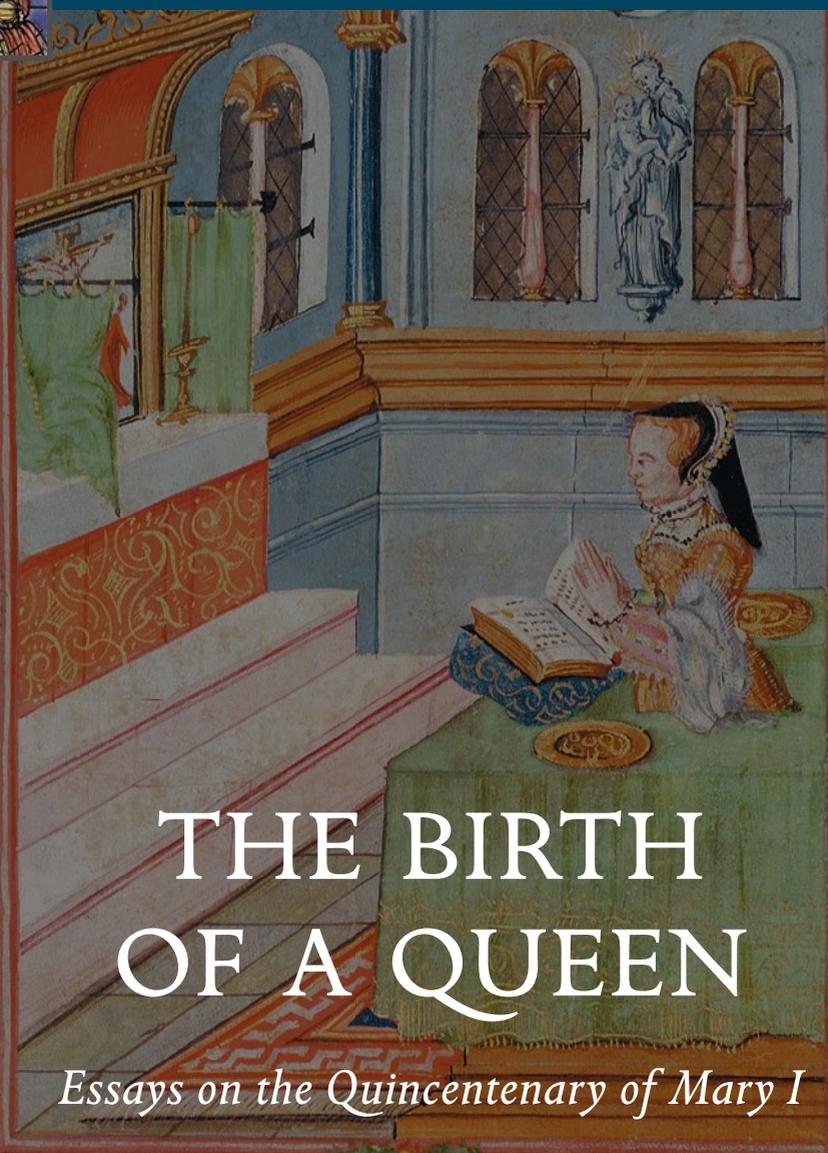# THE BIRTH OF A QUEEN

Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I

Edited by

Sarah Duncan
and Valerie Schutte

Queenship and Power

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The Birth of a Queen

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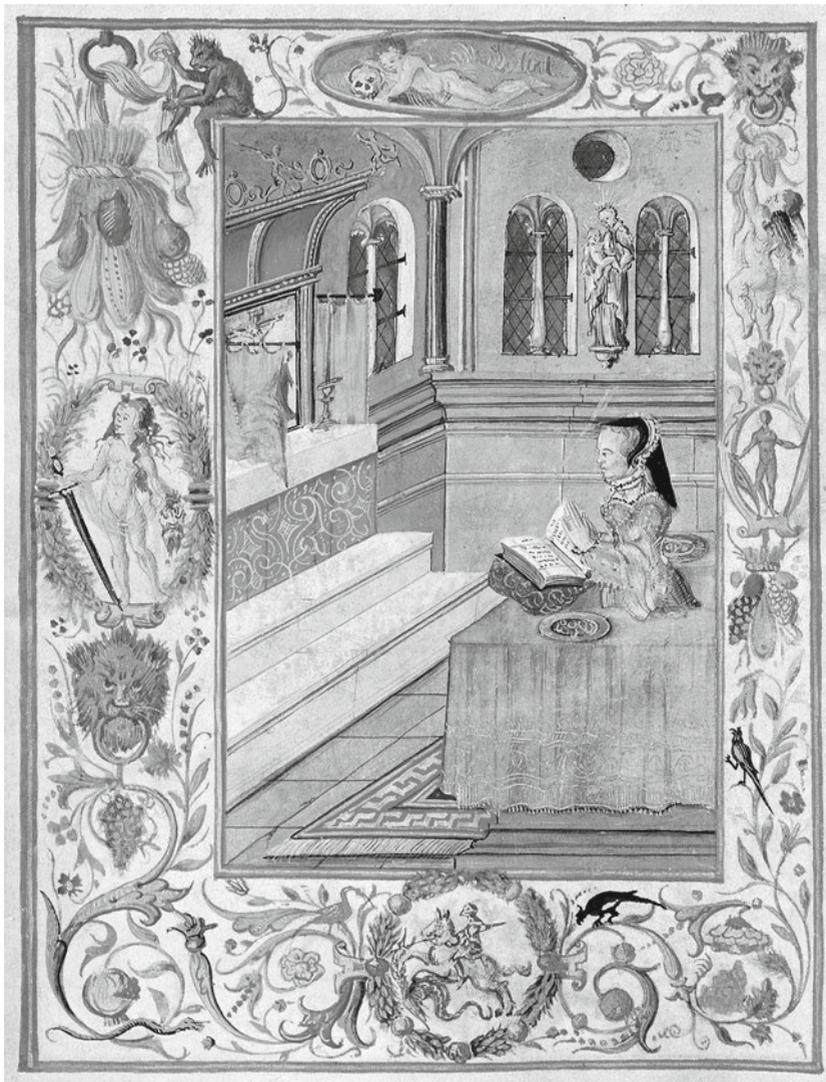
Key Events in the Life of Mary I

February 18, 1516	Mary born at Greenwich Palace
May 1525	Mary moves to Ludlow Castle, Wales for 19 months
February 1531–1534	Henry VIII breaks from Catholic Church
January 25, 1533	Henry VIII marries Anne Boleyn
September 7, 1533	Elizabeth born
March 1534	Act of Succession declares Mary illegitimate
January 7, 1536	Catherine of Aragon dies
May 19, 1536	Anne Boleyn executed
June 22, 1536	Mary accepts Act of Succession
October 12, 1537	Edward born
July 1543	Act of Succession puts Mary in line for throne
January 28, 1547	Henry VIII dies
July 6, 1553	Edward VI dies
July 10, 1553	Lady Jane Grey proclaimed queen
July 19, 1553	Mary proclaimed queen in London
August 3, 1553	Mary makes royal entry into London
September 29–October 1, 1553	Mary's coronation
January 25–February 7, 1554	Wyatt's Rebellion
July 25, 1554	Marriage of Mary and Philip of Spain at Winchester Cathedral
November 28, 1554	Announcement of Mary's pregnancy
November 30, 1554	Reconciliation with Rome
February 1, 1555	Beginning of Protestant heretic burnings
August 29, 1555	Philip leaves England
March 19, 1557	Philip returns to England
June 7, 1557	England declares war on France
July 6, 1557	Philip leaves England for the last time
November 17, 1558	Mary dies

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Introduction: Princess, Bastard, Queen, Villain

Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte

Queen Mary I was not born to rule. Although she would later be crowned queen of England on October 1, 1553, her birth on February 18, 1516 to King Henry VIII and his first wife Catherine of Aragon was not greeted with the same lavish celebrations that had been bestowed upon the child, named Henry, who had been born to the royal couple in 1510. Had he lived beyond a few scant months, Henry would not only have been Mary's older brother but undisputed heir to the throne. The birth of a healthy daughter was an occasion of joy, to be sure, particularly after the death of little Henry, another short-lived son, and multiple miscarriages, but it did nothing to ensure the succession of the English throne upon the Tudor line, as the oft-quoted comment made by Henry VIII—"if it is a girl this time, by God's grace boys will follow"—bears out.[1] When she was christened on February 21, 1516 there was no guarantee that she would live to adulthood, nor any precedent to indicate that she would one day become the first queen to rule England; her path to the crown was not an easy, or even straightforward, one. Throughout her lifetime, the roles that Mary

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inhabited would be marked by their unconventional nature and pattern: in her youth, as princess and royal heir, then bastard child of a nonvalid union, finally illegitimate but restored to the line of succession; in her adulthood, as regnant queen, first single, then married; and in her final years and after her death when she was characterized as a bloodthirsty villainess, a role that has continued to define her until very recently.[2]

Mary's life, therefore, is marked by a series of liminal moments—occasions upon which the course of her life turned—and dominated by unforeseen events and fateful occurrences. What if either of her two brothers, born alive, had lived to adulthood? Mary would then have been raised as a typical royal daughter and princess, and in all likelihood, followed the path laid out by Henry VIII's sisters who were respectively married to the kings of Scotland and France to seal political and dynastic alliances. Instead, Mary's life from birth to death followed a much more unpredictable trajectory. With the failure of any more children to be born to Henry and Catherine, Mary was her parents' sole surviving child. She was raised in both traditional and nontraditional ways: during her childhood, as a royal princess, she was betrothed to the son of King Francis I of France and later to the future Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, although both betrothals were eventually broken off. Yet as the sole legitimate heir to the throne, for the first 17 years of her life Mary was raised as such.[3] Although Henry never formally invested her as Princess of Wales, at the age of nine she was sent to the Welsh Marches with her own household and council based at Ludlow Castle. Mary was also well-educated in the humanist tradition, an education that included Latin and grammar tutors such as Giles Duwes and Thomas Linacre, and was overseen by her mother, Catherine of Aragon, who had been the recipient of an excellent education herself at the hands of her mother, Isabel of Spain, queen in her own right.

Mary's life took yet another unexpected trajectory when in 1527, unsatisfied with the lack of a son and heir, Henry undertook steps to annul his marriage with Catherine in order to marry a second time, and Mary took her mother's side in the course of their divorce. Mary's position as royal princess and sole heir was downgraded after Rome's failure to grant Henry an annulment resulted in Henry's willingness to split England from the Roman Catholic Church and his subsequent marriage to Anne Boleyn. As a result, Mary was declared illegitimate and demoted from princess to lady, her household was dissolved, and she was placed in the household of her half-sister, Elizabeth, the only living progeny of Henry and Anne's

marriage. In 1536, Catherine of Aragon's death and Anne Boleyn's execution meant that Henry was free to marry a third time, to Jane Seymour, a union that produced one living son and changed Mary's life and status once again. Having reconciled with Henry and capitulated to his demand that she submit to "his Highness, and to all and singular statutes of this realm,"[4] Mary was thereafter restored to court and to the king's favor as his "dear and well-beloved daughter"; still illegitimate, and known as Lady Mary rather than princess, she enjoyed an enhanced status and a more traditional role. Once more, from the late 1530s until her father's death in 1547 she became a desirable marriage candidate, although nothing came of any marriage negotiations.[5]

When her brother ascended the throne as Edward VI in 1547, Mary's position altered again. The 1543 Act of Succession and her father's last will and testament placed her second in line to the throne after Edward. Now a wealthy landed magnate in her own right, Mary was also putative heir to the throne, and by virtue of her Catholic faith, a beacon of hope for Catholics and a focal point of a Catholic opposition during his reign. Still, any expectation that she might become queen was likely quite small. It was only with Edward's sudden death at the age of 15 in 1553 that Mary's fortune changed, leading to another, more momentous, transition. What if events had progressed differently and Edward had lived to marry and sire an heir? What if the attempt by Edward and the Duke of Northumberland to change the succession in favor of Lady Jane Grey had succeeded? Fortune favored Mary in the first instance; in the second, she made her own fortune, by taking on the nontraditional role of military leader to make a preemptive strike against the attempted coup and claim her right to the throne—the first Tudor to take up arms to support that claim since her grandfather, Henry VII, had won the Battle of Bosworth Field. Within weeks of Edward's death, Mary rode triumphantly into London as queen.

Mary's accession to the throne thrust her into yet another nontraditional role: regnant queen. Mary was the first woman to claim the English crown since Empress Matilda did so in the twelfth century; unlike Matilda, she was the first woman to successfully hold the throne. In the intervening years a number of strong queen consorts had exerted influence over reigning kings, but not until Mary ascended to the throne did a woman have control over the realm in her own right.[6] She ruled as a single queen, as her sister Elizabeth did after her, and also as a married queen, having decided to marry for the sake of producing an heir to the throne, like her

father did before her. She would take on the roles of Virgin Queen, wife, and would-be mother, and she would usher in an unprecedented time period in the history of Great Britain, when a trio of female monarchs, Mary herself, her successor Elizabeth I, and Mary, queen of Scots, would rule England and Scotland for half a century. Yet Mary, as the first of these three remarkable rulers, had no role model (except perhaps her grandmother Isabel), and no precedent to follow in defining her untraditional role as queen regnant of England.[7] She was the first woman to take the political helm of her kingdom at a time when the nature of female rule created ambiguous feelings at best. Yet she successfully established herself as both king and queen of England; negotiated with the Emperor Charles V for her own marriage with his son Philip of Spain, the highest ranking Catholic prince in Europe, in a marriage treaty that gave Mary autonomy; and reintroduced Catholicism to England. In spite of her reputation for failure, it has been said by one historian that her only real failure was in dying too soon and by another that her only failure was in dying without having produced a child of her own to follow in her footsteps.[8] What if Mary's two false pregnancies had resulted in the birth of a living child? This is another liminal moment in Mary's life—had she been succeeded by a Catholic Tudor heir, her reputation as "Bloody" might not have had the staying power that it has had.

The Birth of English Queenship

This collection of essays on Queen Mary I coincides with the quincentenary of Mary's birth in 1516 and seeks both to celebrate the rule of England's first regnant queen and to contribute to the growing list of works that have begun to rehabilitate and redefine Mary's image and reign. It has only been a recent development that historians have focused on Mary as queen in her own right, rather than using her as a foil by which to measure later queens regnant, particularly her sister, Elizabeth I. Offering essays on the life, reign, and reputation of Mary, this volume explores her long road to accession, how she established and maintained her authority, the complexities inherent in her role as female monarch, and the development of her image as queen both during her life and after her death. It adds to the growing number of revisionist works that have only just begun to reevaluate Mary and her reign, thus challenging her enduring and one-dimensional reputation as an unsuccessful ruler, and to contribute to the more nuanced picture of the queen that is emerging and ongoing.

In the last ten years a large number of monographs, essay collections, and articles have been published about Mary I, many of them revisionist in nature, reappraising many aspects of Mary's reign. These publications have included five new biographies, a gender politics study, and works examining Mary's church and religion.[9] In addition, at least three essay collections have appeared in print. Of these collections, one focuses on religion exclusively, and many of the essays in the other two are comparative in nature and explore the similarities between Mary and her younger sister, Elizabeth, as well as Mary's influence on Elizabeth.[10] This volume thus complements existing scholarship, and also provides the first collection of essays to examine aspects of Mary's life from birth to reign to cultural afterlife and reputation, giving due consideration to the struggles that she faced both before her accession and after it, and celebrating Mary as queen in her own right.

The chapters included in this volume, arranged in roughly chronological order, investigate heretofore unexamined issues in many of the transitional moments in Mary's life: from princess to queen; from single queen to married queen to would-be mother; from triumphant queen to her life after death as a bloody villainess. They bring further understanding to the ways in which Mary negotiated her roles as princess, heir, and queen. The first three chapters examine Mary, her childhood, and her transition to ruler. Charles Beem explores Mary's role as royal heir in "Princess of Wales? Mary Tudor and the History of English Heirs to the Throne" (Chap. 2) and contextualizes that position within the history of Princes of Wales as first in line to the throne. Mary was the only one of her siblings to ever be regarded as such, indicating that her upbringing had more in common with previous male heirs than either of her half-siblings. Her childhood and education were shaped not only by the traditions for heirs apparent, but also, over time, by the changes in her status; they were also influenced by a number of Henry VIII's queens. Valerie Schutte's chapter "Under the Influence: The Impact of Queenly Book Dedications on Princess Mary" (Chap. 3) in her examination of book dedications given to Henry's wives that mentioned Mary. In these dedications, dedicators expressed their understanding of each queen's influence over Mary. These perceptions may not always have been accurate, but nonetheless, they affected perceptions of Mary before she ascended the throne. Schutte argues that, in spite of her new legal status and downgraded position, Mary continued to be seen as influential in her own right. Hilary Doda takes up the idea of perception in the chapter "Lady

Mary to Queen of England: Transformation, Ritual, and the Wardrobe of the Robes" (Chap. 4) to examine how Mary used her image and wardrobe, from the time she was a princess through the first year of her reign, to control her image, her place in the succession, and her gendered role as queen. Mary's dress became one strategy whereby she justified her right to be queen and took an active role in her transition from princess to ruling queen.

The second section of this collection considers Mary's queenship as sole queen, both single and married, and scrutinizes various aspects of her reign. In Mary Hill Cole's chapter "The Half-Blood Princes: Mary I, Elizabeth I, and their Strategies of Legitimation," (Chap. 5) she examines the Acts of Succession and explores how Mary dealt with her illegitimacy and troubled family in the past as compared to Elizabeth's later treatment of the same problem. Upon her accession, Mary used parliament to pursue a bold strategy of erasing her parents' divorce, reclaiming her own legitimacy, and asserting her right to the throne. Elizabeth, unable to take the same direct approach as Mary, still legitimized her right to rule through Parliament, yet, as Cole argues, she never achieved the success of her sister in this regard. Anna Whitelock takes a closer look at one particular Parliamentary statute, the Act for Regal Power, in the chapter " 'A queen, and by the same title, a king also': Mary I: Queen-in-Parliament" (Chap. 6) and examines how Mary used it to establish her authority as queen and define female kingship. Whitelock argues that Mary, displaying the political astuteness normally attributed to Elizabeth, dealt with the debate and fears about female sovereignty by fashioning her own queenship as that of a queen-in-parliament and that "parliamentary queenship was Mary's most significant and oft-overlooked legacy to her sister Elizabeth." As well as negotiating her right to power, Mary also had to retain it. Gary Gibbs explores Wyatt's Revolt, the response of Mary and her government to it, including harsh punishments as well as pardons, and the resulting critiques of Mary's actions in its aftermath in "The Queen's Easter Pardons, 1554: Ancient Customs and the Gift of Thucydides." (Chap. 7) Gibbs analyzes the meaning of the gift to Mary of a copy of Thucydides by one of those critics, Simon Renard, arguing that this was an attempt to influence Mary politically, but one that failed. Mary's swift and decisive recovery from the revolt was the result of "the queen's own resolve and actions, and not the fulminations of the Imperial ambassador." A further examination of the nature of Mary's government and the counsel she received is offered in "Sovereign Council or Counselled Sovereign: The Marian Conciliar

Compromise." (Chap. 8) In it, Joanne Paul examines the relationship between the theory and practice of political counsel in Mary's reign, and the nature of her relationship with both her Privy Council and the Select Council established later by her king consort Philip of Spain. Paul challenges previous scholarship that sees either Mary or her council as consistently dominant, and like Cole, Whitelock, and Gibbs, she argues for a more nuanced version of Mary, one that acknowledges a queen who was politically astute, intelligent, and decisive at key moments in her reign. Also revisionist in nature is the chapter "Culture under Mary I and Philip" (Chap. 9) by Alexander Samson. Samson disputes the traditional depiction of Marian England as a barren interlude, the Anglo-Spanish court as devoid of entertainment and lacking in cultural achievements, and the Marian regime as failing to recognize the revolutionary nature of the new media of print. He broadens the focus from the court in order to reconstruct culture under Mary and Philip, examining evidence from a wide variety of sources and making the case for the richness of cultural ferment during this period. Rounding out this section, Carole Levin's chapter "Pregnancy, False Pregnancy, and Questionable Heirs: Mary I and her Echoes" (Chap. 10) examines another important aspect of Mary's reign, the desire and belief held by the queen and others of her duty to conceive a male heir. Levin explores Mary's phantom pregnancies within the larger context of sixteenth-century false pregnancies, the effect that her failure to bear a child had on her reputation and image both before and after her death, and the parallels between Mary I and Mary of Modena in the next century. Protestant accusations that Mary of Modena's reports of her pregnancy were untrue used the example of Mary I's phantom pregnancies to bolster their case; likewise, in the case of both queens, rumors warned that these false pregnancies were attempts to place a false heir on the throne. As Levin's essay demonstrates, the distortion and use of Mary's reputation and image "echoed" after her death into the following century.

The final section of this collection examines Mary's transition from monarch during life to monster after death, and more closely considers later perceptions of Mary, from seventeenth-century polemic and literature to modern history and film. In the chapter "Unnatural, Unlawful, Ungodly, and Monstrous: Manipulating the Queenly Identities of Mary I and Mary II," (Chap. 11) Anne Mearns offers a comparison of ideologies of queenship and its unnaturalness during the reigns of Mary I and Mary II. Detractors of both queens sought to prove that each queen

was unfit to rule based on her sex and accused both of ungodliness, lust, and inheriting "tainted blood," thus making them "monstrous." Just as Levin demonstrates that Protestants used the example of Mary I to challenge the validity of Mary of Modena's pregnancy, Mearns argues that Jacobites, supporters of the Catholic King James II, used the first Mary's image and reputation to challenge the Protestant Mary II's identity and authority. As Mearns points out, the tensions about and prejudices against female rule still existed at the end of the seventeenth century, and both queens' public images were manipulated for political agendas; Mary II's accession to the throne was no smoother than had been that of Mary I. Moreover, the blackening of Mary I's image was well under way long before Mary II came to the throne. Carolyn Colbert's chapter " 'Well, then. . .Hail Mary': Mary I in *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (1607) and *Lady Jane* (1986)" (Chap. 12) interrogates two posthumous renderings of Mary I, both connected to Lady Jane Grey, one a seventeenth-century play and the other a twentieth-century movie, to revisit an aspect common to Mary's afterlife. Both present Mary as in important character, not for her own accomplishments, but for her significance as part of a narrative centering on someone else, and in the case of both play and film, for her role as a villain in the life of Lady Jane. In the chapter "Marrying Mary to the Black Legend: Anti-Catholicism and Anti-Marian Messages in Anglo-American Films About Philip II of Spain" (Chap. 13) William Robison further explores the vilification of Mary in film via her association with Philip II and the Black Legend of Spain. Robison notes that Mary's cultural afterlife in film, where "Mary remains as bloody and Philip as black as ever," has yet to catch up to more recent revisionist historiography on Mary and her reign. The chapters in this section draw a clear contrast between a queen who consciously sought to control her image through clothing, law, justice, and culture during her life, and the attacks upon that image, both during her life and after her death, which have largely defined her until the present. Only in the last ten years or so has this begun to change, as Retha Warnicke points out in "Mary I, queen of England: Historiographical Essay, 2006 to Present," (Chap. 14) which concludes this collection. Warnicke offers an in-depth view of the historiography of Mary since 2006, when the image of Mary in scholarship began to shift to become more positive, though still contested. Warnicke explains how recent articles and monographs have done much to illuminate Mary's religion, her image, her literature, and her influence.

While Mary may not have been born to rule, rule she did, and successfully too. During the course of her life she traversed an untraditional path to her ultimate destination as sole queen. She charted a new path for women rulers, successfully establishing and retaining her authority as regnant queen, and adroitly negotiating many of the challenges to female sovereignty. Yet, after death, Mary was vilified as monstrous and "bloody," an appellation that shaped her image for centuries and continues to inform it today. The chapters in this collection add to the growing number of histories of Mary I, which, in addition to exploring her cultural afterlife, also acknowledge Mary's achievements as queen. While not comprehensive of all aspects of Mary's reign, this volume contributes new foci and ways of understanding Mary in her own right, and in this anniversary year of her birth, celebrates her life and reign as a seminal moment in the birth of English regnant queenship.

Notes

1. Quoted in Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1944), 144.
2. See Retha Warnicke's chapter, below. See also, Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman, "Introduction," in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1–17; Sarah Duncan, "'Bloody Mary'?: Changing Perceptions of England's First Ruling Queen" in *The Name of a Queen: William Fleetwood's Itinerarium ad Windsor*, ed. Charles Beem and Dennis Moore (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
3. See Charles Beem's chapter, below.
4. Quoted in Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (London, Berlin, New York: Bloomsbury, 2009), 88.
5. Quoted in Judith Richards, *Mary Tudor* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 63.
6. See Helen Castor, *She-Wolves: The Women Who Ruled England Before Elizabeth* (New York: HarperCollins, 2011).
7. Although her cousin Mary succeeded to her title of Queen of Scotland in 1542, her mother ruled as regent until 1560.
8. See Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) and Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
9. These include David Loades, *Mary Tudor: The Tragical History of the First Queen of England* (Kew: National Archives, 2006); Judith M. Richards,

Mary Tudor (London and New York: Routledge, 2008); Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2009); Linda Porter, *The Myth of "Bloody Mary"* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2007); John Edwards *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); María Jesús Pérez Martín, *María Tudor: La gran reina desconocida* (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 2008); Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), Chapter 2, "Her Kingdom's Wife: Mary I and the Gendering of Royal Power," 63–100; Sarah Duncan, *Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009); William Wizeman, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), and Valerie Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications: Royal Women, Power, and Persuasion* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

10. Eamon Duffy and Loades, ed. *The Church of Mary Tudor: Catholic Christendom 1300–1700* (Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2006); Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock, ed. *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman, ed. *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

From Princess to Queen

Princess of Wales? Mary Tudor and the History of English Heirs to the Throne

Charles Beem

For the first 37 years of her life, the future Queen Mary I of England negotiated a sometimes precarious and often tortuous march to the throne. Born February 18, 1516, in Greenwich Palace, the only surviving issue of Henry VIII and his first wife Catherine of Aragon, she was the first woman to hold such a position since the twelfth-century Empress Matilda's failed attempt to become England's first female ruler.

Mary's role as heir to the throne occupies an anomalous position in the history of the English royal succession. On the one hand, when she became England's first queen regnant in 1553, after defeating the pretensions of Lady Jane Grey, Mary benefitted from widespread belief and acceptance that she was Edward VI's "natural" heir. Mary also enjoyed a parliamentary title, as did her two half-siblings, by virtue of the Third Act of Succession (1543) and the statutory force of her father's will, even though she had been bastardized by an earlier act of succession. But for the first 17 years of her life, Mary enjoyed a more *traditional* type of recognition as heir, without any explicit statutory backing, in which she

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functioned for a time as a de facto Princess of Wales, performing a role usually reserved for male heirs to the throne.

As this volume both observes and celebrates the 500th anniversary of her birth, this essay considers Mary's singular role in the history of the English Succession, and discusses the factors that paved the way for a female succession as well as the historical legacy of the Henrician Succession Statutes that rendered Mary's position as heir, both complicated and transformative.

THE ENGLISH SUCCESSION PRIOR TO 1533

When Mary arrived triumphantly in London at the head of a sizeable armed force to take possession of the crown on August 3, 1553, her success could be attributed to a number of complementary factors. In addition to her parliamentary title, well known to literate members of Tudor political society, Mary also benefitted from an equally widespread belief that, as the lineal heir of her father, she possessed a hereditary right to succeed to the throne through a female inclusive system of primogeniture.[1] Ideologically, this was a *form* of right deeply rooted within medieval and early modern English political culture and inheritance practices that had survived the twists and turns of haphazard medieval English succession practices.[2] But Mary's place at the head of an army, after overcoming the odds by defeating a plot to deprive her, was also perceived as containing elements of election, both divine and temporal, as stated in the endless placards that greeted her arrival in London, "*vox populi, vox Dei*," "the voice of the people is the voice of God." Mary's accession proclamation pulled from all these legitimizing forces, identifying Mary's "just" and "lawful" possession of the crown as their "natural" queen.[3]

Prior to the accession of Mary's half-brother Edward VI in 1547, the succession to the crown unfolded outside the bounds of any written or oral form of law. Mary's own status as heir was universally recognized spontaneously upon her birth in 1516 without any need for either legal definition or statutory backing. Until the Glorious Revolution Settlement in 1688/89 and its corollaries, the Act of Settlement (1701) and the Royal Marriages Act (1772), the English succession operated under a number of mechanisms: election, conquest, various scenarios in which heredity and kinship were factors, and combinations of all three mechanisms, all of which came into play during Mary's 1553 accession.[4]

Had Mary been the only daughter of an Anglo-Saxon king, the best she could have hoped for would have been to become the wife of the next *king*, which was first and foremost a military position passed from

adult male to adult male within a circumscribed kinship structure. The Norman conquest of 1066 did little to alter these patterns, as William the Conqueror's sons battled it out for possession of both the English throne as well as the duchy of Normandy. The youngest of these sons, Henry I (r. 1500–1535), attempted to rationalize the succession, requiring oaths from his temporal and spiritual tenants-in-chief to recognize the succession rights of his only surviving legitimate offspring, his daughter Matilda, reflecting the developing corollary between right of inheritance, which increasingly recognized primogeniture as a primary means of transmission, and the succession to the throne.[5] While Matilda's efforts to succeed her father were unsuccessful, her eldest son Henry eventually succeeded her supplanter, King Stephen, creating an all-important precedent of dynastic inheritance through the female line.

The Plantagenet kings enjoyed an unparalleled succession of viable male heirs over the course of the high middle ages, as primogeniture seemingly emerged as *the* primary determinant of the succession. Hand in hand with the idea of a *recognized* male heir was Edward I's (r. 1272–1307) creation of his eldest son and heir, Edward of Caernarvon, as Prince of Wales in 1301, following the conquest of the principality and the deposition of the last native Welsh princes, which, for the next 700 years, became the primary means of designating English royal heirs.

Nevertheless, the apparent triumph of primogeniture stumbled over the course of the fifteenth century. Childless, despite two marriages, Richard II (r. 1377–1399) had designated his cousin Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, the grandson of Edward III's second son Lionel of Clarence through the female line, as his successor. But March predeceased Richard II and his own heir was still a minor when Henry Bolingbroke, the heir of Edward III's third son, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, took possession of Richard II's vacated throne in 1399. Soon after, Henry IV formally recognized his eldest son, the future Henry V, as Prince of Wales.

The advent of the Lancastrian dynasty called into question the principles by which the succession operated.[6] Like Mary in 1553, Henry IV's right to succeed was open to a number of justifications; contemporary apologists emphasized Henry's vaguely stated hereditary right, while sixteenth century observers identified him as a conqueror who was elected to be king in 1399.[7] Cognizant of a less than universal recognition of his royal title, and weary of the rebellions that plagued the early years of his reign, Henry IV sought parliamentary sanction in 1404 for the right of his heirs male to succeed him, in the form of a charter, perhaps in order to

forestall the hereditary rights of the Mortimer claim.[8] However, in 1406 the original charter was supplanted by a new one restoring the rights of heirs male *and female* to inherit, which was engrossed as a parliamentary statute.[9]

But the first parliament sanctioned succession failed to survive the dynastic conflict known popularly as the Wars of the Roses. Richard, Duke of York, (1411–1460), the inheritor of the Mortimer claim, initially based his opposition on the Lancastrian king Henry VI's (r. 1422–1460, 1470–1471) malfeasance of office, but by October 1460, at a parliament called in London, York advanced his hereditary claim to the throne. In the compromise worked out in the Act of Accord, York was recognized as Henry VI's heir, essentially repealing the Lancastrian parliamentary title. Two months later York was killed at the Battle of Wakefield, while his eldest son displaced Henry VI as Edward IV early in 1461.

Following the traditions of his Plantagenet predecessors, Edward IV took positive steps to ensure the succession rights of his own heir, the future Edward V (1470–1483?). When he was eight months old, Prince Edward was formally created Prince of Wales. But Edward IV invested the role even further, by sending his son to actually live in Wales as the titular head of both a regional council and a princely court in Ludlow while he was still an infant.[10] This was a first; the only other Prince of Wales to actually step foot into the principality was the future Henry V, but he only did so to assist in quashing the Welsh rebellion against his father. The precedent of a sitting, in residence Prince of Wales would be replicated by the first two Tudor kings.

Edward IV's untimely death in 1483 once again plunged the succession into disarray. The furious struggle to control 12-year-old Edward V's minority resulted in his deposition and the accession of his paternal uncle, Richard III.[11] Richard's usurpation fractured the unity of the House of York, while Henry Tudor, a descendant of the House of Lancaster through the Beaufort line and an exile in Brittany, emerged as a plausible Lancastrian alternative to Richard III, pledging to marry Edward IV's eldest daughter Elizabeth of York.

Tudor invaded England in August 1485, emerging as the victor at the Battle of Bosworth (August 22) after Richard III was killed. Like Henry IV's accession 86 years earlier, Henry's claim to the throne was suitably vague. On the one hand, his victory was one of both conquest as well as divine election, coupled with a rather dubious hereditary claim through his mother, Margaret Beaufort. But none of these factors were mentioned

in the declaratory act passed by his first parliament, which did not justify but simply acknowledged Henry's possession of the throne and the right of his heirs to inherit.[12] Only after this was accomplished did Henry VII marry Elizabeth of York, Edward IV's eldest daughter, dynastically uniting Lancaster and York and bolstering his own hereditary claim and that of his heirs. Following his marriage, and at his probable instigation, Pope Innocent VIII issued a bull outlining the breadth of Henry's claim: "as by the right of his most noble victory, and by election of the lords spiritual and temporal of this realm, and by the act, ordinance, and authority of Parliament . . . ."[13]

Despite his undoubted, parliament sanctioned title, Henry VII well knew that holding on to his crown would require dynastic efforts. Like all responsible hereditary monarchs, Henry VII and his Queen labored to provide for the Tudor succession, eventually producing four children to survive infancy: two sons, Arthur, the heir, and Henry, the spare, and two daughters, Margaret and Mary. Henry followed the example of Edward IV, creating Arthur Prince of Wales, although he waited until Arthur had reached his third birthday before formally investing him in an impressive ceremony that included a ceremonial barge ride down the Thames. Henry also created a regional council in the Welsh marches in the prince's name, although Arthur did not actually go to live in Wales until 1501 when he was fifteen, the only occasion in English history when a Prince of Wales actually went to Wales to rule as prince, rendering the position both a title and an office.

Arthur returned to London in November 1501 to wed his newly arrived bride Catherine of Aragon, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. Shortly afterward Arthur returned to Wales with his bride to reassume his duties as prince, but by April 1502, Arthur was dead. In February 1503 Henry VII created his remaining son, the 11-year-old Henry, Duke of York, as Prince of Wales. Not feeling quite so dynastically secure this time around, Henry VII kept his heir close at hand and on a short leash for the remainder of his reign, as his son would do with his own male heir.

THE TUDOR SUCCESSION 1509–1516

Like his father, dynastic security was a top priority for Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547). Thanks to a papal dispensation, Henry VIII married his brother's widow shortly after his accession and immediately began

attempting to propagate the dynasty, with decidedly mixed results. On January 31, 1510, Catherine gave birth to an unnamed premature still-born daughter. But a year later she gave birth to a son, Henry, who was immediately created Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall amid great rejoicing.[14] Seven weeks later the prince was dead.

By 1513, four years into his reign, Henry VIII began to betray a certain sense of dynastic insecurity. Prior to an invasion of France which netted him the city of Tournai, Henry ordered the execution of Edmund de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, a Yorkist pretender, in what later became known as "spring cleaning in the tower." Seven years previously, Suffolk had been handed over to Henry VII by Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian, with the proviso that Suffolk would not be executed. Obviously, despite a lack of his own heirs, Henry VIII had no interest in recognizing collateral descendants of the Plantagenet royal house as potential royal heirs as both Richard II and Richard III had done, and spent the rest of his reign methodically weeding out noblemen with Plantagenet blood in their veins.

In fact, for the first six years of his reign, Henry had no officially recognized or sanctioned heir, a feat replicated by his daughter Elizabeth I for a much longer duration of time. Henry's continuing hopes for his dynasty were further dashed by the birth of another son in November 1513, also named Henry, who only lived long enough to be styled Duke of Cornwall before expiring after just a few hours of life. Over a year later, in January 1515, Catherine gave birth to yet another unnamed stillborn son.

For the remainder of his life, despite his strenuous efforts to produce a male heir, Henry had little choice but to contemplate the possibility of a female succession. Women had routinely transmitted royal claims to their male heirs and occasionally ruled European states throughout the medieval period; Henry's own mother-in-law Isabella of Castile had been a remarkably successful and autonomous female sovereign.[15] Yet there is precious little contemporary comment or discussion, if any, concerning who might have succeeded Henry if he had died without issue prior to Mary's birth. Again, much like the situation under Elizabeth I, discussing the succession in the absence of a recognized heir simply appears not to be an open topic of discussion at his royal court.

In theory, however, Henry VIII's closest heir was his oldest sister, Margaret, recently widowed as Queen of Scotland and the mother of the underage king James V, whose great-grandson James VI succeeded Elizabeth I in 1603. During the negotiations for her marriage, the notion that Margaret or her heirs might inherit the English throne was not lost on

Henry VII's Privy Council; according to Polydore Vergil, the king scoffed at the notion, asserting that despite a Scottish succession England would eventually absorb Scotland.[16] However, before his death, Henry VII had sent his almoner Thomas Wolsey on a diplomatic mission to Scotland, in the hopes of preventing his son-in-law James IV from renewing the "auld alliance" with France. In the course of his conversation with James IV, Wolsey reported in a letter to Henry VII his awareness of his wife's place in the English succession.[17] Four years later, just prior to his invasion of France, an as yet childless Henry VIII also acknowledged both Margaret and her son's place in the English succession.[18]

But Margaret, wife and mother to aliens, was problematic as an heir to Henry VIII's throne. After Margaret's husband James IV was killed at Flodden Field (September 9, 1513), she encountered difficulty ruling as regent for her son, underscoring for Henry VIII the liabilities of female rule; Henry VIII had urged her to flee to England with her son.[19] Was this to potentially raise James in England as a potential heir to his crown? The question was momentarily moot—Margaret relinquished control over her son to the regent Albany in August 1515 and later fled to England in a scenario remarkably like that of her granddaughter, Mary, Queen of Scots, 53 years later.

Henry had another sister, Mary (b. 1496), whom he married to the elderly Louis XII of France in 1514 after breaking with his previous allies Ferdinand of Aragon and Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian.[20] Mary had previously been betrothed to the Archduke Charles (later Emperor Charles Beem), but among the various issues addressed during the negotiations for her possible marriages, Mary's place in the succession was not mentioned, although Mary herself may have alluded to her dynastic importance in a letter to Henry, shortly after Louis XII's death, in which she threatened to enter a convent, making him *and the realm* sorry, presumably by threatening to withhold her reproductive capabilities.[21] Soon after, Mary married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, creating a homegrown cadet branch of the Tudor dynasty that would later be inserted into the line of succession at the end of Henry's reign in place of the Stuart claim. Nevertheless, for Henry VIII the best case scenario for the succession was an heir of his own body.

Royal Heiress

The birth of his daughter Mary immediately resolved Henry VIII's succession dilemma. Quite unlike continental monarchies, in which women both inherited thrones and served as regents for husband and sons, there

was no precedent for female rule in England, with the exception of the Empress Matilda's tenure as Lady of the English (1139–1147). While Henry and Catherine remained outwardly optimistic of future sons, Mary was unequivocally her father's heir, as suggested by the double references to "princess" in the proclamation announcing her birth, "the right high, right noble and excellent *Princess* Mary, *Princess* of England," which acknowledged her status as both the King's daughter *and* as heir to the throne.[22] Lacking either siblings or other potential collateral heirs of any kind, Mary's position as royal heir was as *singular* as her father's was during the final years of Henry VII's reign.

Like so many male heirs before her, Mary was expected to perform on the public stage of the royal court as soon as she awoke to consciousness, assuming a regal gravitas even as a small child, receiving distinguished guests, writing formal letters, demonstrating her talents in music and dancing, and behaving impeccably within the fishbowl environment of the royal court.[23] Even before her third birthday, in October 1518, during the celebrations surrounding her betrothal to the French dauphin, Sebastian Giustinian wrote to the Doge of Mary's presumably flawless performance, wearing "cloth of gold, with a cap of black velvet on her head, adorned with many jewels," as Cardinal Wolsey slipped a diamond engagement ring on her finger.[24]

Like Edward V, Arthur Tudor, and her own father before her, Mary's education as a potential future sovereign was of the utmost importance, betraying her future status as monarch and indicative of the increased scope of Renaissance humanism, which was at the core of Mary's curriculum as it was her father's.[25] As Retha Warnicke has suggested, Henry was every bit as interested in the education of his heir as was her mother, much of which reflected the emphasis on chastity and morality that had proved to be such a winning strategy for her grandmother Isabella of Castile as well as her own mother, who enjoyed a wide ranging popularity as queen consort.[26]

While Mary's education was reflective of the intellectual trends of Renaissance monarchy, to her father and his subjects the most important task Mary could accomplish as her father's heir would be to produce the next generation of English heirs, to continue the dynasty through the female line, a responsibility Mary endeavored to fulfill once she became queen in 1553. Soon after her birth, like any other royal heir, male or female, Mary was on the marriage market, with betrothals in 1518 to the French dauphin, in 1521 to Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, and

in 1527 to Henri, Duke of Orleans, second son of Francis I, while in 1524 a match was briefly considered with Mary's cousin James V of Scotland.[27] All of the negotiations implicitly acknowledged Mary's status as her father's heir.[28] While no one expected Charles to be permanently resident in England once they were married, Orleans and James V were much more problematical as potential consorts, with Henry wishing for both candidates to come reside in England, a condition neither the Scots nor the French would ultimately agree to do. But all Mary's potential husbands expected to be a king of England. Much like Isabella's decision to make her husband Ferdinand king consort of Castile, Henry VIII's own jurists considered that Mary could do the same, which is in fact what she later did, with parliamentary approval, when she married Prince Philip of Spain in 1554.[29]

But Henry VIII may have wanted to keep his succession options open. In 1519, Elizabeth Blount, one of Catherine of Aragon's ladies in waiting, gave birth to an illegitimate son, Henry Fitzroy, whom Henry acknowledged. By 1525, Catherine of Aragon had not conceived for seven years, leaving Mary and Fitzroy as Henry's only progeny unless he was to remarry. Mary and Fitzroy represented both sides of the Tudor succession dilemma—Mary, legitimate but female, Fitzroy, illegitimate but male. Both received honorific acknowledgments of their dynastic importance.

The year 1525 was a pivotal year for both. Fitzroy was created Duke of Richmond and Somerset in an ostentatious ceremony complete with a barge ride up the Thames reminiscent of Arthur Tudor's in 1501. Later in this same year Fitzroy was created Lord High Admiral of England, as well as Lord President of the Council of the North, and Warden of the Marches toward Scotland, replicating both Edward IV and Henry VII's efforts to vest royal heirs with vice-regal like authority even though, like minor kings, actual authority was wielded by a council acting in his name. Nevertheless, while Fitzroy received the titles signifying his close blood relationship to the Tudor royal house, Henry reserved the most prestigious of roles for his daughter.[30]

Princess of Wales

Princes of Wales generally served various forms of apprenticeship before they assumed the crown, undergoing knightly training and gaining battle-field experience even as teenagers, like the legendary fourteenth-century Edward the Black Prince (1330–1376), who sat in council meetings and

fought on the battlefields of France when he had barely entered his teens.[31] The future Henry V (r. 1413–1422) also gained valuable military and administrative experience as Prince of Wales, while Arthur Tudor was just beginning this process when his life was cut short. While Mary received a princely education commensurate with her status as heir, including instruction in music and dancing, her sex precluded her from engaging in the kind of martial activities that Fitzroy and later her half-brother Edward engaged in as part of their "kingly" training.[32]

But what Henry VIII *could* do for Mary was to replicate the experience of Edward V and Arthur Tudor by sending her to Wales in 1525 at the head of a regional council. The instructions issued for her journey included the phrase "by reason of the long absence of *any prince* making continuall residence eyther in the principalitie of Wales or in the marches of the same," identifying Mary as a "prince" in the Machiavellian sense—as the ruler of a principality.[33] There were multiple motivations at play for Mary's two-year "progress" through the Welsh marches; while W.R.B. Robinson has argued that the impetus to send Mary to Wales was to fill a temporary vacuum in royal authority in Wales, Jeri McIntosh has suggested that the original impetus was to enhance Mary's position as heir after Charles Beem, Mary's now perennial husband to be, scored a major victory over France at Pavia.[34]

But an equally important consideration was that Mary was given practical experience in the forms and functions of wielding royal authority, something not even her brother Edward VI enjoyed while their father was alive. While Mary was not designated a "formal" Prince of Wales like many of her male predecessors, she was nonetheless a prince resident in Wales at the head of a council that represented the interests of the crown, a singular experience for Mary not duplicated by any subsequent heir to the throne, male or female. It also represented the pinnacle of Mary's tenure as de facto princess of Wales, as her father remained committed to obtaining a legitimate male heir.

THE HENRICIAN SUCCESSION STATUTES

Henry's efforts to secure an annulment from Catherine of Aragon eventually resulted in the first statutory pronouncements concerning the succession since Henry VII's first parliament. By the time the First Act of Succession was enacted in 1534, the Reformation Parliament (1529–1536) had already legislated the Break with Rome, which allowed an

independent English Church to declare Henry's first marriage invalid and marry him to Anne Boleyn, who gave birth to a daughter, the future Elizabeth I, in 1533.[35] The Act recounted the dissolution of her parents' marriage, effectively debarring Mary from the succession as it recognized the children of Anne Boleyn and subsequent wives as heirs.[36]

Anne Boleyn suffered the same dynastic failure as Catherine of Aragon, and parliament remedied the situation, following Henry's marriage to Jane Seymour, with a second Act of Succession (1536), which reiterated Mary's illegitimacy as it also declared the marriage of Henry and Anne Boleyn invalid, rendering Mary's half-sister Elizabeth also unfit to inherit.[37] Statutorily, this recreated the scenario of 1509–1516, when the King did not have a clear-cut successor. However, the Act allowed Henry to appoint further heirs by will, an unprecedented situation that may have been inserted so Henry would have the option of designating Fitzroy as his successor. Fitzroy, however, died in July 1536, just as the Act was being passed by parliament. Fitzroy's place in the succession was more than amply filled with the birth of the future Edward VI in October, but Jane Seymour died of complications shortly afterward.

In this same year, after defying her father for several years, Mary formally acknowledged her statutory bastardization in writing as the price of reconciling with her father and returning to court.[38] Nonetheless, the belief that Mary remained her father's hereditary heir was not quite so easily rooted out of the kingdom's political sensibilities, as suggested by the opinion of Robert Aske, one of the ringleaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace, a rebellion brought about partly in response to the changes wrought by the Act of Succession, who "grudged" Mary's removal from the succession, as he and "al the wisseman of those partes" denied that parliament could legislate away legitimate inheritance rights.[39]

While Henry did not give up on trying to obtain further male heirs, his final three marriages produced no further issue. Perhaps mindful of how his subjects viewed Mary's place in the succession, in 1544 the king-in-parliament passed the Third Act of Succession, which reinstated Mary and Elizabeth, with qualifications, back into the line of succession.[40] Nevertheless, they remained bastards in law, like their late brother Fitzroy, although it is a fair assumption that a critical mass of English society had continued to comprehend Mary as a hereditary claimant to her father's throne regardless of this parade of statutory pronouncements.

By this time Mary was 27 years of age, a rather advanced age for an unmarried female heir to the throne. Indeed, the tumultuous twists and

turns of her role as heir took its toll upon her marriage prospects; there were no serious negotiations until she was queen and able to choose her own husband.[41] This was in stark contrast to her status prior to her parents' divorce, in which marriage and producing male heirs were intimately bound up in her position as her father's successor.

In the final years of her father's reign, however, the Tudor succession offered a pretty clear picture of an essentially female succession following Edward, as outlined in Henry VIII's final will, with the descendants of Mary Brandon (the French Queen), all of whom were female, to follow Mary and Elizabeth in the line of succession. Perhaps in recognition of Edward's singular position as the last surviving male Tudor, Henry failed to formally create Edward Prince of Wales or send him to the marches as the titular head of a regional council, which made Mary, rather than either Edward or Elizabeth, the child of Henry VIII with the most practical experience in royal administration prior to their accession.

Edward VI's Heir

Upon Henry VIII's death (December 28, 1547), nine-year-old Edward VI succeeded (r. 1547–1553) according to the terms of his will, which outlined a conciliar regency of executors to rule for the king until he was eighteen, a body similar in its corporate arrangement to the royal councils that ruled during Henry VI's minority reign. The difference here is that Henry VI's heirs, his uncles John, duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, were integral players in his government. In fact, the royal male kinsmen of underage kings had always played major roles during the minority reigns of Richard II, Henry VI, and Edward V, for better and for worse, while Mary and Elizabeth were denied any formal role in their brother's government, despite their status as his closest heirs.

Nevertheless, Mary's position as Edward's heir exerted its own power, including enjoying a cloth of estate as she traveled to London ostentatiously with large armed retinues to periodically visit her brother.[42] She was, like her sister Elizabeth, essentially a landed magnate endowed with considerable income: a 10,000-pound dowry, and in Mary's case, a landed estate made up of 32 manors, which allowed her to develop quasi-political affinities of her own in Essex and East Anglia.[43]

Mary's position as heir was complicated by religion in ways that no previous royal heir had ever faced. While Mary could not be considered a "Catholic" at the beginning of her brother's reign, she swiftly emerged

as the defender of her father's religious settlement, rendering her a lightning rod among English Catholics. Over the course of Edward VI's reign, the minority governments of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, and later John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, deployed the king's authority as supreme head of the church to legislate a full-blown Protestant Reformation, actions Mary opposed as Edward's statutory heir, arguing that changes in doctrine and ceremony should wait until the king achieved his full majority.[44]

As both the king's heir and a high-profile adherent of Henrician Catholicism, Mary's opinion mattered. To a certain extent, so did that of her cousin the Emperor Charles Beem, Mary's former betrothed who assumed the role of her overseas protector, who kept up the diplomatic pressure on Edward's government to protect Mary's freedom of conscience. Indeed, Mary's three decades of experience as a royal heir came in handy during Edward's reign, as she stubbornly continued to celebrate the Catholic mass in defiance of statutory changes to the liturgy which had abolished it in law, a show of oppositional force by an heir to the throne not seen since the final years of Henry IV, when the future Henry V visibly chafed at his father's policies.[45]

Mary's importance as Edward's heir came visibly into play in the coup d'état that toppled Somerset from power in the fall of 1549, as a conservative cabal led by Thomas Wriothesley approached her for support, which she declined to give. Instead, Mary contemplated a flight to the continent, as Northumberland's government stepped up its pressure on her to conform to an increasingly Calvinistic Edwardian religious settlement. Mary, however, stayed put in England, enduring her position as an increasingly beleaguered heir to her brother's throne, and negotiating an increasingly strained relationship with her brother.

By the spring of 1553, as Edward VI began wasting away from the consumptive disease that eventually killed him, he and Northumberland hatched a plot to divert the succession from Mary and Elizabeth to Lady Jane Grey, the eldest granddaughter of Mary, the French Queen, and Northumberland's daughter-in-law, the final sordid chapter in Tudor attempts to direct the succession. The primary motivations were both religious, as Mary was widely anticipated to reinstate Catholicism, and political, as Northumberland feared probable retribution from a Marian regime. But in the final draft of Edward's "Device for the Succession," there was the additional fear stated that an unmarried queen would put the kingdom's security at risk, particularly if they married a foreign prince,

which justified Elizabeth's removal also.[46] In contrast, 15-year-old Lady Jane was safely married to an Englishman and would presumably begin producing male heirs to perpetuate the dynasty, which explains why she, rather than her still living mother, Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, was chosen to succeed Edward.

But as Edward VI's jurists warned him, his attempt to divert the succession by letters patent was insufficient in law; to remove Mary and Elizabeth from the succession would require a parliamentary statute.[47] Neither Edward nor Northumberland could wait, however, for the calling of a session that would, in all likelihood, require an uphill battle to convince parliament to deprive Mary and Elizabeth *once again* of their royal inheritance.

So Edward and Northumberland resorted to a tactic not used since the twelfth century, when Henry I "nominated" his daughter Matilda as his heir and compelled his tenants-in-chief to swear oaths in support of her candidacy in a form of election. In this sense, Edward also "nominated" Jane Grey as a more *satisfactory* hereditary heir, one of the major theoretical justifications behind Henry of Bolingbroke's 1399 accession. Jane explicitly explained these factors in a letter sent to the Marquis of Northampton on July 11, the day after her accession, which cited the late king's royal authority, her election by all those who had subscribed to Edward's devise, and the added excuse of Mary's illegitimacy, for the legality of her accession.[48] Indeed, two days earlier, reformed cleric Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, gave a sermon highly reminiscent of Robert Stillington's on the eve of Richard III's 1483 usurpation, preaching that both Mary and Elizabeth's illegitimacy made them unfit to inherit.[49]

Military power also played a significant role during the struggle for the crown following Edward VI's death (July 6, 1553), as it had in the successions of 1066, 1399, 1461, and 1485. For the "Device" to succeed, Northumberland needed to have custody of Edward's sisters when Jane was proclaimed, just as Richard, Duke of Gloucester, had secured possession of Edward IV's sons prior to his usurpation. Like Gloucester in 1483, Northumberland was in possession of a sufficient show of force to enforce Lady Jane's accession within London when he sent word to Mary and Elizabeth to come to London to see their brother. Both had been informed of Edward's death, however, and Mary took flight to the safety of East Anglia. On July 10, Jane was formally declared queen in London. Mary had already fired back, however, writing to Jane's Privy Council the day before protesting her legal claim to the throne, which "the whole world knoweth; the rolls and records appear by the authority of the King

our said father." At the same time, Mary understood that there would be a military component to the contest, promising pardon to those who recognized her "just and right cause."[50]

Indeed, to Mary's contemporaries, the most compelling component of Mary's candidacy was her hereditary position as her father's daughter, which was bolstered by the armed forces that spontaneously gravitated toward her standard as she began her march toward London. In the eyes of a critical mass of her subjects, this carried much more power than statutory pronouncements upon the succession, as Robert Wingfield reported, "one would not believe how rapidly and in what large numbers both gentleman and ordinary folk gathered from the shires."[51] The belief that the rightful hereditary claimant had triumphed was clearly evident in the spontaneous rejoicing evident in London that accompanied her accession, with bonfires, bell ringing, and banquets, all reported by a rather dazed Imperial ambassador who had previously discounted Mary's ability to succeed her brother.[52]

But the final component of Mary's succession was the belief that she had been divinely elected, an idea reflective of the providential world view held by Mary and her contemporaries. Indeed, for many contemporaries Mary's lightning transformation in the weeks following Edward VI's death defied a rational explanation. Not surprisingly, her success was widely perceived as an act of divine intervention. Mary's Yorkist cousin Reginald Pole put into words what many contemporaries undoubtedly believed, writing to her that her triumph could not be explained "without the aid of any other forces or resistance save that which the spirit of God roused in the hearts of man."[53] Like William the Conqueror, Henry of Bolingbroke, and her grandfather Henry VII, Mary entered London with the divine aura of a conqueror. Mary herself never discounted the role she believed God played in her accession, and neither did Elizabeth when she became queen.

But God did not work alone to make Mary queen. From the moment of her birth her father's subjects recognized her as his undoubted hereditary successor, and she spent the first 17 years in that capacity, which included an apprenticeship as a resident Prince of Wales. While the first two Henrician Succession Acts had removed her from the succession, the third one put into statutory form what most of her father's subjects had always believed to be just and true, that she was, and had always been, her father's heir. This plain and massive fact goes a long way to explain why Mary overcame the odds against her, as she swept into London to claim her throne on a tide of hereditary legitimacy, divine providence, military muscle, and the statutory blessings of parliament.

Notes

1. Mary's place in The Tudor succession was given statutory force by Henry VIII's will (December 30, 1546). *Foedera,* Thomas Rymer, ed. (London 1726–35), xv, 112–114. See also Judith Richards, "Mary Tudor: Renaissance Queen of England" in *High and Mighty Queens of Early Modern England,* ed. Carole Levin, Debra Barrett-Graves, and Jo Eldridge Carney (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 27–44.

2. William Huse Dunham Jr., Charles T. Wood, "The Right to Rule in England: Depositions and the Kingdom's Authority, 1327–1485" *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (Oct., 1976), 738.

3. Paul H. Hughes and James L. Larkin: *Tudor Royal Proclamations* (New Haven, 1964–1969: Yale University Press), i, 388.

4. Howard Nenner, *The Right to Be King: The Succession to the Crown of England 1603–1702* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: UNC Press, 1995).

5. Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 25–62.

6. Paul Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) 1–31.

7. Contemporary chroniclers Adam of Usk and Thomas of Walsingham, both Lancastrian apologists, emphasized Lancaster's descent through Henry III. See *The Chronicle of Adam of Usk,* C. Given Wilson, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 69; *Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham* David Preest, ed. (Woodbridge. Suffolk: Boydell, 2005), 311; Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, *XII Henry IV* (1955 edition) hypercritical edition, ed. Dana Sutton, http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/polverg/21eng.html.

8. *Rotuli parliamentorum,* J. Strachey, ed. (6 vols) (London: 1767–77) iv, 426.

9. Michael Bennett, "Edward III's Entail and the Succession to the Crown, 1376–1471" *The English Historical Review* Vol. 113, No. 452 (June, 1998), 580–609.

10. Charles Ross, *Edward IV* (London: Eyer Methuen, 1974), 196–198.

11. Michael Hicks, "A Story of Failure: The Minority of Edward V" *The Royal Minorities of Medieval and Early Modern England*, Charles Beem, ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 195–210.

12. S.B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999) 62.

13. Francis Hargrave, *The Hereditary Right of the Crown in England Asserted* (London: 1713), xvi–xvii.

14. S.J. Gunn, "War, Dynasty and Public Opinion in Early Tudor England," in *Authority and Consent in Tudor England: Essays Presented to C.S.L. Davies*, ed. G.W. Bernard, S.J. Gunn (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002), 131–149.

15. Elizabeth Lehfeldt "Ruling Sexuality: The Political Legitimacy of Isabel of Castile" in *Renaissance Studies*, 53, 1 (Spring 2000) 31–56.
16. Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia, XVI, Henry VII*.
17. Maria Perry, *The Sisters of Henry VIII* (New York: St. Martins, 1998), 53–54.
18. M.A.E. Green, *Lives of the Princesses of England* (6 vols.) (London: H. Colburn, 1849–1855) iv, 81.
19. Sharon L. Jansen, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002) 129–136.
20. Glenn Richardson, *Renaissance Monarchy: The Reigns of Henry VIII, Francis I, and Charles V* (London: Arnold, 2002), 53–54.
21. Erin A. Sadlack, *The French Queen's Letters* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) appendix 14, 174.
22. British Library, Harleian MS 3504, f. 232.
23. Sarah Duncan, *Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
24. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII,* (afterwards *L & P*) J.S. Brewer, ed. (London: HMSO, 1864) ii, vol. 2, n. 4481, 1376.
25. For a recent discussion, see Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2009), 25–31.
26. Retha Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation* (Westport Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983), 31–36.
27. Mortimer Levine, *Tudor Dynastic Problems* (London: George Allen and Unwin), 51–52.
28. For a discussion of Mary's early matrimonial career, see David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989) 16–49.
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Under the Influence: The Impact of Queenly Book Dedications on Princess Mary

Valerie Schutte

The six wives of Henry VIII received seventeen printed book dedications. They included a wide variety of subject matter, from marriage to religion to midwifery, and were written by a wide variety of men. Of these seventeen dedications, Mary was mentioned in four of them, three to Catherine of Aragon, and one to Katherine Parr. Additionally, one book dedicated to Anne Boleyn contained a separate dedication to Mary. This essay will analyze the dedications to Henry's consorts that mention Mary and the perceptions of the dedicators of the influences of their dedicatees on Mary. This essay will operate chronologically, first discussing the perceived influence of Catherine of Aragon, which will be the bulk of the essay. Then I will discuss Anne Boleyn and Katherine Parr's perceived influences on Mary. Altogether, I suggest that the dedications to Henry's wives that mention Mary offer a unique perspective of perceptions of the influences of these queens on Mary before she ascended the throne.

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CATHERINE OF ARAGON

Catherine of Aragon received eight printed book dedications during her lifetime. Of these, three mention Mary. Juan Luis Vives was the author of the two earliest dedications to mention Mary and Erasmus was the author of the third. Interestingly, Catherine received these three dedications by 1526, right before her status at court diminished when Henry VIII became interested in pursuing an annulment. Mary was alluded to in a fourth dedication to Catherine, but this dedication accompanied an English translation of a work by Vives that was already dedicated to Catherine.

The relationship between Catherine of Aragon and Juan Luis Vives has been the subject of extensive historiography. Scholars have been incredibly interested in Vives, how Catherine encouraged Vives to write educational treatises for her daughter, and the impact of Vives on sixteenth-century female education.[1] There has also been recent debate on whether or not Vives was a feminist.[2] For the purposes of this essay, I am not interested in joining either discussion, but instead, I am concerned with the dedications of Vives's books and his perception of Catherine's influence on Mary.

Catherine of Aragon was introduced to Juan Luis Vives through the intercession of Thomas More. Catherine and Vives had not yet met in person when Catherine first granted Vives a small pension, beginning in 1521.[3] In 1522, Vives dedicated his translation of St. Augustine's *De Civitas Dei* to Henry VIII, but received no payment for his dedication, which was Vives's goal. Instead, Henry sent him a letter inviting him to come to England.[4] Vives first entered England in 1523, joined Thomas More's humanist circle, and found favor with Cardinal Thomas Wolsey who gave Vives a lectureship at Cardinal College, Oxford.[5] From 1523 to 1528, Vives frequently traveled between England and Bruges, at one point marrying, though he never brought his wife with him to England.[6] In October 1523, Henry and Catherine visited Oxford, perhaps meeting Vives in person for the first time, and by Christmas of that year Vives began receiving a royal pension of 20 pounds per year.[7] Vives was in England in 1527 when Henry's intentions to annul his marriage to Catherine were made known, and Vives chose to support his countrywoman.[8] He was eventually placed on house arrest, from February 25 to April 1, 1528, when it was found out that he was a confidant of Catherine. After his release, Vives left England, still in possession of his pension from Henry. Vives returned to England once more to serve on Catherine's defense

team, but finally left England for good in November 1528, this time without a pension.[9]

The entire time that Vives was in England, he found great favor with Catherine of Aragon. By April 5, 1523 he completed the first book that he dedicated to her, *De institutione feminae Christianae*, as that is the date of his dedicatory epistle.[10] *De institutione* was written in three parts, one directed to virgins (ladies not yet wed), one to wives, and the final book to widows. The book, however, was not printed until 1524 due to complications with Francis Birckman, the man who paid for the print run.[11] It is not known if Vives gave Catherine a manuscript presentation copy of *De institutione*, yet a vellum copy in the Bodleian Library might have been such a gift.[12] Vives's dedication to Catherine was incredibly laudatory of the queen. He mentioned that he was inspired by Catherine to write such a tract because many conduct books existed for men, as men had many duties, but "a woman's only care is chastity."[13] He continued that "in these books you will see the image of your mind, since you were both a virgin and promised spouse and a widow and now a wife."[14] This quotation is interesting as Vives underwent a rewrite of his text in the Basel 1538 edition. In 1524, Vives's dedication called Catherine a wife to Arthur, brother to Henry VIII, but in the 1538 edition, Vives changed his letter to read "promised spouse" so as to support Catherine's position in the annulment.[15]

As for Vives's perception of Catherine's influence over Mary, Vives twice mentioned that she was "a model of exemplary life to others" and "all women will have an example to follow in your life and actions."[16] More specifically, Vives suggested that "your daughter Mary will read these recommendations and will reproduce them as she models herself on the example of your goodness and wisdom to be found within her own home. She will do this assuredly and, unless she alone belie all human expectations, must of necessity be virtuous and holy as the offspring of you and Henry VIII, such a noble and honored pair."[17] Therefore, Vives not only perceived Catherine to be an influence on her own daughter, but for all women. Her influence, perhaps, even extended beyond England, as Vives's text was first printed in Antwerp. Vives understood that Mary would follow in her mother's footsteps as well educated, under the influence of humanism, and as a queen somewhere. Here, Vives revealed that Catherine was perceived to be personally responsible for Mary and her education in 1524, at which time Mary was eight years old. Moreover,

Vives alleged that Catherine was the only influence that Mary needed because Catherine embodied the ideal virgin, wife, and widow.

De institutione was not printed in England until circa 1529, when Richard Hyrde, a tutor in the household of Thomas More, translated the text into English.[18] In addition to reprinting Vives's dedication to Catherine, Hyrde added his own dedication to her. Hyrde's translation, *The Instruction of a Christen Woman*, was printed nine times in sixteenth-century England. According to Virginia Walcott Beauchamp, one of three editors of a composite edition of Hyrde's translation of *Instruction*, these nine editions can be categorized into three groups which were reflective of "different cultural concerns." Two editions printed circa 1529 and one edition printed circa 1531 were identical and featured Catherine of Aragon. Four later printings, those in 1541, 1547, 1557, and 1567, downplayed Catherine's influence so as to appeal to a broader audience. Two final editions, in 1585 and 1592, were again edited to conform with late-Tudor Puritanism. Vives's and Hyrde's names appear on all nine editions, but Hyrde's dedication was omitted from all editions after 1531. Also, "and dedicated unto the quenes good grace" was removed from the title page and all mention of Catherine as queen was removed and changed to refer to Catherine as only a princess and wife of Arthur.[19] By the 1585 edition, "quene" was reinserted in some areas of the dedication and text, but left "princess" in other areas.[20] Nonetheless, no changes were made to the passage in Vives's dedication that referred to Mary and Catherine's influence on Mary.

Hyrde's dedication to Catherine was briefer than was Vives's and justified why Hyrde undertook the English translation.[21] Hyrde did not originally intend to give and dedicate his translation to Catherine.[22] He chose to translate Vives's book into English because he thought that every woman should have access to the text, as it promoted female education and he was tired of men complaining about women being uneducated but not giving them the tools of education.[23] Thomas More had intended to translate the book into English, but chose not to once he read and corrected Hyrde's rendition so that it could make it into print sooner.[24] It was only with More's approval that Hyrde chose to dedicate his book to Catherine.[25] Hyrde presented his translation as duty to the state; these ideas of Vives's were so important that he had to translate them and dedicate them to Catherine because she was the most important woman within England.

Like Vives, Hyrde perceived Catherine to have influence on all women within England, not just those of her household, noting "hit shulde be to your noble majestie for the gracious zele that ye beare to the vertuous education of the woman kynde of this realm."[26] Hyrde's allegation was well justified, as Catherine, like Henry, was known to support scholars and humanists, and had a very active role in the education of Mary. As for Catherine's influence on Mary, Hyrde had much less to say than Vives. "For nothynge in this worke clayme I for myne own, but the shewe for my good zele to do good to other, and servise to your noble grace: whom with the sacredde majestie of the mooste excellent prince your derest spouse, and your noble issue, with encrese of more, our lorde longe preserve in to the weale of your selfe, your realme, and all Christendome beside."[27] Hyrde did not even mention Mary by name, nor did he suggest that Catherine was an influence on her daughter or how this text could be used for the benefit of her daughter, as did Vives. Most likely, this is because Vives's dedication, which Hyrde kept, already mentioned such influence over Mary and did not need repeating. Moreover, Catherine's position at court was precarious in 1529, specifically over the issue of Henry and Catherine producing a legitimate heir to the throne, so it would have benefitted neither Hyrde nor Catherine to emphasize that Mary was the only living child of Henry and Catherine.

Practically every time that *De institutione* is mentioned in modern scholarship, it is followed with the assertion that it was commissioned by Catherine of Aragon as an educational treatise for Mary, as Mary needed preparation for queenship, either of England or of another realm. Educational treatises already existed for princes, such as Erasmus's *Instruction for a Christian Prince* (1516), but princesses were just not thought of as needing an education, and certainly not preparation for becoming future heads of state. Foster Watson was the first scholar to assert this, yet he offers no sources for this information.[28] This idea has been treated as fact ever since, and can easily skew the perception and purpose of his work. However, Vives was commissioned by Catherine to make a plan of study for Mary, *Epistolae duae de Ratione Studii Puerilis*, which was written at approximately the same time or shortly after Vives completed *De institutione*.[29] Most likely, Watson assumed that since the plan of study was commissioned by Catherine, then *De institutione* must also have been.

As the name suggests, *Epistolae duae* was written in two parts, one for the education of Mary and dedicated to Catherine of Aragon, and the other

for the education of Charles Mountjoy, dedicated to his father, William Blount, Lord Mountjoy. Some modern scholarship has also misidentified the dedication of *Epistolae duae* as given to Mary.[30] This is because *Epistolae duae* was printed as part of a collection of Vives's work, alongside *Introductio ad Sapientiam* and *Satellitium sive Symbola*.[31] As a whole, this book was dedicated to Mary, but the first book of *Epistolae duae* had a specific letter to Catherine of Aragon.[32] Vives's dedicatory epistle to Catherine was only one small paragraph, in which he explicitly stated that Catherine ordered him to write a plan of study for Mary which would be carried out by her tutor. Vives was content with Catherine's choice for Mary's tutor, who was more than capable of carrying out Vives's plan. Thomas Linacre was Mary's first actual Latin tutor, but he died sometime in 1524, so he was probably not the tutor mentioned by Vives. Rather, the unnamed tutor was Richard Fetherston, who replaced Catherine, herself, in teaching Mary Latin.[33] Fetherston went on to travel with Mary to the Welsh Marches in 1525 and was still listed in Mary's household expenses as her tutor as late as October 1, 1533.[34]

While Vives perceived Catherine to be an exemplar for Mary in his dedication to *De institutione*, his dedication in *Epistolae duae* explicitly made clear that Catherine was an educational influence over Mary, as she commissioned Vives to write a specific plan for Mary. Yet instead of mentioning that Mary would learn virtue from the model of her mother, Vives offered his plan of study as the source of Mary's knowledge and virtue. Vives did not praise Catherine for her own learning or education or for the foresight to give her daughter a humanist education. Vives could have been brief because he was disappointed that he was not chosen to be Mary's tutor, but he had just been given a lucrative lectureship at Oxford. Perhaps he thought that he should have been her tutor if he was the one writing her textbooks. More likely, Vives had just completed *De institutione* and had just been given his large pension of 20 pounds from Henry and was more than happy to provide Catherine with the plan of study that she asked for. He did not need to write an elaborate dedication to be rewarded with patronage when he had already received it. Nevertheless, he did make it clear that Catherine was an example for her daughter, and by extension, an example for any female who would go on to be educated by his text.

As previously mentioned, Vives's *Satellitium sive Symbola* was dedicated to Mary, and in fact, it was the first dedicated book that Mary received. The entirety of *Satellitium* was written in Latin, both the dedication and the body of text. In *Vives and the Renascence Education of Women*, Foster

Watson translated the dedication, as well as a few of the *symbola*, or mottos which were meant to both guard and instruct the young princess's morals.[35] In total, Vives's book contained 213 *symbola*, a few more than the "Satellites ducentos," or two hundred which Vives promised. Vives wrote that "it has been customary that a satellitium (escort, guard) should be attached to princes, to keep constant watch over the safety of their life and body…but I…will set around thy soul a guard, which will preserve thee more securely and safely than any spearmen or bowmen whatever." These morals, "Ego uero a matre tua inclyta & sanctissima foemina rogatus," Vives undertook to write at the request of Mary's "holy mother," just like *Epistolae duae* of the year before.

In the dedication, Vives wrote that a guard of the body may desert or even kill a prince, but that the soul always faces greater dangers from threats of vice. He warned that the soul should be dearer to a person than the body, so Mary must protect her soul because the Devil is everywhere. He called the mottos *symbola* "as if there were sure signs, by which Princes of old were ordinarily distinguished, as indeed they are to-day." His *symbola* would make her more worthy than kings who have "greater faith in their own power than they have in that of God," and who take on symbols of lions, dragons, and bears. He also included a few lines of explanation with most of the *symbola* because he did not want them to be ambiguous. Some of Vives's *symbola* included "Bonis omnia in bonum" (5), "Nobilitatem non dat usus dies" (52), and "Cogitatus liber" (190), followed by the explanation, "nemo prohibere potest quenquam cogitare," nobody can forbid anyone to think. Vives's dedication continued, "Mihi pro hoc Satellitio nolo ftipendium aliud numerari," he did not desire payment for *Satellitium* because he could not receive a better payment than her taking his advice and living according to his *symbola*. Again, Vives invoked Mary's mother, Catherine, noting that Mary will be a good princess just by imitating her mother.

Mary favored one *symbola* in particular, "Veritas temporis filia" (90), as she chose to adopt it as her motto. This particular *symbola* was followed by the explanation: "Verum, quod diu latuit, procedente tempore existit & apparet, ne quis fidat mendacio, vel putet in occulto veritatem semper fore: Cicero: Opinionem commenta delet dies, naturae iudicia confirmat." Truth may lay hidden for a long time, but it always exists and appears. There is no doubt that Mary felt that many truths were hidden but upon her accession were revealed: the validity of her parents' marriage, her divine calling to be queen, and her conviction that the religion

of England should be Catholic. Ironically, the same motto was used on the frontispiece of John Knox's *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrvovs Regiment of Women*, targeted at Mary and her cousin, Mary, Queen of Scots, as queens.[36]

While *De institutione* and *Epistolae duae* were the only two of Vives's books to contain dedications to Catherine that mentioned Mary, three other of Vives's books have known associations with Catherine. The Chapter Library of St. George's Chapel at Windsor Castle has Catherine of Aragon's personal copy of Juan Luis Vives's *De concordia et discordia in humano genere*.[37] Printed in Antwerp in 1529, this particular copy is bound in brown leather with tool marks of the arms of Henry VIII, a pomegranate, and the arms of Castile. Therefore, the arms on the binding could refer to no one else but Catherine, who as Queen of England represented the Tudors, Castile, and Aragon. There is no record of how this book came to be in the Chapter Library. The book, itself, contains no dedication, but does have marginalia and textual underlining. However, it is not thought that Catherine made any of the notations. As Vives was already permanently gone from England at the time of this book's printing, he may have had this particular copy sent to her.

The two other books by Vives associated with Catherine of Aragon were tracts written to support Catherine's position in the royal annulment in the early 1530s. In 1532, Vives wrote *Non esse neque diuino*, which supported the papal dispensation that allowed Henry and Catherine to marry, as Arthur died before he could father any children with Catherine.[38] Lambeth Palace Library has a copy of this particular book with a handwritten one line inscription to Catherine.[39] The inscription allegedly was written by Vives.[40] By 1532, the situation at court in England would have been too volatile for Vives to actually dedicate his text to Catherine. Yet, he must have somehow found a way to get a personally inscribed copy of his text to Catherine to show that he still supported her even though he was no longer welcome in England. In 1533, Vives wrote a second tract supporting Catherine against an annulment, this time under the pseudonym Philalethes Hyperboreus.[41] This book, *In anticatoptrum suum*, has no dedication, but supports Catherine's marriage to Henry, claiming that she had no carnal knowledge of Arthur and even cites letters that supported her marriage to Henry. It is not known if Catherine had a copy of this text.

The third printed book dedicated to Catherine of Aragon that mentioned Mary was Erasmus's *Christiani matrimonii institution*, printed in

Basel in 1526 by Johannes Froben.[42] The dedication began with Erasmus recounting how William Mountjoy, a chamberlain in Catherine's household, had asked Erasmus to write a treatise on marriage at least two years prior. However, Erasmus took two years to finish his book, not because he was not interested, but because he was constantly interrupted. This was not the only book dedicated to Catherine that also mentioned Mountjoy. Lord Mountjoy was the recipient of the second dedication of Juan Luis Vives's *Epistolae duae*, and the text of the second half of that book was written for the education of his son. This suggests that Catherine may have commissioned Erasmus to write for her (and Mary) a text on marriage at approximately the same time that she asked Vives to write her daughter a textbook. If this was the case, then Catherine was attempting to provide her daughter with some of the most learned and pious opinions so as to prepare her for queenship. This also suggests that Mountjoy was some sort of intermediary between Catherine and her clients. Mountjoy even went so far as to introduce Catherine to some of her clients, as it was he who first invited Erasmus to come to England, as Erasmus had served as Mountjoy's tutor.[43] This shows that at court clients were careful to select multiple patrons so as to have the greatest chance of making a living and earning a pension for their talents.

As for perceived influence, Erasmus suggested that "The valiant qualities of your mother Isabella, the former queen of Spain, were celebrated throughout the world. Her spotless character was truly the sweet savour of God in every place. Your qualities are known to us from closer at hand; from them we can form some idea of her virtues also, just as we recognize the skill of a painter from his picture."[44] Erasmus did not know Isabella, but Isabella's virtuous acts and queenly skills were well known throughout Europe. She was queen in her own right of Castile, a generous patron of humanism, and had all of her children highly educated. She was also famous for being devout, in that she partnered with her husband, King Ferdinand of Aragon, to institute the Inquisition and to finish the Reconquista. By comparing Catherine to her mother, Erasmus pointed out that Catherine was also known for her virtue, education, and devout Christianity, though Erasmus was able to witness it firsthand during his time in England instead of via international reputation. Catherine, too, valued providing her daughter with an education influenced by humanism. And, Catherine even acted as regent of England in 1513, when she oversaw the defeat of the Scots at Flodden Field. Like her mother, Catherine

was a powerful queen who acted beyond the traditional expectations of a queen consort.

Erasmus also perceived that Mary, as daughter of Catherine and grand-daughter of Isabella, would be no different than these two women, noting, "We expect a work no less perfect in your daughter Mary. For what should we not expect from a girl who is born of the most devout of parents and brought up under the care of such a mother?"[45] Mary must be positively influenced by Catherine because Catherine was a mirror image of her mother, Isabella. So while this suggests that Mary would be godly and virtuous because she had such good examples in her life, it also implies that Mary would learn the art of queenship from these two powerful female relatives. In 1526, Mary was the sole heir of Catherine and Henry, and Catherine was no longer able to bear children, so there was a possibility that Mary could become Queen of England. Even if she never did, she would become queen consort of another European nation and would be well prepared to be an active and strong queen. Here, Erasmus perceived Catherine to be uniquely able to teach Mary the art of queenship and Mary was perceived as being matchlessly able to be a good queen based on her heritage.

Anne Boleyn

Anne Boleyn was the recipient of four book dedications. One, Miles Coverdale's translation of the Bible, has no mention of Mary.[46] The remaining three dedications to Anne do not mention Mary either, but do reference Elizabeth.[47] However, the dedications to Anne that reference Elizabeth do not mention Elizabeth in the same way that dedications to Catherine of Aragon incorporated Mary. As already discussed, dedications to Catherine gave her credit for being a mentor and example to Mary. In dedications to Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth was only mentioned as being the daughter of Anne and Henry VIII. For example, Tristram Revel ended his dedication with this prayer, "And the holy goste preserue our sayde soueraygne Lorde, and your most deare husbande, your grace, + the ladye ELEZABETHE Pryncesse Doughter, + heyre vnto you bothe, and gyue to you the lyght of hys mercye, to whome, with god the father, and the Sonne, be honoure, and glorye for euer more. So be it."[48] Here, Revel cited Elizabeth as a courtesy to the queen, but he also mentioned Henry VIII to remind Anne that he really would like her to pass his text on to her husband. Anne and her relationship with Elizabeth was of no great

concern to Revel compared to his desire for Anne to patronize his work and pass it to the king, as this was a traditional form of queenly patronage. Revel's dedication was unsuccessful in its goal, as Anne later denied the sponsorship of his text because it was too evangelical.[49]

As the dedications to Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn reference their respective daughters in different ways, this must say something about the perceived influence that each had over her daughter. Catherine must have been thought to have had a greater influence over Mary, her upbringing, and her education than Anne had over Elizabeth. Part of this difference was due to the fact that Anne was executed by the time that Elizabeth would have begun her studies, so there was no opportunity for Anne to influence Elizabeth's education yet. However, the dedications that Anne did receive sought her intervention with the king, while dedications to Catherine sought Catherine's intervention and patronage. Beyond perceived influence over their daughters, Catherine was thought to be a fount of patronage, while Anne was thought only to be an intermediary with her husband. If Anne had little perceived influence over Elizabeth, then she had no perceived influence over Mary.

However, one of the books dedicated to Anne that mentioned Elizabeth contained a second dedication. That dedication was directed solely to Mary. Giles Duwes's French textbook, *An introductory for to lerne to rede, to pronounce, and to speake Frenche trewly*, was broken into two books, with Book I being dedicated to Mary and Book II being dedicated to Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn, and Elizabeth. The dedication to the king, queen, and princess was quite generic for a dedication directed to royal patrons, simply offering them felicity, prosperity, and everlasting life.[50] Duwes's book was reprinted in 1540 and 1546, with the 1540 edition containing both original dedications, unchanged, while the 1546 edition contained the dedication to Mary and a changed dedication to her family. No longer were Anne and Elizabeth mentioned, but only Henry. Additionally, Henry's status as Supreme Head of the Church was inserted. With the removal of Anne in 1546, her perceived influence was diminished even more.

Interestingly, this book demonstrated Mary's own influence in 1536 and how it able to increase with the decreasing status of Anne Boleyn. Mary and Duwes had a relationship beginning in her childhood. Duwes entered royal service by serving as the French tutor to Henry VIII and his siblings. Later, Duwes became a royal librarian and served as a gentleman in Princess Mary's chamber.[51] Duwes was part of Mary's household when

she lived in the Welsh Marches in 1525 and both he and his wife were in Mary's household when it was combined with Elizabeth's household in 1533.[52] Duwes's dedication of Book I to Mary was brief, but was followed by a prologue that also mentioned Mary. In the prologue, he wrote of how Mary "commanded" him to publish his French lessons to her.[53] The contents of the book referenced specific lessons between Duwes and Mary, including scenarios between Mary, Henry VIII, and Catherine of Aragon, meaning that these lessons were probably first delivered to Mary in 1525 when her parents were still together. Since Duwes only printed this textbook because Mary ordered him to, he had to include a second dedication to the king, his new wife, and the current legitimate princess in order to stay in royal favor. Duwes also made all references to Mary as "lady" instead of "princess" to reflect her demoted status with her father's second marriage. However, Mary was able to make Duwes print his French book, which would have been a public reminder that Mary was in fact a daughter of the king and had been educated as such. Here, perhaps Mary was attempting to be an educational influence over Elizabeth.

Katherine Parr

Katherine Parr had two printed books dedicated to her: Anthony Cope's *A godly meditacion vpon. xx. select and chosen Psalmes of the prophet Dauid as wel necessary to al them that are desirous to haue ye darke wordes of the prophet declared and made playn: as also fruitfull to suche as delyte in the contemplatio[n] of the spiritual meanyng of them,* and a translation of *The first tome or volume of the paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the newe testament.*[54] Cope's dedication made no mention of Mary. However, Erasmus's *The first tome* actually had multiple dedications to Katherine Parr, as she commissioned it to be translated by several different translators so that it could be finished quickly, and one of those dedications mentioned Mary. In Nicholas Udall's dedication to Katherine before the Gospel of St. John, Udall noted that this particular gospel was translated by Mary at Katherine's request.[55] However, Mary was unable to finish the work because she became sick. Francis Mallet, a chaplain who once served both Mary and Katherine, finished the translation for Mary. It is possible that Mary used the excuse of illness to not complete the translation once she found the evangelical nature of Katherine's project.[56]

Udall wrote other dedications to Katherine before other gospels and in those tended to stress how a translation of the New Testament into English had been forbidden by the Roman church because it was thought that vernacular scripture would cause people to stray from church teachings. However, in his preface before the Gospel of St. John, Udall made no such mention, and instead, spent the entire dedication recounting how in England there were so many studious and well-educated females who were able to read and translate Latin and Greek (though Katherine Parr was not one of them). This is probably reflective of the fact that Udall was one of Vives's students at Oxford and must have had an appreciation for his former master and how he advocated for females to read the New Testament.[57] Katherine, however, was prudent enough to have the New Testament translated from Latin to English so that all those who could not read Latin would have accessibility to Erasmus's version of the New Testament. Just as Vives perceived Catherine of Aragon to be an influence for all women, Udall also thought the same of Katherine Parr.

Udall also spent two pages of his dedication praising Mary for being a royal daughter, sister to a king, and for being so virtuous as to spend her time translating scripture instead of giving in to courtly vices. Interestingly, although Udall praised both women for being virtuous and learned, he made no mention of Katherine Parr being an influence on her stepdaughter. Instead, each woman was praised in her own right for her own merits. Therefore, it was not perceived by Udall that Katherine had much influence over Mary, and in fact, Udall toned down his evangelical language so as to be more appealing to Mary. This depiction is in stark contrast to the prevailing historiography of Katherine Parr as having been a great influence over all of Henry VIII's children.[58] Yet, the subtlety of Udall in this dedication may have been similar to the "gentle pressure" used by Katherine to influence Mary in the direction of reformed religion.[59]

CONCLUSION

Before Mary ascended the throne, she had many female influences in her life, from powerful queens to dutiful wives to weak-willed women. Yet some of the most influential women were the six wives of her father. One unexplored area of their influence over Mary has been perceptions of the queens in book dedications. Of the seventeen book dedications given to

the six consorts of Henry VIII, Mary was mentioned in four of them and received her own dedication in a fifth. This essay has suggested that the dedications to Henry's wives that referenced Mary offer a fresh perspective of the perceived influences of these queens on Mary while she was a princess. Unsurprisingly, Catherine of Aragon was perceived to have a great influence on Mary and her education, especially as her dedicators were often commissioned to write the books that they dedicated to her with an eye toward Mary's future. Anne Boleyn was not perceived to have any influence over Mary, yet neither was she perceived to be a great influence over Elizabeth. Katherine Parr, who has historically been considered to have been a great influence over her three stepchildren was not explicitly considered to have much influence over Mary's religious preferences. Even though perceptions of dedicators may not have reflected reality, they are important for understanding how Mary herself was perceived before she ascended the throne.

Notes

1. See Kathi Vosevich, "The education of a prince(ss): Tutoring the Tudors," in Mary Elizabeth Burke, Jane Donawerth, Linda L. Dove and Karen L. Nelson, eds., *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 61–76; Aysha Pollnitz, "Christian Women or Sovereign Queens? The Schooling of Mary and Elizabeth," in Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock, eds., *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 127–144; Timothy G. Elston, "Transformation or Continuity? Sixteenth-Century Education and the Legacy of Catherine of Aragon, Mary I, and Juan Luis Vives," in Carole Levin, Debra Barrett-Graves, and Jo Eldridge Carney, eds., *"High and Mighty Queens" of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 11–26.
2. See Gloria Kaufmann, "Juan Luis Vives on the education of women," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 3 (1978), 891–96; Valerie Wayne, "Some Sad Sentence: Vives' Instruction of a Christian Woman," in Margaret Patterson Hannay, ed., *Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1985), 15–29.
3. Juan Luis Vives, *The Instruction of a Christen Woman*, Virginia Walcott Beauchamp, Elizabeth H. Hageman, and Margaret Mikesell, eds. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), xxi.

4. Vives, *The Instruction*, Beauchamp, xxiii.
5. Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, Charles Fantazzi, ed., and trans. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 8.
6. Vives, *The Education*, Fantazzi, 8–9.
7. Vives, *The Instruction*, Beauchamp, xxviii.
8. Vives, *The Education*, Fantazzi, 9.
9. Vives, *The Instruction*, Beauchamp, xxxiv–xxxv.
10. Juan Luis Vives, *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* (Antwerp: Michael Hillen, 1524).
11. Vives, *The Education*, Fantazzi, 12.
12. Vives, *The Instruction*, Beauchamp, xxviii. James Carley, *The Libraries of King Henry VIII* (London: The British Library, 2000), 68. In an inventory from Westminster Hall, Carley identifies a vellum copy now in the Bodleian Library, Bodl. Arch B.e.30, as likely to be the presentation copy to Katherine.
13. All quotations from Vives's dedication are taken from Fantazzi's modern English translation as it appears in Vives, *The Education*, Fantazzi, 47.
14. Vives, *The Education*, Fantazzi, 50.
15. Vives, *The Education*, Fantazzi, 50, fn 17.
16. Vives, *The Education*, Fantazzi, 50.
17. Vives, *The Education*, Fantazzi, 50.
18. Juan Luis Vives, *The Instruction of a Christen Woman* (London: Thomas Berthelet, c. 1529).
19. Vives, *The Instruction*, Beauchamp, lxxviii–lxxxii. None of these editions reflect Vives's own changes that he made in 1538.
20. Vives, *The Instruction*, Beauchamp, lxxxix.
21. Here all citations for Hyrde's dedication from Beauchamp's reproduction of the first circa 1529 edition. I will give Beauchamp's page numbers and the page numbers from the circa 1529 edition.
22. Vives, *The Instruction*, Beauchamp, 5 (A2r).
23. Vives, *The Instruction*, Beauchamp, 5–6 (A2v–A3r).
24. Vives, *The Instruction*, Beauchamp, 6 (A3r).
25. Vives, *The Instruction*, Beauchamp, 6 (A3v).
26. Vives, *The Instruction*, Beauchamp, 6 (A3r).
27. Vives, *The Instruction*, Beauchamp, 6–7 (A3v).
28. Foster Watson, ed., *Vives and the Renascence Education of Women* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912), 1. See Beauchamp, who points out this mistake, xxiii.
29. Juan Luis Vives, *Introductio ad Sapientiam, Satellitium sive Symbola, Epistolae duae de Ratione Studii Puerilis* (Louvain: Peter Martens 1524).

30. David Starkey, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), 177 and Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: Princess, Bastard, Queen* (New York: Random House, 2009), 23.

31. The dedication to *Satellitium* can be found in Watson, *Renascence*, 151–154.

32. This dedication is reprinted in Watson, *Renascence*, 137.

33. Henry Ellis, *Original Letters, Illustrative of English History*. Vol. II. First Series (London: Harding, Triphook, and Lepard. 1825), 19–20. British Library, Ms. Cotton Vesp. F xiii. Fol. 72. Reprinted in Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (New York: Book-of-the-Month-Club, 1941), 230–231.

34. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, eds. J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R.H. Brodie, in 22 vols. (London: 1862–1932), vol. VI, entry 1199.

35. Watson, *Renascence*, 151–158. All quotations regarding *Satellitium*, including translations, come from Watson.

36. John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrvovs Regiment of Women* (Geneva: J. Poullain and A. Rebul, 1558).

37. I would like to thank Kate McQuillian, Assistant Archivist at St. George's Chapel Archives and Chapter Library, for providing me with all of the information regarding this book.

38. *Non esse neque diuino, neque naturae iure prohibitum, quin Summus Pontifex dispensare possit, vt pater demortui sine liberis fratris vxorem legitimo matrimonio sibi possit adiungere, aduersus aliquot academiarum censuras, tumultuaria, ac perbreuis apologia, siue* (Lunemburgae, 1532). The imprint was actually false, as the text was really printed in Antwerp by Martin Keyser.

39. Lambeth Palace Library, classmark [ZZ] 1537.3.04.

40. I would like to thank Hugh Cahill, Senior Librarian at Lambeth Palace Library, for this information and for providing me with an image of the title page.

41. Philalethes Hyperboreus, *Philalethae hyperborei in anticatoptrum suum, quod propediem in lucem dabit, ut patet proxima pagella, parasceve* (Lunenburgi: Sebastian Golsenum, 1533).

42. Erasmus, *Christiani matrimonii institution* (Basel: Johannes Froben, 1526). All quotations from Erasmus's dedication are taken from Erasmus, *Institution of Christian Marriage*, trans. by Michael Heath, in Josh O'Malley and Louis Perraud, eds., *Collected Works of Erasmus: Spiritualia and Pastoralia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 203–438. The dedication appears on 214.

43. Maria Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (Kent: Croom Helm, Ltd., 1986), 13.

44. Erasmus, *Institution*, Heath, 214.

45. Erasmus, *Institution*, Heath, 214.
46. *Bible*. Trans. by Miles Coverdale (Cologne: E. Cervicornus and J. Soter, 1535).
47. William Marshall, *The forme and maner of subue[n]tion or helping for pore people deuysed and practysed i[n] the cytie of Hypres in Flaunders, whiche forme is auctorised by the Emperour, [and] approued by the facultie of diuin-itie in Paris* (London: Thomas Godfray, 1535); Franz Lambert, *The summe of christianitie gatheryd out almoste of al placis of scripture, by that noble and famouse clerke Francis Lambert of Auynyon. And translatyd, and put in to prynte in Englyshe, by Tristram Reuel* (London: Robert Redman, 1536); Giles Duwes, *An introductory for to lerne to rede, to pronounce, and to speake Frenche trewly, compyled for the right high, excellent, and the most vertuous lady, the lady Mary of Englande, doughter to our most gracious souerayn lorde kyng Henry the eight* (London: Thomas Godfrey, 1533).
48. Lambert, *The summe*, v.v.
49. *Letters and Papers*, vol. X, entry 371.
50. Duwes, *An introductory*, Siv.r.
51. David R. Carlson, "Royal Tutors in the Reign of Henry VII" *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 22 (1991), 276–278; John Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (London: Thomas Harper, 1631); David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989. Revised 1992), 43.
52. *Letters and Papers*, vol. VI, entry 1199.
53. Duwes, *An Introductory*, Aiv.r.
54. Anthony Cope, *A godly meditacion vpon. xx. select and chosen Psalmes of the prophet Dauid as wel necessary to al them that are desirous to haue ye darke wordes of the prophet declared and made playn: as also fruitfull to suche as delyte in the contemplatio[n] of the spiritual meanyng of them* (London: For John Daye, 1547). Erasmus, *The first tome or volume of the paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the newe testament* (London: Edward Whitechurch, 1548).
55. Erasmus, *The first tome*, a.ii.r. See dedication before Gospel of John, as page numbers begin again with each gospel.
56. John N. King, "Patronage and Piety: The Influence of Catherine Parr," in Margaret Patterson Hannay, ed., *Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1985), 43–60, 48. Judith Richards, *Mary Tudor* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 89, 99, 104, and 106.
57. Vives, *The Instruction*, Beauchamp, xxvi.
58. James McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics Under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 231–232.
59. Susan James, *Catherine Parr: Henry VIII's Last Love* (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2009), 112.

Lady Mary to Queen of England: Transformation, Ritual, and the Wardrobe of the Robes

Hilary Doda

In early modern politics, as in modern times, the art of the image was all part and parcel of the art of persuasion. Mary Tudor, born in 1516 to Henry VIII and the first of his six queens, was intimately familiar with the complex process of image making. Her survival within her father's court in the latter years of his reign depended on earning and keeping his notably capricious pleasure. During his lifetime, and the reign of her brother Edward VI which followed, Mary created a persona for herself that displayed the public face of an ideal royal daughter. She changed that image upon inheriting the throne and shifted her self-presenta-tion to embody the appearance of a trueborn English queen, using and manipulating the signs and symbols encoded in contemporary fashion

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to create a consciously directed set of impressions, aimed at specific viewing audiences.

The political climate of England in the sixteenth century, historian Kevin Sharpe argues, changed permanently, thanks to Henry VIII. By appealing for popular support through coded visual, textual, and performative means, the monarchs who followed him essentially created a new form of governance—one in which acceptance of the monarch by the people became paramount.[1] This agrees with Bertie Wilkinson's descriptions of coronation rituals in the early modern era, which emphasize the recognition of the people as a cornerstone of the ceremony.[2] The currency of rule, at this stage, incorporated social negotiation alongside oppression and force of arms. In order to receive the obedience of the populace, early modern monarchs had to be accepted as divinely chosen, natural, and preordained rulers of England.[3] The representation of the monarch in text, image, pageant, and other forms of public life became an intrinsic part of the process of creating and defining authority. While Sharpe also argues that Mary I's poor modern reputation is due to her failure to design an appropriate public image, bringing Mary's purposeful use of clothing as a political tool into the discussion sheds a very different light on popular depictions of the "Bloody" Queen.

Visual media were the most important formats for this first carefully managed royal public relations campaign. Contemporaries saw the importance of visual communication, noting that "[i]nto the commen people thynges sooner enter by the eies, then by the eares: remembryng more better that they see then that they heere."[4] The design and ubiquity of the red and white Tudor rose under Henry VII, for instance, seen on everything from canopies to saltcellars, is a prime example of the use of symbolism as an avenue for political communication.[5] The combination of the heraldic signs for the houses of York and Lancaster was a potent and clear depiction of the end of the Wars of the Roses, combatants united at last under the Lancastrian cousins, the Tudors. Heraldry had been part of common parlance for more than 300 years in England by this stage, the vibrant colors, and calculated imagery used as a means of communicating lineage, allegiance, and affinity.[6]

Items of clothing and changes in fashion carried status and network markers and could be used for transmission of economic, social, and political concerns along similar lines. The courts regulated dress in England as a result, passing various forms of sumptuary law between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.[7] Beyond the broad approach of sumptuary legislation, specific instances explicitly show the importance of clothing in defining political status, power, and allegiance. Following the English victory at Flodden in

1513, Catherine of Aragon sent the defeated King James IV's coat to Henry VIII, on campaign in France.[8] The king's coat was equivalent to sending Henry a trophy of the man himself, the cloth body becoming a stand-in for the physical body of the defeated enemy. Catherine's own clothing became a prize in a battle for royal status a little more than a decade later, when Anne Boleyn and Catherine came into conflict over access to the queen's barge and the queen's wardrobe.[9] Monarchs chose their garments for state occasions as a form of visual currency, to mark their status as rulers.[10]

Mary took these examples to heart with her own work at self-presentation. Simply sitting on the throne with the acceptance of the Privy Council was not enough to situate herself at the apex of the hierarchy after all the debates regarding her legitimacy. Mary needed to create a public image that would ensure her subjects acknowledged her as the legitimate heir to the English throne. Like her predecessors, and her sister after her, Mary understood how to use the material goods around her in order to create and maintain her royal status.[11] From cloths of estate to ermine and gold, Mary embraced the trappings of royal rule and deployed them to mark herself as the daughter of Henry VIII, and the true successor to her grandfather Henry VII. The first and foremost of these was in her choices of garment for public appearances. A set of warrants from the Great Wardrobe of the Robes—lists of items purchased by and for Mary between 1554 and 1558—provides a wealth of detail for analysis, alongside the privy purse records from years prior to her coronation, and various supplemental requisitions and receipts from both Mary and Henry VIII's records.

Sixteenth-century English women's fashion comprised a series of layers, culminating in an outer gown. The smock, a garment made of linen, was worn closest to the skin. It was often embroidered around the neck and cuffs, with long sleeves that came down to the wrist. Over this a lady wore her farthingale, a hooped skirt which held out the fabric of the upper layers; a petticoat; a sleeveless underdress called a "kirtle"; and a pair of matching sleeves.[12] Over the top of all of this came the gown, in one of a variety of styles. The Venetian ambassador Giacomo Soranzo remarked upon the fashions prevalent in 1554:

[Mary's] garments are of two sorts; the one, a gown, such as men wear, but fitting very close, with an under-petticoat which has a very long train and this is her ordinary costume, being also that of the gentlewomen of England. The other garment is a gown and boddiee, with wide hanging sleeves in the French fashion, which she wears on State occasions, and she also wears much embroidery, and gowns and mantles of cloth of gold, and

cloth of silver of great value, and changes every day. She also makes great use of jewels, wearing them both on her chaperon, and round her neck, and as trimming for her gowns, in which jewels she delights greatly.[13]

These comments describe a loose gown worn over a trained French kirtle, in the former instance, and a French gown over a round (trainless) kirtle in the latter. The loose gown, an unshaped, front-opening floor-length robe, was inspired by eastern coats and caftans, and the Spanish *ropa*. These garments shaped the female body not with separate whale-bone "corsetry," as would become the case by the end of the sixteenth century, but by a kirtle bodice reinforced with stiffened rope or reed-filled casings.[14] This bodice split from the skirts to become separate petticoats and "pairs of bodies" sometime between 1554—the first time "pairs of bodies" are mentioned in Mary's wardrobe warrants as garments con-nected to farthingales—and the 1590s.[15] The shaping generated by those snug bodices smoothed the torso, and compressed and raised the bosom. For the sake of modesty, women often filled in the low-cut necklines with a separate fabric piece known as a partlet, which could range in material from heavy and concealing fabrics to the almost transparent.

As Henry's daughter, Lady Mary's appearance reflected on the king and on his household. Even throughout repeated periods of deprivation and loss of income, Mary made attempts to maintain her wardrobe in the style that her father preferred. One of Mary's wardrobe warrants from the final year of Henry's reign notes a series of "translations," mostly of sleeves but on several occasions of gowns, as they were altered from one style to another: French to "venysyane," for instance, or "for the translatyng of thre payre of sleves to make them frenche."[16] Altering old styles to cur-rent ones, possibly as the old ones wore out, enabled Mary to keep up her display of wealth and status even through her periods of relative poverty.[17]

Once reinstated to the court in 1536, Mary sought her father's approval for the garments she purchased and, more significantly, wore when in his presence. Mary's requests for Henry's opinion on her wardrobe choices suggest a desire on her part to appear conciliatory and interested in her father's attention and approval. A letter dated from the spring of 1538 indicates that such overtures were not entirely welcome. Despite an initial rebuff, Lady Kingston made a second attempt to get an answer on Mary's behalf, as she described to the Earl of Southampton:

I have sent to know the king's grace's pleasure, whether my lady's grace should leave wearing of black this easter, or no. And his grace's answer was,

that she might wear what color she would. …my lady's grace desireth you now to be a suitor to my lord Privy Seal, to speak to the king's grace for her wearing her white taffety edged with velvet, which used to be to his own liking whenever he saw her grace.[18]

Mary's choice of colors in her clothing changed over the course of her life, reflecting shifting power structures and loci of control. Prior to 1554, she tended to order gowns in either plain black, or in bright colors. Her privy purse expenses from the 1530s show purchases of fabric yardage in white, black, murreye, yellow, purple, and crimson.[19] In the 1540s, murreye disappeared and her fabric purchases became more luxurious, in line with Mary's status as the keeper of a royal household in Wales.[20] At this stage the privy purse records show purchases of garments made from carnation silk, a favorite color of Henry's, cloth of silver and cloth of gold, yellow, crimson, black, and white.[21] These accord neatly with the color palette that was in favor in England during the reign of Henry VIII, as Stephen Vaughan noted at the time: "They [Belgian court ladies] be but counterfeits to our dames, so that whites, yellows, reds, blues and such fresh colors [of fabric] go from hence [Brussels] straight into England [to be sold there]."[22]

On February 17, 1544, with Lady Mary returned to the line of succession, Henry VIII and Katherine Parr played host to the Duke of Najera. Mary appeared at that audience, dressed in "a petticoat of cloth of gold, and gown of violet colored three-piled velvet with a headdress of many rich stones."[23] This demonstration of Mary's restoration to royal favor included her appearance in the colors and textiles reserved under sumptuary law for the royal family, a major indication of her potential value as a bride—important information for the Duke to carry back to the continent. The portrait of Mary painted by Master John that same year shows her in cloth of gold lined with red velvet, trimmed with costly jewels.

While her father lived, Mary constrained her clothing purchases to reflect his tastes, and by extension, to forge a visual relationship with his public body. The three known portraits of Princess Mary painted during Henry's life show her wearing his colors of preference.[24] At its most basic, in order to be acknowledged as a member of the royal family, Mary had to look the part. Only a small handful of wardrobe records for Mary survived from those years, but between those and extant privy purse records of her textile purchases, it is possible to assemble a general overview.

Mary's purchases fall neatly in line with Henry's choices of color for his own wardrobe, omitting only the green and russet, the former of which he primarily purchased for hunting clothes.[25] They also accord with the colors of garments that Henry had purchased for her during her mid-teens, suggesting that even after Mary gained control over her own assets, her choices were made with an eye toward her father's preferences (Table 4.1).

Mary's clothing choices between the ages of sixteen and thirty-seven were technically hers to make, in the sense that she had control over her own finances and was able to order garments made to her own specifications. She chose, however, to subject those decisions to the will of her father, deliberately selecting items and color palettes that would fit into his well-defined and exuberant aesthetic. The moment Mary was free from Henry and Edward's controlling presences, however, those palettes and style decisions all changed.

Mary's wardrobe warrants from April 1554—reflecting her purchases and commissions over the previous seven months—show changes in the

Table 4.1 Color of garments and textiles purchased by and for Henry VIII and Mary I from 1531 to 1547

Year	Henry's purchases for himself[a]	Henry's purchases for Mary (age 15)[b]	Mary's purchases for herself (aged 16–30)[c]
1531		Purple, black, crimson, white	
1535–1536	Black, carnation, crimson, green, russet, white		White, black (yardage)
1537–1538	Black, white, red, russet		Murreye, black, yellow, purple
1538–1539	Black, white, crimson, russet		Crimson
1540–1541			Yellow, crimson, black, white
1541–1543			Carnation, white
1543–1545	Black, white, purple, crimson		White, black, crimson
1546			Black, purple, crimson, tawny

[a]*KH8*, 98
[b]*L&P*. Vol. 5, 210
[c]Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses,* E 315/456 f. 31, E101/424 7

textiles and garments purchased for her use. In astonishing contrast to the mere three recorded examples of purple gowns purchased in the previous decade, the April 1554 warrant includes purchase of thirteen separate examples of purple gowns, kirtles, or yardage enough to make one of those items. Overall in 1553 and 1554 Mary purchased twelve purple gowns and five purple kirtles and sets of sleeves, vastly exceeding quantities she had purchased before, and a volume not to be matched again in her lifetime.[26] This one-time increase in the acquisition of a color reserved for royal apparel marked her transition into her new role, practically and visually. Mary's arrival in London on August 3, 1553 was made wearing a purple gown,[27] a description later elaborated upon by the chronicler Wriothesley:

> [A]t her highnes comminge, which was in rich apparell, her gowne of purple velvet French fashion, with sleues of the same, hir kirtle purple satten all thicke sett with gouldsmithes worke and great pearle, with her foresleues of the same set with rich stones, with a rich bowdricke of goule, pearle, and stones about her necke, and a riche billiment of stones and great pearle on her hoode.[28]

The association of the color purple with royal status dated back to the ancient Middle East.[29] That connection continued through the sixteenth century, when the Acts of Apparel reserved true purple for the royal family.[30] Records show that Henry VII owned and wore purple in excess of what was required for ceremonial occasions, making it a color strongly associated with his personal rule.[31] Purple velvet also served to mark Mary and set her apart from the crowd, not as one of multiple claimants to the throne, but as already a queen.

Cloth of gold, cloth of silver, black, blue, murreye, and tawny all make an appearance in the 1554 warrants, albeit in smaller quantities. A similar pattern is evident in the fall warrant of that year, with black and purple garments making up the bulk of Mary's outerwear, together with a replenishment of her red satin undergarments.[32] Mary's palette for 1554 was overwhelmingly rich, dark, and vibrant, cloth of gold and cloth of silver offset against the lush black, purple, and crimson velvets and satins. Carnation vanishes forever following 1544, as does yellow, save for one kirtle and a pair of sleeves "of yellow tissue raized with golde and silver wrought single with a passamaine [lace] of gold and silver of our store let down with yellowe satten" in October 1554.[33] Yellow was one of the

household colors of Philip, Prince of Spain, and this purchase may have been made with him in mind.[34] In addition, Mary purchased some yardage of yellow taffeta—enough for trimming, but not a full gown—in October 1558; that material does not appear to have been made up into a garment before Mary's death in November of that year.[35]

The gown styles Mary chose—the tight-bodied, low-cut French gowns and the modest, flowing loose gowns—were maintained in similar proportion in her wardrobe between her life before and after her rise to the throne. The ways in which she wore them changed, however; specifically, her use of partlets to cover the areas of her bosom that the low-cut French gowns left exposed. These decorative pieces of fabric appeared in Italian portraits in the early sixteenth century as linen coverings to fill in low necklines, and moved through the first two decades of the century from Italian fashion through to French fashion and from there to England.[36] As a 15-year-old girl in 1531, Mary received two black partlets, one in velvet and one in sarcinette, along with twelve plain linen partlets to be worn with her gowns.[37] These simple and unadorned pieces must have lasted her for quite some time; she purchased only one more, fabric unknown, in 1537.[38] The next time a partlet appeared in her records was in 1543, when she received five lushly embroidered linen partlets as Twelfth Night gifts from members of the court.[39]

Mary was not portrayed wearing a partlet in any of her portraits prior to her accession, her shoulders and upper chest bared to the viewer. In the fall of 1553, however, she purchased six partlets, all fashioned from heavy velvets and cloth of gold. She purchased three more in purple and red in the warrant of October 1554, and then five more again in 1557—three black, one russet, one red, and all made from velvet.[40] More tellingly, from the moment of her first portrait post-coronation in 1554, Mary was exclusively painted wearing modest, high-necked partlets in a heavy fabric, a look that was far more regal and mature than the open bodices and delicate linen coverings of her youth. She deliberately closed off the overtly feminine and sensual possibilities promised in the revealing gowns, creating her own mature and asexual royal power—one now accessible to her in her independence. Both this aesthetic shift and the wedding ring she received during her coronation, symbolic of her marriage to England, were vital in removing the perceived gendered threat to the social order posed by a lone woman ascending the throne. The second piece of Mary's strategy was as deliberate as the first, using color and textile to link herself visually to her family line.

Mary entered London to take possession of the city on August 3, 1553, bringing with her a large group of personal guards. These were divided into three groups, each grouping dressed in a different set of livery. They made a brilliant accompaniment to the newly arrived queen, having "departyd [at Aldgate] in gren and whyt, and red and whyt, and bluw and gren, [with] horse and speres and gaffelyns."[41] These color choices for her escorts' uniforms were in no way random. Each member of the royal household had colors of their own, originally assigned at a young age and later chosen and displayed in the colors of their draperies and servants' liveries. Henry VII dressed his household, his men, and his buildings in "the Kyngys lyvery as white and Grene."[42] The colors of the House of York in general and Elizabeth of York in particular had been "blew… & murrey or purpyll,"[43] those of Henry, Duke of Richmond, were blue and yellow, and Mary as unofficial Princess of Wales dressed her household in blue and green.[44] The guards' livery colors at Mary's formal entrance, therefore, each corresponded to a specific Tudor ruler: Henry VII's green and white, Henry VIII's red and white, and Mary's own blue and green.[45]

This display served to highlight the continuity between the monarchs and their symbolically coexisting households, and to root Mary's blue-and-green-coated footmen in a tradition that had been laid down two monarchs before.[46] Mary's public demonstration of familial continuity at this pivotal moment of transition was designed to create a conscious connection for onlookers between the courts of Henry VII, Henry VIII, and her own. It also foreshadowed another change Mary was about to make, replacing the old blue and green liveries of her household with new uniforms, in red and white.

During the lead-up to her coronation, Mary ordered livery for the members of her household in shades of red, as noted in multiple warrants of the wardrobe of robes: "for three yardes of rede clothe to make him a coate and two yardes of velvett to garde the same for lynyng making and embrawdering of our letters."[47] Red and yellow were Philip of Spain's colors. Alison Carter suggests that his influence may have been responsible for the changes in Mary's wardrobe and that of her household.[48] Other evidence, however, suggests a different influence at play. In 1522, Henry VIII purchased red coats for men in his household, replacing his father's old colors of white and green. Red and white became the standard colors for his household, and remained strongly associated with Henry's official favor for the rest of his life.[49] This visual continuity extended through the three days of Mary's coronation, and into the beginning of her reign.

A coronation was a triumph of visual communication, a display of power that included a ritualized conversation between the new ruler and their people.[50] The English ceremony spanned multiple days and included changes of clothing, the anointing of the monarch's body with holy oil (the royal unction), and redressing the royal body in robes which reflected the monarch's new status.[51] The monarch's person was believed to be physically altered by the process, their ability to cure scrofula supposedly dependent on the performance of the unction.[52] The coronation was an act of rebirth for the heir, a transition out of a previously held status and re-emergence in a new form, a butterfly from the chrysalis that was Westminster.[53]

Mary I confronted problems beyond the issue of her legitimacy that had not challenged her male relatives. Her gender continued to be a focal point for complaints, polemic, and legal adjustments for the duration of her reign. Mary's redesign of her coronation spoke of her understanding of the necessity of presenting herself as something more than "merely" a queen consort. Queens had, to this point, acted in a supporting role in joint coronations, crowned with different rites than those of kings. A queen consort was preceded by scepter rather than sword in the procession, and she experienced a reduced version of the royal unction. Her position was to be a mediator between king and populace, subordinate in the great chain of being.[54] A queen regnant could not afford to embrace a secondary role in the governance of her kingdom, however, and so those rituals which created a monarch required substantive changes to compensate.

Mary's coronation on October 1, 1553 was the stage upon which she refocused the English monarchy, centering it for the first time upon a queen regnant. The arrival of a female heir required a series of adjustments to the protocol. Mary chose the colors and styles of her robes to carry two primary messages to her people: first, that she was a true and legitimate descendant of Henry VII and Henry VIII, and as such had an unassailable claim to the English throne; and second, that she would rule, herself, as both king and queen. Sarah Duncan has already given a thorough treatment of the dual-gendered narrative of Mary's coronation,[55] and here we will focus instead on the generational nature of her self-presentation.

Rules for the coronations of English monarchs were set down in a thirteenth-century text known as the *Liber Regalis*. This text was updated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when Henry VII and Henry VIII revised Richard III's *Little Devise*. These documents set out the basic

wardrobe requirements for the king, queen consort, and nobles involved in the ceremony. Mary made changes to these plans herself, rejecting her council's original designs for the event and personally modifying her coronation oath, the text of which, unfortunately, has not been preserved.[56] Sets of formal robes made up the basic regalia for both monarchs and consorts, and there were significant differences between the requirements for the two.

Each of the sixteenth-century monarchs put their own stamp on the proceedings (see Table 4.2). Henry VII traveled from the Tower of London to Westminster for his vigil on October 29, 1485, wearing "a long gown of purple velvet furred with ermines."[57] His tailor made him a pair of dalmatics, one white and one red, for part of the redressing during the anointing process,[58] as well as a linen cap and a pair of linen gloves.[59] When he rode out from Westminster again on October 30, 1485, he wore a "long mantelle of purpulle veluet, with a trayne furred w[ith] ermyns powdred" over an outfit including a furred hood, a kirtle, a surcote and a cap of estate "of the same veluet."[60] Henry VIII retained the purple theme for the first day of his own coronation, adding the vibrant reds and golds which so typified his personal look. For his vigil on June 21, 1509, Henry wore cloth of gold and purple velvet, trimmed with ermine.[61] He changed into a pair of dalmatics, one white and one red, for his anointing.[62] On the second day, he left Westminster wearing multiple layers of red, trimmed with miniver.[63]

Consorts were required to wear white robes for the procession to Westminster. The only other requirement for their clothing was that the gown and kirtle worn by the consort had to be "so made that the consecrator can open it easily before the holy anointing of her breast, and that the noble lady who is always to attend on the queen can easily close it after the anointing."[64]

Catherine of Aragon, crowned the same day as Henry VIII, arrived in purple and left in red as well, both furred with ermine.[65] Anne Boleyn made one fewer costume change at her coronation in 1533, possibly due to her pregnancy. She wore a kirtle and a mantle of cloth of gold for her procession through London to Westminster Hall, and both the red kirtle and purple robes she wore the following day were trimmed with ermine.[66]

Edward VI eschewed the typical color coding, opting instead for white velvet and cloth of gold.[67] This probably reflected his status as a minor and color-coded him as a consort rather than as a king in his own right—perhaps a nod to the regency of his council of protectors. His council's

Table 4.2 Coronation robes of the Tudor Monarchs (to 1553)

	Henry VII	Elizabeth of York	Henry VIII	Catherine of Aragon	Anne Boleyn	Edward VI	Mary I
Procession to Westminster Hall	Purple velvet	White cloth of gold	Cloth of gold, purple velvet	White cloth of gold	White cloth of gold	White cloth of gold, white velvet	White cloth of gold
Procession to Westminster Abbey	Red Parliament Robes	Red velvet	Red Parliament Robes	Purple velvet	Red velvet kirtle, purple velvet robes	Red Parliament Robes	Red Parliament Robes
Anointing	Red and white dalmatics	No change	Red and white dalmatics	No change	No change	Red dalmatic	White dalmatic
Procession out from the Abbey	Purple velvet	Red velvet	Red satin	Red velvet	No change	Red satin and purple velvet	Purple velvet

choices for his apparel retained the grandeur of the past, but also signaled a break in tradition, presenting Edward as a king still in his minority.

While no order of service for Mary's coronation survives, it is possible to piece together the events of the celebration from official records, eyewitness accounts, and chronicles. Mary wore robes made from cloth of gold for her pre-coronation procession, likely the robes depicted in an illumination on her 1553 Michelmas roll. This outfit consisted of "a Robe of white clothe of Golde Tisshewe conteynyng one mantle & one kirtle furred with powdered Ermyns with one mantell lace with buttons and Tassels of white silke and gold with hokes & annelettes of silks and gilte for the same kirtle."[68] These robes matched the robes required for a queen consort, the white cloth of gold replacing the purple velvet robes worn by two of the previous three kings. Mary's robes were updated to the fashion of the time, but she was otherwise no different from Elizabeth of York, Catherine of Aragon, or even the hated Anne Boleyn had been before her.

Mary followed tradition for the ceremony itself, arriving in her red parliament robes lined with ermine, and changing to a white dalmatic during the service of anointing.[69] Accounts from Mary's chamberlain indicate that among the materials purchased in preparation for her coronation was a "Tabarde of white sarcenett after the shape of a dalmatike to be putt upon the Quenes gowne,"[70] an item previously ordered for male monarchs, but never for queen consorts.[71] Mary was anointed as a king with the chrism on hands, heart and head, rather than as a queen consort, who would have been marked on head and breast alone.[72] The inclusion of an order for "a paire of lynnen gloves or knytte gloves" together with the linen coif to protect the oil on Mary's head attests to this change in protocol.[73] Following the unction, Mary redressed in "A robe of purple velvett conteyning kirtle, surcote over, & a mantle with a Traine ffurred w[ith] powdered Ermyns, a mantle Lace of Silke and gold w[ith] buttons and tassels of the same, & Riban of venice gold w[ith] annelettes of silver and gilte for the same kirtle."[74] This process and the garments match those used by Henry VII, down to the triple diadem with which she was crowned.

Additional details from Mary's procession complemented these changes. On her ride from the Tower to Westminster on September 30, Mary was preceded by the usual members of the Privy Council and the court, including the Earl of Arundel carrying her great bearing sword.[75] This was common practice for a king's coronation, but not for a queen consort, who was supposed to be preceded only by the king, his retinue, and "two nobles, the first of whom shall carry the queen's scepter, and

the second the queen's crown."[76] This practice of associating the queen with masculine symbols of power had originally been used by Mary's maternal grandmother, Isabel of Castile, who had been preceded in her own accession procession by a rider holding aloft an unsheathed sword.[77] Isabel was the first woman to use this symbolism in Spanish memory, as Ferdinand's secretary recorded: "Everyone knows that these are conceded to kings… but never was known a queen who had usurped this masculine attribute."[78] Mary used the swords more than once; the records from her wardrobe of robes show semiannual payments to her cutler, John Eyeland, "for sharpening of the grete bearing sworde and the little bearing sworde/ for making of a crymsen vellat *scabbarde* and for making of a *case* of leather lyned with cotten."[79] The regular maintenance of this ceremonial set suggests reasonably regular use, which required that the instruments be maintained in a state of ceremonial readiness.

Mary arrived at her coronation in the robes of a queen consort, but engaged with the unction ritual as a king. When she presented herself to her people following the coronation, it were as though the Lady Mary had been transformed into a king herself, a new version of Henry VII come back to rule. While her choice of colors and actions during and after the ceremony created links in the minds of viewers to previous male rulers, the robes she wore on her arrival and the cut of her clothing remained firmly rooted in the feminine realm.

Attempting to walk the line between feminine and masculine self-representations has never been a simple matter. Contemporaries described women who attempted to negotiate the political realm in ways that were deemed too masculine, as un-women, "of a gallant and true Masculine Spirit."[80] Women in positions of direct personal power, despite their unprecedented number on mid-sixteenth century thrones, were still seen by contemporary authors as anomalous: no longer truly female and still somehow less than male.[81] Mary's unenviable task upon her accession was to negotiate with those cultural attitudes, and somehow divine two separate selves: the political monarch, masculine by societal expectation, and the female queen. It was unthinkable for female power to be used in the same way as male authority; female power was considered permanently tinged with sexuality.[82] Mary's choice, then, was not to court danger by direct imitation of the forms of male authority in their entirety, but to negotiate a compromise.

The concept of the monarch incorporating two conceptually separate bodies existed prior to Mary's accession, but as of the mid-sixteenth cen-

tury the distinction became even more vital.[83] All of Henry VIII's heirs disrupted tradition in their own ways: Edward through his youth and his sisters through their sex. Mary took on both sides of this body politic/ body natural dualism, by attempting to draw boundaries around her double existence first as England's monarch and secondly in her roles as wife and future mother.[84] Unlike Edward before her, a minor whose ceremony was planned by his counselors, Mary took direct control over those facets of her coronation which seemed most important to her. She rejected both a proposed oath and a request from parliament to delay the timing of the ceremony, establishing her desires and her authority as paramount.[85] The spaces between the wardrobe regulations set out in the *Little Devise,* as well as the lack of established ceremony for a sole female ruler, allowed Mary to add a secondary conversation that supported and reaffirmed the first.

Mary's reputation for political inability has grown unchecked until the recent resurgence in Marian scholarship. Written originally by her critics, this unflattering version of her reign prompted derision and assumptions of ineffectuality from historians and the populace alike. Once material culture is added to the discussion, as has recently begun, a new realm of discussion opens up. Rather than relying only on what high politics and contemporary textual exchanges can tell us, analysis of the visual experiences of an era fills in many of the gaps. Mary I faced an unprecedented situation in 1553. Cognizant of the need to reformat her previous image to fit her new role, as well as the power the new visual vocabulary would have, Mary I carefully chose and manipulated her clothing, that most immediate of bodily signifiers, to present her ideas to the world. She consciously transitioned her self-presentation from Lady Mary, Tudor daughter, to that of a reigning and solitary queen, and a power in her own right.

Notes

1. Kevin Sharpe, "Representations and Negotiations: Texts, Images, and Authority in Early Modern England," *Historical Journal* 42, No. 3 (1999): 881.
2. B. Wilkinson, *The Coronation in History* (London: George Philip, 1953), 16.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Richard Morison, "A Discourse Touching the Reformation of the Lawes of England, 1535," in Sydney Anglo, "An Early Tudor Programme for Plays and Other Demonstrations against the Pope." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20, no. 2 (1957): 179.

5. Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 62–63.

6. Peter Coss, *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England.* (Woodbridge [u.a.]: Boydell Press, 2003), 12.

7. Beverly Lemire, *Dress, Culture, and Commerce: the English Clothing Trade before the Factory, 1660–1800* (New York, N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1997). 5–7. Also see Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 1996).

8. Maria Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII* (Leeds, UK: Maney, 2007), 11.

9. *Ibid.*, 158.

10. *Ibid.*, 9.

11. Judith M. Richards, *Mary Tudor* (London: Routledge, 2008), 19–20.

12. Ninya Mikhaila and Jane Malcolm-Davies, *The Tudor Tailor: Reconstructing 16th-century Dress* (London: Batsford, 2006), 20–21.

13. Rawdon Brown, *Calendar of state papers and manuscripts relating to English affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice and in other libraries of Northern Italy. Vol. 5* (Burlington, Ont: TannerRitchie Pub. in collaboration with the Library and Information Services of the University of St. Andrews, 2005), 533.

14. Jane Malcolm-Davies, C. Johnson, and N. Mikhaila, "'And her black satin gown must be new-bodied': The Twenty-First-Century Body in Pursuit of the Holbein Look," *Costume: the Journal of the Costume Society* 42 (2008): 21–29.

15. National Archives, E101/427/11 ff 34, Item #3: "Peire of boddyes of crymsen Satten."

16. E101/424 7, f. 1–2, Items 1, 14, 19.

17. Once she became queen, only purchases of new garments appear in Mary's wardrobe accounts, suggesting that she no longer sent old clothes to be remade.

18. Mary, Lady Kingston, to Mr. Wriothesley, 1538. Mary Anne Everett Green, *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain…Vol. 3* (London: H. Colburn, 1846), 17.

19. Frederic Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary…* (London: W. Pickering, 1831). f. 2b–53b.

20. *Ibid.*, f. 68–128b.

21. *Ibid.*, see also E 315/456 f. 31, E101/424 7. For Henry's preferences, see Hayward, *KH8*, 98.

22. James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Volume 19, Part 2* (Burlington, Ont: TannerRitchie Pub. in collaboration with the Library and Information Services of the University of St. Andrews, 2006), 751.

23. Frederic Madden, *Narrative of the Visit of the Duke de Najera to England,* (S.A. Archaeologia XXIII. 1831), 353–4.
24. See the miniature attributed to Lucas Hornebolt (c. 1521–1525), depicting Mary in a black velvet gown, decorated with a cloth of silver biliment and pearls; also a similar portrait c. the same years, unknown artist. Also the portrait by Master John (1544) depicting Mary in a French-cut gown in cloth of gold, with red velvet sleeve turnbacks and matching French hood. The biliments on gown and hood are cloth of silver to match her foresleeves; the jeweled girdle and necklaces match the ruby and pearl decorations on those biliments.
25. Hayward, *KH8,* 112.
26. National Archives E101/427/11 f 34, E101/427/11 f 38.
27. Letters from the Ambassadors in England to the Emperor: Mary Enters London. Gustave Adolph Bergenroth, Pascual de Gayangos, Martin Andrew Sharp Hume, Royall Tyler, and Garrett Mattingly. *Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations Between England and Spain Preserved in the Archives of Simancas and Elsewhere. Volume 11* (Burlington: TannerRitchie Publishing in collaboration with the Library and Information Services of the University of St Andrews, 2006), 151.
28. Charles Wriothesley and William Douglas Hamilton, *A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors, from A. D. 1485–1559.* Works of the Camden Society, v. 11, 20. (Westminster: Printed for the Camden society, 1875). 93.
29. Isaac Herzong and Ehud Spanier, *The Royal Purple and the Biblical Blue: Argaman and Tekhelet...* (Bet ha-sefarim ha-le'umi veha-universita'i bi-Yerushalayim. 1987), 9. Specifically, "Tyrian" purple.
30. Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions,* 121.
31. Hayward, *KH8*, 121, 130–132.
32. E101/427/11 ff 38.
33. *Ibid.*, Item 14.
34. Edward Grierson, *King of Two Worlds: Philip II of Spain.* (London, UK: Collins, 1974), 44. Also see Alison J. Carter. "Mary Tudor's Wardrobe." *Costume* 1984; 18(1), 9–28, for further discussion on the sartorial relationships between Mary I and Philip II.
35. E101/427/11 ff 38, Item 14; LC 5/31 ff. 106–111 Item 21: "ij yardes of yellow taffata sarcenett ij yardes of Tawney Taffata sarcenett iij yards of yellow sarcenett and iij yardes of blew sarcenett all for Mistress Clarensen to our use"; LC 5/31 ff. 106–111, Item 22: "one half elle of grene sarcenett on half ell of yellow taffata sarcenett ij yardes of Purple velvett and iij quarter of a yarde of yellow sarcenett all to our use."

36. Janet Arnold, Jenny Tiramani, and Santina M. Levey. *Patterns of Fashion 4* (London: Macmillan, 2008), Fig 10, 11.

37. *Letters and Papers, Vol. 5*, Entry 439, 210 Doc. MC4301300472.

38. Madden, *Privy Purse Records*, folio 23.

39. *Ibid*., Folios 112 and 112b. From Mistress Braye, Lady Margaret Graye, the Marchioness of Exeter, and "the Italian the Dauncer."

40. E101/427/11 ff 34, Items 1, 21, 22, 23. E101/427/11 ff 38, Items 8, 23, 30. LC 5/31 ff. 54–62, Items 11, 13, 26, LC 5/31 ff. 75–79, Item 1.

41. Henry Machin and John Gough Nichols. *The Diary of Henry Machyn: Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563* (London: Printed for the Camden Society, by J.B. Nichols and Son, 1848), 39.

42. Robert Fabyan, A. H. Thomas, and I. D. Thornley. *The Great Chronicle of London*. (London: Printed by G.W. Jones at the sign of the Dolphin, 1938), 254.

43. *Ibid*.

44. "Cloth delivered to the Princess's servants, councillors' servants, and others; viz., to five of the lady governess's servants in the Princess's livery of blue and green," *Certain necessaries provided for the use of my lady Princess's household and accounts. Letters and Papers,* Vol. 4, Part I. 707. Entry 1577.

45. And potentially Edward VI, whose colors were likely also red and white.

46. Records from 1525 show that the wardrobe provided livery in green and blue damask for the members of Mary's household, including her launderer, gentlewomen, and four officers of the wardrobe. Hayward, *KH8*, 311. Also see Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 49.

47. LC 5/31 ff. 54–62, Items 50, 53, 55, 57.

48. Alison J. Carter. "Mary Tudor's Wardrobe." *Costume* 1984; 18(1), 16–19.
    72 LC 5/32 f219
    74 LC 5/32 ff 237
    77 LC 5/32 ff 197–198

49. Hayward, *KH8,* 121, 263–264.

50. Germaine Warkentin and John Carmi Parsons, *The Queen's Majesty's Passage & Related Documents*. (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2004), 20–21.

51. David Hoak, "The Coronations of Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I, and the Transformation of the Tudor Monarchy." In *Westminster Abbey Reformed*, ed. C.S. Knighton and Richard Mortimer (Ashgate, 1988), 117.

52. J. L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445–1503* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 100. See also Andrea Thomas, "Crown Imperial: Coronation Ritual and Regalia in the Reign of James V," in Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald, eds. *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch* (Leiden, 2008), 46.

53. The work of Victor Turner and Clifford Geertz in symbolic anthropology has given us the term "liminal space" for this construct. See Victor Witter Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co, 1969), 100.

54. Warkentin, *The Queen's Majesty's Passage,* 32.

55. Sarah Duncan, *Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), Chapter three: Coronation of a Queen.

56. Report to be made to the Pope by the messenger returned from England [Henry Penning], October 21, 1553, Item 813. "Her majesty gave me the copy of the oath taken by her at the coronation, which she had thoroughly considered beforehand, and added a few words having for object to maintain her Majesty's integrity and good-will." *CSP Venice*, Vol. 5, 431.

57. William Campbell, ed. *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII…* ([Wiesbaden]: Kraus Reprint, 1965), 27, Item 4.

58. *Ibid.*, 27 Item 6; Hayward, *KH8,* 44.

59. "holaunde clothe, for gloves for the king…holaunde cloth, for a coif for the king." Campbell, *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII.* 9.

60. *Ibid.*, 27, Item 10; 28. Items 11–14.

61. Hayward, *KH8,* 44.

62. LC 9/50 ff. 217r-218r.

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.*, 123.

65. Edward Hall, Henry Ellis, and Richard Grafton. *Hall's Chronicle: Containing the History of England…* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1809), 508–510.

66. *Ibid.*, 801.

67. Hayward, *KH8,* 45; CoA MS I7, f.63v.

68. LC 5/32 f219, Quoted in Carter, *Mary Tudor's Wardrobe,* 25.

69. Diarmaid MacCulloch, "The Vita Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham." *Camden Miscellany XXVIII* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1984), 276.

70. Carter, *Mary Tudor's Wardrobe,* 26.

71. Campbell, *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII,* 27, Item 6: "for making of ii dalmatikkes, one of crymsyn saten, the other of white sarsinet" Henry VIII: quoted in Hayward, *KH8,* 44. "a Tabard of white Tartaryn after the shape of a dalmatyk to be putt upon the kinges Coote when he is anoynted."

72. Hunt, *Tudor Queenship,* 132; Legg, *English Coronation Records,* 123, 235.

73. LC 5/32 ff 197–198; Carter, *Mary Tudor's Wardrobe,* 26.

74. LC 5/32, 197–199.

75. "[The] Lord Mayor tooke his leave of her highnes, who rode allwayes before her highnes bearinge the scepter before the sworde with Garter Kinge of Armes rydinge with him; the Earle of Arundell bearinge the sworde before her highnes." Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England,* 94.

76. The *Little Devise,* in Legg, *English Coronation Records,* 129.

77. Jansen, *Monstrous Regiment of Women,* 14.

78. *Ibid.*

79. E 101/427/18 f. 1; LC 5/31 ff. 94–99. Item 43.

80. Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England,* 382.

81. Spain, England, Scotland, France, Navarre, and the Netherlands were all ruled by women. Anne J. Cruz and Mihoko Suzuki, *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 3.

82. *Ibid.*, xxv.

83. Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies; A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology.* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997, c 1957), 7.

84. Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History.* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 64–65.

85. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock, *Tudor Queenship: the Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth.* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 129.

Mary as Sole Queen

The Half-Blood Princes: Mary I, Elizabeth I, and Their Strategies of Legitimation

Mary Hill Cole

Visiting England in 1553, an Italian traveler recorded his impressions of a kingdom recently thrown into turmoil by the death of its young king, the rise and fall of a young female usurper, and the revolt by an older princess whose victory established her as the first English queen regnant.[1] With those events still fresh, he explained how a new monarch claimed power:

> The English crown passes by hereditary succession to the next of kin, and if there are no males the succession reverts to the females; bastards, men as well as women, being excluded. If the King has no relatives he can leave the crown through his will to whom he pleases, and everything is carried out without fail.[2]

The apparent clarity of this process, however, masked the complicated reality of the tortured marital history of Henry VIII. As the father of two daughters, a bastard son, and finally one legitimate son, Henry needed to determine the succession by weighing the conflicting issues of blood, female rule, illegitimacy, royal authority, and popular support. While no single set of laws governed who would be the next monarch, blood relations were important, and Henry never denied paternity of any of his four children.[3] When he at last had fathered a legitimate male heir, he

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still included his two daughters in the line of succession after his son. Although he considered promoting as heir his illegitimate son, Henry Duke of Richmond, he never did. Rather, near the end of his life, the king ignored the technical bastardy of his two daughters, and by Act of Parliament and in his will Henry placed them in the succession. Through those two documents, Henry bestowed the crown as he pleased and set a precedent that female sovereignty relied on popular support in a patriarchal society.

Mary Tudor won her crown and began to govern in July 1553, and five years later the succession of her designated heir, Elizabeth, would reaffirm the achievement of Mary as the first Virgin Queen and, later, as *feme sole*. In their opening parliaments, both sovereigns presented a bill about their title as queen, and a careful look at the two acts reflects the different circumstances and agendas of these queens of the half blood. Mary's act was a lengthy reinterpretation of the Reformation in England that forcefully asserted her legal parentage; Elizabeth's act was a brief, cryptic assertion of the status quo that did not directly remove her illegitimacy, and she used a separate bill to restore herself as blood heir to her mother, Anne Boleyn. Through these two statutes Elizabeth tried to achieve what Mary had so easily done in a single act: reunite her parents in marriage, restore her broken family, and reclaim her filial place as the legitimate daughter of her problematic *paterfamilias*. The 1553 and 1559 statutes engineered by these two queens reveal the shared yet different family background that empowered and limited them. Mary's success in undoing her legal bastardization gave her a source of political strength denied to Elizabeth. For Elizabeth, the ambiguous legacy of her mother's reputation and her father's parliamentary negation would remain a source of personal and political vulnerability for most of her life.

BASTARDY

Patriarchy, illegitimacy, and inheritance were enmeshed in Tudor law in ways that could penalize bastards even while providing loopholes to exploit. When church courts declared a marriage invalid, the annulment usually meant that children of the couple were illegitimate.[4] By the sixteenth century, when secular courts had taken over cases of bastardy, the common law held that an illegitimate child was a *filius nullius,* the son of no one, who had, in legal terms, no father or mother.[5] The disability and onus of bastardy, however, were complicated in two ways. First, a father could reinstate his bastard's right to inherit simply by naming him or her

in his will.[6] Second, bastardy was an unusual route to emancipation from serfdom, since Tudor serfs would game the legal system by claiming to be bastards, who—being fatherless—could not inherit anything, including hereditary bondage.[7] Thus, in special circumstances, the disability of bastardy could be negated or even prove useful.

At the other end of the social spectrum, where illegitimacy touched the aristocracy, the social and political context of bastardy expanded. Bastard children of elite parents traded on the high status of their parents by using visual and dynastic references technically barred to them by law. They claimed an affinity and social network by using the family surname, heraldic devices, and family titles as if they were legitimate offspring.[8] Of course aristocratic parents of bastards could avoid the legal penalties of people of lower rank when the sovereign became directly involved in settling their family problems. Elite parentage and flexible enforcement of the laws often enabled bastards to rise above their irregular origins.

But how high could they aspire? The place of royal bastards in the succession had long been problematic. Although the bastard children of John of Gaunt and Katharine Swynford were made legitimate in 1397, ten years later when Henry IV confirmed their legitimacy and rights, he specifically excluded them from the succession to the crown. In 1484 a parliamentary act bastardized Elizabeth of York, daughter of the recently deceased Edward IV. After she became queen of England, her husband Henry VII had parliament undo her bastardy, expunge the 1484 Act from the parliamentary record, and take those legal steps without repeating the words of the offensive statute; the children he expected to have with her needed an unsullied maternal blood line. Royal bastards might offer dynastic comfort as potential heirs, but as Anne McLaren asserts, "a strong prejudice existed against bastards exercising sovereign power--possibly stronger than that against female rule."[9] In August 1554, reporting on this English aversion to bastard monarchs, the Venetian ambassador, Giacomo Soranzo, wrote that "by the statutes of the realm bastards cannot succeed to the Crown."[10] That he wrote these words a year after Mary became queen, suggests the significance of her achievement in erasing her bastardy and embodying female sovereignty.

Bastardy of the Half-Blood Siblings, 1533–1553

The political and religious changes that roiled English life during the 25 years before Mary's accession had a personal impact on her and on Elizabeth. Their father used statute law to redefine them as a family, first

claiming one and excluding the other, then shunning both, and finally recognizing both as lesser, limited, quasi-family. In May 1533, at Henry's request, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer invalidated the king's marriage to Catherine of Aragon and upheld the validity of his January marriage with Anne Boleyn.[11] These two ecclesiastical judgments lay the groundwork for the 1534 Act of Succession, which declared Henry's marriage to Catherine "void and annulled," recognized the "lawful matrimony" with his "entirely beloved wife Queen Anne," and settled the succession on the "lawful children," first male then female of Henry and Anne, making the infant Elizabeth legitimate and the heir presumptive.[12] The Act was silent on Mary's status.[13] But as Judith Richards argues, she suffered from the law's "implicit corollary that Mary was not, and never had been, a legitimate princess."[14] The effect of the Act was to impugn Mary's reputation and legitimacy while advancing Elizabeth's.

Two years later another parliamentary statute equalized the two daughters in a common status of bastardy. The 1536 Act of Succession invalidated the Boleyn marriage and reiterated the nullification of Catherine of Aragon's marriage; it bastardized both daughters; and it recognized the king's marriage to Jane Seymour and settled the succession on their children.[15] For dynastic flexibility, the act recognized Henry's right, if he had no legitimate heirs of his body, to "give . . . by your letters patent . . . or else by your last will . . . the imperial crown of this realm . . . to such person or persons . . . as shall please your Highness."[16] Taken as a whole, the 1536 Act promised parliamentary support for, and recognized the right of, the king to convey the crown to his bastard daughters should no legitimate son survive him. Mary and Elizabeth remained illegitimate but with the possibility of inheriting the crown.

During the final years of his life, Henry codified his daughters' inclusion in the succession without altering their bastard status. The 1544 Act of Succession settled the crown first on Prince Edward, and then on "the Lady Mary the King's Highness's daughter," followed by "the Lady Elizabeth the King's second daughter." Henry's will, made a month before his death, reiterated the terms of the 1544 Act, and his children did, in fact, reign in the gendered, age-rank order that their father had decreed.[17] At his death in January 1547, Mary and Elizabeth had a public, legal recognition of their paternity, their dynastic utility—and their illegitimacy.

Six years later in 1553, when Edward VI contemplated his impending death and the succession, he rejected both Mary and Elizabeth as heirs because of their disabling status as half-blood siblings and bastards.

In his view, the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth "be unto us but of the half blood, and therefore by the ancient laws, statutes and customs of this realm be not inheritable unto us, although they were legitimate, as they be not indeed."[18] To have a Protestant, legitimate successor, Edward was determined "to disown and disinherit her [Mary] together with her sister Elizabeth, as though she were a bastard and sprung from an illegitimate bed."[19] His Protestant cousin, Lady Jane Grey, would inherit the crown and thus "avoid the kingdom being weakened by such shame." Their irregular status as half-blood bastards, Edward judged, excluded Catholic Mary and Protestant Elizabeth.

Queen Jane made the ignominy of bastard rule a rallying cry for her supporters. The proclamation of her queenship on July 11, 1553, reminded Londoners that the Aragon and Boleyn marriages "were openly and legally made void by divorce judgements . . . still in force"; that Mary and Elizabeth "are made unfit to lay claim" to the crown by being "only half related" to Edward VI; and "even if they were born from legitimate wedlock," which they were not, they were still excluded from the succession "by the old established Laws and statutes and customs of this Realm."[20] In proclaiming Jane queen on July 14, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, emphasized Mary's bastardy: he urged nobles to "declare publicly that her Highness was illegitimate" and thus "might be rightfully disinherited."[21] In a sermon at Paul's Cross on July 16, the Bishop of London, Nicholas Ridley, preached that Mary and Elizabeth were "illegitimate and not lawfully begotten in the estate of true matrimony according to Gods lawe."[22] Not everyone accepted these justifications for the exclusion of Mary, in particular. Listening to Ridley's sermon, "the people murmured sore at" his denunciations of Henry's daughters, and the news of Queen Jane's accession resulted in "a yong man taken that tym for spykyng of serten wordes of qwen Mare, that she had the ryght tytle."[23] Even as accusations of bastardy animated the struggle over the succession, supporters respectively of Mary and of Elizabeth believed each woman was the daughter of Henry VIII and thus should inherit his crown. Their mothers' marriages might remain annulled, rendering them illegitimate, but to most of the populace, they were their father's rightful heirs. Opponents used the taint of bastardy as a polemical strategy to block their accession, but the politicized circumstances of their bastardy allowed partisans to dismiss those legal technicalities.

Enabled by such sentiments, Mary Tudor claimed the throne by legal authority and blood inheritance. On July 11, when she "had proclaymed

herselfe as Quene and heyre to the Crowne of England," the nobles and gentry, "allso with inumerable companies of the comon people" of East Anglia, rallied to her cause.[24] Eight days later, Mary publicly asserted that the crown "do most rightfully and lawfully belong unto us," and, invoking centuries of tradition, she placed herself in the line of kings, promising to rule as a "benign and gracious sovereign Lady, as others our most noble progenitors have heretofore been."[25] The bonfires, bell ringing, toasts, gifts, and thanksgiving service at St. Paul's on July 19 all celebrated the ascension of Queen Mary, "doythur unto the nobull kyng Henry the viii."[26] But the legal denial of her legitimacy was a painful legacy that Mary intended to nullify as she reconstituted her family through the same mechanisms that earlier had destroyed it.

Queen Mary's Strategy of Legitimation

Once Mary had won the crown, she used her first Parliament to restore her legitimacy. The bastardy that arose from the annulment of her parents' marriage troubled Mary in political and personal ways. It was fodder for people who challenged her authority, it denied the reality of the family relations of her childhood, and it posed a threat to her marital negotiations. Because parliamentary law had inscribed her bastardy, Mary needed to erase it through an act of parliament. She wanted her legitimacy grounded in English law, not a debatable papal judgment, and thus she and her council prepared a bill to reassert her legitimacy.[27] As Imperial Ambassador, Simon Renard observed, "This appears to be a necessary measure, for otherwise the accusation of bastardy which has been brought against the Queen would always be coming up for discussion and would not be effaced from the people's minds."[28] Even if her bastardy was more legal fiction than accepted fact, the ongoing religious and dynastic disputes made the matter risky to ignore.

Mary faced an immediate decision whether to have parliament meet prior to her coronation to annul her bastardy, which some advisors wished, or to hold her coronation first. To avoid the implication that she owed her crown to parliamentary actions, Mary adhered to the traditional pattern. On October 1, she was crowned "royally and such a multitude of people resorted out of all parts of the realme, to se the same, that the like had not been seen tofore"; then Parliament opened two days later on October 3.[29] The two months between her accession and coronation gave the queen and advisors time to prepare the legislation that annulled her bastardy. As Renard wrote

to Emperor Charles V on October 8, the "declaration by Parliament of the Queen's legitimacy, and consequently of the Lady Elizabeth's illegitimate birth, is well on the road to success."[30] His optimism was not misplaced.

The Act of the Queen's Title (1 Mary I.c.I), swiftly passed by both Houses in late October 1553, was a masterly reinterpretation of Henrician marital politics and the Reformation in England.[31] In its impassioned language rang the voice of Mary, proud daughter and rightful queen, who stamped her motto, "Truth is the Daughter of Time," into the essence of the statute.[32] The opening words invoke Truth, and the appeal to Truth dominates a third of the text. Truth cannot be hidden forever; it will "break out" even though it "may by the iniquity and frailty of Man be suppressed" for a time. Because it comes from God, Truth is crucial to the preservation of the Prince and kingdom. Next the text proclaims "the very truth of the State of Matrimony" between Henry and Catherine, which did "continue by the space of twenty years and more . . . to the pleasure of Almighty God, the Satisfaction of the World, the Joy and Comfort of all the Subjects of this Realm, and to their own Repose and good Contentment." As further evidence of divine approval, the couple enjoyed the "godly fruite" of a daughter.[33] But this "happy flourishing" provoked "the malicious and perverse affections of some, a very few persons, envying the great Felicity" of the couple and kingdom. With overtones of the expulsion from the Garden of Eden and without mentioning her name, the text blames Anne Boleyn for "subtle and disloyal practices" to "insinuate a Scruple into the . . . Conscience" of Henry VIII that his marriage was invalid and his soul in danger. Godly Truth was under attack by the forces of corruption and jealousy.

The second section of the Act made clear that in Mary's view, the chief architect of destruction was the "newly made Archbishop of Canterbury" Thomas Cranmer. He refused to hear evidence from Catherine and her supporters, and "most ungodly and against all Laws, Equity, and Conscience," he decided based on his "own unadvised Judgment of the Scripture" and "bare and most untrue conjectures" that the marriage was "nought, and to be contracted against God's Law and of no value." Only after Cranmer's "unlawful sentence" did Henry and Catherine "separate and divorce." In response to Cranmer's ruling, Parliament twice changed the succession in two Acts that "contained the illegitimations" of Mary, despite the good faith of her parents in contracting marriage and the "many years" they were together. Her "noble person . . . could not by any Reason or Equity in this case be so spotted."

In a preamble to legislative action, the third section argues that the kingdom's history of the past 40 years affirmed the validity of Henry and Catherine's marriage. Their marriage was lawful because it "had its beginning of God and by him was continued," and no man could overrule God's authority ("for whom God joineth no man can nor ought to put asunder"). During the "godly Concord" of their marriage, "the Realm in all degrees flourished," again another sign of divine sanction. But 17 years later, the malicious destruction of their marriage unleashed horrors on the prosperous realm: "shameful ignominies, rebukes, slanders, contempts, yea, what death, pestilence, wars, disobedience, rebellions, insurrections, and divers other great and grievous plagues God of his Justice hath sent upon us." Unless the divorce is revoked, "greater plagues and strokes are like to increase and continue daily." By moving from divine authority for a valid marriage, as evidenced in a flourishing kingdom, to an unlawful divorce that unleashed public evils, the Act links the state of the marriage to the state of the realm. The harmful legacy of the divorce extends beyond the royal family to the entire populace of the kingdom.

With that context established, the final section sets forth, "for truth's sake . . . and for the good Peace, Unity, and Rest" of the people, a set of legal changes that reunited the parents and legitimized their daughter. It revokes all of the decrees and processes against the marriage as "naught, void, frustrate, and adnichillate . . . as if the same had never been given or pronounced," and it repeals the 1534 Act of Succession based on the invalidity of the Aragon marriage. It voided those parts of the 1536 Act of Succession "whereby your Highness is named or declared to be Illegitimate" or her parents' marriage deemed "unlawful." In conclusion, the Act orders that Henry and Catherine's marriage shall "be definitively, clearly, and absolutely declared . . . to stand with God's Law and his most Holy word, and to be accepted, reputed, and taken of good effect and validity." With this recognition of her parents' marriage, Mary Tudor reclaimed her family and place as the legitimate daughter and inheritor of her father's crown.

But while the Queen's Title Act restored Mary's legitimacy, it left in place the bastardy of her half-blood rival. Firmly believing in Elizabeth's illegitimacy, Mary originally wanted that act to bar Elizabeth from the succession. But discussions with her councilors, especially Sir William Paget, convinced her of the risks of such a direct attack. Paget's view was that "as parliament had accepted the Lady Elizabeth as proper to succeed, it would be difficult to deprive her of the right she claimed without causing trouble."[34] Because Elizabeth had a place in three acts of succession over

ten years, and because Mary was still single and childless, such advice carried weight. So political realities led Mary to accept the compromise of upholding Elizabeth's bastardy while tacitly accepting her status as heir, doing so without mentioning her by name. In discussions of the bill, members of Parliament raised no objections to this dual status of Elizabeth as illegitimate heir, and the result, as Commendone reported, was that Mary was proclaimed the "legitimate and true successor . . . and consequently all other women of Henry concubines and not wives, and their offspring bastards."[35] In her Queen's Title Act, Mary succeeded in reuniting her parents in holy matrimony and restoring her own filial legitimacy, while taking advantage of a public opportunity to settle old scores against those who had harmed her family.

Whether in parliamentary prose, diplomatic communications, or court chatter, Mary made clear that she viewed Anne Boleyn as a harlot whose bastard child remained a chronic danger. In conversations with foreign ambassadors and English courtiers, Mary repeatedly condemned the women. In December 1553, Imperial Ambassador, Renard, reported that Mary "still resents the injuries inflicted on Queen Catherine, her lady mother, by the machinations of Anne Boleyn, mother of Elizabeth, and recalls trouble and unpleasantness before and since her accession, unrest and disagreeable occurrences to which Elizabeth has given rise. There is no persuading her that Elizabeth will not bring about some great evil unless she is dealt with."[36] The queen's premonition proved true in 1554, with Wyatt's revolt in favor of Elizabeth, and years later Mary's feelings remained unchanged. Writing to the Doge in May 1557, Venetian Ambassador, Michele Suriano, noted that Mary blamed Anne Boleyn "for whom in great part the divorce from Queen Katherine originated," and that she dismissed Elizabeth as the "illegitimate child of a criminal who was punished as a public strumpet."[37] Mary's opinions no doubt shaped the attitudes of people at her court. Spanish correspondents routinely referred to Elizabeth as the "little bastard" and "concubine's daughter," and two friars professed that Elizabeth's baptismal water, while hot, "was not hot enough."[38] Court gossips spread Mary's comment that "Elizabeth was not her sister at all, but looked more like Mark Smeaton," the court musician of Anne Boleyn.[39] In this way, Mary distanced herself and her reconstituted royal family from Elizabeth and the Boleyn taint by questioning Elizabeth's paternity and stressing her lowly lineage. In the Queen's Title Act and elsewhere, Mary rebuilt her own honor through the validation of her parents' marriage, the reclamation of her legitimacy, and

the reiteration of her half-blood sister's bastardy. She turned on its head the Henrician and Edwardian narrative of her childhood. In doing so, she created in the 1550s the family that events of the 1530s had denied her.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S APPROACH TO LEGITIMATION

Mary's legislative success in reclaiming her family provided a model for Elizabeth to consider as she, another bastardized heir, began her reign. But while Elizabeth borrowed her predecessor's crown, gowns, pageants, and language, she could not follow Mary's lead in addressing the bastardy issue.[40] Elizabeth's situation was more complicated and the way forward murky, because the reasons for her illegitimacy lay in the downfall of her mother. Two days before her execution, Anne Boleyn's marriage was annulled for incest and adultery. Such infamy tainted her daughter as a bad seed likely to engage in similarly scandalous behavior. This imagery resonated deeply with Elizabeth, who years later wrote in a private prayer that God "seest whereof I came, of corrupt seed; what I am, a most frail substance."[41] Elizabeth could not redeem her mother's reputation, as Mary had done, without condemning her father and highlighting her own irregular origins.

In the months before her first Parliament convened in January 1559, Elizabeth wrestled with how she might eradicate the stain of her legislated illegitimacy. She sought the opinion of Sir Nicholas Bacon, her Lord Keeper and parliamentary manager, as to whether she should undo her bastardy by having Parliament repeal the relevant Henrician and Marian laws and then enact a law declaring her legitimate. As Bacon waded into the legal quagmire, he became convinced that the dangers of action outweighed any benefit. According to William Camden's later account, Bacon faced "so great a perplexity and inconstancy of Acts and Statutes, whereas those things that made for Queen Elizabeth seemed to be joyned with the Ignominy and disgrace of Queen Mary."[42] Tearing down the first Virgin Queen to authorize the second might destabilize the entire concept of female monarchy. Because Bacon "would not new gall the Sore which was with age overskinned," he held fast to the 1544 Act that put both half-blood daughters into the succession, albeit as bastards, and "provided for both their Fames and Dignities alike." The most compelling concept, in his view, was the power of the coronation to validate the monarch's right to rule: "the English laws have long since pronounced, That the Crowne once worn quite taketh away all Defects whatsoever." Her coronation on January 15 would establish her legitimacy and remove any defect of bastardy prior to

Parliament's opening the next week. Consequently, Bacon urged Elizabeth to steer clear of the 20-year legal tangle of annulments, succession, and bastardy. His advice probably validated her natural inclination to caution. But Camden, with the luxury of hindsight, wondered whether "Bacon's wisdom (upon whom, as the Oracle of the Law, the Queen wholly relied in such matters) in some mens opinion failed him . . . . Some seditious persons afterward tooke occasion thereby to attempt dangerous matters against her as being not lawfull Queene."[43] The cost to Elizabeth of not challenging the legal actions of her father and half-sister was lasting, as accusations that she was not the rightful queen disturbed the religious and political waters of her entire reign.

In January 1559, however, she did turn to Parliament with two acts that crafted, indirectly and implicitly, her legitimacy. Elizabeth's first legislative step toward addressing her bastardy was the Act of Recognition of the Queen's Title (1 Eliz I. c. 3). Initiated by the queen and her advisors, the bill was introduced in the House of Lords on February 1, was sent a week later to the House of Commons, and was easily concluded by the end of the month.[44] In contrast to Mary's lengthy historicized narrative, Elizabeth's act was a short declaration of her sovereignty, but its brevity did not render it "simple."[45] It opens with two negative comparisons to express parliamentary happiness that Elizabeth is queen: "As there is nothing under God" that could give us "more cause to rejoyce than in this, . . . there is nothing" that her subjects can "more firmly . . . think or . . . declare and confess to be true than that" she is their "rightful and Lawful Sovereign." The "nothing"s and relative nature of the acclamation are striking. Thankful that God's "providence and goodness" have preserved her, Parliament recognizes that she "is and in very deed and of most mere right ought to be" queen. Without any narrative or context for her accession, other than by God's will and English law, the Members of Parliament see that she is queen and agree that she should be queen. They are silent about the details.

From that acceptance, the act then situates the regal authority of Elizabeth within her royal family and recognizes her as queen. Twice it refers to Henry VIII as her "most noble father," and it asserts that she has the right to rule because she has "lawfully descended and come of the Blood royal." She wields all the royal powers of Henry VIII and his successors. Her fecundity is important and assumed, and the act anticipates a future where Elizabeth's bodily heirs, "lawfully to be begotten," will rule. The act's four references to her bodily heirs (absent in Mary's act) indicate the new queen's generative, maternal, and dynastic role as the last surviving child of Henry

VIII. Thus the "three estates of your Realm of England . . . do recognise . . . your estate, right, title, and succession," and they promise "to assist and defend" her with "our bodies, lands, and goods." In pledging their lives to her defense, Parliament raises the specter that she might need them to do so against revolt or invasion. In the act's recognition of Elizabeth's lawful rule, the references to her father's blood, her crown, and her anticipated children link her complicated past and present to a more settled, legitimate future.

The closing passage contained the act's essential but problematic point. While it established Elizabeth's sovereignty and paternity, it did not explicitly defend the validity of her parents' marriage. Instead, it made the terms and limitations of the 1544 Act of Succession "stand, be, and remain the Law of this Realm forever." Any part of any "judgements and decrees" that said otherwise or was "in any thing repugnant, contrary, or derogatory to . . . this recognition . . . shall be utterly frustrate, void, and of none effect . . . and put in perpetual oblivion." The Act validated her inheritance of the crown without addressing the Henrician statutes that marked her illegitimacy. By highlighting her status as Henry VIII's daughter and erasing Anne Boleyn's maternal presence, the Act created by implication an aura of legitimacy for Elizabeth.

While the Act of Recognition was a statute about Elizabeth and her father, the statute that was key to joining Elizabeth with her mother was the Act of Restoration in Blood (1 Eliz c. 23). Convicted of treason, Anne Boleyn had forfeited her titles and property to the crown, and her traitor's blood was "corrupted," a legal punishment that severed familial ties by preventing heirs from inheriting. In terms of inheritance law, therefore, Elizabeth was motherless, and the corruption could only be removed by parliamentary action or legal reversal of the sentence.[46] The Act of Restoration in Blood provided a platform for the discussion of Elizabeth's maternal descent and, albeit indirectly, of her legitimacy. The brief act, only two sentences long, said that Elizabeth is "enabled in blood" and shall "be inheritable according to the . . . common Laws" to Anne Boleyn and all her mother's "Ancestors and Cousins."[47] On February 10, 1559, the House of Lords recognized Elizabeth's personal interest in the bill, giving it a "speedy course . . . to express their zeal and affection to her Majesty, whom it so nearly concerned."[48] The queen's personal investment in the bill appeared in another place as well. When the Lords gave the bill its third reading five days later, the Journal contains an unusual insertion in the text. In the midst of the reference to Anne Boleyn as "Her Highness's . . .* Mother" is an asterisk before "Mother," and the comment at the

asterisk is "Deest in Originali."[49] This insertion draws attention to the fact that the original text came from the queen and her attorney general, and that in a surprisingly tender moment within the formulaic language of the bill uniting the two, Elizabeth referred to Anne Boleyn as her "dearest Mother." The focus of the 1559 Restoration in Blood was this very maternal bond, which, now reestablished, made daughter Elizabeth the legal heir of her mother and all her Boleyn relatives. Even so, the act did not assert the validity of Anne's marriage to Henry VIII or revoke her attainder or undo Elizabeth's bastardy, although it implied all of these things. Nor did it address the past, except to uphold all legal transfers of Boleyn property during the last 20 years. But restoring Elizabeth in blood meant that she could inherit from her mother. Her family tree now had its maternal branches again.

Through these two Acts of 1559, Elizabeth grappled with the complicated legacy of her parents and family. By their assumptions, implications, and omissions, the statutes enabled all to believe that her bastardy was nullified and that she had the right to inherit the crown; they fostered the impression of legitimacy.[50] As a monarch, Elizabeth needed the legal bulwark that these acts provided. As a royal daughter, she used her sovereignty in these acts to reconstitute her family: she claimed her father, personally and lineally, in the Queen's Title Act, and she claimed her dynastically ignored mother through the Act of Restoration in Blood.[51] Thus Elizabeth became the daughterly link that united Henry and Anne, if not in marriage then in parenthood of a queen.

The complicated marital history of Henry VIII forced his half-blood offspring to use different strategies of legitimation to secure their crowns. Mary's path was one of direct action, which was manifest in the words of her statute's title "declaring" that she was the product of a lawful marriage and "repealing" her parents' divorce and all acts to the contrary. Its very length, at 95 lines twice as long as Elizabeth's act, gave notice that Mary had much to communicate. Her purpose was to reclaim for posterity the true nature of her parents' marriage and to plant her nuclear family in a flourishing Catholic world. She valorized Henry and Catherine's loving and long-lasting union, one esteemed by their subjects and blessed by God with children, both living and dead. Henry was not blamed for the destruction of their happy family; rather, he fell victim to a few conspirators who seduced him and manipulated his conscience, and only Cranmer's divorce ruling separated Henry from Catherine. Thus the act created the image of a passive king who did not initiate the destruction of

his family. Catherine had more agency, in a way, as she remained the loving wife who defended their marriage against its enemies. In revoking the laws of succession, the act made no mention of Henry's other children; its omission silently negated any role or value of her half-blood siblings as if they had never existed. Neither did it conceive of a future where Mary had a husband and heirs of her body, and as a document about the past, it concluded in the moment of her accession. It ended with Catherine and Henry as a lawfully wedded couple whose legitimate daughter was now the rightful Queen of England.

In contrast, Elizabeth had such a torturous familial situation that she needed to use two statutes to gain only part of what Mary had achieved in one. The first statute that "recognized" or legally acknowledged Elizabeth's sovereignty had a brevity—46 lines—and cryptic construction that underscored the tricky nature of its purpose: to announce that Elizabeth was lawfully queen without invoking her traitorous mother or altering earlier laws that maintained her illegitimate status. Her approach to family was to unite through division. Elizabeth omitted all reference to her mother or to her parents' marriage, and thus she finessed the difficult fact of her mother's execution at the hands of her father. Instead, she situated herself within her father's blended family by claiming Henry, Edward, and Mary, her relatives by blood. She did not have a nuclear family represented or imagined. While the act referred to Henry VIII as her father and noted her lawful royal descent, it validated her claim to the throne through a mixed invocation of God's will and the authority of English laws. The act refused to engage with her family's problematic past, and instead it looked toward a future rich with heirs of the new queen's body. Elizabeth might not have had a past worth defending, but she and her bodily heirs had a future that was. In conjunction with the second act, the Restoration in Blood that bound mother and daughter, Elizabeth's transitive family was complete: she was the daughter of Henry VIII, she was also the daughter of Anne Boleyn, and thus through her status as daughter, Elizabeth evoked the parental bonds that implied legitimacy.

The efforts of Elizabeth to erase her bastardy highlight the successes of Mary in establishing her legitimacy. Their family situations dominated the accessions of Mary and Elizabeth and forced them to engage, in different ways, with their lineage in a public, political environment. Mary pursued a bold, open strategy of erasing her parents' divorce and her bastardy. By reclaiming her vision of the history of her parents' marriage, Mary Tudor found a powerful way to establish again the stable world of her

family and faith. But while the circumstances of Mary's bastardy allowed her legitimation through the remedy of cutting the Gordian knot, this direct approach was not possible for Elizabeth. The nature of her parents' marriage, her mother's legal downfall, and her reinforced bastardy in Henrician and Marian legislation prevented Elizabeth from imitating Mary as she would in other areas. Elizabeth never achieved the success of her half-blood sibling in this regard, and the uncertainty about her legitimacy fostered a political vulnerability that lasted her lifetime.

Notes

1. Although Henry I made daughter Matilda his heir, she did not rule as Queen of England. See "Matilda (1102–1167)," Marjorie Chibnall in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, OUP, 2004. For their generous advice and criticism, I wish to thank Ralph Cohen and Glyn Redworth.
2. C.V. Malfatti, trans., "Ritratti del Regno de Inghilterra," in *Two Italian Accounts of Tudor England* (Barcelona, 1953), 47.
3. Chris Given-Wilson and Alice Curteis, *The Royal Bastards of Medieval England* (London, 1984), 6.
4. Under canon law, if parents believed in good faith that their marriage was valid, then their children remained legitimate even after an annulment. Mortimer Levine, *Tudor Dynastic Problems, 1460–1571* (London, 1973), 61–5.
5. J.H. Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History,* 2nd ed. (London, 1979), 400. Establishing paternity through the courts was "difficult and almost impossible," as the "legitimation of children was no part of English law," R. H. Helmholz, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England,* vol. I (Oxford, 2004), 556–61.
6. Given-Wilson and Curteis, 44–50. Bastards were ineligible, however, for church office without special dispensation. For laws on bastardy and inheritance, see Helmholz, *Laws of England,* vol. I: 276–9, 557–8, 635, and David M. Walker, *The Oxford Companion to Law* (Oxford, 1980), 599.
7. Diarmaid MacCulloch, "Bondmen under the Tudors," in *Law and Government under the Tudors,* ed. Claire Cross, David Loades, and J. J. Scarisbrick (Cambridge, 1988), 91–109.
8. Johnna Rickman, *Love, Lust, and License in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2008), 19–25.
9. Given-Wilson and Curteis, 150–1; Sir John Baker, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England, Volume VI* (Oxford, 2003), 58; E. W. Ives, "Tudor Dynastic Problems Revisited," *Historical Research,* vol. 81, no. 212 (May

2008), 262; Anne McLaren, "Memorializing Mary and Elizabeth," in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth,* ed. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (New York, 2010), 17.

10. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice,* ed. Rawdon Brown (London, 1873), vol. 5, 535.

11. The annulment arguably did not affect Mary's legitimacy because her parents had believed that their marriage was valid. For an extended analysis of Tudor illegitimacy, see Levine, *Tudor Dynastic Problems,* and Ives, "Tudor Dynastic Problems Revisited," 255–79.

12. 25 Henry VIII c. 22, in Levine, 151.

13. Levine, 64–5, argues that Mary was thus an heir in the wings; cf. Ives, 262.

14. Judith M. Richards, *Mary Tudor* (London, 2008), 54.

15. On May 17, 1536, two days before Anne Boleyn's execution, Cranmer invalidated her marriage to Henry without giving any reason, an action that bastardized Elizabeth (Levine, 66–7).

16. 28 Henry VIII c.7 in Levine, 155–6; Ives, 258–9, argues that the "revolutionary" Act of 1536 was a "radical subversion of the common law" because it enabled the king to bestow the crown without regard to precedent, advice, or constitutional limitation.

17. 35 Henry VIII c. 1 in Levine, 161–3; Ives, 265–7; Baker, *Laws of England*, 60.

18. Levine, 167–8.

19. Diarmaid MacCulloch, ed. and trans., "The *Vita Mariae Reginae* of Robert Wingfield of Brantham," *Camden Miscellany* XXVIII, 4th series, vol. 29 (1984), 247–8. Edward defended his father's actions in divorcing Catherine of Aragon, stating that her prior marriage to Arthur was the "reason alone" for the annulment.

20. C. V. Malfatti, trans., *The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor, as related in four manuscripts of the Escorial* (Barcelona, 1956), 9; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series of the reign of Mary I 1553–1558,* revised edition, ed. C. S. Knighton (London, 1998), 1. See also J. G. Nichols, ed., *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary*, Camden Society, no. 48 (London, 1850).

21. Antonio de Guaras, *The Accession of Queen Mary: Being the Contemporary Narrative of Antonio de Guaras, a Spanish Merchant Resident in London,* ed. and trans. by Richard Garnett (London, 1892), 87.

22. Jennifer Loach, *Parliament and the Crown in the Reign of Mary Tudor* (Oxford, 1986), 3–7; Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England During the Reign of the Tudors,* ed. W. D. Hamilton (London, 1875), vol. 20, 88. The newly arrived Venetian Commendone wrote of Edward "disinheriting

both sisters under pretense that they might bring foreigners into the Realm, with the danger of introducing new laws and new orders of living, also as illegitimate, especially the Lady Mary as Catholic" (Malfatti, *Accession,* 5).

23. Wriothesley, 88; John Gough Nichols, ed., *The Diary of Henry Machyn* (London, 1848) vol. 42, 35.
24. Wriothesley, 87.
25. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, ed. *Tudor Royal Proclamations, Vol. 2* (New Haven, 1969), 3. *The Chronicle of Fabian* (London, 1559), 556, observes that Mary was the "right inheritour to the crowne" and destined by God to succeed.
26. *Machyn*, 37.
27. Reginald Pole dismissed the necessity of parliamentary action, but the queen was "insistent" (Richards, *Mary Tudor,* 140); Loach, *Parliament and the Crown,* 15.
28. *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers relating to the negotiations between England and Spain,* ed. Royall Tyler (London, 1916), vol. XI: 260.
29. Fabyan, 557; Sarah Duncan, *Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen* (New York, 2012), 204.
30. *CSPSpanish,* XI, 272.
31. *Journals of the House of Commons from November the 8th 1547 . . . to March the 2d 1628, vol. I* (London, 1742), 28–9; *Journals of the House of Lords, Beginning Anno Primo Henrici Octavi. Vol. I* (London, 1771), 250; Loach, *Parliament and the Crown,* 78. The Act is in *The Statutes of the Realm*, ed. A. Luders *et al.* (London, 1810–28), vol. IV, pt. 1, 200–1.
32. *Veritas temporis filia*. Glyn Redworth stresses Mary's agency and initiative prior to her marriage, in "'Matters Impertinent to Women': Male and Female Monarchy under Philip and Mary," *English Historical Review,* vol. 112, no. 447 (June 1997), 599, 603.
33. For inclusivity, the text mentions their children who were stillborn or died young: "and other issue also, whom it hath pleased God to take out of this transitory life unto his Eternal Glory."
34. Ives, 273.
35. Malfatti, *Accession,* 36; J. M. Stone, *The History of Mary I Queen of England* (London, 1901), 259.
36. *CSPSpanish,* XI, 418.
37. *CSPVenice,* VI ii, 1058; Mary supposedly said that "since the King her father acknowledged her [Elizabeth] to be his, she might call her 'sister,' as she called the duke of Richmond 'brother,'" *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII,* ed. James Gairdner (London, 1882), vol. VI, 1558.

38. *L&P,* vol. VI, 1392, 1558; vol. VII, 939; vol. X, 908.

39. M. J. Rodriguez-Salgado and Simon Adams, ed. and trans., "The Count of Feria's Dispatch to Philip II of 14 November 1558," *Camden Miscellany* XXVIII (1984), Camden Fourth Series, vol. 29, 313.

40. Duncan, 34–5.

41. Sheila Cavanagh, "The Bad Seed: Princess Elizabeth and the Seymour Incident," in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana,* ed. Julia Walker (Durham, 1998), 17–20; *Elizabeth I: Collected Works,* ed. Leah Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago, 2000), 313, written ca. 1579–82.

42. William Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, Late Queen of England,* ed. Wallace T. MacCaffrey (Chicago, 1970), 18.

43. Camden, 18; Alice Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation* (Cambridge, 2008), 147.

44. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, *The Journals of All the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Shannon, 1973), 18, 45–7; G. R. Elton, *The Parliament of England, 1559–1581* (Cambridge, 1986), 54, 175. Elizabeth attended the delayed opening of Parliament but was not present for the introduction and discussion of the Bill of Recognition (*Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. 1, 542–6).

45. *Statutes of the Realm,* 358–9. For J. E. Neale's view of its simplicity, see *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments 1559–1581* (London, 1953), 44–5.

46. Francis Beaumont Palmer, *Peerage Law in England* (London, 1907), 216; according to Coke's *Institutes,* 1, 291 b, "his blood is so stained and corrupted as first, his children cannot be heirs to him, nor can any other ancestor" (Palmer, 187). See also T. Plucknett, *A Concise History of the Common Law,* 4th ed. (London, 1948), 195, 506.

47. *Statutes of the Realm*, 397.

48. D'Ewes, 19–20.

49. *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. 1, 549; Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, the grandnephew of Anne Boleyn and cousin of Elizabeth, was present for the delayed honor of his family.

50. Whether these two acts and her coronation removed the stain of bastardy and made Elizabeth legitimate was a matter of debate. See Neale, 34; Elton, 44, 176; Levine, 98; Ives, 274–7.

51. See also Mary Hill Cole, "Maternal Memory: Elizabeth Tudor's Anne Boleyn" in *Elizabeth I and the "Sovereign Arts,"* ed. Donald Stump, Linda Shenk, and Carole Levin (Tempe, 2011), 1–14.

"A queen, and by the same title, a king also": Mary I: Queen-in-Parliament

Anna Whitelock

In the proclamation announcing her accession, Mary assured her subjects that she was the rightful heir of the "crown imperial" and they would find her their "benign and gracious sovereign lady, as other most noble progenitors have heretofore been."[1] Given the unprecedented circumstances of her accession, it was something of an audacious claim. Though triumphing in the succession crisis of July 1553 as Henry VIII's daughter and the legitimate Tudor heir, Mary's status as England's first crowned queen was a matter of great speculation and uncertainty. Anxieties were expressed about the nature of female monarchy with many fearful that it would give rise to tyranny.[2] In the words of John Knox in his infamous diatribe, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, as a consequence of the Fall, woman was "no longer mistress over [her] own appetites, over [her] own will nor desires."[3] As such, according to Knox, "a woman ought to be repressed and brideled be times, if she aspire to any dominion."[4]

The years prior to Mary's accession had seen the consolidation of the power of the English monarchy. Henry VIII's break with Rome and the establishment of the Church of England had led to new claims of imperial kingship. As the Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533) declared:

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whereas by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an empire…governed by one supreme head and king having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same, unto whom a body politic, compact of all sorts and degrees of people…be bounden.[5]

The territorial realm of England became a sovereign nation, yet governed by a king whose regal power although dramatically enhanced, remained dependent on, and created by, statute. By the time of Mary's accession, a "king-in-parliament" who was fully imperial when "conjoined with the body of the realm in parliament" came to be seen as the configuration of monarchical authority within a body politic which corresponded to a male natural body.

With the accession of England's first queen regnant, and a Catholic too, many people expressed doubts as to whether a woman could wield such "imperial" power and exercise the royal prerogative. Such was the uncertainty of the times that new ways of thinking about sovereignty were now expressed, which produced some "ingenious constitutional propositions" as to how female power should be legitimized, exercised, or bridled.[6] This chapter reassesses five key episodes in the reign: the proposal that parliament be called before the coronation; the coronation itself; the proposal that Mary rule above the law; the Act for Regal Power; and the marriage treaty, together with general consideration of Mary's use of parliament. In particular, this chapter underlines the importance of Mary's coronation oath, the first made by a queen regnant, to her sense of queenship and her rights and limitations. In doing so, this chapter brings together episodes that have previously only been looked at in isolation in order to consider the nature and character of Mary's rule, in general, and the significant contribution of her reign to inaugurating regnant queenship, and safeguarding parliamentary monarchy. In spite of attempts by her council to restrain or limit her power, Mary emerged as fiercely independent and fashioned her own queenship. In the event, the proposals that England's first queen regnant accepted, or rejected, defined female sovereignty in perpetuity and forwarded the cause of parliamentary monarchy in such a way that has not been fully acknowledged.[7] As such, Mary emerges as the ideal pioneer of female monarchy. Five hundred years since her birth, the significance and legacy of Mary's queenship can still be reassessed. As Alice Hunt has noted, "while the 'acephalous conditions'[8] of Edward VI's reign have been invoked as significant to the development of ideas about parliamentary

monarchy, Mary's reign has not."[9] It is a view echoed by Judith Richards who writes that "one point that has seldom been remarked about Mary is the extent to which the queen…was a monarch who conscientiously sought to operate through the rule of law."[10] This chapter seeks to make good this omission.

In the very early weeks of the reign, a proposal was made that was as unprecedented as the times. Given the fears raised by Mary's accession and her authority as a woman (and a Catholic bastard),[11] a radical proposal was made by some of her councilors that Mary should reverse the traditional order of coronation and then parliament.[12] Such an inversion of the normal sequence of events would mean that parliament would first legitimate her reign and not her coronation as was the norm and so make her authority dependent on it. This plan was described in the imperial ambassadors' letter to the Emperor Charles V on September 19, 1553 in which they described some "novelty afoot" with, they believed, "the object of traversing the Queens' affairs." According to the ambassadors, this proposal had been made by a number of Mary's councilors and intended to leave Mary "more dependent on Council and Parliament than she should be." It was also premised upon the belief that once Mary was anointed at the coronation, it would not be so easy to "bridle her so that she cannot marry a foreigner" or "prevent the establishment of religion."[13] Glyn Redworth has suggested that it was Lord Chancellor Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who had made this proposal in a rather desperate bid to "institute a parliamentary petition against a foreign marriage."[14] Certainly Gardiner was initially staunchly opposed to a foreign marriage believing it to be inimical to English interests, but as will be seen, his position changed. He was certainly at the center of the ongoing debate about the nature of female rule at this time. Regardless of exactly who authored the proposal, this was the "bridled" queen that Knox would claim to be the necessary limitation on female sovereignty. As Hunt argues, this unprecedented proposal represented a "significant challenge to England's constitution" but Mary rejected the proposal and resolved to follow "the usual order" thereby asserting her status as an anointed monarch and her independence from parliament.[15]

By rejecting this initial proposal Mary had maintained the importance of the coronation for the inauguration of sovereignty regardless of her gender. For her, the coronation was a sacred rite, a sacrament that conferred God's grace through the anointing. In the manner of the kings before her, Mary was anointed "on the shoulders, on the breast, on the forehead and

on the temples."[16] The coronation was, as Alice Hunt explains, "both an efficacious ritual in which the heir was anointed with holy oil and turned into the king, and a constitutional and legal act in which the monarch swore a solemn and binding oath to Church and country."[17] In its articulation of a ruler's solemn obligations to defend their subjects, maintain peace, and administer justice, the coronation oath was regarded as central to the expression of ideal kingship. It defined and limited the monarch's power and represented a contract between ruler, people, and the law to which he could be held accountable.

Mary's coronation oath is not extant and it is unclear whether the council sought to use the same oath that had been revised by Henry VIII or the one amended for Edward VI in 1547.[18] Nevertheless it seems from the report of the imperial ambassadors whom Mary was consulting at the time, that while the oath which the council wished Mary to swear did not seek to tie her to certain religious promises, it did seek to make her comply with the established laws of England. Mary added "just and licit" to the "old form of oath" to preserve her royal prerogative.[19] Therefore to the question asked in the coronation ceremony, "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 realms and domynions?" was added the phrase, "the just and licit laws of England." Beyond this crucial amendment, much of the wording which had been added to the oath at Edward's coronation was retained for Mary. Thus she was required to "graunt and promitte" to make no newe lawes but such as shalbe to t[h]' honour and glory of God, and to the good of the Common Wealth, and that the same shalbe made by the consent of your people as hath been accustomed.'[20] Therefore, as John Edwards has argued, "some of the constitutional theory associated with the Royal Supremacy over the Church was effectively retained in that the sovereign was seen as the maker of new laws as well as the custodian of old ones, though all within the traditional constitutional safeguards."[21] Whatever the specific wording of the oath, it was undoubtedly of central importance to Mary's perception of her queenship and her acknowledgment that she was limited by law. On multiple occasions during the reign, Mary would refer back to her coronation oath, to the obligations and commitment she had sworn to the kingdom and to the ring she wore as a reminder of them.

While one proposal had sought to bridle Mary to statute and to parliament by reversing the order of the coronation, another proposal sought to take advantage of the confusion and unprecedented nature of the times

by encouraging Mary to rule as a "tyrant" without statutory limitation, allegedly claiming that "by the lawe she was not bound."[22] This episode is discussed two decades later in the *Itinerarium ad Windsor*, a document written by the Protestant lawyer William Fleetwood, then Recorder of the City of London, which relays a conversation between Fleetwood, Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, which focused on whether a queen should be allowed to rule with the same powers as kings. According to Fleetwood, the proposal made to Mary maintained that since no "queen" was expressly referred to in the ancient statutes, "there is not any statute extant, made either with or against the prince of this realme, wherin the name of a queene is once expressed."[23] Mary was, it was claimed, not bound by statute as hitherto all previous legal and constitutional limitations upon the royal prerogative were addressed to kings. According to Fleetwood, the proposal therefore argued that Mary should take on the full force of a conqueror, become an entirely unbridled queen above statute law and independent of parliament, who could then use her authority "at her pleasure" to "reforme the monasteries, advance her frendes, suppresse her enimies, establishe religion and do whatever she liste."[24] While Fleetwood does not specifically name the "chiefe instructor" behind this proposal, he does name one "*R.R.militem, cancellarium ducatus Mediolani*" as the man who presented the plan to her. It has been suggested that this was either Robert Rochester or Simon Renard.[25] Robert Rochester, Comptroller of the Royal Household and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, is unlikely given other details provided by Fleetwood, but Renard is possible. Simon Renard held the post of Chancellor of Milan and this was one of a number of places, not including Lancaster, that carried the Roman name Mediolanum.[26] According to Fleetwood, Mary then commanded the "said Chancellor of the Dukedome of Mediolanum" and his confederates to meddle no more in this or similar devices. Mary, Fleetwood claims, saw the proposal to rule above the law as a violation of her coronation oath. As Fleetwood describes, when she considered whether to embrace or reject the argument to become a tyrannical ruler, she "bethought her of her oath that she tooke at her coronation and did well perceive that she could neither according to the said newe devise without the breach of her oath nor yet without the venturing of her crowne."[27] Again it is the coronation oath that Mary uses as the founding principle that dictates the course and nature of her rule and the evolution of female sovereignty. She rejected the proposal outright, throwing it into the fire and commanding her Lord Chancellor, Stephen Gardiner, to draft a bill

that would make clear that Mary was subject to all the same limitations on the royal prerogative as the kings of England before her. As William Huse Dunham has wryly observed, "one of Mary Tudor's fires helped to save constitutional government for Elizabethan England."[28]

Besides Fleetwood's account there is little else that is known of the proposal and Fleetwood provides no indication of his sources. It is also the case that although he discussed it at length in the *Itinerarium*, Fleetwood claimed no personal knowledge. That said, there is no particular reason why he would have presented a deliberately fictitious sequence of events. The "platform" itself is not extant but while we certainly cannot be sure exactly when the proposal was made, it was clearly before the parliament of April 1554 and the passing of the Act for Regal Power, to which we will return and which Fleetwood claimed was inspired by this conspiracy. This would therefore place the proposal within Mary's first year when the nature of female sovereignty was being debated—a debate that became even hotter with the prospect of Mary's marriage.

Despite Mary's apparent constitutional judiciousness, marriage was, for many, the only proper solution to the uncertainty of female rule and the best means to "bridle" her. It was widely acknowledged that Mary would need a husband to govern successfully as well as to produce an heir. Hitherto it had been the king's own prerogative to choose his wife but in the unprecedented circumstances of a queen regnant, parliament apparently sought to appropriate Mary's right to choose her husband on the assumption that a woman would naturally be guided in marriage by male advisers. However, Mary made clear that she objected to their assumption, believed she should be treated the same as her male predecessors, and claimed the "kingly right" to choose her own marriage partner. When in November 1553 the Speaker of the House of Commons warned the queen of the dangers of a foreign marriage, according to Renard, Mary responded that:

> She would marry, but found the second point very strange. Parliament was not accustomed to use such language to the kings of England, nor was it suitable or respectful that she should do so.[29]

Mary refused to accept the assumption that she should play a subordinate role in marriage negotiations and she would not be browbeaten by parliament.

In January 1554 when Mary formally announced her intention to marry Philip of Spain, new anxieties were raised regarding England's sovereignty.

While some saw the potential advantages of a marriage with the most powerful dynasty in Europe, others feared that Philip would "take upon him the title of conqueror."[30] As the imperial ambassador, Simon Renard, reported on January 7, 1554, he had heard of "two English lawyers who have been prompted to say that by English law, if his Highness marries the Queen, she loses her title to the crown and his Highness becomes King…"[31] Moreover, the Emperor was keen to clearly identify the marriage with the return of papal jurisdiction and this was emphasized in Habsburg propaganda. As Alexander Samson has noted, "the planned arrival of Cardinal Pole in England after the marriage was deliberately timed to foster the impression that the Habsburg dynasty was directly responsible for a victorious act of salvation and reconversion through the marriage."[32] It was exactly the claim made by Catholics that the Spanish marriage was necessary and providential that Protestant polemicists took particular issue with and for which Stephen Gardiner was identified as being a key advocate. Some historians have claimed that Gardiner was the author of the Machiavellian treatise, *Raginamento dell' advenimento delli Inglesi, et Normanni in Britannia or A Discourse on the Coming of the English and Normans to Britain,* written between 1553 and 1555 and apparently intended as advice for Philip. Overall the treatise sought to reconcile Philip as the founder of a new dynasty with his new English subjects and to address fears of a foreign Habsburg absolutism by presenting Philip as a "Godly prince" and redemptive conqueror.[33]

Whether or not Gardiner is accepted as the author of this treatise, certainly, as Anne McLaren has observed, the views in it were his own and consistent with his growing support of the Habsburg match.[34] After his initial resistance, Gardiner sought to harness the Spanish marriage for English interests and to facilitate a speedy return to Rome. As such he extolled Philip's virtues and sought to address fears of his coming.[35] The *Discourse* concludes with Philip being hailed as completing a line of dynastic succession begun in 1066 with the arrival of William the Conqueror:

> William subjugated the realm of England and left it in trust to his successors until the coming of the powerful and most merciful Philip, son of the Emperor Charles V. This I do not call change or alteration in the kingdom, but legitimate succession, confirmed by all orders, for the restoration of religion, the honour of the kingdom, and benefit of the people …[36]

Such a view was based on Gardiner's belief, expressed in a sermon at Paul's Cross on September 30, 1554 to celebrate England's return to

Rome, in which he claimed that queens could not exercise imperium, and their deficiency was "absolute." Having described the headship of the church following the break with Rome, Gardiner continues, "and, at length, it came to pass that we had no head at all; …[f]or…the queen, being a woman, could not be head of the church…Thus, while we desired to have a supreme head among us, it came to pass that we had no head at all."[37] Hence, Gardiner claimed Philip's arrival was a necessity.[38]

The marriage contract signed in January 1554 stipulated that no foreigners were to be introduced into English government, and prevented Philip from exercising English patronage in favor of his own Spanish retinue, or transporting Mary out of England but "at her entreaty." It was also decreed that England should not be drawn into the war between the Habsburgs and the French and should Mary predecease Philip it was made clear that he had no further claim to any authority in England.[39]

Despite the marriage treaty carefully circumscribing Philip's role and protecting Mary's position and English interests, when the treaty was made known by royal proclamation on January 14, 1554, it was not enough to stop rebellion.[40] In a rallying speech at the Guildhall as the rebels led by Thomas Wyatt approached London, Mary condemned the spreading of "false rumours that the prince and Spaniards intended to conquer the realm"[41] and referred back to her coronation as a marriage:

> At my coronation when I was wedded to the realme and to the laws of the same (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, not hereafter shall be left of) ye promised your allegiance and obedience unto me, and that I am the right and true inheritor of the crown of this realme of England, I not onlye take all christendome to witness, but also your acts of parliament confirming the same.[42]

And Mary made clear that "God would never suffer hir to forget hir other promise made to hir first husband [the realm] on the day of hir coronation."[43] Contracting a "second" marriage "should greatly advance this realm," but in no way negatively affect the first one: "we have always preferred the benefit of our commonwealth before any cause of our own, and, being first married to our realm, do not mean by our second marriage to prejudice the commonwealth." Mary spoke "in the word of a prince" and called on the citizens of London to "stand fast with your lawfull prince against these rebelles both our enemies and yours." This was a bold and unprecedented articulation of female sovereignty which was cast

as interchangeable with the authority of her male predecessors. Although she had a female "natural body" she claimed all the authority of kings before her, yet unlike them she promised, contrary to the royal prerogative, that she would not marry unless all her "subjettes shall be content" and resolved to put her marriage to the approval of parliament.[44]

In April, as Mary had promised, the marriage treaty was put before parliament to be ratified. The preamble of the Act again sought to address fears and made clear that Mary's power and status would in no way be compromised by the marriage:

> that it may be provyded, enacted and established by the aucthoryte of this present parliament, that youre maiestye as our onely Quene, shal and may, solye and as sole quene use, have, and enjoye the Crowne and Soverayntye, 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 solemnization of your sayde maryage, and at all tymes durynge the same...as your grace hath had, used, exercised and enioyed; or myghte have had, used or enioyed the same before the solemnization of the sayde marriage.

Mary was to be "onely Quene," "solye...sole quene." While Philip might "ayde your hignes, being his wife, in the happy administracion" of her realms, it was made explicit that Philip would do nothing "where by the estate and ryghte either publicke or private, or the lawes and customes of the sayde Realme of England...be innovated."[45] Moreover, while Mary promised in her marriage vows to obey Philip as his wife, as queen she asserted her dominance. The Act established that the queen had all of the powers of a king and that these could not be encroached upon by a husband. As such, parliament had intruded into matters that had hitherto been exclusively the king's prerogative, but to this Mary consented.[46]

In *Certayne questions demaunded and asked by the Noble Realme of Englande of her true naturall children and Subiectes,* the anonymous author claimed that it would prove impossible to restrain Philip from taking the role of conqueror. As a man and a king, Philip would inevitably seek sole possession of the imperial queen and if he cannot obtain it by entreaty and fair means he will use the "foreign power within the realm at his commandment ...and the favour of the Queen" to obtain it by conquest. Mary's main crime, for which she deserved to be deposed, is that she "hath and doeth seek all means possible to give away the realm for ever by Parliament or otherwise, from her right heirs and natural subjects, to a stranger."[47] But

in fact this was not to be the case. Despite fears expressed, Mary managed to fashion a constitutionally acceptable version of female (married) rule.

Philip's role in government was limited by statute and this guaranteed both the queen's and England's sovereignty before and after the marriage. It was also made clear that Philip would not be crowned and this was a position that Mary maintained throughout the reign despite sustained Habsburg pressure. In 1555 a rumor circulated that Philip was urging Mary to crown him on her own initiative, dispensing with the consent of parliament, "in virtue of a law of the realm purporting that any king may of his own authority crown his consort."[48] Interestingly, as Loach notes, it was thought that Mary had refused to do so because another statute compelled "all Englishmen to obey their kings in all military matters, after they had been crowned."[49] Such fears were still being expressed in 1557 when a rumor claimed that Mary intended to use her [false] pregnancy to persuade parliament "to geve the crone off this noble realme, to the prince of spaine, to theentent that he with his proud Spainerd might bridle this britanishe nacion."[50] In any event Mary never attempted to crown Philip without parliamentary approval and this was a considerable acknowledgment of the limits of her regal power.[51]

Besides the marriage treaty itself, another bill dealing with the queen's power and sovereignty was also brought before the April parliament. According to Fleetwood's account this was the bill that Mary had commanded Gardiner to draw up in response to the proposal that she rule above the law.[52] Whether or not one accepts the veracity of Fleetwood's account, certainly the Act requires some explanation and historians have presented a number of different views about why it was passed and whether it was necessary.[53] As Alexander Samson rightly points out, the Act needs to be understood in the context of the "contemporary division within the political nation" between those who saw potential advantages in marriage into the powerful Habsburg dynasty, and those for whom it meant "the end of their discrete sovereignty and identity as God's chosen people."[54] For the Commons debate on the Act, Fleetwood claims personal knowledge and in the *Itinerarium,* he describes how the bill was initially rejected because, oddly, it raised fears that it might itself be a platform to enhance Mary's power and bring about exactly the Catholic tyranny it had sought to prevent. In a speech in the Commons, the radical Protestant MP, Ralph Skinner, particularly fearful of the implications for former church lands now held in secular hands, warned that to pass the bill as it was originally

drafted would grant Mary the prerogative to rule as a conqueror without any recall to law[55]:

> If we by a law do allow unto Her Majesty all such preeminences and authorities in all things as any of her most noble progenitors king of England ever had, enjoyed, or used, then do we give to Her Majesty the same power that her most noble progenitors king of England ever had, enjoyed or used, then do we give to Her Majesty the same power that her noble progenitor William the Conqueror had, who seized the lands of the English people and did give the same unto strangers; and that King Edward I had, who was called the Conqueror because he conquered all Wales, who did likewise dispose of all men's lands in Wales at his own pleasure. If it be…that the said statute be intended for any such purpose, then it is not well.

Skinner suggested that the queen wanted this unencumbered royal power so that she could hand over lands and powers to her future husband. The first draft of the bill is not extant so it is unclear what exactly Skinner was objecting to. It seems perhaps that the wording of the original draft did not make sufficiently clear that the queen was also subject to the limitations imposed by statute on her male predecessors. Certainly, according to Fleetwood, the bill was reworked:

> This being said, the bill was committed to certaine learned men to consider of, who with some alteration brought the same in the House againe, and so after three readings the bill did passe the house.[56]

Once amended, it was passed in the Commons on April 10 and in the Lords two days later and became the "Act declaring that the Regall power of thys realme is in the Quenes Majestie as fully and absolutely as ever it was in anye her mooste noble progenytours kynges of thys Realme" and that:

> the kingely or regal offyce of the realme…being invested eyther in male or female, are, and be, and ought to be, as fullye, wholye, absolutely and enteerlye demed, judged, accepted, invested and taken in theone as in thother.[57]

Regnant queens were to be subject to all the limitations restraining a king's royal prerogative but also to all their power and authority. The Act therefore eliminated any gendered ambiguities arising from the occupation of the royal office by a female. As Judith Richards has described, "every effort was being made, it seemed, to ensure that 'monarchy' took precedence over 'female'

even to the extent of qualifying the divinely ordained and natural sovereignty of a husband over his wife, the assumption of which underlay so much of the anxiety generated by the match."[58] Mary had married but not legally surrendered her identity as queen, indeed by statute she had confirmed it.

By her rejection of the proposal that she might rule above the law and her instruction that the Act for Regal Power be drawn up, Mary inaugurated a new definition of "queen-in-parliament" and version of parliamentary monarchy. In such an uncertain climate this was undoubtedly the politically prudent thing to do and established an important platform for her female successors. Mary was determined to be a parliamentary queen and her agency and responsible stewardship has not been sufficiently acknowledged in historiography. Even William Fleetwood, the author of the *Itinerarium*, who was a Protestant, acknowledged Mary as "a most noble and gracious princess, and all her intentions were, as she thought in her conscience, for the best."[59] As Sarah Duncan has rightly argued, "her refusal to take on the powers of a conqueror and the role of a tyrant contradicted prevailing beliefs that a female sovereign, ruled by passion rather than reason, was a threat to political order and her reign more likely than that of a king to result in tyrannical rule" and it therefore explicitly allowed for the rejection of the "prevailing Protestant depictions of Mary as a cruel tyrant."[60]

Mary's three main aims—to restore her mother's reputation and to establish her own legitimacy, to reunite the English church with Rome, and to marry Philip of Spain–were achieved through the established means of governing and by Mary acknowledging the role of statute. It was in the first parliament of the reign that her parents' marriage was declared legally valid and Mary to have been born "in a most just and lawful matrimony." Her legitimacy was therefore made clearly dependent on statute. Yet, while this parliament also revoked Edward's Act of Uniformity, it refused the Queen's request to revive those heresy laws which her brother's parliaments had annulled. But again Mary did not resort to the royal prerogative in ecclesiastical matters, which as Supreme Head of the Church she was at liberty to exercise, despite great pressure from Cardinal Reginald Pole, then in Italy to do so.[61] As she pointed out to Francesco Commendone, the secretary to the Cardinal of Imola, the nuncio in Brussels, restoring the true church would take time, as many bad laws would have to be repealed and nullified.[62] However it is also true that Mary did celebrate a requiem mass for her brother and more generally, encouraged the restoration of the Mass before the Edwardian statutes had been repealed.[63] When Sir James Hales came to take his judge's oath at the beginning of October, he was challenged for acting against some Kentish

priests who had themselves revised the Mass. Gardiner said that "although ye had the rigour of the law on your side, yet ye might have had regard to the queen's highness's present doings in that case."[64]

Mary also used her authority as Supreme Head to push ahead with the exclusion and punishment of all the married clergy. One of the first instructions in the royal articles of March 1554 was that every bishop:

> …shall deprive or declare deprived, and amove according to their learning and discretion, all such persons from their benefices or ecclesiastical promotions, who contrary to the state of this order, and the laudable custom of the church, have married and used woman as their wives…[65]

It has been estimated that a quarter of the English clergy, some 2000 or so, were ejected from their livings.[66] Before England had formally and legally, returned to Rome, Mary therefore acted with the authority of Supreme Head, a power which she held to be wrong and usurped, to make changes in line with her conscience. In February 1554 Mary requested that Pole confirm twelve new episcopal appointments, which he did.[67] As Loades writes, in acting as she did, the queen was clearly contravening the existing law, but it had no doubt been for such a purpose that she had qualified her coronation oath' with the addition of "just and licit" laws.[68]

These were, however, isolated cases and need to be put in the context of many other decisions which she *did* defer to parliament. In the vast majority of cases, Mary accepted the role that parliament and statute law played and, as such, looks less like the tyrant that Protestant polemic and traditional historiography have claimed her to be. The return to Rome was achieved by due parliamentary process and it was not until Mary's third parliament 1554–1555 that all the anti-papal legislation since 1529 was revoked and the heresy laws revived. It was, therefore, Acts of Parliament which "finally sanctioned and thereby limited the restoration of the Roman jurisdiction."[69] A statute of 1554 allowed the use of papal orders only if they did not contain "matter contrary or prejudicial to the authority, dignity, preeminence royal or imperial of the realm, or to the laws of this realm now being in force and not in this Parliament repealed."[70] In spite of the return of papal authority, the supremacy of English law was explicitly maintained. For the key policies of her reign, Mary procured statutory sanctions. As Judith Richards has acknowledged, Mary "was a monarch who conscientiously sought to operate through the rule of law" and "although she became again a member of the Catholic

Church, she was unswayed several times by suggestions that the authority of the pope should be invoked to override English statute."[71] She deferred to English law in parliament rather than papal law. Moreover, as Samson has observed, "if anything, Philip and Mary extended and reinforced the notion of England as an empire" pointing to the use of an image of Edward III in Philip's entry into London as well as the image of a closed crown which repeatedly emphasized England's imperial status.[72]

And so ultimately despite Mary's gender, her marriage, and the restoration of links with Rome, there was no abrogation of England's constitutional independence. In the words of Dunham, "Queen Mary's reign was the testing time when men tried the principles of political law and found them good. Her policies may give the appearance of regal power, but in practice, the means she used, even words she spoke, conformed to traditional rules… the Queen in Parliament passed Acts which either expressly stated or implied rules of medieval polity that constitute the foundations of modern constitutionalism."[73] Mary acknowledged parliament's role and on several occasions deferred to its authority. Not only did it prevent Mary from directly raising the question of Philip's coronation it also prevented Elizabeth from being explicitly barred from the throne as Mary no doubt realized that any bill to disinherit her would run up against considerable opposition. Parliament was thus successful in preventing the queen from altering the constitutional powers and position of either her husband or her sister. Moreover, parliament had prevented an unconditional return to Rome. On occasions, Mary did act without consulting parliament, for example, when she introduced a New Book of Rates in 1558 thereby more than doubling English customs duties.[74] However, while the London merchants argued that the revised rates had not been sanctioned by parliament and were imposed by the queen of her "absolute power, the judges, when consulted, sanctioned the queen's actions."[75] Indeed, as Jennifer Loach observes, despite a number of members of the Commons having trading interests, "no mention seems to have been made in parliament of what Mary had done, or how she had done it, in either the brief session of November 1558 or in the first of Elizabeth's parliaments."[76]

Overall, Mary allowed a corporate identification of sovereignty. In 1554 the Lords and Commons had described themselves as "representing the whole body of the realm of England and the dominions of the same, in the name of ourselves particularly, and also of the said body universally."[77] This was "body politic" to which Mary was avowedly wedded. The example of Mary's reign therefore provided a practical, and often unacknowledged

precedent for John Aylmer's claim that the "regiment of England" was "not a mere monarchy" but "rule mixte." It followed that the rule of queens was relatively harmless "for first it is not she that ruleth but the laws, the executors whereof be the judges appointed by her, her justices of the peace and such other officers."[78] In his text *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjectes, against the late blowne Blaste,* published in April 1559, Aylmer could argue that while Elizabeth was chosen and sanctioned by God, her power was diffused and regulated by her council and parliament. Aylmer goes on to write of the acceptability of a "queen in parliament"; "therefore they have theyr counsel at their elbow…she maketh no statutes or lawes, but the honorable court of Parliament: she breaketh none, but it must be she and they together or els not." Mary had given Aylmer his case in point. In describing a corporate body politic in which the wisdom of the many "bridled" and "imparted grace to a foreign prince," Aylmer was essentially describing the regime as it had evolved during Mary's reign, in other words sovereignty residing in "the queen in parliament."[79] With this corporate and constraining political identity, Aylmer could confidently claim "[a] woman left by her progenitors, true heir of a realm, having the consent of her people, the establishment of law, ancient custom, and God's calling, to confirm the same: may undoubtedly, succeed her ancestors…both to inheritance and regiment."[80]

Aylmer, like other Elizabethan Protestants was of course arguing not for queenship per se but for the legitimacy of Elizabeth as a providential ruler. Indeed for John Hales in his "Oration" written on Elizabeth's accession, the previous reign of "malicious Mary" was best described as a 'tyranny 'and notable for its subversion of parliamentary process.[81] Hales' "Oration" therefore used Mary's regime as the example Elizabeth must not follow.[82] Yet in his praise of parliament's unique function in the governance of England, Aylmer and Hales unwittingly also praised Mary. Both advocated a model of female rulership founded on a belief in the importance of parliament to mitigate the exercise of power by a woman, which in many key regards was not far from what Mary herself had practiced. Despite the unprecedented and anomalous accession of a queen regnant, the Tudor polity under Mary I remained one ruled by law. The challenge of inaugurating female kingship could not have been in safer hands. Mary chose to follow the precedents of her male progenitors and displayed a political astuteness normally attributed to her sister, Elizabeth. Thanks to Mary, John Aylmer could confidently assert that "it is not in England so dangerous a matter to have a woman ruler, as men take it to be."[83] According to Dunham, "Opportunists had

tried to imperalise Mary's kingship and to rid it of restraints. They failed."[84] Parliamentary queenship was Mary's most significant and oft-overlooked legacy to her sister Elizabeth, to subsequent defenders of female monarchy and to queens thereafter. Mary had demonstrated that a woman could wield all the authority of a king and ritual, ceremony, and law reconciled the weak feminine body with the inviolable body politic.

Mary's coronation, which as has been shown was so central to Mary's understanding of her queenship, had provided the first opportunity to ceremonially define female sovereignty and represent it as both "male and female." As one contemporary account described:

> [Mary] was girt with a sword as when one is armed a knight, and a king's scepter was placed in one hand, and in the other a scepter wont to be given to queens, which is surmounted by doves.[85]

As such Mary made apparent that a female natural body now represented the body politic as the masculine bodies of kings had hitherto.[86] After Mary's death, Bishop John White described how Mary "was a queen, and by the same title, a king also."[87] This, and the maintenance of the primary of the law, was perhaps her greatest, and most durable, achievement. She had ensured that queenship was underpinned by statutory authority.

In the coronation pageants designed for Elizabeth's procession through the city of London on the eve of her coronation in January 1559, Mary's example was drawn upon. According to Richard Mulcaster's commissioned account, in the final pageant on Fleet Street Elizabeth as a crowned queen was depicted represented by Deborah clothed in crimson parliamentary robes and standing above the figure of the three estates: nobility, commons and clergy. Mulcaster explained that the purpose of the pageant was to "put [Elizabeth] in remembrance to consult the worthie government of the people." ln doing so the pageant presented Elizabeth with the model of a queen in parliament established by her sister Mary.[88]

Notes

1. *Tudor Royal Proclamations,* eds. Paul L Hughes and James F. Larkin (3 vols, New Haven, 1969), II 3.
2. Besides Knox other authors including Christopher Goodman, Thomas Becon, and Anthony Gilby all questioned Mary's legitimate right to rule England. Thomas Becon, *An humble supplicacion unto God for the restoring*

of hys holye woorde, unto the churche of England (Strasburg, 1554); *A supplicacyo[n] to the quenes maiestie* (London, 1555); Christopher Goodman, *How superior powers oght to be obeyd of their* suiects (Geneva, 1558); Anthony Gilby, *An Admonition to England and Scotland* (Geneva, 1558); John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against The Monstrous Regiment of Women* (Geneva, 1558). See Paula Louise Scalingi, "The Scepter or the Distaff: The Question of Female Sovereignty, 1516–1607," *Historian*, 41, no 1 (1978–9), 59–75; Gerry Bowler, "Marian Protestants and the Idea of Violent Resistance to Tyranny" in *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England*, ed. Peter Lake and Maria Dowling (London, 1987), 124–43.

3. John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558).

4. Knox, *First Blast of the Trumpet*, fols 41v, 19v.

5. *The Statutes of the Realm*, (10 vols, 1810–28), III, 24 Henry VIII c.12, 427.

6. This is Judith Richard's phrase, "Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'? Gendering Tudor Monarchy," *The Historical Journal* 40.4 (1997), 895–924.

7. Alan Cromatie dismisses Mary's reign in this regard and argues that "the crown made use of parliament at its convenience" and claims that it was Elizabeth's reign that "created attitudes and expectations that helped promote a legalistic style of government." See Alan Cromatie, *The Constitutionalist Revolution. An Essay on the History of England, 1450–1642* (Cambridge, 2006), 93.

8. Patrick Collinson's phrase. See Patrick Collinson, "The monarchical republic of Queen Elizabeth I," in Patrick Collinson, *Elizabethan essays* (London and Rio Grande, 1994), 31–57 at 39.

9. Alice Hunt, "The Monarchical Republic of Mary I," *The Historical Journal*, 52.3 (2009), 557–572.

10. Judith M. Richards, "Reassessing Mary Tudor: Some Concluding Points," in Susan Doran and Thomas S.Freeman (eds.), *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives* (Basingstoke, 2011), 206–224 at 218.

11. Henry VIII's Acts of Succession (1544 Succession Act and his will) brought the legitimacy of kings and queens under the authority of parliament. While Mary had been restored to the line of succession in 1544 she remained a bastard and only parliamentary statute could restore her legitimacy. Edward VI's "Device for the Succession" was not ratified by parliament.

12. This is discussed at length in Hunt, "The Monarchical Republic of Mary I."

13. *CSP Span* XI, 238-9, 241. As Hunt explains, "a parliamentary session before the coronation could both insist that Mary accept the supreme

headship and delineate the terms of her supremacy. A concomitant possibility is that behind the proposal was the belief that Mary, as an unanointed monarch, would not be head of that parliament, and would thus be, and remain, under parliament's authority," "The Monarchical Republic," 563.

14. Glyn Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic: The Life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford, 1990), 301 see *CSP Span* XI, 356–7.

15. Alice Hunt, "The Monarchical Republic," 559.

16. "Events of the Kingdom of England beginning with King Edward VI until the wedding of the most serene Prince Philip of Spain and the most serene Queen Mary as related by Monsignor G.F. Commendone: An Italian Manuscript in the Library of the Monasterio de San Lorenzo El Real Del Escorial," in *The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor as Related in Four Manuscripts of the Escorial,* ed and trans. C.V. Malfatti (Barcelona, 1956), 33.

17. Alice Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation. Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2008), 3.

18. See Dale Hoak, "The coronations of Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I and the transformation of the Tudor monarchy," in *Westminster Abbey Reformed 1540–1640'*, eds. C.S. Knighton and Richard Mortimer (Aldershot and Burlington, Vt, 2003), 114–5; Hunt, *Coronation*; P.E. Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation* (Oxford, 1937).

19. *CSP Span* II, 240.

20. *English Historical Documents*, ed C.H. Williams v, 467 (no 45 i).

21. John Edwards, *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen* (New Haven and London, 2011), 131.

22. No contemporary manuscript of the *Itinerarium ad Windsor* is known to survive, but here are three seventeenth-century copies: Bodleian Library, Oxford Tanner MS 84, fol. 201r-217v; British Library, Harley MS 168, fols.1r-8v (incomplete); and British Library, Harley MS 6234, fols.10r-25v. Dennis Moore has recently provided an excellent modern edition which is referenced throughout this chapter. See Dennis Moore, "William Fleetwood's *Itinerarium ad Windsor"* in Charles Beem and Dennis Moore (eds.), *The Name of a Queen. William Fleetwood's Itinerarium ad Windsor* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) fol. 214v (35).

23. *Itinerarium ad Windsor*, fol. 214v (35).

24. *Itinerarium ad Windsor*, fol. 214r (35).

25. See Dennis Moore, "Recorder Fleetwood and the Tudor Queenship Controversy," in *Ambiguous Realities: Women in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, eds C. Levin and J. Watson (Detriot, 1987), 245 and his recently edited version of the *Itinerarium ad Windsor* and detailed discus-

sion in ft 72 of the likely identity of "R.R. Miles, cancellarius ducatus Mediolani." See also J.D. Alsop, "The Act for the Queen's Regal Power, 1554," *Parliamentary History* 13.3 (1994) 261–76 at 267–8.

26. The first "R" would presumably therefore have been a 17th copying error.
27. Fleetwood, *Itinerarium ad Windsor*, fol. 214v, (35).
28. William Huse Dunham Jr, "Regal Power and the Rule of Law," *Journal of British Studies*, 3, no2 (1964): 24–56.
29. *CSP Span* XI, 312. No other source directly describes this and the *Journal of the House of Commons* lacks detailed descriptions of the parliamentary debates during Mary's reign.
30. Knox in his *A faythful admonition unto the professours of God's truth in England,* published in 1554, declared that the bringing in of "a proude Spaniarde" as king would be "to the shame dishonoure and destruccion of the nobilitie, to the spoyle from them and theirs of their honoures, landes, possessions, chief offices and promocions, to the vtter decaye of the treasures, commodities, Nauie and fortifications of the realme to the abasyng of the yomanry, to the slauery of the communalytie."
31. *CSP Span* XII, 15.
32. Alexander Samson, "Changing Places: The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip, Prince of Austria and Mary Tudor July-August 1554," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* vol. 36. no 3(2005), 761–784 at 777. If customary processes in common law had applied, then Mary's political and property rights would have been transferred to Philip and by the marriage he would have obtained the title to the English Crown.
33. Stephen Gardiner, *A Discourse on the Coming of the English and Normans to Britain*. Edited and translated as *A Machiavellian Treatise* by P. S. Donaldson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975). See also P.S. Donaldson, "Bishop Gardiner, Machiavellian," *Historical Journal* XXIII (1980). Like Donaldson, Anne McLaren also accepts Gardiner as the author of the treatise. See A. N. McLaren, *Political Culture in the reign of Elizabeth I. Queen and Commonwealth, 1558–1585* (Cambridge, 1999). Glyn Redworth, Dermot Fenlon and Sydney Anglo have all expressed doubts as to Gardiner's authorship. See Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic. The Life of Stephen Gardiner* (Oxford, 1990); Dermot Fenlon in his review of Donaldson's book, *A Machiavellian treatise by Stephen Gardiner* in *The Historical Journal* 19 (1976), 1019–23 and Sydney Anglo, "Crypto-Machiavellian in Early Tudor England: The Problem of the Ragionamnto dell'advenimento delli Inglesi, et Normanni in Britannia," *Renaissance and Reformation* 14. No 2 (1978), 182–93. See also J.D. Alsop, "The Act for the Queen's Regal Power, 1554," *Parliamentary History*, 13.3 (1994): 261–76.
34. McLaren, *Political Culture in the reign of Elizabeth*, 91.

35. On May 6, 1554 Renard told Charles V that Gardiner had had a genea-logical tree drawn up to demonstrate Philip's descent from John of Gaunt, *CSP Span* XII, 242.

36. *A Machiavellian Treatise*, 149–50.

37. John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* or *TAMO* (1583 edition) (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011). Available from: https://www.johnfoxe.org book 10, 1503.

38. See McLaren, *Political culture in the reign of Elizabeth I*, 90–3 for a full discussion of this.

39. TNA SP 11/1/20 fols1.

40. *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, II, 21–6.

41. *CSP Dom Mary*, 24.

42. John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* or *TAMO* (1583 edition) book 10, 1442.

43. TNA SP 69/2/95.

44. John Proctor, *The Historie of Wyates Rebellion* (1554) sig 53v. John Foxe also records a version of Mary's speech. It is similar to Proctor's in struc-ture although more dissimilar in terms of the language used. Given that Proctor was in England at the time and is accepted as a reliable source for other events related to Wyatt's rebellion, his version rather than that of Foxe (who was not in England) has been accepted. See also Sarah Duncan, *Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), esp. 55-59.

45. Mary 3, c, 2 (April, 1554) in *Statutes of the Realm,* vol 4 pt 1, 222–26. See Richards, "Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'."

46. Dunham, "Rule of law," 42.

47. [Miles Hogherde], *Certaayne Questions Demanded and Asked by the Noble Realme of Englande of her True Natural Chyldren and Subjectes of the same* (London, 1555), 1–8.

48. *CSP Ven* VI, I, 200.

49. See J. Loach, *Parliament and the Crown in the Reign of Mary Tudor* (Oxford, 1986), 194.

50. *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation*, I, 113.

51. *CSP Span* 13:84; *CSP Ven* 6.1.xxxv; 6.1.299.

52. J. Loach, *Parliament* 96–7;.Loades,*The Reign of Mary Tudor*, 146 n. 134 and *Mary Tudor, A Life* (Oxford, 1989), 1–2, 218. The Spanish ambas-sador Simon Renard claimed that the Act was in response to a belief that Mary possessed merely a "woman's estate" in the crown and so would lose the title and her husband would become king. However Renard himself did not credit this view and instead believed that the concern supposedly raised by two English lawyers was simply a pretext for the summoning of a parliament which could then engage in anti-Imperialist activities. See

CSP Span XII, 15–16 and Alsop, 264. Moreover the Act for Regal Power ultimately did not refer to the respective rights of single and unmarried female rulers. In fact, Renard's dispatches do not mention the Act for Regal Power which might be explained, if Fleetwood's commentary is true, in that Renard was a key participant in the conspiracy that led to the statute as discussed earlier in this chapter. However others reject both of these explanations and suggest that the act was to settle any doubts Philip might have about Mary's title before his intended marriage to her. E. Harris Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* (Princeton, 1940), 169. Alsop concludes that Loach's observation that "there likely existed uncertainties relating to the constitutional position of a ruling queen deserves greater attention than it has hitherto received." See Alsop, "Act for Queen's Regal Power," 265.

53. In his 1964 article William Huse Dunham Jr. uncritically accepts Fleetwood's account of the history of the act, "Regal Power and the Rule of Law: A Tudor Paradox" 45; as does Mortimer Levine in his *Tudor Dynastic Problems*, 90 and also Alsop. Michael Graves has accepted as credible Fleetwood's account of the conspiracy. Michael A.R. Graves, *The House of Lords in the Parliaments of Edward VI and Mary I: An Institutional Study* (Cambridge, 1981), 191–2. Dennis Moore has questioned the veracity of Fleetwood's account, see "Recorder Fleetwood and the Tudor Queenship Controversy," *Ambiguous Realities: Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Carole Levin and Jeanie Watson (Detroit, 1987, 246) As Dennis Moore has asked, "if the secret plot were known only to the queen, Gardiner and the plotters, then who told Fleetwood?" David Loades has argued that it was primarily doubts raised by common law lawyers regarding the alienation of the royal prerogative after the marriage that explains the passage of the act, David Loades, "Philip II and the Government of England" in *Law and Government under the Tudors*, eds. Claire Cross, David Loades and J.J Scarisbrick (Cambridge, 1988), 177. Loades draws on Renard for this. *CSPSpan* XII, 15–16.

54. Samson, "The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip of Austria and Mary," 279.

55. The advent of statute law to which kings then adhered was believed to have begun with Magna Carta.

56. Fleetwood, *Itinerarium*, fol. 213v (34). In the late seventeenth century Gilbert Burnet provided a commentary on the Act which he described as "a statute which seemed of an odd nature, and has a great secret under it." Burnet's source is Fleetwood. Burnet's account adds a note as to the alteration of the bill: "so a committee being appointed to correct it, such words were added as brought the Queen's Prerogative under the same

Limitations, as well as it exalted it the height of her Progenitours." G. Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, The Second Part (*1683), 277–99. For a discussion of Burnet's account of the passage of the Act for Regal Power see J. Alsop, "Act for the Queen's Regal Power," 268–271.

57. Mary 3 c.2 (April 1554), *in Statutes of the Realm*, vol 4 pt1, 222–26.

58. Judith M. Richards, "Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene' Gendering Tudor Monarchy," *The Historical Journal* 40.4 (1997), 895–924 at 909.

59. Fleetwood, *Itinerarium ad Windsor*, fol. 214v (p. 36).

60. See Sarah Duncan, "'Bloody' Mary? Changing Perceptions of England's First Ruling Queen," in Charles Beem and Dennis Moore (eds.) *The Name of a Queen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 175–92 at 184.

61. Although she did not use the title, Mary remained Supreme Head of the Church until the arrival of Pole and Acts of Absolution in November 1554. For pressure from Pole see, for example, T.F Mayer, ed., *The Correspondence of Reginald Pole.vol 2, A Calendar, 1547–1554: A Power in Rome* (Aldershot, 2003), 231–2.

62. *CSP Ven* V, 785.

63. *CSP Span* XI, 134 155–7, 168, 217. The celebration of the mass and preaching in its favor were both outlawed by the Second Prayer Book of 1552.

64. John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* or *TAMO* (1563 edition) book 5, 1184., See Glyn Redworth, *In Defence of the Church Catholic*, 228–30 for a discussion of this.

65. W.H. Frere and W.M. Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the period of the Reformation (*1910) II, 326.

66. Elton, *England under the Tudors*, 218.

67. *CSP Ven* V, 463–6.

68. David Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government and Religion, 1553–1558* (London, 1979), 176.

69. See Dunham, "Regal power and rule of law" *Journal of British Studies* III (1963–4), 42.

70. *Statutes of the Realm*, 1 & 2. Philip & Mary c.8.s.13 at 251.

71. Judith M.Richards, "Reassessing Mary Tudor: Some Concluding Points" in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, edited by Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman, 218–19.

72. Samson, "The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip of Austria and Mary Tudor," 766; John Elder, "John Elder's Letter" in *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and Two Years of Queen Mary and especially of the rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt,* ed. John Gough Nichols (London, 1850), 146.

73. Dunham, "Regal Power and the rule of Law," 40.

74. T.S. Willam, *A Tudor Book of Rates* (Manchester, 1962).

75. J. Dyer, *Reports of Cases in the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth* (Dublin, 1794) 165b.

76. According to Loach'the first parliamentary debate on the constitutional implication of Mary's actions appears to have been that of 1610, when one member argued that Mary "marrying a stranger, began a strange and new course of imposition in some one thing, being seduced by foreign advice," 181. See *Proceedings in Parliament, 1610*, ed. Foster I, 164.

77. *Statutes of the Realm* 1 & 2 Philip & Mary c.8.s.1.

78. John Aylmer, *An Harborow for Faithfull and Trewe Subjects, against the late blowne Blaste, concerning the Governmente of Wemen, wherein be confuted all such reasons as a stranger of law made in that behalf, with a briefe exhortation to OBEDIENCE* (Strasbourg, 1559), sigs H2v–H4.

79. Aylmer, *An Harborow*, Hiiiv.

80. John Aylmer, *An Harborow*, fols M-M1. See Patricia –Ann Lee, "A Body politique to Governe': Aylmer, Knox and the Debate on Queenship," *The Historian* 52. no. 2 (1990), 242–61 and A.N. McLaren, "Delineating the Elizabethan Body Politic: Knox, Aylmer and the Definition of Counsel, 1558–88," *History of Political Thought* 17 (1996), 224–52.

81. John Hales, "Oration" on Elizabeth's coronation, BL Harleian MS 419 fol. 143. It is printed as "An Oration of J.H to the Queenes majestie, and delivered to her majestie by a certayne Noble man, at her first entrance to her raigne," in John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* or *TAMO* (1583 edition) book 12, 2139.

82. Moreover it was argued by Hales, Aylmer and others that Mary's failure to use the title "Supreme Head" and so fully inhabit her imperial identity as they defined it, invalidated her legislative enactments. What is less widely acknowledged is how Hales also challenged Elizabeth's use of parliament. See Victoria de la Torre, "We Few of an Infinite Multitude': John Hales, Parliament and the Gendered Politics of the Early Elizabethan Succession," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, vol. 33. No 4 (winter 2001), 557–582.

83. Aylmer and other Protestants would however not have claimed Mary as their example. Indeed, for them her decision had allowed for the non-violent conquest of England by Spain as Philip exercised his rights as husband and king over his queen and her realm and had overseen the reintroduction of Catholicism. For them this was empirical proof as to the dangers of female rule and was the example Elizabeth should absolutely not follow.

84. Dunham, "Rule of law."

85. Antonio de Guaras, *The Accession of Queen Mary*, ed. Richard Garnett (London, 1892), 121.

86. See Anne McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I: Queen and Commonwealth 1558*–1585 (Cambridge, 1999) and Paul Archambault, "The Analogy of the 'Body' in Renaissance Political Literature," *Bibliotheque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 29 (1967), 21–53. Sir John Fortescue, *De laudibus Legum Anglia* (1537), ed. S.B. Chrimes (Cambridge, 1949), 31. Knox. described the "unnatural" body politic that results when a "king" is a "queen."

87. "A sermon made att the buriall of Queen Mary," BL Cotton Vesp D SCVIII x fol. 104 printed in John Strype, *Ecclesiastical memorials, relating chiefly to religion…under king Henry VIII, king Edward VI and Queen Mary I* (Oxford, 1822), 3 vols, III, pt 2, 536–50.

88. Richard Mulcaster, *The Passage of our most drad Soveraigne Lady Quene Elyzabeth through the citie of London to westminster the day before her coronacion* (1558), 32–2. See also Richard McCoy, "'The Wonderful Spectacle': The Civic Progress of Elizabeth I and the Troublesome Coronation," in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. Janos M. Bak (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford: University of California Press, 1990), 217–27.

The Queen's Easter Pardons, 1554: Ancient Customs and the Gift of Thucydides

G. Gibbs

In 1553–1554, Mary I, the granddaughter of English and Iberian monarchs, worked assiduously to establish her newly acquired regal authority. Surrounding her were numerous men who sought to provide assistance and advice. Cultivating an authoritative voice in an arena occupied by aristocratic men proved a difficult task and required a great deal of education, talent, and skill. Mary's sister, Elizabeth, became famous for her enigmatic use of language: "She says the most extraordinary things" a Spanish ambassador once wrote.[1] Mary's voice tended to be more straightforward. This essay is a study of Mary's struggle to be heard in the weeks following the collapse of Wyatt's Rebellion and it reveals the struggle she faced even among her supporters. It was during this time that the Imperial ambassador gave what appeared to be an appropriately diplomatic gift to the queen, but it was, in fact, a complex and cynical political move aimed at changing Mary's behavior and her queenship.

Simon Renard, the ambassador in question, wrote to Charles V on March 22, 1554—Maundy Thursday—that he had "to admonish the queen to have the prisoners promptly punished, and have given her a French translation of Thucydides in order that she may see what advice

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he gives where rebels are concerned."[2] That Renard had endeavored to admonish the queen will surprise few students of Mary's reign—David Loades has referred to his letters as being filled with the "neurotic and self-important"—but his gift provides valuable insight into the queen's political situation in the post-rebellion period.[3] At first glance, the gift of a vernacular translation of a classical text appears a suitable diplomatic present, but when contextualized against the background of the literate culture's engagement with classical authors and the government's response to Wyatt's Rebellion, the political nature of the gift becomes evident. Analysis of this particular period of Mary's reign and of Renard's present also allows us to envision the constant and precarious negotiations required to maintain stable government in the 1550s.

Renard selected a curious gift. For most of the Middle Ages, knowledge of Thucydides in the West came mostly by references found in Roman histories, especially in the works of Cicero and Sallust.[4] Several early Renaissance-era humanists engaged the text, but it was not until Lorenzo Valla's fifteenth-century Latin translation that Thucydides began to achieve greater accessibility for Western scholars. Claude de Seyssel translated Valla's version into French in 1527, and Renard must have given that version to the queen since it was the only French translation of Thucydides until Louis Jonsand d'Usez published one in 1600.[5]

De Seyssel had served as French ambassador to the court of Henry VII.[6] His translation of Thucydides was especially well respected in its day, read by Charles V and Francis I, and translated into English by Thomas Nicolls (1550).[7] Today, it is considered a problematic translation which varies from the original in key places.[8] It is unknown whether or not Mary—who was rather busy at the time—actually read the book. Yet the efforts of the Imperial ambassador to influence the queen provide some proof that the queen received different kinds of advice, in different venues, and from different people. The advice originated from men with contending interests, could be presented publicly, and represented the queen as an individual in need of advice.

Mary, of course, was perfectly capable of reading Valla's Latin version, but it is hard to discern whether she had encountered Thucydides as part of her education. Years later, Elizabeth possessed a copy of Thucydides in her library suggesting that she had read it.[9] Roger Ascham, who served as Latin and Greek tutor for Elizabeth and as a secretary to Queen Mary, had probably read it and could have brought knowledge of the text to the two women.[10] Mary's education, which had been directed by her mother,

Catherine of Aragon, was based on the pedagogical program created by the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives, which contained no substantial references to *The Peloponnesian War*.[11] Vives did cite Thucydides in *The Education of a Christian Woman (De Institutione Feminae Christianae)* exhorting that "the best woman was the one of whom there was least talk," undoubtedly referencing the section of the "Funeral Oration of Pericles" directed to widows:

> Great will be your glory in not falling short of your natural character; and greatest will be hers who is least talked of among men whether for good or for bad (2:45).[12]

Vives, however, failed to explore the larger issues of warfare, government, state defense, and morality, or to cite the example of the women of Corcyra who fought "with a fortitude beyond their sex" (3.74).[13] The political/militaristic subject matter of *The Peloponnesian War* failed to conform to Vives' overall goal of educating a model Christian lady of the Renaissance era.[14]

Even as the text became more available in vernacular translations, Thucydides failed to placed those ancient historians frequently published during the early modern period. Western European readers tended to be more interested in the works of Sallust, Valerius, or Livy.[15] Moreover, the manner in which early modern readers engaged with ancient authors changed as their own world transformed. The 1550s and the start of the era of the Wars of Religion introduced a shift in European—and English—interests as demonstrated by a rise in fascination with specific works. Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* was translated by Arthur Golding at the request of William Cecil and published in 1565.[16] By the early seventeenth century, the most popular of ancient histories was Quintus Curtius Rufus' *Historiae Alexandri Magni,* which was subject to 97 translations in multiple languages.[17]The work of Tacitus also became more popular during the era of religious warfare.[18] Latin historians remained more popular than Greek historians in the sixteenth century, leaving Thucydides with a more limited audience. Of course, royal readers of de Seyssel's translation of *The Peloponnesian War* present a different audience from the average readers of translated classics.

The transformation of Western European interest in the works of ancient historians possessed a particular political significance for women rulers of the mid- to late sixteenth century. In *Writing Women's History since the Renaissance,* Mary Spongberg describes how Tacitus equates

the changing fortunes of ancient Romans with women's roles in society: "Negative representation of women who breached the boundaries of the domestic to assert themselves in public sphere was in keeping with the ancient tradition," but it tended to lead to civil war.[19] Thucydides presents a text that focuses almost exclusively on men. As Gregory Crane has noted, "almost none of the 34 references to women attribute to them any power or ability to control their fates."[20] As a study of power, it is a very masculine approach that also expressed contempt for democratic aspects of government.

Concerning Renard's gift, H.M.F. Prescott suggested that he really desired the queen to engage the whole text, but Renard's own words contradict that position even if his employment of the words *rebels* and *prisoners* might render his meaning a bit unclear.[21] If he meant that Mary needed to learn about the advice of Thucydides concerning defeated *rebels*, that is, *prisoners of war,* then that is problematic since his gift came toward the end of the period in which the English government dealt with the prisoners. Thucydides presents several passages relevant to such a topic. For example, at the end of Book 7 Thucydides details the harsh treatment of Athenian prisoners who had been captured by the forces of Syracuse: kept in open-air stone quarries, exposed to the elements, suffering from lack of food and water, and with a high mortality rate.[22]

Another story dealing with defeated rebels includes the example of the city of Mytilene, which, with Spartan assistance, sought to leave the Athenian Empire. After defeating Mytilene, the Athenians "angrily decided to kill not just the men who were there, but all Mytilenean males above the age of puberty, and to sell all the women and children into slavery."[23] The next day, the Athenians reconsidered their initial solution as too cruel. Cleon, speaking in favor of the more severe policy, stated to the assembly "you have dangerously weakened your position without creating any gratitude in them."[24] Population control occurs through strength, not as a result of kindness and good deeds, he argued, before asserting that "[p]ardon is for unwilling accomplices."[25] While there is a counterargument presented against Cleon, it seems likely that Renard wished Mary to read something such as Cleon's argument. What Thucydides offered Mary and other Renaissance-era readers was an analysis of the past not infused with morality.[26]

Other examples would also have been relevant to a monarch of the 1550s. In the famous Melian Dialogue (Book 5), the council of Melos offers its friendship to Athens if they are allowed to remain independent,

while the more powerful Athenians demanded they become a client state. Most significantly, the weaker Melians inform the stronger Athenians "we believe that our fortune comes from god, and that we will not be defeated because we take our stand as righteous men against men who are wrong."[27] The Melians did not get their miracle, but dealing with small populations convinced by a similar viewpoint was becoming an increasingly frequent occurrence for Northern European rulers.

There are numerous other issues addressed in the text, but sixteenth-century interpretations of Thucydides transformed in mid-century. Kinch Hoekstra argues that "Renard stands at the beginning of a period in which Thucydides is increasingly used in this way: as an authority who can sway monarchs and inform political strategy—and who requires order, severity, and blood."[28] Thucydides provided a lengthy analysis of the employment of power in a time of war, citing numerous complex events and synthesizing them into a coherent narrative anchored by the theme of war.[29] He also explained how war took humanity into a moral morass:

> In times of peace and prosperity, both cities and individuals can have lofty ideals because they have not fallen before the force of overwhelming necessity. War, however, which robs us of our daily needs, is a harsh teacher and absorbs most people's passions in the here and now.[30]

For many rulers of the 1550s, the period of conflict had already arrived, and Thucydides was being employed to construct a mid-sixteenth-century justification for military action.[31] But for Mary, it was a text that provided no model for a woman's positive exercise of power—and that might be exactly the reason Renard made the gift. An examination of the events of February and March 1554 provide important context for understanding just how busy Mary and her government had been, and how a critic such as Simon Renard was unable to see it.

As already stated, by the time Renard wrote the letter that mentioned the gift—March 22, 1554—the English government had spent weeks making arrests, conducting trials, freeing some prisoners, and executing others. Thus, Thucydides hardly presented a corrective to a lackadaisical English government, but Renard's gift was made in a politically nervous atmosphere. The queen and her supporters had been unnerved by Wyatt's Rebellion.[32] The rebellion represented the second time in less than a year that Mary almost lost the throne. The regime survived, but figuring out the exact nature of the rebellion and identifying participants and supporters occupied

most of the attention of the queen and her council. Led by Thomas Wyatt, and composed mostly of men from Kent, the rebellion should have been one of four regional rebellions, but the other three failed to materialize. Some historians have argued that the rebels rose in opposition to the queen's religious policies, while others have argued that Mary's planned marriage with Philip, the Prince of Spain, inspired a great deal of the political opposition.[33] Regardless of whether the emotional rallying cry of the rebellion focused on one or the other, the ire of the opposition ultimately focused on some aspect of the queen's judgment.

The issue of gender was more implicit rather than explicit in the rhetoric of the rebellion. Sarah Duncan has argued that challenges to "Mary's right to rule did not focus exclusively—or even directly—on her gender" probably because the main alternatives—Elizabeth Tudor and Lady Jane Grey/Dudley—were both women.[34] After the defeat of Jane Grey's proclamation as queen in July 1553, she still represented a weakened alternative to Mary, while Elizabeth became the main focus for those concerned by Mary's queenship.[35] The exact goals of the rebels remain nebulous, but rumors about Elizabeth ascending the throne, or marrying her second cousin Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, prior to taking the throne, circulated widely; Wyatt apparently implicated them during interrogation, but then "exonerated both Elizabeth and Devon" at his execution.[36] Wyatt had proclaimed in the course of the uprising "we seek no harm to the queen, but better counsel and counselors."[37]

Anxiety over the intersection of gender, power, and marriage had been a controversial issue in England for many years.[38] Concern over Mary's potential marriage, debated throughout the fall of 1553, was exacerbated by the arrival of envoys representing Charles V in mid-January 1554.[39] Between January 19 and 25, Wyatt sought to rally people to arms and he issued a "proclamation denouncing the marriage."[40] The council sent an armed force into Kent, under the Duke of Northumberland, in an attempt to deal with the rebellion, but many of his men deserted and the force was defeated.[41] London was then left exposed to attack and the government was left with few strategic options, although fleeing to Calais or Windsor was considered as options for the queen.[42] The queen remained, but the imperial representatives left.

Mary then delivered "an oration" worthy of the speeches that anchor *The Peloponnesian War*. It occurred on February 1, at the Guildhall, in the presence of the Lord Mayor and the aldermen, and it addressed Mary's planned marriage and her own royal authority.[43] She equated her plight

with that of the city, given that the rebels were seeking to capture both: "Their pretence (as they sayd at the first) was onely to resist a maryage determined betweene vs and the Prince of Spaine." According to Mary, the rebels wished to disrupt government, to take control of her person, and to monitor/direct royal policy. The queen continued:

> Now louing Subiectes, what I am ye right well know. I am your Queene, to whome at my coronation when I was wedded to the realme and the lawes of the same (the spowsall ring whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer hetherto was, nor hereafter shall be left of) you promised your allegeaunce and obedience vnto mee.[44]

Mary's complex, gendered representation of her authority undermined opposition to her planned marriage because she was in fact already married.[45] In the Guildhall speech, Mary comes across as politically impressive and intellectually competent to address the issues that have brought the city to the point of a potential rebel invasion.[46] Many historians cite the importance of this speech for both the survival of Mary's regime and for understanding Mary's symbolic representation of her authority.[47]

Other sources also attest to the powerful effect of the Guildhall speech. Machyn acknowledged that the general themes of the queen's talk were an explanation of her marriage and defense of the city. In a letter written from Brussels on February 9, 1554 by Reginald Pole to Cardinal Giovanni Morone, Bishop of Modena, Pole reports that Mary "told the Londoners that if they did not approve her marriage, she would remain single."[48] Renard adds additional information:

> Wyatt was nearing London, she wished to hear from her people whether they meant to behave like good subjects and defend her against this rebel, for if they did, she was minded to live and die with them and strain every nerve in their cause; for this time their fortunes, goods, honour, personal safety, wives and children were in the balance. If they bore themselves like good subjects she would be bound to stand by them, for they would deserve the care of their sovereign lady. And thus, with befitting persuasions, she urged them to take up arms [February 5, 1554].[49]

The effect was powerful. The queen rallied the city's leaders, London remained loyal, and word of her performance spread through diplomatic circles.

A brief survey of the government's response to the rebellion demonstrates strength, focus, and speed. In fact, historians who have been inclined to see Mary's reign in negative terms have interpreted the crackdown as rather draconian. Appropriate or excessive, the action is remarkable and illustrates the incongruity of Renard's assertion that the queen needed to behave more assiduously. On February 6, 1554, two men were hanged "upon a gibbet" in St. Paul's churchyard, one for being a spy for Wyatt and the other—an undersheriff of Leicester—for carrying letters for the Duke of Suffolk (Henry Grey, father of Lady Jane Grey).[50] After a skirmish near Hyde Park Corner between Wyatt's men and those loyal to the queen, the rebels advanced toward St. James, but failed to gain entry into the city via Ludgate. Moving toward Temple Bar, the rebels were pursued by several of the queen's supporters. As they approached Charing Cross, several believed that they had been pardoned by the queen and yielded their arms.[51] Eventually, Wyatt surrendered there, and many of his followers were killed and their heads placed on pikes. That appeared to be the end of the rebellion. On the night of the 7th, Wyatt and two of his co-leaders went to the Tower. The queen and the Bishop of London called for processions of thanksgiving organized by each of the city's parishes on the 8th, and these observances were followed by further executions.[52] Also on February 8, 1554, Simon Renard again wrote to the Emperor that "Most of the conspirators are prisoners, and it only remains to come to a decision at the arrest of Courtenay and the Lady Elizabeth." While he cast suspicion for the conspiracy as to include the queen's half-sister, Elizabeth, with some political intrigue from the French government, Renard was adamant in his praise of Mary: "I assure you that there never was seen a more steadfast lady than the Queen, nor one more devoted to you."[53]

In the weeks that followed the collapse of the rebellion, the government was busy with prisoners and many were executed. The government's punishments and pardons represented different messages attuned to English society and aimed at different audiences. While Wyatt's Rebellion expressed concern over the policies and judgment of a queen regnant, the government's response aimed to demonstrate her power and authority. The dramatic crackdown spanned weeks.

On February 10, the Earl of Huntington and 300 gentlemen on horseback escorted the Duke of Suffolk and his brother, John Grey, into the city, and placed them in the custody of London alderman, Christopher Warren.[54] On February 11, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester,

preached on the topic of free will before a royal audience. He bemoaned the "filthy" lies that had been preached in the land and entreated the queen:

> that as she had before tyme extended hir mercy, partyculerly and privatlie, so thoroughe her lenity and gentylnes moche conspyracye and open rebellion was gowen, according to the proverb *nima familiaritas parit contemptum;* which he brought in for the purpose that she wolde nowe be mercyfull to the body of the commonwealth, and conservation therof, which could not be unlesse the rotten and hurtfull members were cut off and consumed.[55]

The queen was thus lectured in front of her own court, and the audience understood the bishop's meaning to be a justification for "sharpe and cruell execution." The same day Sir Harry Isley, William Cromer, Thomas Culpepper, and Thomas Rampton, the secretary of the Duke of Suffolk, all entered the Tower.[56]

These sort of events fill out the records of the next five weeks. On February 12, 1554, Renard wrote another letter to the Emperor, "Sire: The Queen of England summoned me this morning and informed me that the Council had issued orders for Courtenay's arrest and imprisonment in the Tower, because Wyatt, without having been tortured, accused him and several others […] of being of the conspiracy." The council sent physicians to visit an ill Elizabeth amid rumors of her complicity in the rebellion, and Renard stated that the queen even suspected Anne of Cleves of some involvement in the plot by having acted as a siphon of information among the Duke of Cleves, the French government, and Elizabeth. Religiously inspired interpretations found favor with Mary: "The Queen says that God has miraculously permitted all this to come out and furnished her with the means to put a stop to it by punishing the guilty in time, for otherwise heresy would have found its way back to the kingdom…"[57] Renard claimed to have tried to warn the queen about the plots in her kingdom for several months and told the Emperor that he also urged Mary to move to a more assertive employment of royal power and to remember that "[n]ow that God had shown her the grace of placing the exercise of justice in her hands, I thought she ought not to lose the opportunity of punishing the shameful infidelity of those who had conspired against person and crown."[58] Like Gardiner, Renard undermined Mary even as she attempted to reconstruct a stable political culture perhaps seeking to lessen her reliance on divine providence.

Machyn reported that gallows were erected throughout the city by February 12.[59] Also on the 12th, Guildford Dudley and Lady Jane Grey were executed.[60] The Earl of Devon arrived at the Tower shortly after the executions, escorted by the Lord Chamberlain and 200 guards, having traveled by boat.[61] Plans were set for Elizabeth to be taken there as well. Renard wrote on the 13th that "it has been discovered that 400 or 500 gentlemen and others had a share in the plot, so the prisons will not suffice to hold them all." Renard further adds that "30 soldiers, men of some standing, were executed as an example to the people." As the queen raised 1000 new troops in Wales, she also disbanded others, thus importing a force not likely to have established ties with the inhabitants of London. Mary is reported to have said "that if God did not watch over her she would fall into hazard every day, even if she took many more precautions: and this she repeats as often as she gets the chance."[62]

By February 14, Machyn reported numerous public executions throughout London:

> The xiiij day of feybruarij wher hangyd at **every**
>
> **ga**tt & plasse in chepe syd vj algatt jqtered leydynhal **iij**
>
> **bi**sshope gat on & heqtered morgat one crepullgat o**n**
>
> **al**dersgatt on qtered nuwgat on qtered ludg+att o**n, and after quartered,**
>
> **Be**lyngat iij hangyd sant magnuſ iij hangyd towre **Hill**
>
> **ii**j hangyd holborne iij hangyd fflett stret iij hangy**d**
>
> at pep alley gat iij barunsaystret iij sant gorguſ **iij**
>
> charyng crosse iiij on boyth yᵉ fottmāottvekarſ **of the**
>
> gard & ij moo at hydparke corner iij on polard **a**
>
> water beyrar thoyſ iij hang{s} in chyneſ & but vij q**tered**
>
> & ther bodyſ & hed{s} set a pon yᵉ gatt{s} of london **and at Paul's**
>
> chyrche yerd iiij.[63]

The count, according to Machyn, came to 46 hanged and 12 quartered. On the day of these executions, two of Wyatt's men appeared before William Paulet, the Lord High Treasurer, and raised the issue of the pardon that had been rumored on February 6: "Ther was promised a pardon to me and my companie, by an harelde in the felde, or els I wolde

never have yelded…and if the quenes pardon promised by a herald, which in the felde is as hir ownemouth, be of no value or auctorytye, then the Lord have mercy apon us!"[64] On the 17th and 18th, a scaffold was built at Westminster and the Duke of Suffolk was tried and found guilty of High Treason; he was executed on the 23rd.[65]

On February 17, 1554, Simon Renard wrote that:

> 200 have been condemned, of whom 100 have been executed where they rose in revolt. Here in London executions have taken place in twenty or thirty different places, and one sees nothing but gibbets and hanged men. Last Thursday ten gentleman were sentenced…To-day the Duke of Suffolk is to be condemned. My Lord Thomas (Grey) and Crofts have arrived here and ten or twelve more suspects, among the most important is (Sir Edward) Rogers, formerly of King Edward's Bedchamber, are looked for. In the meantime Wyatt cannot be executed until he has been confronted with the Lady Elizabeth, who is so unwell that she only travels two or three leagues a day, and has such a stricken conscience that she cannot stand on her feet and refuses meat or drink.[66]

Also on the 17th, Mary's government issued a proclamation ordering all foreigners who were in the kingdom because of crimes committed in their home countries to leave England, including those admitted to citizenship since the reign of Henry VIII.[67]

On either the 17th or 18th, about twenty "prysoners, wer carried down towrdes Kent by the sheryve to executyon."[68] On February 18, a proclamation "made in Chepesyde by a trumpeter, that yf eny man had eny of the saide rebells, or knewe wher they were, shoulde bringe theym unto the Marshalsee, or ells yf they were hurt sicke, or colde not come in persons, their names shoulde be brought to the Mershelsee the morrow following, apon payne of dysp(leasure?)."[69] The next day, February 19, Lord Cobham, his brother, sons, and Thomas Wyatt were arraigned at Westminster.[70] To continue the government's show of power in London, the Earl of Pembroke and 300 men in armor marched along Foster Lane.

On February 20, Lord John Grey—brother of the Duke of Suffolk—was arraigned along with Nicholas Throckmorton, William Thomas (clerk of the council), and a "maister Winter," and all were sent to the Tower.[71] The Venetian ambassador met with the queen to apologize that arms from a Venetian ship had fallen into the hands of the rebels.[72] Renard reported that the government was attempting to expedite the trials as

much as possible.[73] On February 22, the government organized a large royal ritual for pardoning a large group of prisoners:

> he sam day all yᵉ kent mē whent to yᵉ cowrt
>
> wᵗ halterſ a bowt ther nekeſ & bone wᵗ cord{s}
>
> ij & ij to gether thrugh london to westmȳster
>
> & be twyn yᵉ ij tylt{s} yᵉ powr presenarſ knelyd
>
> downe in yᵉ myre & the yᵉ quen grace ˡᵒᵏʸᵈ owt over
>
> yᵉ gatt & gayff them all pdon & thay cryd owt
>
> god saue quen mare & so to westmȳst- hall & ther
>
> thay cast ther alterſ a bowt yᵉ hall & capeſ & in
>
> yᵉ stret{s} & cryd owt god saue quen mare aſ thay whent.[74]

This event was probably referenced by Renard when he wrote on February 24 that "[t]he Queen issued a general pardon to the people of Kent after the execution of 100 or 120 of the more guilty, each one of whom implored her to commute the death penalty to one of life imprisonment; but she steadily refused."[75]

On February 22 Elizabeth rode from Smithfield to Fleet Street and on to Westminster, accompanied by a hundred men, a mixture of her men and those of the queen, many in red velvet livery. Elizabeth traveled in an open carriage; she was ill, and she went through the queen's garden to Whitehall.[76] On March 24 Sir Nicholas Arnold, knight, Sir Edward Rodgers, and a "master Dynett" became prisoners in the Tower. Thomas Rampton, the secretary to the Duke of Suffolk, was sent to Coventry "ther to be arained and to suffer death."[77] Over the next few days, prisoners kept arriving at the Tower, while eight men—including Anthony Knevett, William Knevett, and Sir Harry Isley—were sent to Kent for their executions on February 28.[78] These arrests, trials, executions, and pardons must have been an impressive sight in the city of London and they continued into March.

On March 1, in another dispatch, Renard reiterated that the government was seeking to expedite the trials.[79] On March 8, several hundred children from the city ventured to an open field to play at war, reenacting Wyatt versus the queen, but the government arrested them.[80] That was the same day that Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishops

Ridley and Latimer left the Tower and began their trip to Oxford. Mary and her council reported that "the heretics and rebels were in prison, the plot exposed, and exemplary punishment should soon be meted out."[81] The queen promised to maintain the order and be in charge in the future. On March 9, Sir Thomas Grey was arraigned.[82] On March 10, two prisoners were transferred from the Counter to the Tower.[83] On March 15 Thomas Wyatt was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

Beginning on the 13th, the council turned its attention to institutional issues and sent a writ to the dean and chapter at the cathedral of Wells authorizing the election of a new bishop.[84] Between the 15th and 17th, the Archbishop of York and the bishops of Chester, Chichester, Durham, Gloucester, Hereford, Lincoln, London, Rochester, St. Asaph, and St. David were all deprived of their bishoprics; six new bishops were appointed on April 1.[85] On the morning of March 18 Elizabeth went by barge to the Tower; it was Palm Sunday.[86] Renard wrote on Match 21, 1554 that the political situation in England was becoming more stable and secure.[87]

Against the background of a successful political and military clampdown on London and the surrounding counties, there had also been a steady stream of prisoners being released one or two at a time. For example, Adam Sherington was released from the Tower on March 3 and Richard Brikkenden of Crambrooke, Kent, on March 8.[88]

On March 24, 1554 a second public display of Queen Mary's clemency occurred:

> The sam day ye qwyn grace gaff pardon **to**
>
> serten of mo mē of kentt in sowthwark
>
> ther they cryd god saue quen mare & cast their
>
> alterf on hed in ye stret{s} & a bowt y^t su**m**
>
> had iiij or v harllerf halterf.[89]

The queen also released eight nobles after a thorough investigation had produced no incriminating evidence against them, informing Renard that "[t]here was an immemorial custom that the Kings of England should pardon a few prisoners on Good Friday."[90]

Renard's gift of Thucydides must have been associated with the ambassador's concern over the Good Friday pardons, the release of prisoners during Holy Week, and the queen's continual reference to providential

assistance. The gift represented his insecurity with these actions, especially given the large-scale pardon that occurred earlier on February 22. If he presented the gift with any of the dismissive—even contemptuous—tone expressed in his missive to the emperor, then the transgressive nature of the gift had to be obvious. Renaissance-era translations were sometimes given to people of high social distinction as a mark of honor and respect. Indeed, Bishop de Seyssel had presented Henry VII with a French version of Xenophon's *Anabasis,* writing in the dedication that Louis XII thought the work "should be divulged only to princes and great personages."[91] Translations were also given to monarchs for pedagogical purposes, as when Edward VI received the Book of Job translated into French by Acasse d'Albiac.[92] Translations were also given on occasion to make a statement about the personalities of those involved, as when a young Elizabeth Tudor presented *The Mirror or Glasse of the Synneful Soule* to Katherine Parr in 1544.[93] The youthful age of the translator and the fact that the gift went to her stepmother once again renders this a very different sort of present than Renard's gift of Thucydides in French.

Renard's stated motivation and the timing of his gift included a symbolic critique that emphasized Mary's lack of preparation for royal power. By the mid-sixteenth century, the study of Thucydides had become part of education for princes. Prince Arthur had read Thucydides, as had Henry VIII, Edward VI, Charles V, and Francis I.[94] The role of the text in the education of elite women is less easy to document: it is unclear that Elizabeth had done so in her youth and it seems unlikely that Mary had engaged the text. Renard's action expressed a psychological ploy to convince Mary to change a specific policy—especially while the Earl of Devon and Elizabeth were both still alive—and also to listen more exclusively to Habsburg advice during this period when her marriage negotiations were being conducted.

The brief survey of the evidence reconstructed above originated from three very different sources—Machyn's diary, typically seen as sympathetic to the regime; *The Chronicle of Queen Jane,* typically seen as quite critical of Mary's rule, and the diplomatic letters of Simon Renard, typically seen as self-serving—all show the English government responding to the uprising with speed and deliberation. Mary comes across as competent and as unwavering, polite, and courteous while meeting with her council, ministers, and ambassadors. Renard's gift did not start a discussion of any of the topics found in the text, but appears as a diplomatic maneuver to undermine the political and religious narratives that defined the queen's actions.

Those narratives gave meaning to the Holy Week pardons. On Good Friday, the queen met with her comptroller and secretary and issued pardons for eight nobles, including the Marquis of Northampton, and George Brooke, ninth Baron Cobham.[95] The themes of royal discernment, clemency, and power expressed by Mary's Good Friday pardons also rested upon a complex range of ideas expressed in a variety of ways in Tudor culture. Central to the royal action was, obviously, the Feast in question. Included in the Easter story was the ancient Passover tradition, recounted in the liturgy, in which the Roman governor of the province would pardon a prisoner who had been condemned to death. Pontius Pilate's encounter with Jesus of Nazareth, however, resulted in the innocent prisoner being sent to crucifixion while the "notorious prisoner," Barabbas, was freed. The role of Herod Antipater, tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, provided a further narrative that offered a counterexample to the Tudor ritual. On the day on which the story of the commutation of Barabbas' death sentence and of the consequent condemnation of the incarnate God to scourging and death was read and sometimes performed in the parish churches of England, Mary was set to demonstrate her right to the throne through a wise use of clemency. A study of medieval sermons reveals an association of clemency with the Holy Spirit, with power especially attributable to the Father, and wisdom with the son.[96] The action of the Christian monarch in the Easter pardons brought these attributes together into one royal ritual.

Also central to the Good Friday pardons was English law, especially the Royal prerogative and custom. Mention of this custom may be found occasionally, but not regularly, in various sources, including the Pardon Rolls and the Paston Letters. On April 7, 1452, for example, Henry VI issued a pardon for "all who had been guilty acts of disloyalty," but they had to apply for a letter patent from the Chancery.[97] Mary's exercise of clemency on Good Friday 1554 is not listed in the Pardon Rolls,[98] but both of the public rituals of pardon (February 22 and March 24) expressed the queen's exercise of clemency and ended with cheers for her goodness.[99]

From the Guildhall speech on February 1 until the release of prisoners at Westminster on the March 24, the queen sought to reestablish her authority through the exercise of judicial, administrative, and military action. In between, Wyatt sought to deliver her from evil counselors, her own council implored her to moderate her policies, the Bishop of Winchester preached a sermon publicly criticizing her leniency in government, and Renard admonished her about all sorts of issues.[100] By seeking

to divert attention to Thucydides, Renard appears to have tried to refocus the queen's attention to a specific interpretation of a classical text rather than following the policies she was devising with her council based on English custom and law. Psychologically, the gift aimed at Mary's self-confidence by emphasizing her otherness among European monarchs. Renard's strategy failed. The queen issued the Good Friday pardons and made a second large-scale prisoner release. Mary's reign survived, in large part, because of the queen's own resolve and actions and not the fulminations of the Imperial ambassador.[101]

Yet the political atmosphere presented a constant struggle for the new queen. Tudor society organized education based on gender and status, and some knowledge was reserved for certain important personages—almost always male. Mary's education sought to produce a Christian lady possessed of an understanding of Renaissance humanism. Yet, ironically, of all those involved in the events of February and March 1554, Queen Mary comes across most like a character out of Thucydides except, of course, for the fact that she was a woman and that particular ancient historian tended not to write about women—and certainly not ones who exercised power in the public sphere. Neither were elite men of the Tudor age trained to encounter such a woman either. Many courtiers grumbled about the queen, while others offered to help her, or sought to explain her mistakes and encouraged her to follow some other policy. Renard's gift was a part of this general political pattern. If Mary would but listen to the Emperor, and to Thucydides, then they would help bring stability to her realm, or so Renard promised and the revered Classical tradition taught.

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Sovereign Council or Counseled Sovereign: The Marian Conciliar Compromise

Joanne Paul

The period from the end of the Wars of the Roses to the beginning of the English Civil War has been defined as a "conciliar period" in England, in which a "monarchy of counsel" defined the parameters of rule and the "problem of counsel" set the parameters of civic engagement.[1] Such theories, as we shall see, were defined in turn by an assumption of the primacy of masculine rationality—women had no place in such relationships, and could serve only as corruptive, imprudent Jezebels.[2]

So what to do with a woman on the throne? This question has been thoroughly addressed in relation to Elizabeth I, whose long reign provides ample material for assessing the complexities and shifts in the difficult relationship between a queen regnant and her male counselors.[3] Less attention, however, has been paid to her sister and predecessor, Mary I, whose reign marked the first efforts to negotiate this potentially problematic dynamic. Attempts to do so have often been retrospective, attempting to outline the features of Mary's reign for the purpose of defining legacies in Elizabeth's,[4] or they have seen the use of counsel in this period in a straightforward and constant light; either counsel ruled Mary,[5] or Mary ruled her council.[6] In contrast to Elizabeth's reign, which has been studied for the many shifts in the relationship between counselors and monarchs, scholars of Mary's

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reign seem content to suggest that a single model held for the whole five years in which she was in power.

This chapter will take a different view, seeking to examine the shifts in both the theory and practice of political counsel during Mary's regnancy. By the mid-sixteenth century, complex and conflicting theories of counsel had been developed, all emphasizing the importance of a strong (read: male) monarch on the throne. Mary was thoroughly familiar with this discourse, and thus throughout her reign attempted to maintain the difficult balance between the performance of counsel, and the expression of a clear sovereign will. Leaving the daily affairs of the kingdom to her advisers, Mary maintained a veto-like power in those concerns which really mattered to her. Thus it should appear as no surprise that there are moments in which Mary reasserted her control over her counselors, and moments in which a quasi-conciliar system seems in operation—all part of the give and take of negotiating the monarchy of counsel. The most significant institutional shift took place in August 1555, when a new conciliar mechanism was introduced into the English political landscape: the Marian Select Council. This institution has received only scant attention,[7] and some still maintain it to be nothing more than an illusion caused by a complex bureaucracy.[8] However, the evidence is too strong for its existence to be held in doubt any further, and we can confidently add it to an analysis of the complex negotiations of counsel in Mary's reign.

Despite suggestions that the mid-sixteenth century encountered a "species of interregnum,"[9] defined by conciliar control, or that Mary ruled without the advice of those around her, this chapter shows that throughout her reign, Mary I worked to negotiate a balance between the complexities of the discourse of counsel, demonstrating a give and take between monarchical and conciliar control, rather than a single prevailing model. Neither a sovereign council nor a sovereign counseled triumphed in Mary's reign, but rather a negotiation between the two political models, revealing Mary's familiarity with the intricacies of the monarchy of counsel.

Two Theories of Counsel

The "discourse of counsel"[10] had both ancient and medieval roots, and the synthesis of the two in English humanist literature was an innovation contemporaneous to Mary's birth. Drawing on classical texts, the humanists considered it every educated man's duty to offer truthful—albeit rhetorically presented—advice to their sovereign. They would "lead" their

sovereign to truth and virtuous action with their counsel, to the benefit of the commonwealth. The original statement of this theory by an English writer came in 1516, the year of Mary's birth, with the publication of Thomas More's *Utopia*. In the "dialogue of counsel," the character of More defines the purpose of the humanist counselor as being to "apply your wytte and delygence to the proffyt of the weale publyque" by being "of sum great pрынces councell" where he shall guide him "to honest opynyons and vertuous persuasyons."[11]

However, in the same year that *Utopia* was published, a manuscript had also begun circulating, which challenged this humanist model of counsel: Machiavelli's *The Prince*.[12] Whereas the humanist emphasis had been on guiding the prince to virtue, Machiavelli allowed that princes must, on occasion, be willing to use vicious means to attain their ends; a counselor, like Machiavelli himself, had to advise accordingly.

The Machiavellian model not only reversed the humanist view when it came to the ends of counsel, but also in how counsel ought to be given. Whereas for humanists like More, prudent counselors guided and even ruled imprudent monarchs, for Machiavelli and his followers, a prudent monarch must guide and control his counselors. Machiavelli writes that those who think that "a Prince, that gaines the opinion to bee wise, may be held so, not by his owne naturall indowments, but by the good counsells hee hath about him" are "deceivd," for "a Prince who of himselfe is not wise, can never bee well advisd."[13] It may happen that he chances upon a single individual of great wisdom who can guide him, but there is no guarantee that he will not turn on him. Instead, "counsells from whencesoever they proceed, must needs take their beginning from the Princes wisdome, and not the wisdome of the Prince from good counsels."[14]

Although written for princes, Machiavelli's text came to be seen in England as an advice book for counselors, its precepts threatening to have a dangerous effect on those who might "guide" or "lead" monarchs.[15] One of the first commentaries to be written on *The Prince* was by Reginald Pole, who would become Mary's counselor, friend, confidant, and favorite. In his *Apologia ad Carolum Quintum* of 1539, Pole attacked the Henrician Reformation, connecting it with the Machiavellian use of religion for personal ends. Safely on the continent, Pole could have attacked Henry himself, but instead makes the argument that it was Cromwell who read and absorbed Machiavelli, using his precepts to counsel Henry.[16]

We know that Mary would have been very familiar with both these models of counsel. As a princess, she received a thoroughly humanist edu-

cation.[17] Although it was, for the most part, geared toward the cultivation of virtuous womanhood rather than political skill, Mary still would have absorbed many of the dictates of humanist counsel.[18] In fact, Juan Luis Vives even recommended More's *Utopia* alongside classics such as Plutarch and Seneca.[19] Of course, we cannot be sure that Mary read it, or any other such text, as the extant information about her library is sparse at best, but this mention, as well as More's posthumous reputation in her reign,[20] makes it a strong likelihood that she was at least aware of it.[21]

Her awareness of Machiavellianism cannot be denied either. As we have already seen, one of Mary's closest friends and advisers, Reginald Pole, was intimately acquainted with Machiavelli's works, as were many other members of the changing Tudor courts. Henry Parker, Lord Morley, who gifted Mary with a number of works in the 1530s, had recommended *Il Principe* to Thomas Cromwell in 1539, as especially pertaining to him as he is "ny aboughte oure Soueraynge Lorde in Counsell."[22] By Edward's reign, counselors had begun to invoke Machiavelli in their advice.[23]

Two works dedicated to her during her reign demonstrate the convergence of these views in the mid-sixteenth century. The first is a Machiavellian text, possibly written by Mary's Lord Chancellor, Stephen Gardiner,[24] which sets out a purpose in line with that of *The Prince*: "not to show what a prince is permitted to do and what he is not permitted to do, but only to show by what ways and means a prince can maintain or lose his state."[25] The second work, however, Antonio de Guevara's *Diall of Princes* (1557), sets out the humanist justification for counsel: "not to tell prince… what they be, but to warne theim, what they ought to be: not to tel them what they doe, but to aduise them, what they ought to doe."[26] These two precisely opposed views of how counsel should work were presented to Mary I during her queenship.

Thus, although it is little recognized, it cannot be denied that Mary sits at the collision of these two contrasting views of counsel: the humanist model, in which a prudent counselor (or counselors) leads the monarch to moral ideals, and the Machiavellian, which sees a prudent monarch ruling over counselors in the attainment of realist ends.

Counsel and Mary I

Mary's attempt to negotiate these attitudes toward counsel was a defining feature of her reign, and rather than select one model over the other, Mary tried to strike a balance between them. As regards the direction of counsel,

her preference appears to have been for a humanist model, in which she was counseled by wise advisers. However, she was also willing to take control of them and assert her own will, when she thought it was necessary. When it came to the divide between moralism and realism, it seems that it was her counselors who embraced a more realist approach, and Mary's interventions were usually in matters she considered to be issues of morality and religion.

The idea that Mary ought to be controlled by a council had been proposed as early as Henry VIII's will.[27] In it, Henry not only attempts to bind his immediate heir, the young Edward VI, with a sovereign council, but his two daughters as well. If Edward were to die childless, as he did, Mary would inherit "upon condition that… [she] shall not mary ne take any personne to her husband without the assent and consent of the pryvey counsaillours and others appoincted by us."[28] To act contrary to this demand is to forfeit her right to the throne: "if our sayd doughter Mary do mary without the consent and agreement of the pryvey Counsaillours and others appointed by us to be of counsail to our sayd sonne… the sayde imperial croun and other the premisses shall holly remaiyn be and cum to our sayd doughter Elizabeth… as though our sayd doughter Mary wer thenne dead."[29] Mary, however, had other plans, and it was particularly on the issue of marriage that she would refuse advice. On other matters, she drew from a wide range of sources.

Much has already been written on the composition of the Marian Privy Council.[30] Upon her accession, Mary put together a council from her household officers and allies, trustworthy Edwardian councilors, and long-suffering Catholics.[31] Although this has long been considered to have been an unwieldy bunch, records demonstrate that the actual core of councilors was quite a small number——10 or 12—and consisted largely of experienced councilors who had served under Edward, led by William Paget.[32]

But what of Mary's relationship with her Privy Council? For the most part, she did not have one. Mary, it seems, never attended council meetings.[33] This can be interpreted one of two ways. Either she was uninterested in their advice, and preferred to rule alone, or she was content to let them tackle the affairs of the kingdom without her interference. The answer appears to be a combination of both. Mary had little contact with the Privy Council proper, but does seem to have made her will clear to them on crucial state matters, such as reconciliation with Rome, war, and her marriage.[34] For these, she also seems to have consulted a closer, core group of counselors, some of whom were members of the formal Privy Council, and some of whom were not.[35]

Mary, however, was not inclined to listen to advice that contradicted her own will on these matters.[36] When it came to something like her marriage to Philip II, there were few of these inner counselors who were not opposed to it.[37] Simon Renard, the Habsburg ambassador, stands alone in his fulsome support of the match with Philip. Some have taken this to demonstrate Mary's reliance on the ambassador, but more probably it was Mary's will that dominated, it just so happened to have been in line with Renard's wishes as well.

Mary was conscious of the need to demonstrate that she was marrying on the advice of her council, as had been set out in her father's will.[38] In addition, she and her councilors worked hard to ensure that regardless of the arrival of Mary's "lord," the Marian council would have a significant role to play in the government of England, and she seems to have respected their desire that the marriage agreement ensure that she remain sovereign queen in England, probably because, once again, it aligned with her own intentions.[39]

The Select Council

Once Philip arrived in England, Mary seems to have done what she could to ensure that he also acted as a counseled monarch, but within the parameters the marriage negotiations had set for him. It may not be true that Philip attended Privy Council meetings twice a week,[40] but certainly Mary does seem to have taken measures to ensure that he was kept abreast of goings-on. The Lord Privy Seal was commanded to tell him the "whole state of the Realm" and give him truthful advice "as becometh a faithful councillor to do" and the Privy Council was to ensure that "a note of all such matters of estate as should pass from hence should be made in Latin or Spanish from henceforth, and the same to be delivered to such as it should please the king's highness to appoint to receive it."[41]

The most fascinating aspect of the relationship between these co-rulers and counsel comes in the form of the Select Council. Although, as mentioned above, some scholars maintain the existence of the Select Council to be a bureaucratic confusion, it is now possible to not only assert with certainty its presence in the Marian government, but to provide an accurate relation of its meetings and role from late 1555 to the end of the Marian regime in 1558 (see Appendix 1).

On August 28, 1555, shortly before his departure, Philip had a private meeting with Reginald Pole, in which he discussed the institution

of this Select Council.[42] The king, in the words of the Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Michiel, "besought him very earnestly in his own name and that of the Queen to assume charge" of the Select Council. Pole agreed, although he would later claim he did so reluctantly.[43] The next day Philip gathered together Pole and "all the Lords of the Council" and "in a very suitable language recommended the government of the kingdom to them during his absence."[44] He then repeated his earlier private exchange with Pole in the sight of the councilors. According to Michiel, Philip left "a writing in which… were noted all such warnings as he deemed most important and necessary, with a detailed list (*una particolar nota*) of such persons as could be trusted and employed for any necessary business or office."[45]

Fortunately, this writing survives. It sets out "for the better and more expedient decisions on those things in our counsel" the Select Council, which will have the "special care of all the causes of State,"[46] meaning all "causes of great importance touching the honour, dignity and status of the Crown."[47] The council was given "all authoryte that shall be necesary for them to make the most spedy" execution of their charges.[48] It also names its nine members: Pole, who was given the ability to call the Select Council "when he wills,"[49] Gardiner, William Paulet, Marquess of Winchester, Henry FitzAlan, the Earl of Arundel, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, William Paget, Robert Rochester, and William Petre.

Two days later, on the August 31, the Select Council officially sat for the first time. High on the agenda was the calling of parliament, which Philip had requested be done as soon as possible. It seems that a second meeting may have been held that day as well, this time in the queen's chambers, with the queen herself actually present. For this second meeting, Pole presented Mary with "a remembrance of those things that your hyghness pleasure was I shold put in writing as most co[n]venient in my poor iudgment to be co[m]moned & spoken of by your majesty with your counselors called to your presence this afternoon."[50] He reminded Mary of the instructions of the king, that the councilors especially consider the "weyghtist" of matters, namely the calling of parliament. Pole, in line with the king's will, suggests that rather than delaying the calling of parliament until Candlemas (February), it ought to be called earlier for want of funds. This memorandum given to the queen seems to have been the result of the Select Councilors' morning meeting, for the minute later sent to the king reads that the councilors

"agreed to the summoning of parliament… toward October 21" and that "the same day the queen was told of this agreement."[51] Notably, the Select Council's letter suggests that the Privy Councilors were not informed until the following day.

The first Select Council letter went to Philip on September 1, 1555, informing him of these meetings and their results, and it met with his approval.[52] There appear to be at least another nine meetings in what remained of 1555, which all met with the king's support; he reiterated at least three times the power of the council to decide for themselves and simply inform the king of their decision.[53] These meetings seem to have been held wherever was most convenient; Pole's chamber seemed the obvious choice, Mary's when she was in attendance, and Gardiner's home when he fell ill in late 1555.[54]

Mary seems to have had a much closer relationship with this council than with her Privy Council. At the very least she seems to have attended—or rather run—at least one meeting. Through her Select Council, she also seems to have instituted greater control over parliament (or at least tried to). Before matters were to be discussed in parliament, they were to be put to the Select Council, a course of action chosen, the king and queen to be consulted within the week, and then execution to be determined, at which point one assumes the parliament would at last be involved. In a letter written shortly before parliament was assembled, the king reminded the Select Council that "in parliament (where, as you know, great matters are to be treated) to take care that those matters are decided which are proposed for our honour and the kingdom's benefit" and commanded that "nothing [is] to be proposed in parliament but of which he has been told, so that he may make his decision known at parliament time."[55]

Meetings continued with surprising frequency throughout 1556; there were at least fifteen meetings, and probably more, as it seems some reports have not survived.[56] Although it does not appear that Mary attended any of these meetings, she continued to play an active role in the goings-on of the Select Council. This is most evident in debates over the king and queen's titles, an issue which occupied the council in early 1556.

Philip wrote on February 2, 1556 to inform the council that his agent, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, had his instructions about the ordering of the monarchs' titles.[57] The council, however, wrote back on February 23 that they could not "as faithful Counsellors, accede to the proposition" that had been put forward by Figueroa.[58] In two subsequent letters from the king, he pushed Figueroa's authority, but the council held firm against

him. On April 14, Michiel was still reporting Paget's confidence that he would "settle the mode to be observed in the heading of Patents and Public Acts" as the *signori Inglesi* wished, putting Mary's titles before Philip's.[59] Two weeks later, however, the council seems to have changed its mind. They wrote to the king that they had had the opportunity to speak once again with Figueroa "touching the order of your and the queen's titles in this realm and in foreign parts." This time, however, the queen had intervened: "order is forthwith given by her highness that the order you sent shall be used in all courts, grants and affairs in this realm" and so "we will see [this] executed."[60] Despite suggestions that the Select Council was designed to provide conciliar control of Mary in Philip's absence, this episode seems to demonstrate clearly that Mary still retained ultimate control.[61]

Although the letters continue until December 1556, there is not a single record of meeting or correspondence for 1557. There may be a number of reasons for this lack, none of which necessarily suggest that the Select Council was disbanded. The first, and most obvious, was that Philip was in England from March to July of 1557. Thus, although the council may have met with the king, there was no need for correspondence. Second, when he left England, Philip went to war in Flanders, and it seems probable that few letters were able to pass between the king and his council, and even if they did, may not have survived. Third, Pole and Philip were very much at odds in this period, given Philip's war with the Pope, and Pole may have felt less comfortable acting as his lead counselor.[62]

Finally, many of the records we have of the proceedings of the Select Council come from the Venetian papers and the reports of the Venetian ambassador, who by 1557 was Michiel Surian. He, however, went with Philip in summer 1557, and so cannot have reported on the council's activities back in England. Before he left, however, he had written to confirm the existence of the Select Council, noting that "matters of importance are to be treated by [the Select Councilors] alone, less momentous business being discussed by all together [by the Privy Council]."[63] This assessment of its role was repeated in Giovanni Michiel's extended "Report of England" in May of that year:

> I remember having written to your Serenity heretofore on the King's departure that he and the Queen had ordained a new form of Council, almost in the fashion of a Council of State, to exclude from it any sort of members who had seats in the old and ordinary one, persons who…

[were] not considered either adapted to State affairs, or capable of treating them. These new councillors were nine in number, all chief personages… over all of whom, by reason of his grade and nobility, the Cardinal was appointed superior.[64]

There seems, then, no reason to suspect that the Select Council disappeared in 1557; its records are simply interrupted.

We can be confident regarding the continued existence of the Select Council, because by early 1558 the correspondence is revived. Pole wrote to the king on January 19, 1558 that he need not inform the king about everything in England, because he would hear of this "through the letters of the Council," and by Philip's letters it seems that the Select Council sent at least one letter in January, perhaps more.[65] By February, Feria had been tasked with the job of representing Philip in the council, and so letters between the council and king are less frequent, but letters between Feria and the king on the topic of matters in the Select Council abound. Feria had his first meeting with the Select Council on January 28 in Pole's chambers, communicating Philip's wishes.[66] Two Select Council memoranda went to Philip via Feria in March, though neither is now extant. Communication continued throughout this period, largely through Feria, who complained often to Philip about the Select Council's slowness of execution of Philip's commands; a comment probably less on their efficiency, and more on their resistance to accomplishing all of Philip's demands.[67] There does, however, appear to be another small break, without explanation, in communication between July and October, due perhaps to Philip's increasing lack of interest in English affairs. The last letters were sent regarding the queen's illness. With Mary's death, the institution of the Select Council disappeared from the English political landscape, as it was Elizabeth who had to take up the difficulties of negotiating the monarchy of counsel.

Epilogue

In January 1558, shortly after Mary's death, two treatises were published side by side, which addressed the problematic nature of a woman's rule. These were Christopher Goodman's *How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd* and John Knox's *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstruous Regiment of Women*. Goodman focused explicitly on Mary's relationship with her counselors, suggesting that the proper office of a counselor is to

"brydle the affectio[n]s of their Princes a[n]d Gouuernours, in geui[n] such counsele as might promote the glorie of God a[n]d the welthe of their co[n]trie"—a statement we might recognize from earlier as a humanist conception of the role of the counselor.[68] But Mary's counselors had failed in this duty, as they "by this persuasion of obedie[n]ce, haue hitherto sought… how to acco[m]plishe and satisfie the vngodly lustes of their vngodlie a[n]d vnlawful Gouernesse, wicked Iesabel."[69] The counselors were too weak, were "playne Gnatos and flatterers" who "onelye flatter the apptites [sic] of their prince."[70] In other words, they allowed themselves to be ruled by Mary, rather than rule her, as they ought to have done.

Knox's work paints a similar picture, of counselors too weak to stand against Mary's will and lusts, "satisfying of the inordinat appetites of that cruell monstre Marie (vnworthie by reason of her bloodie tyra[n]nie, of the name of a woman) betrayed (alas) to the proude spaniarde."[71] It is a perversion of the natural order, Knox suggests, that "the foolishe, madde a[n]d phrenetike shal gouerne the discrete, a[n]d giue counsel to such as be sober of mind."[72] Both Goodman and Knox paint a picture of a lustful, willfull Mary, whose gender necessitates her irrationality, and who rules over her counselors when they, in fact, ought to rule over her.

Both of these tracts were written before Elizabeth came to the throne, although they were published after Mary's death. For those who wished to condemn Mary, but absolve Elizabeth of any "perversions" caused by her gender, a different strategy was needed. Thus, such writers reversed the picture, figuring not her counselors, but Mary, as overly weak, and her advisers as willfull and overly powerful. As John Aylmer put it in 1574, Mary "coulde not (I thincke) haue vsed suche rigoure and extremitie… Onles she had bene so bewitched, and endoted by her Cardinall, Bishoppes, and Churchmen."[73] John Foxe in his *Actes and Monuments* adopted the same strategy.[74] For Foxe, it was Mary's credulity, not her cruelty, which was to blame. These two approaches—that Mary overruled her counselors and asserted her own will, or that she put up a weak defense against the overbearing men in her life—have set the parameters for how we see Mary's relationship to political counsel for almost 500 years.

This chapter has argued for a more nuanced perspective, one which acknowledges that Mary's birth coincided with the collision of two completely opposed views of counsel—one which figured the counselors as virtuous guides, the other which gave full power to the monarch to achieve realistic aims. Mary was raised in both these views, and both were pro-

posed to her as she ascended the throne. Rather than pursuing one course throughout her five year reign, Mary seems to have constantly negotiated and renegotiated this relationship, a difficult task even without the problematic issue of gender. A key component to this negotiation was the creation of a new political institution, the Select Council, which was used as an effective means of maintaining Mary's control, while simultaneously allowing councilors to handle much of the business of rule and her husband to remain connected to affairs of state. Mary combined the opposed views of counsel by figuring herself as a virtuous guide, and allowing counselors to deal with the daily issues of keeping the ship of state afloat. It was a strong and effective strategy that might have served England well in the tumultuous century to come, but the pejorative connotations of its Spanish Catholic heritage tainted the concept of a Select Council, and the clear benefits of the Marian conciliar compromise were lost in 1558.

ABBREVIATIONS

APC   Acts of the Privy Council
BL   British Library
CRP   Correspondence of Reginald Pole
CSPF   Calendar of State Papers: Foreign
CSPS   Calendar of State Papers: Spain
SP   State Papers
VSP   Venetian State Papers

NOTES

1. J.G.A. Pocock, "A Discourse of Sovereignty: Observations on the Work in Progress" in *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain*, eds. Nicholas Phillipson and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 396; Arthur B. Ferguson, "The Problem of Counsel in *Mum and the Sothsegger*," *Studies in the Renaissance* 2 (1955): 67–83.

2. A.N. McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 95.

3. See John Guy, *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Stephen Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558–1569* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); McLaren; Natalie Mears, "Counsel, Public Debate, and Queenship: John Stubb's *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf*, 1579," *The Historical Journal* 44.3 (2001): 629–50.

4. McLaren, 90–105.

5. Robert Tittler, *The Reign of Mary I*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1991), 70–1; David Loades, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1545–1565* (London: Macmillan, 1992), 37.

6. Anna Whitelock, "A Woman in a Man's World: Mary I and Political Intimacy, 1553-1558," *Women's History Review* 16.3 (2007): 323–34.

7. David Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government and Religion in England, 1553–58*, 2nd edition (London: Longman, 1991), 198–200; Robert Tittler, *The Reign of Mary I,* 2nd Ed. (London: Longman, 1991), 71; Loades, *Mid-Tudor Crisis*, 38; Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: Princess, Bastard, Queen* (New York: Random House, 2009), 507. The exceptions are John Guy, "The Marian Court and Tudor Policy-Making," *Tudors.org* http://www.tudors.org/undergraduate/the-marian-court-and-tudor-policy-making/ (accessed 15 Oct 2014) and Glyn Redworth, "'Matters Impertinent to Women': Male and Female Monarchy under Philip and Mary," *The English Historical Review* 112.447 (1997): 601–4, which give detailed accounts of the Select Council.

8. Alexander Samson, "Power-Sharing: The Co-Monarchy of Philip and Mary" in *Tudor Queenship*, eds. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 166.

9. McLaren, *Political Culture*, 87.

10. Jacqueline Rose, "Kingship and Counsel in Early Modern England," *The Historical Journal* 54.1 (2011): 54.

11. Thomas More, *Utopia*, trans. Ralph Robinson (London, 1551), sig. C, i$^{\text{r}}$.

12. See Alessandra Petrina, *Machiavelli in the British Isles: Two Early Modern Translations of The Prince* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 15.

13. Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans Edward Dacres (London, 1640), 194. I have used the English translation produced most contemporaneous to Mary's reign in order to note similarities of vocabulary between texts.

14. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 195.

15. Joanne Paul, "Counsel and Command in Anglophone Political Thought, 1485–1651," PhD diss. (Queen Mary, University of London, 2013), 106–7.

16. Alessandra Petrina, "Reginald Pole and the Reception of the *Principe* in Henrician England" in *Machiavellian Encounters in Tudor and Stuart England: Literary and Political Influences from the Reformation to the Restoration*, eds. Alessandro Arienzo and Alessandra Petrina (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 18, 25.

17. Aysha Pollnitz, "Christian Women of Sovereign Queens? The Schooling of Mary and Elizabeth" in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, eds. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 127–42; John Edwards, *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 8–15.

18. Pollnitz, "Christian Women," 132.
19. Pollnitz, "Christian Women," 131.
20. See Michael A. Anderegg, "The Tradition of Early More Biography" in *Essential Articles for the Study of Thomas More*, eds. R. S. Sylvester and G. P. Marc'hadour (Hamden: Archon Books), 3–25.
21. Valerie Schutte, "'To the Mooste Excellent and Vertuouse Queene Marye': Book Dedications as Negotiations with Mary I," PhD diss. (University of Akron, 2014), 240–84.
22. Henry Ellis, ed., *Original Letters, Illustrative of English History*, Vol. 2, (London: Bentley & Harding, 1824), 66. The dating of the letter as 1539 is given by Petrina, *Machiavelli*, 15, although Ellis, 63 and Sydney Anglo, *Machiavelli – the First Century: Studies in Enthusiasm, Hostility, and Irrelevance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 97 date the letter to 1537.
23. See William Thomas, "Wheather it be expedient to varie with tym" in *The Works of William Thomas*, ed. Abraham D'Aubant (London, 1774), 131–44.
24. Peter Samuel Donaldson, "Introduction," *A Machiavellian Treatise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 1–19. For the debate over this work see Sydney Anglo, "Crypto-Machiavellism in Early Tudor England: the Problem of the *Ragionamento dell'advenimento delli Inglesi et Normanni in Britannia*," *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 14.2 (1978): 182–93.
25. [Stephen Gardiner?], *A Machiavellian Treatise*, ed. and trans. Peter Samuel Donaldson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 138–9.
26. Antonio de Guevara, *The Diall of Princes*, trans. Thomas North (London, 1557), sig. A, ii[r].
27. For more on the will of Henry VIII, see Suzannah Lipscomb, *The King is Dead! The Last Will and Testament of Henry VIII* (London: Head of Zeus, 2015).
28. Lipscomb, *The King is Dead!*, 122.
29. Lipscomb, *The King is Dead!*, 123.
30. Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor*, 72–77; Ann Weikle "The Marian Council Revisited" in *The Mid-Tudor Polity, c. 1540–1560*, eds Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler (London: Macmillan, 1980), 52–73; Dale Hoak, "Two Revolutions in Tudor Government: The Formation and Organization of Mary I's Privy Council" in *Revolution Reassessed: Revisions in the History of Tudor Government and Administration* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 87–115.
31. Hoak, "Two Revolutions," 89; Loades, *Mid-Tudor Crisis*, 35.
32. Guy, "The Marian Court"; Hoak, "Two Revolutions," 107; Tittler, *Reign of Mary I*, 70.

33. Guy, "The Marian Court."
34. Guy; Whitelock, "Mary I and Political Intimacy," 323–34.
35. Whitelock, "Mary I and Political Intimacy," 325.
36. Loades, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis*, 36.
37. Duncan, *Mary I,*40, 42.
38. Duncan, *Mary I*, 55–8.
39. Duncan, *Mary I,*51, 47.
40. Guy, "The Marian Court"; Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor*, 195.
41. Guy, "The Marian Court."
42. VSP, 176, 178.
43. VSP, 211–12. There is no extant letter of Pole's request for such permission, nor of the Pope's approval. It is probable he never asked.
44. VSP, 178.
45. VSP, 178.
46. *specialem curam ominus Cansarum Status*; BL Cotton Titus B II 160.
47. *omnes… causas maiori momenti. Tangentes honor dignitate et statum Coronae*; BL Cotton Titus B II 160.
48. BL Cotton MS Titus B II, fol. 160ᵛ.
49. BL Cotton MS Titus B II, fol. 160ʳ.
50. BL Cotton MS Titus B II, fol. 162ʳ.
51. SP 11/6 fol. 25.
52. Philip noted "*Maiestati Regie hec omnia videntur prudentes deliberata*."
53. SP 11/6 f. 27; SP 11/6 f. 30; SP 11/6 f. 62.
54. The Select Council met there shortly before October 8, 1555, as a letter on this date from Pole to the king reports (VS, 205); the date is given by T. F. Mayer, *The Correspondence of Reginald Pole* (Farnham: Ashgate), 175.
55. SP 11/6 f. 62; SP 11/6 f. 27.
56. For instance a Select Council letter of February 11, 1556 makes reference to a letter sent to Philip on 25 January, which does not appear in any of the state papers.
57. SP 11/7 fol. 13.
58. SP 11/7 fol. 23.
59. VSP, 412.
60. SP 11/8 fol. 72.
61. Redworth, *Male and Female Monarchy*, 603.
62. Pole writes to Pope Paul IV on October 30 1557 that he "had never ceased to exhort Philip [to peace]" (CRP, 481).
63. VSP, 1004.
64. VSP, 1069.
65. VSP, 192.
66. We can be confident that this is the Select Council, and not the Privy Council, because Feria notes that *this* council didn't meet until January

28, and met in "the Cardinal's lodgings," whereas the Privy Council did meet on January 27 and were in the Star Chamber.

67. CSPS, 359. As Feria comments on 10 March 1558, the members of the Select Council "do nothing but raise difficulties"; CSPS, 367.
68. John Goodman, *How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeyd* (Geneva, 1558), 34.
69. Goodman, *Superior Powers*, 34.
70. Goodman, *Superior Powers*, 144.
71. John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstruous Regiment of Women* (Edinburgh, 1558), 48.
72. Knox, *First Blast*, 9.
73. John Aylmer, *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subiectes* (London, 1574), D, 3ᵛ.
74. David Loades, "Foxe and Queen Mary: Stephen Gardiner: Edmund Bonner," *Acts and Monuments Online* http://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=more&gototype=modern&type=essay&book=essay19 (accessed 15 October 2014).

Appendix 1: Select Council Sources

Date	Notes	Source
Before 29 Aug 1555	Philip and Pole meet to discuss the Select Council (SC)	VSP, 178
29 Aug 1555	Philip meets with the councillors to institute the SC Philip leaves instructions for the SC	VSP, 178; BL Cotton MS Titus B II, fol. 160; VSP, 178
31 Aug 1555	SC meets to discuss agenda given by Philip (morning?) SC meets with Mary to discuss points decided in earlier meeting (afternoon)	SP 11/6 fol. 25; BL Cotton MS Titus BII fol. 162; VSP, 176
1 Sept 1555	SC informs Privy Council of its decision regarding calling of Parliament on 21 Oct	SP 11/6 fol. 25

Date	Notes	Source
? Sept 1555	SC to Philip	SP 11/6 fol. 26
? 1555	SC to Philip	SP 11/6 fol. 27
? 1555	SC to Philip	SP 11/6 fol. 28
? 1555	SC to Philip	SP 11/6 fol. 29
? [Sept] 1555	SC to Philip	SP 11/6 fol. 30[a]
15 Oct 1555	Philip to SC	SP 11/6 fol. 62
27 Oct 1555	SC to Philip	SP 11/14[b]
13 Nov 1555	Philip to SC	SP 11/6 fol. 86
18 Dec 1555	SC to Philip	SP 11/6 fol. 123
29–31 Dec 1555	SC to Philip	(various drafts) SP 11/6 fol. 128-30
25 Jan 1556	SC to Philip	SP 11/7 fol. 13[c]
2 Feb 1556	Philip to SC	SP 11/7 fol. 13
23 Feb 1556	SC to Philip	SP 11/7 fol. 23
16 Mar 1556	Philip to SC	SP 11/7 fol. 43
23 Apr 1556	Philip to SC	SP 11/8 fol. 34
28 Apr 1556	SC to Philip—concession re titles	SP 11/8 fol. 72
29 Apr 1556	SC to Philip	SP 11/8 fol. 121
7 May 1556	SC to Philip	SP 11/8 fol. 85
13 May 1556	Philip to SC	SP 11/8 fol. 119
? June 1556	SC to Philip	SP 11/9 fol. 28
14 June 1556	Members of the Select Council except Arundel put in charge of coinage	APC, 284
15 June 1556	Philip to SC	SP 11/9 fol. 16[d]
21 June 1556	SC to Philip	SP 11/9 fol. 16
14 July 1556	Philip to SC	SP 11/9 fol. 25[e]
? July 1556	SC to Philip	SP 11/9 fol. 25
? Sept 1556	SC to Philip	CSP, 87
10 Sept 1556	SC to Philip	SP 11/9 fol. 60
13 Sept 1556	Philip to SC	SP 11/9 fol. 64

Date	Notes	Source
16 Sept 1556	SC to Philip	(draft and fair copy) SP 11/9 fol. 66-8
30 Sept 1556	Philip to SC	SP 11/9 fol. 71
8 Oct 1556	Nicholas Wotton (with Philip) to SC	SPF, 261-3
19 Oct 1556	SC to Philip	SP 11/9 fol. 83
? Oct 1556	SC to Philip	SP 11/9 fol. 89
1 Nov 1556	Philip to SC	Cotton Titus II fol. 114
2 Nov 1556	Philip to SC	SP 11/9 fol. 91
22 Nov 1556	SC to Philip	SP 11/9 fol. 94 (draft fol. 98)
1 Dec 1556	Philip to SC	SP 11/9 fol. 104
10 Jan 1558	Pole to Philip, SC will inform him of affairs in England	VSP, 192
24 Jan 1558	SC to Philip	CSPS, 348[f]
28 Jan 1558	Feria and Figueroa meet with SC	CSPS, 349
31 Jan 1558	Philip to SC	CSPS, 348
12 Feb 1558	Feria to Philip re SC[g]	CSPS, 355
15 Feb 1558	Philip to Feria re SC	CSPS, 357
18 Feb 1558	Philip to Feria re SC	CSPS, 360
22 Feb 1558	Paget composing letter to Philip	CSPS, 362
26 Feb 1558	Philip to Feria re SC	CSPS, 363
10 Mar 1558	Feria to Philip with 2 memoranda of SC (lost)	CSPS, 367
6 Apr 1558	Philip to SC	SP 11/12 fol. 121
6 Apr 1558	Feria to Philip, SC writing to him	CSPS, 376
1 May 1558	SC to Philip	CSPS, 381[h]
5 May 1558	SC to Philip	CSPS, 380
7 May 1558	Philip to SC	CSPS, 381
7 May 1558	Philip to Feria re SC	CSPS, 382
7 May 1558	SC to Philip	CSPS, 387[i]
17 May 1558	SC to Philip	CSPS, 384-5
18 May 1558	Feria to Philip re SC	CSPS, 385
27 May 1558	Philip to SC	CSPS, 389

Date	Notes	Source
27 May 1558	Philip to Feria re SC	CSPS, 390
27 May 1558	Philip to Feria re SC	CSPS, 391
6 June 1558	Feria to Philip re SC	CSPS, 394
19 June 1558	Philip to Feria re SC	CSPS, 398
23 June 1558	Feria to Philip re SC	CSPS, 399
5 July 1558	Feria to Philip re SC	CSPS, 402-3
22 Oct 1558	Philip to SC	SP 11/14 fol. 4
27 Oct 1558	SC to Philip	CSP, 108

[a]Redworth, *Male and Female Monarchy*, 603 dates this letter to 26 September 1555
[b]No folio number given
[c]The letter is mentioned, but is not extant
[d]The letter is mentioned, but is not extant
[e]The letter is mentioned, but is not extant
[f]The letter is mentioned, but is not extant
[g]This is given as "Privy Council" in the translation, but almost certainly refers to the Select Council
[h]The letter is mentioned, but is not extant
[i]The letter is mentioned, but is not extant

Culture Under Mary I and Philip

Alexander Samson

The literary culture of England and its court under Philip and Mary I labors under the weight of two major fault lines in our understanding of the Tudor period. Firstly, it suffers from the persistent sense of Marian England as a "barren interlude,"[1] to use Conyers Read's phrase, twinning Mary's reproductive problems with the political history of her reign; a kingdom dominated by foreign interlopers, a Habsburg satellite or papal fief alienated from its true indigenous roots as an "ancient empire." This is compounded by the notion that humanism was the preserve of evangelicals, a counterpart of the anti-Catholic bias implicit in the historiography. Viewing English Catholicism in this period as a sterile anachronism rather than a creative and vibrant source of new thinking has been thoroughly contested by revisionist perspectives on the Reformation.[2] Secondly, it lies at the heart of what C.S.Lewis dubbed the "drab age"; a literary wasteland lacking the political interest of the Henrician period and the sophisticated vernacular forms that had emerged by the middle of Elizabeth's reign.[3] The notion that "between 1547 and 1580… English literature 'retreated' or 'lapsed' into a pre-Henrician or premodern medieval state" has rightly been contested.[4] What is notable, however, is that despite this shift in paradigm, the reign of Philip and Mary has not been "polished." This chapter seeks to offer a more balanced assessment of the

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cultural achievements of the period and counter the difficulties presented by the Anglo-Spanish moment, foregrounding developments in translation and Neo-Latin studies, transnational and religious histories, and vernacular print culture. Moving away from parochial, insular, national constructions of English culture, it suggests some of the ways in which the literary history of the period needs to be seen as part of broader developments in European vernacular culture. Closer contact, brought about by the marriage with a metropolitan, multilingual intellectual culture stretching across the high prestige, dynamic cultures of Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries, was a key driver of new forms of writing and cultural achievement in England.

In a famous 1981 essay, J.W.Martin argued that the Marian establishment failed fundamentally to understand the importance of print. He criticized their lack of imagination in exploiting polemical opportunities, such as John Cheke's recantation of his religious views, and pointed to their disinterest in "communicating with the public at large," typified by their lack of support for the able Catholic propagandist Miles Hogarde.[5] Trying to control the book trade and increase the distance between clergy and laity, far from being a retrograde step and a symptom of their backwardness, however, was a key element of their strategy for re-Catholicisation. Works of religious controversy, even when perhaps they defended Catholic viewpoints, were not welcomed under Mary in the same way as they had been in the previous reign. Damping down the kind of discussion criticized in the proclamation on religious differences could hardly be achieved by engaging in further incendiary polemic.[6] An outpouring of editions had followed the end of Henry's reign and the relaxation of the legislation regulating print. The number of titles printed in the years 1547–1550 was unsurpassed until after 1570. So although levels of production dropped under Mary, they were also lower for the first decade of the Elizabethan period as well.[7] Far from misunderstanding print, it seems the Marian authorities understood its dangers all too well: "The Marian regime was from the beginning determined to impose discipline on the book trade, rightly recognizing that its most prominent members were men who owed their commercial success to the Edwardian Reformation."[8] By September 1553, nine of the seventeen printers active at the time of Edward's death had closed down, including the five most prolific shops, responsible for 60% of the total output during those years. Nevertheless, there were no definitive cases of printers fleeing into exile, despite the obvious reformist affiliations of many of them.[9] Nor was there any notable decline in the

numbers of printers active under Mary, the figure dropping marginally from twenty-nine to twenty-six. Richard Grafton, the alderman principally responsible for the royal entry welcoming Philip and Mary into London in August 1554, was one of the few who became inactive, no doubt due in part to his having printed the proclamation of Jane Grey as queen.

Jennifer Loach's rebuttal of Martin's article argued that although fewer items were printed in Mary's reign, the quality and length of the productions were greater.[10] The issue of quality is problematic. However, Marian books were not on average bigger than Edwardian ones. The most recent figures show that Edwardian presses saw 1106 editions compared to 605 under Mary, while the average size of a book shrank from 18½ sheets to 16. In other words, factoring in the length of their respective reigns and average book size, production fell to 56% of what it had been.[11] Loach does make the important point, however, that: "A very substantial part of her government's propaganda effort was not written in English, therefore, nor even printed in London. It is perhaps for this reason that historians have failed to recognize its full scope."[12] Because of the transnational nature of England's monarchy under Mary, considering only English printed material distorts the picture of culture under Philip and Mary. Much criticism of their record for printing draws on the statistics for propaganda and polemic gathered in Baskerville's *A Chronological Bibliography of Propaganda and Polemic Published in English between 1553 and 1558*, which shows that in spite of persecution and exile, Protestant titles outstripped Catholic works by 114 titles to 93. Furthermore, there was a sharp decline in the volume of Catholic publications after 1556. By 1558 they were producing only two titles a year.[13] Although this clearly represents a marginal evangelical win, officially sanctioned Catholic writing was more often instructional and catechistic than polemic, aimed not at the self-educated but at those charged with disseminating orthodoxy to the public at large. There were notable Catholic books produced, including Edmund Bonner's *A profitable and necessarye doctryne with certayne homilies* (London: John Cawood, 1555), "a neglected masterpiece of Tudor catechesis."[14] Eighteen liturgical works appeared, while a further fourteen were printed abroad for the English market, and there was an unprecedented production of primers, twenty-two in England and a further eleven in Rouen or thirty-one in total compared to seventeen under Edward. If "the regime's only visible publishing strategy seems to have been to stand back and let the book-trade professionals respond to demand," then in this it differed little from the previous one. Neither Mary nor her half-brother

was especially interested in commissioning books directly.[15] Nor was the Marian church in any way averse to an English translation of the Bible, although one never materialized.[16] These figures leave out the most important production of the Marian English Church, the monumental work by the Spanish Dominican, Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda, intended for translation into English to serve as foundational text for its new church, the *Comentarios sobre el catecismo christiano* (Antwerp: Martin Nuyts, 1558). This catechism plunged its author into serious difficulties with the Inquisition after his return to Spain as primate. The notion of Catholicism under Philip and Mary as moribund, un-English, or uncreative has been demolished and replaced by a picture of an establishment in fact spearheading the Counter Reformation on the continent.[17] In terms of disseminating its message, the Marian regime made good use of preaching and Paul's Cross sermons.[18] Blayney speculates fascinatingly that Philip's decision to remove control over censorship from the Inquisition and give it to the Royal Council immediately before embarking for England in 1554 and then the savage penalties for possessing prohibited books issued in his name in 1558 reflect a monarch "in his dealings with the book trade" taking "hints from the Tudors."[19] The steps toward the incorporation of the Stationers' Company on May 4, 1557, following an initial flurry of activity in 1554–1555, coincided with Philip's presence in London for the marriage and his return in March 1557 to canvass for the French war. Granting a commercial monopoly and incorporating the Company were the most important changes to the trade in the first century of print and were definitively a Marian innovation. It responded to the perception, as the preamble (calculated to appeal to the monarchs) stated, that "no lack of seditious and heretical books, rhymes, and treatises are daily published, printed, and impressed by divers scandalous, malicious, schismatical, and heretical persons."[20] Prominent evangelical printers simply adapted and despite their prior careers did not suffer under Mary. These were not the actions of a government that did not understand the importance of print or one that sought to open a window on its subjects' souls.

There are interesting contrasts in the types of outputs from this period, including a marked revival in the printing of romances of chivalry. Before 1554 no extant edition survives from after 1530, a lost generation.[21] As has been argued recently, the revival had little to do with a return of "monkish" tastes or resurgence of provincial, female, uneducated readers; rather readers "often viewed themselves as belonging to communities with common traditionalist imperatives, an audience engaged not

simply in a passive *non-attendance* to the precepts of New Learning and New Religion, but in a conscious affirmation of principles—primarily the twin concepts of power delegation and intercession—which under-pinned provincial power structures."[22] This is an interesting claim given Mary's status as the largest baronial landowner in England after the king during the previous reign. Her personal affinity, to some extent a function of the geography of her land holdings and personal itinerary around Tudor England, was largely retained after her accession to the throne. Catholicism remained the majority religion, especially deeply rooted in the provinces. It is easy to understand why the necessary centralization of the reformed Tudor state under Henry and Edward, with sweeping power concentrated in the hands of a select coterie of favored technocrats, ceding to a new imperial multinationalism might be broadly welcomed in outlying areas of the kingdom. One notable feature of the extant drama from the reign is the scale of activity away from the center, whether in Cornwall, Norwich, or Shropshire.[23] The tensions between localism, centralization, and internationalism were also apparent from the need of the Council to remind Philip that certain grants or licenses he was inclined to grant to individuals, following direct appeals to him, were against the law and exceeded royal authority. The printer most directly responsible for the Marian revival of romance, William Copeland, had originally printed evangelical propaganda under Somerset, but moved quickly into the new market for romance, producing new editions of *Guy of Warwick* (1553?), *The Right Pleasant and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aimon* (1554), *Syr Eglamonre of Artoys* (1555?), *The Hystory of the two Valyaunte Brethren Valentyne and Orson* (1555?), and Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* as The *Story of the Moste Noble and Worthy Kynge Arthur* (1557), the first since Wynkyn de Worde in 1529, as well as the first edition of *The Knight of Curtesy and lady of Faguell* (1556?).[24] When romance underwent a revival in the 1580s, it was in the context of new translations from Spanish or Italian, including Margaret Tyler's *The Mirrour of Princely Deeds and Knighthood*, one of the most intriguing turnings of Diego Ortuñez de Calahorra's *Espejo de Principes y Caballeros*, whose geography reflects Habsburg imperial desires, not least in the prospect of a revival of the link with England (through Rosicleer's love for Olivia, heir to the English throne), a distant echo perhaps of the marriage of Philip and Mary.[25]

The links between language and culture were more tenuous in this period due to the international nature of the book market, dynasticism, the predominance of classical languages, and their close ties to vernacular

textual production. This question of what a culture is, is especially acute in the case of polycentric monarchies like that of the Habsburgs. Philip had to be presented in Antwerp in 1549 to the subjects of his wealthiest and most densely populated inherited kingdoms by Cardinal Granvelle, speaking neither Latin, French, Flemish nor Dutch to a sufficient level. Philip as king of England did learn the phrase "Good-night my lords all," but as far as we know that is the only English he ever learned, while Philip and Mary communicated by speaking different languages to each other.[26] A good example of the difficulties of assigning a place to cultural goods in this period is the Spanish humanist and physician Andrés Laguna's new editions of the botanist Dioscorides. His new Latin translation published in Venice in 1554 was dedicated to Philip's secretary Gonzalo Pérez, while the Spanish version that appeared in Antwerp in September 1555 was dedicated to Philip himself, who had just crossed the channel to Brussels. Philip was an enthusiastic horticulturalist, dubbed "Antófilo" or flower lover, and had been impressed by England's verdant pleasure gardens, employing an English gardener in the development of his palace at Aranjuez, as well as importing a thousand English elms after his return to the Iberian peninsula in 1559.[27] The beautifully illuminated frontispieces of several presentation copies prominently display Philip's coat of arms, one half of the escutcheon representing his title of King of England. The question is where do we place a book like this; a Spanish translation from Greek published in the Netherlands, dedicated to Philip in part as English king. Motivating the translation itself was the competition for prestige among emerging vernaculars. Laguna suggested that Spanish "por nuestro descuydo, o por alguna siniestra constelacion, ha sido siempre la menos cultiuada de todas, con ser ella la mas capaz, ciuil, y fecunda de las vulgares" [as a result of our carelessness or for some malign heavenly influence has always been the least cultivated, despite being the most able, civil and fertile modern language].[28] Thomas Hill's publication under Mary of his *A most briefe and pleasaunte treatise, teachyng how to dresse, sowe, and set a garden* (London: John Day for Thomas Hill, 1558?) might usefully be contextualized in relation to the king's known interest in gardening and Laguna's editions of Dioscorides, as might the appearance of Thomas Tusser's agrarian classic *An hundreth good pointes of husbandrie*, dedicated to the Lord Privy Seal, Paget, published by Richard Totell, with the motto on the title page "The wife to, must husband as well as the man,"[29] an apt sentiment for the co-monarchy of Philip and Mary.

Two significant publications about marriage appeared in the first two years of Mary's reign. The humanist and former tutor to Philip, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda's *De ritu nuptiarum et dispensatione libri tres* appeared in November 1553 from the queen's printer John Cawood, just as the discussion of Mary's marriage reached a head. Pointedly again, Thomas Paynell's translation of Juan Luis Vives' *The Office and Duetie of a Husband* was published in 1555, just as Philip was about to depart the country. Vives' original Latin edition of 1529 had contained a eulogy to Catherine despite his quarrel with her. The translation was addressed to Sir Anthony Browne, initially Master of Horse to the king, elevated to the peerage as Viscount Montagu in September 1554, who was then contemplating remarriage. It explained the importance of choosing a spouse to avoid any occasion "of breache, or of diuorsement, the whiche (O lorde) is nothynge in these oure dayes regarded: for why? to haue many wiues 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."[30] The oblique, critical reference to Henry VIII, possible only after the accession of Mary, demonstrates a historiographical shift, which laid the ground for the resurrection of Catherine of Aragon as "the type of pious, learned, and domesticated woman."[31] A Latin oration by the Polish knight, Leonard Gorecki, published in 1554, *Oratio Leonhardi Goretii Equitis Poloni de matrimonio serenissimi ac potentissi, serenissimae potentissimaeq[ue] Dei gratia Regis ac Reginae Angliae, Hispaniae* had compared Anne Boleyn to Salome,[32] while Mary's chaplain, William Forest, presented a poem about her mother to the queen in June 1558, *The history of Grisild the second*. It makes no mention of Philip and stages fictional scenes between Catherine and Mary that eschew public history in favor of closeted private grief, a gesture that passes over more complicated political history in favor of praising her as maid rather than wife and possible mother.[33] His *A newe ballade of the marigolde* (1554) from the outset of the reign similarly invoked personal fealty to Mary to offset discontent with royal policy and indigenous sensitivity to the Spanish marriage by figuring the reader's identification at the level of the personal. Paynell was also involved in two other publications with the king and queen's printer Cawood, translating sermons by St Augustine in 1557 and Latin prayers by the conservative Cuthbert Tunstall in 1558, the churchman released by Mary and restored to the bishopric of Durham in April 1554.[34]

On the voyage from La Coruña to Southampton, Philip had been entertained by Agustín de Zárate reading extracts from his manuscript *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru*, which the king ordered him to publish and was duly printed at Antwerp in 1555: "vuestra Magestad me hizo a mi tanta merced, y a el tan gran fauor, de leerle en el viaje y nauegacion que prosperamente hizo de la Coruña a Inglaterra, y recebirle por suyo, y mandarme que le publicasse y hiziesse imprimir" [your Majesty did me and it so much favor, in reading it on the journey and voyage that you prosperously undertook from La Coruña to England, and receiving it for your own ordered that it be published and printed].[35] Alonso de Ercilla, the epic poet of *La Araucana*, was still serving as a page in Philip's household on the voyage, before being given license to travel to Chile to suppress the Mapuche uprising against Pedro de Validivia that had broken out in 1553. Also present at the wedding in England was Martin Cortés, the legitimate son of Hernán Cortés and Juana de Zúñiga, who, as one commentator noted ironically in his list of nations, represented ""servio por indio" [served to represent native American Indians]."[36] Stephen Borough, after his successful voyage and establishment of the Muscovy Company in 1556, had traveled to Seville's Casa de Contratación, where he came across another Martin Cortés' *Arte de navegar*, which he had translated by Richard Eden in 1561, the first navigational treatise to be published in English. Eden had also produced a translation of Peter Martire d'Anghiera's *De novo orbe* in 1555, *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India, conteynyng the navigations and conquestes of the Spanyards.* Dedicated to Philip and Mary, it sought to stimulate English colonial endeavors through the emulation of Spain underlining "that the heroical factes of the Spaniardes of these days, deserue so great prayse."[37] The *Queen Mary Atlas*, the first map to show the conquest of Chile, was probably a commission by Mary for Philip, although it was not finished until after her death, hence its hastily altered dedication and the erasure of the Spanish coat of arms quartered with those of England on its title page.[38] In addition to the unique opportunities for Englishmen to access and learn from Spain's cartographic expertise and colonial knowledge provided by the marriage, exchanges in horticulture, and the revival of romance, it also stimulated England to enter into the multilingual world of European vernacular culture.

The first works of bilingual lexicography in English date from early in Mary's reign. *A Very Profitable Boke to Lerne the Maner of Redyng,*

Writyng, Speakyng English (London: John Kingston and Henry Sutton for John Wight, 1554) contained sample dialogues in parallel columns, while *The Boke of Englysshe and Spanysshe* (London: Robert Wyer, 1554?) was a vocabulary and phrase book. Clearly designed to be of practical use to the thousands of Spanish travelers and English merchants, artisans and others, who needed to interact with each other in the context of the dynastic match of the century, these language learning/phrase books are fascinating because of the way they envisage the types of exchange and dialogues most useful to travelers. Unfortunately their specific content cannot be wholly related to the marriage. *The boke of Englysshe and Spanysshe* was extracted and reordered from the polyglot *Sex linguarum, Latinae, Gallicae, Hispanicae, Italicae, Anglicae, et Teutonice* (Venice: Marchio Sessa, 1541),[39] while *A Very Profitable Boke* is an adaptation of a German work entitled *Vocabulaer in vier spraken Duytsch, Francois, Latijn, ende Spaensch, profiteliick allen den ghenen die dese spraken leeren willen* (Louvain: Batholome de Grave, 1551) compiled by Noel van Barlement, using the Spanish provided and adding English translations.[40] The latter book was divided into four; giving examples of conversation "at meate," of "fashions of buiyng and sellyng," of "How to call upon debitours," 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 excuse."[41] In the third section "How to call upon debitours":

> *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?[42]

The sample dialogues imagine conviviality as well as some of the difficulties implicit in being a foreigner involved in mercantile exchange, such as negotiating the exact exchange rate for foreign coinage. One section details a disagreement as to whether a coin is worth 36½ stuphers, translated as "placas" in Spanish. A number of mistakes are apparent in the Spanish translations, suggesting that the anonymous adapter was not a native speaker, but probably a Habsburg subject from the Low Countries. Bruges, Antwerp, and Ghent are all alluded to in the section on debt. "Come in" is rendered "Entradad aqui," "overcome" as "vencidado," while "brown" is translated

"moron" and "buen paño y buen lienço" is simplified as "good wollen clothe" as opposed to cloth and linen. At times there are some well chosen idiomatic equivalents, "Good wife what is the price of" being rendered "Señora quanto pedis por la vara," although there is additional information included in the Spanish, the qualification "by the yard." Parts deal with days of the week, names, forms of address, and "many dayly facions of speakyng, whiche we use when we sytte at meate."[43] As well as idiomatic phrases for postprandial conversation, both texts possess a significant religious content, including translations of the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, articles of faith, the Ten Commandments, and "Grace at the table" in *A Very Profitable Boke* and God and the trinity, seven works of mercy, seven deadly sins, the devil, hell, and purgatory in *The boke of Englysshe and Spanysshe*.[44] In addition to pragmatic economic interchanges, they also model violent confrontations ("I am euyll plesed / Yo soy mal contento. Thou lyest / Tu mientes. I am begyled / Soy agañado…Of a knave / De un bellaco"), as well as more intimate situations such as sharing a bed: "For thou doest no Thynge all nyght but snore / Por que toda la noche no hazes sino roncar."[45] The main intention of these two modern language-learning books, according to the subject matter, was the promotion of trade. Their principal market must have been among the two thousand artisans who followed Philip to settle in London and those who traded with them.

Unfortunately, vernacular translations did not flow in significant numbers from the cultural melange of this Anglo-Spanish court. The one book translated from Spanish was John Wilkinson's version of the *Comentaries of Don Lewes de Auela and Suniga*, although there are indications he consulted French and Latin versions as well. Like the Tunis tapestries celebrating Charles V's victories over a Muslim foe in 1535, displayed in Philip's private apartments at Whitehall, it is a telling choice, this time commemorating the emperor's struggle against his rebellious Lutheran subjects in the Holy Roman Empire. Wilkinson underlined in his dedication to the Earl of Derby, Edward Stanley, that the commentaries showed "what hath folowed the doctrine of Martin Luther."[46] The analogy between the religiously diverse German lands and England was all too apparent for Wilkinson, who in an unusual application of the term neuter, pointed to incipient Nicodemism in Cleves:

> there was no part in Germanye, where the Lutherans wer not the most strong. Except Cleaues and Bauer, the which although thei professed to be catholiques yet they tempered so with the Lutherans in shewing of frendship

to the one, and the other part in such sort, that they might be called rather newters, then catholiques.[47]

The appearance of this treatise in the same year as the beginning of religious persecution, the dedicatee, and the "Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum" of the colophon, strongly point to this as an officially encouraged publication. The only other translation that might be described as being from Spanish from this period is Thomas North's translation of Antonio de Guevara's *Reloj de principes* as *The Diall of Princes*, dedicated to Mary I herself and published again with a royal privilege by John Wayland in 1557. Although it describes itself as from French, North must have consulted a Spanish edition as well, since it included sections not found in the French.[48] North's bid to get the queen's attention seems to have failed, perhaps in part because of the accusation that he had plagiarized John Bourchier, Lord Berner's version of a French abridgement from 1535. To this list might be added the first English translation of Juan Flores' *Grisel y Mirabella* published at Antwerp in 1556, as *The history of Aurelio and Isabell* in a quadrilingual edition in Italian, French, English, and Spanish. This new edition, like *The boke of Englysshe and Spanysshe*, was an adaptation of an existing polyglot production through the inclusion of English. Although the Marian period did not see a sudden spike in inter-vernacular exchange, it did see English being introduced into a number of the most popular European multilingual manuals and beginning to share a platform with other vernaculars. The difficulty of writing about the cultural and literary achievements of both states in this period is how rapidly the landscape of vernacular culture was itself changing. It might be argued that the emergence of Spanish vernacular culture in the 1550s can be related to Philip's poor Latin, Iberian upbringing and emergence onto the political stage, taking over from his father in 1556, in the same way that Erasmus' wide dissemination in Spain might be related to his close links with Charles V and the imperial court. Pushing this even further, the mutual entanglement of the Counter Reformation and Habsburgs, in the historiography of the period, "Spain were Catholic and Catholics were Spain," is still a determining feature of how its culture is understood. If the literary achievements of the period were slight, then this is in part because it was only at this point that vernacular culture was really beginning to rise.[49] To counter the accusation about the paucity of literary achievements in this period, it is important to contextualize the reign in terms of broader trends in the rise of vernacu-

lar culture, looking at hubs like Antwerp, where Spanish, English, and multilingual texts mixed and interacted. One example that underlines this point is the translation of Johannes Boemus' *Omnium gentium mores, leges, et ritus* from 1520, that had seen numerous French and Italian editions in the 1540s, but was only translated into English by William Waterman as *The Fardle of Facions* in 1555, a year before it appeared in Spanish in Antwerp, again from the press of Martin Nuyts, in a translation by Francisco Tamara as *El libro de las costumbres de todas las gentes del mundo, y de las Indias*.[50]

   The relatively poor survival of drama from this period hampers definitive conclusions, but there were frequent dramatic performances at the court of Philip and Mary and elsewhere, for which some documentation has survived; despite the obstructive behavior of the Master of the Revels, Thomas Cawarden, whose evangelical leanings were a source of tension throughout the reign.[51] Already in the autumn of 1553, there were performances of plays like *Genus Humanus*, the biblical *Jacob and Esau*, and *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (at Christ's College, Cambridge), and probably the infamous *Respublica*, generally attributed to Nicholas Udall, who was appointed principal court dramatist on December 13, 1554 and with whom Mary had collaborated on his translation of the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus in 1548.[52] Udall authored the first comedy written in English, *Ralph Roister Doister*, although the dates of its composition and first performance are disputed, probably pre-dating Mary's reign. Trinity College, Cambridge saw Christmas performances in 1553–1554 of two Latin plays *Anglia Deformata and Anglia Restituta* and *Synedrium*. There were masques for the royal wedding in the summer of 1554, which according to Hadrianus Junius, the foremost Dutch humanist after Erasmus, and author of a very lengthy Latin epithalamium, *Philippeis, seu, in nuptias divid Philippi* (1554), involved four nymphs addressing Philip in distinctive emblematic costume after the wedding. Junius spent at least six months in England around the wedding and the poem was eventually published in London on behalf of the "Republic of Letters or Republic of Poetry," another example of the transnational nature of the republic of letters. Receiving only thirty-six gold crowns in recompense from Philip, his next publication was dedicated to Mary I alone. Philip, it appeared, was disinterested in long-winded Latin panegyric.[53] Other plays strongly linked to Marian England include the infamous *Wealth and Health*, drawn perhaps from Thomas Starkey's *Dialogue of Pole and Lupset*, which featured the parasitic Flemish drunk-

ard Hans Beerpot. There were frequent court masques throughout the reign including masques of Eight Mariners; Six Hercules or Men of War; Eight Patrons of Galleys; Six Venuses or Amorous Ladies; Women like Goddesses/Huntresses; Six Turkish Magistrates; Conquerors; Almains, Pilgrims and Irishmen; as well as at least seven other untitled ones. There were further "Dialogues and Plays" by Udall over Christmas 1554–1555; *Jack Juggler* (another attribution to Udall, who, as Martin Wiggins has written, is "the main clearing house for all mid-Tudor plays of unknown authorship"); a play at Trinity College, Cambridge *De crumen perdita [The Lost Purse]*, apparently about someone who loses their purse and perhaps finds it again; William Baldwin's[54]*Love and Live* perhaps performed Christmas 1555–1556; *Impatient Poverty*, whose closing prayer to a regnant queen with a consort suggests it is from the period; *A Sack Full of News*, which was due to be performed at the Boar's Head without Aldgate but taken off, although the actors were released the following day; *Dialogue on Idleness*; *Dialogue on Maidens*; and *Dialogue concerning Wisdom and Will* by John Fisher, and Jasper Heywood's translation of Seneca *Troas*.[55] No account of culture under Philip and Mary can ignore Lady Jane Lumley's translation from Greek, the first by a Tudor woman, of Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*. Jane was the eldest daughter of the privy councilor, Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, to whom Mary had sold Nonsuch palace in 1556, where, if there was a performance of *Iphigenia*, it probably took place.[56] The translation emphasizes the pathos of women's sacrifice in marriage, a theme resonant with perhaps her own recent wedding, Jane Grey's manipulation by her father-in-law, or even perhaps Mary I's own decision to marry for the common good.

The publication in 1557 of *Songs and Sonnets*, commonly known after its printer as *Totell's Miscellany*, was a landmark in English literary history, showcasing the adoption by native poets of an array of continental verse forms (sonnet, ottava rima, strambotto, and rondeau), and featuring prominently two iconic early Tudor poets, Sir Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey, so making "available print models of aristocratic poetry for imitation by non-courtly writers."[57] In addition to this high end production, there were scores of ballads and pamphlets from the period, which have received scant scholarly attention.[58] This also applies to the collection of ballads in a Marian miscellany in the Bodleian, representative of oral traditions that have mostly disappeared.[59] There were also more substantial poems from writers like John Heywood, who had played

a prominent role in welcoming Mary to London in 1553 and had pro-
vided her with a number of theatrical entertainments earlier in his career.
Heywood published a long allegorical poem about the religious divisions
of the period and an opaque parable about Mary's reign entitled *The Spider
and the Fly* in 1556. On an obvious level, the flies represent Catholics and
the spiders Reformers, with the maid of the house, probably intended to
represent Mary, entering the room at the last minute to save the fly:

> The spider toward the flie, furiouslie drawse.
> And being stept to the flie: staying his stop,
> As he wold haue perst the flies hed: with his pawse,
> The maide of the house, to the window did chop.
> Setting her brome, hard to the copwebs top.
> Where: at one stroke with her brome: striken rounde,
> The copweb and spider, she strake to the grounde.[60]

The maid about to tread the spider underfoot grants him a stay of
execution, but having listened to his case, alleges custom and eventually
crushes him to death, in the face of woe on all sides, brought into relief
through a touching conversation between the fly and his son. This sym-
bolic and unique victim gives way to the resolution of the contention
between spiders and flies, with the maid whose master is Christ and mis-
tress, the holy Church "Setting flies at liberte: in their right rate: / Plasing
spiders likewise in accustumd state."[61] This fantasized resolution is fol-
lowed by Heywood's key to the parable, that the window is a figure for
the world:

> Ye se also: that this fygure here implies,
> For strife in windowes: betwene spiders and flies,
> The plat of all the world, and people therin.
> In which world: which people: if all now begin:
> And hensforth: endeuer them deuring theyr liues:
> By counsell of those two: to cut of all striues:
> By cutting of: all cause of strife: in all parties:
> As they both: (eche in his last tale) did deuise[62]

This utopian resolution of "sectarian" strife might be seen in 1556
as a reference to and possible criticism of the burnings and a call for
ecumenical resolution. However, in the conclusion, Heywood claimed

he had not worked on the poem for nineteen years, suggesting that the context of its original composition was very different. Various interpretations have been offered from seeing it as a reflection on the ultimately sterile controversies of the Henrician and Edwardian reformations, a criticism of political intrigue at Westminster and Rastell's entrapment by Cromwell or Heywood's by Cranmer, debates about tenure and commoners' rights (the fly calls himself a "yeoman"; the spiders are "gentlemen" and addressed by the fly as "sir," where the fly is merely "thee"), to being a criticism of Mary's belated housekeeping in relation to England.[63] As Hunt argues, while it is clear that we find in the poem "debates about ownership, property and rights, the hangings and threat of executions, the trials and spirit of rebellion," which can be related "to real moments of political unrest," it collapses several political issues into one, making it impossible for one single religious or other reading to be definitive.[64] The dedication to Philip and Mary may well have been an afterthought, but it filters the poems' take on contemporary religious controversies through the particular lens of Catholic restoration and Heywood's particular vision of healing divisions that had seen the first victims of Catholic backlash burnt at the stake:

> And also our suffrayne Lord: Philip: to her brought:
> By god: as god brought her to us. Which twaine:
> Conioyned one: in matrimoniall trayne:
> Both one also: in auctorite regall:
> These two thus made one: bothe one here we call.
> Which two thus one, reioyce we eueriechone.
> And these two thus one, obey we all as one.
> Effectuallie: as those spiders and flies,
> Figuratiuelie, that one recongnies,
> Beseching god that brought the, to keepe them here[65]

The somewhat crass repetition of one through the dedication, underlining the unified nature of their joint authority, blends into its call for religious unity brought about through the recognition of their oneness by everyone. The providential marriage is figured as that which will reduce spiders and flies to unity and peace. Heywood's bizarre text blends idealistic fantasy and sharp social critique, willfully obfuscating the ground of its allegorical significance. But it is an indication of the fluidity of religious identities, allegiances, and perceptions of Philip and Mary's

reign and achievements. The borrowings from a number of Garcilaso's poems in Barnabe Googe's *Eglogs, Epytaphes and Sonnets* in 1563 have never explicitly been linked to the court of Philip and Mary. However, the close links between the king and the Sidney family (he was the godfather of his famous namesake) and Googe's links with them in turn make this seem highly likely.[66]

Philip and Mary's court saw a significant revival of martial display. Tournaments were a noticeable feature of the periods when Philip was in England.[67] They were often used politically, for example, in the rehabilitation of Robert Dudley, Northumberland's son.[68] Visitors to court in London included many more important aristocratic and royal figures, from Christine of Denmark, Duchess of Lorraine, to Ferrante Gonzaga, while the musical careers of William Byrd and Thomas Tallis need to be seen through the prism of their close contact with Philip's *capilla flamenca*. Significant advances in historical writing also characterize the reign, with narrative histories that made use of original documents competing with more traditional chronicle histories. John Proctor's *The historie of Wyates rebellion* typified the former, a rebuttal of vitriolic propaganda, including in it two tracts against sedition. It developed out of other religious writings, his *The fal of the late Arrian* from 1549 and *The waie home to Christ*, dedicated to Mary in 1554.[69] Proctor was rewarded for his services, becoming an MP and Justice of the Peace. More closely allied to chronicle, Henry Machyn's book of remembrance, dismissively dubbed a diary in the nineteenth century, was referred to in his will as "my Cronacle" and lies "between the generic model of the chronicle and the record keeping practices of the parish."[70] Machyn was a Merchant Taylor and parish clerk of Holy Trinity the Less, where he was responsible for the upkeep of both parish accounts and the parish register. His interest in burials and funerals probably arose from professional connections. Its traditional identification as Catholic has been questioned: the description of John Tooley, condemned to hang for attacking a Spaniard, and the crowd of gospellers, who gathered to witness him reciting the condemnation of the Catholic Church from the Edwardian liturgy, as "railing against the Pope and the mass" is fairly unexplicit.[71] In areas from cartography to bilingual lexicography, to historical writing and polemic, drama, poetry, and painting, the Marian period saw a series of important developments in print culture and culture more generally. The Marian persecution has tended to overshadow the genuine achievements of this period in religion. Evangelical and Catholic writers' homilies ended up

side by side in official church publications. Henry Parker, Lord Morley's New Year's gifts to Mary typify her engagement with continental humanist culture.[72] Similarly, John Christopherson's dedication of his translation of Plutarch's *De garrulitate* to Mary during Edward's reign was followed after her accession by a polemical denunciation of Wyatt, *An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion*, published the day before her marriage to Philip. In it Christopherson described himself as Mary's chaplain, although by the time it was printed he had become Dean of Norwich.[73]

The idea that Marian England failed to understand the revolutionary nature of the new media of print is clearly false. Philip and Mary understood the power and significance of printed material. However, their reign sat in the middle of a transitional period in the development of print culture itself, the spread of literacy, and rise of the vernacular. They faced a problem that was growing to an unprecedented scale. The response had both positive and negative aspects. The "Marian purge" at the start of her reign reversed the fortunes of the Stationers and printers free of other companies, incorporating the former and bringing them under the legal control of a government charter.[74] Recent scholarship has emphasized the effectiveness of Catholic Reformation book culture and its creative and dynamic energies that may in part explain the reliance of English Protestantism on Catholic devotional material in the early seventeenth century.[75] The European celebration of the wedding saw the Habsburgs capitalize very effectively on the propaganda coup that the marriage to the Queen of England represented.[76] This highlights the fact that studies of the period that do not look at the broader European print culture can be quite parochial. The anti-Catholic historiography of Philip and Mary's reign and co-monarchy has put a pothole in the road of literary histories, tying aesthetic developments too closely to prejudices about the period, missing continuities and the congenial atmosphere for important new vernacular experiments. Contributing to the richness of the cultural ferment under Philip and Mary was the revival of traditional Catholic spectacles such as the Boy Bishop, re-legalized in 1555, and records of a song authored by Hugh Rhodes.[77] The accusation that "Mary did not only fail in selling herself as the champion of the English commonweal and nation; she allowed others to present her religion as un-English" fails to appreciate the broader context of culture under Philip and Mary.[78] By stooping to

their level, there was a very real danger of England's first co-monarchy selling itself short.

NOTES

1. Conyers Read, *The Tudors: Personalities and Practical Politics in 16th Century England* (New York: Freeport Books for Libraries, 1968, 1st ed. 1936), p. 144. See also E. H. Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, repr. 1970), Preface, vii.
2. See for example Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (London: Ashgate, 2014), 264 and her article, "'Domme Preachers?': Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print," *Past and Present* 168 (2000), 72–123: "there is a strong case for suggesting that the piety of the post-Reformation Catholic community was no less bibliocentric than its Protestant counterpart," 109.
3. The work of Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank, incarnated in the Tudor Symposium, amongst others, has been central to giving the mid-Tudor age its "shine" back: see Mike Pincombe, ed, *The Anatomy of Tudor Literature* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 1 and his state of play article co-authored with Cathy Shrank, "Doing Away with the Drab Age: Research Opportunities in Mid-Tudor Literature (1530–1580)," *Literature Compass* 7 (2010), 160–76.
4. Reflecting on James Simpson's complication of this idea in *Reform and Cultural Revolution*, Thomas Betteridge, "The Henrician Reformation and Mid-Tudor Culture," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 35 (2005), 91–105, 93.
5. J. W. Martin, "The Marian Regime's Failure to Understand the Importance of Printing," *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 44 (1981), 231–247, 237–8 and 244.
6. The proclamation blamed sedition on "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 religion*," in P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin, eds, *Tudor Royal Proclamations: The Later Tudors (1553–1587)*, vol. II, 6.
7. John King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 84–9 and Joyce Boro, "All for Love: Lord Berners and the Enduring, Evolving Romance," in Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank, eds, *The Oxford*

Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485–1603 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 99.

8. Peter Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501–1557*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), vol. 2, 825.

9. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company*, vol. 2, 756 and 808–11, contesting Christina Garrett, *The Marian Exiles 1553–1559: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), 142–3.

10. Jennifer Loach, "The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press," *English Historical Review* 101 (1986), 135–148. See also her "Pamphlets and Politics 1553–1558," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* XLVIII (1975), 31–45.

11. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company*, vol. 2, 832–5.

12. Loach, "The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press," 144.

13. E. 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), 6–7.

14. Eamon Duffy, *Stripping the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–1580* (London: Yale University Press, 1992), 534.

15. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company*, vol. 2, 776–7 and Duffy, *Stripping the Altars*, 526–7.

16. Loach, "The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press," 139.

17. The key texts on this change are John Edwards and Ronald Truman, eds, *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: The Achievement of Friar Bartolomé de Carranza* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Eamon Duffy and David Loades, eds, *The Church of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); William Wizeman, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); and Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

18. See the register of sermons in Millar Maclure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534–1642* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), 195–200.

19. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company*, vol. 2, 831.

20. The act is reproduced with a translation in Appendix J of Blayney, *The Stationers' Company*, vol. 2, 914 and 1022.

21. With the possible exception of *Syr Eglamoure of Artoys* (London: John Walley, 1550?) and excluding the sentimental romance translated by John Bourchier, Lord Berners, *The castell of loue* (London: John Turke, 1548), see Joyce Boro, ed, *The Castell of Love: A Critical Edition of Lord Berners' Romance* (Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2007) and "All for Love: Lord Berners and the Enduring, Evolving

Romance," in *Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485–1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 87–102, 99.

22. Edward Wilson-Lee, "Romance and Resistance: Narratives of Chivalry in mid-Tudor England," *Renaissance Studies* 24 (2010), 482–95, 484.

23. See below, xxx.

24. Wilson-Lee, "Romance and Resistance," 484.

25. Wilson-Lee, "Romance and Resistance," 491–2.

26. He communicated in Castilian, while Mary replied in French. {Cesare Malfatti, ed, *The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor…*, 83–4.}

27. Alexander Samson, "Outdoor Pursuits: Spanish Gardens, the *huerto* and Lope de Vega's *Novelas a Marcia* Leonarda," in Alexander Samson, ed, *Locus Amoenus: Gardens and Horticulture in the Renaissance* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 124–50, 134–6.

28. Andrés Laguna, *Pedacio Dioscorides Anazarbeo* (Antwerp: Juan Latio, 1555), sig. 2v. The cultural politics of vernacular competition between England and Spain in the Elizabethan period is the subject of a recent doctorate by Hannah Crummé, "The Political Uses of the Spanish Language in Elizabeth England, 1580–1596," University of London PhD, 2015.

29. Thomas Tusser, *An hundreth good pointes of husbandrie* (London: Richard Totell, 1557), title page. STC 13489.5.

30. Juan Luis Vives, *The office and duetie of a husband*, trans. Thomas Paynell (London: John Cawood, 1555), sig. A3v. STC 24855.

31. Betty S. Travitsky, "Reprinting Tudor History: The Case of Catherine of Aragon," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997), 167–9, 171–2 and see also Judith Richards, "Public Identity and Public Memory: Case Studies of Two Tudor Women," in Stephanie Tarbin and Susan Broomhall, eds, *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 195–210, 196.

32. Loach, "The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press," 144.

33. See Thomas Betteridge, "Maids and Wives: Representing Female Rule during the Reign of Mary Tudor," in Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman, eds, *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspetives* (NewYork: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 145–52.

34. STC 923.5 and 24318.

35. Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru* (Antwerp: Martin Nuyts, 1555), dedication.

36. Biblioteca Nacional Madrid, MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, *Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550–1558 and 1521–1549,* fol. 133v.

37. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India, conteynyng the navigations and conquestes of the Spanyards*, trans. Richard Eden (London: William Powell, 1555), sig. aii r–v. Borough's companion

Richard Chancellor after visiting the court of Ivan IV, returned with the first Russian ambassador Osip Nepeya.

38. Diogo Homem, *Queen Mary Atlas*, BL Add. MS 5415A and Peter Barber, ed, *The Queen Mary Atlas* (London: Folio Society, 2012).
39. ESTC S771.
40. See Hannah Crummé, "The Politics of Spanish in Elizabethan England," 94–101.
41. *A Very Profitable boke to lerne the maner of redyng, writyng, & speackyng english & Spanish* (London: John Kingston and Henry Sutton for John Wight, 1554), sig. Cv.
42. *A Very Profitable boke*, sig. Cv.
43. *A Very Profitable boke*, sigs. Aii, Cii and Di.
44. *The boke of Englysshe and Spanysshe* (London: Robert Wyer, 1554?), sigs. Aii–iii, Ci and Dii.
45. *The boke of Englysshe and Spanysshe*, sig. Aiii and Biii.
46. *The comentaries of Don Lewes de Auela, and Suniga, great Master of Acanter, which treateth of the great wars in Germany made by Charles the fifth Maximo Emperoure of Rome, king of Spain, against John Frederike Duke of Saxon, and Philip the Lantgraue of Hesson with other gret princes and Cities of the Lutherans, wherin you may see how god hath preserued this worthie and victorious Emperor, in al his affayres against his enemies translated out of Spanish into English* (London: Richard Totell, 1555), title page verso. One of the major court tournaments of the reign celebrated the marriage of Derby's son, Henry, to Margaret, Lady Cumberland, in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall Palace, on February 7, 1555. Strange had been named a gentleman of the privy chamber to Philip. He issued a challenge on November 25 to fight Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, the Duke of Alba, "at the barriers" on December 4, which was not taken up. BL Add. MS 33735, fol. 6v.
47. *The comentaries of Don Lewes de Auela, and Suniga*, sig. Aiii v.
48. James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, "Some Correlations of Spanish Literature," *Revue Hispanique* 15 (1906), 58–85, 83.
49. An AHRC funded project, *The Origins of Early Modern Literature*, has gone some way to reconstructing the literary culture of this period, see: http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/origins/. [Accessed June 23, 2015]. A brief look at the data shows in the five years before Mary's reign 25 items, 17 from her reign, but only 10 from the five years after it, reflecting the overall patterns noted above in the sections on print in general.
50. *The Fardle* was dedicated again to the important councillor, the Earl of Arundel, Henry Fitzalan.

51. Court entertainments are well-handled in W. R. Streitberger, *Court Revels, 1485–1559* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1994), Chapter 9: Our Master of the Revels "for the tyme beinge," 1553–1559.

52. On *Respublica*, see the excellent contributions of Michael Winkelman, *Marriage Relationships in Tudor Political Drama* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), Chapter 3—*Respublica*: England's Troubles about Mary, 67–86 and Thomas Betteridge, "Staging Reformation Authority: John Bale's *King Johan* and Nicholas Udall's *Respublica*," *Renaissance and Reformation Review* 3 (2000), 34–58.

53. Chris Heesakkers, "The Ambassador of the Republic of Letters at the Wedding of Prince Philip of Spain and Queen Mary of England: Hadrianus Junius and his *Philippeis*," in Rhoda Schnur, gen. ed, *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Abulensis: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies* (Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), 325–332.

54. Baldwin was also the author of *Beware the Cat*, whose anti-Catholic undertones probably meant it was not published until 1561. He may also have been the author of another early work of prose fiction *A lyttle treatyse called the Image of Idlenesse* (London: William Seres, 1555/6). STC 25196. See R. W. Maslen, "William Baldwin and the Tudor Imagination," in Pincombe and Shrank, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature*, 291–306.

55. This incredibly brief digest of dramatic activity is extracted from the indispensable and magisterial catalogue by Martin Wiggins with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama, 1533–1642: A Catalogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), Volume 1: 1533–1566, 260–327. See also Albert Feuillerat, ed, *Documents relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary* (Louvain, 1914), 148–252.

56. Marion Wynne-Davies, "The good Lady Lumley's desire: *Iphigenia* and the Nonsuch banqueting house," in Walthaus R, Corporaal M eds, *Heroines of the Golden Stage: Women and Drama in England and Spain: 1500–1700* (Barcelona : Reichenberger, 2008), 111–128.

57. Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank, "Doing Away with the Drab Age," 164.

58. The exception is the thorough history of the mid-Tudor ballad by Jennifer Hyde, "Mid-Tudor Ballads: Music, Words and Context," Unpublished PhD, Manchester University 2014, Chapter 4—"Liege Lady and Queen"—Discourses of Obedience in the Reign of Mary I, 150–80. On occasional pamphlets see the account of one year by Cathy Shrank, "1553," in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Volume 1—Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 548–556.

59. Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 48, alluded to in King, *English Reformation Literature*, 217. Contents are described in William Black, *A Descriptive, Critical and Analytical Catalogue of Manuscripts Bequeathed… by Elias Ashmole* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1845), 83–90. Nor have I ever seen any reference to the satirical verses about Philip in BL Cotton MS Nero B vi 246.

60. John Heywood, *The Spider and the Fly* (London: Thomas Powell, 1556), sig. Nn iv v.

61. Heywood, *The Spider and the Fly*, sig. Ss iii v.

62. Heywood, *The Spider and the Fly*, sig. Ss iii r.

63. These views are summarised in the brilliant essay on the poem by Alice Hunt, "Marian Political Allegory: John Heywood's *The Spider and the Fly*," in Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485–1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 337–55. See Richard Axton and Peter Happé, *The Plays of John Heywood* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991), Introduction; Judith Henderson "John Heywood's *The Spider and the Fly*: Educating Queen and Country" *Studies in Philology* 96 (1999), 241–74; and James Holstun, "The Spider and the Fly and the Commonwealth: Merrie John Heywood and Agrarian Class Struggle," *English Literary History* 71 (2004), 53–88.

64. Hunt, "Marian Political Allegory: John Heywood's *The Spider and the Fly*," 341.

65. Heywood, *The Spider and the Fly*, sig. Ss iv r.

66. See Judith Kennedy, ed, *Barnabe Googe: Eclogues, Epitaphs, and Sonnets* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).

67. See Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (Dobbs Ferry: Sheridan House, 1987), 200–201. For a recent discussion of the tournaments, see Sarah Duncan, "'He to be Intituled King': King Philip of England and the Anglo-Spanish Court," in Charles Beem and Miles Taylor, eds. *The Man Behind the Queen: Male Consorts in History* (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 56–80.

68. Richard McCoy, "From the Tower to the Tiltyard: Robert Dudley's Return to Glory," *The Historical Journal* 27 (1984), 425–435.

69. See Alan Bryson, "Order and Disorder: John Proctor's *History of Wyatt's Rebellion* (1554)," in Pincombe and Shrank, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature*, 323–36.

70. Andrew Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text and Community* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), "Henry Machyn's Book of Remembrance," 11–59.

71. Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London*, 22.

72. Marie Axton and James Carley, eds, *"Triumphs of English": Henry Parker, Lord Morley Translator to the Tudor Court. New Essays in Interpretation* (London: British Library, 2000), esp. 44–52.

73. Andrew Taylor, "How to hold your tongue: John Christopherson's Plutarch and the Mid-Tudor Politics of Catholic Humanism," *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 41 (2014), 411–31, 412 and 419–20.

74. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company*, vol. 2, 841.

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Pregnancy, False Pregnancy, and Questionable Heirs: Mary I and Her Echoes

Carole Levin

"What became of Q. Mary's childe no man can tell"

John Foxe[1]

In 1607 a man named Bartholomew Helson went about London, claiming to be Queen Mary's son "and oftentimes gathered people about him." Sir William Waad had Helson apprehended and then examined him. Helson explained that he had been born at Hampton Court but stolen away. Though Waad told Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, that he considered Helson of more "seditious disposition than any kind of lunacy," he had him committed to Bridewell, and would continue to keep him there, or, if Salisbury wanted, send him on to Bedlam.[2] While there were a number of impostors in Tudor/early Stuart England claiming to be children of royalty or a dead king returned, Helson's claim may be the most perplexing, as one of the parts of Mary I's history that was best known was her phantom pregnancies that produced no children.

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Historical queens had many responsibilities. But more significant than any other was to provide their realm with an heir. For the wife of a king, being the mother of a son was more important than any other role she might have. For wives more generally in the premodern period, producing a child, particularly a son, was what they needed to accomplish to succeed. It was not only queens who felt great pressure to give birth to boys, but many husbands, from lords to commoners, as head of households, were upset not to have sons to carry on the name and inherit the land.

But for queens it went far beyond the family into the political entity. While Henry VIII's struggle to cast aside Catherine of Aragon is the most famous, it was not unique. When Henry II's youngest son John became king in 1199, he had his childless marriage to Isabella, Countess of Gloucester, annulled so he could remarry, and his marriage to Isabella of Angouleme provided him with sons.

If having an heir was momentous for a queen consort, how much more important was it for a queen regnant? Mary I was the first ruling regnant queen in England since the Norman Conquest, and was already 37 when she became queen in 1553. What mattered most not only to her but to her Council and her people was for her to marry, and, everyone hoped, have a son. Despite serious objections that led to a rebellion, on July 25, 1554, Mary married Prince Philip in Winchester Cathedral. By September many were convinced that Mary was pregnant, though it turned out instead that she suffered from pseudocyesis, a condition that is both biological and psychological that causes a woman to exhibit various symptoms of pregnancy, though in fact she is not carrying a child. Estimates today contend that for every 22,000 live births, there are one to six cases of pseudocyesis. This complex condition seems to occur when a woman so desperately wants to be pregnant that her body begins to produce signs that she is: stopped menstrual periods, swollen belly, breasts that are tender and enlarged, and sometimes even the feeling of the baby moving in the womb. When this happens, these signs of pregnancy can trigger the release of pregnancy hormones.[3]

While Mary's phantom pregnancies are the most well known, there were other women of Tudor England who also suffered with this, and there was enough concern about it that books on women's health in the early modern period discussed the issue thoroughly: how difficult it was to be able to tell if it were a true pregnancy or a phantom one. The French king's surgeon, Jacques Guillemeau, wrote of the difficulties of interpreting true conception from false, and the book was translated into English

and published in 1612. "Women are oftentimes deceived in reckoning themselves with child," and it often takes a long time to be sure, as even when it is not a true pregnancy, women will believe they feel the child move in the womb. One way a woman will eventually show it is a false conception is when "the nine moneths are past, and the woman not delivered, but her belly growes bigger, and swelleth more and more, and all the other parts grow leane and less."[4] Nicholas Culpeper suggested that false pregnancies were so similar to real ones that women did not accept they were not truly pregnant "till ten months are past."[5]But even then it may not be a phantom pregnancy, as Guillemeau contended "there be some women that have borne their children ten, yea, eleven moneths."[6]

The anonymous *Aristotle's Manual of Choice Secrets* at the end of the seventeenth century stated, "False conception hath deceived many," even midwives, and indeed "sometimes proved more painful and dangerous than true ones." The author explains graphically that both have the same signs: "suppression of the *Menses,* depraved Appetite, Loathing of Meats, Peukings, Swellings of the Belly and Brests."[7]In the late seventeenth century Robert Barret agreed that false conception had exactly the same effects on women's bodies as a real pregnancy.[8] Guillemeau also suggested that doctors must be "very warie and circumspect," though his concern appears more for the physicians then for the women. "Ther is nothing more ridiculous, then to assure a woman that shee is with childe; and afterward . . .instead of a childe, some windie matter should break from her, as so her belly fall, and grow flat again."[9]John Makluire in 1630 also argued that at first false conception and true were indistinguishable. "The marks are one in the beginning with a true conception, as a stopping of the flowers loosing of appetite, loathing, vomiting, swelling of the belly, and growing of the papes." He had, however, an unusual way of ascertaining if the pregnancy was true or false. "For with a true conception a woman dayly after the first moneth groweth lustier."[10]

False pregnancies were well enough known in early modern England that they were even used as a metaphor. William Cowper, in his 1615 text for penitent sinners, warned that "in the wicked sometimes there are resolutions to amend their lives," but in fact they do nothing; it is like "the false conception of a woman, which commeth never to the birth."[11]

Mary's own mother may have suffered from a false pregnancy. Catherine of Aragon suffered her first miscarriage in January 1510. But the royal physician, possibly Sir John Chamber, told her that she had been pregnant with twins, and was still carrying a baby. Giles Tremlett argues that Henry,

being hopeful and optimistic, encouraged the doctor to misdiagnose Catherine. It seems that neither Catherine nor Henry had much knowledge about how female bodies worked, as even after Catherine began, though quite irregularly, to menstruate again, Catherine and Henry insisted that she was still pregnant. Catherine so wanted to give Henry a son that her menses stopped again and her stomach began to swell. The seventeenth-century physician, John Sadler, argued that for some women with afflictions in the womb, it came about "first through her ignorance, shee knowing not the cause thereof being not instructed in the state of her own body."[12] In March 1510 Henry ordered for his "most dearest wife the Queen," materials to decorate a special silver baptismal font, and furnishings for a nursery, including a "cradell of estate" with blue silk curtains.[13] Catherine took to her rooms in Greenwich to await the birth of her child. She was so distraught when there was no child that she did not make a public appearance until the end of May.

But it was not only women unsophisticated about their own bodies who experienced phantom pregnancy. Honor, Lady Lisle, in her first marriage to John Basset had eight children, seven of whom survived, so she clearly knew the experience of being pregnant. After Basset's death, in 1528, she married Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle, as his second wife. He and his first wife, Elizabeth Grey, had three daughters, but Lord Lisle desperately wanted a male heir, and Lady Lisle equally wanted to provide him with one. After eight years, in late 1536 Lady Lisle, by now over 40 years old, was convinced she was pregnant. By November the news had spread, and the Lisles received many letters of congratulations. By the end of January Lady Lisle was known to be "great with child," and in late March, early April there was talk of her immediate lying in. But it did not happen. In May Lady Lisle claimed that she had "over-reckoned" herself, and her due date was actually in June. Well into July Lady Lisle was still getting letters wishing her joy when she gave birth to a son—one written on July 17 hoped that she would give birth to twin boys. Muriel St. Clare Byrne contends, "Honor Lisle must have continued to cherish her pathetic delusion for weeks, even months, after all real hopes had vanished."[14] While eventually many around Lady Lisle would have figured out she was not actually pregnant before she was ready to admit, for months everyone had agreed that she was, which is tragic but not really pathetic. As Sid Ray points out, "A 'false' pregnancy and a 'true' one may be indistinguishable, at least presumably until the arrival of an infant finally to provide conclusive proof."[15]

Lady Lisle was not the only other Tudor woman we know about to experience a false pregnancy. In 1555, about the same time as Mary's phantom pregnancy, Lady Elizabeth Dudley, Ambrose Dudley's second wife, also was convinced for some months that she was with child when she was not, and there were no children in this marriage.[16]

For Mary, her phantom pregnancies were especially difficult as they were not only personally painful but played out on such a public stage, and held such significance dynastically and religiously. As soon as Mary became queen, the pressure on her to marry—so that she could provide England with a male heir—was immense. Given Mary's age—she was 37 when she became queen—this was already problematic, and no time to be lost. But time was lost given the hostility to her choice of her cousin Philip of Spain. For a number of months the Spanish did not feel it was safe for Philip to come to England, given the turmoil caused by Wyatt's Rebellion. Philip and Mary married July 25, 1554, roughly a year after she came to the throne. By September there was already talk about her possible pregnancy. But we can also see how immediately that possibility was being used whether it were true or not. On September 18 Simon Renard wrote to Philip's father, Charles V, with the excellent news that "One of the Queen's physicians has told me that she is very probably with child." While he hoped that it was true as it would make everything "go smoothly," he also stated that he "already caused a rumour to be started," that the queen was pregnant, "for the purpose of keeping the malcontents within bounds."[17] So Mary's pregnancy, real or not, was part of a political manipulation.

Yet, rather amazingly, this was not the first talk of Mary's pregnancy during her reign. In the first year, before her marriage, rumors began in Norfolk that Mary was pregnant by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. There was enough talk that Henry Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex and the queen's lieutenant, investigated. The description of this investigation sounded like the telephone game. The first one found who passed on the rumor was Laurence Hunt, but he explained he had heard it from his wife, who had heard it from Sheldrake's wife, who had heard it from her husband, who had it from a man named Wilby, who learned of it from John Smith, who had been told of it by the widow Miles. "And she, being examined, said, she had it of two men, but what they were she could not tell, nor where they dwelt."[18] This rumor may have been Protestant hostility, or also may have simply been longing for some child by Mary.

Though this rumor died down, the belief the following year that Mary and Philip were to have a child grew stronger and stronger. By October 2 Ruy Gómez de Silva writing from the English court stated Mary's pregnancy as a certainty, convinced that "this pregnancy will put a stop to every difficulty."[19] Ten days later Francisco de Eraso wrote to Philip that he would "confirm the tidings that [Mary] is with child" to his father.[20] But while both some men at the time and later historians have denigrated Mary for her belief in her "hysterical" pregnancy, in fact it took Mary quite some time to be convinced. As late as November 9 Sir John Mason, the English ambassador, told the Emperor that while Mary "will not confess the matter until it is proved to her face," others had assured him her clothes were getting tight and she *was* pregnant. As Jo Eldridge Carney points out, "Mary's initial skepticism and the collusion of 'others' is significant: the queen's cautious uncertainty belies the accusations of irrationality associated with false pregnancy."[21] By November, when Cardinal Reginald Pole greeted Mary, she believed she felt her child move in her womb. Carolly Erickson argues that Mary believed her pregnancy was "divinely ordained destiny," as her child would ensure that Mary's religious changes would not die with her.[22]

But even then, perhaps on some unexplored level, Mary may not have been sure, given the wording of a letter about her pregnancy that she had sent to her cousin and father-in-law, Charles V, a few days before Christmas in 1554. While much of it is praying to God that "this fruit of my womb" would be a "blessing to the realm," there is an odd word choice as well, for she writes, "As for that child which I carry in my belly, I declare it to be alive."[23] But why would she need to so declare it, if she knew it to be true?

Mary expected that she would give birth on or before May 9, 1555. The birth chamber was prepared, as was the nursery. A beautifully carved cradle was ready for the baby, as were rockers and wet nurses. The letters announcing the birth were already written. While most of the letters left out such crucial details as the day of the birth and the sex of the infant, the one for the pope specifically described the birth of a prince. In April Mary and Philip went to Hampton court, where they wanted the birth to take place. At the end of April London was in great celebration and rejoicing with bell ringing and bonfires upon the news that Mary had safely delivered a boy. One preacher reported "How fair, how beautiful and great a prince it was as the like had not been seen."[24]

Rumors soon spread abroad. Thomas Gresham wrote from Antwerp on May 4 that "News came along the seas by men of this country that the Queen was brought to bed of a young Prince on April 30; on the 3d, the Regent, being at Antwerp, about seven o'clock p.m. caused the great bell to ring to give all men to understand that the news was true. . . . Trusts in God the news is true, for no one of the English has any certain writing of it.[25] On May 17 Philip's sister Joanna, the Princess Dowager of Portugal and regent of Spain, wrote a congratulatory letter to her brother, saying she had heard "saying that God had been pleased to deliver my sister, the Queen of England, of a boy, and that both her Highness and the child were well."[26]

But just as there were false conceptions, there was also false news. As May moved into June, Mary stayed in her chamber, not wanting to see anyone, but she did not give up hope. In July Renard wrote that "she asserts that she is indeed pregnant."[27] The same month she wrote to her ambassador, Sir John Mason, letting him know he must deny rumors that her pregnancy was false. But as July ended so did hopes for a child. One of Mary I's ladies, Frideswide Knight Strelley, had never believed that Mary was pregnant, but neither the queen nor others would listen to her. Eventually Mary sent for her, "Ah, Strelly, Strelly, I see they be all flatterers, and none true to me but thou."[28] By early August, the large staff hired to take care of the baby were dismissed, and Mary left Hampton Court for Oatlands. On August 5 Giovanni Michieli, the Venetian ambassador, noted:

> although no one dares to proclaim it, is nevertheless tacitly understood by everybody . . . . The Queen's remaining so many days in retirement, seriously to the prejudice of her subjects; as not only did she transact no business, but would scarcely allow herself to be seen by any but the ladies. . . .. Without proceeding to any farther formal announcement, all persons may of themselves clearly comprehend that the hope of childbirth has so diminished that but little reliance can now be any longer placed on it.[29]

Or, as one Englishman put it about Mary's pregnancy: "At length all will not prove a messe of pottage."[30]

But as early as March or April Renard had been privately doubting the pregnancy. While he wrote on April 4 to the emperor that the queen "is approaching her confinement," in a letter to Philip about the same time, he was concerned. "The kingdom is in uncertainty as to the succession

to the Crown. Supposing the Queen is not with child and dies without issue there will certainly be strife."[31] By June 24 Renard was even more concerned about the impact on the country of no heir. "Everything in this kingdom depends on the Queen's safe deliverance. Her doctors and ladies have proved to be out in their calculations by about two months, and it now appears that she will not be delivered before eight or ten days from now. . . . If God is pleased to grant her a child, things will take a turn for the better. If not, I foresee trouble on so great a scale that the pen can hardly set it down."

In 1554–1555 although many people had believed Mary was pregnant (indeed, some were convinced before the queen herself), few believed her when she thought she was pregnant a second time in the fall of 1557. She thought she was pregnant a second time. Concerned over what had happened before, she waited until she was in what she thought was her sixth month to let Philip, out of the country, know. While he publicly expressed himself delighted—"The news of the Queen, my beloved wife, has given me greater joy than I can express"—privately Philip was cynical.[32] He sent the Count of Feria to publicly assure Mary of his great pleasure, but the private instructions were for the count to find out if she were really pregnant or not. Feria wrote several times of her despondency, including mentioning that Mary "sleeps badly, is weak and suffers from melancholy." He was convinced that Mary was "making herself believe that she is with child," when in fact she was not.[33] Mary was sure enough that at the end of March, convinced that she would soon give birth, she made a will stating in the event of her death the crown would go to her child with Philip as guardian and regent.

In many ways the phantom pregnancies were defining moments of Mary's reign. The Venetian ambassador Giovanni Michiele suggested that "nor is it to be told how much hurt that vain pregnancy did her." The trust that the English people had for her crumbled. There were a wide variety of responses. Some thought statements of the queen's pregnancy were "spread for a policie," an unwitting echo of Renard spreading the rumor in September 1554 to keep malcontents in bounds. There was the idea that the claim of pregnancy would "hold her up in the affection of her husband and the love of her subjects," though it would not hold for too long if the pregnancy was false.[34] Others thought perhaps she had a disease, a "tympany," a swelling or tumor. Others claimed that she had simply convinced herself she was with child. Another idea was that she had been pregnant but had miscarried, and that was kept secret. Some believed

Mary perhaps had been bewitched and was under a spell. A few wondered if she were even still alive. In Cornwall and Devonshire rumors circulated "that the most Serene Queen was dead, and that to deceive the people, as they said was done in the time of King Edward, they exhibited her effigy at the casement and not her real face."[35] Perhaps the strangest beliefs were that instead of a baby, she had given birth to a pet monkey or lapdog. But more wondered if Mary had never been pregnant at all "but that a suppositious child is going to be presented as hers."[36] Simon Renard had also been aware of such rumors that summer. He wrote to the Emperor that June how he found it "almost incredible" how much slander and false rumors "heretics" were spreading. One rumor that especially disturbed him was "that a suppositious child is going to be presented as hers, and that if a suitable one had been found this would already have been done."[37]

John Foxe wrote about speaking with a woman named Isobell Malt in 1568, who, at the time of the story she related, was living at old Fish Street. She told Foxe that she had given birth to a boy on June 11, 1555. Soon after Edward, first Baron North, and another lord from Mary's court came to her "demanding of her if she would part with her child," and then would swear she had never had a baby. If she did this, her son would be very well provided for. When Malt said no, some women, one "of whom one she sayd should have bene the Rocker" for Mary's child, came and again asked Isobell to give up her boy. But Isobell still refused, and raised her son Timothy herself.[38]

At the same time that Mary thought she was pregnant, heretics began being burned at Smithfield and around the country and in the summer, when the hopes of pregnancy were fading, the fires were heating up. After her reign was over, these two phenomena were intertwined by historians describing Mary's failures. Nathaniel Bacon, in *The Continuation of An historicall discourse of the government of England*, published in 1651, described how Mary, because of her marriage to Philip, lost Calais. Mary wanted "the World believe" that she was a "Mother of her Countrey; although her bodily disease, contracted by a false Conception, wherein she beguiled both her self and the World, concurred thereto."[39] The Anglican clergyman Francis Fullwood in his 1655 *church-history of Britain* was even more negative about Mary, and even more put her phantom pregnancy at the center. He found Queen Mary to be:

> melancholicke in minde, unhealthful in body, little feared of Her forraigne foes, less beloved by Her native Subjects, not over-dear to Her own Husband, unsccessfull in Her treaties for peace, and

unfortunate in Her undertakings for war, having deceived the
Gentrie of Norfolke and Suffolke, by Her false promises, was
deceived Her self by a false conception, and having consumed
so many of Gods Saints by fire, dyed Her self by water, an
hydropicall Tympanie.[40]

Writing earlier in the century, Thomas Heywood had another way of
thinking of Mary's supposed pregnancy that would resonate strongly in
1688. Mary had never been pregnant and a group around Mary intended
to smuggle in another baby—such as Timothy Malt—of the plot. Philip,
however, got wind of it, and he knew that "such a child would not only
be heir to the English throne but also "heire to all his Realmes and
dominions,"—Heywood having discounted Philip's son Don Carlos from
his first marriage to his cousin Maria of Portugal—and Philip did not
want a counterfeit for an heir. As a result he refused to leave the birthing
Chamber at the time of Mary's supposed delivery, "by which the plot
tooke no effect."[41]

This story of a false royal pregnancy to surreptitiously continue
a Catholic line was revived again in late 1687 when it was publicly
announced that James II's queen, Mary of Modena, was pregnant.
Protestants again doubted the truth of the pregnancy or certainly saw it
as good politics to claim to do so. During the pregnancy many sought to
portray it as suspicious. Thomas Osborne, Lord Danby, wrote to William
of Orange in March 1688 that "Many of our ladies say that the Queen's
great belly seemes to grow faster than they have observed their owne
to do," and added he hoped that William's sister-in-law Princess Anne
would always be within call to make sure that the "midwife discharge
her duty with that care which ought to bee had in a case of so great
concerne."[42]

In a number of letters to her sister Mary both before and after the birth,
Anne clearly showed her animus toward her Catholic stepmother; she did
all she could to cast doubt that the baby was their half-brother. She also
wrote that March that there was "much reason to believe it a false belly.
For methinks, it were not, there have been so many stories and jests made
about it, she should, to convince the world, make either me, or some of
my friends, feel her belly. . . . And whenever I have happened to be in the
room, as she has been undressing, she has always gone in the next room, to
put on her smock."[43] In another letter that month she claims that Queen
Mary "looks better than ever she did, which is not usual; for people when

they are so far gone, for the most part, look very ill . . . . Her being so positive it will be a son, and the principles of that religion being such, that they will stick at nothing, be it never so wicked, if it will promote their interest, give some cause to fear there may be foul play intended."[44]

These stories floated about throughout England. Also in March it was often known that "People were mighty free with their Tongues, and that the Queen was not with Child. Others said, her Bignes was made up of Pillows and Cushions—Others, that the Papists design to put a Cheat on the People of England—Others said, she was only big of Tympany—Others said, that the Queen's Pretence of being with Child, was only spread about out of Policy—And thus the Rumors run about the Queen, and few or none believe she is with Child."[45] This all sounds very similar to what had been said over a century earlier about another queen Mary. Indeed, this is very close in wording to what was in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, and repeated in *Holinshed's Chronicles*. "At this time manie talked diverslie," about how doubtful the pregnancy was. Another 1688 pamphlet reminded people," You must know, that Queen in, Queen Elizabeth's sister, married the Infant of Spain, afterward King Philip the second, but thro' very good Luck to her People, for she prov'd Childless, and had but one suppositious big Belly by means of a Cushion which she clapt over it, to which (as some reported) she daily added more Feathers to make it appear bigger."[46]

Though not with the same seriousness, there was another seventeenth-century story of a queen, a pillow, and a pregnancy. Francis Bacon reports that there had been a number of times when Henry IV of France's wife Marie was thought to be pregnant, and was not, and some at court suggested "That it was but with a pillow." When she was truly pregnant and "waxed great," Henry, having heard these earlier rumors, called in Charles de Bourbon, Count of Soissons, and told him to put his hand on the queen's belly. "Come Cousin, it is no pillow." The Count had an excellent comeback: "It is a pillow, for all France to sleepe upon."[47]

Mary of Modena gave birth on Sunday, June 10, possibly a few weeks early. Princess Anne made sure she was away so could not witness the birth, and thus could continue to argue that another child had been smuggled in. Anne wrote more letters to Mary encouraging the belief that the pregnancy was a sham. "I shall never now be satisfied, whether the child be true or false. It may be it is our brother, but God only knows." At the same the story from Foxe was published in a pamphlet, *Idem iterum, or, The history of Q. Mary's big-belly*.[48] Idem iterum, "the same again." In 1711, during the reign of Queen Anne, an anonymous pamphlet again

compared Mary of Modena with Mary I, arguing neither had ever been pregnant. In 1688 the Jesuits, knowing Mary could not have a child, arranged the plan of the false pregnancy and their plan to "set up a Child, which being choice, and not chance, nor Providence, would certainly be a Boy." What strengthens this argument, the author claims, is that "Such thing have often been attempted, and particularly in Queen Mary's Reign, between which and this present, there certainly never was a fitter Parallel," such as both first claimed to be pregnant in the fall with the pretended childbirth planned for summer. "What too was the most like this (then and now)" was, it was claimed, that none who were sympathetic to Mary's sister Elizabeth were allowed to view Mary I's "breasts or belly," and none sympathetic to James II's daughter Anne were allowed to see James' wife Mary either. Any in either court who doubted the pregnancies lost favor. "So that we see the Protestants may be (now as then) in the right, and the Papists in the wrong."[49] Again, Mary's phantom pregnancy became the most important thing about her, and was used as a political weapon on another Catholic queen over a century after it had caused such upset in her reign. For queens, whether regnant or consort, whatever their other strengths and skills, the ability to have a son was all too often believed to be the ultimate factor in their success or in their failure.

Notes

1. John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments of These Latter and Perilous Dayes* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1684), III, 225.
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3. http://www.webmd.com/baby/guide/false-pregnancy-pseudocyesis.
4. Jacques Guillemeau, *Child-birth or, The happy deliverie of women Wherein is set downe the government of women* (London: printed by A. Hatfield, 1612), 13.
5. Nicholas Culpeper, *Culpeper's directory for midwives: or, A guide for women. The second part. Discovering, 1. The diseases in the privities of women. 2. The diseases of the privie part. 3. The diseases of the womb … 14. The diseases and symptoms in children* (London, 1662), 153.
6. Guillemeau, *Child-birth*, 17.
7. *Aristotle's manual of choice secrets, shewing the whole mystery of generation*, translated out of Latin by J.P. (London: printed by John Back, 1699), 11, 13.
8. Robert Barret, *A companion for midwives, child-bearing women, and nurses directing them how to perform their respective offices: together with an essay,*

endeavouring to shew the influence of moral abuses upon the health of children (London, 1699), 22.

9. Guillemeau, Child-birth, 5.

10. John Makluire, *The Buckler of bodilie health whereby health may bee defended, and sickesse repelled* (Edinburgh: Printed by Iohn Wreittoun, 1630), 129–30.

11. William Cowper, *A mirror of mercie or The prodigals conversion briefely, and learnedly expounded, and full of comfortable consolations for all penitent sinners* (London, 1615), 247.

12. John Sadler, *The sicke womans private looking-glasse wherein methodically are handled all uterine affects, or diseases arising from the wombe; enabling women to informe the physician about the cause of their griefe* (London, 1636), 99.

13. "silour and testour with dobull valaunces and three curteynes large and long of blewe and dobull sarcenet accordingly to hang over the cradell of estate within our nourcer." Warrant to the Great Wardrobe to deliver Ralph Jenet and Wm. Cheyne, yeomen of the Wardrobe of the Beds. 12 March 1510. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Vol. 1: Part I: 1509–13.* Entry 384, page 184. State Papers Online.

14. *The Lisle Letters*, ed. Muriel St. Clare Byrne (Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 1981), III, 197, 149; IV, 149.

15. Sid Ray, "'Show me a child begotten of thy body that I am father to': pregnancy, paternity and the problem of evidence in *All's well that ends well*," *Performing Maternity in Early Modern England*, ed. Kathryn M. Moncrief and Kathryn Read McPherson (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 33.

16. "Dudley, Ambrose, earl of Warwick (*c.*1530–1590)," Simon Adams in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004); online ed., ed. Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.library.unl.edu/view/article/8143 (accessed September 3, 2014).

17. Tyler, *Calendar of Letters . . . Preserved in the Archives of Simancas*, 51.

18. John Strype, *Memorials of the Reverend Father in God, Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1840), I, 456.

19. Royall Tyler, *Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations Between England and Spain Preserved in the Archives of Simancas and Elsewhere*. Burlington, Ont : Tanner Ritchie Pub. in collaboration with the Library and Information Services of the University of S. 2007, 60.

20. Tyler, *Calendar of Letters . . . Preserved in the Archives of Simancas*, 63.

21. Jo Eldridge Carney, *Fairy Tale Queens: Representations of Early Modern Queenship* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 27.
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Mary's Image, Past and Present

Unnatural, Unlawful, Ungodly, and Monstrous: Manipulating the Queenly Identities of Mary I and Mary II

Anne Mearns

If any man would take upon him to set forth particularly all the Acts that have been done these full five Years, by this unnatural Woman, (No, no Woman, but a Monster, and the Devil of Hell covered with the Shape of a Woman) .....[1]

Writing shortly after Elizabeth's accession, the administrator and reformer, John Hales, portrayed Mary I as wholly unnatural, to the extent that she ceased to be a woman but was instead a monster, even the Devil himself in the form of a woman. Such a vociferous attack was not an isolated occurrence and Hales' portrayal of the late queen was typical of that expressed by radical Protestant reformers in a series of polemical tracts that appeared during Mary's brief reign. In the mid-sixteenth century female rule was perceived by many as unnatural, contrary to both divine and natural law, and critics of the queen and her Catholic regime drew upon these widely held beliefs to construct Mary as unnatural, ungodly, and

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monstrous. According to radical Protestants Mary was a monstrous tyrant who was governed by her own unnatural and uncontrollable lusts, lusts that led, they argued, to her marriage to Philip of Spain and betrayal of her kingdom to a foreign power. Furthermore, they alleged that she was illegitimate and consequently had no right to the throne of England, her tainted blood making her queenship unlawful. But the concept of a regnant queen's unnaturalness was not solely the preserve of sixteenth-century Protestant polemics against Mary I. In the latter seventeenth century the rule of a woman was still problematic, particularly when that woman, Mary II, was deemed by some to have usurped her father's throne.[2] And supporters of the queen's father, the Catholic James II, known as Jacobites, used broadly similar themes to attack the queen and the new regime in the numerous satirical verses of the period. Seizing upon the notion of lust, Jacobites accused Mary II of forgetting her filial duty to her father in her lust for power, and used this perceived lapse in her Christian duty to imply that she was ungodly and an unnatural daughter. Furthermore, not only had she lusted after power, but also sex, as critics alleged she took lovers. As Mary Tudor's blood had been scrutinized over a century earlier, Mary Stuart's blood was also held up for scrutiny: critics implied that her blood was also tainted. By considering the significant interplay between gender, blood, and authority, this essay will analyse how critics of Mary I and Mary II, enabled by contemporary beliefs about gender, used notions of unnaturalness and tainted blood to manipulate the identities of these queens. It will also demonstrate that despite the significant political and religious changes that occurred across the period, including the evolution of monarchical office, attitudes toward female rulers had not evolved to the same extent.

Mary Tudor's accession as England's first regnant queen in 1553 triggered a substantial debate over the issue of gynaecocracy that continued throughout the sixteenth century.[3] Radical Protestants played a crucial role in this debate. Probably one of the most well known was the Scottish reformer, John Knox, whose *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* used biblical and Aristotelian examples to argue that female rule was unnatural and ungodly. A regnant queen Knox argued was "repugnant to nature," against God's will, and a "subversion of good order."[4] Furthermore, in accordance with the creation, and reconfirmed by the teachings of St Paul, women were subject to men; hence they should not, he stated, "usurp authoritie above man."[5] In addition, Aristotle had asserted that women were essentially imperfect

men, deformities of nature, and, consequently, "monstrous."[6] Therefore, to Knox, it followed that something so against natural and divine order must also be monstrous, and he pointed to God's appointed order in which the head should occupy the uppermost position in the body of a man. Hence a body without a head in this position was a "monster" and likewise, the body of the commonwealth that was governed by a woman was also "monstruous."[7] Such views were echoed by another radical Protestant, Christopher Goodman, who also considered a female ruler to be a "monster in nature and disordre amongst men."[8] Turning specifically to Mary, writers of Protestant polemic utilized such notions to personally attack the queen. Knox constructed Mary as a monster, who was the very embodiment of ungodliness. Appropriating the commonly held dichotomy of good women versus bad women, he compared Mary to the Old Testament queens, Jezebel and Athalia. He drew a sharp contrast between these two ungodly tyrants who oppressed their people and the prophetesses Deborah and Huldah whom he defined as "matrons" who possessed traditionally godly female characteristics such as piety, mercy, truthfulness, and humility. Hence he referred to Mary as "that horrible monstre Jezebel of England."[9] And for the anonymous author of a 1555 pamphlet, *Certayne Questions*, the conflict between Mary's gender and her position as queen was also highly problematic, making her nothing short of an abomination.[10] Indeed Hales' portrayal of the queen as a monster was underpinned by this same tension between gender and authority as he stated that Mary was a "Viragin" or virago; an unnatural woman who behaved like a man, and was by consequence unable to procreate.[11] Certainly, Mary's failure to produce a child would have conveniently confirmed Hales' argument, carrying weight across the political and religious divide, as God's will was seen to be revealed in her lack of fecundity.

In addition to underlying anxieties about female rule, portrayals of Mary as unnatural, monstrous, and ungodly were grounded in two key issues. The most obvious was her restoration of Catholicism and her persecution of Protestants, but of crucial significance was her marriage in 1554 to Philip of Spain. Not only was Philip a committed Catholic, but given the belief that women should be subject to their husbands, contemporaries feared that he would have both conjugal and political authority over his wife. Despite the terms of the marriage treaty, which aimed to protect Mary's authority, the queen's marriage caused considerable anxieties, and was a catalyst for many of the attacks on her queenship. Indeed, one of Knox's main arguments against Mary was that through her marriage,

she had effectively placed her realm in the control of a foreign, Catholic power, exactly as the Scottish queen, Mary, Queen of Scots, had done by marrying the French Dauphin. To reinforce this point, Knox emphasized the disparity between the two queens and the biblical Deborah:

> .... howe unlike our mischevuous Maryes be unto Deborah, under whome were strangers chased out of Israel.....[12]

Both Deborah and Huldah had delivered the people of Israel from idolatry and the rule of foreigners, while Mary, he asserted, had oppressed her people and imposed idolatry on the realm by reinstating Catholicism. Furthermore, through her marriage to Philip, she had effectively handed her realm to the Spanish.[13] This point was taken up by another Protestant, Anthony Gilby, who argued that Mary and Mary Queen of Scots had oppressed the people of both realms. Under their queenships the fruits of the land were devoured by strangers and foreigners who rose above native Englishmen and Scotsmen in position and status to the extent that the foreigner became "the head" and native Englishmen and Scotsmen "the taile."[14] In this context radical Protestants viewed Mary's marriage as a betrayal, and Christopher Goodman accused her directly, citing her marriage as evidence of her abhorrence of the English nation.[15] Similarly John Ponet argued that Mary had given power to Philip and had thus acted contrary to her coronation oath, diminishing the rights of the crown and the liberties of her people.[16] Considering the marriage further, he viewed it as a punishment from God, pointing out that during Edward VI's reign preachers had foretold of a range of "miseries and plagues" that would occur if people did not repent of their wickedness, including the "subversion" of the state of the realm and the rule of a foreign king.[17] And if further proof were needed, Ponet cited a variety of omens purporting to indicate that such prophecies had indeed come to fruition. These included recent eclipses, comets, and, reflecting the monstrous nature of Mary's queenship, a number of monstrous births: children born with two heads, missing limbs, and other major deformities.[18]

Mary's marriage was also used as a vehicle through which to focus attention on her unnatural desires. Although in sixteenth-century society it was considered natural for a woman to marry and place herself under the headship of a husband, critics manipulated Mary's motives for marriage, arguing it was a consequence of her unnatural and excessive lust. For example, Knox considered the marriage and consequent betrayal of the

realm to be a result of what he deemed Mary's "inordinate appetites."[19] This notion of excessive lust was also picked up by Ponet who drew a parallel between the queen and the fourteenth-century Joan of Naples, whom he described as "a woman of much lust." Notoriously, Joan was implicated in the murder of her husband and then proceeded to indulge her lusts in a series of "private marriages." Ponet reminded his readers that the Neapolitan queen had paid the price for such ungodly behavior as she was later found hanged, murdered in a similar manner to her husband.[20] In addition, Mary's desires were portrayed as abnormal: Hales, for example, referred to the queen's "mad Affections."[21] For Goodman, Mary's desires were not only unnatural, they were ungodly and threatened the commonwealth by perverting men who should be godly advisers. Forced to "satisfie the ungodly lusts of their ungodly and unlawful Governesse, wicked Jezebel" her councilors betrayed both the realm and Christ.[22] Drawing upon anxieties about female rule, and implying that Mary was irrepressible, Goodman argued that they had willingly become "bondmen to the lustes of a most impotent and unbrydled woman."[23] Knox took the notion of lust a step further. By constructing Mary as Jezebel he had portrayed her as an ungodly tyrant, but he also used the image of Jezebel to draw attention to the queen's unnatural lusts and her capacity for sinful behavior, as Knox's Jezebel was guilty of both "fornication and hoordome."[24] Thus by implication, Mary can be viewed as certainly capable of, if not already guilty of, similar behavior. The focus on Mary's supposed unnatural and excessive desires was to a great extent enabled by commonly held beliefs about women's weaker, naturally sinful, and lustful nature.[25] As such it was a powerful tool by which to convict Mary of ungodly rule as the themes used would have been readily understood by contemporaries.

Mary's gender also contributed to the popular notion that she had been manipulated by councilors and Catholic bishops. Ponet asserted that Mary was in the thrall of Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, who had, he claimed, "enchanted" the queen, and persuaded her to give power to Philip.[26] Gilby focused on Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Mary's chancellor. Asserting that Mary was Gardiner's instrument in the re-establishment of the Catholic Church he sought almost to sexualise the nature of the relationship between the queen and her chancellor, describing her as Gardiner's "maid Marie" and "his maistress," a relationship which he argued had caused havoc within the realm.[27] Initially it would appear that the focus of these polemics was indeed Bonner and Gardiner rather than Mary. Certainly contemporary beliefs about women's weaker

nature would have contributed to the view that a woman was more susceptible to manipulation than a man. But to her critics this was more than merely symptomatic of a woman's weaker nature as they portrayed her as a willing participant in such manipulation. In this manner the anonymous author of *A Supplicacyon to the Quene's Majestie* constructed Mary as a latter day Jezebel. Jezebel had been willingly influenced by false prophets in her persecution of God's prophets; likewise Mary had allowed herself to be influenced by "false bysshopps."[28] Such assertions were clearly underpinned by religious grievances, but their significance lies in their reinforcement of the notion that Mary was an ungodly tyrant who had betrayed her realm.

A further medium used to challenge Mary's monarchical authority was her blood, which critics alleged was tainted and unnatural. Drawing on English xenophobia they alleged Mary's blood was not entirely English, as not only had she married a Spaniard, but her mother, Catherine of Aragon, was also Spanish. In this context Goodman compared Mary to Elizabeth, who, he asserted, was "voyde of all Spanishe pride, and strange bloude."[29] Mary's "strange bloude" was inherited from her mother and despite her father being an English king, for some, her mother's Spanish blood was highly problematic. This view was expressed by the anonymous author of *The Lamentacion of England* who stated that Mary "toke the most part off here blud and stomake off her Spanish mother."[30] Clearly Mary's part Spanish lineage provided critics with an opportunity to undermine her queenship, but there was a further highly significant facet to the scrutiny of the queen's blood, as it was held to be tainted by illegitimacy.[31] The question of Mary's legitimacy had been a key issue at her accession, when the Duke of Northumberland sought to control the succession by excluding both Mary and Elizabeth from the throne on grounds of illegitimacy, and diverting the succession through the Suffolk line to Lady Jane Grey. So crucial were notions of blood and legitimacy that although already perceived by many as the rightful heir to the throne, Mary maneuvered to negate any further accusations by having her parents' marriage declared valid during her first parliament. But this legislative action failed to deter some radical Protestants. For instance, the author of *Certayne Questions* highlighted the issue of illegitimacy, questioning whether it was indeed possible, once one had been declared a "bastarde," to have this reversed.[32] Both Goodman and Knox held that Mary was illegitimate. Goodman referred to the queen as "a woman begotten in adultrie a bastard by birthe" and "unlawfully begotten," and in the preface to his *First Blast*

Knox also asserted she was a "bastard," although unlike Goodman, he did not develop this as a specific line of attack against her in the main body of his work.[33] Goodman, however, sought to further undermine Mary's queenship by focusing on the nature of her illegitimacy. She was, he argued, the product of ungodliness, through the "adulterous incest" and ungodly behavior of her father, Henry VIII, who had married his brother's widow to satisfy his own "carnall luste." And in doing so, Goodman continued, Henry had "begate this ungodly serpent Marie."[34] Likewise the author of *A Supplicacyon to the Quene's Majestie* also drew attention to Mary's illegitimacy by stating that the marriage of Henry and Catherine of Aragon had been proved to be unlawful on grounds of incest.[35] Although not as vociferously expressed as Goodman, the author's implication is clear: Mary was a bastard, the product of an ungodly and unlawful union.

Critics of the queen also argued that her marriage to Philip was, like that of her parents, unlawful. In a veiled reference to Philip's 1553–1554 negotiations regarding a possible marriage with the Portuguese infanta, Goodman asserted that like Henry VIII, Philip was also "adulterous."[36] Although no contract was finalized, Philip's interest in the infanta had been common knowledge at Mary's court, with Mary herself giving the impression that she thought he was actually pre-contracted to the infanta.[37] Any pre-contract, had it existed, would have validated Goodman's claims that Philip was indeed "adulterous" and made his marriage to Mary unlawful. Furthermore, such an allegation implied that any children of the marriage would be illegitimate. This point was also noted by the author of *Certayne Questions*, who claimed that Mary was living in adultery with Philip because of his alleged betrothal to the Portuguese infanta.[38] In this manner Mary was portrayed as grounded in sin through the sinful relationship of her father and her own relationship with her husband.

Situating queenship within a queen's relationship to her father and husband was a strategy that was to resurface toward the end of the seventeenth century as a particularly crucial element of the attacks by Jacobites on Mary II. Through the very nature of her accession to the throne in 1689, as the culmination of the Glorious Revolution, they deemed her to have betrayed her father, and with her husband, William, usurped his crown. Given the dominant patriarchal model of later seventeenth-century society, such a perceived betrayal effectively enabled critics of the new regime to portray Mary as an unnatural daughter who had subverted patriarchal order in her lust for power—a convenient fiction, which, to a great extent, bypassed the belief that as a married woman her loyalty lay predominantly with her

husband. The notion of her betrayal of her father was highlighted by the Jacobite conspirator, James Montgomery, who argued that James II had been forced from his kingdom by a "surprising Defection of his Children, Servants, Subjects and Soldiers."[39] Although recognizing that others had neglected their duty to the king during the Glorious Revolution, crucially Montgomery pointed to the paramount significance of the actions of Mary and her younger sister, Anne, by expressing his astonishment that the "natural Affection which was due from Children to their Parents was quite forgotten."[40] This same sense of moral outrage was expressed by many Jacobites as Mary's familial relationships became ripe for inclusion in the satirical works of the period. For instance, the author of a popular ballad, Ralph Gray, referred to Mary as lacking in duty to her parents, which he considered to be so unnatural that it made her little more than a "fiend." And in an epitaph following her death in 1694, an anonymous author accused her of having been the "undutiful child of the kindest of princes," and recognizing the paradox of Mary's position as both daughter and wife, asserted that she had been "too bad a daughter, and too good a wife."[41] Indeed, some argued that she had forgotten her duty to her father to such an extent that she sought to expunge him from official memory to hide her shame that she had usurped his throne. One writer, referring to the regime's attempts to secure dynastic legitimacy through frequent allusions to Charles II, accused her of denying her own father:

> Your royal uncle you are pleased to own
> But your royal father, it should seem, you have none.
> A dainty mushroom, without flesh or bone,
> We dare not call you, for it seems you are
> Great Charles' niece, O' the royal character -
> Great James's daughter too, we thought you were.
> That you a father had, you have forgot,
> Or would have people think that he was not;
> The very sound of Royal James's name
> As living king, adds to his daughter's shame.[42]

Similar to Gray's assertion that Mary was a "fiend," the author implied that through her callous disregard for her father Mary was inhuman, having neither flesh nor bone, and potentially poisonous. Echoing Hales' portrayal of Mary I as a devil and a virago, these assertions reinforced the

notion that Mary II was unnatural and called into question the nature of her queenship.

Similar to the sixteenth-century comparisons of Mary I with Jezebel and Athalia, Jacobites also sought relevant female archetypes with whom to draw parallels to Mary II. But whereas the detractors of Mary I drew heavily upon biblical archetypes, Jacobites seized upon two particularly pertinent examples of royal women from ancient Roman history and Shakespearean drama: Tullia, the daughter of the Roman king Tullius, and Goneril, daughter of Shakespeare's King Lear. Governed by her ruthless ambition Tullia had ordered the murder of her father so that she and her husband Tarquin could seize his throne. She had also, it was alleged, purposefully driven her chariot over the king's corpse. Parallels were easily drawn, and Jacobites quickly exploited the imagery on the official coronation medal of 1689, the reverse of which portrayed Jove throwing a thunderbolt at Phaethon who is falling from his chariot to the flames below. Phaethon was intended to symbolize James, who had been displaced by Jove to avoid the destruction of the realm.[43] But Jacobites interpreted the symbolism quite differently, arguing that the chariot was Tullia's and that the figure of Phaethon represented William and Mary assuming the reins of James' chariot. The crucial point of difference was that while Phaethon had obtained permission to take his father's chariot, William and Mary had taken James' kingdom by force, and thus Jove's thunderbolt was a sign of God's judgment for their "unnatural Usurpation."[44]

The identification of Mary with Tullia was a particularly popular theme in Jacobite polemic.[45] For example, Arthur Mainwaring's poem *Tarquin and Tullia* told the story of the usurping couple through a rewriting of the events of the Glorious Revolution, with clear allusions to William and Mary and key members of their court. Essentially the work is underpinned by the key themes of the desire for power and how this corrupts natural and familial order, as the poem opens:

> In times when Princes cancelled nature's law
> And declarations (which themselves did draw)
> When children used their parents to dethrone
> And gnawed their way like vipers to a crown.[46]

Thus as Tarquin and Tullia, William and Mary are portrayed as serpent-like in their ungodly lust for power and consequent violation of familial order in their seizure of Tullius' throne. Alluding to Tullia driving her

chariot over her father's corpse, Mainwaring stated that she had crushed her father and her king, and was such an unnatural daughter that she appeared to have no compunction for her actions. Instead she reveled in her new position as queen, feasting "on rapine" and even planning a weekly ball to commemorate the event.[47] Such a portrayal of the new queen as frivolously glorifying in her position adeptly reflected the account of the diarist, John Evelyn, who recorded Mary's joyful demeanor on her arrival in London in 1689, which was perceived by many as insensitive and inappropriate.[48] But Mainwaring concluded that Tullia did suffer for her treatment of her father. By way of a warning to Mary he highlighted how her "Debauched good nature" was eventually overcome with guilt and remorse.[49]

Unlike Tullia however, Mary had not actually killed her father, but her perceived violation of patriarchal expectations was considered by some to be commensurate with the crime of parricide. One anonymous poem, *The Duchess of York's Ghost*, featured the ghost of Mary's mother, Anne Hyde, appearing to her daughter late at night and warning that Heaven will "punish unrepenting parricides."[50] Indeed, the poet situated Mary's usurpation of her father's throne as far worse than parricide, asserting that it would have been more merciful if James had been murdered rather than deposed as it was "less to kill a King, than to dethrone."[51] Viewed within the context of the belief around the king's two bodies, James' physical body still existed, but his monarchical body had been forcibly eradicated, effectively leaving him in a state of limbo.[52] Lamenting that James had been brought so low, the poet made clear Mary's culpability as the ghost highlighted that it was James' own children who struck "the fatal blow."[53] Another satirical poem, *The Female Parricide,* was equally direct in its accusation that Mary had effectively killed her father. Portraying the queen as both Tullia and Goneril the anonymous poet used Goneril's cruel treatment of Lear as a benchmark by which to judge Mary's actions, asserting that Mary's behavior toward her father exceeded that of Goneril. Goneril had exploited Lear to gain control of his kingdom, but Mary had gone one step further. Not only had she usurped her father's crown, but she had also, through her lies, ruined his reputation and made him an object of "the people's hate and scorn."[54] Such seizure of James' monarchical power served as a representation of the eradication of his body politic, which was exacerbated by the author's allegation that if James had been dead, like Tullia, Mary would have driven her chariot over his corpse.[55]

Other writers developed the parricide motif by focusing on Mary's unnatural intentions toward her father. In *The Four Children* she is accused, along with William, Anne, and her husband, Prince George of Denmark, of violating "Humane and Divine" laws and of seeking her father's death during the military campaign in Ireland in 1690.[56] Reinforcing his point, the author asserted that the two sisters and their husbands have James' blood on their hands and that their "crimes" stink like "sulphurous vapour."[57] Likewise in another satire Mary was again accused of seeking her father's blood, as she is portrayed as justifying her actions as necessary for the safety of the realm.[58] Although Mary had not actually killed her father and there is no evidence to support allegations that she sought his death, the nature of her accession as queen presented her political opponents with an eminently useful mechanism with which to construct her as a parricide. And crucially, such a portrayal further emphasized her unnatural and ungodly nature.

As an unnatural daughter, Mary's critics argued that she lusted after power. Indeed, for Ralph Gray, Mary was the embodiment of "a swarm of unnatural vices," which he noted, included lust.[59] But Mary had not only lusted after power, as the notion of lust also had a sexual interpretation. As Melinda Zook has pointed out, Mary's position as a married woman gave her a sexual identity that was readily exploited by Jacobites.[60] And in sharp contrast to official representations of Mary as a dutiful, loyal wife, Jacobites manipulated the nature of her conjugal relationship with William, portraying her as a woman sexually neglected by her husband, who they accused of impotency and homosexuality. For instance, Gray's William was an "unnatural beast" both in his treatment of his father-in-law and his sexual neglect of Mary. Portrayed as "not qualified for his wife" and "without e'er a pintle" where she was concerned, William preferred a homosexual relationship with one of his Dutch courtiers, Hans Willem Bentinck, Earl of Portland.[61] Consequently in *The Duchess of York's Ghost* Mary was described as a "longing, wishing, Queen," alone in her bed thinking about "gallant youths" to "feed her warm desire."[62] Other satirical works were more direct in their attack on the queen. In *The Reflection*, in which William was also portrayed as homosexual, Mary sought sexual gratification with other men, including Charles Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, William Cavendish, Earl of Devon, and even the Bishop of Salisbury, Gilbert Burnet.[63] Such alleged behavior lay behind the popular portrayal of Mary as a moll, a popular term for a whore or a woman of loose morals. Hence, Gray's Mary was "Queen Moll," while in a satire on her regency she was a "Majestic" moll, and

other satirical works referred to the dual monarchs in a wholly derogatory manner as Will and Moll or Billy and Molly.[64] Significantly however, in *The Reflection* Mary is shown as engaging in a sexual relationship with the Earl of Devon, not merely for sexual gratification, but crucially, with the aim of conceiving and providing the nation with an heir, thus securing "the entail that the line may not fail."[65] While such claims were far-fetched and it is doubtful to what extent they were actually believed, they did convey a number of important messages to the popular reader. Firstly, they served to further emphasize the unnatural and sinful behavior of both William and Mary. Indeed, Zook convincingly argues that these satirical depictions of William and Mary's conjugal relationship carried political force as portrayals of an abnormal body politic.[66] Thus if William and Mary's conjugal relationship can be seen to be unnatural and sinful it can be viewed as a reflection of the state of the body politic itself. Furthermore, Mary's supposed extramarital relationships directly exposed the political nation to the possibility of illegitimate offspring. This effectively positioned Mary as a sinful hypocrite as her alleged extramarital sexual activity provided evidence that she was clearly prepared to deceive the nation in a similar manner by which her own regime claimed James II and Mary of Modena had attempted to in 1688, by the imposition of a supposititious child upon the realm to secure the succession.[67] Finally, constructing Mary as a woman with excessive and uncontrollable lusts firmly placed her as a dangerous threat to the patriarchal order of society and undermined her queenship by questioning her suitability for government.

Notions of legitimate, illegitimate, and tainted blood were as crucially significant in the last decades of the seventeenth century as they had been in the mid-sixteenth century. Indeed, Mary's royal Stuart blood was cited by William as justification for his invasion of England in 1688, to defend his wife's hereditary blood right as heiress presumptive. Jacobites however presented Mary's blood in a very different manner. Unlike critics of Mary I, they did not question Mary II's legitimacy. Instead, they drew upon extant notions of superior and inferior blood, by focusing on the queen's Hyde ancestry.[68] For example, one satire of 1690, *On the Two Sisters*, openly drew comparison between James' royal blood and that of Mary and Anne at his daughters' expense:

> In vain the Bourbon and Plantagenet
> Great bloods are in your Royal father met;
> To be but half a Hyde is a disgrace,

From which no Noble Seed can purge it's Race:
Mix'd with such Mud the clearest Streams must be
Like Jordan's Sacred Flood lost in the Sodom-Sea.
Ambition, Folly, Insolence, and Pride,
Prove you are no Changelings from the surer Side:
But yet not infamous enough to be
Your poisoning Mother's doubtful Progeny.[69]

The contrast is clearly evident. After all, James' pure royal blood quali-fied him as fit to rule, with an undisputed title of hereditary right, while Mary's title, along with that of William, was intrinsically parliamentary, having been legally defined by the 1689 Bill of Rights. But crucially, and in the same manner that radical Protestants asserted Mary I's blood had been tainted by her mother's Spanish blood, the author implied that Mary II was tainted by Anne Hyde's unwholesome blood. Although Mary II could not be argued to be the offspring of an incestuous union, her Hyde blood could still be viewed as being tainted by sin through the immoral behaviour of her mother, who was in an advanced state of pregnancy at her marriage to James; this notion of sin is reinforced by the poet's refer-ence to the Old Testament city of Sodom. The significance of this tainted blood is twofold. Firstly, the poet implied that Mary and Anne's blood was tainted by something so impure that it cannot be rectified and will taint the whole royal line. Thus any children the sisters may bear will also be tainted, which will pollute the entire body politic. Secondly, such tainted blood had imbued both Stuart sisters with sinful characteristics includ-ing "Ambition, Folly, Insolence, and Pride," all of which, according to Jacobites, had underpinned their role in the Glorious Revolution and was manifested in their lust for power. Similarly Ralph Gray cited Mary's ambi-tion and pride in addition to other "unnatural vices" as being the result of her Hyde blood and many other satirists also blamed Mary's Hyde blood for her perceived iniquities.[70] Thus unlike James, Mary's blood made her unfit to rule, either by hereditary succession or revolutionary settlement, because through her Hyde lineage she was not wholly royal and her blood was tainted by sin that engendered dangerous characteristics not deemed suitable in a governor.

At the accession of William and Mary in 1689 female rule was no lon-ger the unprecedented phenomenon that it had been in 1553, as Mary II was England's third regnant queen. Furthermore, as a result of the Glorious Revolution, English monarchy had effectively been transformed

from a hereditary to a parliamentary institution. Yet despite this, the rule of a woman was still problematic and highly unsettling for some. Equally intriguing is that notwithstanding the significant political and religious changes that occurred across the period, critics of Mary II adopted broadly similar themes to attack the queen as those used by radical Protestants against Mary I in the mid-sixteenth century. Critics portrayed both queens as unnatural. For sixteenth-century Protestants the underlying anxieties about the unnatural concept of a female ruler enabled them to construct Mary I as monstrous and ungodly, while Jacobite portrayals of Mary II as an unnatural daughter were underpinned by notions of familial order, that Mary had violated patriarchal expectations by taking her father's throne. By consequence she too became monstrous, as, echoing the strategies used against Mary Tudor, Jacobites constructed her as inhuman. Furthermore, the tension that existed between contemporary beliefs about gender and a woman exercising monarchical authority effectively reinforced the notion of unnaturalness as both queens were held to be irrepressible, their excessive lusts posing a significant threat to the political nation. Lust had led Mary II to betray her father and effectively overturn the existing body politic to bring about a new, parliamentary and Protestant monarchy, while Mary I's lusts had led her, through marriage, to betray her realm to Spain and attempt to return England to the Catholic Church. Indeed the marital status and familial relationships of both queens are crucial points of similarity. Their marriages and the nature of their conjugal relationships were portrayed as sinful and ungodly, and in Mary I's case, unlawful. Their position as daughters of kings was also publicly scrutinized as Mary I was held to be the result of her father's carnal desires, while Mary II had abandoned her filial duty to her father. Significantly these portrayals situate early modern queenship firmly within the boundaries of male familial relationships as opposed to viewing queens as independent monarchical entities, and thus conformed to contemporary beliefs of gender identities, in which women were essentially "defined" by their relationships with men.[71] However, their relationship to their mothers was also of crucial significance, particularly as critics drew upon notions of legitimate, illegitimate, and tainted blood as a further apparatus with which to undermine their queenship. The blood of their mothers was held to have tainted both queens, an unsettling notion which, critics argued, had the potential to pollute the body politic. Blood and hereditary blood right were of crucial significance to the accession of both queens, but were also equally crucial to critics who argued that Mary I's queenship was unlawful because she was illegitimate,

while for Jacobites, Mary II's blood was not wholly royal. In 1558 John Knox had asserted "that frome a corrupt and venomed fountain can spring no holsome water."[72] Such a belief concerning regnant queenship was still extant in 1689, as the similarities between the strategies used to attack both queens clearly suggest that the tensions between gender, blood, and authority continued across the period and were of as crucial significance in 1689 as they had been in 1553.

Notes

1. John Hales, *An Oration of John Hales to the Queen's Majesty,* in Samuel Johnson, *A second five year's struggle against popery and tyranny being a collection of papers published by Samuel Johnson during his last imprisonment of five years and ten days* (London, 1689), 72.
2. Mary II's father, James II, had fled to France in December 1688 during the Glorious Revolution. Parliament's solution to the ensuing constitutional crisis was the dual monarchy of William III and Mary II, who ascended the English throne in February 1689. Administrative authority, however, was vested solely in William, and Mary II's position remained anomalous throughout the reign.
3. A comprehensive overview of the gynaecocracy debate in the sixteenth century is provided by Amanda Shephard, *Gender and Authority in Sixteenth Century England* (Keele: Ryburn Publishing, 1994); Constance Jordan, "Women's Rule in Sixteenth Century Political Thought" *Renaissance Quarterly*, 40, 3 (Autumn, 1987), 421–451; Patricia-Ann Lee, "A Bodye Politique to Governe: Aylmer, Knox and the Debate on Queenship," *The Historian*, 52 (1990), 242–261.
4. John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, (1558) ed. Edward Arber (Westminster, 1895), 11.
5. *Ibid.*, 14–17.
6. Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 13; Prudence Allen, *The Concept of Woman, Volume II, The Early Humanist Reformation, 1250-1500* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans, 2002), 93–95.
7. Knox, *First Blast*, 27.
8. Christopher Goodman, *How Superior Powers oght to be Obeyd* (1558), 52.
9. Knox, *First Blast*, 30, 52.
10. Anon., *Certayne Questions Demuanded and Asked by the Noble Realme of Englande, of her True Naturall Chyldren and Subjectes of the Same* (1555), Aiii (v).

11. Hales, *Oration*, 72; Thomas Laquer, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1990), 52.
12. Knox, *First Blast*, 39.
13. *Ibid*., 36–40, 44–45.
14. Anthony Gilby, *An Admonition to England and Scotland to call them to Repentance* in *The appellation of John Knoxe from the cruel and most injust sentence pronounced against him by the false bishoppes and clergie of Scotland, with his supplication and exhortation to the nobilitie, estates, and communatie of the same realme* (Geneva, 1558), 60.
15. Goodman, *Superior Powers*, 100.
16. John Ponet, *A Short Treatise on Political Power, and of the true obedience which subjects owe to kings and other civil governors, with an Exhortation to all true and natural English men* (1556), 18, available at http://www.constitution.org/cmt/ponet/polpower.htm.
17. *Ibid*., 40.
18. *Ibid*., 41–42.
19. Knox, *First Blast*, 45.
20. Ponet, *A Short Treatise*, 15, 18.
21. Hales, *Oration*, 74.
22. Goodman, *Superior Powers,* 34.
23. *Ibid*., 97.
24. Knox, *First Blast*, 37.
25. Jacqueline Eales, *Women in Early Modern England 1500-1700* (London: Routledge, 1998), 30; Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 61–62; Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 71–76.
26. Ponet, *A Short Treatise*, 18.
27. Gilby, *An Admonition to England and Scotland*, 68–69.
28. Anon., *A Supplicacyon to the Quene's Majestie* (Strasbourg, 1555), 5.
29. Goodman, *Superior Powers*, 53.
30. Anon., *The Lame[n]tacion of England* (Germany, 1557) sig. Aiii(v), quoted in Sarah Duncan, *Mary I: Gender, Power and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 115.
31. Duncan, *Mary I*, 115–116; Duncan argues that this emphasis on Mary's Spanish blood enabled the perception of her as a "foreign usurper," putting her on par with Philip.
32. *Certayne Questions*, Aii (r).
33. Goodman, *Superior Powers*, 53, 97–98; Knox, *First Blast*, 3.
34. Goodman, *Superior Powers*, 98.

35. *A Supplicacyon to the Quene's Majestie*, 6.
36. Goodman, *Superior Powers*, 100.
37. David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 201–202; Duncan, *Mary I,* 61–62; Carolly Erickson, *Bloody Mary: The Life of Mary Tudor* (London: Robson Books, 2001), 331.
38. *Certayne Questions*, Aiv (v).
39. James Montgomery, *Great Britain's just complaint for her late measures, present sufferings, and the future miseries she is exposed to with the best, safest, and most effectual way of securing and establishing her religion, government, liberty, and property upon good and lasting foundations : fully and clearly discovered in answer to two late pamphlets concerning the pretended French invasion* (London, 1692), 2.
40. *Ibid.*, 6.
41. Ralph Gray, *The Coronation Ballad, 11th April 1689*, in William J. Cameron ed. *Poems on Affairs of State*, *Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714*, *Volume 5:1688-1697* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 45; Anonymous Jacobite epitaph on Mary II from Coles MS collections, Vol. XXI, 65, quoted in Agnes Stickland, *Lives of the Queens of England, From the Norman Conquest*, *Volume VI* (Revised ed. London: Bell, 1889), 130.
42. Selected abstract from Sir Robert Strange's MSS quoted in Strickland, *Queens of England*, 15. Strickland comments on the repeated allusions in state documents to the reign of Charles II.
43. Edward Hawkins, Augustus W. Franks and Herbert A. Grueber eds., *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the Death of George II*, *Volume 1* (London, 1885), 662–663.
44. *Medallic Illustrations*, 662–663; *A Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to his Correspondent in the City concerning the coronation medal, distributed April 11. 1689* (1689).
45. Cameron, ed. *Poems on Affairs of State*, 46; Lois G. Schwoerer, "Images of Mary II, 1689–1695," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42, 4 (Winter, 1989), 734.
46. Arthur Mainwaring, *Tarquin and Tullia*, in Cameron, ed. *Poems on Affairs of State*, 47, 51.
47. *Ibid.*, 52.
48. E.S. de Beer ed. *Diary of John Evelyn*, *Volume VI. 1673-1689* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 624–625.
49. Mainwaring, *Tarquin and Tullia*, 52.
50. Anon., *The Duchess of York's Ghost* (1691), in Cameron, ed. *Poems on Affairs of State*, 299.
51. *Ibid.*, 299.
52. E.H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 7.
53. *The Duchess of York's Ghost*, 299.

54. Anon., *The Female Parricide* (1689) in Cameron, ed. *Poems on Affairs of State*, 157.
55. *Ibid.*, 157.
56. Anon., *The Four Children*, in *A Collection of Loyal Poems, Satyrs and Lampoons* (Osborn MS b 111(Yo11)), 373.
57. *Ibid.*, 374.
58. Anon., *The Dutiful Son and Daughter*, in *Collection of Loyal Poems, Satyrs and Lampoons*, 375.
59. Gray, *The Coronation Ballad*, 45.
60. Melinda Zook, "History's Mary: the Propagation of Queen Mary II," in Louise Olga Fradenburg ed. *Women and Sovereignty* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992) 172.
61. Gray, *The Coronation Ballad*, 41–43; the term "pintle" referred to a penis.
62. *The Duchess of York's Ghost*, 298.
63. Anon., *The Reflection*, in Cameron, ed. *Poems on Affairs of State*, 60–61.
64. Gray, *The Coronation Ballad,* 44; Anon., *The Female Regency*; Anon., *Upon the Pictures of Will and Moll*; Anon., *Interest Outvying Honesty*, in *A Collection of Loyal Poems Satyrs and Lampoons*, 410, 438; Zook, "History's Mary," 173; Zook defines the term "moll" in relation to Mary as both a thief and a whore, pointing to the Jacobite belief that Mary had stolen her father's throne.
65. *The Reflection,* 61.
66. Zook, "History's Mary," 173.
67. Following the birth of James Francis Edward Stuart, Prince of Wales, in June 1688, rumors circulated that the child was suppositious, having been smuggled in to the lying in chamber in a warming pan. Even before his birth some had questioned whether the queen was actually pregnant.
68. Mary's mother, Anne Hyde was a commoner, the daughter of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and one of Charles II's ministers.
69. *On the Two Sisters* (1690), quoted in Carol Barash, *English Women's Poetry 1649-1714 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996),* 212.
70. Gray, *The Coronation Ballad*, 45; Cameron, ed. *Poems on the Affairs of State*, 156.
71. Mendelson and Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England*, 66.
72. Knox, *First Blast*, 48.

"Well, then … Hail Mary": Mary I in *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (1607) and *Lady Jane* (1986)

Carolyn Colbert

If Elizabeth I is—with apologies to Christopher Marlowe—the face that launched a thousand (and more) books and screenplays, then what of her older sister, Mary I? Mary's life has not proven to be the same artistic inspiration as that of her successor. Primarily, she is represented as a supporting player in stories centering on other characters, which is the case in two works separated by centuries and medium, Thomas Dekker and John Webster's *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (1607) and the 1986 film to which it has been compared, *Lady Jane*. Both focus on the opposition to Mary's sovereignty that arose in the wake of Edward VI's death and in the early part of her reign. The Mary Tudors the play and the film produce, however, are significantly different. While both works emphasize the new queen's devotion to the Catholic cause and her eagerness to marry Philip of Spain, Dekker and Webster have constructed an almost one-dimensional villain, cruel and unpredictable. The queen in the cinematic version shares elements of this dramatic representation, but her characterization is generally far more positive.

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The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt

The full title of *Wyatt*'s 1607 quarto, which promises "the Coronation of Queen Mary, and the coming in of King Philip," suggests a prominent role for Mary. Although the play focuses upon her accession and the early months of her reign, her coronation never occurs and Philip never appears. The narrative focus is on two other characters: the eponymous Sir Thomas Wyatt, whose early support of the Marian cause ends in frustration and rebellion when Mary decides to marry Philip, and Lady Jane Grey and her husband, Guildford Dudley, puppets of their ducal fathers, whose attempt to orchestrate the usurpation of the throne precipitates a crisis in the succession. Mary's limited role in this text is not dissimilar to that of other royal figures in the Jacobean history plays.[1] Dekker and Webster's drama is shaped primarily by the Protestant ideology of Foxe.[2] The playwrights' interest in Wyatt, Jane, and Guildford is understandable in light of the martyrologist's conception of a history fixated on the fates of virtuous characters battling against and ultimately destroyed by the designs of evil, powerful ones within a kind of Christian, historical psychomachia, the *telos* of which is the deliverance and triumph of English Protestants.

Devotion to the Catholic religion is a preeminent feature of any literary representation of Mary I, and *Wyatt* does not deviate from this standard. The stage direction that heads the first act's third scene heralds the arrival of Mary in religious garb: "*Enter Queene* Mary *with a Prayer Booke in her hand, like a Nun*."[3] The first line of her opening soliloquy, "Thus like a Nun, not like a Princesse borne," draws further attention to her appearance as a holy sister.[4] There would have been no Catholic nuns living openly as religious in England in 1553, when this scene is set, much less in 1602–1603, when the play was composed and initially produced. Although Mary, unlike her grandmother, Isabel of Castile, was never called "the crowned nun,"[5] there were persistent associations with the religious life. A 1533 rumor, for instance, suggested that the convent was to be Mary's destiny.[6] The entrance of Mary in *Wyatt* is contrived to emphasize her Catholic piety, which, at this point in the text, marks her religious otherness. Here the playwrights seem less concerned with adhering to historical fact than in highlighting, through costume and dialogue, Mary's religious affiliation for the audience, if its members required such reminding.

Mary's appearance as a nun also performs the function of disassociating her from her brother, King Edward VI. This difference is developed in the

remainder of her speech, when she muses on foregoing all the magnificence of the Tudor court for the "euerlasting blisse" (1.3.12) found within her "rich prayer Booke" (1.3.8). According to the details of the soliloquy, she is living in the poverty appropriate to a nun. The result of this contrast between Mary and Edward presents in very negative terms a king whose religion was much lauded by Protestants. Mary's spirituality is set in opposition to the worldly excess of Edward's court. One could argue, of course, that placing such criticism in the mouth of this princess-nun immediately negates it; however, the extant play text does nothing to counterbalance Mary's judgment. In fact, later in the play, her insistence that "One intire Subsidie, due vnto the Crowne/In our dead Brothers daies" (3.1.29-30) be released to the people, does not reflect well on Edward and his government. Her reason for the discharge of payment is so "The Commonaltie/ Shal not be ore-burdned in our reigne" (3.1.30-1), a sentiment that suggests that the financial strains on her subjects during her brother's rule were great indeed. Mary-as-character is implicated, like Mary-as-historical-queen, in the myth of the elect nation. Within this mythology, which the play does much to promulgate, she is the disruption to the Protestant legacy of Edward, but here Mary, through her criticism of her brother, vocalizes an undeniable note of censure, one which runs counter to the master national discourse of Foxe and others. According to Kathleen E. McLuskie, such an "ambivalent dramatic effect . . . demonstrates the discursive complexity which an episodic dramaturgy allows. It reproduces certain conventions of representation which carry contradictory political resonances . . ."[7] What supports the plausibility of this reading is the generally positive characterization of Mary in the early scene. Although M. C. Bradbrook argues that the drama's "religious bias is emphasized by having Queen Mary appear at first, quite unhistorically, in the garb of a nun" (103),[8] there is nothing overtly condemnatory in Mary's devotion to her Catholic prayer book. Her dedication to God seems initially quite admirable, and her estrangement from her brother's Protestant court a rightful prioritizing of faith over worldly concerns and pleasures.

There are indications that Mary is not satisfied with her lot as heir to the throne: she admits, on being saluted with "the high stile of Queene" (1.3.17), to the "lowring miserie" (1.3.19) of her situation. Charles R. Forker suggests that Mary is "frustrated in her exclusion from 'pompe and state.'"[9] These indications of unhappiness with her circumstances are overwhelmed by the consideration that living as a nun is a deliberate choice and that the "sweetnesse," "ioy," and "comfort" (1.3.10, 11)

of her prayer book are valued as "richer then the Empire of this land" (1.3.14). Her sudden inheritance of the crown becomes, for Mary, God's answer to her Catholic prayer. The antipopery that McLuskie identifies as the underpinning of the text is not much in evidence on the princess's entrance.[10] Significantly, both Mary and her religion are somewhat sympathetically portrayed before she assumes true power in the play, so what is minatory in the public sphere of monarchical government is shorn of sinister implications in the private. It is no surprise that such dissident ideas do not remain unchallenged in the remainder of the text.

If there is no obvious criticism of Mary's Catholic piety in her first scene in the play, there is a reminder of the issue of her bastardy. Through the end of her opening line, "not like a Princesse borne," Dekker and Webster glance briefly at the taint of Mary's putative illegitimacy, created by Henry's divorce from her mother, Catherine of Aragon. For the most part, the play upholds Mary's right to the throne under the terms of her father's will. Even the Duke of Northumberland, Mary's sworn enemy, whose singular goal in the play is to have the crown devolve on his daughter-in-law, Jane, is forced to concede, "What though the King hath left behind, / Two Sisters, lawfull and immediate heires, / To succeed him in his Throane" (1.1.13-5). Mary's legitimacy has no less an advocate than the eloquent Sir Thomas Wyatt, who convinces Edward's council to abandon Northumberland's plot, which the members had previously supported. He reminds his fellow councilors of their prior oaths to preserve the succession outlined in the will of Henry VIII. Dekker and Webster are careful, with the exception of the single suggestion of Mary's illegitimacy, to support the claims to the throne of *both* of Henry's daughters, for although Elizabeth is never named explicitly, her rights are usually conflated with her sister's in any arguments against the inheritance of Lady Jane Grey.[11] The text insists that royal legitimacy, in spite of religious conviction, should always be supported.[12]

The connections with Jane also undermine the largely positive introduction of Mary.[13] In her words about her prayer book, audience members who knew their *Book of Martyrs* well would hear echoes of Jane's statement about her own holy book, the New Testament in Greek.[14] In the poignant letter recorded for posterity by Foxe, but originally written at the end of her book and composed before her execution for her sister, Katherine, Jane discusses the value of her New Testament, as well as its difference from the tangible wealth of those with secular power. Instead of emphasizing a closeness between the two faiths, which was probably

never the playwrights' intention, the allusions to Jane's letter contained in Mary's words reinforce Foxe's contention that things were never destined to go wrong for the new queen until she restored the Catholic religion, for he presents evidence of divine favor in the first days of her queenship. The soliloquy recognizes this sense of the potential at the beginning of her reign. But the primary effect of Catholic Mary ventriloquizing the ideas of her Protestant victim is to remind the astute playgoer subtly of her fall from grace with God and her role as persecutor of the saintly nine-day queen. Mary and Jane are the only two characters in the play who appear with prayer books, which become obvious signs of their differences, religious and otherwise, and of the playwrights' attempt at dramatic counterpointing.[15] In this way, Mary's prayer book comes to symbolize a royal, Catholic hegemony that transforms a quasi-nun into a queen with the power to punish those who impeded her succession.

The device of the pair of prayer books is paradigmatic of the disruption that occurs in the initial characterization of Mary; the dramatists renegotiate the implications of her piety, so that what originally appeared admirable becomes personally reprehensible and politically threatening. Mary's Catholic faith is linked to the play's "pattern of broken oaths that effectively reflects the tensions and the trauma of constantly shifting religious and political values."[16] After the ill-fated plot to place Lady Jane on the throne is thwarted, Mary meets with her council and, in her first act as queen, announces her desire to re-establish Catholicism in her kingdom. But in giving such orders, she is, as the Earl of Arundel reminds her, breaking "the late Oath [she] tooke at *Framingham*" (3.1.23) to maintain the reformed religious policies of her brother. Mary responds in a fittingly imperious Tudor manner and lectures the earl on his subsidiary role in the exercise of government: "wee remember that, / But shall a Subiect force his Prince to sweare / Contrarie to her conscience and the Law?" (3.1.24-6).[17] Embedded in the more momentous news of the fundamental religious revolution about to occur in England and Mary's broken oath seems to be some sense of the new queen's concern for her people: "Better a poore Queene, then the Subiects poore" (3.1.17). The desire to "share the wealth" through the release of "one intire Subsidie" to the Commons, if not wholly illusory, is less generous than it at first appears, when considered in the context of the Catholic "reaction" that Mary outlines to the assembled lords. Money will certainly be spent, but primarily for religious purposes as part of a Catholic agenda. In these terms, it is religious "Zeale [that] shall be deckt in golde" (3.1.11), and so the poverty that

Mary is determined to relieve is more one of faith and less one of purse. Her promise not to overburden her people has a price, that they must be "liberall in Religion" (3.1.32). Here Mary is not anticipating freedom of worship, but her subjects' favorable acceptance of Catholic doctrine and eagerness to practice the true faith.

Although Dekker and Webster undermine Mary's early representation as a nun by using her religion as a tool to tarnish her virtue and her plans for her kingdom, they further destabilize this image by her interest in Philip of Spain. In the text, Mary's decision to marry Philip is not a function of her piety—though, historically, a critical factor in his suitability as spouse was his identity as a Catholic prince—or a function of policy but a result of desire.[18] The match is supported by committed Catholic figures, like Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, but Mary's primary motivation for the forthcoming marriage is love and not political alliance. It is in those terms that Winchester frames the relationship. When the Earl of Arundel informs the queen that the Spanish ambassador is awaiting her to deliver letters from the prince, she uses the occasion to discuss the nature of her attachment to Philip, whom she has never met:

> In the behalfe of louely Princely *Philip*,
> Whose person wee haue shrined in our heart
> At the first sight of his delightfull picture?
> That picture should haue power to tingle Loue
> In Royall brests: the Dartes of loue are wordes,
> Pictures, conceite, heele preuaile by any . . . (3.1.62-7)

By expressing her emotions for her royal fiancé in this way, Mary is made to look ridiculous. She is not in love with a man, but with a painting.[19] Again, the playwrights set Mary in ironic contrast to Protestant Jane Grey, whose marriage in the play is obviously a love match and whose avowals of love are reciprocated.[20]

The characters who voice opinions promoting or opposing Mary's proposed alliance with Philip further reinforce the view of the marriage as political folly and indicate that the queen is incapable of recognizing good counsel.[21] Winchester, the archvillain of the play, who treats the doomed lovers, Jane and Guildford, with great contempt and cruelty, is the marriage's strongest supporter, but even he acknowledges that Mary's position is far less powerful than that of Philip, who is heir to Emperor Charles V. It is Wyatt, eventually driven to rebel against Mary because of

the Spanish marriage, who, alone among her councilors, recognizes the stupidity and potential danger involved in pursuing such a course. He likens Philip to a wily fox; he says, prophesying disaster, "The Fox is suttle, and his head once in, / The slender body easily will follow" (3.1.120-21). Wyatt, historically considered a Protestant,[22] supports Mary vociferously in the text on her accession, not through any shared religious feeling, but through the legality of Henry VIII's will and the oath the councilors swore to uphold it. In the play, Wyatt is made a councilor, who has access to and close contact with Mary, and his fictive role intensifies the heinousness of Mary's betrayal.

In the debate about the marriage, Wyatt reminds Mary and his fellow councilors of another provision in Henry VIII's will, which renders the match untenable. To allow a Spaniard to become the husband of the English queen violates that oath Henry's councilors took to uphold the will in its entirety, and Wyatt warns that they may "damme [their] soules with periurie" (3.1.145). But Wyatt also unhistorically renders Mary one of those who swore to preserve her father's will intact. This adaptation from the source material emphasizes Mary's pivotal role in causing others to commit, in Wyatt's eyes, perjury, through her pursuit of the unpopular alliance. That she cares nothing for the oath is demonstrated when she upbraids Wyatt for his "liberall tongue" (3.1.149) and calls for the councilors to affirm the match. She then invites the Spanish ambassador into her presence to "plight, [her] love to *Philips* heart" (3.1.154). What weighs on her is not her broken oath and its possible ramifications, but Philip's eventual arrival in England.

Dekker and Webster treat Mary's oath-breaking differently than other such transgressions in the text. The identity of the Duke of Suffolk as traitor, for instance, is ruptured when he is arrested after he is betrayed by a man he trusts. Even though Suffolk connived to make his daughter, Lady Jane, queen, Dekker and Webster equate him with Christ when it is revealed that Homes, the manservant the duke trusted to hide him, accepts money, like Judas, to turn Suffolk over to the authorities. After the duke is led away by the sheriff and his officers, Homes regrets his actions and, in a gesture glancing at Judas's own death, "strangles himselfe" (2.3.sd). In this way, the anticipated death of Suffolk becomes a Christ-like martyrdom.[23] There is never any sense of redemption associated with Mary's breaking of her sworn word, which, by its very absence, signals the extent of her perfidy. The dramatists' failure to rehabilitate the queen establishes

that she, unlike the sinful Protestants in the text, is irredeemable, which fits with the providential view of history found in their sources.

Mary disappears from the text after she has settled the issue of her marriage, although her representation as victimizer continues. The principle of the wickedness of rebellion is complicated by the virtue of the traitors themselves, so their deaths become, if not martyrdoms in the traditional sense, then sacrifices to a popish queen.[24] Lady Jane, Lord Guildford, and Wyatt are all executed for treason, but, in keeping with the Protestant historical narrative, they are represented as victims of the Catholic hierarchy generally and of Mary specifically. Although *Wyatt* upholds the right of the monarch, even a corrupt monarch, to quell rebellion, it also represents Mary, through her ministers and judges, as the persecutor of admirable Protestants. The fact that it is for her purposes and in her name that the so-called traitors are sentenced to die reinforces her culpability.

Lady Jane

The film *Lady Jane*, directed by Trevor Nunn and written by David Edgar, is often strikingly similar to Dekker and Webster's play. The movie traces the life of the titular Jane Grey from late in the reign of Edward VI to the moment of her execution on February 12, 1554. Retellings of this material, like in *Wyatt*, cast Mary firmly as villain, ultimately responsible for the death of young Jane, Protestant heroine and erstwhile queen. The film's depiction of Mary, as princess, new queen, and Catholic, incorporates aspects of these earlier renderings, but often violates them to offer a more positive characterization of a frequently vilified monarch.

The first appearance of Mary in the film is in a brief meeting with her younger cousin. The scene is identified by an intertitle as "London Spring 1553," which would place it in the weeks leading to the king's death and the nine-day usurpation. The princess, played by Jane Lapotaire, is initially described quite favorably by her lady-in-waiting, Lady Anne Wharton, as someone who delights in cards, a pastime in which she, like her historical counterpart, is reported to be expert.[25] Mary's participation in such amusements as trumps shows a positive and human side of the princess; bookish Jane, in contrast, admits that she does not play cards. There is a genuine affection for her royal mistress in the remarks of Lady Anne, which reflect the lasting relationships formed by the historical Mary with certain female members of her household.[26] Mary is first shown in the film framed in a window, light surrounding her face and elaborate headdress.

The heavily paneled room or passage in which the cousins meet has large windows situated at either end, and the scene begins with Lady Jane waiting to be brought to the princess. Unlike Mary, Jane is placed in the shadows, almost hidden on a bench to the side of a magnificent stained-glass window. Julianne Pidduck describes, in connection to other costume dramas, the "panoply of detail . . . [which] evokes the claustrophobic weight of history [and] oppressive patriarchal laws of inheritance . . ." (29).[27] The way that windows, space, and light are used in this scene appropriately divides the true Tudor heiress from the soon-to-be pretender.

But there are other signs that Lady Jane, in spite of her royal lineage and proximity to the throne, is not of the stuff from which monarchs are made. One of these involves clothing. As Pidduck notes in explaining her preference for the term "costume drama" over other labels, "'Costume' suggests the pleasures and possibilities of masquerade—the construction, constraint and display of the body through clothes."[28] Mary's clothes, if missing the sumptuous robes and other obvious signifiers of monarchy, are undeniably regal. Dressed in royal purple velvet with a silver and black embroidered underdress, Mary is a stately, upright figure, appropriately bejeweled with many rings and a substantial ruby suspended on a gold chain. Her headdress, studded with decorations, is reminiscent of a crown.[29] In contrast to Mary's rather grand appearance is Lady Jane's plain one. Jane, played by a very young and beautiful Helena Bonham Carter, is more country mouse than city aristocrat. Janet Maslin opens her review of the film in the *New York Times* by recognizing the "startling" first impression made by Jane: "First seen in the flat, constricting costumes of the Reformation, she stands in a crabbed, gnomish posture, her head bowed and her wide-set features contorted by a scowl."[30] A tiny detail, the wide white collar that adorns each woman's dress, signals the difference between them. Mary's head is held high, so that her collar forms an elegant frame for her face; Jane, clothed from head to toe in almost unrelieved black, often treats the collar as a turtle would its shell. Jane's clothes provide a visible manifestation of her rejection of the fripperies of materialism, especially those associated with the splendor of Catholic ceremonial and display, and her prioritization of the development of her mind and soul. What is clear, nevertheless, is that only one woman looks like a viable queen-in-waiting, and it is not Jane Grey.

Mary's regality is additionally developed in this scene through the contrast between her gracious behavior and Jane's sullenness and condescension. When Lady Anne genuflects at an altar on which is displayed the Eucharist

in a monstrance, Jane seizes the opportunity to instruct the lady-in-waiting in the reformed faith. She first asks Lady Anne why she curtsies. Anne states that she is curtseying before the host. Pedant Jane then emerges to teach Lady Anne some of the finer points of Protestant theology: "Oh, I see," she says scathingly, "So God made you, and the baker, apparently, made God."[31] What undermines the representation of Protestantism as the logical religious choice, free from the popish superstition of transubstantiation, is the disdain with which Jane's lines are delivered.

It is obvious at this point in the film that religion is crucial to character identity. Mary quickly reinforces the side of the religious divide to which she belongs in this first scene by genuflecting and blessing herself before the side altar. The Protestant mythology that envelops the historical Jane Grey constructs her as a religious heroine,[32] and her admission in the film to Dr. John Feckenham that she "would die to free our people from the chains of bigotry and superstition" is testament to her commitment to her faith. But if at times the filmmakers seem to want to repeat in cinematic terms the traditional dichotomy of Protestant virtue and Catholic vice that texts which deal with Jane's narrative traditionally develop, their attempts are frequently undermined. In the first meeting between Princess Mary and Lady Jane, the latter's obvious delight in her religious superiority dilutes the rightness of the message for which she is an ardent exponent. The scene, however, does not sustain this negative approach to the reformed religion, for there is a moment during the meeting of the cousins which demonstrates that, in the future, Mary will be a formidable enemy of Protestants. Mary's warning to Jane, after an awkward moment when she invites her cousin to embrace her, is a reminder that if the princess becomes queen, Protestant beliefs could prove dangerous. The princess whispers, "But if I were you, I'd take care, little cousin Jane." Although the warning is delivered in soft tones and without obvious menace, it indicates that Mary is a stalwart of her faith and that she anticipates having the power to make similar expressions of Protestant belief something that would be censured. When Mary does become queen and meets her cousin for the second time in the film, the covert threat voiced in the warning becomes realized. The interview begins with a benevolent Mary telling Jane that the seizure of the throne was not her fault, but resulted, in part, from youth and "a want of prudence." She even interrupts Jane's tearful apologies with a kindly "That's enough of that." Mary does instruct Jane in what is to come: a trial followed by a guilty verdict and the levying of the death penalty, though the queen is currently willing to exercise her

right to reprieve the sentence. When Jane asks, "With no conditions?" Mary, in a rare show of Tudor temper, raises her voice to upbraid Jane: "Well, it would help if you promised not to steal my throne again!" Later, when Jane is asked to leave, she tries to raise another matter with the queen and again Mary erupts. Her last words are an angry directive, "Say nothing that will change my mind," followed by a softer reminder, "You didn't heed my warning, little cousin Jane." Now she possesses the power to carry out the menace inherent in the earlier caution, and her goodwill is all that stands between Jane and an appointment on the scaffold.

Although the narrative trajectory ultimately valorizes Protestantism in the suffering and death of Jane and her husband, Guildford Dudley, and in her unwavering understanding that her faith will be rewarded with eternity in heaven, the question of religious rightness continues to be vexed at points in the film. Catholicism, for which Mary is the sole royal proponent, is not always irretrievably bad. In the course of a discussion about the marital prospects of young Jane, her mother, Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, is told by John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, that the king is dying. The prospect of Catholic Mary's imminent succession, which the duke wishes to prevent, would be very agreeable for the country people. The duchess acknowledges, "They still adhere. They miss the Latin liturgies and mysteries, the ornaments, the precious things." The duke then traces the reasons why the return of Catholicism would be welcomed by many people, but a cause for concern for those who benefitted materially from its end as the established religion: "Because before King Henry closed the monasteries, those precious things were in their churches. They could see them on the altars, hanging on the walls, but I wonder where those precious things are now?" His comments are followed by a shot of a table heavily laden with Church plate. Even though the ornaments on the side altar in Mary's London house are not available for all to enjoy, they are serving their original purpose, not providing a dazzling backdrop to a private dining area. In spite of Kevin Thomas's assertion in his review in the *Los Angeles Times* that "*Lady Jane* reveals an acute awareness of the relationship between religion and politics, expressing an ironic realization that political expediency is not always contradictory to fundamental and noble religious reform,"[33] the decision to circumvent the stipulations of Henry VIII's will, which designated Mary as Edward's rightful successor, is not the result of deeply felt Protestant belief, but of a motivation both mercenary and self-serving. It also sets members of the Protestant aristocracy in opposition not only to the desires of their late king, but also

to those of the country people. That the faith of many members of the Protestant aristocracy is more political expedience and graft than committed belief is exhibited by the Machiavellian Northumberland, who kept Edward alive in excruciating pain long enough to arrange Jane's accession, but once Mary's victory is assured and reprieves are offered for those who return to Rome, he declares, "Ah! Well, then . . . Hail Mary."

A later scene that emphasizes the attractions of Catholicism for the country people occurs as Jane and Guildford begin their married life together. As they travel into the countryside, their coach is approached by a small contingent of the new rural poor, thrown off their traditional lands by the closure of religious houses. Their leader, who has been branded for begging, refuses Guildford's bag of money and urges his followers to leave the coins behind. His stated desire is the return of their land. Later, when the newlyweds arrive at their destination, a former priory, Jane questions her husband on the reasons why the leader was "idle." Guildford's reply again links Catholicism to the practical benefits of the peasantry:

> The land he used to farm, on which he had much work to do, used to belong to poor old monks in poor old monasteries who let poor people like himself plant their crops and grow their food. That is, until my father and your father and men like them stripped the monasteries, smashed the windows, hung their own halls with the paintings and tapestries, fenced in the common land, drove the peasants from their fields and then passed unholy laws branding them for beggary.

After Jane protests that the people have now been saved from corrupt priests who perpetuated such superstitious practices as the worshipping of icons and the mumbling of spells, Guildford criticizes the reformers, many of whom have more concern for the "number and nature of the sacraments than whether those who receive them live or die."

After Jane is proclaimed queen in Mary's stead, the encounter with the beggar and her knowledge of the debased coinage in the form of the shilling no longer worth a shilling inspires her to make social reform central to her royal agenda. According to Frank Prochaska, the film's historical consultant, Nunn and Edgar constructed married Jane as a kind of sixteenth-century flower child, "a proto-socialist feminist, a strange amalgam of Robin Hood and Beatrice Webb."[34] There are brief scenes, for instance, of Queen Jane issuing orders to free prisoners and to distribute her expensive clothing to the poor. Mary, in contrast, is no

social reformer as her lack of interest in the Queen Jane shilling, symbolic of the Grey–Dudley union and of their interest in addressing the plight of the poor, reveals. In spite of Jane's commitment to social justice, she is not the people's choice for monarch. When she is displayed, looking grim and ill at ease, before the gathered London townspeople from a high wall in the Tower, they mill around, muttering, until someone asks, "Where is Princess Mary?" This scene is in direct contrast to a later one, when now Queen Mary arrives in triumph in the capital. Cries of "Long live the queen" and "Long live your grace" are heard, while Mary, riding in on the proverbial white horse, looks gracious and happy. Arriving at the Tower, as prisoners of her brother's regime are released, she quickly connects clemency to Catholicism. Although the rules of Jane and Mary are superficially linked by their release of the incarcerated, Jane's motivation is charitable, an attempt to follow the Christological model, while Mary's is based on the faith of the imprisoned. She announces, "These are my prisoners, honest men incarcerated by my brother's officers, but by the Grace of God and in the name of His Son Jesus Christ, they are prisoners no more, as no man shall be if with honest heart he spurns all heresy and does confess the true religion."

If Mary is patently the people's choice, she is also the savvy political one. Jane makes enormous errors of political judgment when, for example, she refuses to authorize sending her father to raise troops to repel Mary's forces and accedes to Guildford's imprudent suggestion that Northumberland, whom Robert Dudley later describes as hated in Norfolk, go instead. Jane's decision to give away her magnificent royal wardrobe "to warm the wretched and to clothe the comfortless," while laudable, shows a lack of interest in and understanding of the semiotics of royal display. A pair of scenes underscores Mary's greater facility with the political aspects of queenship. In both, the Spanish ambassador arrives to meet the new monarch. When he is announced to Jane, who has kept him waiting for several days, he finds her unprepared for the audience and busily working with Guildford, slouched over a desk. While she briefly sits and speaks with him, she quickly returns to her work, and she tells him that such work is more important when so many of her subjects are living in misery. Queen Mary's meeting with the ambassador ends her interview with the now imprisoned Jane. She dismisses her cousin to keep her appointment with the ambassador, and greets him effusively and in fluent Spanish. Mary knows how to play the political game.

Mary and Jane are divided by religion and the exercise of queenly power, but they have one characteristic in common in the film. Although the difference in Mary and Jane's ages is developed throughout, most notably in the queen's own admission that Jane's marrying in "the first flush of . . . youth" was "lucky," and thereby implying that her circumstances are not ideal, both women are in love.[35] Jane's relationship with Guildford, originating in the political stratagems of their parents, turns unexpectedly and unhistorically into a love match. Mary anticipates her dynastic union with Philip of Spain, even showing the prisoner Jane the painting of her betrothed to elicit admiration. When discussing this encounter with Guildford later, Jane recognizes the parallelism of their circumstances: "She loves him. I saw her looking at his portrait and I saw me looking up at you." The film, like the play, recasts the Grey–Dudley marriage as a loving relationship, and this transformation emphasizes the emptiness of Mary's affection; the object of her desire is not a man she has ever seen in the flesh. Indeed, this impression is reinforced in Mary's last scene in the film when Dr. Feckenham returns from Jane's execution. The queen is visibly upset, but the deaths of Jane and Guildford were conditions for Philip's arrival. Mary announces, "And now I am going to meet my husband, with whom I am in love. You see?" In walking from the room, Mary passes several former supporters of the Grey coup, including Guildford's brother, Robert Dudley, and Jane's mother, Frances. Their appearance at court suggests the superficiality of allegiances: political, even familial, relationships and religious belief can be sacrificed—at least publicly—for the opportunity to survive. In this context of shifting alliances, Mary's love for the absent Philip is rather naive.

But if the film's characters are able to separate the personal from the political, the exercise of queenship conflates the two. *Lady Jane* is recognizably part of a group of costume dramas focusing on the private lives of princesses and queens.[36] Jane's political agenda, her commitment to social justice, is motivated not just by her encounter with the branded beggar and any charitable beliefs informed by her religion, but also instruction from the more worldly Guildford. Although he denies knowing about his father's plots or wanting the crown for himself, *her* rule is, in practical terms, *their* rule. They are shown in the film planning and working together, and after they are arrested, he refers to her reign as "our nine days." Mary is, of course, never shown having intimate discussions with her beloved that then influence her political agenda, but Philip's power over his future wife shapes the policy of the early months of her governance. Immediately

after Mary tells Jane that she intends to grant a reprieve of execution, the Spanish ambassador voices the emperor's concern about allowing the usurper to remain alive. Mary cuts him off by saying, "I have told your Excellency no." Later, the ambassador makes Philip's arrival contingent on the end of "civil discord or, more accurately, the focus of such discord, such as one now inhabiting this Tower." He puts it more plainly, "If you wish to marry Prince Philip, then Jane Grey and her husband must die." Throughout the interview the portrait of Philip is prominently displayed. While Mary, in an effort to save her cousin, suggests that the Dudleys might be less of a threat if they converted to Catholicism, they refuse and so are beheaded. In the film, Jane and Guildford are killed, not because of the Wyatt rebellion or the desire to replace Jane on Mary's throne, but so that the queen can be married, which is emphasized by Mary leaving to meet Philip in the moments following the execution.

Conclusion

Much of the same territory is traced in play and film—the death of Edward, the rise and fall of Jane Grey, the future marriage of Mary to Philip, and the tainting of the public sphere through private emotion—but their representations of Mary I are often quite different. In *Wyatt*, Mary is not a fully realized character. Her appearance demonstrates how the dead queen becomes a construction co-opted, for the most part, in support of a particular Protestant version of history. Patrilineal descent and popular support ground Mary's right to rule, but they cannot transform her into a model monarch. There are brief glimpses of humanity in the high-handed, inconstant, and callous queen, who is more concerned with religion than with the advice of good counselors or the welfare of her realm. While *Lady Jane* does not fully erase this earlier characterization, the major contribution of the film to the discourse of Tudor history, as far as Mary is concerned, is in its failure to construct her as a fanatical villainess and its substitution of a more human and humane queen. The film is, in part, informed by the political climate of Thatcherite Britain, at which time there was a need for sweeping social change.[37] Jane is the reformer, both in terms of religion and social justice, but Mary does not read as an avatar of Margaret Thatcher. If Jane cannot usher in a paradisiacal England, then the end of the film makes clear that Catholic Mary also exists in a fallen world of vacillating loyalties, where frequently what is necessary or expedient is neither right nor genuinely felt. The film can sustain this

characterization as the queen is implicated in Tudor realpolitik, but it does not provide a consistent motivation for her actions, unlike some other characters. In addition, Mary is, in the popular imagination, rather an unknown quantity, lacking the immediate negative associations that would have been so resonant with the early modern theatergoer.

Notes

1. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*, (Chicago, 1992), 234.
2. On the sources generally, see Cyrus Hoy, *Introduction, Notes and Commentaries to Texts in* The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, (Cambridge, 1980), vol. 1, 311–14. On Foxe's influence on the Jacobean history play, including *Wyatt* in particular, see Marsha S. Robinson, *Writing the Reformation:* Actes and Monuments *and the Jacobean History Play*, (Aldershot, 2002), *passim*; and Judith Doolin Spikes, "The Jacobean History Play and the Myth of the Elect Nation," *Renaissance Drama 7* (1977): 117–49. Julia Gasper also acknowledges the connection between Foxe and *Wyatt*, but she recognizes defects in Spikes's approach: Spikes "tries to argue a single, uniform interpretation of all the Jacobean history plays, and bases this on the belief that Elizabethan Protestantism was purely nationalistic." See *The Dragon and the Dove: The Plays of Thomas Dekker*, (Oxford, 1990), 44.
3. All references to *Wyatt* are from *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredson Bowers, (Cambridge, 1953), vol. 1, 397–469.
4. Teresa Grant also discusses 1.3, but registers a more overt hypocrisy. See "'Thus Like a Nun, Not Like a Princess Born': Dramatic Representations of Mary Tudor," in Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (eds.), *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, (Basingstoke, 2011), 68–9.
5. David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life*, (Oxford, 1992), 332.
6. Loades, "The Personal Religion of Mary I," in Eamon Duffy and Loades (eds.), *The Church of Mary Tudor*, (Aldershot, 2006), 10.
7. Kathleen E. McLuskie, *Dekker and Heywood: Professional Dramatists*, (Basingstoke, 1994), 38. Thomas Healy identifies a common thread in Jacobean history plays, which involves their presentation of "puzzling scenes where an audience is posed with a series of problems in interpretation, both within the scene itself and in the scene's relation to others in the plays. All dramatise events or portray characters in manners that refuse narrow sectarian interpretations." See "History and Judgement in *Henry VIII*," in Jennifer Richards and James Knowles (eds.), *Shakespeare's Late Plays: New Readings* (Edinburgh, 1999), 164.

8. M.C. Bradbrook, *John Webster: Citizen and Dramatist*, (London, 1980), 103.
9. Charles R. Forker, *Skull Beneath the Skin: The Achievement of John Webster*, (Carbondale, 1986), 70.
10. McLuskie, 33.
11. Grant, 65.
12. Forker, 70.
13. Grant discusses how the characters of Jane and Mary function as foils (67–8, 70).
14. John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (1570 ed.), Book 10, 1621–2.
15. Forker, 70; Grant, 67.
16. Larry S. Champion, *Thomas Dekker and the Traditions of English Drama*, (New York, 1987), 2nd ed., 69. Healy discusses the characters' inability to remain loyal (166).
17. Paula de Pando notices that "[a]s Mary gets closer to the throne, her speeches leave the pathetic mode and become tyrannical." See "'Why Sighs Your Majesty?': Towards a Political Model of Passion in Dekker and Webster's *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyat* (1602)," *English Studies*, 94 (2013), 34.
18. On the suitability of Philip as spouse, see Judith M. Richards, *Mary Tudor*, (London, 2008), 146.
19. Loades repeats the story of Mary's falling in love with Philip's portrait. See *Mary Tudor: A Life*, 203, and *Mary Tudor: The Tragical History of the First Queen of England*, (Kew, 2006), 108.
20. Grant, 70. She also connects Philip's portrait to Catholic iconography.
21. Ibid, 71–2; Pando emphasizes that "[t]he clashing interests pertaining to the public and private spheres also shape the characterization of Mary Tudor" (33).
22. D.M. Loades, *Two Tudor Conspiracies*, (Cambridge, 1965), 16.
23. McLuskie, 36–7.
24. Robinson argues that "the deaths of the three traitors are transformed on stage to martyrdoms . . ." (11). Pando considers their punishments "almost a personal revenge" (36).
25. For Mary's love of cards, see Loades, *Mary Tudor: The Tragical History*, 188; and Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: Princess, Bastard, Queen*, (New York, 2009), 24.
26. For a discussion of the relationships that Mary forged with the women in her household, see John Edwards, *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen*, (New Haven, 2011), 110–12.
27. Julianne Pidduck, *Contemporary Costume Film: Space, Place and the Past*, (London, 2004), 29.
28. Ibid., 4.

29. For Mary's love of clothes and jewels, see Whitelock, 24.
30. Janet Maslin, "Screen: 'Lady Jane,'" rev. of *Lady Jane*, dir. Trevor Nunn, *New York Times*, nytimes.com, 7 Feb. 1986, n. pag.
31. For quotations from the film, see *Lady Jane*, dir. Trevor Nunn, perf. Helena Bonham Carter, Cary Elwes, John Wood, Michael Hordern, and Jane Lapotaire, Paramount (1986). This incident is related in Foxe. See *Acts and Monuments* (1563 ed.), Book 5, 1815.
32. Eric Ives, *Lady Jane Grey: A Tudor Mystery*, (Chichester, 2009), 286–91.
33. Kevin Thomas, "The Passion and the Romance of 'Lady Jane,'" rev. of *Lady Jane*, dir. Nunn, *Los Angeles Times*, latimes.com, 7 Feb. 1986, n. pag.
34. qtd. in Carole Levin, "Lady Jane Grey on Film," in Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (eds.), *Tudors and Stuarts on Film: Historical Perspectives*, (Basingstoke, 2009), 82.
35. At the time of the marriage negotiations, Mary, at 37, was 11 years older than Philip. Jane Grey married at around age 16.
36. Pidduck, 6; Greg Colón Semenza, "Introduction: An Age for All Time," in Semenza (ed.), *The English Renaissance in Popular Culture: An Age for All Time*, (Basingstoke, 2010), 9.
37. Levin, 87.

Marrying Mary to the Black Legend: Anti-Catholicism and Anti-Marian Messages in Anglo-American Films about Philip II of Spain

William B. Robison

When Mary I of England wedded Philip of Spain in 1554, she unwittingly married herself to the Black Legend, a historiographical tradition that since the sixteenth century has demonized imperial Catholic Spain and its Inquisition for bigotry, religious intolerance, and cruelty to foreign enemies, heretics, and colonial peoples. Of course, at Mary's death in 1558, most of the actions that made her husband the avatar of the legend lay in his future as King Philip II of Spain (1556–1598), and she played no part in them. Moreover, when Spanish historian Julián Juderías coined the term "Black Legend" in 1914, he traced its origins to the Dutch Revolt against Philip, which began in 1566. However, as William Maltby has shown, the English version of the legend began during Philip and Mary's reign. Contemporaries criticized Mary—half-Spanish herself—for making Philip king of England, allowing him to involve the English in the Habsburgs' continental war, and for the "Spanish" cruelty entailed in her

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burning of "heretics." Elizabethan Protestants looked back on Philip and Mary's reign as tribulation from which they were grateful to be delivered. Seventeenth-century anti-papist polemicists began calling the first Tudor queen "Bloody Mary," an unflattering appellation that gained currency with the Enlightenment critique of religious intolerance in the eighteenth century and persisted into the increasingly secular nineteenth and the ecumenical twentieth. Meanwhile, Philip became the leading figure in a royal pantheon of anti-Elizabethan papist villains including Mary herself, Marie of Guise, Mary Queen of Scots, and Catherine de' Medici (who has her own black legend).[1]

Consequently, Mary—whose life was difficult enough—has had a "cultural afterlife" that is arguably much worse. "Bloody Mary" suffers by comparison with her sister Elizabeth I, much more auspiciously nicknamed "Good Queen Bess," "Gloriana," and "the Virgin Queen." For centuries English Protestants celebrated the anniversary of Mary's death and Elizabeth's accession on November 17, 1558 as an example of divine providence on par with the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the foiling of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, and the Glorious Revolution in 1688. The belief that Mary subordinated her kingdom's interests to Spain's, particularly by involving England in the Habsburgs' continental war, helps explain why the English subsequently have refused to grant the title of king to any foreigner married to a regnant queen except William III, whose Stuart lineage placed him in the royal line of succession with his wife and co-ruler Mary II. To make matters worse, historians until recently have regarded Mary as less competent than Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth, and many have seen her brother Edward VI's reign and her own as central to a mid-Tudor crisis. Furthermore, Bloody Mary and the Black Legend are deeply embedded in Anglo-American popular culture, often figuring in fictional and filmic accounts of English and Spanish history.[2]

Recently, however, scholars have challenged the Black Legend in general, offered a more balanced appraisal of Philip II, and revised their opinions not only of Mary's religious policy but also her personality and the competence of the Marian regime. Yet there is little evidence of this more nuanced and less relentlessly critical reassessment in modern Anglo-American cinema and television, where Mary remains as bloody and Philip as black as ever. Generally, Mary and Philip appear in films that focus on Elizabeth, who is almost always the protagonist—only Mary Queen of Scots occasionally usurps that role. By comparison with Mary I

and Philip, filmmakers depict the Virgin Queen as more beautiful, coura-geous, strong, smart, and well educated, and they often portray her as anachronistically tolerant and committed to liberty. In many films about Elizabeth, neither Mary nor Philip appears at all. On the other hand, Mary has never been the primary subject of a major film or television show, nor has Philip been the main attraction in any English language production except *The Escorial Conspiracy* (2008), filmed in English but dubbed in Spanish and released as *La conjura de El Escorial*. Furthermore, Mary and Philip rarely appear in the same film together, and when they do, the results are not usually favorable to the queen. Thus, film and television not only have presented Mary in a negative light to Anglo-American audiences, but by perpetuating the Black Legend with regard to her husband and co-ruler Philip, they have further "blackened" her image through "guilt by association" and sharpened the contrast between the "evil" half-Spanish, Catholic Mary and the "good" pure-English Protestant Elizabeth in the popular imagination.[3]

Before discussing the films in question, it is worth noting some factors that lend plausibility—if not complete historical veracity—to the Black Legend as it applies to Philip and Mary. One is that they looked the part. Mary was England's last Catholic monarch except the ill-fated James II (1685–1688). Her supporters included men like Cardinal Reginald Pole, Bishop Stephen Gardiner, and Bishop Edmund Bonner, whom popular opinion associates—rightly or wrongly—with vicious zealotry. Mary's mother Catherine—Henry VIII's first wife—was the youngest daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, who acquired a reputation for intolerance and cru-elty by establishing the Spanish Inquisition, expelling Jews from their realm, persecuting Muslims, and arguably by sponsoring Christopher Columbus' voyages and creating what became a worldwide colonial empire. Their older daughter Joanna—Catherine's sister and Mary's aunt—married Emperor Maximilian I's son Philip the Handsome and was mother to Charles V, scourge of German Protestants and father of Philip II. In Protestant eyes, Mary's husband inherited a legacy of imperialist aggression and religious persecution, to which he added by provoking the Dutch Revolt, meddling in the French Wars of Religion, seizing the throne of Portugal, and launch-ing the Armada against England. He also was Mary's second cousin, and the English would have regarded any children they had as three-quarters Spanish. The Protestant Elizabeth, by contrast, was the daughter of Anne Boleyn and her lineage impeccably English.[4]

Another factor linking Mary to the Black Legend is her own regime's intolerance. Though Eamon Duffy has downplayed the Marian persecutions—correctly noting that execution of "heretics" by both Catholic and Protestant regimes was common in sixteenth-century sixteenth-century Europe—the fact remains that 284 individuals were executed by burning, including the beloved Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, and the popular Bishops Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley. Though Elizabeth had Catholics hanged, drawn, and quartered, she did so over a much longer period of time and she made a great show of declaring that the victims were guilty not of heresy but of treason. As Judith Richards has acknowledged, "However they are reckoned, the numbers burned in Mary's reign were exceptional in English history, even before the very short time over which they occurred is taken into account." Even the notorious Spanish Inquisition did not burn heretics in the same concentrated numbers as Mary.[5]

Nevertheless, the Inquisition carried on its usual work throughout the Spanish Empire during Philip's reign. It was one of the main reasons for the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt, and if not exactly unexpected in other parts of the Empire, it certainly inspired fear. Though revisionist historians have "rehabilitated" the Spanish Inquisition—like Philip II and the Spanish Empire in general—much of that consists of pointing out that its officers followed the institution's own rigorous rules and often released suspects against whom it could not prove charges. It also involves placing the Inquisition in a larger European context, demonstrating that its activities were part of a wider pattern of persecution. For all that, however, the Inquisition could arrest suspects on anonymous testimony, try them without counsel, employ torture to obtain confessions, and execute those found guilty by burning at the stake. Spain's enemies naturally have seen this as unwarranted brutality while regarding similarly harsh measures in their own states as justifiable punishment of heresy and/or treason. The Black Legend may not be fair—or its proponents free of hypocrisy—but Spain's enemies did not make it up out of whole cloth.[6]

Added to that is a long history of Anglo-Spanish and American-Hispanic conflict. For England and later Great Britain, this includes the Anglo-Spanish Wars of 1585–1604, 1625–1630, 1654–1660, 1718–1720 (the War of the Quadruple Alliance), 1727–1729, 1739–1748 (the War of Jenkins Ear, overlapping the War of the Austrian Succession), 1762–1763 (part of the Seven Years War), 1779–1783 (part of the American Revolutionary War), and 1796–1808 (part of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars). British colonists in the New World—the forefa-

thers of Americans—participated in the aforementioned wars up to the American Revolution, and since then the United States has had its own share of conflict with Spain and other Hispanic states, notably the Mexican War (1846–1848), the Spanish American War (1898), the Banana Wars (1898–1934), the Border War with Mexico (1910–1919), and a host of incidents during the Cold War and thereafter. Spanish neutrality in World Wars I and II, Franco's fascist regime in Spain, fascist and communist dictatorships in former Spanish colonies, international drug cartels based in Latin America, and illegal Hispanic immigrants have further stimulated Anglo-American hostility.[7]

Turning now to cinema and television, it must be noted that perceptions of the Black Legend vary by nationality; however, filmmaking often transcends national boundaries, and film can be an international language. Therefore, while this essay focuses on Anglo-American film, a brief survey of foreign language productions about Philip is in order. Most numerous are filmic incarnations of Giuseppe Verdi's opera *Don Carlos*, which premiered onstage in 1867, has gone through numerous French and Italian versions, has appeared on film many times since 1910, and is popular with English-speaking audiences. Based on Friedrich Schiller's play, *Don Carlos, Infant von Spanien* (1787) with borrowings from Eugène Cormon's *Phillipe II, Roi d'Espagne* (1846), it tells the story of Philip's marriage in 1559 to Elizabeth of Valois, who previously was betrothed to his son Don Carlos, and the ensuing conflict among the three. It portrays Philip as morally ambiguous, Don Carlos as irrational, and Elizabeth as conflicted, but its depiction of the Inquisition, an auto-da-fé, and Philip's submission to the Grand Inquisitor is damning. The German silent film *Carlos und Elizabeth* (1924) is also based on Schiller's play. It is interesting, given British filmmakers' subsequent linkage of Philip II and Adolf Hitler, that Eugen Klöpfer—who played the king—later joined the Nazi party, worked for Joseph Goebbels, and enjoyed the Führer's favor, whereas Austrian Jewish director Richard Oswald and actor Conrad Veidt—who played Don Carlos and whose wife was Jewish—emigrated to America.[8]

There have been two Dutch versions of *Willem van Oranje*, fifty years apart in 1934 and 1984, on the 350th and 400th anniversaries of the assassination of William the Silent in 1584. Director Jan Teunissen's 1934 version, the first Dutch feature film with sound, is a patriotic movie about the early years of the Dutch Revolt against Spain; therefore, it presents the rebel leader Willem van Oranje (Cor Van der Lugt Melsert) in a very positive light, while the rebels' target Philip II (Cruys Voorbergh)

fits the profile of the Black Legend. Walter van der Kamp's 1984 version, a ten-part television miniseries with Jeroen Krabbé as William and Willem Nijholt as Philip, does the same. Earlier van der Kamp directed *Uilenspiegel* (1973), a four-part television series based on Charles de Coster's novel *The Legend of Thyl Ulenspiegel and Lamme Goedzak* (1867). The legend dates at least as far back as the fourteenth century, but in this version the trickster Uilenspiegel (Wim Van Der Grijn) and his sidekick Lamme Goedzak (Rudi Falkenhagen)—like Willem van Oranje (Guido de Moor)—are involved in the revolt against Philip (Lex van Delden), who is both the enemy and the butt of numerous jokes.[9]

Several films include Philip as a minor character, usually unpleasant but not particularly the stuff of the Black Legend. Between 1914 and 1975 there were several German and Spanish film versions of Pedro Calederón de la Barca's *El alcalde de Zalamea* (*The Mayor of Zalamea*, c.1636).[10] *Jeromín* (1953) and *Don Juan en los infiernos* (*Don Juan in Hell*, 1991) focus on Don Juan of Austria; *El Greco* (1966) on artist Domenico Tetocopulo; *Cervantes* (*Young Rebel*, 1967) on the author of *Don Quixote*; *La tumultuosa Princesa de Eboli* (1977) and *La princesa de Éboli* (2010) on Ana de Mendoza; *Con al culo al aire* (*Caution to the Wind*, 1980) on insanity; *Las dos primeras ciudades de los EEUU: San Agustín y Sante Fe* (*España estuvo allí*, 1981) on the cities of Saint Augustine and Santa Fe; *Cineastas contra magnates* (*Filmmakers vs. Tycoons*, 2005) on filmmaking; and *Monasterios reales* (2008) on monasteries.[11]

The first English language films including Philip are silent versions of *In the Palace of the King*, based on F. Marion Crawford's 1900 novel. The story focuses on the romance between the king's illegitimate half-brother Don John and Dolores Mendoza. Philip—E.J. Ratcliffe in the 1915 version directed by Fred E. Wright and Sam de Grasse in the 1923 version directed by Emmett J. Flynn—appears in a supporting role and is generally gloomy, suspicious, and cruel. However, as Will Coster has shown, the first two English language sound films to feature Philip as a character do much to reinforce the Black Legend. Both *Fire Over England* (1937) and *The Sea Hawk* (1940) employ the Armada campaign for propaganda purposes, using Philip and the Spanish Empire as analogs for Hitler and Nazi Germany.[12]

Philip (Raymond Massey) has a major role in *Fire Over England*, which—like Alexander Korda's *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933)— emphasizes the importance of a strong English navy for defense against continental enemies. Based on Alfred Edward Wooley Mason's 1936

novel of the same name, the film focuses on the adventures of the fictitious Michael Ingolby (Laurence Olivier), whose father is burned by the Spanish Inquisition and who twice escapes the Spanish with the help of the Lady Elena (Tamara Desni), carries on a love affair with the fictional lady-in-waiting Cynthia (Vivien Leigh), spies for Elizabeth I (Flora Robson), and eventually participates in the Armada campaign. The film tells viewers that Philip "rules by fear" and that "Spanish tyranny is challenged only by the free people of a little island." Ingolby warns Elizabeth that if she dies, "there will be fire over England." Philip tells Ingolby, "Only by fear can the people be made to do their duty, and not always then," and Elena's husband observes, "The whole trouble comes from treating your enemies like human beings." By contrast, Elizabeth allows traitors to man the fireships against the Armada so that they may "die for a free people" (the traitors are fictitious, though there were real ones in the 1580s). Parts of the sea battle later were included in the 1939 propaganda film, *The Lion Has Wings*.[13]

The Sea Hawk does more of the same. Very loosely based on Raphael Sabatini's 1915 novel, it actually draws more from Seton Miller's story, "Beggars of the Sea," which is based on the life of Sir Francis Drake. The film's fictional hero, who closely resembles the great adventurer, is Geoffrey Thorpe (Errol Flynn). He preys upon Spanish shipping, is captured in Panama and sentenced by the Inquisition to serve on a galley, escapes, reveals the plans of another fictitious traitor Lord Wolfingham (Henry Daniell), and convinces Elizabeth (Robson again) to build a fleet to defend against the impending invasion of Philip II (Montague Love). Of course, Elizabeth did no such thing. Her own navy was small, the Armada was on its way by the time she received Thorpe's warning in the film, and in reality she relied heavily on ships privately owned by men like Drake, Martin Frobisher, and John Hawkins. Nonetheless, the film delivers the message that director Michael Curtiz intended, and indeed by the time the film was released, a Nazi attack was on its way. The original film shown in Britain concludes with Elizabeth delivering a ten-minute propagandistic speech, though the American version omits it.[14]

In the 1950s there were two filmed versions of Kate O'Brien's 1949 novel, *That Lady: A Romance*, a fictionalized account of the life of Ana de Mendoza, Princess of Eboli, who is also a character in Verdi's *Don Carlos*, the Spanish films *La tumultuosa Princesa de Eboli* (1977) and *La princesa de Éboli* (2010), and *La conjura de El Escorial* (*The Conspiracy, The El Escorial Conspiracy*, 2008), which is discussed below. In 1954 *That Lady* appeared on the BBC Sunday-Night Theatre directed by Rudolph Cartier,

with Edana Romney as Ana, Joseph O'Conor as her lover Antonio Perez, and Reginald Tate as Philip II. In 1955 Terence Young directed a feature film with Olivia de Havilland as Ana, Gilbert Roland as Antonio, and Paul Scofield as the king. The Philip of this story is not so much "blacker" as he is "green," for in a fit of jealousy he imprisons both Ana, whose love he covets, and Antonio, whose good fortune he envies. Onscreen, Ana wears a patch over her right eye, as she did in reality and in her portrait, allegedly the result of a youthful fencing accident.[15]

In 1962 Sir Francis Drake appeared in his own right on both the large and small screens, where his antagonist Philip II is suited to the Black Legend once more. Director Rudolph Maté's entertaining, if historically inaccurate, feature film *Seven Seas to Calais* (1962)—shot in Italy as *Il dominatore dei 7 mari* but released in English in 1963—recounts in swashbuckling fashion the life of Drake (Rod Taylor) from his pirate career to the defeat of the Armada, which he seems to have accomplished almost singlehandedly. He is, of course, the hero, knighted by a grateful Elizabeth (Irene Worth), while Philip (Umberto Raho) is the stereotypical villain.[16] In *Visit to Spain* (1962), an episode in British television's *The Adventures of Sir Francis Drake*, Philip (Zia Mohyeddin) is "black" but his son Don Carlos (Joseph Cuby) is even "blacker." In a completely invented tale, Elizabeth (Jean Kent) sends Drake (Terence Morgan) as an envoy to Spain for Don Carlos' imaginary wedding to the fictional Princess Mariella of Naples (Francesca Annis). Don Carlos beats Mariella for interfering with his cruelty to a dog and attempts to murder Drake, who helps Mariella escape, and Philip is in a perpetual fury. Despite its ahistorical nature, this story surely must have reinforced the Black Legend among young Anglo-American viewers.[17] No doubt the comic turns Philip executed in *The Great and Glorious Age of Elizabeth* (Wallas Eaton as part of Terry Jones and Michael Palin's *Complete and Utter History of Britain*, 1969) and in an episode of *The Morecambe & Wise Show* (Alan Curtis) did little to change that.[18]

The fairest and most nuanced treatment that Philip and Mary have received at the hands of English-speaking filmmakers comes in BBC's *Elizabeth R* (1971). The first episode, *The Lion's Cub*, covers the period from the Privy Council's investigation of the relationship between Elizabeth (Glenda Jackson) and Sir Thomas Seymour (John Ronane) in 1549 through her accession to the throne in 1558; therefore, it devotes considerable attention to Philip (Peter Jeffrey) and Mary (Daphne Slater). It offers an unusually sympathetic depiction of Mary, though it does so

primarily by portraying her as rather pitiful, sad, and unstable. She asks Elizabeth why the people hate her, bemoans her sister's youth and beauty, complains to Simon Renard (Brendan Barry) that Philip has broken her heart with his mistresses and bastards, waits for him alone and weeping on her wedding night, and seems very human when the "mea culpa" of her false pregnancy passes and she bursts from her bedroom, screaming "mea culpa" and declaring that God is angry with her for tolerating heresy. However, she goes on to condemn heretics to the stake, and when Renard urges Philip to stop "these stupid burnings," he replies that Mary is too stubborn. There also are other scenes that are unfavorable to her. She responds to news that her brother Edward (Jason Kemp) is dead with "God be praised," tells William Cecil (Ronald Hines) that Elizabeth is the daughter of a whore, and later declares to her that Anne Boleyn was a witch. She falls for Elizabeth's pretense of conforming to Rome but later threatens to banish her. Philip, for his part, seems downcast after the wedding and later tells Renard that he has done his duty but that Mary is "old, ugly, and barren." However, he is kind to Elizabeth, whom he hopes to marry someday, and he forbids Mary to send her away.[19]

The fifth episode, *The Enterprise of England*, provides a reasonably balanced treatment of Philip II during the Armada campaign of 1588, by which time Mary was long dead. Rather than presenting him as a monster, it shows him as a feeble old man, repentantly confessing his sins, expressing sorrow over the death of Mary Queen of Scots, exhibiting reluctance to attack England, and describing Elizabeth as "that remarkable woman." It also shows him resisting the entreaties of Robert Parsons for precipitate action, dithering over the rival invasion plans of the Marquis of Santa Cruz and the Duke of Parma, unwisely replacing Santa Cruz (who dies) with the inexperienced Duke of Medina Sidonia, and enjoining the crews of the ships in his Armada to remember the holy nature of their mission, properly observe true religion, and abjure profanity and prostitutes. Of course he still attempts to invade another sovereign nation, depose its queen, and forcibly convert its population, firmly believing that God is on his side. However, when the Armada fails, he accepts it as God's will. All that being said, he still falls short in comparison with Elizabeth, who earlier in the series denounces the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, refuses to authorize similar action against English Catholics, and resists her councilors' pleas to do away with Mary Queen of Scots. In the Armada episode, when Cecil defends pouring money into the Netherlands by saying England must defeat the Catholics, she observes—as she did in reality—"There is

only one Jesus Christ, one faith; all else is a dispute over trifles." She is also more vigorous and courageous, declaring—again accurately—"I have such cunning that if I were turned out of my kingdom in my petticoat, I would prosper anywhere in Christendom." Needless to say, perhaps, she goes to Tilbury and gives her famous speech, including the remark, "I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king." In the end, therefore, while the episode is fair to Philip, it leaves no doubt as to who is the heroine.[20]

Following *Elizabeth* R, it was almost three decades before Philip appeared in another English language production. Shekhar Kapur's *Elizabeth* (1998), which technically ended the hiatus despite giving only a small role to the Spanish king, will be discussed below in conjunction with its sequel, *Elizabeth: The Golden Age* (2007). That aside, *The Virgin Queen* (*Elizabeth I: The Virgin Queen*, 2006), was the next to feature Philip. This disappointing BBC miniseries suffers from a remarkable disregard for chronology and historicity while failing to use a talented cast to good effect—Elizabeth (Anne-Marie Duff) is petulant, Leicester (Tom Hardy) and Essex (Hans Matheson) adolescent, Mary (Joanne Whalley) irrational, and Philip (Stanley Townsend) creepy, spying on people through peepholes in the walls of the palace. Mary rages at Elizabeth, hints darkly that she must be "dealt with by other means" when she is not implicated in Wyatt's Rebellion, wears armor at court, accuses Elizabeth of so "imprisoning" her that she cannot go abroad or sleep with her husband, dares her sister to use a sword against her, plans to have her executed once there is an heir to the throne, and a good deal of other nonsense. The series also accentuates the persecutions, having Mary burn 300 victims in as many days. As usual, Elizabeth is her sister's opposite—William Cecil (Ian Hart) tells her that she is "a symbol to the people of hope, of a future without fear, without repression." At one point Philip callously observes that all will not be lost if Mary dies, that he is married to England rather than a person, and that "one sister will do as well as another" if Elizabeth submits to Catholicism. Thereafter, he largely disappears, though later a captured spy reveals that Philip—acting in conjunction with the nonexistent "Catholic League in Europe"—has promised to have Elizabeth assassinated if plotters succeed in liberating Mary Queen of Scots. Naturally, the Spanish are the villains in the campaign of 1588, and as the Armada approaches, Leicester reads to the queen a letter from a Catholic cardinal predicting various atrocities against the English, including branding. However, Philip is missing from this episode, and

the Tilbury Speech—perhaps the least convincing scene of all—does not make Spain seem very scary. Thus, while the series certainly incorporates the Black Legend, it is a rather flat black.[21]

La conjura de El Escorial (*The Conspiracy, The El Escorial Conspiracy*, 2008) is a feature film that similarly wastes a fascinating story on a bad script and a good cast on poor realization. Shot in English and dubbed in Spanish, it is a fictionalized account of a real sixteenth-century murder mystery in which the identity of the victim—Juan Escobedo—is the only thing beyond dispute. Like Shekhar Kapur's films about Elizabeth (discussed below), it is a beautiful movie in visual terms but plays loose with history and relies too heavily on invented romance. *Variety* described it as "a lot of pomp . . . but little if any circumstance." Antonio Pérez (Jason Isaacs, a practiced villain as Lucius Malfoy in the Harry Potter films) is the rival of the Duke of Alba (Fabio Testi), portrayed as the illegitimate half-brother of Philip II (Juanjo Puigcorbé). He is also in the midst of an affair with Ana de Mendoza, Princess of Éboli (Julia Ormond), who may also be sleeping with Philip (historians disagree about this). Pérez and Philip send Escobedo (Joaquim de Almeida)—who once worked for the princess's father—to the Netherlands to spy on Alba, but he changes his allegiance to the duke, returns to Spain seeking money to liberate Mary Queen of Scots, discovers the affair, and is murdered. Mateo Vázquez (Jordi Mollà, who played Philip II in *Elizabeth: The Golden Age*) is also Pérez's rival and aids the investigation that leads to his arrest and imprisonment along with the princess (Pérez later escaped to France). In an invented subplot, the Moorish girl Damiana (Blanca Jara), who was accused of trying to poison Pérez, has an affair with constable Juan de Espinosa (Jürgen Prochnow). To say that this tale of intrigue and betrayal reinforces the Black Legend with almost every character is an understatement.[22]

Some recent films do little to add to the Black Legend, though not from any deliberate effort to counter it. *The Twisted Tale of Bloody Mary* (2008) is a poorly made independent film that, despite the title, seeks to exculpate Mary (Miranda French) by demonizing virtually everyone else in her life, including Philip (Jorge Balça). For the most part it is too poorly executed to lend any credibility to the Black Legend. *Rose et noir* (*Fashion Victim,* 2009) is a historical farce that lampoons both the France of Catherine de' Medici (Françoise Ramont) and the Spain of Philip II (Rubén Tobías). Henri III (Arthur Jugnot) sends the gay couturier Pic Saint Loup (Gérard Jugnot) to Spain in 1577 to make a wedding gown for his nephew's Spanish bride-to-be. His entourage includes a Jewish perfumer, a Muslim

assistant, a secretary who is a closet Protestant plotting vengeance for St. Bartholomew's Day, and a hairdresser who is an unclosted homosexual. All soon attract the attention of the Spanish Inquisition, whose officers include the father of the bride. The ensuing chaos does not reflect well on anyone, but the film is too funny to add much to the grimness of the Black Legend. The absurd ahistorical drama *Reign* (2013–), about the adolescent Mary Queen of Scots in France, includes Philip (Jordan Lee) only in its first episode. Two forthcoming films will include Philip: *Emperor*, about a girl's attempt to avenge her father's murder by Charles V, with Bill Skarsgard as Philip, and *Bill*, a film about William Shakespeare, with Ben Willbond as the Spanish king.[23]

Finally, the two films that most clearly demonstrate the relationship of Mary, Philip, and the Black Legend are Shekhar Kapur's blatantly anti-Catholic *Elizabeth* (1998) and *Elizabeth: The Golden Age* (2007). Mary plays the role of Elizabeth's nemesis in the first film while Philip fills the same role in the second. Indeed, their respective failed efforts to destroy Elizabeth bookend the two films, and the similarity between them is striking. Audiences familiar with Tudor history will be aware of the marital tie between Mary and Philip, but any discerning individual watching the two films back-to-back is sure to notice that they are also linked by "blackness," cruelty, fanaticism, intolerance, and a profound "otherness" to the shining Virgin Queen. The first opens with the burning of heretics and a grotesque Mary (Kathy Burke) shrouded in darkness, surrounded by black-clad courtiers and Spaniards, and plotting against Cate Blanchett's beautiful, brilliantly lit, and innocent Elizabeth. The second film features a similarly misshapen and dark Philip (Jordi Mollà), abetted by equally threatening minions, plotting to invade England with the Armada, deploy the Inquisition, and overthrow Elizabeth, still lovely, still bathed in light, and now unassailably heroic. Viewers cannot fail to get the message.[24]

Both films include plot lines that have little to do with Mary, Philip, or the Black Legend: the pressure on Elizabeth to marry, romances with Leicester (Joseph Fiennes) in the first film and Sir Walter Raleigh (Clive Owen) in the second, and Francis Walsingham (Geoffrey Rush) wreaking ahistorical havoc on her enemies—real and invented—in both. However, *Elizabeth* makes clear in the first scene that Mary's regime is committed to persecuting Protestants. As fire consumes a trio of heretics, a priest proclaims, "Let them burn for all eternity in the flames of Hell." The film presents Mary as disturbed and desperate for a husband and a son but largely relegates Philip (George Antonio aka Yiasoumi) to the sidelines. Mary is

paranoid, convinced that Elizabeth is plotting against her and determined to find evidence to justify her execution. Her court is incredibly grim. Indeed, one dark and brooding scene—with a bloated Mary looking rather like Jabba the Hut from *Star Wars*, a dwarf, the Spanish ambassador, and grim-faced courtiers in black leather—would make suitable footage for a heavy-metal music video. The scene then shifts to Elizabeth outdoors with colorfully clad men and women, dancing and laughing. The contrast between the toad-like Mary and the young and beautiful Elizabeth could not be more obvious. Though Mary dies fairly early in the film, the tone is set. From that point on, Elizabeth faces threat after threat from Mary's remaining supporters—sinister black-clad bishops (including the mysteriously resurrected Stephen Gardiner (Terence Rigby), who died early in Mary's reign), a sinister black-clad Fourth Duke of Norfolk (Christopher Eccleston), a sinister black-clad Spanish ambassador (James Frain as Alvaro de Quadra), and a sinister black-clad priestly assassin, hooded, with flowing robes, and anachronistically identified as John Ballard (Daniel Craig). Elizabeth, on the other hand, greets the news that she has inherited the throne by quoting scripture: "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes." Her coronation is a visual feast of light and color. Even more remarkably, at the end of the film she "becomes" the Virgin Queen, self-consciously patterning herself after the Virgin Mary.[25]

Elizabeth: The Golden Age begins by informing viewers that "Spain is the most powerful Empire in the world," that "Philip has plunged Europe into Holy War," and that "only England stands against it." At his first appearance, Philip, clad in black and looking rather like a poisonous insect, is in a dark chapel staring at a candle and telling his too-young daughter that the time has come for the Enterprise of England (the launch of the Armada). However, he also hatches a complex—and imaginary—plot to entice Mary Queen of Scots to make a failed attempt to assassinate Elizabeth and get herself executed. But while he is prepared to force Catholicism on Protestant Englishmen, Elizabeth refuses to mistreat her own Catholic population. Later, when she learns that the Armada is on its way, she warns that it carries the Inquisition and that if it succeeds, there will be no more liberty in England, though, of course, by 1588 there was nothing like religious or political liberty in her kingdom. Again and again the film reminds viewers that Philip is evil incarnate, a "dark lord" on a par with Sauron or Voldemort. At one point it actually shows his daughter, the Infanta Isabella (Aimee King) sticking pins into a doll that resembles Elizabeth—in effect, practicing witchcraft, which links her and implicitly her father to the Devil. By

comparison, Elizabeth's astrologer is the kindly and respectable "Dr." John Dee. A subplot has Walsingham's invented Catholic brother plotting against Elizabeth, too. When the English fleet (led, ahistorically, by Raleigh) defeats the Armada, it burns in an immense, hellish conflagration as a cross, rosary, and other Catholic regalia sink into the channel, a white-clad Elizabeth watches from the Dover cliffs, and triumphant music plays. In Spain, a trembling Philip cringes as the wind blows out his candle. At this point, according to Kapur, Elizabeth becomes "divine" and "a shining icon." Later, she says of herself, "I am called the Virgin Queen. Unmarried, I have no master. Childless, I am mother to my people. I am the queen. I am myself. God give me strength to bear this mighty freedom." Again, the contrast between the "goddess" Elizabeth and the cowering, failed Philip is stark.[26]

The overt anti-Catholicism of the films has aroused considerable commentary. Michael Hirst, who wrote the scripts for both, later authored Showtime's *The Tudors*, in which he claims that he sought to demystify the Reformation. That is another subject too big to address here, but with both of Kapur's Elizabeth films he went far beyond "demystification." Catholics in both films could be seen as symbols for present-day radical Islamic terrorists, but the fact is that Kapur and Hirst make them explicitly Catholic, link them to Catholic symbols, and do nothing to mitigate the hostile attitude toward them. While both films are aesthetically appealing, there is no escaping their heavy-handed emphasis on the Black Legend. In fact, the artistic merit of the films makes them more plausible and convincing. Mary marries the Black Legend in the first film, and Philip—well established as its cinematic exemplar by a century of filmmaking—consolidates its legacy in the second. Since the birth of film in the late nineteenth century, every generation has had an iconic Elizabeth—Bette Davis or perhaps Flora Robson, then Glenda Jackson, now Cate Blanchett. But no Virgin Queen has faced counter-icons darker or more evil than the Bloody Mary and Philip of *Elizabeth* and *Elizabeth: The Golden Age*. Dead though it may be to scholars, the Black Legend lives in the cinema as never before.

Notes

1. Or, less kindly, one might say that Philip and Mary gave birth to the Black Legend instead of the son for which they longed. Julián Juderías, *La leyenda negra y la verdad histórica: contribución al estudio del concepto de España en Europa, de las causas de este concepto y de la tolerancia política y religiosa en los países civilizados* (Madrid, Tip. de la Revista de Archivos,

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Mary I, Queen of England:
Historiographical Essay, 2006 to Present

Retha Warnicke

In the last decade, scholarly interest in the life of Mary I, the first English queen regnant, has greatly increased. Beginning in 2006, ten scholarly books and several articles and essays about her have been published. In 2006, David Loades, then her only modern academic biographer, updated his 1989 study, although admitting that he had not "changed his mind about her in striking ways."[1] His conceptualization followed closely the Victorian attitude, furthered by A.F. Pollard, of a tragic "woeful figure."[2] With this negativism in mind, the other, mostly positive, publications will be evaluated. The result is a historiography with more realistic evaluations of her reign within the complexity of sixteenth-century gender, religious, and cultural attitudes.

As almost half of Loades's study focuses on Mary's life before her five-year reign, it often reads like a life and times study, covering events about which she might have known but which he could not associate with her. He described her as intelligent, but obstinate, prone to emotional outbursts, and beset by frequent ailments. Demeaning her scholarship, he emphasized the influence of Juan Luis Vives, whose pedagogy focused on women's chastity. As an adult in Edward VI's reign, Loades complained, she placed her conscience before the law, when refusing to give up hearing mass.

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Although admitting that Mary courageously rallied her East Anglian supporters to gain the throne and later won Londoners' support against Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, Loades condemned her dependence on Emperor Charles V and his son Philip. She relied on Charles's support to negotiate her marriage, ignoring her council, which was composed of both experienced administrators as well as trusted confidants, who could seldom reach a consensus on issues. Even so, the marriage treaty contained generous provisions for Mary's rule, limiting Philip's authority in England, and a statute confirmed that she possessed all the regal powers held by her male predecessors. Despite these provisions, Loades believed Philip wielded enormous power because of his personal influence over her that led her to override her council's advice and join his war against France, thereby losing Calais.

The most well-known event of her reign, Loades confirmed, was the revival of the heresy laws. Many, like Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, assumed that the burnings would quickly destroy Protestantism. When he and others, including Philip, expressed doubts about their effectiveness, Mary and Reginald, Cardinal Pole, continued the futile campaign that earned her the epitaph, "Bloody Mary." Loades observed that Pole's Church was "aware" of "the new devotional fashions" of the Counter-Reformation, but that they were "transmitted incompletely."[3]

Two essays in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, edited by Eamon Duffy and Loades in 2006, are especially relevant to her religious activities. In "The Marian Episcopate," Loades noted that at her accession she had to deal with 23 bishops, who had subscribed to the Edwardian settlement. By June 1554, she had excluded 13, retained ten who were schismatics, and restored six Catholics. Other appointments followed with Pole's approval. Despite the mixed backgrounds of her 33 bishops, all reportedly preachers, Loades observed that they served the church well, although the majority was largely untouched by recent Catholic reform. Both Pole and Mary had little enthusiasm for the Jesuits, a lack of interest that Loades characterized as "probably a mistake."[4]

"The English Universities, 1553–58" by Claire Cross clarified that Mary believed that the only way to destroy Protestantism successfully was to return the universities' obedience to their ancient statutes. She replaced John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, as chancellor of Cambridge with Gardiner and appointed Sir John Mason as chancellor of Oxford. Soon new conformable heads managed most of the colleges and all foreign

Protestants had departed. The universities also benefitted from substantial royal endowments to support scholars, sizars, and others. By 1556, Pole, who had succeeded the deceased Gardiner at Cambridge, had brought both universities under his direction, appointing commissioners to root out heresy and to recruit foreign Catholics.[5]

Another publication in 2006, "Her Kingdom's Wife," a chapter in *The Lioness Roared*, by Charles Beem, contradicts Loades's view that Mary was born to be a queen consort. Beem argued that she constituted a "representational model" for queenship that Elizabeth later adopted. Pointing out that the queen's two bodies included a natural body that married and a political one that ruled, he explained that she successfully placed her queenship within the guise of an obedient and deferential woman. Although she never forgot that she possessed full royal powers, she assumed the persona of a pious female in public presentations. She let her subjects believe the council was making decisions about whom she would wed, while she was secretly concluding the marriage treaty with Philip's father. She clarified to the Spanish ambassador that she would obey her husband but would not let him interfere in governmental matters. At the Guildhall in 1554, with the Wyatt rebels at London's gates, she announced that at her coronation she was wedded to her kingdom, her symbolic husband. Parliament subsequently passed an act granting her the regal powers of her male predecessors and ratified the marriage treaty. Needing to protect her royal authority from her human husband, she refused to permit Philip to be crowned and situated him on the queen consort's side at court. As Beem stated, she "constructed a creative public image that placed responsibility for this protection on her symbolic husband, the English kingdom."[6]

Anna Whitelock's and Diarmaid MacCulloch's article on the succession crisis in 1553 appeared in 2007. They explored "how and why Mary won gentry support in East Anglia and the home Countries." Her brother's government had, in response to the £3,000 bequest of her father, granted her estates, principally in East Anglia and Essex, that provided her the bequeathed amount in rents. These lands made her a significant regional magnate. Her appointments to her household included members of Henrician households but also religious traditionalists from East Anglia and the home countries. After 1549, her officials, increasingly defined by their opposition to Edward VI, mobilized further support in the area; some of those whom they attracted were not Catholics. Many were East Anglians with estates near hers; thus, Catholicism and legitimacy both

played roles in her accession. The authors concluded that understanding the role of her household is crucial to understanding the politics and religion of her reign.[7]

In 2008, appeared Jeri McIntosh's book on the preaccession households of Mary and Elizabeth, which was based on her 2002 dissertation. In a note, she acknowledged the work of Whitelock and MacCulloch.[8] Utilizing various documents, such as property transactions, McIntosh situated the two princesses socially among landed Englishwomen, as well as royal claimants. Because of their father's bequests, their brother's government supplied them with lands to raise those amounts in rents. Like other female landowners, Mary could depend on the loyalty of her servants, tenants, and neighbors. Consequently, when in 1553, Lady Jane Grey, supported by most of the ruling elite, attempted to become queen, she lasted only nine days. Mary took advantage of her position as head of an independent household to call upon her servants, tenants, and neighbors for support. Without Mary's position as a landed magnate, McIntosh maintained, her attempt to become queen could not have succeeded. Ironically, her father's failure to find her a husband, who could have enjoyed the benefits of her royal status and who might have sired their male offspring to continue the royal lineage, left her the political opportunity to become his successor.[9]

In 2008, Judith Richards's version of Mary's life, which challenged many of Loades's claims, was published. Also an academic, Richards asserted that Vives did more than insist on a woman protecting her chastity, since he also provided her with a collection of lessons that were intended for a royal education. At Katherine Parr's suggestion, Mary later translated, but did not finish, the gospel of St. John for the translation of Erasmus's *Paraphrases on the New Testament*. In his dedication to this published work, Nicholas Udall praised Mary's scholarship. Richards emphasized how her humanist education affected some of her religious decisions when queen, as, for example, planning an orthodox translation of the Bible.[10]

Her dependence on Charles V for her marital negotiations, according to Richards, arose partly because she believed that during Edward's reign, the emperor's support kept her brother's government from moving more forcefully against her. Concerned about damaging the wool trade with Antwerp, which the emperor controlled, Edward's councilors finally condoned her private mass. The ability to hear mass had been her primary religious concern in her father's reign as well. Richards justified

her capitulation to her father with the suggestion that Mary might not have thought she had violated her conscience since his Church, as later recognized in the Six Articles, reaffirmed the Catholic sacraments. This hypothesis seems unlikely since Mary's capitulation also confirmed her illegitimate status.

Although occasionally sick, Mary used her ailments to avoid confrontational meetings with, for example, her brother. Richards also explained that the word, hysteria, by which contemporary physicians meant a womb malfunction, was used to explain 500 distinct female maladies and did not always mean emotional distress. Indeed, Mary's phantom pregnancies were as likely the result of hormonal problems as well as psychological ones.

Richards conceptualized Mary as the first English queen regnant who established precedents for her sister's reign, citing Mary's coronation as an obvious example. She rode, as did her sister later, from the Tower of London to Westminster Palace as a queen consort with her hair hanging down, but at the Abbey she was crowned as a king, enjoying the same rituals as her male predecessors. Even so, many believed when she wed Philip that he became the real ruler. Her model for their marriage was actually, Richards explained, that of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, her grandparents. Ferdinand ruled Aragon but was only king consort in Castile. The English royal ceremonial after Mary's marriage to Philip emphasized her superiority, providing him with lodgings at court on the queen consort's side. Richards admitted that how much power he exercised is still a controversial issue, especially as Mary had the proceedings of her privy council translated into Spanish or Latin for him, but the war with France, far from being forced upon her by her husband, resulted from the French support of rebels who attacked English soil.

As for the burnings of almost 300 people, Mary approved the statute that made them legal, but Richards cautioned that many of the heretics also believed in executing Catholics. Actually, Mary, herself, was involved in only one or two burnings, such as Thomas, Archbishop Cranmer's, while local officials and churchmen mostly carried out the procedures that led to the burnings. This is too simplistic a view of Mary's real commitment to the campaign to cleanse the Church. Richards also compared some of the heretical accusations to those of witchcraft trials in which neighbors took revenge on each other, a strategy that could explain the number of lower class martyrs. Citing instructions from Philip as he left England that ordered Parliament to continue punishing heretics, Richards claimed that he did not believe in "accommodation" or in "toleration."[11]

A third publication in 2008 echoed one of Richards's themes, the precedents set by Mary and her supporters for Elizabeth's and her apologists' activities. Paulina Kewes divided her essay, "Two Queens, one inventory," into three parts.[12] The first deals with Elizabeth's providentially ordained rule, as exemplified in John Foxe's writings. Kewes reveals that earlier, within days of Mary's accession, various sermons and publications hailed her as a providential ruler, comparing her to Judith, Esther, the Virgin Mary, and Deborah. Subsequently, other Old Testament rulers, Solomon, for example, were added to the list. The second section, "Mary the Martyr" indicated that authors, showing respect for the royal family, did not emphasize Mary's harassment before her accession. In more confidential reports, especially with Pole's growing influence, harsher comments did surface. Writers clarified, however, that she would never have become queen without providential elevation. Finally, Kewes compared Robert Wingfield's life of Mary to John Foxe's study of Elizabeth. Although no evidence indicates that Foxe had access to Wingfield's narrative, Elizabethan writers found much to emulate in the accounts of Mary's reign. Wingfield's version of her was not that of a martyr but that of a model prince, a mighty queen. More specifically, Elizabeth deliberately, if she knew of Wingfield's work, but had not read it, modeled some of her activities on those of Mary that were extolled by Wingfield. Kewes, for example, compared Mary's mustering of troops at Framlingham to Elizabeth's activities at Tilbury. For Tudor queenship to be fully understood, "their contemporary depictions cannot be prised apart."[13]

In 2009, six publications focused on Mary and her reign. One of the most significant was Eamon Duffy's *Fires of Faith*, in which he set out to correct some of the traditional views of Mary's church by denying that she was a reactionary whose policies were rooted in the medieval past and were doomed to failure. Instead, he explained that her policies inspired Counter-Reformation practices. Under the leadership of Pole, who had presided over the opening sessions of the Council of Trent, many innovations were introduced. The tasks of the new regime involved the reconversion of people to the faith through the emphasizing of Easter confessions and communion. Recognizing the need for clergymen to be resident preachers, Pole also made available sets of model sermons for their use. Duffy was much more positive than Loades about Mary's episcopacy. Of the 20 new bishops selected after 1554, all were trained theologians with proven pastoral records. Much has been made of Pole's refusal to cooperate with the Jesuits, but what St. Ignatius offered was the admission to

Jesuit schools of two or three young Englishmen, who might or might not return to England. Pole had a better vision, that of an English seminary at Rome that would train the young men and return them to England.[14]

As for the burnings, Mary had cautioned her officials to proceed "without rashness," and they made long-suffering attempts to obtain recantations from the heretics. The execution sites became the places of "ideological struggle," as the victims used the "stake as a pulpit" while Catholic officials gave edifying sermons.[15] Far from being a doomed cause, the number of those burned had declined by 1558. To contemporaries, a "false faith" was more sinful than no faith. That heretics should be burned loomed large in the ideology of all parties. Clearly, the queen and her council, probably encouraged by Pole, pressured officials to carry out the persecution. After 1555 no evidence survives that the Spanish thought the government acted excessively. Duffy identified Mary's decision to have Cranmer burned after he had made several recantations as her greatest mistake.[16] Actually, the "religious ethos" of her Catholicism did have "medieval and humanistic roots" but it was moving toward the "intense sacramentalism" of the Counter-Reformation, which, as Duffy claimed, was "invented" by the Marian church.[17]

The second book of 2009, a biography by Anna Whitelock, is a version of her doctoral dissertation. Although it has a scholarly apparatus, it is somewhat difficult to evaluate because, published for a popular audience, it contains 66 chapters, plus an epilogue. Whitelock also did not have access to Duffy's work in her brief chapters on the burnings. In the epilogue, she claimed that "in many ways Mary failed as a woman but triumphed as a Queen." Her failure as a woman focused on her "personal infatuation with Philip"[18] that caused her to enter into an unpopular war with France. Her phantom pregnancies as well as the Spanish marriage left her unpopular. This analysis seems to comply with Loades's view of the queen's personal life.

Whitelock's comments about Mary's successful reign reject Loades's negativism about her regal accomplishments. Also in 2009, Whitelock published an essay that describes Mary as a successful monarch. In it, Whitelock stated that Mary was "a woman…who made it possible for queens to rule as kings."[19] Her achievements included the only successful revolt against the royal government in the sixteenth century when she challenged Lady Jane Grey for the throne. In the months following her accession, when her subjects discussed what it meant to have a queen regnant, Mary took charge of the debate and decided not to call parliament

before her coronation, as some councilors suggested. After others seemed to have hinted that because a queen regnant was not mentioned in any previous statutes, she might reign without recourse to parliament, she trumped this possibility by accepting a statute, claiming that she had all the powers of her male predecessors. Despite the lack of men in the privy chamber, Mary maintained control of her court, looking for advice from members within the household more generally and from other political associates. While some had membership on the privy council, which has gained most of the attention in studies of her reign, she relied on those who had her favor, some of whom were not councilors. The influence on Mary that truly mattered was Spanish through her reliance on Charles V and later on Philip. Thus, Philip's role as king of England needs further assessment, as he has often been identified as a negative factor in her reign. Finally, Mary demonstrated good military leadership on two occasions, first when she gained the throne and next in her challenge to Wyatt's Rebellion.[20]

Included in the publication with Whitelock's essay on Mary is one by Sabine Müller concerning representations of Mary's natural body. Müller explained how Protestant propagandists disparaged Mary's rule by focusing on her female body, that by sixteenth-century standards was the gender incapable of ruling. Müller also discussed how Catholic authors stressed Mary's natural body by insisting that her perceived pregnancies represented the rebirth of Catholicism. Ironically, because of those pregnancies, her aging body became associated with barrenness and failure. In addition, her unfruitful status was connected to the burnings of the Protestants. This narrative structure of failure focusing on her aging body that was infertile and cruel still defines her characterization in some modern works.[21]

Two other publications about Mary in 2009 include an essay in a collection on queenship and a journal article. In her essay, Sarah Duncan investigated the royal use of mercy. Medieval consorts had assumed the role of intercessor, pleading for mercy for individuals from their royal husbands who wielded the sword of justice. The process became more complicated for queens regnant, who had no intercessor but who were expected to balance granting mercy with dispensing justice. Both Mary and Elizabeth had to confront this thorny issue, but for Mary it became even more complex when she married Philip. Many expressed fears that he would use his husbandly influence to gain control of the kingdom. Actually, as king consort, Philip assumed the intercessor's role, but it is not always clear whether Mary or he pardoned the individuals involved. Moreover, sometimes he

might have interceded for them for concerns other than for mercy, favoring some for their military capacities. Although both queens regnant had to balance mercy with justice, after Mary's death, she alone became known as "Bloody Mary." Elizabeth's longevity and James I's accession meant that Elizabeth and later Protestants had more control over her image than had Mary's supporters. It is also possible, as Duncan quoted Leah Marcus, that it was more her gender, which was viewed as an "unruly" female, than the sole burning of Protestant heretics, that gained her this epithet. As a woman, she was expected to be merciful.[22]

Alice Hunt's article found a precedent in Mary's reign for Patrick Collinson's claim that "Elizabethan England was a republic which also happened to be a monarchy or vice versa."[23] For her evidence, Hunt examined the council's recommendation to Mary that she call parliament before her coronation. Most seemed concerned that her illegitimate status had not been restored by the Act of Succession of 1544 and some of the Edwardian members worried about her making religious changes. As anointed monarchs usually called parliaments, the council's advice raised questions about possible attempts to limit her regality. The message that she should be subject to parliament's wish about religion can also be found in Richard Taverner's oration honoring her accession and in a play, *Republica*. Ultimately, Mary, like her predecessors, chose to hold her coronation before summoning parliament. Hunt discovered that in pageants in the procession of Elizabeth through London on the eve of her coronation, this same message of the monarch as a queen-in-parliament was presented.[24]

In 2010 appeared only one publication concerning Mary, a collection of essays on the reigns of the two Tudor queens regnant that began as papers at a 2007 conference. Although containing important essays about Mary, it also in some ways slights her. Comparing a queen who reigned five years with one who reigned almost 45 years does mean that more information is available for one than the other.[25] Unfortunately, not all the essays can be evaluated here for lack of space.

The book's section on Precedents and Traditions contains three important essays concerning Mary: one by Paulina Kewes compares the iconography of the two queens. Kewes emphasized the debt that Elizabethan writers owed to Marian traditions. In her pre-coronation procession, Elizabeth wore Mary's refurbished mantle and kirtle of cloth of gold. Even some of the pageants honoring her recycled images and tropes from Marian ones that claimed Elizabeth likewise was a providential monarch.

Indeed, Mary's tenure as queen seems to have greatly changed English attitudes toward female rule.[26]

Alice Hunt's essay also turned to the coronations of Mary and Elizabeth. Both queens attempted to produce a ceremony compatible with their consciences. Refusing to use Edward's oils, Mary sent for some from the Bishop of Arras in Brussels. She also obtained absolution from Pole to permit her bishops to celebrate mass and bestow the sacraments. Elizabeth, by contrast, probably did not permit the host to be elevated during her coronation service and had consecration prayers said in English. Both followed the precedence for queens consort in the pre-coronation procession but were crowned using the rites of kings.[27]

Maria Hayward looked at their choice of clothing. Each wore purple, the traditional royal color, for her first entries and the customary regal crimson for her coronation. They did differ in some choices. Mary often carried a rosary and wore a pendant cross, while Elizabeth as queen had little use for religious insignia. Mary dressed magnificently before and after her accession, but Elizabeth as princess tended to dress simply. By 1600, however, a witness noted that her clothes displayed the glory of her majesty. Finally, they were both fond enough of clothing to frequently bestow them as gifts.[28]

In the section, Educating for Rule, McIntosh studied Mary's Welsh household from 1525 to 1527. Mary emphasized the importance of her status as de facto Princess of Wales, since her household served as a vice-regal court, costing the king almost £4500. There, she had the education of a Prince of Wales with a Latin schoolmaster, Richard Featherstone, and a French tutor, Giles Duwes, who printed a book that described her international court. The later knowledge of her royal presence in Wales appeared in 1536 when rebels in the Pilgrimage of Grace demanded her reinstatement. McIntosh also believed that her status as Princess of Wales gave her the public credibility over Lady Jane Grey to become monarch.[29]

Another essay on Mary and Elizabeth's educations by Aysha Pollnitz found great continuity in their training. Mary had no official schoolmaster until 1525, but her mother tutored her and sought assistance from Vives. While his *Instruction of a Christian Woman* emphasized chastity, he responded to Catherine of Aragon's plea for more rigor. In 1523, he offered an alternative curriculum, *De ratione studii puerilis*, in which he proposed techniques for learning Latin speech and composition. He also recommended reading Plutarch, Plato, Sir Thomas More, Erasmus, and other serious writers. Between 1525 and 1533, her father provided her

with a careful education that made it possible for her to translate a prayer by St. Thomas Aquinas and the Paraphrase of the Gospel of St. John by Erasmus.[30]

In the section on Loyalty and Service, Charlotte Merton's essay on women at court is of special interest. Both Mary and Elizabeth appointed 23 ladies of the bedchamber, seven ladies and gentlewomen of the privy chamber, four chamberers, and six maids of honor. For Tudor families generally, but especially for court families, names were permanent reminders of friendships. Tradition dictated that a girl's senior godmother, often the queen, had the right to choose her name, sometimes, but not always, naming them after herself. A comprehensive list of the maidens is not possible but Mary probably had ten while Elizabeth had 54. Even the small number of privy chamber families provided more girls than could be appointed as maidens; thus, the competition for the positions was fierce. How much influence these women wielded depended on the queen's friendship, but it was also her enmity that could end their careers. Merton noted that Mary and Elizabeth had some protocol issues that were more in common with each other than with their predecessors. That they required chaperones brought a whole new dimension to court life.[31]

In 2011, a book of essays, focusing on Mary, appeared. Edited by Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman, it has two sections: Old Perspectives and New Perspectives. Again, because of space issues not all chapters can be reviewed. The first to be addressed is Susan Doran's on the Protestant views of Mary in her sister's reign. Although critical of her queenship, many writers failed to emphasize her role in the burnings, perhaps because traditionally councilors received blame for unpopular policies. Some Elizabethans may have also rejected identifying the queen's sister as the anti-Christ, for after Elizabeth's death, the criticism became harsher about Mary's Spanish marriage and the burnings.[32]

Victor Houliston divided his essay on Catholic responses to Mary's death into two parts. Before 1585, some writers praised her, claiming that she had been too good for the world, but others, concerned about a providential framework that saw the triumph of heresy, wrote with more restraint. After 1585 some authors began to compare her policies more favorably to those of Elizabeth's, pointing out that Mary cared for her subjects' souls while her sister acted from political instincts. Catholics also worshiped the ancient, inherited religion while Protestants had turned to a newly created one.[33]

Thomas Freeman's essay on the invention of "Bloody Mary" has great relevance to some modern perceptions of her. The epithet "Bloody Mary" was first coined in 1658, but the political crisis leading to the Glorious Revolution had a devastating impact upon her reputation. Gilbert Burnet was the English writer who, except for John Foxe, most discredited her character. Burnet claimed that the motivations for Mary's actions were not religious but revenge for her family's treatment of her. In the eighteenth century, in addition to his publications, some abridgements of Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" were published. It was then that "Bloody Mary" became a familiar epithet. Nineteenth-century writers, John Lingard and Elizabeth Strickland, wrote more sympathetically about her. Clergymen even began denouncing Strickland's work, which was more popular than Lingard's, because she emphasized Mary's charity, her love for her relatives, and her concern for her subjects, in the process defining her as a Victorian gentlewoman. The problem remained as to how to reconcile this gentle person with the burnings. The solution was to emphasize Mary's crises of life that supposedly corrupted her judgment: the mistreatment by her relatives, even her husband, and her phantom pregnancies, perhaps caused by hysteria. This argument, forcefully made by James Anthony Froude, became widely accepted and was repeated by A.J. Pollard. For Pollard, Mary was a failure because of her hysteria. Her first major modern biographer, Hilda Prescott, repeated these assertions, which survive in more recent biographies.[34]

In the New Perspectives section, Aysha Pollnitz evaluated Mary's translation of the Gospel of St. John in Erasmus's Latin *Paraphrases*, which Vives had recommended to Mary in 1523. A member of a circle of learned women in Katherine Parr's household, Mary, over a two-year period, attempted but failed to complete the translation. Hers is literal; often female translators felt a sense of subservience when working with male writings. Also, a close reading of scripture was considered necessary. Mary's work promoted the importance of faith, charity, and the sacrifice of the mass. Her careful rendering was as an "enthusiastic if inexperienced grammarian" with "greater rhetorical sophistication" than is sometimes credited.[35]

In his essay on the Marian persecution, Freeman validated the views of Duffy in *Fires of Faith*, but added some considerations not raised by him. Clarifying Duffy's belief that Mary monitored the burnings, perhaps encouraged by Pole, Freeman denounced them as mistaken policies, partly because of her early death and Foxe's propaganda. He also found

that, despite the numbers declining in 1558, in some respects the severity became more extreme when her illness became known. The intensity, Freeman suggested, might have resulted from some gentry being replaced by others who had been powerless and who once in office looked for revenge. The persecution also caused disruptions in town governments. The Protestants' open defiance had no precedence but this was not a general hostility to the burnings but rather open sympathy for specific victims. The best procedure, Freeman claimed, would have been to punish the Protestants for acts other than religious. Mary could have charged Cranmer with treason, for example.[36]

The problem with this approach was earlier expressed by some Elizabethan Catholics who denounced Elizabeth's policy as merely political and Mary's as religious because she, unlike her younger sister, had concerns for her subjects' souls. The intense English Protestant defiance arose partly from a different religious climate than on the continent. For almost 20 years, the English had obeyed monarchs who slowly reconstituted their Church. On the continent, Protestant defiance was mostly by rebels against a traditional Catholic regime, not by individuals once members of a national Church that they viewed under attack, as, for example, seeing the dead exhumed from graveyards and their bishops being executed.

John Edwards published a splendid biography of Mary in 2011, which is a sympathetic and historically sound study, especially of her reign and its place in European historiography. Edwards expertly cited previously unused documents for understanding Mary's relationship to her Habsburg relatives. Religion, he believed, was at the heart of her character. One of her usual activities before making decisions, such as marrying Philip, was to worship privately before the consecrated host. In addition, her mother gave her the *Vita Christi* by Ludolf of Saxony, which, along with her other readings, led Mary to believe she possessed a personal relationship with Christ. She should be identified with the Christian humanists, imitating Christ in their daily lives and eschewing traditional rituals, such as pilgrimages. That she was forced in 1536 to submit abjectly to her father; accepting him as supreme head of the church and admitting the illegality of her parents' marriage were concessions that "would haunt her for the rest of her life."[37]

Questions have been raised about whether Mary or Philip ruled England. By the marriage treaty and statutory law, Mary exercised sovereign powers like previous kings and retained control of public appointments and her jewels. Philip was denied access to English offices, lands,

and revenues, and Mary did not use her royal authority to grant them to him. Still, Edwards defined their rule as "joint." From the first, Philip was involved in governmental matters. The council's proceedings were translated for Philip, and he helped reform the council's membership. Even after moving to the Netherlands, he delayed diplomatic assignments and maneuvered appointments, such as Gardiner's successor. It was only after discovering Henry II's involvement in various conspiracies against her rule, however, that Mary decided to declare war on France. Disparaging her as a female ruler, Henry refused to permit her herald to read publicly the declaration of war. Traditionally, she has been known as "Bloody Mary." After 20 years of schismatic and heretical rule, reinstating the true religion was complicated, for example, absolving schismatic clergy and removing heretical bodies from churches. Many Catholics supported the executions that she oversaw, but Edwards also discovered that Mary relied on a Spanish advisor, Philip's confessor, Bartolomé Carranza, whom she contacted when learning of Cranmer's execution.

Finally in 2011, Jaime Goodrich's article on Mary's translation of Aquinas's prayer appeared. In dating it, she noted that the manuscript states that Mary was 11 when she translated it, but Henry Parker, Lord Morley, said she was almost 12 when it was completed. As Mary was born in February 1516, she could have translated it for a New Year's Gift in 1528, when she was almost twelve. Goodrich tried to associate its composition with the divorce proceedings that began after her eleventh birthday in 1527. Mary's translation exists in a Book of Hours with the names of her parents and her English grandparents. By this time, Aquinas had usually been associated with medieval Catholicism; Vives had not included him among the authors he recommended for her edification. Aquinas's prayer called for patience and composure in dealing with life's vicissitudes. Goodrich suggested that the prayer might be a key to understanding her later decision to translate Erasmus's Paraphrase on the Gospel of St. John for Katherine Parr. Perhaps, Mary had begun using her humanist learning to ally herself with members of the court who had shown sympathy for her plight.[38]

In 2012 one book and one article were published. Duncan's fascinating book utilizes gender as a way to understand Mary's reign. Through an analysis of ceremony, language, and iconography, Duncan set out to reverse the reputation of Mary as a failed monarch. In the book's first three chapters, she gave evidence of Mary's strong court leadership. Agreeing somewhat with Beem, Duncun claimed Mary viewed herself as both king

and queen. She fashioned herself according to the nature of the king's two bodies, exhibiting the masculine attributes of the body political but feminine qualities of the body natural. One of her first decisions was to reject calling a parliament before her royal coronation. Later, she referred to her kingdom as her symbolic husband as a result of that anointing. In her pre-coronation procession to Westminster Palace, she rode in a litter as queen consorts had traditionally traveled but at the coronation, itself, the sermon was entitled, "The obedience which is due to the king."[39]

Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 display how Mary manipulated her gender to indicate her control of the kingdom. When she chose her husband, she elected to marry Philip, the most eligible bachelor in the European royalty. Because she believed a woman should not conduct marriage negotiations, she relied on his father, Charles V, to communicate with her council. She also used her weakness as a woman to complain to his ambassador about how difficult it was to deal with her faction-ridden council, in the process gaining favorable treaty limitations on Philip's power. At their wedding, she swore to obey him but previously had made it clear she would not if he interfered in her governmental decisions. At their banquet, she sat in a larger chair than his and ate off gold while he dined from silver. Although their proclamations went out with his name before hers, at court and in imagery, she held the superior positions. On coins her head rose symbolically above his and he was placed to her left. At some events, such as chivalric exercises, she did play the consort's role, but in official governmental business, such as parliamentary meetings, she sat in the king's chair.

In Kate Roddy's 2012 essay, she notes that literary scholars have, like historians, begun to examine Marian writings more carefully. While Protestants compared Mary to Jezebel, Catholics looked for methods to praise her. In the first year of her reign, two authors compared her to the Virgin Mary, an obvious analogy. But their work did not herald a Mariology renaissance, perhaps because after she married, praising virginity was no longer so appropriate. Instead, authors compared her to important individuals in the scriptures and in classical legends. The most frequently cited trope was that of Mary as a natural mother figure, providing writers with the opportunity to unite monarch and church in a feminized realm in opposition to John Knox's patriarchal one. They also viewed her subjects as prodigals needing reform. "Love and discipline" went hand in hand; their Mary "walks softly and carries a big stick."[40]

Finally, Duncan's historiographical essay on Mary in 2013 pointed out that although some scholars have challenged the outdated negativism about

Mary's rule, no consensus has yet emerged about some issues. Despite disagreements about the revival of the heresy laws and her relationship with Philip, most scholars now assess Mary as "intelligent, capable, politically skillful" and argue that her reign greatly influenced Elizabeth's rule by establishing precedents for female sovereignty.[41]

Through the past decade, a more nuanced version of Mary has developed. Now recognized as leading with Pole a Counter-Reformation Church, her commitment to cleansing her Church has been firmly established. While she maintained control over royal funds and possessions and enjoyed a superior ceremonial position, her husband had some governmental input, even after departing England. Well-educated and as prepared for rule as most of her male predecessors, she stood firm in times of danger, personally deciding to declare war against French aggression. Her regime was winning the campaign against heresy but her early death and inability to bear children, both beyond her control, enabled Elizabeth to reestablish Protestantism and to adopt some of her sister's experiences for her queenship.

NOTES

1. David Loades, *Mary Tudor: The Tragical History of the First Queen of England* (Kew: National Archives, 2006), 7. The following articles appeared too late to be considered for this essay: Judith Richards, "Defaming and Defining 'Bloody Mary' in Nineteenth-Century England," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 90(2014), 287–303; Jayne Wackett, "Examining the Unexpected: Printed Images in the Prayer Books of Edward VI and the Primers of Mary Tudor," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, 105(2014), 257–83; Lucy Wooding, "Catholicism, the Printed Book and the Marian Restoration," A *Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain, 1476–1558,* ed. Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2014), 307–24.
2. Thomas Freeman, "Inventing Bloody Mary: Perceptions of Mary Tudor from the Restoration to the Twentieth Century," *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, ed. Susan Doran and Freeman (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 98.
3. Loades, Mary, 133–40, 160, 218.
4. Eamon Duffy and David Loades, eds., *The Church of Mary Tudor: Catholic Christendom 1300–1700* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 33–56.
5. Duffy and Loades, *Church,* 57–76.
6. Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History* (New York; Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 63–99.

7. Anna Whitelock and Diarmaid MacCulloch, "Princess Mary's Household and the Succession Crisis, July 1553," *The Historical Journal*, 50(2007), 265–87.

8. J. L. McIntosh, *From Heads of Households to Heads of State: The Preaccession Household of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, 1516–1558* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 13.

9. McIntosh, *Households,* 1–10, 194–99.

10. Judith Richards, *Mary Tudor* (London: Routledge, 2008), 46, 66, 80.

11. Richards, *Mary*, 194–205.

12. Paulina Kewes, "Godly Queens: One Inventory: The Lives of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor," *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representations in Early Modern England,* ed. Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 187–207.

13. Kewes, "Queens," 207.

14. Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England Under Mary Tudor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 1–31.

15. Duffy, *Fires,* 94,123.

16. Duffy, *Fires,* 82–3.

17. Duffy, *Fires,* 190, 207.

18. Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2009), 309.

19. Anna Whitelock, "Mary Tudor: The First Queen of England," *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship*: *Medieval to Early Modern*, ed. Liz Oakley-Brown and Louise Wilkinson (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 60.

20. Whitelock, "Mary," 64–73.

21. Sabine Müller, "Ageing out Catholicism: Representing Mary Tudor's Body," *Rituals,* 238–51.

22. Sarah Duncan, "Most godly heart fraight with al mercie': Queens' Mercy during the Reigns of Mary I and Elizabeth I," *Queens & Power in Medieval and Early Modern England,* ed. Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 31–50, for the quotation, 46.

23. Alice Hunt, "The Monarchical Republic of Mary I," *The Historical Journal*, 52(2009), 557.

24. Hunt, "Republic of Mary," 557–72.

25. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock, eds.*, Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 95.

26. Paulina Kewes, "Godly Queens: The Royal Iconography of Mary and Elizabeth," *Queenship,* 47–62.

27. Alice Hunt, "The Reformation of Tradition: The Coronations of Mary and Elizabeth," *Queenship,* 63–79.

28. Maria Hayward, "Dressed to Improve," *Queenship,* 81–94.

29. Jeri McIntosh, "A Culture of Reverence: Princess Mary's Household, 1525–1527," *Queenship*, 113–26.

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31. Charlotte Merton, "Women, Friendship and Memory," *Queenship*, 239–50.

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