the conduct of such an undertaking.²³

Securing England's friendship by putting a Habsburg on the throne, whose position could be consolidated through a dynastic marriage to Mary Tudor, was a possibility which had been seriously considered by the Emperor as early as 1550. Mary of Hungary had suggested in her letter that in order to stabilise relations "it would be necessary to have an intelligent ambassador there, such as Renard".²⁴ The imperial envoys sent to England shortly before Edward VI's death on the 6th July 1553, with a brief to negotiate a marital alliance with Mary Tudor, were headed by Simon Renard.

On 28th April 1553, the imperial ambassador, Jehan Scheyfve had reported back gossip being spread by Northumberland in London, holding out the possibility of a dynastic match to Mary to cement a fresh Anglo-Imperial alliance:

There is a great deal of talk about some close alliance that is to be made between the Emperor and the King of England, by means of certain marriages: the King is said to be about to marry one of the King of the Romans' daughters, and the Prince of Spain the Princess of England.²⁵

Mary had been betrothed while still a child to both Louis XII and Charles V. Her use as a pawn in international diplomacy and entanglement in an unsuitable dynastic alliance had provoked concerns even in her father's reign. Henry VIII's will, made on 30th December 1546, subjected her right of inheritance to the condition that she "shall not marry nor take any person to her husband without the assent and consent of the privy counsellors".²⁶ The possibility of her accession on the death of her brother placed her at the centre of European politics. The 'Letters Patent for the Limitation of the Crown' of Edward VI disabled Mary and

²³Cal. Span., X, p. 447. Emperor to Queen Dowager, January 28th 1552, Brussels.

²⁴Ibid, pp. 378–9. Queen Dowager to the Bishop of Arras, October 5th 1551.

²⁵Ibid, XI, p. 36. Jehan Scheyfve to the Emperor, April 28th, 1553, London. [Vienna Imp. Arch. E. 20.]

²⁶English Historical Documents, Vol. V: 1485–1558, ed. C. H. Williams (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1967), pp. 456–7.

Elizabeth "to aske, claime, or challenge the said imperiall crowne" on the grounds that,

should [they] then happen to marry with any stranger borne out of this realme, that then the same stranger, havinge the governmente and the imperiall crowne in his hands, would rather adhere and practice to have the lawes and customes of his or their owne native countrey or countreyes to be practised or put in use within this realme, then the lawes, statutes, and customes here of longe time used, wherupon the title of inheritance of all and singular our loving subjects doe depend, which would tende to the utter subversion of the comon-welth of this our realme, which God defend.²⁷

Property rights depended on 'lawes, statutes, and customes'; on the patrilineal inheritance patterns which were threatened by a married regnant queen. The papal emissary Giovanni Francesco Commendone, sent covertly to England to reopen diplomatic relations between England and the papacy, claimed that Edward VI "drew up his will the 21st June disinheriting both sisters under pretence that they might bring foreigners into the Realm, with the danger of introducing new laws and new orders of living".²⁸ The fear of a 'stranger borne out of this realme' obtaining dominion through dynastic marriage to Mary, was used by the duke of Northumberland to spread panic. A female succession was causally related to an exacerbation of xenophobia, because of the perception that a foreign marriage represented a threat to patrilineal dynastic continuity. During the succession crisis Northumberland spread rumours in Norfolk and Suffolk that Mary's flight from him was a prelude to a foreign invasion from the Low Countries, in support of her claim: "haziendo a todos saber que su Alteza se hauia ydo hazia las prouincias de Norfolc y Sofolc que estan hazia las partes maritimas de la banda de Flandes con intencion de poner el Reyno en trabajos y guerras y hazer venir a estrangeras naciones a defender lo que ella pretende contra la Corona".²⁹ The popular xenophobia invoked by Northumberland in London and then later in Norfolk and Suffolk to sell the

²⁷The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary, ed. J. G. Nichols (London: The Camden Society, 1850), p. 93.

²⁸C. V. Malfatti (trans. and pub.), The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor as Related in Four Manuscripts of the Escorial (Barcelona: Sociedad Alianza de Artes Graficas y Ricardo Fontá, 1956), pp. 5 and 10.

²⁹La Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial MS V. ii. 4, fol. 424r.

'limitation' was a problem which persisted into Mary's reign.

Charles V's brief to his new ambassadors in England, Jean de Montmorency, sieur de Courrières, Jacques de Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde, sieur de Thoulouse, and Simon Renard, who were despatched on the 23rd June 1553 and arrived on the 6th July, displayed awareness of the problem of xenophobia in the context of a female accession. He proposed, they "tell them that our solicitude for the good administration and government of the kingdom causes us to consider that she [Mary Tudor] had better contract an alliance with some Englishman", and so "reassured of our intentions they may be less accessible to the schemes of the French and cease to dread having a foreigner, loathed as all foreigners are by all Englishmen, for their king".³⁰ Northumberland's accusation that Mary's accession would be a prelude to growing foreign influence needed to be tactfully refuted. His xenophobic propaganda was potentially damaging to the Habsburgs' wish to see Mary on the throne. Renard in a letter to Charles V later warned that "while the Duke of Northumberland lived the very fear of a foreign match was enough to cause several vassals to follow his faction and rise against the Queen's person and rights".³¹ The political problem was to sell a dynastic marriage in the face of a popular opposition, produced both by the uncertainty over an unprecedented regnant queen and the possibility of the Tudor patrimony's alienation through her marriage. The ambassadors' principal strategic concern, as outlined in the brief, was,

to take such steps as you shall consider necessary to defeat the machinations of the French and keep them out of England, and endeavour to safeguard the friendly relations that it is important to preserve between that country and our dominions of the Low Countries and Spain. Commercial interests render this desirable; your chief care will be to prevent the French from getting a footing in England or entering into a close understanding with the governors of that country, for our dominions and the peace of Christendom might otherwise suffer.³²

³⁰*Cal. Span*, XI, p. 64.

³¹*Ibid*, p. 338. November 6th, Renard to the Emperor.

³²*Ibid*, pp. 62–3.

A Spanish observer, Diego de Azevedo, who later became the *mayordomo mayor* of Philip's English household,³³ wrote in a letter on the 2nd August 1553, to his wife at Zamora: "El rey de Inglaterra morio, dicen que le mataron con ponçoña el Duque Barinque, que era protetor, y el embaxador de francia. Luego que murio, este Barinque con favor, y calor del Rey de francia hizo elegir por Rey a un hijo suyo".³⁴ The rumours that Edward VI had been murdered by the protector in collusion with the French ambassador and the succession altered with the explicit support of Henry II, were also reported by the Protestant Robert Parkyn in his 'Narrative of the Reformation': "the wherof [of Edward's illness] was through poosonyng", at least that was what "the common voce... spreddde abrode amonge people".³⁵ Northumberland had entered an alliance with the French in 1551 and during the succession crisis, rumours circulated of a French fleet lying off Brittany ready to secure his bid for the crown. If Henry II had moved against Mary supported by troops from his 'auld' ally and client-state, Scotland (the Scottish infanta was resident at Henry's court and betrothed to the French dauphin), then the seas might have closed permanently to the commerce and trade which linked together Charles' Empire. England was tactically essential for the protection of the shipping which held Charles' geographically scattered states together; a significant theatre of the Franco-Habsburg war. The damage to commercial interests consequent on a breakdown of diplomatic relations between England, the Low Countries and Spain, is explicitly situated in the context of the 'peace of Christendom'. As late as 1583, after the repulse of an Anglo-French force from the island of Terceira in the Azores, Secretary Vázquez wrote to Philip II: to "have the sea under our control is, as Your Majesty knows, most important for the affairs of the Low Countries".³⁶ Philip became king of England to retain his inheritance in the Low Countries.

In 1553 Charles V was on the defensive. Duke Maurice of Saxony had revolted in

³³Claire Cross, David Loades, and J. J. Scarisbrick (eds.), Law and Government Under the Tudors (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 190.

³⁴BNM MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550-1558 and 1521-1549, 'Relaçion enbiada por Don Diego de Azeuedo a su muger llege a Çamora en 2o. de Agosto de 1553', fol. 97r-99r.

³⁵A. G. Dickens (ed.), 'Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation', repr. in English Historical Review 52 (1947), 58-83, p. 77.

³⁶Cited in Geoffrey Parker, Philip II (London: Sphere Books Ltd., 1979), p. 56.

Germany in 1552 and the siege of Metz which had been taken by the French was abandoned on the 1st January 1553. Charles had been forced to flee from Innsbruck, the night before Maurice's advancing army entered the city in triumph.³⁷ The Anglo-Burgundian axis of the fifteenth century had functioned to contain the French. Through a revival of this alliance which had survived into the first half of the sixteenth century in the form of sporadic Anglo-Imperial alliances, Charles sought to shift back the balance of power. The cultural, political and dynastic links between England, Spain, and the Low Countries grew out of geographical propinquity and trade, part of a triangular movement of influence intensified by the dukedom of Burgundy and kingdoms of Castilla and Aragón becoming united under a single monarch. Charles was 'Burgundian' and had himself once been espoused to Mary.³⁸

Philip was the only possible candidate for a marriage whose principal purpose was the retention of the Low Countries inheritance by Charles' immediate descendant. An intra-familial power struggle meant that the candidates discussed by Mary of Hungary in 1551 were no longer viable. The Council of Trent had reconvened in 1551. Its efforts were undermined, however, by leaks concerning an agreement reached by Charles V and his brother Ferdinand I, king of the Romans in 1551, over the future of the Netherlands. By the family compact, the Holy Roman Emperorship was to pass first to Ferdinand and then to Philip, and in exchange Ferdinand was to support Philip's claim in the Low Countries which had been created by Charles V an independent state in 1548.³⁹ The settlement of 1551 satisfied neither Ferdinand nor Maximilian. The Netherlands had formerly been promised as a dowry to Maximilian on his marriage to María. The step towards making the emperorship a hereditary title and so depriving the seven imperial electors of their unique status and power provoked Maurice into revolt. It alienated the German states to such an extent that in the rebel army there were both Catholics and Protestants. Maximilian, who had become King of Bohemia in 1548, was suspected of abetting the revolt and refused Charles' demands to publicly deny it. In Bohemia by the sixteenth century Catholics as a consequence of the

³⁷M. J. Rodríguez-Salgado, The Changing Face of Empire: Charles V, Philip II and Habsburg Authority, 1551–1559 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 44–8.

³⁸M. Fernández Álvarez, La España del emperador Carlos V (1500-1558; 1517-1556), Tomo XVIII de La Historia de España dir. R. Menéndez Pidal, (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1966), pp. 140, 234.

³⁹Geoffrey Parker, The Dutch Revolt (London: Penguin, 1977), pp. 30 ff.

Hussite revolution, made up only a third of the population and less than 5% of the inhabitants of Prague. The king's Protestant leanings were an embarrassment to his family and he was obliged in 1562 to swear to live and die in the Catholic church.⁴⁰ Charles' introduction of Burgundian court etiquette into Philip's household on the eve of his departure for the Netherlands to be sworn in as heir to the Low Countries and his marriage to Mary, both strengthened Philip's inheritance against claims from Ferdinand and Maximilian, and French threat. The Spanish marriage was conceived predominantly as a revival of the old Anglo-Burgundian alliance.

1. 1. The Anglo–Burgundian Axis: Chivalry, Etiquette, and Cultural History.

The triumph designed for the marriage of Katherine of Aragón and Henry VII's heir prince Arthur in 1501, was based on the Burgundian Jean Molinet's Le Trosne d'Honneur; an elegy on the death of Philip the Good, probably written for the wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York in 1468. John Paston who had accompanied Margaret to Bruges, had enthused that,

as for the Dwyks coort, as of lordys, ladys, and gentlewomen, knyts, sqwyrs, and gentyllmen, I never herd of non lyeck to it save Kyng Artourys cort. By my trowthe, I have no wyt nor remembrance to wrtye to yow halfe the worchep that is her.⁴¹

Henry VII had named his son Arthur and like Edward IV traced his lineage back to Cadwallader and the Arthurian court, through Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae. The allusion to Margaret of York's marriage reflected his desire to represent

⁴⁰M. J. Rodríguez-Salgado, The Changing Face of Empire, pp. 44–5, and Jean Bérenger, A History of the Habsburg Empire 1273–1700, trans. C. Simpson (London: Longman, 1994), p. 175.

⁴¹Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century, ed. Norman Davies, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), vol. I, p. 539.

himself as heir to the chivalric culture which had flourished at the Burgundian court in the fifteenth century and make a specific claim to rival the magnificent dukes of Burgundy. Richmond Palace hurriedly completed for the wedding was constructed from red brick imported from the Netherlands and inspired architecturally by the châteaux of Bruges. Roger van der Weyden's three-quarter bust form was used for the portraits of English kings in the great hall at Richmond, which were displayed for the first time on the occasion of the reception of the ambassadors and train accompanying Katherine to England for her marriage. Those who accompanied her "would inevitably compare Katherine's reception in England with Joanna's truly Burgundian marriage celebration"⁴² of 1496. The portrait gallery depicted "the Tudor monarchy as a font of magnificence".⁴³ Its purpose was not solely to underscore the Tudors' shaky dynastic legitimacy.

pictures of the noble kings of this realm in their harnes and robes of golde, as *Brute*, Engest, King William Rufus, *Kyng Arthur*, King Henry - and many othir of that name- King Richard, King Edward -and of thoes names many noble waryours and kings of this riall realme with their falchons and swordes in their handes, visagid and appieryng *like bold and valiaunt knights*, and so their dedis and actes in the croniclis right evydently bethe shewen and declared.⁴⁴

Henry VII's patronage of Flemish artists, weavers, illuminators and artisans in the construction of Richmond, his appointment of Quentin Poulet as Royal Librarian in 1492, all formed part of an assiduous cultivation of Burgundian literary fashions, architecture, and scholarship: "Tudor court culture was essentially neo-Burgundian".⁴⁵ The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster celebrating the birth of prince Arthur, Dale Hoak comments, was of "an

⁴²Gordon Kipling, The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance (Leiden University Press, 1977), p. 9.

⁴³Kipling, The Triumph of Honour, pp. 12–14, 17, 28–9 and 59.

⁴⁴College of Arms MS 1st M 13, 62v. Reprinted in a fac. ed. by Kipling The Receyt of the Ladie Katheryne, EETS no. 296, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 72.

⁴⁵Roy Strong, 'From Manuscript to Miniature', in The English Miniature (London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 26.

orchestrated magnificence meant to rival that of the Burgundian court from which the forms of such martial pageantry were derived".⁴⁶

The King's childrens' French tutor, Giles Duwes replaced Poulet as Royal Librarian on the accession of Henry VIII and in 1525 Gerard Hornebolte (court painter to Mary of Hungary) and his son Lucas entered royal service. Hans Holbein followed. In 1546, Levina Teerlinc, a miniaturist and illuminator also emigrated to England. She was granted an annuity of £40 on the accession of Mary, one of whose court painters she became, producing miniature portraits every year as New Year's gifts. The young Mary Tudor had been prepared for her marriage to Louis XII in 1514 by John Palsgrave who replaced Duwes as her French tutor, probably using readings later published in Lesclarissement de la langue francoyse (London: 1530), a text which drew heavily on the work of Jean Lemaire de Belges, especially the Épistres de l'Amant Vert, written for Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands and guardian of Charles V and on which Skelton's Speke Parrot (c. 1519–21) was based.⁴⁷ The links between Burgundy and England, which had originated in the fifteenth century, were influential throughout the sixteenth century. The desire to substitute the earl of Leicester for the 'Spanish' Philip II as the ruler of the Low Countries in the late sixteenth century, was, according to Holinshed, an attempt to restore the old duchy, in him "to their seeming, some ancient Duke of Burgogne was raised vp again vnto them".⁴⁸

Margaret of York's brother, Edward IV had spent his brief exile during the Lancastrian restoration of 1470–1 in the palace of the Seigneur de la Gruuthuse in Bruges. During this interlude, Charles the Bold's *mayordomo mayor*, Oliver de la Marche, was asked to prepare a description of the Duke's household for the Yorkist king. The Estat de la maison de Charles le Hardy served as a prototype for the Liber Niger (1474) and Household Ordinances (1478) which Edward commissioned on his return to England; household ordinances in loose imitation of Burgundian court etiquette and prefaced by discussions of

⁴⁶Dale Hoak, 'The iconography of the crown imperial' in Tudor Political Culture, ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 79.

⁴⁷Gordon Kipling, The Triumph of Honour, pp. 15, 24–5, and 46.

⁴⁸Ralph Holinshed, Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland, 6 vols. (London: J. Johnson, 1808), vol. IV, pp. 470–1.

princely magnificence and liberality drawn from the cleric Guillaume Fillastre's Toison d'Or (c. 1470): "the Burgundian court's official formulation of [its] chivalric philosophy".⁴⁹ The Toison d'Or, inspired by the native Order of the Garter which Edward III had founded in 1348, borrowed from Aristotle's Nichomachean Ethics the notion of liberality as the golden mean between profligacy and avarice. This became the cornerstone of Edward IV's Household Ordinances' (1478) which set out to ameliorate a culture of display and circumscribe the politics of magnificence within a framework of household economy:

We, ne willing that oure saide household be gyded by prodigalite, whiche neyther accordeth with honneur, honeste, ne good maner, ne on that other partie, that it be gyded by auarice which is the werse extremite, and a vice more odiousse and detestable, We haue taken ferme purpose to see and ordeyne thadministracion of oure said householde, namely, in costes and expenses to be grounded and establisshed vpon the foresaid vertue called liberalitie. And forsomuche as equyte and rightwisnesse is the grettest renommed vertue, that may best serue in euey good policie the administracion of oure said household, as touching the receiptes of moneyes behouefull' for expenses and costes, touching also dewe paymentes, accomptes, and rekenynges for the same, We haue fermely grounded and establisshed [them] vpon the moost noble vertue, justice⁵⁰

The ordinances intertwine an economic and regulatory purpose with an explicitly moral one. A concern to foster a culture of civility, 'honneur', 'honeste', 'good maner', and 'justice' co-exists alongside notions of good husbandry and efficient financial management. The contrasting purposes reflect the tension implicit in Christian magnificence; a moral anxiety about the relationship between status (honour) and money. These texts were designed to ameliorate 'the embarrassment of riches', but also aimed to control the ambitious rivalries which could spill over into violence in the competitive atmosphere of a royal court by carefully laying down precedence and function.

⁴⁹Gordon Kipling, The Triumph of Honour, pp. 9–14 and 28–9.

⁵⁰The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478, ed. A. R. Myers (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), p. 212.

Burgundian models of court etiquette, emulated by Edward IV in the Liber Niger (1474) and Household Ordinances (1478), were influential throughout Europe as a result of the pre-eminence of the Burgundian court in the fifteenth century; the most affluent (apart from Venice) and magnificent in Western Europe. It was a fount for cultural ideals of courtly conduct. Charles V had been nurtured on Olivier de la Marche's Memoirs and Le Chevalier Délibéré. The latter minutely recorded the jousting career of Charles the Bold and Anthony Woodville, earl Rivers, brother of Edward IV's queen and son of Jacqueta of Luxembourg. A Spanish translation of de la Marche's treatise was bound with a manuscript by Joan Sigoney, the Relación de la forma de servir que se tenia en la casa del Emperador don Carlos nuestro señor que aya gloria el año de 1549, manuscripts related to the introduction of Burgundian court etiquette, in the face of noble opposition, especially from the Duke of Alba, into Philip's household in 1548. The new ceremonial was inaugurated on the 15th August and doubled the size of the prince's household from around 110 to 200. Whereas before he had only one *mayordomo*, after its introduction there was a *mayordomo mayor* and five *mayordomos menores*.⁵¹

Olivier de la Marche's text, was the last vestige of Burgundian practice in the sixteenth century according to Joan Sigoney's Relación de la forma de servir:

Y assi entiendo no queda más rastro destas cosas [la manera de servicio ni de criados que tenían los Duques de Borgoña] de lo que ha ydo cayendo de mano en mano en la memoria de los que las han tratado sino es lo que escriuio Oliuer de la Marcha; siendo mayordomo mayor del Duque Charles, a un Gouernador de Calés.⁵²

The innovations in the prince's household were based on a text composed originally for an English audience and dedicated to the 'señor Proueedor de Calés', celebrating the magnificence of the court of Charles the Bold. It was a static ideal; a programmatic and aspirational framework which probably had little to do with forms of service practised in Burgundy. Although it had influenced the development of courtly traditions in England.

⁵¹Henry Kamen, Felipe de España (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1997), p. 35.

⁵²BNM MS 1080, fol. 4r.

Court etiquette manuals were written to counteract the tendency of royal households to proliferate. By minutely describing recognised forms of service and the functions attached to each office, they improved accountability and limited size and expenditure. But why was a fifteenth century Burgundian court etiquette suddenly transplanted to Castilla by Charles to be cultivated under his Regent and son Philip in 1548? The alteration of the style of his household was calculated to facilitate his acceptance and popularity among his future subjects in the Netherlands, which had been legally separated off from the rest of the Holy Roman Empire and made an independent state that year. On the 24th of August, 1549, Mary of Hungary organised a sumptuous *caballesc*a celebration for Philip and his retinue, on their progress through the Low Countries, based on the popular Castilian romance of chivalry Amadís de Gaula. It began with a tournament in the courtyard of her palace at Binche. The knights, Philip among them, "tenían que atravesar varios obstáculos para ganar la entrada a la Torre Oscura, liberar a sus prisioneros y luego dirigirse a las Islas Felices".⁵³ When the courts of Castilla and England were united in 1554, they possessed a common inheritance; Burgundian court culture, its etiquette and the chivalric ideals inspired by romance literature. The *lietmotif* of Castilian accounts of their residence in England was the fictional world of Amadís.

The Toison d'Or was founded in 1430 by Philip the Good, established "from the great love which we bear to the noble order of chivalry, whose honour and prosperity are our only concern, to the end that the true Catholic Faith, the Faith of Holy Church, our Mother, as well as the peace and welfare of the realm may be defended".⁵⁴ Central to the mythology of Charles the Bold in the texts of de la Marche was his desire to avenge Christianity for the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Charles V inherited the claim to Byzantium which had been ceded by Andrew Palaeologus to his grandfather Ferdinand of Aragón. Paleologus, nephew of Constantine XI, had been recognised by the Pope as 'Emperor of the East'.⁵⁵ The Holy Roman Emperor's campaigns in North Africa, particularly Tunis, formed part of this inherited wish

⁵³Henry Kamen, Felipe de España, p. 42.

⁵⁴Otto Cartellieri, The Court of Burgundy: Studies in the History of Civilization (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1929), p. 57.

⁵⁵Sinclair Atkins, 'Charles V and the Turks', History Today 30 (1980), 13–18, pp. 13–14.

to undertake a crusade. Following his success in the Imperial election in 1519, Charles avowed in a letter to the electors his wish to imitate his grandfather by waging a war against 'the infidels and enemies of our faith': "for our true intentions and our wish are to nourish and return to peace the whole of Christendom and to direct all our force and strength to the defence, preservation and increase of our Faith".⁵⁶ His Piedmontian chancellor, Mercurino Gattinara, proposed suggestively on the 12th July 1519: "Sir, since God has conferred upon you this great grace of raising you above all kings and princes of Christendom to a power which hitherto only *your predecessor Charlemagne* has possessed, you are on the path to universal monarchy, you will unite Christendom under one sceptre".⁵⁷ The messianism of Habsburg imperialism was a *mélange* of the culture of the Burgundian court and *reconquista*.

The mythic genealogies invoked by kings (king Arthur, Hercules, or Charlemagne) formed part of their competition for status and reputation. At Candlemas on 2nd February 1422, the English ambassador in Rome, Thomas Polton quarrelled with the king of Castile's representatives about precedence in the reception of candles. Then at Easter, he was again involved in a scuffle with the Castilian envoy during mass, over priority in seating.⁵⁸ On 15th August 1436, with this conflict simmering in the background, Alfonso de Cartagena, the Rey Católico's ambassador at the Council of Basel, completed his Proposición que el muy Reuerendo padre e Señor don Alfonso de Cartajena, obispo de Burgos, fizo contra los yngleses, seyendo enbaxador en que el concilio de basilea, sobre la prehemencia que el Rey nuestro señor ha sobre el Rey de ynglaterra, which was prefaced by a neo-Aristotelian discussion of nobility: "es vna cossa abscondida y puesta dentro en la anima" and "habito electiuo que escoje las cosas por vna buena media nezia".⁵⁹ Although "quanto alguno es mas virtuoso de moral virtud es mas noble... destas noblezas no fablo al presente. ca solo dios conosçe lo que los omes non pueden conosçer".⁶⁰ There were four qualities which interested

⁵⁶Cited in Jean Bérenger, A History of the Habsburg Empire 1273–1700, p. 143.

⁵⁷Ibid, p. 144.

⁵⁸Margaret Harvey, England, Rome and the Papacy 1417–1464 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 9–10.

⁵⁹BNM MS 1091, fol. 5r. The text is a translation from a Latin original.

⁶⁰Ibid, fol. 8v.

Cartagena; 'nobleza de linaje', 'antigüedad de tiempo', 'alteza de dignidad', and 'memoria de beneficios'. He acknowledged that his master,

deçiende muy cercanamente de la casa de ynglaterra. ca es nieto de don John duque de alencastre que fue fijo del postrimero Rey de ynglaterra que ouo nombre eduarte Segun que todos saben... fueron muchos matrimonios. Y entre los otros prinçipes de ynglaterra que deçienden dela casa de castilla. Y el Rey eduarte no fue el postrimero. mas otro fue nieto del rey de castilla fiho de su fija. la qual dizen que esta sepultada en el monasterio de buezmeste [Westminster] çerca de la abdad de londres Y dizen las ystorías que este eduarte viniendo su padre vyno a santiago Y fue muy ssolempnemente Resçedbido por el Rey don alfonso de castilla el dezeno que hera su tio hermano de su madre.⁶¹

In spite of the close ties of kinship which bound the royal houses together and stretched back to Alfonso X, the pre-eminence of the Castilian royal house was shown by a consideration of its antiquity, the geography of Hispania, and crucially its freedom from dependence. Castilla's antiquity surpassed that of England:

la primera consideraçion es de acatar que en españa y avn de aquella parte que se llama castilla ouo reyes ante de la primera destruyçion de troya. Ca hercolis el grande aquel que fue en la primera destruyçion de troya de tiempo del rey laumedon. ante del tiempo de priamo. y ovo batalla en canpo con gerion rey de españa... hercoles vençiollo y puso por Rey a Yspan del qual ouo nombre españa. Y esto es muy antiguo. ca desde que fue fundada Roma hasta el auenimiento de nuestro Saluador Jhesus Christo pasaron siete çientos y quinze años.⁶²

Cartagena dated Hispania's first kings to 1167 B.C., 2603 years after Gerion. In another text, however, the Anacephaleosis o Genealogía de los Reyes de España, he claimed España had

⁶¹BNM MS 1091, fols. 11r–v.

⁶²Ibid, fols. 22r–23v.

been populated by the sons of Noah after the flood: "el primero [Gomez] fijo se dize aver poblado a galizia y del quinto llamado tubal descendieron todos los otros pobladores de Espana. e de magoth el fijo segundo vinieron los citas godos.vandalos sueuos alanos e de los otros fijos descendieron / otras naciones".⁶³ Over a century after Cartagena, Florian de Ocampo narrated an identical myth of origin of Castilian kings. After Osiris' murder by the sons of the giant tyrant Gerion, who Osiris had overcome to conquer Hispania, his son Hercules led an army to the peninsula to destroy them and reconquer the kingdom. "Asi que como Hercoles el de Egipto supo la muerte de su padre, vinose luego para su madre que llamauan Ysis, y juntos ambos procuraron de cobrar primero los huesos y pedaços del cuerpo de Osiris quantos pudieron".⁶⁴

England's geography meant that "fablando propiamente ynglaterra esta fuera del mundo".⁶⁵ He cited Isidoro of Sevilla's *Ethimologías*, in which Vergil's authority is adduced to support the claim that Britain was isolated, insular, and marginal. The landscape reflected inner qualities. England was geographically set apart and by analogy diplomatically and internationally marginal as well. "Y avnque aquella parte de ynglaterra que esta fazia françia por ventura tañe la postrimera parte del clima seteno. pero la mayor parte de ynglaterrra es fuera de los ssiete climas."⁶⁶ The insularity of the kingdom geographically was reflected in its marginal international status: "assy bretaña ynsula del mar oçeano apartada esta de todo el mundo y la tiene la mar puesta en medio de si y del. Et assy paresçe que fablando

⁶³BNM Mss. 815: Alfonso de Cartagena (García de Santa María), *Anacephaleosis o Genealogía de los Reyes de España*, fol. 7v. We learn elsewhere that the Spanish "fueron de vna materia engendrados y de una substancia concebidos", Noah and his wife. BNM Ms. 1305: *Meneses Historia Univeral. Tomo II, III*. Diego Hernandez de Mendoza. *Tratado que hizo... sobre qué cosa es hijodalgo y noble y de do vinieron*. (fol. 26r–30r), fol. 26r . After Noah came Nebroth, his great grandson, the confusion of tongues in the Tower of Babel and finally "muchos dizen que hercoles fue que en caliz armo cavallo a su sobrino halpen que despues fue Rey de España". Ibid, fol. 27r. Cf. Florian de Ocampo on the common ancestry of the Irish and Spanish.

⁶⁴Florian de Ocampo, *Los Cinco Libros primeros de la Cronica general de España* (Medina del Campo: Guillermo de Milis, 1553), sig. 36r. [BNM R–6369]. The pillars of Hercules are named after this figure not that from Greek myth.

⁶⁵BNM MS 1091, fol. 48v.

⁶⁶Ibid, fol. 44v.

propiamente ynglaterra esta fuera del mundo".⁶⁷ Francisco de Tamara wrote similarly dismissively in El libro de las costumbres y maneras de vivir de todas las gentes (Antwerp: 1556), "[e]sta es de todas partes cercada de la mar, y por ninguna parte junta con la tierra firme, mas totalmente apartada de nuestro mundo".⁶⁸ Kings of Castile "nunca fueron sujetos al ymperio Romano ni a otro alguno", whereas "el primero Rey de ynglaterra reçibio el Regno de los Romanos so tributo" and furthermore "todos concierdan que çerca de nuestros dias los Reyes de ynglaterra tienen el Reyno en feudo de la elesia".⁶⁹ Cartagena picked up on a claim which was to be repeatedly contested by Tudor propagandists – England's status as a papal fief. Its persistence is illustrated by the fact that the fifteenth century dialogue Le débat des héraults d'armes et d'Angleterre (a product of another dispute about precedence, this time at the Council of Constance) which referred to the French monarchy's freedom from overlordship, was considered worth republication in 1517 and drew a reply from John Coke as late as 1550.⁷⁰

England's repudiation of alleged papal overlordship, however, predated the Tudor period. The chancellor's opening address to Edward III's last parliament in 1377, presided over by his heir Richard, contained a fully developed English version of theocratic royal authority: "*Pacem super Israel*", peace over Israel, because Israel is understood to be the heritage of God as is England. For I truly think that God would never have honoured this land in the same way as He did Israel through great victories over their enemies, if it were not that He had chosen it as His heritage".⁷¹ The French, who had been recognised as "Emperors in their own kingdom" since the Bull *Per Venerabilem* of 1202, were given further confirmation of Philip the Fair's *plenum dominium* and imperial authority in his own kingdom in a bull of

⁶⁷BNM MS 1091, fol. 48r.

⁶⁸Francisco de Tamara, El libro de las costumbres y maneras de vivir de todas las gentes, el qual traduzia y copilaua el Bachiller Thamara Cathedratico de Cadiz, (Antwerp: 1556), sig. 40r. [BNM R-13359].

⁶⁹Ibid, sigs. 15r-v.

⁷⁰John W. McKenna, 'How God became an Englishman', in Tudor Rule and Revolution: Essays for G. R. Elton from his American friends, ed. Delloyd J. Guth and J. W. McKenna (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 29.

⁷¹Ibid, p. 31.

1311 that prefigures the English parliamentary address: the French were "like the people of Israel... a peculiar people chosen by the Lord to carry out the orders of Heaven".⁷² However, it was not until Henry IV's reign that an English king was first depicted wearing an imperial, closed crown. Henry V was unequivocally depicted as a possessor of imperial status.⁷³ Both he and Henry VI were, furthermore, also kings of France.⁷⁴ Henry VII whose patronage helped establish a cult for Henry VI, linked his kingship to his step-uncle, who he revered with a veneration which "amounted almost to superstition".⁷⁵ The alteration of the royal image on the English sovereign in 1489 to depict Henry VII enthroned with an emperor's closed crown and orb implicitly advanced his claim to *imperium* and reflected his desire to rival the dignity of other European monarchs.

The commission to mint the coin, which was a copy of the Spanish *enrique* minted by Enrique IV of Castile (1454-74), was issued on the same day that the Treaty of Medina del Campo was ratified by Fernando and Isabella. The imperial claims advertised on a widely circulated image, coincided with the unparalleled diplomatic success which projected England into the international arena. Although it is now known that the coin was not a copy of the *réal d'or* of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, regent of the Netherlands from 1482, minted in 1487; its context was also nevertheless "the closer diplomatic contacts which the regency brought about between England and Empire and growing acquaintance with the imperial emblems now used at the Burgundian court", most significant amongst which were the "closed crowns [which] proliferated on the coinage of the Netherlands during the long minority of Philip the Handsome (1482-1494)".⁷⁶ Flemish coins were current in Calais and well known in the mercantile community involved in the cloth trade. At the Field of the Cloth of Gold, the closed crown of the Tudor arms was ostentatiously displayed to rival those on Maximilian's pavilion.

⁷²John W. McKenna, 'How God became an Englishman', in Tudor Rule and Revolution, p. 26.

⁷³D. Hoak, 'The iconography of the crown imperial' in Tudor Political Culture, p. 60.

⁷⁴David Loades The Tudor Court, p. 29.

⁷⁵D. Hoak, 'The iconography of the crown imperial' in Tudor Political Culture, p. 72.

⁷⁶Philip Grierson, 'The Origins of the English Sovereign and the Symbolism of the Closed Crown' British Numismatic Journal XXXIII (1964), 118-34, p. 133.

England's status as a fief was repudiated explicitly by both Henry VII and VIII to substantiate a claim to *imperium* that was an integral aspect of their cultivation of international standing and reputation. One aspect of the problem was the absence of a specifically English religious style. In the 1501 pageant for Katherine, Henry VII was styled by his propagandists 'Most Christian King', the distinctive title of French monarchs. However, it was not until 1521 with the publication of Henry VIII's Assertio ad Lutherum that England's sovereign aspirations culminated in a title to rival those of the French and Castilian monarchies, advertising Henry's piety as *Defensor fidei*. Simon Fish's Supplicacyon for the Beggars (1524) pointed Henry VIII to his "nobill predecessour king John" and described how "your most nobill realme wrongfully (alas for shame) hath stod tributary (not unto any kind of temporall prince but unto a cruell devilisshe bloudsupper dronken in the bloud of the sayntes and marters of Chrish) eversins".⁷⁷ The notion that Reformers were spiritual descendants of a pure, pre-Roman, early church, implied religious priorities which were easy to associate with xenophobic 'nationalism'. However, opposition to the recognition of papal jurisdiction in England as an abrogation of the kingdom's *plenum dominium*, was not exclusive to them. The identification of Reformers with the Jews of the Old Testament appropriated a 'nationalist' agenda, tied up with claims to *imperium*, which had been a preoccupation of the English monarchy since king John. The claim has nevertheless found a central place in the historiography of the Tudor period. It underlies the notion that in the Marian period with the restoration of Catholicism a "blight had fallen on national faith and confidence, and Israel took to its tents".⁷⁸ Reformers were not uniquely associated with the extension of the nation's sovereign status.

The gate to the city by London bridge was fronted by representations of Samson and Hercules, for Charles V's entry into London on the 6th of June 1522; before the signing of a treaty on the 25th of August settling details for a joint invasion of France and his marriage

⁷⁷Quoted in Howard Norland, Drama in Early Tudor Britain 1485–1558 (University of Nebraska, 1995), p. 189.

⁷⁸A. F. Pollard, The History of England From the Accession of Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth (1547–1603), *The Political History of England*, 12 vols. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1915), vol. 6, p. 172.

to his cousin the princess Mary (Henry VIII was Charles' uncle).⁷⁹ Hercules was a mythical progenitor of the Iberian peoples and the Burgundians; a fact commemorated in the columnar motif of Charles' arms and motto *non plus ultra*. An actor representing Charlemagne presented both sovereigns with a sword and imperial crown. According to pre-Reformation pageants, Henry VIII had inherited his imperial symbols of the sword and closed crown from Charlemagne. Charles V wore Charlemagne imperial crown. Henry VIII underlined the superior antiquity of his imperial claim by taking Charles to visit the Round Table in Winchester. It had been painted in 1516-17 and was topped by an image of king Arthur, bearing orb and imperial crown, whose face was that of Henry VIII.⁸⁰ King Arthur derived his *imperium* directly from Constantine, who in the pageant welcoming Philip to Antwerp in 1549, English merchants claimed as their countryman.

There were representations of a dragon and two fire-breathing bulls, with Jason holding the golden fleece on London Bridge, an allusion to Charles' lordship of the Toison d'Or. (Charles the Bold had been represented as Jason in the nuptial *entremet* celebrating his wedding to Margaret of York, aiding Hercules in his Twelve Labours). At Leadenhall, the Italian merchants had built a genealogical tree which sprouted from John of Gaunt who was a common ancestor of both sovereigns, Katherine of Aragón, and Charles the Bold. This arboreal device was a repetition of a tableau which had welcomed Katherine of Aragón. Alfonso X, who, as Cartagena noted, was Edward II's uncle, also figured with a tree growing from his breast, in both the pageants performed at Cornhill and Cheap for Katherine in 1501 and again in 1522 at Cheapside for Charles. In the celebration of Philip's arrival in 1554, John of Gaunt was replaced by an arboreal Edward III. The royal houses' genealogical links were also the subject of a propagandist text, published in anticipation of the entry by Stephen Gardiner, to show Philip 'was no foreigner'. John Christoferson, after the 'anti-Spanish' rebellion led by Thomas Wyatt, sparked off by the 'foreign' marriage, affirmed:

the Quenes grace taketh no straunger to marry wyth, but such one as both by
father and mother cometh of the royall bloude of Englande, and nowe at

⁷⁹Charles stayed at the Blackfriars precinct for the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity in London.

⁸⁰D. Hoak, 'The iconography of the crown imperial' in Tudor Political Culture, p. 83.

lengthe is called home, as it were to hys natyue cuntrye, insomuch that no true Englishe man hath any cause to grudge at the matter, but great cause hath he to merueyle at the wonderfull prouidence of god therin, and hartely to thanke him to, that he of hys goodnes both hath so auauanced the noble bloude of Englande abroad in the worlde⁸¹

Paget believed that its purpose was to give Philip a title to the crown. Philip and Mary were not foreigners, in a sense, but first cousins. The Spanish marriage was an attempt to secure a political change imposed by the emperor on the fragmented and restless collection of heterogenous states of the Low Countries and settle the inheritance of this independent state from 1548 on hi son Philip. It was part of the intra-familial struggle between Charles and his brother Ferdinand, heads of the two branches of the Habsburg family.

Antonio de Guaras, who described himself as a servant of Mary, wrote to the Duque de Alburquerque on the 1st of September 1553: "que beneficio tan grande succederia a nuestra España en detener al Frances con estar estos Reynos y los de su Magestad vnos y aun que no fuese por mas de por conseruer los estados de Flandes".⁸² However Guaras was cautious about the possibility of such an alliance "porque no son muy deuotos de nuestra nacion segun algunos dizen", although "tienen amor a su Magestad y a España specialmente por el amor que tuuieron a la buena Reyna Catholica".⁸³ The central problem faced by Charles and Mary, was defined by the Venetian diplomat, Michiel Soriano in 1561, in a codicil to the reign: "no foreigner could rule this kind of people", they "are universally partial to novelty, hostile to foreigners, and not very friendly amongst themselves".⁸⁴ The French ambassador François de Noailles commented in a letter to Montmorency on 21st July 1555: "Tous ceux qui ont escrit l'humeur des peuples insulaires les ont généralement blasmez de légerité et inconstance" but "pardessus tous autres ceux qui habitent cette isle ont esté griefvement

⁸¹John Christoferson, An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion (London: John Cawood, 24th July, 1554), sig. Mv.

⁸²La Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial MS V. ii. 4, fol. 434v.

⁸³Ibid. I.e. Catherine of Aragón.

⁸⁴Cal. Ven., VII, p. 328.

reprins de mensonge et de tout diversité".⁸⁵ Popular xenophobia was believed to be a major obstacle to the acceptance of a foreign prince in England. The Burgundian influences on both English and Spanish courtly culture were a possible site of rapprochement and the matrix of *caballerías* provided the defining point of contact between the British and Iberian worlds during the residence of Philip's court in England.

1. 2. 'Womanly Daring': the Accession of Mary Tudor.

On the 4th July 1553, two days before Edward VI's death, Mary "set out secretly from Hunsdon" in Hertfordshire and travelled to Sawston Hall in Cambridgeshire, the home of sir John Huddleston. Two days later her party moved on to the earl of Bath's house in Suffolk, Hengrave Hall. They reached lady Burgh's residence, Euston Hall, near Thetford, on the 8th July. There "she was told of the king's death by her goldsmith, a citizen of London, newly returned from the City", and on "this account she stayed there no longer, but hurried on to her house at Kenninghall".⁸⁶ The news was confirmed by Doctor John Hughes and Mary decided to challenge the duke of Northumberland for the throne.

this attempt should have been judged and considered one of Herculean rather than of womanly daring, since to claim and secure her hereditary right, the princess was being so bold as to tackle a powerful and well-prepared enemy, thoroughly provisioned with everything necessary to end or to prolong a war, while she was entirely unprepared for warfare and had insignificant forces.⁸⁷

She was accompanied only by her household servants, numbering no more than sixty,

⁸⁵E. H. Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, repr. 1970), p. 64, note 12. Original in *Affaires Etrangères* IX, fol. 494.

⁸⁶Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Vitae Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham', *Camden Miscellany* XXVIII, 4th series (London: Royal Historical Society, UCL, 1984), p. 251. Cf. also David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life*, pp. 174–5 and H. F. M. Prescott, *Mary Tudor* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1953), pp. 165–9.

⁸⁷Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Vitae Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham', p. 252.

according to Robert Wingfield. Among the principal members of her retinue, Robert Rochester, Edward Waldegrave, sir Francis Englefield, Henry Jerningham, and her secretary John Bourne, only one was a knight. On the 9th July she sent to the council in London, commanding their obedience and proclaiming herself queen. Simultaneously she sent out letters "in all directions to draw all the gentlemen of the surrounding countryside to do fealty to their sovereign".⁸⁸ Sir Edward Hastings was ordered to support her in Middlesex and Buckinghamshire.⁸⁹ Within three days she had been joined by the earl of Bath, sir Thomas Wharton, sir John Mordaunt, sir Richard Southwell, sir William Drury, sir Edmund Peckham, Thomas Morgan, Richard Freston, Ralph Chamberlain, Robert Strelley, and others. Sir John Huddleston while on his way to Mary encountered Henry Radcliffe, one of the sons of the earl of Sussex, carrying letters to London from his father. He was conveyed to Mary and soon the earl of Sussex, sir Thomas Wharton's brother-in-law, had also joined her. On the 12th July she moved over the Suffolk border to the castle of Framlingham, joined en route by sir Thomas Cornwallis.

The same day Norwich, which had initially refused to open its gates to her messengers on the 11th, became the first town to declare for Mary.⁹⁰ Henry Jerningham on the 15th heard

⁸⁸Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Vitae Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham', p. 253.

⁸⁹Mary I wrote to Sir Edward Hastings on the 9th of July, 1553: "Right trusty and well-beloved cousin, we greet you well. Advertising you that, to our great grief and heaviness of heart, we have received woeful news and advertisement that the King, our dearest brother and late sovereign lord, is departed to God's mercy upon Thursday last at night. By means whereof the right of the crown of this realm of England, with the governance thereof and the title of France, is justly come unto us by God's providence; as appears by such provisions as have been made by act of Parliament and the testament and last will of our late dearest father, King Henry VIII, for our preferment in this behalf. Whereby you are now discharged of your duty of allegiance to our said brother the King, and unburdened and set at large to observe, execute, or obey any commandment heretofore or hereafter to addressed unto you by letter or otherwise from or in the name, or by colour of the authority of the same King, our late brother; and only to us and our person are and owe to be true liegeman", repr. in Mortimer Levine, *Tudor Dynastic Problems, 1460–1571*, Historical Problems Studies and Documents no. 21, ed. G. R. Elton (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1973), p. 170.

⁹⁰Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Vitae Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham', pp. 252–6; *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary*, pp. 4–5; David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life*, pp. 176–8 and *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government and Religion in England, 1553–1558* (London: Longman, 2nd ed., 1991), pp. 18–19; and Jennifer Loach, *Parliament and the Crown in the Reign of Mary Tudor* (Oxford:

of six ships (sent by Northumberland to prevent her escaping to the continent) lying off Great Yarmouth. The town had committed itself to Mary after its municipal representatives had witnessed her proclamation in Norwich. By the time he arrived in the town the captains had rowed back aboard. But "the marynours axed maister Gernyngham what he wolde have, and wether he wolde have their captaynes or no; and he said, 'Yea marry.' Saide they, 'Ye shall have theym, or els we shall throwe theym to the bottom of the sea'".⁹¹ The ships furnished Mary's swelling ranks of supporters with ordnance. The areas around her Hunsdon residence in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire provided substantial numbers under sir Thomas Wharton, sir Edmund Peckham, and lord Hastings. (Hastings was said to have brought over a force of 4,000 troops from Middlesex and Buckinghamshire.) The fact that within days of her letters, she had been joined by gentry with armed and provisioned retainers and that even before this happened she sent to be proclaimed in London, provides powerful evidence to support the suggestion "that Mary had lined up her loyal followers in readiness in these areas... well before Edward's death".⁹² .

Northumberland left London through Shoreditch on the 13th July and reached Cambridge with an army of about 3, 000 by the 16th. He had followed the strategy in his Letters Patent, appealing to xenophobia in the light of anxieties about female authority by invoking the fear of greater foreign influence or invasion. At 7pm on the 16th in London the gates of the Tower "upon a sudden was shut, and the keyes caryed upp to the queene Jane".⁹³ Two days later a dozen of the Councillors locked up in the Tower (the earls of Bedford, Arundel, Pembroke, Shrewsbury, and Worcester, lords Paget, Darcy and Cobham, Cheyne, Cheke, Paulet and sir John Mason) slipped away from the Tower to the earl of Pembroke's residence at Baynard's castle. There they were joined by the mayor and certain aldermen. A proclamation for Mary was drawn up and then two heralds, around 6pm on the 19th were sent

Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 2–3.

⁹¹J. G. Nichols (ed.), The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of two years of Queen Mary and especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt, Camden Society XLVIII, (London: 1850), p. 8. Abbreviated to Tower Chronicle.

⁹²Robert Tittler and Susan Battley, 'The Local Community and the Crown in 1553: the Accession of Mary Tudor Revisited', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research 57:136 (1984), 131–9, p. 132 note 5, and Loades, The Tudor Court, p. 159.

⁹³Tower Chronicle, p. 9.

into London to St. Paul's Cross in Cheap. According to Commendone, the covert papal emissary in England monitoring events, Arundel had argued at this meeting that,

the forces of this Crown will fail, owing to such dissension, which will ultimately bring into the country foreign armies, and we may expect to find ourselves at the mercy of foreign soldiers, with our properties, our children and wives, with the complete ruin of our nobility.⁹⁴

Contested successions were always dangerous times. From Cambridge, Northumberland had travelled to Bury St. Edmunds, 24 miles from Framlingham, unaware of events in London. Disunity in his army had already led to the defections of lords Howard and Grey, and when on the 18th, as he moved towards Mary's army, the news of the earl of Oxford's defection reached him through Henry Gate, he retreated to Bury and then to Cambridge. There he learnt on the 19th that London and the Council had proclaimed Mary in his absence. Northumberland published the Council's proclamation himself the next morning.

Lord Paget and the earl of Arundel arrived on the 20th at Framlingham with a letter from the council and the mayor and aldermen's London proclamation of Mary, to offer their submission. The earl of Arundel was sent to Cambridge the following day to arrest Northumberland, whose army had already begun to disperse and who had been belatedly surrounded and incarcerated by the mayor. Contemporary chroniclers believed that her victory was the result of her popularity. One observer, the Spaniard Antonio de Guaras claimed: "es de marauillar el amor que este pueblo tiene a esta Señora que cierto offenden a nuestro Señor en ello porque le dexan de querer y la adoran".⁹⁵ However, the notion that Mary was carried to the throne by widespread popular acclamation or "through some national act of judgement" in favour of Tudor legitimism, needs to be qualified. Robert Tittler and Susan Battley argue, on the basis of events at King's Lynn, Yarmouth, the village of Lutton in the Lincolnshire fens, Wisbech and Tilney Smeeth (in the marshy areas to the south and south-west of King's Lynn), that the picture was more complex. During that summer there

⁹⁴C. V. Malfatti (trans. and pub.), The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor, p. 15.

⁹⁵La Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial MS V. ii. 4., fol. 427r.

was severe drought throughout Norfolk and Suffolk which sharply affected the fenlands south of King's Lynn. They depended on the central and eastern areas of those counties for victuals which were being rapidly siphoned off to supply Mary's army. By the 20th Mary's bid for the crown had been successful and Northumberland was in custody. Nevertheless on the 20th rioting broke out in Wisbech, within the fenlands, a town where one of Northumberland's sons had stayed for three days. Luton in Lincolnshire was besieged by disgruntled countrymen around the same time and following an unfortunate order for further purveyance in Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and Norfolk on the 29th, violence broke out again in several parts of the Cambridge fens. Sir Edward Beaupre in a letter to Henry Bedingfield as late as the 7th August claimed that 5000 malcontents were planning to raise their standard in Tilney Smeeth, apparently supported by soldiers recently assembled by the bishop of Ely.⁹⁶

The provincial rising's success against central government had relied on the support of middle-ranking gentry in the counties, several of whom had connections with the fallen Howards. Mary's local support can not be explained though, as that of an 'out' faction, excluded from the patronage of the regency government. It was, however, Catholic and conservative: "activists in Mary's coup were Catholic nobles and gentlemen".⁹⁷ In Norfolk alone of fourteen magnate families, the two who backed her, sir Henry Bedingfield's and sir Robert Southwell's were both strongly Catholic.⁹⁸

The list of those swearing loyalty to Mary during these early days, like the list of those receiving rewards for service at Kenninghall and Framlingham, contains catholic name after catholic name... when in 1561 Dr. Sanders composed a list of catholic gentlemen who were suffering as a result of the accession of a protestant monarch it bore an uncanny resemblance to the earlier list of those rewarded in 1553: Browne, Waldegrave, Hastings, Sir Thomas Wharton, and Sir Thomas Mordaunt. No nobleman sympathetic to

⁹⁶Robert Tittler and Susan Battle, 'The Local Community and the Crown in 1553: the Accession of Mary Tudor Revisited', pp. 132 and 136–9.

⁹⁷Christopher Haigh, English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 205.

⁹⁸Jennifer Loach, Parliament and the Crown in the Reign of Mary Tudor, pp. 6–9.

protestantism supported Mary, and most of those who came to her aid were committed catholics. Thus the earl of Derby, for example, had opposed the religious changes of Edward's reign, Lord Dacre, who marched south to join Mary, had voted in the House of Lords against the 1549 Prayer Book and was to remain a catholic in Elizabeth's reign, and Lord Windsor, who assisted Hastings in proclaiming Mary in Buckinghamshire, had persistently voted against the religious innovations of the previous reign. Thomas West, Lord Delaware, had opposed the Edwardian Prayer Books as he had earlier opposed the dissolution of the monasteries. The earl of Bath, although he played little part in public affairs in Edward's reign, had voted against the bill for the marriage of priests.⁹⁹

A contributory factor in her success may have been the brutal suppression by Northumberland four years earlier in 1549 of a serious popular rising in Norfolk – Kett's rebellion. This was one reason, which had persuaded Northumberland to take the field in person: "because that he had atchieved the victory in Norfolke once already, and was therefore so feared, that none durst lift up their weapon against him".¹⁰⁰ Fear of Northumberland may have driven some Norfolk towns into the arms of the Marians. This can not account for her proclamations' success elsewhere, in defiance of the government. The coup's allegedly popular character ("noblemen's tenautes refused to serve their lordes agaynst quene Mary"),¹⁰¹ the notion that an act of national judgement swept her to the throne, ignores the rôle of municipal hierarchies. News of the scale of the risings in the provinces was instrumental in persuading peers on the Council to desert Northumberland. Although the struggle centred on East Anglia, the region of Mary's affinity, it also enjoyed key backing elsewhere; in Oxfordshire (where sir John Williams proclaimed Mary), Buckinghamshire (where sir Edward Hastings and lord Windsor did the same), and the Thames Valley: "the queen learnt from her scouts, who were ranging far and wide, that the people of Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Northamptonshire were in arms and supported

⁹⁹Jennifer Loach, Parliament and the Crown in the Reign of Mary Tudor, pp. 8 and 9. The list of her supporters is at BL Lansdowne MS 156, fols. 90–94.

¹⁰⁰Tower Chronicle, p. 5.

¹⁰¹Ibid, p. 8.

her cause".¹⁰² In other parts of the country the earl of Oxford (allegedly persuaded by his household servants), lord Rich, the earl of Derby and lord Dacre (in the north), sir Thomas Cheney and sir John Gage marshalled support.¹⁰³ In Wales where Mary had resided as princess of Wales from 1525–1533, in Denbigh and Beaumaris, the Northumberland adherents Ellis Price and Richard Bulkeley declared lady Jane Grey queen and Mary a traitor. These decisions were quickly reversed and the "lies of Beaumaris" were denounced by the bard Siôn Brwynog: the country "wished for its welfare", "judging her to be Queen".¹⁰⁴ Others welcomed the "genial Queen from the heart of Gwynedd with her fortunate face" and the "silencing [of] those Saxons".¹⁰⁵ The pleasure and fidelity of the Welsh, at the victory of the 'Welsh' Tudor dynasty reflected an affinity for their countrymen.

In London on the 19th, in contrast to the silent reception of the herald's proclamation of Jane, Mary's had been received joyously: "The bonfires weare without nomber, and what with showtyng and crienge of the people and ringinge of the belles, there could no one heare amoste what another sayd, besides banketyngs and synging in the street for joye".¹⁰⁶ Another anonymous London chronicle recorded similarly that "the Joye whereof wonderfull for some caste money abrod, & some made bonfyars thorowe the whole cyte: the prayes were geuen to God in the churches with te deum & orgaynes, belles ryngynge & euery wher the tables spredd in the stretes, meate & drynke plentye, wyne geuen ffrely of many men".¹⁰⁷

¹⁰²Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Vitae Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham', p. 260.

¹⁰³David Loades, The Reign of Mary Tudor, p. 19.

¹⁰⁴Glanmor Williams, 'Wales and the Reign of Queen Mary I', Welsh History Review 10:3 (1981), 334–358, p. 336.

¹⁰⁵Ibid, p. 336.

¹⁰⁶Tower Chronicle, p. 11–12. This section of narrative is supplied from Ralph Starkey's Collections, BL MS Harl. 353, p. 139.

¹⁰⁷Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (ed.), 'Two London Chronicles from the Collections of John Stow', Camden Miscellany, XII (London: Camden Society, 1910), p. 27. Antonio de Guaras recorded: "arrojauan quasi todos los bonetes al ayre perdidos y todos los que tenian dinero en sus bolsas los arrojauan al pueblo. Otros siendo hombres de autoridad y viejos no se podian contener echando de si sus ropas saltando y baylando como si estuuieran fuera de seso. Otros yuan corriendo por las calles en donde hauia houido noticia desta tan grande nouedad gritando", La Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial MS V. ii. 4, fols. 426r–v.

The ringing of bells was a symbolically Catholic mode of expression. Bells had been being exported (cf. Thomas Pery, p. 3) and taken down since the 1530s. Diego de Azevedo, resident in London at the time of the accession crisis, described Mary's victory:

La Infanta Maria hermana del Rey muerto, sabida la muerte de su hermano, se fue al [...], y alli se fueron para ella todos los mas principales del reyno, y de alli se vino al paso de concetayna, y hizo muy breuemente mas *de treinta mil hombres*, y con ellos se vino la buelta de Londres. Sabido esto por los del reyno, todos se alçaron por ella, y tomaron en prision al Duque Baurique, y al rey, y ala reyna nuevamente eligidos, y a los demas que eran en su favor y la Reyna Maria, (digo de Inglaterra) entra oy dia, que esta escribo, o mañana en Londres, a donde luego sera jurada, y cortara las cabeças a todos, ecepto ala reyna, que fue eligida, que desta dizen que auido piedad; y la reyna, y el reyno queda todo pacifico. Por cierto que parescen cosas increíbles estos acontecimientos, los quales yo creo que no pueden acaecer en ninguno reyno. *La reyna es cristianissima, y asi la ha ayudado Dios*: lo primero que haze es tornar la fe Catholica en su ser, como de antes: tendra poco que hazer en ello, porque los mas de los erejes, lo eran mas de miedo del Rey, y Protetor, que de sus voluntades. Prosperos sucesos han sido todos para su Mag. y el mas prospero es que tiene salud y trata negocios.¹⁰⁸

According to Azevedo's account, the key to her success had been 'todos los mas principales del reyno' declaring for her and persuading the whole kingdom to rise up 'por ella'. Even the partisan Azevedo recognised that Mary's victory was not a triumph of Tudor legitimism. The events bringing Mary to the throne were read specifically in terms of their propitiousness for his sovereign Charles V. The narrative is embedded in a theocratic construction of imperial politics. The providential subtext of the letter situates Mary's superlative Christianity and the divine help which has made possible 'cosas increíbles', in relation to a religious situation in England. England's instability is disturbing, however, these 'cosas increíbles' could happen nowhere else. The appraisal of the religious situation downplays belief and constructs the

¹⁰⁸BNM MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550-1558 and 1521-1549, 'Relaçion enbiada por Don Diego de Azeuedo a su muger luego a Çamora en 2o. de Agosto de 1553', fol. 97r-99r.

problem of the schism as one of political obedience. The 'heretics' were apostate from fear not election. Azevedo's contention in this respect is corroborated by signs of popular support for Mary's religious position. After her proclamation in London on the 19th, "that same nyght had the [most] parte of London *Te Deum*, with bone-fyers in every strete in London, with good chere at every bone[fyer], the bells ryngynge in every parych cherch".¹⁰⁹ The credibility of this evidence is supported by the fact that the so-called Tower chronicler is believed to have been a reformer and adherent of Jane Grey. The story of Mary's accession is perhaps powerfully suggestive that her Catholicism played a greater rôle in her success than is credited.

At Ipswich Mary was presented with a golden heart inscribed 'the heart of the people'. She visited her father's palace of Beaulieu at Colchester, sir William Petre's residence, Ingatestone Hall in Essex, Pirgoe, and then Havering. Finally she made her entry into London on the evening of the 3rd August 1553: the "number of velvet coats that did ride before hir, aswell strangers as others, was 740; and the number of ladyes and gentlemen that folowede was 180".¹¹⁰ She was accompanied by her half-sister Elizabeth "and a grette company of ladyes wyth hare", the guard and "after them Northampton and Oxfordshire men, and then Buckinghamshire men, and after them the lordes' servants; the whole number of horsemen weare esteemed to be about 10,000".¹¹¹ A central place was given to the men from the counties who had been key in her success. At Whitechapel "the mayer with the aldermen reseved hare, and he delyveryd hare the swerd, and she toke it to the erle of Arnedelle, and he bare it before hare, and the mayer the masse [mace]".¹¹² From there she continued down to Aldgate.

there it was goodly hangyd with clothes, banners, and stremers, and syngers,
and goodly aparelde alle the way downe to Ledynehalle... on the one syde the

¹⁰⁹Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, Camden Soc. 1st ser., no. 53, (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1851), p. 78.

¹¹⁰Tower Chronicle, p. 14.

¹¹¹Grey Friars Chronicle, p. 81, and Tower Chronicle, p. 14. Henry Machyn put the figure at 3,000.

¹¹²*Ibid.*

craftes of London with-in raylles in their best aparalles and clothe hangynge before them; and so downe Graschesstret and in-to Fanchersse strete, and soo downe Marke lane, and soo to the towere; and every hows hangyd as is above sayd¹¹³

Three political prisoners, symbolic of the religious and political reversal represented by Mary, were released by her when she reached the Tower; Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, Edward Courtenay, marquis of Exeter, and Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. The conservative Howard had been imprisoned when it had become clear that Henry VIII was dying; a victim of the reformed faction which came to power with Edward's accession. He had remained in prison throughout the young king's reign. Courtenay's father had been a victim of Henry's decision in 1538 to eliminate all living members of the Plantagenet line and had spent most of his life in prison. Gardiner had been committed to the Fleet on the 25th September 1547, for his protest at the issuing of the First Book of Homilies on the 31st July.

In spite of the welcome of religious reaction in the capital; committed Reformers worked to disrupt the return of traditional religion. On the 13th August 1553, Gilbert Bourne, Bonner's chaplain and later bishop of Bath and Wells, was "pullyd owte of the pulpyt by vacabonddes, and one threw hys dagger at hym" in the course of a sermon at Paul's Cross. Five days later the queen issued her first proclamation, for 'avoiding the inconvenience and dangers that have arisen in times past through the diversity of opinions in questions of religion',¹¹⁴ and at the next Paul's Cross Sunday sermon, two hundred of the guard were present. The proclamation read: "her majesty being presently by the only goodness of God settled in her just possession of the imperial crown of this realm... cannot now hide that religion, which God and the world know she has ever professed from her infancy hitherto".¹¹⁵ Her dissident celebration of mass throughout Edward's reign was well-known. Although the accession providentially ratified her claim to *imperium* (the crown is specifically described as imperial), Mary minded "not to compel any her said subjects thereunto, until such time as

¹¹³Grey Friars Chronicle, p. 82.

¹¹⁴Ibid, p. 83.

¹¹⁵P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin (eds.), Tudor Royal Proclamations: The Later Tudors (1553–1587), vol. II, p. 6.

further order, by common assent, may be taken therein". This proclamation is a caveat against simplistically accepting the Protestant dichotomy between Romanism and imperialism.

seditious and false rumours have been nourished and maintained in this realm by the subtlety and malice of some evil-disposed persons, which take upon them, without sufficient authority, to preach and interpret the word of God after their own brain in churches and other places, both public and private, and also by playing of interludes, and printing of false fond books and ballads, rhymes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue, concerning doctrine in matters now in question and controversy touching the high point and mysteries of Christian religion¹¹⁶

The intensely political nature of any interpretation of God's word is made explicit. Unauthorised preachers and interpreters were engaged in *seditious* activity. The Marian proclamation is the first example of a consecrated association between heresy and sedition which determined the shape of religious polemic in the reign. Anything other than an *idée reçue* was dangerous. Gardiner had written to the lord protector Somerset from prison: "I was never author of any one thing, either spiritual or temporal; I thank God for it"; a position on human agency, central to the conservatives' understanding of Christianity.¹¹⁷ That which threatened the state was by definition heterodox, an effect of the irremediable sinfulness of the self, an effect of human agency. The proclamation sought to reaffirm a proper subordination of God's word to political authority. Pronouncements on doctrinal issues had to be retained as the preserve of institutional authority, as opposed to the unlicensed subject's 'own brain', precisely because of the politicisation effected by the Supremacy which Mary rejected. The theocratic notion of authority from which an English *imperium* had been created, underlay this politicisation. The providentialism supporting Mary's claim to the throne and hence her right to legislate in religious matters in the proclamation, repeated and invoked this theocratic vision. Fifteen months before the reunification with Rome, religious conservatives recognised the political importance of God's word. The attempt to restrain

¹¹⁶Tudor Royal Proclamations, vol. II, p. 6.

¹¹⁷John Foxe, The Acts and Monuments, 4th ed., ed. Rev. Josiah Pratt (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1853–70), VI, pp. 43–44.

theological speculation under the auspices of royal authority demonstrates how the interpretation of the 'high point and mysteries of Christian religion' was not perceived to be exclusively the domain of ecclesiastical authorities. She could reject the title. However, Mary's power over the church of England was as complete as that of her predecessors and even after reunification, legislation ensured that her authority was not abrogated by Rome. In residually Protestant historiography of the Marian period, the use of state coercion to delimit and restrain interpretations of the *verbum dei* is represented as paradoxical. However this was not the case. The proclamation did not attempt to subvert the secularisation of religious credo, but merely to redeploy it for different ends. Acts of interpretation were always political and public to the extent that the control of representation and interpretation was intimately linked to political authority and obedience. The problem was an effect of the emergence of print culture. Juan Luis Vives had advocated censorship in his condemnation of romances of chivalry, arguing that the authority to control and delimit the legitimate meanings and uses of potentially corrupting texts pertained to an élite coterie of humanist readers. However the wide availability of such texts in the vernacular to the unschooled, those unaware of the limits of their legitimate meanings and uses, centred the problem of censorship on the reader and on human agency. The publication of primers was a priority for the Catholic evangelisation designed to turn the tide of religious innovation.

1.3. Coronation

Renard had to request that the bishop of Arras send holy oil for the ceremony, because since the country was under papal censure its oil was unhallowed. The bishop had sent three phials from Brussels, with a wild boar from the queen dowager for the celebrations after her coronation.¹¹⁸ As was customary on the eve of a coronation, she created fifteen knights of the Bath, who "according to thorder every man to bere unto the quenes Ma.tie. at her fyrst course a dyshe of mete".¹¹⁹ At one in the afternoon on the 30th September, Mary Tudor left the

¹¹⁸Rosalind K. Marshall, *Mary I* (London: HMSO, 1993), p. 85.

¹¹⁹*Machyn's Diary*, p. 45 and note on p. 334, and College of Arms MS I 7, fo. 65v. They were the earls of Devonshire and Surrey, Lord Berkeley, Lord Bergavenny, Lord Lumley, Lord Mountjoy, Lord Herbert of Cardiff, Sir William Paulet, Sir Hugh Rich, Sir Henry Clinton, Sir Henry Paget, Sir Robert Rochester, Sir Henry Jerningham, Sir Henry

Tower and proceeded to Whitehall along the traditional route with "many pagenttes in dyvers places as she came by the wey in London, with alle the craftes and aldermen".¹²⁰ Preceded by knights, bishops and judges, her council, the knights of the Bath, the marquis of Winchester bearing the mace, and earl of Oxford the sword, she proceeded, according to the Tower chronicler,

sytyng in a charret of tyssue, drawne with vj. horses, all betrapped with redd velvett. She sat in a gown of blew velvet, furred with powdered armyen, hangyng on hir head a call of clothe of tynsell besett with perle and ston, and about the same apon her hed a rond circlet of gold, moche like a hooped garlande, besett so richely with many precyouse stones that the value therof was inestymable; the said call and circle being so massy and ponderous that she was fayn to beare uppe hir hedd with hir handes; and a canopy was borne over the char.¹²¹

The coronation device of Henry VII preserved in the Rutland Papers specified that a king should wear "a long gounne of purpur velwet, furred with ermyns poudred" and travel beneath a canopy of bawdkyn cloth of gold; identical to the description in the herald's account. The queen consort (in Henry's case) was to wear "a round cercle of gold" and travel in a litter.¹²² Mary was a hybrid mixture of elements appertaining to a king and a consort. In contrast to the Tower Chronicle, the official records describe her wearing white cloth of gold, the prescribed dress of a queen consort. Judith Richards has argued that the contradictions in the accounts of her appearance on the 30th, whether as "a queen *qua* royal wife dressed in white cloth of gold or a monarch dressed in blue or purple velvet" reflected uncertainty about Mary's position and authority. An uncertainty produced by her gender, over the meaning and

Parker and Sir William Dormer. The latter's daughter Jane Dormer, one of Mary's ladies-in-waiting, later married the Duke of Feria and led six Catholic ladies into exile on the accession of Elizabeth.

¹²⁰Grey Friars Chronicle, p. 84.

¹²¹Tower Chronicle, p. 28.

¹²²William Jerdan, 'Device for the Coronation of Henry VII', Rutland Papers, Camden Society Old Series 21 (London: Camden Society, 1842), pp. 4 and 6.

significance of a coronation of a queen regnant.¹²³

She was followed by Elizabeth and Anne of Cleves in a second chariot and then by forty-six gentlewomen. The streets were gravelled and railed on one side "to the intent that the horsys sholde not slyde on the payene mente nor the people shold not be hurte by the said horsys".¹²⁴ The crafts and aldermen stood within the rails and on every side the windows and walls of the streets through which the procession passed were "garnished with cloth Tapistry Arras cloth of gold and cloth of Tesshew with quishiones of the same garnished with stremers and baners as Richely as myght be devysed".¹²⁵ There were "in many placis ordained goodly pagents and devissys and therin goodly great melydy and eloquent speeches of nobyll historis treatinge the joyfull comminge and recepte of so noble a quene".¹²⁶ There is little extant material on the pageants and what there is, is mostly found in accounts published abroad. The coronation was an event celebrated predominantly on a European stage. It was a significant political event. The Genoese triumphal arch at Fenchurch Street bore two inscriptions: "Mariae Reginae inclytae constanter piae coronam britanici Imperii et palmam uirtutis accipienti Genuenses publica salute laetantes cultum optatum tribuunt" and "Virtus superauit, Justitia dominatur, veritas triumphat pietas coronat salus Reipublicae restituitur".¹²⁷ The Florentine triumphal arch at Gracechurch, was graced by three female icons: Pallas Athena above the inscription *Invicta virtus*, Judith *Patriae liberatrici*, and Tomyris *liberatis ultrici*.¹²⁸ Allusions to Judith's triumph over Holofernes (who the "Almighty Lord brought... to nought by the hand of a woman"¹²⁹) and the victory of Tomyris over all-conquering Cyrus, were topical, a month after the execution of Northumberland. Both women had decapitated the

¹²³Judith Richards, 'Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'?: Gendering Tudor Monarchy', The Historical Journal 40:4 (1997), 895–924, pp. 900–3. Cf. 4. 'Sole Quene', pp. 147 ff.

¹²⁴College of Arms MS I 7, fo. 66r.

¹²⁵Ibid.

¹²⁶Ibid.

¹²⁷Ibid.

¹²⁸C. V. Malfatti, The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor, pp. 32 and 115.

¹²⁹The Apocrypha, based on the 1611 version (London: Cambridge University Press, rev. 1895), Book of Judith: XVI. 6., p. 168.

defeated.¹³⁰ The analogy between Mary's victory over Northumberland and Judith's salvation of the Hebrews from bondage to Nebuchadnezzar, figured the Marian rise to power as a providential religious victory over the Protestant anti-Christ. Holofernes asserts in the apocryphal story, "who is God but Nebuchadnezzar".¹³¹

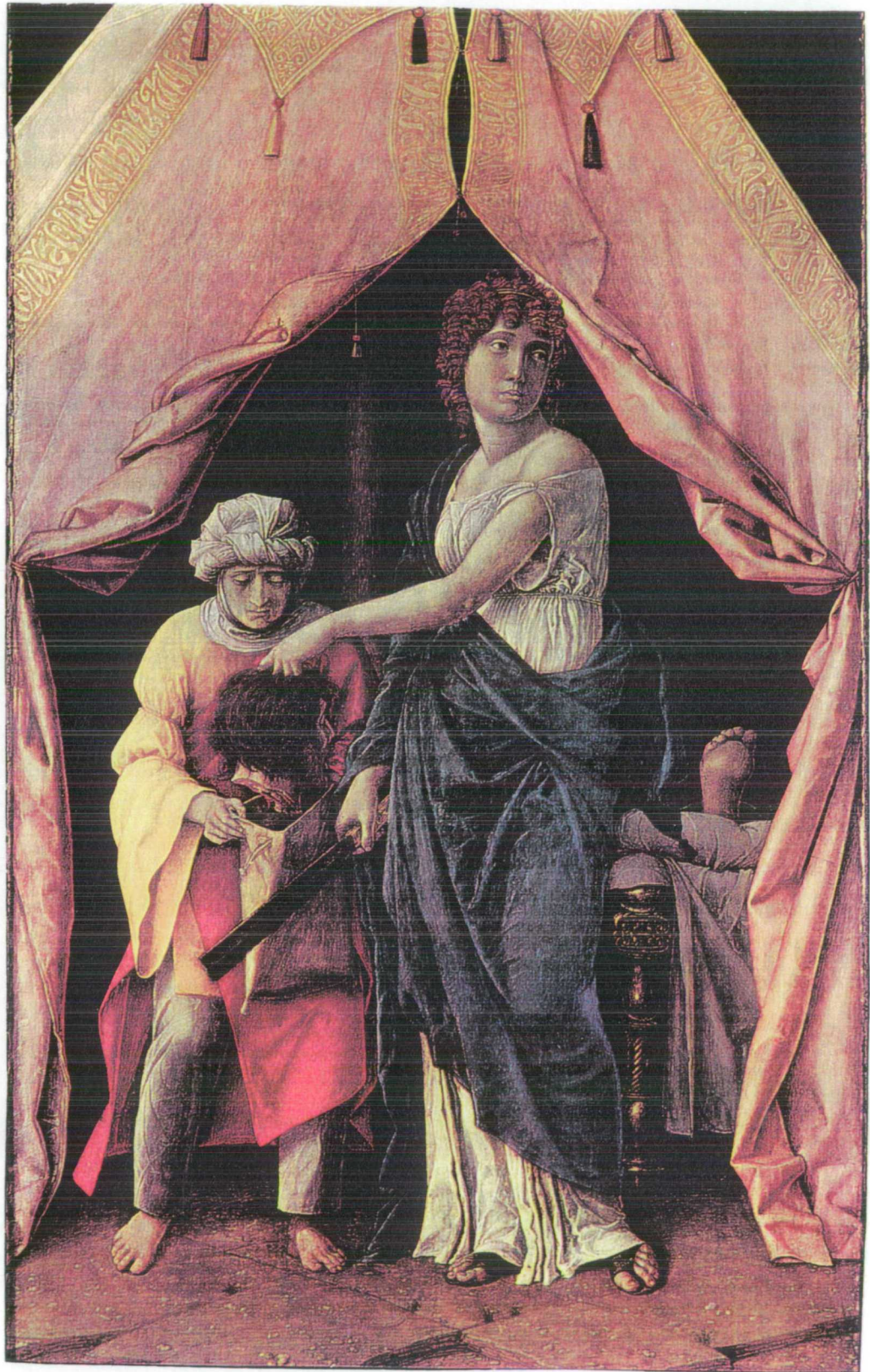
Female rulers readily countered arguments against government by women as 'monstrous', by invoking Judith. In Andrea Mantegna's *Judith and Holofernes* (1492) (cf. plate 1; National Gallery of Art, Washington), commissioned by Isabelle d'Este, the biblical heroine is depicted as an icon of chastity and classical restraint. But she is simultaneously clothed in signifiers, connoting rulership. She turns aside serenely, as she drops the bearded head of Holofernes, whose foot is visible through the tent flaps, into a bag held by a servant. The sandals and dress are classical. The purple toga, symbol of imperial authority in the Roman empire, sword, and suggested diadem, transform a figure of piety into a political blazon for Mantegna's patron, Isabelle d'Este. The painting was an appropriation of the biblical Judith to create a prototype of political womanhood. Nicholas Harpesfield in his *Concio quaedam admodum* (London: 1553) similarly compared Mary to Judith, who by the mid-sixteenth century had become a bearer of associations, easy to press into the service of female rulers. The painting and poem alike functioned as legitimations of female authority. Harpesfield later alluded to the another biblical figure, Deborah, by whom pro-Marians later countered polemical attacks by reformers in exile, on the legitimacy of female rule. While exiles alluded to Jezebel and Athalia, Deborah was unique as a non-pagan role model and positive representative of the political female.¹³²

The story of Tomyris in Diodorus Siculus, who Skelton had translated into English c. 1485 from Poggio's Latin version of 1449 (one of the earliest attempts to make a Greek

¹³⁰Judith Richards, "'To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule": Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England', *Sixteenth Century Journal* XXVIII:1 (1997), 101–121, pp. 108 ff. A psychoanalytic interpretation would probably begin by looking at beheading as a symbolic castration.

¹³¹Cf. Leonard Stopes' lines "Our Iwell oure joye, our Judith doutlesse / The great Holofernes of hell to withstand.." in *Ave Maria in Commendation of oure most vertuose Queene* (1553).

¹³²Jennifer Loach, 'The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press', *English Historical Review* (1986), 135–148, p. 140.



text available in English), is poised between a discussion of women who "train for war just as do the men and in acts of manly valour are in no wise inferior to the men",¹³³ and a section on Amazons. Stories of the Amazons in the early modern period were a focus for masculine anxieties about the figure of the virago; expressive of ambivalent attitudes towards female power. Judith was similarly an image of the dominatrix, representative of the perceived threat to manhood.¹³⁴ The figure of the warrior queen was one solution to the problem of how to represent Mary. However the virago was an equivocal figure. The praiseworthy assumption of masculine characteristics contradicted de facto gender. The inscription underneath the icon of Pallas Athena on the Florentine arch, translatable 'invincible manly excellence', embodies the problem created by praise of women. It inevitably drew on terms belonging properly to the celebration of masculine virtues. The problem of finding representations suitable to queenship in Tudor England was apparent in Robert Wingfield's description of Mary's decision to claim the throne, as 'of Herculean rather than of womanly daring'. The ambiguity towards queenship in the pageants was also apparent in the coronation itself.

On the 1st October, Mary travelled by barge to Westminster and the Parliament building. There she apparelled herself in "her parlement robes of crymsyn veluit under a rich canapye of Bawdkyn... with iiii stauis and iiii belles of syluer accordinge to theold precydoure borne by the barouns of the v ports".¹³⁵ She then proceeded to the church for the coronation. She 'lay prostrat' on a velvet cushion before the altar, while the oration *Deus humilium* was said over her, a formula identical to that of Edward VI's coronation: then "shall the King falle groveling before the Awltare, and over him tharchebushope shall saye Collet *Deus*

¹³³Herodotus, *The History*, trans. David Greene (London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), I. 214, p. 130. *Diodorus of Sicily*, LOEB edition, trans. C. H. Oldfather (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1935), Book II, 43. 4, pp. 28–9. On the Skelton translation cf. A. M. Kinghorn, *The Chorus of History: Literary-historical relations in Renaissance Britain* (London: Blandford, 1971), p. 177.

¹³⁴Cf. *The National Gallery of Art Washington* (Fetham: Hamlyn Publishing Group Ltd., 1968), pp. 32–34 and Tom Shippey, 'Macho man's nightmare', *TLS* January 15th 1999, p. 30.

¹³⁵College of Arms MS I 7, fol. 69r. In the *Rutland Papers*' description of the 'Device for the Coronation of Henry VII', it was specified that he should go "vndre a ceele, or canape, of cloth of gold bawdekyn, with iiii staves and iiii bellis of siluer and gilt, the same to be born by the Barons of the v ports", p. 10.

humilium".¹³⁶ The ceremonies reproduced almost exactly those of her predecessor Edward's; retaining changes which had been made to the forms employed by Henry VII and VIII. However there were two significant changes to the Edwardian ritual. At the suggestion of Stephen Gardiner, Mary had studied the wording of the coronation oath. A minor emendation was made to the first section, "Will ye grawnte to kepe to the people of Englande and others your realms and dominions the lawes and liberties of this realme and other your realmes and domynions?", with the insertion of the words 'the just and licit laws of England'.¹³⁷ Gardiner's legal challenge to the publication of the First Book of Homilies on the basis of subsequently repealed legislation, suggests one interpretation of the change might be that it protected Mary from the accusation of violating her oath, in not upholding Edwardian statutes underpinning a religious settlement inimical to her conscience. Such an argument, however, threatens an infinite regress. Since Gardiner's case for the unjust and illicit nature of the homilies rested on an existing statute which was quickly repealed. Whereas Mary could have cited pre-Reformation legislation to support a case against Edwardian innovations. But how did an appeal to unrepealed statutes which could easily by implication be rescinded affect the status of any particular existing law? This was a paradox of the Tudor constitution. The contrast between Henry VIII's Third Succession Act (1544) which made its own "interruption, repeal, or annulment" high treason and his Bill for Wales (1543) which provided for its own modification by letters patent exemplifies this problem about the status of constitutional law.¹³⁸

The second change was that while Mary "promissed and sware upon the sacrament lyinge upon the aulter in the presences of all the people to obsarve and kepe" her oath, Edward had predictably sworn on the bible by the "Holy Evangelistes by me bodily towched upon this Holy Awltare".¹³⁹ The development of the coronation oath from the late fifteenth

¹³⁶A.P.C., n.s. II (1546–7), p. 30.

¹³⁷Ibid, pp. 30–1. Reprinted in English Historical Documents, Vol. 5: 1485–1558, ed. C. H. Williams (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1967), no. 45 (i), p. 467. Cf. also Rosalind K. Marshall, Mary I, p. 85.

¹³⁸Mortimer Levine, Tudor Dynastic Problems, 1460–1571 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1973), pp. 161–2.

¹³⁹College of Arms MS I 7, fol. 69r and A.P.C., n.s. II (1546–7), p. 31.

to the mid-sixteenth century is a fascinating gauge of political and religious changes. I have reproduced here its first and last sections, those which saw the most significant changes between Henry VII and Edward and Mary's reigns. The later version is given in square brackets:

"Wole ye graunte, and kepe, to the peple of England, the lawes and customes to them as of old rightfull and devoute Kinges graunted, and the same ratefie, and confirme by your oth, and specially the lawes, customes, and liberties, graunted to the clergie and peple by your noble predecessor and glorious King Saynt Edward?" ["Will ye grawnte to kepe to the people of England and others your realmes and dominions the lawes and liberties of this realme and others your realmes and dominions?"]

"I graunte, and promitte."

"Doe ye graunte the rightfull lawes and customes to be holden, and promitte ye, after your strenght and power, such lawes as to the worshippe of God shalbe chosen by your peple by youe to be strenghted and defended?" ["Do ye grawnte to make no newe lawes but such as shalbe to thonour and glory of God, and to the good of the Commen Wealth, and that the same shalbe made by the consent of your people as hath been accustomed."]

"I graunte and promitte."¹⁴⁰

The allusion to Edward the Confessor in the original oath, alongside the use of his crown in coronation ceremonies, emphasized dynastic continuity and evaded situating the claim of English kings to after the Norman Conquest. The invocation of an Anglo-Saxon king, who was also a Catholic Saint, canonized in 1161, was a traditional reaffirmation of ancient principles of government by consent, counciliar representation, and election in conjunction with the clerical estate. Manhood suffrage and a free parliament were believed to have originated in Saxon England. The change was retained by Mary. However, Edward the

¹⁴⁰William Jerdan, 'Device for the Coronation of Henry VII', *Rutland Papers*, p. 14, and the text in brackets from *A.P.C.*, ns. II (1547–1550), pp. 30–2, reprinted in *English Historical Documents, Vol. 5: 1485–1558*, ed. C. H. Williams, no. 45 (i), p. 467. Another absence from the later ceremony is a section dealing with the ecclesiastical estate: Henry VII swore to "in asmoche as I may be reason and right, by Godds grace defend youe, and eurich of youe, Bishoppes, and Abbot thorough my realme" etc..

Confessor's shrine in Westminster Abbey was restored on her orders in 1556 and his crown still played a prominent part in coronation ritual.¹⁴¹ The excision of Edward the Confessor and the traditional bifurcation of the social body into two estates, clergy and people, reflected the revolution in religious politics which had taken place with the creation of the Supreme Headship.

The alterations to the last section of the oath reconfigured relations between the sovereign, clergy, and people in keeping with the theocratic political ideology developed to underpin the Supremacy. The sovereign was no longer represented as merely a custodian of law but as the law-maker / giver, situated centrally in the legislative process itself. This legislative function encompassed both the responsibility for social and ecclesiastical order which had become identified and inextricably intertwined within the dual role of the monarch as head of church and state. Law was judged explicitly according to theological principles. This ordering of the political estate simultaneously associated it with a constitutionalist notion of the 'good of the Common Wealth'.¹⁴² Pre-Reformation hierarchies were reversed. Religious change now proceeded from the top down, dependent on and guaranteed by statute law. The laws regulating spiritual life pertained to duly constituted secular authority, they were no longer 'chosen' by the people and merely defended by royal authority, but flowed from what had become an integral part of sovereignty's definition. The legitimacy of political power was thereby a function of its relationship to a divinely proscribed order, a theocratic and constitutionalist underpinning. These innovations in the coronation oath were significant, not because Edward swore to observe them, but because Mary had closely examined them and accepted them *in totum* with the exception of one minor emendation. The implication was that she did not reject the political ideology associated with the Supremacy and its proto-imperial stance *per se*, in spite of objecting to the use of the title.

Following the oath "her grace was neweley appareled" in crimson velvet with a

¹⁴¹Rosalind K. Marshall, *Mary I*, p. 128.

¹⁴²In the first half of the sixteenth century diagnoses of social ills increasingly focused on this opposition of private and common good. The dichotomy is central in political texts like Thomas Starkey's *A Dialogue between Pole and Lupset* (c. 1529-1532), Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531), John Ponet's *A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* (1556), and Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum*.

"mayntell of Crymsyn velvit bordered with Ermyn with buttons and tasiles of sylke and golde for the same In which robes she resevyd hir oyntementes" and then "her grace was broughte to the aulter where at she offered the Soward that she was gyrt with all by the said bushop of Wynchester and after was redemid agayne by thearl of Arundell Lord Stewarde [...] who bare the same sowarde before her grace".¹⁴³ Mary was the first ever anointed female sovereign. The sword was a symbol of imperial rule, representing justice, but also kingly prowess and strength. Henry VII had girt himself. Mary was girt by Stephen Gardiner. The tacit acceptance of imperial claims in her oath was reinforced in the unprecedented nature of the crowning itself:

the byshop of wynchester and the duke of Norfolk brought unto her highnes
iii coronnes to wyt/ one kinge Edwards crowne *the other the imperiall
crowne of this realme of Englande* the thyrd a very riche crowne the which
was made purposefely for hir grace.¹⁴⁴

Mary was the first English monarch to be crowned with a triple crown and the first to wear the imperial crown which had been commissioned by Henry VIII, first mentioned in an inventory of 1521. The third crown was commissioned specifically by Mary, underlining that this appropriation of imperial iconography was entirely deliberate on her part.¹⁴⁵ The imagery of the triple crown originated in the triple-tiered papal tiara which represented the universal, Catholic jurisdiction of the pope. It was appropriated by Charles V for his entry into Bologna to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1530. Neo-Roman ceremonial helmets were borne by pages during the ceremony, one of which was surmounted by a double crown, an advertisement of Charles' claim to universal empire. The Habsburg mythology of 'universal monarchy', in Gattinara's words (cf. p. 17), was reiterated symbolically by the triple-crown of the Imperial Coronation. This gesture was explicitly contested by the powerful grand vizier of the Ottoman Empire, Ibrahim Pasha who as part of the Ottomans military campaign of 1532, commissioned a four-tiered ceremonial helmet-crown from Venice, for Süleyman the

¹⁴³College of Arms MS I 7, fo. 70v.

¹⁴⁴Ibid, fo. 71r. My italics. Edward VI was crowned with one crown, Edward the Confessor's, cf. *A.P.C.*, n.s. II (1547–1550), pp. 29–33.

¹⁴⁵I have found no reference to this in the literature on Mary.

Magnificent's triumphal march on Vienna. The self-conscious repudiation of Charles V's claim through a form of symbolic competition made a counter-claim on Süleyman's part to be "imperator del mondo".¹⁴⁶ Mary's borrowing from Habsburg symbolism was an allusion to political affiliations, but also manifested more importantly her specific claim to exercise imperial authority in her own right. The message was disseminated on a European stage with the rapid publication in Rome of an account of the coronation, Coronacione de la serenissima Reina Maria d'Inghilterra falta il di primo d'Ottobre MD.LIII (Rome: 1553) and then through the issue in Castile the following year of the Coronacion de la Inclita y Serenissima reyna Maria de Inglaterra (Medina del Campo: March, 1554) to promote the marriage. The Castilian account designed to sell the marriage, described Mary as "de treynta y ocho años: y hermosa sin par", the tag applied to Oriana in Amadís. It detailed how,

se començo la vncion y fue ungida en el pecho y en las espaldas y frente y en las sienas y despues le vistieron vn roquete de cuera blanco y le calçaron vnas espuelas y le ciñieron vna espada como a los caualleros y la pusieron en la mano vn cetro real de rey y luego toro que se acostumbra a dar a las reynas que tenia en lo mas alto del vna paloma y finalmente la dieron vn pomo de oro grande y la coronaron con tres coronas. Una del rey de Inglaterra y otra de Francia y otra de Yrlanda y luego la vistieron otro manto de carmesi diferente del primero aunque era del mesmo tercioeplo carmesi y aforrado en armiños.¹⁴⁷

The interesting feature of this account lies in its unnerving accuracy in certain respects and divergence from what we know from other sources in others. The last part, describing her clothing, accords exactly with the herald's manuscript. The crowns are assumed, however, to represent the three kingdoms of the Tudors as opposed to being an appropriation of imperial/Habsburg iconography. Again there is a kind of gender confusion in the text, with Mary being given symbolic objects pertaining to both a king and queen. She is dressed up in

¹⁴⁶Gülru Necipoğlu, 'Süleyman the Magnificent and Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg-Papal Rivalry', Art Bulletin 71: 3 (1989), 401–427, pp. 409–14.

¹⁴⁷La Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial MS V. ii. 3, fols. 435v. and 437r.

spurs and a sword 'como a los caualleros' and then given the sceptre of a king and an ornament, a 'toro', customarily given to queens. Again she is a representational hybrid, king and queen, male and female.¹⁴⁸ Mary's investiture as a knight with 'espuelas' and 'espada' was a cause of anxiety. In a tract of 1555 which took the form of a series of rhetorical questions, the author asked "whether the expres word of god in the xxii chap. of Deut. forbyd a woman to beare a sworde, or weare spurs, as kyngs do in theyr creacion, or to weare any other weapon, or apparell of man".¹⁴⁹ The Cornishman, John Colwyn, as early as Christmas eve 1553, amidst rumours of a Spanish invasion had asserted: "We ought not to have a woman to bear the sword".¹⁵⁰ Mary's creation was a travesty, her knightly accoutrements an inversion of natural order. The performance of these rituals by a woman was a form of transvestism. The unsettling nature of female coronation was reflected in the fact that both the Heralds' and Castilian accounts linger at moments in the ceremony when the discordance between a ceremony tailored for a king and its performance by a regnant queen were most apparent.

After the anointing and crowning, mass was performed: "con mucha solemnidad estando siempre su magestad de rodillas con grande deuocion y grandes señales de religion".¹⁵¹ The argument, which is fully developed later, that Mary's reputation for piety was specifically cultivated in the context of international politics, is usefully supported by this fragment of evidence which appears only in the Castilian account of her coronation. Piety was the queenly virtue par excellence. The image served to make her a more attractive prospect in the context of the Spanish marriage, holding out the possibility of reclaiming an important kingdom through a queen suitably disposed in religion.

Finally the assembled company did homage to Mary I. Gardiner on behalf of the spiritual lords swore: "I shall be fathfull and trew.. I shall do and truly knowlige the servys of

¹⁴⁸Cf. 4. 'Sole Quene'.

¹⁴⁹Myles Hogherde, Certayne questions demaunded and asked by the Noble Realme of Englande of her true naturall chyldren and Subiectes of the same (London: 1555), sig. Aii v.

¹⁵⁰H. F. M. Prescott, Mary Tudor (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, repr. 1953), p. 225. Cal. Dom., 11, 2, No. 2.

¹⁵¹La Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial MS V. ii. 3, fol. 438r.

the landes which I cleme to holde of yow as in the right of youre churche as god shall helpe me". A representative of each rank of the temporal lords swore on behalf of their peers: "I N. become your lyege man of lyfe and lynne and of all erthly worship and faith and al truth shal beare unto to you to lyue and dye with you agaynst all manner of foke so god helpe me and all halowes".¹⁵² Ecclesiastics acknowledged in their oath of allegiance that they held land mediately of the crown. The wording here was unchanged from the oath taken to Henry VII. The church had never been recognised as possessing seisin or *plenum dominium* in its ecclesiastical properties in England. The peerage were bound to the monarch according to a neo-feudal allegiance, implied by the term 'liegeman', and recognised their status as that of vassals of the sovereign.

After doing homage, they kissed her left cheek. Then Mary changed again and at 4pm she departed to Westminster for a banquet, "having in hir hande a cepter of golde, and in hir other hande a ball of golde, which she twirled and tourned in hir hande as she came homewarde".¹⁵³ At the feast Mary, Elizabeth, Gardiner, and Anne of Cleaves, all seated at one board, were served with over 312 dishes. A total of 7112 were offered to the company as a whole of which 4900 are described in the records as 'waste'.¹⁵⁴ The blazoning of the magnificence and richness of the coronation and so her court and kingdom was central to the purpose of the Castilian account which ordered,

¹⁵²College of Arms MS I 7, fo. 72v.

¹⁵³Tower Chronicle, p. 31. The banquet is described by Robert Wingfield: "A sumptuous ancient dish was offered her after the custom and usage of kings and queens, with noblewomen serving her and with the most distinguished figures in the realm eagerly attending to their duties; indeed they performed their services assiduously according to their ancestral serjeanties assigned them by the kings of England from olden time, from which it is worth selecting one or two to record. Thomas, duke of Norfolk, exercised the dignity of marshal, perpetual and hereditary in his family; the earl of Arundel had the custody or charge exercised by his ancestors of the coffer of gold goblets and other precious vessels; the earl of Shrewsbury and the bishop of Durham had a valid legal claim to the duty of supporting the arms of the king or queen when they were tired from the effort of holding the orb and sceptre - the latter claimed by grant to him and his successors, the former to him and his heirs. [Edward Dymoke] sought a contest or single combat by challenging any competitor for the throne to fight: a custom, indeed, more recent than the others, for it was no older than the reign of Henry IV who drove Richard II from the throne, but nevertheless a duty of great honour and fame", Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Vitae Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham', pp. 276–7.

¹⁵⁴BL Add. MS 34320, fol. 97.

sabese por cierto que le gastaron en la dicha coronacion a costa de su magestad mas de cien mil ducados. E no es tanto de ponderar la summa del gasto quanto la orden del tiempo y las cerimonias bien hechas todo ordenado y reglado con gran prudencia y consejo en manera que este reyno y esta magnanima reyna an dado amplissima materia a los escriptores que quisiese escriuir.¹⁵⁵

Whilst in the Iberian peninsula, a Hispanic audience was prepared for a blossoming political romance with the description of a pious queen, 'hermosa sin par', a figure from the fictional world of *Amadís*. In England a major rebellion centred on the issue of female rule, a queen 'como un caballero', threatening sovereignty with foreign marriage, had just been put down. In the midst of Mary's triumph, the fault-lines which were to lead to a major rebellion, were already present. Confusions as to how she was dressed, whether she was given symbolic objects belonging to a king or queen, on the day of her coronation mirrored uncertainty about how to represent a regnant queen. The Spanish marriage was an event prefigured in common ancestry and shared cultural heritage. It possessed a powerful dynastic and economic rationale. A failure to appreciate the internationalism of the Marian period has led to the easy assumption that a link between female rule, foreign marriage, and heightened xenophobia, is valid a priori as an explanation of the gamut of political opposition in her reign.

¹⁵⁵La Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial MS V. ii. 3, fol. 438r.

2. A Nuptial Prelude and the Political Origins of Popular Xenophobia.

There were sporadic outbreaks of anti-foreign rioting throughout the sixteenth century, particularly within the confines of London's artisanal communities. In Elizabeth's reign, for example, urban disturbances were recorded for the years; 1563, 1571, 1576, 1584, 1586, 1592, and 1595.¹ The most notorious sixteenth century riots and massacre of strangers, Evil May Day, 1517, were sparked off by a sermon, preached by Doctor Bele at St. Paul's Cross, on the text: "heaven is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; but the earth He has given to the children of men". The priest argued that "God had set out the boundaries of all nations"² and declared to the Mayor and aldermen "howe the common artificers lyved, and skace could get any woorke to fynde them, their wyfes and chyl dren, for there were such a number of artificer strangers, that took away all the lyvyng".³ The rioters of 1517, as Warren Boutcher comments, were guilty of "ignoring international relations important to the state: in Hall their treasonous offence is reported as the breaking of the King's 'amitie with all Christen princes'."⁴ This is key to understanding the nature of prejudice. The rioters were quickly found and executed because they were out of step with international relations. Specialist artificers had been encouraged to come to England under the auspices of royal patronage. However, by 1530 a statute 'ratefyng a Decree made in the Starre Chamber concerninge Straungers Handicraftsmen inhabitinge the Realme of Englonde', had become necessary:

for the restraynyng of the excessyve nombre and unresonable behaviour of the same straungers artificers, whiche contynually resorte and repayre into this

¹Cf. D. M. Palliser, The Age of Elizabeth 1547–1603 (London: Longman, 1983).

²William Page (ed.), Letter of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England, 1509-1603 (Lyminster: Publications of The Huguenot Society of London, 1893), vol. 8, p. x.

³E. Power and R. Tawney (eds.), Tudor Economic Documents (London: Longman, 1953), vol. III, p. 82. Cf. also Lyndal Roper, The Holy Household (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 27–40.

⁴Warren Boutcher, "'A French Dexterity, & an Italian Confidence": New Documents on John Florio, Learned Strangers and Protestant Humanist Study of Modern Languages in Renaissance England from c. 1547 to c. 1625', Reformation 2 (1997), 39–109, p. 39.

oure said Realme, to the great detryment of our owne naturall Subjects... who by the meanes aforesaid be sore impoverysshed mynysshed and almost utterly decayed and destroyed, and many of them for lacke of occupacyon in the said handy craftes be constreyned to lyve in ydlenesse... the great scarcyte of grayne and vytall at this present tyme throughout this our Realme to be the more enforced and caused by reason of great multitude and contynuall recours of the said straungers⁵

The assertion in the Bele sermon that the number of strangers 'took away all the lyvyng', recurred in later legislation. The notion underlying both these discussions of employment and immigration was the notion of limited good.⁶ The statute ordered the restriction of journeymen to two per alien household and obliged all strangers to take an oath of allegiance to the king in their local guild halls. The experience of exile shared by many figures who later became important in the Elizabethan establishment, meant that by the end of the sixteenth century, the Marian period could be invoked to oppose exclusionary legislation, restricting aliens' commercial activities. The lawyer Henry Finch defended strangers in the Commons on the 1st March 1592 / 93 from the 'Bill against Strangers born to sell by way of retail Foreign Wares brought into this Realm'. According to an anonymous source, he opposed the notion that aliens competed for limited resources and damaged the interests of natural born subjects, arguing "not a begger of them is found in our streetes" and "in Quene Marys tyme when ovr case was as theirs now, those countrys did allow us all those liberties w[hi]ch now we seeke to deny them. They are strangers now, we may be strangers hereafter, therefore let us doe as we would be done to".⁷ The popular xenophobia manipulated by Northumberland and anxieties about foreign influence under a regnant queen, had forced the Marian government to decree a total expulsion of foreigners. Charles V's ambassadors had canvassed for this measure since immediately after the succession crisis.

⁵21 Henry VIII, c. 16 in Statutes of the Realm, vol. 3, p. 297. Cf. W. Page (ed.), Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England, 1509-1603, vol. 8, p. xvi.

⁶Cf. G. M. Foster, 'Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good', American Anthropologist 67 (1965).

⁷BL Cotton MSS, Titus F II, fol. 70r.

Anti-Spanish sentiment has played a central explanatory role in the historiography of Mary's reign and its ultimate failure; employed to explain anything from her government's lack of unity and success, to the Wyatt rebellion and her religious policy's inability to produce any lasting results. The influential historian, A. F. Pollard claimed that "a dim consciousness that their affairs were being administered, and their resources exploited, in Philip's interests estranged the English people from the Spaniards and from Mary's rule".⁸ In spite of attempts to prevent "Philip from converting his titular dignity to anti-national purposes", "no safeguards could control Mary's affection for her lord, or compel her to follow the wishes of her privy council".⁹ For the first time since "England had attained to national consciousness", it was controlled by a foreigner.¹⁰ David Loades finds anti-Spanish prejudice puzzling: "it is not very easy to understand why Englishmen should have conceived a particular dislike for Spaniards by 1553, but such was the case".¹¹ For me it is the central historiographical problem with Marian history, how something as intangible as a specific prejudice could have shaped the ways in which this history has been narrated and understood. The first problem is defining what anti-Spanish sentiment signifies in the early modern period.

Within four days of Northumberland's arrest on the 20th of July, the imperial ambassadors had written to Mary with their reading of the succession crisis. In their letter, they blamed emigr  communities for the attempt to exclude her; foreign religious dissidents who had fled to England to enjoy the relative religious freedom of her brother's tolerant regime. The ambassadors associated exiled communities with heresy. This provided a justification to harness the xenophobia incited in the attempted alteration of the succession, to consolidate the Marian victory and create a smoke screen behind which to promote the Spanish marriage. (Cf. above, p. 8).

Your Majesty is not unaware that a multitude of foreigners, Frenchmen, Flemings, Germans and others have taken refuge in this kingdom, and that

⁸A. F. Pollard, The History of England: From the Accession of Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth I (1547–1603) (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1915), p. 158.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹David Loades, The Reign of Mary Tudor, pp. 69–70.

most of them had been banished and hounded out by Christian princes and Christian justice. To all this must be added the efforts recently made by these folk to debar your Majesty from the Crown, to which you have a lawful and hereditary right, the deceit committed over the King's will, their choice of the Lady Jane of Suffolk, and the fact that they caused it to be published abroad in writing that if your Majesty came to the throne you would wish to alter religion to the hurt of their consciences, marry a foreigner, change the government and ancient laws of the kingdom and introduce new customs and administration.¹²

Their claim made sense, as the emperor wrote in reply to his ambassadors' letter of the 16th of August: it "is clear that the foreign refugees will oppose her as much as any other class of people, in their fear of a change of religion".¹³ The commonplace identification of heterodox religious belief and seditious activity (a strategy of power) in conjunction with the fact that the 'Flemings' and 'Germans' in question were escapees of the 'Christian justice' of the Holy Roman Emperor himself, both distracted from the fact that it was not solely strangers who stood to lose from a putative 'change of religion' but, according to the ambassadors' account, the whole 'schismatic kingdom' which had been transformed into potential opponents. Although Flemings and Germans in exile probably had personal and political reasons for opposing the accession of Charles V's cousin, the evidence is that neither they nor Protestants at large came out in support of either side. The emperor nevertheless instructed his ambassadors to canvas for the expulsion of all foreigners: "It would be best if this could be done by the Parliament, which might be brought to do it *because of the general hatred of*

¹²Cal. Span., XI, p. 118. Ambassadors to Mary I, 24th July 1553. Vienna, Imp. Arch. E. Varia, 5. Their belief that the expulsion of religious refugees should be central to Mary's strategy for consolidating her power, was evident when they wrote to the Emperor a couple of weeks later, explaining: "It was difficult to remedy the state of religion without the (sanction of) Parliament, particularly because of the number of foreigners, Frenchmen, Germans and Flemings, exiled and thrust out of their own countries for heresy and other crimes, who fearing that if religion were restored they would be compelled to leave the country, would do nothing except seek opportunities for troubling the Queen's reign." Ibid, p. 169. Ambassadors to the Emperor, 16th August 1553.

¹³Ibid, XI, p. 179. Emperor to ambassadors, 23rd of August 1553, Brussels.

foreigners".¹⁴ In his original instructions, he had commented on the difficulty of negotiating the foreign marriage for Mary; 'loathed as all foreigners are by all Englishmen'. The stratagem he had proposed – denial of the true purpose of their embassy and counselling Mary to marry a natural born Englishman – accommodated his perception that popular xenophobia was a serious obstacle to the marriage diplomacy.

Northumberland had spread paranoia about foreign threat to shore up his radical expedient in altering the succession. With Mary's accession aliens were again labelled subversive. The decree towards which the ambassadors were working, to expel foreigners, had been forestalled, they reported on the 9th September. However the "Chancellor also told us that he had hit upon a good device for getting the Lutherans out of the country, without publishing any order or edict".¹⁵ When "he hears of any preacher or leader of the sect, he summons him to appear at his house, and the preacher, fearing he may be put in the Tower, does not appear, but on the contrary absents himself".¹⁶ A proclamation 'Ordering the Deportation of Seditious Aliens' was not published until the 17th of February 1554, in the aftermath of the Wyatt rebellion; an official response to the unsuccessful and nominally anti-Spanish *coup d'état*. In a letter to the bishop of Arras on the 9th September the ambassador, Simon Renard, discussed the future of the marriage negotiations. According to intelligence received from his predecessor Scheyfve,

the English did not at all want his Majesty or his Highness, but would prefer the King of the Romans or the Archduke, partly because they dreaded the rule of the Spaniards and partly for religious reasons; and he probably would not have said that had he not heard it from certain members of the council. Moreover, it has been certified to me that it has been represented to the Queen that his Highness will have great difficulty in keeping possession of the Low Countries after his Majesty's death, for the King of Bohemia is loved there

¹⁴*Cal. Span.*, XI, p. 179. My italics.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 217. Ambassadors to emperor, 9th September 1553.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

and his Highness and the Spaniards hated.¹⁷

Renard cautiously alluded to a 'dread' of Spanish rule. The generalised xenophobia referred to in Charles' letters had transmuted into specifically anti-Spanish sentiment. This was information received from Scheyfve and in turn certain councillors ('he probably would not have said it...'). However, at this stage, Renard believed the more significant problem was the Queen's awareness of her subsumption in the economy of material and political interests of the Emperor and his son. Those who opposed the marriage had made sure Mary was aware of her usefulness as a pawn in strengthening Philip's claim in the Netherlands and that the marriage formed part of an intra-familial Habsburg power struggle. The English according to Renard preferred Charles' brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans, or his second son, the Archduke of Austria, to either Charles or Philip. This preference was perhaps a function of religious policy; the pluralism of their estates made them potentially more tolerant and sensitive figures in an English context.

Spain was the colonial power *par excellence* in Europe itself in the sixteenth century; with troops in Italy, the Low Countries, the German states, and North Africa. When Philip passed under the Spanish triumphal arch as he made his entry into Antwerp in 1549, a banner of white satin unfurled embroidered with the verses: "Mucho más y más allende / Principe Señor de España, / Hasta ser Monarca solo, / Pues tu Potencia es tamaña, / Que sin término se estiende / Al vno y al otro polo".¹⁸ Spain was central to the Habsburgs' universalist vision and the Spanish reputation for arrogance was a function of such aggressive self-assertion in the context of a carefully stage-managed progress designed to foster his acceptance among Flemings and Netherlanders. Spanish imperialism was tinged with messianism, fuelling concern in England that they would force the pace of religious reaction. The Spaniard Muñoz claimed that "the way of life of the Queen favoured foreigners on account of the good Religion".¹⁹ This apparently provides evidence in support of the consecrated association in

¹⁷Cal. Span., XI, p. 228.

¹⁸J. C. Calvete de Estrella, El felicissimo Viaje d' el muy alto y muy poderoso Principe (Antwerp: Martin Nucio, 1552), fol. 229r. BNM: R/35560.

¹⁹C. V. Malfatti (trans. and pub.), The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor as Related in Four Manuscripts of the Escorial (Barcelona: Sociedad Alianza de Artes Graficas y Ricardo Fontá, 1956), p. 37.

the historiography of the period of patriotism and the nation with Protestantism and foreign interference in sovereign affairs with Catholicism. It highlights religious as opposed to secular justifications for the marriage. I would argue, however, that Muñoz's claim should not be accepted at face value. It was the creature of the crusader mentality, an implicitly flattering perception on the part of a Spaniard which gratified the wish to find religious disunity underlining their glorious achievements for the faith. Anti-Spanish sentiment in England was not related at this date to a fear of religious fanaticism, an ex post facto creation of the 'Black Legend'. The confusion lies within Habsburg imperial ideology itself and the messianism which served to legitimate it. In a theocratic vision, political and religious objectives can not be disentangled.

The papal diplomat, Gianfrancesco Commendone, summarised the controversy which quickly surrounded the queen's marriage plans; detailing the positions of both partisans of a native and a foreign match. The debate crystallised tensions incipient in female rule. Commendone stated that the favourers of a native match argued it,

would be means of avoiding to bring into the Kingdom <<strangers>> as they call the foreigners, who might try to introduce customs unlike its own and to put it into perpetual servitude, as it happens now to the Reign [sic] of Naples and all that part of Italy which is subject to the Emperor, and would allow to preserve those liberties which they had enjoyed so many years.²⁰

This repeated the arguments from Edward VI's 'Devise for the Succession' and developed an analogy between the imperial satellite Italy and England; anticipating an extended treatment in the anti-Marian pamphlet attributed to John Ponet, A Warnyng for Englande / Conteynyng the horrible practices of the kyng of Spayne / in the kyngs dome of Naples / and the miseries whereunto that noble Realme is brought. Wherby all Englishe men may understand the plague that shall light upon them if the kyng of Spayn obteyne the Dominion in Englande (Emden: E. van der Erve, 15-20th November, 1555) [STC 10024], which focused on Habsburg expropriations in Italy, the increasing tax burden and disenfranchisement of Italians. Anti-

²⁰C. V. Malfatti (trans. and pub.), The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor, p. 38.

Spanish sentiment in this sense simply reflected anxiety about Spanish power and imperialism. The arguments in favour also concerned Spanish power: "The supporters of the Prince maintained that owing to the unrests and divisions of that Kingdom, it was necessary to have a King powerful enough to settle them and who could guard it against any action which the King of France might take in view of such disunion".²¹ The heir to the Scottish throne, Mary Queen of Scots, had been taken to France in 1548 and only returned to Scotland from the French court in 1561. Her mother the French queen dowager, Mary of Guise, was regent during this period. Renard conscientiously repeated rumours of a French fleet lying off Brittany in the early days of the succession crisis, because it was the 'auld alliance' which posed potentially the most serious threat to Anglo-Habsburg rapprochement. The queen explained: "the reasons which induced her to take as husband a foreigner and precisely the Prince of Spain and the security which it meant to that Realm enabling them, as no other could do, to defend it from the King of France who, as they could see, had already seized upon Scotland".²² Her political strategy recognised the British Isles as the theatre of conflict between the Habsburgs and France, a struggle also played out on foreign soil in Italy and the Mediterranean.

An anonymous manuscript in the Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial headed, "Relación de las cosas de Inglaterra desde el Rey Henrico hasta la Reina Maria su hija" and following on from a copy of the papal sentence of 1534 concerning the validity of Henry VIII's marriage to Katherine of Aragón, recorded: "Los de la Isla naturalmente son enemigicissmus de estrangeros a causa de salir muy poco de su tierra y assi acogen a otros mal en ella"; the "mugeres son muy feas y vistense y tocanse peor que en Flandes a aquel modo".²³ The 'island' is situated mentally in relation to Flanders. Citing Isidoro, as Cartagena had done in the Proposición a hundred years earlier to characterise the English, the manuscript saw national and cultural identity embodied in environment and geography: "ssant ysidro en el qual libro de las ethimologías dize que ynglaterra esta dentro del oçiano metido el mar en medio como si estouiese fuera del mundo y alega a virgilio. que dize estas palabras.

²¹C. V. Malfatti (trans. and pub.), The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor, p. 37.

²²Ibid, p. 41.

²³La Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial, MS V.ii.3, fol. 486r-v.

los britanos apartados son de todo el mundo"; properly speaking England, "esta fuera del mundo".²⁴ The notion of English insularity and xenophobia litters the diplomatic correspondence. Perrenot Granvelle, Charles' Chancellor in the Low Countries and the key negotiator of the marriage, wrote after the conclusion of the treaty, "los Ingleses vengan con mayor dificultad a consentir al casamiento y tanto mas pues naturalmente aborrecen estangeros".²⁵ The widespread allegation of such cultural prejudice has been employed to argue that English resistance to a foreign marriage was inevitable and that the marriage itself was irremediably damaging to the Marian regime. However, there are a number of more credible alternatives to this picture. The representation of insuperable domestic opposition to a foreign match, arising from popular hostility to strangers, served a variety of domestic agendas. Anti-imperialists employed it to sabotage Mary's marriage plans and canvass against it in both parliament and Privy Council. The government used the allegation of popular xenophobia to strengthen its bargaining position and force concessions from Habsburg negotiators, presenting a picture of domestic instability and dissent. The diplomats negotiating the alliance probably exaggerated the difficulties to protect themselves from the consequences of failure and the possibility that something might happen to Philip while he was in England. Their affirmations primed the Spanish before their expedition to England to interpret hostility as expressive of racist attitudes and accept a marginalisation at the English court which might be politically necessary to assuage 'national' sensibilities.

Stephen Gardiner, for example, who favoured the candidature of Edward Courtenay with whom he had been in prison in the Tower, opposed the foreign match on these grounds. He was unaware that Renard had already proposed the match to Mary, after receiving instructions on the 20th September, and that at a secret interview on the 29th October she had vowed to him her decision to accept Philip, when he asserted in a conversation with the ambassador, reported to the Emperor in a letter on the 6th November, that:

It would be very difficult, the Chancellor proceeded, to induce the people to consent to a foreigner, for the very name was odious to them and always had

²⁴BNM MS 1091, fols. 48r–v.

²⁵Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS II 2318 Correspondencia de Granvela, fols. 283v–285r. Granvelle, obispo de Arras al Cardenal de Jaén, 3 de febrero 1554.

been. If the Queen were to marry his Highness, the people would never put up with the Spanish character, in which they would be imitating your Majesty's own subjects, who could never learn to bear them in Flanders.²⁶

Flemish courtiers in Brussels were jealous of the influence Spanish courtiers exercised over Charles and there was widespread popular resentment of the presence of a Spanish army in the Low Countries, especially the fact that the garrisoning of border fortresses was entrusted to Spanish troops.²⁷ Renard warned the Emperor, after informing him of Mary's decision, to remember that "as his Highness and his attendants would be unable to speak English there would be great confusion among a rough, fickle and proud people, who could neither understand nor make themselves understood in the requisite manner".²⁸ At the interview with Gardiner, however, he argued that as "for the Spanish character, I did not see that it was disreputable or would necessarily be disagreeable to the English".²⁹ It was Spanish power in conjunction with aggressive Habsburg dynasticism at the heart of the political concerns.

Another meeting between Renard and Gardiner reported in a letter on the 8th November saw a shift from the potential problems posed by a foreign prince *per se* to related economic questions.

He did not know what the merchants of England would say to it, except that it was intended to enrich foreigners by opening the gates of the country to them and impoverish its unfortunate inhabitants. When the privileges of the Stillyard were confirmed and restored to their position before the decree of

²⁶Cal. Span., XI, p. 338. Renard to emperor, 6th November 1553.

²⁷Joan M. Thomas, 'Before the Black Legend: Sources of Anti-Spanish Sentiment in England 1553-1558', Ph.D. thesis (University of Michigan, 1984), p. 57.

²⁸Cal. Span., XI, p. 339.

²⁹*Ibid*, p. 340. There was however a ray of hope in that Gardiner had accepted the necessity of respecting the Queen's wishes. "I would say his resolution to follow the Queen's inclinations was excellent, for she was the person most nearly concerned, and for this reason every one who had discussed the question of her marriage agreed that her choice ought to be free. Such was the custom of princes, and must certainly be that of princes and princesses of the Queen's exalted rank and lineage". *Ibid*, p. 339.

suppression, the English merchants had complained and displayed dissatisfaction. I made answer that if the Queen approved of delay I would not be able to disagree, but as nearly a fortnight had passed since I had presented your Majesty's letters to her, I wished to have her reply, lest your Majesty should accuse me of negligence. As for the objections that might be made by merchants, I thought the alliance would mean riches and advantages for them rather than poverty, because navigation would be safer and trade freer.³⁰

The jealous guarding of mercantile privilege was predicated on mutual exclusivity and aggressive competition. Renard countered with an argument that the tactical security offered by the alliance from French military power was economically advantageous. In this context 'freer trade' meant 'riches and advantages' through political alliance and access to foreign markets. They identified economic good with contradictory positions, Gardiner with maintaining a monopoly, Renard with the liberty to trade on equal terms in certain foreign markets. Free trade is advantageous to the extent that it enables the supply of mutual needs and the trade and exchange of a wider range of goods. But where a domestic supply already exists, it enables foreign competition for limited resources. This is the potentially damaging and political flip-side. In the early modern period this was particularly true of artisanal communities. The term 'free trade' in contemporary usage, for example the free trade vs. protectionism debate, is often a misnomer in a way that may reflect the tension between Gardiner and Renard's positions. What is more normally meant by free trade is the concession of specific privileges to some within a context excluding certain others. Terms of trade are only ever equal in specific respects in a way that opposes one economic power to others.

The suitability of Philip's candidature, in spite of the contested family settlement of 1551 and his unpopularity in the Low Countries during his residence there between April 1549 and June 1551, rested on the strong commercial ties which the marriage could promote with northern Europe's most affluent, industrial region and largest financial market, as well as England's principal trading partner. As John Christoferson wrote after the marriage, on the enhancement of trade it promoted, "what a benefite is it for thys realme to haue free libertie to conueye such thinges from hence thither, as we haue plentye of, & to bring in those agayne

³⁰Cal. Span., XI, pp. 347–8. Simon Renard to emperor, 8th November 1553.

from thence hyther, that we haue nede of".³¹ He focused on mutual supply, eschewing the political downside of free exchanges – foreign competition.

The kingship was tempting for Philip because it strengthened his hand against Ferdinand and Maximilian and with the desired revival for the Netherlands of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, it enhanced his standing and popularity among his future subjects. The Low Countries was a key to Spain's access to northern Europe. A memorandum about the marriage prepared for Philip stated, it was "most necessary for the preservation and extension of the territories of his Majesty".³² Concerns about the material interests threatened by Northumberland's alliance with France in 1551, underlay the northern provinces' desire for a renewal of the Anglo-Netherlandish treaties of mutual defence of 1542 and 1546 which had protected trade. These were shared by England's mercantile community, who on the 11th September 1549, months before the Anglo-French treaty, had prepared a triumphal arch for Philip's entry into Antwerp, testifying to their dependence on him.³³

Al Inuictissimo Carlos Maximo Emperador Cesar Augusto, y al Gran Phelippe su Hijo Principe delas Españas, por su dichosa y muy deseada venida a esta Ciudad, y por la perpetua constancia dela amistad y confederacion, que hasta agora han tenido con los Reyes de Inglaterra, los Mercaderes Ingleses y negociantes en esta esclarecida Villa, leuantaron la grandeza d'este arco en testimonio de su deuida gratulacion y alegria.³⁴

³¹John Christoferson, An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware rebellion (London: John Cawood, 24th July, 1554), sig. Niii.

³²Cited by Loades, The Reign of Mary Tudor, p. 67. AGS, Secretaria de Estado, E807, fo. 20.

³³Henry Kamen, Felipe de España, p. 43.

³⁴J. C. Calvete de Estrella, El felicissimo Viaje d' el muy alto y muy poderoso Pincipe Don Phelippe..., sig. 244v. The author was a Greek and Latin tutor to Philip in the 1540s.

Charles is unabashedly entitled 'Cesar Augusto'. The arch was adorned with statues seated inside a gigantic gold scallop of Oceano, at whose side a woman spilt golden water from a pitcher, representing the Thames and Britannia; "teniendo respeto al nombre antiguo, que fue Albion, llamada assi, o d'el gigante Albion hijo de Neptuno, o de la abundancia, que tiene de piedras blancas".³⁵ The blending of classical myth, geography, and etymology unfolds to produce a blazon, a mythic genealogy of Britain which linked it to the mastery of the sea and so to the festive moment of its production. Again cultural identity is produced by an anthropomorphic topography. Higher up the arch were statues of "dos illustrissimas personas, que auian sido Ingleses"; the Emperor Constantine the Great who had made Christianity the state religion of the Roman Empire and whose *De Donazione Constantini Magni* had been exposed as a fake by Lorenzo Valla in the fifteenth century having served as a central argument for the temporal power of the papacy for over a millennium.³⁶ Next to him, stood his mother Helen. Constantine was born in Upper Moesia (modern Bulgaria and Serbia), however, he had been adopted into English national mythology and was specifically related to its claim to *imperium*. During Charles' visit to England in 1522, Henry had wanted him to "know that the Tudor *imperium* predated Charlemagne, that from Constantine the Great it derived through King Arthur".³⁷ Underneath Constantine and Helen were statues of Constantia and Pietas. In the context of the political tensions which made rapprochement between the Habsburgs and the schismatic government of Edward VI improbable, the arch was a profoundly ambiguous representation of dependence. By emphasising the English lineage of the prop alluded to earlier which had been used to justify and legitimate the papacy's temporal power, it could be read as an entirely orthodox celebration of a figure central to Christianity and associated with England, or as a pointed exposure of the fraudulence of Catholic claims. On the panels of the arch was a painting of Charles V and Henry VIII "que se dauan las manos derechas en señal de perpetua amistad, concordia y liga".³⁸ Inside it was a representation of Constantine's conversion before his victory over

³⁵J. C. Calvete de Estrella, El felicissimo Viaje d' el muy alto y muy poderoso Pincipe Don Phelippe...., sig. 243r.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷D. Hoak, 'The iconography of the crown imperial' in Tudor Political Culture, p. 83.

³⁸J. C. Calvete de Estrella, El felicissimo Viaje d' el muy alto y muy poderoso Pincipe Don Phelippe...., sig. 244v.

Maxentius "enemigo dela Religion Christiana" and picking up on the earlier theme and relating it to Philip: "a semejanca d'ello estaua pintado el Principe Don Phelippe, que peleaua con los Turcos y Moros" with Victory in his hand, foretelling "QVO SIGNO MAGNUS VICIT CONSTANTINUS, / EODEM ET MAGNUM DE BARBARIS ALIQVAN- / DO TRIVMPHATVRVM PHILLIPUM, AIT CLOTHO".³⁹ The arch was a eulogy which subtly encoded political tensions but which served ultimately to promote common economic interests.

Renard affirmed on the 4th November that Gardiner was organizing opposition in parliament. Two weeks later a parliamentary delegation formally articulated to the queen its opposition to a foreign match. However, Gardiner was not alone in opposing a marriage to a foreign prince, as Renard appeared to believe. He was supported by a majority of the Privy Council and significantly by several household officers; sir Robert Rochester, sir Francis Englefield, and sir Edward Waldegrave. This faction had "decided together to cause Parliament to speak to the Queen about the match, begging her not to wed a foreigner", aware "that if no foreigner succeeds Courtenay is sure of success, as he is the only man of the blood royal in England".⁴⁰ The parliamentary petitioners, headed by John Pollard, attempting to address her on the question of her marriage had been put off for three weeks by Mary feigning illness and only obtained an audience on the 16th November. In a speech "full of art and rhetoric, and illustrated by historical examples", Pollard attempted to dissuade her from marriage outside the realm, because it would cause popular discontent, be financially inimical, and when the queen died lead to a contested succession.⁴¹ Mary was angered,

³⁹J. C. Calvete de Estrella, El felicissimo Viaje d' el muy alto y muy poderoso Principe Don Phelippe..., fol. 244v. The Latin is translated in the text: "Con la misma señal, que vencio el gran Constantino, dize la Parca Cloto tambien en los tiempos venideros triumphará delos Barbaros el gran Principe Don Phelippe".

⁴⁰Cal. Span., XI, p. 333. Renard to emperor, 4th November 1553.

⁴¹Ibid, pp. 363–4. This incident is also detailed in 'The Vitae Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham', ed. and trans. Diarmaid MacCulloch: "A little before this general session of Parliament ended, a rumour of uncertain origin arose that the queen violently rejected any native match and would delight in one from overseas. For this reason, certain members were chosen from the Lower House as spokesmen to the queen, led by Sir Richard Pollard [sic - John], once a judge in Wales... to petition her Highness that she might be pleased to choose one of her own nation to beget an heir", Camden Miscellany XXVIII, Fourth Series (London: Royal Historical Society, UCL, 1984), p. 277

responding that "if she were married against her will she would not live three months".⁴² According to Renard, Stephen Gardiner reasoned concerning the unacceptability of a foreign consort: "Firstly, that if the marriage takes place England will go to war with France... Secondly, that the people and nobility will never put up with Spaniards in this country, for they call them proud and impertinent".⁴³ By December he was reporting rumours of a more sinister kind: "I hear that persons have been sent out to travel about the country saying that England is to be governed by Spaniards and that the Queen is of Spanish blood".⁴⁴ Dissent was already being actively fomented in England against the coming of the Spaniards. In Ireland, by contrast the Spanish marriage was welcomed: "the wild Irish are submitting and saying they wish to obey the Queen".⁴⁵ The contemporary historian Florian de Ocampo affirmed that the Irish were originally descended from the Spanish:

Certifican otrosi, que tambien este rey Brigo de España puso moradores en vna gran Isla, que nombran estos dias Yrlanda... Acuerdo me yo que seyendo llegado con fortuna de la mar en vna villa dela tal Isla nonbrada Catafurda, los moradores della con otros que de fuera venian, mostrauan mucho plazer con los Españoles que por alli nos juntauamos, y nos tomauan por las manos en señal de buen concocimiento, diziendo nos decender ellos de linage Español: lo qual yo tuue por cosa nueua, puesto que conforme a su dicho dellos me recorde luego delo que quanto a este caso auia primero leydo por aquellas cronicas y glosas de Ioan de Viterbo.⁴⁶

For the Irish the Spanish alliance promised perhaps the possibility of increasing autonomy

⁴²Cal. Span., XI, p. 364. Simon Renard to emperor, 17th November 1553.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 412. Renard to emperor, 11th December 1553.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 425–6.

⁴⁶Florian de Ocampo, Los Cinco Libros primeros de la Cronica general de España (Medina del Campo: Guillermo de Millis, 1553), fols. 27r–v. He reiterated elsewhere in the light of his maritime experience: "Yrlanda que la poblaron, conforme tambien ala memoria que desto permanece hasta nuestros dias entre los mesmos Yrlandescos; que publicamente confiesan à quantos hablan en tal caso, proçeder ellos de generacion Española", ibid., fol. 211v.

from the English. During the accession crisis, the authorities had arrested English ships and confiscated merchants' goods at Antwerp, an intervention which suggesting a willingness to intervene in internal affairs, insulting to the independence of English subjects. According to a correspondent abroad "the young English at Antwerp use their talk very wildly" and "have lately had a bickering with the Spaniards, which has so tickled them that they hesitate not everywhere to express their discontentation with the whole nation".⁴⁷ Renard alluded to this incident in his attempt to explain anti-Spanish sentiment in England.

The Spaniards are detested here because of the quarrel they had with the English at Antwerp, the manner in which your Majesty's own subjects complained of their arrogance, and what they did the other day at Douai, the dislike many English feel for the alliance, and especially the unfortunate stories repeated by several exiled and refugee Spaniards who reside over here.⁴⁸

Apart from figures like Francisco Eraso, Charles V's personal secretary from 1546 and the Spanish soldiers garrisoning border fortresses in the Low Countries, there had also been the presence of Philip and his entourage in the Low Countries between 1549–51.⁴⁹ The unpopularity of the 'Spanish' heir must have been well-known in London. In a Spanish account of the prince's journey to be sworn in as Charles' heir in the Low Countries, about 95% of the narrative takes place in Italy, Germany, and Austria with only the last three folios of forty-three describing the entries and receptions which greeted him in the Netherlands. According to this narrative of the entry into Brussels, Perrenot Granvelle acted as translator, highlighting one of the major problems besetting Philip taking control of an international inheritance and the Low Countries in particular – language. Outside the city, the municipal authorities made an oration to which "el Principe respondió en su lengua el obispo de Arras, que era interprete de todos. y auiendo hecho la debida reuerençia al Príncipe, de quien fueron

⁴⁷Cal. For., 1553–8, p. 32.

⁴⁸Cal. Span., XI, pp. 425–6. Renard to emperor, 11th December 1553.

⁴⁹D. Loades, Politics, Censorship and the English Reformation, (London: Pinter Publications, 1991), p. 41.

benignamente receuido".⁵⁰ Protests about Spanish 'arrogance' ironically mirror the reception of Flemings and Netherlanders in Spain when Charles had first travelled to take possession of his new kingdom. The prime mover in the marriage negotiations with Mary alongside his protégé Simon Renard was Granvelle, the interpreter, in an earlier phase of Philip's emergence onto the international stage. His pessimism about an English marriage for Philip is perhaps understandable. In England there was a political faction which did not see the solution to the combined threat of France and Scotland in the arms of the Habsburgs, but in a pro-French policy; contributing to the island's domestic security by the maintenance of peaceful relations with the Scots. During the discussion of proposals to enshrine in statute the power for Mary to will the crown, Renard informed the Emperor that "the Queen feared that Elizabeth might do the same [as her mother], and particularly that she would imitate her mother in being a French partisan".⁵¹ Anti-Spanish sentiment in England is a complex phenomenon. Its invocation by political figures must always be carefully questioned. It would not be unreasonable to ask whether specific anti-Spanish prejudice existed at all.

2. 1. Marriage Contract and International Treaty.

The marriage contract / treaty was negotiated by Simon Renard and Antoine Perrenot Granvelle, with advice on legal technicalities from councillor Viglius.⁵² The emperor himself played little or no part in the discussions. He had been incapacitated by melancholy, gout, catarrhs, and haemorrhoids for most of the year. By September, Francisco Duarte reported: he used "muchas vezes y ratos llorando tan de veras y con tanto derramamiento de lagrimas como sy fuera una criatura" and "ni quiere oyr negocios ni firmar los pocos que se despachan, entiendo y ocupandose dia y noche en ajustar y concertar sus relojes, que son hartos, y tiene

⁵⁰BNM MS 1751: No. 3 'Relación del viaje del Principe D. Felipe para ser jurado por los Estados de Flandes', fols. 87–140.

⁵¹Cal. Span., XI, p. 394. Renard to emperor, 28th November 1553.

⁵²M. Weiss (ed.), Papiers d'état du Cardinal de Granvelle, 9 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1843), vol. 4, pp. 78, 144 and 149–51. There is interesting information about the power struggle between Renard and Eraso for control of the English mission in a letter of the 3rd of September, 1554, *ibid*, pp. 298–300.

con ellos la principal quenta".⁵³ The government was headed in his absence by Mary of Hungary. As a result of this, Francisco Eraso, Charles' personal secretary, was unable to tell Philip anything other than the obvious fact that there were no 'trustworthy' (Spanish) individuals involved in the embassy sent to ratify the treaty. All three negotiators were natives of the Franche-Compté in the old dukedom of Burgundy. The treaty was ratified by Charles V's imperial delegates; Jean de Montmorency, sieur de Courrières, the Fleming Charles de Laing, count of Egmont, and Philip Negri. When the ambassadors came to England, the Grey Friars chronicler described them coming "in the name of the hole howse of Bowrgone".⁵⁴ Stephen Gardiner won acceptance from them for the treaty to be ratified by Charles, Philip *and* the Estates General of the Netherlands. However he failed to get the supplementary articles incorporated into the formal treaty or to have Philip's procuration worded 'per verba de futuro' which would have made the treaty contingent on his landing in England to take the oath 'per verba de praesenti'.⁵⁵

Despite an instruction on the 26th of December 1553 that "estouieredes desposado por palabras de presente o de futuro que en qualquier destos casos lo haueys de hazer",⁵⁶ Philip insisted that the marriage be concluded 'per verba de praesenti' before he went to England.⁵⁷ On the 21st January 1554, the emperor wrote "the articles were seen to be so just and reasonable that the capitulation was at once agreed to, and has been sent to me signed, so that I may ratify it, as I now have done".⁵⁸ He then asked Philip to ratify it with two powers, "one for the contraction of marriage *per verba de praesenti* and the other *de futuro*", since the English still insisting on the latter "wish you to give your approval to the capitulation and swear to observe it and the laws of the realm at the time when, with Our Lord's blessing, your are married"; although Mary "assures us that in secret it shall be done

⁵³AGS E 98, fol. 274. 'Memorial que embio Francisco Duarte de lo que le dixo Nicolas Nicolai, September 1553'.

⁵⁴Grey Friars Chronicle, p. 86.

⁵⁵Joan M. Thomas, 'Before the Black Legend: Sources of Anti-Spanish Sentiment in England 1553-1558', Ph.D. thesis University of Michigan, 1984, p. 58.

⁵⁶AGS E 98, fol. 374v.

⁵⁷Cal. Span., XII, p. 36. Emperor to Philip, 21st January 1554, Brussels.

⁵⁸Ibid.

according to your desire, and we trust her word".⁵⁹ The Grey Friars Chronicle, Gardiner's proposal to have the treaty ratified in the Netherlands and Philip's reluctance to agree to the less binding form of the oath, all suggest the extent to which the Spanish marriage had been conceptualised and negotiated as an Anglo-Burgundian political arrangement. The result reflected this bias. When Philip saw the contract / treaty for the first time, it was already a *fait accompli*. The negotiations at which neither he nor his representatives had been present, had resulted in an agreement which was unwelcome in Castile and Aragón and on the 4th of January, eight days before it was signed, he drew up an 'Ad cautelam' document repudiating its entire contents.⁶⁰ In late November, long before the finalisation of the terms, Mary of Hungary was already preparing the ground for its ratification in the Netherlands by detailing the territorial splits which were subsequently embodied in the treaty if the marriage were to produce children.

His Majesty had often considered how difficult it would be for them to hold out for lengthy period against France and Germany unless they found support elsewhere, and the present war had made this quite clear. But now that God, in His divine bounty, had in a miraculous manner, as all knew, called to the throne of England his cousin, the Lady Mary, his Majesty had seen that it would be well for her on all accounts to marry, and had bethought him that the best way of making these countries safe would be to marry her to our Prince. The kingdom was very near, and if the marriage were blessed with children it would be possible to give them England and the Low Countries, leaving the Spanish dominions, the Italian states and the adjacent islands to the son of the first marriage. This would protect both countries and drive the French from the Ocean, which would be the best possible means of encouraging commerce, the foundation of the Low Countries' prosperity, and hold the French perpetually in check... Even if there were no children, the marriage would serve, as long as it lasted, to enable the Low Countries to

⁵⁹Cal. Span., XII, p. 36.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 4–6. This was enclosed with a copy of the marriage contract and witnessed by the Duke of Alba, Ruy Gomez de Silva, et al., on the 4th January 1554, Valladolid.

send through England to Spain for help as often as need might arise.⁶¹

The agenda and political expedients the marriage served, adduced in the diplomatic correspondence of the autumn are restated. It protected the Low Countries economically and strategically from the threat of both France and Germany, since with England's friendship the maritime link between Spain and the Netherlands for both commerce and military aid could not be closed. The Low Countries inheritance, however, was to be permanently alienated from the Spanish Crown by the treaty.

Rumours were circulating in London throughout November and December concerning the marriage. According to the Tower Chronicle, by "the beginning of Novembre was the first notyce among the people towching the maryage of the quene to the king of Spayne".⁶² Foxe dated the popular reception of the news to later: "This mention of marriage was about the beginning of January, and was very evil taken of the people, and of many of the nobility, who, for this, and for religion, conspiring among themselves, made a rebellion".⁶³ Renard had suspected as early as December the existence of a conspiracy and imminence of an uprising, an eventuality being monitored by Paget's spies.⁶⁴ When the "Earl of Egmont, Charles de Laing and Sieur de Corriers", arrived to sign the treaty on the 2nd January 1554, they were received coldly by the city of London.

the people, nothing rejoysing, helde down their heddes sorrowfully.

The day befor his coming in, as his retynew and harbengers came ryding through London, the boys pelted theym with snowballes; so hatfull was the sight of ther coming in to theym.⁶⁵

⁶¹Cal. Span., XI, p. 386. 'A Proposal to be made by the Emperor to the principal lords and members of the Council of State', 25th of November 1553, Brussels.

⁶²Tower Chronicle, p. 32.

⁶³John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. Rev. J. Pratt, Vol. VI, (London: The Religious Tract Society, 4th edition), p. 413.

⁶⁴David Loades, Two Tudor Conspiracies, p. 22.

⁶⁵Tower Chronicle, p. 34.

They dined with the council on the 9th and then rode to Hampton Court on the 10th, where they hunted and where on the 12th of January the treaty was signed. Its contents were officially proclaimed at Westminster on the 14th of January "to the lordes, nobilytye, and gentyllmen", by Stephen Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor. He explained: Mary "partely for the welthe and enryching of the realme, and partely for frendship and other waighty considerations, hathe, after moche suit on his (the king of Spaynes) behalf made, determyned, by the consent of hir counsaile and noblyty, to matche herselfe with him".⁶⁶ The bishop of Winchester drew attention to the fact that "she should have for her joynter xxx^ml ducketes by the yere, with all the Lowe Country of Flanders" and that according to the terms of the marriage Philip,

would vouchsaff so to humble himself, as in this maryadge to take upon him rather *as a subject* then otherwise; and that the quene shoulde rule all thinges as she doth nowe; and that ther should be of the counsell no Spanyard, nether should have custody of any fortes or castelles; nether bere rule or offyce in the quenes house, or elsewhere in all Inlande⁶⁷

In order to safeguard English sovereignty the treaty had enshrined a fundamental inversion of gender hierarchies. The notion that Philip took it on himself to marry as a 'subject' and so humble himself, was crucial in selling the alliance, but also profoundly ambiguous. The term 'subject' could be taken to refer either to subservience in a power-relation, 'subject to', or to being a 'subject of ' the realm. Interpreting it in former sense implied that the treaty made Philip subject to his wife and in the latter that Philip's status as Mary's husband did not affect his status as a subject of the English Crown, i.e. his being under the jurisdiction of the English crown, regardless of the specific conjugal arrangements of the royal couple. The dual nature of the agreement, as both marital contract between private individuals and international treaty, depended on sovereign bodies being synecdoches of their kingdoms. This metonymic link was made possible by a personal political culture in which the monarch was conceived as the unique symbolic representative and guarantor of the social order. This also made the particular nature of the conjugal relations of the couple under intensely significant,

⁶⁶Tower Chronicle, p. 34.

⁶⁷Ibid, p. 35. My italics.

a fact which Gardiner attempted to eschew. The articles were declared to the people ("the mayre, sheryfes, and diverse of the best commoners"⁶⁸) on the following day in the belief that disseminating the favourable terms, would ameliorate popular mistrust and suspicion of the foreign match. Popular xenophobia, however, was simply a corollary of the treaty's provisions. The prejudice was, in a sense, politically sanctioned.

On the 22nd of January the Privy Council commanded "the effect of the articles of the Treaty with Spain, to be declared to the people"⁶⁹ at Plymouth, with directions to "suppress false and seditious rumours about the Prince of Spains coming".⁷⁰ Their sources informed them the unrest there was such that active preparations were being undertaken to resist a Spanish landing. The French ambassador Noailles had received information about the agitation in Plymouth as early as the 23rd of December.⁷¹ The Cornishman John Colwyn heard that "before New Year's Day outlandish men will come upon our lands, for there be some at Plymouth already".⁷² The publication of the articles of the treaty aimed to palliate popular distrust of the 'Spanish', circumscribing the xenophobia fuelling rumours such as those circulating at Plymouth, within an officially sanctioned version of events. However this move in a sense substantiated anti-Spanish sentiment by according it official recognition. The advertisement of a treaty redolent with stipulations designed to nullify the threat of foreign influence, was a paradoxical strategy.

The political concerns which made necessary the highly favourable terms of the agreement and condition of the alliance's acceptability in England, indirectly articulated fear of Spanish influence. Proclaiming details of the prohibitions intended to curtail that influence intimated the covert, threatening possibilities which were imagined in order to be nullified. The conditions were indirect accusations.

⁶⁸Tower Chronicle, p. 35.

⁶⁹SP 11 / 2 / 5.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹David Loades, Two Tudor Conspiracies, p. 21. Cf. Cal. Span., XI, pp. 443 and 445.

⁷²Cited in Anthony Fletcher, Tudor Rebellions, Seminar Studies in History (London: Longmans, 1968), p. 79.

Empedocles said that it was a like reason that first moved men to elect princes and make laws: none would be necessary if men were just and would render to each his own: but since they become rapacious, rebellious, cruel and unjust, laws were instituted to fill the deficiency in justice, so that the good would not be oppressed by the bad.⁷³

Informal systems of exchange based on trust and personal, face-to-face relations within a community were increasingly being eroded and replaced from the mid-sixteenth century by the covenant or contract which bound the movement of goods within legal, enforceable frameworks. This is witnessed by the increasing scale of litigation over failed credit-agreements. By 1560, there were 5278 cases of litigation before the King's Bench and Court of Common Pleas over failed credit transactions, a figure which rose sharply during the next fifty years.⁷⁴ Craig Muldrew argues in another article "'Hard Food for Midas': Cash and Community in Early Modern England" that an abstract, impersonal trust in money governed only a small minority of everyday transactions, coin being more typically used in conjunction with credit. Therefore anxieties surrounding the anti-social effects of "unanchored" individualism, unbounded acquisitiveness, resulted from the fact that "the possession of good money actually gave a person the potential to free themselves from the social bonds of credit": "it allowed accumulation without obligation".⁷⁵ Specifying the conditions under which any particular exchange will be considered valid, signals the expectation that in the absence of restraint, the agreement will not be carried out *bona fide*. John Ponet and Thomas Starkey both related social degeneracy and decay to the erosion of informal trust and good faith, the immorality inherent in the immoderate pursuit of worldly goods and private profit.⁷⁶

An argument similar to that in Stephen Gardiner's A Machiavellian Treatise (1555)

⁷³Stephen Gardiner, A Machiavellian Treatise, ed. and trans. P. S. Donaldson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1975), pp. 129–130.

⁷⁴Craig Muldrew, 'Interpreting the market: the ethics of credit and community relations in early modern England', Social History 18 (1993), p. 172.

⁷⁵Craig Muldrew, "'Hard Food for Midas': Credit and Community in Early Modern England', p. 13. Unpublished article cited with his permission.

⁷⁶Cf. 4 'Sole Quene'.

was reworked by Hobbes to counter objections to the pessimism of his writings. Basing himself on the notion in jurisprudence that the rule of law was necessary to restrain the natural human inclination to evil, i.e. that the *raison d'être* of law was the inherent degeneracy of human nature, Hobbes argued: although "he knowes there bee Lawes, and publike Officers, armed, to revenge all injuries shall bee done him"; he shows "what opinion he has of his fellow subjects, when he rides armed; of his fellow Citizens, when he locks his doores; and of his children, and servants, when he locks his chests. Does he not there as much accuse mankind by his actions, as I do by my words?"⁷⁷ Bartolomé de las Casas' opponent, Francisco de Vitoria argued analogously that Spanish dominion and possessions in the New World were justified because "it seems to be of natural right also seeing that otherwise society could not hold together unless there was somewhere a power and authority to deter wrongdoers and prevent them from injuring the good and innocent".⁷⁸ Contractual obligations reveal the expectation that informal trust will be abused.

The account of Gardiner's declaration of the terms of the marriage treaty in the Tower Chronicle, is followed by the comment that, "[t]heis news, althoughe before they wer not unknown to many... was not onely credyted, but also hevely taken of sondery men, yea and therat allmost eche man was abashed, loking daylie for worse mattiers to growe shortly after".⁷⁹ The prohibitions of the contract identified those breaches which mutually accepted principles rendered liable to compensation or sanction in law; the spaces into which fraud or the abuse of trust was likely to seep. On the 6th of December 1553 just before the dissolution of parliament, an anonymous member of the Commons pointed in the debate on the queen's marriage to its equivocal and uncertain status given its dual nature as an alliance between both the natural persons of the monarchs and the political estates of their kingdoms.

In case.... the Bands should be broken between the Husband and the Wife,

⁷⁷Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, ed. R. Tuck, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 89

⁷⁸Cited by J. A. Fernández Santamaria, The State, War and Peace. Spanish Political Thought in the Renaissance 1516–1559 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 108. Cf. E. Nys (ed.) and J. Bate (trans.) The Spanish Origin of International Law. Part I: Francisco de Vitoria and His Law of Nations (Oxford and London, 1924), p. 172.

⁷⁹Tower Chronicle, p. 35.

either of them being Princes in their own Country, who shall sue the Bands? Who shall take the Forfeit? Who shall be their Judges? And what shall be the Advantage?⁸⁰

As both private contract and international treaty, it created jurisdictional difficulties that were intertwined with the problem of asymmetry and inequality in married relationships. The expectation that Philip would exercise greater authority undermined the legal credibility of the document and raised the difficulty of enforceability. The same problem subverted the government's publication of the union, in that it rehearsed concretely the problems of authority posed by an agreement making the heir of the Habsburg empire subject to a politically inexperienced queen of England. The juxtaposition of this understanding of the union, as inherently unstable because of its reliance on the good faith of the parties⁸¹ (it could merely rehearse the political doubts provoked in England without offering effective guarantees), with the notion that the genesis of prejudice is always political and historical, produces a dynamic reading of the relationship between the 'popular' and 'political' distrust that sparked off the Wyatt rebellion.

According to the first page of the treaty of marriage, Philip was to enjoy "ioyntely togeder with the said most noble Quene his wif, the state honour and kyngly name of the Realme and Dominions unto the said most noble Quene apperteyning And shall ayde that same most noble Quene his wif in the prosperous administration of the realmes and Dominions".⁸² But what exactly did 'ayde' mean? Its interpretation was determining and on it depended the meaning of the contents of the entire treaty. A special provision followed: he "shall leave unto the said Lady his wief Quene Mary those dispositions of all the benefits and offices, lands revenues and fruicts of the said Realmes and Dominions and that they shall be

⁸⁰John Strype, Memorials chiefly Ecclesiastical and such as concern Religion, 3 vols. (London: S. Richardson, 1721), vol. 3, p. 55. Cf. David Loades, Two Tudor Conspiracies, pp. 17–18.

⁸¹This is not to suggest that informal trust was not an important guarantee that monarchs would fulfill their obligations. It could be argued that the value attached to honour and reputation was such that legal restraints were of less significance in moderating their behaviour.

⁸²SP 11 / 1 / 20, p. 1.

disposed to suche as be naturalle bourne in the same", and that everything, "shallbe treated, mayntayned and used... as of olde they have been wonte to be treated there, and by the naturall bourne of the same".⁸³ On paper the kingship was titular, that of a co-administrator without independent powers of patronage. The first clause of the additional articles, attached to the main treaty, similarly stipulated that Philip was not to "permite admitte or receive to eny office administration or benefyce", "any stranger or foreign borne".⁸⁴ This explicitly prevented him from exercising English patronage in favour of his retinue or other foreign born subjects, or from gaining influence and building a political power base to rival Mary's by rewarding faithful servants with key positions in the English political estate. Unlike the foreign queens of English kings, Philip received no personal patrimony in England. The pensions and rewards he distributed to English servants were all drawn from Spanish revenues.⁸⁵ Although disabled from disposing of benefits, lands, and revenues on his own authority, Philip was not prevented from exercising power in the name of the joint authority he shared with Mary. The distinction is blurred.

The clause (and contract in general) responded to perceived problems posed by the inheritance patterns of the common law to female authority. Renard reported on the 7th of January 1554, that according to what he had heard from "two English lawyers"; "if his Highness marries the Queen, she loses her title to the Crown and his Highness becomes King, so that if children are born to the couple, the oldest will not be King, but his Highness will continue in that position".⁸⁶ If women's status and estate in common law applied in Mary's case, the Tudor patrimony passed to Philip through the marriage and she was obliged to transfer to him the exercise of both her political and property rights.⁸⁷ Even though this might be specifically provided against in the marriage treaty; custom, precedent, and social

⁸³SP 11 / 1 / 20, p. 1.

⁸⁴Ibid, p. 7.

⁸⁵David Loades, 'Philip II and the government of England', in Claire Cross, David Loades and J. J. Scarisbrick (eds.), Law and Government under the Tudors (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 180.

⁸⁶Cal. Span., XII, p. 15 Renard to bishop of Arras, 7th January 1554.

⁸⁷Ibid, XI, pp. 263 (Renard to Philip, 3rd October 1553) and 425 (Renard to emperor, 11th December 1553).

expectation were powerful factors working against the contractual provisos. The problem played on uncertainty, about the precise relationship between political and private law. Constitutionally, the marriage raised complex issues about the relationship between sovereign power and political estate. Was a kingdom the personal property of a monarch? If the crown was a heritable property like freehold estate, was it subject analogously to testamentary disposition? The concept of right in property was central to the discussion of political society, opening up more secular notions of state power. Economic discourse was becoming an essential aspect of the political, through the concept of commonwealth invoked to oppose an acquisitive ethos of private good. The legal and constitutional issues attendant on the marriage sparked off a debate about the positioning of the suture between the political and theological, sacred and profane.

Queens had been recognised since the Conquest as sharers in the royal power, "regalis imperii participem", able to issue charters and take over regencies.⁸⁸ However they had never been recognised in their own right. A crowned queen regnant was unprecedented in English history. Mary was an anomaly. The de facto political power and patronage exercised by a small number of women by virtue of royal birth / high status contradicted the disqualification and exclusion of women as a whole from even the most basic political privileges. As Christopher Goodman argued in 1558: "Yf women be not permitted by Ciuile policies to rule in inferior offices, to be Counsellours, Pears of a realme, Iustices, Shireffs, Bayliues and such like: I make your selves iudges, whither it be mete for them to gouerne whole Realmes and nations?"⁸⁹ This contradiction was reflected by Juan Luis Vives' tract, the De Institutione Christianae Feminae, written for Mary and dedicated to her mother Katherine, in its simultaneous advocacy of female education and condemnation of women participating in the public. He praised Katherine with her sisters for "there were no quenes by anye mannes remembraunce more chast of bodye thanne they".⁹⁰ The preminent female virtue was

⁸⁸Percy Ernst Schramm, A History of the English Coronation, trans. L. G. Wickham Legg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), pp. 29–30.

⁸⁹Christopher Goodman, Howe Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd of their Subiects: and wherin they may lawfully by Gods Worde be disobeyed and resisted (Geneva: John Crispin, 1558) p. 52, sig. Dii v.

⁹⁰Juan Luis Vives, Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women, ed. Foster Watson (London: Edward Arnold, 1912), p. 44. It was translated into English by Richard Hyrde and

chastity, a function of women's importance as guarantors of primogenital legitimacy. In spite of Katherine's chastity, Vives continued: "woman's thought is swift, and for the most part, unstable, walking and wandering out from home, and some will slide by of it[s] own slipperiness, I wot not how far".⁹¹ His celebration of his patron was as a type of domestic piety. In the early part of Henry's reign the older Katherine had been an influential political figure. She had acted as regent, while Henry VIII was fighting in France, conducting a successful campaign against the Scots which culminated in the defeat of James IV at Flodden and was also accredited Spanish ambassador in England.

Although mores and social expectations of women in the early modern period opposed their occupation of positions in public life, there were numerous precedents of powerful and politically influential women, e.g. Mary Tudor's contemporaries, Mary of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, Philip's sister Juana who was regent of Castile during his absence and Mary of Guise, regent of Scotland. Their royal status and kinship entailed political responsibilities and public duties. Mary of Hungary on setting aside her regency claimed "given her inferiority to him in every respect, and the fact that she is a women... a woman is never feared or respected as a man is, whatever her rank" and especially in times of war "it is entirely impossible for a woman to govern satisfactorily".⁹² The contradiction between the general disenfranchisement of women and the high-ranking positions enjoyed by a tiny minority by virtue of dynasticism and its politicisation of marriage and blood-lines, presented serious problems for Mary I's rule. Court culture was instrumental in generating political cohesion and fostering a culture of obedience. Its homosocial ethos and the martial ideology which was the nobility's *raison d'être*, were seriously disrupted by the accession of a regnant queen: "[j]ustice and defense, long celebrated in the iconography of the great seal, were both seen to be dependent upon military might".⁹³ The zenith of the king's representative function was as the 'nation's' military leader: "as in warre where the king himselfe in person, the nobilitie, the rest of the gentilitie, and the yeomanrie is, there is the force and power of

first published in 1540.

⁹¹Juan Luis Vives, Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women, p. 44.

⁹²Cal. Span., XIII, p. 248.

⁹³Judith M. Richards, ' "To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule": Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England', Sixteenth Century Journal XXVIII:1 (1997), 101–121, p. 103.

Englande".⁹⁴ As we have seen, John Colwyn on Christmas eve 1553 asserted "We ought not to have a woman to bear the sword"⁹⁵ and the moment that Mary was girt with the sword during her coronation, was dwelt on in both the Heralds' account and the tract published in Castile in the spring of 1554. Was it true that "the expres word of god in the xxii chap. of Deut. forbyd a woman to beare a sworde, or weare spurs, as kyngs do in theyr creacion, or to weare any other weapon, or apparell of man"?⁹⁶ (Cf. p. 47). Court provided a nexus where the close personal ties essential to monarchic power were developed. The interests of an important segment of the political élite were incorporated and attached to those of the ruling dynasty in England through the reciprocal obligations incurred through service and royal favour: "at any given time about half the nobility and about a fifth of the major gentry families could expect to have one or more members serving at court".⁹⁷ The intimacy central to this culture depended on body service, a channel for patronage and favour unavailable with a ruling queen.

The second clause in the additional articles of the treaty required Philip to extend offices in his household to Englishmen: "the said noble prince shall receyve and admitt unto the service of his householde and courte gentlemen and yeomen of the said Realme of Englande in a convenyent number".⁹⁸ In 1520 Charles V had been forced by discontent among his Castilian subjects to make identical concessions. His Flemish Chancellor Sauvage who was to have presided over Castilian Cortes convened in Valladolid on the 2nd February 1518, had been replaced by the Reyes Católicos' Secretario de Estado, Don Pedro Ruiz de la Mota. In addition he had agreed "que no se diesen a extranjeros officios, ni beneficios, ni dignidades ni gobiernos; ni diesen ni consientiese carta de naturaleza, y si habian dado las

⁹⁴Sir Thomas Smith, De Republica Anglorum, ed. Mary Dewar (1583; repr. Cambridge: CUP, 1982), p. 78.

⁹⁵H. F. M. Prescott, Mary Tudor (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, repr. 1953), p. 225. Cal. Dom., 11, 2, No. 2.

⁹⁶Myles Hogherde, Certayne questions demaunded and asked by the Noble Realme of Englande of her true naturall chyldren and Subiectes of the same (London: 1555), sig. Aii v.

⁹⁷David Loades, The Tudor Court, p. 185. Based on Lawrence Stone's figures.

⁹⁸SP 11 / 1 / 20, p. 7.

revocase" and that "en la casa real sirviesen y tuviesen entrada castellanos, o españoles, como era en tiempo de sus pasados. Y tengan oficios de ella, como los reyes sus antecesores los tenían".⁹⁹ Limiting the number of aliens in Philip's household and surrounding him with English courtiers was an attempt to tie his international interests in with localised ones. It also made the match more attractive to the nobility with the opening up of rewarding positions in his household. What was a 'convenient number'? The interpretation of this part of the treaty became a source of significant tension between English and Spanish courtiers during Philip's residence in England. One Castilian courtier complained "todos andauamos bien vagabundos y sin hacer falta".¹⁰⁰ Ruy Gomez de Silva expressed the problem more tactfully in a letter to Francisco Eraso on the 26th July 1554, "se ha travesado otro inconveniente grande y es que antes de llegar S. A. aquí le tenían aparejada una casa con todos sus oficiales altos y bajos en que hay caballerizo mayor y camarero mayor y gentiles hombres de cámara, y de aquí abajo todos los mas oficiales y guardia de cien archeros" who "si de nuestra parte alguno quiere meter mano en algo, tómanlo mal y no lo quieren dejar hacer".¹⁰¹ Lord Fitzwalter a gentleman of Philip's privy chamber complained he had so little access to the king that his Spanish was getting worse. Renard reported that "the people say the King will not be served by Englishmen although this point was settled by the articles".¹⁰² Tensions and jealousies between his English and Hispanic households spilled over in violence with numerous fatalities.

According to the financial arrangements of the treaty Mary was to receive a dowry of "three score thousand pounds" at a fixed exchange rate of "forty grots flemmyshe money the

⁹⁹Fray Prudencio de Sandoval, Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V, 3 vols., Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Madrid: Atlas Ediciones, 1955–6), vol. 1, bk. III, ch. X, p. 128. Cf. also José Antonio Escudero, Los Secretarios de Estado y del Despacho (1472-1724): Tomo 1 – El desarrollo histórico de la institución, 4 Vols. (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Administrativos, 2nd ed., 1976), pp. 44–5.

¹⁰⁰Andrés Muñoz, Viaje de Felipe Segundo a Inglaterra y Relaciones Varias Relativas al Mismo Suceso, ed. Pascual Gayángos (Madrid: La Sociedad de Bibliófilos, 1877), p. 91.

¹⁰¹Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, 112 Vols. (Madrid: 1842-1896), vol. 3, pp. 526–7.

¹⁰²Cal. Span. XIII, pp. 49–50. Renard to Emperor, 18th September 1554. Cf. Richard C. McCoy, 'From the Tower to the Tiltyard: Robert Dudley's Return to Glory', The Historical Journal 27:2 (1984), 425–435, p. 428 and David Loades, Mary Tudor: A Life, p. 229.

pounde"; of which two thirds, forty thousand pounds, were to be assigned upon the realms of "Spayne Castiel and Aragond" and the remaining third on Brabant, Flanders, Seymour, Holland, and nether Germany "in like mannier as the Ladye Margarete of England sumtyme wief and widow of the Lorde Charles of laudable memorie Duke of Burgundye".¹⁰³ The main treaty concluded stating that between Charles V, Philip and their successors and Mary there shall be "an entier and syncere fraternitie unitie and most forthright confederacie forever", an accord to do "in all thinges which to themselfe and their honour, and to the conservation and encrease of thier astats, realmes families countries Dominions and of thier heirs and successours shalbe most agreable according to the strength and effort" of the Anglo-Imperial treaties concluded in 1542 and 1546.¹⁰⁴

These treaties were highly significant in the context of the marriage, as we have seen. Their importance to the conceptualisation of the union was underlined in an anonymous Castilian account of the 'Casamiento de Phelipe Segundo en Inglaterra, año 1554, con Maria hixa de Enrique y Catalina' which stated that by the marriage it was provided "que especialmente se guardasse el acuerdo hecho en Vesmestre el año 1542 y el tratado hecho en Utrecht a 16 de hen. de 1546".¹⁰⁵ The diplomat Commendone's report on his secret mission also alluded to the fact that "all agreements and conventions be confirmed which were made in the past, especially the last alliance made at Westminster the year of 1542 which was published at Utrecht the xvi January 1546".¹⁰⁶ The proposals for further liturgical reform forwarded by Cromwell to Henry in 1545 were shelved when prospects of agreement with Charles over the joint invasion of France improved: he informed his bishops that there was not to be "any other innovation, change or alteration, either in Religion or ceremony".¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³SP 11 / 1 / 20, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴Ibid, pp. 6–7.

¹⁰⁵BNM MS 1750: Papeles Tocantes a Phelipe Segundo. Tomo Segundo, fol. 93r. A celebratory account of the details of the marriage treaty was also published in Rome in 1554, La vera capitulatione e articoli passati, cf. Jennifer Loach, 'The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press', English Historical Review CI (January 1986), 135- 148, p. 145.

¹⁰⁶C. V. Malfatti (trans. and pub.), The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor, pp. 52–8.

¹⁰⁷John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. Rev. Stephen Reed Cattley, vol. V (London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1838), p. 562. Cf. J. J. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII (London: Eyre

The contract insisted "the said noble Prince shall nothyng do, wherby any thing be innovate in the state and right publique or private and in the lawes and customes of the said Realme of Englande or the Dominions thereupon depending".¹⁰⁸ The controversy about whether Philip's name should precede Mary's on the statute book and their joint opening of parliament in 1555, illustrate that this clause was in practice a dead letter. It was a response to the allegations which Northumberland had made to justify his alteration of the succession. The 'Letters Patent for the Limitation of the Crown' asserted that a foreign king would,

practice to have the lawes and customes of his or their owne native countrey or countreyes to be practised or put in use within this realme, then the lawes, statutes, and customes here of longe time used, wherupon the title of inheritance of all and singular our loving subjects doe depend.¹⁰⁹

The papal envoy Commendone believed the "danger of introducing new laws and new orders of living"¹¹⁰ was a mere pretence to exclude Mary. However, an advice manual which Stephen Gardiner dedicated to Philip in 1555, warned that "of all other things nothing generates greater hate for the prince than defying the ancient laws observed in any kingdom": "it is an extreme grief to men of any nation or province to see other men, foreigners, possess those honours, offices and dignities which in past times their father or predecessors had enjoyed, and to see their own children deprived of them without cause".¹¹¹ In 1510 the French bishop and Chancellor Claude de Seyssel wrote "[a]ll nations and reasonable men prefer to

& Spottiswoode, 1968), p. 472, and Greg Walker, Plays of Persuasion, p. 204, note 73.

¹⁰⁸SP 11 / 1 / 20, pp. 7–8.

¹⁰⁹Tower Chronicle, p. 93.

¹¹⁰C. V. Malfatti (trans. and pub.), The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor, p. 5.

¹¹¹Stephen Gardiner, A Machiavellian Treatise, ed. and trans. P. S. Donaldson (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 129–30, and 133. The original Italian reads "perche trale altre cose nessuna genera maggiore odio al principe, ch' il dispregiare le leggi antiche in alcuno regno osservate", *ibid*, p. 75 (fols. 76v–77r) and "Perche gli e un cordoglio estremo a li houmini, di qual natione o provincia che // li sono veder i altri forestieri, di posseder que' honori, officii, et dignitati che ne tempi passati lor padri o predecessori godorno, et gli stessi lor figlioli come indigni", pp. 78–9 (fols. 86r–v).

be governed by men of their own country and nation, who share the same language as them... rather than by strangers".¹¹² The reasoning enshrined in the precedent of 1609 (not repealed until 1870) by which strangers were disqualified from holding land, merely reformulated the terms of a debate already implicit in the treaty: without the disqualification the "revenues of the realm (the sinews of war and ornament of peace) should be taken and enjoyed by strangers born".¹¹³ The scepticism and fears of the Council about this question were enshrined throughout the treaty. Philip was specifically prohibited from alienating property or despoiling the realm: "the said noble prynce shall not beare or carrye over out of the foresaid realme the jewells and precieuse things of grete estimacion nor also shall alienate or do away any white of thapperteyning of the said Realme".¹¹⁴ Forts and frontiers were to be maintained by natural born Englishmen. Ships, guns, and ordnance were to remain in the country.

An anonymous Italian observer wrote of the English c. 1500, they "have an antipathy to foreigners and imagine that they never come into their island, but to make themselves masters of it, and usurp their goods".¹¹⁵ But such antipathy was not exclusive to the English and in the context of the marriage it was a response to the specific problem of female rule; a realistic expectation that a foreign dynast would attempt to appropriate the state through marriage and an inheritance transmitted through the female line. Projecting into the future anxieties which had surrounded a female succession and foreign marriage since before the death of Henry VIII, the marriage contract provided for a female heir in an identical way to Henry VIII's third succession Act, which had made the right of female children to succeed, if they chose to marry, contingent on conciliar consent. Just as the Henrician act had made Mary's right to succeed dependent on her not marrying without the Privy Council's consent, the contract stipulated that her heirs female were to be subject to the consent of Charles, Philip's son and heir in Castilla: "if she take any man to husbände that is not borne in

¹¹²Noel Malcolm, 'My country, old or young?', review of Adrian Hastings' The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism (Cambridge, 1997) in The Sunday Telegraph 30th November 1997.

¹¹³W. S. Holdsworth, A History of English Law, 12 Vols. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1938), vol. 9, p. 93. Original is at 7 Co. Rep. fol. 18b (1609).

¹¹⁴SP 11 / 1 / 20, p. 8.

¹¹⁵English Historical Documents, Vol. V:1485–1558, ed. C. H. Williams, p. 196.

Englande or in the lower Germanye neglecting the counsaill and consent of the said Lorde Charles In that cace the right of succession shallbe and remayne to the saide Lorde Charles".¹¹⁶ Succession was central to the problem of female rule. Mary was already thirty-seven at the time of her accession and had a history of gynaecological illness. Her decision to marry a foreign prince exacerbated problems already implicit in her gender. Death in childbirth was common and infant mortality high. In the event of a long regency, following Mary's death in childbirth, it would probably have been impossible to curtail Philip's power. Heirs born of the marriage were, therefore, subjected to the will of the English nobility and not to Philip's authority. Their consent was required for the residence or education of Mary's children outside England: he shall not "carry the children that shall be borne of this matrimonie out of the same realme of England, but shall there suffer them to be nourished and brought upp, onlie it shal otherwise be thought good to be done by the consent and agreement of the nobilitie of England" and Mary was also to remain there "unles she her selfe desire it".¹¹⁷ The contract warned Philip not to claim any right to the throne or interfere in the succession after Mary's death.

And in the cace that no children being lefte, the moost noble Lady the Quene dothe dye before hym The said Lorde Prince shal not chalenge unto him any right at all in the saide Kingdom but without any impedymment shal permitt the succession thereof to come unto them to whome it shall belong and appetayn¹¹⁸

The penultimate paragraph of the main body of the treaty provided that it was,

expressly forseen and reserued about all and singuler the aboue declared cases of sucession, that whosoever he or she be that shall succede in them, they shall have to ensure the said Realmes lands and Dominions whole and entire thier privilege righte and customs, and the same realmes and Dominions shall administer and cause to be administered by the naturall borne of the said

¹¹⁶SP 11 / 1 / 20, pp. 4–5.

¹¹⁷Ibid, p. 8.

¹¹⁸Ibid, pp. 7–8.

realmes and Dominions and lands and in all thinge faithfully promise thier utilitie and quyet and in good justice and peace shal rule and nourishe them according to their statutes and customes.¹¹⁹

The rule of a foreign dynast whether de facto or de jure implied England's dissolution as a discrete territorial entity. The fear of Mary's disenfranchisement in marriage through her subjection to a foreign husband, was apparent in the notion implicit in the treaty that there was a danger of the kingdom's subjects being dispossessed and displaced by the marriage in the enjoyment of their political privileges. Fear of alien influence was illustrated by both the political arrangements in the treaty and the anti-Spanish propaganda of rebellious Marian opponents representing the marriage as a sexual conquest and foreign colonisation. The identification of the sovereign body with that of the kingdom made possible a transposition by which the fear of the kingdom's transformation into a Habsburg satellite, a dependency within the framework of their international and imperial interests, came to be represented, by analogy with the marriage, sexually. Sexual betrayal was a recurrent theme of anti-Marian polemic in imagery of rape and bastardy. Robert Wingfield asserted that the Wyatt rebels alleged that they had been "overwhelmed by a Spanish whore".¹²⁰ The marriage threatened English identity. It was an adulteration of blood-line and purity of lineage.¹²¹

On the 4th of January 1554 in response to the document even before it was signed, Philip absolved himself of responsibility for breaking the agreed terms and conditions in the future, with a secret 'writing ad cautelam, drawn up on account of this capitulation'. The 'ad cautelam', meaning provisional, document was producible if and when circumstances made the treaty's articles undesirable or impossible to observe:

Until the articles had been drawn up and granted by his Majesty (Prince Philip

¹¹⁹SP 11 / 1 / 20, p. 6.

¹²⁰Diarmaid Macculloch (ed. and trans.), 'The Vitae Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham', *Camden Miscellany* XXVIII, Fourth Series (London: Royal Historical Society, UCL, 1984), pp. 273–4.

¹²¹I have discussed the issue of racial mixing in two pieces of work which unfortunately I could not include in my thesis; one on the campaign against Philip's coronation and the other on *estatutos de limpieza*.

continued), he had not known of them, and he intended to grant the said power and observe the articles in order that his marriage with the said Queen might take place, but by no means in order to bind himself or his heirs to observe the articles, especially any that might burden his conscience. And because by his own free will he had never agreed and never would agree to the articles, although he was about to grant the power to enable the Prince of Grave, Count de Laing, MM. de Courrières, Nigri and Renard, two or four of them, to ratify and swear to observe them, and he himself would agree to and swear to abide by them, using the customary legal forms to render the oath binding, he protested, before me, the secretary, and the other witnesses mentioned below, against the articles and everything contained therein, as if all their contents were here set forth, desiring that it should forever be recorded, as a plain, clear and certain fact to stand as long as the world should last, that his Highness had given the above-mentioned oath in order, as he had said, that his marriage with the Queen might take place, and not of his own free will.¹²²

There was a marked tension between the reception of the treaty in the Low Countries and reaction in the Iberian kingdoms, a considerable part of whose patrimony, the Netherlands was to be permanently alienated from the Castilian crown. The marriage had been conceived in terms of a revival of the fifteenth century Anglo-Burgundian alliance. This was both its attraction and greatest drawback. Philip, preoccupied about his position in England, insisted on the most binding form of procuration before coming to England so that he would be in possession of the fullest powers before submitting to constitutional limitations and English law. Whereas the English government was unwilling to concede these powers until he was physically present in the kingdom, demonstrating his *bona fide* commitment to the terms. This was also an aspect of the problem of residence which bedeviled the political career of the Emperor. The conflict between Brussels and Madrid, however, may be more apparent than real. Charles, in spite of what was specified in the treaty of alliance, wrote after the signing, looking forward to his abdication and retirement to Yuste, that "England is also on

¹²²Cal. Span., XII, pp. 4–6. This was enclosed with a copy of the marriage contract and witnessed by the Duke of Alba, Ruy Gomez de Silva, et al., 4th of January, 1554, Valladolid. Original is at AGS E 807.

the way to Spain".¹²³

The reasons for Philip's cooling response to the prospective marriage were hinted at by his father's contemporary biographer, Prudencio de Sandoval: "podía sentir menos gusto, porque si bien la reina era santa, era fea y vieja, que tenía cumplidos treinta y ocho años, y el rey por extremo galán y mozo, que no pasaba de veinte y siete. Hizo en esto lo que un Isaac, dejándose sacrificar por hacer la voluntad de su padre, y por el bien de la Iglesia".¹²⁴ This ex post facto account is in marked contrast to the Castilian account of the coronation which had described Mary as 'hermosa sin par'. Philip like Isaac was to be sacrificed at the altar of political expediency, to benefit the Low Countries: "el trato y comercio que ternían sus súbditos y vasallos libremente con el dicho reino de Inglaterra, de que se podía seguir mucho beneficio por la vecindad que tienen".¹²⁵ At thirty-eight Mary had already surpassed average life-expectancy for a woman in the sixteenth century and could with some justification be described as old; as indeed she was by several Spanish courtiers in Philip's train. The delays to Philip's journey to England were a result of finance. A fact easily shown from the 200,000 ducat loan, which Thomas Gresham secured for Mary from the Genoese bankers, Antonio Spinola and Federigo Imperallo, to be taken up at Villálon in Spain and repaid in Antwerp.¹²⁶ Mary had originally asked Charles to lend her the money. Charles' inability in the spring of 1554 to raise this sum represented more than a mere shortfall in crown revenues. The market itself had been decimated by his political expropriations. It had left Castilla chronically short of specie and Habsburg credit in ruins. In a letter of the 12th of June 1554 to the Emperor, Philip commented that "los ccU ducados que la serenissima Reyna maria tomo ay acambio, y los remitio para que se pagasen en genoua, y que se proueyesen de aca los dineros, ya screuia V.M. que no hauía manera de poderse cumplir".¹²⁷

¹²³Cal. Span., XI, p. 414. Cf. also E. H. Harbison, Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary, p. 100.

¹²⁴Fray Prudencio de Sandoval, Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V Máximo, fortísimo, Rey Católico de España y de las Indias, Islas y Tierra firme del mar Océano, ed. D. Carlos Seco Serrano, vol. 3, p. 428.

¹²⁵Ibid, p. 432.

¹²⁶David Loades, The Reign of Mary Tudor, pp. 148–51.

¹²⁷AGS E98, fol. 201r–v.

Having looked at alternative sources of money to complete the exchanges and "en ello no se a podido hallar remedio para proueerlos", Philip suggested "enbiarlos delos que lleua don Juan de figueroa, y como las galeras que han Venido no han de boluer por agora a ytalialia, pareçio que se deuian de enbiar en las barcas todos dU ducados, delos quales podra V.M. mandar cumplir los dichos ccU ducados".¹²⁸ A list of the debts assigned on Castilian revenues due for immediate settlement, included in the same letter, illustrated why "no ay orden ny manera para cumplirlos y las consignaçiones que se les pordran dar seran a tan largos plazos que montar mas El ynterese quel principal".¹²⁹ The letter concludes with an acknowledgement of receipt of letters from the Emperor dated the 27th of April and the suggestion that the sum which "V. Magd. manda que se de ala serenissima reyna maria mi tia y se le situe en medina Valladolid y Segouia visto que en las rentas destos lugares no ay donde se pueda hazer por estar vendidas", be reassigned in Sevilla, to be discharged "ala feria de medina".¹³⁰ The reality of these problems is corroborated by a document in a miscellany of documents collected by the contemporary chronicler Florian de Ocampo who recorded:

Todos los precios de las cosas llegaron a valer doblado de lo que solian, comencaron a faltar los montes, que todos se rompian en Castilla, para sembrar. no avia dinero en las contrataciones publicas, a lo menos de Oro, ni una sola pieza de oro, puesto que de las indias venia continuamente cosa innumerable de oro todo pasaua a Alemania, para cumplir los gastos inoportables de su mag. y los estrechos en que los Alemanes le ponian.¹³¹

This transaction, in theory instantaneous, was held up for months and the export licence for the money to be brought out of Spain was not granted by Philip until July.

¹²⁸AGS E98, fol. 201r–v.

¹²⁹Ibid, fol. 202r.

¹³⁰Ibid, fol. 203r.

¹³¹BNM MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550–1558 and 1521–1549, fol. 94r. Copy of a Dutch original.

2. 2. Foreign Threat and the Wyatt Rebellion, 1554: A Religious or Politic Resistance?

Controversy surrounds the origins of the Wyatt rebellion as to whether political and secular or religious factors predominated. Its aetiology is orthodoxly located in the opposition to the foreign match, anti-Spanish sentiment, and more precisely Mary's rejection of the parliamentary petition of the 16th November: "it was probably the Queen's behaviour on that occasion which led to the formation of a definite conspiracy".¹³² On the 26th November the first meeting of the conspirators, sir Peter Carew, sir James Croft, sir Nicholas Arnold, sir William Pickering, William Winter, sir Edward Rogers, sir Thomas Wyatt, sir George Harper, and William Thomas, took place in London.¹³³ They were soon joined by Edward Courtenay and the duke of Suffolk. Of these, seven were definitely Protestants and four of the others were probably sympathetic to reform.¹³⁴ In this section I examine, the claim that anti-Spanish sentiment was central to the genesis of the revolt.

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Tagus, farewell, that westward with thy streams
 Turns up the grains of gold already tried,
 With spur and sail for I go seek the Thames,
 Gainward the sun that shew'th her wealthy pride
 And, to the town which Brutus sought by dreams,
 Like bended moon doth lend her lusty side.
 My king, my country, alone for whom I live,

¹³²David Loades, *Two Tudor Conspiracies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 15. E. H. Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary*, p. 93, pointed to the tactlessness of her dismissal of the parliamentary petitioners as symptomatic of the causes of revolt.

¹³³Ibid, pp. 15–16.

¹³⁴Malcolm R. Thorp, 'Religion and the Wyatt Rebellion', *Church History* 47 (1978), 363–380.

Of mighty love the wings for this me give.¹³⁵

So wrote the poet and privy councillor Sir Thomas Wyatt on his recall in April 1539 from a two year embassy at the Imperial court, spent mostly in Spain. He had been the ambassador responsible for making representations on behalf of the merchant, Thomas Pery, after his arrest by the Inquisition.¹³⁶ Wyatt's psalmic translations and political affiliations with Thomas Cromwell and the Boleyns, both suggest his sympathy for reformist doctrines. He was, according to a study of his intellectual background, both "anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish".¹³⁷ His son, the rebel leader Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger in his only extant writing, A Treatise on the Militia, which was dedicated to Protector Somerset in 1549 in the context of the Prayer Book rising, attacked the "supersticious Spayniard" and "malicious flemynge envious of our welthe", asserting, "This wot I well, that we take in hand to set up the Religion Protestantism that he the Emperor pulleth down, suerlie unto an ambitious mynd there is no better title, Then nedes of Religion as most part of men well call it".¹³⁸ In this text he proposed the establishment of a militia in Kent, to guard against the threat of both popular insurrection and foreign invasion in a strategically sensitive county: "the most suer and proper remedie for this headstronge mischife wouldbe to strengthen ye Kings part with a power of ye choise of his most able and trusty Subiectes, which might upon a very short warninge in a reddiness, wel armed against all sudden attemptes, either at home or abrode".¹³⁹

Kent had a fluid land market and as a result of its propinquity to London, estates there made attractive rewards for royal servants. Many of the county gentry were lawyers, soldiers, diplomats or administrators. However, the Crown had an interest in limiting the holdings of

¹³⁵Sir Thomas Wyatt (the elder), The Complete Poems, ed. R. A. Rebholz (London: Penguin, 1978), Epigram LX, p. 98.

¹³⁶Cf. p. 3.

¹³⁷Malcolm R. Thorp, 'Religion and the Wyatt Rebellion of 1554', p. 373. [Cf. Patricia Thomson, Sir Thomas Wyatt and His Background (Stanford: 1964), pp. 62–9, 74.]

¹³⁸David Loades (ed.), The Papers of George Wyatt, Camden Society 4th ser., No. 5 (London: Camden Society, 1968), pp. 167–8.

¹³⁹BL Additional MS 62135, Wyatt Papers vol. 1, fol. 100v. Reprinted in Anthony Fletcher, Tudor Rebellions, Seminar Studies in History (London: Longmans, 1968), doc. 20, p. 148.

any one magnate family in the county. Its strategic location close to London, the Cinque Ports and Channel, as well as to Calais and England's continental possessions via the see of Canterbury, made it sensitive. The rise to prominence of a single magnate family or serious factional divisions in its local politics posed a threat to the kingdom's security. The ideas Wyatt rehearsed in A Treatise on the Militia, probably contributed to his success in Kent, in comparison to the relatively abortive attempts made in Leicestershire and Devon. He was an experienced soldier, who had served in Henry Howard, the earl of Surrey's regiment of volunteers at the siege of Landrecies in 1543 and then at Boulogne in 1544, where he had distinguished himself and for which he had received a command in the following year. The earl wrote as governor of Boulogne to Henry VIII of Wyatt's "hardiness, painfulness, circumspection, and natural disposition to the war".¹⁴⁰

Wyatt always maintained that he had only ever been a minor figure in the conspiracy initiated at the meeting, on the 26th of November in London. Apart from their attachment to the Protestant faith, the majority of the Kentish leaders also had in common the fact that they almost all came from the Medway valley and surrounding areas.¹⁴¹ The largest group of recruits amongst those prosecuted for their involvement in the revolt, came from the parishes surrounding the residences of principal gentry in western Kent.¹⁴² Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder's principal residence at Allington near Maidstone had been left on his death in 1542, along with "vast estates in Kent" including the Abbey of Boxley, to his son, who was forced to sell lands to the Crown to the value of £3,669 to clear outstanding debts on them. Nevertheless this still left him one of the biggest landowners in Kent. By 1554 the Wyatts were the most prominent family in the Lower Medway valley area, except for the Lords Cobham, having pursued a policy of expansion and concentration of land holdings. By 22nd December, the duke of Suffolk and Edward Courtenay joined the conspirators and the plan to spark off a fourfold rising beginning on Palm Sunday, the 18th March 1554; Croftes in Herefordshire, Wyatt in Kent, Carew and Coutenay in Devon, and the duke of Suffolk in

¹⁴⁰DNB.

¹⁴¹Peter Clark, English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500–1640 (Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1977), p. 89.

¹⁴²Anthony Fletcher, Tudor Rebellions, p. 80 and David Loades, Two Tudor Rebellions, pp. 48 and 77.

Leicestershire, settled upon. However, rumours were already rife by late December and early January. The imperial ambassador Renard was aware that a conspiracy existed and on the 18th January informed the Queen. He could offer no definite intelligence other than repeat rumours that a French fleet was gathering off the Normandy coast.

Sir Peter Carew had gone down into Devon on the 23rd December. On the 2nd January he was summoned to appear before the Council. He ignored the summons and began to spread rumours of an immanent Spanish invasion. At the Exeter Assizes on the 8th January, sir Thomas Dennis, sheriff of the county, opposed Carew; regarding as seditious the rumours that Philip's navy would make landfall in Devon. An indiscreet adherent of the Carews, William Gibbes asserted in a sermon after one of the Assize sessions that "yf any man woold not stande to defende the Kynge of Spayne for his entrie ynto thys realme, because they woold ravysse there wyves and daughters and robbe and spoile the commons, that then theyr throtte shold be cutte".¹⁴³ The spreading alarm and Dennis' suspicion of the Carews' involvement in a plot to raise the county, led him to garrison Exeter on the 17th January. According to the Tower chronicler by the 21st "was worde brought howe that sir Peter Carowe, sir Gawen Carowe, sir Thomas Dey(nis?)... wer uppe in Devonshire resy sting of the king of Spaynes comyng, and that they hade taken the city of Exeter and castell ther into their custodye".¹⁴⁴ The fact that the principal government loyalist in Devon, Dennis, was suspected of collusion, is a measure of the government's lack of accurate information regarding what was happening in the counties. Courtenay failed to declare himself and sir Peter Carew interpreting Dennis' actions as a prelude to his apprehension, slipped away to the continent on the 25th and exile in Antwerp.

Courtenay had prevaricated and after being summoned to an interview by Stephen Gardiner on the 21st January, revealed that he had been approached by malcontents concerning the marriage and religion.¹⁴⁵ The Chancellor, who had already been eclipsed for his opposition to the marriage, was forced to protect himself. His protégé's involvement was deeply compromising. He revealed what information he could to Mary and the next day

¹⁴³SP 11 / 3 / 10 (2).

¹⁴⁴Tower Chronicle, p. 35.

¹⁴⁵Malcolm R. Thorp, 'Religion and the Wyatt Rebellion of 1554', p. 375.

letters were dispatched, with copies of the treaty, commanding J.P.'s to declare the terms of the marriage and suppress seditious rumours about Philip's coming, being employed by dissidents "under the pretence of misliking the marriage, to rebelle against the catholique religion and divine service restored within this our relame".¹⁴⁶ The key evidence Gardiner was forced to suppress, included the only direct evidence linking Elizabeth to the revolt; a copy of a letter which she had sent to the Queen pleading that an indisposition prevented her from obeying the royal summons to come to London, found in a despatch from the French ambassador Noailles. The letters intercepted by his agents also unfortunately alluded to his interview with Courtenay and the earl's expected role in the rebellion. Gardiner later claimed they had been destroyed when his library was sacked by the rebels.¹⁴⁷

The Protestant duke of Suffolk, John Grey (father of Jane) misinterpreted the appearance of a messenger from the Council at Sheen on the 25th, sent to offer him a military command against the rebels, as a preliminary to his arrest and "so thence departed himself, no man knoweth whither. Sir Thomas Palmer, servant to the erle of Arundel, said on the morow folowing, to a friend of his, that the complot betwene the Frenche king and the said duke of Suffolk was nowe come to light".¹⁴⁸ Rumours of French involvement were rife in the paranoid atmosphere in London during the early stages of the unfolding rebellion. The earl of Huntingdon was despatched to arrest Grey and circular letters sent proclaiming him a traitor. The duke's proclamation against the marriage was read out in Leicester on the 30th January. However, his emissary Burdet found the gates of Coventry closed to them. The government's proclamation had already been heard in neighbouring towns and the proximity of the earl of Huntingdon meant that the citizens "had put themselves in armour, and made all provision they could to defend the citie against the said duke".¹⁴⁹ Two of the key strands of the rising had failed.

After they learnt of Renard's interview with the Queen, sir Thomas Wyatt and sir

¹⁴⁶SP 11 / 2 / 8.

¹⁴⁷David Loades, Two Tudor Conspiracies, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 15–16, 21, 23–4, and 93–4.

¹⁴⁸Tower Chronicle, p. 37.

¹⁴⁹Ralph Holinshed, Chronicles, vol. IV, p. 14.

William Pickering had ridden down into Kent on the 19th of January. The county sheriff, sir Robert Southwell, was alerted to the forthcoming crisis on the 22nd of January by William Isley's arrival at Ightham to declare "the Spanyards was commynge into the realme wt harnes and handgonnes, and would make us English men wondres... and vile".¹⁵⁰ He sent round to neighbouring gentry, to find many were absent. Wyatt's proclamation at Maidstone on the 25th January carefully emphasised their display was *for* the Queen:

Forasmuch as it is now spread abroad, and certainly pronounced by the Lord Chancellor and other of the Coucil, of the Queen's determinate pleasure to marry with a stranger, etc. We therefore write unto you, because you be *our friends*, and because you be *Englishmen*...protesting unto you before GOD, that no *earthly* cause could move us unto this enterprise but this alone: wherein we seek no harm to the Queen... For trial hereof and manifest proof of this intended purpose, lo now, even at hand, Spaniards be already arrived at Dover¹⁵¹

The exhortation to his countrymen, insistent that the marriage 'alone' and no 'earthly cause' moved them, already countered the construction in the royal circular letters sent out three days earlier that the "pretence of misliking the marriage" caused them "to rebelle against the catholique religion".¹⁵² The curious elision of 'before GOD' with 'earthly', anticipated the government's imputation of covert religious intentions. Proclamations were also made in Rochester, Tonbridge, Malling and other parts of the county.

In London by the 25th it was believed "ther was uppe in Kent sir Thomas Wyat, mr. Cullpepper, the lord Cobham, who had taken his castell of Coulyng, and the lord warden, who had taken the castell of Dover".¹⁵³ Lord Cobham, who was Wyatt's uncle (his sister was

¹⁵⁰SP 11 / 2 / 10.

¹⁵¹John Proctor, The Historie of Wyat's Rebellion (January 10th, 1555), repr. in E. Arber (ed.), An English Garner: Ingatherings from our History and Literature, 8 vols., vol. 8, (London 1846), p. 48. My italics. Abbreviated to The Historie of Wyat's Rebellion.

¹⁵²Tudor Royal Proclamations, p. 28.

¹⁵³Tower Chronicle, p. 36.

Wyatt's mother) and an early patron of reform, was, according to the government's construction of heresy and sedition as synonymous, a likely adherent of the rebellion. However a long-standing family feud provoked by Wyatt's father's repudiation of Cobham's sister, exacerbated by land disputes between the two families which had boiled over around 1550, prevented this. Cobham opposed Wyatt, although he did not prevent his sons from joining the rebel leader.¹⁵⁴ In spite of the chronicler's assertion, Cobham was in fact gathering troops in Gravesend with which to oppose Wyatt. He attempted to join the duke of Norfolk and warn him of the imminent defection of his troops. However, Norfolk who did not trust him, refused and ignored the warning. Cobham was besieged by Wyatt, after disbanding his forces at Cooling castle and taken prisoner. He then escaped only to be reimprisoned in the Tower after an appearance before the Privy Council. Sir Thomas Cheney, Lord Warden, initially under suspicion by implication for the absence of a response to the crisis, was writing by the 7th of February that he was about to join Southwell and Abergavenny's armies with reinforcements. The Crown's principal loyalist in Devon, sir Thomas Dennis had similarly fallen under suspicion because of a lack of accurate local information. Local factions and politics interfered with reliable intelligence-gathering. The causes of rebellion were more subtle and complex than simply religious adherence or xenophobia. They were closely involved with local politics in Kent; a county whose social fabric had been riven by hatreds, springing from bitter doctrinal controversies sparked off by the radicalism of Edwardian religious change. This aspect was intermingled with local rivalries, kinship, and property.

Another example of this, was the case of sir Thomas Cawarden. Arrested by his local rivals lord William Howard and John and James Skinner on the 25th, he was interrogated by Gardiner in Star Chamber and then released on the 26th, with instructions to "be in readiness to march and set forward upon hour's warning" and letters discharging the sheriff, sir Thomas Saunders, who was guarding Cawarden's sizeable arsenal at Bletchingley from falling into rebel hands.¹⁵⁵ On the 27th Howard rearrested him, seized his munitions and transported many of them to the Tower. Cawarden was kept in mild confinement at his Blackfriars

¹⁵⁴Peter Clark, English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500–1640, p. 95.

¹⁵⁵William B. Robison, 'The National and Local Significance of Wyatt's Rebellion in Surrey', The Historical Journal 30:4 (1987), 769–790, pp. 777–8.

residence, St. Anne's, at the behest of the Privy Council for the duration of the crisis. He had been under suspicion preceding his arrest by association for his known Protestantism and opposition to the marriage. He retained his post as Master of the Revels throughout Mary's reign, in spite of pleading illness, a year later when the council requested Cawarden's plans for the interludes, pageants and devices to celebrate Philip's arrival.¹⁵⁶ Whether Howard's arrest was motivated by justifiable suspicion about the loyalty of a potentially dangerous local official (there were sixteen pieces of ordnance stored on his estate) or from personal enmity, remains unknown. Robison offers a number of intriguing possible explanations for his release by Gardiner, following the first arrest. Gardiner's opposition to the marriage in conjunction with the fact that one of his supporters was deeply implicated in the revolt, placed him in a dangerous situation. It is unlikely but possible that he wanted the rebellion to achieve a limited success and force the political concessions which parliamentary petition had failed to secure. More likely, Cawarden was a potentially incriminating witness on whose loyalty he was willing to gamble in order to avoid his being interrogated by the Chancellor's enemies. His policy of pressing for a negotiated settlement was not discredited until the 31st and given what we know, appears highly ambivalent. Perhaps the Chancellor simply believed he was innocent.¹⁵⁷

The 'Catholic', government-commissioned account of the Wyatt rebellion by the Tonbridge schoolmaster, John Proctor, printed on 10th January 1555, situated the revolt in relation to politico-religious developments in Europe; dismissing it as a foreign heretical conspiracy.¹⁵⁸

With what ways of craft and subtilty she [Heresy] dilateth her dominon! and finally how, of course, she toileth to be supported by Faction, Sedition, and

¹⁵⁶W. R. Streitberger, *Court Revels, 1485–1559* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 210.

¹⁵⁷William B. Robison, 'The National and Local Significance of Wyatt's Rebellion in Surrey', pp. 779–81.

¹⁵⁸John Proctor, a Roman Catholic cleric, held his teaching post throughout Mary's reign. The evidence for this being an 'official' account is his appearance before the Privy Council on a summons on the 21st April 1554, cf. *A.P.C.*, n.s. V (1554–1556), pp. 12 and 13. Cf. also J. W. Martin, 'The Marian Regime's Failure to Understand the Importance of Printing', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 44/4 (1981), 231–247, pp. 241–2.

Rebellion! to the great peril of subversion of that State where, as a plague, she happeneth to find habitation: as well the lamentable history of the Bohemians and Germans, with all others treating of thelike enterprises by heretics, as also WYAT'S late conspiracy practised with open force, doth plenteously declare.¹⁵⁹

The Spanish marriage served to destroy the 'Religion Protestantism that he the Emperor pulleth down', as Wyatt had written in 1549. Access to the refuges and safe havens where religious dissidents had found asylum, was an element of Charles V's strategy in the eradication of heresy; building on his victory at Mühlberg in 1547 against the Schmalkadic league and the ineffectual ecumenicist initiatives of the Council of Trent. At the top of the copper plate engraving celebrating the victory in 1547, a figure raises the laurel of victory, a Caesarine symbol, while Fame trumpets his success. (Cf. plate 2; *La batalla de Mühlberg* (1547), copper plate engraving, Biblioteca Nacional).¹⁶⁰ The interpretation of Mühlberg in England by conservatives was as an object lesson in political obedience, irrespective of religious sympathy: "a conservative who stressed Henry's greatness, recalled the solidity of support for the Henrician legislation and the thrust of the proclamations act in exalting statute, pointed to the signs from Mühlberg that defiance of an erastian conservative monarch leads heretics rapidly to ruin".¹⁶¹ The Wyatt rebellion was, according to Proctor, a defence of religious freedom, the point of departure of the government's reading of the revolt.

In a letter to Philip, Charles described the English revolt: "Certain discontented individuals have caused some unrest in England under the pretext of not desiring a foreign prince, but the real reason was religion".¹⁶² The royal proclamation declaring 'Wyatt's Treasonable Purpose' of the 1st February, stated similarly that he was "pretending thereby at

¹⁵⁹The Historie of Wyat's Rebellion, p. 45.

¹⁶⁰Julio Ollero (ed.), Los Austrias: Grabados de la Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 1993), p. 105, no. 82.

¹⁶¹Rex Pogson, 'God's law and man's: Stephen Gardiner and the problem of loyalty', in Law and Government under the Tudors, ed. Claire Cross, David Loades, and J. J. Scarisbrick (CUP, 1988), 67–90, p. 80. Cf. BL Add. MS 29546, fo. 9ff.

¹⁶²Cal. Span., XII, 100. Emperor to Philip, 16th February 1554.

the first only the misliking of the marriage lately treated upon to be concluded between her highness and the Prince of Spain" whereas he meant "most manifestly her majesty's destruction and to deprive her grace of the crown".¹⁶³ On the same day in her address to the commons at the Guildhall, Mary said: "it appeared then unto our said council, that the matter of the marriage seemed but a Spanish cloak to cover their pretended purpose against our religion".¹⁶⁴ Proctor described how Wyatt was "fervently affected to heresy, although he laboured by false persuasion otherwise to haue coloured it".¹⁶⁵ He supported this position, recounting how a rich man came to Wyatt to ask him if he would "restore the right religion again": "'Whist!' quod WYAT 'you may not so much as name religion, for that will withdraw from us the hearts of many. You must only make your quarrel for overrunning by strangers'".¹⁶⁶ The linking of heresy with sedition, which is central to the textual economy of Proctor's *Historie*, relegates anti-Spanish sentiment to the level of propaganda; a manipulation by which, as her proclamation had stated, Mary's "good subjects" had "been abused".¹⁶⁷ An early draft of this proclamation alleged that Wyatt et al. "under the pretense of the benefit of the commen welthe of the Realme to withstande straungers sette furthe a Proclamacion thereby to assemble her highness good, true and lovinge subiectes, to the disturbaunce of the realme"; subjects who had been "by sinister notions abused and seduced".¹⁶⁸ Catholic accounts of the rebellion identified its causes as exclusively religious. Under Elizabeth, however, Wyatt's son George attacked these versions of the rising, stressing his father's anti-Spanishness and denying that he had religious motives. Reformers subsequently appropriated this reinterpretation of the revolt as a secular and political protest, since it allowed them to recuperate Wyatt as an icon without condoning political disobedience and setting a dangerous precedent for Catholic dissidents. The representation of Wyatt's insurrection as a 'patriotic revolt' became a Protestant orthodoxy. It is the consecrated picture accepted by David Loades in his study of the conspiracy: "the real

¹⁶³Tudor Royal Proclamations, p. 28.

¹⁶⁴John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, p. 414.

¹⁶⁵The Historie of Wyat's Rebellion, p. 45.

¹⁶⁶*Ibid*, p. 48.

¹⁶⁷Tudor Royal Proclamations, p. 28.

¹⁶⁸BL Cotton MS Vespasian F III, no. 24.

reasons which lay behind the risings were secular and political".¹⁶⁹

Nevertheless, there is something counter-intuitive about this assertion. The revolt's successes were geographically specific to areas where Protestantism had laid down the deepest roots, i.e. in Kent and London, and the rebels came largely from urban areas, particularly towns involved in the cloth industry, itself associated with religious dissent; Pluckley, Ashford, Lenham, or Smarden. The Marian visitation of 1557 found in the diocese of Canterbury, where Cranmer's commissioners had been destroying altars and roods, removing images and enforcing rigorous iconoclastic change since 1548, that over 80 % of parishes were reasonably furnished and that forty-three of the rebels had subsequently become churchwardens. In Kent this reversal had been particularly costly, especially in the west where Protestants were numerous, since it had all been fresh expenditure.¹⁷⁰ In London the equivocal response of the population allowed the Kentishmen to enter as far as the gates of the city. In November 1553 two Maidstone men, who were later followers of Wyatt, had been arrested by the Council for their outspoken criticism of the regime and the Protestant divine William Smith (one of the nine reformed clergymen who participated in the rising) was arrested weeks before for distributing heretical literature.¹⁷¹ Carew in exile at Antwerp told Edward Coutenay that he was favourable to the queen but "his conscience is still, however, influenced by his religion".¹⁷² Sir Nicholas Throckmorton disclosed at his trial that the conspirators had discussed both the marriage and religion. Renard was told that Wyatt's demands had included a restoration of the Protestantism of Mary's brother.¹⁷³

The official contention that anti-Spanish sentiment, a 'patriotic' resistance of strangers

¹⁶⁹David Loades, Two Tudor Conspiracies, p. 88.

¹⁷⁰Christopher Haigh, English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 212 and Peter Clark, English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution, p. 90.

¹⁷¹Cf. Peter Clark, English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution, p. 87 and Malcolm R. Thorp, 'Religion and the Wyatt Rebellion of 1554', p. 377

¹⁷²Cal. Dom. (1547–80), p. 72. Earl of Devonshire, Edward Courtenay to William Petre, 23rd November 1554, Louvain.

¹⁷³Malcolm R. Thorp, 'Religion and the Wyatt Rebellion of 1554', p. 376. Cf. Cal. Span., XII, p. 79.

was merely the front for the treasonable activities of Protestant agitators, equally fails to explain the rising. The problem of arguing either that the causes were religious or secular is that the marriage and religion were inextricably entwined in the government's and Habsburg representation of it. Religion and politics can not be opposed as causes where they were mutually reinforcing. The army that rallied to Wyatt's banner, although a tenth of the size of the Pilgrimage of Grace army of 1536, still enjoyed significant tacit support which was apparent from Mary's difficulties mounting a credible defence. Half the Londoners sent against them under the duke of Norfolk defected. Then "they were sufferyd peceably to enter into Southwarke without repulse or eny stroke stryken" and the "many men of the contry in the innes, raysed and brought thether by the lord William [Howard], and other, to have gone agaynst the saide Wyat... all joynded themselves to the said Kentyshe rebelles, taking their partes; and the said inhabitantes most willinglye with their best entertayned them".¹⁷⁴ At the surreal climax of the insurrection in St. James' park on the 7th February, while Wyatt "planted his ordenance upon the hill" and then "came downe the olde lane on foote, hard by the courte gate", the earl of Pembroke's "horsemen hoveryd all this while without moving, untyll all was passed by" and the "quenes hole battayle of footemen standing stille, Wyat passed along by the wall towardes Charing crosse".¹⁷⁵ According to Wyatt's son George, Pembroke like Norfolk had been faced with the mass defection of his army to the rebels: "one there in Q: Armie reported that the Earle of Pem: had much adoe bare headed to intreate his men to stand, and that still weare the Earle was not, his men weare bending towards the kentishmen, where voices were heard, that they would ioine their countrie men... and no hart to any but the foraigne enimmie".¹⁷⁶ George Wyatt also alleged that the "error and falt of Edward Hastings, Master of the Horse, had caused the panic."¹⁷⁷ The only dissenting voice in this picture was that of the anonymous London chronicler who described how the

queenes armye in the meane season encampyd them selves in the fylde before the place callyd saynt James beyond Westmyster, whithar it was sayd the

¹⁷⁴Tower Chronicle, p. 43.

¹⁷⁵Ibid, p. 49.

¹⁷⁶BL Additional MS 62135, Wyatt Papers vol. 1, fol. 75r.

¹⁷⁷Ibid.

rebells purposyd to come: and aboute two of the cloke they came: the queens ordynaunce was schott of, & the horsemen marchyd fortheward, & set vpon them: & sir Thomas Wyate perseyyng his dystuction at hand devysyd with hym selffe this pollicie: he with certayne nombar slyppyd bye, & havynge theyr swerds drawne cam in at the Temple barre cryenge God save quene Marie¹⁷⁸

Implicit in the former accounts is an incipient sympathy for Wyatt. If anti-Spanish sentiment was a creation and a cover for heresy, then the official explanation infers a prevalence of committed Protestant heretics, contradicted by its representation of Catholic restoration as built on popular consensus and enjoying a full political mandate. The notion that the Wyatt rebellion was 'patriotic', has been seen as a key to the emergence of English Protestant nationalism from the reign of Mary Tudor.¹⁷⁹ The association of Protestantism with nationalism arose out of the Marian government's denigration of the rebels' claim that the foreign marriage, as an abrogation of their sovereignty could sanction their political disobedience, allowing them to maintain allegiance to their sovereign while violently opposing her policies. The government's ridicule of this notion and condemnation of the uprising as heretical, linked religious dissidence with the 'patriotic' opposition to the foreign marriage.

The government explanation of the revolt, involving a tacit admission of both the unpopularity of its religious policies and popular hostility towards the Spanish, was contradictory. The assertion that deception was central to its success, explained and partially excused, while occluding the perception of a genuine conflict of allegiance at the heart of the revolt. The 'propagandist strategy' of the Wyatt camp, "to speak no word of religion, but to make the only colour of his commotion to withstand Strangers and to advance liberty",¹⁸⁰ had successfully yoked together a diversity of discontent; those concerned about their holdings

¹⁷⁸Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (ed.), 'Two London Chronicles from the Collections of John Stow', repr. in *Camden Miscellany*, XII (London: Camden Society, 1910), p. 33.

¹⁷⁹Cf. David Loades, *Politics, Censorship and the English Reformation* (London: Pinter Publications, 1991), 4 – The Origins of English Protestant Nationalism.

¹⁸⁰*The Historie of Wyat's Rebellion*, p. 47.

of ex-monastic property,¹⁸¹ moderates who objected to the renunciation of the Supremacy and repudiation of the Henrician settlement, bona fide religious radicals, political opportunists, malcontents, and merchants and tradesmen affected by the contraction of exports and falling domestic demand, angered at the prospect of greater Spanish competition. Mary's partisan Robert Wingfield wrote that

to make his faction more widely accepted, Wyatt first gave out that he had taken up arms solely for love of his country, not to harm the queen, but to hinder this marriage, lest Spaniards, *who are arrogant and indeed wanton men*, should reduce the English nation to a base slavery, from which *they shrink far more than from death*.¹⁸²

Endorsing, in a sense, the anti-Spanish sentiment behind the insurrection's 'wide acceptance', Wingfield then paradoxically asserted, "it is scarcely credible how many flocked together in quite a brief space of time despite the winter storms, to join this man in his evil designs against his sovereign, the sole defender and, as one might say, the sheet-anchor consecrated for the nation".¹⁸³ There is an inherent contradiction in his simultaneous acceptance of the claims of a xenophobic nationalism and assertion that there could be no conflict of allegiance which mirrors precisely the problem with the official accounts.

Committed Protestants were allegedly a minority in 1553,¹⁸⁴ although strongly

¹⁸¹The persistence of suspicion about the consequences of reunification with Rome for secularised property is remarkable. Even given the assurances of a papal dispensation and statutory confirmation of holders' property, sir William Petre, Principal Secretary of the Privy Council, obtained through the representations of the English envoy at Rome, sir Edward Come a special private dispensation confirming his and his heirs possession of ecclesiastical property. Paul IV's bull of the 28th of November 1555 is a unique document. Cf. F. G. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary: Sir William Petre at Court and home* (London: Longmans, 1961), p. 185, reprinted in Sir W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1665–73), ed. of 1846, vi, p. 1645.

¹⁸²Diarmaid MacCulloch (ed. and trans.), 'The Vitae Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham', p. 279. My italics.

¹⁸³Ibid.

¹⁸⁴C. Haigh, *English Reformations*, (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1993), Part II – Political Reformation and Protestant Reformation, 'Chapter 11– The Making of a Minority'.

represented in London and the South East, especially in towns associated with the cloth trade. Their success as propagandists is attested to by their over-representation in the textual remains of the Marian period. In spite of persecution, Protestant polemicists produced a total of 114 titles compared to only 93 Catholic titles. There was a sharp decline in the volume of publications after 1556. By 1558 Catholics were producing only two titles a year.¹⁸⁵ As early as August 1553, leaflets were being scattered on the streets of London by these prolific and practised Protestant propagandists. One which came to the attention of the Imperial ambassadors was translated and sent with their letters back to Brussels.

Yesterday a defamatory leaflet was scattered about the streets of town; we send a copy herewith which we have hurriedly translated: 'Noblemen and gentlemen favouring the work of God, take counsel together and join with all your power and your following. Withdraw yourselves from our virtuous lady, Queen Mary, because Rochester, Walgrave, Inglefield, Weston, and Hastings, hardened and detestable papists all, follow the opinions of the said Queen. Fear not, and God will prosper and help our holy design and intent; be assured that they have no great strength now, except two archpapists, Derby and Stourton; Arundel might be mentioned as the third, with the renegades [Sir Edmund] Peckham and [Sir William] Drury, chamberlain, who have no great power. As to the other personages in the country, of whatever condition they may be, they will assuredly prove tractable and conform to our belief, as we have seen by experience during the past seven years. But Winchester, the great devil, must be exorcised and exterminated with his disciples named above, before he can poison the people and wax strong in his religion. Draw near to the Gospels, and your guardian shall be the crown of glory'.¹⁸⁶

The convoluted syntax of the second sentence of the leaflet, "[w]ithdraw yourselves...", situates the author within a conflict of allegiance and conscience. Its subversive, polemical

¹⁸⁵E. J. Baskerville, A Chronological Bibliography of Propaganda and Polemic Published in English Between 1553 and 1558 From the Death of Edward VI to the Death of Mary I, (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1979), pp. 6–7.

¹⁸⁶Cal. Span., XI, 173. Ambassadors to emperor, 16th August 1553. Transcribed in an appendix to Gachard (ed.), Voyages des Souverains des Pays-Bas, vol. IV.

epithet "hardened and detestable papist" evades "our virtuous lady, Queen Mary" by an elliptical repudiation of her councillors for "following" her opinions. The hortatory rhetoric, "virtuous lady", is undercut by this self-cancelling moment. The author, it seems, speaks in spite of himself, betrays himself. This circularity disguises on two levels: firstly the queen's retention and eulogisation effaces the taint of treason inherent in the incitement to insurrection. Secondly the confusion of the logical sequence, "Withdraw yourselves [from her]...because [they]...follow [her] opinions", suggests paradoxically the councillors were responsible for the author and readers' disobedience on the grounds of their obedience (to the will of their sovereign). This patterning further distances the treason by making royal councillors responsible for a forced sedition.

Scapegoating royal councillors was a common stratagem to deflect blame from the target of a critique; a sleight of hand to blunt the consequences of making an open accusation against a living monarch. Two days after the ambassadors' information about the pamphlet identified in their understated précis as "defamatory", was despatched, the proclamation 'Prohibiting Religious Controversy, Unlicensed Plays and Printing' was issued from Richmond, commanding Mary's "good loving subjects to live together in quiet sort and Christian charity, leaving those new-found devilish terms of *papist* or heretic and such like".¹⁸⁷ There was a principled religious opposition to Mary. However Wyatt's proclamation had carefully emphasised that they meant "no harm to the Queen": his central demand was the removal of "evil councillors" from about the queen.¹⁸⁸ The councillor he singled out was Stephen Gardiner. Although a central figure in religious reaction, he had been a figurehead of opposition to the marriage. (Cf. plate 3; from William Turner, The Hunting of Romysh Wolfe (Emden: 1555), Bodleian Library, Oxford).

¹⁸⁷P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin (eds.), Tudor Royal Proclamations: The Later Tudors (1553–1587), Vol. II, (Yale University Press, 1969), p. 6.

¹⁸⁸The Historie of Wyat's Rebellion, p. 48.



There are other reasons why religious explanations are not finally persuasive. The credibility of Proctor's text's central assertion of an identity between heresy and sedition, supportive of the government position that the causes of Wyatt's rebellion were religious / heretical, was supported by his employment of rhetorical strategies which eschewed its nature as confected narrative and representation; the use of direct quotation, dialogue, witnessing, and the citation of authority. He alleged, for example, that he was an eye-witness at Wyatt's arraignment, standing "not ten feet away", and asserted that by "the which words may appear both what he himself thought of his doings, how much he misliked the same, and also how penitent and sorrowful he was therfor".¹⁸⁹ The words quoted directly from the trial record contradict the religious explanation of the revolt that they must support:

O most miserable, mischievous, brutish, and beastly furious imagin^ation of mine! For I thought by the marriage of the Prince of Spain, this realm should have been in danger: and that I, that have lived a free born man, should, with my country, have been brought to bondage and servitude by aliens and Strangers.¹⁹⁰

Discordant evidence which subverts the heresy / sedition identity formative of the account as such, slips through. The Tower Chronicle corroborates Proctor's description of Wyatt's evidence, quoting him as affirming "myne hole intent and styrre was agaynst the comyng in of strandgers and Spanyerds".¹⁹¹ As we have seen, David Loades' full length study of the rebellion concludes that the conspiracy was "secular and anti-clerical rather than Protestant": the rebels' "main concern, however, was with the threat of Spanish domination".¹⁹² It is clear, however, that neither its representation as a sectarian struggle of Protestant against Catholic nor as xenophobic nationalism characteristic of the early modern period is adequate. There was a confluence of elements necessary to produce it; political, economic, and religious. My contention is that its causes religious and political ultimately return to the complicated

¹⁸⁹The Historie of Wyat's Rebellion, p. 92.

¹⁹⁰Ibid. Cf. Cobbett, Complete Collection of State Trials, vol. 1 (London: T. Hansard, 1809), p. 862.

¹⁹¹Tower Chronicle, p. 69.

¹⁹²David Loades, Two Tudor Conspiracies, p. 17.

interrelationship between gender and allegiance and problem of female rule.

The emergence of the identity between heresy and sedition can be traced in successive heresy statutes from, 5 Richard II, stat. 2, c. 5 of 1382, 'Enormities ensuing the preaching of Heresies', in the fourteenth century onwards:

there be divers evil Persons within the Realm going from County to County, and from Town to Town, in Certain Habits under Dissimulation of great holiness, and without the licence of the Ordinaries of the Places or other sufficient Authority preaching daily, not only in Churches and Churchyards, but also in Markets, Fairs and other open Places, where a great Congregation of People is... which Persons do also preach divers matters of slander, to engender Discord and Dissention betwixt divers Estates of the said Realm¹⁹³

A series of proclamations from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries directed against Lollardy and other forms of heterodoxy, sought to curtail the availability and spread of diversity of opinion and dissent in 'open places'. This particular statute was revived by Philip and Mary, who also rescinded the repeal of 2 Henry IV, c. 15 of 1401, which had asserted: "in diuers Places within the said Realm under the colour of dissembled Holiness, [they] preach and teach these days openly and privily divers new Doctrines, and wicked heretical and erroneous Opinions", "make *conventicles* and confederacies, they hold and exercise schools, they make and write Books, they do wickedly instruct and inform People, and as much as they may excite and stir them to Sedition and Insurrection".¹⁹⁴ The indeterminate nature of the treasonous opinion, doctrine, or book, reveals assumptions about the nature of information and its dissemination. Unauthorised speech, text, and discussion were necessarily conducive to discord, in licensing difference or diversity. Protestantism was in this sense no more than a new set of reading practices and a fresh sense of political engagement through public discussion and print culture.

¹⁹³ 5 Richard II, stat. 2, c. 5, 1382, cf. Statutes of the Realm, vol. 2, p. 26.

¹⁹⁴ 2 Henry IV, c. 15, 1401, cf. *ibid*, vol.2, p. 125.

2. 3. Effeminisation and Anti-Spanish Sentiment.

The government in accordance with Gardiner's advocacy of negotiation had ordered the despatch of a herald to Wyatt at Allington on the 22nd. He was turned away without being heard and by the 27th the rebels were encamped at Rochester with about 2000 men. The duke of Norfolk at the head of a force mustered in London, whose core consisted of five hundred Whitecoats, neglecting to inform either Southwell or Abergavenny of his intention, engaged Wyatt immediately at Rochester bridge. The advance guard of Whitecoats deserted to the rebels, a moment marked by an oration by Captain Alexander Brett; described by Proctor as playing "so malicious a part as the *Jew* would not have done the like".¹⁹⁵ Alexander Brett was a business associate of sir Peter Carew in the Cornish lead market and had probably been suborned by Broughton, a Scottish agent of the French ambassador Noailles.¹⁹⁶ The speech in "thes or moche like wordes" was according to the Tower Chronicle:

for they, consydering the great and manyfold myseries which are like to fall upon us if we shalbe under the rule of the proude Spanyardes or strangers, are here assemblyd to make resystance of the cominge in of him or his favourers; and for that they knowe right well, that yf we should be under subjection they wolde, as slaves and villaynes, spoyle us of our goodes and landes, ravische our wyfes before our faces, and deflowre our daughters in our prescence, have nowe, for the avoydinge of so great myschefes and inconvenyences likely to light upon theym now, in tyme before his comyng, this their enterprise, agaynst which I thinck no Inglishe hart ought to say, moche lesse by fyghting to withstande theym.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵The Historie of Wyat's Rebellion, p. 67.

¹⁹⁶E. H. Harbison, Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary (New York: Books for Libraries Press, rep. 1970), p. 129; David Loades, Two Tudor Conspiracies, p. 60; and E. H. Harbison, 'French Intrigue at the Court of Queen Mary', American Historical Review XLV:3 (1940), 533–551, p. 548. Cf. E 159/334 Recognisances of the Michaelmas Term, r4.

¹⁹⁷The Tower Chronicle, pp. 38–9.

The moment of their defection was signalled by the shout 'we are all Englishmen!' Brett's appeal to the 'Englishe hart' explicitly inscribed opposition to the marriage in a martial and patriotic discourse, according to which the 'coming in' of strangers signified as a threat to manhood. The conjugal union was a synecdoche for invasion, a metonymic conquest through sexual possession. Mary as a woman became the property of her husband in marriage. The tyranny of 'proude Spanyardes' according to this typology, signified a return to exploitative (feudal) power-relationships, under the sign of the emasculating rule of a woman. A transposed version of the identification of the body of the kingdom with the body of the sovereign, given women's loss of sexual and property rights on marriage, was reflected in imagery of inversion and unmaning. Gender power-relations were projected onto the relation between *natural born* and alien. Through the marriage the body of the kingdom came to occupy a subordinate female position and Englishmen were consequently effeminised in relation to the strangers. In his speech 'proude Spanyardes' and 'strangers' were interchangeable. The prejudice is non-specific. The ascendancy of foreign power, 'him and his favourers', threatened the exclusivity of liberties differentiating the 'free(d)' Englishman, from 'slaves and villaynes'. The rhetoric is directed specifically at city-dwellers, the London soldiers, whose status as 'free' citizens in the metropolis consisted of the enjoyment of the liberties of the city – economic privileges which discriminated specifically in their favour against strangers and freedom from overlordship. Foreign over^running and the *loss of liberty* are represented as economic and sexual violations. Internal divisions and contradictions are reconfigured as external dangers. The possession of a right in property and thereby reproductive rights which defined social status, were threatened by an alien incursion that connoted a dissolution of autonomy; represented by the submission of a female ruler in foreign marriage.

Wyatt believed the prince of Spain, "the undoing of this realm for at the spring of the year such gentlemen as I with others shall be sent into France with a great power of Englishmen to enlarge his countries there and in the meantime... he shall strengthen the realm with his own nation".¹⁹⁸ Popular responses echoed this fear. James Braddock, a yeoman farmer, declared Mary "has broken her father's will for the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Courtenay and the Bishop of Winchester should have remained in the Tower and she should

¹⁹⁸SP 11/ 3 / 18 (1).

not marry any outlandish man, wherefore she is not worthy to wear the crown"; while John Toppylow believed if the marriage was effected, "we should lie in swine sties, in caves, and the Spaniards should have our houses".¹⁹⁹ In May 1554, four months after Brett's oration and two months before Philip landed at Southampton, a patriotic appeal which echoes or may be echoed by Brett's speech, as recorded in the Tower Chronicle, appeared in the translation of a Lutheran text, which had stirred up Germany with a similar rhetoric of rape and dispossession. Charles V's "ayde and obedience shall serue to bring in Italianes, which shall ouerrunne his natural countrey, most shamefully defyle and abuse honest wyues, widdowes and virgyns euen before the faces of theyr husbands, parentes and frindes": its imprimatur was, "Imprynted at Grenewych by Conrad Freeman in the month of May MDLiiii. With the most gracious licence & priuilege of god almightie, king of heauen and earth".²⁰⁰ The Lutheran discussion was of the Holy Roman Emperor's papal obedience, as a vindication of the right of resistance to temporal authority: "it is another thing to be a Rebel, than to be one of those, which stand in the defence of Goddes true religion and of their natural countrey".²⁰¹ It shaped English responses to the Spanish marriage and furnished the rebels with a 'patriotic' rhetoric with which to articulate their 'anti-Spanish sentiment'. Its sexual content played off a commonplace metaphor of land for the female body: men "know that they may lawfully challenge this high pris'd commoditie of love as their owne, and that they have payed for the same", but "when this our high-priv'd Commoditie chanceth to light into some other merchants hands, and that our private Inclosure proveth to be a Common for others, we care no more for it".²⁰² According to the typology of merchandise, land, and the female body, the marriage could be reconceived economically. Mary was 'given away' in marriage and the kingdom through her became the foreigner, Philip's 'private Inclosure'.

¹⁹⁹Cited in Peter Clark, English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution, p. 91.

²⁰⁰John Christoferson, A Faithful Admonition of a certeyne true Pastor and Prophete... translated with a Preface by M. Philip Melancthon (Greenwich: Conrad Freeman!, May 1554), sig. Giii.

²⁰¹Ibid, sig. Cii.

²⁰²Peter Stallybrass, 'Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed', in Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourse of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe, ed. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers (London: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 128.

In Mary's oration at the Guildhall on the 1st February, she displayed her coronation ring, professing that at her coronation she "was wedded to the realm and laws of the same (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off)" and that although "I cannot tell how naturally the mother loveth the child, for I was never mother of any... if a prince or governor may as naturally and earnestly love her subjects, as the mother doth the child, then assure yourselves, that I, being your lady and mistress, do as earnestly and tenderly love and favour you".²⁰³ In a Latin manuscript in La Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial by an anonymous diarist, the metaphor from the Guildhall speech is developed further: "most dear and beloved subjects, I, by the grace of God and by your unanimous suffrages your Queen and mother (not for having borne you as my children, but full of more than motherly love towards you since the day in which you chose me as your Queen and mistress)".²⁰⁴ The early modern cultural investment in legitimacy and lineage transformed female sexuality into a likely site of male humiliation and dispossession. The metaphor by which Mary figured her relationship to her subjects, the relation between mother and child, was reflected in a transposed form in the rejection of Mary by Wyatt and his followers and in the impulses which underlay their repudiation. If they were her children by her first marriage 'to the realm', then their inheritance was directly threatened by a second marriage outside the natio to a foreign prince, into another bloodline, which would produce children with a rival and mutually exclusive claim on their patrimony. An obsessive concern with property rights and their vitiation through the marriage, as we shall see, was at the heart of the concerns which produced the anti-Marian opposition. The form taken by anti-Spanish propaganda was an effect of this anxiety. In the context of their brief as to how to set up the marriage in the summer of 1553, Charles' ambassadors urged Mary to show herself "a good Englishwoman, wholly bent on the kingdom's welfare".²⁰⁵ By the following summer after the marriage had been concluded, Giacomo Soranzo, the Venetian ambassador, was reporting on the dissent surrounding the fact that she "being born of a Spanish mother, was always inclined towards that nation,

²⁰³John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, vol. VI, p. 414.

²⁰⁴C. V. Malfatti (trans. and pub.), The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor, p. 66.

²⁰⁵Cal. Span., XI, pp. 178–82.

scorning to be English and boasting of her descent from Spain".²⁰⁶ The later emblematic importance of Elizabeth's virginity derived from the fact that the "state, like the virgin, was a *hortus conclusus*, an enclosed garden walled off from enemies".²⁰⁷ The politicisation of metaphors of women as (un)contained derived from a typology of political relations according to which the sovereign was *father* of the nation. This symbolic order was disturbed by Mary, who as a loving mother to her subjects was a site through which their claims dissipated and leaked away. In foreign marriage she was a matrix of their dispossession and disinheritance.

After the defection of Brett and the Whitecoats, the duke of Norfolk retreated to London with the remnants of his forces. They arrived "cotes tourned, all ruyned, without arowes or stringe in their bowe, or sworde, in very strange wyse; which discomfiture, lyke as yt was a hart-sore and very displeasing to the quene and counsayll, even so yt was almost no lesse joyous to the Londoners, and most parte of all others".²⁰⁸ By the 31st January Wyatt's army was in Dartford. A proclamation that day granted free passage through Southwark to "as many as dyd take his parte or spake in his cause", and commanded that "all his wellwishers shoulde go" to him.²⁰⁹ On the 1st February he marched on to Greenwich and Deptford. London's gates were being guarded by this time and the streets "were full of harnessed men in every part".²¹⁰ On the 3rd as he marched into Southwark, under fire from the Tower, he was proclaimed a traitor. There he found the drawbridge and gates of London bridge shut against him. All boats moored on the north of the Thames were to remain there on pain of death. However, he was welcomed into Southwark and joined by the troops stationed there. Mary "had heard for a fact that the Londoners were evilly disposed and in their madness favoured Wyatt", however "though only a woman, she showed the spirit of her

²⁰⁶Cal. Ven., V (1534-1554), no. 934, p. 560. Giacomo Soranzo to Senate, 18th August 1554.

²⁰⁷Peter Stallybrass, 'Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed', in Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourse of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe, ed. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers, p. 129.

²⁰⁸Tower Chronicle, p. 39.

²⁰⁹Ibid, p. 40.

²¹⁰Ibid.

ancestors in adverse circumstances and strove with all her might to reconstruct her army".²¹¹ With an army under Sir Richard Southwell approaching from the south, reaching Blackheath and Greenwich by the 5th, Wyatt suddenly left Southwark on the 6th and crossed the river at Kingston so that by the early morning of the 7th of February he was in the city in sight of the earl of Pembroke and his men. The rebels marched unimpeded past the gates of Whitehall Palace where the queen had remained despite warnings to flee London. The 'hot Gospeller' Edward Underhill, a Gentleman Pensioner and one of the guards attending the queen that day set the scene. Underhill's loyalty to the queen in spite of his religious adherence is a caveat against the simplistic assertion that belief was sufficient cause for rebellion. Justifiable disobedience was a central area of controversy in the political philosophy of the period.

The Queen was in the Gallery by the Gatehouse.

Then came Knevett and Thomas Cobham with a company of rebels with them, through the Gatehouse from Westminster: wherewith Sir John Gage and three of the Judges [of the Common Pleas] that were meanly armed in old brigantines [jackets of quilted leather, covered with iron plates] were so frightened, that they fled in at the gates in such haste, that old Gage fell down in the dirt and was foul arrayed: and so shut the gates, wherewith the rebels shot many arrows.

By means of this great hurly burly in shutting of the gates, the Guard that were in the Court made as great haste in at the Hall door; and would have come into the Hall amongst us, which we would not suffer. Then they went thronging towards the Water Gate, the kitchens, and those ways.

Master Gage came in amongst us, all dirt; and so frightened that we could not keep them out, except we should beat them down.

With that we issued out of the Hall into the Court, to see what the matter was; where there was none left but the porters, the gates being fast shut. As we went towards the gate, meaning to go forth, Sir Richard Southwell came forth of the back yards into the Court.

'Sir!', said we, 'command the gates to be opened that we may go to the

²¹¹Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'The Vitae Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham', p. 281.

Queen's enemies! We will else break them open! It is too much shame that the gates should thus be shut for a few rebels! The Queen shall see us fell down her enemies this day, before her face!

'Masters!' said he, and put his morion off his head, 'I shall desire you all, as you be Gentlemen, to stay yourselves here; that I may go up to the Queen to know her pleasure; and you shall have the gates opened. And, as I am a Gentleman! I will make speed!'

Upon this, we stayed; and he made a speedy return: and brought us word, the Queen was content that we should have the gates opened: 'But her request is', said he, 'that you will not go forth of her sight; for her only trust is in you, for the defence of her person this day.'

So the gate was opened, and we marched before the Gallery window: where she spake unto us; requiring us, 'As we were Gentlemen, in whom she only trusted, that we would not go from that place.'

There we marched up and down the space of an hour; and then came a herald posting, to bring the news that Wyatt was taken.²¹²

Mary must have watched them pass by beneath her. The troops lining the streets towards Charing Cross stood still as Wyatt passed by and then at Charing Cross "the lord chamberlayne withe the garde and a number of other, almost a thousande persons... shott at his company, and at last fledd to the court gates", while further on in "Fleet Street certayn of the lorde treasurers band, to the number of CCC men, mett theym, and so going on the one syde passyd by theym coming on the other syde without eny whit saying to theym" and "this is more strandge: the said Wyat and his company passyd along by a great company of harnessyd men, which stood on bothe sydes, without eny withstandinge them".²¹³ At Ludgate they found the gates held against them by lord William Howard. As they retreated the royal

²¹²Edward Arber (ed.), An English Garner: Ingatherings from our History and Literature, vol. IV (Birmingham: 1882), pp. 92–3. The account concludes: "Anon after, we [the Gentlemen Pensioners] were all brought unto the Queen's presence, and every one kissed her hand; of whom we had great thanks and large promises how good she would be unto us: but few or none of us got anything, although she was very liberal to many others, that were enemies unto God's Word, as few of us were", *ibid.*

²¹³Tower Chronicle, pp. 50–1.

troops fell on them and after a short struggle the rebels surrendered and Wyatt was taken prisoner.

Ten days later the government issued its proclamation 'Ordering the Deportation of Seditious Aliens', desired by Charles since the previous summer. They "fleeing from the obeisance of the princes and rulers under whom they be born (some for heresy, some for murther, treason, robbery, and some for other horrible crimes)" had come to England,

partly to dilate, plant, and sow the seeds of their malicious doctrine and lewd conversation among the good subjects of this her grace's realm, of purpose to infect her good subjects with the like; insomuch as besides innumerable heresies, which divers of the same, being heretics, have preached and taught within her highness' said realm, it is assuredly known unto her majesty that not only their secret practices have failed to stir, comfort, and aid divers her highness' subjects to this most unnatural rebellion against God and her grace, but also some other them desist not still to practice with her people eftsoon to rebel.²¹⁴

Religious refugees from Edward's reign were scapegoated by the government by invoking the consecrated association of treason with heterodox belief and non-conformity. It is ironic that the blame for what later came to be seen as an expression of popular xenophobic, an anti-Spanish uprising, was laid initially by the government at the door of strangers. The apportioning of blame was diversionary and by harnessing popular mistrust of aliens, deflected attention from the issue of anti-Spanish sentiment. Blaming groups least likely to have participated^{at} in the revolt was a palliative. The marriage and rebellion had the effect of exacerbating xenophobic sentiment in the capital and the proclamation was a response and concession to this mood. Mary demonstrated remarkable clemency and very few of the rebels were actually executed in its aftermath. Renard who had been relieved the previous Autumn when "French and Flemish preachers who interspersed seditious words in their sermons have been forbidden to preach,"²¹⁵ reported that the proclamation "has greatly pleased the

²¹⁴Tudor Royal Proclamations, p. 31.

²¹⁵Cal. Span., XI, p. 173.

Londoners, and the measure will rid the realm of many heretics and evil men".²¹⁶ However, on the 12th February, he had written: "A new revolt is feared because the people say so much noble blood ought not to be shed for the sake of foreigners. Many foreigners have departed, because marks were found on their houses".²¹⁷ This passage was omitted from the Spanish translation of the document sent to Philip from Brussels.²¹⁸ The proclamation was ambiguous, a concession to the xenophobic sentiment undoubtedly stimulated by the marriage and an attempt to divert attention from anti-Spanish sentiment.

A public proclamation has been made here ordering all foreigners who have taken refuge in England on account of crimes committed at home, to leave the country, as well as those who have been admitted to the citizenship of London since Henry VIII's death. This measure will serve to rid us of many heretics who cause revolts and conspiracies.²¹⁹

The accusation that Philip's coming entailed foreigner immigration, turned out to be true. On the 12th October 1554, Francis Yaxley wrote to William Cecil: "The artizans Spaniards were commanded yesterday to shutte up theyr shoppes, I think because by the order and lawes of the cittie they maye not open the same being not free denyzens".²²⁰ Renard believed "over two thousand artisans have entered London, in defiance of the city's priveleges, since the King arrived".²²¹ Civic disorder and riot was frequently associated with the artisanal class and this infringement of English privileges was potentially explosive. In spite of this order and the proclamation of the spring, by 1555 the mayor of London was again forced to issue an order concerning the poverty caused by the large number of strangers in London.²²²

²¹⁶Cal. Span., XII, p. 109. Renard to emperor, 17th February 1554.

²¹⁷Ibid, p. 96. Renard to emperor, 12th February 1554.

²¹⁸AGS, E. 808 fol. 12.

²¹⁹Cal. Span., XII, p. 107.

²²⁰BL MS Lansdowne 3, fol. 92. Cf. D. Loades, The Reign of Mary Tudor, p. 160.

²²¹Cal. Span., XII, p. 96. Renard to emperor, 13th February 1554.

²²²W. Page (ed.), Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England 1509-1603 (Lymington: The Publications of the Huguenot Society, 1893), vol. 8,

The government's underlying assumption of the equivalence of secular and religious authority, produced a simplified version of the Wyatt rebellion, constituted by an assertion of the identity of all forms of infidelity. The Marian propagandist John Christoferson asserted: "we be all bretherne, partly by reason we professe one fayth, and partlye that we all be borne & broughte up in one countrie".²²³ As in the case of the merchant Thomas Pery (cf. p. 3), fidelity was identified as an heritable category, a characteristic defining what constituted being a natural born subject. Fidelity was a function of birthplace, belief, and allegiance. Foreignness was therefore the sign of infidelity. The outsider was beyond the recognisable patterns of trust, belief, and localised allegiance, defining identity. The origin of the "connection between religion and an antipathy toward foreigners", lay not, as Malcolm Thorp writes, in the fear that Philip would restore traditional religion by force, but in the association of fidelity with blood-line and lineage.²²⁴ A stranger was necessarily ungodly or "supersticious", as Wyatt had claimed of the Spaniard (cf. p. 89). In the anonymous *Viaje de Turquía* (1557), a humanist dialogue about the adventures of a Spaniard captured by the Turks, the protagonist Pedro de Urdemalas turns down the Pasha's offers of freedom, wealth and position, if he converts to Islam "porque yo era christiano y mi linaje lo había sido y tal había de morir".²²⁵ The *estatutos de limpieza de sangre* were not directed against Jews, but discriminated against Christian proselytes in whose blood flowed the remnants, the residue of their ancestral beliefs. The quasi-religious anointing and investiture of the monarch, as well as aspects of household service were practices designed to repeat the identification of the royal person with the sacred; the kissing and reverencing of napkins and salt-cellars, "el sumiller de la Paneteria da vna seruilleta al panetier y la besa haciendo acatamiento", then "dandole juntamente en la mano el salero cubierto besandolo primero el qual el dicho

p. xxx. Cf. license to grant letters of Denization, Pat. 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, p. 3 and *Stat. Papers Dom.*, vol. xii, p. 37.

²²³John Christoferson, *An exhortation to all menne to tek hede and beware of rebellion: Wherein are set forth the causes, that commonlye move men to rebellion, and that no cause is there that ought to move any man there unto, with a discourse of the miserable effectes, that ensue thereof* (London: John Cawood, 24th July, 1554), fol. Biii.

²²⁴Malcolm R. Thorp, 'Religion and the Wyatt Rebellion of 1554', p. 379.

²²⁵*Viaje de Turquía*, ed. Fernando G. Salinero (Madrid: Catédra, 1986), p. 174.

panatier lo auia de lleuar entre el pie y el vientre".²²⁶ Heresy and treason were thus related forms of impiety. In 1539, after the excommunication of Henry in December and the rapprochement between Francis I and Charles V, sealed by the signing of a ten-year truce and pledge of friendship in June and July 1538, Cromwell commissioned Richard Morison to write the Exhortation to Stir all Englishmen to the Defence of Their Country (pub. February 1539?) in which the author stressed unanimity and consensus, asking: "I truste as we be one realme so our enemies shall fynde us of one harte, one fydeletie, one allegiaunce".²²⁷ Implicit in the hortatory title of the text was the tacit acknowledgement that religious change had dislocated heart, fidelity and allegiance. The ideal continuity and coincidence of territory, fidelity, and allegiance had been fractured and broken apart by radical innovation. By 1553, a religiously conservative regime made a similar appeal to a residual version of this notion entwining land and lineage, in spite of its erosion and interrogation by schism and then reunification.

Events in the Low Countries demonstrated the imperialists awareness and concern about the Wyatt rebellion. Renard warned on the 13th February that,

Your Majesty's fleet makes them suspicious because of the arrest of English merchants and their property at Antwerp and other places in the Low Countries. As soon as I heard this I went to the Council and explained that your Majesty's fleet was meant to assist the Queen and her realm, principally against the French, wherefore there was no ground for suspicion; and that the Antwerp embargo had been decided upon in order to satisfy your Majesty's subjects, disturbed by the rumour to the effect that your ambassadors over here had been ill-treated and put to death, and by no means with the intention

²²⁶BNM MS 907: Oliveros de la Marche, Estado de la casa del Duque Carlos de Borgoña mi soberano señor, fol. 11r, and BNM MS 1080: Joan Sigoney, Relacion de la forma de seruir que se tenia en la casa del Emperador don Carlos nuestro señor que aya gloria el año 1549, y se auía tenido algunos años antes E del partido que se daua a cada vno de los Criados de su Mj. Que se contauan por los Libros del Bureo, fol. 62r. Presumably the salt-cellar was carried thus to keep the person's fingers away from the holes at the top, as a precaution against poison.

²²⁷Quoted in Greg Walker, Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII (Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 198.

of acting contrary to the treaties of alliance.²²⁸

The Brussels government in arresting merchants and imposing an embargo, repeated actions they had taken during the accession crisis, which in fact contravened the treaties of alliance of 1542, 1546, and 1554. Their response to unsubstantiated rumours perhaps demonstrated an uncomfortably aggressive posture towards the domestic affairs of a foreign sovereign state and their determination to secure Philip on the English throne. The council was fearful about the possibility of foreign intervention in a way that mirrored popular anxieties. In a letter to the Privy Council, Sir Thomas Gresham described how the exchange jumped abruptly on the 15th February 1554, from 20s 6d / gr. to 22s / gr. when news reached Antwerp that the Wyatt rebellion had been crushed.²²⁹ Exchange rate fluctuations even in the early modern period reflected political events.

In chapter three I explore an analogy between the Wyatt rebellion and Comuneros revolt of 1520. The marriage contract's demands were identical to those made by the Cortes to the Burgundian Charles shortly after his accession as king of 'Spain'. The *comunidades* resisted the *alienation* of local sovereignty by an international ruler, whose imperial interests required increasingly abstract forms of authority and allegiance, at odds with the intensely personal, intimate relations central in that political culture. The problem of possessing political authority where rulers did not possess a personal landed power base was a product of dynasticism; the accidents of the marriage market and infant mortality. The Wyatt rebellion defied non-localised governance. It was not an expression of national imperatives. The attribution of 'patriotic' motives represents a fundamental and anachronistic misreading of allegiances and identity in the early modern period.

²²⁸Cal. Span., XII, p. 99. Renard to emperor, 13th February 1554.

²²⁹Raymond De Roover, Gresham on Foreign Exchange: An Essay on Early English Mercantilism with the Text of Thomas Gresham's Memorandum for the Understanding of the Exchange, (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 159. Cf. Cal. For., (1553–8), p. 57, no. 150.

3. Comuneros, 1520: Dynasticism, Internationalism, and Locating Allegiance.

The appointment of a Fleming to preside over Castilla and León's first Cortes under their Burgundian king Charles I in February 1518, only five months after he had landed in Villaviciosa, provoked such dissent that he was forced to replace him. He also agreed to an additional set of demands from the *procuradores*: "que no se diesen a extranjeros officios, ni beneficios, ni dignidades ni gobiernos; ni diesen ni consintiese carta de naturaleza, y si habian dado las revocase", and that "en la casa real sirviesen y tuviesen entrada castellanos, o españoles, como era en tiempo de sus pasados. Y tengan officios de ella, como los reyes sus antecesores los tenian".¹ These conditions were identical to those in the marriage contract of 1554. The young king decided "que le placia de lo mandar asi y se haria de alli adelante".² In 1519, Toledo sent a delegation to protest at the nomination of the Fleming de Croy to succeed Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros as metropolitan of Spain. By November after the delegates' failure to gain an audience, a circular letter had been dispatched to the cities represented at Cortes, demanding that Charles "no se vaya de estos Reinos de España; lo segundo, que de ninguna manera permita sacar dinero della; lo tercero, que se remedien los officios que están dados a extranjeros en ella".³ The letter accused him of not having kept the promises he had made in 1518 and proposed (illegally) that the cities meet to discuss the issue. When royally convoked Cortes eventually met in Santiago de la Compostela, Toledan representatives were absent. The Cortes then moved on to La Coruña, from where Charles embarked for Germany on the 20th of May 1520, to receive the Imperial dignity.⁴ Don

¹Fray Prudencio de Sandoval, Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V, 3 vols., Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Madrid: Atlas Ediciones, 1955–6), vol. 1, bk. III, ch. X, p. 128. Cf. also José Antonio Escudero, Los Secretarios de Estado y del Despacho (1472–1724): Tomo 1 - El desarrollo historico de la institución, 4 vols. (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Administrativos, 2nd ed., 1976), pp. 44–5.

²Ibid.

³Horst Pietschmann, 'El problema del "nacionalismo" en España en la edad moderna. La resistencia de Castilla contra el Emperador Carlos V', Hispania LII/1, núm. 180 (1992), 83–106, p. 98.

⁴José I. Uriol, 'Viajes de Carlos V por España', Historia y Vida, 19:219 (1986), 36–49.

Alonso Manrique spoke on his behalf as he disembarked, "rogandoles que le seruiessen con otro buen seruiçio mayor que el primero porque era mayor su neçesidad para la eleccïon del imperïo".⁵

The *servicio* and new taxes decreed to cover the costs of the Imperial election were the spark which ignited the Comuneros revolt. Toledo and Zamora expelled the royal authorities and elected new municipal councils, while in Segovia one of the deputies at the Cortes along with royal partisans was lynched. In spite of Charles' assurances, on the 5th June 1520, Cardinal Wolsey, who was angling for the primatial see de Croy received, was naturalised in the kingdoms of Castilla, León, and Granada, thus licensing him to hold ecclesiastical office. Christopher Bainbridge, archbishop of York, was nominated to succeed Pedro Ruiz de la Mota as bishop of Badajoz in July. Although he immediately renounced the see.⁶ These overt violations of the agreement not to concede offices to strangers were central to the complaints which spurred the *comuneros* to revolt. On the 20th October 1520, Charles was sent from Tordesillas by the secretary of the Cortes, Lope de Pallarés a 'representaçion que las ciudades de Castilla hicieron a Carlos V, ausente de España, sobre los males que padecian sus vasallos por el mal gobierno de los del Consejo, y pidiendo autorizacion para hacer Constituciones'.

The secretary began by asserting that "el Rey no haga ni pueda hazer cosa alguna que sea contra su anima e contra su honRa o contra el bien publico de sus Reynos".⁷ According to the secretary, Antonio Fonseca had sent an army against Segovia for non-payment of the *servicio*, in spite of their supplication and protestation of obedience: "hazian muy mas cruda guerra a la ziudad vecinos della. que si fueran moros o infieles matando a quantos dellos podian e ahorcandolos e a los que tenian dinero en caudal Rescatandolos e justiçiando e

⁵BNM MS 1751: Reinado de Carlos V, No. 7. 'Verdadera relacion de las Comunidades y la causa que tubieron estas alteraciones, 1520', fol. 216v.

⁶Edward Cooper, 'La revuelta de las comunidades. Una visión desde la sacristía', Hispania LVI / 2: núm. 193 (1996), 467–495, p. 475, note 30.

⁷BNM MS 2349: Sucesos del Año 1518, fol. 221r. Cf. repr. in M. Danvila y Collado, Historia crítica y documentada de las Comunidades de Castilla, 6 vols. (Madrid: 1897), vol. 2, pp. 82–5, 88–9, and 481.

acotando a los que yban con mantenimientos y mercaderias".⁸ Medina del Campo had been sacked by soldiers: "robaron las haziendas de las casas donde entraron hiriendo e matando con gran crueldad no perdonando a mugeres ni a niños, forçando e corrompiendo muchas mugeres".⁹ These atrocities, according to Lope de Pallarés, were "por el mal consejo que Vtr. Mag. en la gouernazion dellos a tenido por ambicion e cobdicia deshordenada e por sus propios pasiones e intereses e sus asiones malos de los Consejos"; councillors who were "enriqueziendose muchos de los malos Consejeros e otras diuersas personas que no tenian amor a V. M".¹⁰ The rising was presented as a conflict of allegiance, forced on the cities by the greed of evil advisers whose pursuit of 'propios pasiones e intereses' had corrupted the royal will and estranged it from the 'bien publico'. This strategy of blaming royal servants, also employed by Wyatt, who claimed the rebellion's purpose was merely to remove certain councillors from about the queen, licensed dissent, evading the accusation of treason. Pallarés pointed to the exchanges Charles had been forced to make to provide himself with funds, as symbolic of misgovernment: "fue forçado de tomar a cambio gran numero de ducados e de pagar por el cambio dellos crecidos e demasiados Renuevos [logro o usura] e logros [ganancia o lucro excesivo]" and to resort to forced loans from "caballeros e grandes destos Reynos" which required him to "vender muchos juros de sus rentas reales".¹¹ Unknown to Pallarés this was to characterise Charles' reign, which saw Castile heavily subsidising other Habsburg estates and an exponential growth of public debt being assigned on royal revenues, culminating in the bankruptcy and rescheduling of debt in 1557. The capital sum tied up in juros rose from 5m. in 1515 to 83m. ducats by 1600.¹² The rebel leadership, the Junta at Tordesillas solicited intervention from Manuel I of Portugal, in an ambiguously revealing phrase, "por ser, como somos, una misma nación",¹³ unlike the Burgundian / Fleming Charles. The Portugese royal family's close dynastic ties and kinship with the Castilian royal

⁸BNM MS 2349: Sucesos del Año 1518, fol. 222r–v.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid, fol. 221r.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Modesto Ulloa, La Hacienda Real de Castilla en el Reinado de Felipe II (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 3rd ed., 1986), pp. 23–4.

¹³Horst Pietschmann, 'El problema del "nacionalismo" en España en la edad moderna. La resistencia de Castilla contra el Emperador Carlos V', p. 104.

line underlined the ambiguity of this statement between whether common territorial origin or lineage and blood-line were the condition of being 'una misma nación'.

In an anonymous partisan's manuscript account of the Comunidades, Charles' chief minister was singled out for vilification: "truxo consigo Por su ayo Vn flamenco llamado Monsiur deXebres que fue causa de la alteraçiones de los reynos que llamaron comunidades".¹⁴ Chevrès "hera hombre sauío mas sediento por dinero tanto como orasso consul Romano y aunque fuese hombre virtuoso en estas cosas. esta negra codicía escureçe lo bueno".¹⁵ As well as raising the *alcabala*, "habló con algunos caballeros y regidores poniendoles delante el seruiçio del Rey y las merçedes y beneçiios que de su Alteza esperasen ellos vencidos con estas promesas rindieronse a Xebres cuyos nombres quiero encubrir por su honra".¹⁶ Exemption from taxation in early modern Castile was the privilege defining the status of the *hijo dalgo*.

como el voto llego a Juan de Padilla [un regidor de Toledo] hixo mayor de Pedro Lopez de Padilla despues de auer afiado tal impusiçion y yugo sobre la nobleza de Castilla dixo que no era en ello ni plugiera a Dios que le consintiese que los Reynos de Castilla y de Leon ganados con muerte y deramamiento de sangre de los caualleros y hixos dalgo della se hiçiesen pecheros¹⁷

The loss of status implicit in the nobility's acceptance of imposed *foreign* tribute, freedom from which had been the dynamic driving the *reconquista*, was echoed by the threatened return of feudal order, conjured up in James Brett's oration to incarnate tyranny inimical to the status of 'free(d)' men. It represented a social levelling and subversion of the lineal patterns binding land to natio and attaching local and social allegiances. The erosion of the principle differentiating hidalgo from villein was the concomitant of the dissolution of the

¹⁴BNM MS 1751, fol. 216r.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid. A pechero was someone 'obligado a pagar o contribuir con pecho, tributo por razón de los bienes o haciendas'.

distinction between natural born and alien. Juan de Padilla's refusal to accede to foreign tribute in consideration of his ancestors' struggle to reunify 'España', a struggle which had ennobled them, was part of a resistance ironically confined to parts of Castilla la Vieja and Nueva, where the powerful neo-feudal señorío of 'Grandes' was weakest; zones around the cities of Salamanca, Burgos, Cuenca and Toledo.

The notion of 'bien publico' (analogous to the English notion 'commonweal') was employed increasingly in early sixteenth century constitutionalist discourse to explore the extent of the continuity between the interests of sovereign and the kingdom. The assertion that they were necessarily identical, as Pallarés orthodoxly and loyally claimed, was countered by republicans like Fray Alonso de Castrillo, whose *Tractado de república* (Burgos: Alonso de Melgar, 21st April 1521), written as the Comuneros revolt ended and dedicated to the Provincial of the 'Orden de la sanctissima Trinidad de la redemption de los captivos', anatomised the concept of 'bien publico' in relation to the three estates. He argued that sovereign authority's legitimacy was by contrast to be judged according to its concordance with the 'public good'; the extent to which particular, factional interests were not favoured. In a covert allusion to the Consejeros blamed by Pallarés (described by Castrillo as a "plague of insatiable locusts"), he asserted that while, "los nobles le procuran [el bien de la república] olvidando su propio provecho por el bien comun, mediante la virtud, y los mercaderes procuran el bien de la republica mediante su provecho y los oficiales le procuran anteponiendo sus propias necesidades al bien comun".¹⁸ The first estate's eschewal of non-communal aspirations, advantage or profit, through the cultivation of virtue was opposed to the ignoble pursuit of 'propio provecho' by public servants and merchants who unintentionally procured the common good. State officials were parasites; endemically corrupt because their ambition was self-serving. Whereas the noble estate exemplified ideally how "al men are borne and of nature brought forth, to commyn such gyftys as be to them gynen, ychone to the

¹⁸Alonso de Castrillo, *Tractado de república [Con otras Hystorias y antiguedades: intitulado al muy reverendo senor fray Diego de gayangos Maestro en sancta theologia Provincial de la Orden de la sanctissima Trinidad de la redemption de los captivos, en estos reynos de Castilla. Nuevamente compuesto por el reverendo padre fray Alonso de Castrillo frayle de la dicha Orden...]*, (Burgos: Alonso de Melgar, 21st April 1521), Colección Civitas, (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Politicos, 1958), p. 201.

profyt of other, in perfayt cyvylyte, and not to lyve to theyr owne plesure".¹⁹ They were ideally repositories of civility and public-mindedness. However, for Alonso de Castrillo, as for Machiavelli, the problem of materialism was precisely political, since it had come to dominate élite culture. The corruption of the nobility was at the centre of Castillo's critique of the comuneros revolt:

Mas corrompido el mundo por diversos linajes de cubdidias ya en nuestros tiempos miramos destruida y pervertida toda la orden de la nobleza y asi sentimos que la justicia y la fe y la paz y la virtud ya son esclavas de la cubdicia, porque los que habian de vivir de la justicia ya viven del interes²⁰

Castrillo's analysis was contradictory: both the merchant's 'provecho' and public officials' 'propias necesidades' being preferred to the 'bien comun' had the paradoxical result of securing a common good. This idea coexists without contradiction with the notion the nobility living 'to theyr owne plesure' were responsible for social ills: "greed lies at the root of all evil. And since the covetous live alienated from virtue, it is inconceivable that those whose profession is to covet should be good citizens".²¹ Castillo's discussion of public and private good foregrounded an emergent problem in early modern political philosophy about how to disentangle political and economic ends, necessary to maintain an identity between the political and ethical. The synonymy of economic and political goods implied a relationship between material good and morality, difficult to sustain in the context of a Christian society.

Although Castrillo's treatise was allegedly printed with 'privilegio real' ("otro no les pueda vender dentro del termino contenido en la cedula de su Majestad") Charles' foreign advisers were squarely blamed for the comunidades.

¹⁹Thomas Starkey, A Dialogue between Pole and Lupset, ed. T. F. Mayer, Camden Fourth Series, Vol. 37 (London: Royal Historical Society and UCL, 1989), p. 1.

²⁰Alonso de Castrillo, Tractado de república, p. 196.

²¹Ibid, p. 200. The translation is from J. A. Fernández Santamaria, The State, War and Peace: Spanish Political Thought in the Renaissance 1516–1559 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 27.

las novedades y los consejos más escandalosos les parecen más saludables, y estos tales no son nuestros *naturales*, sino hombres peregrinos y extranjeros, enemigos de nuestra república y de nuestro pueblo, porque como tales enemigos provocan a las otras gentes a dañar, a quemar y encender las casas, no tanto con celo de la justicia como con cubdiçia del robo.²²

Pallarés professed that the greed of councillors implied an absence of love which subjects, "an o deuen tener a su Rey y señor *natural*".²³ But Charles V was not a 'natural' of the realm. His affinity like him were Flemings, aliens. The refusal of the Castilian Cortes to render homage to their new king until he had sworn to observe the laws of the kingdom, promised to learn Castilian, admit 'castellanos y españoles' to his Court and retinue, given assurances that he would not alienate goods belonging to the Crown, confer offices or prebends on strangers, or export silver or gold coin, resulted partially from unresolved historical antagonism; the legacy of ill-will of the Habsburg / Trastámara power struggle of the previous twelve years. But more significantly it reflected an implicit conflict within dynasticism, between local and lineal aspects of allegiance apparent from the wish for Charles to assume a Castilian identity, by being symbolically naturalised.

Castrillo wrote: "¡Que cosa puede ser mas digna de *maravilla* que las gentes extrañas y de diversas lenguas, las cuales dividio la divinidad por la soberbia de las gentes, verlas concertadas por la buena conversacion de los hombres!"²⁴ Castrillo's republican emphasis on the status of citizens and their rights was a reaction against dynastic politics and the imperialism which comuneros saw as abrogating sovereignty and compromising native liberties.²⁵ He insisted on the local and situated nature of allegiances. A foreign prince and his courtiers threatened to submerge local governance beneath an international patchwork of interests. The Florentine diplomat and historian Francesco Guicciardini, whose city was similarly enmeshed within the web of Charles V's imperial interests, asserted: "all political

²²Alonso de Castrillo, Tractado de república, pp. 236 and 7–8. My italics.

²³BNM MS 2349, fol. 221r. My italics.

²⁴Alonso de Castrillo, Tractado de república, p. 21.

²⁵J. A. Fernández Santamaria, The State, War and Peace: Spanish Political Thought in the Renaissance 1516–1559, pp. 11–30.

power is rooted in violence. There is no legitimate power, except that of republics within their own territories but not beyond. Not even the power of the Emperor is an exception, for it is founded on the authority of the Romans, which was a greater usurpation than any other".²⁶ The geographical extension of Habsburg authority relied on allegiance to a bloodline, increasingly alienated from its territorial origins. There was a growing divergence from the natural relationship defining the fidelity of subject to sovereign in the context of the political realities of a multi-national, multi-lingual empire. The 'Spanish' triumphal arch of Philip's 1549 Antwerp entry, inscribed (cf. p. 56) "tu Potencia es tamaña, / Que sin término se estiende / Al vno y al otro polo",²⁷ illustrated the extent to which this imperialism had become by the 1550s an integral part of Castilian political culture. The adoption of an internationalist ideology in Castilla, however, was fiercely contested and resisted in this early phase of Charles' career. It was the issue which provoked the *comuneros* to rise against his authority as sovereign in the early 1520s.

The legitimacy of Habsburg authority relied on a theocratic foundation which could justify phantasies of universal empire and mystify the aggressive dynasticism responsible for the heterogenous collection of states which made up their patrimony. Theocratic notions of sovereignty figured power as a divine investiture. This idea, however, could be interpreted in a number of ways. It could either be read as implying political authority was a form of stewardship, a position supportive of constitutionalist views of society, or as implying that a sovereign as God's representative was above the natural law, the absolutist contention. Charles was reminded by Erasmus who was concerned to counter this implication: the "people owe you much, but you owe them everything".²⁸ The political issue foregrounded by

²⁶Francesco Guicciardini, Maxims and Reflections of a Renaissance Statesman (Ricordi), trans. Mario Domandi (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1970), p. 119. "Non si può tenere stati secondo coscienza, perché – chi considera la origine loro – tutti sono violenti, de quelli delle repubbliche nella patria propria in fuora, e na altrove: e da questa regola non eccettuo lo imperadore emaneo e preti, la violenza de' quali è doppia, perché ci sforzano con le arme temporale e con le spirituale", Ricordi, ed. Tommaso Albarani (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1991), p. 104.

²⁷J. C. Calvete de Estrella, El felicissimo Viaje d' el muy alto y muy poderoso Pincipe, fol. 229r.

²⁸Desiderius Erasmus, Collected Works of Erasmus, vol. 66, ed. J. W. O'Malley, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), p. 100.

constitutional uncertainty and dynastic threat in Mary's reign, was precisely this question about whether political authority was held by absolute divine right or merely in trust. The debate centred on whether the title to the Crown was analogous to a right in property. Erasmus had asserted: "If you are rich, remember that you are the administrator, not the master of your wealth, and be very careful how you manage property held in common".²⁹ The notion of 'property held in common', akin to the notion of 'commonweal', had led Pallarés to assert a sovereign was incapable of acting against the common interest. Theocratic ideals negated the possibility of ethical contradiction; typically a dichotomy between the expedient and the good, which Cicero had refuted in De officiis.³⁰ John Bradford's The Copeye of a Letter (1556), a sustained anti-Spanish polemic published in the context of plans to have Philip crowned, contended, paraphrasing Erasmus, that: "Not even a whole empire should be of such importance to you that you would willingly deviate from right conduct. Divest yourself of power rather than divest yourself of Christ".³¹ An absolute transcendent moral order precluded ethical conflict or internal incoherence a priori and asserted the essential unity of human society. Bradford insisted: "There is nothing so noble, so magnificent, or so glorious for men of kingly state than to approach as closely as possible to the likeness of the supreme king, Jesus, who was both the greatest and best of kings".³² Reginald Pole addressing Charles V in his Apologia ad Carolum Quintum (1539), denounced Machiavelli as a Satanic instrument. The Prince (1513) was "numquam eundem Satanae digitis scriptum dubitabo dicere".³³ His rejection of Machiavelli's political analysis was made on the grounds of its construction of political relations as natural and material. Pole interpreted Machiavelli as arguing, "ut a nullius sanguine abstineatur a nulla nec fraude, nec injuria, ut sibi semper acquirat, alius detrahat".³⁴ The aspect of Machiavelli most troubling for Pole, was the absence

²⁹Desiderius Erasmus, Collected Works of Erasmus, vol. 66, p. 100.

³⁰Cicero rejected this as a false dichotomy in Bk. III of the De Officiis.

³¹John Bradford, The Copeye of a letter (1556), sig. Diii.

³²Ibid, p. 98.

³³ 'I will never hesitate to say the same book was written by the fingers of Satan', Reginald Pole, Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli, ed. J. M. Rizzardi, (Brescia: 1744), p. 137. (My translation).

³⁴'That the blood of no one is to be spared, nor any kind of either fraud or injury, for that which a man always acquires for himself, another always takes away', *ibid*, p. 141.

of transcendent moral order in human society. This appeared to licence the metonymic substitution of representations, semblances of things, for things themselves. It appeared that beneath the acceptance of simulacra was hidden the interchangeability of good and evil. The trope of simulacra dominates the letter's imagery; 'virtutis similitudine', 'similitudinem earum rerum', 'ut omnia simulare & dissimulare possint', 'praetexta religionis'. The letter claimed that Henrician religious innovation was the archetype of *ragion di stato* politics; "hoc saltem (in quo relinqua omnia exprimuntur) ut sub praetextu religionis suis desideriis & cupiditatibus serviat, in quo uno tota doctrina Machiavelli, & Cromuelli continetur".³⁵ Christian society was possible only where the exercise of power was through love, but "hoc fundamentum amoris in timorem transtulit".³⁶ All interpretations of theocracy eschewed the materialist conception of power as originating in constituted political relations.

Machiavelli and Castrillo's emphasis on the need for civic responsibility and allegiance to a notion of communality, followed from their analysis of human society's placing greed at the centre of social degeneration and corruption: "though all things are objects of desire, not all things are attainable...since some desire to have more and others are afraid to lose what they have already acquired, enmities and wars are begotten, and this brings about the ruin of one province and the exaltation of its rival".³⁷ Gucciardini claimed "self-interest [interesse suo] prevails in almost all human beings".³⁸ In the literature of political complaint of the period the notion that "all men are geuen to seeke their own private

³⁵this change at least (through which all his other desires were expressed) in order that beneath the cloak of religion he might serve his longings and desires, in which one thing the entire doctrine of Machiavelli and Cromwell is contained', Reginald Pole, Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli, pp. 144–5.

³⁶This foundation in love he has translated into fear', *ibid* p. 151. On these ideas cf. Quentin Skinner, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought: Volume 1 The Renaissance, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 249–50, and Felix Rabb, The English Face of Machiavelli: A Changing Interpretation 1500–1700, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 29–31.

³⁷Niccolò Machiavelli, The Discourses, ed. Bernard Crick and trans. Leslie J. Walker, (London: Penguin, repr. 1983), Bk. 1, Discourse 37, p. 200.

³⁸Francesco Gucciardini, Maxims and Reflections of a Renaissance Statesman (Ricordi), p. 119.

wealth only and the poore are nothing prouided for" was commonplace.³⁹ *Ragion di stato* arguments subverted the theocratic foundation of Habsburg authority by assigning to political authority a natural and material origin. The material, economic view of community was increasingly apparent in the political thinking on the problem of justifiable disobedience. This owed something to Protestant dissidents, often in exile, but was also a function of increasingly 'national' versions of Catholicism which countered and competed with Habsburg imperialism by positing localised versions of *imperium*. The identity of fidelity and birth or genealogy complicated the claims of Catholic Christian community invoked to support Charles and Philip's universal monarchy, as much as liturgical innovations and the de facto internal disunity within the empire of religious practice.

As early as the 16th December 1553, Philip had been sent from Brussels directions about procuring the necessary dispensation from Rome because of Philip and Mary's consanguinity, with details of the number of soldiers he was to bring ("la neçesaria para la guarda de vuestra persona y de la armada") and advice on how to behave:

solamente os Ruego les preuengays de dos cosas. la vna que venga / con moderacion y de manera que puedan durar / y no haga en breue tiempo / los gastos que suelen que les fuerçe a tornarse y la otra que traygan criados honrados y que cada uno dellos sepa que ha de dar cuenta de como biue y lo que hazen. Porque huiendo de venir a Reino donde *no son bien vistos estrangeros* ymporta quanto podeys pensar ganar opinion y Reputacion, para lo presente y lo de adelante y aun que se que no es menester desde agora / os pido que siendo dios seruido desto tengays speçial cuenta / y cuidado de mostrar mucho amor y contentamiento a la Reina y que assi lo conosca en lo publico y secreto que sera gran satisfacion no solo para ella Pero para el Reino y que con los naturales del comuniquays tracteys y conuerseys haziendoles todo buen tratamiento y acogimiento por que os va mucho en hazer esto. al prinçipio y en continuarlo / y en lo del dinero que haueys de

³⁹Henry Brinklow, The Complaint of Roderick Mors sometime a gray fryre unto the parlement house of Englande his naturall cuntrye (Geneva: Myghell Voys, 1546), sig. Qi r. Cf. Quentin Skinner, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, Vol. 1: The Renaissance (Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press, 1978), p. 224.

traher pues son llegados las naos de las yndias contan gran suma⁴⁰

It was necessary for him to cultivate the natural born in a kingdom where foreigners 'no son bien vistos'. The limited awards of pensions and gifts, the display of much love and happiness to the queen, an insistence on the need to come with 'moderation', communicate, have dealings with and converse with the English, show them 'todo buen tratamiento y acogimiento', in a sense to treat them as if they were the strangers, anticipated the fears which had shaped the treaty of alliance and which it implicitly rehearsed. A demonstration of concern to respect national particularities ('ha de dar cuenta de como biue y lo que hazen') was placed in uneasy contrast to the disavowal of anti-Spanish sentiment as a possible underlying problem in winning reputation. Commendone had stressed that in the alliance "the rights, privileges and uses of the said natives must be guarded, to avoid all kind of danger or inconvenience which might arise owing to the diversity of the nations".⁴¹ By the 16th February Philip intended to "trust myself to them as if I were an Englishman born" and take only a small retinue, who "being few, my servants will the better be able to adapt themselves to English ways, which we must now consider our own".⁴² To reconceptualise an international and supranational dynastic alliance as a romance involved traversing more than simply physical obstacles. Its very possibility depended on the intensely personal nature of political power in the early modern period. The marriage simultaneously reflected and exposed the instability of assigning central importance to face-to-face relations. The distance between sophisticated cosmopolitanism, the internationalism of empire, and localised difference and parochialism, underlay the difficulties with his acceptance. Philip was being asked to navigate between "national imperatives and universalist phantasies"; to consider himself utopian.⁴³ The reconciliation of universalist and particularist strands of political thought was achieved within a phantasy of unlimited Christian community. This instantiated

⁴⁰AGS E 98, fol. 376r.

⁴¹C. V. Malfatti (trans. and pub.), The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor As Related in Four MSS of the Escorial (Barcelona: Sociedad Alianza de Artes Gráficas y Ricardo Fouté, 1956), p. 58.

⁴²Cal. Span., XII, pp. 103–5. Philip to Renard, 16th February 1554.

⁴³Julia Kristeva, Strangers to Ourselves, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), p. 117.

the Habsburg's militant imperialism with messianic overtones: 'siendo dios seruido desto'.

The reconciliation of universalism and particularism within messianic imperialism was criticised explicitly by Erasmus, who argued in the princely education manual he dedicated to Charles V, against the dynastic marriages by which the Emperor had come into possession of and sustained his power: "I should like to see the prince born and raised among those people whom he is destined to rule, because friendship is created and confirmed when the source of good will is in nature": the "ties of birth and country" establish a feeling of good will which "must of necessity be lost if mixed marriages confuse that native and inborn spirit".⁴⁴ Mary was herself the product of a mixed marriage. If she had had heirs, they would have been of even more mixed blood. Dynasticism was inimical, according to Erasmus, to the 'natural love' unifying the commonweal.

It is admitted that nothing is so important to everyone as that a prince should warmly love his people and be loved by them in return. Common characteristics of body and mind, a sort of native essence which a deep affinity of character develops, is of major interest to the country; but a great part of this must of course be destroyed if marriages between different peoples confuse all these factors. It could hardly be expected that the state (patria) would whole-heartedly recognise children born of such alliances, or that such children would be lastingly devoted to the state (patria)⁴⁵

It dissolved and was opposed to the personal relations around which political power was structured and on which it depended in monarchic systems. The dominant structure by which élite interests were attached to the ruling house depended on personal intimacy; the performance of intimate body service in the Privy Chamber. Its highest ranking official, normally a peer of the realm, was Groom of the Stool. Nationality implied 'common characteristics', a 'deep affinity' 'naturally' conducive to 'friendship'. The 'ties of birth and

⁴⁴Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, trans. L. K. Born, Records of Civilization Sources and Studies Series No. XXVII (Columbia University Press, 1934), pp. 207–8.

⁴⁵Ibid, p. 241.

country' were constitutive of a 'native and inborn spirit' which distinguished and set peoples apart.

In what sense was the early modern understanding of nation similar to our own? The rivalry over precedence in seating at the Council of Constance, alluded to above (cf. p. 21), had provoked the English representatives to claim England satisfied definitions of nationhood both as a linguistically, genealogically and territorially distinct community. The kingdom of England possessed *plenum dominium* within its borders and so,

whether a nation be understood as a people marked off from others by blood relationship and habit of unity, or by peculiarities of language (the most sure and positive sign and essence of a nation in divine and human law)... or whether nation be understood, as it should be, as a territory equal to that of the French nation, England is real nation.⁴⁶

National identity was already by the fifteenth century understood as a condition of affinity, through blood and language, but crucially also as a function of a political unity. Political status was defined by the right in property. The condition of not belonging by blood to the family, household, or natio, was therefore bound up with the disqualification from possession of land. Personal loyalties and allegiances coexisted with concepts of nation, unified by language and geography. Neo-feudal concepts of a personal relationship to a liege lord, and in turn to the natural person of the sovereign, were dovetailed with mystical ideas of kingship by which the king's body became the political estate's unique representative and divinely-sanctioned embodiment. The foreigner's otherness, unsituatedness, and absence of affinity, constituted externality as an implicitly disturbing absence of allegiance and obedience, solved by exclusion from the rights of (some of) the community to land and so a genealogically determined right of participation. The processes of assimilation and naturalisation were well developed by the Tudor period, as a result of high levels of immigration throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

⁴⁶Cited by John W. McKenna, 'How God became an Englishman' in Tudor Rule and Revolution, ed. Delloyd J. Guth and John W. McKenna (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 33.

The alien was the creature of political power. The aetiology of prejudice is in this sense political. Notions of affinity in nature, custom, or place, mythologised the fact that central to the definition of nation was political power. Foreigners "have the fearsome privilege of causing a State to confront an other (other State, but also out-State, non-State...), and, even more so, political reason to confront moral reason".⁴⁷ The incompatibility, in an early modern context, of Christian ethics with the political rights of the citizen was a topos emergent in *raison d'état* accounts of power. Political rights were claimed to be sustainable only through power and the recognition of the legal status of some as necessarily fundamentally distinct to that of others. The notion of Christian universalism harmonising communities through a common spiritual ideal was challenged by the localised nature of political identities and a secularism nascent in such materialist accounts of community. Cicero wrote after the disintegration of the Republic: "all the outside is pacified on land and sea by virtue of one man: homegrown war remains, the threats are inside, the hidden danger is inside, the enemy is inside".⁴⁸ The stranger was born in the sixteenth of the problems between exclusionary and expansionist attitudes towards the other.

When Isabella of Castile was presented the first vernacular grammar written of any modern European language by Antonio de Nebrija, Hernando de Talavera was forced to explain to her that:

después que Vuestra Alteza metiese debajo de su yugo muchos pueblos bárbaros y naciones de peregrinas lenguas, y con el vencimiento aquéllos tendrían necesidad de recibir las leyes que el vencedor pone al vencido, y con ellas nuestra lengua, entonces por mi Arte podrían venir en el conocimiento de ella, como agora nosotros deprendemos el arte de la gramática latina para deprender el latín⁴⁹

⁴⁷Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, p. 97.

⁴⁸Gordon Braden, *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition: Anger's Privilege* (London: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 13. *Catil.* 2. 5. 11.

⁴⁹Horst Pietschmann, 'El problema del "nacionalismo" en España en la edad moderna. La resistencia de Castilla contra el Emperador Carlos V', p. 101.

Language was an instrument of empire; an adjunct to the necessary internationalism of imperialism. When the French legate to the Vatican had protested about Charles' using Castilian, he replied "no espere de mí otras palabras de mi lengua española, la cual es tan noble que merece ser sabida y entendida de toda gente cristiana".⁵⁰ The substitution of Spanish for Latin as a lingua franca reflected the way in which Caesar's aggressive claim to the tradition of Charlemagne and Roman Emperors had come to centre on Spain. The international nature of his estates was paramount in the reasoning behind the exhortation found in his 'Instrucción' to Philip of the 4th of May, 1543, from Palamos:

porque veys quantas tierras aueys de señorear, en quantas partes y quantas distantes estan las unas de las otras y que diferentes de lenguas; por lo cual, sy las aueys y quereys gozar, es forçoso ser dellos entenydos y entenderlos, y para esto no ay cosa mas necessarya ny general que la lengua latyna. Por lo cual, yo os ruego mucho que travajeys de tomarla.⁵¹

Unfortunately from what we know it appears Philip did not take this advice. Renard had warned the Emperor in the midst of the marriage negotiations: "it must be remembered that as his Highness and his attendants would be unable to speak English there would be great confusion among a rough, fickle and proud people".⁵² There were two language learning manuals published in English which were probably related to the Spanish marriage; A Very Profitable boke to lerne the maner of redyng, wrytyng, & speackyng english & Spanish (Antwerp?: 1554) which contained parallel text sample dialogues, and The boke of Englysshe and Spanyshe (London, at the syng of Saynt John Evangelyst: Robert Wyer, ?), a vocabulary and phrase book. The former book was divided into four; giving examples of conversation "at meate", of "fashions of buiyng and sellyng", of "How to call upon debiteurs", and of "how to write epistles, obligacions, and quittances" which included sections on "how to admonish Debitoures" and "The maner of paieyng debte to any with an

⁵⁰Horst Pietschmann, 'El problema del "nacionalismo" en España en la edad moderna. La resistencia de Castilla contra el Emperador Carlos V', p. 91–2.

⁵¹F. de Laiglesia, Estudios históricos (1515–1555) (Madrid: Clásica Española, 1918), Vol. I, p. 75. Cf. J. A. Fernández Santamaria, The State, War and Peace: Spanish Political Thought in the Renaissance 1516–1559, p. 240.

⁵²Cal. Span., XI, p. 339.

excuse".⁵³ The third section "How to call upon debitours" contained this exchange:

M. Wote you why I come to you.

G. No verely, who are you?

M. What means this haue you forgotten that of late you bought some of our Marchandize?⁵⁴

From the The boke of Englysshe and Spanysshe, we have learnt some useful phrases for dealing with these situations: "I am euyll plesed / Yo soy mal contento. Thou lyst / Tu mientes. I am begyled / Soy agañado...Of a knave / De un bellaco".⁵⁵ The clear intention of these two modern language textbooks was the promotion of trade. Their market was amongst the two thousand artesans who followed Philip to settle in London and those who traded with them.

Charles self-consciously employed the concepts of *español* and *España* [sic] with their Romanesque connotations, which dated back to Isidoro de Sevilla's identification of *España* with the pre-Muslim Romano-Gothic kingdom, to promote his expansionist 'national' vision within his kingdoms in the peninsula. The invocation of Roman Hispania knitted together the universalist aspirations of his imperial policies and the indigenous crusader mentality of the peninsula. The papal Curia retained in its administrative title for the Hispanic kingdoms, 'nación española', an historically anomalous remnant of this fiction. Although unreflective of the political geography of the peninsula, it was significant in recalling Isidoro's version of the Romano-Gothic *Hispania* which had resurfaced in chronicles from the 9th century onwards. The myth of unity, an homogenous Christian kingdom was counterposed to the pluralism and division of the Muslim occupation, an elusive totem for the *reconquista*. As early as the 12th century Leonés kings were entitling themselves *Imperator totius Hispaniae*. At the opening of the Santiago Cortes the Emperor had

⁵³A Very Profitable boke to lerne the maner of redyng, wrytyng, & speackyng english & Spanish (Antwerp?: 1554), sig. Cv.

⁵⁴A Very Profitable boke to lerne the maner of redyng, wrytyng, & speackyng english & Spanish, sig. Cv.

⁵⁵The boke of Englysshe and Spanysshe, (London, at the syng of Saynt John Evangelyst: Robert Wyer, ?), sig. Aiii.

communicated his version of the myth, intertwining it with his imperialist aspirations: "Agora es vuelto a España la gloria de España... cuando las otras naciones enviaban tributos a Roma, España enviaba emperadores; envió a Trajano, a Adriano y Teodosio, de quien subcedieron Arcadio y Onorio, y agora vino el imperio a buscar el Enperador a España".⁵⁶ The Roman tributes which had been alluded to by Cartagena in the fourteenth century to prove the preeminence of Castilian over English kings, functioned in 1519 to resituate *España* at the centre of Charles' Imperial vocation, in an explicitly 'nationalist' reading of his kingship as restoring 'Spain' to its ancient. On Fernando's assumption of the Aragonese throne in 1479, the Council had proposed to him that he and Isabella of Castilla entitle themselves 'Reyes de España'. They rejected the proposal. The term was used for the first time in Charles V's reign, on a chancery seal design, describing him and his mother Juana as 'Reyes de España'. The Toledan circular letter to the *ciudades* had spoken of the "venida del Rey Don Carlos, nuestro señor, en España".⁵⁷ Here its use expressed the tendency towards Castilian dominance in the peninsula. Its invocation opposed an ideal internal unity and homogeneity to growing foreign influence. It obscured de facto political disunity and diversity of culture, language and race. On the 23rd of June 1537, John Briertonne, a companion of Wyatt the elder on his outward journey to the Emperor's court, wrote to Thomas Wriothesley from Valladolid that

we came into a Citie called Seragoza, where we were extremely handled as though we had been *Jews*. All our caringe was had home to the serch house, where al my Master's apparail and the gentlemens, with the rest of the servaunts were searched to th'uttermost. They made us pay for all things that were unworne. They be the spitefullest people in the world.⁵⁸

To Wyatt's pleas of diplomatic immunity the customs officials responded that "if Christ or Sanct Fraunces came with all their flock they shuld not eskape".⁵⁹ Briertonne then related that

⁵⁶Horst Pietschmann, 'El problema del "nacionalismo" en España en la edad moderna. La resistencia de Castilla contra el Emperador Carlos V', p. 100.

⁵⁷Ibid, p. 98.

⁵⁸Kenneth Muir, Life and Letters of Sir Thomas Wyatt (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1963), p. 44.

⁵⁹Ibid.

the Empress had sent Post to Barcelona a silk flower she had made for the Emperor in a little box and that Zaragoza's customs officials had not allowed it to pass unsearched, even for the hundred ducats offered to them by the messenger: they "set as much by th'Emperor lettres as they doo by myne".⁶⁰ This story is revealing about the limits of the Emperor's power in Castilla and Aragón and the jealous guarding of local privilege against the centralising tendency of royal authority. This intense regionalism is still a feature of Spanish politics today. In diplomatic correspondence and the chronicles of Robert Wingfield of Brantham, Henry Machyn, and the Tower chronicler, the kingdoms of Aragón, León, and Castilla were referred to as Spain, Philip and his subjects as Spaniards. Philip and Mary's style proclaimed them jointly 'Principes Hispaniarum'.⁶¹ International perceptions accorded with the centralising propensity, reading the diverse kingdoms of the peninsula as a single, unified entity. Internationalism was a central pressure on the production of the notion of Spain and Spanish.

The language describing aliens and strangers, the processes of immigration and naturalisation, 'ser natural del reino', to be natural born of the realm, suggest the availability of readings of natio, nation, and nationality in the early modern period analogous to our own, i.e. as encompassing large jurisdictionally, linguistically, and culturally homogenous groups. However, legalistic concepts of the state, constitutionalism, the notions of citizenship, rights, and liberties associated with the nation state and possession of nationality, are incongruous with the significance attached to face-to-face, personal relations and *amicitia* in the power-structures of early modern society. Shaping the exchanges between patron and client as well as being central in the brokering of political influence and patterning of alliances and factions within the ruling élite were social practices which revolved around incurring reciprocal obligation; the rendering of services and performance of favours and in the context of which kinship networks, gift-giving, courtesy, civility, and hospitality played central rôles.⁶² After the declaration of war with France in 1557 the earl of Westmorland wrote to the fifth earl of

⁶⁰Kenneth Muir, Life and Letters of Sir Thomas Wyatt, p. 44.

⁶¹Tower Chronicle, Appendix X: 'John Elder's Letter Describing the Arrival and Marriage of King Philip', p. 142.

⁶²Cf. S. N. Eisenstadt and L. Roniger, 'Patron-Client Relations as a Model Structuring Social Exchange', Comparative Studies in Society and History 22 (1980), 42–77.

Shrewsbury advising him in the garrisoning of the northern borders to bring

all the worshipfull and wealthiest of the countrie so that every man of worship may haue the conduction and guyding of his owne freindes and tenants; to thintent that if any murmor or grudg shuld arise amongst the soldiers for lak of money before the same may be provided, every man of worshipe may helpe to releve his own company and as I think the hertes of the people is such that they wold soner be persuaded by their owne naturall lords and maisters and more willinglie serue under them for love then with straungers for monye.⁶³

The intense localism of the personal allegiances crucial in political relationships, the personal oaths of fidelity taken by the nobility to the natural person of the sovereign and limited nature of election as practised in the counties or *ciudades* to select parliamentary candidates or *procuradores*, point to other significant historiographical problems in identifying the Wyatt rebellion or Comuneros revolt as proto-'nationalist'. The modern constitutionalist mind-set is inflected in the dubious claim that a shared sense of national and cultural identity could explain anti-Spanish sentiment and the failure of Mary's reign to produce any lasting or fruitful change. The notion that such a cultural explanation accounts for opposition to the Spanish marriage and was expressive of the popular will, is anachronistic.

The specificity and localism of the identifications which constituted early modern subjects preclude the possibility of such grand narrative accounts. Thomas, lord Berkeley, for example, had "many fair possessions in other counties, which he accounted as foreign" on account of "his affection and desire of being a mere Gloucestershire man, of being imbowelled into the soil of that county".⁶⁴ Stephen Tempest asserted: "I looked upon every man possessed of a great landed estate as a kind of petty prince in regard to those that live under him", at the end of the sixteenth century the 7th Earl of Shrewsbury was told "you are

⁶³G. W. Bernard, The Power of the Early Tudor Nobility: A Study of the 4th and 5th Earls of Shrewsbury (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1985), p. 181. Cf. Talbot Papers D 202.

⁶⁴Ibid, p. 177.

a prince (alone in effect) in two countries in the heart of England".⁶⁵ The problems of obedience and royal authority at a 'national' level were linked to dynasticism. The vicissitudes of the marriage market and high infant mortality often meant rulers did not possess a landed power base where their authority was held. The resistance of the Comuneros and Wyatt rebellion to Habsburg internationalism, i.e. non-localised governance, was produced by a threat to their sovereignty, exercised by right of local privileges, liberties, and status, posed by a trans-'national' patchwork of states, loosely bound together by lineage and dynastic matches which compromised and dissolved discrete territorial identities. Philip and Mary were cousins who required a papal dispensation to marry. He was nevertheless, as she was later to an extent, perceived as a stranger, one who did not belong to the English natio.

The pragmática in which Charles addressed the Comuneros, referred to his "poderio Real Avsolucto" and "de la dicha Nuestra cierta ciencia y poderio Real aVsolucto mandamos y hordenamos".⁶⁶ Again as in the English government's reading of anti-Spanish sentiment as a pretence and cover for rebellion, Charles interpreted the accusation that foreign 'nationals' had displaced the natural born in offices which belonged to them as a 'colouring' for a secret intent:

los officios de llos dichos Reynos los deviamos y ProVeheriamos A Naturales dellos y fechas otras muchas gracias y mercedes en pro y beneficio de los dichos Reynos los quales los suso dichos para colorear en Rebelion tomavan por causa y fundamento de sus ynormes y graues delictos⁶⁷

In this document, the fascinating counter-accusation is made that the Comuneros "escruiieron cartas A algunos pueblos destos nuestros Reynos senorios de flandes para procurar de los

⁶⁵Cited in John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, repr. 1976), pp. 174–5. The quote is from Stephen Tempest, *Religio Laici*, pp. 61 f., cf. also H. Miller, 'The early Tudor peerage 1485–1547', University of London M.A. thesis, 1950, p. 151.

⁶⁶BM Add. MS 28449, fol. 5v.

⁶⁷Tbid, fol. 4 r–v.

Amotinar y lebantar Como ellos estan".⁶⁸ Their contacting potential natural allies in Flanders, true or not, supports my hypothesis that the two rebellions were directed not against aliens *per se*, but against the foreign threat implicit in dynasticism. Philip and Spain by the 1550s represented the apogee of dynastic achievement, of which the puzzling specificity of anti-Spanish sentiment was probably a function. His coming rehearsed the possibility of transforming the territorially discrete kingdom of England into a Habsburg satellite. The marriage "meant indeed the entrance into the Realm of a foreign Prince, and his condition of being Spaniard made matters still worse, by whom they were afraid to be put into hard subjection".⁶⁹

Charles responded to the accusation that the Comuneros' inability to pay the *servicio* had forced them to resist:

como si Nunca oBiezan sido puestos ni metidos en los dichos mayorazgos ni Binculados ni Subjectos A restitución alguna y como si en ellos No oviesen ninguna ni alguna de las sobre dichas clausulas Antes fueran expressamente exceptados los dichos crimenes y delictos lese Magestatis / Otro si vos mandamos que declaredis por ynabildes y yncapaces Para poder subceder en los dichos mayorazgos A quales quienes personas A ellos llamados que fueren culpados en los soBre dichos / delictos y entran y deuen subceder en su lugar en los dichos mayorazgos las otras personas⁷⁰

In spite of the specific exceptions and their subjection to restitution for the mayorazgo contracts, the Comuneros had not trusted their binding force and so committed the treason provided against by them. The central complaint of a monarch's non-residence and in this context disregard for local constitutions, characterised Charles' political career. Two years before the marriage of Philip and Mary, duke Maurice of Saxony revolted in the context of the family compact reached by the Habsburgs in 1551, which reaffirmed the unconstitutional

⁶⁸Ibid, fol. 4v.

⁶⁹C. V. Malfatti (trans. and pub.), The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor, p. 65.

⁷⁰BM Add. MS 28449, fol. 5v.

nomination of Ferdinand, king of the Romans, to succeed his brother Charles as Holy Roman Emperor. This succession without due election was in violation of the Golden Bull promulgated in 1356 by the Emperor Charles IV. The nomination signified the political elimination of the electors and destruction of the Empire's constitution. According to the historian engaged by the Schmalkaldic league in 1545, Johann Sleidan, not only was Ferdinand's elevation illegal because his "election" had taken place before a vacancy in the Imperial throne (as early as 1530–1), disregarding the proscriptions of the Golden Bull, but also because Charles was committed to observe the old law by his oath to the Wahlkapitulation, which included an obligation to reside in Germany which would have eliminated the need for Ferdinand to act as *de facto* ruler. The effective abolition of the electorship of Saxony, implicit in Habsburg political arrangements, had provoked Maurice's cousin and predecessor Johann Friedrich to rebellion. After his defeat at Mühlberg and the transfer of the title to Maurice, the same arrangement spurred him to revolt as it had his uncle and history repeated itself.

In 1555 Henry II of France's edict for the prompt punishment of heretics without benefit of appeal was submitted to the Parlement of Paris for approval. They communicated this response: "Your Majesty's edict which was published four years since, has reserved to Your Majesty and judges the sole cognizance and correction of the Lutheran heresy", but "this edict which is now under consideration is directly contrary; for it puts the people of your kingdom under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the inquisition... and it gives your people a just cause for discontent to see themselves deserted by Your Majesty and subjected to a foreign jurisdiction".⁷¹ The concerns of Marian exiles and domestic opposition about the abrogation of sovereignty with the return of papal jurisdiction was not exclusively a function of heresy. It was shared in nominally orthodox kingdoms and reflected the growth of 'national' Catholicism opposed to the infringement of their jurisdiction by the papacy. The implicit problem with Charles' rule was the absence of a relationship between Imperial rule and local sovereignty. This was the nature of the foreign threat, the content of the rumours and paranoia which gripped England in the winter of 1553, and the prelude to the Wyatt rebellion.

⁷¹Ingeborg Vogelstein, 'Johann Sleidan's Commentaries: New Insights from an Old History', *Storia della Storiografia* 11 (1987), 5–21, pp. 15–16.

4. 'Sole Queen'.

The chief negotiator of the marriage contract, Perrenot Granvelle, bishop of Arras, wrote to his fellow ecclesiastic the Cardinal of Jaén on the 3rd February 1554 of the situation in England:

solo queda que su Alta. pudiesse passar por ello con breuedad bien es verdad para confirmar el matrimonio que en aquel reyno han succedido de nuevo por platica ya solcitaron de franceses algunos alborotos y leuantiuineto de pueblos señaladamente por lo de la religion en que y en las platicas con el turco el titulo de Christianissimo passa peligro y tan bien a bueltas desto mezcla querer persuadir grandes cosas contra los españoles porque los Ingleses vengan con mayor dificultad a consentir el casamiento y tanto mas pues naturalmente aborrecen estangeros mas como han anticipado el tiempo con el frio se va estos alborotos templando y ya por la mayor parte estan apaziguados señaladamente despues que se han publicado los capitulos por los cuales han conocscido la falsedad de muchas cosas que procurar estos leuantamienots les hauian persuadido y se espera que saldra esta platica a los franceses muy al reues y que sera para mayor establecimiento de las cosas de la reyna pues serua con esto ocasion para castigar las cabeças y assossegar el pueblo y que usando agora la dicha reyna algun rigor despues de tanta clemencia contra los que la hauia defendido y procurado de quitarle la corona venga a ser seruida tanto delos malos como es amada de los buenos / antes que succediesse esta nouedad los franceses hauia hecho demostracion de querer que se tractasse de paz por medio de la dicha reyna mas como que dauan en palabras generales sin venir en ofrecimiento de condiciones en otras partes estos plaziendo a dios daran camino para que cosas dela Christianidad pueda boluer a mayor sossiego aqui se ha tenido nuevas ciertas que el principe de portugal fallecio dexando la princesa hija de su magd. muy cerca del parto¹

¹Biblioteca del Palacio Real, MS II 2318 Correspondencia de Granvela, fols. 283v–285r. Granvelle, obispo de Arras al Cardenal de Jaén, 3 de febrero 1554.

This was written as Wyatt marched into Southwark with several thousand rebel troops. The troubles, attributed to French machinations and religion (a link underlined by the allusion to Henri's negotiations with the Turk) were deliberately downplayed by Granvelle. According to him, the rebellion was already subsiding with the publication of the articles of the treaty and the cold weather. Even while it was in progress, the picture of the Wyatt rebellion as a religiously inspired conspiracy on the part of a few heretics, had emerged in the context of a letter by European statesman. Originally in November Philip had been prepared to leave for England to consummate the marriage as soon as the queen desired: "I implore you to order all necessary despatch to be used, if the Queen wishes me to go soon, I will start without loss of time".² He was also urged by Brussels that "yra alla el dicho conde de Agamont y entonces / os dareys toda la priessa posible a pasar en Inglatterra".³ Charles had originally received his acceptance of the proposal on the 20th September 1553. However, the emperor's urgent demand in February for 1m ducats was difficult to complete, given the parlous state of Castilian finances. Mary of Hungary, writing to Philip on the 4th February 1554, lamented that these obligations "os han forçado de non poder partir para venir aca como lo podriades dessear, y la difficultad que se hallaua para la venida para proueer de dinero como se requeria", however "os puedo assegurar que sy estas tierras de aca no son assistidas que las perdereis".⁴ It was not solely financial obligations which were delaying Philip in Castile.

His secret repudiation of the treaty when he finally saw a copy in January reflected a growing disenchantment. His first personal communication with the queen did not take place until June, when the marquis de las Navas brought her a jewel. Philip had been represented at the betrothal in March by the emperor's ambassador, the count d'Egmont, with a ring from the emperor, in spite of the instruction in a Brussels despatch as early as the 26th December that "enbiareys a Inglatterra / vn cauallero o persona principal que os sea azepto con algun presente para que se dé a la dicha Serenissima Reina, hecho el desposorio, y esto podra ser algun anillo / o joya de calidad como es Razon por que se mirara mucho en ello".⁵

²Cal. Span., XI, pp. 398–9. Philip to emperor, 29th November 1553, Valladolid.

³AGS E 98, fols. 374–5. Emperor (nominally) to Philip, 26th December 1553.

⁴AGS E 808, fol. 108. Mary of Hungary to Philip, 4th February 1554.

⁵AGS E 98, fols. 374–5.

In this despatch he was told that they were negotiating in order that "se haga por palabras de presente" and for him to prepare to be there by February or mid-March.⁶ Evidence that he cancelled his prior consent to marry the Infanta of Portugal on receiving the new marriage proposal from his father and that he then claimed in a letter to his father that he had ended those negotiations, unsatisfied with the dowry offered, suggests that initially the proposal was very favourably received.⁷ However the Castilian crown's cession of the Low Countries to the prospective heir of the marriage was a concession of an important part of Castilla's patrimony which it had been heavily subsidised for a long time.

Granvelle was probably tempering his intelligence. He did not, however, suppress a reference to the 'mayor dificultad' in getting the English to consent to the marriage because 'naturalmente aborrece[n] extrangeros'. On the 16th, the emperor had communicated to Philip the news about the Wyatt rebellion, that "certain discontented individuals have caused some unrest in England under the pretext of not desiring a foreign prince, but the real reason was religion".⁸ Executions had swiftly followed the revolt. Jane Grey and her husband Guilford Dudley went to the block on the 12th February: the "same day towards 9am many people noticed in the clear sky two suns with one huge iris: If it is allowed to take it as a good omen, who can prevent us from interpreting it as the foreboding of the union of the two greatest Kingdoms of Spain and England".⁹ Within two days the dismembered remains of the convicted "wher hangyd at evere gatt and plass: in Chepe-syd vj; Aldgatt j, quartered; at Leydynhall iii; at Bysshope-gate on, and quartered; Morgate one; Crepullgatt one; Aldersgatt on, quartered; Nuwgat on, quartered; Ludgatt on; Belyngat iij hangyd; Sant Magnus iij hangyd; Towre hyll ij hangyd".¹⁰ The duke of Suffolk was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 23rd March and his brother lord Thomas Grey on the 27th April. Wyatt was executed on the

⁶AGS E 98, fol. 376v.

⁷Cf. David Loades, 'The Netherlands and the Anglo-Papal Reconciliation of 1554', Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis 60:1 (1980), 39–55, p. 45.

⁸Cal. Span., XII, p. 100.

⁹C. V. Malfatti (trans. and pub.), The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor As Related in Four MSS of the Escorial (Barcelona: Sociedad Alianza de Artes Gráficas y Ricardo Fouté, 1956), p. 73.

¹⁰Machyn's Diary, p. 55.

11th April and his head set upon the gallows, from where it was stolen a week later. The same day, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was acquitted ("wherat mayney people rejoyced") much to the chagrin of the government which had the jury fined and imprisoned for six months.¹¹ Don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza wrote to Granvelle on the 19th March from London, about the public mood: "Above all he must bring no soldiers, and only such courtiers as are prepared to be meek and long-suffering (redomados y sufridos)".¹² In the summer John Christoferson published An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion (London: John Cawood, 24th July 1554), official government propaganda designed to reinforce the message as his subtitle put it that 'no cause is there, that ought to move any man' to sedition. In spite of his unconditional condemnation of rebellion, he covertly recognised the power of precisely that cause which government proclamations and his own treatise sought to dissociate from Wyatt's uprising – anti-Spanish sentiment. He reiterated the government interpretation of the Wyatt rebellion as a heretically inspired conspiracy, but undercut this assertion by arguing "diuersite of maners or countryes" was a central cause of rebellions.¹³ Sedition arose because "men be of diuerse maners, diuerse countries, and diuerse sortes of religion: for euery man loueth him, that is lyke in conditions to himselfe, and hateth the contrary: so that faythfull frendshypp spryngeth of likeynes in maners".¹⁴ For Christoferson the friendship which defined community, was constituted by likeness in manners. The alien was differentiated from the natural born in more fundamental ways: "we be all bretherne, partly by reason we professe one fayth, and partlye we all be borne & broughte up in one countrye".¹⁵ Christoferson's conception of national identity equated fidelity and blood. Faith was genealogical, a kind of familial, blood-relation. The reformist picture of reunification with Rome, represented it as a reactionary return to universalism and the tendering of a foreign obedience which was by definition anti-'nationalist' and

¹¹Tower Chronicle, pp. 74–5 and Greyfriars Chronicle, p. 89. Cf. H. F. M. Prescott, Mary Tudor, p. 260 and David Loades, The Reign of Mary Tudor, pp. 82–3.

¹²Cal. Span., XII, p. 161.

¹³John Christoferson, An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion and that no cause is there, that ought to move any man there unto, with a discourse of the miserable effectes, that ensue thereof (London: John Cawood, 24th July 1554), sig. Bv.

¹⁴Ibid, sig. Ciii.

¹⁵Ibid, sig. Biii.

'unpatriotic'. This reading has been consecrated in modern historiography since the return of papal obedience was inimical to the equivalence of 'faith' and 'country'. Christoferson, however, reaffirmed the same equivalence, precisely in terms of a 'nationally' distinct, indigenous Catholicism. The notion that this is paradoxical, is a misrecognition, an adoption of the partisan perspective of dissident reformers in exile which reflects the deeply-embedded nature of Protestant nationalism in the historiography of the Marian period. The roots of Protestant nationalism have been traced back to the Marian period, on the basis of two false claims, made originally by polemical reformers; firstly that Roman Catholicism was widely associated with undesirable foreign influence and secondly that this 'abrogation of sovereignty' was repeated, reinforced and inherently linked to the foreign marriage. This representation of Mary and Catholicism as unpatriotic, out of step with the 'national consciousness', a representation (perhaps) disseminated by the government's critics, must be questioned critically. An abrogation of English sovereignty did not ensue from the marriage, although this was the fear of a sector of the population representing the whole range of religious persuasions. There is no evidence of popular resistance to Catholicism.

The reformers against whom Christoferson was writing, were in fact adopting earlier Lutheran arguments about justifiable disobedience to re-present Wyatt as a martyr: "it is another thing to be a Rebel, than to be one of those, which stand in the defence of Goddes true religion and of their natural countrey".¹⁶ The translator of this Lutheran text, published in May 1554, three months after the Wyatt rebellion and two months before Philip's coming, Eusebius Pamphilus, advertised "that no man minister ani aide or obedience to such Tiranes as bend them selues against God and hys word, and to the subuersion of their natural countrey".¹⁷ The text's ecclesiastical priorities are evident in Melancthon and then Luther's attack on the "abominable pretended chastitie, that is of the Sodomitical single life of priestes"; "the chastitie of the Pope, and of his Cardinals, which is a wonderful chastity aboue... such chastitie as the Sodomites and Gomorchianes dyd use".¹⁸ Other aspects of the text were more useful and pertinent in an English context, the true Pastor warning, for

¹⁶A Faithful Admonition of a certeyne true Pastor and Prophete... translated wyth a Preface by M. Philip Melancthon, sig. Cii.

¹⁷Ibid, sig. Aiiii.

¹⁸Ibid, sig. Biiii (Melancthon in the Preface) and Dii (Luther).

example that "as for brynging Aliens into our nacion, to haue the gouernment among us, and to subuert the auncient privileges of their own natural countrey, I dare say, theyr own conscience telleth them that it is against nature".¹⁹ Obedience and false religion were intimately related in continental treatises to the issue of national autonomy, since the right of resistance which was being defended, was against the international authority of both the pope and emperor. Patriotic rhetoric was a necessarily employed secular tool against the "wicked byshopes and priestes", who "moueth them [princes] to murther and shedding of bloud, which by bringing aliens and straungers sworne unto hym, into all Realmes, meaneth at length to subuert, and abolyshe the auncient lawes, and whole state of noble and godly common welthes".²⁰ The official representation of Wyatt's rebellion as religiously inspired foreshadowed the use which reformers would make of these earlier continental, political justifications of disobedience. The reformist interpretation adopted by subsequent historians, involved a deliberate distortion of Marian religious reform, as papist. The earlier Lutheran treatise was written in the context of religious war and was a specific defence of freedom of conscience, adopting an anti-Papal position polemically. However, at this stage, the only imposed religious change had been a reversion to the forms being practised in the last year of Henry VIII's reign. Later, she cultivated a specifically English Catholicism which shared many features of the Henrician programme of religious reform in the 1530s: "the Marian authorities consistently sought to promote a version of traditional Catholicism which had absorbed whatever they saw as positive in the Edwardine and Henrician reforms, and which was subtly but distinctively different from the Catholicism of the 1520s".²¹ Eamon Duffy insists "a convincing account of the religious history of Mary's reign has yet to be written".²² The ritual calendar incorporated Henry VIII's excisions and Bonner's A Profytable and necessary doctryne, with certayne homelies adioyned (1555) was largely based on the the King's Book (1543). The importance of evangelism was underlined. The Marian *Homilies* produced for this purpose included versions of Thomas Cranmer's homilies and prayers

¹⁹ A Faithful Admonition of a certeyne true Pastor and Prophete, Cii.

²⁰ Ibid., Av.

²¹ Eamon Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–c. 1580 (London: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 525–6.

²² Michael Hutchings, 'The Reign of Mary Tudor: A Reassessment', History Review 23 (1999), 20–25, p. 20.

written by Thomas Becon also found their way into Marian primers. There was an emphasis on redemption through the passion of Christ in the devotional literature of the period and no allusion to indulgences or miraculous legends.²³ This new picture has not gone unnoticed in the Mary of David Loades' biography, who "did not show enthusiasm for saints, relics, shrines, pilgrimages" and who "before 1547,... was not noted for distinctive piety, but rather praised for the acceptable qualities of learning, virtue and piety – by conservatives and reformers".²⁴ In the following reign with the ascendance of the Marian exiles in ecclesiastical affairs, there was a vested interest in representing the regime as out of sync with popular sentiment, perpetrating a bloody persecution to enforce conformity. Their counter-claim that Protestantism had always been the religion of the English nation attempted to consolidate a more dubious position, in the face of a perhaps even more serious foreign threat. Figuring the reformist cause as a patriotic imperative, built on consensus, forged the link between unabrogated English sovereignty and anti-papal nationalism. This identity defined in opposition to Mary after the event, has tended to obscure the evidence that she in fact extended and developed the notion of English *imperium* further and in ways more radical than her predecessors.²⁵ The issue of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was damaging to England's international standing for Catholic kings, since John's submission to the papacy in the 13th century, as much as it was for Elizabeth I.

Charles V's contemporary biographer, Fray Prudencio de Sandoval observed: "No gustaban mucho los ingleses de este casamiento, porque era con príncipe extranjero y tan poderoso".²⁶ Marriages were common dynastic practice. Foreign princesses were frequently objects of exchange in marriage, important political counters with which to solidify alliances and cement bonds by circumscribing political relations within families and kinship networks. However in this case a foreign prince was contracted in marriage to a ruling queen. This

²³Eamon Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars, Chapter 16 – Mary, pp. 524–564.

²⁴Jenny Wormald, 'The Usurped and Unjust Empire of Women', Journal of Ecclesiastical History 42:2 (1991), 283–292, pp. 288–9.

²⁵Cf. p. 167 for a full discussion of this question.

²⁶Fray Prudencio de Sandoval, Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V Máximo, fortísimo, Rey Católico de España y de las Indias, Islas y Tierra firme del mar Océano, ed. D. Carlos Seco Serrano, 3 Vols., Biblioteca de Autores Españoles no. 82 (Madrid: Atlas, 1956), vol. 3, p. 428.

inversion made a profound difference because of the asymmetry of male / female relations politically, economically, and socially. The dislike of the alliance in England fed off the perception that a regnant female's possession of regal office was compromised both constitutionally and personally by the power of an alien husband. Her submission in marriage was likely to have important political consequences. The marriage was both an international treaty and a private contract. This dual-status conflated private and political law in a sense and suggested a disturbing analogy between them. If customary processes in common law, by which a female's political and property rights in marriage were transferred to her husband, applied in Mary's case, then Philip would possess the title to the English Crown after marrying the queen. Some lawyers believed that "if his Highness marries the Queen she loses her title to the Crown and his Highness becomes King".²⁷ Did Mary have only a 'woman's estate' in the Crown? Why did it make a difference? The difference originated in the perceived problems of female authority. The absence of a precise definition of the relationship between political and private law was only a problem vis à vis a woman who was also a regnant queen. The case was anomalous and emphasised the contradiction between the status of women in law and the de facto authority Mary enjoyed. These perceived difficulties were addressed in the marriage contract, which attempted to settle the uncertain relationship between the laws of inheritance (private right) and succession (its political equivalent) in relation to a regnant female, on which Tudor dynastic continuity depended. The treaty became law in the spring parliament of 1554 and the clauses distinguishing private and public power within the marriage were made into statutory provisions.

The persuasiveness of an analogy between political and private law arose from the fact that the term constitutional in the early modern period did not mean a set of definite principles, but the customary procedures of political practices themselves. There was a perhaps deliberate ambiguity in political thought surrounding the precise relationship between the powers of the regal office and the political law: "well before the sixteenth century it was possible to distinguish between the person of the monarch and the effective political authority of the state. Earlier, however, the crown had been the personal insignia of the monarch, 'representing a body of special rights, "leges, jura, consuetudines, placita -

²⁷Cal. Span., XII, p. 15. Renard to Arras, 7th January 1554.

omnes consuetudines quas rex habere potest""²⁸ The nature of a monarch's entitlement to exercise political authority was therefore not precisely analogous to private right, a personal entitlement. Henry VIII had built on the basis of these customary rights his case for the imperial status of the English crown. The legitimacy of regal or imperial authority was thereby subject to a degree of constitutional control and limited in practice according to the unspoken authority of Medieval theories of government by agreement, counsel, lawful procedure, the course of the law, due process, majority rule, representation, responsibility and the supremacy of law.²⁹ Nevertheless there was a tension between regal power and political law or constitutional control; an imprecision hovering over the limits of sovereign power which evolved through a continuous process of renegotiation. Sir John Fortescue, Henry VI's Chancellor, asserted in a treatise on English law that "regal power is restrained by political law"; "it is not a yoke but a liberty to rule a people politically, and the greatest security not only to the people but also to the king himself".³⁰ The identification of the person of the sovereign with the authority of the state was customary. Henry VIII had boasted to Thomas Cranmer, however, that he had "no superior in earth but only God" and was not "subject to the laws of any earthly creature".³¹ The limits of the synonymy between the monarch and kingdom were a function of how the title or estate in the crown was defined. The absolutist posture adopted by Henry, asserted the sovereign uniquely possessed *plenum dominium* in right of the kingdom. The state was therefore a private estate in relation to which sovereign will was unbounded. The dictum *quod principi placuit lex est* implied both freedom of disposition and the political estate's total subjection to royal will. On the other hand, sovereignty could be interpreted in more symbolic and representative senses, making sovereign authority a constituted title. The balance during the Tudor period was constantly shifting. Henry VIII's 1543 act for Wales allowed him to "change, add, alter, order, diminish, and reform", the legislation itself under his great seal. His statute of Proclamations enjoined

²⁸Graham Nicholson, 'The Act of Appeals and the English Reformation', in Law and Government Under the Tudors, ed. Claire Cross, David Loades, and J. J. Scarisbrick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 25.

²⁹William Huse Dunham, 'Regal Power and the Rule of Law: a Tudor Paradox', Journal of British Studies 3:2 (1963–4), 24–56, p. 27.

³⁰Sir John Fortescue, De Laudibus Legum Anglie, ed. and trans. S. B. Chrimes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1942), p. 81. Cf. also Dunham's article, p. 24.

³¹William Huse Dunham, 'Regal Power and the Rule of Law: a Tudor Paradox', p. 34.

obedience to royal injunctions "as though they were made by act of Parliament".³² Another act licensed Edward VI to repeal statutes passed during his minority "as though it had been done by authority of Parliament".³³ The authority of Letters Patent and of Statute were interpenetrative and mutually reinforcing. But "which of these instruments - letters patent or acts of Parliament - was now the superior, which the subordinate? The statute that authorized its own repeal by letter patent? Or the letter patent, authorized by statute, that repealed the act itself?".³⁴ Henry VIII had been licensed in his three successions acts to will the Crown by testamentary disposition through letters patent. These same acts stated that their reform, alteration or repeal was to be considered high treason. One hinge in the constitutional debate in Mary's reign surrounded whether the monarch's right in the Crown automatically comprehended freedom of testamentary disposition.

In his opening speech to Mary's second Parliament on the 2nd April 1554, the chancellor Stephen Gardiner suggested Mary be empowered by statute to will the Crown: "A bill to authorize Mary to designate her successor by her last will and testament, as the 1543 Succession Act had allowed Henry VIII to do, did not reach the floor of either house".³⁵ John Ponet in A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power (1556) deduced that parliamentary consent was necessary to bequeath the crown, since if Henry VIII "might do with the realm and every part thereof, what it pleased him", if he "might do with it without consent of the Parliament: how is the Lady Mary Queen? And why might not King Edward his son... bequeath the Crown where he would, and as he did?".³⁶ The bill tacitly recognised that statutory authority was necessary to endow regal power with the right of testamentary disposition. Its failure "effected... a negative form of constitutionalism" and refuted the claim that only a sovereign possessed a right of property in the kingdom with *plenum dominium*. Private rights in

³²William Huse Dunham, 'Regal Power and the Rule of Law: a Tudor Paradox', pp. 32–6.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid, p. 43. Cf. also Geoffrey Elton, England under the Tudors, p. 218 and E. H. Harbison, Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary, pp. 169–70.

³⁶John Ponet, A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power (1556), sig. Eiii.

property were not held mediately of the crown.³⁷ The issue was similarly rehearsed by the polemicist Miles Hogherd in 1555: "whether the Realme of Englande belong to the Quene, or to her subiectes", or "whether the Quene of England may sell away the realme or not, to a stranger, without the consent of her commons".³⁸ Despite parliament's rejection of the bill to allow Mary to will the crown, residual doubts remained. The association of the claim which parliament had rejected of a realm's belonging to its sovereign, with the Imperialist ideology of the Holy Roman Emperor's heir, as he prepared to leave Spain, fuelled the debate about a regnant queen's anomalous status and its constitutional implications: the notion that the Crown was an estate implied that it was heritable and transmissible through the female line. This seemingly posed problems in the context of marriage, given patrilinear inheritance patterns in common law. Even if the Crown was a title and succession passed only through the male line, Mary's possession of regal office was thereby constitutionally anomalous, unaccounted for and unexplained.

Titles fell into abeyance when they passed to heirs general, in the case of failure in the male line. However, it was claimed that a husband might exercise the political privileges of his spouse, such as sitting in the Lords, by the precedent *jure uxoris*. In 1572, Catherine Willoughby's second husband, Richard Bertie brought a case before commissioners and alleged this precedent in an attempt to claim the "full political power of his wife's inheritance".³⁹ Bertie claimed that she held the title from her father as against the claim of her uncle. The commissioners accepted as indisputable that an heiress could inherit a barony and transmit it to her heirs, however, they ruled that although Bertie might adopt "the name and stile" of the title, it did not license him to sit in parliament. They established that by *de jure uxoris* a husband could hold his wife's title 'as tenant by curtesy'. The fact that this issue was

³⁷William Huse Dunham, 'Regal Power and the Rule of Law: a Tudor Paradox', p. 44.

³⁸Myles Hogherde, Certayne questions demaunded and asked by the Noble Realme of Englande of her true naturall chylidren and Subiectes of the same (London: 1555), sigs. Aii–Aiiii.

³⁹J. Horace Round, Peerage and Pedigree Studies in Peerage Law and Family History, 2 vols. (London: J. Nisbet and Co. Ltd., 1910), vol 1, pp. 1–54, esp. 15–16. Cf. also Sidney Painter, Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1943), pp. 69–70; Judith Richards, "'To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule": Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England', Sixteenth Century Journal XXVIII:1 (1997), 101–121, p. 104; and M. Graves, The House of Lords in the Parliaments of Edward VI and Mary I, p. 10.

not clear, even in 1572, leads us to the source of the concerns foregrounded by the accession of a female sovereign. Uncertainty over the law of succession had been central in the dynastic disputes which spawned the Wars of the Roses.⁴⁰ Sir John Fortescue, a partisan of the House of Lancaster, argued that no claim could be derived through the female line. He later changed his mind after the accession of the Yorkist Edward IV, whose claim was through the female line. His earlier position against matrilinear succession can be confirmed from a Close Roll entry from Henry III's reign: "non est consuetudo vel lex in terra nostra Angliae, quod filia fratris alicujus primogeniti fratrem juniorem patri suo succedentem haereditarie super haereditate sua possit vel debeat impetere".⁴¹ Edward IV's claim was based on his lineal descend from the second born son of Edward III, transmitted through two females, as against Henry VI who was descended directly through the male line from the third brother. Fortescue argued that Henry VI was heir male, whereas Edward "conexeth [his descent and succession] by meanes of ij women, that is to saye Philip and Anne [ther as n]o woman by the lawe and custom of that londe maye [or can enher]ite the crowne therof; for yt is descendable only heyres masles, and by such heyres only".⁴² Whatever the status of his claim, Edward IV supplanted Henry VI, just as Henry VII, whose claim derived through Lady Margaret Beauford via John of Gaunt's marriage to Katherine Swynford from Edward III, in turn usurped the throne from Edward's brother Richard III.

Mary kept the promise she had made in her Guildhall speech during the Wyatt rebellion: "if it shall not probably appear to all the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament, that this marriage shall be for the benefit and commodity of the whole realm, then will I abstain from marriage while I live".⁴³ Within ten days of opening both Houses

⁴⁰ Henry VI's claim to the throne as a title had been unchallengeable as male heir to Edward III, while Richard III's claim was better to the Crown as an estate through Philippa daughter of Lionel duke of Clarence. Cf. David Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor*, p. 89 and footnote 132. Cf. also Mortimer Levine, *Tudor Dynastic Problems, 1460–1571*, Historical Problems Studies and Documents no. 21, ed. G. R. Elton (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1973).

⁴¹Sir John Fortescue, *The governance of England*, ed. Charles Plummer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), p. 75.

⁴²*Ibid*, p. 356.

⁴³John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 415.

ratified the marriage treaty.⁴⁴ The alliance and treaty had been unprecedentedly subject to statutory confirmation by her second parliament. Philip was conceded the right to enjoy "ioyntely togeder withe the said most gratyous Quene his wif, the stile Honour and Kyngly Name of the Realme and Dominions unto the said most noble Quene apperteyning" and his role as king of England was defined as being to "ayde your Highnes being his wyef in the administration of your Realmes and Dominions".⁴⁵ The circumscription of Philip's role in the treaty gestured towards the disentanglement of the queen's constitutional identity from her status as a spouse, by enshrining a definition of her regal power in statute. The 'Act declaring that the regal power of this realm is in the Queen's Majesty as fully and absolutely as ever it was in any of her most noble progenitors Kings of this realm' responded to uncertainty about female rule and authority and was twinned with the ratification of the marriage treaty. Her authority's definition in statute, its constitutional agreement effectively fractured the one-to-one identification of the person of the monarch with the political authority of the state. Furthermore the ratification of the marriage treaty in the 'high court' of parliament represented an intrusion into affairs which had once been exclusively a royal prerogative. If she were to predecease him, it went on to specify, Philip was not by force of the marriage to be a "tenant by courtesy of this realm".⁴⁶ This repeats precisely the formula which was later employed in the judgement of the Bertie case. It is clear that the point of law clarified by that case, the application of the *de jure uxoris* was central to the framing of this clause, by which the Privy Council headed off any potential legal challenge by Philip to the title. In common law a husband possessed complete power over his wife's freehold property, only while his marriage lasted or if there had been a child born during his life capable of inheriting. By the Tudor period, it had also become law that if a child had been born alive (and heard to cry), a

⁴⁴An Italian observer recorded: "et chiamando il Popolo gli feci un parlamento mostrando tutti le ragioni, quali la mouiuano a pigliari un forestieri per marito cio e il Principi di Spagna; mostrando anco la sicuri na-chi ne nasciua in quil Regno; facindo i Capitoli chi no era altra forla atta a diffenderi quil Regno dal Redi Francia, quali gia si come u[r?]/jedeuana s'era impadronito della Scotia, chi quella del Principi di Spagna: et chi dicio non era concorsa solo in parere, ma chi il suo Consiglio era stato quello, chi per saluti della liberta del Regno sauena cosi de liberato, di chi ella si era quietata", BNM: Mss. 765: Papeles de Estado, No. 9 'Li successi nel Regno d'Inghilterra dopo la morte di Odoardo sesto fino allo arriuo in quel Regno del Serenissimo Prencipe di Spagna Filippo d'Austria, fol. 224v.

⁴⁵SP 11 / 20 / 1.

⁴⁶1 Mary 3, c. 2, s. 2. (April 1554) in Statutes of the Realm, vol. 4, part 1, pp. 222–6. Cf. William Huse Dunham, 'Regal Power and the Rule of Law: a Tudor Paradox', p. 42.

husband had the right to hold his wife's estates after her death, by a right, again precisely echoing the wording of the statute here, known as "tenancy by the curtesy / law of England".⁴⁷ The metaphor of tenancy is revealing. The dominant paradigm for understanding political relations was heritable freehold property. This influenced the conceptualisation of political rights, titles, and specifically the crown in terms of the notion of landlordship.

4. 1. 'Act declaring that the regal power of this realm is in the Queen's Majesty'.

In the act which made the marriage alliance statute it was asked,

that it may be provyded, enacted and establyshed by the aucthorytye of this present parliament, that youre maiestye as our onely Quene, shal and may, solye and as sole quene use, have, and enioye the Crowne and Soverayntyte, of, and over your Realmes, Dominions, and Subiectes... in such sole and onelye estate, and in as large and ample maner and fourme... after the solemnisation of the sayde maryage, and at all tymes duryng the same... as your grace hath had, used, exercised and enjoyed; or myghte have had, used or enjoyed the same before the solemnization of the sayde mariage⁴⁸

Mary was to be 'onely Quene', 'solye... sole quene'. The declaration of her sole monarchy countermanded the divinely ordained and natural subjection of a woman to her husband, which underlay the anxieties provoked by the match. They persisted, however, even after the imposition of legal constraints because "by controlling the Queen, it was feared that her

⁴⁷Cf. Sir Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, repr. 1968), vol. 2, pp. 414–18; William Holdsworth, A History of English Law, 9 vols. (London: Methuen & Co., 4th ed. 1935), vol. 3, pp. 185–188; and Pearl Hogrefe, 'Legal Rights of Tudor Women and the Circumvention by Men and Women', The Sixteenth Century Journal 3:1 (1972), 97–105, p. 100.

⁴⁸I Mary 3, c. 2 (April 1554) in Statutes of the Realm, vol. 4, part 1, pp. 222–6. Cf. also Judith Richards, 'Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'?: Gendering Tudor Monarchy', The Historical Journal 40:4 (1997), 895–925, pp. 908–9.

husband would rule the country".⁴⁹ It was assumed in Castile that Philip "pudiesse govarnar la guerra y suplir a otras cosas que son impertinentes a mugeres".⁵⁰ The only extant evidence for the passage of the 'Act declaring that the regal power of this realm is in the Queen's Majesty as fully and absolutely as ever it was in any of her most noble progenitors Kings of this realm' dates from twenty years later; William Fleetwood's 'Itinerarium ad Windsor' (1575), a dialogue about the 'Act for the Queen's regal power'. According to Fleetwood, Mary was presented with a book by someone who had once been "the Lord Cromwells man" which advocated she "take vpon her the title of a Conqueror" so "Then might she at her pleasure reforme the Monasteries... And doe what she list".⁵¹ The book argued the anomalous, unprecedented nature of Mary's female monarchy released her from the customary restraints on regal power as expressed in precedents, customs, and statutes solely relevant to her male predecessors: it alleged that "by the Lawe she was not bound: for there is not any statute extant, made either with or against the prince of this re^lam, wherein the name of queen is once expressed".⁵²

A treason statute of 1352 had been revived in the previous parliament, guaranteeing protection to a male ruler and female consort. In the April 1554 parliament the statute was specifically extended to protect Philip in an attenuated form. From this it is clear that the inverse, a female ruler and male consort, was not believed to be encompassed by the existing measure.⁵³ The gender-specific interpretations of statute law was confronted both here and in the conciliar measure to protect female authority in the context of marriage to a powerful foreign prince; the 'Act for the Queen's regal power' which confronted in a systematic way, at the same time as the ratification of the treaty of alliance, the constitutional uncertainties

⁴⁹Glyn Redworth, 'Matters Impertinent to Women: Male and Female Monarchy under Philip and Mary', *English Historical Review* 112 (1997), 597–613, p. 598.

⁵⁰Cited, *ibid.* AGS E 1498, fols. 6–7, fol. 6r.

⁵¹J. D. Alsop, 'The Act for the Queen's Regal Power, 1554', *Parliamentary History* 13:3 (1994), 261–276, p. 275. The original at BL Harleian MS 6234, fols. 10–25v. and Bodleian Library Tanner MS 84, fols. 201–17v, is transcribed in the appendix to this article.

⁵²*Ibid.*

⁵³Jennifer Loach, *Parliament and the Crown in the Reign of Mary Tudor* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 98.

over the position of a queen regnant. Uncertainty over the legal status of females was apparent in A Discourse upon the Exposition & Understanding of Statutes (c. 1557–1571), which explicitly stated a "feme covert shalbe bounden by an estatute lawe".⁵⁴ Mary had read the book given to her by Cromwell's man "over and over again": she "misliked it, and the devisors therof" and "bethought her of her oath that she tooke at her Coronation", i.e. 'to keep to the people of England and others your realms and dominions the laws and liberties of this realm' (cf. p. 44).⁵⁵ She consulted Stephen Gardiner, who responded: "I saye, that it it [sic.] is pittie, that so noble vertuous a Ladye should be endaingered with pernicious deuises, of such lewd and subtile sycophantes: the book is naught; the matter horrendum dictu, yea most horrible To be thought of" and so "without any tarrying she took the said book and presently cast it into the fire", while the chancellor "devised the said act of parliament".⁵⁶

Ironically, Stephen Gardiner had played this part once before. When Thomas Cromwell had planted the idea in Henry VIII's head to "have his will and pleasure regarded for a lawe", Gardiner had been called upon to give his opinion: he tactfully responded that "the forme of his reigne, to make the lawes his wil, was more sure and quiet... by thys forme of government ye be established".⁵⁷ His words echo sir John Fortescue. On a diplomatic embassy to the emperor's court the chancellor had asserted that "the kinges of this realme were not above the order of there laws".⁵⁸ The tensions between the competing claims of regal power and the rule of law were exacerbated by constitutional uncertainty. Anticipated since the first proclamation of her reign on the 18th August 1553, was a repeal of the Henrician legislation by which England was an empire: the statutes which declared that "by dyvers and sundrie olde autentike histories and cronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this Realm of Englund is an Impire, and so hath been accepted in the world",

⁵⁴A Discourse upon the Exposition & Understanding of Statutes with Sir Thomas Egerton's Additions (c. 1557–1571), ed. Samuel E. Thorne (California: Huntington Library, 1942), pp. 111–12. The 'covert' means married.

⁵⁵J. D. Alsop, 'The Act for the Queen's Regal Power, 1554', p. 275.

⁵⁶Ibid, pp. 275–6.

⁵⁷Stephen Gardiner, The Letters of Stephen Gardiner, ed. James Arthur Muller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), p. 399.

⁵⁸John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, p. 44.

a "Realme, recognysyng noo superior under God but only your Grace, [which] hath byn and is free from subjection to any mannes lawes but only suche as have bene devysed made and ordyned within thys Realme".⁵⁹ The proclamation had stated that she could not dissimulate "that religion, which God and the world know she has ever professed".⁶⁰ These circumstances combined with her marriage to Philip to produce a perception of threat to English sovereignty. In the Commons debate on the 'Act for the Queen's regal power', according to Fleetwood's account, Ralph Skinner, later dean of Durham, marvelled that a law be "devised, before the cause why it is made, was euer, by the supposed offenders thought of or intended".⁶¹ Skinner cited the first clause, attending closely to the language and drawing attention to the text italicised in the quote below.

the power dignity honour authority prerogative pre-eminence and jurisdictions doth appertain, and of right ought to appertain and belong unto her highness, as to the sovereign supreme Governor and Queen of this realm and the dominions thereof, *in as full large and ample a manner as it hath done heretofore to any other her most noble progenitors, Kings of this realm*⁶²

He argued the bill was linked to the 'Spanish' marriage, but denied the official explanation that it was paired with the ratification to clarify ambiguities about Mary's constitutional position as a queen regnant of married estate. He rejected the notion that this law was intended as a constitutional check on foreign influence by fencing in Mary's regal authority; the idea that "this statute really sought to subordinate regal power and the *lex coronae* to political law and the *lex parlamenti*".⁶³ On the contrary he asserted.

⁵⁹24 Henry VIII, c. 12 and 25 Henry VIII, c. 21, s. 1 in Statutes of the Realm, vol. 3, pp. 427 and 464 respectively. Cf. William Huse Dunham, 'Regal Power and the Rule of Law: A Tudor Paradox?', pp. 30 and 34.

⁶⁰Tudor Royal Proclamations, vol. II, p. 6.

⁶¹J. D. Alsop, 'The Act for the Queen's Regal Power, 1554', p. 274.

⁶²English Historical Documents: Vol. V 1485–1558, ed. C. H. Williams (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1967), pp. 463–4.

⁶³William Huse Dunham, 'Regal Power and the Rule of Law: a Tudor Paradox', p. 45.

Embassadors be come, and as we heare a marriage is intended betwene the Infant or Prince of Spaine sonne vnto Charles the Emperour, and the Queene our mistris: If we be a Lawe doe allowe vnto her majestie all such preheminences and authorities in all thinges, as any of her most noble progenitors kinges of England euer had, enjoyed, or vsed: then doo we giue to her majestie the same power that her most noble progenitors William the Conqueror had, *who seised the Landes of the Englishe people, and did giue the same vnto straingers*; And that king Edward the first had, who was called the Conqueror, because he Conquered all Wales, who did *likewise dispose of all mens landes in Wales at this owne pleasure*.⁶⁴

The focus of his concern, on property rights and the precise nature of Mary's right in the kingdom, revealed an underlying concern about the status of her sovereign authority per se, given the repudiation of the Supremacy and return of Roman jurisdiction. William Fleetwood, Recorder of the City of London, acknowledged in his dialogue that it was Mary and her chancellor's rejection of an absolutist conspiracy to arbitrarily extend the *lex coronae* which had precipitated the enactment. Nevertheless their 'speaches tended to a troath'. The spectre which haunted them both, I argue, was secularised monastic property. Their fear of investing Mary with power 'as full large and ample' as any previous king of England was articulated as a threat to abrogate "the franchise of the great Charter, and the charter of the forrestes"; key historic concessions to constitutionalism, the Magna Carta, the Provisions of Oxford, and Ordinances of 1311. These were admissions of royal responsibility to God and indirectly to the people, tacit recognitions of the dependence of legitimate authority on the rule of law which guaranteed private rights against the arbitrary exercise of royal will. The reformer Skinner asserted "God prouided those *sacred* Charters for *his* people of England".⁶⁵ The position of Fleetwood and Skinner alluded to medieval legislation, however, it was the great Henrician acts which had finally transformed England into an imperial jurisdiction, a realm that 'recognised no superior under God' and repudiated its status as a papal fief, on

⁶⁴J. D. Alsop, 'The Act for the Queen's Regal Power, 1554', p. 274. My italics. The same accusation of the *disfranchisement* of the English people continued to be made by anti-Marian polemicists over the next two years.

⁶⁵Ibid, p. 274. My italics.

which all property rights effectively depended. These acts were interpreted by Skinner and Fleetwood as foreshadowing the return to Roman obedience. England's status as an *imperium*, the *plenum dominium* of its sovereign in his / her own kingdom, the realisation of the medieval notion *rex in regno suo est imperator*, had been created by statute. Complete *seisin* in property depended on the Act of Appeals, Praemunire, and Act for the Submission of the Clergy, which had built the constitution of imperial authority in England on statute law. This legislation, repealed by Philip and Mary's first joint parliament, with the return of papal jurisdiction, was a symbolic guarantee of constitutional independence and more significantly of the complete *seisin* in property incompatible with the kingdom's status as a papal fiefdom.

Historians have found the 'Act for the Queen's Regal Power' and its purpose puzzling; according to Jennifer Loach, the "bill is certainly a somewhat odd one, which might have been looked for in the first parliament of the reign if at all".⁶⁶ Mortimer Levine has argued that although "the wording of the act indicated that it was merely confirmatory, kingly power in fact was conferred upon Mary I and future queens regnant by statute".⁶⁷ J. D. Alsop has argued in his article on the 'Act for the Queen's Regal Power' that no "scholar has seriously questioned the reliability and value of Fleetwood's description of the Commons debate with the exception of Professor Loades who, with a clear preference for an alternative explanation for the act, has noted in passing the existence of Fleetwood's account merely as unsupported allegation".⁶⁸ Alsop suggests that "Dr. Loach's observation in passing that there likely existed uncertainties relating to the constitutional position of a ruling queen deserves greater attention than it has hitherto received".⁶⁹ I believe what has been missing from this discussion is this link between imperial jurisdiction, *seisin* in property, and anxieties about female authority. The transmissibility to and heritability of property by a queen's husband and consort foregrounded the possibility of foreign claims through the female line. The issue involved more than simply constitutional uncertainty. It involved above all the contrast

⁶⁶Jennifer Loach, Parliament and the Crown in the Reign of Mary Tudor, p. 97.

⁶⁷Mortimer Levine, Tudor Dynastic Problems, p. 90.

⁶⁸J. D. Alsop, 'The Act for the Queen's Regal Power, 1554', pp. 261–2

⁶⁹*Ibid*, p. 265.

between expectations based on Mary's gender and her de facto status as sovereign.

the law of this realm is and ever hath been and ought to be understood, that the kingly or regal office of the realm, and all the dignities prerogative royal power pre-eminences privileges authorities jurisdictions thereunto annexed united or belonging, being invested either in male or female, are and be and ought to be as fully wholly and absolutely and entirely deemed judged accepted invested and taken in the one as in the other: so that what or whensoever statute or law doth limit and appoint that the King of this realm may or shall have execute and done any thing as King, or doth give any profit or commodity to the King, or doth limit or appoint any pains or punishment for the correction of offenders or transgressors against the regality and dignity of the King or of the crown, the same the Queen, (being supreme governess possessor and inheritor to the Imperial Crown of this realm as our said sovereign lady the Queen most justly presently is) may by the same authority and power likewise have exercise execute punish correct and do to all intents and constructions and purposes without doubt ambiguity scruple or question: any custom use or scruple or any other thing whatsoever to be made to the contrary notwithstanding⁷⁰

In France, the Salic law enshrining the feudal principle that women "do not succeed to a fief much less to a kingdom", was regarded in the sixteenth by historians and jurists as the 'life-principle' of the French monarchy, setting it apart from other kingdoms. In 1593 it was declared a "fundamental law": French history "was filled with examples of female incompetence which had threatened the political continuity of France".⁷¹ By the time the writs

⁷⁰English Historical Documents: Vol. V 1485–1558, ed. C. H. Williams, p. 464.

⁷¹D. R. Kelley, Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship: Language, Law and History in the French Renaissance (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), pp. 199–200. In Claude de Seyssel's Monarchie de France (2nd ed. 1541), he argued that "by falling into the feminine line it [the crown] can come into the power of a foreigner, a pernicious and dangerous thing, since a ruler from a foreign nation is of a different rearing and condition, of different customs, different language, and a different way of life from the men of the lands he comes to rule. He ordinarily, therefore, wishes to advance those of his nation, to grant them the most important authority in the handling of affairs, and to prefer

of summons were sent out for her second parliament, Mary had already dropped the title of Supreme Head of the church.⁷² The anxiety of dependency attached to the future repeal of legislation seen as key to England's imperial jurisdiction became linked symbolically with the acts clarifying the constitutional position of a woman, who according to the moral economy of the early modern period became her husband's dependent on marriage.

In the first state paper of the Elizabethan period, William Cecil declared that

in the time of the late Quene the King of Spain then being husband to the said Quene nothing was done on the part of England but with the preuetie and directions of the said king's Ministers. Now the Queen's Majesty, being and professing herself a free Princess to direct all her actions by hir owne Ministers and with the aduice of her Council of England only meanethe in this matters to proceed and direct withoute anie participation towards the Spaniard or anie king otherwise.⁷³

But from the evidence in Fleetwood, in spite of his stated bias, it is clear that this was merely a convenient representation by a propagandist for the Elizabethan government. There was in fact no abrogation of England's constitutional independence under a Habsburg king, which was linked to Mary's Catholicism and married status or the 'Act for the Queen's Regal Power'. As William Dunham has expressed it, in fact "one of Mary Tudor's fires helped to save constitutional government for Elizabethan England".⁷⁴ In a discourse written during or shortly after Mary's reign, a political theorist asserted of royal proclamations that "for anie thinge that

them to honors and profits", The Monarchy of France, trans. J. H. Hexter, ed. Donald Kelley (London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 48.

⁷²Jennifer Loach, Parliament and Crown in the Reign of Mary Tudor, p. 93. Elizabeth I similarly gave up the title *caput ecclesiae*, the supreme headship in favour of being entitled supreme governor in accordance with the Pauline injunctions against women's possession of authority in the church, cf. G. R. Elton, The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 336.

⁷³BL Cotton MS: Titus CX, fol. 77v, 'The First Paper or Memorial / of Sir William Cecil Anno / primo Elizabethae'.

⁷⁴William Huse Dunham, 'Regal Power and the Rule of Law: a Tudor Paradox', p. 46.

is in alteration or abridgement they have no power".⁷⁵ The act itself referred to Mary as 'the supreme governess possessor and inheritor to the *Imperial* Crown of this realm'. In Elizabeth's reign, Aylmer defended regnant queens from Knox's famous attack on 'the monstrous regiment of women', by arguing that "in this point their enheritaunce is so lynked with the empyre: that you can not pluck from them thone without robbing them of thother".⁷⁶ This was particularly true in England. The continuity of property rights in an empire were inextricably linked to the possibility of a female accession to the throne and the possibility of a queen regnant's authority even in marriage. The parliamentary solution to the problem of a married queen regnant "did not prove workable in practice", according to Constance Jordan, who argues the alliance and 'Act for the Queen's Regal Power' failed ("largely due to the queen herself") to curb Philip's "efforts to gain control of the internal affairs of the realm": he obtained "actual power... to determine the course of events within the realm and with respect to foreign policy".⁷⁷ David Loades, on the other hand, argues that although he was not prevented inexorably by the marriage treaty, "Philip was baffled at every turn in his search for an effective role in English government": Cecil's minute quoted above provides evidence at least of a contemporary perception contrary to the assertion that as "king of England there is no doubt that Philip was a failure".⁷⁸ Mary's regime is criticised whether you believe that sovereignty was given up through her marriage or not. I fail to understand the historical interest or significance of it as an 'issue'. In any case, in the increasingly international context of the European Union, focusing on this looks more and more parochial and 'little Englander'. Her decision to marry has been blurred into the repeal of legislation perceived as central to England's constitutional independence. The Supremacy was, it is alleged, the cornerstone of the architecture defining England as an *imperium*. It 'conjoined' temporal and spiritual authorities and jurisdictions and placed the kingdom directly under God through his vicar on earth, the sovereign and Supreme Head. The identification of the

⁷⁵A Discourse upon the Exposition & Understandinge of Statutes with Sir Thomas Egerton's Additions (c. 1557-1571), ed. Samuel E. Thorne, p. 107.

⁷⁶Judith Richards, 'Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'?: Gendering Tudor Monarchy', p. 904.

⁷⁷Constance Jordan, 'Woman's Rule in Sixteenth Century British Political Thought', Renaissance Quarterly 40:3 (1987), 421–451, pp. 426–9.

⁷⁸David Loades, 'Philip II and the Government of England' in Claire Cross, David Loades and J. J. Scarisbrick (eds.), Law and Government under the Tudors (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 194.

marriage with the return of papal jurisdiction was made both in Habsburg propaganda and by Reformist critics of the government in exile. The Habsburg's delay of the legatine mission, keeping Pole in Brussels until after the wedding, was calculated to foster this impression that the dynasty was directly responsible for a victorious act of salvation and reconversion through the marriage. The use of the marriage to support assertions about mid-Tudor constitutional and political history, on the basis of representations by both Reformers and the Habsburgs, has profoundly distorted the historiography of the Marian period and crucially left out the most important sources for assessing whether the 'Reformed' Henrician settlement indeed had the political effects which are claimed for it, the silent and invisible conservative majority of Mary's subjects.

The 'Collectanea satis copiosa, ex sacris scriptis et authoribus Catholicis de regia et ecclesiastica potestate' (BL Cleopatra E 6, fols. 16–135), evidence collected for Henry VIII and later used to underpin the opening assertion of the Act in Restraint of Appeals that "by dyvers sundrie olde authentike histories and cronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that the Realme of England is an Impire, and so hath ben accepted in the worlde", consisted of a digest of historical myth and fakes which upheld the assertion of the King's *privilegium regni* against the papacy. It included a letter (found in the ~~the~~ city of London's *Liber Custumarum*) fabricated in king John's reign from pope Eleutherus to the newly converted king Lucius, which stated "Leges Romanas et Caesaris semper reprobare possimus, legem Dei nequaquam. Susceptistis enim nuper, miseratione summa, in regno Britanniae legem et fidem Christi. Habetis penes vos in regno untramque. Vicarius vero Dei estis in regno"; another forgery, from the same source and again John's reign, which was inspired and drew on Geoffrey of Monmouth purporting to be a law of Edward the Confessor, unambiguously described England's status as that of an empire: "De numero provinciarum et patriarum et Comitatum et insularum quae de jure spectant et sine dubio pertinent corone et dignitati regni Britanniae scilicet... de jure potius appellari potest et debet excellentia illustrissime predictae corone imperium quam regnum".⁷⁹ The theory of empire being developed in the

⁷⁹Graham Nicholson, 'The Act of Appeals and the English Reformation', in *Law and Government Under the Tudors*, pp. 20, 22, and 24. Original is at BL MS Cleo, fol. 41b. Cf. Walter Ullman, 'On the influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth in English History' in C. Bauer, L. Boehm and M. Muller (eds.), *Speculum Historiale: Geschichte Im Spiegel Von Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtdeutung* (Munich: Verlag Karl Alber Freiburg, 1965), 257–76.

miscellany of an unified imperial jurisdiction, was realised only after Henry laid the charge of praemunire against the entire clerical estate and enforced their submission to his authority. Then parliament was called on, to give effect to his spiritual legislation, beginning with the Act of Appeals. Statute law became the guarantor of empire, unifying and underpinning both jurisdictions through the Supreme Headship. Mary's conscience balked at the use of this title and it was dropped even before the legislation which had created it, was annulled. The repeal of this title had been rejected in her first parliament.

Henry's Act for Proclamations provided that "nothing should be made contrary to an act of Parliament or Common Law" and Lord Chancellor Audley had in answer to Gardiner's question, whether a king could command against the Statute of Praemunire or not, asserted that, "we will provide that the praemunire shall ever hang over your heads, and so we laymen shall be sure to enjoy our inheritance by the Common Laws and acts of Parliament".⁸⁰ Gardiner believed the king ought not to command against statute, although whether he could or not was a distinct issue. It was unclear where the superior authority lay. In making his case against the monarch's possession of the superior authority, he cited examples of transgressors who had broken the common law in accordance with a royal command and then subsequently suffered for their capital offence, such as his own master Wolsey.⁸¹ Thomas Cranmer wrote to Mary from prison in Oxford in 1556 that,

contrary to [the pope's] clayme, the emperial crowne and jurisdiction temporal of this relame is taken immediately from God... [when] the pope taketh upon him to geve the temporall sworde, or royall and Imperiall power to kynges and princes, so doth he likewise take upon hym to depose them from their Imperiall states, yf they be disobedient to him. ⁸²

⁸⁰Stephen Gardiner, *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, pp. 390–2. Cf. also William Huse Dunham, 'Regal Power and the Rule of Law: a Tudor Paradox', pp. 25 and 28; Graham Nicholson, 'The Act of Appeals and the English Reformation', pp. 19–30; and Dale Hoak, 'The iconography of the crown imperial' in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 55 ff.

⁸¹*Ibid.*

⁸²Cited by John N. King, 'The royal image, 1535–1603' in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. D. Hoak, p. 107.

Mary's legitimacy depended on statute as did her title to the Crown. But all the constitutional changes and important choices of her reign went before parliament and she had promised contrary to royal prerogative "especially not to marry without the universal consent of Parliament, when the ring which she wears was put on her finger, she purposed accepting the realme of England and its entire population as her children".⁸³ Acts passed in 1554 were not "construed understood or expounded to derogate, diminish or take away any the Lybertyes Pryvilegies Prerogatives Prehemynences Auchtorities or Jurisdiccions, or any part or percell therof, which were in your Imperiall Crowne of this Realme or did belong to yr. said Imperiall Crowne, the xxth yere of the raigne of" Henry VIII.⁸⁴ In Philip and Mary's first joint parliament it was enacted that "for that the title of all Landes Possessions and Hereditamentes in this yr Maistes Realme and Doms., ys grownded in the Lawes Statutes and Customes of the same, and by yor highe Jurisdiction Auchtorities Roiall and Crowne Imperiall and in yor Courtes only to be empleaded ordred tryed and judged and none otherwise".⁸⁵ Another statute of 1554 permitted the use of papal orders, bulls, and dispensations, "not containing matter contrarye or prejudicial to th auctoritie, dignities, or prehemynence Roial or Imperiall of the Realm, or to the Lawes of this Realm nowe being in force and not in this Parliament repealed".⁸⁶ In spite of the return of papal jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs, the distinction between secular and religious authority was assiduously maintained. In 1557 Philip himself, after his excommunication by the pope, severed all links between the church in Spain and the papacy. Lords and Commons described themselves in 1554 in the act repealing the Statute of proclamations as "representing the whole body of the Realme of Englande and the Dominions of the same, In the name of our selves particularly, and also of the said bodye universally".⁸⁷ This notion of representation was crucial in justifying the jurisdiction of

⁸³Cal. Ven. V, p. 460. Pole to Cardinal Cristoforo di Monte, 8th February 1554.

⁸⁴1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8, s. 13 and s. 24, Statutes of the Realm, vol. 4, pp. 246–54.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8, s. 20. Ibid.

⁸⁷1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8, s. 1. Ibid. Cf. A Discourse upon the Exposition & Understandinge of Statutes with Sir Thomas Egerton's Additions (c. 1557–1571), ed. Samuel E. Thorne (California: Huntington Library, 1942); T. F. T. Plucknett, 'Ellesmere on Statutes' Law Quarterly Review LX (1944), 242–49; and Max Radin, 'Early Statutory Interpretations in England', Illinois Law Review, XXXVIII (1943–4), 16–40.

parliament: "An alyene ys not bounde by our estatues, & so I saie of those of Irelande or those of ancient demesne, for they come not to the Parlyament. But thoughe those of Ireland be not bounden by our Parliament because they have a Parliament of their owne, yet notwithstandinge when they are in Englande, as they subiecte to the kynge, so are they subiect unto his laws".⁸⁸ In 1604, the first chapter of James I's first statute restated the doctrine of parliament as a high court, "where all the whole Bodie of the Realme, and everie particular Member thereof, either in person or by Representation (upon their free Elections) are by the Laws of this Realme deemed to be personallie presente".⁸⁹ It was in Mary's reign that the rule of law was first conceptualised in these terms. The augmentation and strengthening of the political law heralded a nascent constitutionalism. Attacks upon Mary's government were directed predominantly at its unconstitutionality, the illegality of her authority which was more than ever being referred and subjected to parliamentary approval.

The re-legitimation of Mary presented a problem. Her bastardization and the repudiation of her mother by Henry VIII were the *sine qua non* of political developments in England since the 1530s. Her accession invited a rewriting of history. The changing political climate in relation to this event can be traced in the publication history of Juan Luis Vives' Instruction of a Christen Woman (London: Thomas Berthelet, eds. 1529, 1531, 1541, 1547, 1557 and 1567). Written under the patronage of Katherine of Aragón for the instruction of Mary, it was first published after Henry's suit for divorce had begun in 1527. Vives' dedication in Richard Hyrde's 1529 translation, to "princes Katharine quene of Englande" was therefore already risqué.⁹⁰ By 1541 the dedication had been censored, referring merely to "the most gracious princesse Katharine of Englande".⁹¹ Hyrde's fulsome praise of "the moste excellent prynces quene Catharine, the most gracious Wyfe unto the moste noble and myghty prince kynge Henry the .viii." was omitted entirely after 1531. Isabella of Castile's daughters

⁸⁸A Discourse upon the Exposition & Understandinge of Statutes with Sir Thomas Egerton's Additions (c. 1557–1571), ed. Samuel E. Thorne, pp. 110–11.

⁸⁹1 James I, c. 1.

⁹⁰Foster Watson (ed.), Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women (London: Edward Arnold, 1912), p. 29.

⁹¹Betty S. Travitsky, 'Reprinting Tudor History: The Case of Catherine of Aragon', Renaissance Quarterly 50 (1997), pp. 167–9, 171–2.

were described in the 1529 and 1531 editions as "quenes of Portugal, the thyerde of Spayne, mother unto Carolus Cesar: & the fourth moost holy and devout wyfe unto the most gracious kyng Henry". By the 1541 edition Catherine had become "wyfe unto the most noble prince Arthure".⁹² This rewriting was retained surprisingly in the 1557 edition of Mary's reign and it was not until the 1585 and 1592 editions, by the Protestant printers Robert Waldegrave and John Danter, that Katharine became sufficiently depoliticised for the wording to revert to the original of 1529.

The second tract Vives wrote on women and marriage, The Office and duetie of an husband (Latin ed. 1529), contained a further eulogy to his patron despite the divorce proceedings that had forced him to leave England and the quarrel he had had with Catharine. It was not printed in English until 1555 in Mary's reign. Its translator Thomas Paynell addressed it to Sir Anthony Browne, later Viscount Montagu, who was then contemplating remarriage, explaining its value in choosing a spouse in order to avoid any occasion "of breache, or of divorsement, the which (O lorde) is nothyng in these oure dayes regarded: for why? to have many wives at once, or to refuse her by some cautell or false interpretation of gods most holy worde, that myslyketh, is at this present but (as men call it) a shifte of descante".⁹³ The oblique, critical reference to Henry VIII, possible only after the accession of Mary, demonstrates the historiographical shift which was licensing the resurrection of Katherine as "the type of pious, learned, and domesticated woman". William Powell also published the oration of 'Leonhard Goretti' in 1554 which had compared Anne Boleyn to Salome.⁹⁴ In spite of the politics, Vives limited himself to celebrating Isabella of Castilla because she "taught her doughters to spynne, sowe, and peynt" ("I wolde in no wyse that a woman shuld be ignorant in those feates, that must be done by hande: no nat though she be a princes or a quene"). Isabella of Castile had been a regnant queen in her own right and military commander, while her daughter Catherine had acted as Henry's regent during his first campaign in France and for a time as the accredited Spanish ambassador in England. Even

⁹²All citations are from Betty S. Travitsky, 'Reprinting Tudor History: The Case of Catherine of Aragon', pp. 167–9, 171–2.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Jennifer Loach, 'The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press', English Historical Review 101 (1986), 135–148, p. 144.

in a work commissioned by a powerful queen consort, Vives could assert women's unfitness for public life. Attitudes towards female rule were profoundly ambiguous even amongst humanist advocates of female education.

4. 2. Hermaphrodite: the Case of Female Sovereignty.

The contradictions of female rule are crystalised by Agostino Nifo in the De principe: a "ruler is required to practise virtues which are in some sense contrary to those recommended to woman in general; how then should queens, princesses and other women who by their social status form part of public life behave?".⁹⁵ William Thomas resolved this contradiction by seeking to exclude all women from public life: "As it becometh neither the Man to be Governed of the Woman, nor the Master of the Servant, even so in al other Regiments it is not convenient the Inferior should have power to direct the Superior".⁹⁶ Female government inverted natural order. The solution to the problem of female authority in the 'Act for the Queen's Regal Power' was to annex 'kingly office' by statute to females as well as males and license Mary to rule 'as king'. Bishop White of Winchester declared in his sermon at Mary's burial in 1558, that she had been "a queen and by the same title a king also. She was a syster to her that by the like title and wryght is both king and quene at this present of this realme".⁹⁷ Mary's political authority was gendered male in spite of the sex of her natural body, a transposition which depended in part on the possibility of separating the natural person of the sovereign from her political or representative body as male. Elizabethan defenders of female rule also attempted to engender sovereign authority male. John Leslie in his defence of Mary Queen of Scots claimed that the term *ex fratribus* from the biblical

⁹⁵Cited by Ian Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life, Cambridge Monographs on the History of Medicine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 61.

⁹⁶William Thomas 'A Second Discourse made by the Same Person for the Kings use' in John Strype, Memorials chiefly Ecclesiastical and such as concern Religion, 3 vols. (London: S. Richardson, 1721), vol. II, Appendix S, p. 65. The suggestion has to be made that Edward was being primed by this material to exclude his sisters from the succession.

⁹⁷John Strype, Memorials chiefly Ecclesiastical, vol. 3, 'Catalogue of Originals' no. LXXXI, 277–87, p. 284. Original is at BL Cott. Vesp. D XVIII x, fol. 104.

text Deuteronomy 29: 15 ("*one* from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee"), which was frequently cited as a precedent to debar women from authority, had been widely misinterpreted, since in classical languages, "Againe as in civill law the masculine gender comprehendeth the feminine" and "the worde kinge by propertie of one and the same voice and signification expretheth the Quene bothe in scripture & in other tonges".⁹⁸ He referred back to the 'Act for the Queen's Regal Power': "Yet are all manner of the foresaide iurisdictions and other praerogatiues, and ought to be, as fullie as wholie and as absolutlie in the prince female, as in the male, and so way yt ever deamed iudged and accepted, before the statute made for the farther declaration in that point".⁹⁹ John Aylmer refuted John Knox's contention in The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous regiment of women (Geneva, 1558) based on the same biblical passage, by arguing its irrelevance. It prohibited foreign rulers and not women.¹⁰⁰ Figures of feminine excellence, the powerful females acclaimed in defences of women to undermine assertions of female inferiority, paradoxically often served to reinforce gender stereotypes, since they were celebrated precisely for the qualities which rendered them more 'virile': the "regularity with which these exemplary women are labelled 'manly' finally undermines their rhetorical purpose".¹⁰¹ A similar gender confusion seems to have influenced and been produced by the figure of a queen regnant. The Scottish ambassador Melville early in Elizabeth's reign told her, he believed she would never marry since in doing so she would become merely a queen, whereas she was then "both king and queen".¹⁰² Sir Thomas Smith in the De Republica Anglorum (1583) sought to solve the problem of female authority, the biological accident of two female accessions in succession, by setting against the assertion of women's unsuitability for government an appeal to lineage:

⁹⁸John Leslie, Defence of the Honour of Marie Queen of Scots (London: 1569), sigs. rvi v and rvii v, pp. 136 and 137.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Cf. Paula Louise Scalingi, 'The Scepter and the Distaff: The Question of Female Sovereignty, 1516–1607', The Historian 41:1 (1978), 59–75, p. 70.

¹⁰¹Constance Jordan, '*Feminism and the Humanists: The Case of Sir Thomas Elyot's Defence of Good Women*', Renaissance Quarterly 36:2 (1983), 181–201, p. 191.

¹⁰²Carole Levin, 'Queens and Claimants: Political Insecurity in Sixteenth Century England' in Gender, Ideology, and Action: Historical Perspectives on Women's Public Lives, ed. Janet Sharistanian (London: Greenwood Press, 1986), p. 43.

those whom nature hath made to keepe home and to nourish their familie and children... except it be in such cases as the authoritie is annexed to the bloud and progenie, as the crowne, a dutchie, or an erledome for there the blood is respected, not the age or the sexe... These I say have the same authoritie although they be women or children in that kingdom, dutchie or erledome, as they should have had if they had bin men of full age.¹⁰³

The possibility of the transmissibility of political rights by women who could not exercise them in their own persons, is confirmed by the case of Catherine Willoughby and Richard Bertie, although he never came to exercise them (cf. p. 153). However, Smith's claim that they had the 'same authoritie although they be women' was implausible. It applied de facto only in the first case, of a kingdom. Political and property rights were not generally exercised by women in baronies, although they were transmissible lineally, but generally not laterally to non-blood relations, i.e. in the absence of male heirs. A notable exception was Margaret Pole, who was made countess of Salisbury, an earldom formerly held by her father and brother. In the twelfth century Henry I "because he hadde none other issue male, ordeyned Maude the Emperesse which was his daughter, to succede him in the kingdome", however Matilda's claim was denied by her cousin Stephen, opening a period of civil strife, which ended only with the accession of her son Henry II and a return to legitimate succession. This vindicated posthumously her claim to have possessed those rights.¹⁰⁴ Sir Thomas Smith problematically sought to reinscribe hierarchical principles, social, economic or class distinctions in female identity to account for female monarchy. Later Torquato Tasso argued "that the first duty of a princess is to her royal status... The princess is, as it were, a man by virtue of her birth, and hence the masculine standard of morality applies to her".¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum* (1583), ed. Mary Dewar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 64–5.

¹⁰⁴Richard Grafton, *An Abridgement of the Chronicles of England* (1562). Cited by Judith Richards, "'To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule": Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England', p. 105.

¹⁰⁵In Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life*, p. 62. Cf. Torquato Tasso, *Discorso della virtù femminile e donnesca* (1582) in *Le prose diverse*, ed. C. Gamasti (Florence: 1875), II, pp. 203 ff.

Under Mary, Thomas Becon, John Knox, Christopher Goodman and others published vitriolic attacks on gynocracy. These writers read gender as a uniquely determining condition, which permeated all forms of social differentiation. Women were exclusively and solely defined by gender, a 'natural' and divinely-ordained subjection to men. The Pauline injunctions that "women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but *they are commanded* to be under obedience" and "I suffer not a woman to teache, nether yet to usurpe authoritie above man" (I Corinthians 14:34 and I Timothy 2:12), were frequently cited to make this case. These treatises have been read as representative of contemporary views of female authority and linked to the wider sixteenth century humanist debate about women and female education. However, situating them in this way is problematic; firstly because the move from text to social reality, reading from the rhetorical to the historical, is vitiated with epistemological problems, and secondly because these authors had specific political agendas, served by destabilising Mary's regime. Literary attacks on or defences of women possessed generic conventions and were often no more than rhetorical, theoretical exercises, "without any connection with real life at all"; a notion reinforced by the fact there were authors "who wrote formal essays on both sides of the woman question, damning and praising women with equal conviction".¹⁰⁶ Edward Gosynhyll's The Schole House of Women (1541), for example, an anonymous satire and catalogue of misogynist commonplaces, was published as a refutation of Sir Thomas Elyot's The Defence of Good Women (1540): "A fole of late contryued a boke / And all in prayse of the femynye / who so taketh laboure, it to out loke / Shal proue, all is but flaterye / Pehan he calleth it, it maye well be / The pecocke is prowdest, of his fayre tayle / And so be all women of theyr apparayle".¹⁰⁷ A year later Gosynhyll retracted his former position in the poem The Prayse of all Women (1542), in which Venus appears to him in a dream, exhorting him to "slepe not so fast. / Consyder our grefe, and howe we be blamed / And all by a boke, that lately is past / Whiche by reporte by the was fyrst framed / The scole of women none auctour named / In prynte it is passed, lewdely compyled / All women wherby before

¹⁰⁶Linda Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind, 1540–1620 (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), pp. 5 and 17.

¹⁰⁷Edward Gosynhyll, The Schole House of Women: wherein euery man may read a goodley prayse of the condicyons of women (London: John King, 1541), sig. Ai v. Cf. Paula Louise Scalingi, 'The Scepter and the Distaff: The Question of Female Sovereignty, 1516–1607', p. 63.

revyled".¹⁰⁸ Elyot's dialogue was a vindication of women's claim to political equality, to be capable as citizens of full participation in civil polity. Queen Zenobia, an icon of political womanhood invoked by Vives in De institutione foeminae christianae (1523), by Agrippa in De Nobilitate & Praecellentia foeminei Sexus (1529), by Chaucer in the 'Monk's Tale', by Lydgate in Fall of Princes, and twice by Boccaccio in De casibus virorum and De claris mulieribus, was one of the three characters in the dialogue. The intriguing argument has been made by Stanford Lehmberg that Queen Zenobia should be identified with Katherine of Aragón: "the Defence of Good Women seems to be in fact a veiled defense of Katherine of Aragon".¹⁰⁹ From 1532 to 1536 Elyot was, according to Garrett Mattingly, aware of a conspiracy to welcome Charles V's forces into England, depose Henry and place Catherine on the throne as regent for her daughter Mary. His suggestion is that the Defence was written as a preliminary to the acceptance of Katherine's government.¹¹⁰ The majority of his text was taken up with a refutation of the influential Aristotelian notion that women were less perfect than men, a refutation stressing the complementarity of their virtues and finally making a case for female superiority. The notion in the Renaissance of the predominance of cold and wet humours in females was commonplace: "a combination of cold and moist produces a retentive memory because, like wax, impressions can be registered easily and remain fixed on cold and moist substances. The memory, which is sometimes described as 'intellectus passibilis', is also associated with woman (vs. man) as is passive (vs. active)".¹¹¹ According to the Galenic model of biological sex difference female genitals were believed to be inverted versions of men's. The 'one-sex body' model understood women as male inverts, as retarded versions of men: the "vagina was an internal penis", as a result of insufficient heat during gestation.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸Edward Gosynhyll, The Prayse of All Women Called Mulierum Pean. Very Fruytfull and delectable unto all the reders (London: Wylyam Myddylton, 1542), sig. Aii r.

¹⁰⁹Stanford E. Lehmberg, Sir Thomas Elyot: Tudor Humanist (Austin: Univeristy of Texas Press, 1960), p. 176.

¹¹⁰Garrett Mattingly, Catherine of Aragon (London: Jonathan Cape, 1944), p. 322. Cf. Constance Jordan, 'Feminism and the Humanists: The Case of Sir Thomas Elyot's Defence of Good Women', pp. 198–200.

¹¹¹Ian Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life, p. 42.

¹¹²Thomas Laqueur, Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 35, 52, 96, 108, 124.

The location of sexual difference on a continuum made any differentiation of gender roles difficult to sustain other than on grounds of custom and acculturation. The presentation of rigid divisions between gender roles in the early modern period was problematised by the fact that a one-sex body made a notion of femaleness-in-itself, the female as distinct from the male, a difficult difference to maintain. The attribution of male qualities to powerful women, as the only possible mode of their celebration, followed from the opposition of masculine and feminine characteristics on a continuum, with one merely reflecting, or inverting the other. The virago's assumption of male characteristics through her occupation of a social role at odds with her gender was the corollary of the effeminisation of men in assuming subordinate roles, for example, under 'improper' female domination.

The accepted consecration of John Knox's The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous regiment of women (Geneva, 1558) "as representative of the 'real' views of the age" and its attitudes towards women in authority, the belief that "Knox's view of women was 'commonplace'",¹¹³ has shaded too easily into speculation about Mary's acceptance of her own subordination. It is assumed on the basis of writers like Knox that she "fully shared the universal conviction that government was not women's work", and that although Mary might be a queen "she was also wife to the man she and her counsellors saw as the real ruler".¹¹⁴ Knox's attack, however, was not general but directed at three specific women; Mary of Guise, regent of Scotland, Catherine de Medici, and Mary Tudor, "whose persecution of Knox's fellow Protestants had forced him into exile".¹¹⁵ Before Mary's reign, Sir David Lindsay had attacked the Scottish regent, Mary of Guise: "Ladyis no way I can commend, / Presumptuously quhilk doith pretend, / Tyll vse the office of ane kyng, / Or Realmes tak in governing".¹¹⁶ As for Knox, there were underlying political motives, surrounding foreign

¹¹³Judith Richards "'To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule": Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England', p. 116 and note 45.

¹¹⁴David Loades, The Reign of Mary Tudor, p. 219 and Carole Levin, 'Queens and Claimants: Political Insecurity in Sixteenth Century England' in Gender, Ideology, and Action: Historical Perspectives on Women's Public Lives, p. 42.

¹¹⁵Patricia-Ann Lee, 'A Bodye Politique to Governe: Aylmer, Knox, and the Debate on Queenship', The Historian 52 (1990), 242–61, p. 243.

¹¹⁶Sir David Lindsay, The Monarchie (1st ed. 1552, repr. 1560), Book II, ll. 3247–9, in The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (1490–1555), ed. Douglas Hamer, 4 vols.

regency, dynasticism, and exile. The polemicists attacking the legitimacy of female rule in Mary's reign were reformers for whom female sovereignty, as it did for Lindsay, implied foreign dominion and papistry, as well as their perpetual exile. On Elizabeth's accession the same authors became silent on the issue of female rule or wrote of special dispensation, the mysterious providence which had set a 'godly princess' over them. Calls for open rebellion against the 'regiment of women' by polemical reformers were engaged less with the issue of gender than obedience and false religion; the right of the people to overthrow ungodly rulers. In the context of religious persecution, sex was a useful adjunct to rhetorical strategies to discredit Mary. Catholic apologists even after Mary's death continued to defend female sovereignty from these attacks. John Fowler published a translation of Peter Frarin's An Oration Against the Unlawfull Insurrections of the Protestantes in 1566, which rebutted Knox and Goodman's denial of Mary's right to rule.¹¹⁷

Christopher Goodman was unique in excluding female rule on principle. Mary was disqualified not just because she was the "ungodlie and vnlawful Gouvernesse, wicked Iesabel" and "in dede bastarde, and unlawfully begotten", but also because "beit that she were no bastard, but the kinges daughter as lawfullie begotten as was her sister, that Godlie Lady, and meke Lambe, voyde of all Spanishe pride, and straunge bloude what woman you shulde crowne, if you had bene preferres of Goddes glorie".¹¹⁸ Nevertheless Goodman was seeking entry to England within a year of Elizabeth's accession and before an ecclesiastical commission in 1571 recanted his former anti-feminist arguments. Calvin, in a letter to Cecil shortly after Elizabeth's accession, admitted having had discussions with Knox about the issue of female rule: "Knox asked of me, in a private conversation, what I thought about the government of women" and Calvin had conceded "it was a deviation from the original and proper order of nature", however, "I had no suspicion of the book, and for a whole year was ignorant of its publication".¹¹⁹ The First Blast of the Trumpet, on whose frontispiece is

(London: The Scottish Text Society, William Blackwood and Sons Ltd., 1931), vol. 1, p. 295.

¹¹⁷Paula Louise Scalingi, 'The Scepter and the Distaff: The Question of Female Sovereignty, 1516–1607', p. 73.

¹¹⁸Christopher Goodman, How Superior Powers ought to be obeyd, pp. 34 and 53–4.

¹¹⁹The Zurich Letters, 2nd ser., ed. Hastings Robinson, The Parker Society 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1845), vol. 2, pp. 34–6.

prominently printed Mary's motto 'Veritas temporis filia', ignored the complexity of issues surrounding inheritance and female succession, affirming that to "promote a woman to beare rule, superioritie, dominion or empire aboue any realme, nation, or citie, is repugnant to nature, contumelie to God, a thing most contrarious to his reueled will and approved ordinance, and finalie it is the subuersion of good order, of all equitie and justice".¹²⁰ The exile Thomas Becon lamented that "in the stead of that virtuous prince [Edward VI] thou hast set to rule over us a woman, whom nature hath formed to be in subjection unto man, and whom thou by thine holy apostle commañdest to keep silence and not to speak in the congregation", interpreting Mary's rule as providential retribution for the nation's unworthiness:

Ah Lord! to take away the empire from a man and give it unto a woman, seemeth to be an evident token of thy anger towards us Englishmen. For by thy prophet thou, being displeased with thy people, threatenest to set women to rule over them, as people unworthy to have lawful, natural and meet governors... such as ruled and were queens were for the most part wicked, ungodly, superstitious, and given to idolatry and to all filthy abominations; as we may see in the histories of queen Jesebel, queen Athalia, queen Herodias, and such-like.¹²¹

By implication women governors were unlawful, unnatural, and unmeet. However, Becon recognised the possibility of exception. Queens were 'for the most part wicked, ungodly, superstitious, and given to idolatry', i.e. like Mary. The biblical figures Jezebel and Athalia were archetypes, symbolic of her tyranny and idolatry. In John Ponet's A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power (1556), the Jezebel and Athalia stories were developed as allegorical and vartic archetypes, foreshadowing revelations about Marian government, although employed in relation to a considerably more subtle discussion of political illegitimacy, women and

¹²⁰John Knox, The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous regiment of women (1558), p. 9.

¹²¹Thomas Becon, An Humble Supplication unto God for the Restoring of His Holy Word Unto the Church of God (1554) in Prayers and Other Pieces of Thomas Becon, ed. Reverend J. Ayre (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1844), p. 227. Cf. Judith Richards, "'To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule": Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England', p. 115.

authority.

Quene Athalia, the woman tyranne (seing after her sonne Ahaziah was dead, that she was childles, and past hope to haue any children) hade killed all the kynges progenye (sauing Ioas, whom Iehosaba Iorams daughter hid and get with his nource out of the waye) purposing to reigne therby in securitie, and to transpose the right of the crowne to straungers or som other fauorer of her cruel proceedinges¹²²

This was precisely the situation in the summer of 1556 with the end of Mary's phantom pregnancy. At forty she was probably past bearing children and her childlessness was a likely inducement for her to 'transpose the right of the crowne' and prevent her Protestant sister from succeeding her. Several of her counsellors had advocated the elimination of Elizabeth, in the aftermath of Wyatt's rebellion, in spite of the fact that insufficient evidence of her knowledge and involvement had been uncovered to implicate her. The proposal of a bill allowing Mary to will the crown had been defeated in her second parliament. Even so the marriage contract and its ratification were redolent with provisions seeking to bar Philip from succeeding her. The controversy provoked by the project for Philip's coronation in 1557 resurfaced in Christopher Goodman's How Superior Power Oght to be Obeyd (Geneva, 1558): "For do you thinke that Philip will be crowned kinge of Englande and reteyne in honor English counsellors? Will he credite them with the government of his estate, who have betrayed their owne? Shall his nobilitie be Spaniardes without your landes and possessions?"¹²³ Goodman glossed the 'ex fratribus' passage from Deuteronomy (27:15), by arguing "straungers cannot beare such a natural zeale to straunge realmes and peoples, as becometh brethern: but chieflie to auoyde that monster in nature, and disordre amongst men, which is the Empire and governmente of a woman".¹²⁴ His use of the term 'brethren', like John Christoferson's, opposed it to 'stranger'. Brethren blends religious and familial

¹²²John Ponet, A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power (1556), sig. Hi.v.

¹²³Christopher Goodman, How Superior Powers ought to be Obeyd of their Subjects: and Wherein they may lawfully by Gods Word be disobeyed and resisted (Geneva, 1558), sig. g2v.

¹²⁴Christopher Goodman, How Superior Powers oght to be obeyd (1558), sig. Dii v.

connotations, sustaining perfectly the identification of faith and nation, but this time from an opposite religious perspective. The betrayal of the political estate of England through the permeable boundaries of a woman's body, a body which was the representative of that political estate and thus subject to foreign colonisation by sexual conquest, was an identification which surfaced specifically in these gynephobic texts.

In Anthony Gilby's Admonition to England and Scotland to call them to repentance (Geneva: 1558), England had been desolated by a "one crafty Gardiner, whose name was Stephen, having wolf-like condition, did maintain many a wolf, did sow a wicked seed in the garden, and cherished many weeds to deface the vineyard. And his said Marie, who after was his mistress, now married to Philip".¹²⁵ In the first year of her reign she been the subject of rumours that she was carrying Gardiner's illegitimate child.¹²⁶ Mary's Catholic supporter, Robert Wingfield, writing about the motives alleged by the Wyatt rebellion conspirators, revealed early on the sexual slanders which were to become a feature of anti-Marian polemicists.

Through his messengers he made most discrete approaches to the queen, that her Highness might consider his son Philip, a prince ripe in age and estate, worthy of her pleasant embraces in a marriage treaty; by way of a dowry he most munificently offered all Burgundy and Lower Germany, that thus he might entice the queen's tender affections into love. However, the men of little religion used these nuptials as a pretext for rebellion, alleging as excuse the stiff manner of the Spaniards and their insufferable lust for women; they used all their might to support their evil religion, now so near to ruin, with some evil tumult, as if they had been overwhelmed by a Spanish whore.¹²⁷

¹²⁵Anthony Gilby, Admonition to England and Scotland to call them to repentance (Geneva: 1558), sig. liiii, liiii v, reprinted in The History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland (Glasgow: J. Galbraith and Co., 1761), p. 459.

¹²⁶Kirk M. Fabel, 'Questions of Numismatic and Linguistic Signification in the Reign of Mary Tudor', Studies in English Literature 37 (1997), 237–255, p. 244. Cf. John Strype Memorials especially Ecclesiastical, vol. 1, p. 456.

¹²⁷Diarmaid Macculloch (ed. and trans.), 'The Vitae Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham', Camden Miscellany XXVIII, Fourth Series (London: Royal Historical Society, UCL, 1984), pp. 273–4.

As early as Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* (1361), a compilation of female worthies, women from sacred history were celebrated for "their virginity, chastity, sanctity, and virtue".¹²⁸ Arguments that Mary in marrying gave up her most powerful propagandist tool, chastity and exposed herself to vilification on the grounds of her sexuality, are supported by the invocation of her purity in the absence of alternative 'Catholic' female iconography, by her supporters: "long after her marriage, Marian propaganda still needed to hark back to a lost virginity", on her death "the poet George Cavendish still praised her accession as a virgin".¹²⁹ "To a virgin's life which liked thee best / Professed was thine heart, when moved with zeal / And tears of subjects expressing request, / For no lust but love for the common weal, / Virginity's vow thou diddest repeal".¹³⁰ John Christoferson, echoing Mary's Guildhall speech in which she had explicitly disavowed carnal affection was a motive for the marriage, claimed that "seing it was a thing most expedient for us, that her highnes shuld marri, she forced her selfe contrary to her owne fantasye thereunto" and married for her "singular vertue", "greate wisdom", and "noble lynage".¹³¹ Condemning the Wyatt rebels, in a text that appeared a day before the marriage, he exclaimed "yet the sheddyng of so pure a virgyns bloude, is of all other moste cruell and detestable".¹³² In Pole's oration at Westminster prior to reunification with Rome, the legate described how Mary "being a virgin, helples, naked, and unarmed prevailed, and had victory over tyrauntes".¹³³ At every level her political status was compromised by her sexual status, especially in marriage to a potent foreign prince. Her

¹²⁸"sed earum virginitatem, castimoniam, virtutem et in superandis tam concupiscentiis carnis quam suppliciis tirannorum invictam constantiam", from 'De mulieribus claris' in Giovanni Boccaccio, *Tutte le Opere*, vol. X, ed. Vittore Branca (Verona: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 2nd ed. 1970), pp. 26–8. Cf. Constance Jordan, 'Feminism and the Humanists: The Case of Sir Thomas Elyot's Defence of Good Women', p. 183:

¹²⁹Glyn Redworth, 'Matters Impertinent to Women: Male and Female Monarchy under Philip and Mary', p. 599.

¹³⁰Emrys Jones, *The New Oxford Book of Sixteenth Century Verse* (Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 132.

¹³¹John Christoferson, *An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion* (London: John Cawood, 24th July 1554), sig. Lv.

¹³²Ibid, sig. Oiii.

¹³³John Elder, 'Letter Describing the Arrival and Marriage of King Philip, his Triumphal Entry into London, The Legations of Cardinal Pole, etc.', reprinted with *Tower Chronicle*, p. 157.

representation of herself in her Guildhall speech as wedded to the realm, a metaphor extended in a Spanish account to figure her as the mother of the nation, was inverted by Robert Pownall in his invective, the Admonition to the Town of Calais (1557) which denounced Mary as "[a]nother Atahlia, that is an utter distroier of hir owen kindred, kyngdome & countrie, a hater of her own subjects, a lover of strangers & an unnatural stepdame both unto the & to thy mother England".¹³⁴

Elizabeth I it is suggested "carefully developed the cult of the Virgin Queen" and cultivated her difference from other women in a post-Reformation world where the icon of the Virgin Mary was no longer available as a model of emulation.¹³⁵ However, the "paens of praise for her chastity, and thus for her 'physical autonomy,' were starkly at odds with the insistence in the earlier years that Elizabeth must marry for the sake of seamliness, good order, and the Protestant succession".¹³⁶ Even more radically Philippa Berry has suggested that while later representations of Elizabeth "allied emphasis upon Elizabeth's combination of femaleness and physical autonomy", the recognition of her "extensive powers in the political and spiritual spheres, [being] related to and overshadowed by another mode of power, one altogether more enigmatic and secretive, which was signified by the motif of chastity: a power over her own body", in fact "reveal[s] a growing anxiety about this unorthodox image of the queen".¹³⁷ There is no reason to believe therefore that Mary Tudor's marrying was problematic per se, as is suggested, although it posed a unique set of problems. What kind of obedience did a ruling queen owe her husband? The apparent contradictions in the position of a married queen between a wife's subordination, her obligation to conform her will to her husband's and the necessary 'autonomy' of her estate, in exercising justice and

¹³⁴Cited by David Loades, Politics, Censorship, and the English Reformation (London: Pinter Publishers, 1991), p. 43.

¹³⁵Carole Levin, 'Queens and Claimants: Political Insecurity in Sixteenth Century England' in Gender, Ideology, and Action: Historical Perspectives on Women's Public Lives, p. 43.

¹³⁶Susan Doran, 'Juno Versus Diana: The Treatment of Elizabeth I's Marriage in Plays and Entertainments, 1561–1581', The Historical Journal 38 (1995), 257–74. Cf. also Helen Hackett, Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995).

¹³⁷Philippa Berry, Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen (London: Routledge, 1989),

political power, were confronted by Aylmer.

if he breake any lawe, if it were capitall, she myghte strike with the sword, and yet be a wife good inought for the dutye that she oweth to him, is not omitted in that she obserueth, that she oweth to the common weale, wherein he is as a member conteyned. But if for her wedlocke dutie to him, she will neglect the commonwealth: Then is she a loving wife to him and an euel head to the countrie¹³⁸

Theoretically there was no conflict of interest, a wife might exercise her authority as head of the commonwealth without abrogating her duty to her husband. However, pragmatically as the last consequent recognised to be 'a loving wife' implied the 'neglect [of] the commonwealth'. Gardiner had emphasised in declaring the terms of the marriage that Philip undertook it as a 'subject'.

Within a month of Mary I's coronation rumours were circulating that Edward VI was not dead and would imminently return. The archetype for the popular belief in revenant kings was the myth of King Arthur's return prophesied by the dying Cadwalader, last of the British kings. The scepticism of French monks visiting Bodmin in 1113, who denied Arthur was still alive, had provoked a riot. Both the usurpers, Edward IV and Henry VII, traced their lineage back to the last king of Britain, Cadwalader, and deliberately enlisted his symbolic support in bolstering their shaky lineal claims to legitimacy. This link was reinforced symbolically by Henry VII, in naming his eldest son, who was born in Winchester, Arthur; a moment which had marked a brief renaissance of interest in the Arthurian cult and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *British History*.¹³⁹ Anxieties about a usurping dynast's legitimacy frequently found expression in rumours of the dead king's return and in the pretenders who fed off these stories. In Mary's reign, rumours of Edward's return were a displacement of anxieties about gender.

¹³⁸John Aylmer, *An Harborowe for Faithful and Trewe Subjectes Agaynst the late blowne Blaste, concerninge the Gouvernement of Wemen* (Strasburg: 26th April, 1559), sig. Giii.

¹³⁹Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London: Penguin, repr. 1991), pp. 494–501.

Edward IV and Henry VII had employed mythic figures from British history in their struggle to appropriate and resettle upon themselves the mystical aura and royal *dignitas* of the dead monarchs who they had violated and displaced and so denied their fitting and owed symbolic burial. The unease surrounding Henry IV's unauthorised dynastic supplantation of Richard II and the problems of Lancastrian legitimation were addressed by Henry V in his decision to reinter Richard in Westminster Abbey after thirteen years at Langley abbey. In 1402 in spite of the very public funeral procession accorded to Richard through London with his face uncovered and on display to the crowds, Henry IV was forced to make a proclamation declaring that the "said Richard is dead and buried".¹⁴⁰ Henry Percy, before the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403, was so incensed by the credulousness of some Welsh volunteers who appeared at muster wearing Ricardian livery of white harts, in the mistaken belief that Richard was still alive and that they were fighting for him, claimed that he was personally responsible for his murder. The Scottish court offered long-term sponsorship to a Richard imitator, Thomas Ward of Trumpington, while the rumours that he was alive were fuelled by both William Serle the former chancellor who forged and sent out letters under the king's seal and Maud de Vere who fabricated and distributed Ricardian badges of the white hart. But the persistence of the belief in his miraculous return went beyond a manipulation of malcontents. The rumours and invocation of Ricardian allegiance were a focus for dissidence. Handbills claiming him to be alive were still being circulated in 1417 and Sir John Oldcastle at his trial that year claimed that Henry's courts "se non habere iudicem inter eos, vivente ligeo domino sui in regno Scotiae".¹⁴¹ Similar rumours and pretenders plagued queen Isabella and her lover Roger de Mortimer after Edward II's murder.

Mary Tudor's legitimacy and acceptance as a regnant queen was a function of the displacement of doubts concerning female dominion. Rumours of the miraculous return of the boy-king Edward VI cropped up at moments in her reign when her gender was politically foregrounded. The stories sublimated and projected the anxieties attached to her as a female ruler. They surfaced in November 1553 with the first gossip about her intentions in marriage; in the summer of 1555 as her pregnancy was due to come to term; and in 1556 with the

¹⁴⁰Cited by Paul Strohm, 'The Trouble with Richard: The Reburial of Richard II and Lancastrian Symbolic Strategy', *Speculum* 71 (1996), 87–111, p. 94.

¹⁴¹*Ibid*, pp. 94–108.

inception of plans to crown Philip. In November 1553, three men, Robert Tayler, Edmonde Cole, and Thomas Wood were questioned in Star Chamber concerning their "lewde reportes" that Edward VI was still alive.¹⁴² In January a member of Mary's own household, Robert Robotham "of the wardrobe of the robes" was committed to the Fleet for "his lewde talke that the kinges majestie deceased shulde by yet lyving" and a certain Joan Wheler was imprisoned in the Marshalsea "for her devellishe sayeng that King Edward was styll lyving".¹⁴³ At the crucial moment in the summer of 1555, with the hopes of Mary bearing the heir who would resolve the constitutional difficulties surrounding Philip's regency at their zenith, two men were apprehended in Essex for spreading rumours of Edward's survival and two men were arrested for claiming to be Edward. William Cunstable, an eighteen-year-old "the wyche sayd he was kyng Edward the vjth"¹⁴⁴ had been arrested and examined at Hampton Court on the 10th May 1555. According to Venetian ambassador after being "believed to be such, both in the country and here [in London]... he raised a tumult amongst the populace".¹⁴⁵ He also came to the attention of the London diarist Machyn. This particular impersonator achieved considerable notoriety before his arrest and committal to the Marshalsea. On the "xxij day of May one William, sum tyme a lake, rod in a care from the Marsalsey thugh London unto Westmynster and in-to the Hall, and ther he had ys jugement to be wpyyd be-caws he sayd he cam as a messynger from kyng Edward the vjth".¹⁴⁶ By January 1556 handbills were circulating in London and the countryside, inciting rebellion and insinuating that Edward VI was living in France, awaiting a demonstration of popular support to herald his return to reclaim the crown.¹⁴⁷ Laurence Trymmyng was imprisoned for possessing a bill, allegedly given to him by associates of William Cunstable, who was rearrested. William Cockes, an officer of the Pantry in Mary's household, was dismissed after someone found in his

¹⁴²APC, n.s. IV (1552–1554), pp. 363–4, and 367.

¹⁴³Ibid, pp. 383–4.

¹⁴⁴Machyn's Diary, pp. 86–7. The other Edward Fetherstone is mentioned by John Strype, Memorials especially Ecclesiastical, vol. 3, p. 286.

¹⁴⁵Cal. Ven., VI, pt. I (1555–1556), p. 85. Giovanni Michiel to Doge and Senate, 27th May 1555.

¹⁴⁶Machyn's Diary, p. 88.

¹⁴⁷Cal. Ven., VI, pt. I (1555–1556), p. 324. Giovanni Michiel to Doge and Senate, 21st January 1556.

possession "a lewde bill surmising that King Edward was still lyving".¹⁴⁸ The pretender's supporters were linked to at least some of these leaflets and after the rearrest he and his co-conspirators were hanged.¹⁴⁹ These rumours did not die with Mary Tudor and Edward remained a persistently troubling figure. In 1581, Robert Blosse, another Essex man was executed after first disseminating rumours of Edward's being alive and then impersonating him himself. Six years later history repeated itself, another Essex inhabitant, the smith William Francis, was arrested for asserting Edward was alive. In 1589 a soldier returning from the Low Countries similarly claimed that Edward was living in Spain or France.¹⁵⁰

The examination of the demons conjured by female dominion and the threat of a foreign prince unscrupulously appropriating her power dynastically, must be counterbalanced by the perspective of pro-Marians who could celebrate precisely those consequences of the marriage treaty's ratification, rehearsed as malevolent and fearful by anti-Marian propagandists to promote opposition within the political estate. The Catholic Robert Wingfield in his account of the treaty's passage, unperturbed by the 'patriotic' doubts of exiled reformers, praised Mary's subordination of herself to a foreign king, as exemplary piety. The 'improper' nature of female rule and the uncomfortable position of the political estate in relation to a regnant queen was resolved and recuperated by her marriage, which signified a return to natural and divine order.

In this session, *under particular pressure from the queen*, they discussed the question of granting the title of the threefold kingdom, that is, England, France and Ireland, to the Spaniard, to the end that *the queen's conjugal love for the king might be made clearer to everyone*. Immediately, therefore, this title which from ancient times has been solely reserved and deemed fitting for the kings of England, was by the decision of parliament granted to the

¹⁴⁸APC, n.s. V (1554–1556), pp. 221 and 228.

¹⁴⁹Cal. Ven., VI, pt. I (1555–1556), p. 339. Giovanni Michiel to Doge and Senate, 5th February 1556. Extant manuscripts prophesying Edward's return are at BL Sloane 2578, fols. 18v, 20, and 32.

¹⁵⁰Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, p. 499. On this section cf. Carole Levin, 'Queens and Claimants: Political Insecurity in Sixteenth Century England' in Gender, Ideology, and Action: Historical Perspectives on Women's Public Lives, pp. 50–55.

Spaniard, *conferring on him the queen's hereditary honour during the life of his most puissant consort* ["eo reginae haereditario honore insigniendo, durante vita dignissimae reginae suae consortis", p. 242]. This was indeed an uncommon proof, not to say extremely uncommon, and *by far the most renowned token of obedience which such a princess might show to her husband*, against the innate character of ordinary women, who are almost universally believed to be rather greedy for honour and for a leading role. Through the sharing of the famous title of such mighty kingdoms, everyone might see more clearly than daylight that *the subjection of wives to their menfolk so often ordered and emphasized by St Paul and the other Apostles was held in high esteem in the queen's sacred conscience*.¹⁵¹

Wingfield recognised the resistance to the bill and the reasons for it: it has been 'solely reserved and deemed fitting' for the natural born of the realm from 'ancient times'. Nevertheless the granting of the title to Philip and the conferral of Mary's 'hereditary honour' on him, is to be celebrated as a sign of the queen's 'conjugal love', and 'a token of obedience'. Remarkable is the description of Mary as Philip's consort. Robert Wingfield apparently interpreted the position of Mary after her marriage, as envisaged in the treaty, as being that of queen consort to Philip's king. The very problem Renard had reported no doubt as an opportunity to the emperor in January and which had sparked off the events culminating in its submission to the authority of parliament in the first place for statutory ratification. Mary is conceptualised as a model of piety in respecting the very Pauline injunctions which reformers were repeatedly to turn against her and the legitimacy of her government for the rest of the reign. Wingfield returns to the notion of obedience, the 'subjection of wives to their menfolk' to situate the marriage and the concessions it represented within the context of righting the gender-relations thrown off balance by the accession of a woman even though of more "than womanly daring".¹⁵² Wingfield's 'Life' draws to a close with an expression of the hopes and expectations underlying this position.

¹⁵¹Diarmaid MacCulloch (ed. and trans.), 'The Vitae Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham', pp. 291–2. My italics.

¹⁵²Ibid, p. 252.

I use all my energy to pray, beseech and implore God the Greatest and Best that this prince, the eldest son of the most powerful monarch in the whole world, may obtain a happy and safe landing with all his people, and very soon will enter the beloved and long-sought embraces of our most honourable queen; and that some say, God willing, that pure and fertile womb will be made fruitful through the most noble seed of all Europe, and will render her the joyful mother of a manifold progeny, so that from the marriage bed of such parents there will spring forth a native prince who will match the praises of his ancestors, and will rule over the men of England, France and the Low Countries with the utmost felicity; for all that the king of France turns to his accustomed wiles and stirs up his allies the Scots¹⁵³

The birth of an heir would have effected a unification of Mary's subjects and Philip's interest in retaining the Low Countries as part of his personal patrimony. According to Renard the closing of parliament witnessed emotional scenes: "When the Queen made her speech [ending Parliament], she was interrupted five or six times by shouts of God save the Queen! and most of those present were moved to tears by her eloquence and virtue." In the same despatch he sent a copy of the "genealogical tree that has been published here to show that his Highness is no foreigner, but an offshoot of the House of Lancaster. When Paget heard that the Chancellor had devised it, he said it was being done in order to give his Highness a right to the throne".¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³Diarmaid MacCulloch (ed. and trans.), 'The Vitae Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham', p. 293.

¹⁵⁴Cal. Span., XII, p. 242. Renard to the emperor, 6th May 1554.

5. A Marriage made in Heaven? The Anglo-Hispanic Court in England, 1554–1556.

The emperor's ambassador the Count d'Egmont, participant in the betrothal ceremony in England in March, arrived with the earl of Worcester in Valladolid on the 8 / 10th May, bearing the despatches for the ratification of the treaty. Philip left Valladolid on the 16th May on a lengthy progress to the coast, during which he visited his grandmother Juana la Loca. He and his son Carlos were entertained at the Conde de Benavente's villa, where he arrived on the 3rd June, with exotic spectacles: "Encima del cual [un poderoso elefante] iba un moreno, con una camisa sola vestido, y el brazo derecho arremangado con un venablo en la mano, imitando en la postura y traje a los indios de las partes de Africa del mar Oceano".¹ "Luego en pos de estos entró un castillo grande y muy bien hecho, cuajado de cohetes, con unos monos grandes por bases de los pilares... luego la segunda, que era otro castillo que iba so los hombros de unos salvajes graciosamente hechos, con una sierpe muy feroz cuasi encima".² The earl of Bedford and sir John Mason were waiting for Philip with a second set of capitulations when he reached Santiago on the 23rd June.³ A 'Copia de la ratificación por el Príncipe Felipe de sus capitulaciones matrimoniales con la Reina de Inglaterra' signed on the 25th June 1554 at Santiago de Compostela, employed the long-sought after formula "matrimoniu^m uerum, purum et legitimum *per uerba de presenti* in Anglia contrahat celebretur et consumatur".⁴ The ratification of the alliance renewed the treaties of friendship: "effectum nouissimi tractatus arctioris amicitiae et declarationem eiusdem, de dats Apud West monsterium Anno dni. MDXXXII. quantum ad tractatum eet Traiesti Decimo sexto Januarii

¹Andrés Muñoz, Viaje de Felipe II a Inglaterra (Zaragoza, 1554) y Relaciones Varias Relaiuas al Mismo Suceso, ed. Pascual de Gayángos, (Madrid: La Sociedad de Bibliofilos Españoles, 1877), p. 45. Cited as Viaje de Felipe II. The three letters also printed with this volume are thought to be by Philip's steward, Pedro Enriquez, and will be distinguished as 'Primera Carta' etc..

²Ibid. On Philip's progress and reception cf. Martin Hume, 'The Visit of Philip II', English Historical Review VII (1892), 253–280.

³Henry Kamen, Felipe de España, p. 56 and David Loades, The Reign of Mary Tudor, pp. 86–7.

⁴BNM MS 1029, fol. 356v.

Anno dni. MDXXXXVI quantum ad declarationem".⁵ The preamble explained the rationale for the supplementary 'capitulos', preventing Philip from disposing of a personal patronage in England: "officia eiusdem Regni dominiorumque inde dependentium debeant seruari iura, priuilegia et consuetudines ipsorum; *cupientes contra futura pericula et incomuenientia quae ex diuersarum nationum comixtione et extraneorum admissione non nunquam euenire [...] solent*".⁶ In England in June rates of exchange were fixed and wine merchants via the mayor of Salisbury were ordered to provide wine for ambassadors who drank only wine.⁷ Philip's envoy, the marquis de las Navas reached Southampton on the 11th June and met Mary at Guilford on the 17th, bearing her a ring from the bridegroom.

Philip left La Coruña on the 12th July, with the supplication of the people that "la Sagrada Emperatriz, imperio de cielo y tierra, con la córte celestial, te lleve con bien y a salvamento al nuevo reino inglés, para aumento de nuestra santa fe católica y bien de la cristianidad".⁸ The armada finally dropped anchor in the Solent off Southampton at 3 or 4pm on Thursday 19th of July.⁹

la mañana siguiente se embarcaron en un vaso cubierto de tela negra y blanca adornado por de dentro riquissimos pañes con un dosel de brocado, y veinte hombres que remaban vestidos de verde y blanco que en la empresa de la Reyna y fueron a receuir al Principe acompañados de otras diez naues muy

⁵BNM MS 1029, fol. 359r.

⁶Ibid, fol. 363r. My italics

⁷Tower Chronicle, Appendix IX, p. 134.

⁸Viaje de Felipe II, p. 63.

⁹There are at least four Italian accounts of Philip's journey and arrival; Il trionfo del e superbe nozze (?), La partida del serenissimi principe (Rome?, 1554), La solemne et felice intrata (Rome, 1554?), and Narratione assai piv patricolare della prima, del viaggio, et dell'entrata (Venice?, 1557); one in Dutch Een nieuw tiidinghe, hoe dat die Prince van Spaengien triumphelick aengecomen is (?), another in German Neue Zeytung (Augsburg: Hans Zimmerman, ?) and one in Portuguese Dos Cartas... de la reduction de los Ingleses. Cf. Jennifer Loach, 'The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press', English Historical Review 100 (1986), 138–151, p. 145. On the Castilian sources for the marriage, cf. Sheila Himsworth, 'The Marriage of Philip II of Spain with Mary Tudor', Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club 22:2 (1962), 82–100.

bien entapizadas que auia preuenido para el efeto el gran Ciamberlan como mayordomo del Principe.¹⁰

The earl of Arundel invested him with the Order of the Garter on board, before rowing back ashore with him in the barge. Philip then remained for three days in Southampton. On Saturday the news had reached London where "ther was great Joye & tryoumpth made... with bonffyars & ryngyng for the salffe landyng of the prynce of Spayne".¹¹ In his royal apartments there was an emblem of the history his coming negated: "un paño de Damasco carmesi y blanco con flores de oro texidas y en el estas palabras. Henricus Dei gratia Anglie, Francie, et Hibernia Rex, defensor fidei, et *caput supremum ecclesia Anglicanae*".¹² Even though Mary no longer invoked the Supreme Headship, the spring parliament had again refused to rescind the title, symbolic of the religious changes, in which England had been complicit for twenty years and against which his coming was predicated by the Habsburgs. Its visual commemoration in his privy apartments represented a significant omission in the preparations for his reception.

Don Juan de Figueroa recorded that: "Satisfizo muy mucho su *vista* a los ingleses, que se le tenian pintado de muy diferente disposicion y manera los pintores de Francia y de otras partes algunas".¹³ When he went to mass on Sunday "hubo mas concurso de gentes del reino".¹⁴ Many of the courtiers close to him commented on the favourable impression he had created by his tactful and gracious behaviour. In August Rui Gomez de Silva reported "ellos mismos dicen que nunca han tenido Rey en Inglaterra que tan presto les haya ganado los ánimos á todos" and requested Francisco Eraso to exhort the Emperor "que escribiere á su

¹⁰BNM MS 1750: Papeles Tocantes a Phelipe Segundo. Tomo Segundo, No. 7. Casamiento de Phelipe Segundo en Inglaterra, ano 1554, con Maria hixa de Enrique y Catalina, fols. 89ff., fol. 94v.

¹¹Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (ed.), Two London Chronicles, Camden Miscellany XII, Third Series (London: Camden Society, 1910), p. 37.

¹²BNM MS 1750, fol. 95r. My italics. Cf. also Martin Hume, 'The Visit of Philip II', p. 267.

¹³Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, 112 vols. (Madrid: 1842-96), vol. 3, pp. 520–1.

¹⁴Ibid.

hijo de loalle de esto y persuadille que no se canse de hacello".¹⁵ After mass on this first Sunday of his residence in England, Figueroa wrote to the emperor: "despues de comer envió á Rui Gomez á la Reina, é yo le presenté las joyas que V. M. me mandó entregar".¹⁶ The emperor had also sent "those most beautiful tapestries representing the Tunis expedition".¹⁷ Figueroa noted that the queen "se holgó mucho con ellas y la merced que V.M. en todo le hace, y de la tapicería mas, la cual ha estimado en gran manera".¹⁸ Philip and Mary decided in July to leave the Tunis tapestries in London, "porque fuera de allí fuí avisado que no habia donde la colgar para que bien se muestre, y así me lo dijo la Reina cuando le besé las manos, y de suyo me preguntó por ella y que tal era, que le habian avisado que la traia; y al Rey le ha parecido que se estuviese allí por el presente".¹⁹ The Tunis tapestries of Arras setting out "the emperoures majesties procedinges and victories againste the Turkes, as Apelles were not able (if he were alive) to mende any parcell thereof" were displayed at Whitehall, following their entry into London, along with a gold and silver organ set with jewels, from the Queen of Poland.²⁰ Titian's *Venus and Adonis*, currently in the Prado, was also sent to London on the occasion of the marriage (cf. plate 4; Titian's *Venus and Adonis*, 1551–1554), following the Titian portrait of Philip, which Don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza had brought Mary in April.²¹ One anonymous manuscript recorded how much Philip's first offerings to the queen were worth: "el Principe despachado a la Reyna al señor Ruy Gomez de Silua con un presente de xoyas, que valian mas de cien mil ducados".²² The cost of the gifts and pensions with which Philip cultivated English favour (met out of Castilian revenues) as well as the value of the magnificent apparel and jewels worn by the royal couple at their wedding were a

¹⁵Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, vol. 3, p. 531.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 520–1.

¹⁷Ven. Cal., V, no. 898, p. 511. Marc'Antonio Damula to Doge and Senate, 17th June 1554.

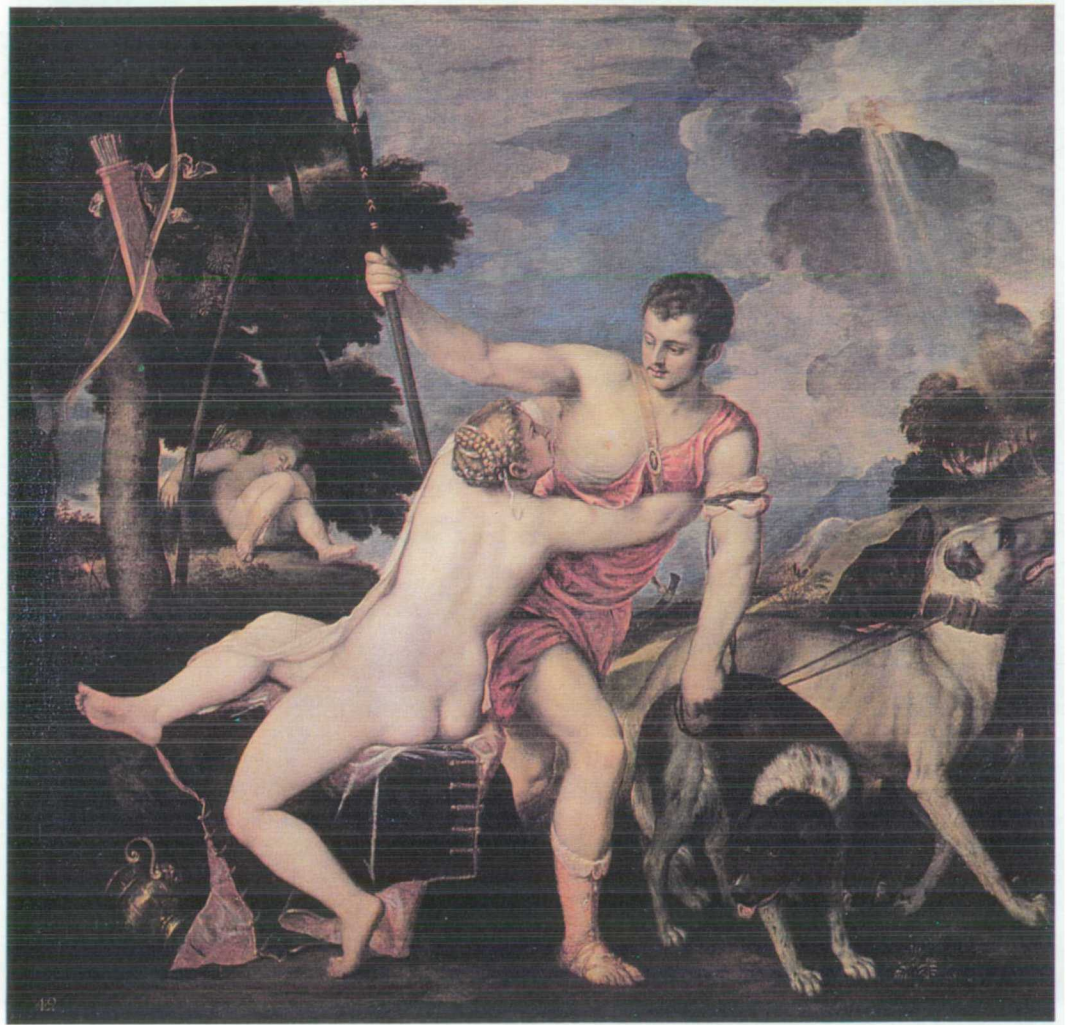
¹⁸Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, vol. 3, p. 521.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 521–2.

²⁰Tower Chronicle, p. 152. Cf. also Rosalind K. Marshall, Mary I (London: HMSO, 1993), p. 126.

²¹Rosalind K. Marshall, Mary I, p. 109.

²²BNM MS 1750, fol. 95v.



subject of repeated interest in Castilian accounts of the marriage, which frequently specify exact pecuniary figures. These impressed with the magnificence and material richness of the marriage. It was a romance of display.

During the three days that he was in Southampton, Philip familiarised himself with the English household that since the end of May had been awaiting his arrival. Paget had been responsible for its creation, nominating sir John Williams Chamberlain, sir John Huddleston Vice Chamberlain, the earl of Surrey (heir of the duke of Norfolk) and eldest sons of the earls of Arundel, Derby, Shrewsbury, Pembroke, Sussex and Huntingdon, Principal Gentlemen; alongside whom served twenty-three gentlemen servants, a number of yeomen, and a guard of an hundred archers.²³ From the beginning "comió en publica seruido de los oficiales que le auia embiado la Reyna, con mala satisfaccion de los Españoles, los quales sospechando no durasse mucho, murmurauan harto entre ellos".²⁴ On the 26th July, the day after the wedding, Ruy Gomez de Silva wrote to Charles V's principal secretary, Francisco Eraso: "se ha travesado otro inconveniente grande y es que antes de llegar S.A. aquí le tenian aparejada una casa con todos sus oficiales".²⁵ This was a recurrent theme of letters sent back to Castile: "Tenia casa puesta al rey por el contentamiento del reyno, y asi sirven los ingleses [en] los oficios mayores".²⁶ An account published in Zaragoza in 1554, Viaje de Felipe II a Inglaterra written by a 'lacayo del Príncipe', a footman called Andrés Muñoz, described how "ningun criado de los suyos, así en los oficios preeminentes como en los demás, no le han seruido ni sirven, porque la Reina le tenia hecha y ordenada la casa al uso de Borgoña".²⁷ In the first of three letters reprinted with Muñoz's account in the edition by Pascual de Gayángos, all thought to be by Don Pedro Enriquez, one of Philip's stewards, the author complained, the "Mayordomo de los del Príncipe ni por pensamiento ha seruido ni tomado baston en la mano, ni se cree que lo tomarán, ni el Contador ni los demas, que á todos por vagabundos nos

²³David Loades, Tudor Court (Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1987), p. 161.

²⁴BNM MS 1750, fol. 95v.

²⁵Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, vol. 3, pp. 526–7.

²⁶BNM MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550–1558 and 1521–1549, fol. 126v.

²⁷Viaje de Felipe II, p. 77.

pueden desterrar".²⁸ According to the high-ranking Ruy Gomez de Silva, prince of Éboli, 'los suyos', 'los del Príncipe', i.e. his own household, were jealously excluded from serving him and "si de nuestra parte alguno quiere meter mano en algo, tómanlo mal y no lo quieren dejar hacer".²⁹ He continued that Philip had sought to resolve the problem by ordering "que sirvan juntos".³⁰ The imposed solution, however, exacerbated the problem. Since, while the majority of the lower-ranking members of his household were transformed into 'vagabundos' without employment, the retention of Spanish intimates in the Privy Chamber to perform the most intimate body service and consequent exclusion and limitation of his English servants to outer Chamber duties, was guaranteed to produce alienation on both sides.³¹ In September, Renard warned the Emperor: "I am told that the people say the King will not be served by Englishmen although this point was settled by the articles".³² The solution, it was felt, disregarded stipulations in the treaty. The outbreaks of violence between Spanish and English members of the court in the autumn, "hay cada día en palacio cuchilladas entre ingleses y españoles",³³ one courtier wrote, reflected the jealous rivalries and possessiveness of competing groups of servants towards one master.

5. 1. The Wedding.

On Monday the 23th July Philip left Southampton, reaching Winchester at about 6pm. He proceeded directly to the Cathedral to celebrate mass. A courtier from Philip's retinue recalled in a letter of the 1st August to Charles V, "entramos por la mas hermosa Iglesia que yo he visto jamas, y asi fue su mag. con la procession al altar mayor, donde le tenian puestas unas cortinas, y alli le cantaron sus oraciones como lo pudieran hazer en la Iglesia mayor de

²⁸Viaje de Felipe Segundo, 'Primera Carta', p. 96.

²⁹Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, vol. 3, p. 527.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹David Loades, The Tudor Court, p. 57.

³²Cal. Span., XIII, p. 60. Renard to Emperor 18th September 1554.

³³Viaje de Felipe Segundo, 'Tercera Carta', p. 118.

Toledo, que no movio a poca devoçion".³⁴ Later that evening he was brought secretly to the queen.³⁵ Muñoz described how:

anduvieron un buen rato por las praderías del jardín, que son muy hermosas, pasando por buenas puentes de arroyos y fuentes, que cierto al parescer parescia que se hallaban en algo de lo que habían leído en los libros de caballerías, segun se les representó aquella hermosura de fuentes, y maravillosos arroyos vertientes, y diversidades de olorosas flores y árboles, y otras lindezas de verdurar.³⁶

The anonymous courtier so impressed by Winchester cathedral wrote in the same letter to Charles V: "Anduvimos un buen rato por las praderias del Jardin, pasando por buenas puentes de ryos y fuentes. y cierto a mi vez, paresçio que me hallaba en algo de lo que avia leydo en los libros de cavallerias".³⁷ From the striking verbal similarity of the two accounts it is clear that Muñoz, based himself closely either on the letter itself or on information provided by the unidentified courtier, whose letter found its way into a collection by the contemporary chronicler Florian de Ocampo of materials for a history of the 1550s. The invocation of romance and the *caballesc*o typified Castilian courtly narratives of the wedding. Castilian responses to and representations of the wedding and of their residence in the new kingdom were shaped and coloured by the comparison of England to 'algo de lo que avia leydo en los libros de cavallerias'. Philip's steward, Juan de Barahona, described their dropping anchor "dos legoas de Antona [Southampton] que se llama ysla de Viqz que por otro nombre la llama Amadís la ynsula firme",³⁸ and how while on board awaiting

³⁴BNM MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550–1558 and 1521–1549, fol. 130r.

³⁵John Elder's Letter Describing the Arrival and Marriage of King Philip, His Triumphal Entry Into London, The Legation of Cardinal Pole, &c., (London: 1st January, 1555), reprinted as Appendix X of the Tower Chronicle, pp. 139–40.

³⁶Viaje de Felipe II, p. 70.

³⁷BNM MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550–1558 and 1521–1549, fol. 130.

³⁸The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor As Related in Four MSS of the Escorial, trans. and pub. Cesare. V. Malfatti, (Barcelona: Sociedad Alianza de Artes

disembarkation "llegó el conde de Arbi, Rey de la Insula de Mongaza, el cual se corona con corona de plomo".³⁹ In Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo's redaction of the romance Amadís de Gaula, while Galvanes "partió de la Ínsola Firme para la ínsola de Mongaça, como oído avéis, Amadís quedó en la Ínsola Firme".⁴⁰ Later Galvanes, whilst remaining a vassal, is granted the lordship of Mongaza by Lisuarte, king of Great Britain. Barahona's identification of the Isle of Wight as 'la Insola de Mongaza' and the Stanleys as the descendents of Galvanes, perhaps sprang from the earls of Derby's self-authorized assumption of the title 'reges Manniae et Insularum'.⁴¹ Galvanes is similarly granted lordship of the islands off Britain in the story. The courtier, who conducted Philip towards his first encounter with Mary wrote similarly that the earl of Derby "vencio la batalla delos rebeldes quando querian cercar ala reyna. esse es un Senor que todas las vezes que quiere junta veintemill hombres, y mill cauallos, y es señor de un isla donde se pone una corona de plomo".⁴²

After this first interview Don Juan Figueroa recorded that "todos quedaron con gran contentamiento y dándole mil bendiciones".⁴³ On Tuesday, the following day, he "went from the dean's house afote, *where every body might see him...* in a cloke of blacke cloth embrodred with silver, and a paire of white hose" to where the queen was lodging, in the adjacent palace of the bishop of Winchester, where "the quenes majesty was standing on a skafhold, his [sic: her] highnes descended, and amiably receaving him, did kisse him in

Graficas y Ricardo Fontá, 1956), p. 139.

³⁹The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor, p. 141. Cf. also the versions reprinted in Fernando Diaz Plaja, La Historia de España en sus documentos: El siglo XVI (Madrid: Instituto de estudios Politicos, 1958), p. 381, and in Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, vol. 1, pp. 564–74.

⁴⁰Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, Amadís de Gaula, ed. Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua, 2 vols. (Madrid: Cátedra, S. A., 1991), vol. 2, pp. 973 and 1023.

⁴¹Cf. Glyn Redworth's article 'Nuevo mundo u otro mundo?: conquistadores, cortesanos, libros de caballerías y el reinado de Felipe el Breve de Inglaterra', Actas del I Congreso Anglo-Hispano, 3 vols. (Madrid: 1994), vol. 3, 113–25, p. 122.

⁴²BNM MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550–1558 and 1521–1549, fol. 133r.

⁴³Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, vol. 3, p. 522.

presence of all the people".⁴⁴ They then retired to the presence chamber where "*in sighte of all the lordes and ladies*, a quarter of an houre pleasantly [they] talked and communed together, under the cloth of estate".⁴⁵ According to Figueroa there was a second private interview that evening at ten; "volvió por los dichos jardines con los de su cámara y Duque dAlva y Almirante... no estando inglés alguno presente, sino algunas ancianas damas que con ella salieron á una sala detrás su aposento".⁴⁶ The 'ancianas' probably included Mary's favourites Frideswide Strelly, Jane Russell, and Susan Clarencieux.

volvió a su aloxamiento dando orden para las cerimonias del matrimonio, que se auia de hacer el dia de Santiago dando orden que los quatro mil españoles que auian venido en el armada, sin saltar en tierra de aquel Reyno fuessen lleuados a flandes, en seruiçio del emperador su Padre, como se puso en execución *de lo que quedaron muy contento los del Reyno, por que de mala gana admiten estrangeros en él.*⁴⁷

The presence of Philip's army of four thousand soldiers and navy of over an hundred ships just off shore, represented a radical shift in policy. As late as the 19th March, Don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza had been warning the bishop of Arras "above all he must bring no soldiers".⁴⁸ Charles V specifically ordered that the soldiers should not disembark. The attribution of English contentment with the departure of his forces to the 'mala gana' with which 'admiten estrangeros' is disingenuous, just as Granvelle's admission that 'aborrecen estrangeros' was. Their presence was probably related to fears for his security apparent in the courtier's assertion above that his clandestine meeting with Mary 'era bien occasion de temer', Philip being with 'tan poca gente'. For the English, the forces represented a determination to back Philip's taking possession of the kingdom and consummation of the marriage with military force. The next morning Philip accompanied by the ambassadors and "his nobles before him,

⁴⁴Tower Chronicle, 'John Elder's Letter', pp. 139–40.

⁴⁵Ibid, pp. 140–1.

⁴⁶Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, vol. 3, p. 523.

⁴⁷BNM MS 1750, fol. 97r.

⁴⁸Cal. Span., XII, p. 161. Mendoza to Arras, 19th March, 1554, London.

went to the cathedral church, and remayned there (the doores beyng very straightlie kepte) untill the quenes highnes came".⁴⁹ Was this distrust? Were the doors were guarded for security or decorum? The only tensions, which did surface that day, as far as we know, were those typical of any public ceremonial occasion. Don Juan de Figueroa noted that the Florentine representative "altercó un poco antes [del matrimonio] con el de Ferrara sobre la precedencia".⁵⁰ The queen arrived accompanied by her officials, the clergy, Council and "buen número de damas ancianas y mozas, *poco hermosas, bien aderezadas*".⁵¹ Clothing was of central interest in the Castilian accounts of the marriage. They dwell on the richness of the fabrics, the golds and silvers, embroidery, jewels, necklaces, and footwear.

La Reyna a la francesa con una ropa de brocado rizo sobre rizo guarnecida al canto de perlas gruesissimas y de muy grandes diamantes. La buelta de la manga estaua tomada con un bajo de oro con muchas perla y diamantes, el chaperon con dos ordenes de gruesos diamantes, y en el pecho lleuaua aquel tan estimado y gran diamante, que le embio el Rey con el Marques de las Nauas, quando su Magestad estaua en españa el vestido de debaxo era de raso blanco bordado de plata las medias de escarlata y los zapatos del terciopelo negro.⁵²

After Mary's accession and the forced economy of years in the political wilderness, her Wardrobe expenses increased massively. Edward VI's expenditure in 1553 of £4,000 was less than half the £18,000 spent by Mary on clothes in the first two years of her reign. Even by the end of her brief reign, the figure was still as high as £6,000 per annum.⁵³ Her dresses were of two kinds, Soranzo noted; for ordinary wear "a gown such as men wear, but fitting very close, with an under-petticoat which has a very long train" and the "other garment is a gown

⁴⁹Tower Chronicle, 'John Elder's Letter', p. 141.

⁵⁰Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, vol. 3, p. 524.

⁵¹*Ibid*, p. 523.

⁵²BNM MS 1750, fol. 99v.

⁵³David Loades, The Tudor Court, p. 82

and bodice, with wide hanging sleeves in the French fashion", for state occasions.⁵⁴ The French gown predominates in the warrants for the period 1553–4, with eight new garments and four gowns detailed for alteration or additions, compared to seven 'loose gowns' listed up to the autumn of 1554. The 'loose gown' has been identified as the ~~the~~ same as the 'gown such as men wear' described by Soranzo, in spite of its 'fitting very close'. The comment was probably comparative, relating to its adaptation to female fashion. Both were ~~were~~ front-fastening as is clear from the warrants. This new style was increasingly favoured by Mary, possibly as a result of her phantom pregnancy, the absence of a stomacher making it a more comfortable garment for a woman with a distended abdomen. She was described on the 27th November 1554, appearing at Whitehall: "in the chamber of presence... the Quene sat highest, rychly aparelid, and her belly laid out, that all men might see that she was with child. At this parliament they did laboure was made to haue the kyng crowned and some thought that the Quene for that cause, dyd lay out her belly the more. On the right hand of the Quene sat the king".⁵⁵ Black and crimson were favoured colours throughout her reign, although there is a discernable shift from the crimson and murrey dyes popular in 1554 to russet shades by 1557. Her wedding dress has been identified by Alison Carter with two entries in the warrants: one for "a rounde kirtle and a peire of frenche sleves of tissue of our store the hinder part of white satten and lined with white taphata" and the other for "a frenche Gowne and a partelet of riche tissue with a border and wide sleves enbrauderid upon purple Satten sette with perles of our store".⁵⁶

El Rey iua vestido de una ropa del mismo rizo sobre rizo guarnecido de perlas gruesissimas, y diamantes con jubon y calzas de raso blanco bordado de plata, al cuello una cadena de oro con diamantes muy grandes pendiente el turon y a la rodilla la garratiera guarnecida de riquissimas joyas.⁵⁷

Mary's love of clothes was reflected in her choice of gifts. Philip had already been given an

⁵⁴*Cal. Ven.*, VI, p. 533.

⁵⁵BL MS Harleian 419, fol. 132.

⁵⁶Alison Carter, 'Mary Tudor's Wardrobe', pp. 16, 19, and 24.

⁵⁷BNM MS 1750, fol. 99v.

outfit by her for his entry into Winchester. There was also the specially commissioned jewel-encrusted garter, for his investiture as master of the Order. On 'el día de Santiago', Spain's patron saint's day, the 25th July 1554, Philip wore apparel Mary had sent to him the previous evening for the wedding.

salio el Rey aquel dia de blanco, Calças Jubon y cuera, y la Jarretierra [jarretera - the Order of the Garter], y horden de San Jorge puesta, con una ropa francesa de brocado con muchas piedras que la reyna le enuio la noche antes. y su mag. con una saya dela manera dela ropa, vestida ala usança dela tierra. Los ingleses salieron muy bien adereçados, con muchas cadenas de oro, que es lo que aqui mas usan traer. los españoles, aunque no era acabada de desembarcar la ropa de todos, los que se hallaron con ella, metieron este dia sus galas y libreas. salieron mas de cinquenta con diversos vestidos recamados de oro y plata, tan luzidos todos que se echavan bien de vez entre los ingleses.⁵⁸

The English style and similarity of their clothing was commented on in all the accounts. The same cloth 'rizo sobre rizo' was used to make both their outfits. Antoine de Noailles had written to Henri II on the 7th September 1553, that Mary was "l'une des dames du monde qui prend maintenant aultant de plaisir en habillemens".⁵⁹ The Venetian ambassador similarly observed that Mary appeared "to delight above all in arraying herself elegantly and magnificently"; she "changes every day"!⁶⁰ The queen loved the presents of head^dresses and dresses sent to her by the princess of Portugal. Rui Gomez hoped that by wearing them "se le pareceria menos la vejez y la flaqueza".⁶¹ The particular richness of colours and fabrics recorded in the warrant of 1557 coincided with Philip's second visit to England. The last

⁵⁸BNM MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550–1558 and 1521–1549, fol. 127r.

⁵⁹Ambassades de Messieurs de Noailles en Angleterre, ed. R. A. Vertot, 5 vols. (Leyden: Dessaint & Saillant, Durand, 1763), vol. II, p. 146.

⁶⁰Cal. Ven., VI, p. 533.

⁶¹Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, vol. 3, p. 530. Ruy Gomez de Silva to Francisco Eraso, secretary to Charles V, 29th July 1554, Winchester.

gown mentioned in the accounts from Mary's reign of the 7th April 1557, is described as 'toge de factur hispan' of black velvet. Criticism of her style of dressing (Pedro Enriquez's comment that "la Reina... viste muy mal"⁶² is typical) had perhaps filtered back to her and was demonstrated in her adoption of Spanish style for Philip's second residence in England.⁶³

yvan vestidos casi de una manera de tela de oro muy bien bordado. encima. y su mag. llevaba una ropa que la reyna le avia embiado, que tirava mas al traje de aca, que al de españa, y un collar muy excelente de piedras. La reyna llevaba muchas, y muy buenas piedras sobre si, en la cinta, y collar, y chaperon y el Diamante que Eraso el Marques de la Navas, en los pechos con una gruesa perla colgada del.⁶⁴

While Philip had worn the Order of the Garter and suit Mary had sent him, she had worn the diamond which the Marquis de las Navas had brought her from Castile as a gift from her prospective bridegroom. This jewel features in the portraits painted of her by Antonis Mor in November and by Hans Eworth also in 1554. Cf. plates 5 and 6; *Mary Tudor*, Antonis Mor (November 1554) and Hans Eworth (1556). Muñoz described her wearing "un diamante tabla engastado a manera de rosa, con una gruesa perla que colgaba en los pechos".⁶⁵ In Mor's portrait of Mary, the pendant is prominently displayed. It in fact consisted of two diamonds; one previously set in a ring given by Charles V to the Empress Isabella whom he had married in 1525, ironically, after breaking off his engagement to Mary and the other bigger diamond and pearl were a gift from Philip II which the Marquis de las Navas had brought to her in June.⁶⁶

from a Habsburg standpoint, the particular seated format which is employed

⁶²Viaje de Felipe II, 'Segunda Carta', p. 106.

⁶³Alison Carter, 'Mary Tudor's Wardrobe', p. 18.

⁶⁴BNM MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550–1558 and 1521–1549, fol. 132v.

⁶⁵Viaje de Felipe II, p. 74.

⁶⁶J. Woodall, 'An Exemplary Consort: Antonis Mor's Portrait of Mary Tudor', Art History, 14 (1990), p. 213.





for *Mary Tudor* characterized the sitter as a consort, thus appropriating her (throne and all) for the Habsburg cause.⁶⁷

The jewellery she displayed, the composition, her seated posture, the barely visible column with rectangular pedestal in the background (representing the pillars of Hercules, the imperial emblem found in portraits of Charles) and proffered rose, were all reminiscent of other portraiture of Habsburg brides. It fixed Mary within a traditional Habsburg iconography. The Tudor emblem, the red rose, suggestive the Virgin Mary mirrored the rose found in Titian's portrait of the Empress Isabella. The flower sacred to Venus was a metaphor of the love tendered to the husband and a symbol of the sitter's beauty.⁶⁸ She wears the more informal loose-bodied gown, described by Soranzo as reserved for ordinary wear. The sleeves are not of the French fashion and the buttons up the front support this identification.

In all the Spanish accounts of the wedding Philip is already described as a king, although Figueroa did not declare the cession to him of the kingdom of Naples by his father until during the ceremony itself. According to the transcript of a manuscript original in Louvain, Figueroa delivered his oration on Philip's investiture with the kingdom of Naples just before the ceremony. His elevation in status caused problems since "there was none except the Queen's sword of state".⁶⁹ Eventually another sword of state was procured for Philip. The sword, symbol of the regal responsibility to dispense justice and defend the impotent, also pointed to the origin of the sovereign's power in martial prowess. It was a display of virility. The College of Arms account similarly emphasised this symbolic transformation from a marriage of unequals to one of equals: "the Prince richlie apparrelled in cloath of gold richlie embroidered accompanied with a great number of the nobilitie of Spayne... proceeded to the Church in at the west dore to his Trauers all the waie on foot and to the Church had *noe sword borne before him*", whereas "they retourned to the Bishops Pallace both under one Canopie borne by sixe knights the quene allwaies on the right hand

⁶⁷J. Woodall, 'An Exemplary Consort: Antonis Mor's Portrait of Mary Tudor', p. 202.

⁶⁸*Ibid*, p. 211.

⁶⁹P. T. Tyler, England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1839), vol. 2, p. 432. Original is at Louvain Town Archive, Registre, Côte G. fol. 339.

and *their swords borne before them*".⁷⁰ After the ceremony "the erle of Darbey beefore the quenes magestie, and the earl of Pembroke before the kinges highnes, did bere ech of them a swerd of honour".⁷¹

John Elder's Letter Describing the Arrival and Marriage of King Philip, His Triumphal Entry Into London, The Legation of Cardinal Pole.&c., (London: 1555) marvelled "with what ryche hanginges the cathedral church of Winchester and quyer was hanged, and the two seates where bothe the princes sat, it was a wonder to see".⁷² While Anton Muñoz recorded that a scaffold had been built in the church "cubierto de rica tapicería de seda y oro"⁷³. A raised walkway constructed in the cathedral heightened the visibility of the procession along the body of the church towards a raised platform; the stage where the ceremonies were performed, in full view of the spectators. Royal marriages in the sixteenth century were normally, exclusively "private affairs".⁷⁴ The choice of Winchester cathedral as the site for the celebration of the marriage and alteration of the space to enhance the visibility of the event, underlined the unprecedentedly public and performative nature of Philip and Mary's union. The wedding was propaganda for their joint monarchy, calculated to furnish celebratory accounts published throughout Europe with material. The public performance of their union was designed to confect a symbol of the political unity, produced by the unification of their natural persons, as husband and wife becoming one flesh. The alliance was predicated on a political unification which the wedding at once produced and represented. This publicness furnished an emblem to mediate between the natural and representative bodies of Philip and Mary. An anonymous manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional described how,

se auia fabricado en el Domo un tablado de madera, que comenzaua desde la puerta y acauaua en el coro tenia seis escalones de alto, de ancho ocho passos

⁷⁰College of Arms MS WB., fols. 157r–158r. My italics.

⁷¹Tower Chronicle, 'John Elder's Letter', p. 141.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Viaje de Felipe II, p. 73.

⁷⁴Jasper Ridley, Henry VIII (London: Constable, 1984), p. 41.

y de largo sesenta con varandillas por ambos lados cubierta de saya carmesi y por debaxo alfombras: enfrente estaua el altar mayor; llegada la hora de missa el Príncipe salio de Palacio acompañando el cien alabarderos vestidos de su librea y sesenta Señores y caualleros españoles, que despues siguieron a su Alteza tan bien y ricamente vestidos, como puede imaginarse no auía ninguno que no llevasse bordados de oro, y de plata de muchos alas, y muchos auía que lleuauan vestidos guarnecidos de oro de maibillos, con infinitas joyas.⁷⁵

In the English heralds' account, there is a very similar description of the interior design of the cathedral for the wedding. In contrast, however, it emphasised the ceremonial use of the space; the assignment of places to Philip and Mary reflecting her superior estate, if only during the performance of the rites.

First the said Church was richlie hanged with Arras and cloath of gold, and there was a stage made along the bodie of the Churche that is to saie from the west dore untill the Rode Lofte wheare was a mounte made of iiii degrees of height as large as the place wold serue. The Stage and Mounte covered with Redd saie and underneath the Rode Loft was there ii trauerses made, *one for the quenes Matie. on the right hand an other for the Prince on the left side.* The which places served very well for that purpose. The quier was aloft hung with rich cloath of gold, and on eche side the high Aulter was there a rich Trauers *one for the queen on the right side another for the Prince on the left side.*⁷⁶

The focus in English and to a lesser extent Castilian accounts on Philip's situation on the left and Mary's situation on the right, i.e. in the place traditionally reserved for a king in relation to a royal consort, stressed the inversion of gender hierarchy, the enacting of a reversal of

⁷⁵BNM MS 1750, fol. 96r–v.

⁷⁶College of Arms MS WB., fols. 157r–158r. This is the best extant transcript which dates from the 17th century and was made by the herald William Le Neve. It is reprinted in John Leland, *De rebus Britannicis collectanea* (1774) (Farnborough: Gregg International Publisher, fac. ed. 1970).

male / female roles, already implicit in Philip not possessing a sword of state. The encoding of the respective statuses of the couple in the physical space of the cathedral symbolically reversed that which the marriage enacted. The English account by underlining their respective positions and its reversal of the order implicit in marriage, ameliorated the set of problems which the 'Act for the Queen's regal power' had sought to resolve: a female regnancy and co-monarchy. The sensitivity to precedence apparent in the Florentine and Ferrarese ambassadors' exchange meant that the spatialisation of Philip and Mary's political relationship could not go unnoticed. Castilian apologists attempted to explain Philip's inferior position; Muñoz elaborating on the fact that in the church, Philip's "parte era plata blanca y la de la parte de la Reina era dorada", by claiming "Esto del preceder debióse de hacer porque aún él no estaba coronado".⁷⁷ The issue of Philip's coronation later provoked one of the major political crises of the reign.

Gardiner's oration on the marriage contract, "the Articles whereof was not ignorant to the wholle Realme and soe confirmed by Parliament soe that there neded noe further rehearsal of this mattter", revealed the legalistic nature of the union's conception, sharply in contrast to its representation in Castilian accounts as a romance and the fact that it hinged crucially on a personal relationship between husband and wife:

in like wise he declared that the queens highnes had sent The Earle of Bedford and the Lord Fitzwalter her Ambassadors in to the Relame of Spayne *for the performauce of the said contract*, which they haue here brought *with the consent of the wholle estates of the said Realme of Spayne* for the full conclusion of the said as maye appeare by this Instrument in Parchment sealed with a great Seale conteyning by estimacion about xii leaues.⁷⁸

The recurrent theme of consent and the public, witnessed performance of the contract, both functioned to counteract the perceived problem of legitimacy. This was the hinge of the Anglo-Spanish alliance; how its constitutional and political conditions could be married with and rationalised in terms of the personal relationship that activated it. The dependence of its

⁷⁷Viaje de Felipe II, p. 75.

⁷⁸College of Arms MS WB., fols. 157r–158r.

legitimacy on the synonymy of the body of the monarch with the body of the kingdom, the social body, produced and stimulated the dissident reformers to explore the issue of justifiable disobedience: the moment when the sovereign body became detached from its representative status. The bishop of Winchester declared "with a lowde voice" that "any person that knowe of any lawfull impediment betwene those twoe parties they might not *goe together according to the contract concluded betwene both realmes*" then speak now or forever hold your peace.⁷⁹ The transition from political to personal is signalled by the syntactic substitution of 'realmes' for 'parties'; a metonymic shift, allowing an impediment between the 'parties' to invalidate a contract which existed 'betwene both realmes'. Then Stephen Gardiner "came to the gift of the quene... the Marquys of Wincester The Earle of Arundell Derby Bedford and Pembroke gaue her highnes in the name of the wholle realme Then all the people gaue a great showt praying god send them joye".⁸⁰ The queen was given away in the 'name of the wholle relame' to Philip. The emotional response of the 'people' again suggests the function of the public ceremonial in mediating between the private and public functions of the union.

Their vows were read out in English and Latin "a lo que respondio el Rey que si y que en señal de fee le daua aquello: tomando un puñado de monedas de oro y de plata, que le truxo el Señor Ruy gomez y poniendolas sobre un misal abierto, que tenia en las manos uno de aquellos obispos se voluio el obispo a la Reyna".⁸¹ The queen similarly listened to the vows "y dixo que si que tomando aquellas monedas que auuia puesto el Rey sobre el misal les metieron una bolsa y las dio a aquella dama que labraua la falda".⁸² This is corroborated by the Herald's narrative, which tells that "the Ring was laide uppon the Booke to be hallowed, the Prince alsoe laide on the said booke ii handfulls of gold which the ladie Margaret Clifford opened the quenes purse and the quene smiling, he put it all in her purse".⁸³ (Lady Margaret Clifford was next in line to the throne after Elizabeth and one of Mary's

⁷⁹College of Arms MS WB., fols. 157r–158r.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹BNM MS 1750, fol. 98v.

⁸²Ibid, fol. 98v–99r.

⁸³College of Arms MS WB., fo. 157v.

ladies-in-waiting. She had apparently worked the wedding dress that Mary wore that day.) The vows followed closely those of the First Book of Common Prayer (1549), which in an explanatory note, stated "the manne shall geve unto the womane a ring, and other tokens of spousage, as golde or silver, laying the same upon the boke".⁸⁴ The one significant change to the ritual was that while Mary endowed Philip 'withal my worldly goods', Philip endowed Mary only with "omnibus bonis meis mobilibus".⁸⁵

After the espousal, mass was celebrated. According to the manuscript in Florian de Ocampo, during mass "[l]a Bienaventurada reyna siempre tuvo los ojos en un crucifixo que esta en aquel altar".⁸⁶ The suggested author of the letters printed by Gayangos with Muñoz's Viaje, Pedro Enriquez, was similarly arrested by the piety of her gaze: she had her "ojos fijados en el Sacramento... verdaderamente es una santa".⁸⁷ The ostentatious display of piety, I would argue, however, was deliberate. Her cultivation of a saintly image was calculated to please the foreign expedition, whose *raison d'être* was ending the schism, as a poem printed by Muñoz rejoiced: "Ya se recoge el ganado / Inglés que andaba perdido / Por el pastor que allá es ido".⁸⁸ The account of her coronation published in Castile in 1554 had similarly stressed her saintliness. It added directly to the creation of a flawlessly feminine image, bound to be pleasing to the Spanish. It was also a strategy for dealing with her difficult position in the early modern period as a powerful female: "luego dixo missa el obispo de Uincesto con mucha solmnidad estando siempre su magestad de rodillas con grande deuoccion y grandes señales de religion".⁸⁹ However it was also part of a wider strategy on Mary's part to celebrate publicly the Eucharistic piety for which she had been persecuted

⁸⁴"Then shall they agayne looce theyr handes, and the manne shall geue unto the womanne a ring, and other tokens of spousage, as golde or siluer laying the same upon the boke", The First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI, ed. E. C. S. Gloucester (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1910), p. 254.

⁸⁵Cited by Judith Richards, 'Gendering Tudor Monarchy', p. 912. I have been unable to look at the original of the vows at Bodl., MS Wood F 33, fol. 49.

⁸⁶BNM MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550–1558 and 1521–1549, fol. 133r.

⁸⁷Viaje de Felipe II, 'Primera Carta', p. 95.

⁸⁸Ibid, pp. 83–4.

⁸⁹La Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial MS V. ii. 3, fol. 437r.

under Edward in an attempt to coerce her into religious conformity. According to the Venetian ambassador in a report to the Signory written in November 1554 "her belief in that in which she was born" was so strong that given the opportunity "she would have displayed it at the stake".⁹⁰ Again we see the identification of fidelity with lineage, the 'belief in which she was born', contrasted to innovation.

Mary had been presented as a New Year's gift, probably in 1554, with a manuscript 'Account of Miracles performed by the Holy Eucharist' (BL Add. MS. 12, 060) by Henry Parker, Lord Morley, who was about seventy-eight at the time and author of a further sixteen extant manuscripts; eight of which were presentation copies for Mary from both before and after her accession as queen. Morley was a Yorkist, who had fought with Richard III at Bosworth and then become a servant in the household of Henry VII's mother, Margaret, countess of Richmond. The penultimate anecdote in this particular collection repeated the apocryphal story that divine service was not heard in the Yorkist camp on the day of the battle. God had not permitted Richard to "se the blyssed sacrament of the Alter, nor heare holy Masse, for his horrible offence comytted Against his brothers children".⁹¹ This is counterpoised with an account of the Countess' successful viewing of the sacrament as she lay dying. The anecdote was calculated to appeal to Mary. It testified both to sacramental efficacy and eulogised the saintliness of her great-grandmother while disparaging the monarch from whom her grandfather had seized the throne. In another part of the narrative Morley recounted how the Countess praised a servant called Bygoff (probably Sir Ralph Bygot) because he would not permit anyone to dispraise Richard III in his presence. Loyalty even to a former enemy was welcomed by his new patron. This story is revealing about the way master-servant relationships were conceptualised and paradoxical in the sense that Morley was himself a former standard bearer of Richard's. By implicitly attributing the loss at Bosworth to the king's ungodliness, he displayed the disloyalty which the Bygot anecdote was designed to disparage.⁹²

⁹⁰Cal. Ven., VI, pp. 532–3.

⁹¹Retha M. Warnicke, 'Lord Morley's Statements about Richard III', Albion 15:3 (1983), 173–8.

⁹²Ibid.

During mass, Gardiner "la dio la paz besandola que ansi dicen su costumbre de aquel pays",⁹³ an aspect of liturgy unknown to the Spanish. Afterwards "wyne and Soppes was hallowed and deliuered to them both".⁹⁴ The rites concluded, their joint style was declared in Latin and English: "Philip and Marie, by the grace of God king and quene of England, Fraunce, Naples, Hierusalem, and Irelande, defenders of the faith, princes of Spain and Secyll, archdukes of Austria, dukes of Millan, Burgundy, and Brabant, counties of Haspurge, Flaunders, and Tirol".⁹⁵ Philip's precedence in their joint-style, which would have been circulated more widely than the act asserting that Mary was to remain 'solye and sole quene', had predictably provoked controversy in Council. This concession was made, nevertheless, reversing the precedence figured in the ceremony itself. It was an highly important piece of propaganda for the imperialists and disseminated a vision of their relations which contradicted that which the treaty had set out. It is ironic that the man who sent the Armada against England in 1588 had once been entitled *defensor fidei*, the coveted title which placed English sovereigns on a par with the 'Most Christian' French and 'Catholic' Spanish. After the marriage, there was such "triumphing, bankating, singing, masking, and daunsing, as was never seen in Englande heretofore", and "to behold the dukes and noblemen of Spain daunce with the faire ladyes and the most beautifull *nymphes* of England, it should seme to him that never see suche, to be an *other worlde*".⁹⁶ Similar to the Castilian accounts celebrating it as a romance, the Scot, John Elder represented the wedding as other-worldly; a template of courtly magnificence alive with erotic possibility: "no *mortall* princes (emperoures and kinges only except) were able surely to excell them".⁹⁷ Although a kind of earthly paradise, Elder interestingly implied that neither possessed kingly status. Mary's status as a regnant queen was implicitly inferior, although her 'regal power' had been declared identical with that of kings by act of Parliament. The service was performed by Philip and Mary's English household: "the Earl of Arundel presented the ewer, the Marquis of Winchester the napkin".⁹⁸

⁹³BNM MS 1750, fol. 99r.

⁹⁴College of Arms MS WB., fo. 157v.

⁹⁵Tower Chronicle, 'John Elder's Letter', p. 142

⁹⁶Ibid, p. 143. My italics.

⁹⁷Ibid.

⁹⁸P. T. Tyler, England under the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary, vol. 2, p. 432.

The exclusion from service, which drew such vociferous complaint from Philip's household, was made worse by the obvious inexperience of his English servants:

en aquella sala un aparador de vasos grandes de oro y de plata dorada, que llegauan a *nouenta y seis que nunca sirvieron*, sino solo se pusieron alli por gran deja en la testena dela sala en un peyo alto auia excelentissimo musicos, los quales mientras duro la comida tocauan sin cessar varios instrumentos con gran suavidad.⁹⁹

Again the issue of precedence between Philip and Mary was of central concern: "la reyna se asento en la silla mayor y precedio asu mag. en todo el servicio hasta en la plata, porque estava ala parte de su mag. blanca. y dela otra parte dela reyna dorada".¹⁰⁰ Even after the marriage the superior position of the queen was symbolically reinforced by her precedence in the service, gold as opposed to silver and being seated in the 'silla mayor'. The event brought together the entire world and was a truly cosmopolitan celebration. One witness wrote: "Creo que faltavan pocas naciones, porque avia espanoles, Ingleses, Alemanes, Ungaros, Bohemios, Flamencos, Italianos, Verinos, hasta el Marques del Valle, que servia por indio".¹⁰¹ The Marques del Valle, Martin Cortés, was the son of Hernán. An avid book collector and cartographer, his title's being in the New World rendered his lineage, neo-Indian.

Two days after the wedding the Privy Council decided "a note of all such matters of Estate as shuld passe from hence should be made in Laten or Spanyshe from hensfourth"; "all matters of Estate passing in the King and Quenes name shuld be signed with both their hands."¹⁰² Philip began to attend Privy Council meetings on Tuesdays and Fridays.¹⁰³ While

⁹⁹BNM MS 1750, fol. 100r. My italics.

¹⁰⁰BNM MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550–1558 and 1521–1549, fol. 133v.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²A.P.C., V, p. 53. Winchester, 27th July 1554.

¹⁰³'Relacion de las cosas de Inglaterra', Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial, V. ii. 3, fol. 486v.

the Lord Privy Seal was instructed by Mary: "Furst to tell the kyng the whole state of this Realme, with all thyngs appartaynyng to the same, as myche as ye knowe to be trewe. Seconde to obey hys comandment in all thyng, thyrldy in all thyngs he shall aske your advyse to declare your opinion as becometh a faythfull conceyllour to do".¹⁰⁴ Affixed to the Cathedral and palace doors for the six days they stayed in Winchester were verses written by the scholars of the town, later gathered and presented to Mary in a small fifteen folio quarto volume (BL Royal MS 12 A XX):

Deest puer, at dabitur (Christo donante) Mariam
 Qui vocitet, matrem, teque, Philippe, patrem;
 Nascere magne puer parvo scribendus in orbe,
 Nomine signetur pagina nostra tuo.

Nubat ut Angla Anglo Regina Maria Philippo,
 Inque suum fontem Regia stirps redeat,
 Noluit humani generis Daemon vetus hostis,
 Sed Deus Anglorum provida spes voluit.
 Gallia terra ferax, et inhospita Scotia nollet,
 Caesar, et Italia, et Flandria tota volet.
 Octo maritati mitrati in Daemone nollent,
 Quinque catheuati pro pietate volent.
 Nollet Joannes Dudli Northumbrius ursus,
 Sed fidum regni concilium voluit.
 Noluit aetatis nostrae Catilina Viattus,
 Sed proceres, sed plebs, et pia turba volet.
 Transfuga siquis homo est, vel siquis apostata, nollet,
 Cui fidei, et voti cura relicta, volet.
 Nos, quod proditio, nos quod volet haeresis, illud
 Nolumus, at Dominus quod voluit, volumus.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴BL Cottton MS Vespasian F III, no. 23.

¹⁰⁵Tower Chronicle, Appendix XII, pp. 173–4. "There is no boy to call Mary mother and to call you, Philip, father, but he will be given (if Christ grants it); / Be born, great boy,

The ode unashamedly gave expression to the purpose for which the marriage had been contracted; the production of offspring who would guarantee the country's Catholicism. The boy scholars carried on work which Gardiner had begun with his publication of a genealogical device, displaying Philip's descent from Edward III. This motif featured centrally in his London Entry, as it had in the pageants prepared for both Katherine of Aragón and Charles V. Paget believed the purpose of the genealogical device was to give him a right to the throne. This assessment of it by a key political figure in the Marian establishment was shared by opponents. Myles Hogsherde asked rhetorically "whether it be treason to declare a title of a Realme by petegree to a Spanish straunge bloude, by dyuers other meanes remoued".¹⁰⁶ The process of his adoption and naturalisation was initiated in the scholar's verses through their allusion to his English lineage: 'suum fontem Regia stirps redeat'. His coming was a return, a homecoming. This Philip was the 'English Philip'. The mention of 'husbands mitred in the Devil', married clergy deprived after Mary's accession some of whom had fled to the continent and others of whom were in prison, signalled the religious priorities which animated Gardiner's Cathedral school. Wyatt is figured as the 'Catiline of the age', like the Roman would-be assassin of Cicero and partisan of the ruthless dictator Sulla, he is a deserter and apostate, a betrayer of 'fides' both as rebel and heretic. Faith possessed this rich double meaning in the early modern period, connoting both faith and belief in a religious sense as well as trust and loyalty. The poem is framed by a powerful sense of providence, from the apposition of God as 'the provident hope of the English', to the opposition between treachery and heresy, which are inevitably paired up. The marriage is the consummation of

to be written of in the small world, let our page be signed with your name. / The Devil old enemy of mankind did not wish that the English Queen Mary marry *English* Philip and that the royal stock return to its source, but God, the provident hope of the English did wish it. / The fierce Gallic lands and inhospitable Scotland would not want it, but Caesar and Italy and all Flanders will wish it. / Eight husbands mitred in the Devil would not wish it but five bishops will wish it because of their piety. / John Dudley the Northumbrian bear would not want it, but the faithful council of the kingdom did. / Wyatt, the Catiline of our age, did not want it, but the Lords, Commons and pious multitude will want it. / Any man who is a deserter or apostate would not want it, but anyone to whom care of his fidelity and oath remains will want it. / We do not want that which treachery or heresy will want, but we want what the Lord has wanted". My translation and italics. Gratitude to Pat Doyne-Ditmus for her help with it.

¹⁰⁶Myles Hogherde, Certayne questions demaunded and asked by the Noble Realme of Englande of her true naturall chyldren and Subiectes of the same (London: 1555), sigs. Aiii v.

this providence. The magnificent celebration of the marriage sought to efface tensions latent in the match, by reconciling the contradictory expectations and agendas which had brought the parties together. The honeymoon was brief.

5. 2. Sexual Conquest and *el caballeresco*.

Differences surfaced quickly and were apparent in the correspondence of courtiers in Philip's train as well as contradictory representations of Philip and Mary's marriage in the Royal Entry to London on the 18th August. In spite of Rui Gomez de Silva's upbeat tone in a letter to the Emperor's secretary Francisco Eraso the day after the marriage, saying that "ellos muestran contentamiento de nosotros, y todos los que aquí venimos se le damos en lo que podemos"; he could not suppress commenting on Mary's age: "es muy buena cosa, aunque mas vieja de lo que nos decian".¹⁰⁷ In his next letter he was already reiterating the strategic and religious reasons for the marriage (the preservation of the Low Countries and return of England to the fold of Roman Catholicism), in the absence of any other apparent rationale for the marriage.

Para hablar verdad con Vm., mucho Dios es menester para tragar este caliz, y así tengo hechas grandes preparaciones de mi parte; y lo mejor del negocio es que el Rey lo vee y entiende que no por la carne se hizo este casamiento, sino por el remedio deste reino y conservacion destos estados.¹⁰⁸

The historian Sandoval had likened him to Isaac, here de Silva compared him to Christ at the moment of the Passion in the Garden of Golgotha. The queen's lack of physical charms drew comment from a number of other figures. Pedro Enriquez commented that "la Reina no es nada hermosa, pues es pequeña y más flaca que gorda, es muy blanca y rubia; no tiene cejas; es muy santa; viste muy mal".¹⁰⁹ The courtier on whom Muñoz based himself wrote: "La

¹⁰⁷Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, vol. 3, p. 527. Ruy Gomez de Silva to Francisco Eraso, 26th July 1554, Winchester.

¹⁰⁸Ibid, p. 530.

¹⁰⁹Viaje de Felipe II, 'Segunda Carta', p. 106.

Reyna no es hermosa: es muger menuda [mericida], de poca dispusicion, y no importara poco que tuviera menos anos, pero con ser muger de tanto valor suple lo demas, que esto es lo que importa".¹¹⁰ The courtiers had been primed in the spring of 1554 with the publication of the Coronacion de la inclita y serenissima reyna doña Maria de Inglatterra (Medina del Campo: March, 1554) to expect something very different: "Es su magestad de treynta y ocho años: y hermosa sin par".¹¹¹ In the report made by Giacomo Soranzo for the Venetian Senate on the 18th of August 1554, Mary was described as of "low stature, with a red and white complexion, and very thin; her eyes are white and large, and her hair reddish; her face is round, with a nose rather low and wide; and were not her age on the decline she might be called handsome rather than the contrary".¹¹² Admiration for Mary in spite of her physical appearance reflected the ambivalence of Castilian responses to Mary. She was readily available to them as a subject for appropriation as a female and because she was half-Spanish. One courtier observed, with coldly pragmatic calculation that "la reyna... aunque no es muy hermosa ny muy moça esta preñada, que es lo que era menester / son muy bien casados / y creo que segun ella es buena christiana alcançara de nuestros por todo lo que le pidiese".¹¹³ The purposes the marriage served were realised by her pregnancy. In reproduction with the provision of a Catholic, Habsburg heir for the throne of England, that for which Mary was 'necessary', had been served. Charles wrote anxiously to Francisco de Eraso: "I pray God for confirmation of the signs indicating the Queen's pregnancy for it would realise our dearest wishes"; safeguarding his material interests.¹¹⁴

Rui Gomez de Silva was considering the options as to how to extricate themselves from England without losing face as early as the 29th July: "es menester mirar tanto en la

¹¹⁰BNM MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550–1558 and 1521–1549, fol. 126v.

¹¹¹La Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial MS V. ii. 3, fol. 436v.

¹¹²Cal. Ven., VI, p. 532. He continued: "she rises at daybreak, when, after saying her prayers and hearing mass in private, she transacts business incessantly, until after midnight... [is] more than moderately read in Latin literature, especially with regard to Holy Writ; and besides her native tongue she speaks Latin, French and Spanish, and understands Italian perfectly, but does not speak it", pp. 532–3.

¹¹³La Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial: Ms. V. ii. 3, fol. 487r.

¹¹⁴Cal. Span., XIII, item 67, 1st October 1554.

salida dél como se ha mirado en la entrada"; the affairs of the kingdom "no están en términos para dejallos porque cada dia se descubren estropiezos que es menester no huillos el rostro. Y aunque ellos muestran gran contentamiento con el Rey, no dejan por eso de estar á la mira de como pone los pies y de como harán sus negocios".¹¹⁵ Philip's behaviour had been faultless, a model of courtly and diplomatic sensitivity. The work of making friends and winning influence was already under way, "haciéndoles primero la merced de las pensiones... dando algunas joyas á las mujeres destos Señores... y tomando algunos hijos destos en su servicio".¹¹⁶ Nevertheless there were still residual suspicions about how he would conduct himself and he was being closely watched to see 'como pone los pies'. Other observers were similarly impressed by Philip's handling of the marriage.

el rey ha dado pensiones despues que vino a los mayores personas destos, y dineros, y vagas, a sus mugeres y a ellos y a las damas de la reyna / quando sale fuera tiene gran cuenta con mirar la gente del pueblo y reyrse con ella que es la costumbre deste reyno / es tan muy agrados del y dizen que se le parece que es Ingles, y que es muy gentil hombre, pero eran tan grandes las mentiras que del auian dicho franceses y otros vezinos que pensando dañarnos prouechando¹¹⁷

Renard pointed out one way in which the French had attempted to destabilise England, putting "false Spanish coin into circulation here, thereby hoping to cause a tumult".¹¹⁸ In accordance with the advice that 'tengays speçial quenta / y cuidado de mostrar mucho amor y contentamiento a la Reina y que assi lo conosca en lo publico' in order to win over his new subjects, Philip was assiduously attentive to Mary in public. While at Windsor Rui Gomez, again to Francisco Eraso, recounted that Philip "[e]ntretiene muy bien á la Reina y sabe muy bien pasar lo que no es bueno en ella para la sensibilidad de la carne, y tiénela tan contenta que cierto estando el otro dia ellos dos á solos, casi le decia ella amores, y él respondia por

¹¹⁵Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, vol. 3, p. 529. Ruy Gomez de Silva to Francisco Eraso, 29th July 1554, Winchester.

¹¹⁶Ibid, p. 530.

¹¹⁷La Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial: Ms. V. ii. 3, fol. 487r.

¹¹⁸Cal. Span., XIII, p. 56. Renard to emperor, 3rd September 1554.

los consonantes".¹¹⁹ His success in conforming to native customs, in accordance with his intention to consider English ways his own, was reflected by the assertion that 'es Ingles'. In another Castilian account it was reported: "Los Ingleses publican gran contento de aver visto y tratado al Rey. y asi nos dizen que es Ingles y no español".¹²⁰ The utopian sensibility feeding Habsburg dynastic politics was both vindicated and exposed by this appropriation of Philip, as 'Ingles y no español'. Their universalist phantasies and dreams of unlimited empire depended in part on the possibility of such negotiations of national particularities. However, the dark underside of this internationalist ideology was the de facto tension between his two households which produced a struggle for control and possession of his person. The definition of Philip's identity as king of England externalised problems implicit in the conceptualisation of the treaty. The difficulties the treaty gestured towards resolving; implicit in the inconvenience of 'diversidad de naciones', were played out in this symbolic household drama. The discontent amongst his followers over the English servants "los quales nos estaban esperando en Antona y no nos quisieron dejar servir", had provoked "una confusion muy grande".¹²¹ In spite of the assertion that "con el buen medio" of Philip it was being assuaged such that "quedarán todos muy contentos", the solution discriminated between his 'Spanish' and English households.¹²² By relegating the latter to service exclusively in the outer chambers, he had underlined the hierarchy of trust and confidence which favoured his 'Spanish' intimates over *outsiders* who in not possessing the same access to and intimacy with him could not claim to represent him. The solution was divisive.

Juan de Barahona's comment that at the English court "ay pocas orianas y muchas mabilias", displayed an erotic disappointment, which resonated with courtiers comments about Mary, who had initially been identified with Oriana in the account published in Castilla of the coronation.¹²³ Oriana in Amadís is the beautiful daughter of Lisuarte, 'sin par', who

¹¹⁹Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, vol. 3, p. 534.

¹²⁰BNM MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550–1558 and 1521–1549, fol. 126v.

¹²¹Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, vol. 3, p. 530.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor, p. 137.

marries the book's eponymous hero and Mabilia is her less attractive companion. The disappointed erotic interest of members of Philip's entourage, mirrored Philip's understanding that 'no por la carne se hizo este casamiento': "venia gran cantidad de oficiales y gente baja que traya entendido que veniamos a bodas, y que todo auia de ser brocado y fiestas y plazer / cargado de oros y sedas y obras para este menester / las damas no son tan hermosas que enamora nuestros cortesanos".¹²⁴ The comparisons of England to the romances of chivalry suggested a dangerous sexual licence.

Por cierto que tengo entendido que por muchas cosas maravillosas que en los libros de caballerías se escriben, no dicen tanto como en este reino hay.¹²⁵

The foreigner in being unsituated, lacking the affinity which bound early moderns within networks of kinship and patronage that engendered within them carefully prescribed patterns of behaviour, courtesy and deference, represented a potentially highly disruptive force. The displacement of his household servants by Englishmen and the transformation of large numbers of his Castilian followers into 'vagabundos' produced both licence and danger. They lacked the protection afforded by noble patrons and were conversely masterless men. This produced a potentially explosive situation with clingers-on following the court but not fully integrated into it. The implication of these marvels was an ambivalent attitude towards a perceived sexual licence. The other side of the marvellous was disillusionment, the death of the romance which the marriage promised, as one courtier wrote

Que yo no quiero amores
en Inglaterra,
pues otros mejores
tengo yo en mi tierra.
Ay Dios de mi tierra
¡saquesime de aquí!
Ay que Inglaterra

¹²⁴La Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial: Ms. V. ii. 3, fol. 487v– 488r.

¹²⁵Viaje de Felipe II, 'Tercera Carta', p. 119.

¡ya no es para mí!¹²⁶

The looked-for 'amores' replicated exactly those fears that had been turned to excite popular hostility by representing the kingdom as the feminised subject of Spanish male authority, available for their sexual possession. The Spanish servants who had come for 'fiestas y plazer', were left without occupation: "despues que vino su mag. no han tenido nada que hacer los criados que traxo, sino que esta servido dela manera que el Rey Artur lo estuvo".¹²⁷ His servants were idle, but also, it is implied, cuckolded by members of their host nation. This was an inversion of the sexual slanders with which propagandists had attempted to discredit the Spanish. Charles had advised Philip to issue an injunction against his men being permitted to bring womenfolk with them.¹²⁸ Nevertheless some women had come as members of his following. By 1555 Muñoz could openly write concerning this disenchantment: "algunos dicen que querrian más estar en las rastrojos del reino de Toledo que en las florestas de Amadís".¹²⁹ The disillusion had which swiftly replaced the initially festive atmosphere was exacerbated by expressions of popular hostility towards and provoked by the dependents and parasites who followed in the court's wake.

estavvan presentes todos los senores del, que es gente principal, y en quien se halla algun acogimiento, aunque poco. pero en lo demas es gran extremo quan. asperamente tratan a estrangeros, porque a todos sin perdonar a nadie roban a todas oras, hasta este punto ay hartos arrepentidos de los que han venido despaña. y mucho mas los que han traido sus mugeres, lo de adelante no se sabe como sera. y si como lo de hasta aqui no creo que aura espanol de oy en un ano: y ya se comienca a pasar algunos a Flandes.¹³⁰

¹²⁶Fernando Diaz-Plaja (ed.), La Historia de España en sus Documentos: El siglo XVI (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Politicos, 1958), vol. 4, pp. 387–8.

¹²⁷BNM MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550–1558 and 1521–1549, fol. 133v–134r.

¹²⁸Cf. David Loades, The Reign of Mary Tudor, p. 93 and Mary Tudor: A Life, p. 229.

¹²⁹Viaje de Felipe II, p. 77.

¹³⁰BNM MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550–1558 and 1521–1549, fol. 126v.

Popular xenophobia was expressed in despoliations, the constant threat of robbery and towards those women who had chosen to come, through sexual violence. Ruy Gomez de Silva complained even four days after the wedding that there were "grandes ladrones entre ellos y roban á ojos vistas".¹³¹ The document on which Muñoz's account was based, recorded that it was "cierto halgaramos mas de ver los rastros del reyno de toledo, que las Florestas de Amadis, porque con ellas roban alas gentes: que aun ayer robaron siete cofres de criados de su mag. y anteayer descargaron una azemila [?] de Don Juan Pacheco, que traya su plata, y dinero, y diz que la sacaron hasta ochozientos ducados".¹³² The king himself was robbed it seems with impunity. Pedro Enriquez noted: "Grandes bellacos andan por estos caminos, y han despojado algunos".¹³³ These attacks were more than simply opportunist, to strike at servants of the king, clearly identifiable by their liveries, represented a concerted attempt to intimidate the strangers. They were read as expressions of anti-Spanish sentiment, xenophobic assaults. What is unclear however is the extent to which they were politically motivated. I argue that they expressed unequivocally the discontent surrounding the authority of an alien prince in England and the realistic fear that he would come to control the government. However, it is unclear the exact relationship between this political anxiety and popular sentiment, the manner in which it transmitted itself and how indiscriminating popular xenophobia was harnessed to serve this agenda.

The writing of the marriage as a romance of chivalry, reflected the ambivalence of attitudes towards England. Books of chivalry circumscribed erotic possibilities and danger within a Christian framework. They provided versions of the marvellous and other-worldly; prototypes of estrangement through which to situate the encounter with otherness. Bernal Díaz de Castillo's narrative of the conquistadores' first view of the capital of the Mexican empire, Tenochtitlán, called on the imaginative resources of the literary world of Amadís de Gaula: "parecía a las cosas en encantamiento que cuentan en el libro de Amadís, por las grandes torres y cúes y edificios que tenían dentro en el agua... nuestros soldados decían que

¹³¹Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, vol. 3, p. 530. Ruy Gomez de Silva to Francisco Eraso, 29th July 1554, Winchester. Cf. also Rosalind Marshall, Mary I, p. 123.

¹³²BNM MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550–1558 and 1521–1549, fol. 133v–134r.

¹³³Viaje de Felipe II, 'Primera Carta', p. 97.

si aquello que veían si era entre sueños".¹³⁴ The Spaniards' invocation of romance was analogous to that of the *conquistadores*, it provided a matrix through which to interpret the monstrous, foreign or infidel. It was a strategy for coping with estrangement, danger and exoticism. Philip and Mary's marriage was the material of romance; a foreign prince travelling to a faraway kingdom to marry a ruling queen. Nevertheless implicit in its representation in terms of the fictional world of *Amadís* was uncertainty which rehearsed the potential transformation of the encounter with the marvellous and enchanting into the fearful. It paralleled the gap between the political treaty of alliance and the marriage as a family romance. The secret nocturnal expedition to bring Philip and Mary together for the first time "era bien ocasion de temer porque viendose el Principe solo con tan poca gente [Española] como se a dicho, y en un Reyno en que aun estauan fresca la sangre de las sediciones pasadas".¹³⁵ The disillusion of Castilian courtiers was countered and recuperated by the journey's narrativisation as a latter-day romance of chivalry. The political realities of the marriage, its explicit reproductive purpose and the violence attendant on 'diversity of nations', were sublimated in the world of romance literature.

The similitudes situating England in the imaginative landscape of *Amadís* which litter Castilian accounts of the journey were reinforced by the deliberate cultivation of this identification by their English hosts.

Fuimos a ver la Tabla rodonda questa en el castillo deste lugar que fué del Rey Artur, que dicen que esté [allí] encantado, y los doce pares que comían con él están escritos sus nombres al rededor segun se asentaban.¹³⁶

The visit resonated with the set of readily available cultural resources. Henry VIII had taken Charles V to visit the Round Table, painted in 1516–17, on which king Arthur was

¹³⁴Bernal Díaz de Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, 2 vols. (México: D. F. Porrúa, 1960), vol. I, p. 260.

¹³⁵BNM MS 1750, fol. 96r.

¹³⁶Fernando Diaz-Plaja (ed.), *La Historia de España en sus Documentos: El siglo XVI*, vol. 4, pp. 387–8.

represented with Henry's visage.¹³⁷ One courtier believed the author of *Amadís* had been inspired by England.¹³⁸

El que inventó y compuso los libros de Amadís y otros libros de caballerías desta manera fingiendo aquellos floridos campos, casas de placer y encantamientos, antes que los describiese debió sin dubda de ver primero *los usos y tan extrañas costumbres* que en este reino se costumbran. Porque ¿quién nunca jamas vió en otro reino andar las mugeres cabalgando y solas en sus caballos y palafrenes, y áun a veces correrlos diestramente y tan seguras como un hombre muy exercitado en ello? Y ansí podrá Vuestra Merced muy bien creer que más hay que ver en Inglaterra que en esos libros de caballerías hay escrito, poque las casas de placer que está en los campos, las viseras, montes, florestas y deleitosos praddos, fuertes y muy hermosos castillos, y a cada paso tan frescas fuentes (de todo lo cual es muy abundante este reino) es cosa por cierto muy de ver y principalmente en verano muy deleitosa.¹³⁹

The comment about the undecorousness of women riding out alone again suggested the link between a perceived sexual license enjoyed by women in England and the world of romance. The Venetian ambassador in his report on leaving England in August 1554 noted that "the women also being no less sociable than the men, it being customary for them and allowable to go without any regard either alone or accompanied by their husbands to the taverns".¹⁴⁰ English women's notable freedom of access to the public space of the tavern suggests that the advocacy of women's enclosure within domestic spaces ('nature hath made [them] to keepe home') which is accepted as reflective of social realities, was a discourse designed to transform social practice.

¹³⁷Dale Hoak, 'The iconography of the crown imperial', in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. D. Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 83.

¹³⁸On Spanish cultural influences in England cf. H. D. Purcell, 'The *Celestina* and the Interlude of Calisto and Meleba', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 44 (1967), 1–15.

¹³⁹*Viaje de Felipe II*, 'Segunda Carta', p. 113.

¹⁴⁰*Cal. Ven.*, VI, p. 544.

The converso Juan Luis Vives' proscription of 'literatura caballescica' in the De Institutione Christianae Feminae (1523), dedicated to Catherine of Aragon and written as a model for the education of her daughter Mary Tudor, subsumed reading within the category of public conduct and manners. He proposed in this educational manual,

a common law to put away foul ribaldry songs, out of people's mouths, which be so used, as though nothing ought to be sung in the city but foul and filthy songs...and of those ungracious books, such as be in my country in Spain, the Amadis, Florisand, Tristram [of Lyons] and Celestine the bawd, mother of naughtiness¹⁴¹

Concerns about the public accessibility and availability of printed books to women and the uneducated were related to the concern to exclude women from public spaces as an incitement to unchastity. It is ironic that Mary, the first regnant queen of England, should be the addressee of a book on female education, insistent on women's systematic exclusion from the public world.¹⁴² The danger of the literature which Vives condemned, a list headed by Amadís, resided in the violent and sexual content of books of chivalry. Humanist critiques of romance asserted in a way similar to anti-theatricalists that representations of sex and violence, were inherently corrupting. Their arguments rested on a belief in the mimetic nature of desire, the human compulsion to imitate; the notion that the act of watching robbed

¹⁴¹Juan Luis Vives, Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women, ed. Foster Watson, (London: Edward Arnold, 1912), pp. 58–9. Cited as Vives, Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women. My italics.

¹⁴²Elsewhere, Vives expostulated on the threat posed by theatre to public morals; the promiscuity of the space an incitement alongside the perniciousness of providing insalutory models of behaviour for imitation. "In theatris ad publicam exhilarationem exprimebatur hominum vita, velut tabella quadam, vel speculo; quae res vehementer delectat propter imitationem, sicut Aristoteles ait in arte poetica, quippe imitatione, inquit, omnes capiuntur mirifice, et est homo animal maxime imitationi natum, et ea quae in natura sua nollemus cernere, expresa et assimilata nos detinet; at vero quoniam theatrum ex promiscua constat turba, vivis, mulieribus, virginibus, pueris, puellis, animis rudibus, teneris, et ad corrupendum obnoxiiis, ¿quantum scelus est venenum inter illos spargere?", cf. Opera Omnia, ed. Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar, 8 Vols., (Valencia: Valentiae Edetanorum, 1782–90), Vol. 2, pp. 220–1. This passage about the dangers of imitation, the contagiousness of desire, mimetic desire shares a number of features with the anti-theatricalist attacks of the 1590s, cf. Stephen Gosson's The School of Abuse (1579), Philip Stubbes, The Anatomie of Abuses (1583) etc..

spectators of volition, seducing them into consciencing things forbidden in real life and that this was a kind of repetition, a kind of doing.¹⁴³ For "many, in whom there is *no good mind already*, reading those books, [they] do keep themselves in the thoughts of love".¹⁴⁴ He laid claim to authority in relation to this material on behalf of a select coterie of humanist readers who were able to do more than solely reproduce: "the babe first heareth her mother and first beginneth to inform her speech after hers. For that age can do nothing itself, but counterfeit and follow others, and is cunning in this only".¹⁴⁵ The dangers which the erotic entanglements of alien courtiers posed to this project were contained in and diffused by a literature of chivalry whose moral ambivalence was reflected by the polemic over romance and fiction in general.¹⁴⁶

5.3. Royal Entry.

Philip and Mary made their Royal Entry on the 18th August 1554. They rode through London "the quene of the right hande, and the king of the left".¹⁴⁷ Again Mary's occupation of the dominant male position on the right is fixed upon. At the draw-bridge were the two giants, Corineus Britannus and Gogmagog Albionus, holding a table with the verses, in John Elder's translation:

O noble Prince, sole hope of Caesar's side,
By God apointed all the world to gyde,
Right hartely welcome art thou to our land,
The archer Britayne yeldeth the hir hand,
And noble England openeth her bosome

¹⁴³Cf. Laura Levine, Men in Women's Clothing: Anti-Theatricality and Effeminization 1579-1642 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 10ff..

¹⁴⁴Vives, Renascence Education of Women, pp. 57–8.

¹⁴⁵Ibid, p. 124.

¹⁴⁶Barry Ife, Reading and Fiction in Golden-Age Spain: A Platonist critique and some picaresque replies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 24–36.

¹⁴⁷Tower Chronicle, 'John Elder's Letter', p. 146.

Of hartie affection for to bid the welcome.
 But chiefly London doth her love vouchsafe,
 Rejoycing that her Philip is come safe.
 She seith her citisens love thee on eche side,
 And trustes they shal be happy of such a gide:
 And al do thinke thou art sent to their citie
 By th'only meane of God's paternall pitie,
 So that their minde, voice, study, power, and will,
 Is onlie set to love the, Philippe still.¹⁴⁸

The change in favour of British history in relation to the pagament of 1522 welcoming Philip's father, the replacement of Hercules and Samson by figures from Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regnum Britanniae, i.e. the invocation of a British myth of origin, was an assertion of English identity. Corineus was an ally of the Trojan Brutus, who had helped defeat the primitive giant inhabitants of Albion, amongst whom was the giant Gogmagog. These mythic genealogies made an impact on Muñoz, for example, who simultaneously reiterating the Arthurian and *caballeresco* identification, also from Monmouth's Historia, described how,

En esta tierra fueron las fábulas del rey Lisuarte de la Mesa Rodonda, y las adivinanzas y pronósticos de Merlin, que nació en esta tierra. Esta fué poblada de gigantes, quando la destrucción de Troya; á la cual vino un capitan nombrado Bruto, con cierta gente desde Troya, y descendió en ella, donde venció á los gigantes y los echó d'ella...¹⁴⁹

There is a subtle tension in the poem between national self-assertion and effeminisation, an *unmarming* of the English. The narrative undercuts the oppositional assertion of an ancient English identity. The verses are addressed to a lover and throughout the poem the language is gendered so as to represent the relationship between Philip and his new kingdom as that

¹⁴⁸Tower Chronicle, 'John Elder's Letter', p. 146. The argument also works of the Latin original, since although the words are feminine in gender in Latin, 'tota Britania', 'nobilis Anglia', the relationship represented is that of a lover.

¹⁴⁹Muñoz, Viaje de Felipe Segundo, pp. 80–2.

between him as male and the kingdom as female. The poem is framed by a providential reading of Philip's coming, explicitly stated to be in order that he may 'gide' her. The return according to God's will of natural order, with the exclusion of the female from political authority and Philip's taking control of Britain, cuts against the emphasis on an independent national identity. The poem explicitly upholds the Habsburg claim to universal empire and is supportive of the realisation of Philip's imperial aspirations through dynasticism in England. This assertion in a joint entry, which scarcely referred to Mary, is significant. In the last pageant of the series an enthroned virgin delivered a crown into the hands of Philip. The Entry culminated in a symbol of the alienation of English sovereignty.

The alderman principally responsible for these pageants was the Protestant Richard Grafton. At a meeting on the 22nd May 1554, he had been entrusted with the preparation of the triumph. The Court of Aldermen's records for this date, state: "Mr. Barthelet, Mr. Grafton and Mr. Heywales were appoynted to take paynes to sett such their devyses and opynyons for such pageauntes and other open demonstrations of ioye as they shoulde think meate...at the commynge of the prynce of Spayne"; their record for the 9th June recorded that "the Cytie paeants were holy referryd to Mr. Grafton and his companyons devysors of the same".¹⁵⁰ Richard Grafton had been the printer of the Great Bible in 1539, the first licensed vernacular translation of holy writ, whose frontispiece had depicted Henry VIII distributing Bibles inscribed with the words *Verbum Dei*. The illustration was based on Holbein's title-page for the Coverdale Bible of 1535. The fact that a religious radical was placed in charge of the project is in itself surprising. The eulogy at the outset of the pageant series was balanced by dissident moments, which gave expression to oppositional voices. These, however, were limited to religious issues and in no sense represented attacks on Philip's sovereignty. The

conduit in Graciouse strete was newe paynted and gilded, and aboute the winding turred was fynely portrayed the ix wourthies and king Henry the eight and Edwarde the vjth in their tabernacles, all in complet harnesse, some with mases, some with swordes, and some with pollaxes in their handes; all saving Henry the eight, which was paynted having in one hand a cepter and

¹⁵⁰J. A. Kingdon, Richard Grafton, Citizen and Grocer of London, (London: 1901), p. 63.

in the other hand a booke, whereon was wrytten *Verbum Dei*.¹⁵¹

The recycling of this evangelical symbol for the tableau of Henry and the Nine Worthies was provocative. A tableau at St. Paul's also bore the tag *Verbum Dei*, this time however orthodoxly subordinated to the allegorical figure of *Veritas*.¹⁵² Grafton's act of provocation was not referred to in the Catholic John Elder's 'Letter'. But it was recorded in the Protestant Chronicle of Queen Jane and two years of Queen Mary. The incorporation of Mary's two apostate predecessors, Henry VIII and Edward VI, in the symbolic space of Philip's London Entry was necessarily controversial; uncovering a tension between Grafton's loyal celebration of the king, 'happy of such a gide', and the opposition provoked by religious conviction. The representation of Henry and Edward there could not eschew the ideological and theological conflict, implicit in Philip's arrival in London.

Conflict erupted through the text, situating them firmly in the context of this conflict. Henry and Edward were depicted in '*their tabernacles*'. Reformers identified themselves with the Jews of the Old Testament and frequently employed analogies relating their persecution and tribulations to biblical precedents. It was a characteristic rhetorical strategy, employed to counter traditional Catholic claims to authority. Harking back to a pre-Church purity, an era when direct personal revelation discovered the meaning of providence, opposed the consecrated institutional interpretations of holy writ based on the authority of apostolic tradition. The image of the book held by Henry resonated with notions of 'sacred appointment' in direct opposition by implication to Mary.¹⁵³ It re-enacts visually their explicit association with the "*Verbum Dei*". Mary's absence from the text, although she featured on the panel, was significant. It reiterated the separation from Henry VIII and Edward VI, which the image already implied. John Foxe's Acts and Monuments focused specifically on the configured exclusion of Mary. Henry was "delivering the same book (as it were) to his son king Edward, who was painted in a corner by him": according to the bishop of Winchester,

¹⁵¹Tower Chronicle, pp. 78-9.

¹⁵²Cf. John N. King, 'The royal image, 1535–1603' in Tudor Political Culture, ed. Dale Hoak, pp. 108–111 and 118–9.

¹⁵³OED.

"he should rather have put the book into the queen's hand (who was also painted there)".¹⁵⁴ The monarch in his or her relationship to the pageants created the meanings of an Entry. The celebration was activated by the sovereign at the centre of the spectacle. Philip believed that he had been received with displays of great affection. Writing from Hampton court on the 2nd September to the princess dowager of Portugal, regent of Spain he recorded that "since then [ie. the wedding] we have visited London, where I was received with universal signs of love and joy".¹⁵⁵ Although Philip may have missed it: "after the king was passed, the bushoppe of Winchester, noting the book in Henry the eightes hande, shortly afterwards called the paynter before him, and with ville wourdes calling him traytour, askte why and who bad him describe king Henry with a boke in his hand, as is aforesaid, thretenyng him therfore to go to the Flete".¹⁵⁶ This passage has been crossed out in the Tower Chronicle. Stephen Gardiner interpreted the painting as an offence, an act of disobedience "agaynst the quenes catholicke proceedinges".¹⁵⁷ The person who the painter perhaps did not betray was Richard Grafton.

Grafton's printer's license had been rescinded by Mary on her accession, for his publication of the proclamation declaring lady Jane Grey queen. On the biblical frontispiece to which the pageant alluded (cf. plate 7; frontispiece of the Great Bible (London: Richard Grafton, 1539), St. John's Library Cambridge), Henry delivers the text to Cranmer on the left and Cromwell on the right who in turn pass it on to the clerical estate and magistrates respectively. The people represented at the bottom have the bible read to them. They are not depicted reading it themselves. It represented the proper order of the Henrician theocratic state, with the king authorising the transmission of the *Verbum Dei* through the estates and it eventually filtering through to the people. Henry's commitment to an evangelical agenda was less certain than it was represented as being by reformers. Richard Morison, one of the team of propagandists patronised by Thomas Cromwell to both sell religious change and persuade the King to license more radical innovation, in a typically deft example of praising

¹⁵⁴John Foxe, The Acts and Monuments, Vol. VI, Fourth Edition, ed. J. Pratt, (London: The Religious Tract Society), pp. 557–8.

¹⁵⁵Cal. Span., XIII, p. 53.

¹⁵⁶Tower Chronicle, p. 78.

¹⁵⁷Ibid.



perfection where it is wished for rather than where it exists, eulogised his sovereign for he "woll rather be at utter enmittee with all prynces, then suffer the knowledge of goddes word, to be taken out of his realm".¹⁵⁸ The project to produce a translation based on Tyndale's, which was more acceptable to the conservative Henry, had been undertaken by Richard Grafton, Edward Whitchurch, and Myles Coverdale in 1538. Both these friends of Grafton were in prison by the time of the Entry, for offences relating to their religious beliefs. John Rogers was burnt a few months later, becoming the first victim and martyr of the Marian persecution. Coverdale survived after King Christian of Denmark interceded on his behalf claiming him as one of his subjects. In spite of the fact that Henry had licensed a vernacular bible for use in every church in England, he had soon promulgated injunctions limiting their use, because readers "taking and gathering divers Holy scriptures to contrary senses and understanding, do wrest and interpret and so untruly allege the same to subvert and overturn as well the sacraments of Holy Church as the power and authority of princes and magistrates, and in effect generally all laws and common justice".¹⁵⁹ Readers were enjoined to "quietly and reverently read the Bible and New testament quietly and with silence by themselves secretly at all times and places convenient for their own instruction and edification to increase thereby godliness and virtuous living".¹⁶⁰

Grafton referred briefly to the pageant which he had designed in his Chronicles (1572): "the Citie was bewtifified with sumptuous pagiaunts and hanged with rich and costly silkes and cloth of Gold and silver" and alluded to his fear that Mary would not only "bring in the Pope, but also by the mariage of a straunger... bring the Realme into miserable seruitude".¹⁶¹ This sounds like ex post facto self-justification, since there is no doubt that

¹⁵⁸Richarde Morysine, An Exhortation to styre all Englyshe men to the defence of theyr countrye (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1539) fol. 25v. Cf. also Greg Walker, Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 209.

¹⁵⁹'Limiting Exposition and Reading of Scripture', April 1539, in Tudor Royal Proclamations, vol. I, pp. 284–6.

¹⁶⁰Ibid.

¹⁶¹Richard Grafton, Chronicles (London 1572), Vol. II, p. 1343. The second is cited by W. R. Streitberger, Court Revels 1485–1559 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 207.

Grafton was an effective propagandist in the London Entry underlining Philip's title to the Crown. The image of Henry with the *Verbum Dei* was subjected to immediate revision and erasure, even though the Entry itself was dismantled only two days later on the 20th August: "At the Courte yt was agreed that the Chamebelyn shall cause all the Cyties pageauntes to be taken downe with conveynyente spede".¹⁶² Even before this the painter "paynted him shortly after, in the sted of the booke of *Verbum Dei*, to have in his hands a newe payre of gloves".¹⁶³ This passage in the Tower Chronicle was again crossed out. The revision of the representation and concealment of a key part of it, caused the painter "fearing lest he should leave some part either of the book, or of the 'Verbum Dei', in king Henry's hand, he wiped away a piece of his fingers withal!".¹⁶⁴ The focus of the account in the Acts and Monuments is this anecdote: "I pass over and cut off other gaudes and pageants of pastime showed to him in passing through London...having other graver things in hand".¹⁶⁵ John Elder's Letter Describing the Arrival and Marriage of King Philip, His Triumphal Entry into London, The Legation of Cardinal Pole, &c.,¹⁶⁶ omits it and similarly it is disregarded in an anonymous Italian pamphlet La solemne et felice intrata.¹⁶⁷

The first pageant, a triumphal arch built by the merchants of the Steelyard was topped by a mechanical equestrian statue of Philip which mounted and wheeled around as the procession passed by. At Cornhill, there was a second pageant consisting of four celebrated Philips; Philip of Macedon, Philip the Roman Emperor, and the dukes of Burgundy, Philip the Good and Philip the Bold. At Cheapside, Orpheus reduced maskers dressed as lions, wolves, foxes, and bears to civic order and underneath were verses addressed to Philip: "Anglia que solo gaudet dicente Philippo" ["England... Whose chiefest joye is to hear thee,

¹⁶²Tower Chronicle, p. 79.

¹⁶³Ibid.

¹⁶⁴Acts and Monuments, p. 558.

¹⁶⁵Ibid, p. 558.

¹⁶⁶Tower Chronicle, 'John Elder's Letter', p. 147.

¹⁶⁷Sydney Anglo, Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy, (Oxford, Clarendon Press 1969), p. 327.

Philip, speke"].¹⁶⁸ Foxe interpreted this allegorically with the "English people resembled to brute and savage beasts, following after Opheus's harp, and dancing after king Philip's pipe".¹⁶⁹ The fourth pageant repeated a genealogical device, suggested in 1501 by the allusion to Philip and Mary's common ancestor John of Gaunt. The depiction of trees sprouting from the chests of John of Gaunt and Alfonso X in 1522 was replaced in 1554 with a tree sprouting from Edward III who was depicted with a "close crowne on his head" and "a ball imperial in his lefte" hand, "of whom both their majesties are lineally descended".¹⁷⁰ The substitution of John of Gaunt for an English king stressed Philip's Englishness, while it emphasised the English Crown's imperial status. At the apex of the tree "was a quene of the right hande, and a king of the left, which presented their majesties" and "above that, in the heigth of al, wer both their armes joined in one, under one crown emperial".¹⁷¹ This image of shared monarchy began to appear on the coinage from September 1554 and was seized upon by pamphleteers, who interpreted the floating crown as a symbol of the destruction of an England's discrete identity. It signified "geving to the prince of Spayne (under the name of king) as much auctorite, as if he were king of England in dead. As ye may see... by the quoynd mony going abrode currant".¹⁷² Another pamphlet claimed "the prince of spain hath optainid to have the name of the king of England and also is permittid in our english coins to join our english armes with the armes of spain and his fisnamy the quenes, the crowne of England being made over both ther heds in the midst, and yet upon nether of them both".¹⁷³

From Christmas 1556 the image which appeared on coins and charters reversed the respective positioning of Philip and Mary, with Philip now situated on Mary's right hand.

¹⁶⁸Tower Chronicle, 'John Elder's Letter', p. 148.

¹⁶⁹Acts and Monuments, VI, p. 558.

¹⁷⁰Tower Chronicle, 'John Elder's Letter', p. 149.

¹⁷¹*Ibid*, p. 150.

¹⁷²A Supplicacyon to the quenes Maiestie, fols. 23v.–24.

¹⁷³Cited by Judith Richards, 'Gendering Tudor Monarchy', p. 915. Cf. The lamentacion of England (1557), p. 10. Anne Hooper wrote to Bullinger on 11th April 1555 from Frankfurt: "Your Rachel sends you an English coin, on which are the effigies of Ahab and Jezebel", i.e. Philip and Mary, Original letters relative to the English Reformation, 2 vols., ed. Rev. Hastings Robinson (Cambridge: 1846), vol. I, p. 115.

This reversed the precedence that was constantly noted in the accounts of the marriage and Entry. The verses underneath the genealogical device returned to the theme of which the Winchester scholars had written 'Inque suum fontem Regia stirps redeat', representing the coming of Philip as a homecoming: "Quos Deus ex uno communi fonte profectos / Connubio veterem voluit conjungere stirpem" ["Which both descended of one auncient lyne / It hath pleased God by mariage to combyne"].¹⁷⁴ This reiteration of a theme commonplace in the welcomes accorded to visiting 'Spanish' princes was complicated by the ambiguity concerning Philip's future role as king consort. It could be interpreted as suggesting that his homecoming was a reclaiming of the crown itself from which he was descended. The genealogy would clearly strengthen any such claim to a title in the crown. The final pageant in Fleet Street represented a king and queen encircled by the figures of Justicia, Equitas, Veritas "wyth a boke in her hande, whereon was written *Verbum Dei*", and Misericordia.¹⁷⁵ Here was the proper Catholic subordination of God's Word to Truth with which Gardiner had been exercised as early as 1546.¹⁷⁶ According to Elder, Sapiencia descended to crown both Philip and Mary, however, the verses below stated: "Si diadema viro tali Sapiencia donet, / Ille gubernabit totum foeliciter orbem" ["If Wisdome then him with hir crowne endue, / He governe shal the whole world prosperously"].¹⁷⁷ In the La solemne et felice intrata a young virgin enthroned delivers the crown received to Philip, as the verses suggest.¹⁷⁸ It was an image in which Mary delivered the English crown into the hands of the foreign Philip. Apparent here in the English records of the Entry was a fulfilment of the rumours of overrunning by strangers, central to the propagandist strategies of the Wyatt rebellion.

The fear of overrunning by strangers was reflected in the Tower Chronicle's picture of the numbers of Spaniards in London for the Entry. "At this tyme ther was so many Spanyerdes in London that a man shoulde have met in the stretes for one Englishman above

¹⁷⁴Tower Chronicle, 'John Elder's Letter', p. 150.

¹⁷⁵Ibid, p. 151.

¹⁷⁶ The problem of "God's truth against what they call God's Word", [Pogson, p. 77, note 58: PRO SP 10/1 fol. 105]

¹⁷⁷Tower Chronicle, 'John Elder's Letter', p.151.

¹⁷⁸Sydney Anglo, Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy, p. 337.

four Spanyerdes, to the great discomfort of the Inglish nation".¹⁷⁹ Yet again this passage is crossed out in the manuscript. Renard was warning the Emperor in September: "They proclaim loudly that they see they are going to be enslaved, for the Queen is a Spanish woman at heart and thinks nothing of Englishmen, but only of Spaniards and bishops. Her idea, they say, is to have the King crowned by force and deprive the Lady Elizabeth of her right".¹⁸⁰ The Venetian ambassador reported that the people had begun to think that "the Queen, being born of a Spanish mother, was always inclined towards that nation, scorning to be English and boasting of her descent from Spain".¹⁸¹ One of her servants believed 1556 that the marriage was a betrayal.

This day oone William Harrys, a Carpenter and Gonner, and the Quenes Majesties servant, being brought before my Lordes and examyned certain lewde woordes that he was accused to have spoken, confessed that spake these woordes upon Maundy Thursday last, sitting in an alehouse at Detforde; viz.:—'The Quene hath given this daye a great almose, and given that awaye that shuld have payde us oure wages; she hath undone us and hath undoone this realme to, for she loveth another realme better thenne this.'¹⁸²

In spite of the distrust of Philip's intentions and the rumours disseminated by anti-Marian propagandists, his attitude in a letter to his father written on the 16th November 1554, was far from Machiavellian: "I am anxious to show the whole world by my actions that I am not trying to acquire other peoples' states, and your Majesty I would convince of this not by my actions only, but by my very thoughts".¹⁸³ Although this may have been his intention, there were political pressures to do so. By 1555 the duke of Alva was recommending that Philip make himself 'absolute master' of England by choosing as replacements for the ailing Lord Chancellor and Treasurer, candidates who were not the Queen's men: "Lo de Inglaterra, por

¹⁷⁹Tower Chronicle, p. 81.

¹⁸⁰Cal. Span., XIII, p. 60. Renard to Emperor, 18th September 1554.

¹⁸¹Cal. Ven., VI, p. 560.

¹⁸²Cal. Span., XIII, p. 265. St. James Palace, 20th April 1556.

¹⁸³Ibid, p. 97. Philip to emperor, 16th of November 1554.

amor de Dios, que Vuestra Magestad quiera ser señor absoluto de aquel Reino y mandalle con el pie. Dícenme que está para morir el Canciller y Tesorero. Son dos oficios que Vuestra Magestad ha de poner de mano y mirar muy bien los que pone y que no dependan de la Reina".¹⁸⁴ The appointments were announced on New Year's Day 1556. Nicholas Heath, bishop of York, was created Lord Chancellor and lord Paget, Lord Privy Seal.¹⁸⁵

England's international image after the marriage reflected a perception that English sovereignty had been alienated by the marriage. Pole told the Venetian ambassadors that the papacy would be

restoring to them [Alba and Philip] *in integrum* what they have forfeited, for they are deprived not only of the fiefs of the Church, which are the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, England, Ireland, and so many privileges (*gratie*) in Spain, conceded them by the prodigality of our predecessors (God forgive them for it)... not only should temporal princes not be obeyed, but not even the Pope, were he to order anything contrary to the honour of God, as in that case, he does not act as the vicar of Christ, but like sinful man.¹⁸⁶

England and Ireland were papal fiefs forfeited by Philip. Mary's assiduous cultivation of England's imperial status, whose foundation was the explicit denial of the papacy's claim to have held England as a fief since John, was not accepted by one of her principal councillors. Perhaps this is unsurprising given that this advisor was Cardinal Pole, whose rejection of the Supremacy had provoked Henry VIII to execute his mother and brother. The argument that Alba was not obliged to obey the pope, because in commanding contrary to the 'honour of God' he acted like a 'sinful man', is surprising in that it repeated reformers' arguments about justifiable disobedience. The settlement Philip had negotiated, obtaining from Pole a blanket dispensation for the holders of ex-monastic properties, greatly allayed the fears of Lords and

¹⁸⁴Epistolario del III Duque de Alba Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, ed. 17th duke of Alba, 3 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1952), vol. 1: 1536–1567, p. 320. Alba to Philip, 28th October 1555, Milan.

¹⁸⁵John Strype, Memorials especially Ecclesiatical, vol. 3, p. 284.

¹⁸⁶Cal. Ven., VI, part ii, pp. 838–9.

Commons and had facilitated the reunification. Philip's embarkation on a policy of actively selling ecclesiastical property in Spain in the early 1550s, by virtue of a bull issued by Julius III on the 1st February 1551 allowing him to alienate ½m. ducats of jurisdictions, households, and income belonging to monastic orders demonstrated that he had no objection to the wholesale confirmation of the holders of ex-ecclesiastical property in their titles. It was his diplomacy which expedited the process of reunification so that it could be effected in his first parliament.¹⁸⁷ During the 1550s, the royal treasury sold jurisdiction in Castilla to 5–6 villages per annum belonging to the Benedictine, Jeronimite, Bernardine, and Augustinian order.

The notion of anti-Spanish sentiment as popular is contradicted by the evidence of courtiers in Philip's retinue. It was the tensions within the King and Queen's own households which spilled over into violence. A letter from an anonymous nobleman paints a depressing portrait of relations: "hay cada día en palacio cuchilladas entre ingleses y españoles. Y ansí ha habido algunas muertes de una parte y de otra".¹⁸⁸ The violence which he stated had claimed lives, was 'en palacio'. One Spaniard complained: "The English hate us Spaniards worse than they hate the Devil, and treat us accordingly".¹⁸⁹ Another commented "estamos entre la más mala gente de nación que hay en el mundo; digo, entre aquellos que están en número de cristianos, y ansí son estos ingleses muy enemigos de la nación española".¹⁹⁰ These witnesses were both noblemen whose contact with a people who did not speak their language must have been very limited. There was undoubtedly popular hostility, but it fed on opposition to Philip and Mary both at home and abroad, that was both political and literate. This was addressed in their first parliament by an act "wherby they may be prohibited to blowe abroede suche shamefull sclanders and lyes as they dayly invent and imagine of her Highnes and the Kinges Majestie her most lawfull Housbande" (1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 10, 1554).¹⁹¹ The printed propaganda which flooded into England from exiles on the

¹⁸⁷Helen Nader, Liberty in Absolutist Spain: The Habsburg Sale of Towns, 1516-1700 (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), pp. 119 ff.

¹⁸⁸Viaje de Felipe Segundo, 'Tercera Carta', p. 118

¹⁸⁹Ibid, 'Segunda Carta', repr. and trans. in English Historical Documents, Vol. V: 1485-1558, ed. C. H. Williams, p. 207.

¹⁹⁰Ibid, 'Tercera Carta', p. 118.

¹⁹¹Statues of the Realm, vol. 4, p. 255.

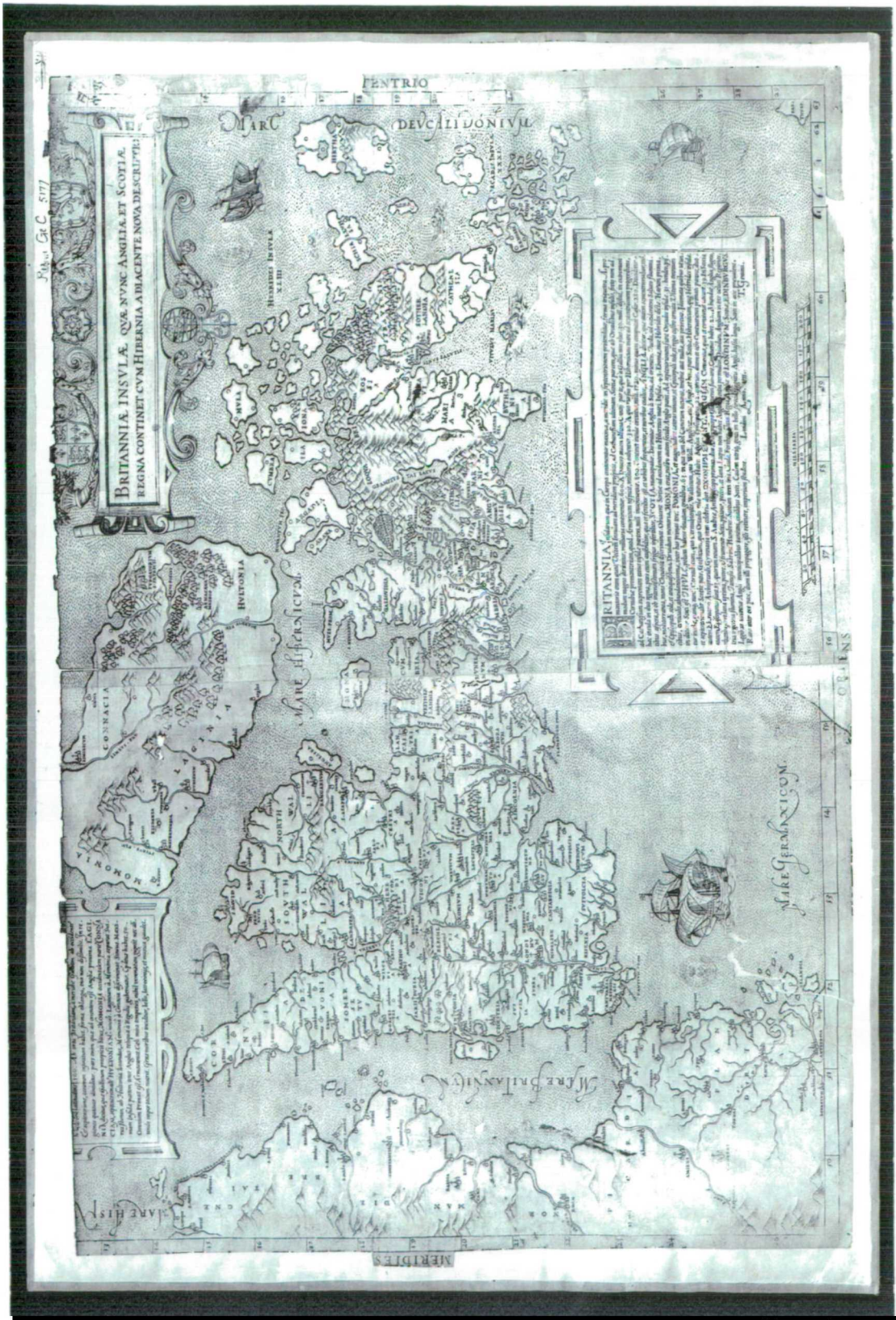
continent was literate, theologically sophisticated and far from popular in character.

(Plates 8 and 9; two maps engraved by Thomas Gemini, surgeon to Henry VIII and engraver of a book on anatomy, celebrating the marriage of Philip and Mary. The first, the *Nova Descriptio Hispania* (1555) formed the basis for a map produced by Pirro Ligorio in Rome in 1559. The second, the *Britannia Insulae Quae Nunc Angliae Et Scotiae Regna Continet Cum Hibernia Adiacente Nova Descriptio* (1555) is a version of the first printed map of the whole of the British Isles, that produced by the English Catholic exile, George Lily in 1546; the plates had been brought from Rome on the accession of Mary. Bibliothèque National, Paris.¹⁹²)

¹⁹²W. Shirley, *Early Printed Maps of the British Isles, 1477–1650* (East Grinstead: Antique Atlas Publications, repr. 1991), pp. 20–31.

6. 4. 5





Conclusion

A thorough reassessment of the reigns of Philip and Mary is urgently needed. (We are eagerly awaiting the publication of Glyn Redworth's book on Philip as king of England.) Hostile judgements although questioned by recent scholars have still not been successfully reversed and there remains a plethora of underexploited manuscript material, which I hope my thesis has gone some of the way towards rectifying. A closer examination of Tudor constitutional history reveals, how judgements of Mary have reflected an uncritical acceptance of misogynist assumptions, from selectively used sources, particularly the ambassador Simon Renard. Very little is known of the extent and nature of Philip's patronage in England. In this sense the co-monarchy of Philip and Mary is a victim of the tendency to study British history in isolation from European history which has entrenched a nationalist and isolationist bias, inimical to an understanding of this period. The fascination and problems of Marian history are precisely its internationalism and the way it intimately links up with Europe. The sources are dispersed throughout Europe; in Brussels, Paris, Vienna, Rome, Madrid, Simancas, etc..

Religious polemic has overshadowed the issue of female authority in Mary's reign, in sharp contrast to Elizabeth's, which possesses a formidable bibliography on the 'Virgin Queen'. The Wyatt rebellion was a complex response to the issues of female sovereignty and the attendant constitutional difficulties posed by a foreign match. Anti-'Spanish' sentiment did not exist as such in mid-Tudor England. Specific prejudices can not be rationalised in relation to the intensely personal and localised allegiances which constituted political relations in early modern Europe. Fidelity was the concept central to the definition of 'national' identities. It linked communities through blood and shared beliefs, mediating between genealogy and service to a sovereign authority. The marriage was an Anglo-Burgundian political arrangement and the form which the relationship between the English and Spanish court took, was determined by this shared heritage. The invocation of the *caballeresco* reflected the ambivalent attitudes of Spaniards to the enterprise of England, sublimating political realities in the imaginative world of romance fiction. The union's problems were implicit in dynasticism and the *alienation* of sovereignty consequent on the detachment of political authority from territorial and localised power structures.

The explanations of the 'Act for the Queen's Regal Power' are finally unconvincing. My hypothesis is that it was devised by the intelligent and constitutionally sophisticated legal mind of Gardiner to draw a distinction between the natural person of the queen and her authority as sovereign, a key step in the development of constitutionalism. Mary extended English sovereignty and *imperium* further than any previous monarch, in self-conscious imitation of her Habsburg kinsfolk. The semiotics of her coronation and wedding ambivalently gendered her male; an inverse of the fears which anti-Spanish and anti-Marian propagandists rehearsed throughout her reign, representing the kingdom as the feminised subject of (male) Habsburg authority. England was not the sexual conquest wished for by the Spanish knights who wrote it as a latter-day Amadis. Paradoxically the London Entry designed for Philip by the same man who printed the Great Bible in 1539, culminated in an emblem of the alienation of the English Crown.

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